

Francis Xavier; his life, his times. Translated by M. Joseph Costelloe.

Schurhammer, Georg, 1882-1971.

Rome, Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973-1982.

<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015005659191>

HathiTrust



www.hathitrust.org

Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives

http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#cc-by-nc-nd-4.0

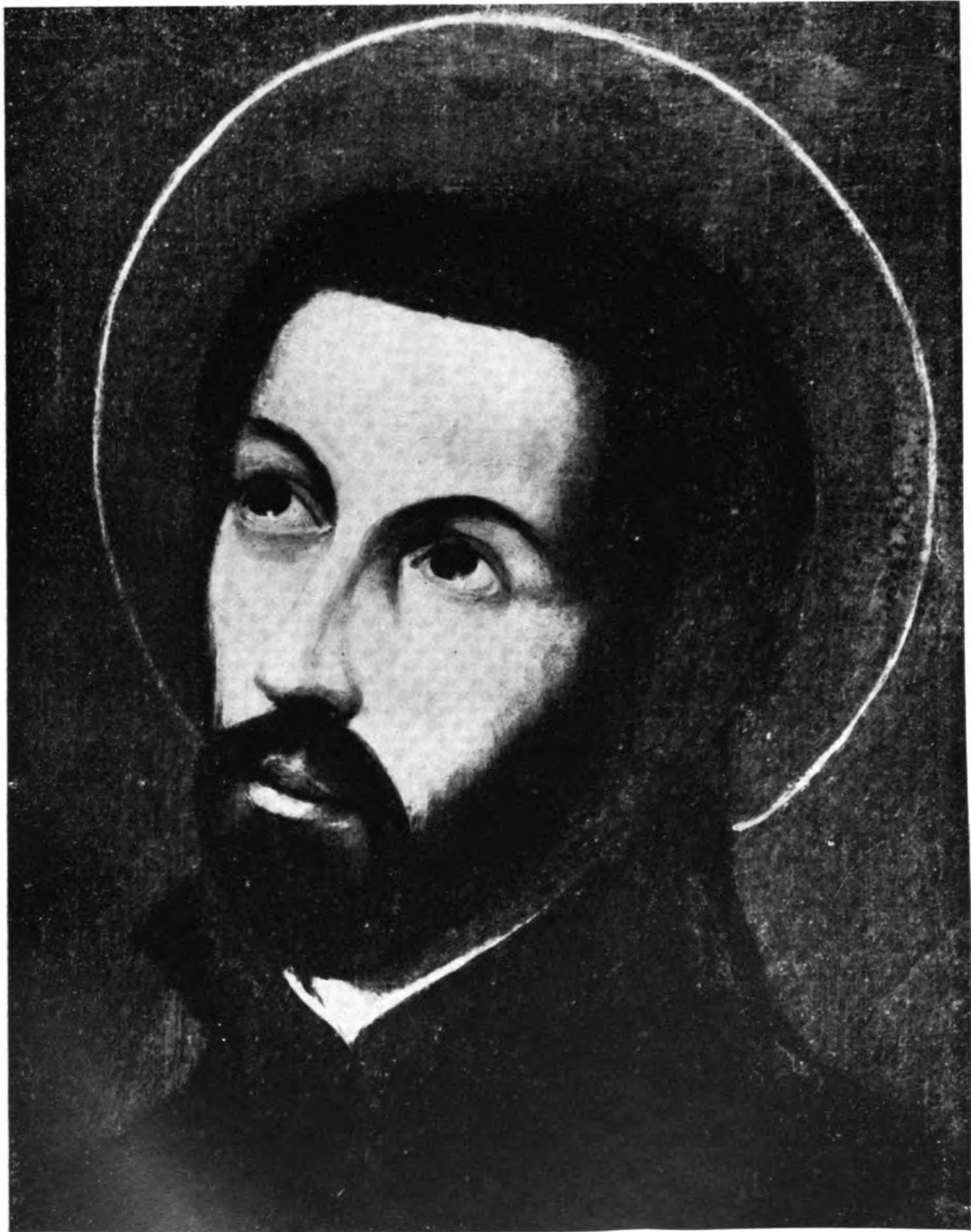
This work is protected by copyright law (which includes certain exceptions to the rights of the copyright holder that users may make, such as fair use where applicable under U.S. law), but made available under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives license. You must attribute this work in the manner specified by the author or licensor (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work). Only verbatim copies of this work may be made, distributed, displayed, and performed, not derivative works based upon it. Copies that are made may only be used for non-commercial purposes. Please check the terms of the specific Creative Commons license as indicated at the item level. For details, see the full license deed at <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0>.

San Francisco



FRANCIS XAVIER

VOLUME I



Francisco

GEORG SCHURHAMMER, S. J.

FRANCIS XAVIER

HIS LIFE, HIS TIMES

VOLUME I

EUROPE

1506-1541

Translated

by

M. JOSEPH COSTELLOE, S.J.

Creighton University

1973

THE JESUIT HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

Via dei Penitenzieri, 20

00193 Rome, Italy

Authorized English translation of the original German edition *Franz Xaver: Sein Leben und Seine Zeit. Erster Band: Europa, 1506-1541*, by Georg Schurhammer, S.J. © by Verlag Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1955.

BX
4700
.F3
S273
v. 1

Imprimi potest:

Romae, 29 Decembris, 1972

ANDRÉ SNOECK, S. J.
Delegatus Generalis

Imprimatur:

E Vicariatu Urbis, 18 Mai. 1973

✠ ALOYSIUS ROVIGATTI
Archiep. Aquaviven.
Vices gerens

© 1973 by the Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome, Italy.

The publication of this volume was made possible by a generous grant from the Gulbenkian Foundation, Inc.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 72-88247

Printed at the Gregorian University Press, Rome, Italy

125 213 1500 1517

CONTENTS

FOREWORD V

IN MEMORIAM GEORG OTTO SCHURHAMMER, S.J. IX

BOOK I

Youth (1506—1525)

CHAPTER I: DR. JUAN DE JASSU

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. A <i>Pro Forma</i> Sale (1477) 3 | 3. The Advancement of the Doctor 6 |
| 2. His Ancestors 5 | 4. For Throne and Hearth 7 |

CHAPTER II: CHILDHOOD (1506—1515)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Birth (1506) 12 | 6. Education 31 |
| 2. Past Times 12 | 7. The Seasons of the Year 37 |
| 3. The Castle of Xavier 14 | 8. The Fireplace 38 |
| 4. The Family of the Castle 19 | 9. The Conquest of Navarre (1512) 39 |
| 5. The Environment 28 | |

CHAPTER III: THE WAR OF HIS BROTHERS (1515—1525)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. The Invasion of the Marshal (1516) 47 | 7. Isabel de Echaz (1520—1521) 57 |
| 2. The Destruction of the Castle (1516) 48 | 8. Pamplona and Noaín (1521) 58 |
| 3. New Blows (1516—1519) 49 | 9. Maya and Fuenterrabía (1521—1522) 60 |
| 4. At Odds with the Treasury (1517—1520) 50 | 10. His Mother's Worries (1521—1524) 63 |
| 5. The Peasants of Idocin (1520) 51 | 11. The Return of the Brothers (1524) 66 |
| 6. The Fight for the Escampadero (1520—1521) 54 | 12. Reconstruction (1524—1525) 68 |
| | 13. The Circle of Relatives (1525) 70 |
| | 14. Francis' Future (1525) 73 |

BOOK II

At the University of Paris (1525—1536)

CHAPTER I: STUDENT LIFE (1525—1526)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. At the Goal 77 | 5. <i>Cité and Ville</i> 92 |
| 2. The University 79 | 6. College Life 95 |
| 3. The Collège de Sainte-Barbe 81 | 7. The Wicked Master (1525—1526) 101 |
| 4. The Latin Quarter 85 | |

CHAPTER II: UNDER THE SPELL OF ARISTOTLE (1526—1530)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Master Peña (1526) 108 | 6. Luther and Melancthon (1521—1527) 119 |
| 2. Peter Favre (1526) 110 | 7. Erasmus and Beda (1521—1529) 125 |
| 3. <i>Logica Pura</i> (1526—1528) 113 | 8. A New Roommate (1529) 136 |
| 4. The Portuguese Foundation (1526) 115 | 9. <i>Magister Artium</i> (March, 1530) 143 |
| 5. King and Emperor (1526—1529) 117 | |

CHAPTER III: WHAT DOES IT PROFIT A MAN? (1530—1533)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Regent in the Collège de Beauvais (1530) 148 | 4. Dangerous Company (1530—1532) 159 |
| 2. The Suit for the Title of Nobility (February, 1531) 153 | 5. Iñigo's Warning (1530-1533) 168 |
| 3. The Siege of the Fortress (1530—1533) 158 | 6. Magdalena's Death (1533) 172 |
| | 7. Two Books (1530—1533) 175 |
| | 8. Politics and Religion (1532—1533) 181 |
| | 9. Iñigo's Most Difficult Victory (1533) 185 |

CHAPTER IV: IÑIGO'S DISCIPLES (1533—1535)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. In the New Life (1533) 199 | 6. The Return of the King (January—April, 1534) 200 |
| 2. The Plague in Paris (September, 1533) 191 | 7. The Group of Disciples (1534) 202 |
| 3. The Rising Tide (October, 1533) 191 | 8. The True Reform (July, 1534) 208 |
| 4. Cop's Speech as Rector (November 1, 1533) 194 | 9. Montmartre (The Feast of the Assumption, 1534) 212 |
| 5. The Rector's Flight (November, 1533) 197 | 10. The Exercises (September, 1534) 216 |

CHAPTER V: THE TWO CAMPS (1534—1535)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. The Placards (October, 1534) 225 | 3. Iñigo's Departure (Spring, 1535) 235 |
| 2. The Great Procession (January 21, 1535) 228 | 4. The Letter to His Brother (March 25, 1535) 245 |

CHAPTER VI: THE QUEEN OF THE SCIENCES (1535—1536)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. The Bond of Affection (1535—1536) 247 | 5. The Invitation to Melanchthon (1535—1536) 263 |
| 2. The Student of Theology (1535—1536) 247 | 6. The War with the Emperor (1536) 264 |
| 3. The Work of the Companions (1535—1536) 253 | 7. The Departure from Paris (November, 1536) 269 |
| 4. Three New Disciples (1535—1536) 259 | |

BOOK III

The Holy Land (1536—1538)

CHAPTER I: THE GERMAN WINTER (1536—1537)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Through a War-Torn Land (November, 1536) 277 | 3. From the Lake of Constance to Venice (December, 1536—January, 1537) 291 |
| 2. Among the Valiant Swiss (December, 1536) 284 | |

CHAPTER II: IN THE CITY OF THE LAGOONS (January—March, 1537)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. The Mistress of the Sea 297 | 3. In the Service of the Sick 305 |
| 2. Iñigo and his Friends 299 | |

CHAPTER III: THE PILGRIMAGE TO ROME (March—May, 1537)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Through the Wilderness of the Po Delta 311 | 5. From Holy Thursday to Easter 331 |
| 2. From Ravenna to Rome 319 | 6. The Audience in the Castel Sant'Angelo (April 3, 1537) 334 |
| 3. In the Spanish Hospice 324 | 7. The Papal Favors 337 |
| 4. The Visit to the Seven Churches 326 | 8. The Return to Venice (May, 1537) 338 |

CHAPTER IV: A PRIEST FOREVER (May—October, 1537)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. The Corpus Christi Procession in Venice (Mai 31, 1537) 341 | 7. Landívar's Repentance (September, 1537) 363 |
| 2. Holy Orders (June, 1537) 342 | 8. The Day of the First Mass 365 |
| 3. The Approach of the Turks (July, 1537) 344 | 9. In the Hospital of the Incurables (October, 1537) 367 |
| 4. Hermit in Monselice (End of July—End of September, 1537) 349 | 10. The Consultation of the Companions (October, 1537) 368 |
| 5. The Break with the Turks (September 13, 1537) 356 | 11. The Departure from Vicenza (October, 1537) 371 |
| 6. San Pietro in Vivarolo (End of September, 1537) 358 | |

CHAPTER V: BOLOGNA "LA GRASSA" (OCTOBER, 1537—April, 1538)

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. At the Tomb of St. Dominic (October, 1537) 374 | 3. The Saintly New Priest 385 |
| 2. Apostolic Labors (1537—1538) 379 | 4. The First Death (March, 1538) 387 |

CHAPTER VI: ON THE VIA CASSIA (April, 1538)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. The Ascent into the Mountain Chain 391 | 3. Over the Passes of the Apennines 397 |
| 2. Experiences in Ferrara 393 | 4. From Florence to Siena 400 |
| | 5. From Siena to Rome 402 |

CHAPTER VII: THE FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL (April—November, 1538)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. The Vineyard of Quirino Garzonio (April, 1538) 407 | 5. Slandered as Heretics (May, 1538) 421 |
| 2. Beginnings in Rome (November, 1537—April, 1538) 410 | 6. Near Ponte Sisto (June, 1538) 427 |
| 3. Experiences in Padua (March—April, 1538) 418 | 7. The Return of the Pope (July—September, 1538) 430 |
| 4. The Unmasking of Fra Agostino (May, 1538) 419 | 8. The Haunted House (October, 1538) 433 |
| | 9. The Great Decision (November, 1538) 435 |

BOOK IV

The Society of the Name of Jesus (1538—1540)

CHAPTER I: A SEVERE WINTER (DECEMBER, 1538—February, 1539)

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Famine in Rome 445 | 3. New Helpers 447 |
| 2. Other Works 446 | |

CHAPTER II: THE PLAN OF THE INSTITUTE (March—June, 1539)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. The Mission to Siena (March, 1539) 453 | 7. The Last Sessions (May 24—June 24, 1539) 460 |
| 2. The Deliberations (March, 1539) 454 | 8. The End of the Deliberations (June 24, 1539) 461 |
| 3. The First Night (March, 1539) 455 | 9. The Five Chapters (End of June, 1539) 462 |
| 4. The Vow of Obedience (April 15, 1539) 455 | |
| 5. The Eleven Points (May 3, 1539) 458 | |
| 6. The Opposition of Bobadilla (May 23, 1539) 460 | |

CHAPTER III: THE BATTLE OVER THE CONFIRMATION (1539—1540)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. The Oral Confirmation (September 3, 1539) 466 | 3. The Three Thousand Masses (December, 1539—March, 1540) 470 |
| 2. Ghinucci versus Contarini (September—December, 1539) 468 | |

CHAPTER IV: IÑIGO THE LEADER (1540)

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Appearance 475 | 5. Prayer 482 |
| 2. Dress 477 | 6. Following of Christ 486 |
| 3. Food and Work 479 | 7. Disciples 489 |
| 4. Speech 481 | |

CHAPTER V: THE SMALL SOCIETY (1539—1540)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. The Companions 494 | 3. Madonna Faustina de' Jancolini 501 |
| 2. Friends and Benefactors 498 | 4. New Recruits 505 |

CHAPTER VI: THE SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY (1539—1540)

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. The First Secretary 510 | 5. Bobadilla's Secret Mission 523 |
| 2. Letters from Siena 510 | 6. News from Parma 525 |
| 3. Francisco de Strada 513 | 7. Doménech's Vocation 530 |
| 4. The Spanish Journey of Araoz to Spain
520 | |

CHAPTER VII: THE CALL TO COMBAT (March, 1540)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Dom Pedro Mascarenhas 536 | 3. The Sending of Xavier (March 14, 1540)
547 |
| 2. The Cares of the Ambassador (1539—
1540) 540 | |

BOOK V

At the Court of the King of Portugal (1540—1541)

CHAPTER I: FROM ROME TO LISBON (March 15—End of June, 1540)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. From Rome to Bologna (March, 1540)
559 | 5. Past Lyons to Loyola (April—June, 1540)
574 |
| 2. Easter in Bologna (March 27—April 1,
1540) 561 | 6. Through the Plateau of Castile (June,
1540) 582 |
| 3. Modena and Parma (April 1—4, 1540)
565 | 7. Through Beira and Estremadura (June,
1540) 588 |
| 4. Two Adventures (April, 1540) 567 | |

CHAPTER II: AT THE COURT IN LISBON (June—September, 1540)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. The Capital on the Tagus (June, 1540)
593 | 4. Apostolate in the Court (June—Septem-
ber, 1540) 604 |
| 2. A Happy Reunion (End of June, 1540)
599 | 5. Between Hope and Fear (July—Septem-
ber, 1540) 616 |
| 3. The Audience (End of June, 1540) 601 | 6. Letters to Rome (July—September,
1540) 619 |

CHAPTER III: THE HOLY INQUISITION (July—September, 1540)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Old and New Christians 622 | 5. Prisoners of the Inquisition (July—August, 1540) 633 |
| 2. The Massacre at Lisbon (1506) 624 | 6. Nearing the End (September, 1540) 644 |
| 3. The Struggle over the Inquisition (1521—1540) 625 | 7. The Auto-da-fé (September 26, 1540) 649 |
| 4. The Work of the Inquisition 630 | |

CHAPTER IV: PALMA AND ALMEIRIM (October, 1540—February, 1541)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Rodrigues' Letter (October 8, 1540) 655 | 4. Almeirim (November, 1540 — February, 1541) 664 |
| 2. A Visit to Palma (October, 1540) 657 | 5. Doctor Navarro (June, 1540 — April, 1541) 673 |
| 3. The Death of the Infante Dom Duarte (October 20, 1540) 660 | |

CHAPTER V: PRESTE JOAM (October, 1540)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. The Diplomatic Mission of Dom Rodrigo de Lima (1520) 679 | 4. The Letters of King David (1521—1524) 691 |
| 2. With Preste Joam (1520—1521) 685 | 5. Islam's Reply (1527—1540) 693 |
| 3. The Land and People of the Preste (1520—1526) 688 | |

CHAPTER VI: THE INDIA FLEET (January—March, 1541)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. The Battle over the Spice Trade (October, 1540—January, 1541) 697 | 3. The Count of Castanheira (January—March, 1541) 704 |
| 2. The New Governor of India (January—March, 1541) 700 | 4. The Siege of Gué (November, 1540 — March, 1541) 708 |

CHAPTER VII: THE HOUR OF DEPARTURE (March—April, 1541)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. The Departing Audience (March, 1541) 713 | 3. The Fall of Gué (March 12, 1541) 722 |
| 2. Letters to Rome (March 18, 1541) 716 | 4. The Last Farewell (April 7, 1541) 724 |

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Family Trees 730	Appendix IV: Evening Prayer in Paris 739
Appendix II: Special Terms Used in Navarre 733	Appendix V: Sports in Paris 739
Appendix III: Coins and Measures 735	Appendix VI: From Bourbon's "Nugae" 740

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEX

Abbreviations 741	Bibliography 744
List of Archives and Collections of Manuscripts 742	Index 759

ILLUSTRATIONS

FRONTISPIECE

Oil painting of the seventeenth century in the Collegio Internazionale del Gesù in Rome. It was probably copied from one of two lost portraits of the saint sent by Alessandro Valignano, the Jesuit provincial of India, to Rome in 1584. See Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "Das wahre Bild des hl. Franz Xaver?" *Gesammelte Studien* IV (Rome, 1965) 213-215.

Signature of Francis Xavier on a letter sent from Cochin, October 22, 1548, to John III, king of Portugal.

MAPS AND PLAN

The Castle of Xavier 15	Paris 93
Ground Plan: Castle of Xavier 17	Routes Taken by Francis Xavier 280
Navarre in the Sixteenth Century 41	Rome 413
Sainte-Barbe and Its Environs 83	Lisbon 596

FOREWORD

The bibliography on Francis Xavier today comprises more than three thousand separate items, but only a few of these are of any value for a critical life of the saint. In "Xavieriusforschung im 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 12 (1922) 130-165, we have given a survey of the earlier studies on St. Francis. In 1580 Manuel Teixeira, who had known Xavier in Goa, sent a short life of the saint from there to Europe. It was based upon personal experiences, accounts of contemporaries, letters of the saint, and testimonials taken during the years 1556 and 1557. This biography formed one of the main sources for the *Vita* which Tursellinus published in Rome in 1594. It appeared again in 1596 in a radically revised edition, which has been followed by all of Xavier's later biographers. This second edition was augmented with data from the manuscript of the *Peregrinaçam* of Fernão Mendes Pinto, an adventure story which even up into the twentieth century was thought by many to be a reliable autobiography (see our essay "Fernão Mendes Pinto und seine 'Peregrinaçam,'" in *Asia Major* 3 [1926], 72-103, 196-267). Even Lucena's otherwise valuable and extensive life (Lisbon, 1600) made use of this manuscript of Mendes Pinto. In his *Asia* (1653) Bartoli drew upon the testimony of witnesses for the saint's canonization (1610-1616), but this evidence is frequently quite legendary in character; and Bartoli is neither critical in the use which he makes of it nor free from rhetorical exaggerations. The biographies of the three following centuries, the constantly republished and translated lives by García (1673), Massei (1681), and Bouhours (1683), for example, depend upon Tursellinus, Lucena, and Bartoli and the poor Latin translations of Xavier's letters made by Tursellinus and Possinus. But they contain nothing new.

The classic biography of St. Ignatius Loyola, whose life was inseparably connected with that of Xavier, especially in the founding years of the Society, is that of Ribadeneyra, which appeared in Latin in 1572. This was published in a Spanish version with some additions in 1583, and it was further expanded in certain areas by Maffei (1585) and Bartoli (1650). In 1731 the Bollandists assembled all the then available material on the founder of their order in the *Acta Sanctorum* (July, Vol. VII). This brought the investigations to a temporary close.

The newly awakened interest in historical studies at the end of the last century made the publication of the sources for Xavier's life imperative. With tireless energy Cros examined public and private archives in France, Spain, and Portugal. In 1894 he published new and important material on Xavier in the first volume of his *Documents Nouveaux*. Financial difficulties prevented the printing of his second volume, but the main contents of both appeared in a more popular form in his *Vie* (1900, 2 vols.). Unfortunately, he gives his texts only in a French translation. In some instances, without informing the reader, he inserts his own rather dubious hypotheses. And he generally does this without sufficient reference to his sources. Brou (1912) used Cros's printed sources for

his scholarly study of Xavier, and Dudon (1934) employed his unpublished sources for his life of St. Ignatius.

More important for Xavier's life is the collection of source materials on the history of the Society of Jesus commissioned by the superiors of the order in 1894. Known as the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, this already comprises seventy-five large volumes on the generalates of Ignatius, Laynez, and Borgia, extending from 1541 to 1572 (see the report on the first fifty years of the collection in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 13 [1944], 1-61). In addition to the correspondence of the founder of the order and of the first ten companions and other documents, these volumes include the accounts of Rodrigues and Bobadilla, which are of the utmost importance for the early history of the Society of Jesus and for the life of Xavier. They also contain, in the new and critically edited *Fontes Narrativi* (1943-1951), accounts of Ignatius, Laynez, Favre, Nadal, and Polanco and the data collected by da Camara and Ribadeneyra. In addition to this we have the early histories of individual assistancies by Astráin (1902), Fouqueray (1910), Tacchi Venturi (1910-1924), and Rodrigues (1931), made possible by the publication of the sources in the *Monumenta*.

In 1910 we conceived the plan of writing a life of Francis Xavier from the original sources. In 1918, towards the end of the First World War, we were able to begin our preliminary work. It was no easy task. In order to have a firm foundation on which to build, we had to trace the data in the earlier authors such as Teixeira, Valignano, Tursellinus, Lucena, Polanco, Bartoli, and Sousa back as far as possible to their ultimate sources, that is, to the data furnished by Xavier's contemporaries. We then had to determine the accuracy of these accounts and of the evidence given at the time of the saint's canonization. To do this we had to work through all the material pertaining to Asia in the General Archives of the Society of Jesus up until about the year 1620, since many erroneous details in the early chroniclers and especially in the later witnesses for the process of canonization arose from the confusing of Xavier with other missionaries. We have already made partial use of this material in our popular life of the saint published by Herder in Freiburg im Breisgau (1925).

A year's study in Portugal in 1923-1924, which was followed by other visits, gave us an insight into the rich, and for the most part unpublished, treasures of the archives and libraries of that country, especially those of the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon. Its two great collections, the *Corpo Chronologico* and the *Gavetas*, alone contain about 88,000 original letters of the sixteenth century, mostly from India. Our research in Portugal made it possible for us to publish the original texts of the letters pertaining to Ceylon at the time of the saint (*Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bâhu und Franz Xavers 1539-1552* [Leipzig, 1928]). This work also contains a critical account of the pertinent literature. We also published the registers of more than 6,000 largely unedited documents sent to, or received from, India during this same time in our *Zeitgenössischen Quellen* (1932); a German translation of the manuscript *History of Japan* by Luis Frois (*Geschichte Japans*, 1926); and a number of monographs which are chiefly concerned with the work of Saint Francis in India and Japan. These will be mentioned in the foreword to our second volume.

The political problems in Portugal, the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939, and the Second World War, 1939-1945, fortunately did not bring our labors to a halt. We were able to examine and study important books and manuscripts that have since disappeared or been destroyed. During World War II, with the help of

Father Joseph Wicki, we were able to publish a critical edition of Xavier's letters (*Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii*, 2 vols., 1944-1945). Between 1948 and 1954 Fr. Wicki added to these the letters of the saint's co-workers in his *Documenta Indica*. These publications and others like them have furnished us with the necessary foundation, that is, the primary sources, for the writing of a scientific life of St. Francis Xavier. We are now able to publish the first volume, *Europe*. This will be followed by another, *Asia*, which will contain an account of the work of the apostle in India, in the Moluccas, and in Japan up until the time of his death. These volumes will be followed by others containing additional materials: (1) Letters, (2) Miracles, (3) Cult, (4) Bibliography, (5-6) Iconography. To a large extent the basic work on these volumes has been completed. Each of these will be independent of the others and a complete entity in itself.

The present volume covers the first thirty-five years of Xavier's life, who died in 1552 at the age of forty-six on the island of Sancian (Shang-chwan). It thus gives an account of his youth, his years of study in Paris, and his stay in Italy and Lisbon.

The period of Xavier's youth was a stormy one, embracing as it did the final years of independence for Navarre, the conquest of the land by Ferdinand the Catholic, and the last wars of independence, in which his family took a leading part. This period has in recent decades been frequently described, extensively discussed, and variously interpreted according to the political outlook of individual authors. The main documents for the saint's youth were to be found in the family archives of the lord of the castle of Xavier, but these were destroyed in 1635. Nevertheless, thanks to his keen insight, Father Cros was able to gather and publish many important source materials pertaining to Xavier's family and the history of his times. He found these in various archives, among which were the Archives of the Kingdom of Navarre, the Notarial Archives in Pamplona and Tafalla, the General Archives in Simancas, and the Archives of the Duke of Granada de Ega in Madrid and of the Count of Peñaflorida in San Sebastián. Through the kindness of the former provincial of the Toulouse Province of the Society of Jesus, Father Demaux-Lagrange, S.J., we were able to use the valuable material contained in the second, unpublished volume of Father Cros's *Documents Nouveaux*. We were further able to supplement this with material from the General Archives in Simancas, the National Archives in Madrid, the Royal Archives and the Cathedral Archives in Pamplona, the Municipal Archives of Sangüesa, and especially from the highly important Archives of the Duke of Granada de Ega, whose registers were partially published by Father Escalada in his *Documentos Historicos* (1931), and to which we obtained access through the generous courtesy of the duke. We have discussed a number of important questions of this period in "Jugendprobleme des hl. Franz Xaver," *Studia Missionalia* 2 (Rome, 1946), 73-128. Since we are writing the history of Francis Xavier and not that of his brothers, or of his family, or of Navarre, in using these extensive documents we have been compelled as a rule to limit ourselves to those which pertain directly to the saint's youth.

The Parisian period embraced eleven years of Xavier's life. It furnished him with his formal education and made him a disciple of Iñigo and a saint. These eleven years (1525-1536) were decisive for Xavier, for the Society of Jesus, for the University of Paris, and for the destinies of France, Europe, and the Church. This was the age of Calvin, Luther, and Melancthon, of Erasmus and the Humanists, of the passage from the late Middle Ages to the Renaissance, and of

the apostasy of England, West Switzerland, and Württemberg from the old faith. This period has provoked a flood of books and articles in recent decades. Because of its importance for Xavier's later life and for the Society of Jesus, we shall have to treat it more extensively than has been done by earlier biographers of the saint.

Xavier was ordained in Italy; here he began his apostolic work; here for the first time he practiced to perfection that ideal of poverty which he had vowed at Montmartre; here at Rome in the center of Christendom, as a cofounder of the Society of Jesus, he took part in the debates over the Constitutions and helped Ignatius govern the order as the first secretary of the Society. His stay at the Portuguese court in Lisbon and Almeirim brought him into close contact with John III, the patron of the East India missions, and with the leading personages of the capital of Portugal. All this prepared him for his apostolate beyond the sea.

During the course of our investigations, we followed Xavier in his journeys through Europe, often along roads which are now abandoned. A four-year stay in India (1908-1912) and a second visit (1952-1953), made possible through the generosity of the Portuguese government, took us to the places where Xavier once worked, from Bassein to Cape Comorin, and enabled us to gain a knowledge of the land and of its people. We wish to extend our sincere thanks to all those who helped us in our travels and assisted us in the libraries and archives of Europe. It were to name them all individually, the list would become too long; and many of them have in the meantime passed to their eternal reward. May this life of the Great Apostle of India and Japan make him better known to many and inspire them with his own high ideals.

Rome, the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus
The Feast of St. Peter Canisius
April 27, 1955

GEORG SCHURHAMMER, S.J.

IN MEMORIAM

GEORG OTTO SCHURHAMMER, S. J.

(1882—1971)

At three o'clock in the afternoon of All Souls' Day, November 2, 1971, Father Georg Otto Schurhammer, S.J., died in the infirmary of the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome at the advanced age of eighty-nine years, nearly sixty of which he had spent in collecting materials for, and writing, his monumental biography of St. Francis Xavier, one of the greatest Christian missionaries of all times. Though Father Schurhammer has provided a summary account of his labors on this biography in his introduction to this present volume, it will not be out of place to give some further details with respect to his life, his writings, his concept of history, and the special character of his *Francis Xavier*.¹

LIFE

Georg Otto Schurhammer was born on September 25, 1882, in Unterglöttental in the Black Forest in southwestern Germany, not far from the old city of Freiburg im Breisgau. He received his secondary education in the classical gymnasia of Durlach and Karlsruhe, graduating in the spring of 1900. In the fall of this same year, after completing a pilgrimage on foot to Rome, he enrolled in the University of Freiburg as a student of theology. There he became acquainted with Augustin, later Cardinal, Bea, who remained a lifelong friend.

For a number of years Schurhammer felt that he was being called to the life of a religious on the foreign missions, but his parents were opposed to this ideal. After three years of theology, however, he was able to obtain their consent to his entrance into the Society of Jesus, which had been banned from Germany since 1872 by the laws of the *Kulturkampf*. On September 30, 1903, he entered the novitiate of the German provinces of the Society at Tisis in Voralberg, near Feldkirch, Austria. After two years of novitiate, he pronounced his first vows as a Jesuit and then continued his studies for another year in the juniorate at Tisis, perfecting his knowledge of Greek, Latin, and German literature. In 1906 he was sent to the Jesuit scholasticate in Valkenburg, Holland, where he studied

¹ On the life and writings of Father Schurhammer see the following: "Schurhammer (Padre Jorge Otto)," *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira* 27 (no date, after 1952) 893-895; Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., "Un Uomo di Parola," *Osservatore Romano*, Dec. 2, 1971, p. 6; "Georg Otto Schurhammer, S.J.," *Catholic Historical Review* 58 (1972) 146-148; M. Colpo, S.J., "Georg Otto Schurhammer," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu* 40 (1971) 580-582; Josef Wicki, S.J., "Jorge Schurhammer, S.J., su Vida y su Obra," a conference given in Pamplona in the spring of 1972 to be published in *Principe de Viana*.

philosophy for two years. He was then assigned to St. Mary's College, Bombay, India, where he remained for the next four years.

At St. Mary's College, Schurhammer taught English, history, geography, and mathematics to boys of varied races—English, Indian, Persian, and Armenian—and of different religions—Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, and Mohammedan. This contact with individuals of such different backgrounds and cultures enlarged his vision and was to be of great assistance to him in later life.

While still in Valkenburg, Schurhammer began to prepare himself for an intellectual apostolate in India, and he continued his studies to this end as a regent at St. Mary's. He read various works on Indian literature, philosophy, and religion, the Indian classics such as the Vedas, the Laws of Manu and Vishnu, and the writings of Shankara, the ninth-century Indian philosopher. During these same years he also studied Marathi, a derivative from Sanskrit. In India he was also able to visit a number of historical sites and regions such as Goa, Thana, Bassein, and the cave temples of Kanheri and Elephanta.

The long years of intensive study to which Schurhammer had committed himself were, however, to exact their toll. By 1910 he was in such a state of nervous tension that the doctors he consulted thought it would be best for him to return to Europe, and there was even serious concern as to whether or not he would be able to complete his studies for the priesthood. Naturally distressed by his condition, he made a pilgrimage to Goa, where the well-preserved body of St. Francis Xavier had been placed on display to commemorate the fourth centenary of the capture of the city by Affonso de Albuquerque. There, kneeling before the tomb of the Great Apostle of the Indies, he made a vow that if he regained his health he would write the life of the saint.

His prayer was heard. He was able to continue his teaching at St. Mary's and to return to Europe to complete his theology in 1912. On August 2, 1914, during the outbreak of the First World War, he was ordained to the priesthood at Valkenburg. After completing another year of theology, he went to the Jesuit tertianship in Exaten in 1915 for a final year of spiritual formation. He then returned to Valkenburg to assemble material in the General Archives of the Society of Jesus for the life of St. Francis which he had vowed to write. Because of the war the archives had been sent to Holland for safekeeping and were only later returned to Rome. In 1917 Schurhammer was appointed to the editorial staff of the German Jesuit mission magazine, *Die katholischen Missionen*, then located at Valkenburg. Though he had hoped to be able to return to India after the war, this proved to be impossible since German missionaries were barred from entering the country. He therefore continued his work with *Die katholischen Missionen*, moving to Bonn in 1919, when the editorial office was transferred to Germany.

In 1923-1924 Schurhammer was able to spend a year of research in public and private libraries in Portugal gathering materials on the colonial history of India during the lifetime of St. Francis Xavier. He was also able to visit at this time the castle of Xavier and other important sites in Navarre. In 1925 he was invited by the Jesuit general, Wladimir Ledóchowski, to take part in a meeting in Rome of mission experts from all over the world. The paper which he read on this occasion was to have far-reaching effects. From his own experiences on, and study of, the missions, he had come to the conclusion that the most important acquisition of those destined for them was a thorough knowledge of the native languages. His conviction in this regard led to the establishment of

special schools for Jesuits in their early years of training in various countries. There, at the most favorable time for such studies, they learned the languages and cultures of the peoples among whom they would later work.

In 1927 Schurhammer was able to return to Portugal for six more months of research. In 1932 he was called to Rome to help with the founding of the Jesuit Historical Institute and to teach in the newly erected Faculty of Missiology at the Pontifical Gregorian University. After a year, however, he asked to be relieved of his professorial duties so that he could devote his entire time to his projected life of St. Francis. His request was readily granted since he had not proved to be a particularly effective teacher and his courses had been so specialized that he had not attracted a great number of students.

Through the next two decades Schurhammer continued with his writing and research, visiting archives and libraries throughout Europe, and eagerly studying at first hand the places where Xavier had lived or through which he had traveled; but it was not until 1952 that he was able to return to India. In that year the Portuguese government invited Father Jean Baptiste Janssens, general of the Society of Jesus, to take part in the celebrations at Goa to commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of the death of St. Francis. Since Father Janssens was unable to make the trip, he delegated Father Schurhammer to be his representative. In 1956-1957 he was again to travel to the East for a more protracted stay. At this time he was able to visit, frequently on foot, nearly all the sites where Xavier had labored in India, Ceylon, Malaya, and Japan. Because of the civil war in Indonesia he was unable to visit the Moluccas.

On September 25, 1957, on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, Father Schurhammer received from the president of Germany through the German ambassador to the Holy See the Great Cross of Merit. In 1963 he was awarded a doctorate, *honoris causa*, from the Theological Faculty of the University of Freiburg. The following year he was named a Grand Officer of Infante Dom Henrique by the Portuguese government. Later a new consolidated school in Glottertal, Germany, was named after him—*Schurhammer Schule*.

In the spring of 1971 Father Schurhammer's strength began to fail, but he was able to continue writing the final chapters of the fourth, and last, volume of his life of Francis Xavier. Two or three weeks before his death he had finally to relinquish his labors. The last words which he was able to write were those of the saint as he lay dying on the island of Sancian off the coast of China: *In te, Domine, speravi, non confundar in aeternum*. Though the last chapter of this great autobiography had to be completed by Father Joseph Wicki, who had collaborated with him in editing the letters and other writings of St. Francis, Father Schurhammer might well have inscribed his work with the dedication found on so many votive offerings of ancient Rome: *V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*—"He has duly carried out his vow."

HISTORICAL WRITINGS

Father Schurhammer had an almost lifelong interest in historical problems. In 1900, before entering the University of Freiburg, he began collecting materials for two different narratives: one an account of the Glottertal, his native valley, and the other of his family. He continued working on these two projects during the three years that he was at the university; and before leaving for the Jesuit

novitiate at Tisis, he presented his history of the Schurhammer family, with numerous illustrations from his own hand, to his parents. He wished to prove to them that his entrance into the religious life, though it meant a separation from home and country, did not imply a loss of filial affection. Portions of both of these early works were later published in German reviews.²

Schurhammer's first article on Francis Xavier was an account of the latter's passage through Switzerland on his way to Venice. This appeared in 1916 in *Schweizerische Rundschau*. His first article on Japan, an account of one of Xavier's princely benefactors, Otomo Yoschischige, the "king" of Bungo, was printed two years later in *Die katholischen Missionen*. In 1920 he published a short life of St. Francis, *Der heilige Franziskus Xaverius, der Apostel des Ostens: Blicke in seine Seele*. Within the next two years this was translated into Italian, Spanish, and Dutch. In 1922 he published an illustrated life of the saint with drawings by R. E. Kepler, *Franziskus Xaverius: Ein Leben in Bildern*, which was eventually translated into twenty-five different languages. These two lives were followed by a third, longer life in 1925, which was soon translated into Dutch, Polish, English, Italian, Spanish, Lithuanian, Portuguese, Chinese, and Javanese.

Among the numerous articles which Schurhammer published in 1922 was an important study in *Anthropos* on the topography of Kyoto in the sixteenth century, "Das Stadtbild Kyotos zur Zeit des hl. Franz Xaver (1551)." The following year he saw through the press an imposing volume with numerous plates and a text in both English and German, *Shin-Tô, the Way of the Gods in Japan according to the Printed and Unprinted Reports of the Japanese Jesuit Missionaries in the 16th and 17th Centuries*. The work was at once recognized as an important contribution to the history of religions and of the Catholic missions in Japan.³ In 1926, with the financial assistance of the German ambassador to Portugal, he produced an annotated German translation of an early history of the Japanese missions, *Die Geschichte Japans (1549-1578)*, by Luis Frois, S.J.⁴ Two years later, with the help of the same generous benefactor, he published an important source book for the history of Ceylon, *Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuwaneka Bâhu und Franz Xavers, 1539-1552: Quellen zur Geschichte der Portugiesen sowie der Franziskaner- und Jesuitenmission auf Ceylon*. This comprised a collection of 142 documents edited in their original languages, 109 of which had never before been published. Those that had been previously printed were subjected to needed emendations.⁵ These documents threw much new light upon a critical period of Ceylonese history, when Moslem rule gave

² See Hugo Rahner, S.J.—Ladislaus Polgár, S.J., "Bibliographie des P. Georg Schurhammer, S.J.," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 26 (1957) 422-452; Ladislaus Polgár, S.J., "Bibliographie des P. Georg Schurhammer, S.J.: 1907-1964," in Georg Otto Schurhammer, *Gesammelte Studien* 2 (Rome, 1963) XIV-LII; Colpo, "Schurhammer," 581-582; Streit-Dindinger, *Bibliotheca Missionum* 28 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1971), see index; Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "Sixty-three Years of Historical Research," offprint from the "Memórias" (*Classe de Letras — Tomo VIII*), *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* (Lisboa, 1965) 3-24.

³ P. Gil, *Razón y Fe* 72 (1925) 228: "una obra utilísimas para la Historia de las Religiones y para la Historia de las Misiones."

⁴ The first sixty-two chapters of this lengthy work were translated into Japanese in 1932. The first volume of another Japanese translation of the complete work (still in progress) appeared in 1963.

⁵ See Pierre Delattre, *Etudes* 197 (1928) 624-625.

way to that of Portugal, when the last Buddhist emperor died, and when the king of Kandy embraced Christianity and was baptized.⁶

In this same year, 1928, Schurhammer published another important, but much shorter, work that took up the problem of communication on the Japanese missions, *Das kirchliche Sprachproblem in der japanischen Jesuitenmission des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: Ein Stück Ritenfrage in Japan*. Four years later he edited his best known collection of sources, *Die zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarländer (Ostafrika, Abessinien, Persien, Vorder- und Hinterindien, Malaiischer Archipel, Philippinen, China und Japan) zur Zeit des hl. Franz Xaver (1538-1552)*. In this he gave the registers, or summaries, of 6,080 documents from the time that Xavier was in the East which he had read in the then neglected archives of Portugal, particularly those in the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon.⁷

After moving to Rome in 1932, Schurhammer became a regular contributor to the review published by the Jesuit Historical Institute, the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*. Among his important contributions to this periodical was one on the conversion of the Paravas, "Die Bekehrung der Paraver (1535-1537)," in 1935; a critical edition of the life and letters of the first Jesuit martyr, "Leben und Briefe Antonio Crimali's, des Erstlingsmartyrers der Gesellschaft Jesu, von P. Valmerana," in 1936; and an account of the origin of the Jesuit archives in Rome, "Die Anfänge des römischen Archivs der Gesellschaft Jesu," in 1943.

After six years of intensive but intermittent labors, he was able to publish with Father Joseph Wicki, S.J., in 1944 and 1945, a two-volume critical edition of the letters and other writings of St. Francis, *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta*. During the following years he continued to write important and often lengthy articles on various aspects of the missions and of the life of St. Francis and on the sites he visited and the people with whom he worked. In 1946 he published "Jugendprobleme des hl. Franz Xaver" in *Studia Missionalia*, and in 1952 "Die Taufen des hl. Franz Xaver" in the same journal. The following year there appeared his "Ursprung des Chinaplans des hl. Franz Xaver" in the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* and the first volume of his long awaited *Franz Xaver: Sein Leben und seine Zeit*, a Spanish version of which was printed in 1969.⁸ The second volume of *Franz Xaver* appeared in 1963, the third in 1971, and the fourth, and last, is to appear during 1973.⁹

Despite the enormous amount of work connected with the composition of his comprehensive biography of St. Francis, Schurhammer maintained his interests in other related topics as well. Among his last articles were "Mirân Sâhib, ein mohammedanisches Gegenstück zu Franz Xaver," in *Zeitschrift für Missionswissen-*

⁶ Paulus Peeters, *Analecta Bollandiana* 46 (1928) 456: "Le recueil du P. S. et de M. V. porte à chaque page la marque d'un savoir approfondi, consciencieux et servi par une impeccable sûreté d'exécution."

⁷ Reprinted with an expanded index and 466 new entries in Schurhammer, *Gesammelte Studien I* (Rome, 1962) XLVII-652. As C. R. Boxer in his review of the second edition, in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 32 (1963) 196, has observed, since the first appearance of this work it has been "the *vade mecum* of anyone who has a reading knowledge of German and who has seriously studied the history of *Asia Portuguesa*."

⁸ *Francisco Javier, su Vida y su Tiempo*, translated by Felix de Areitio Ariznaberreta, S.J., 2 volumes (Bilbao, 1969).

⁹ Published by Herder Verlag, Freiburg im Breisgau. The printing of the last three volumes has been made possible through the help of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

schaft und Religionswissenschaft in 1967, and "Orientalische Briefe aus der Zeit des hl. Franz Xaver (1500-1552)," in *Euntes Docete* in 1968.

This brief account of some of Father Schurhammer's more significant works can only indicate imperfectly the importance of his many years of intensive historical research. A truer picture of his achievements may be obtained from his *Gesammelte Studien*, a collection of his major articles and reviews reprinted with an enlarged edition of his *Zeitgenössische Quellen*, published by the Jesuit Historical Institute with the financial assistance of the Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos of Lisbon, Portugal, to commemorate his eightieth birthday. The authors of two review articles of his collection of four large volumes (in five) have expressed their esteem of their author in the following terms:

The Jesuit Georg Schurhammer may be considered in modern historiography as the model historian who has set himself to the task of delving into a single subject and, at the same time, viewing it from all possible angles. The subject matter for Schurhammer is Francis Xavier, the saintly apostle of the East.¹⁰

There is probably no living student of Church History who has worked so long, so consistently and so thoroughly in this field of scholarship as the Rev. Georg Schurhammer, S.J., of the *Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu*.¹¹

THE HISTORIAN

Both the quantity and quality of Schurhammer's historical writing clearly indicate that he was a scholar of great ability and high ideals. Among his natural talents were a keen, analytical mind, an eye for details, a lively curiosity, an extraordinary facility in the use of different languages, a systematic manner of working, the ability to compose, when necessary, at a high rate of speed, a touch of romanticism which kept him intensely interested in his work, and a precise goal, the writing of the life of St. Francis, that gave unity and direction to all of his endeavors.

In his introduction to the second volume of Schurhammer's *Gesammelte Studien*, Father Miguel Batllori, S.J., draws attention to his *inquieta e minuciosa curiosidade*. Even a cursory examination of this collection will indicate the truth of this. Among the essays there are articles ranging from Michelangelo's offer to build a church for the Jesuits in Rome to the first printing in Indic characters and the discovery of Japan by the Portuguese in 1543, but almost all are propaedeutic to his life of St. Francis. Though he was not a linguistic genius in the accepted sense of the word, Schurhammer could speak Latin, German, Italian, French, English, Spanish, and Portuguese. In his earlier years he had also studied Greek, Marathi, and Japanese. Though he had no great facility in the last, difficult language, for forty years he made his morning meditation from a Japanese New Testament. He ordinarily used a text printed in Roman characters, but on Sundays and feast days one in ideograms so that he would not forget the script. Whenever he was confronted with an important document in a language which he could not read, he would have it translated or summarized by one who could.

¹⁰ A. da Silva Rego, "The Collected Writings of Georg Schurhammer (Review Article)" *Catholic Historical Review* LIV (1968-9) 70.

¹¹ Robert E. McNally, S.J., "Xavier Specialist," *Woodstock Letters* 96 (1967) 394.

Since Schurhammer began collecting materials for his life of St. Francis before the introduction of microfilm and other easy means of copying, he took down his notes in a kind of shorthand that was popular in Germany at the close of the nineteenth century but which has long since gone out of use. Though, as he claimed, the system saved him five years of drudgery, the data which he transcribed was illegible to others. He cataloged and filed away the materials which he had gathered with the same relentless energy. They were consequently always readily accessible. He also collected a valuable library on Francis Xavier that greatly facilitated his work. He kept in touch with new thoughts and trends, even though he was not always in sympathy with them, through the numerous books which he reviewed, the generous assistance which he gave to students and mature scholars who frequently consulted him, and his membership in such learned societies as the Academia das Ciências of Lisbon, the Academia Portuguesa de História, the Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, the Instituto Vasco da Gama of Goa, and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens of Tokio.

Schurhammer was not only extremely methodical in collecting materials and filing them away, but he also wrote with the same orderliness and precision.¹² After he had assembled his data, he would make an outline in shorthand of the essay or chapter on which he was working. He would then write the article or section itself in the same abbreviated script, inserting the notes to be added to the text as he went along. He would revise what he had written until he was satisfied and then type out what was, with the exception of minor changes, the final copy. Whenever possible he would personally see his work through the press and compose the index. Since he worked almost entirely alone and without secretarial assistance, it was only through his orderly procedure that he was able to achieve so much. His neatness of mind is also reflected in his rather simple, straightforward style, which he had modeled as a young man upon that of Karl May (1842-1912), an immensely popular author of travelogs and adventure stories in the last century.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Like many other historians, Schurhammer never formulated a specific theory of history or historical method. His own convictions in this regard were very strong, but they can only be known from passing remarks which he made to his confreres, his many reviews, the introductions to his books, his replies to critics, and, above all, his actual practice. Almost all of his writings are based upon primary sources, and he was careful to present only those details that had been severely tried.¹³ In his concept of the role of historian he was essentially classical. He insisted upon the need of making "inquiries,"¹⁴ that the truth of events must be judged "from the facts themselves,"¹⁵ that a historian must have

¹² See Josef Franz Schütte, "Geschichtliche Methode eines bedeutenden Historikers und Orientalisten," *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 56 (1972) 186-195.

¹³ Cf. the review of *Franz Xavier* by Henri Bernard-Maitre in *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France* 42 (1956) 75: "... car son oeuvre originale, il l'a bien comprise, c'est de ne fournir que des matériaux sévèrement triés."

¹⁴ Herodotus 1.1.

¹⁵ Thucydides 1.21.2.

a knowledge of geography and, if possible, visit the sites which he describes,¹⁶ that "the first law of history is not to dare to say anything that is false, and secondly to have the courage to tell the whole truth without a trace of favoritism or pretence,"¹⁷ that the dividing line between history and panegyric "is not a narrow isthmus but a mighty wall,"¹⁸ and that history must relate what has actually happened if the lessons to be drawn from it are to be anything more than "airy constructs."¹⁹ Recent attempts to invert the order of historical priorities would have left him quite unconvinced.²⁰ As Collingwood has well observed, even in the formulation of a philosophy of history "it is important to remember that experience comes first, and reflection on that experience second."²¹

For Schurhammer, as it did for Langlois and Seignobos, history consisted largely in the proper use of documents.²² He was sceptical about arguments *ex silentio* and psychological interpretations. "The unknown," he contended, "can only be described by a poet or novelist."²³ He believed, on the other hand, that new evidence should as a rule lead to new conclusions, as may be seen from his review of two volumes of the *Geschichte der Päpste* by Ludwig von Pastor, a historian whom he resembles in many ways:

As in all of Pastor's works, extremely important, and for the most part, unpublished materials are here elaborated in a masterly fashion and presented in packaged form. From the rich abundance of the archives new data are everywhere brought to light, old positions are constantly reworked, new viewpoints afforded, and new approaches opened up.²⁴

Schurhammer was further convinced that a historian cannot be content with broad generalizations, no matter how accurate these may be. In order to bring the past up into the present, pertinent details must also be recorded. In his introduction to *Die Geschichte Japans*, he gives a description of Luis Frois, S.J., whom he considered to be "a born historian," which indicates his own practice in this regard:

Frois is a friend of facts and details. . . . As a born historian, he has a veritable passion for names, numbers, and facts, but he does not on this account suppress a vivid description when one is in place. He does not write, for example, that in 1560 there were between 5,000 and 6,000 baptisms in Goa but gives, instead, precise figures month after month and the day of the month on which they were conferred. . . . This abundance of names and details which Frois inserts into his account of the endless

¹⁶ Polybius 12.25e.

¹⁷ Cicero, *De oratore* 2.15.62.

¹⁸ Lucian, *How to Write History* 7.

¹⁹ St. Augustine, *Sermo* 2.6.7.

²⁰ See, for example, Henri-Irénée Marrou, *De la connaissance historique* (Paris, 1954) 60-61: "L'histoire est la réponse (élaborée évidemment au moyen des documents: nous allons y revenir) à une question que pose au passé mystérieux la curiosité, l'inquiétude, certains diront l'angoisse existentielle, de toute façon l'intelligence, l'esprit de l'historien." Marrou is right in insisting upon the difference between scientific and historical truth but as Jacques Maritain has noted, and some would be more emphatic on this point, "there is perhaps a little too much of Kantianism in Marrou's approach" (*On the Philosophy of History* [New York, 1957] 7).

²¹ R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (New York, 1956) 8.

²² Ch.-V. Langlois—Ch. Seignobos, *Introduction aux études historiques* (Paris, 1905²) 275: "L'histoire n'est que la mise en oeuvre de documents."

²³ G. Schurhammer, "Nuevos datos sobre Navarra, Javier y Loyola," *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Vascongada de los Amigos del País* 16 (1960) 300.

²⁴ *Die katholischen Missionen* 60 (1932) 180.

confusion that prevailed in Japan during the time of a Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, and which makes his letters so valuable for historical research, was too much for his European editors, who were primarily interested in their edifying contents. They therefore published most of his letters in a drastically reduced form. Only the *Cartas de Japão*, which were published in Coimbra in 1570 and in a Spanish version in Alcalá in 1575, and those especially which were published in the most complete collection of all, that of Evora of 1598, give as a rule a text that has been only moderately shortened.²⁵

The extraordinary command which Schurhammer had over the facts and details which he found in old documents is everywhere apparent in his writings, but especially in his final work to which all the others were eventually directed.

FRANCIS XAVIER: HIS LIFE, HIS TIMES

Schurhammer spent so many years in laying the groundwork for his life of St. Francis that there were many who doubted that he would ever begin, let alone complete, it. But in this, though he found the actual composition of the biography laborious, he proved the sceptics wrong. When the German original of this first volume appeared in 1955, it was immediately recognized,²⁶ even by those who found some fault with it, as "a stupendous work of erudition,"²⁷ "an inexhaustible mine of learning,"²⁸ and "a scholarly work of the first rank."²⁹ As one of its reviewers noted,

I know few great scientific works of our day that can be compared with it in its truly exhaustive documentation, all at first hand, in the microscopic precision of its details, its critical sense, its intellectual honesty. This enormous mass of documents and information does not crush the work; it has been carried through with elegance and clarity of mind. In its totality it forms an indispensable collection—bibliographical, interpretative, biographical, chronological, and geographical—for all that touches upon, from near or far, the external history of the Society of Jesus up to 1539 (when Xavier left Rome)... The language itself, in as far as it can be judged by a foreigner, has an exactness and Latin clarity that is not always found in German authors.³⁰

²⁵ Luis Frois, S.J., *Die Geschichte Japans (1549-1578)* übersetzt und kommentiert von G. Schurhammer und E. A. Voretzsch (Leipzig, 1926).

²⁶ Polgár, "Bibliographie," p. XLVII, lists fifty-nine reviews of *Franz Xaver I*. The most important are the following: Henri Bernard-Maitre, *Vie Spirituelle* 94 (1956) 629-632; *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France* 42 (1956) 74-78; J. Bonsirven, *Revue d'Ascetique et de Mystique* 32 (1956) 86-88; James Brodrick, *Month*, N.S. 15 (1956) 110-112; B. de Gaiffier, *Analecta Bollandiana* 75 (1957) 144-147; Harry C. Koenig, *Catholic Historical Review* 43 (1957) 60-61; John LaFarge, *America* 96 (1957) 682-683; Robert Rouquette, *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 45 (1957) 133-139; M. Scaduto, *Civiltà Cattolica* 2538 (1956) 659-64; Heinrich Schmidinger, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 66 (1958) 399-401; Ricardo G. Villoslada, *España Misionera* 14 (1958) 498-530; J. Wicki, *Orientierung* 20 (1956) 22-24. In conjunction with these, see also the reviews of *Franz Xaver II*, which often contain important observations on the first volume. The most useful of these are: Johannes Beckmann, *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 20 (1964) 286-292; C. R. Boxer, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 33 (1964) 127-130; Hubert Cieslik, *Monumenta Nipponica* 19 (1964) 245-248; L. von Hertling, *Stimmen der Zeit* 174 (1964) 236-237; Bernardino Llorca, *Selecciones de Libros*, 1964, 284-289; R. Mols, *Nouvelle Revue Theologique* 86 (1964) 1238-1239; B. Schneider, *Gregorianum* 45 (1964) 657-660.

²⁷ Bonsirven 86.

²⁸ Brodrick 112.

²⁹ Wicki 22.

³⁰ Rouquette 133.

Despite the universal acclaim given to this life of St. Francis, there were a number of criticisms with respect to points of detail, to the interpretations given to various political and religious movements, and especially to the general structure and spirit of the whole. When one considers the length of the first volume, the suggestions with respect to factual details were remarkably few. Where Schurhammer felt that they were justified, he had the proper corrections made in the Spanish and English versions of his work. Thus, for example, Robert Rouquette took some pains to show that it was most unlikely that Alfonso Salmerón was the recipient of two separate benefices, a position which Schurhammer then adopted.³¹ On the other hand, he vigorously defended his original conclusions that Xavier's native tongue was Basque, that he spoke French well, and that St. Ignatius regularly spelled his name as *Inigo* and not *Iñigo*.³²

With regard to more general interpretations, Schurhammer was criticized for describing the Agramontese, the party to which Xavier's brothers belonged, as "patriots";³³ for being too severe in his judgments on Erasmus and the royal professors appointed by Francis I;³⁴ and for a lack of sympathy for the Jewish victims of the Portuguese Inquisition.³⁵ To these and other similar objections he replied:

In writing the life of St. Francis Xavier, I have sought as my ideal to reflect not my own point of view but simply that of the saint and his circle of friends. I have studied from this point of view, the viewpoint of the saint, the religious and intellectual conflicts in Paris, the Inquisition in Portugal, the battles between the Christians and Moors in Abyssinia and India, and so forth.³⁶

Even more precisely, in reply to the objection that he had painted Erasmus and the royal professors too darkly, he declared:

I have described them, not as they were after October, 1534, and "the Affair of the Placards," which opened up the eyes of many, nor as they appear today in the light of some four hundred years of inquiry, but (as I have done throughout the work) as they appeared to Xavier and his companions (including Salmerón) and his friends (including Diogo de Gouvea, Picard, and Cornibus), with whom Xavier and his confreres were always on excellent terms.³⁷

That Schurhammer gives an accurate description of the attitude of Xavier and his companions towards Erasmus is fairly certain from a recent study which cites twelve letters in which St. Ignatius later proscribed the reading of the humanist's works in Jesuit colleges.³⁸ *Autres temps, autres moeurs, autres conceptions et attitudes!*

More difficult to answer than the few objections to matters of detail and interpretation is the complaint that *Francis Xavier* contains so much peripheral

³¹ See below, p. 496, n. 15.

³² Schurhammer, "Nuevos datos" 268-290.

³³ Villoslada 500-508.

³⁴ Bonsirven 87; Villoslada 508-512.

³⁵ Rouquette 135, n. 1.

³⁶ Schurhammer, "Nuevos datos" 253; see also *Franz Xaver II* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1963), p. VI: "In the text we have given a simple account of the results of our research; and, just as in the first volume, we have written the history from Xavier's point of view, avoiding personal observations, since we believe that this could distort the evidence."

³⁷ Schurhammer, "Nuevos datos" 298.

³⁸ Piet Penning de Vries, S.J., "Protestants and Other Spirituals: Ignatius' Vision and Why He Took This Position," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 40 (1971) 470-472.

material that the central figure is quite often lost to view. Though Brodrick has maintained in his review of the first volume that "no saint in the calendar has been more magnificently served," he nonetheless criticizes it severely "as a *biography* strictly so called":

Father Schurhammer, with all his splendid qualities, seems to have been seduced by the encyclopaedic drift, the passion for completeness, of so much fine German learning. Poor St. Francis tends to be drowned in a deluge of facts, valuable in themselves but not really relevant to his heroic story. No saint, no man however great, and Francis was very great, could stand up to such an overwhelming cloudburst of facts and footnotes as we are given here. . . . It is not easy to glimpse St. Francis in the round in the book because he is built up piecemeal, a bit here and a bit there. We long for a sight of the wood but cannot get it because we are so hopelessly entangled in the trees.³⁹

A somewhat analogous criticism is that we are not given a picture of the saint's interior,⁴⁰ of his psychological development,⁴¹ of the state of his soul:

This admirable biographer of the saint of Navarre knows everything, absolutely everything that refers to the environment in which Xavier lived—the places he frequented, the roads he traversed, the persons from far and near that had anything to do with him, the landscapes, monuments, customs, and institutions of his age, but in this immense sea of data and information the central figure suffers shipwreck, as it were, and disappears. All that is external and incidental is here recorded, and it is all done with an abundance of documentation even in the least details; but very little is told us of Xavier's soul.⁴²

Without denying the fact that there may be some foundation for these complaints, it may be said that they are in large part due to a preconceived notion of the nature of a biography and a failure to understand the end which Schurhammer had in mind in writing his *Francis Xavier* and the limitations which he imposed upon himself in his pursuit of it. Biography in its most generic definition is simply "the record of a life."⁴³ As such it has appeared under a countless number of forms, depending upon the subject portrayed, the available sources, and the intentions of the author. There have been eulogistic, moralistic, psychological, literary, and historical biographies through the centuries. In his *Agricola* Tacitus has left us a panegyric on his father-in-law; in his *Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans*, Plutarch wrote with a deliberately didactic intent; in his *Leonardo da Vinci*, Sigmund Freud attempted to draw a psychoanalytical portrait of the artist; in his *Life of Samuel Johnson* James Boswell has not only revealed the personality of his hero, he has created one of the classics of English literature. In more recent times the artistic and literary qualities of a biography have been stressed,⁴⁴ but this does not mean that the historical biography is out of place.

³⁹ Brodrick 111-112.

⁴⁰ Bonsirven 88.

⁴¹ Rouquette 134-135; Wicki 23.

⁴² Villoslada 499.

⁴³ John A. Garraty, *The Nature of Biography* (New York, 1957) 3.

⁴⁴ See, for example, the definitions given for "biography" in the *Oxford English Dictionary*: "The history of the lives of individual men, as a branch of literature," and in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1972): "a narrative which seeks, consciously and artistically, to record the actions and recreate the personality of an individual life."

The essential character of Schurhammer's *Francis Xavier* should be clear from its subtitle: *His Life, His Times*. If this seems to be too comprehensive, it must be remembered that Xavier was no ordinary man or saint. He was not only one of the most widely traveled Europeans of the sixteenth century, but he was also one of the founding fathers and the first secretary of the Society of Jesus, which was to play such an important role in Europe, the New World, and the Far East in the following centuries. He was also one of the greatest missionaries of all times and the inspirer of countless missionaries that came after him. His full significance can only be seen in the context of his times. This point has been clearly made by Ludwig von Hertling in his review of the second volume of *Francis Xavier*, but it is applicable as well, *ceteris paribus*, to the first:

One reluctantly asks if it was really necessary to discuss in such detail all these problems of navigation, colonial policy, geography, botany, folklore, and the lives not only of the leading characters but also those of captains of individual ships. Does one not frequently get the impression that the person of Xavier almost disappears under all these details? Soon, however, one realizes that it is only through this background that it is properly perceived. One catches the colorful, plastic image of an immense, strange world, in which a single man in a few years, almost without external help, but only through the force of his own personality achieved a work for which generations would have otherwise been required.

Schurhammer's work is pure historical writing without reflections or value judgments of its author. But it is not, ever so rich as it is, a mere collection of materials. It is history in form—*Es ist gestaltete Geschichte*.⁴⁵

A similar opinion has been expressed by Hugo Rahner, another Church historian, in his review of the first volume of Francis Xavier:

This is a special kind of biography. Schurhammer is a classical representative of that type of historiography that with a boundless passion for facts and a stupendous knowledge of their sources asks but one question: How did these things come about? Here all so-called psychological empathy, which so often serves as a substitute for a knowledge of the facts, is deliberately avoided. But from the dry evidence of the archives and the countless references to the sources which Schurhammer's unsurpassable investigations have uncovered, there has come, if we dare say it, a true epic of irrefutable facts, the history of a man and of a saint of the sixteenth century, a portrait of his times of such beauty that it can only be read, to borrow a phrase from the Fathers, with a kind of "sober drunkenness."⁴⁶

A third historian, Burkhart Schneider, has given an excellent description and justification of Schurhammer's manner of writing:

Schurhammer's biographical style does not correspond to the sweeping strokes of a painter's brush, if such a comparison may be made, but to the patience of a mosaicist who fashions his portrait out of countless bits of stone. But here, as far as Schurhammer is concerned, account must be taken of the fact that he was himself the one who first assembled and arranged all these bits of stone. We think it important that a reader be conscious of this particular style since otherwise he will make demands upon this biography which it cannot, and which it is, in fact, unwilling to answer. Many reviewers of the first volume, who found too many apparently insignificant details and too few great historical trends, have as a consequence been unfair to the author

⁴⁵ Hertling 237.

⁴⁶ From a review written by Hugo Rahner for the publisher and quoted by Schneider 657-658.

and his work because they have applied a false measure to it. If today this kind of "factual history" (*Tatschengeschichte*) or "biographical mosaic" (*biographisches Mosaik*) is rarely found, in contrast to the nineteenth century, this is not necessarily due to the fact that this type of portrait has been surpassed or rendered obsolete, but rather to a lack of that time which is absolutely necessary for it.⁴⁷

Schneider's comparison of Schurhammer's manner of writing with that of a mosaicist who first prepares his materials and then assembles them into a finished portrait is particularly apt, for *Francis Xavier* is not simply the detailed life of a saint set within the already known and accepted background of his time but rather a totally researched and thoroughly tested work. Schurhammer has not only assembled and put in order all the data that he could find that were directly connected with the life of the saint, but he has also subjected to a critical examination all the many institutions and individuals with whom Xavier came into contact and represented them anew in the light of his own conclusions. The consequence is that *Francis Xavier* is not only the definitive life of the saint, it is also an excellent account of his times—of the political situation of Navarre, of the religious and intellectual milieu in Paris, of politics in Rome, and of the Inquisition in Portugal. The first volume has justly been described as the definitive history of the founding of the Society of Jesus,⁴⁸ and the second as that of the founding of the Jesuit missions in the East.⁴⁹

To the final objection that Schurhammer has not given an adequate description of Xavier's inner life and of his growth in sanctity, a number of answers are possible. The first would be that this was not the principal object of his work. He has written the life of a man, *Francis Xavier*, who, it is true, became a saint, but he did not write a life of *St. Francis Xavier*, with special emphasis on his sanctity. For many readers this is not a defect in the work. As C. R. Boxer has noted in a review of the second volume, "It is not the least merit of Fr. Schurhammer's *Life* that we see clearly in their setting such facts as those on which Mansilhas based his testimony [with respect to Xavier's sanctity], and these facts are given us in the form of a biography and not a hagiography."⁵⁰

Secondly, given the state of the evidence, it would be extremely difficult to give a detailed account of the workings of grace within his soul, especially before his arrival in India. As may be seen from several passages in the present volume, he was rather chary with his confidences. Further, he has left no spiritual diary, as have many other saints, that might serve as a key for a vivid description of his continued progress in holiness.⁵¹ The few personal documents that have survived from this early period would be of no great help in this regard. His letters and other writings on the missions give a more adequate picture of his ideals and virtues, but they are not particularly useful for a spir-

⁴⁷ Schneider 658-659.

⁴⁸ Rahner 423; Wicki 23: "Particularly valuable are the sections on the founding of the Society of Jesus. They surpass in depth and breadth all earlier works."

⁴⁹ Boxer 127: "Father Leturia, S.J., the chief authority on St. Ignatius, in reviewing Vol. I of this truly monumental work a few years ago, termed it the definitive history of the foundation of the Society of Jesus. Similarly, the volume under review may fairly be considered not merely as another generous installment of the definitive biography of St. Francis Xavier—which it is—but also the definitive history of the foundation of the Jesuit missions in the East." See also Cieslik 246.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 130.

⁵¹ For a description of "la meilleure biographie," see P. Pourrat, "Biographies spirituelles," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 1 (1937) 1717-1719.

itual *biography*. The most serious attempt to describe his sanctity in recent years has, as a consequence, eschewed a chronological order.⁵² Nevertheless, if anyone hereafter has the courage to compose a more intimate portrait of the saint, he will find the factual data he needs in Schurhammer's *Francis Xavier*. In reply to his critics he has given a description of his work and the reasoning behind it:

In our book we have given all that can throw any light upon Xavier's soul before and after his conversion, and this more fully than any other biographer of the saint: the moral, religious, scholastic, humanistic, and scientific environment at the University of Paris, the struggles between Catholics and Reformers, humanists and theologians, the dangers which threatened his spirit, his worldly ideals, the struggle of St. Ignatius for the conquest of his soul, a description of the saintly life and death of his sister, the two books which St. Ignatius esteemed so highly and recommended to all...⁵³

EPIC BIOGRAPHY

In his references to *Francis Xavier*, Schurhammer insisted that his object was to write "a scientific life" of the saint.⁵⁴ The terminology is perhaps a bit strange, especially for those who are accustomed to look upon science as dealing with general laws and history with particular events. Nevertheless, it is one that was commonly employed at the end of the last century.⁵⁵ For Schurhammer, a "scientific" history or biography had no particular philosophical overtones. It simply meant an objective account based on all the available sources. In this sense *Francis Xavier* is a truly "scientific" achievement, but it is also something more—a work of art.

What Tacitus wrote of his own efforts in a somewhat different context could have been repeated by Xavier's biographer:

Many of the things which I have narrated and which I shall narrate may perhaps seem to be, as I well know, insignificant and too trivial to recall. . . . Ours is a crabbed and inglorious toil. . . . Nevertheless, there should be some advantage in examining those things which at first may seem to be trivial but which in the end are seen to be the origins of great events.⁵⁶

In their concern for the seemingly unimportant, in their marshalling of discovered facts, both Tacitus and Schurhammer have created works of impelling interest.⁵⁷ Consciously or unconsciously they have both imitated the ancient epic poet whose intent it was, "not to draw smoke from lightning, but light from smoke."⁵⁸

Because of its unique character, *Francis Xavier* is not easily categorized. Nevertheless, following Hugo Rahner's description of it as "a true epic of in-

⁵² Xavier Leon-Dufour, S.J., *Saint François Xavier: Itinéraire mystique de l'Apôtre* (Paris, 1953).

⁵³ Schurhammer, "Nuevos datos" 299-300.

⁵⁴ Schurhammer, "Sixty-three Years" 5: "a scientific life"; *Franz Xaver I*, p. V: "eine wissenschaftliche Biographie"; p. VII: "ein wissenschaftliches Leben."

⁵⁵ See the chapter "Scientific History" in Collingwood, *Idea* 134-204.

⁵⁶ Tacitus, *Annales* 4.32: *Nobis in arto et inglorius labor*.

⁵⁷ Schmidinger 403: "The historian and the reader, whom this book automatically draws under its standard, are grateful to the author for the abundance of his offerings."

⁵⁸ Horace, *Ars Poetica* 143-144: *Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem/cogitat*.

controvertible facts," it may be best, perhaps, described as "an epic biography." Like the great epic poets of the past, Schurhammer nowhere intrudes his own sentiments or personality upon his readers. He lets the numerous characters and events speak for themselves. There are descriptions of countrysides and towns, of peace and war, of wanderings through strange lands and uncharted seas, and almost countless episodes—distracting for the unwary, but the necessary background for the unfolding action. This *Xaveriad* is like the *Odyssey* in that it is the story of "a man of many abilities who wandered over very many ways, . . . who saw the cities and knew the minds of many men and suffered many woes upon the sea, seeking to win his own life and the return of his companions."⁵⁹ It is like the *Aeneid* in that it records "the many labors that were required to found," not an earthly, but a heavenly city.⁶⁰ Above all, it resembles the *Iliad* in that it narrates the single passion of its central figure, but one of love and not of "wrath,"⁶¹ whose life, as one who knew him intimately in India later testified, was such that

no man could have done what he did or have lived as he lived without the grace of the Holy Spirit. . . . For his life was more that of a saint or angel than of a man. . . . In India, especially on the Fishery Coast, he was engaged in many great labors. . . . At night, when he could find the time, as he never could during the day, he would recollect himself and give himself over to much prayer and contemplation. He consoled men both day and night, hearing their confessions and visiting the sick, and he gave many alms to the poor. He never kept anything for himself or his own use. . . . As much as one might dream this man might do, he did, and even more.⁶²

The translation of this first volume of *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times* was begun in the summer of 1965 and completed three years later, during a time that I was teaching a full schedule at Creighton University and working on several other projects. A leave of absence from the university enabled me to go to Rome in 1971 to complete the editing of the translation, to prepare a number of maps and plans that would clarify the text, and to supervise the setting of the type.

A work of this magnitude could not have been brought to completion without the generous assistance of many individuals. First of all there was Father Schurhammer himself, who followed the progress of the translation with keen interest up until his final illness—making changes in the original text, answering my numerous questions on details, and correcting the carbon copies of the translation as these were completed and sent to him. Secondly, there was Miss Kathryn Thomas, who, as an undergraduate at Creighton University, helped me assiduously with the translation, typed out the rough draft from my dictation, and did the first and final typing of the very complicated notes. Mrs. William Sullivan generously typed out the final copy of the text while running a busy switchboard at the university. The Rev. Norman T. Jorgensen, S.J., read both the manuscript and proofs of the translation and has thus been able to spare the reader from numerous errors. Messrs. Clark and Carl Weckbach and Mr. and

⁵⁹ Homer, *Odyssey* 1.1-5.

⁶⁰ Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.33: *Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem!*

⁶¹ Homer, *Iliad* 1.1.

⁶² From the testimony given by Francisco Mansilhas at Cochim on Jan 27, 1557, on Francis' life (*Momumenta Xaveriana* 2 [Matriti, 1912] 316-317).

Mrs. J. Kernan Weckbaugh provided much appreciated financial help in the preparation of the text. During the year that I lived at the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome, I had the kind assistance of many individuals, and especially that of the Rev. Ernest J. Burrus, S.J. The staff of the Gregorian University Press has been most helpful at every stage in the production of this volume.

To all of these, and especially to the Gulbenkian Foundation, Inc., without whose munificence it would have been impossible to publish so large an undertaking, I wish to express my sincere gratitude and also that of Father Schurhammer, who, though he is no longer with us, was always most grateful towards those who were of assistance in bringing out this English translation of his *Francis Xavier*.

M. JOSEPH COSTELLOE, S.J.
Creighton University
Omaha, Nebraska
The Feast of St. Francis Xavier
December 3, 1972

BOOK I

YOUTH

1506 — 1525

Uso zuria erra zu
Nora joaten sera zu?

“White dove, you wing about;
Whither is your flight?”

Basque Folk Song

CHAPTER I

DR. JUAN DE JASSU¹

1. A *Pro Forma* SALE (1477)²

Halfway between Pamplona and the border city of Sangüesa the high, grey, rock pyramid of Higa rises wild and steep to a height of 4,198 feet. From the peak of this mountain the eye ranges over the majestic chain of the snowcapped Pyrenees and half of Navarre, and on clear days it can even discern the towers of the cathedral of Zaragoza. At the foot of the giant mountain in the valley of Ibargoiti is the old village of Monreal, lying along the Roman road which led from Upper Aragon past the castle of Xavier to the land of the Basques. Today this town is dominated by a ruined castle which in former times prevented the enemy from approaching the capital.

It was a July day in the year 1477 when a messenger from Tafalla handed to the bailiff of Monreal, Martín Unaya, a document sealed with the stamp of Royal Chancery. It began: "Doña Leonor, by the grace of God firstborn, hereditary Princess of the Kingdom of Navarre, Infanta of Aragon and Sicily, Countess of Foix and Bigorre, Mistress of Béarn, Vicereine for his Highness the King, my greatly honored lord and father, in this his Kingdom of Navarre"; and it contained the command that help should be given to Juan de Azpilcueta, called *el Chico*,³ citizen of Monreal, in the collection of money owed to him in case he so desired.

¹ The primary sources for the history of Xavier's youth and his family may be found in the following collections: (1) Cros, *Saint François de Xavier. Son pays, sa famille, sa vie. Documents nouveaux* I (Toulouse, 1891; new impression, Paris, 1903). We have used the original manuscript in the Archives of the Toulouse Province of the Society of Jesus for the second volume, which was never published. The author gives the most important material in the two volumes in his *Saint François de Xavier. Sa vie et ses lettres* (Toulouse-Paris, 1900, 2 vols.). Cros gives the documents in a French translation. (2) Escalada, *Documentos históricos del Castillo de Javier y sus mayorazgos. Tomo primero* (Pamplona, 1931; no other volumes appeared). He gives registers of *legajos* 60-71 of the Archives of the Duke of Granada de Ega along with important documents in the original text. (3) Fita, "El Doctor Juan de Jaso," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 23 (Madrid, 1893) 67-240, the best collection of text concerning Xavier's father. We have discussed a series of important questions in "Jugendprobleme des hl. Franz Xavier," *Studia Missionalia* 2 (Romae, 1946) 72-129. The early period of Xavier's life has been recently discussed by Julián Moreno Escribano, S.J., in *Archivo Heráldico, S.J., I: Javier* (Sevilla, 1969), and José María Recondo, S.J., *Francés de Xavier* (Pamplona, 1970). The first of these should be used with great care. See G. Schurhammer, S.J., *AHSI* 39 (1970) 367-369. The latter contains new and useful documentation from hitherto unpublished sources.

² The text for the *pro forma* sale is given by Fita 104-116.

³ Juan Pérez de Azpilcueta "el Chico," brother of Juan Ibañes, the lord of Azpilcueta, and of Miguel de Azpilcueta, the captain of Sada, was one of the chief merchants in Monreal. In 1460 he received from King Juan the sites of Saldías, Erasun, Beinza, and Labayen in Basaburua Menor for himself and his descendants. He was a great-grand-uncle of Xavier. On him, see Cros, *Doc. I* 50 68-70 105; *II 104.

Azpilcueta, having been informed of the command, declared that Dr. Don Juan de Jassu, counselor of the above-mentioned princess, owed him five hundred gold florins of Aragon coinage. The bailiff should therefore seize and auction off the doctor's possessions in order to pay the debt from the sum realized by the sale.

Complying with this command, Unaya went on July 24 to Ansoáin-Andurra, an abandoned site between Monreal, Zoroquiáin, Zabalceta, and Cemboráin, lying to the right at the entrance of the valley of Unciti, and took possession of it along with the whole mountain by sticking crossed twigs into the ground as a sign of its confiscation. From there he returned to Monreal. Then, still on the same day, he went to the village of Idocin, a half hour farther up in the valley of Ibargoiti, and fastened a leathern sole on the door of the mill with an iron nail and stuck crossed twigs in the ground to indicate that the court laid claim to the possessions of the doctor: the mill with its dike and canal, the "Great Meadow" between the mountain, the royal road, and the communal pasture land, and, in addition to these, a half-hectare plot of land in the region of *Errota-cellay*⁴ and another of the same size in that of *Aldave*,⁵ all of which lay within the territory of the village. Furthermore, he confiscated the revenues which the latter had to pay to the doctor: eighteen measures of wheat and forty-eight *sueldos fuertes* in currency. The bailiff made an official declaration of the proceedings for the debtor and asked him to say if he were the owner of the confiscated goods and revenues, from whom he had got them, and whether he had any objections to their confiscation.

The doctor declared that he owned these properties by right of inheritance from his deceased father Arnalt Périz de Jassu, who had acquired them in turn from the late Mossén Juan Cavallero, and, as far as the auctioning was concerned, the bailiff might carry out his task.

Following this, the seized property was offered for sale in Monreal by the public crier Miguel Périz de Sabaiza on three separate Fridays, the marketday, at the crossroads; on three successive Saturdays at the door of the oratory of the Jews in the ghetto; and on three successive Sundays in front of the door of the parish church of Santa María at the time when the people came out after the High Mass. The sale was also announced in Idocin at the entrance of the parish church of St. Clement with the ringing of a bell by Sabaiza and Juan García, a juryman of the village, at the time when the villagers came from Vespers. The condition was added that anyone who had any objections to the sale should reveal them. And for greater security, the announcement was repeated a fourth and a fifth time.

No one objected to the sale and the above-mentioned possessions and revenues thus went over to Juan de Azpilcueta, the highest bidder, for the sum of 1,425 Navarrese pounds. On October 31, Pedro de Sant, the notary, drew up a document pertaining to this transaction. Witnesses for it at Idocin were Ferrando de Zabalsa from Salinas and Juan Ximenes from Lower Abaurrea in the valley of Aezcoa, and at Monreal, the jurymen Juan Martinez del Mercado and Iñigo d'Erro. He then sent the document to the vicereine with the request that she might, if no one at court objected, order her fiscal procurator, Licentiate Don Pedro de

⁴ Basque for "Mill Meadow." The language map of Prince Bonaparte of 1863 still has Idocin in the Basque-speaking zone.

⁵ Basque for "Slope."

Egües in Sangüesa, to affix his official seal to the document. No one objected, and on November 24 a directive came from the chancery in Tudela to the fiscal procurator in which Doña Leonor ordered that the sale of the goods of the "very excellent doctor, the faithful counselor and dearly beloved Don Juan de Jassu, judge of our Supreme Court," be confirmed with his official seal. A second document was sent to Martín Unaya informing him that he could turn over the auctioned goods to their purchaser.

It was a *pro forma* sale, through which the doctor, as a subtle jurist, sought to secure once and for all in a clear and indisputable manner his possessions, as is shown by another document of March 16 of the following year. In it Juan de Azpilcueta, *el Chico*, states that he bought the goods with the doctor's money and that he is herewith returning them to him. The future was soon to reveal what Doña Leonor's counselor planned for Idocin.

2. THE ANCESTORS

The ancestors of Dr. Juan de Jassu had lived as free peasants⁶ with the right of inheritance on the Echeberri estate⁷ in Jassu, a little Basque village in Lower Navarre beyond the Pyrenees, an hour north of Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port. In 1435 one of them, Pedro de Jassu, as he was called from his ancestral home, had already managed to become leaseholder of the royal weights in the neighboring town.⁸ The second of his three sons, Arnalt,⁹ went with his younger brother Bernardo¹⁰ to Pamplona, where he entered the service of Prince Carlos as treasurer¹¹ and in 1441 married Guilherma de Atondo, the daughter of the lord of Atondo.¹² He thus moved up into the higher nobility. He had a coat of arms, kept servants and lackeys, and lived according to his rank as a respectable caballero.¹³ His wife bore him six children: two sons, Juan and Pedro, and four daughters, Catalina, María, Juana, and Margarita;¹⁴ and, through the favor of the prince, six years after his marriage he received the position of a financial adviser in the Royal Revenue Office.¹⁵

But in 1450, when Carlos, his benefactor, took up arms against his father, King Juan II of Aragon and Navarre, and the land was split into the two violently opposed parties of Agramontese and Beaumontese, Arnalt resolutely took the side

⁶ They were *infanzones y hidalgos* (Cros, *Doc.* I 34; *II 38-39; on the expression, see Yanguas II 47-62). Jassu lay in the land of Cissa, whose inhabitants in 1511 were all free farmers immediately subject to the royal authority (Cros, *Doc.* *II 19). Cf. Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 90-93.

⁷ In 1505 there appeared as a witness "Esteban, señor de la casa de Jassu Echeberri" (Cros, *Doc.* *II 19; cf. 2-18). The manor still stands.

⁸ *Tributador de los cocharros del chapitel del Rey* (Cros, *Doc.* I 18-19).

⁹ On Arnalt, see Fita 78-96 99-100 107-108; Cros, *Doc.* I 11-12 17-44; *II 5 29-41; *Vie* I 4-15; Escalada, pp. VIII-X. His full name was Arnalt Périz de Jassu.

¹⁰ On Bernardo Périz de Jassu, see Cros, *Doc.* I 17-21 34-35 61-62; *II 43 51 63 73; *Vie* I 7-8. Escalada, pp. V-VIII.

¹¹ *Cambradineros, cambrador* (Cros, *Doc.* I 20-24; Fita, 78-79).

¹² On Guilherma, see Cros, *Doc.* I 11-15 37-45 52 55 62-65; *II 5 29-30 (the marriage contract) 32 38; *Vie* I 9-15. Her will is in Fita 52-65. On the Atondo, see J. A. Zugasti, S.J., *La familia de Atondo y la genealogía de S. Francisco de Javier* (Pamplona, 1920); Cros, *Doc.* I 37-38; *II 29-41; Escalada, pp. X-XIII.

¹³ Cros, *Doc.* I 37. Cf. Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 90-93.

¹⁴ Fita 146-147.

¹⁵ *Oidor de comptos* (Fita 78-89).

of the royalist Agramontese.¹⁶ The king rewarded the loyalty of his servant. Arnalt became master of finances¹⁷ and a member of the Royal Council, and as such he was one of the main confidants of the king and his daughter Leonor, who ruled in Navarre as vicereine from 1465-1469. He bought palaces, lands, and revenues for himself; and at his death about the year 1475, he could leave to each of his two sons an entailed estate.¹⁸

3. THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE DOCTOR

The favor of the court passed from Arnalt to his children. Juan, the firstborn, had received a doctorate in canon law in 1470 from the University of Bologna; and Don Pedro de Foix, the son of Leonor and later cardinal infante, had honored the celebration with his presence as patron.¹⁹ In the following year, when the Agramontese, on behalf of the vicereine, tried to force an entrance into Pamplona, which was occupied by the rebellious Beaumontese, Juan de Atondo, the uncle of the doctor,²⁰ one morning before dawn secretly opened up the St. Nicholas gate for them. The surprise attack, in which the royal marshal, Don Pedro de Navarra, and his companions lost their lives, misfired; and it was only through hasty flight that Arnalt and his sons were barely able to escape with their own.²¹ They therefore spent the following years in Tafalla, not far from the royal palace of Olite.²²

During the year after his flight Dr. Juan received his father's office for life with an annual income of one hundred pounds,²³ and in 1476 Leonor granted him an increment of one hundred gold florins as a compensation for the losses incurred at the time of his expulsion.²⁴ Moreover, during the year following the *pro forma* sale, on July 10, 1478, King Juan conferred upon him for life the royal grants and taxes of the village of Idocin "because of the extraordinary and heavy losses" which he, as a true servant of his lord, had suffered during the civil war.²⁵ At the same time he gave him and his descendants its mean and lower jurisdictions. These included "all homicides, 'demi-homicides,'²⁶ *sixantenas*²⁷ and *calomnyas*²⁸ of all kinds, and other fines," and also the right to appoint alcaldes, judges, rural guards,²⁹ and all other officials.³⁰ Soon afterwards the doctor bought a

¹⁶ Cros, *Doc.* *II 30-32; Fita 91-95.

¹⁷ *Maestre de finanças* (Fita 92; Cros, *Doc.* I 31-34).

¹⁸ For example, the palaces of Esparza, Zariquiegui, Sagüés and Gazolaz, the site of Garrués, the deserted area of Ansoáin-Andurra, the possessions and rents in Idocin, and so forth (Fita 134 143 147-148; Cros, *Doc.* I 44).

¹⁹ Escalada 167.

²⁰ Zugasti 24-35, cf. 22-24; Cros, *Doc.* *II 32-38 (against Cros, *Doc.* I 38 and Moret VII 180).

²¹ Moret VII 14-19.

²² Fita 102 134; Cros, *Doc.* I 42 49; MX II 59.

²³ Fita 97-100.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 101-104.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 117-120.

²⁶ The penalty for a *homicidio* amounted to fifty pounds *carlines blancos* and for a *medio homicidio* (wounding, shedding of blood, adultery) twenty-five pounds *carlines blancos* (Yanguas II 63-68).

²⁷ Fines for wounding and fighting. Their names were derived from the fact that the penalties originally amounted to sixty pounds, sixty *dineros*, and sixty *meajas* (Yanguas III 328).

²⁸ *Calomnyas* were fines for serious crimes that were reserved to the king.

²⁹ *Alcaldes, juezes, baylles* (Fita 122).

³⁰ *Ibid.* 120-123.

house for himself in the same place with grounds and garden.³¹ He acquired citizenship³² and built a palace with a strong tower,³³ which even exteriorly proclaimed the royal supervisor of rents as "the lord of Idocin."

A few years later, about the year 1483, Juan de Jassu was able to marry María de Azpilcueta, the beautiful and greatly sought heiress³⁴ of the royal chamberlain, Martín de Azpilcueta.³⁵ She brought him as her dowry the castle of Xavier at the eastern boundary of Navarre and, after the death of her father in 1502,³⁶ the palace of Azpilcueta on the northwest border of the kingdom as well. From then on the doctor called himself "the lord of Xavier, Azpilcueta, and Idocin."³⁷

4. FOR THRONE AND HEARTH

As president of the Royal Council from 1495,³⁸ Dr. Juan de Jassu was one of the most outstanding and influential persons of the land. He was connected both by blood and friendship with the foremost families, especially those of the party of the Agramontese. These included the families of Navarra,³⁹ Peralta,⁴⁰ Ezpeleta,⁴¹ Garro,⁴² Goñi,⁴³ Azpilcueta,⁴⁴ Baquedano,⁴⁵ Jaureguizar,⁴⁶ Oreguer,⁴⁷

³¹ Escalada 111.

³² Fita 198.

³³ *Ibid.* 198-198; cf. 141 223. Picture in Cros, *Doc.* I 53; the tower collapsed in 1945.

³⁴ "Fuit Maria egregia pariter forma ac pietate" (Tursellinus 1, 1); "cuyo casamiento fue muy pretendido de los poderosos de Nauarra" (Turselino-Guzmán 1, 1). On September 6, 1463, María's father received a papal dispensation for his marriage with Juana de Sada; Xavier's mother was therefore not born before 1464 (Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 108). She was married between 1482, when Dr. Juan de Jassu was not as yet "lord of Xavier" (Escalada 17), and 1488, when he was already bearing this title (Fita 126). Since Xavier's father died in 1515, and Juan de Hualde declared in 1536 that he had seen the doctor and his wife living together for some thirty-five or forty years, the marriage must have taken place about 1483 (MX II 64; cf. also Cros, *Doc.* I 76-80).

³⁵ On Martín de Azpilcueta, the son of Juan Ibañes (from whom he inherited the palace of Azpilcueta) and nephew of Juan de Azpilcueta, *el Chico*, see Cros, *Doc.* I 67-72 76-80 93-98 105 112-114 117 176; *II 89 104; *Vie* I 19-29; Yanguas III 189-190; MX II 60 ff.; Tursellinus 1, 1.

³⁶ Cros, *Doc.* I 97-98.

³⁷ Fita 212; MX II 42 ff.

³⁸ Juan de Jassu was *maestro de finanzas* in 1472, *consellero*, *alcalde de la Cort Mayor e maestre de finanzas* in 1476 (Fita 98 101), *alcalde mayor de la Corte Mayor* in 1483 (Cros, *Doc.* *II 122), *alcalde primero de la Cort Mayor* in 1494 (Fita 171), and *presidente del Consejo Real* in 1495 (Cros, *Doc.* *II 135).

³⁹ Especially with the royal marshal Don Pedro II, his son Don Pedro III, and Don Francisco de Navarra, the prior of Roncesvalles.

⁴⁰ In 1484 Mossén Pierres de Peralta named the doctor as the executor of his will (Fernández de Béthencourt III 257).

⁴¹ Cros, *Doc.* *II 133-144. Xavier's sister Anna married an Ezpeleta.

⁴² In 1478 Juan de Garro, viscount of Zolina and lord of Rocaforte, was a witness at the resale of the doctor's possessions in Monreal (Fita 116); his son Jerónimo married Anna, Xavier's niece, in 1557, and thus became the lord of Xavier (Escalada 39 11).

⁴³ A son of Xavier's granduncle Bernardo, for example, married a Goñi in Los Arcos (Cros, *Doc.* *II 47); in 1495 the doctor was a witness to the marriage of his cousin Arnalt de Atondo with Catalina de Goñi, the daughter of the royal hunting master (Zugasti 35-38). About 1527 Xavier's brother Miguel also married a Goñi, Isabel, the daughter of the lord of Tirapu and niece of the renowned Dr. Remiro de Goñi (Cros, *Vie* I 117).

⁴⁴ On the Azpilcueta and Xavier, see Cros, *Doc.* I 67-80; *II 99-108; *Vie* I 17-29.

⁴⁵ Lope de Baquedano, governor of Estella, married Anna Périz de Jassu, a daughter

and others, which had been brought ever more closely together by the civil war that had been in progress since 1450. He also took a leading part in all the affairs of government during those difficult and decisive times.⁴⁸

In 1479 the twelve-year-old Phoebus succeeded King Juan and Leonor on the throne. After his untimely death in 1483 he was succeeded by his thirteen-year-old sister Catalina. The Cortes under the presidency of the cardinal infante, Don Pedro de Foix, sent the doctor with the prothonotary Baquedano to her at Béarn to persuade her to come with her mother to Pamplona and take a Spanish prince, the son of Ferdinand the Catholic, as her husband.⁴⁹ But instead of this, at her mother's suggestion, she married Jean d'Albret, a French magnate. Only after the passage of ten years was the royal pair persuaded to make a journey into Navarre. During the coronation ceremonies in the cathedral, Dr. Juan, as representative of the royal chancellor, administered the oath to the three estates.⁵⁰

Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Aragon, had united Spain in 1479 through his marriage with Isabella of Castile, and his power increased in 1492 when Granada, the last bulwark of the Moors on the Iberian peninsula, fell and Columbus discovered the new world in the west. Don Luis de Beaumont, the leader of the Beaumontese, who was married to an illegitimate sister of Ferdinand, had found refuge for himself and his followers with Ferdinand; and they were only waiting for an opportunity to return to Navarre and to seize the sovereignty for themselves. They hoped to do this with Spanish help, for Ferdinand had not forgotten that in 1483 Doña Catalina had rejected his son and married a French magnate instead.⁵¹

"Dr. Juan was a very learned man," as several witnesses later declared, and "very much in the favor of the king and queen, who entrusted themselves completely to his guidance." Others⁵² added the following: "I knew Dr. Juan de Jassu, the president of the Royal Council, and his father. They dressed as knights and nobles. They had servants and followers in their houses and coats of arms over the main portals of their palaces, on their altar screens, tombs, flags, and caparisons; and they lived nobly as high personages in the realm."⁵³

But in spite of the cares of high politics and his many business affairs, the doctor did not forget his family.

In 1490 Guilherma de Atondo wrote her will. In it she asked to be buried in the habit of St. Dominic at the side of her husband in the Peter Martyr chapel of the Dominican church at Pamplona and over the altar to be placed a picture representing scenes from the lives of Sts. Vincent Ferrer and Catherine of Siena.⁵⁴ Her property was divided. Juan, the eldest, received by right of primogeniture

of Bernardo, and in his will of 1485 he advised his firstborn son to consult his "uncle," Dr. Juan de Jassu, on his marriage (Cros, *Doc.* *II 47; cf. also 43-49 137).

⁴⁸ On the relationship between the Jaureguizar and the Azpilcueta and Xavier, see Cros, *Doc.* *II 109-117.

⁴⁷ Espaniol de Oreguer, commandant (*alcaide*) of Monreal, had an Azpilcueta as his wife; and when his daughter married in 1502, the doctor presented her with a dowry of six hundred florins at the request of the queen (Cros, *Doc.* I 80 96 105 176; *II 121; Yanguas III 171 189).

⁴⁸ Cros, *Doc.* I 82; *II 121 124; *Vie* I 11-12; Fita 176-177; Boissonnade 96-99.

⁴⁹ Cros, *Doc.* *II 122; *Vie* I 11; Boissonnade 35-56.

⁵⁰ Fita 171.

⁵¹ Boissonnade 220-243; cf. 85-160 184-220.

⁵² Cros, *Doc.* *II 125.

⁵³ MX II 57-58 60-63 66-68 71-74 76; Cros, *Doc.* *II 26.

⁵⁴ Fita 135-137.

the manorial estate of Idocin with its house, palace, vineyards, meadows, mountain slopes, revenues and franchises; the abandoned site of Ansoáin-Andurra; the property of Garrués in the valley of Ezcabarte; and a dwelling on the Rua de la Población⁵⁵ in the capital and two other houses. Besides this he received a house falling to ruins and a garden in front of the St. Nicholas gate and two vineyards.⁵⁶ Pedro, the justice of Pamplona,⁵⁷ received as his inheritance the palaces of Sagüés and Gazolaz and, in Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, the houses of *Echeandia* and *Cocinatogui* on the town square and an estate with orchards and fields in front of the city walls. He also received the customs of Saint-Palais and Garris and the tithes of Arberoa.⁵⁸

In 1499 the possessions of the doctor were notably increased. For one thousand gold florins he purchased Subiza, Ibiricu, Zizur Mayor, and the abandoned site of Santa Costanza with its royalties and franchises.⁵⁹ Four years later he brought a great suit against the citizens of Sangüesa, who refused to pay him toll on their flocks.⁶⁰ From 1503 to 1508 he conducted a second suit against the citizens of Idocin, who were opposed to recognizing any other lord than the king.⁶¹

In 1503, when the lord of the castle of Xavier was conducting both of these suits, the royal family was living in Sangüesa in the palace of the Sebastián. Here, on April 17, Prince Andreas Phoebus died when he was only a year and one-half old. His body was brought past Xavier to Leyre and there buried next to the old kings of Navarre. A few days later the queen gave birth to a new successor to the throne, Prince Enrique.⁶² Since the Cortes was meeting at Sangüesa this same year, Dr. Juan could be with his family more than usual.⁶³

His financial condition was such that he could live according to his status. In addition to what he obtained from hunting and fishing, his estate of Xavier furnished him with wine, oil, wheat, salt, and wood.⁶⁴ He also received a toll on the flocks that passed through his lands and, from 1508, a tax of a tree trunk from every raft that floated down the Aragon River.⁶⁵ The lord of Xavier had, moreover, the right to pasture his flocks on *El Real*⁶⁷ and in several districts

⁵⁵ Calle de Zapatería, n. 43; it has since disappeared.

⁵⁶ Fita 140-147.

⁵⁷ *Justicia*; on this office, see Yanguas II 555-556.

⁵⁸ Fita 147-152.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 177-179.

⁶⁰ Cros, *Doc.* I 107-117; the records of this important suit were no longer to be found in the archives in 1947 and 1954.

⁶¹ Fita 193-200 211-223.

⁶² Cros, *Doc.* *II, 128; Moret VII 159. On f. 97v in the *Livro de Ordenanças*, a parchment volume in the Municipal Archives of Olite, is found the contemporary entry: "On April 25, 1503, in the city of Sangüesa, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, the queen bore a prince, who was baptized on the third day. His godparents were two pilgrims from Germany on their way to Sanctiago. One of them was named Adam and the other Enrrich, and the child was given the name Enrrich. May God give him a long life and many kingdoms for the service of God!"

⁶³ Cros, *Doc.* *II 128.

⁶⁴ MX II 10; Escalada 194-195 200.

⁶⁵ Cros, *Doc.* I 108 110; there will be more on him later.

⁶⁶ Fita 207-211. The construction of a dam at Yesa brought to an end this important traffic of logs down the stream. In 1525 about 150 rafts passed Sangüesa from the valley of Hecho in Upper Aragon alone. These were worth ten thousand ducats. In 1571 a single raftsman brought down more than a thousand logs. Between January and March, 1574, 296 rafts passed by the city (Florencio Idoate, *Rincones de la historia de Navarra* [Pamplona, 1954] 188-189).

⁶⁷ Cros, *Vie* I 59-61; *Doc.* *II 155-156. There will be more about this later.

in the valley of the Ibargoiti.⁶⁸ There were, moreover, the revenues which he received from his tenants:⁶⁹ eighteen measures (*cafizes*) of wheat, 2½ pounds in currency,⁷⁰ and 11 ½ pounds from royal land and sales taxes.⁷¹ He also profited from fines and the returns from the mill,⁷² fields, and meadows of Idocin.⁷³ He received twelve measures of wheat from the farmers in Zoroquiáin and Zabaceta for the waste lands of Ansoáin-Andurra;⁷⁴ six measures of wheat, six measures of oats, and twenty-four "grosses" from Garrués;⁷⁵ thirty-two measures of wheat from Subiza; twenty from Ibiricu; seventeen from Zizur Mayor; and four from Santa Costanza.⁷⁶ His wealth was further augmented by his income from his possessions as lord of Azpilcueta⁷⁷ and those of his garden and vineyards in Pamplona.⁷⁸ In addition to all this, the doctor had an annual income as finance minister and counselor, which in 1476 had been raised to five hundred pounds,⁷⁹ and a daily allowance for the semi-annual sessions of the Cortes.⁸⁰

Dr. Juan paid the greatest attention to his new home in the castle of Xavier. From 1500 to 1504 the old chapel of Santa María de Exavierre was restored and enlarged, and a parish house was built near it. This was then occupied by Miguel de Azpilcueta and two beneficiaries, Martín de Lerga and García de Equisoáin, who served as chaplains for the castle.⁸¹ The castle was also given a new appearance. The coats of arms of the new lord of the castle and his wife were placed over the main door,⁸² and the chapel of the new palace, which was right next to the old building,⁸³ was also decorated with the family coat of arms.⁸⁴

⁶⁸ Fita 124-125.

⁶⁹ A document of the Archives Granada gives a summary account of all the revenues of the lord of the castle in 1645 (60, 25). A similar account of the *cuarteles* ("land taxes") and *alcabalas* ("sales taxes") for 1513-1522 is found in the same document (60, 22-23). The will of Guilherma, Xavier's grandmother, contains further information.

⁷⁰ The yearly rents (*pecha*) for Idocin in 1477 amounted to about 328 bushels of wheat (eighteen *cafizes*) and forty-eight *sueldos fuertes* in cash (Fita 107).

⁷¹ In 1478 the property taxes in Idocin amounted to six pounds and eight *sueldos* according to the old rate, but only half of this amount according to the new rate introduced in 1472 (Fita 118; Yanguas II 664-665; Archives Navarre: *Papeles sueltos* 2, 15, n. 2), the sales taxes (*imposiciones*, or *alcabalas*) nine pounds *carlines prietos* per year (Fita 118); in 1512-1522 the annual property taxes amounted to five pounds, sixteen *sueldos*, the sales taxes came to eighteen pounds.

⁷² "Homicidios, medios homicidios, sixantenas, callonyas foreras é otras callonyas, penas y drechos civiles" (Fita 122).

⁷³ Fita 106-107.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 141 (1490).

⁷⁵ Archives Granada 65, 8. In 1536 six *reales navarros* were paid instead of twenty-four *grosses* (*ibid.* 65, 16), in 1645 twenty-four florins (*ibid.* 60, 25).

⁷⁶ Fita 178-179, where *trenta* should be read with Subiza instead of *a renta*; cf. Archives Granada 60, 25; 69, 3 7 13-14 25.

⁷⁷ Archives Granada 60, 25; 67, 5 41.

⁷⁸ Fita 142-143.

⁷⁹ In 1472 the pay amounted to 400 pounds for life (Fita 97-99); in 1476 this was raised to 500 pounds (*ibid.* 101-104); in 1512 to 582 pounds, 7 *tarjas*, 2 *dineros* (Archives Navarre: *Papeles sueltos* 2, 24, n. 1); in 1513 to 600 pounds (*ibid.* n. 2; Escalada 221-222); and in 1515 to 1,000 pounds (Archives Navarre: *Papeles sueltos* 2, 17; cf. Cros, *Doc.* I 163-164).

⁸⁰ Cf. Arigita, *Don Francisco de Navarra* 494-498. Moreover, the lords of Xavier drew a yearly salary (*mesnada*), which amounted to eight hundred *sueldos de Sanchetes* in 1281, and seven pounds in 1329 and 1377 (Escalada 158 160 4).

⁸¹ Escalada 195 201 204-205.

⁸² MX II 67 (in 1536 it had been there "for about forty years") 71 73 76.

⁸³ The present basilica stands on the site of the former *castillo nuevo*, as Peña calls it in 1620 (MX II 21). Dr. Juan de Jassu probably erected the new building. Although

In the meantime the members of the new household were increasing. Doña María, who in 1502, after the death of her father,⁸⁵ had taken her sister Violante into the palace, had borne four children to her husband. Magdalena, the eldest, was already in the convent of the strict Poor Clares in Gandía when the parish house was being built. Earlier, as lady-in-waiting of Queen Isabella, she had rejected brilliant offers for her hand.⁸⁶ But the three younger children were still living in the family circle in the palace of Xavier. Anna had been born about the year 1492,⁸⁷ Miguel, about 1495,⁸⁸ and Juan, about 1497.⁸⁹ Another son was to be born nine years later, and he was destined to establish the fame of the house for all times.

Pedro de Atondo declared in 1536 that he had known Doña María when she was living in the house (*cassas*) of Pedro Ortiz in Sangüesa and that her father was living in the palace of Xavier (*en los palacios de Xabier*) (*ibid.* 59), the terms *palacios* and *cassas* cannot be pressed.

⁸⁴ MX II 71 76.

⁸⁵ Cros, *Doc.* I 96-98; *Vie* I 22.

⁸⁶ Lucena 1, 1; MX II 25-26. Since she entered with the permission of Queen Isabella, who died in 1504, her entrance could not have been after this. The two sisters were older than Miguel (Cros, *Vie* I 32).

⁸⁷ The year of her birth is unknown. She married in 1512.

⁸⁸ In October, 1536, he said that he was about thirty-nine years old, and in July, 1541, that he was about forty-seven (Cros, *Doc.* I 87 386).

⁸⁹ In November, 1545, Juan declared that he was about fifty years old, and in November, 1550, that he was fifty (*ibid.* 87; *II 230).

CHAPTER II

CHILDHOOD (1506-1515)

1. BIRTH (1506)

On April 7 in the year 1506,¹ the Tuesday of Holy Week, when the clergy and sacristan had to chant the Office more slowly and more solemnly in choir,² a third son³ was born to Dr. Juan de Jassu in the upper story of the new palace in the castle of Xavier.⁴ The child was baptized in the neighboring parish church and received the name of Francisco. According to family custom, his white baptismal robe was hung up next to those of the other members of the family on the wall near the old, hexagonal baptismal font as a lasting reminder of the event.⁵ Francisco, or Francés, as he was also called,⁶ was the only one of the children to come into the world in the castle of Xavier. It was later said that when Doña María felt that her delivery was near, she asked the servant women to leave her until the child was born. She then called the women back into the room and said: "Here, take the child!"⁷ According to the custom of the day the infant was turned over to a wet nurse, but it remained near its mother. The house of Xavier was destined to remain Francis' home until his nineteenth year.⁸

2. PAST TIMES

The site of the castle was lonely, but strategically important, for it provided the only entrance from Upper Aragon to Navarre. This was why the Romans in former times had built a bridge over the stream for the military road going from Huesca to Pompeiopolis (Pamplona). Nearby they had erected a tower and on

¹ According to the notebook of Xavier's brother Juan, who obtained it from a book of his father (cf. Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 83-86).

² Escalada 207.

³ According to Tursellinus (1, 1) Doña Maria had several children, according to Lucena (1, 1) and Martínez (Turselino-Guzmán 1, 1) she had many children; Fray Benito de Oza stated the same in 1614 (MX II 668), and in 1551 Bernal de Jaca testified that Miguel had several sisters older than he and two younger brothers: Juan and Francés (Cros, *Doc.* *II 230). Perhaps a number of the children died soon after their birth. On this see Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 111-113.

⁴ ARSI: *Cast.* 9, 214v; MX II 686; Cros, *Vie* II 481-482; Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 86-88.

⁵ MX II 25.

⁶ EX 1 12; Cros, *Doc.* *II 230.

⁷ According to Martínez, who examined the family archives at Xavier, this was contained in a *memoria antiga* of 1620 (in the preface to Turselino-Guzmán).

⁸ Juan de Azpilcueta, lord of Sada, in 1536 declared as a witness that he had often been at the castle of Xavier and had known Francis there, "y lo bió criar en cassa, assí estando con la nodriça en la teta... asta que se ausentase de este reyno para los estudios" (MX II 72-73). On other alleged or actual sites visited by Xavier, see Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 90-101.

the neighboring hill a fortress to protect it. From this bastion the hill had received its name of "Castellar." Time and again Roman remains were turned up by the plow.⁹ Then the Goths conquered the land. Later the monks of St. Benedict founded a monastery, San Salvador de Leyre, upon the opposite mountain slope.¹⁰ This region was the last place of refuge for the bishops and kings of Navarre from the middle of the ninth, to the beginning of the eleventh, century, when the Moors brought under their control the Ribera as far as the capital and the Christians were forced to accept Islamism or be driven back into the fastnesses of the Basque mountains. Starting from Leyre, the princes in bloody battles slowly but surely reconquered their former lands. Tudela was captured from the Moors in 1114 by King Alfonso the Battler, and this broke the Moorish domination over Navarre forever. Eight years later he transferred the old Roman settlement of Sangüesa from the heights of Rocaforte down near to his palace on the Aragon River. In 1131 he handed it over to the Knights of St. John along with the church of Santa María.¹¹ The old Roman fortress on Castellar hill was perhaps about this time brought down nearer to the stream and road.¹² The castle that was erected on the new site received from its Basque builder the name Exabierr, or "New House."¹³

In 1236 Adam de Sada received the castle from King Theobald I, the Crusader, as a fief for life.¹⁴ In the same year the black-robed Benedictines were replaced by the white-robed sons of St. Bernard.¹⁵ Thereafter the Sada held the frontier watch against Aragon at the castle of Xavier.¹⁶ Their ancestral home lay two hours to the west of Sangüesa. They boasted of their kinship with the ruling house¹⁷ and bore on their standards an inverted, silver half-moon on a blood-red field with golden champagne,¹⁸ a reminder of the wars against the Moors.

In 1252 Martín Aznárez, the successor of Adam, bequeathed his property of Ordoiz to the king and received for it in perpetuity the "castle of Exavierr with

⁹ Escalada has republished his various reports on Roman remains at Xavier and its environs in *La Arqueología en la villa y castillo de Javier y sus contornos* (Pamplona, 1943); see also Blas Taracena Aguirre y Louis Vázquez de Parga, *Excavaciones en Navarra I: 1942-1946* (Pamplona, 1948); *Príncipe de Viana* 10 (1949) 353-382; 11 (1950) 9-39; 14 (1953) 271-307; 15 (1954) 29-54; and M. A. Mezquiriz, *Los mosaicos de la villa romana de Liédena*, *ibid.* 17 (1956) 9-35.

¹⁰ In 848 St. Eulogius encountered a flourishing monastery here and found references to Mohammed in its library (Moret I 234 241; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 115, 846 850 859; cf. *Príncipe de Viana* 5 [1944] 161-172).

¹¹ Moret III 333-336; Yanguas III 293.

¹² The first document on the castle of Xavier dates from 1217: Don Ladron mortgages the castle, villa, and mill of Savierr to the king of Navarre for fifteen hundred *morabetini*, and the king must "ponere in afortimento de supradicto castello et villa" six hundred more *morabetini* (Escalada 154). The oldest part of the castle is St. Michael's tower. Francisco Iñiguez, general director of the Art Treasures in Spain, made the following observation about it: "Su aparejo más antiguo, en la zona baja, es de piedras 'a tizón' enormes de tamaño y en forma análoga a las partes musulmanas más modernas del Castillo Gormaz, de fines del siglo X, pudiendo ser aquí del XI."

¹³ *Etxa* ("house") -*berri* ("new"); cf. J. E. de Uriarte, S.J., "Javier. Etimología y significación de este apellido," *Razón y Fe* 4 (1902) 505-515.

¹⁴ Escalada 156.

¹⁵ Moret IV 233-234.

¹⁶ On the origins of the Sada see *Linajes de Aragón. Revista quincenal* 6 (Huesca, 1915) 213.

¹⁷ On the alleged descent of Xavier and the kings of Navarre and Aragon from Eudon Aznar, see Schurhammer "Jugendprobleme" 101-107.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 122; Cros, *Doc.* *II 101-102.

villa, rectory, tithes, fields, vineyards, saltworks, men and women."¹⁹ In 1281 Gil Martínez obtained for its lords a yearly income of eight hundred *sueldos*,²⁰ and in 1329, the king granted "to his cousin" Rodrigo Aznárez de Sada a privilege of immunity for himself and his successors. According to this no one in authority could take action against them except in case of treason or in virtue of a direct command of the king, or of the Supreme Court, or of the Royal Council.²¹ As a privileged ancestral residence, Xavier was one of the oldest and most respected of the noble houses of Navarre. It enjoyed the right of asylum and freedom from imposts of all kinds; and within the territory of the castle, which was about three leagues in circumference, the lord of the castle was the unrestricted sovereign.²²

With the early death of Alfonsico, the great-great-grandson of Rodrigo, the male line of the Sada was broken, and the castle passed over to the Azpilcueta through Martín, Francis' grandfather, who had married Alfonsico's sister, Juana de Sada.²³ The new owner carried on his banner the black and white checkerboard of his ancestors,²⁴ but as lord of the castle of Xavier he henceforth bore on his coat of arms an inverted black and white checkered, double half-moon with the silver half-moon of the Sada in the middle and three black and white checkered crossbeams beneath on a red field with silver champagne.²⁵

3. THE CASTLE OF XAVIER ²⁶

The old castle had changed little from the thirteenth century up to the time of Francis' birth. It was still a defiant stronghold on the frontier from days fraught with war.

¹⁹ Escalada 147-150.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 158.

²¹ *Ibid.* 151-154 ("nuestro Pariente Don Rodrigo Aznárez").

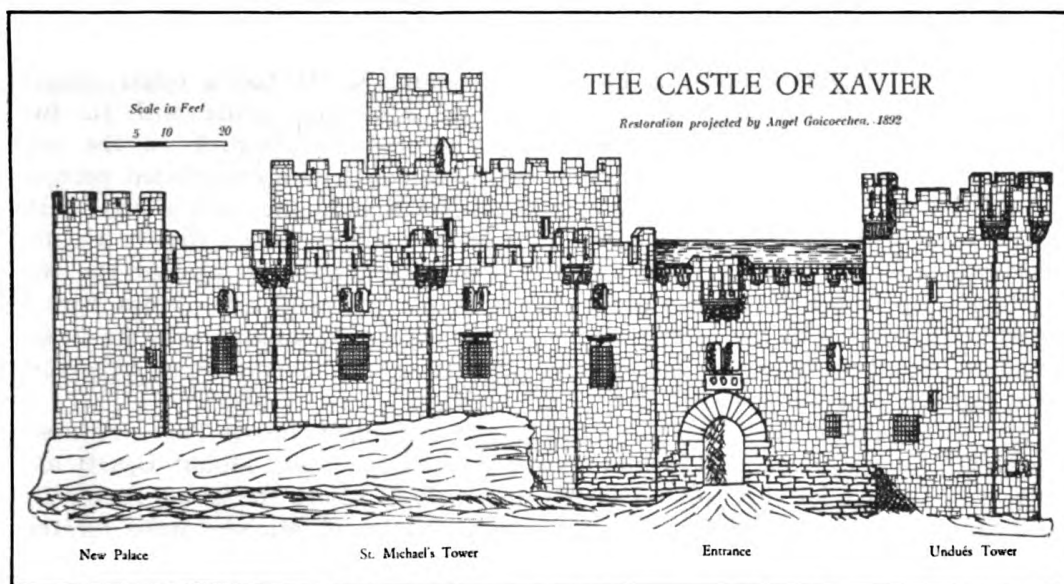
²² Cros, *Doc.* I 108-111.

²³ On this disputed point in family history, see Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 107-110. Juana was the daughter of Martín Aznárez (also known as Ruyz) de Sada, the stepdaughter of Alonso de Artieda, and half-sister of Martín and Alonso de Xavier.

²⁴ MX II 66.

²⁵ Cf. Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 113-129.

²⁶ Our description of the castle is mainly based on the accounts of its partial destruction in 1516 (Escalada 225-242). These have been confirmed by the excavations of 1952, the inventories of 1605 (Schurhammer, "Inventario de los vienes que quedaron en Xavierr," *Príncipe de Viana* 11 [1950] 309-328), of 1604 and 1615 (published by J. M. Recondo, S.J. *ibid.* 12 [1951] 279-285), the two documents on the reconstruction carried out in 1625-1626 (*ibid.* 282-285 and in Cros, *Vie* II 481-482), the account of the not entirely successful restoration carried on from 1892 to 1895 (*Album de Javier* [Madrid, 1901] 13-25), the drawings and pictures made before 1892, and especially by a thorough investigation of the structure in 1930, during the course of which Father Escalada and the three oldest men on the site gave us valuable information about its condition before the restoration. Valentín Arteta, S.J., has given a good historical description of the castle based upon the latest literature and personal investigations in *El Castillo y la villa de Javier* (Zaragoza, 1952). After the publication of this work the whitewashed walls were stripped of their plaster, the dividing walls were removed, the roof of the old palace replaced by a flat roof, and the foundations of the outer wall which was destroyed in 1516 were exposed. This contributed some new information but also created some new problems for a definitive restoration (on this see *idem*, "Excavaciones y restauración en el Castillo de Javier," *El Pensamiento Navarro*, May 31 to June 9, 1933). The two oldest engravings of the castle are found in a volume of odds and ends that once belonged to the Bolandists (Brussels, Bibl. Royale: *codex* 8963 f. 7-8). They were torn out of a book which we could not identify. The lettering is in French. The first engraving gives front and



It lay hardly a quarter of an hour away from the stream on a steep slope above the Roman road. Its approach was from the mountainside, where, beyond the church and the parish house, the south wall with its battlements, embrasures, circuitous walk, and two round, flanking towers barred the way. Through a fortified gate one came to the drawbridge and, after crossing the waterless moat, into the outer castle court, which was bounded on the north by the red stone façade of the castle.²⁷

On a rock jutting high out of the ground rested the advances of the main building with its double windows above and below and its windowless, semicircular chapel tower on the left. Farther back to the right was the east wing, whose two upper stories were at the same level as that of the main building. Next to the wall was the high, many-cornered east tower. The battlements, pitch-holes, and embrasures for bows and crossbows gave to the whole complex, which was dominated by the high tower of St. Michael, a warlike appearance.

The main entrance was located at the juncture of the east wing with the main building. This Gothic portal set with large hewn stones led into the inner court. Over it was a triple coat of arms carved in stone. This was arranged horizontally and divided into three parts by two angels. In the center was the half-moon of Xavier; to the left, the coat of arms of the father: the walking bear of the Jassu in front of a holm oak; and on the right, the maternal crest: the checkerboard of the Azpilcueta.

rear views, a ground plan, and the coat of arms of the castle; the second shows its surroundings and bears the inscription: *Del. L. M. S. I.* A work by George Fournier, S.J., anonymously printed in Paris after his death in 1656, carries the title *Asiae nova descriptio, cura L. M. S.* This L. M. S. appears to be identical with the artist who made the two engravings. Fournier edited among other works a *Traité des fortifications ou architecture militaire, tiré des places les plus estimées de ce temps* [Paris, 1649] with 110 plates. He died at La Flèche in 1652. More recently Recondo has published an important article on the castle in *Príncipe de Viana* 18 [1957] 261-417.

²⁷ Escalada 231-232.

In the vestibule behind the portal there was a door opening up on the ground floor of the east wing of the castle. The narrow inner court, which was paved with cobbles, led gently up in a half circle around St. Michael's tower, which stood behind the front of the castle. This huge square structure with its two annexes on both sides rose up from the twenty-six-foot-high rock on the left. A wall forty-nine feet high with a circular walk protected by a crenellated parapet shut off the court on the steep side of the valley. Behind the gate of the castle lay the draw well, forty-nine feet deep. Left of it, under the main tower, was the dungeon hewn out of the native rock.²⁸ To the right, built up against the surrounding wall, was a loft for grain²⁹ and a stable for horses.³⁰ From here a stairway led down into the rooms of the cellar below, illuminated only by broad loopholes, where an oil press, stone jars, wine press, and barrels were located.³¹ From here an exit led out into the open.

The "new palace" was located at the end of the inner court. This was more habitable than the gloomy old building and looked out upon Mount Ugasti and the Aragon River. Stone steps led to the upper floor, where the living rooms for the lords of the castle³² and the chapel dedicated to St. Michael were located. The reredos behind the altar and the walls were decorated with the family coat of arms.³³

To the left of the new palace was a stone staircase of eleven steps leading up to a small stone platform. Two gaping loopholes, one in St. Michael's tower and the other in the chapel tower of the "old palace," opened upon the stairs and platform. A narrow, Gothic gateway decorated with a coat of arms formed here the sole entrance to this part of the castle.³⁴ A heavy iron door led into an

²⁸ Cros, *Doc.* *II 94; *Vie* I 56. In 1626 there is a report of work on it.

²⁹ *Graneros* (Inventory of 1605). In 1626 a *granero* was made into a second stable (Recondo 283-285).

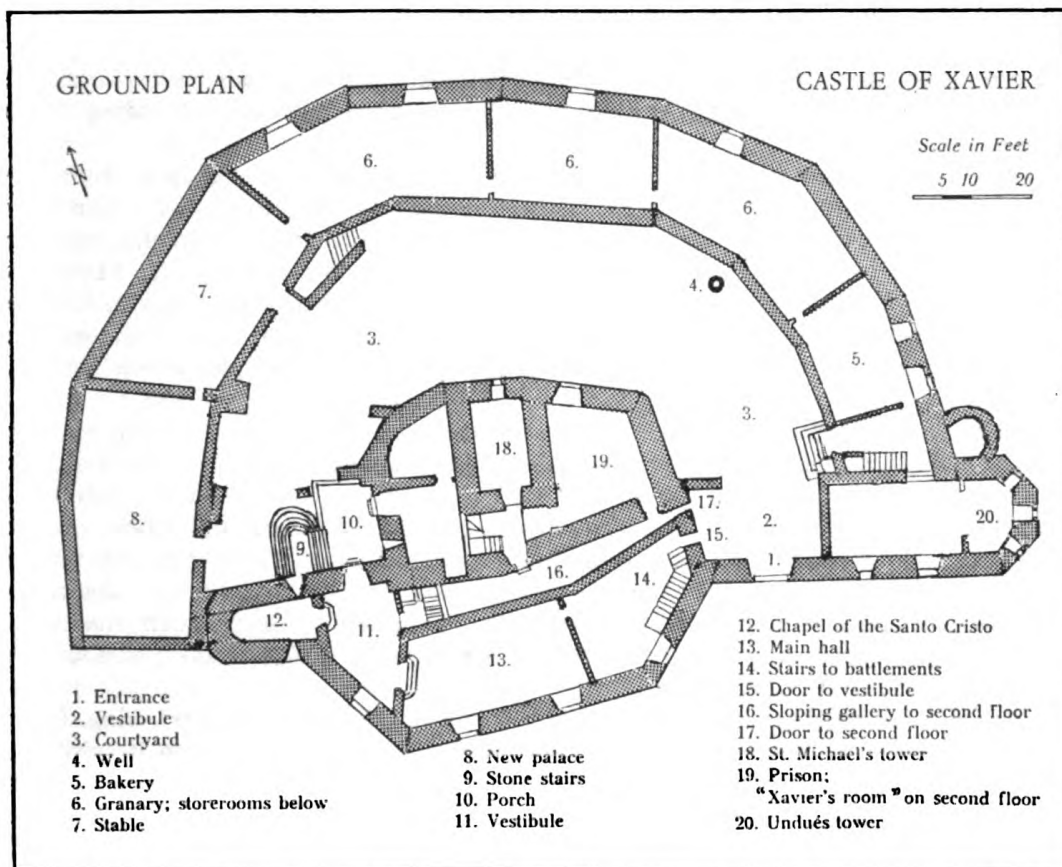
³⁰ Cros, *Vie* II 481-482. "La caballeriza principal" and "la segunda cavalleriza" (Recondo 384-385).

³¹ *Bodegas* (Inventory of 1605), *aposeno de los cubos* (Recondo 284). In 1604 the vineyard of the castle yielded 150 loads of wine, and the cellar held twenty-six large and small barrels; in 1615 there were twenty-three (*ibid.* 279-281).

³² In 1891 the entrance to the new palace, later converted into a church, was still facing the inner court. In 1575 a servant lay sick on the ground floor (Cros, *Doc.* I 457-458). The inventory of 1615 distinguishes between the upper story of the main hall (*sala principal*) and the room where Xavier was born (*la sala del Padre Fray Francisco Xavier*) (Recondo 280). The building contract of 1625 states that the floor should be drained from the main hall to the chapel of Xavier (according to the decree of canonization of 1622, Xavier's room was to be changed into a chapel), the door of St. Michael's chapel should be opened, that of Xavier's altered, the lower rooms on the ground floor covered with brick and wooden floors, the main stable for the horses plastered, and the floor of the granary dug up, since it also was to become a stable (Cros, *Vie* II 481-482). On Christmas, 1625, there was an obligation "sacar las aguas de San Miguel"; on March 10, 1626, one hundred ducats were paid "por sacar las aguas que son desde la sala principal a lado de la capilla del Santo Francisco Xabierr" (Recondo 282).

³³ In 1536 a witness mentions the family coat of arms "esculpidas en muchos escudos" in St. Michael's chapel and on its altar screen (MX II 76). In 1575 the mistress of the castle ordered in her will that her body should lie in state in St. Michael's chapel and a Mass should be celebrated every Friday alternately before the crucifix (in the old castle) and in St. Michael's chapel (in the new castle), and that she should be buried in the parish church (Cros, *Doc.* *II 248-249; *Vie* II 456-457; cf. MX II 23; Moret VII 179; Cros, *Doc.* I 358).

³⁴ The inventory of 1605 mentions the following rooms: (1) the *sala grande* with the new chimney and a loophole (*saettera cerrada*), an indication that this room was in the old castle; (2) *aposeno segundo*, adjoining it; (3) *tercer aposento*; then, as it



irregular vestibule, to the right of which was the chapel of the old palace, hardly eight feet wide. It had a narrow loophole opening upon the outer court and another upon the stairs. Over the altar was the old and highly revered crucifix of more than life size. Behind the crucifix the wall was painted with representations of the instruments of the Passion. The other three walls had frescoes portraying a popular medieval theme, "the dance of death."³⁵ To the left of the

seems to us, on the story above: (4) the *segunda sala* with the archives; (5) the *aposento que llaman "guardaropa"* with books, bedding, clothes, weapons, and other household utensils, and also seven sides of salted pork; (6) the *aposento que llaman "la torre"*; (7) and (8) two more *aposentos*, sleeping rooms, each supplied with a canopied bed; (9) an *aposento que llaman "la salica."* Since a gilded bed of this type stood in one of the last three rooms, it was also called "*el aposento de la cama dorada.*" In 1626 the two rooms (*aposentos*), the *cocina* and *guardaropa*, were renovated (*despalmar*) and each was supplied with a tile floor. At the same time a door was opened into the *guardaropa*. At this time *los cinco aposentos* were whitewashed and the *sala grande* was paneled (Recondo 284-285).

³⁵ It is first mentioned in 1586 (Moret VII 179). It is later described by Peña in 1620, who states that the highly revered crucifix had been found three hundred years before in a hole in a wall of the castle (MX II 20 to 23). It is also described by Escalada in his *San Francisco Javier y su Castillo* (Pamplona, 1917) 97-125. The inventory of 1615 notes that "En la capilla del Santo Cristo se alló un cuadro de la Annunciación de Nuestra Señora y del Descendimiento de la cruz y 8 cuadros de apóstolos" (Recondo 280). At the beginning of September, 1970, as the walls of the chapel of the Santo

vestibule there was a second door into the main hall³⁶ with its tile floor, timbered roof, chimney, and grated windows. From here one could pass on to the remaining rooms on the first floor as far as the east tower. A third door in the vestibule on the left led into an open gallery which separated the main building from St. Michael's tower.

A low, narrow portal led from the gallery to the left into a dark, high vestibule,³⁷ the walls of which reached up to the roof of the old palace. The only light came through two loopholes, one opening upon the stone staircase, and the other upon the gallery. From here one could pass to the lower level of St. Michael's tower, which served the servants as a kitchen.³⁸ Its floor was fashioned from the native rock; its arched, tile roof was one story higher than that of the castle; and its sole source of light was a small window high up on the north wall of the room.

Even if an enemy got this far, he still had not gained much. The sloping gallery, which furnished the only entrance to the upper stories, was exposed to shots from all sides. At its upper end was a vestibule leading on the left to a tower room³⁹ of the east annex and straight ahead to the upper rooms of the east wing. On the right were the living quarters of the main building: two rooms with double windows,⁴⁰ a passageway with a skylight in the ceiling,⁴¹ the choir loft and a little room behind it with two Gothic windows through which one could watch the gallery and a hole in the floor through which one could shoot into the vestibule of the main tower.

To advance further, one had to return to the vestibule of the east wing, from which a wooden staircase led to the roof of the castle. The roof, with its circular walk and battlements, ran the whole length of the main building and its east wing and dominated the inner and outer courts of the castle. The two flanking towers each contained here a guard room. On their sides were stone steps protected by a wall leading up to the flat roofs of the towers with their crenellated parapets.

To the right of the chapel tower was a wooden bridge leading to the upper part of the main tower. If this were removed, St. Michael's tower with its annexes would be completely isolated. A narrow corridor with two rooms opening up to the east and west and a window over against the gallery led to a steep stone stairway. This in turn led to the fourth floor and the embattled terraces of the two annexes which surrounded the tower on three sides. Wooden stairs ran up the inside of St. Michael's tower to its roof.

From here there was a brilliant view. On the south the castle grounds formed a wide amphitheater stretching out along the blue Aragon River. On the east

Cristo were being cleaned, it was discovered that mural paintings of the eighteenth century were concealing earlier paintings of the end of the fourteenth, or early fifteenth, century. The more recent murals have been removed, and it is now possible to see the chapel as it was at the time of Xavier's youth. See "Una Danza de la Muerte descubierta en Javier," *Diario de Navarra*, March 3, 1971, p. 16.

³⁶ This is called the "*sala grande*" in the inventory of 1605 and the "*sala del Cristo*" in that of 1615, because it was next to the chapel of the crucifix, the *Santo Cristo* (Recondo 281).

³⁷ The *aposenito escuro tras del cozina* of the inventory of 1605.

³⁸ The *cocina de los criados* (*ibid.*).

³⁹ The *aposenito que llaman "la torre"* (*ibid.*). According to the family tradition of the lords of the castle, this was the living room of the saint, as Marcello Guindano assured us.

⁴⁰ The *segunda sala* with the *salica* (*ibid.*).

⁴¹ The *guardaropa* (*ibid.*).

this was flanked by the gently sloping 2,716-foot-high Farrandillo with its brown fields and, higher up, its dark green holm oaks. Beyond this could be seen at a distance of two hours the houses of the little frontier town of Undués in Aragon. On the west it was bounded by the yellow, sloping meadows of high Ugasti, behind which rose up in the distance the pale blue pyramids of the Higa and Izaga mountains. Here sheer rocks on both sides of the river closed off the valley. The Roman road therefore passed over the east slope of Mount Ugasti on its way to Sangüesa.

Below the castle, towards the east, stretched a broad fruitful strip of land with fields for vines, olives, and grain. Here also, on the bank of the Aragon, was located the castle mill. Opposite it lay a solitary house and church, the "Granja," which belonged to the monks of Leyre. It was also known as the "Cortes," a reminder of Moorish times, when the kings of Navarre held court here. To its right over the pale silver-green of an olive-covered hill, could be seen a brown, cramped, and narrow village with a church tower resembling a fortress at its side. This was Yesa, lying over the Roman bridge, which was hidden by a projection of the Farrandillo. Higher up on the oak-covered slope was a reddish brown building with a church, the Cistercian monastery of Leyre. Behind this stretched a wild, dark blue mountain range with jagged crests and steep, grey cliffs shutting off the horizon on the north. Over it, to the right, passed the ancient sheep trail leading to the Roncal and Salazar valleys. Below, to the left, was another trail leading to Liédena and Lumbier, two old Roman settlements, and to the wild, impassible ravine of the Irati, over which a single block of stone, the "Devil's Bridge," arched at a dizzy height.⁴²

4. THE FAMILY OF THE CASTLE

The village which had once stood next to the castle of Xavier had disappeared long before Francis was born. Only its extensive ruins remained as a reminder of it.⁴³ The parish of Santa María de Exabierr was therefore small.

Doña María, Xavier's mother, was at the time of his birth barely forty-two years old. She had herself been born at the castle of Xavier,⁴⁴ but her real home was in the Basque-speaking Baztán Valley in northwest Navarre with its ever-flowing brooks, its rich green meadows, its apple orchards and sweet chestnuts, its shady beech and oak forests, its cozy, whitewashed farmhouses with their red stone corners, wooden porches and checkerboard coats of arms over their main portals to indicate nobility. Only free people lived in the fourteen communities in the valley. All were subject to a single alcalde and shared a common pasture. They paid taxes to no one, not even to the king. They pointed with pride to the many-colored silk banner in the town hall of the principal village, Elizondo, which their forefathers had carried in the victory over the

⁴² On the Devil's Bridge, see MX II 11-12.

⁴³ Cros, *Doc.* I 129-130; Escalada 205 213; Orbayceta 35, 6 17-40v. With respect to the destruction of the *villa de Xavier* in 1456, Pedro Abarca states that in the civil war between the prince of Viana and his father, Juan, the Beaumontese, the followers of the prince, seized Saint-Jean-de-Pied-de-Port during the armistice. In revenge the Agramontese, the followers of King Juan, shed still more blood, "como se experimentó en el lugar de Xavier (cuyo Señor [Alonso de Artieda] era beamontés) que entrándole por fuerza, no se les acabó la de su ira, hasta le pusieron tan por el suelo, que no se ha levantado hasta oy" (*Anales de Aragón* II [Salamanca, 1584] 231).

⁴⁴ Cf. Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 86.

Moors at Navas de Tolosa in 1212. They also took pride in the parchment scroll, eleven and one-half feet long, through which Prince Charles had confirmed their privileges as nobles in the year 1440.

Only one class was shut out from these privileges—the Agotes.⁴⁵ They lived apart from the rest in Bozate, a hamlet near the village of Arizcun, the next town to Azpilcueta, and were subject to the lords of Ursúa, who had settled them there in former times. They were foreigners, though they now spoke Basque like the rest, and were shunned as if they were lepers. They were not allowed to marry other Christians or to bury their dead in the common cemetery; they could not become priests or hold any public office; they had to enter and leave the church through a special door; they had their own holy-water font and place in church and were not allowed to kiss the pax with the portrait of the church's patron on it until the rest were through; they could receive blessed bread and Holy Communion only after the others; and they could never enter the other villages barefooted. They were descendants of dispersed Aragoans who had been excommunicated for having fought in 1214, under King Ferdinand, for Count Raymond of Toulouse, the protector of the heretical Albigensians, as they claimed; but their adversaries maintained they were descendants of the leper Giezi, the servant of the prophet Eliseus.⁴⁶

The Azpilcueta did not belong to the more wealthy nobility of Navarre; but, like the Jaureguizar, they proudly traced their ancestry back to the time of Charlemagne, when their forefathers near Roncesvalles had completely wiped out the king's rear guard with Roland and his paladins.⁴⁷ The privileged seat of this noble family lay in Azpilcueta. Here the ruler of Xavier was lord⁴⁸ and owned an estate and palace with a crenellated tower.⁴⁹ In 1511 Francis' father made an addition to this by purchasing half of the palace of Arraztoa in the neighboring Maya.⁵⁰ Doña María liked to speak of her grandfather, Juan de Azpilcueta. His brothers Juan Pérez and Miguel went to Monreal and Sada; and his five sons became the founders of five houses in Azpilcueta, Xavier, Cáseda, Lezaun,

⁴⁵ On the Agotes, see F. X. Michel, *Histoire des Races maudites de la France et de l'Espagne* (Paris, 1847); Julio Altadill, "Bozate y los Agotes. Enigma histórico," *El Libro de Oro de la Patria* (San Sebastián, 1934, with a bibliography); Florencio Idoate, "Agotes en los valles de Roncal y Bastán," *Príncipe de Viana* 9 (1948) 489-512; Pilar Hors, "Seroantropología e historia de los Agotes," *ibid.*, 12 (1951) 307-343; Yanguas I 11-14; IV 7-8; and "Gafos" and "Razas malditas," *Espasa XXV* 383-384 and Suppl. VIII 1307-1309. A descendant of Martín de Azpilcueta of Lezaun maintained in the eighteenth century that his ancestors were old Christians of pure blood "sin mancha, ni mezcla de Moros, Judíos, Agotes, ni Penitenciados por el S. Oficio" (*Executorial de hidalguía por patente, insertas sentencias de la real Corte, y Consejo de este Reyno, obtenidas por Pedro Gerónimo Azpilcueta vecino del Lugar de Zurucuain y demás Adheridos* [Pamplona, 1783] 9-10); in 1779 a Jassu in Mexico said the same of himself, and the parish priest of Beorlegui testified that there were relatives of the Jassu in Lower Navarre (Cros, *Doc.* *II 27 and 4; *Ejecutoria de nobleza de D. Martín Joaquín de Jaso, Mexico* [Pamplona, 1780], Ms. of the castle of Xavier, f. 8).

⁴⁶ See their petition to the pope in 1517 and the answer of their opponents in Michel II 211-212; cf. 212-231; I 189-192 and Yanguas I 12-13. Only in very recent times has their position been partially improved, for if there are any conservatives in the world, they are the Basque farmers of the valley of Baztán.

⁴⁷ Martinus ab Azpilcueta, *Opera* I (Coloniae Agr., 1616) 329 369 371 260; Cros, *Doc.* I 170-171.

⁴⁸ Miguel de Lasa was parish priest from 1501 to 1538 (Escalada 93-94).

⁴⁹ *Palacio, torre, borda* (Cros, *Doc.* I 175-179); cf. Schurhammer, "Jugendproblem" 94-95.

⁵⁰ Escalada 94, 5; Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 95-96.

in the valley of Yerri, and Echagüe, in the valley of Valdorba.⁵¹ Doña María's sister, Aunt Violante, who was sixteen years younger than she, and who was honored by the members of the household as a saint, also enjoyed speaking of her Basque homeland.⁵²

Francis knew of his eldest sister, Magdalena, only from hearsay. He learned from his mother of her saintly life in the convent of the Poor Clares of Gandía in the far-off kingdom of Valencia.⁵³ Miguel, the future lord of the castle, was eleven,⁵⁴ and Juan nine years older than Francis. Juan, who later became a brave captain,⁵⁵ would never attend a bullfight, since one did not learn there how to attack a foe but only how to flee.⁵⁶ Anna, Francis' second sister, was destined to leave the palace when he was only six years old to marry Diego de Ezpeleta, whose ancestral castle lay in Beire, not far from the royal palace of Oiite.⁵⁷

Francis' father stayed most of the time in Pamplona, where he attended to his official duties, and visited his family only at intervals. His place was taken

⁵¹ According to Juan de Azpilcueta of Echagüe in 1580 (Cros, *Doc.* *II 104; *Vie* I 22). The Azpilcueta in Lezaun, Echagüe, and Sada will be discussed later. It seems that those of Cáseda had already died out by the end of the sixteenth century. No house has survived with their coat of arms, or family with their name. In the parish records, where the first baptism is registered in 1598, the first confirmation in 1600, the first death in 1580, and the first marriage in 1583, there is only one entry pertaining to this family. In the **Libro I de Difuntos* for 1595 there is the following notice: "A onze de nobiembre murió Aqueda y Miguel, alias La Serrana. No hizo testamento," and then the person who kept the records for 1596 adds in the same black ink as there: "A se de hazer [la missa de la Confraria] por María de Azpilcueta y por la hija de la escudera." Although another Azpilcueta was the godfather at the christening of Juan de Iquiz on July 28, 1598, it was Juan de Azpilcueta from Sada (**Libro I de Bautizados*, f. 1). The municipal archives were destroyed by fire; its oldest documents are from the eighteenth century.

⁵² Cros, *Doc.* *II 104; MX II 24-25.

⁵³ Magdalena will be discussed later; on her see also Escalada 286-289; Lucena 1, 2; MX II 25-30 666 677-678; Cros, *Doc.* *II 230; *Vie* I 132.

⁵⁴ Miguel, who had been married to Isabel de Gofii since 1527, was always in need of money, since to the end of his life he had to carry on costly suits with the shepherds of Roncal, the farmers of Idocin, of Zizur, Subiza, and Ibiricu, and with Martín de Sarramiana in Sangüesa. As a consequence he even had to sell the rents in Garrués, which he had received by right of primogeniture. He died at the beginning February, 1542 (MX II 1010), and left two children, Miguel, who was born about 1528 and died in 1557, and Anna, who followed her brother as *señora* of the castle and died in 1575. On Miguel see Cros, *Doc.* I 87 194-195 209-230 205-209 230-233 245-251 254 292 294 301-302 315 379-383 386-387 403; *II 80 137 156 200-202 210 212 217; *Vie* (index).

⁵⁵ Since 1524 Juan had drawn a salary as captain. He had lived since 1528, when he married a rich widow, Juana de Arbizu, in Obanos. After her death in 1548, he entered into a second marriage with Lucía de Aguirre, who bore him two children, Jerónima and Francisco. He built the family palace of the Azpilcueta in Barasoáin more magnificently than Dr. Navarrus, who had commissioned it, desired. In 1555 he purchased from Don Francisco de Navarra a house in Tafalla and the property of Pozuelo as an entailed estate for seven hundred ducats. He died in 1556. On him see Cros, *Doc.* I 87 176 216 245-246 249 252 296-301 385 392-399 417 467-472 486-487 498-499; *II 26 137 217 230 232-235 239 245 272-274; *Vie* (index); Yanguas IV 256; Olóriz 383 475-476; Arigita, *El Doctor Navarro* 228 461. The archives of Captain Juan de Azpilcueta and his descendants are to be found today well arranged among those of the count of Peñaflorida in San Sebastián, which Cros partially used.

⁵⁶ Martinus ab Azpilcueta, *Enchiridion* (Romae, 1573) 15, 18.

⁵⁷ On Anna see Cros, *Doc.* I 87-90 38 315-316 319 461-467; *II 26 133-144; *Vie* (index); Argamasilla de La Cerda I 142-144.

by Uncle Martín of Lezaun,⁵⁸ his mother's cousin, who, especially after the death of the doctor, became a second father to the young Francis. The Azpilcueta in Lezaun differed little in their way of living from the free peasants of the land,⁵⁹ and uncle Martín frequently went to France and brought back with him cows, oxen, horses, and pigs to sell in Navarre. Because he had been during the wars for a time in the service of the lord of Lux and other lords in France and Lower Navarre, he was called "the Frenchman." He was a great friend and benefactor of the Cistercians of Iranzu near Estella,⁶⁰ where one of his sons had become a monk. There he was always a highly welcomed guest.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Cros gives the erroneous spelling "Lecaun" (*Vie* I 21-23). The manuscript of his second volume gives the name correctly as "Leçaun." Leçaun lay in the valley of Ibar-goiti, and the Azpilcueta never lived there. Lezaun, today an independent community, is located high up in the valley of Yerri in the Urbasage mountains and has extensive pastures and dark, thick beech and holm oak forests. In 1500 it had thirty native, and forty foreign, residents (*vezinos*) and pastures for over ten thousand head of cattle. The raising of livestock was the main source of income for its inhabitants. The cultivation of vines was impossible in the raw mountain air, and grain did poorly (Municipal Archives: **Escritura del Concejo de Lezaun y ganaderos 1581*, observations of Licentiate Echaide and of another unnamed individual in 1580). Most of this had to be imported from the Ribera and Alava (*ibid.* **Cuentas 1585-1592*, for example, the financial records of Juan López de Azpilcueta, of Pedro de Azpilcueta, and of Diego de Azpilcueta). In 1576 the number of native citizens had shrunk to twenty-eight and that of foreign residents to something over thirty (*ibid.* **Proceso de Diego Díaz de Azcona 1577*, doc. n. 22), and less land was being cultivated (*ibid.* **Escritura 1581*).

⁵⁹ A decision of 1534 declared: "En el dicho lugar de Leçaun son todos fidalgos y algunos que tienen armas y insignias" (*ibid.* **Sentencia arbitraria del lugar de Lezaun con Miguel de Subiza 1534*, doc. n. 18).

⁶⁰ Through the efforts of the Institución Príncipe de Viana, the picturesque Gothic monastery, which was in ruins when we first visited it, has been restored, as have been La Oliva and Leyre. It is today occupied by the Theatines. From 1513 to 1557 the abbot of the monastery was Rodrigo de Azevedo (**Resumen del quaderno que contiene la fundación y excelencias del Real Monasterio de n. Sra. de Iranzu, que escribió el M. Rev. P. D. Fr. Miguel Ramón Zapater*, pp. 76-77. The octavo volume, which contains 268 pages of very small, dense writing was composed at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is in the library of Azcona, Tafalla).

⁶¹ On Martín see Cros, *Doc.* *II 104-105 107-108. From 1500 to 1521 or longer, he lived with some interruptions at the castle of Xavier and "solía regir y gobernar el palacio y María y Violante por ser solas mugeres," as Juan de Echagüe declared in 1580 (*ibid.* 108). Of the five sons of Juan de Azpilcueta, Miguel remained in Azpilcueta, Martín moved to Xavier, Pero established himself in Echagüe, Petri Sanz in Cáseda, and Pero Sanz in Lezaun, where he married María Suquia. Martín, his son, married Catalina de Lezaun and had two sons, Juan Martínez, who married María de Urrea and is mentioned in 1534 (Municipal Archives: **Sentencia arbitraria 1534*, f. 25), and Miguel, a monk in Iranzu in 1530 (Cros, *Doc.* *II 105). In 1534 there was also a Lope in Lezaun (Municipal Archives: **Sentencia 1534*, f. 25) and in 1528 a Sancho de Azpilcueta (*ibid.* **Escritura del Concejo de Lezaun sobre la peña y cueba de Ayçartea*, doc. n. 44). Pedro, the son of Juan Martínez, had five sons by 1579: Juan, Martín, Miguel, Sancho, and Pedro (Cros, *Doc.* *II 103). According to the parish records, a Juan Martín, probably to be identified with this Juan, died in 1615 (**Libro primero de Bautismo, Confirmación, Matrimonio y Finados*, f. 167v). From Juan Miguel, lord of the palace of Lezaun, who died in 1605 (*ibid.* 163v), and who is probably to be identified with Miguel, descended the Azpilcueta who in 1792 were living in Baquedano and Santa Fé, in Michoacan, Mexico (family tree in Cros, *Doc.* *II 106-107). The Azpilcueta living in 1783 in Lezaun, Zurucuain, Baríndano, and Irure were descendants of a Jerónimo married to María Senosiain. He was probably a son of one of the aforementioned five sons of Pedro. According to the parish records he died in 1661. One of his descendants, Jerónimo Antonio, owned the family home in Lezaun in 1764 (*Executorial de hildaguia por patente, insertas sentencias de la Real Corte, y Consejo de este Reyno, obtenidas por Pedro Gerónimo Azpilcueta, vecino del Lugar de Zurucuain, y demás Adheridos* [Pamplona, 1783]. This printed

As a boy Francis also saw frequently other relatives of his mother in the castle of Xavier. Among these was his cousin Juan of Echagüe,⁶² who was nineteen years older than he. From 1500 to 1509 Juan served there as a page of his aunts María and Violante,⁶³ He also saw his cousin Juan de Azpilcueta of Sada,⁶⁴

document of forty-four pages is in the possession of the present owners of the old palace of Azpilcueta in Lezaun).

⁶² In 1863, according to the map of Prince Bonaparte, Echagüe, located high up in the farthest corner of a side valley of the Cidaco on the slope of Mount Alaiz, was still, like the whole of Valdorba, a Basque-speaking area. The Azpilcueta here had their privileged ancestral seat, which reached back into the ninth century. On their coat of arms they had a black cross with five gold pilgrim shells surrounded by four fields, each with a red ball on a silver ground, because the former lords had taken part in the battle with the Moors at Clavijo in the year 825, when San Tiago appeared for the first time (*Francisco de Elorza y Rada, *Genealogías*, ff. 57-v. The original manuscript with a colored coat of arms is in the library of Azcona, Tafalla). The author, who died in Barasoáin in 1717, adds to this: "The lords of the palace were Azpilcuetans until our time; they stemmed from the palace of Azpilcueta in the valley of the Baztán, the noble seat of the counts of Xavier, which was a dowry of the mother of Francis Xavier. This palace and the birthplace of Dr. Navarrus, which the Rada and Baquedano inherited, always preserved the tradition of this origin and of their relationship with the saint, just as the house of the secretary in Garinoáin" (*ibid.* 57v). In the printed edition of his work he adds to the picture of the coat of arms the evidence of the local notary: "I testify that I saw the coat of arms that is on the façade of the palace of Echagüe and that it has five shells in a cross and four round objects like globes on the four arms of the cross, and that it belongs to the family of Echagüe y Azpilcueta. Echagüe, May 17, 1712, Juan Dionisio, notary" (*Nobiliario de el Valle de la Valdorba* [Pamplona, 1714] 24-25). In 1546 the lord of the palace, Martín de Azpilcueta here had precedence in the kissing of the pax and in all processions (Yanguas IV 115-116).

⁶³ Cros, *Doc.* *II 104; *Vie* I 22. Juan de Azpilcueta, who is described as the parish priest of Echagüe in 1516, 1563, and 1580 (when he was ninety-three years old), had been born in 1487. His great-grandparents were Pedro, the founder of the house, and María Pérez; his grandparents were Miguel and Juana de Belzunce; and his father was Martín (*ibid.* and *Doc.* I 72). He is not to be identified with the Juan de Azpilcueta who owned the palaces (*palacios*) of Echagüe in 1583 (Tafalla, Notarial Archives: **not. Miguel de Azpilcueta*, n. 5) and was a brother of the cleric Don Pedro (*ibid.* **not. Juan Baygorri*, n. 51: Poder of October 27, 1570). In 1578 he had five children: Aldonza, Johannes Mayor, Johannes Menor, Joana, and María; and on January 7 of this same year he signed the marriage contract of his daughter Aldonza with Juan Armendáriz. He leaves to her all his possessions in Echagüe: houses, farms, gardens, vineyards, fields, all his moveable goods, and his large and small cattle. The usufruct of all his goods and a third of the same he keeps for life for himself and his wife. His other daughters must each be given a fifth of a *fanega* of land and each of his sons forty ducats. If one of the sons becomes a cleric, he is to be supported during his studies until he is twenty-five- or twenty-six-years old; and he is to receive, moreover, "un cuerpo de cassa cumplido que tiene frontero de su cassa principal afrontado con la torre y con camino real y con la hera de trillar del dicho Azpilcueta" and a vineyard next to that of Don Juan de Azpilcueta. The bridegroom must pay his parents-in-law three hundred, and the bride fifty, gold ducats (each equal to eleven silver reals) (*ibid.*, n. 1). His wife was named María de Ezcate, and one of his two sons married Juana de Orgaiz in 1606 (*ibid.* **not. Miguel Alonso*, n. 15). In 1604 his granddaughter María de Armendáriz had already been a widow for two years (*ibid.*, n. 73); and in his will, which he drew up in Oricin in 1616, he stipulated that his body was to be buried next to his ancestors in the parish church of Santa María de Echagüe (*ibid.*, n. 59). In 1608 he was the godfather of his great-grandchild, Juan Alzorritz (Echagüe, Parish Archives: **Libro de bautizados, confirmados, desposados y muertos de la parrochial del lugar de Echagüe desde el año de mill y quinientos noventa y nueve*: Baptismos, f. 3). He died on August 18, 1616 (*ibid.*, Muertos, f. 2). His granddaughter María de Armendáriz, who married Martín de Exea, was a widow in 1619. Her daughter Juana was at that time already deceased (*ibid.*, f. 4). The only palace on the site is a magnificent

fifteen years older than he, who often came over from his palace only three and one-half hours away.⁶⁵ The Azpilcueta in Barasoáin at the entrance of the valley of Valdorba also kept in touch with their relatives in the castle of Xavier. They had their origins in Sada, and Martín, the uncle of Juan of Sada, permitted two of his four sons, Martín Senior, and Martín Junior, to continue their studies.⁶⁶ At the time of Francis' birth the latter was already in the University of Alcalá. After completing his philosophy and theology there in 1511, he went to the University of Toulouse, where he studied civil and canon law.⁶⁷

Francis' paternal uncle Pedro, the justice in Pamplona, occasionally visited Xavier.⁶⁸ Graciana, his wife, died when Francis was only seven year's old.⁶⁹

building, which probably dates from the fifteenth century. It is located next to the parish house and has two small Gothic double windows and carries today over its main door the coat of arms of the Aldava. On the first and fourth fields of this there is an eagle, on the second two striding wolves, on the third three horizontal beams, and on the shield in the center a rampant lion (cf. José María de Huarte y de Jauregui y José de Rújula y de Ochotorena, *Nobiliario del Reino de Navarra* I [Madrid, 1923] 77-78). When we visited the palace in 1954, it was vacant and belonged to the sacristan Armendáriz. The generous cooperation of the Rdo. Sr. Francisco Olcoz, who assembled the documents on Echagüe for us, facilitated our research in the Notarial Archives of Tafalla.

⁶⁴ MX II 71-74; see also Cros, *Doc.* *II 99-103; Fita 237.

⁶⁵ The ruined palace still stands; see Santi de Andia, "La abuela materna de Xavier era de Sada y las ruinas del Palacio donde nació son ahora un gallinero," *El Pensamiento Navarro*, May 25, 1954, with photographs.

⁶⁶ On the Azpilcueta in Barasoáin and their relationship with Xavier's father, see Cros, *Doc.* *II 107-119; *Vie* I 21-23.

⁶⁷ This Martín de Azpilcueta, also known as "Dr. Navarrus," was the most famous professor of canon law of the sixteenth century. He is not to be confused with his various namesakes, for example, his brother Martín Mayor, who died in Tafalla in 1540, and who had also been a doctor and had for a time also been called "Dr. Navarrus," or with Xavier's distant cousin, Martín de Azpilcueta of Lezaun, who took the place of his father. He was the son of Martín, and the grandson of Miguel de Azpilcueta in Sada, a brother of Juan, the maternal great-grandfather of the saint (Arigita, *El Doctor Navarro* 17-19 229; Cros, *Doc.* *II 99-100). He had been born in Barasoáin in 1492, and had studied Latin there. He went to Alcalá for his philosophy and theology, and to Toulouse for civil and canon law. He was ordained there in 1515 and celebrated his first Mass far from home. He then taught canon law in Toulouse, Samatan, and Cahors, and went from there with his student Don Francisco de Navarra to Roncesvalles, where he made his year of novitiate as an Augustinian canon in 1523-1524. He taught canon law from 1524 to 1538 in Salamanca and from 1538 to 1554 in Coimbra, where he became "ex tepido fervens cultor" of the Jesuits, as he wrote in 1550. After his retirement he received a rich pension for life from his patron, John III. He lived from 1554 to 1567 in his native land, where he founded the primogeniture of the Azpilcueta in Barasoáin. Engaged in the suit of his countryman Carranza, he moved to Rome in 1567, where he was kept busy as an adviser of the Penitenziaria and with the publication of his works, which had been regularly appearing since 1542. He died at an advanced age in 1586. He was a great admirer of his cousin "Magister Franciscus ab Azpilcueta et Xabierre," as he called him, and included a memorial of him in his widely read *Manual de Confessores*. Shortly before his death he gave valuable information about Francis' youth to his biographer Tursellinus.—On him see the biographies by Arigita and Oloriz. See also M. L. Larremendi de Olarra—José Olarra, *Miscelánea de noticias romanas acerca de Don Martín de Azpilcueta, Doctor Navarro* (Madrid, 1943) and Cros, *Doc.* I 70-72 187-188 243-244 250 300 358-372 395 477-512. On his relations with Xavier, see Arigita, *El Doctor Navarro* 217-266; Oloriz 367-37; Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 77-79 94; MX II 154 671-673. His allegedly frequent visits to the castle of Xavier during Francis' youth, which are mentioned by Cros and others, have not been proved and are not very probable.

⁶⁸ On uncle Pedro de Jassu, see Cros, *Doc.* I 12 14-15 39 51 55-56 63-65 86 106 118 158 164-166; *II 5 26 77 150-152 156-170 220; *Vie* (index).

Aunt Juana, who was married to the lord of Artieda and lived at Olaz Menor, followed her to the grave five years later. In her will she bequeathed two candles to the parish church of Xavier and a damask dress to be made into vestments; and she bequeathed to each of her nieces and nephews, including Francis, twenty *sueldos febles*.⁷⁰ After her death there remained only aunt Margarita, who lived with her children in the castle of Olloqui, two hours from Pamplona. Her husband, the lord of Olloqui and castellan of Leguin and Lumbier, had died nine years before Xavier's birth.⁷¹ Among the cousins who often came from the capital to Xavier, were Valentín, a son of uncle Pedro, who was twenty years older than Francis,⁷² and Esteban de Huarte, the son of aunt María, who had been orphaned at an early age. He was twenty-five years older than Francis and could not read or write.⁷³ Uncle Pedro de Atondo, later the parish priest of Cemboráin, was also a frequent guest. He had the right to place the gold chain of Navarre on a red field on his coat of arms (a rare privilege), for in 1471 his father had, at the risk of his own life, secretly opened the city gate for the regent Doña Leonor at the surprise attack on Pamplona.⁷⁴ At the time of Xavier's birth he was in his fifties and had already spent twenty years in the castle.⁷⁵

Another person whom the young Francis grew to know was Miguel de Añues, who occasionally came over to Xavier from the neighboring Sangüesa.⁷⁶ He was related to the family both by blood and marriage⁷⁷ since his wife had been a Cruzat.⁷⁸ Before her marriage Doña María lived for several years near his palace

⁶⁹ Her will is dated January 22, 1513 (Cros, *Doc.* *II 166-167). Eight children were still living at the time: Juan (had been in France since 1512), Valentín, Miguel (died before the end of 1516), Juan Pérez (died young, after 1516), Esteban (studied, died in 1523), Juana (married Martín de Leache), María Pérez (died in 1521), and Isabel (married Dr. Martín Sanz); María who had married Juan de Mutiloa, was already dead in 1513.

⁷⁰ On them see Cros, *Doc.* I 55 58-59 62; *II 77-80.

⁷¹ Aunt Margarita died in 1545 (Cros, *Doc.* I 389). On her see *ibid.* 55-63 102 182-183 252-254 386-389; *II 79-86 220; *Vie* I 20 72 120 220.

⁷² "Because of my constant visits to the house of Xavier, I knew Dr. Jassu and María de Azpilcueta and Martín de Azpilcueta, the lord of Xavier and commandant of Monreal," Valentín declared in 1559 (Archives Granada 60, 19). He remained with Xavier's brothers at the head of the fighters for freedom until 1524. After the surrender of Fuenterrabía he returned to Pamplona, where he lived in his ancestral home on the Rua de la Navarrería. About 1527 he married the rich widow María Cruzat and soon became one of the wealthiest men in the city, especially after his brother, who died in Béarn in 1542, had renounced his right of primogeniture. The last twenty years of Captain Valentín's life, however, were embittered by constant lawsuits with Juan de Esparza, who had married a daughter of his brother and then claimed the property entailed in the primogeniture by trying to prove that his wife was the legitimate daughter of Juan de Jassu. Valentín died in 1563 and was buried in the Dominican church of Pamplona. On him see Cros, *Doc.* I 38 90 165 181 247-250 252 292-294 296 302-303 387 399-400 468-469 486; *II 5 10 31 75 139-140 161 168 171-172 176-177 199-200 217-218 220-222 228-231; 235-241; *Vie* (index).

⁷³ On Esteban see Cros, *Doc.* I 37 77 80 141-142 183 380; *II 75; *Vie* I 10 26 52; MX II 67-71. He was lord of the palace of Zuasti.

⁷⁴ Zugasti 24-35; Cros, *Doc.* *II 32.

⁷⁵ On him see Cros, *Doc.* I 45 76 350; *II 32-33. He was one of the witnesses in Xavier's suit to establish his nobility (MX II 56-61). He died in 1538 as the parish priest of Cemboráin (Javier Larrayos, *Aldea navarra. Apuntes monográficos del Lugar y Parroquia de Cemboráin en la Diócesis de Pamplona* [Pamplona, 1945] 14).

⁷⁶ On Miguel de Añues, see Cros, *Doc.* I 106 113; *II 186-188; *Vie* I 80-81 84-85 and especially *legajos* 35-39 and also 33, 11, and 18 of the Court of Primogeniture in the Archives Granada.

⁷⁷ Cros, *Doc.* I 383-385; *II 93.

⁷⁸ Catalina Cruzat (Archives Granada 33, 18 contains her will of the year 1546). María Pérez, a daughter of Xavier's granduncle Bernardo, married Juan Cruzat (Cros, *Vie* I 8).

in the house of Pedro Ortiz.⁷⁹ Miguel was the richest and most respected man in Sangüesa.⁸⁰ In addition to his palace and the tower of Añues within the boundaries of the city, he owned a house in Pamplona and the mill of Cáseda, which he had bought in 1507 for 1,100 ducats.⁸¹ He also had extensive holdings in France. Of particular importance was his estate of Bélver near Tudela in the fruitful valley of the Ebro, with its vineyards, olive groves, and Moorish vassals. It was about 380 acres in size and had been purchased in 1504 from the king for 3,600 ducats. It gave him a seat and voice in the Cortes.⁸² Every year Francis could see the great herds of sheep which Miguel and his brother Martín sent to summer pasture in the valley of Roncal being driven past the castle.⁸³ Like Xavier's father, Miguel was a loyal supporter of the Agramontese party; and in 1508 King Jean d'Albret allowed him to take from the confiscated goods of the leader of the Beaumontese, Don Luis de Beaumont, 2,500 pounds as compensation for the eight hundred sheep which the Beaumontese had confiscated from him in Sangüesa;⁸⁴ and in 1512, he made him lord high chamberlain and steward of his household.⁸⁵

Despite all his wealth and honors, Miguel remained a man of deep faith. In 1503 he and Dr. Juan and other relatives and friends had asked for and obtained spiritual favors from the pope.⁸⁶ The year before this he and his brother had given a sum of 26,400 *sueldos* with an annual income of 3,600 *sueldos* for three daily Masses and one weekly High Mass to be celebrated in perpetuity for their deceased relatives in the family chapel dedicated to St. Michael in the church of Santa María. The capital was later increased to 38,400 *sueldos*.⁸⁷ Miguel had a special devotion to the Holy Angels and three of his children were baptised with the names of the three archangels, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael.⁸⁸

The personnel at the castle of Xavier was not numerous. It included the parish priest, two beneficiaries, a sacristan (or student),⁸⁹ men and women servants, a judge, an alcalde, caretakers, shepherds, a farmer and his helpers, a miller, a salt maker, day laborers, and occasional guests.⁹⁰

⁷⁹ Pedro Ortiz is frequently mentioned as one of the leading citizens of Sangüesa, for example, in 1520 (*Orbayceta 35, 3), in 1522 (Archives Navarre: **Procesos*, not. Martin de Echayde 1513-1526, n. 6, f. 3, Pendientes) and in 1546 (Aoiz, Notarial Archives: **Inventario de Martín Brun 1545-1578*, n. 77). In 1572 Miguel de Mauleon sold a house on the Rua Mayor of Sangüesa "on the other side of the so-called house of Ortiz" (Archives Granada 35, 27). The house, which is no longer extant, was located across from the church of Santa María. Cf. MX II 59; Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 100.

⁸⁰ See his will of 1525 (Archives Granada 33, 11).

⁸¹ Archives Granada 36, 29.

⁸² *Ibid.* 38, 1 and 3; cf. also 38, 26 26a 28 29.

⁸³ Cros, *Doc.* I 113.

⁸⁴ Archives Granada 38, 17.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 35, 7.

⁸⁶ Fita 200-215; Cros, *Doc.* I 106.

⁸⁷ Archives Granada 35, 3 5 6.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 33, 11.

⁸⁹ Escalada 196 199 204 207-213.

⁹⁰ In the Archives Granada are named: *juiz*, *alcalde* in 1559 (50, 19), *bailes y costieros* in 1526 (64, 5), *caseros*, *vasallos*, *molinero*, *salinero*, *moço* in 1520 (60, 20). There are also mentioned: *guardia* in 1518, *guardias* in 1521 (Cros, *Doc.* I 380 251), *criada* in 1513 (*ibid.* 167), *paje* in 1509 (*Vie* I 22), *pastores* in 1480 (Fita 124), *criado*, *escuderos* in 1468-1515 (MX II 66), *costieros*, *valles* [*bayles*] y *guoardas* in 1522 (*Orbayceta 37, 1), *vaqueros* and other servants in 1482 and 1511 (*Mendivil, n. 3). In 1526 three or four clerics and six or seven servants came from the palace and confiscated livestock; in 1530, the same was done by seven or eight servants (**Ejecutorial* 11 24).

When Francis was seven years old, Gracieta Remón was one of the woman servants. She was of a marriageable age and had come from the Basque-speaking Aezcoa Valley, where bears still roamed in the impenetrable beech forests. After the early death of her parents, her relatives had cheated her of her inheritance. She had found refuge with Doña María, and in 1513 through Dr. Juan she handed a petition to the Royal Council in which she asked for help against her greedy relatives.⁹¹

Then there was Juan, the farmer. Born at Aibar (between Sangüesa and Sada), he worked in the fields with his wife and children, his brother Diego,⁹² and others.⁹³ The vineyards near the manor and river,⁹⁴ the olive groves, and the wheat fields,⁹⁵ which stretched up high on the Farrandillo, required a great deal of care, especially at harvest time. Day laborers were therefore also employed on a seasonal basis.⁹⁶ Among these was the loyal Martín de Cemboráin, who came over from Undués every year for from one to five months for this purpose. His father had served at the castle before him. He had himself been born there in 1470 and had spent the first ten years of his life there.⁹⁷ The miller Juan de Goñi with his daughter María and her husband Domingo also had to help with the farming.⁹⁸

Besides these, there was Miguel de Larequi, the custodian,⁹⁹ from the valley of Baztán. He saw to it that no one pastured his flocks, fished, hunted, or picked grapes on his lord's territory, or cut wood in the oak forest on the Farrandillo, and that the shepherds driving their flocks through the land and the men on rafts floating down the stream paid their toll.¹⁰⁰

Another influential person was the lawyer Miguel Martínez de Lesaca. He frequently stayed at Xavier when he had a case to conduct for the lord of the castle.¹⁰¹ He was particularly interested in the iron chest containing the parchments and papers of the family archives.¹⁰²

⁹¹ Cros, *Doc. I* 167-169.

⁹² The main source for the following is the suit which the lord of the castle of Xavier conducted for the payment of the property and sales taxes of his *caseros* in the valley of Aibar (Archives Granada 60, 20); we shall cite this simply as *Aibar. According to this suit, Juan de Subiza was *casero* from 1501 (*Aibar 288v-289 327v-328 278v 276v) till at least 1525 (*ibid.* 265 273 285v). Also named as *caseros* are Lope de Amezcoa, from 1508 to 1528 (*ibid.* 281 278v) and Miguel de Cáseda, from 1521 to 1524 (*ibid.* 281-v).

⁹³ Thus, for example, Pero de Ezpeleta from Yesa (*ibid.* 281-v). A Juan de Ezpeleta, "resident of the castle of Xavier," gave testimony to this same effect on January 10, 1520 (Archives Granada 60, 15).

⁹⁴ Named are the *vinya vieja* on the river (Cros, *Doc. I* 82), the *vinya grande*, and, lying above it near the castle, that of the parish priest, twelve acres in extent (Escalada 194).

⁹⁵ Xavier produced an abundance of "pan, vino y aceyte" (MX II 10).

⁹⁶ Cros, *Doc. I* 458.

⁹⁷ *Aibar 275v-277. On June 27, 1523, a Sancho de Cemboráin "habitante en Xabier" was a witness in Pamplona (*Orbayceta 33, 490v).

⁹⁸ Goñi was the miller from 1501-1523 (*Aibar 287-289); he lived in the mill and from 1510 to 1518 had as his helper Martín Pérez de Pariente, who came from Yesa (*ibid.* 285-v; Cros, *Doc. *II* 217; *Vie I* 81).

⁹⁹ Also called Miguel de Baztán (Cros, *Doc. I* 380; *II 216; *Vie I* 80). He is mentioned in 1518 and still appears as a witness in 1542; he was the successor of Pacheco, otherwise known as Pedro de Hualde, whom we encounter at Xavier up to 1503 (Cros, *Doc. I* 113-114 380).

¹⁰⁰ On his office see Cros, *Doc. I* 251; *Vie I* 55-56; Archives Granada 60, 19.

¹⁰¹ Miguel Martínez de Lesaca is called the procurator of the lords of the palace of Xavier from 1503 to 1526 (Cros, *Doc. I* 108; *II 152 167-168; Fita 214; *Mendivil, n. 3);

The devoted Juan de Hualde also came frequently to the castle for a visit and would stay for a month or two. He had been a servant for two or three years when Doña María was only eight years old and had known Francis' grandfathers, Arnalt and Martín, and the latter's wife Juana Aznáriz. He had also known Dr. Juan when he was a student living in Pamplona and Tafalla and later at the castle. In 1536, when he was in his nineties, he could recall how influential the lords of the castle had been, how they had dressed as nobles and had horses, weapons, and retinues, and how they had been employed in high offices.¹⁰³

5. THE ENVIRONMENT

The first impressions which Francis received as a child were associated with the castle. There he came to know the chapel, kitchen, armory, stable, and farm, and beyond drawbridge the parish house (the *abadía*) with its garden, small cemetery, and church beside it. He could there see the noble coat of arms embellishing the family vault, the choir stalls, and the reredos of the altar;¹⁰⁴ and he could also see his small baptismal robe hanging with those of others over the old baptismal font. Then, too, he came to know the mill on the bank of the river a quarter of an hour down from the castle, and the salt works, a half-hour farther on, on the other side of the Farrandillo. Here salt water was drawn from a deep well with a winch and poured out on stone tiles to evaporate.

On the steep Castellar hill behind the castle a half-hour's distance away were the ruins of the original castle with its crumbling chapel of St. Felix¹⁰⁵ and a view as far as Cáseda and Gallipienzo (two cities, one above the other, separated by the silver band of the Aragon River) and the mountains of Peña and Ujué to the south, Undués and Sos to the east, and Leyre to the north.

Southeast of Xavier, a short hour's distance on the way to Undués, but already in the kingdom of Aragon, lay the abandoned village of Casales de Lerda. This

in 1504 he lived in the castle (Escalada 211). In 1525 his son Juan Martínez de Lesaca took his place (*Orbayceta 33, 62). He was still conducting the lawsuits of the lord of Xavier in 1559 (Cros, *Doc.* I 195; MX II 34; *Ollacarizqueta 18; Archives Granada 60, 19-20). Cros states incorrectly that Juan was already dead in 1526 and that Miguel was his son (*Doc.* I 291). But it should be the other way around. Miguel was already dead on June 22, 1526 (Archives Granada 64, 5, f. 6v).

¹⁰² The iron chest is mentioned in the inventories of 1605 and 1635 (Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 76; Cros, *Doc.* *II 87-90).

¹⁰³ MX II 61-67. In 1520 and 1526 Juan de Garralda, an *escudero*, was also living in the castle of Xavier (*Orbayceta 35, 4; *Ejecutorial 8); he still appears as a witness in 1577 (Archives Granada 60, 19, f. 98). Cros gives his testimony without naming him in *Vie* I 56 (cf. **Doc.* II 94).

¹⁰⁴ MX II 73; Escalada 197 211 218. The present parish church was built in 1702 (Cros, *Vie* II 487; Escalada 24). The west façade of the rectory is that of 1504, but after our second-last visit in 1947 some of the small Gothic windows were replaced by large modern ones.

¹⁰⁵ In 1520 the small church, whose foundations are still visible, was already in ruins (Archives Granada 64, 5, f. 5). In this year, Miguel Martínez de Lesaca, the procurator for Xavier, declared in opposition to that of Sangüesa that the chapel ruins, which he erroneously confused with those of Santa Cruz on Mount Ugasti, had been, and still were, called "Sant Felices e no Santa Cruz y está cabo dó solía ser ante el castillo de Xavierr y era hermita del castillo" (*Orbayceta 35, 16). This St. Felix, usually called Felices, was a fifth-century hermit in Bilibio (today Peña de Bilibio near Calatayud). His tomb is in San Millán de la Cogolla. H. Florenz gives his life, the translation of his relics in 1090, and his Office in *España Sagrada* XXXIII 391-414 439-465. His feast is on November 6. On the Roman remains on Castellar hill, see *Razón y Fe* 103 (1933) 379-380.

wild heap of ruins was a silent witness to the border wars of former times, to which all the towns between Navarre and Aragon—Casales de Lerda, El Real, and Añues—had fallen victim;¹⁰⁶ and just as far to the south lay the chapel of Nuestra Señora del Socorro, built as a reminder of the help of the Queen of Heaven in the battle with the Moors at Navas de Tolosa.¹⁰⁷

The sheep trail (*cañada*) led from the mill of the castle along the Aragon River to the mill of Tor, which King Fortuño had given together with his palace in 901 to the monks of Leyre.¹⁰⁸ It passed over the Roman bridge to Yesa,¹⁰⁹ an hour's distance from the castle, where Don Ximeno, born thirty years before Francis, was the parish priest. He was well known at Xavier, where he had spent a year and a half under Dr. Juan.¹¹⁰ It took half an hour to go up from here to the venerable old monastery of Leyre with its protecting towers,¹¹¹ where Fray Miguel de Leache had the crosier,¹¹² and Fray Martín de Briviesca held the office of prior.¹¹³ From the richly carved façade of the abbey church peered out figures of the Redeemer, the Blessed Virgin, and other saints wearing stiff, oriental gowns with long trains.¹¹⁴ Here the white-robed sons of St. Bernard¹¹⁵ solemnly

¹⁰⁶ In 1514 the following are named as abandoned sites near Xavier: Casales "de la pardina despoblada llamada Lerda," El Real and Añues (Municipal Archives of Sangüesa: *Gobierno, libro 5, ff. 54-56).

¹⁰⁷ In 1544 it was also called *Santa Maria la Nueva* (*ibid.*, f. 21); in 1546 the widow of Miguel de Añues bequeathed it a building fund of fifty florins (Archives Granada 33, 19).

¹⁰⁸ National Archives Madrid: **Cartularios de Leire* vol. 216b, f. 901. The mill disappeared in the flood of 1707 (*ibid.*, vol. 217b, at the end).

¹⁰⁹ In 1263 an order was given to the people of Yesa that they should maintain the bridge between their village and Tor, in other words, the old Roman bridge across the Aragon River (Moret IV 339).

¹¹⁰ Don Ximeno Gamboa, the parish priest of Yesa, is mentioned in 1510 (**Cartularios de Leire* vol. 216b, f. 164), and described in 1527 as "about fifty years old" (*Mendivil, n. 3), in 1551 as "seventy-six years old" (Archives Granada 60, 20, f. 278). In 1559 he was eighty-two (*ibid.* 60, 19, f. 97). In 1551 he declared that he had been born in Yesa, that he was a citizen of the town, and that he had always lived there (*ibid.* 60, 20, ff. 278-279; cf. also Escalada 231 and Cros, *Doc.* *II 94). In 1520 he had as an assistant the chaplain Don Remón, a citizen and resident of Yesa (**Orbayceta* 35, 1v; Archives Granada 60, 15).

¹¹¹ The main sources for the history of the monastery of Leyre are the *Cartularios*; in addition to these there are the historical data in Moret (index), Yepes IV 73-85 (with lists of abbots), and Iturralde IV 299-396, who also makes use of a number of chronicles. See, moreover, for a description of the monastery the valuable article "Leyre" in *Diccionario Geográfico-Histórico de España*: Sección Navarra I (Madrid, 1802) 438-446, Madrazo I 525-564; Tomás Biurrun Sóttil, *El Arte Románico en Navarra* (Pamplona, 1936) 63-100; the recent, richly illustrated monograph of José María Lacarra and José Gudiol, "El primer románico en Navarra. Estudio histórico-arqueológico. La iglesia de San Salvador de Leire," *Príncipe de Viana* 5 (1944) 221-272; and Ethel Tyrrel, "Historia de la arquitectura románica de Leyre," *ibid.* 19 (1958) 305-335. The old monastery on the north lies today in ruins. At the time of our first visit the new monastery, which was begun in 1562, was also dilapidated; but it has been reconstructed since 1954 through the initiative of the Institución Príncipe de Viana. The monks of St. Benedict now occupy it again. See also Dom Carlos María López, *Leyre: Historia, arqueología, leyenda* (Pamplona, 1962) and "Apuntes para una historia de Leyre," *Príncipe de Viana* 26 (1964) 139-168.

¹¹² He was abbot from 1493 to 1535 (**Cartularios de Leire* 216b, 34 164; 217b, 520). According to Yepes, he ruled for forty-two years; his predecessor Calvo was still abbot in 1493 (Cros, *Doc.* I 81).

¹¹³ He is named as prior in 1514 (**Cartularios de Leire* 216b, 34).

¹¹⁴ The figures in the tympanum are interpreted in various ways. According to Madrazo they represent from left to right: Virila, Nunilo, Mary, Christ, Alodia, and Mar-tianus (560); according to Biurrun Sóttil: Paul, Peter, Mary, and Christ (99); according to Lacarra: they are the same saints and John (268); according to Ruiz de Oyaga: Eulogio, Virila, Mary, Christ, Nunilo, Alodia and Marcial (see *Príncipe de Viana* 16 [1955] 312);

chanted the Office in the poorly lit, high, plain church, whose many tombs decorated with coats of arms of former knights and kings were a reminder of bloody battles with the Moors.¹¹⁶ The body of St. Virila was preserved here in a gilded shrine.¹¹⁷ In a second reliquary, painted with scenes of the Passion, were kept the remains of the martyrs Emeterius and Celedonius,¹¹⁸ and in a third were the bones of St. Martial.¹¹⁹ In an ivory casket of Moorish make and decorated with oriental court and hunting scenes were preserved the remains of the virgin saints and martyrs Nunilo and Alodia.¹²⁰ In the dense woods nearby was pointed out the spring of St. Virila, where he had listened to a nightingale singing of the happiness of heaven.¹²¹

Following the sheep trail from the castle for a brief hour to the south, one came to the first pass, marked by a small cross, from which there was a last view of the castle, mill, Roman bridge, Yesa, and Leyre. Then beyond a ravine there was a second pass which formed the boundary of the castle's land. This was known as the *Adoratorio* because the shepherds of the Roncal Valley here used to give their first greetings to Nuestra Señora de Ujué when they went south in the fall.¹²² A half-hour further on was Sangüesa, where Francis as a boy saw more people in an hour on the Calle Mayor than he did during a whole year at the castle. Here, near the bridge over the Aragon River, stood the old grey church of Santa María with its wonderfully rich façade. On the right and left of the main portal were scenes of the Last Judgment, a double row of apostles, and long, narrow, drawn-out figures of the three Marys, of Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimethea, and of Judas hanging from the tree. Over it was a strange confusion of men, animals, and fabled beings.¹²³ Inside the church was the silver-clad, highly honored statue of Our Lady of Rocamadour. To the right of the church stood the somber, twelfth-century palace of Alfonso the Battler. On the other side of the Calle Mayor was a palace which had once belonged to Pedro Ortiz, and in which Francis' mother had lived for a few years before her marriage. Next to it was the palace of the Añues, the most beautiful in the city. Its lower part was made of hewn stones and its upper of bricks. It had beautifully pierced Gothic windows, and over the entrance was the stone coat of arms of its builder

and according to Tyrrel: a clerk, Peter, Mary, Christ, John and James (*ibid.* 19 [1958] 319-32).

¹¹⁵ In 1514 seven monks were present at the chapter and two were absent. In 1524 thirteen took part in it (**Cartularias de Leire 216b, 34; 217b, 520*).

¹¹⁶ Iturralde IV 305 315-316 320-323 362-365 370; Moret I 299; Madrazo I 540-551. The tombstones have been absent since 1782 (Iturralde IV 370 305).

¹¹⁷ Yepes IV 85; Iturralde IV 308-309 366-367 384; J. Ruiz de Oyaga, "San Virila, Abad de Leyre," *Príncipe de Viana* 16 (1955) 307-319 (richly illustrated).

¹¹⁸ Iturralde IV 306 309 366, cf. 137; Yanguas IV 189-199; Moret I 44-46.

¹¹⁹ Iturralde IV 309 366, cf. 306.

¹²⁰ *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. IX 626-647. The ivory casket, now in the treasury of the cathedral of Pamplona, which, according to its Arabic inscription, was made in Hegira 395 (A.D. 1004) for Abd-el-Melik ben Almansor, is already mentioned in 1557 (*ibid.* 638; cf. Moret I 254). Iturralde IV 250-254 gives a picture and description of it.

¹²¹ Cf. Yepes IV 85; Moret II 154.

¹²² Archives Granada 64, 5, ff. 4 and 5; **Ejecutorial 4v-5 9v*.

¹²³ José Esteban Uranga, *Las esculturas de Santa María la Real de Sangüesa* (Zaragoza, 1951); Miguel Ancil, "Pórtico de Santa María de Sangüesa," *La Avalancha* 39 (Pamplona, 1933) 312-313 328-329 342-343 359 373-374; Tomás Biurrun Sóttil, *El Arte Románico en Navarra* (Pamplona, 1936) 371-397; and, especially, the richly illustrated article by Cynthia Milton Weber, "La portada de Santa María la Real de Sangüesa," *Príncipe de Viana* 20 [1959] 139-186.

showing the nine ermine of the Añues, the three pots of the Olleta, and the inverted, checkered half-moon of the lord of Xavier.¹²⁴ Within the city there was also the parish church of San Salvador. It had a Xavier family chapel to the right of the entrance with an altar screen depicting the life of the martyr St. Valentine and bearing the coat of arms of the castle and the inscription: "Here lies buried the very noble Lord Don Rodrigo Aznariz, Knight, Lord of Xabierr."¹²⁵

6. EDUCATION

Although Sangüesa had a flourishing Latin school,¹²⁶ Francis received his education as a child in the castle of Xavier; and he remained there until he finally left his homeland forever.¹²⁷

Basque was his native tongue, as we know on his own authority.¹²⁸ The castle in which he grew up lay in an area where Spanish was spoken.¹²⁹ Despite its Basque name, Spanish was the language of all the Aragon Valley as far down as Tudela and of the Roman settlements of Liédena and Lumbier and the eleven villages north of them, the last outposts where it was spoken. This area was therefore also known as *El Romanzado*.¹³⁰ Farther north Basque was the language of the mountaineers from the Roncal Valley to the Bay of Biscay. Basque was also the language spoken in the Baztán Valley, the ancestral home of Francis' mother, in Lower Navarre, ancestral home of his father, and in the mountains

¹²⁴ Picture in Madrazo II 494, who erroneously identifies it as the house of the count of Guendalain. Miguel de Añues lived here in 1535 (Archives Granada 33, 11). When we were last there, in May, 1954, the house was being rebuilt.

¹²⁵ Cros, *Doc.* I 383-385.

¹²⁶ It lay on the Calle de Estudio 22. During his studies Xavier is supposed to have lived in the house of Paris (Calle Mayor 62). On this see Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 98-100; Cros, *Vie* I 98-99; *Doc.* I 184.

¹²⁷ The witnesses at Xavier's suit for proof of his nobility only knew him when he was at the castle of Xavier, from the time of his birth until his departure for Paris. Juan de Azpilcueta of Sada, for example, was one of these (MX II 72); see Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 98-99.

¹²⁸ Xavier wrote that the Paravas had not understood him nor he them "por ser su lengua natural malavar y la mía bizcaina" (EX I 162); See Schurhammer, "Die Muttersprache des hl. Franz Xavier," *Revue Internationale des Etudes Basques* 20 (1929) 246-255.

¹²⁹ The Basque milieu found in Margaret Yeo, *St. Francis Xavier* (London 1931) 16-18 22-23, probably did not exist at the castle of Xavier.

¹³⁰ "Compónese el Romanzado de los pueblos de Adansa, Arboniés, Arielz, Berroya, Bigüezal, Domeño, Iso, Murillo-berroya, Napal, Orradre y Usun. Obsérvase que los habitantes de este valle y los del Almiradio de Navascués, sus vecinos [northeast of Xavier] han hablado sempre el idioma castellano ó romance" (Yanguas III 276). Manuel de Lecuona in "El Euskera en Navarra a fines del siglo XVI," *Revue Internationale des Etudes Basques* 24 (1933) 365-374, mentions a manuscript in the seminary of Vitoria **Corte Registro de las ciudades, villas y lugares que hay en cada uno de los 34 obispados y arzobispados de la corona real de Castilla y León 1587*. The anonymous author usually divides the dioceses according to geographical or historical points of view. According to Lecuona he apparently makes an exception for Navarre. The first part bears the caption *Pamplona. Obispado de Pamplona* and contains almost all the sites in the south, including the cities of Pamplona, Tudela, Olite, Estella, and so forth. The second and larger part is entitled *Bascongado* and contains all the remaining sites to the north of Estella and Tafalla, including among them Sangüesa, Xavier, Liédena, Lumbier, and those of the Romanzado. Lecuona therefore concludes that the division was made according to languages, and that this whole region still spoke Basque in 1587. But is this what the anonymous author had in mind, and was he well informed? The names he gives swarm with mistakes. He writes, for example, Alpilcueta, Olicondo, Yeso, Liena, Cicur, Xaberu, Huxue instead Azpilcueta, Elizondo, Yesa, Liédena, Zizur, Xavier, Uxué.

of Lezaun,¹³¹ the home of uncle Martín. It was also spoken by a number of the servants of the house and by the shepherds of the Roncal and Salazar valleys, who every year drove their flocks through the castle's lands. Francis was therefore familiar with both languages from childhood.

As a boy, he probably received his first lessons in reading and writing from his mother. Unlike his brothers,¹³² he retained throughout his life¹³³ Doña María's practice of making three horizontal and three vertical strokes before and after her name.¹³⁴ But his real teachers were the priests in the neighboring parish house.¹³⁵ They not only taught their keen and exceptionally eager student¹³⁶ the usual subjects of an elementary school, but they instructed him as well in the secrets of Latin and in the truths of the faith and prepared him for his first confession.¹³⁷

Care was also taken of his physical training. Lessons in riding and fencing were a necessary part of a noble's education. *Pelota*, the national ball game, was also very popular at the castle of Xavier.¹³⁸ Fishing and, later on, hunting

¹³¹ In 1643 there were still many people here who did not understand Spanish; see E. de Munariz Urtasun, "El Vascuence en la Vieja Navarra," *Revue Internationale des Etudes Basques* 14 (1923) 685-586. The same was still true in 1708 for Barasoáin (*ibid.* 15 [1924] 26).

¹³² Signatures in Cros, *Doc. I* 217 254 396.

¹³³ Signatures in MX I 200.

¹³⁴ Signature in Cros, *Doc. I* 163. She writes the letters *e* and *d* in a different manner than her son.

¹³⁵ In 1504 the chaplain of the castle, Miguel de Azpilcueta, and the beneficiaries, Martín de Lerga and García de Equisoáin, were living in the rectory. We do not know how long they remained at Xavier. Cros is therefore somewhat presumptive when he writes: "Le baptême de François ne dut pas être retardé, et le vicaire, don Miguel de Azpilcueta, ne céda probablement pas à un autre le droit que son titre de vicaire et celui de proche parent de la famille lui donnaient de régénérer le nouveau-né" (*Doc. I* 139). In 1510 "Don Martín de Lerga, priest and servant of the lord of Xavier," together with "Don Ximeno de Gamboa, priest and parish priest of Yesa," were arbitrators in a dispute between the monastery of Leyre and Yesa (**Cartularios de Leire 216b*, 153). Don Ximeno was at the castle of Xavier for a year and one-half under Dr. Juan de Jassu; but since he was the parish priest of Yesa in 1510, he must have been at the castle before this. Don Pero Enego de Yesa, cleric and citizen of Yesa, declared in 1551, that thirty years before he had lived with Dr. de Jassu in Xavier for three years, obviously as a priest since he was born in 1483 (Archives Granada 60, 20). On September 13, 1520, the chaplain Juan de Bagüés, "at the time residing in the *abadía* of the palace and place of Xabierr," was a witness on behalf of the castle (**Orbayceta 35, 1v-2*). He remained at Xavier until at least 1531, for on June 10 of that year, the witnesses on behalf of the castle were "Don Johan de Bagüés y Don Pedro de Vergara, beneficiados en la dicha yglesia parrochial del dicho palacio de Xabierr" (F. Fita, "San Francisco Javier. Obito de su madre," *Boletín de la R. Ac. de la Historia* 23 [1893] 543). The names of two priests living at the parish church of Xavier in March, 1527, are known. These were Don Juan Pérez de Cáseda, a procurator in a lawsuit for the lady of the castle, and Don Juan Aragonés, who appeared as a witness for it (Archives Granada 64, 5, f. 8) and also acted as a procurator (**Mendivil, n. 3*).

¹³⁶ "Erat in eo rara indoles animi, egregia corporis forma, constitutioque, magnum et acre ingenium: studium litterarum (ut est captus puerorum) non vulgare," according to Tursellinus 1, 1, who got his information from Dr. Martín de Azpilcueta.

¹³⁷ "Ab incunabulis in sinu optimorum parentum educatus pueritiam egit ex eorum sanctissima disciplina: primamque eius aetatem solers magistrorum cura iis artibus erudit, quibus ingenia ad summum excitantur decus" (*ibid.*).

¹³⁸ Andrea Navagero, who traveled from Burgos to Bayonne by way of Vitoria and Hernani in 1528, wrote of the Basque country: "Hanno fuora di tutte le porte un quadro serrato intorno, . . . qui vi stan gli huomini tutto il dì a giucar alla balla, azoni ed altri giuochi che si acostumano lì" (*Il Viaggio fatto in Spagna et in Francia* [Vinegia, 1563] 48). In 1581 the lord of the castle of Xavier played pelota (Cros, *Doc. *II* 250).

with his brothers afforded a pleasant diversion from his studies. There were trout, barbel, and eel in the Aragon River, and a wide variety of wild life on the castle grounds: partridge, quail, hares, rabbits, and foxes; and at times during the winter stags, does, wolves, and wild boars came down from the snow-covered Leyre mountains.¹³⁹

But in the castle of Xavier the chief object of concern was a child's religious education. In this solitude far from the distractions of the world, Francis as a child breathed in a spirit of faith and devotion. The Constitutions which the parents of Xavier gave to the priests of the castle as a rule of life in 1504 reflect a deep and sincere piety. As soon as Francis had learned how to read, he was able to study them. They were written in a clear, beautiful script on nineteen thick sheets of parchment in a book measuring eight by twelve inches. This was bound in boards covered with embossed leather and held fast by metal clasps. Its first words were as follows: "In the name of the Blessed Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and the Virgin, our Lady, and Lord St. Michael. Here begin the foundation and constitutions of the church of Santa María de Exavierr."¹⁴⁰

The clergy of Santa María de Exavierr, it goes on to say, should lead a life of prayer and contemplation far from the world and its distractions, vices, and dangers, and in this way be an example for the laity and a source of instruction.¹⁴¹ They should be free from any inordinate attachment to their relatives, as St. Ambrose teaches in his *De fuga saeculi*, and far from that greed with which the devil tempts the clergy. After the example of the first apostles of Jesus Christ, they should be content with the food and clothing they receive; they should lead a common life with common prayers at table and in choir;¹⁴² and, in order to be pleasing to God, they should recite the Office clearly and devoutly and keep strict silence in choir.¹⁴³

The pastor and those holding benefices should celebrate Mass daily if possible; and, "in order that so high and wonderful a sacrifice may be celebrated with due purity and be pleasing to God," the celebrants should confess before each Mass.¹⁴⁴

The priests should devote their free time to study or decent recreation such as fishing or light work in the garden, and they should not spend it playing at dice or cards or in idle gossip.¹⁴⁵ No woman should live in the parish house except in case of necessity; and in such a case she should be a woman over sixty years of age free from every suspicion; and she should live on the ground floor.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁹ The estate was rich in "todo genero de caça" (MX II 10). In 1553 the lord of Guendulain, whose daughter married the lord of Xavier in 1581, said that he had lived as a nobleman and had owned hunting dogs, falcons, and sparrowhawks (Cros, *Doc. II* 15).

¹⁴⁰ Escalada 203-221 gives the text of the Constitutions (photograph in Cros, *Doc. I* 128). The original was to be found in Archives Granada 61, 5 before the last civil war. These same archives also contained the documents of the year 1500 relating to the founding of the parish. During the civil war they were placed in the National Library in Madrid for safekeeping. When we looked for them in 1947 and again in 1954, they were both missing from the bundle to which they belonged.

¹⁴¹ Escalada 213 215.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* 219-220.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* 207 211.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 205 209-210.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 213 219. Instead of *juegos y cartas*, Cros erroneously has *jeu, la chasse* (*Doc. I* 213).

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 215-216.

During meals the clergy should practice temperance and remain silent as far as possible. Before and after eating they should say grace according to the custom of the diocese. During Lent and Advent, and on Ember Days, vigils, and Fridays, the sacristan should read from a suitable book during the first half of the meal. This should be either a passage from a sermon, the *Legends of the Saints*, the *Lives of the Fathers*, or some other similar work, and the book should be read slowly and with pauses.¹⁴⁷

The Constitutions end with the following observation: "You have in the church and parish house (*abadía*) of Santa María de Exavierr a good and secure home against the dangers of the world and the necessary means for such a life. We therefore advise you: Take this to heart and serve God and your Church so that you may deserve the reward which God is accustomed to give to those who keep His commandments, to whom may there be honor for ever and ever."¹⁴⁸

In their exercises of piety the owners of the castle set an excellent example for others. Their deep faith showed itself especially in the high esteem they had for prayer and for the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

In order to secure for themselves and their relatives the consolation of the Mass and a worthy celebration of the Divine Office, Francis' parents in 1500 had provided for a parish priest, two beneficiaries, and a sacristan for the castle of Xavier. They had established the foundation "for the service of God and of the Church and for the good of the souls of those who lie buried in the church" and had enjoined their children under the threat of a curse to remain forever true to this arrangement.¹⁴⁹

In the parish church, therefore, Mass was daily sung,¹⁵⁰ and every day the bells invited the people to the Holy Sacrifice, to Matins, to the singing of Vespers, to Compline, and to the *Salve Regina*.¹⁵¹ On Saturdays and Sundays and on the chief feasts of the year, Compline was also sung; on higher feasts Terce was chanted before the High Mass; and on the Vigil of Christmas, on the feasts of the Assumption, St. Michael, and All Saints, Matins were also chanted.

Every Monday, whenever possible, there was a Requiem High Mass, after which the celebrant pronounced the absolution with sung responses over the last resting places of the dead in the church and in the cemetery. This was followed by the Office of the Dead in choir. On other weekdays there was only the absolution over the crypt of the lords of the castle.¹⁵²

Just as the Constitutions of the parish church began with an invocation of the Blessed Trinity, so also does the will of grandmother Guilherma, drawn up about 1490, begin with the same formula.¹⁵³ Their grandfather Arnalt was accustomed to greet his colleagues in the Accounting Office at Pamplona with the words: "May the Blessed Trinity keep you in its grace!"¹⁵⁴ The religious who had lived in the same convent with Francis' sister Magdalena later used to say that she always had these words upon her lips: "Glory be to the Father, to the

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 217.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 220-221.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 193-202.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 205-206.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* 206-207 212.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* 197 206.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* 171.

¹⁵⁴ *Cros, Doc.* I 312.

Son, and to the Holy Spirit, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be. Amen!"¹⁵⁵

At the castle of Xavier there was a special devotion to the bitter sufferings of our Lord. A reminder of these was the venerable old crucifix in the old castle, the Santo Cristo. As a boy Francis often knelt before it in the pale light of the chapel either alone or with his mother. It was of a solemn, serious cast. The corpus, which was fastened to a roughly carved cross with three nails, had sharply protruding ribs and knotted sinews. The arms were spread out wide; and the head, with its narrow crown of thorns was inclined slightly to the right. The hair hung down in long strands, the eyes were closed and the mouth was half open, so that the teeth were just barely visible.

Lent was entirely devoted to the sufferings of Christ. "Since the season of grace of the forty-day fast has been ordained by Holy Mother Church as a time of penance when one must serve and praise God more than usual," as is noted in the Constitutions of the parish church, "all faithful Christians during this time should have continuously before their eyes the sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ so that their fasting and penance may be united with a pious devotion." The pastor and beneficiaries should therefore chant the entire Office in subdued tones and with greater solemnity and longer pauses than usual.¹⁵⁶ Every day during Lent Vespers and Compline were solemnly sung in the parish church, and Matins also on the last three days of Holy Week.¹⁵⁷

Devotion to the Mother of God was also traditional in the castle of Xavier. The cult of the Blessed Virgin was deeply rooted in the land, and bequests to Our Lady of Roncesvalles, Our Lady of Pamplona, Our Lady of Ujué, and to other Marian shrines constantly appear in the wills of other members of the family.¹⁵⁸ In the parish church, Santa María de Exavierr, the Queen of Heaven had a place of honor as patroness. The feasts of Mary were celebrated with special care, particularly the Assumption, the patronal feast of the church. Every Saturday the priests had to recite the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary in addition to the regular Office of the day, and every evening they had to sing the *Salve Regina*.¹⁵⁹ On the high altar stood the very old wooden statue of Our Lady of Exavierr. It was about twenty inches high, brightly painted, and had a head and torso that were disproportionately large. The statue had a solemn, earnest face and wide-open eyes; and there was a tiny apple in the partially raised right hand. The left hand with its large fingers held a figure of the Christ Child sitting on His mother's knees. In one of His hands there was a book and in the other an apple like that in His mother's.¹⁶⁰

St. Michael, the Prince of the Heavenly Hosts, was the patron saint of the castle. His name was given to the main tower,¹⁶¹ to the chapel of the new palace,¹⁶² and to the eldest son of the lord of the manor. From the time of the

¹⁵⁵ Escalada 287.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 207.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 197 206-207.

¹⁵⁸ Cros, *Doc.* *II 44 76 78 100 136 249; *Vie* I 74.

¹⁵⁹ Escalada 197 206-207.

¹⁶⁰ There is a picture in Escalada 368. The present crown and painting are modern. Biurrun Sótil ascribes the statue to the twelfth century, Jacinto Claveria would place it at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth (*Iconografía y Santuarios de la Virgen en Navarra* I [Madrid, 1943] 369-370).

¹⁶¹ Escalada 231.

¹⁶² MX II 76.

Moorish wars pilgrimages were made from all over Navarre to the highly revered sanctuary of San Miguel in Excelsis on Mount Aralar, which the progenitor of the Goñi had built when he was living there a solitary, penitential life.¹⁶³ The wife of Miguel de Añues did not forget this shrine in her will, especially since her firstborn was also called Miguel.¹⁶⁴ St. Michael's feast was therefore celebrated at Xavier as solemnly as the greatest feasts of the Church year, with sung Matins on the vigil and, on the day itself, with a Solemn High Mass and chanted Terce, Vespers, and Compline.¹⁶⁵

Other days were also specially designated in the constitution of the parish church. There were, for example, the feast of St. Firmin, the apostle of Navarre and patron of the diocese of Pamplona, at the beginning of October,¹⁶⁶ and the feasts of St. Jerome and of St. Peter Martyr, whom grandmother Guilherma had chosen as the family patron, and of St. Anne.¹⁶⁷

In addition to the devotions in the family chapel and parish church, there were the religious feasts celebrated in the surrounding area. As a child Francis must have taken part in these several times a year with other members of his family. The monks of Leyre, for example, celebrated the Ascension as the patronal feast of their church.¹⁶⁸ On March 1 there were special honors paid to Sts. Emeterius and Celedonius,¹⁶⁹ on the twenty-first to St. Benedict, on June 30 to St. Martial, ¹⁷⁰ on August 20 to St. Bernard, on October 1 to St. Virila,¹⁷¹ on the twenty-first to Sts. Nunilo and Alodia, the anniversary of their deaths;¹⁷² and on April 18 there was the very special feast commemorating the translation of their two bodies. The neighboring parishes and representatives of the eighteen villages between Huesca and Leyre, through which the saintly relics had been brought in the ninth century to the monastery, took part in the solemn ceremonies of this day.¹⁷³

In Sangüesa on the feast of Corpus Christi there was a special procession which attracted throngs of visitors. Among those taking part in it were the four religious communities of the city, the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and Mercedarians; the four parish churches with their crosses; the four confraternities of the Most Blessed Trinity, Santa María, Santiago, and San Salvador; and the popular *gigantes* ("giants") and *calezundos*, ("large-headed dwarfs"). To the vexation of the Aragons, the royal standards which had been captured from

¹⁶³ M. Arigita y Lasa, *Historia de la imagen y santuario de San Miguel in Excelsis* (Pamplona, 1904); Julio de Urquijo, "San Miguel de Excelsis y el Mayorazgo de Goñi," *Revue Internationale des Etudes Basques* 15 (1924) 635-641.

¹⁶⁴ Archives Granada 33, 18.

¹⁶⁵ Escalada 197 206.

¹⁶⁶ According to the *Breviarium* of the diocese printed about 1501. Bishop Rojas y Sandoval was the first to change the feast to July 7 (Ant. Pérez Goyena, S.J., *Ensayo de Bibliografía Navarra* I [Pamplona, 1947] 48; see Z. García Villada, S.J., *Historia eclesiástica de España* 3 [Madrid, 1936] 260).

¹⁶⁷ Escalada 197 173.

¹⁶⁸ Moret III 39.

¹⁶⁹ Moret I 46 (*Oficio solemnísimos*); *Acta Sanctorum*, Mar. I 228.

¹⁷⁰ *Acta Sanctorum*, Iun. V 586. In 1069 those who visited the church of Leyre on Ascension Thursday, on the feast of St. Martial, or on that of Sts. Nunilo and Alodia could receive an indulgence of forty days (**Cartularios de Leire* 214b, 142).

¹⁷¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. I 195; Iturralde IV 384 308-309. In Leyre it was one of the highest feasts of the order.

¹⁷² Moret I 255.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* I 254-255 259.

them in the early fourteenth century near the ford of San Adrián not far from the city were proudly carried in the procession.¹⁷⁴

7. THE SEASONS THE YEAR

Along with the feasts of the ecclesiastical year, the different seasons brought changes into the quiet life of the lonely castle.

The spring with its new awakening life caused the fresh green fields east of the castle to sprout and the heather on the west to bloom. More than once the sacristan had to ring the warning bell when hail clouds threatened to destroy the vineyards and the tender crops.¹⁷⁵ When the snow melted on the mountains, the rivers became swollen; and from a window Francis could see the rafts (each one containing up to eighteen logs bound together with green hazel switches) that came from the Roncal Valley and Upper Aragon. Guided by strong arms, as many as eight of them would follow each other as they glided down the river. On the rafts were crossbeams for holding provisions, which could include a roasted lamb and a leathern bottle of wine. They all stopped at the mill to pay the toll of a log to the lord of the castle.¹⁷⁶

Throughout the whole of May endless herds of sheep passed by, often as many as one, two, and three thousand a day. The flocks were led by a wether with a bell around its neck and were accompanied by large dogs whose collars were set with sharp iron barbs to protect them from the teeth of wolves. The flocks were tended by brown, weather-beaten shepherds clothed in rough skins. As they moved from the winter pastures of the Bardenas in southern Navarre,¹⁷⁷ they were obliged to follow a trail that led past Xavier, over the Yesa bridge, and then past Leyre to the summer pastures in the Roncal Valley.¹⁷⁸ At the "pass" below the castle they had to stop and announce their arrival so that the guard might come and levy the customary toll on the flocks.¹⁷⁹

Early in May, on the feast of St. John, his father's cattle left for the valley of Ibargoiti and returned from there at the end of September,¹⁸⁰ for the summers at the castle of Xavier were hot. In July and August, when the sun beat mercilessly down from the cloudless skies, the streams would dry up and the grass would be burned out on the parched, stone-hard ground.

In July there was the wheat harvest. Horses and mules,¹⁸¹ loaded high with sheaves of wheat, brought the grain from the mountain slopes to the threshing floors, where the oxen, walking leisurely around in a circle, trod out the grain.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* V 161-170; Archives Granada 33, 11. The last remnant of the banner was destroyed in the burning of the town hall in 1937 (Miguel Ancil, *Monografía de Sangüesa* [Pamplona, 1943] 66).

¹⁷⁵ Escalada 212.

¹⁷⁶ Fita 207-211.

¹⁷⁷ Escalada 20-22. In 1757 the Roncal Valley alone had over 100,000 sheep (Estornés Lasa 255). In 1499 it was decided that the flocks of Tudela and of the Roncal Valley could graze on the Bardenas from September 29 until May (Yanguas I 90).

¹⁷⁸ The prescribed way was the *cañada*; it led at this time, as it still does today, past Navascués, Castillo Nuevo, the region of Bigüezal, Leyre, Yesa, Javier, Sangüesa, Peña, Cáseda, Carcastillo, and La Oliva (Escalada 20-23; Cros, *Doc.* I 113 252).

¹⁷⁹ Cros, *Doc.* I 110; Escalada 23.

¹⁸⁰ Cros, *Doc.* I 118.

¹⁸¹ In 1556 there were at the castle: *bueyes*, *rocines*, *egoas*, *hacemilas* and the donkey of the miller (Archives Granada 60, 20, f. 300).

The wheat was tossed up against the wind and separated from the chaff. The straw was then piled in tall, pointed stacks near the castle.

The green landscape now turned a yellowish brown. The Aragon flowed lazily. Here and there stones rose up to the surface from its shallow, rocky bed; and if the drought persisted, processions from Rocaforte or some other town passed Xavier on their way to Leyre to implore the holy virgins Nunilo and Alodia for rain.¹⁸²

The fall brought new scenes. Throughout the whole of September flocks of sheep passed southwards from the Roncal Valley to their winter pastures, for on the snow-covered Pyrenees there was no fodder to be found until spring. In October the fields were plowed and wheat sown. November brought the vintage, and this was followed in December by the harvesting of olives.

8. THE FIREPLACE

During the long winter nights, when the icy northwest wind howled and the snowflakes swirled about St. Michael's tower, the family would gather about the warm fireplace, where the oak logs glowed and shadows flickered. There Francis as a child heard old tales from Doña María and aunt Violante, or his father, when he came from the court to the palace, or uncle Martín, or some other member of the household. He learned about the knight Goñi who, on his return from the lands of the Moors had killed his parents by mistake and had then done penance on Mount Aralar until the archangel Michael appeared to him and slew the dragon living there.¹⁸³ He also heard about the abbot Virila, who had listened to the bird that sang to him of the bliss of heaven in the forest of Leyre.¹⁸⁴ Three hundred years passed by without his noticing it, and he was astonished on his return to the monastery to find that everything had changed. Then there was the story of the virgins Nunilo and Alodia, whom the cruel Moorish governor of Huesca had murdered because they refused to renounce their faith. The Christian Auriato in Casales near the castle of Xavier, warned by a heavenly voice in his sleep, had secretly brought their saintly bodies to Leyre in the presence of the king and the leaders of the realm. It was on this occasion that the monastery obtained the villages of Yesa and Benassa.¹⁸⁵ In the banquet which followed the lord of Rocaforte also took part. Suddenly his dog sprang up and raced back as swift as the wind to his lord's castle. There it found the Moor Bravucón, who had slipped into the palace and murdered the lord's two daughters, and tore him to pieces. The black soul of the murderer had been changed into a vulture, a replica of which could still be seen carved in stone over the main door of the church; but the souls of the two slain girls had been turned into two white storks that returned each year to nest on the church tower of Santa María in Sangüesa.¹⁸⁶ The young Francis also heard how the Christians drove the Moors

¹⁸² *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. IX 638-640.

¹⁸³ The legend was known throughout Navarre. The parents of Xavier were related to the Goñi (Cros, *Doc.* *II 213-214).

¹⁸⁴ The legend was already in the "*Old Breviary*" of Leyre, a lectionary of the thirteenth century (today in the Cámara de Comptos, Pamplona), f. 220; see Z. García Villada, S.J., *Historia eclesiástica de España* 3 (Madrid, 1936) 263.

¹⁸⁵ The "*Old Breviary*" gives an account of this, f. 93, which is followed by Moret I 250-254.

¹⁸⁶ Escalada found this certainly old legend in Rocaforte and published it in *Razón y Fe* 108 (1935) 248-250.

from the field of Olast as far as the Yesa bridge and how a woman from the Roncal Valley cut off the head of the Moorish king Abd-ar-Rahman. From that time on the Roncalese had carried his head and the bridge on their coat of arms and military standard.¹⁸⁷

Xavier's father also told him of the old kings of Navarre who had been laid to rest in Leyre and elsewhere. He had drawn up a chronicle in which their deeds were recorded.¹⁸⁸ The Christians in the mountains, his story went, elected Iñigo as their king and leader in the war against the Moors. He came to be known as "Arista" because at the sight of the enemy he caught on fire like a wheat field into which a torch has been thrown. Another ruler, King Fortuño, became a monk in Leyre and handed the kingdom over to his brother Sancho, who captured Pamplona and the land as far as the mountains of Oca near Burgos from the Moors. When the foe fell upon the capital one winter, Sancho received the Basque cognomen of "Abarca" because he made his men put on *abarcas* ("leathern sandals") and hastened with them through ice and snow over the Pyrenees to help his people. They attacked the Moorish camp and slew countless thousands, hardly letting a single one escape. King Sancho Ramírez besieged the Moorish fortress of Huesca; and after he had been mortally wounded by an arrow shot into his eye, he made his son Pedro swear that he would not leave until he had conquered the city. When his son captured Huesca, a German knight, who on that same day had fought in Antioch in Syria against the infidels, took part in the battle for the city. St. George had placed him on his own battle charger and had carried him to Huesca, where he slew a vast number of the enemy. King Alfonso the Battler captured Tudela and Zaragoza from the Moors and then fell while fighting them because he had not waited for the arrival of the Navarrese. Sancho the Strong, in the great decisive battle of Navas de Tolosa, captured the chains which surrounded the tent of the Moorish king Miramamolín and distributed them among the churches of Ujué, Pamplona, Tudela, and Roncesvalles and placed them on his country's coat of arms as a perpetual memorial of the feat. King Theobald I gave the castle of Xavier to the lords of Sada and brought the Cistercians to Leyre instead of the Benedictines. His son Theobald died in the Holy Land on a Crusade. Charles the Noble built the Gothic cathedral at Pamplona and the wonderful palace of Olite. His daughter Blanca married King Juan of Aragon; and her son Carlos, the prince of Viana, rebelled against his father and thus brought civil war upon the land. Her daughter Leonor married the count of Foix. Their son, Francis Phoebus, became king of Navarre after the death of Juan but died shortly after he was crowned. His sister Catalina married Jean d'Albret, who thus obtained the crown.¹⁸⁹

9. THE CONQUEST OF NAVARRE (1512)

Francis' childhood passed quietly and peacefully within the family circle in the lonely castle. But he had hardly completed his sixth year when there occurred

¹⁸⁷ Moret I 201-203; Estornés Lasa 208-209 215-216 28-29.

¹⁸⁸ For the Royal Chronicle which he drew up about 1500, Xavier's father used for the earlier period the "Regla Vieja" of Leyre, a parchment codex of the eleventh, or, according to some, of the thirteenth century. It is entitled "Relación de la descendencia de los Reyes de Navarra." See the incomplete copy edited by Fita in *Boletín de la R. Academia de la Historia* 24 (1894) 129-148.

¹⁸⁹ Details thus far are from the Royal Chronicle of Dr. Juan de Jassu.

a series of events that were to have profound influences upon him and his relatives.¹⁹⁰

Pope Julius II had been at war with France since 1510. When Louis XII summoned a national council that decreed the deposition of the pope, the latter replied with an excommunication, an interdict, and the founding of the Holy League, which included Venice, England, and Spain. In March, 1512, Ferdinand the Catholic, as a member of the league, declared war on France and demanded free passage through Navarre. King Jean d'Albret sought to maintain his neutrality by negotiating with both parties. Nevertheless a dark storm was lying heavy over the land when, in the middle of June, Francis' father signed a receipt at the castle of Xavier for his annual salary of 582 pounds, 7 *tarjas*, and 2 *dineros*.¹⁹¹ Before the end of the month he had to go with the royal marshal, Don Pedro de Navarra, as ambassador to Burgos.¹⁹² He had already been there at the Spanish court for three weeks when King Ferdinand learned through spies about the negotiations which Navarre was conducting at this same time with France. On July 15 he sent an ultimatum to Pamplona, demanding an immediate passage through the country, provisions, and the three chief fortresses as a pledge of surety. A storm of indignation swept through Navarre. The demands were refused and the people called to arms, but it was too late.¹⁹³ On July 18, when the ambassadors from Navarre were signing a secret treaty at Blois,¹⁹⁴ the Spanish king ordered his army to advance. On the twenty-first his commander-in-chief Alba, with the Beaumontese exiles in the lead, crossed over the northwest boundary of Navarre near Alsasua with six thousand infantry, twenty-five thousand cavalry, and twenty cannon.¹⁹⁵

King Jean sent his wife and children in all haste over the mountains to Béarn;¹⁹⁶ and on July 22 he too fled¹⁹⁷ past Sangüesa and the castle of Xavier to Lumbier,¹⁹⁸ where he arrived on the twenty-third, in order to organize the resistance from there.¹⁹⁹ Soon after this Dr. Juan also came to Lumbier with the marshal from Burgos,²⁰⁰ but a week later he followed his king into voluntary exile in Béarn.²⁰¹

On July 24 Pamplona had opened its gates to the enemy, especially since Alba had threatened continued opposition with the papal excommunication.²⁰² Lumbier

¹⁹⁰ For the following years, 1512 to 1515, the main source is Boissonnade 269-446. See also Orreaga (with a review of the sources and literature, pp. XXXI-LI) Moret, Ruano Prieto, Cros. For 1512 see Pradera and the contemporary report of Luis Correa edited by Yanguas (Correa-Yanguas).

¹⁹¹ Archives Navarre: **Papeles sueltos*, ser 2, n. 24.

¹⁹² Boissonnade 285 661; Ruano Prieto 290; Cros, *Doc.* I 152.

¹⁹³ Boissonnade 289-290 322-323; Cros, *Doc.* *II 131.

¹⁹⁴ Boissonnade 294-321; Ruano Prieto 295-305. The text of the treaty is given in Pradera 407-409.

¹⁹⁵ Correa-Yanguas 64-66; Boissonnade 324-326; Ruano Prieto 308-309; Orreaga 23-27.

¹⁹⁶ Boissonnade 236 (against Moret VII 290).

¹⁹⁷ Moret VII 290; cf. Cros, *Doc.* *II 150 (against Boissonnade 327). July 26 should probably be read instead of July 21 in Yanguas III 446.

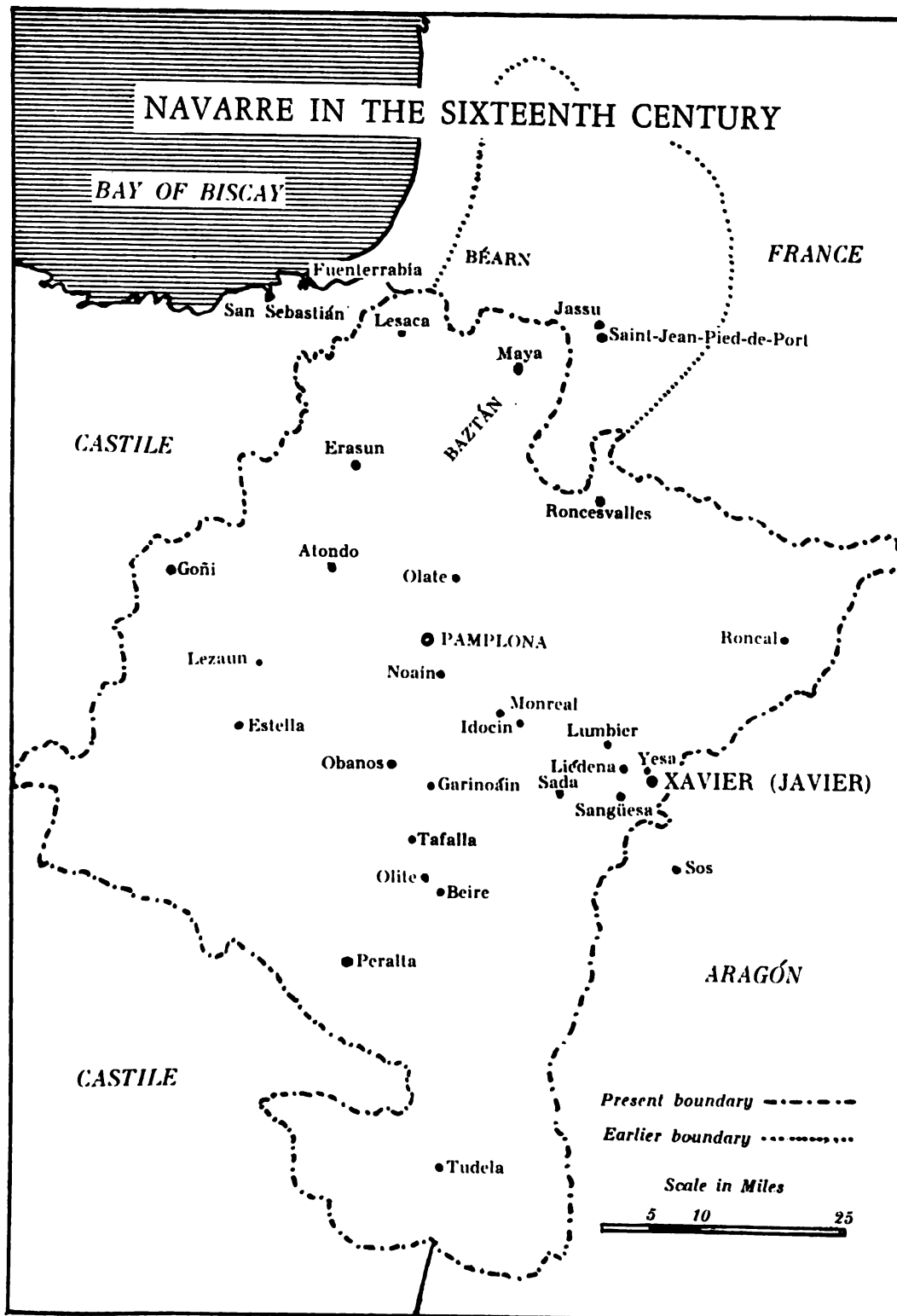
¹⁹⁸ Boissonnade 237.

¹⁹⁹ Cros, *Doc.* I 157-158.

²⁰⁰ Boissonnade 661.

²⁰¹ Yanguas III 446-447; Moret VII 292; Boissonnade 333 661; Cros, *Doc.* *II 165-166.

²⁰² Cros, *Doc.* I 153; Moret VII 300-302; Correa-Yanguas 70-86; Boissonnade 328-330. The negotiators in Lumbier for the surrender of Pamplona were Xavier's uncle Pedro and Miguel de Espinal (Cros, *Doc.* *II 150-151).



Generated on 2019-11-01 16:28 GMT / http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015005659191
Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives / http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#cc-by-nc-nd-4.0

capitulated on August 10.²⁰³ Sangüesa and the remaining cities and valleys followed their example perforce.²⁰⁴ The Roncalese, however, did not yield until Alba had reaffirmed their patent of nobility of the year 860, their privilege of having the head of Abd-ar-Rahman portrayed upon their military standard, their grazing rights on the Bardenas, and all their other prerogatives.²⁰⁵ Spanish garrisons were placed in the principal cities,²⁰⁶ and a thousand men under Captain Valdes passed by Xavier in order to blockade the entrance to the Roncal Valley at Burgui.²⁰⁷

On August 22, in order to break the last resistance, Ferdinand had published the bull *Pastor ille coelestis*, dated a month earlier. This excommunicated all the followers of the schismatic King Louis XII if they did not lay down their arms within three days and awarded their possessions to the first ally of the Holy See to seize them.²⁰⁸ In virtue of this bull he now laid claim to the title of King of Navarre and exacted a universal oath of fidelity.²⁰⁹

Francis' father had in the meantime returned, for King Jean had ordered "the members of his Council and the judges of his Supreme Court" to repair to the city of Olite and to remain there until his return, which he hoped would be soon.²¹⁰ Ferdinand retained him in his office as a member of the Council,²¹¹ commissioned him and the bachelor Lizarazu to sign the royal amnesties,²¹² and had him paid the 432 pounds owed him by the banished prince;²¹³ but then the war suddenly broke out again.

In the middle of October, Jean d'Albret came with fourteen thousand Navarrese, French, and German infantrymen under General La Palice and laid siege to Pamplona. After a two-day battle, Burgui in the Roncal Valley fell, and one hundred patriots, mostly Roncalese, under Captain Pedro Sanz then left Garde for the Ribera in order to defend the frontier.²¹⁴ In Sangüesa there was a ferment.²¹⁵ The Spanish army of occupation was reinforced.²¹⁶ The archbishop of Zaragoza, an illegitimate son of Ferdinand, came to help with seven thousand Aragon. A division of these was left at the castle of Xavier in order to cut off supplies for d'Albret's troops from the Roncal Valley, and sixty head of cattle fell into their hands at a single stroke.²¹⁷ The family records which Aunt Margarita

²⁰³ Yanguas II 295-296.

²⁰⁴ Boissonnade 333-334; Correa-Yanguas 75-76.

²⁰⁵ Estornés Lasa 215-221.

²⁰⁶ Boissonnade 384; Moret VII 294.

²⁰⁷ Correa-Yanguas 113; Boissonnade 376 380.

²⁰⁸ Text in Boissonnade 636-640; history of the bull, *ibid.* 340-370. The marshal Don Pedro de Navarra in 1516, the king (*ibid.* 662 367-368), Moret VII 375-377, and more recent authors such as Yanguas, Campion, Cros and Brou deny that the kings of Navarre were excommunicated by this. The latter point out that Dr. Martín de Azpilcueta, the greatest canonist of the sixteenth century, took no notice of this excommunication.

²⁰⁹ Boissonnade 337-341; Cros, *Doc.* *II 148.

²¹⁰ Yanguas III 446-447.

²¹¹ Escalada 221-223.

²¹² On September 17, 1512 (A. Lizarralde, O.F.M., *Historia de la Universidad de Oñate* [Tolosa, 1930] 15, n. 1).

²¹³ Cros, *Doc.* *II 148.

²¹⁴ Between Petillas and Olite they came across 240 Aragon, defeated them, and brought them captive to Murillo (*Orbayceta 33, 79 85v-96).

²¹⁵ Boissonnade 378-380; Correa-Yanguas 170-171.

²¹⁶ Boissonnade 384 386.

²¹⁷ Boissonnade erroneously gives the number as six hundred (390); his source (Bernaldez) has sixty.

had brought with her when she fled from Olloqui at the outbreak of hostilities were burned by the soldiers.²¹⁸

D'Albret failed in his attempt to reconquer his capital. On November 30 his troops started their return over the snow-covered Baztán Valley. During their constant encounters with the Guipuzcoans and the Beaumontese under the command of the lord of Góngora, of Ramon d'Esparza, and of Miguel de Donamaria, they lost their artillery and a great number of men.²¹⁹

As a consequence of this invasion, Ferdinand took sharper measures to assure his conquest. Through rather dubious means he obtained a new bull in Rome, where the pugnacious Julius II lay dying, which excommunicated King Jean by name because of his alliance with Louis XII.²²⁰ Navarre received a viceroy. The smaller fortresses were destroyed; the more important, such as Monreal and Lumbier, were enlarged; the bridge of Sangüesa was protected with a strong tower, and work was started on a citadel at Pamplona.²²¹ This latter caused the destruction of the Dominican church with the family crypt of the Jassu.²²² The forces of occupation were strengthened. Lumbier and Sangüesa received a garrison of one hundred lances of heavy²²³ and two hundred light-armed cavalrymen.²²⁴ The most important posts were handed over to the Beaumontese.²²⁵ All were ordered to return and take the oath of loyalty. Anyone who refused to do so was looked upon as a traitor and his life and goods were declared to be forfeited.²²⁶

In Pamplona uncle Pedro had to give up his position as justice to his political rival Gracián de Beaumont.²²⁷ He even feared for his house²²⁸ since his two oldest sons, Juan and Valentín, were serving in the army of Jean d'Albret in Béarn.²²⁹

Aunt Margarita was also in a difficult position, for her three sons, Remón, Juan, and Francés, had followed the king in his flight over the Pyrenees.²³⁰ When Remón, her firstborn, died on the field of battle in the service of the French in far-off Italy,²³¹ Alba declared her palace in Olloqui to be forfeited

²¹⁸ Cros, *Doc.* I 388.

²¹⁹ Boissonnade 396-398. Many people came with Esparza from the Salazar Valley, and twelve from Bigüezal (*Orbayceta 33, 49v 58 59v-60v).

²²⁰ The bull *Exigit contumaciam* is dated February 18, 1512. But since this is according to the Florentine calendar, it should be 1513 according to ours. Text in Boissonnade 645-650; history of the bull, *ibid.* 353-358. On February 18 the pope was mortally ill; he died during the night of the twentieth (Pastor III 682-684). That the bull was not obtained in an irreproachable manner is indicated by the letter which Ferdinand wrote to his ambassador at the time to have it corrected so that despite its defects it would still be valid (Royal Archives of Simancas: **Patronato Real* 13, 35: Moret VII 377).

²²¹ Boissonnade 408-409; F. Idoate, "Las fortificaciones de Pamplona a partir de la conquista de Navarra," *Príncipe de Viana* 15 (1954) 57-157.

²²² Archives Granada 67, 45, n. 5; Cros, *Doc.* I 44, *II 77; *Vie* I 73.

²²³ A lance (*lanza*) consisted of three horsemen (Moret VII 237).

²²⁴ Boissonnade 408.

²²⁵ For example, Lumbier (Cros, *Doc.* *II 153), Burgui, and Monreal (Simancas: **Patronato Real* 13, nn. 52-53); cf. Boissonnade 400.

²²⁶ Boissonnade 404.

²²⁷ Cros, *Doc.* I 56 165.

²²⁸ *Ibid.* 293.

²²⁹ *Ibid.* and *II 220 85.

²³⁰ *Ibid.* *II 81-82 164-165.

²³¹ *Ibid.* *81-84.

and had it turned over to a Spaniard.²³² The lady of the palace had to hide her most precious possessions and eventually leave her home. After this she lived with her children in neighboring Huarte in such great poverty that she was even forced to sell a part of her entailed inheritance.²³³

In the spring of 1515 the Spaniards and the Beaumontese marched into the Baztán Valley to capture the fortress of Maya. Between twenty-five and thirty Navarrese who were loyal to the king withdrew into the tower of the castle of Azpilcueta and put up such a resistance that the enemy had the estate burned in revenge.²³⁴

The new rule came to be felt also at the castle of Xavier. Although Francis' father kept his place as a member of the Royal Council and regained his income of eight hundred pounds,²³⁵ he had to surrender its presidency to his adversary Don Luis de Beaumont.²³⁶ The ever recalcitrant peasants of Idocin were as hardheaded as ever after the Spanish conquest.²³⁷ But the worst blow fell upon the doctor at the castle of Xavier itself.

Between Sos, the birthplace of Ferdinand the Catholic, Sangüesa, and Xavier lay *El Real*, a wide, flat, deserted piece of land through which the Onsella flowed. It was a no-man's-land, and from time immemorial the neighboring cities had contested its possession.²³⁸ The lords of Xavier had always enjoyed the same right of pasturing their flocks there as the others in this area.²³⁹ Without concerning himself about this right of the doctor, Ferdinand, in 1513, divided the property between the two cities;²⁴⁰ and a year later, on September 15, 1514, he ordered Sangüesa to pay 32,000 *sueldos* as the purchase price for its share, and Sos 43,000 for its.²⁴¹

The lord of Xavier wrote in vain to the Catholic King that he was a citizen of Casales de Lerda since he owned a manor there and consequently enjoyed, as his forefathers had before him, the right to pasture his flocks on *El Real*; and he begged the king not to deprive him of such an ancient right. On September 22 Ferdinand sent an answer from Valladolid to his "well-beloved councilor" informing him that this right had never been recognized by the former owners of *El Real*. As arbitrator he, the king, had declared that the land belonged to the cities of Sos and Sangüesa. He was therefore obliged to secure them in their peaceful possession of it. The owning of a manor on a site such as Lerda, which had been deserted for so many years, gave no right of pasturage, especially since

²³² *Ibid.* I 253-254. Cros erroneously gives the year as 1523 (253). He is correct in saying that it was ten years earlier (254).

²³³ *Ibid.* *II 220 85.

²³⁴ *Ibid.* I 179-181; Archives Navarre: **Papeles sueltos*, ser. 2, 23, n. 7.

²³⁵ Escalada 221-222: The income amounted to six hundred pounds, but there was a bonus of two hundred more.

²³⁶ Boissonnade 404.

²³⁷ Cros, *Doc.* I 192-194.

²³⁸ On the dispute over *El Real* we have two detailed reports with the pertinent documents: one for 1513 to 1529 in Archives Granada 60, 23, n. 4 (cf. also nn. 3 and 5) and one for 1513 to 1544 in the Municipal Archives of Sangüesa: **Libro 5*, ff. 1-81v (cf. also **Gobierno*, leg. 30, nn. 4-6). We also have the process of 1526-1527 in Archives Navarre (**Mendivil*, n. 3). On the protest of Xavier's parents see **Recopilación de Actas de Cortes 1503-1531*, ff. 144v-154, and Simancas: **Patronato Real* 13, 17. See further Cros, *Doc.* I 160-161; *II 155-156; *Vie* I 59-61 93; Escalada 12-14 236-237; Fita 239-240.

²³⁹ Municipal Archives of Sangüesa: **Libro 5*, f. 45; Cros, *Vie* I 59-61.

²⁴⁰ September 15, 1513 (Municipal Archives of Sangüesa: **Libro 5*, ff. 28v-32v).

²⁴¹ *Ibid.* 33v-36v.

according to common law such a title reverted to the rulers when a site was abandoned. Since this was the case, the lord of Xavier must hereafter on no account send his cattle into *El Real*. Nevertheless, if he could show better grounds for such a claim, he might bring them up before the Royal Council, and he, the king, would then give an order that his right should remain intact.²⁴²

On November 14, 1514, Sos paid the required sum.²⁴³ When, in the middle of March of the following year, the agents of Sangüesa presented themselves in turn at the estate of the villar of *El Real* to deposit the purchase price, uncle Pedro and Miguel, Xavier's brother, also put in an appearance. They made a protest in the name of the lady of the castle of Xavier and rejected the sum offered for damages.²⁴⁴ The purchase was therefore deferred and the doctor again appealed to King Ferdinand. When the latter advised him on April 5, 1515, that he should let the matter be decided by arbitration, he went to the Cortes,²⁴⁵ obtained its unanimous approval, and then forwarded his complaint to the Spanish king. Ferdinand answered on June 30 that the doctor should place his claim before the Royal Council.²⁴⁶ But in the meantime matters were running their course. On July 22 the second half of *El Real* was sold to Sangüesa.²⁴⁷ A month earlier King Ferdinand had completed his last step in annexing Navarre. On June 11, 1515, the land was officially incorporated into the crown of Castile, León, and Granada and subjected to the council at Burgos. The kingdom of Iñigo Arista, which had endured for 700 years, ceased to exist as an independent realm.²⁴⁸

²⁴² The original text is to be found in Mendivil, n. 3. The facts of the case were hard to determine. In 1527 the people of Sangüesa maintained that the lord of Xavier had formerly enjoyed grazing rights on *El Real* since he was a citizen of Sangüesa and owned a house there. The witnesses whom they produced declared, on the other hand, that the lords of Xavier had secretly and unlawfully pastured their livestock on this property, and that whenever the caretakers of the former owner Alvarado seized their animals, they always paid the fine. The octogenarian Juan de Navas said that he had seen this happen more than twenty or thirty times; and Lope Arnia of Biota declared that in 1510, when he was acting as caretaker for the guardian of Alvarado's children, he had seen mares and wethers of Doña Violante, the sister of the lady of the castle, grazing on *El Real* (adjoining the Farandillo), and that he had taken the mares, which numbered about eighteen or twenty, and two wethers to Undués as security until one of the sons of the lady of the castle came with a cowherd and two or three other companions and paid the fine (three gold ducats). The witnesses produced by the lady of the castle, however, declared that Dr. Juan had had grazing rights before the injunction of the Catholic King. Another octogenarian, Miguel de Cemboráin, maintained that fifty-five years before, when he was serving Martín de Azpilcueta as a soldier at the castle, the latter had paid back Alvarado's father in kind by confiscating some of his animals and that from then on they had each let the livestock of the other graze on *El Real* in peace (*Mendivil, n. 3).

²⁴³ Archives Granada 60, 23, n. 4b, f. 2.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 60, 23, n. 4c f. 1v-2v (cf. n. 4a); *Mendivil, n. 3; Cros, *Doc.* *II 156; *Vie* I 60. The protest was on March 15, 1515 (contrary to Escalada 13).

²⁴⁵ Archives Granada 60, 23, n. 4a. Ferdinand's answer of April 5, 1515, *ibid.* 60, 23, n. 5; Cros, *Doc.* I 161.

²⁴⁶ Archives Granada 60, 23, n. 4a; Archives Navarre: **Recopilación de Actas de Cortes* 1503-1531, ff. 144v-45; Cros, *Doc.* *II 155; *Vie* I 59.

²⁴⁷ Archives Granada 60, 23, n. 4b, f. 2.

²⁴⁸ "Lo encorporó en la corona real de estos Reinos de Castilla, é de León é de Granada" (Yanguas III 260-267; Boissonnade 441-443). But on July 10, 1516, Charles V swore, despite this annexation, that "tendria á Navarra como á Reino de porsí" (Boissonnade 470).

Dr. Juan did not survive this double blow for long. On October 16, 1515, he closed his eyes forever.²⁴⁹ When the former president of the Royal Council was carried to his grave, Francis was nine and one-half years old,²⁵⁰ and his brother Miguel was from then on the lord of the castle of Xavier.

²⁴⁹ Cros, *Doc.* I 162; Escalada 223. Where did he die? The testimony of Juan Ramírez seems to indicate Pamplona. On March 1, 1517, he declared in Lumbier that Dr. Juan had served the whole year of 1515 as a member of the Royal Council 'fasta diezeseys del mes de octubre que murió' (Cros, *Doc.* I 162); The testimonies of Esteban de Huarte and Sancho Remírez in 1536 seem to indicate the castle of Xavier (MX II 69 75). The first maintained that he had seen Xavier's parents 'bibiendo en la cassa y palacio de Xabier hasta que finasen sus días'; the second, that he had been at the castle twenty years before, where Dr. Juan and Doña Maria were at the time. The executor of the will was a relative of the doctor, Fray Diego de Jassu, O.P., living in Pamplona (Cros, *Doc.* I 292).

²⁵⁰ In 1947 I was told by the then ninety-two-year-old Marcelo Guindano that according to a family tradition Francis had lived in the lower right-hand room of St. Michael's tower. I was also told by Marcelo, who was the living tradition of the castle of Xavier—his father was born there in 1808 and, as he said, his ancestors were already there in 1508—that Francis often sat with his mother on the stone bench in front of the chapel of Santo Cristo and sang hymns with her. He also told me the following anecdote about the saint as a boy: "When Francis was still young, a poor man came to the iron gate near the Santo Cristo chapel. Not far from it was the door to the kitchen. The man went in to cook something. Francis, who was ten years old at the time, exclaimed to his father, who was with him: 'If only I had some wine and pitch!' His father told him warm a little wine, and he did so. The poor man was for the moment before the Santo Cristo saying an *Ave Maria*. Francis came up with the pot and placed it on the poor man's head, for he was very mischievous (*travieso*) as a boy. When the man cried out, Francis' father came up and asked him: 'What has happened?' The man replied: 'Someone put the pot with pitch on my head.' Francis' father took the pot off the man's head and asked his wife: 'Where is Francis?' Francis' mother, who had locked him up to punish him and to keep his father from doing so, replied: 'He is not here; I don't know where he is.' When his father looked for him, he could not find him. Francis' mother wanted to send Francis to a school in Sangüesa which was then on the Calle del Estudio. He ate and slept in the house of Paris, which was richer then than it is now. His room is still today called 'the room of Saint Francis.' There Francis lost his mischievousness and was later sent to Paris." How much of this "tradition" is true can no longer be ascertained. In 1930 Guindano told me that he had a wedding contract according to which a woman of Yesa married one of his ancestors in Xavier in 1508. In 1954 the document was no longer to be found; still, in 1544 a Martín Guindano from Sangüesa was ordered to give up a field belonging to the castle of Xavier which he had illegally cultivated (Archives Granada 61, 8).

CHAPTER III

THE WAR OF HIS BROTHERS (1515-1525)¹

1. THE INVASION OF THE MARSHAL (1516)²

The days of the Spanish king were also numbered. At the beginning of 1516, three months after the death of the doctor, a swift courier of the lady of Ablitas rode over the snow-covered mountains to King Jean at Béarn with an important message: On January 23 Ferdinand the Catholic had died in Madrigalejo in distant Estremadura, and Cardinal Cisneros had taken over the rule. There was a ferment in Aragon, Castile, and Andalusia, and also in Navarre.³

The rule of the foreign Spaniards was hated in the country, even by the Beaumontese.⁴ Sinister rumors were spreading through Navarre,⁵ especially in the Agramontese east. People were putting their heads together. Open threats were being made against the supporters of the Spaniards. Arms were being procured and horses bought.⁶ The leaders of the Agramontese were assembling in the castle of the marquis de Falces in Marcilla, while the marshal, Don Pedro de Navarre, was levying troops beyond the mountains for the reconquest of the land.⁷

In the castle of Xavier secret meetings were also being held.⁸ Messengers came and went.⁹ Miguel ordered supplies and munitions to be secured¹⁰ and furnished the castle with a guard of seven or eight Roncalese under Captain Villasayas.¹¹

In Sangüesa his friends were also active. Miguel de Añues, Master Lope and Pedro de Lumbier were here the leaders of the movement. Because of the threatening attitude of the citizens, the Aragon castellan, Pedro de Castro, returned

¹ The principal accounts of the history of Navarre are Boissonnade 446-562 (1515-1521), Bordenave 3-26 (1521-1524), Orreaga 73-280 (1515-1524) and Moret; in addition to these there are the documents in Cros.

² Important for what follows is the **Relación de lo que los testigos que se tomaron en Nabarra dixeron sobre la venida del Rey Don Juan a Nabarra* (Simancas: **Patronato Real* 13, 15); this contains the testimonies of twenty-six witnesses questioned in the spring of 1516. They have been partially published by Boissonnade 450-451 455 461-462 and Orreaga 84-94.

³ Orreaga 87; Boissonnade 452-455.

⁴ Boissonnade 455-456.

⁵ *Ibid.* 451.

⁶ Orreaga 84-93; Boissonnade 450-451.

⁷ "Memorial de las pesquisas que el lic. Salazar hizo contra los Navarros," *Revista Euskara*, 1882, 53-57.

⁸ *Ibid.* 57; Cros, *Doc.* I 181; Escalada 233-234.

⁹ Boissonnade 660 and *Revista Euskara*, 1882, 57. In 1516 the parish priest of Echa-güe, Juan de Azpilcueta, frequently wrote to Doña María and Violante (Cros, *Doc.* *II 104).

¹⁰ *Revista Euskara*, 1882, 57.

¹¹ Pedro Gayurri gave evidence to this effect in 1516 (**Relación*, n. 26).

to his home province to get reinforcements. He was waylaid on his way back, taken prisoner, and brought to the castle of Xavier, where he was forced to write to his wife that she should hand over his stronghold in Sangüesa to the patriots. The weapons which were found in the royal palace of Alfonso the Battler were distributed and a citizens' army formed.¹²

Meanwhile Palm Sunday came along. In the little parish church of Xavier the Gospel describing our Lord's entrance into Jerusalem was sung. Holy Week had already begun when it was learned that the marshal and his men had forced their way into the Roncal Valley and that Jean d'Albret had entered Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port amidst the applause of the people. It was said that the king would celebrate Easter in Pamplona.¹³

But Easter Monday brought sad news.¹⁴ The invasion had misfired. Between seven and eight hundred of the patriots¹⁵ had been cut off in the Roncal Valley on their return by three thousand Spaniards and Beaumontese and had been forced to surrender.¹⁶ The marshal and his companions, among whom were Francis' two cousins, Valentín de Jassu and Juan de Olloqui, and two other relatives, Francés de Ezpeleta and Juan Ramírez de Baquedano, were taken prisoner.¹⁷ On learning this, the king left Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port and returned with his troops to Béarn.¹⁸ At the castle of Xavier the Aragonese were set free. Captain Villasayas mounted his roan horse and rode off across the bridge at Sangüesa to Cáseda and the south, while the Roncalese forces of occupation fled to the mountains.¹⁹

2. THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CASTLE (1516)

While the marshal and his companions were kept imprisoned in the dungeon of the fortress of Atienza in Castile,²⁰ Cisneros took stringent measures to prevent a new uprising in Navarre. In April and May the licentiate Salazar went in his name through the cities of the Agramontese in the south, while the inquisitor Fresneda journeyed in the north through Sangüesa and the Roncal Valley. The licentiate was in a hurry. Every day he interrogated twenty or more witnesses and then traveled on through the night so that he might start his work again immediately the next morning in a new place, for he was afraid that those he interrogated might betray his questions and warn the people.²¹ Houses were

¹² *Revista Euskara*, 1882, 55 57; Boissonnade 455.

¹³ Boissonnade 458 461-462.

¹⁴ According to the Archives of Leyre the marshal was taken captive on Easter (Moret VII 362-363). The main sources for the invasion are the hearings of the eight captured patriots in Atienza on May 2, 1516 (Simancas: **Patronato Real* 13, 90). Cros, *Doc.* *II 173-180, gives extracts in a French translation. The statements of the marshal are given in the original text by Boissonnade 658-663. To these may be added the hearing with respect to the cooperation of the licentiate Orbara (Archives Navarre: *Papeles sueltos*, ser. 2, 5 and 47). Further documents were used by Boissonnade 461-463; Orreaga 102 to 107 317-324; Moret VII 362-364 and also Cedillo II 171-215, the **Relación* and the *Memorial* (see above, nn. 2 and 7).

¹⁵ Only half of the 1,200 crossed the border (Boissonnade 658-659). In addition to these there were 120 to 180 Roncalese (*ibid.* 660; Cros, *Doc.* *II 176).

¹⁶ At Isaba in the district de la Cruz (Madoz III 99).

¹⁷ Cros, *Doc.* *II 173-180.

¹⁸ Boissonnade 463.

¹⁹ Simancas: **Patronato Real* 13, 15, n. 26.

²⁰ Orreaga 108-117.

²¹ Cedillo II 171-172.

searched, and even the castle of Xavier. Compromising papers were found in the chests of the marquis de Falces and those of Miguel, the lord of Xavier. These were sent to the cardinal regent.²²

Cisneros set to work with the utmost severity. The duke of Nájera, the deadly enemy of the Agramontese, was named²³ viceroy and ordered to level all the fortresses of Navarre to the ground and to complete the citadel in Pamplona as soon as possible.²⁴

The order for the destruction of the forts was carried out with great severity.²⁵ On Pentecost the workmen came to Sangüesa. With effort the city at least succeeded in having the walls on the side of the stream preserved, since they protected the citizens from floods.²⁶ The rest of the fortifications were demolished.

At this same time the destruction of the castle of Xavier was begun. In eleven days the task was completed.²⁷ Francis and the other members of his family had to look on helplessly as their ancestral home was torn down piece by piece. On the side facing the mountain, the outer wall with its round towers, bridge tower, and gate was leveled to the ground. The drawbridge was destroyed, the moat filled up, and the garden of the outer court with its rabbit warrens laid waste. The east tower and the old castle were deprived of their defenses, their pitchholes and crenellated parapets; the embrasures for bows and guns were walled up, and St. Michael's tower was truncated in half. The cardinal had ordered the whole castle to be destroyed. The family could at least be happy that it had been left with living quarters. The palace in Azpilcueta was similarly deprived of its defenses and its adjacent tower entirely destroyed. Moreover, the timbers were taken from the house in Pamplona and used for the erection of the citadel.²⁸

On Corpus Christi forty-seven men were paid for the work they had done in destroying the fortifications at Sangüesa and Xavier. The sum amounted to 23,463 $\frac{1}{2}$ *maravedís*.²⁹ On the same day, that is, May 22, Nájera took the oath on the *fueros* in the name of the new king, the sixteen-year-old Charles V, before the court in the old library in the cloister of the cathedral of Pamplona; and the three estates in their turn took the oath of loyalty.³⁰

3. NEW BLOWS (1516-1519)

A new wind was blowing in Navarre, as sharp as the northwest wind against the castle of Xavier. The Beaumontese received all four places as judges in the

²² On May 20, 1516, Salazar wrote from Pamplona to Cisneros: "Las cartas originales que se tomaron en las arcas de Don Antonio [de Peralta], del Marqués [de Falces] e del señor de Chavier, que dicen, que están allá en poder de V. Señoría Reverendísima, e quel el Marqués niega la letra, son menester acá para azer comparación de la letra por testigos que le ayan visto escrevir, e por otras de su mano" (*ibid.* 215).

²³ See the *Memorial of the Agramontese (Simancas: **Patronato Real* 13, 14; Boissonnade 460 467-468).

²⁴ Boissonnade 464 466; Orreaga 125-126; Cros, *Doc.* I 179 181; *II 183. Xavier is mentioned in the list of fortified towns and houses drawn up on this occasion: "La casa de Chavier que es llana y algo fuerte" (*Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos de Navarra* 6 [1915] 149-150).

²⁵ Boissonnade 464-466; Orreaga 126-130; Moret VII 365-366.

²⁶ Municipal Archives of Sangüesa: **Gobierno*, leg. 30, n. 9.

²⁷ Archives Navarre: **Papeles sueltos*, ser. 2, 14; Escalada 226-227.

²⁸ Cros, *Doc.* I 175-182 251; Escalada 226-242.

²⁹ Escalada 226-227 incorrectly gives the figure as 23,460 $\frac{1}{2}$ *maravedís*.

³⁰ Boissonnade 467; Cros, *Doc.* *II 183.

Supreme Court and control of the Royal Council under a Castilian as president. The office of royal chancellor, however, went to the licentiate Salazar as a reward for his zeal in hunting out the rebels, and a strong Spanish garrison was placed in the capital under the command of Miguel Herrera.³¹

Still within this same year, 1516, King Jean followed his adversary into eternity. On June 17, in the castle of Esgarrabaque in Béarn, death put an end to his hopes of regaining Navarre. Eight months later Queen Catalina was also carried to her grave. As successor to the throne she left behind the fourteen-year-old prince Don Enrique.³²

In December, 1516, Francis' uncle Pedro also died at Pamplona. As executor of his will he had named in the first place his relative and friend the treasurer of the cathedral chapter, Dr. Remiro de Goñi. Of his sons, Juan, who had been living since 1512 in Béarn, was to receive his possessions in Upper Navarre, while Valentín, who had in the meantime been freed from the dungeon at Atienza, was to receive those in Lower Navarre on the condition that he support his younger brother, Esteban, during his theological studies. His grandson Pedro de Mutiloa received one thousand pounds as the dowry of his deceased mother María.³³

Two years later Francis' aunt Juana died in Olaz Menor. She had named Miguel, Francis' brother, as executor of her will and her sister in nearby Olloqui as her sole heir.³⁴ Aunt Margarita needed the help. She had returned to her castle with her children, but her son Juan had again gone to King Henry at Béarn almost immediately after being set free from the dungeon of Atienza. His property was therefore declared to be forfeited to the Treasury and promised to a stranger, who was only waiting for the death of the mistress of the castle to take possession of it.³⁵

4. AT ODDS WITH THE TREASURY (1517-1520)

In the castle of Xavier Doña María had also to fight for her rights. Although she had been paid the sums owed to her deceased husband for 1515³⁶ at the beginning of 1517, she had not been successful in her efforts to obtain the return of her right to pasture her flocks on *El Real*.³⁷ As long as Cisneros ruled, there was no chance of her securing any concessions. He died, however, in November, 1517; and the seventeen-year-old king Charles came with his Flemish councilors to Spain to take over the government. His coming raised new hopes.³⁸

³¹ Boissonnade 466-470.

³² *Ibid.* 478; Orreaga 137-141.

³³ A copy of the will is in the Archives Peñaflorida (San Sebastián), vol. 53, 19v-21v; an extract may be found in Cros, *Doc.* I 164-165. Valentín was present for the revue of troops in Navarrenx on December 17, 1512, at Cap-de-Vic-Bigorre on March 31, 1513, in Vic-de-Bigorre on January 25, 1515 (together with Juan), and in Pau on November 10, 1515 (Jean de Jurgain, "Origine de la famille de Saint François Xavier," *Etudes historiques et religieuses du Diocèse de Bayonne* 3 [1894] 198-199).

³⁴ Cros, *Doc.* *II 77-79; *Vie* I 73-76.

³⁵ Cros, *Doc.* I 182-183; *II 175; *Vie* I 72-73.

³⁶ Cros, *Doc.* I 162-164; Escalada 223-225.

³⁷ Among the complaints presented to the Cortes was that of Xavier's mother with respect to *El Real*. The answer was: "Que se haga justicia" (Simancas: **Patronato Real* 13, 17). But nothing happened (Archives Granada 60, 23, n. 4a). Cf. an earlier complaint in Cros, *Doc.* *II 156; *Vie* I 61.

³⁸ Moret VII 383-387.

In the summer of 1519 Francis' mother sent two petitions to the king, who was being raised at this time by the German electors to the rank of emperor at Aix-la-Chapelle. In the first she asked for eighteen hundred ducats as payment for the debts of the former rulers, and in the second she claimed damages amounting to four thousand ducats for the destruction of her three houses at Xavier, Azpilcueta, and Pamplona.

The king referred the matter to his Council at Pamplona; and in January, 1520, Francis' brother Juan, now twenty-three years old, went to the capital and in his mother's name presented a petition giving the grounds for her requests. The document maintained that the damages sustained in Azpilcueta amounted to over 2,500 gold ducats and that 300 more were needed to replace the buildings destroyed by fire. Similarly, the damages to the castle of Xavier amounted to 2,500 ducats, and those at Pamplona to 100. In addition to this, Juan presented receipts of earlier kings according to which they had borrowed 1,760 pounds in 1482, 340 florins and 1,300 Béarn dollars in 1487, 1,500 pounds in 1489 from his grandfather Martín, and 900 pounds from his father, Dr. Juan, also in 1489. Among his witnesses were Don Ximeno, the parish priest of Yesa and Don Miguel, the parish priest of Azpilcueta, and his cousin Valentín de Jassu.

But Nájera, the viceroy, replied that the castle of Xavier had been destroyed as a meeting place for rebels by Cisnero's order. He told his experts to estimate the damages. They decided that these amounted to two hundred ducats in Azpilcueta and four hundred at Xavier. The clerks of the Revenue Office were consulted about the debts of former kings. On July 29 they declared that, because of the losses caused by the wars, nothing could be found in the books with respect to the patents presented or about their payment. It would therefore be impossible to determine whether the debts had been paid or not.³⁹

5. THE PEASANTS OF IDOCIN (1520)⁴⁰

While Juan was vainly trying to further the demands of his mother in the suit which he had been conducting since January at Pamplona, Miguel, the eldest son, was striving to have his right as lord recognized by the peasants of Idocin. But the Basques were hardheaded. The inhabitants of the village recognized no one over them as their lord except the king. Miguel's father had encountered this same opposition before him.

Already in 1503, under the presidency of their *burúzagui* (mayor), they had held a *batzarre* (a session of the village council) and had filed a complaint in the sharpest terms against the doctor. In it they declared that his house in Idocin was no palace with lordly rights, and that he had grossly misused his right of citizenship, which he had attained through cunning and trickery. Instead of 150 head of small animals and 12 head of cattle, as had formerly been agreed upon,

³⁹ On this *lawsuit see Archives Navarre: *Papeles sueltos*, ser. 2, 23, n. 3-9; Escalada 227-238, and Cros, *Doc. I* 175-182 250-251. On p. 179, however, the latter has *García* instead of *Arzilla* and throws together two separate documents. On p. 182 he incorrectly gives *Miguel* instead of *Dr. Juan*. He also fails to quote his sources. Instead he gives only a summary of them.

⁴⁰ Abundant material is to be found in Archives Granada 68, 5-7 9 12 14-17 (Escalada 110-115) and in Archives Navarre: *Papeles sueltos*, ser. 2, 15 and *Procesos*: *Ollocarizqueta 18, which has been partially published by Fita 104-124 141 193-200 211-223 225-231 226-237, and extracts of which are to be found in Cros, *Doc. I* 50-52 117-120 (confused) 149-150 158-159 192-195 301-302 381-383; *Vie I* 13 55 78-80.

he and his brother Pedro had driven 2,000 head of small animals and cattle and cows from the valley of Aezcoa and pastured them on their common land. As a consequence, the village had not been able to sell any fodder for the past ten years and had, instead, been forced to buy it for its own use. In addition to this, although the doctor had no jurisdiction over the citizens of Idocin, he had arrested some of them and taken them off to the dungeon of the fortress of Monreal.⁴¹

Dr. Juan rejected this charge as a gross calumny which deserved a fine of two thousand florins. The peasants were his subjects and therefore obliged to provide him with the usual services. They had to furnish him with wood, straw, supper, *opilarinzada* (bread and wine), weekly help, and patrols of the boundary.⁴² The witnesses also testified that during the past fifteen or eighteen years his flocks of from 300 to 600 sheep (and from 200 to 600 more of his brother's) and his herds of from 40 to 120 cows had usually been pastured at Xavier, and that only during a few years, and then only for some three months between May and September, had they been pastured in the valley of Ibargoiti, and here too for the most part in neighboring communities.⁴³

The suit dragged on until 1508, when the Royal Council rendered a judgment in favor of its president. In this decision it stated that he was the lord of Idocin and that the inhabitants were bound to serve him.⁴⁴ A second decision in 1510 explained this in greater detail.⁴⁵ But the peasants would not abide by the decision. They stubbornly maintained that they would speak with the king in person if he came into these parts. And they left it at that, even when the Council imposed a yearly fine of 50, 100, 200,⁴⁶ 400, and at last 800 pounds upon them.⁴⁷

The doctor finally lost his patience and, on January 21, 1512, he came with sixty armed companions, thirty on horse, and thirty on foot, among whom was his nephew Valentín de Jassu, to enforce the execution of the judgment of 1508. In the face of these superior forces, the peasants promised obedience under the threat of a fine of one thousand gold florins. They also provided some of the required services. They furnished the doctor's companions with lodgings and brought chickens, legs of pork, bread, and wine to the palace for their supper. Three or four of them also accompanied him on his ride about the boundaries.⁴⁸

Then the political revolutions set in. Although the new regime had recognized the right of the lord of Xavier to property and sales taxes,⁴⁹ still, when he returned to the village in January, 1514, he no longer came as president of the Royal Council and favorite of the kings. When he again asked for the services due him, he found the people more stubborn than ever.⁵⁰ A suggested compromise, according to which Dr. Juan declared he was ready to renounce the

⁴¹ Fita 194-196 (the Basque expressions are retained in the document); Cros, *Doc.* I 51.

⁴² Fita 196-198; cf. 215-216 225-226; Cros, *Doc.* I 51 and the important **Información para responder a la citación de los de Idocin* (Archives Granada 68, 15b), which is only briefly summarized by Cros.

⁴³ The **hearings* are in the Archives Navarre: *Papeles sueltos*, ser. 2, 15, n. 3; there is an abstract in Cros, *Doc.* I 118-120.

⁴⁴ Fita 211-213; Cros, *Doc.* I 192; **Ollacarizqueta* 18, 85v 63-69.

⁴⁵ Fita 225-226; **Ollacarizqueta* 18, 86.

⁴⁶ Archives Navarre: **Papeles sueltos*, ser. 2, 15, n. 5.

⁴⁷ Archives Granada 68, 16b.

⁴⁸ Fita 227-231; Cros, *Doc.* I 192-195; **Ollacarizqueta* 18, 30v 39v-40v 77.

⁴⁹ Cros, *Doc.* I 158-159.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 194; **Ollacarizqueta* 18, 28v.

disputed services if the community would grant him twenty acres of land for a vineyard, was not put into effect because of his death.⁵¹

Soon after the decease of her husband, Doña María tried to insist upon her rights, and in 1516 she initiated a suit against her obstinate vassals. But the latter declared through their lawyer that the demands of the doctor had lapsed with his death and that the judgment of 1508 had never been put into effect. The doctor, relying upon his influence with the king, Council, and Court, had brought numerous suits against them and had made them pay a great many gold ducats and had had many of them imprisoned by the castellan of Monreal; but they were not vassals. Instead, they were free peasants and recognized no other lord except their king.⁵²

In January, 1520, Miguel made a new attempt. On the fifth of the month, he came with Valentín de Jassu and the notary Jaun Martínez de Lesaca to Idocin and called the peasants together. He reminded them of the decision of 1508 and its further clarification in 1510 and added that because of important business, most of which had been outside the country, he had not been previously able to receive the services due him as lord. He had now come to his palace to make an inspection of the boundaries of his land. The villagers who had assembled before his house replied in unison: "Don't call this house a palace. It is not, it never was, and it never will be one!" Miguel protested against this slander, ordered the notary to draw up a record of it, and warned the crowd that he reserved to himself the right of taking further steps. His threats, however, intimidated only one individual. He came in the evening and promised obedience. The others persisted in their passive resistance⁵³ even when the Royal Council, on January 28, obliged them to render service under a penalty of 300 pounds.⁵⁴

Following this, Miguel brought a suit against them and demanded a penalty of one thousand gold ducats according to the agreement of 1512. But his adversaries declared that this promise was invalid since it had been obtained by force. Throughout Upper Navarre service to the lord had lapsed with the passage of time. The peasants were burdened enough with the payment of property and sales taxes to the king and rent to the lord of Xavier. The doctor had once before been fined 350 pounds because he had, contrary to every agreement, let his own and his brother's cattle graze away the pastures for three or four years.⁵⁵

In May of this same year Miguel appeared once more with his cousin Juan de Azpilcueta, the lord of Sada, Don Miguel de Salinas, the parish priest, and a notary to demand the services due to him. The peasants continued to procrastinate. They would first have to obtain a more precise description of the required services from the Royal Council.⁵⁶ Miguel therefore came a third time on the tenth of June, and this time with ten companions, four on horseback and six on foot. Among these were his cousins Valentín and Esteban de Jassu, his kinsman Juan de Azpilcueta from Monreal, and the notary Juan Martínez de Lesaca from Sangüesa. This time the peasants gave in. They furnished hospitality to Miguel and his companions and accompanied them the next day on their ride around

⁵¹ Fita 230-231.

⁵² Archives Granada 68, 17d; Fita 117 236-237.

⁵³ Cros, *Doc.* I 194-195; *Ollacarizqueta 18, 40v 79-81 84.

⁵⁴ *Ollacarizqueta 18, 81v.

⁵⁵ Archives Granada 68, 17c; Fita 230-231; cf. 237.

⁵⁶ Archives Granada 68, 17b; Fita 225 237.

the boundaries. When they returned, they were furnished a rich banquet: boiled and roasted mutton, grilled chicken, and bread and wine in abundance. They were also given an evening meal and straw and oats for their horses in keeping with the decision of the Royal Council. After the supper Miguel, in the presence of the peasants, jurymen and village council, sent a servant to the mountain where he felled a tree, cut it up into faggots, loaded it on a donkey and brought it to the palace. All of this was duly recorded by the notary.⁵⁷

6. THE FIGHT FOR THE ESCAMPADERO (1520-1521)

In the same January of 1520, when Miguel went to Idocin and Juan to Páplona, the mistress of Xavier had to press a third suit. This time it was against the city of Sangüesa.⁵⁸

The whole west half of the castle's territory consisted of lands overgrown with grass, brambles, and low shrub oaks, since the trail for the migrating flock crossed it, and the 150,000 to 200,000 sheep that passed through here twice a year made it impossible to cultivate.⁵⁹ The area had different names. The two main valleys were called Valdarto and Vallulada, and the site where the Roncalese shepherds usually halted on their way through was called Escampadero.⁶⁰ The flocks caused a great deal of damage; and the various sites lying along the *cañal* or trail for the flocks, Xavier, Sangüesa, Peña, Cáseda, and Carcastillo, had raised a complaint about this in 1390. But the Roncalese had shown their privilege giving them the right of passage. It was then decided that their flocks could rest a day and a night in the valleys of Valdarto and Vallulada if they gave suitable compensation to the lord of Xavier.⁶¹ In 1399 the boundaries of the castle territory on this side were also determined: They led from the Ara River straight up to the chapel of the Holy Cross on the top of Mount Ugues and from there past Adam's tower and Malpasso to Castellar hill.⁶²

From time immemorial the lords of Xavier had had the right of levying tax on the flocks that passed through their domain. Whenever shepherds drove their flocks over proscribed paths or sought to avoid the tax, they could be fined or fiscate a fifth of their sheep.⁶³

On several occasions they had already vindicated this right. About the year 1518 several shepherds tried to pass unnoticed with their united flocks (fifty hundred sheep in all, mostly black) along the way to the Yesa bridge. They were already beyond the castle when Miguel de Larequi, the rural guard, stopped them. He set out in pursuit with his companion, Martin Pérez from Yesa, the sons of the lord of the castle, Miguel, Juan, and the twelve-year-old Francisco and some others. After catching up with the shepherds, they drove their sheep into the fold of the parish priest between the mill and the saltworks and se-

⁵⁷ *Ollacarizqueta 18, 87v-89v.

⁵⁸ On this lawsuit, which dragged on from 1519 to 1527, see the Archives Granada 60, 15; 61, 7-8; *Orbayceta 33 and 35; and Cros, *Doc. I* 192 251-252.

⁵⁹ In accordance with an agreement, the lord of the castle could not lay out fields here (**Ejecutorial* 5).

⁶⁰ Archives Granada 64, 5; Escalada 51. The Escampadero lay on Mount Ugues (*Orbayceta 33, 17).

⁶¹ Archives Granada 61, 2; 60, 18; Escalada 16-17 9.

⁶² Archives Granada 64, 5.

⁶³ Cros, *Doc. I* 108-110; cf. 380-381 113 251-252; Archives Granada 61, 14-16; Arcos, *Navarre: *Mercedes* 9, ff. 232-236 (privilege of the year 1441).

a fifth of them as a penalty. The owner, Pedro de Aibar of Tudela, asked Miguel de Añues to intercede with the mistress of the castle. Doña María was content with the retention of five lambs, one of which she gave to the guard Miguel and his companions for a feast in the mill.⁶⁴

Three years before Francis' birth the city of Sangüesa had also sought to escape from this toll and introduced a lawsuit to this effect. But the doctor countered their twenty-three witnesses with sixty of his own and proved his rights.⁶⁵ The new suit which the city now brought against Doña María was concerned with the ownership of the Escampadero.

For eighteen years different citizens had taken all kinds of liberties with the property of the castle. They had driven their animals over the castle's boundaries and permitted them to graze and stay there overnight. They had, moreover, laid out fields and vineyards on land belonging to the castle which had already yielded a harvest worth a thousand florins, and they had prevented the migrant Roncalese from pasturing and resting their sheep there.⁶⁶

In the fall of 1519, two citizens from Sangüesa had taken the liberty of confiscating the animals of the mistress of Xavier that were pasturing on the Escampadero. Following a complaint of Doña María, the Supreme Court on September 27 forbade the city to molest her any further. A similar injunction was laid upon the mistress and Xavier's brother Juan on October 12, after these had made reprisals on the shepherds of the city. When the inhabitants of Sangüesa continued to pasture their animals on the Escampadero, Miguel, Juan, and their men at the beginning of 1520 simply seized the community's whole herd, consisting of about sixty head of horses, asses, and mules worth about three hundred gold ducats, and drove them off to the castle and refused to return them despite all kinds of entreaties. The city registered a complaint, and on January 4 the Supreme Court condemned the mistress of the castle and her sons to pay fifty pounds for failing to observe the prescribed injunction and ordered them under a penalty of being compelled to pay one hundred pounds for refusing to do so, to allow the citizens of the town to pasture their herds and flocks undisturbed on the contested land.

Not satisfied with this, the people of Sangüesa three days later brought suit against Doña María and her sons in the Supreme Court. They laid claim not only to the Escampadero but also to Valdarto and Mount Ugasti. They also complained that the people of the castle prevented them from cutting wood on the heights of Farrandillo.⁶⁷

In the meantime, however, the mistress of the castle had turned to the Royal Council; and on January 6 both parties of the dispute were forbidden under a penalty of a thousand ducats of old gold to molest each other or to drive their animals into the disputed area. Sancho López de Ayessa, the representative of the alcalde was ordered to take possession of the area and to drive out all the animals from it until the council had settled the dispute. He was told that he should inform both parties that they would have to appear at Pamplona on the twelfth of the month.

⁶⁴ Cros, *Doc.* *II 216-217; *Vie* I 80-81 gives briefly the testimonies furnished by the guard and Martín Pérez in 1542. Pérez placed the incident in 1516.

⁶⁵ Cros, *Doc.* I 107-117.

⁶⁶ Archives Granada 64, 5; cf. 61, 8; Escalada 51 19; Cros, *Doc.* I 192; *Orbayceta 33, 2-16v. In 1527 Doña María enumerated twenty-one persons who were illegally tilling fields that belonged to her (*Orbayceta, n. 41).

⁶⁷ *Orbayceta 33, 17-20v.

On January 10 Ayessa announced the sentence in Sangüesa, where the representatives of the city protested that the suit belonged to the Supreme Court and that this court would therefore have to bring it to a close. On the same day he also read the decree in the castle of Xavier in the presence of the "muy magnífica señora de Azpilcueta," the mistress of the castle. She said that she would submit to the decision but reserved the right to sue for the recovery of other possessions of even greater extent which the citizens of Sangüesa had taken from her by force. Ayessa then ordered four crosses to be placed near the four boundary stones of the disputed area as a sign of occupation.⁶⁸

Six days later the Supreme Court issued an order that witnesses should be summoned,⁶⁹ and Miguel went over the Leyre mountain range to the Roncal Valley to find people for this purpose.⁷⁰ On May 14 Pedro de Gorriti, the court procurator, came to the castle of Xavier and there interrogated sixteen witnesses presented by Doña María. All were Roncalese who had frequently passed through Xavier with their flocks and were familiar with the disputed area. They testified that it belonged to the lord of the castle and that in recent years the people of Sangüesa had unlawfully tilled the land there and planted vineyards.⁷¹ But the witnesses for Sangüesa were of a contrary opinion. They maintained that the land belonged to the city.⁷² On June 19, therefore, the court issued a temporary injunction, which was handed over to Doña María and Miguel at the castle of Xavier on August 1. Until a final decision was reached the citizens of Sangüesa would not be permitted to cultivate the disputed fields, but they could past their flocks there like the Roncalese shepherds. The mistress of the castle could moreover, sell as before water and grazing rights to the Roncalese.⁷³

In a very ill attended gathering in the cemetery of Santa María, where such assemblies were usually held, and at which both Pedro Ortiz and the "magnífico señor Miguel de Añues," the lord of Bélver, appeared, the citizens of Sangüesa gave their procurator, Miguel de Veramendi, full authorization to further the suit.⁷⁴ Ten days later in the castle of Xavier Doña María appointed Miguel Martínez de Lesaca of Pamplona as her prosecutor in the presence of two witnesses: the chaplain Don Remón, who lived in Yesa, and the chaplain Juan de Bañares who "at that time was dwelling in the *abadía* of the castle and estate of Xavier." Lesaca declared that he was ready to prove that Xavier had formerly been a populated site, as was indicated by the many ruins of houses and manors, and that the disputed land had always belonged to the lords of the palace.⁷⁵ For this purpose on February 20, 1521, nineteen witnesses from the Roncal Valley were interrogated at the castle.⁷⁶ The procurator for the opposition, on the other hand, sought to prove through witnesses that it had always belonged to

⁶⁸ Archives Granada 60, 15; Escalada 8.

⁶⁹ *Orbayceta 33, 22.

⁷⁰ Although Petri Remón testified in Urzainqui on August 3, 1525, that Miguel had been gone there some two years earlier on this account, Johan Garra declared more accurately that he had been there some four years before (*Orbayceta 33, 78-v).

⁷¹ *Orbayceta 33, 1-16v.

⁷² *Ibid.* 25-36 40-42v.

⁷³ Archives Granada 64, 5, f. 2v (*Inhibición*); *Orbayceta 35, 5 11-12.

⁷⁴ *Orbayceta 35, 3.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 1-2.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 6-7.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 17-40v.

city of Sangüesa.⁷⁸ The suit remained thus in suspense until it was suddenly broken off by political developments.

7. ISABEL DE ECHAUZ (1520-1521)

These three lawsuits had not been terminated before a fourth was initiated. Francis' grandfather, Martín de Azpilcueta, who had been castellan of Monreal since 1492,⁷⁹ had been married three times. His first wife had been María de Sada, the heiress of Xavier, but she had died before the marriage was consummated. After receiving a papal dispensation,⁸⁰ he then married her sister Juana. Then, after her death, three years before his own, he married Isabel de Echauz in 1499.⁸¹ After his death, his widow returned to her manor in Lower Navarre and had not been heard from since. But now, seventeen years later, she suddenly maintained that she was still owed her dowry of two hundred florins, for which the palace of Azpilcueta was responsible. When she was refused payment, she simply confiscated an apple orchard that belonged to the aforesaid house. A suit was initiated. The examination of witnesses began on January 20, 1521; and on April 20 even Aunt Violante was heard at the castle of Xavier, since she had lived in Monreal from 1499 to 1502 with her father and stepmother Isabel.

She declared that her father Martín had received as a pledge from the marquis de Falces silver plate worth about 660 florins and more of the same from the viscount de Echauz worth about 500 florins. She added that he had willed all this and six sets of bedding, a gold chain, necklaces, other pieces of jewelry, and clothes to his wife in her presence, and that all of these objects together were worth about 1,000 florins. After the death of her husband, Isabel had in her presence collected all of these and departed with them and had taken along with her at the same time furniture and other household goods worth about 2,000 florins. Aunt Violante had even heard it said that the widow had taken with her all of her deceased husband's silver. Moreover, the only dowry which Isabel had brought with her at the time of her marriage had been a horse worth 300 florins, which her brother, the viscount, had taken back again. There could, as a consequence, be no question on the part of the plaintiff of any new claims.⁸²

While Francis' mother, aunt Violante, Miguel and Juan, were engaged in these suits, he calmly continued his Latin studies under the direction of the priests of the castle. In 1520 he was fourteen years old, and it is probable that at this time he received his First Holy Communion.⁸³ But already a new storm cloud was gathering over the castle of Xavier and Navarre.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 42-62v.

⁷⁹ Fita 159-161; Cros, *Doc.* I 80 105.

⁸⁰ Vatican Archives: **Reg. Suppl.* 568, f. 61; cf. Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 108.

⁸¹ She wrote her will in 1477 (Cros, *Doc.* *II 88).

⁸² Cros, *Doc.* I 93-98; Archives Navarre: *Procesos*: not. Miguel de Ugarre 1519-1529, n. 10 (Pendiente).

⁸³ From the fourteenth century the usual time for boys to make their First Holy Communion was when they were fourteen years old. In exceptional cases they could make it when they were twelve or thirteen. See P. Browe, S.J., "Die Kinderkommunion im Mittelalter," *Scholastik* 5 (1930) 37-43.

8. PAMPLONA AND NOAÍN (1521)

The death of Cardinal Cisneros in 1517 had recently revived the hopes of the patriots for a restoration of the old dynasty. Don Enrique, to be sure, was only fourteen years old at this time, but behind him stood the successor of Louis XI, the French king Francis I. Negotiations were begun for the restoration of the empire and the release of the still imprisoned marshal. The young king Charles and his Flemish advisers seemed to be favorably disposed towards the restoration.

Nájera, the viceroy, was alarmed. In March, 1518, he made it known that no messages should be sent to Don Enrique at Béarn.⁸⁴ In May he followed this with a command that no one should say that Navarre belonged to d'Albret. In June he gave orders that the canon Dr. Remiro de Goñi, who had been appointed vicar-general because of his known patriotism, should not be obeyed and that the diocesan synod which he had summoned should not be held. In October he assembled ten thousand men at the border and fortified Pamplona.

An attempt by Charles V through a personal intervention to force the consent of the marshal, Don Pedro de Navarre, failed because of the latter's stubborn refusal; and in 1519 the prisoner was transferred from Atienza to the fortress Simancas.⁸⁵ The negotiations for the restitution of Navarre also failed in 1520 because of the rigidity of the Spanish grandees. The dispute would have to be settled by arms, and all that was needed was a suitable occasion for the outbreak of hostilities.⁸⁶

The occasion came. On May 20, 1520, Charles V left the Spanish peninsula. His absence gave the signal in Spain for a revolt of the *comuneros*. Nájera tried to strip Navarre of its troops.⁸⁷ At the castle of Xavier messengers kept coming and going. There were reports of preparations on the other side of the mountains.⁸⁸ On May 10, 1521, the French army under the leadership of the young prince André de Foix, the lord of Esparros, began to march. It was made up of 12,000 infantrymen, mostly Gascon and German lansquenets, 800 lancers, and 29 cannon. Added to these were the Béarnese troops of King Enrique and Navarrese patriots. Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port fell on the fifteenth after three days of fighting; and on the sixteenth Peñon, the newly built fortress on the road Roncesvalles, was also captured.⁸⁹ On the seventeenth Miguel de Añues wrote triumphantly from Sangüesa to his nephew in Peralta:

The French besieged Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, and with such violence that the city once surrendered unconditionally. So great a force is coming through the valley Roncal by way of Maya and Saint-Jean that they cannot be counted. They are well supplied and well paid and thus have everything in their favor. Yesterday Sangüesa and Gallipienza declared their support of King Don Enrique, with Pedro de Navarre.

⁸⁴ See Boissonnade 508-526.

⁸⁵ Archives Navarre: **Papeles sueltos*, ser. 2, 9 (Cros, *Doc.* I 189).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* ser. 2, 11.

⁸⁷ Archives Granada 84, 33.

⁸⁸ Boissonnade 527.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 528-539; Orreaga 150-151.

⁹⁰ Boissonnade 538-539.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 543.

⁹² See Cros, *Doc.* I 196-198. On March 15 the command wrote from Irun: "The king of France has set up postal stations from his court to Lumbier" (*ibid.* *II 186). The rapidity with which news reached Miguel de Añues in Sangüesa (*ibid.* *II 186-187).

⁹³ Boissonnade 546-547; Cros, *Doc.* I 198; Moret VII 398-399.

the son of the marshal, at their head. The duke [Nájera] left Pamplona yesterday, Thursday; a correction: it was Friday... The French army will come to Pamplona tomorrow... It is said that they do not need to take off their spurs to gain the fortress, and this seems certain. The entire kingdom and also the mountain regions have already gone over to King Don Enrique, and I believe that the duke of Nájera can thank God if he reaches Castile safely. In Lumbier there were two hundred soldiers. By this time they are all dead if God has not favored them with a great grace. In short, everything is done for, and have no doubts about it. In three of four days the entire kingdom will be in the hands of the French.⁹⁴

When Añues wrote his letter, the people from Cáseda and Sangüesa under the command of Miguel, the lord of Xavier, and Don Pedro de Navarra, the son of the marshal, and Don Antonio de Peralta, the son of the mistress of Peralta, were already marching past Xavier against Lumbier. At the Yesa bridge they met the Spanish garrison, 146 men from Calahorra, Nájera, and San Pedro de Yanguas, who were on the point of escaping towards the south. Together with the patriots from Yesa they fell upon them. Four were killed; many were wounded; all were robbed and stripped of their weapons; and the survivors had reason to be glad that they had escaped with their lives.⁹⁵

On May 19, Pentecost Sunday, the vanguard set out. On the twentieth the leader of the French army with the troops of Don Enrique⁹⁶ marched upon the capital.⁹⁷ Among them were the three sons of Uncle Pedro, Juan, Valentín,⁹⁸ and Esteban,⁹⁹ and the two sons of aunt Margarita, Juan,¹⁰⁰ and Francés.¹⁰¹ The citadel with its small forces held out defiantly. The soul of the opposition was a Guipuzcoan knight, Iñigo de Loyola. But when, after a six-hour siege, a cannonball threw him to the ground with a smashed leg, a white flag was hoisted.¹⁰² On the following day, Pentecost Tuesday, May 21, Añues could send the joyous news from Sangüesa to his nephew.¹⁰³

⁹⁴ Cros, *Doc.* *II 187; *Vie* I 84.

⁹⁵ Archives Navarre: *Procesos*, not. Martín de Echayde 1513-1526 n. 6 (Pendiente). We are obliged to Mr. Ruiz de Oyaga for calling our attention to this document; it is supplemented by two others from the Municipal Archives of Calahorra (see *Príncipe de Viana* 13 [1952] 473-479).

⁹⁶ Boissonnade 548-549; Böhmer 26; Dudon 48; Cros, *Doc.* *II 187.

⁹⁷ Cros, *Doc.* *II 168 221.

⁹⁸ We conclude this from the fact that we also meet him in the company of his brothers at other times during the war for freedom (Cros, *Doc.* I 292-293; *II 170; cf. 169 220); Cros regards it as certain (*Vie* I 84).

⁹⁹ He was in command of two thousand Gascons and Navarrese (Moret VII 402).

¹⁰⁰ Since 1512 he had been in the service of d'Albret with his brothers (Cros, *Doc.* *II 164-165; cf. 220). From 1513 to 1521 their mother was alone with her daughters in Olloqui (*ibid.* 82-85; I 182-183).

¹⁰¹ According to Cros, Xavier's brothers entered Pamplona together (*Doc.* I 203) and were present at all the battles (*Vie* I 84). This is possible and even probable, but not certain. The viscount declared that Miguel had been present as one of the leaders in all of the revolts (*Doc.* *II-202).

¹⁰² On the fall of the citadel and the wounding of Iñigo, see the sources in *Fontes Narrativi* I 346-347 (Ignatius), 72-73 (Layne), 154-157 (Polanco); Cros, *Doc.* *II 187-188 191-193; *Vie* I 85. Descriptions of this may be found in Bordenave 8-9; Boissonnade 549-550; Leturia, *El gentilhomme* 125-137; Dudon 49-50 616-619; and J.M. Recondo, S.J., "Iñigo de Loyola en la fortaleza mayor de Santiago," *Príncipe de Viana* 17 (1956) 39-78; "El Proceso de Esteban de Zuasti," *ibid.* 22 (1961) 5-10.

¹⁰³ "Yesterday, after a six-hour siege, the fortress surrendered" (Cros, *Doc.* *II 187-188; *Vie* I 85).

The whole of Navarre was liberated in fifteen days.¹⁰⁴ But the conquest ground to a halt under the walls of Logroño. While Esparros was laying siege to the city, a powerful force set out from Castile, where the rebellion of the *comuneros* had been put down in April.¹⁰⁵ Six thousand Aragonese with three hundred knights occupied Sangüesa in order to cut off supplies from the French,¹⁰⁶ who had begun to retreat.

Before Francis' cousin Juan, the lord of Olloqui, could hasten to the assistance with his own men from Tafalla and the troops of Pamplona, whose half of the army was stationed,¹⁰⁷ and before the Navarrese forces, which had been beleaguered on their way,¹⁰⁸ could lend their help, there was a decisive battle near Noaín, south of the capital.¹⁰⁹ The Navarrese captains and caballeros attacked with their usual violence, and the Castilians seemed to be doomed but the Gascons took flight.¹¹⁰ By the time the sun had disappeared behind the mountains, Navarre had fallen. Six thousand French and Navarrese bodies covered the field of battle. Esparros was captured; others fled over the passes of the Pyrenees into France. Among them were the sons of uncle Pedro¹¹¹ and aunt Margarita¹¹² and Francis' brothers Miguel and Juan.¹¹³

Nájera took sharp measures against the patriots. A strict inquiry was made of all who had assisted the French in their invasion. Their property was seized and sentence of death was passed upon the rebels.¹¹⁴

9. MAYA AND FUENTERRABÍA (1521-1522)¹¹⁵

At the castle of Xavier the weeks that followed were filled with fears for Doña María, aunt Violante, and Francis; and many a fervent prayer went up to heaven before the ancient crucifix in the old castle. For three long months

¹⁰⁴ Boissonnade 550.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 550-554; Bordenave 9-13; Moret VII 400-402; Cros, *Doc.* *II 188-190.

¹⁰⁶ Bordenave 13; Boissonnade 554; Orreaga 164-179 329-335; Dudon 53-54.

¹⁰⁷ Ramírez Dávalos 54; Moret VII 402.

¹⁰⁸ Ramírez Dávalos 55: "Seis mil navarros."

¹⁰⁹ On the battle, see Ramírez Dávalos 54-55; Cros, *Doc.* *II 190; Bordenave 14-15; Moret VII 402-404; Sandoval, vol. 3, 8, 7; Boissonnade 555-557; Orreaga 179-182.

¹¹⁰ Ramírez Dávalos 54.

¹¹¹ About 1559 Pedro de Iribas testified that Juan, Valentín, and Esteban de Jauregui had left Navarre at the time of the battle of Noaín, and that Valentín did not return until 1524 (*Moret, *Castigaciones* 5, caderno 3, f. 367; Ms. in the library of Azcona, Tafalla).

¹¹² After the battle we meet Juan in the valley of Baztán and in Fuenterrabía with the other patriots; his brother Francés, who took the oath of fealty with the rest at the surrender of Fuenterrabía on May 19, 1524, probably fought with him (*Simancas Patronato Real* 10, 32).

¹¹³ After the battle we find both in the valley of Baztán with the fighters for France. Cros assumes that they both fought bravely at Noaín (*Doc.* I 203).

¹¹⁴ Cros, *Doc.* I 293 244-245, *II 211; Archives Granada 60, 16 (Escalada 9); Boissonnade 557; Bordenave 16.

¹¹⁵ The main sources for the war from 1521 to 1522 are the documents of Archival Navarre: **Papeles sueltos*, ser. 2, nn. 5 8 18-22 25-33 48 51, and especially the **Cartas Maya*: fifty-five letters of the patriots which fell into the hands of the Spaniards at the capture of Maya. They have been published partly in facsimile and in a French translation (with abbreviations and mistakes) by Cros, *Doc.* I 210-214 216-217 (1521), 217-230 210 (1522); *Vie* I 86-88; partly in the original text, but with numerous mistakes, by Orreaga 337-343; and in the *Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos de Navarra* 14 (1923) 4. See the accounts in Bordenave 16-23; Moret VII 418-437; Cros, *Doc.* I 203-249; *II 195-196; *Vie* I 85-90; Orreaga 183-239.

Spanish force of occupation remained in the house under the command of Sancho Ramírez.¹¹⁶ Hardly had it left when news came that the French had conquered the fortress of Maya on October 5 and on the eighteenth with the help of the Navarrese had taken the coastal fortress of Fuenterrabía on the boundary of Guipúzcoa.¹¹⁷ Then news came from Miguel and Juan. High up in the valley of Baztán, where the ancestral castle of their mother was located, they were defending the last free land in Upper Navarre.

Two hundred Navarrese royalists, members of the nobility for the most part, held the Spaniards in check here throughout the whole winter under the courageous leadership of Jaime Vélaz de Medrano, the commandant of Maya.¹¹⁸ But their mainstay was Miguel, Francis' brother,¹¹⁹ who with Juan and a small troop of loyalists, whom he maintained at his own expense,¹²⁰ guarded¹²¹ the approach to the valley of Pamplona from the fortified church of Ciga on the Velate pass. Meanwhile the public crier in Sangüesa, with a flourish of trumpets, announced the names of twenty-three rebels and ordered them to present themselves before the authorities within thirty days or be condemned for high treason.¹²²

The new viceroy, Don Francisco de Zúñiga y Avellaneda, conde de Miranda, who succeeded Nájera in the office in November, 1521,¹²³ was determined to break the last resistance of the foe. At the end of April, 1522, he had already sent a captain with sixty arquebusiers against Miguel and his men.¹²⁴ On July 4 he marched from Pamplona to the Velate pass with ten thousand infantrymen, mostly Beaumontese, eight hundred cavalymen, six heavy, and thirteen light cannon, and three hundred scaling ladders.¹²⁵ The hour of decision was at hand. Miguel heroically shut himself up in Maya with Jaime Vélaz to hold the fort until French help arrived.¹²⁶ In the meantime his brother Juan, his cousins Valentín de Jassu and Juan de Olloqui, and the surviving Navarrese, 1,500 men under the command of the son of the captured marshal, occupied the neighboring heights.¹²⁷

¹¹⁶ In 1536 Sancho Ramírez declared: "Puede aber quince años que estubo en el palacio de Xabier en compañía de María de Azpilcueta, en guarda de la dicha cassa, con otros compañeros, por mandado de los gobernadores de Castilla, que al tiempo estaban en este reyno, por tiempo de tres meses continuos, y vió que D. Francisco de Xabier estaba en la dicha cassa en compañía de su madre" (MX II 75-76). The "governors" who ruled in Navarre after the battle of Noain were the admiral and the *condestable* of Castile (Escalada 9, 16), Don Luis Enriquez de Cabrera and Don Iñigo Fernández de Velasco.

¹¹⁷ Bordenave 16-21; Moret VII 420-422; Cros, *Doc.* *II 195-198.

¹¹⁸ Bordenave 16-17 and the **Cartas de Maya*.

¹¹⁹ Cros, *Doc.* I 209-210 214-218 222-226 205-209; *Vie* I 86-88; Orreaga 204-208.

¹²⁰ Cros, *Doc.* I 215-216 205-208.

¹²¹ On March 2, 1522, the licentiate Juan de Orbara, abbot of Urdax, wrote to Jaime Vélaz from his monastery: "My treasurer in Elizondo has few provisions for his house, and the lord of Echabiar does not have too much for the support of those who are in the church of Cigua. Therefore the people are bringing two loads of wheat for the lord of Echabiar and two for my treasurer in Elizondo. Please, let them pass freely!" (**Cartas de Maya* (n. 17; see Cros, *Doc.* I 218). Miguel's companion Victor de Mauleón also wrote from Ciga (Cros, *Doc.* I 221, incorrectly: "Ega").

¹²² There were three summonses in keeping with the *fuero*: on February 26, May 22, and December 16, 1522 (Archives Granada 35, 9).

¹²³ Cros, *Doc.* *II 191.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* I 217-218; cf. 215.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* 225-230 205-206 209-210 (letter dated "Friday," probably July 11, 1522); Orreaga 213-218.

¹²⁶ Cros, *Doc.* I 205-209; *Vie* I 86-88.

¹²⁷ Cros, *Doc.* I 205 208, *II 199-200 202; Orreaga 234-235.

On July 15 Miranda and his troops reached Maya and the siege began. The battle against the attacks of the superior forces lasted for four days. A mine blew up one of the main bastions and formed a gap so large that a man on horseback could ride through it. Three times the besiegers pushed their way and three times they were driven back. Meanwhile the Navarrese from the neighboring hills were assisting their beleaguered comrades. The viceroy, who had been himself slightly wounded in the arm, could not refrain from openly admiring the courage of his opponents. This led Don Luis de Beaumont to reply: "Wonder? They are Navarrese." But the provisions in the small fortress were running out, and French help was not forthcoming. On July 18 the garrison was forced to capitulate, but only after the viceroy had promised to spare the lives of his captives, among whom was Miguel, Francis' brother.¹²⁸

On July 25 Miranda set out on his return to Pamplona, but the captured nobles left him no peace. That very same evening he wrote to the emperor from Elizondo:

I wrote to Your Majesty that among those who were captured in the fortress there were seven nobles who ever since this kingdom has been united with the Spanish crown have been a source of serious trouble in every rebellion because they have placed themselves at the head of the revolts and have incited the people. I have sent them with a strong escort to the citadel at Pamplona. It would be well if Your Majesty had them taken to a fortress in Castile where they could be closely watched, for they are extremely dangerous to this kingdom; and they are individuals against whom must be on one's guard, just as it was in the case of the marshal.¹²⁹

The viceroy came to Lanz on Sunday, two days later, and wrote from there:

If Your Majesty has not as yet given orders to this effect, write as soon as possible what you have decided to do with the seven nobles. There are many reasons why it is not good to keep them where they are, that is, in the citadel of Pamplona. I have them there because I had no better place. This matter should be taken care of as soon as possible.

He had hardly come to the capital, when he repeated his request two or three days later:

I have written to Your Majesty how important it is for your service that the nobles captured at Maya should not remain in the citadel of Pamplona and that they should be transferred to a stronghold in Castile. I beg Your Majesty to order this without delay. The matter is much more important than I can put in writing.¹³⁰

The residents of the castle of Xavier had good reason to be alarmed at the news that Miguel had been taken prisoner. Immediately after the fall of Maya the French captain, Saint-André, had offered to pay any ransom that might be asked for Vélaz and the lord of Xavier. But it was to no purpose.¹³¹ Four

¹²⁸ Moret VII 427-429; Cros, *Doc.* I 231, *II 201 211-212; Orreaga 229-234 341; Rara *Dávalos* 55.

¹²⁹ "Yo escribí a V. M. como entre los otros que en la fortaleza de Maya se tomaron avia siete gentiles onbres, que desde que este Reyno se reduzió a la corona de España siempre en quantas rebueltas a avido en deservido mucho en caudillar gente y alborotar los pueblos. Yo los enbí a buen recaudo a la Fortaleza de Pamplona. Bien será que V. M. los mande llebar a alguna fortaleza en Castilla, donde estén bien guardados cierto para las cosas deste Reyno son muy escandalosas y en su calidad ynporta sus personas como la del marichal" (Simancas: *Estado* 345, 49).

¹³⁰ Cros, *Doc.* *II 201-202.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* 200-201.

days after their arrival in Pamplona the commander of Maya and his son were dead, poisoned, as it was whispered about; and most of his fellow prisoners did not long outlive him.¹³²

Meanwhile, in the middle of October, Miguel was still held as a prisoner in the citadel. Through a serving maid, however, who brought him his food, he obtained a woman's dress and in this disguise succeeded one evening in slipping unnoticed through the guards, "thanks to the prayers and tears of his noble mother," as a contemporary wrote twelve years later.¹³³

Soon after this Doña María received news at the castle of Xavier from Fuenterrabía, to which Juan, Francis' brother, and the rest of the Navarrese had repaired, that Miguel had also gone there in order to continue the fight for the freedom of his king and country with his cousins Valentín and Esteban. Their leader was Don Pedro de Navarra, the son of the marshal, whose death about this time released him from his imprisonment.¹³⁴ On a November morning he was found covered with blood, the arteries of his hand and neck slashed. According to the report of his enemies he had taken his life in a fit of despair.¹³⁵ "He was found strangled one morning," is how it was recorded by the monks of Leyre in their diary.¹³⁶ But the priest who was present at his death maintained that he had died as he had lived, a good Christian, after receiving the last sacraments.¹³⁷

10. A MOTHER'S WORRIES (1521-1524)

A month after the battle of Noaín the viceroy had already issued a decree that all the offices, favors, pensions and salaries in Navarre should be held back until it was determined who had taken part in the French invasion.¹³⁸ After this investigation had been made the guilty were ordered three times, in February, June, and December, 1522, to come forth within thirty days and give an account of their actions. Those who failed to appear would be subject to the death penalty from the beginning of 1523, and their property was ordered to be confiscated.¹³⁹ By a decision of Miranda, the citizens of Yesa, Cáseda, and Sangüesa

¹³² Bordenave 17; Moret VII 429; Ramírez Dávalos 55. Francisco de Huarte sent a personal courier to Valladolid with the news of the death of Jaime Vélaz and received as a reward forty-five ducats (Archives Navarre, **Papeles sueltos*, ser. 2, 8).

¹³³ Ramírez Dávalos 55-56: "El Señor de Xabierre quedó preso en el Castillo de Pamplona; el cual una tarde se salió de la fortaleza entre todos, sin mirar en ello; se salvó por lágrimas y oraciones de su noble madre; al cual le sucedieron grandes infortunios en estos tiempos. Este fue hijo del Doctor famoso de Jaso, muy cierto y verdadero servidor destes reyes, y de su Consejo; y por su madre del linaje de Don Aznar de Oteiza de Aragón." Cf. Cros, *Doc.* I 232-233; Moret VII 429. Moret confuses Miguel with his father; Fita confuses him with his brother Juan (239). Cros writes: "Nul doute qu'au sortir de la forteresse, Miguel se soit hâté d'aller à Xavier embrasser Doña María et Francisco" (*Vie* I 90). More probably he fled directly to Fuenterrabía.

¹³⁴ Don Pedro de Navarra locked himself up in Fuenterrabía with a thousand men under his command—Gascons, Basques, and Navarrese (Bordenave 23; Moret VII 445).

¹³⁵ The official report is in Arigita, *Don Francisco de Navarra* 401-416. On the death of Don Pedro, see *ibid.* 123-132; A. Campión, "La muerte del Mariscal Don Pedro de Navarra," *Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos de Navarra* 10 (1919) 29 ff.; Orreaga 243-252; Cros, *Doc.* *II 204-210.

¹³⁶ Argita, *Don Francisco de Navarra* 128.

¹³⁷ Moret VII 389-390.

¹³⁸ Escalada 9.

¹³⁹ Archives Granada 35, 9.

were condemned on February 14, 1523, to pay 950 old gold ducats to the people of Calahorra as compensation for the attack near the Yesa bridge in 1521.

A hunt was begun by the Treasury and the Beaumontese for the possession of the Agramontese.¹⁴¹ In Pamplona Francis' cousin, Juan de Jassu, had already foreseen in January, 1520, what would happen and at a secret meeting at the castle of Olloqui had turned his possessions over to his brother Valentín. The latter had then, in the presence of Miguel, the lord of Xavier, and Dr. Ma de Azpilcueta of Tafalla, handed his possessions over to his sister Isabel to save them from confiscation.¹⁴² Still, despite all this, on March 30, 1523, the king's counselors ordered their ancestral home on the Rúa de la Navarra to be sold and one third of the funds realized by this sale to be handed over to the Treasury since the three sons of the former justice of Pamplona were under a sentence of death as traitors and their goods were to be handed over to the state.¹⁴³

Even the ownership of the castle of Xavier was no longer secure. Two leading Beaumontese, Carlos de Góngora and Francés de Ayanz, indicated a number of Agramontese who had been guilty of supporting the French and asked that their possessions be surrendered. Góngora was eager to obtain the holdings of Carlos de Mauleón, who had been killed at Noaín, or those of León de Garro. A number of them wanted those of the lord of Xavier or of Francés de Ezpeleta.¹⁴⁴

A second danger threatened on another front. In 1499 another Beaumontese leader, Juan de Mendoza, lord of Lodosa, had sold to Dr. Juan de Subiza, Ibiricu, and Zizur Mayor and the abandoned site of Santa Costanza. In November, 1522, his son initiated a suit against Doña María in which he claimed that the villages were inalienably his by right of primogeniture, and the doctor, despite everything that had been agreed upon, had refused to accept a repayment for the property before the two years specified in the contract had expired.¹⁴⁵

There were also other worries for Francis' mother. The property and business taxes from her villages were not collected and nothing more was said about the payment of debts incurred by earlier kings or of compensation for the damage suffered at Xavier, Azpilcueta, and Pamplona. The pastures of *El Real* remained closed to her flocks; the raftsmen on the Aragon River refused to pay the tomuary fees;¹⁴⁷ and the Roncalese drove their flocks over her lands without paying toll. The citizens of Sangüesa, not content with the fact that the primary judgment of June 19, 1520, granted them permission to use the district territory of the Escampadero as a pasture, caused still further difficulties.

In December, 1521, a shepherd drove a flock of sheep owned by Alonso Sabalza onto the castle grounds. In retaliation the warden confiscated one of them, but it was forcibly taken away from him. Doña María complained to the Supreme Court, and on January 18, 1522, it ruled that the animal should be

¹⁴⁰ Archives Navarre: *Procesos*, not. Martín de Echayde 1513-1526, n. 6 (Pencil ff. 1-v.

¹⁴¹ Boissonnade 557.

¹⁴² Cros, *Doc.* *II 141-142.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* 294. The Dr. Martín de Azpilcueta named here was the brother well-known Dr. Navarrus of the same name.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 292-293.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 193; *Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos de Navarra* 14 (1923) 118.

¹⁴⁶ Cros, *Doc.* *II 125-126.

¹⁴⁷ Fita 240; Escalada 10-13; Cros, *Doc.* I 250-251; *Vie* I 93-94.

rendered and that the wardens of the castle should not be hindered in the exercise of their duties under the penalty of paying a fine of one hundred pounds *carlines*.

But two weeks later, at the beginning of February, three more citizens of Sangüesa, Juan Ochoa de Liédena, Miguel de Juliana, and Martín de Ayesa came armed with weapons onto the property of the castle and cut down twenty-two holm oaks and a number of fruit trees, each worth about one gold ducat, and cut them up into firewood. When the caretaker and his assistants tried to take them prisoner, they defended themselves with their weapons, threatened to kill them, and shouted wild insults against the mistress of the castle. On February 14, the Supreme Court condemned them for this and ordered them to pay fifty florins to Doña María as compensation and to appear personally in Pamplona on the twentieth of the month and pay a fine of one hundred pounds *carlines*.

The condemned initiated a lawsuit, and on March 19 Xavier's mother issued a complaint through the procurator of the Treasury, Carlos de Larraya. In it she maintained that she was a *hidalga* and *señora* of the palaces of Xavier and Azpilcueta and had under her peasants and serfs¹⁴⁸ and that she was therefore entitled to appoint wardens to guard her property and to confiscate any animals driven onto it without her permission. She would therefore not tolerate the injustice which she had experienced in the two preceding cases, not even for a thousand old ducats of good gold and proper weight. Those responsible should therefore be condemned to pay one thousand ducats for the wrong done, twenty-two for damages incurred, and one hundred more to the Royal Treasury.

Veramendi, the lawyer for the opposition, replied that the defendants had not been informed of the restriction of January 18. He denied the fact that twenty-two oak trees had been felled on the castle grounds the preceding February and argued that the trees were not even worth a *real* a piece. He further maintained that they had been on the property of Sangüesa and, if there was a question of a dispute between his people and the warden of Xavier, the latter was guilty since he had abused his clients. The procurator of the Treasury retorted in the name of Doña María that the injunction had been authorized by the Court of Assizes, the Council and the Commune of the City of Sangüesa, and that according to custom it had been announced in the Calle Mayor of the city and was therefore known by all. The warden had encountered the accused on castle grounds and had been answered and threatened by them with great insolence and disrespect. They should therefore be condemned to pay not only one hundred pounds for trespassing, according to the injunction, and one hundred ducats damages for the insult offered to the mistress of the castle, but also, according to the *fuero* of Navarre, an imperial weight (*cafix*) of wheat, a goatskin of wine, and a wether for the *calomnia* that had been offered.¹⁴⁹

In June of the following year, 1523, the suit against Doña María over the Escanpadero was taken up again. She was granted ten days in which to bring objections against the former witnesses of the state.¹⁵⁰ On June 27 Juan Martínez de Lesaca, her procurator, presented his *contradicta*, in which he declared that a number of the witnesses were infamous because of murder, robbery, and adultery.¹⁵¹ The procurator of Sangüesa on July 1 then lodged similar accusations against a number of witnesses for the opposition.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ *Pecheros y collazos*.

¹⁴⁹ *Orbayceta 37; cf. Cros, *Doc.* I 251-252.

¹⁵⁰ *Orbayceta 35, 63.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* 46-54v.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* 70-74v.

Doña María's chief concern was, however, for her two sons who had been sentenced to death for high treason and were fighting the last battle for freedom of Navarre in the fortress of Fuenterrabía.

On October 12, 1523, King Charles had come to Pamplona¹⁵³ from Buñol and had taken up his residence in the ancestral home of the Cruzat on the Calle de la Cuchillería.¹⁵⁴ On December 15 he issued a general amnesty to all who had aided the French in their invasion in 1521 and had fought against the Spaniards at Noáin, Maya, and Fuenterrabía. But a long list of over 1500 names was excepted and at its head stood the names: "Miguel de Xabierre, belonging to the aforenamed Xabier, Juan de Azpilcueta, brother of Miguel de Javier, belonging to the aforenamed Xabier, Martín de Goñi, and Juan, belonging to the aforesaid Olloqui, and Mateo de Yaso and Juan de Yaso and Esteban de Yaso, his brother." Among the names that followed were also those of the prothonotary Martín de Jauregui and Dr. Remiro de Goñi.¹⁵⁵

11. THE RETURN OF THE BROTHERS (1524)

The stay of the emperor in Pamplona was brief. Eight days after Christmas he moved to Vitoria in order to supervise the preparations being made for recapture of the Fuenterrabía.¹⁵⁶ The garrison there, which since 1522 had been strengthened by one thousand men, mostly Navarrese, under the command of Don Pedro de Navarra, vigorously repelled all attacks.¹⁵⁷

At the beginning of February the Spaniards were ready to begin their assault. An imperial army under the command of the lord high constable of Castile, Íñigo Fernández de Velasco, marched up to the fortress, began the siege, and cut off all its supplies. Seven large barges which were to have brought provisions to the garrison were burned by the Spaniards together with their crews. The lord high constable, a distant relative of Don Pedro de Navarra,¹⁵⁸ therefore advised him that he should have no illusions about French help: France was losing Francis I. The duke of Bourbon had already conquered Champagne; the Emperor Charles V, king, who was allied with the emperor, had conquered Picardy; and the Spaniards and Burgundians had overrun Burgundy and other provinces.¹⁵⁹

Added to this was a warning from Dr. Martín de Azpilcueta. Already in 1523, as a celebrated professor of law at the University of Toulouse, he had told Don Pedro and his student Don Francisco de Navarra, the former's half-brother, that their followers that France was headed for ruin, and that it would be to the honor of God and to the good of Navarre and their relatives and political associates if they would return to their homeland at the first opportunity. At the beginning of 1523 he had himself, although he was an ardent patriot, set an example in this regard. He had rejected all the alluring offers of the French in order to a

¹⁵³ Foronda 226.

¹⁵⁴ Cros, *Doc.* *II 54 56.

¹⁵⁵ The text in Arigita, *Don Francisco de Navarra* 418-425, is not exact; we therefore follow the facsimile in Cros, *Doc.* I 246.

¹⁵⁶ Foronda 231; Moret VII 449.

¹⁵⁷ Bordenave 22-25; Moret VII 445. Don Pedro was named general captain of Navarre by the French king on September 1, 1521, and by King Enrique on February 1, 1522 (Archives Granada 1, 19-20).

¹⁵⁸ Don Pedro's mother was a stepdaughter of the sister of the condestable (Ferdinand) de Béthencourt X 239-242; A. López de Haro, *Nobiliario* [Madrid, 1622] 187 189.

¹⁵⁹ Moret VII 450.

the call of Don Francisco de Navarra, the prior of Roncesvalles, and make his novitiate year as a clerk regular of St. Augustine in the latter's monastery. On his way there he had again taken pains to make it clear to his friends that under the present circumstances the emperor could keep Navarre with a good conscience and that they could also enter his service with the same.¹⁶⁰

His words and those of Velasco were effective. On the night of February 19, 1524, the high constable¹⁶¹ and two representatives of Don Pedro, Valentín de Jassu and Bertoldo del Vayo, met secretly and laid down the conditions for surrender. In the name of the emperor, Velasco promised an amnesty and a restoration of property to all those who within two months returned to Navarre and took the oath of fidelity to Charles V. He further promised Don Pedro the return of all the goods, titles, and pensions that had belonged to his father, and to the lord of Xavier title to all his father's possessions, including the property and business taxes of the villages, tolls from the rafts on the Aragon River, and part ownership of *El Real*. Besides this he promised him a yearly pension. His brother Juan and Captain Valentín de Jassu were promised positions in the Treasury or Revenue Office, and, until such positions were open, they were assured of a yearly pension of one hundred ducats and a further fifty ducats for themselves and their associates. In return for this Don Pedro was obliged to complete the surrender of the fortress within eight days.¹⁶²

The transfer of Fuenterrabía by the French commanders took place on March 23,¹⁶³ and a general pardon granted by the emperor on April 29 sealed the peace. A number of persons were mentioned by name in it: the first was Don Pedro de Navarra; the second, the lord of Xavier; the third, his brother Juan; and the fourth, Captain Valentín de Jassu, their cousin.¹⁶⁴

Miguel and Juan left for home with honor. The plague was going about Sangüesa when the general pardon was announced,¹⁶⁵ but at the castle of Xavier Doña María, aunt Violante, and Francis embraced them on their return.¹⁶⁶

Francis was eighteen years old at this time. During his brothers' absence he had grown into a young man whose calm, direct, and charming manner won the hearts of all, whether they were members of the household or not.¹⁶⁷ Though

¹⁶⁰ Martinus ab Azpilcueta, "Epistola Apologetica," *Opera omnia* I (Coloniae Agr., 1616) 369-370; cf. Arigita, *Don Francisco de Navarra* 119-121; Olóriz 124-130; Cros, *Doc.* I 242-244. Don Francisco de Navarra was named prior by the pope in 1518 but his appointment was not confirmed by Charles V until the day of the general pardon, April 29, 1524 (Arigita, *Don Francisco de Navarra* 395 432 436). Dr. Martín de Azpilcueta made his novitiate year in Roncesvalles in 1523-1524 (Olóriz 27 31). Before or after this year he perhaps visited the castle of Xavier. He celebrated his first Mass in 1515 far from home (*ibid.* 26).

¹⁶¹ Fita confuses the condestable with the count of Miranda (239).

¹⁶² The *original document of surrender is in Simancas: **Patronato Real* 11, 146; the *original minutes are to be found in the same place 13, 89; Archives Granada has three *copies (60, 21; 2, 19; 97, 15).

¹⁶³ Moret VII 450-451; Bordenave 25-26.

¹⁶⁴ Text in Arigita, *Don Francisco de Navarra* 425-432.

¹⁶⁵ Simancas: **Patronato Real* 10, 31.

¹⁶⁶ Probably before their departure for Burgos, where they took the oath of fealty in April.

¹⁶⁷ Tursellinus 1, 1, according to the statements of Dr. Navarrus.

slender,¹⁶⁸ he was healthy and well formed. His fresh, handsome face was framed by black hair. His dark brown eyes¹⁶⁹ revealed the innocence of his heart

12. RECONSTRUCTION (1524-1525)

Now that peace had been established, it was possible to put some order in the ruined finances of the castle of Xavier and to exact the execution of promises made at the time of surrender.

The return of Miguel, lord of the castle, produced an immediate effect. The lord of Lodosa did not dare to continue the suit begun in 1522 for the return of his villages.¹⁷¹ On April 29 the Royal Council further decided in Burgos, where Miguel, Juan, and Don Pedro had taken their oath of fidelity to the emperor, that the requests of the lord of Xavier for the payment of debts of former kings and for compensation for the damages done to Xavier, Azpilcueta, Pamplona should be met.¹⁷³ He was also to be given a yearly pension of ducats.¹⁷⁴

But it was a long time before the imperial promises were fulfilled. The territories of Navarre were empty,¹⁷⁵ and the Beaumontese were ruling. Miguel sought in vain to establish his right to pasture his flocks on *El Real*, to collect tolls on rafts, rent from the villages,¹⁷⁶ and to receive payments on pensions¹⁷⁷ for royal debts, and compensation for the damages done to his estates.¹⁷⁸

In 1525 he renewed his suit against Sangüesa over the Escampadero. On May 6 eight witnesses, three of whom were from Bigüezal and four from the Roncal Valley,¹⁷⁹ were officially interrogated at the castle of Xavier by Francisco de Ezquiroz, the commissioner of the Supreme Court. These witnesses were supposed to attest to the truth of the *contradicta* of the procurator Lesaca of

On this occasion a compromise was reached with respect to the tolls on

¹⁶⁸ According to Fausto Rodrigues in 1608, who met Xavier in Amboina in 1546 (*Phil 10*, 279v).

¹⁶⁹ According to Manuel Teixeira in 1580, who was acquainted with Xavier in 1552 (MX II 882). His height at the time of his death amounted to five feet and one-half inches.

¹⁷⁰ Tursellinus 1, 1; cf. the testimony of his confessors in São Thomé and on the Fishery Coast (MX II 948 272 859 376) and his own (*MI Scripta* I 571).

¹⁷¹ Only after Miguel's death was the process again resumed (Cros, *Doc.* *II

¹⁷² Moret VII 453: "Los más principales de estos caballeros en nombre de todos juraron allí por rey de Navarra." The others took the oath in Navarre, many, for example, on May 19 in the hall known as *La Preciosa* in the cloister of the cathedral. Among these were Valentín de Jassu, Francés de Olloqui, and Miguel Martín Lesaca (Simancas: **Patronato Real* 10, n. 32).

¹⁷³ Cros, *Doc.* I 250.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 254.

¹⁷⁵ When Charles V ordered the viscount to compensate Nicolás de Eguía and his other main supporters in Estella, for the losses they had suffered during the war, he replied: "No ay aquí receipta ninguna" (Archives Granada 86, 18b).

¹⁷⁶ Above the three paragraphs pertaining to Don Pedro de Navarra in the original document of surrender in Simancas, is written: "Está cumplido." But for paragraph eight, which deals with rents, tolls on rafts, and taxes on *El Real*, there is a note in the margin: "No está cumplido" (Simancas: **Patronato Real*, 11, 146), and in the margin: "En esto no ha lugar" (*ibid.* 13, 89); cf. Cros, *Doc.* *II 210; Fita 208; Archives Granada 60, 21-23.

¹⁷⁷ Cros, *Doc.* I 254.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 250-251.

¹⁷⁹ *Orbayceta 33, 56-60v.

flocks between Doña María and Miguel on one side and the "entire Roncal Valley" on the other. The matter should be arbitrated, and the two alcaldes of the Supreme Court, Don Miguel de Aoiz and Don Sancho de Urzainqui, were appointed for this task.¹⁸⁰ Although Doña María and Miguel had obtained a favorable verdict on October 31, 1519,¹⁸¹ the controversies had still continued. The mistress of the castle complained that in recent years the Roncalese shepherds had refused to pay their toll. They had led their flocks over proscribed paths and had even obtained an interdict from the court so that their passage could not be blocked. The damages sustained by the owner of the castle were extensive since these flocks were so large that they soon ate up all the forage wherever they stopped.¹⁸²

On May 10 the results of the arbitration were announced at the castle in the presence of Doña María, Miguel, the lord of the castle, and the representatives of the Roncal Valley. The earlier decision was reaffirmed, but with a few changes:

When the Roncalese come with their flocks from Sangüesa along the royal road (*camino real*) to the first high pass of the Adoratorio and reach the place where the path is divided, one branch going off to Xavier and the other to Undués, and then follow the one leading to Undués until it reaches the basilica and chapel of San Felix and then passes on to the hill of the oak groves, and down from there to the royal road, leaving behind the aforementioned hill on the side facing Xavier, they may graze their flocks on this whole area as far as the boundary stones of Sangüesa and the Aragon River; and they may encamp for a day and a night, and in rainy or stormy weather for yet another day and night. For this they must pay the lord of the castle of Xavier on their way up a one-year-old lamb (*borro*) for every large flock (*cabaña*)¹⁸³ and on the way down a sheep or wether according to the decision of the lord of the castle, who must not till any fields or plant any crops in the aforementioned area. Besides this, the Roncalese must in the future pay to the lord of the castle on their way up and down five *sueldos carlines e fuertes* for every flock of large or small animals. In virtue of the earlier decision, when two large flocks are pastured together, they must hand over one of the aforementioned animals for each flock. The term large flock is only applicable to those containing more than three hundred animals. Up to the present the lords of the castle have collected the same toll on smaller flocks. The norms for the future are as follows: for flocks of under one hundred animals the Roncalese will pay eight *sueldos fuertes* on their way up and down, for those over one hundred they will pay sixteen, and for those over two hundred they will pay twenty-four.¹⁸⁴

Even Francis had to help in the struggle for the family's possessions. Among these was the former royal mill, a half of which belonged to the mistress of the castle of Xavier. It was situated a short hour's distance from Roncesvalles in the village of Burguete, to the left of the first houses on the lower road near the stream. On February 1, 1525, in the presence of the notary Francisco de Roncesvalles and two witnesses, the harnessmaker Martín del Burgo and the village blacksmith Johanot de Roncesvalles, Francis leased his mother's share in

¹⁸⁰ This happened at the castle of Xavier on the same day, May 6, 1525 (*Orbayceta 37, 8-8v; through an oversight these portions of the Roncal process are placed in the middle of this document).

¹⁸¹ *Ejecutorial 49v.

¹⁸² Cros, *Doc.* I 251-252.

¹⁸³ According to ordinary usage, a *borro* is a one-year-old lamb; in the Roncal and Salazar valleys the word designates a "cordero grande castrado" (José María Iribarren, *Vocabulario Navarro* [Pamplona, 1952] 87).

¹⁸⁴ *Ejecutorial 4v-6v; *Orbayceta 37, 10-12v.

her name to the village carpenter, Johanot de Orbaiceta, for four years for the sum of ten bushels (*cafices*) of wheat a year or the corresponding amount in coin, payable on St. Martin's day; and both parties were bound to observe this lease or pay a penalty of one hundred gold florins.¹⁸⁵

In the neighboring monastery, which had suffered greatly during the siege of Fuenterrabía the year before at the hands of the Spanish and German soldiers,¹⁸⁶ Francis no longer saw his kinsman Dr. Martín de Azpilcueta among the canons. After the completion of his noviate year at the end of 1524, he had gone to the University of Salamanca, in order to obtain a chair there in canon law.¹

13. THE CIRCLE OF RELATIVES (1525)

No further accounts have survived of Francis' travels in Navarre. But since his relatives came repeatedly to the castle of Xavier, he must also have visited them himself on several occasions;¹⁸⁸ and now that the anguish and suffering of the war had passed, there was time to do so.

Beire, where his sister Anna lived, lay a little behind the royal palace of Olite with its fifteen slender Gothic towers and 365 rooms, its cypress trees and orange gardens, its aviaries and kennels which Charles the Noble had built a hundred years before.¹⁸⁹ In two days of riding one could reach this enchanting site by way of Sada or Idocin and Barasoáin. To the left of the parish church dedicated to San Millán, whose portal was elaborately decorated with figures, lay the elegant palace.¹⁹⁰ While the other inhabitants of Ezpeleta had carried on the fight for freedom with Francis' brothers, Diego, the lord of the castle, had remained

¹⁸⁵ Cros, *Doc.* I 264-265; cf. 302-303; *II 216; *Vie* I 100-102.

¹⁸⁶ The damages amounted to 400,000 *maravedís*. For more details, see Javier Ibañeta, *Historia de Roncesvalles* (Pamplona, 1935) 414-417; cf. 391-396.

¹⁸⁷ Olóriz 31, n. 1. He was still in Pamplona on November 7, 1524 (Arigita, *Don Iñigo de Navarra* 165-166).

¹⁸⁸ It is said of Xavier's sister Anna that she frequently visited her relative Estella, and of Juan de Azpilcueta in Echagüe that he had visited Azpilcueta on several occasions (Cros, *Doc.* *II 135 104). On the alleged and actual places visited by Francis in Navarre, see Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 90-101.

¹⁸⁹ Iturralde V 255-303. The castle is now being restored.

¹⁹⁰ The palace has been radically altered and today serves as a college. The account of Miguel de Ezpeleta, a son of Xavier's sister, which comes from 1561 and contains a detailed inventory, furnishes an insight into the religious and cultural life of Xavier's time (Tafalla, Notarial Archives: Sección Olite, *Protocollo de D. Martín Ruiz 1561*). The confrère Father V. de Arteta of the castle of Xavier kindly put a copy of this account at my disposal. Among the objects listed are the following: stalls with five oxen for plowing, one old cow, three large mares, two two-year-old stallions, two colts, a young mule, an old pack animal, an old riding horse, and eight hogs; rooms in the cellar with several wine casks; the granary with 218 *robos* (a *robo* amounted to seven gallons) of wheat, 10 1/2 *robos* of rye and 9 *robos* of beans; the ground floor of the palace with its kitchen and the kitchen with its tin plates, copper kettles, bowls, and crocks; the second floor with rooms full of clothes chests; the top floor with the living quarters of the lord of the castle and the chaplain and the great hall with writing desks full of paper, documents, and books, among which were old Spanish chronicles, Petrarch, the *O furioso* of Ariosto, a French and a Latin breviary, and other odds and ends: a chess board, armchair, benches, suitcases, canopied beds, an arquebus, sword, crossbow, military banners, armor, a crucifix, an alabaster statue of our Lady, rosaries, and so forth.

home with his sick wife.¹⁹¹ She had borne him three children: Miguel, who was already six years old in 1525,¹⁹² Diego, and Francisca.¹⁹³

A deeply religious spirit prevailed in the mansion at Beire. St. Michael the Archangel was the protector of the house. For a hundred years a light in his honor had burned without cease in the parish church,¹⁹⁴ where Anna and Diego had chosen their place of burial in our Lady's chapel. They had restored the chapel of St. Bernard on their property in Milagro and had established a fund for Masses to be celebrated on every Friday of the year to commemorate the bitter sufferings of Christ.¹⁹⁵ Anna, one of the two sisters of the lord of the castle, had, moreover, lived on French soil¹⁹⁶ since 1523 as a nun in the monastery of the strict Poor Clares in Albi.

From Beire one could reach Estella in a good day's ride, where the Eguía¹⁹⁷ and the Baquedano¹⁹⁸ were allied with the Beaumontese. From there one could reach the home of Uncle Martín at Lezaun in four hours. His house lay on the frontier and differed from the others only in its coat of arms.¹⁹⁹ The capital was another day's ride farther on.

In Pamplona the lord of Xavier had his own house on the Rúa Mayor de la Población, where his grandparents Arnalt and Guilherma had lived.²⁰⁰ Not far from here on the Rúa de la Navarrería was uncle Pedro's house, where Francis met his cousins Valentín and Isabel.²⁰¹ Esteban, their brother, had been killed in the fighting at Fuenterrabía,²⁰² and Juan, the first born, had lived since 1512 on the other side of the mountains in Béarn.²⁰³ Another cousin, Esteban de Huarte, had also returned with Valentín to Pamplona.²⁰⁴

Francis also had other relatives in the capital. Among these were the Cru-

¹⁹¹ From her poor health we conclude that she wrote her will on December 15, 1525 (extract in Cros, *Doc.* *II 136-137; *Vie* I 134); she did not die until 1535. Her husband drew up the will with her; he is never mentioned among the fighters for freedom.

¹⁹² Cros, *Doc.* *II 133. Miguel's son was the well-known Father Jerónimo de Ezpeleta (missionary to the Great Mogul), who followed his granduncle into the Society of Jesus and through respect for him took the name of Xavier.

¹⁹³ Cros, *Doc.* I 315. Two other children, Ambrosio and Juan, died young (Argamasilla de La Cerda I 144).

¹⁹⁴ Cros, *Doc.* *II 136 139.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 136-137.

¹⁹⁶ In his dedication to the abbess Anna, Dr. Martín de Azpilcueta noted that he had seen her twenty-five years before [1523] when she was traveling through Toulouse on her way to Albi (*Addició de la repetición del cap. Quando de consecratione* [Coimbra, 1551], at the beginning).

¹⁹⁷ Cros, *Doc.* I 236-240; *II 63-73, mentions a continuous close relationship between the two families of Eguía and Xavier from the time of Xavier's childhood, but this was probably not so.

¹⁹⁸ On the Baquedano and Xavier see Cros, *Doc.* *II 43-50 129.

¹⁹⁹ The palace is still extant and is like the one in Echagüe and the "Xavier house" in Undués.

²⁰⁰ It was in the Calle de la Zapateria, 43. J. O. Larumbe y Pérez de Muniain gives a description of it in *La Avalancha* 28 (1922) 69-72. The house is mentioned in the documents of the lord of the castle in 1520 1543 1581 1731 1758 and 1761. They point out Xavier's room, alcoves, stairs, and the board on which he placed his oil lamp when he continued to study in bed (Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 97). A few years ago the house was torn down and replaced by a new building.

²⁰¹ Cros, *Doc.* I 293; *II 75 228; *Moret, *Castigaciones* 5, *caderno* 3 (library of Azcona, Tafalla).

²⁰² Cros, *Doc.* *II 170.

²⁰³ *Ibid.* 220-225; *Vie* I 121 222-223.

²⁰⁴ Cros, *Doc.* I 57; *II 75.

zat,²⁰⁵ the Espinal,²⁰⁶ the Mutiloa,²⁰⁷ and Atondo. There were reminders of them everywhere. In San Saturnino were the family tombs of the Cruzat;²⁰⁸ in San Nicolás those of the Atondo;²⁰⁹ in San Lorenzo those of the Espinal;²¹⁰ in the newly built Dominican church in the northern part of the city²¹¹ the transferred remains of the Jassu;²¹² and in the adjoining monastery was Friar Diego d Jassu, Master of Theology, a son of his granduncle Bernardo.²¹³

Francis' attention was drawn in particular to the Gothic cathedral built in the fifteenth century²¹⁴ but which retained a Romanesque façade dating back to 1100.²¹⁵ On the high altar was enthroned the silver-robed statue of the Queen of Heaven, Santa María la Real.²¹⁶ It stood behind the iron choir screen completed in 1517 by Master Wilhelm Ervenat, the fairest in all Spain.²¹⁷ Before it Dr. Juan in 1494 had administered the oath to the three estates at the coronation of the king.²¹⁸

Between the choir and the choir stalls was the ornate and richly figured tomb of the builder of the church, King Charles the Noble, and of his wife Leonor. Mourning figures of grandees of the empire were portrayed standing about it with their heads veiled as they wept for the passing of their sovereign and the decline of Navarre, while two dogs fought over a bone.²¹⁹

Three of the stained-glass windows high up in the nave of the church had been given by a kinsman, Miguel de Espinal, in 1514. They contained three figures, one of the Blessed Virgin, another of the archangel Michael, and a third of the martyr St. Barbara.²²⁰

Connected with the church was an elegant Gothic cloister with richly figured and elaborately painted gates, monumental tombs adorned with coats of arms and slender, soaring pillars, whose capitals were picturesquely decorated with ornamental plants, fabled animals, and knightly scenes. Adjoining the cloister were the Barbazana chapel with its crypt for the Augustinian canons, the chapter house, called *La Preciosa*, where the Cortes was accustomed to meet;²²¹

²⁰⁵ On the Cruzat and Xavier see Cros, *Doc.* *II 51-62.

²⁰⁶ On the Espinal and Xavier see *ibid.* 76-77.

²⁰⁷ On the Mutiloa and Xavier see *ibid.* I 164; *II 164; EX I 72.

²⁰⁸ Cros, *Doc.* *II 52 55 60; Juan Albizu, *San Cernin. Reseña histórico-artística de la iglesia parroquial de San Saturnino de Pamplona* (Pamplona, 1930) 129-130.

²⁰⁹ Fita 136.

²¹⁰ Will of Miguel de Espinal in 1514 (Cros, *Doc.* *II 76).

²¹¹ *Ibid.* I 44; *II 77 (under construction in 1518).

²¹² Fita 135; Cros, *Doc.* I 164; *II 166. The present sepulcher has the coat of arms of the Jassu, Atondo, and Sanz. It was probably set up by Martín Sanz de Lum who died in 1542 (Fita 156-159). It is already mentioned in 1549 (Cros, *Doc.* *II 26).

²¹³ Cros, *Doc.* I 291-292.

²¹⁴ On it see Fernando de Alvarado, *Guía del Viajero en Pamplona* (Madrid, 1904) 56; *La S. I. Catedral de Pamplona* (Pamplona, 1930); Madrazo II 191-223 333-361; N XII 146-152; Iturralde IV 271-277. It was begun in 1397 and finished in 1495, except some limited work in the choir, when H. Münzer saw it. See J. Fischer, "El Dr. nimo Münzer," *Razón y Fe* 66 (1923) 100, and J. Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos sobre la Catedral de Pamplona," *Príncipe de Viana* 14 (1953) 311-327, 10 (1955) 133-200

²¹⁵ Moret VI 162; Altadill I 340. In 1783 it was replaced with the present baroque façade (Alvarado 20).

²¹⁶ *La S. I. Catedral* 49-50; picture in Altadill I 339.

²¹⁷ Alvarado 31-32; *La S. I. Catedral* 23.

²¹⁸ Fita 165-166.

²¹⁹ Alvarado 44-46; *La S. I. Catedral* 34-36; Altadill I 760-762. Completed in 1494 by Johan de Lhome of Tournay.

²²⁰ Cros, *Doc.* *II 76.

²²¹ Alvarado 41-42; Madoz XII 650.

refectory, on whose pulpit could be read the words: *Docete omnes gentes!* ("Teach all nations!");²²² the dormitory of the canons; and the residence of the head of the chapter. Dr. Remiro de Goñi had once lived here, but after he had joined those fighting for freedom, a Beaumontese had taken over his canonical benefice, the most lucrative of all.²²³

In Olloqui, two hours from the city, lived aunt Margarita with her two daughters Anna and Elena.²²⁴ She was now seventy years old.²²⁵ In 1525 the elder of her daughters was over thirty and the younger over twenty-six.²²⁶ Her sons Juan and Francis had lived since 1512 in Béarn and only made rare visits home. Juan, who had received his father's office as chief stable master from Jean d'Albret, had, moreover, entered the service of the French king.²²⁷

In Sangüesa, Miguel de Añues had prospered during recent years. He had seven children, Miguel, Antonio, Gabriel, Juan, Rafael, María, and Aldonza. María had married one of the most distinguished nobles of Tudela, Francisco Pérez de Veraiz, and her father had given her a dowry of three thousand gold florins and six valuable tapestries.²²⁸ He had reserved the same sum as a dowry for Aldonza.²²⁹ Gabriel was destined for the priesthood, and his provident father had already ensured him a rich benefice as soon as it was open—the abbey of Leyre.²³⁰

14. FRANCIS' FUTURE (1525)

The time had also come for Francis to think about his own future. Miguel and Juan had once tried to interest him in a military career, but he had a different ideal in mind.²³¹

Among the old writings in the trunks of the castle of Xavier was a parchment delicately drawn up in brown ink with gold initials and a coat of arms in fantastic colors. It portrayed the walking bear of the Jassu on a blue field, the golden half-moons of the Atondo between red crossbeams also on a blue field, and the rising gold griffin of the Caritat on a red background, which the Atondo had to carry on their coat of arms since 1352; on the left there was an artistically painted ribbon with a red apple of Paradise below it and above it a frisky, running, young stag on green grass; and above this was a green bird with a cow's tail and

²²² Altadill I 759-760, since 1891 the Xavier chapel.

²²³ Dr. Remiro is mentioned as chapter administrator (*arcediano de tabla*) in 1514; he was treasurer (*tesorero*) in 1510-1515 and 1515-1528 (Archives Granada 77, 24; 74, 8). From 1520-1522 he was also vicar-general (Cathedral Archives: *arca BB 45*). In 1528, after the death of Juan de Beaumont, he became chapter administrator again (*ibid. arca G 56*, nn. 1-12; 68, n. 1). He died in 1554 and was buried in the hospital in Pamplona which he had founded. On him see Tomás García Barberena, *Un canonista español. El Doctor Don Remiro de Goñi. Su vida, su obra científica (1481-1554)* (Pamplona, 1947).

²²⁴ In 1517 Margarita is mentioned with her children Magdalena, Pedro, Anna, Agueda, and Elena (Cros, *Doc.* I 183). In her will of 1518 Aunt Juana in Olloqui mentions only her nieces Anna and Elena (*ibid.* *II 77). They remained with their mother until her death in 1545 (*ibid.* I 389-390). Anna later added the two corner towers, the circular wall, and the portal to the palace and thus gave it its present form (*ibid.* *II 244).

²²⁵ *Ibid.* *II 84.

²²⁶ *Ibid.* *II 83.

²²⁷ On Juan, *ibid.* *II 82 218-219; on Francés, *ibid.* I 386-387.

²²⁸ Archives Granada 35, 10.

²²⁹ *Ibid.* 33, 11 (*will of Miguel de Añues, of August 28, 1525).

²³⁰ *Ibid.* He received the abbey in 1535 (*ibid.* 35, 15-17) and governed it for twenty-eight years (Yepes IV 84v).

²³¹ Tursellinus 1, 1.

a reddish green, twisted snake's neck and a blue dragon's head. From its open throat a tongue darted out towards a bearded hero standing upon the dragon and wearing a fur coat, a hat, and a scarf tied about his waist. In his right hand he held a spray of laurel, and with his left he pointed upwards to where the document began in brilliant gold: *In Christi nomine, Amen. Gloriosa Scientiarum Mater Bononia*.—It was the doctoral diploma of his father of the year 1470.

Francis also possessed the pride and ambition of his ancestors. Like his brothers he was eager to prove his worth and to bring his family fame and honor;²³² but he wanted to do this by following the example of his father and of Dr. Remiro de Goñi and, in particular, that of his renowned cousin Dr. Mar de Azpilcueta in Salamanca in the priestly state. He had already received the tonsure as a cleric of the diocese of Pamplona.²³⁴ As the summer of 1525 came to an end, he bade farewell to his mother, aunt Violante, Miguel, and Juan, and rode over the pass of Roncesvalles to France, to the most famous school of Christendom, the University of Paris.²³⁵

²³² *Original in the Archives Granada 62, 4; text in Escalada 163-168, picture 342

²³³ Tursellinus 1, 1.

²³⁴ On February 13, 1531, Xavier described himself as a "clérigo de la diócesis de Pamplona" (MX II 34). We are of the opinion that he received the tonsure before setting out for Paris, perhaps in Pamplona on June 14, 1522, along with Miguel de Goñi, whose certificate of tonsure is still extant (Archives Granada 84, 37). Since Goñi's father married in 1506 and the scholar Miguel was his fourth son, he was at most twelve years old in 1522 (**La genealogía y descendencia de los caballeros y señores de los Palacios de España*, Ms. with a colored coat of arms in the library of Azcona, Tafalla).

²³⁵ If Xavier took the usual road past Sangüesa, as we think he probably did, he saw the territory of the castle for the last time from the first high pass, where there is still today a stone column with a hole in it for the now missing cross. In 1894 Escalada wrote that the pilgrims were shown *la Peña del Adiós*, from where the saint, when visiting it, last greeted the castle on his way to Lisbon in 1540 (*Doc.* I 356). In the ninety-two-year-old Marcelo Guindano at Xavier told us that Father Escalada asked him one day to visit the *Peña del Adiós* with him, and that Father Escalada had the stone column (then thirty-five-inches high) for a memorial to Xavier's last greeting and had a square stone monument built there, and then designated this spot as *Peña del Adiós*. Guindano thought that the column was rather a marker on the path, since at this spot the castle began to collect tolls from those coming from Sangüesa. This is in complete agreement with our sources, which already in 1526 mention an old small cross (*cruzeta*) marking the spot where tribute began to be paid (Memorial 9v 12v). But the castle, that is, the highest part of St. Michael's tower, could be seen from here after 1516, when Cisneros had this part of it removed. If Xavier traveled past Lumbier to Paris, then he saw his birthplace for the last time at a spot where the road earlier crossed the farthest foothills of the Farrandillo, not far from the Aragon River, which was still called the *Peña del Adiós* in 1927, a name very like that of the other site, is probably of a rather recent date. We shall treat of Xavier's trip to Lisbon later on.

BOOK II

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

1525 — 1536

Conformando il tutto al modo parisiense.
"Following in everything the practice at Paris."

*Program of studies for Messina, the first
College of the Society of Jesus, 1548*

CHAPTER I

STUDENT LIFE (1525-1526)¹

1. AT THE GOAL²

From Pamplona the old Roman road³ and the route of pilgrims going to Santiago⁴ led over the pass of Roncesvalles to Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port and from there past Dax through the sparsely populated domain of the d'Albret, a sandy and swampy wilderness covered over with ferns, broom, heather, thorny brushwood, and scattered pines.⁵ From here the road led to the large port city of Bordeaux; then on through green fruitful lands with vineyards, meadows, cornfields, and forests⁶ past Blaye, where the hero Roland lay buried with his sword

¹ The main sources for Xavier's stay in Paris are the accounts of his fellow students: the *Memoriale* of Favre of 1532 (Favre); the report of Laynez of 1547 (Layne); the *Sumario* of Polanco of 1548; the autobiography of St. Ignatius of 1555 (Ignatius), supplemented by the *Memoriale* of Gonçalves da Camara, also written in 1555 (all critically republished in *Fontes Narrativi* I); the exhortations of Laynez of 1559; the exhortations of Nadal of 1557-1561; the two memoirs of Ribadeneyra: the *De actis*, written between 1559 and 1566, and the *Dicta et facta Ignatii*, composed about 1573; Polanco's *Vita Ignatii*, written in 1574 (Polanco); Bobadilla's autobiography of 1590 (Bobadilla), and the important, detailed report of Rodrigues (Rodrigues), completed in 1577, whose Portuguese first draft is to be found in the Bibl. Nacional in Lisbon (*Fundo Geral* 4212, 133-198). Both of these texts were published in 1960 in *Fontes Narrativi* III 5-135. The following works are also important, since at this time the history of Xavier's life is practically inseparable from that of St. Ignatius and of the order he founded: the histories of the Jesuit assistancies by Astráin, 1902, Fouqueray, 1910 (particularly important), Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 1950², and Rodrigues, 1931; the biographies of Ignatius by Ribadeneyra (*Vita* 1572, *Vida* 1583), Böhmer 1914 (the first edition is superior to the later ones), and Dudon, 1934; the faulty edition of St. Ignatius' autobiography with an introduction and very detailed commentary by Larrañaga, 1947; and the biography of Xavier by Brou, 1922². For the history of the times and the general milieu, the main sources are the four diaries of Driart, Picotte, Versoris, and of the anonymous *Journal*; the documents in Félibien, Bulaeus, Cros (*Doc. Nouv.* I), Jourdain, Du Plessis, d'Argentré, and Delisle; the correspondence of the Reformers in Herminjard and Calvin, of the humanists in Allen, and of Diogo de Gouvea (in the appendix to Costa, *Processo*); the register of Portuguese students published by Matos; and the accounts given by Quicherat, Villoslada, Feret, Brandão, Bulaeus, and Crévier.

² For the route see Charles Estienne, *Le Guide des Chemins de France de 1553*, ed. Jean Bonnerot (Paris, 1936), vol. 1. We always cite this volume, which contains the editor's extremely valuable commentary. Vol. 2 is a facsimile of the edition of 1553.

³ Konrad Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (Stuttgart, 1916) 34; "Routes Romaines, Pampelune à Bordeaux," *Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive*, 1906, II 254-255.

⁴ "Chansons des Pèlerins de St-Jacques," in J. B. Darantz, *Curiosités du Pays Basque* 2 (Bayonne, 1927) 23 60; Estienne-Bonnerot, nn. 759 735 771, Routes 266 267 268 276.

⁵ In the sixteenth century three routes are mentioned from Dax to Bordeaux—by way of Castets (Estienne-Bonnerot, Route 276), by way of Labrit (Navagero 48-49), and by way of Langon and Bazas (H. Th. Leodius, *Annales Friderici II* [Francoforti, 1624] 99-100).

⁶ Navagero 50.

Durandal; ⁷ then past the university city of Poitiers, the royal palaces of Amboise and Blois and the sanctuary of Notre-Dame-de-Cléry to Orléans, where on the bridge the shrine of Joan of Arc, the liberatrix of the city, could be seen with a lance in her hand; ⁸ and then along the paved ⁹ military road to Paris.¹⁰

It was an autumn day in 1525 ¹¹ when Francis, after a ride of about three weeks, ¹² first saw the walls of the French capital with their protruding towers. ¹ In front of him on both sides of the road were stretched out the poor home of the suburb. On the left could be seen the church of Notre-Dame-des-Champ and the pilgrim hospital of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, and behind, the pointed roof lantern and cottages of the chartreuse. ¹⁴ Soon the hooves of his horse beat with a hollow sound as he rode over the drawbridge and through the Port Saint-Jacques ¹⁵ with its guard towers separating the Latin Quarter, the university city of Paris, from the suburb.

In front of the newcomer the Rue Saint-Jacques ran straight as a die to the banks of the Seine, dividing the university quarters into two almost equal halves. In the distance near the Seine he could see the high church tower of Saint-Jacques-la-Boucherie. ¹⁶ To the left, close to the city gate, lay the monastery of the Dominicans and their church with its high Gothic windows and lantern. ¹⁷ Opposite it were houses of private citizens with their multicolored signs: "At the Golden Peacock," "At Our Dear Lady's Picture," "At the Helm," "At the Crowned Harp," "At the Three Mallets," and "At the Porcupine," ¹⁸ next to which, but farther back from the street, was the small old church of Saint-Étienne-des-Grès. After reaching it, the youthful rider turned to the right and continued on toward the neighboring Collège de Lisieux, ²⁰ which was separated from Saint-Étienne-des-Grès by a number of gabled houses: "At the Silver Ball," "At the Billiards," "At the Image of St. Christopher," "At Our Lady's Picture," and "At the Golden Wine Press." ²¹ He then rode on to the left past the chapel and gate of the Collège des Cholets, ²² which lay opposite the scholasticate of the Benedictines of Mont Saint-Michel, ²³ and the richly decorated Romanesque façade of the ancient chapel.

⁷ Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 783; cf. 782.

⁸ *Ibid.*, n. 330. The statue, erected in 1458 or 1578, was destroyed in 1562 or 1563; see also Driat 127.

⁹ Estienne-Bonnerot, nn. 329 and 14.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Routes 127 116 3.

¹¹ Cros, *Doc. I* 255-257 261-266.

¹² In May 1513, the French ambassador rode from Blois to Valladolid in sixteen days "ordinariamente, e non per le poste," as Francesco Guicciardini observed (*Opere Minori* [1837] 111). The companion of Cardinal Alessandro rode from Bayonne to Blois in seventeen days in 1571 (Vatican Library: **Barb. lat.* 5250, 112-142v).

¹³ See the city plans of 1508, 1520, and 1551 in Berty, *Région Centrale* 9, and especially the plan by Truschet from about 1551.

¹⁴ Berty, *Faubourg Saint-Germain* 74 76 (pictures).

¹⁵ Berty, *R. Centr.* 9; plan in Truschet.

¹⁶ Erected in 1508-1522 (Rochegude 50), still extant.

¹⁷ Berty, *R. Centr.* 249 230 (pictures).

¹⁸ The names are given as *Paon d'or*, 1541-1693; *Ymaige Notre-Dame*, 1578-1693; *Heaulme*, 1494-1693; *Croissant couronné*, 1404-1693; *Trois Maillets*, 1531; and *Porc-Es*, 1501-1589 (Berty, *R. Centr.* 247-248 279 502 and plan 277).

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 277-281; cf. 247.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 126-129.

²¹ The names are given as *Esteuf d'argent*, 1693; *Billard*, 1587; *Ymaige Saint-Kristof*, 1517-1693; *Ymaige Notre-Dame*, 1522-1693; *Prosoeur d'or*, 1569-1693 (*ibid.* 129 503).

²² *Ibid.* 71-74.

²³ *Ibid.* 130-132. This college should not be confused with the Collège de Cholets which was also known as the Collège de Saint-Michel.

of Saint-Symphorien.²⁴ Again turning to the right, he rode along the narrow Rue Saint-Symphorien, known also as the Rue des Chiens, or "Street of the Dogs," which was crossed by a covered walk for pedestrians some distance ahead. On the corner to the left lay an old grey manor flanked on the right by a tower. A stone coat of arms with five fields on it adorned the Gothic gate.²⁵ It was the Collège de Sainte-Barbe,²⁶ where students from all the leading countries of the world were lodged. Here Francis dismounted in order to begin his studies on October 1, the feast of St. Remy. For eleven full years Paris was to be his home.

2. THE UNIVERSITY²⁷

The Latin Quarter was the site of the university, a tangled maze of rough, dirty,²⁸ winding, narrow streets and alleys, gables and projecting alcoves, churches and chapels, colleges (over fifty at the time),²⁹ monasteries, wineshops, poolhalls, and bookstores. It was a veritable student republic with its own laws, officials, and jealously guarded privileges. In it there were about four thousand merry, boisterous, and contentious students from all over the world.³⁰ They were dressed in doublets, cassocks,³¹ and cowls and were enrolled in four faculties: Theology, Law, Medicine, and Philosophy.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 57-60 441-443.

²⁵ Quicherat II 151-152.

²⁶ *Ibid.* I 12-13.

²⁷ Thurot is fundamental for the organization of the university. For Xavier's time he must be supplemented by Robert Goulet, *Compendium recentior editum de multiplici parisiensis universitatis magnificentia* (Paris, 1517), from which Quicherat has reprinted the *Heptadogma* (I 325-331). See also the introductory chapter in Targe 1-38 and Stephen d'Irsay, *Histoire des Universités Françaises et Étrangères* (Paris, 1933-1935), especially I 260-274.

²⁸ See Berty, *R. Centr.* 56 40; Chapotin 56-57.

²⁹ See his list with brief data in J. M. Prat, S.J., *Maldonat et l'Université de Paris* (Paris, 1856) 527-537; cf. Thurot 126-127.

³⁰ Estimates on the number of students vary. In 1495 Hieronymus Münzer speaks of about fifteen thousand, of whom about nine thousand were foreigners; in 1528 Navagero refers to them as being countless; in 1535 Giustiniani gives an exaggerated figure of more than twenty-five thousand; in 1544 Cappello mentions twenty thousand; and in 1546 Cavalli gives the number as between sixteen and twenty thousand. These figures are too high even if the Latin students are included (cf. Thurot 33 40, n. 1, and appendices 3-5). In 1531 there were three thousand students at the reception of Queen Leonor (Crévier V 255). More recent authors give widely divergent figures: Fouqueray twelve to fifteen thousand, Matos ten to twelve thousand, Villoslada four to five thousand, Brou three to four thousand. See Matos 111, n. 1.

³¹ In the register for the year 1528 a student drew five types on three blank pages: a doctor in a cassock, cloak, and fur collar, accompanied by two beadles with their sceptres; a master of arts in hose, blouse, and a loose gown with wings, a triangular opening in the front (an Oxford college still has this triangular opening today), and sleeves pleated at their ends; and a student in secular dress wearing a feathered cap, slit jacket, belt, sword, and short pants bound together with the hose above the knees (**Acta Rectoria* 9952, 35-36v). In 1517 Goulet noted that students always had to have a "cingulum super vestem" (Quicherat I 331); in 1533 the student Siderander wrote that at the time he was having a cassock made for himself (Lefranc 137); in 1539 the rector Diogo de Gouvea junior recommended a reform in the matter of dress: "Reformentur habitus indecentes tam Praeceptorum quam Scholasticorum, prohibeantur caligae abscissae et fenestratae seu buffatiles, pugiones et gladii, et pro more antiquo in signum obedientiae et humilitatis cincti incendant" (Bulaeus VI 334-335), as the reform statutes of 1534 had already required: "Omnes, et Paedagogi gradu non insignes et discipuli cincti, ut a Praeceptoribus secernantur, incendant" (*ibid.* 248).

The Faculty of Arts, or Philosophy, exceeded all others in size and influence. Its students were divided into four so-called "nations": French or Gallic, Picard, Norman, and German, to the latter of which also belonged the English and Scottish students. The many Frenchmen, who belonged to the *honoranda natio gallicarum*, were divided up into five provinces: Paris, Tours, Reims, Sens, and Bourges. The last-named province also belonged the students from Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the islands of the Mediterranean, and Turkey.³² Each one of the four nations had its procurator and two beadles. The rector of the university, who kept the large and the small seals, the rector's books, and the register of students, was always elected from the Faculty of Arts.³³ The prescribed term of office was three months, and new elections were held in December, March, June, and October. Each of the three higher faculties, which were made up entirely of doctors, was represented by its own dean.³⁴

The humanistic and philosophical lectures were held in the colleges. Of the eighteen largest, those that had complete programs for the students, had public rights; and they could also enroll extern students. Each of the largest colleges was a small university in itself, with an aula, classrooms, refectory, chapels, professors' rooms, and living and study facilities for the boarders, several of whom as a rule shared a room with a master. Theological lectures were held in the monasteries of the Dominicans and of the Franciscans, in the Collège Navarre and in the Sorbonne.³⁵ Lectures in canon law were held in the Grand and the Petites Écoles de Décret on the Rue Jean-de-Beauvais³⁷ and those in medicine on the Rue de la Bûcherie north of these near the Seine.³⁸ The Theological Faculty held its meetings in the Trinitarian monastery of the Mathurins on the Rue Saint-Jacques, where the general assemblies of the university were also held.³⁹ The Philosophical Faculty, represented by the principals of the colleges and the professors of philosophy,⁴⁰ held their meetings in the chapel of Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre near the river, where the election of the rector was also held.⁴¹

The program of studies included an introductory course of a humanistic nature in grammar, rhetoric, and metrics.⁴² This lasted for one or more years since students who were ten years old or less often came to the university.

³² Corrozet 38-41; Targe 23-24.

³³ Targe 10. The registers (*Acta Rectoria*) for this period are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Mss. latins* 9951-9953. Under each vice-chancellorship they contain: (1) the names of the *iurati*, that is, of those who have matriculated, arranged according to their Christian names; (2) those of the *incipientes*, that is, of the new *magistri artium*, arranged according to nations. Since the scribes were usually French, the names of the foreigners are as a rule badly misspelled.

³⁴ Thurot 19; Villoslada 248.

³⁵ Villoslada 40; Thurot 159.

³⁶ Villoslada 246-248.

³⁷ Berty, *R. Centr.* 101.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 37-44.

³⁹ The Theological Faculty consisted of about one hundred doctors, who bore the title "*magistri nostri*" (Larrañaga 349-350; FN II 56).

⁴⁰ Thurot 90-92 19; Targe 21-22.

⁴¹ Thurot 22.

⁴² *Chartularium* IV 728 (reform statutes of Estouteville of 1452). The statutes of 1452 state that an examination in Greek must also precede philosophy (Jourdain, *Hist. Just.* 5, n. 36).

⁴³ In 1527 Diogo de Teive came to Paris at the age of twelve (Teive 3). The statutes of the Arts Faculty of 1598 forbade the acceptance of Latin students under the age of twelve (Jourdain, *Hist. Pièces Just.* 3, n. 10).

After successfully passing an examination, a student advanced to three and one-half years of philosophy,⁴⁴ which in the second year led to the title of bachelor, and in the last year to the licentiate and master of arts. The professors of philosophy were almost all young students who had just received their master's degree and were now teaching as regents what they had only recently learned. They thus supported themselves while attending lectures in one of the three higher faculties on the side.⁴⁵ The course in philosophy was obligatory for all students. When it was completed, a student would go on to one of the three higher faculties of his own choice. In seven years he could obtain a doctorate in medicine or canon law (civil law was not taught at Paris). In twelve or thirteen years he could obtain a doctorate in theology.⁴⁶

Some of the students belonged to religious orders; others did not. Of these latter, some had scholarships (the *boursiers*) and were thus provided with lodgings in a college; some were full pensioners (*portionnistes*), who paid for room and board in the college⁴⁷ and usually shared a room with several other students; others were half-pensioners, rich students who rented rooms for themselves and paid for their own support (*caméristes*); others were extern students (*martinets*) who lived in private houses and came only for the lectures, for which they paid a fee; still others were poor students who earned their keep as servants of a professor or of a fellow student and attended school on the side as best as they could. The aim of most, however, was to secure a church benefice on the basis of their studies in order to obtain a steady income for the future.⁴⁸

The *portionnistes* in the Collège de Mans paid at this time thirty *livres tournois* a year for a room, the *caméristes* twenty-five, and the *martinets* five.⁴⁹ The fees were the same in the neighboring Collège de Sainte-Barbe, where Francis rented a place for thirty ducats a year as a portionist.⁵⁰

3. THE COLLÈGE DE SAINTE-BARBE

Sainte-Barbe was not a pious foundation that had been erected for some diocese or province like most of the other colleges of the Latin Quarter but rather a private undertaking. In the fourteenth century it had been the palace of a Burgundian knight, the prince of Orange, Jean de Chalon, whose descendants

⁴⁴ This provision was renewed on April 12, 1526 (Bulaeus VI 191).

⁴⁵ Thurot 33 90-92.

⁴⁶ See the statutes of the Collège de Mans of 1526 (Cros, *Doc.* I 258).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* and Godet 62; cf. Quicherat I 74-76. Before 1564 all, including the camerists, in Sainte-Barbe and elsewhere, ate in the refectory (Quicherat II 45).

⁴⁸ A professor only went to the university to obtain a benefice (Thurot 33); even the physicians thought only of obtaining the same (*ibid.* 30). Ecclesiastical benefices were a ways placed before the eyes of the regents as a reward (Crévier I 265); cf. EX I 167. On the university and benefices see Targe 219-230; Thurot 29-33 91 159; Jourdain, *Hist.* 6-7; and especially Bulaeus III 599-624.

⁴⁹ Felibien III 585-595, with respect to the Collège de Mans. Cros, *Doc.* I 258 gives an extract of this. Both have *sols* instead of *livres tournois* as the annual rent for a room, for the burse both have twenty-five *livres tournois*.

⁵⁰ From the fact that from 1526 to 1530 Xavier shared his room with Peña, Favre, and Ignatius, it follows that he was a portionist. The cost is deduced from the rates prevailing at this time. The burses of the Portuguese in Sainte-Barbe were thirty ducats (Costa 195). Xavier's nephew Juan de Xavier, who lived with Master Charles de Caparoso in Paris as a student from 1539 to 1541, paid this same sum for board and room each year (Nicolás S. de Otto, *Francisco Javier y la Universidad de Paris* [Valladolid, 1934] 112, photograph). This was the same that the portionists paid at the Collège de Mans.

sold the house in 1454 to the monks of Vézelay. In 1460 Master Geoffroy Lencmant, at the time one of the best known professors of the university, acquired it from the monks and founded a college there, which he dedicated to St. Barbara.⁵¹ Since it had no endowment, it was meant only for intern or external students who could pay. The teachers were employed and cared for by the owner. The new college with its courses in Latin and philosophy developed rapidly. It expanded through the purchase and rent of neighboring houses. Under Lencmant's successor, Martin Lemaistre († 1482), it already had six hundred students distributed in fourteen classes.⁵² In 1512 Robert Dugast, the owner and principal of the neighboring Collège de Coqueret, obtained possession also of Sainte-Barbe. About 1520 the Portuguese doctor Diogo de Gouvea⁵⁴ rented it from him; and under his direction it became one of the most progressive and flourishing institutions of the university, having within its walls renowned professors and students from every nation.

The college with its annexes⁵⁵ was located within a long rectangle bounded by the Rue des Chiens on the south, the Rue des Cholets on the west, the Rue Reims on the north, and the Rue des Sept-Voies on the east.⁵⁶ It occupied most of this enclosed area with the exception of the "large" and "small" gardens of the Collège de Montaigu on the south, the garden of the Collège de Reims on the east, and, south of this, three small houses, one belonging to the Sorbonne and the other to the Collège de Montaigu.

The main building was the old Chalon palace,⁵⁷ built in the form of a horseshoe with three façades. The entrance to the college was in the south wing. Next to it was the corner tower,⁵⁹ whose upper story was called "Paradise" because of its quiet, its middle story "Purgatory," and its lower story "Hell" because of its constant noise.⁶⁰ A wall led from here to the small garden of the Collège de Montaigu, shutting off the palace from the Rue des Chiens.⁶¹ On the ground floor of the north wing⁶² were the refectory and the kitchen, and, between them, the chapel. This was only twenty-two feet long. It had a single altar which was illuminated on the side of the court by a stained-glass window. It was impractical since the smoke and smells of the kitchen filtered into it. The chapel formed a kind of continuation of the refectory, from which it was separated

⁵¹ Quicherat I 4-8.

⁵² *Ibid.* 34.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 71; cf. 297.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 126.

⁵⁵ For the following description see the plan in Quicherat I 1 with his description (I 1-18) and also Berty, *R. Centr.* 63-70 and the city plans reproduced on pages 9 and 10.

⁵⁶ Quicherat I 11-14; Berty, *R. Centr.* 395.

⁵⁷ Since the building was dilapidated, it was completely restored in 1553 (Quicherat I 304; Berty, *R. Centr.* 65).

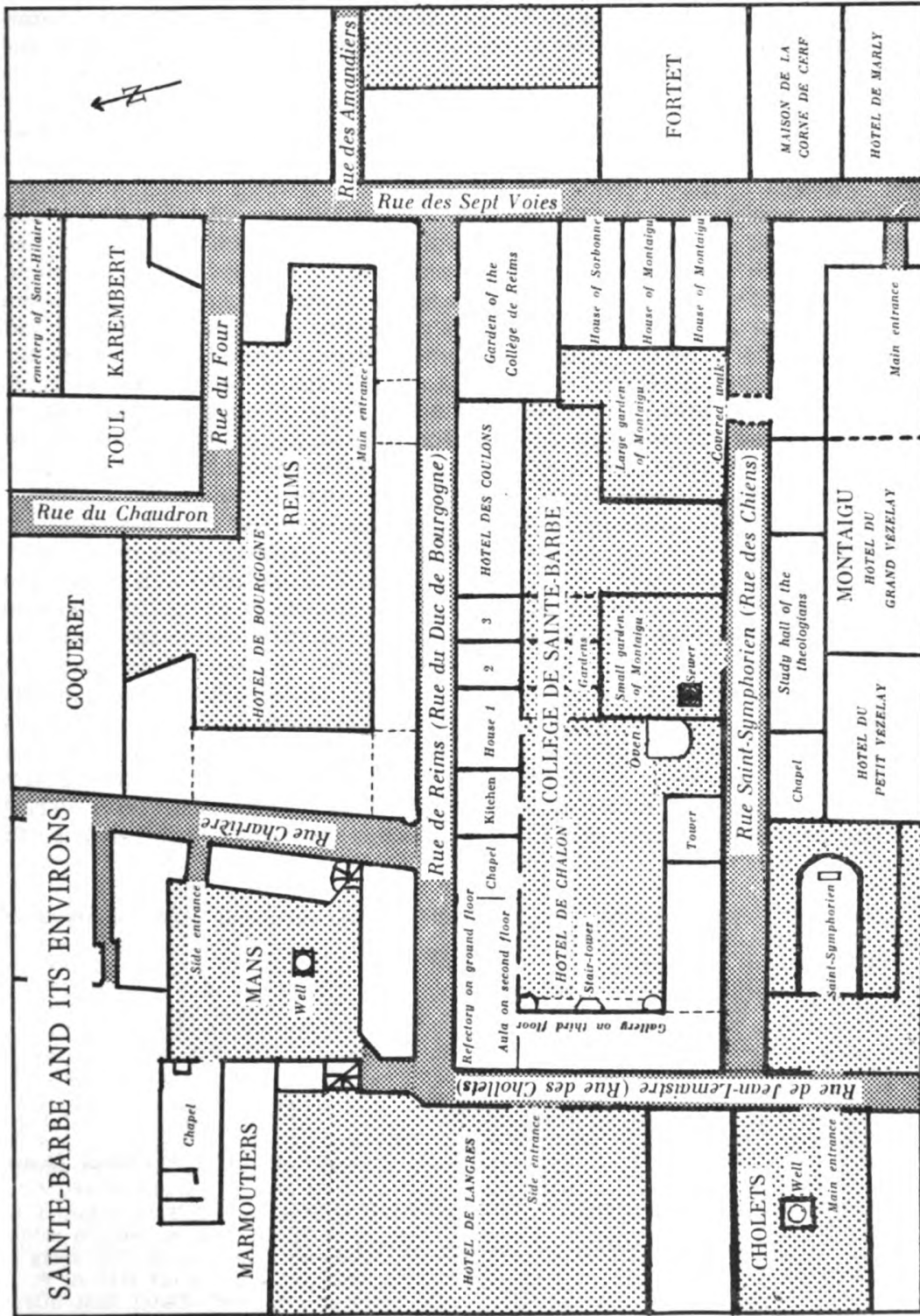
⁵⁸ Quicherat I 12-13; Berty, *R. Centr.* 70.

⁵⁹ Quicherat I 148. The *Barbaromachia* mentions the "celsae turris patentia" (*ibid.* 347).

⁶⁰ Xavier's fellow student Antonio Pinheiro later wrote of Ignatius in Sainte-Barbe: "Erão as cazas de tres sobrados; o Sancto morava no mais alto, e os estudantes tinham em pratica, que o sobrado mais alto era o Paraizo, o do meyo o Purgatorio, o ultimo o Inferno, pella desinguietação que neste de bayxo havia, e que o P. S. Ignacio escollia o de cima por mais quieto" (Franco, *Imagem de Lisboa* 22).

⁶¹ Quicherat I 326.

⁶² Description of 1556 in Quicherat II 210-211; cf. 20.



Generated on 2019-11-01 16:28 GMT / http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015005659191
 Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives / http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#cc-by-nc-nd-4.0

only by a screen.⁶³ This could be removed when there was need of more room. For a still larger number of people the college could have Mass in the new, roofed chapel of the nearby Collège des Cholets.⁶⁴ The west wing tied the north and south buildings together. Three small towers with winding steps led to the upper story, where a gallery on the side of the court led to the other two wings. Here were the classrooms, the aula, the library with its books, some of which were fastened with chains, and the living and studying quarters of the professors and students.⁶⁵

The north wing was connected with three private houses which had been purchased in the fifteenth century along with the gardens behind them. These had been adapted for college use.⁶⁷ East of them was the larger Hôtel des Couloirs, rented since 1475 by Sainte-Barbe.⁶⁸ The large garden in the rear passed between the two gardens of the Collège de Montaigu to the Rue des Chiens and was connected by three smaller gardens with the college court. Here, between the tower and the little garden of Montaigu, was the vaulted oven of the house.

East of Sainte-Barbe lay the small Collège de Fortet,⁷⁰ north of it the Collège de Reims, the old palace of the duke of Burgundy with its huge portal adorned with two projecting turrets,⁷¹ and to the west of it the pompous Collège de Montaigu still in the course of construction.⁷² On the west side of Sainte-Barbe was the large garden of the palace of the bishop of Langres, whose main entrance was on the Rue Saint-Jacques.⁷³ To its south was the Collège des Cholets, set apart for theological students and those who intended to become such, with its courtyard well in the court, a favorite meeting place for the people of the neighborhood.

Toward the south the college gate opened up on the nave of the chapel of Saint-Symphorien. This had been left deserted since the last civil war and was used only on August 22, its patronal feast. A small fair was held there annually on this occasion.⁷⁵ Next to the chapel was the long north façade of the Collège de Montaigu.⁷⁶ Located within its upper story, over against the oven of Sainte-Barbe, was the chapel of the theologians.⁷⁷ Here also was their study hall opposite the small garden with its vines,⁷⁹ where they sought their recreation. At night the street was here shut off with a barrier.⁸¹ The large garden lay

⁶³ *Ibid.* The chapels in the colleges of Reims, Boncourt, and Bons-Enfants were arranged in the same fashion (*ibid.* 20).

⁶⁴ Quicherat II 210; I 62.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* II 179-180.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* II 179-326.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* I 13 34 304; Berty, *R. Centr.* 396.

⁶⁸ Berty, *R. Centr.* 396; Quicherat I 34 13 316; cf. 318.

⁶⁹ Quicherat I 148 347.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 17-18; Doumergue I 201 237; Truschet.

⁷¹ Quicherat I 16-17; Berty, *R. Centr.* 398 286.

⁷² Quicherat I 16; Berty, *R. Centr.* 399-401 277 (plan).

⁷³ Berty, *R. Centr.* 272-273 72; Quicherat I 16; *Epistolae Mixtae* I 85; *Lainii* 631.

⁷⁴ Quicherat I 15-16 68-69; Berty, *R. Centr.* 72-74; Truschet.

⁷⁵ Quicherat I 14-15.

⁷⁶ For the Collège de Montaigu see the plan in Godet 1.

⁷⁷ Quicherat I 148 342.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* II 18-19.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* I 149 347.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* II 18-19, I 143; Berty, *R. Centr.* 69-70.

⁸¹ Quicherat I 144-145.

the east of it,⁸² connected with the college by a covered walk,⁸³ was a recreation ground for the Latin students and philosophers. The gate of the Montaiguans lay on the east side on the Rue des Sept-Voies.⁸⁴

There was an old rivalry between the two neighbors, the strict Collège de Montaigu, which followed the traditions of the Middle Ages under the feared principal, Pierre Tempête, and the general direction of his predecessor, Noël Beda, and the progressive Collège de Sainte-Barbe under Diogo de Gouvea. This rivalry between the Barbistes on the one side and the Capettes, as the students of Montaigu were called because of their grey college gown, which imitated that of the Minims, was increased by the fact that the latter polluted the air by letting sewage flow directly into the Rue des Chiens even after both parties had, by command of the city, paved the street in 1522. Matters reached such a pitch that the Barbistes during a nocturnal brawl between the two colleges broke all the available windows of their opponents with stones and uprooted the vines of the little garden. The Capettes in their turn smashed Sainte-Barbe's oven, an exploit which a malicious Montaignan extolled in a mock-heroic Latin poem, the *Barbaromachia*, which he published this same year.⁸⁵ An agreement was finally reached between the principals of the two colleges according to which Montaigu discharged its sewage through an underground canal into a cesspool in the garden of the theologians.⁸⁶ After this, peace reigned between the two schools; and Francis, the new arrival at Sainte-Barbe, could see a heavy, hunched figure with a thick neck and broad shoulders dressed in a doctor's gown riding on a mule from the Collège de Montaigu through the Rue des Chiens to the Sorbonne. This was Noël Beda, the famous syndic of the Theological Faculty and former principal of the Collège de Montaigu.⁸⁷

4. THE LATIN QUARTER⁸⁸

Distances in Paris, which at the time of Xavier's arrival numbered about 300,000 inhabitants,⁸⁹ were small. In fifteen minutes one could cross the length and breadth of the Latin Quarter, and in three hours one could walk around the city on foot.⁹⁰ Opposite the entrance of the Collège de Montaigu two arched portals led to the tall abbey church of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine of Sainte-Geneviève⁹¹ and the smaller adjoining church of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont.

⁸² *Ibid.* I 143, II 19; Berty, *R. Centr.* 69-70.

⁸³ Quicherat I 143 and the city plans of 1509 and 1551 (Berty, *R. Centr.* 8).

⁸⁴ Truschet and Godet 1.

⁸⁵ Quicherat I 342-347 145-149.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* I 149, II 19.

⁸⁷ See the descriptions of Beda by Erasmus: "truncus verius quam homo" (Allen 1188); Botteus: "gibbus" (*ibid.* 1963); Rabelais: "Beda, De optimitate triparum," *Pantagruel* 2, 7 (ed. Lefranc III 82); Siderander: "in mulo suo equitatem vidi" (Herminjard III 56); E. Dolet: "gibbus, struma" (Bulaeus VI 256); and in the register of the Medical Faculty of 1534: "Deus det ei mentem sanam in corpore sano!" (*ibid.* 249).

⁸⁸ For the two following sections our main sources are, in addition to the city plan by Truschet of 1551 and the description by Corrozet of 1550, the volumes of the *Topographie Historique du Vieux Paris* by Berty; we have at times supplemented the material he gives with the data in Lebeuf, J. B. de Saint-Victor, and Rohegude.

⁸⁹ In 1378 Paris had a population of 274,000. In 1590, after the great plague of 1562, it still had 270,000 (Werner Hagemann, *Der Stadtbau nach den Ergebnissen der allgemeinen Städtebau-Ausstellung in Berlin* [Berlin, 1913] 15).

⁹⁰ Giustiniano 148.

⁹¹ On Sainte-Geneviève see Corrozet 21-22v; Raunié IV 343-458; Lebeuf I 228-42, and

King Clovis had founded the old abbey a thousand years before. In the crypt could be seen his tomb, and in the crypt that of St. Genevieve, the patroness of the city. The head of the monastery was an exempt abbot with high, mid and low jurisdiction over the whole Latin Quarter. He also nominated one of the two chancellors of the university, the chancellor of the Faculty of Arts. The Fleming, Jan Standonck, the reformer of the Collège de Montaigu, who died in 1504 in the odor of sanctity, and who had transferred the college to Mont-Beda before his death, had earned his bread when he was a poor student at Sainte-Barbe as a kitchen helper in the abbey. At night he would withdraw to the church tower to ring the bells for Matins and to study by moonlight since he had no candle.⁹² The monastery had suffered greatly under the attack of the Normans, and the monks still prayed in their litanies: "From the wrath of the Normans deliver us, O Lord!" and they took no novices from that nation.

Behind the abbey the Porte Bordelle led to the suburb of Saint-Marcel. To the east of each other near the city gate were the Collège de Tournai and the Collège de Boncourt; and north of them, separated only by a narrow street, the Collège de Navarre, and magnificent Collège de Navarre,⁹⁵ where the famous chancellor Gerson once taught. This had been founded in 1304 by Joanna, the queen of Navarre and wife of Philip the Fair. It was surrounded by high walls and had a statue of the foundress over the entrance and a beautiful church on the inner court. It conferred the doctor's degree like the Sorbonne, had courses in Latin, philosophy and theology, and because of the number of its students and the excellence of its faculty was one of the foremost colleges of the university.

The Rue de la Montagne-Sainte-Geneviève led from here northwards to the Collège de la Marche and then past the buildings behind the colleges of the Lombards and of the Carmelites to the Rue Saint-Victor. Here it turned to the right and continued on to the city gate and the Arras, Bons-Enfants, and Les Minimes colleges. Behind these it veered to the left to the monastery and beautiful church of the Bernardines, as the Cistercians were called in Paris. On the right side of the gate, and also to the left, was the renowned monastery of the Cistercians of St. Augustine of Saint-Victor, surrounded by high walls.⁹⁶ Along with Sainte-Geneviève and Notre-Dame it had once been the chief center of higher education in Paris and the cradle of the university.⁹⁷ Within its walls such theologians as Hugh⁹⁸ and Richard of St. Victor, and Thomas, the later archbishop of Canterbury and martyr,⁹⁹ had once taught.

After passing through the tranquil suburb of Saint-Marcel with its cottages, houses, gardens, and vineyards, one reached, after crossing over the Bièvre, the collegiate church of Saint-Marceau, where the tomb of Peter Lombard could be seen with the inscription: "Here lies in peace Master Peter Lombard,

Fr. Feret, *L'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève* (Paris, 1883), 2 vols. From 1517 to 1537 the abbot was Guillaume Le Duc (Tuetey 34).

⁹² Goulet 8v.

⁹³ Godet 2.

⁹⁴ Corrozet 44.

⁹⁵ Goulet 15x-16; Corrozet 93v; Doumergue I 238-240. The main work on the college is J. de Launoy, *Regii Navarrae Gymnasii Parisiensis Historia* (Paris, 1677).

⁹⁶ Lebeuf I 334-343; Corrozet 49v.

⁹⁷ Doumergue I 259-260.

⁹⁸ Lebeuf I 339.

⁹⁹ Rochegude 443.

of Paris, who composed the *Book of Sentences* and wrote commentaries on the Psalms and the Epistles. He died July 20, 1164."¹⁰⁰

Going north from Sainte-Barbe to the bank of the Seine by the shortest route, one took the Rue Chartière, with the Collège de Mans on the left and the colleges of Reims and Coqueret on the right, to the Clos Bruneau. From here a narrow street branched off to the right to the parish church of Saint-Hilaire. Another turned to the left to colleges of Cambrai and Tréguier and to Saint-Jean-de-Latran, the great commandery of the Johannites. Passing straight on from there along the narrow, dirty Rue Jean-de-Beauvais,¹⁰¹ one came to the broad, gabled façade of the Grand-Décret, the school of the Faculty of Canon Law, past the colleges of Dormans-Beauvais and Prêles. To the left, opposite the law school, in the house "At the Image of St. John the Baptist" was the office of the famous printer and publisher Robert Estienne and his stepfather, Simon de Colines, who in 1526 moved their business into "The Golden Sun,"¹⁰² a few houses further on. Here, in addition to many textbooks, he printed in Gothic type at about this same time *The Voyage and Sailing of the Spaniards to the Islands of the Moluccas*, which described the first circumnavigation of the world.¹⁰³

A few steps further on was the Maubert Place, separated from the bank of the river by a narrow street. In the background could be seen the high roof and lantern of Notre-Dame. Passing on to the left along the Rue Galande, one came next to a second little street, the Rue de Fouarre.¹⁰⁴ On and near it were the schools of the four nations of the Arts Faculty. These were now used almost exclusively for different official functions since the lectures of the faculty were at this time held in the colleges. Here also was the school of the Faculty of Medicine and the little chapel of Saint-Julien-de-Pauvre,¹⁰⁵ the meeting place of the arts students, where four times a year the election of the rector took place. A serious riot broke out during the election of December 16, 1524, during the course of which windowpanes and doors were smashed.¹⁰⁶

Going from Sainte-Barbe to the western half of the Latin Quarter, one had to pass by the chapel of Saint-Symphorien and the Collège de Saint-Michel to the Collège de Lisieux,¹⁰⁷ one of the most richly endowed of the university, with thirty-six scholarships and a beautiful chapel. Here humanistic studies flourished under the direction of the principal Jean de Tartas.¹⁰⁸ The neighboring chapel of Saint-Étienne-de-Grès was, according to tradition, one of the three churches which Saint Dionysius founded in Paris. It was here that he consecrated a pagan temple as a church and offered his first Mass. The name was thought to have originated in the fact that Saint Dionysius had come from Greece. Its holy-water font carried a Greek palindrome.¹⁰⁹

Opposite this chapel, near the Porte Saint-Jacques, was the large monastery of the Jacobins, as the Dominicans were called.¹¹⁰ It had been built by King

¹⁰⁰ Corrozet 42v.

¹⁰¹ Chapotin 56-57.

¹⁰² Doumergue I 243-244 596-603; Berty, *R. Centr.* 98-99.

¹⁰³ G. Atkinson, *La Littérature Géographique française de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1927), n. 29: "Le voyage et navigation, fait par les Espaignolz es Isles de Mollucques."

¹⁰⁴ Berty, *R. Centr.* 147-154.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 297-302, still extant.

¹⁰⁶ Cros, *Doc.* I 275; Crévier V 179-181 183.

¹⁰⁷ Berty, *R. Centr.* 126-129; Quicherat I 15.

¹⁰⁸ Villoslada 332; Quicherat I 220; Jourdain, *index* 331.

¹⁰⁹ Berty, *R. Centr.* 277-281; Corrozet 17v; Martin Zeiller, *Itinerarium Galliae* (1634) 179.

¹¹⁰ Berty, *R. Centr.* 249-258; Corrozet 73v-76; Villoslada 30-34 65-70.

Louis and had about four hundred there in residence.¹¹¹ It contained a *studium generale* for specially chosen young men from different provinces of the order and there was a second school for extern students. Here also was to be seen the chair from which St. Thomas Aquinas and his teacher St. Albert the Great had lectured on the sacred sciences in the Maubert Place.¹¹² The large Gothic church, divided into two naves by a row of pillars, with its filigreed windows and side chapels was filled with the tombs of high dignitaries, some even of royal blood. Here were preserved the bones, or at least the hearts, of a brother and a son of St. Louis, of the queens of Philip III, V, and VI, of Charles IV, of King Philip III, the Noble, of Navarre, and of others; and before the high altar was the last resting place of Humbert II, the Crusader, who, after his return from the Holy Land, became a Dominican friar and bishop of Rennes.¹¹³

Ten more colleges bounded the monastery on the north. Here was located the Sorbonne,¹¹⁴ which had been founded for theological students by Robert Sorbonne, the head chaplain of St. Louis. Here Ulrich Gering and his assistant printed the first book in France in 1470.¹¹⁵ The Sorbonne was a doctoral college like the Collège de Navarre with scholarships for all four nations.¹¹⁶ It was the peak of the world-famous Theological Faculty,¹¹⁷ and in age and importance surpassed all the other colleges of the university.¹¹⁸ Its façade on the Rue de la Sorbonne and its high tower on the left gave it the appearance of a fortress. To its right lay the Collège de Calvi,¹¹⁹ or "La Petite Sorbonne," which had been founded by the same benefactor for Latin students and philosophers. The two were separated by a church built in 1322, whose entrance was flanked by two small towers.

Proceeding from here, at the end of the street one came upon the Hôtel de Cluny,¹²⁰ the magnificent palace of the abbots of Cluny. Then, turning to the left, one passed by the colleges of Dainville, of the Premonstratensians, and of the Burgundians and came to the great monastery of the Franciscans, who were known here as Cordeliers.¹²¹ Like the monastery of the Dominicans, this one was built up against the city wall. The Gothic church, erected by St. Louis in 1228, was one of the largest in the city with twenty-five chapels surrounding the apse. Like the church of the Dominicans, it also had numerous black and white marble monuments with statues representing the dead as standing or in repose. Included among these tombs were those of kings and queens and other individuals of royal blood. Among those buried here were Blanche, the daughter of King Louis IX and Joanna, queen of France and Navarre, the foundress of the Collège de Navarre. There were other tombs in the cloister and chapterhouse, for example, that of Nicholas of Lyra, the great theologian and exegete. Here also there was a *studi-*

¹¹¹ Coyecque, n. 1155 (for the year 1530).

¹¹² Zeiller, *It. Galliae* 179.

¹¹³ Corrozet 73v-60; Piganiol de la Force V 97-169.

¹¹⁴ Berty, *R. Centr.* 424-426.

¹¹⁵ Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au XV^e et au XVI^e siècle* 1 (Paris 1900) 17-60.

¹¹⁶ Crévier IV 295-296 335-336 383.

¹¹⁷ Villoslada 246-248.

¹¹⁸ Crévier I 486.

¹¹⁹ Berty, *R. Centr.* 387-389; cf. Coyecque, nn. 667 and 1203 (rent contracts of 1256 and 1530).

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* 326-330, today the Musée de Cluny.

¹²¹ Corrozet 76v-79; Gonzaga 115-134; Berty, *Région Occidentale* 333-356; Raunié 213-404.

generale for young members of the order, which was also open to extern students. In the number of its residents the monastery of the Franciscans was not inferior to that of the Dominicans.

From here one could pass through the Porte Saint-Germain to the suburb of the same name. By crossing over a drawbridge at its end, one reached the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés,¹²² one of the richest, most prominent, and most renowned in France. The tombs, towers, and walls, the heavy Romanesque church with three towers, the elegant Mary chapel, the high abbey buildings, the courts, gardens, and blocks of houses all formed a little city by itself. The abbey had been founded in the sixth century by King Childebert and Bishop Germanus and had remained the place of burial for the Merovingians until the seventh century, when King Dagobert founded Saint-Denis. Their royal tombs were in the choir, and their portraits were painted on the pillars with inscriptions that perpetuated their deeds.¹²³ The abbot of Saint-Germain-des-Prés was also the ruler of the whole suburb. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Guillaume Briconnet had reformed the monastery.¹²⁴ At this same time there had been a reform of the Franciscans and Dominicans, but this had not been accomplished without strong oppositions on the part of the monks.¹²⁵

To the east of the abbey, following the course of the Seine, lay the meadow of the clerics, the Pré-aux-Clercs.¹²⁶ This belonged to the university, and it had allegedly been given to it by Charlemagne. It was used as the official recreational area for the students. From here one's eye could range over to the other bank of the river with its suburban gardens, windmills, brick kilns, and manors. In the background it could see the heights of Montmartre with its abbey of Benedictine nuns and, nearer to the right, the wall of the city and the towers of the Louvre. On this side of the river's bank there appeared beyond the wall of the city the roof lantern of the Grands-Augustins, and to the left of it the dark and desolate Tour de Nesle built into the river.¹²⁷ It was haunted by the spirit of the "White Queen," Jeanne de Bourgogne, the widow of Philip le Long. According to tradition she used to sin with students in the tower and then bind her victims up in a sack and throw them into the river. Only one escaped with his life, Johannes Buridanus, later a professor of philosophy at the Collège de Navarre. As a penance the queen founded the Collège de Bourgogne and was buried in the church of the Franciscans.¹²⁸

From the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés a lonely country road passed through meadows, fields, and vineyards to the chartreuse.¹²⁹ Although it was only a few minutes away from the Porte Saint-Jacques, this monastery, surrounded as it was by high walls, lay still and solitary behind the houses of the suburb. St. Louis had founded it and had invited monks to come here from the Grande Chartreuse of Grenoble.

¹²² Berty, *Faubourg Saint-Germain*, p. XIX (plan), *Bourg Saint-Germain* 97-129; Corrozet 23v-30v; Lebeuf 261-272; Saint-Victor V 147-150.

¹²³ Corrozet 28v.

¹²⁴ Saint-Victor V 149; Doumergue I 225.

¹²⁵ On the reform of the Dominicans and the Franciscans, see Villoslada 64-68 70 71.

¹²⁶ Berty, *Faubourg Saint-Germain* 7-25 234-280.

¹²⁷ Berty, *R. Occidentale* 41-43.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* and Corrozet 77.

¹²⁹ Berty, *Faubourg Saint-Germain* 73 (plan) 74 (picture) 73-122; Lebeuf I 114-117; Raulnié III 1-94.

An outer gate led to the women's court and an inner gate led from there to the church, which only men could enter. The entrance to the church was to the east; and there was a side door on the left for the seven side chapels built against the north wall, which according to the custom of the order were not visible from the nave of the church.¹³⁰ In front of the high altar was the tomb of Cardinal Jean de Dormans, bishop of Beauvais and chancellor of France, who had given it to the church. The black marble slab, which was supported by two bronze lions, bore a bronze statue of the cardinal. He was represented lying with his cardinal's hat at his feet. To his right and left were three brass shields with his coat of arms—three leopard heads under a cardinal's hat. A Gothic inscription declared that he had also founded the Collège de Dormans-Beauvais in the Cité de Bruneau. Next to him on the right was the tombstone of his brother Guillaume. To the left of the high altar was the black marble tomb of Don Pedro de Navarre, count of Mortagne, the son of Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, and his wife Joanna, who died in 1412.¹³¹ Many other tombs of bishops, knights, and other benefactors of the monastery were also to be seen in the church and its side chapels.

One door led from the south side of the choir into the small cloister. Large oil paintings executed in 1510, with long inscriptions in Latin verse, portray the life of St. Bruno. In 1282, when he was a doctor of theology at the University of Paris, he had assisted at the funeral of one of his colleagues who had died with a reputation for sanctity, but the dead man had suddenly begun to speak from his bier and had told the students and townspeople who had gathered at his funeral that he was condemned to hell. Shaken by this incident, St. Bruno had that very same day described to his students the dangers of the world, the vanities and fleeting pleasures, and had asked them to leave Paris with him. He and six of his pupils then gave what they did not need to the poor, took their farewell to the university, and went to Grenoble where they established the Grande Chartreuse in the wilds of the mountains.¹³²

To the right of the small cloister was the refectory, where the monks ate in common on Sundays and feast days. On the left was the sacristy and chapel house, and straight ahead was the large cloister, a wide court with a well in the center and a cemetery on the north. The cloister itself was surrounded by cell cages for the monks connected by a veranda. There were twenty-seven of these, each having a bedroom, workshop, parlor, and small garden. All were marked with a letter of the alphabet. Those bearing the letters *C*, *D*, *F*, and *G* had been founded by Don Pedro de Navarra, as was indicated by a mosaic near cell *C*.

Opposite the door of the church lay the guest house. Behind this was an infirmary with six cells and a beautiful Gothic chapel which had been built in 1412 by Joanna, queen of France and Navarre, and widow of King Charles the Bad (known in France as Charles the Fair).¹³⁴

On the military road near the chartreuse lay the church of Notre-Dame de Champs, one of the three which, according to tradition, had been built by Dionysius. Here, where he had destroyed a temple of Mercury, he was taken prisoner and led off to Montmartre for execution. The church was a priory

¹³⁰ Berty, *F. Saint-Germain* 76 (picture); Lebeuf I 115; plan in Raunié III 23.

¹³¹ Berty, *F. Saint-Germain* 82-83 (pictures).

¹³² *Ibid.* 78 348-373.

¹³³ *Ibid.* 94-95 (picture).

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* 80-81 (picture).

the Benedictines of Marmoutiers-les-Tour. The saint had been accustomed to pray in the crypt, where there was a very old and highly revered wooden statue of the Pietà.¹³⁵

From here the way led through the Porte Saint-Jacques to the main street of the Latin Quarter, the Rue Saint-Jacques,¹³⁶ which passed straight as a die to the Seine. It was flanked on both sides by tall, gabled houses containing bookshops and presses with here and there a college or church. Leaving the church of Saint-Étienne-des-Grès, one passed on the right the entrance to the garden of the Collège des Cholets and then the gate of the palace of Langres, the college of the Benedictines of Marmoutiers,¹³⁷ and the neighboring Collège du Plessis,¹³⁸ the latter two lying opposite the rear buildings of the Sorbonne, and then, on the left, came to the parish church of Saint-Benoît, founded by St. Dionysius¹³⁹ on the site where he had begun to invoke the name of the Blessed Trinity, as was portrayed in a glass window in the St. Nicholas chapel. A block further on were the Mathurins, that is, the monastery and church of the Trinitarians.¹⁴⁰ In its church, cloister, and neighboring chapter house, the university and the Theological Faculty regularly held their assemblies. From the thirteenth century all their important documents had been deposited here; and the general of the order, Robert Gaguin, had declared in 1472 that there were three especially renowned buildings in Paris: Notre-Dame, the site of the ecclesiastical authority; the palace, that of the secular power; and the Collège des Mathurins; and that the last was more glorious than the others since the monastery was not only renowned in France but also throughout the whole of Christendom as the site of the university.¹⁴¹

Near the small church of Saint-Yves,¹⁴² opposite the monastery of the Trinitarians, on the Rue Saint-Jacques in the house "At the Image of Saint Claude," was the bookshop of François Regnault.¹⁴³ Three and one-half years before Xavier's arrival in Paris he had here published *Le grand voyage de hierusalem*, an octavo volume of 213 pages printed in Gothic type and decorated with numerous woodcuts. It was divided into two parts, the first of which described a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Mount Sinai. It also gave the alphabet in Greek, Chaldaic, Hebrew, and Arabic characters, and a Turkish glossary. The second part contained a description of the Crusades, the war of the Turks and Tartars, the fall of Constantinople, the siege of Rhodes, and the history of the Sophi, the king of the Persians. There was also an appendix on newly discovered lands and islands such as Calicut, Bombay, and Ceylon.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁵ Corrozet 17v; Rohegude 386; Clair 165-166.

¹³⁶ Berty, *R. Centr.* 207-249.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 269-271.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* 265-269.

¹³⁹ Corrozet 17v; Berty, *R. Centr.* 87-90.

¹⁴⁰ Berty, *R. Centr.* 330-335.

¹⁴¹ Crévier IV 346-348.

¹⁴² Berty, *R. Centr.* 261-265.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* 215-216.

¹⁴⁴ Atkinson, n. 26.

5. CITÉ AND VILLE

The broad, heavy tower of the Petit Châtelet, which also served as a prison for students,¹⁴⁵ terminated the Rue Saint-Jacques on the north. From here were two bridges leading from the Latin Quarter to the island of the Seine, on which the Cité was located. The Michael Bridge was on the west and the "Small Bridge" on the east. There were three other bridges leading from the island to the north bank of the river: the Mill Bridge, the Brokers' Bridge on the west, and the Notre-Dame Bridge on the east. All five of these bridges were lined on both sides with stalls, and only the two eastern bridges were made of stone.¹⁴⁶

Approaching the Cité through the arched gate of the Petit Châtelet and over the "Small Bridge," one came to the hospital on the right at the end of the bridge. A few steps further on, but still to the right, was the "New Street" leading to the cathedral of Notre-Dame, whose richly figured façade, darkened with age, and its high, truncated towers dominated the whole eastern half of the island. It was a masterpiece of Gothic architecture with forty-five chapels, a forest of columned pointed arches, statues, holy-water fountains, and other furnishings. The tall, brilliant windows diffused an enchanting glow within its dark interior. South of the cathedral lay the bishop's palace;¹⁴⁷ to the north was the court of, and to the east at the tip of the island, the small houses of, the canons.

The west half of the Cité, isolated by a wall, contained the Palais, the former palace of the king,¹⁴⁸ and the Sainte-Chapelle, a marvel of brilliant colors built by St. Louis for the relics which he had brought back from his Crusade. Its walls were largely composed of lofty stained-glass windows, in which an amazing number of biblical incidents were portrayed.¹⁴⁹ The Palais was at this time the seat of Parlement, the supreme Court of Justice. A gilded lion at its entrance with lowered head and tail drawn under represented the fact that even the strongest must bow before the law. To the south of the Palais was the Treasury built in 1508 by Louis XII. It had a standing statue of the king surrounded by others of the four cardinal virtues. To the north was the Conciergerie, as this state prison was called.¹⁵⁰

East of the cathedral was the uninhabited Ile de Notre-Dame. It was here that the cardinal legate Nicholas preached the Crusade in 1313, and where Philip the Fair, the husband of Joanna of Navarre, and her son Louis Hutin, king of Navarre, and the king of England took the cross.¹⁵¹ The island now served as a sports field for clerical students.¹⁵²

North of the Seine lay the city proper of the burghers, craftsmen, and merchants. It was known as "la Ville." The city hall and Grève Place were in the eastern section near the bridge of Notre-Dame. Behind the square was the parish church of Saint-Gervais and close to it the church of Saint-Jean, where the chancellor Gerson had once been pastor,¹⁵³ and its adjoining cemetery. The R

¹⁴⁵ Berty, *R. Centr.* 363-366 (picture); Doumergue I 264.

¹⁴⁶ Still so in 1634 (Zeiller, *It. Galliae* 264).

¹⁴⁷ Corrozet 54v-59 185-v and ed. 1586, 64-v.

¹⁴⁸ Corrozet 152-v.

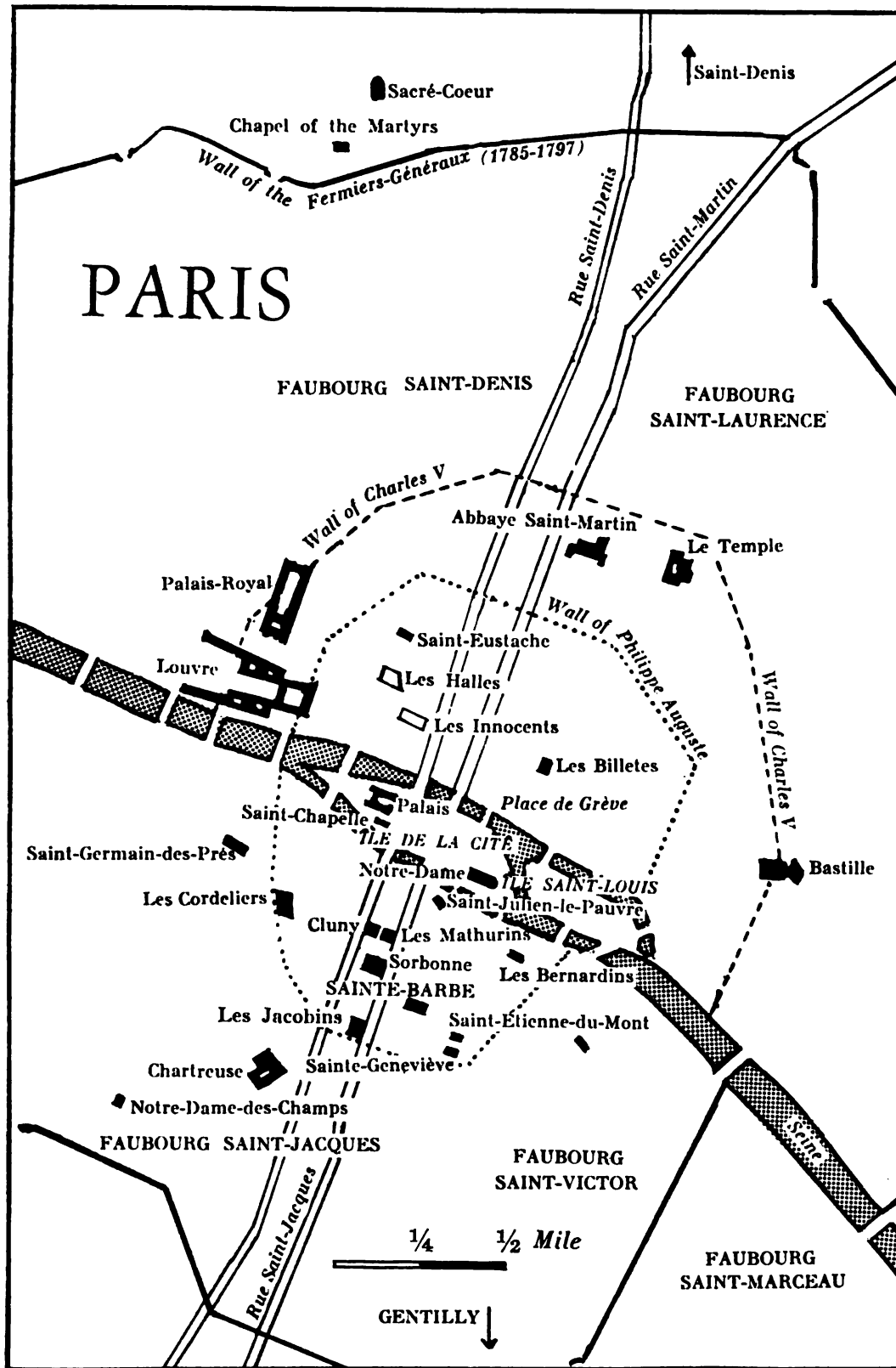
¹⁴⁹ Still extant.

¹⁵⁰ Corrozet 152v-153v; Rochegude 37.

¹⁵¹ Saint-Victor I 304-306. Also called the Isle Saint-Louis.

¹⁵² FN I 705; Abel Lefranc, *La Vie Quotidienne au temps de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1938) 181.

¹⁵³ Saint-Victor III 219.



Generated on 2019-11-01 16:28 GMT / http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015005659191
Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives / http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#cc-by-nc-nd-4.0

Saint-Antoine led from here to the church of Petit-Saint-Antoine, where a visitor could admire a stuffed crocodile which had been brought from Venice by a royal counselor and given to the church in 1515.¹⁵⁴ On this same street was also the parish church of Saint-Paul, and nearby were two royal palaces, one of the queen and the other of the Tournelles. Near the city gate was the Bastille.

Here in the eastern section of the city lay several monasteries, for example the wealthy convent of the Celestines,¹⁵⁵ the convents of the Augustinians of Sainte-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers,¹⁵⁶ of the Williamites (known as the *Blanc Manteaux*, or "White Mantels," for their cloaks),¹⁵⁷ of the Brothers of the Holy Cross (*Frères de la Sainte Croix*),¹⁵⁸ of the Billettes (*Frères de la Charité de Notre Dame*),¹⁵⁹ and others. To the north near the Temple gate was the Temple proper the old fortress of the Knights Templar. It had a heavy central tower with four flanking cones, a round church built in imitation of the Holy Sepulcher, and other buildings, all surrounded by a wall. It was now occupied by the Knights Hospitalers.¹⁶⁰ West of the next city gate was the old Cluniac Archabbey of Saint Martin-des-Champs.¹⁶¹

The main business section of Paris, however, was situated in the western half of the city, where the two great thoroughfares, the Rue Saint-Martin and the Rue Saint-Denis passed through it from north to south. These streets were lined with churches: Saint-Jacques-la-Boucherie, Saint-Merri, Sainte-Opportune, Saint-Magloire, Saint-Leu-Saint-Gilles, Le Sépulcre, La Trinité, Saint-Eustache, Saint-Honoré, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, and numerous others. Here also was the main cemetery, Les Innocents with its "Dance of the Dead,"¹⁶² the hospital of Saint Jacques for pilgrims to Santiago,¹⁶³ the marketplace, slaughterhouse, cornmarket and the Grand-Châtelet near the Broker's Bridge with its keep, the site of the provost, or chief of police.¹⁶⁴ On the bank of the Seine at the western end of the city was the Louvre, a square fortress with ten towers surrounded by a moat. Its main entrance faced the river. Within the inner court there was a stronghold 151 feet in circumference and 105 feet high. But the Louvre had been abandoned for sixty years. More recent kings had preferred their palaces in the eastern quarters of the city to its gloomy surroundings.¹⁶⁵

On long walks one could visit neighboring sites beyond the walls of the city. Two and one-half hours to the north was Saint-Denis with its royal tombs. A short hour to the south was Gentilly, lying peacefully in the Bièvre Valley.¹⁶⁶ To the west was the Boulogne Forest with Longchamp, a convent of cloistered nun

¹⁵⁴ Corrozet 84-v.

¹⁵⁵ Saint-Victor III 285.

¹⁵⁶ Rohegude 108.

¹⁵⁷ Saint-Victor III 324.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 315-317.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 311-315.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 418-425.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* 145-148; Rohegude 54.

¹⁶² Corrozet 62v-63; Saint-Victor II 532-545; Berty, *Faubourg Saint-Germain* 349.

¹⁶³ Saint-Victor III 3-7;

¹⁶⁴ Doumergue I 277-279; Rohegude 47.

¹⁶⁵ Berty, *Région du Louvre* 128-130 201-204.

¹⁶⁶ A local tradition, perpetuated by a modern glass window in the parish church maintains that Ignatius and Xavier often visited Gentilly on their walks. The Jesu college Louis-le-Grand in Paris had a country house here from 1631 to 1762 (*Les Etablissements des Jésuites en France depuis quatre siècles*, ed. Pierre Delattre, S.J., 2 [Englie 1951] 652-653). Cf. *Gentilly. Notice Historique* (Montévrain, 1906) 30 41.

founded by Isabelle, the sister of St. Louis. Here were buried the religious women of the royal houses of Navarre: Blanche, the daughter of Philip the Tall, and Joanna, the daughter of Philip the Noble, who died in 1387.¹⁶⁷ To the east was the royal palace of Vincennes with its noble forest of shady oaks. St. Louis had enjoyed staying here, and it was from this retreat that he took his final departure from his wife when he set out on his second Crusade. Here also had died two kings of Navarre: Louis Hutin, in 1316, when he was only twenty-three; and Charles the Bald, in 1328. Both of these sites were two hours from Sainte-Barbe.¹⁶⁸

6. COLLEGE LIFE¹⁶⁹

The life in Sainte-Barbe to which Francis had now to adapt himself, was obviously similar to that of the rest of the university colleges of Paris. Except for the young Latin students and the poor scholars who earned their keep as servants,¹⁷⁰ all had to wear the student uniform: a cassock and cincture, black for the theologians, and of a dark material for the others, the color and cut depending upon the college.¹⁷¹ The students, unless they were camerists with

¹⁶⁷ Lebeuf I 397-401; Rochegude 361.

¹⁶⁸ Lebeuf II 405-409; Rochegude 323.

¹⁶⁹ The main source for the following section is the *Heptadogma* of R. Goulet of 1517 (Quicherat I 325-331), in which is described the "vivendi docendique modus qui observatur apud famigerata et bona ac ferme omnia Parisiensis academiae, aliarum matris, collegia, veluti Navarrae, Montis-Acuti, Burgundiae, Sancti-Michaelis, Sanctae-Barbarae, Bonorum-puerorum, et omnium aliorum, in quibus litterarium floret exercitium" (*ibid.* 326). Buchanan also gives a brief account of the daily order in Sainte-Barbe in his elegy (*ibid.* 356-359). A comparison could be made with the rules of the Collège de Chanac of 1405, published by Markus Siebengartner, *Schriften und Einrichtungen zur Bildung der Geistlichen* (Freiburg i. Br., 1902) 311-324; of Dormans-Beauvois of 1370 (Chapotin 73-80); of Montaigu of 1503 (Godet 143-183), which, as its head declared in 1559, "a prins tout son exercice et fondement dudict college Sainte-Barbe" (*ibid.* 7, n. 4); of Mans of 1526 (Félibien III 585-595); of Ave Maria in the fourteenth century (L. Gabriel Astrik, O.Praem., *Student Life in Ave Maria College, Mediaeval Paris History and Chartulary of the College* [Notre Dame, Indiana, 1955]); of Tours of 1540 (Berty, R. *Occidentale* 640-642); of Marmoutiers of 1552 (Félibien III 399-402). Further comparisons could be made with the statutes of the colleges of Bordeaux and Coimbra and those of the first Jesuit colleges, which, like that of Messina of 1548 (*Litterae Quadrimestres* I 349-358; *Ep. Nadal* I 120-121), Vienna of 1551 (MI *Epp.* III 604-605), Ferrara of 1553 (*Ep. Mistae* III 434) and Rome of 1553, published in the *Monumenta Paedagogica*, all followed the *modus Parisiensis*, that is, that of the Collège de Sainte-Barbe. This is why Nadal, who had been commissioned by Ignatius as visitor to introduce and explain everywhere the Constitutions of the Society, declared in his commentary on them: "Ratio studiorum Parisiensis, quam nostris fecimus scholis familiarem, constanter est retinenda" (*Scholia* [Prati in Etruria, 1883] 350). On the introduction of the Parisian method in the Jesuit schools see Herman 57-77. See also the general descriptions *ibid.* 78-98 and in Schröteler 492-507, and also the special descriptions of Sainte-Barbe (Quicherat I 73-92), Montaigu (Godet 43-58), Coimbra (Brandão, *O Colégio* I 308-319), and Bordeaux (Quicherat I 232-234).

¹⁷⁰ Brandão, *O Colégio* I 313, n. 2.

¹⁷¹ In 1565 Mathurin Cordier gave a detailed description of the students' garb in his sixtieth colloquium. In addition to a shirt there were the following: *thorax* ("jacket"), *tunica* ("coat"), *femoralia* ("pants"), *tibialia* ("stockings"), fastened with pins to the pants and brought together under the knees with garters, *cingulum* ("belt"), *toga* ("cassock"), and hat (see Gay, *Glossaire archéologique* 1 [Paris, 1929] 598). This corresponds to a degree with the scholastic garb in the Jesuit college in Gandía in 1547: "camisa, calças, jubón, çapatos de dos suelas, veste larga ceñida, manteo largo, bonete" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 439), in the College of Coimbra in 1548 (Brandão, *O Colégio* 259 313), and in the Jesuit colleges (Schröteler 250-254). Mentioned in particular are the student cloak (Chapotin 76,

their own individually rented quarters, lived as a rule four or more to a room and, if possible, under the supervision of one of the regents. Here they slept and studied and kept their most needed books.

The daily order was strict.¹⁷² At four o'clock in the morning the house bell was rung for rising. An excitator, a senior student of philosophy, made a quick round of the rooms to arouse sluggish students, and in the winter he would bring in a light. Morning prayers were followed by the first period of class. At the ringing of the *Angelus* the doors of the college were opened for extern students. When the Carmelites rang the bell for the first Mass on the Maubert Place,¹⁷³ the porter rang a second bell, calling all to class at five o'clock.¹⁷⁴ An hour later the chaplain celebrated Mass in the college chapel. The students had to assist at it with their prayer books¹⁷⁵ under the supervision of their regent. Mass was followed by breakfast—a half a piece of bread or a roll, taken silent with water or watered wine.¹⁷⁶ From eight until ten there were classes again without a break. These were immediately followed by questions, disputations and repetitions, during which the students impressed upon their memories what they had heard in class. They thus followed the medieval system of education in which students had no books for private study.¹⁷⁷

At eleven o'clock, after the dismissal of the extern students, the house bell rang for the noonday meal in the refectory, where the principal and the regents dined at their own special table. The chaplain recited the *Benedicite* and one of the older students read from Sacred Scripture or from the *Legends of the Saints* until the principal gave the sign to stop. All ate with their fingers, napkins being changed every two days and tablecloths twice a week.¹⁷⁸ The meals were simple. A course of meat or, on fast days, salted or smoked fish, preferably herring, a serving of vegetables, and fruit. At the end of the meal the chaplain

Godet 151), cassock (Quicherat I 82; Chapotin 76; Lefranc 137; Brandão, *O Colégio 2 Mon. Paed.* 712), which was black only for secular priests and *magistri* (*Ep. Mixtae* I 5; Godet 151). For the others, it was dark grey in the Collège de Montaigu (Godet I violet or dark blue in the Collège de Beauvais (Chapotin 16). Student belts were different from those of the *magistri* (Goulet in Quicherat I 331, Gouvea in Costa 324). This was again insisted upon by the university in 1534 and 1539 (Baulaeus VI 247 335). Their hats were round (*ibid.* 313 and Jourdain, *Hist.* I 16).

¹⁷² On the order of the day in general see Quicherat I 327-328 357 83-85; cf. Brandão *O Colégio* I 308-319 (Coimbra), Godet 147-149 (Montaigu).

¹⁷³ Crévier II 456-457; Dudon is wrong in stating that classes were held from four to six A.M. (633).

¹⁷⁴ According to the statutes of Estouteville of 1452 the students should sit on benches at the lectures during the winter and on fresh grass during the summer as an exercise of humility. Quicherat believes that this was also true in Xavier's time (I 82), but he is probably mistaken. In 1475 the Medical Faculty was already providing benches for students (Berty, *R. Centr.* 39); in 1534 André de Gouvea, when he came from Sainte-Barthelemy introduced them into the Collège de Bordeaux (Quicherat I 233).

¹⁷⁵ Baulaeus VI 247; cf. Brandão, *O Colégio* I 310; *Ep. Mixtae* I 592 703; *Mon. Paed.* I 654-655 703-704 749 791 825.

¹⁷⁶ "Semipanis vel parvuli, ut fit, integri" (Goulet in Quicherat I 327). Quicherat erroneously infers from this: "qui venait d'être tiré du four" (*ibid.* 83). In Coimbra it was explicitly stated that the bread should never be hot, but should be at most two days old (Brandão, *O Colégio* II 123). In 1587 the Jesuit students in Paris received bread and wine at breakfast (*Mon. Paed.* 756), in the Collège de Montaigu in Erasmus' time students were given only bread and water ("Ichthyophagia," *Colloquia* 1526).

¹⁷⁷ Quicherat I 83-84; Brandão, *O Colégio* I 312-313; *Mon. Paed.* 482 66 94 664; *Ep. M.* I 584; *Litt. Quadrimestres* I 351; *Regulae* 231.

¹⁷⁸ Brandão, *O Colégio* I 316; *Mon. Paed.* 792.

gave thanks and added prayers for the benefactors of the college. Then the principal gave orders, issued rebukes, or announced penalties as the occasion demanded. Care was taken that the noonday meal did not last more than an hour. The free time which followed was employed in the reviewing or being examined on assignments in the classrooms, in the public reading of some Latin poet or orator, or in attending an occasional lecture on morality.¹⁷⁹

Classes, which were attended by extern students as well, were again held from three to five. These were followed by another hour of recitation and review under the direction and supervision of a regent as in the morning.¹⁸⁰ Supper, which was taken at six o'clock, was followed by still another review of the material heard during the day in the classrooms. After eight o'clock the house bell summoned all for night prayers in the chapel. On Saturdays these prayers were concluded with the singing of the *Salve Regina*,¹⁸¹ and on other days with the hymn of Compline customary in France, the *Christe, qui lux es et dies*.¹⁸²

O Christ, who art both light and day, who now dispel
The shadows of the night, by us believed to be
The dawn of day, proclaiming forth eternal light!
We pray Thee, holy Lord, defend us through this night;
Grant us a tranquil rest and peaceful sleep in Thee!
Keep Thou from us all evil dreams, our enemy's assaults,
Lest our weak flesh offend Thee, guilty through consent!
Throughout our sleep may we keep watch within our hearts;
With Thy right hand preserve us in Thy love
And govern us Thy servants saved by Thine own Blood.
Remember us, O Lord, so burdened in our flesh;
Be Thou the warden of our souls; be with us Lord!

A bell for retiring and the extinguishing of lights was rung at nine. Only here and there would a glimmer come from some solitary room where a master or, with special permission, a student sat at his books until eleven o'clock if he had to complete a task or prepare for an examination.¹⁸³ Latin was required to be spoken both in and out of class. Infractions of this rule were punished with a rod, which in general played an important role in education; and a prefect had to draw up and report any infractions of this or of other rules during the course of the week.¹⁸⁴ No one was allowed to leave the house without the permission of the principal, and even then only with a companion appointed by him.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁹ Quicherat I 328 84; cf. Godet 148; *Mon. Paed.* 94 703 708 713 725; *Regulae* 78-79.

¹⁸⁰ Quicherat I 328 84; *Mon. Paed.* 94 703; *Regulae* 78-79.

¹⁸¹ Bulaeus VI 247; Brandão, *O Colégio* I 318.

¹⁸² The hymn is found at Compline in the breviaries of very many French and German dioceses, for example, Paris and Tournai (see U. Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum* 1 [Louvain, 1892] 173, n. 2934); it is also found in the *Hymni* of 1513 and the *Elucidator ecclesiasticus* of Clichtovaeus of 1558, both printed in Paris. Nadal prescribed it as an evening prayer for the College of Tournai (*Mon. Paed.* 846). That it was also customary in Sainte-Barbe we conclude particularly from the fact that João da Costa, a fellow student of Xavier, introduced it at Coimbra along with other customs of this college (Costa 318). For the Latin text see below, appendix 4.

¹⁸³ Quicherat I 328 357; Brandão, *O Colégio* I 240 319.

¹⁸⁴ Bulaeus VI 247; Jourdain, *Hist. Pièces Just.* 1, n. 16-17; cf. the statutes of the colleges of Mans, Marmoutiers, Bordeaux, Coimbra (Brandão, *O Colégio* I 314-315), Sainte-Barbe (Quicherat I 81), and of the Jesuit schools (*Mon. Paed.* 83 618 664 749; *Ep. Mixtae* I 591 882-355).

¹⁸⁵ Thus Gouvea (Costa 324); cf. Godet 152; Cros, *Doc.* I 259; *Mon. Paed.* 827 847.

The daily order was so filled with lectures, repetitions, and disputations that little time was left for recreation for the students or for the teachers.

Not every day, however, was this busy. After the afternoon classes on Tuesday and Thursdays there was an opportunity to engage in games; or the students were taken by their teachers to the Pré-aux-Clercs, to the Ile de Notre-Dame, or on a walk outside the walls of the city.¹⁸⁶ On Saturday mornings there was a repetition of the week's work, and in the afternoons instead of classes there was a philosophical disputation in the aula, which caused the five o'clock repetition to be dropped.¹⁸⁷ On Sunday mornings there was a disputation instead of class,¹⁸⁸ and on the many feasts of the ecclesiastical year students were granted more relaxation.¹⁸⁹ On such days there was a university sermon given by a doctor. This was attended by the rector, the bachelors, principals, regents, and students if no special sermon was delivered in the college.¹⁹⁰ After Vespers in the afternoon there was a second sermon by one of the bachelors. The students were encouraged to recite the Office of the Blessed Virgin, the Seven Penitential Psalms, and the Litany of the Saints during the silent portions of Mass and other times of prayer; and for this they had to bring with them their *Book Hours*.¹⁹¹

Six times a year priests from the neighboring Dominican convent came for confessions,¹⁹² and on these days classes were either partially or completely dropped. These confession days were at the beginning of Lent and before the feasts of Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption, All Saints, and Christmas.¹⁹³ Christmas holidays lasted from the middle of December until the day after Epiphany. The Easter holidays were from the first Sunday of Lent until Thursday after Easter. The major holidays of July and August ended with the grape harvest in September. During all these days scholastic activities continued though to a limited extent. Only in September was there a complete vacation for the older students. Students whose relatives did not live too far away could spend this month at home. But others, and among these was Francis, remained at Paris during all their years of study.¹⁹⁴

A change in the daily routine was effected not only by the walks, ecclesiastical feasts, and holidays but also by academic feasts and customs.

On some of these feasts plays were staged in the college court or aula. The students themselves paid for the necessary carpets, benches, and costumes. On the feast of the Epiphany, for example, a so-called "king of beans" (*roi la fève*) was chosen for the day and solemnly enthroned.¹⁹⁵ When Xavier came to Paris, however, the country was in mourning. The king had been a prisoner.

¹⁸⁶ Quicherat I 328 85; Targe 127; cf. *Mon. Paed.* 721.

¹⁸⁷ Quicherat I 88 234; Godet 148; Brandão, *O Colégio* I 320; *Mon. Paed.* 91 707 712 725, and so forth.

¹⁸⁸ Quicherat I 328 330; cf. *Ep. Mixtae* I 590; *Mon. Paed.* 726; *Regulae* 78 231 483-

¹⁸⁹ List in Targe 127-128; cf. Quicherat 328. The calendar of the French nation is published in H. Omont, "Le Livre ou Cartulaire de la Nation de France de l'Université Paris," *Memoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris* 41 (1914) 35-46.

¹⁹⁰ Goulet 9v; Quicherat I 328.

¹⁹¹ Bulaeus VI 247; Brandão, *O Colégio* I 310; *Mon. Paed.* 455 654 843.

¹⁹² Costa 33; Brandão, *A Inquisição* 179.

¹⁹³ Quicherat I 327; cf. Costa 29 (Coimbra).

¹⁹⁴ Quicherat I 331 85; cf. *Mon. Paed.* 595-597 687 706-707 726 730.

¹⁹⁵ Quicherat I 80; cf. 257-259; *Mon. Paed.* 701 705 715; Herman 87.

¹⁹⁶ Goulet 7v; Quicherat I 23-24; Crévier V 147-148 191 229 340 412, VI 74; cf. Schröter 421-424.

of the emperor in Madrid since his unfortunate battle at Pavia on February 25, 1525; and on this account all carnivals, plays, and farces in the colleges had been forbidden by Parlement.¹⁹⁷

The last day of April the students would go out into the fields and gather branches for the dance around the Maypole which was held on the first of May. These excursions led to fairly frequent fights between the various nations.¹⁹⁸

In the middle of June was the Lendit.¹⁹⁹ This was the famous fair held between Paris and Saint-Denis to which merchants came from all over France, from the Netherlands, and even from England to display their wares. Since the university had first claim on the parchment offered for sale, the rector with his officials, the masters, and a great number of students would leave the square in front of Sainte-Geneviève mounted high on horses, with banners flying and drums and fifes playing, and ride out from the city to the fair. From there they would go to Saint-Denis, where the monks gave the rector and masters a welcome drink and showed them and the students their precious reliquaries. On the gilded high altar there were silver caskets with the bones of St. Dionysius and his companions, Rusticus and Eleutherius; in the chapels surrounding the choir those of Sts. Hippolytus, Cucufat, Innocent, Peregrinus, Romanus, Firminus, Patroclus, Eustachius, Dionysius the Areopagite, Osmana, and King Louis. Among the treasures were also a relic of the Holy Cross; an arm of St. Simeon; a collar-bone of St. John the Baptist; the sword of Turpin, who went with Charlemagne to Spain; the spear and red bathtub of King Dagobert; the staff of St. Dionysius; the tombs of the kings and queens, princes and princesses who, since the time of Dagobert, that is, from the seventh century, had here found their last resting place; and numerous votive offerings—crowns, scepters, pictures, busts, brilliantly illuminated books; and the golden lance with its red, five-pointed oriflamme, the standard of the French kings, which in former times they had come here to obtain before going off to war.²⁰⁰

Twice a year, in December and during Lendit, it was customary for the teachers to provide a feast called the Minervalia for their students with songs and music. On this occasion each of the students had to present his teacher a lemon into which he had inserted the gold coins for his tuition, which amounted to five or six gold dollars a year.²⁰¹

The closing exercises of the academic year were held on August 25, the feast of St. Louis. For this the courtyard was decked out with white cloth drapes. On these were hung leafy garlands surrounding compositions of the Latin students which had been beautifully written out and adorned with gold or colored initials. The aula was decorated with carpets and fitted with benches for the occasion; and there, under the presidency of some distinguished guest, the logicians and dialecticians disputed theses which had been earlier posted on the street corners. The rhetoricians recited speeches which they had composed the day before, and the best orator received a student cap as his reward.²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ Jourdain, *Index chron.* 331; Crévier V 191.

¹⁹⁸ Crévier V 343-344; Brandão, *O Colégio* I 334.

¹⁹⁹ Lebeuf I 537-556; Crévier II 130-132, V 119 345-349 382-383 480, VII 69; Quicherat I 259-265.

²⁰⁰ Corrozet 31-32v; Lebeuf I 491-503.

²⁰¹ Quicherat I 77-78; Targe 167-168; Franklin 216-218; Jourdain, *Hist.* I 27.

²⁰² Quicherat I 90-91; cf. *Mon. Paed.* 719; Herman 85-86.

The principal celebration, however, was the procession which the rector conducted toward the end of his term of office.²⁰³ This took place four times a year and offered the university an opportunity to display its full splendor. At eight o'clock in the morning the participants gathered in the cloister of the Mathurins. The major officials of the university with their fourteen beadles went to fetch the rector from his college. He delivered a speech, announced the church where Mass would be offered, and then the procession got under way.

This was led by a bachelor of arts carrying a cross, who was himself preceded by a beadle of the Faculty of Philosophy. They were followed by a numberless crowd of students, two by two, and then the four mendicant orders: the brown Franciscans, black Augustinians, russet Carmelites, black-and-white-robed Dominicans. Each of the four orders was led by a novice carrying a cross and a beadle carrying a wooden scepter. Then followed the religious with their relics and lighted candles.

Next came the masters of the Arts Faculty in black cassocks, simple chaperons,²⁰⁴ and four-cornered birettas. Behind these were the representatives of the other orders—the Billettes, or Hospitalers of the Charity of Our Lady; the Williamites, who were called Blancs-Manteaux despite their black mantles; the Brothers of the Holy Cross, whose black habits were adorned with a red and white cross; the Canons Regular of Sainte-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers, who wore black choir mantles over their white habits and scapulars; the Trinitarians in black mantles with blue and red crosses on the front of their white habits; the white-robed Premonstratensians; the black-robed Benedictines and Cluniacs; and, at the end of the procession, the choir of Saint-Martin-des-Champs in all black and mantles. All of these brought with them the relics of their respective monasteries accompanied by candles.

Behind them came the bachelors of the Faculty of Philosophy in black gowns; of the Medical Faculty, also in black with ermine-trimmed chaperons and their minor beadle carrying a gilded scepter on his shoulder; of the Faculty of Law, in black gowns with red chaperons and their minor beadle carrying a silver scepter; and, finally, the bachelors and licentiates of the Theological Faculty, the religious in their habits and the rest in black gowns with fur collars and their beadle carrying a simple black scepter.

Following these were the *regentes* of the Faculty of Philosophy in gowns and chaperons and then the four *procuratores* of the four nations of the same faculty wearing red, ermine-trimmed chaperons, each being accompanied by a minor beadle of his own nation carrying a scepter.

Then came the great beadle of the Medical Faculty in a blue, white-trimmed gown with a white, green-trimmed chaperon and gilded scepter, followed by the

²⁰³ Goulet 12v-13v; Targe 19; Jourdain, *Index chron.* 318, *Hist.* I 12. A contemporary poem describes a university procession of 1528 (Picotté 447-452). The file lasted for two and one-half hours; there were 845 from the four mendicant orders, 500 children, 632 bachelors, masters, physicians, and jurists, 132 religious, 120 bachelors of the three high faculties, and 62 doctors of theology. Franklin describes the procession of 1719 (24 Cl. Saugrain, *Nouveau voyage de France* (Paris, 1716) 170, describes that of 1716.

²⁰⁴ The *chaperon*, also called *mantica*, *superhumeralis*, *caputium*, *capitium*, and *épitoc* was originally a cowl which covered the head and left the face and neck as far as the shoulders free, when it did not hang down over the back. By Xavier's time it had already shrunk to a kind of cockade: a ring, fastened on the left shoulder, from which on the front and back hung down a strip of cloth as a professional badge, differing in material, color, and decoration according to the different degrees and faculties (see C. *Glossaire archéologique* [Paris, 1929] 330-334; *Nouveau Larousse Illustré* II 691).

doctores of this faculty in red gowns and mantles and white-trimmed chaperons; next the great beadle of the Faculty of Law dressed in a purple robe followed by the doctors of law in scarlet gowns and ermine-trimmed chaperons; and, finally, a beadle of the Theological Faculty, likewise dressed in purple, with a second beadle of the mendicant orders, and the *magistri nostri*, the doctors of the sacred sciences, over a hundred in number, in black or violet robes, fur collars, and doctoral birettas.

Next came the *amplissimus dominus rector*, fully conscious of his dignity, in violet robe and small royal-ermine mantle, wearing the black rector's cap with its gold button, and having a violet velvet pouch with golden tassels and buttons hanging from his cincture. At his side was the dean of the Theological Faculty and in front the four great beadles of the four nations with silver scepters on their shoulders.

Behind the rector walked the dignitaries and officials—first the procurator, secretary, and treasurer of the university, all in red, fur-trimmed cloaks; then the four lawyers and two procurators of Parlement, the two lawyers and a procurator of the Châtelet, the twenty-four university printers and publishers (all under oath), the four dealers in parchment and the four in paper, the two illuminators, the two bookbinders, and the two scribes, all marching two by two in their cloaks and collars; then the great messengers of the university preceded by their scribes in rose-colored gowns and cloaks wearing the coat of arms of the university on front and back as heralds and holding in their hands blue staffs with gold fleurs-de-lis, the king's colors, while the minor messengers of the university served as marshals.

After the cortège reached the designated church, Mass was offered and a sermon preached. When the services were finished, the rector returned home with his retinue and the others also went to their respective homes.

7. THE WICKED MASTER (1525-1526)

Diogo de Gouvea,²⁰⁵ the principal of Sainte-Barbe, had been born of noble parents in Beja in southern Portugal.²⁰⁶ He was fifty-five years old when Francis

²⁰⁵ Gouvea's stay in Paris was interrupted by trips to Portugal in 1512, 1516, 1526-1527, 1528, 1529-1531. In his absence his nephews directed Sainte-Barbe, André de Gouvea from 1529 to 1534 and Diogo de Gouvea junior from 1534 to 1540. A warm friend of St. Ignatius and his companions from 1529 on, he recommended them to his king for India, helped the young students of the order who came to Paris in 1540 in word and deed and even offered them his college (*Ep. Mixtae* I 84-85). In 1545 he had three of Xavier's letters printed in Paris. In 1548 he had Mercurian, a future general of the order, among his students. In that same year he was driven from the college by Dugast and lived thereafter, usually ill, near the church of Saint-Benoît. In 1551 he was a witness at the trial of Masters Diogo de Teive, João da Costa, and George Buchanan (Costa 194-198). In 1553 he and Le Picard defended the Jesuits against the decree of the Sorbonne. He is last mentioned in Paris in 1555. He died in Lisbon in 1557, if his tombstone in the cathedral there can be trusted. On him see Henri Bernard-Maitre, S.J., "Un grand serviteur du Portugal en France, Diogo de Gouveia l'ancien," *Bulletin de l'Institut français du Portugal*, 1952, 1-73; Brandão, *A Inquisição* I 1-253; Matos (index); Quicherat I 122-128 267-288; and his letters in Costa 283-330. See further the records of the trials (Costa, Teive, Buchanan, and Marcial de Gouvea). A letter of March 17, 1545 (Torre do Tombo, CC 1-76-35), is still unpublished.

²⁰⁶ Brandão, *A Inquisição* I 2-3.

came to Paris²⁰⁷ and had lived in the capital of France for more than thirty years. He had studied in the Collège de Montaigu under the saintly Standonck and his successor Noël Beda and had there become acquainted with Erasmus and Vivus, two fellow students who had since become renowned as humanists.²⁰⁸ He was elected rector of the university in 1500.²⁰⁹ Ten years later he received his doctor's degree and became an associate of the Sorbonne.²¹⁰ From 1512 he had also been the agent of the Portuguese kings, especially in their quarrels with the French over the rights of the seas and trade with Brazil, Africa, and the Indies.²¹¹

As leasee and principal of Sainte-Barbe since 1520, he was constantly in financial straits; for Robert Dugast, the owner of the college, insisted upon prompt payment and had already, in 1523, brought a suit against the doctor for back rent and had forced him through a decision of the Châtelet to pay up. The expenses were not light. The two hundred residents²¹³ of the house each week consumed at least thirty-four or thirty-five sheep, half an ox, and a considerable amount of wheat, wine, and other supplies. Since the money for these things was not always immediately forthcoming from Portugal, Gouvea was sometimes compelled to buy provisions for the college in the city, where everything cost three times as much, rather than in the country. At one time prices were so inflated that, as he wrote to Antonio Carneiro, the secretary of the Portuguese king, in May, 1525, he could list fifteen hundred witnesses, Portuguese, Spanish, French, and from all the nations studying in Paris, that since November, 1523, he had had on this account to pay out six hundred *milreis* instead of two hundred for, though a week's supply of wheat (about three hundred liters) had cost between five and six *cruzados* in the country, the price in the city during that time had risen to between thirty-four and thirty-six, and he had had to pay twice as much and more for wine and meat. The king, it is true, had granted him the same year (1525) two thousand *cruzados* so that he could pay his bills; but when their delivery had been delayed, he had been forced to borrow from an old friend.²¹⁴ At the beginning of 1526, three months after Xavier's arrival, Gouvea therefore decided to travel to the court at Lisbon and speak to the king about political matters and the affairs of the college.²¹⁵

²⁰⁷ He was born between 1467 and 1471. In January, 1532, he said that he was sixty years old in March, 1551, that he was eighty years old (Costa 311 194). In May, 1553, Broët wrote to him from Paris, that he was over eighty-six (*Litt. Quadr.* II 294).

²⁰⁸ Brandão, *A Inquisição* I 24-31.

²⁰⁹ Matos 10-11.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* 10; Brandão, *A Inquisição* I 27-32.

²¹¹ Brandão, *A Inquisição* 41 ff.; Matos 30-31.

²¹² Quicherat I 126. In 1529 Buchanan described Dugast as "virum insigni crudelitate et avaritia." One of his regents called him an "avarissima harpya" (Bulaeus VI 126; Quicherat I 300-301).

²¹³ We reckon the number from the amount of meat consumed. A sheep at this time provided on the average 22 pounds of meat, a half an ox about 77 pounds. There were thus consumed about 121 pounds of meat a day, or 847 pounds a week. A worker consumed on the average from 21 to 21.5 ounces of meat a day. If we figure on 17.5 ounces of meat a day for a student, this would give us 220 persons. But since fish or pork (bacon) was frequently served, and the smaller students ate less, the number could have surpassed 220. In these calculations we depend on the data carefully assembled by G. d'Avenel in *Histoire économique de la propriété, des salaires, des denrées et de tous les prix en général 1800* (Paris, 1913) III 239-245. In 1587 the pupils of the Jesuit college in Paris received one-half pound of meat daily; the more favored, two-thirds of a pound (*Mon. Paed.* 757).

²¹⁴ Costa 285-288 (letters of May 8 and June 24, 1525).

²¹⁵ Brandão, *A Inquisição* I 51.

Classes in the meantime had begun on October 1, the feast of St. Remy. Francis had first to complete his Latin studies, for according to the university statutes²¹⁶ of 1360, which had been further restricted by the reform decrees of Cardinal d'Estouteville, no one was to be admitted to philosophy who had not shown in his entrance examination that he possessed the necessary knowledge of Latin for it, and who had not read or heard the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu (a thirteenth-century grammar written in mnemonic verses),²¹⁷ the *Graecismus* of Eberhard of Béthune (a Latin grammar of the twelfth century in two thousand verses),²¹⁸ and who was not sufficiently skilled in metrics, that is, in the composition of Latin verse.²¹⁹

The Latin students, the youngest of whom were only nine years old, were divided into ten classes at Sainte-Barbe.²²⁰ But a student could pass from a lower to a higher class even during the school year by successfully passing an examination.²²¹ The *Doctrinale* was learned by heart, a part of it in each class. In the *prima*²²² the teacher explained chapters ten to twelve, dealing with prosody, accent, punctuation, grammatical figures, and rhetoric. Besides the *Doctrinale*, the students also studied the grammar of Donatus (St. Jerome's teacher)²²³ or one of the newer textbooks such as that of Perottus,²²⁴ Datus,²²⁵ Sulpitius,²²⁶ or Guy de Fontenay,²²⁷ but in particular, at Sainte-Barbe as elsewhere, that of Despauterius, who had died in 1520. From 1514 on, his grammar had been repeatedly printed in Paris and had gradually supplanted the barbarous *Doctrinale* and other more recent texts.²²⁸ In the *prima*, in which Francis was enrolled, Cicero was also used for prose, and Virgil for poetry.²²⁹ Through constant lectures, repetitions, disputations, questionings, compositions, declama-

²¹⁶ *Chartularium* IV 728.

²¹⁷ On the *Doctrinale* see Paulsen 47-50; Villoslada 74; Quicherat I 329 104; Thurot, appendices 11-12. Editions still appeared in Paris in 1506 1507 1522 1524.

²¹⁸ On the *Graecismus* see Paulsen 47-50; Villoslada 74. It has nothing to do with the study of Greek.

²¹⁹ Cros states incorrectly that at Xavier's time an examination in Greek was required before philosophy (*Doc* I 260), and Villoslada that Xavier reviewed his Greek during his first year in Paris (*Homenaje* 28). This examination was not required until after the publication of the statutes of 1598 (Jourdain, *Hist. Pièces Just.* 1, n. 23; Bulaeus V 858).

²²⁰ Quicherat I 232; cf. *Mon. Paed.* 384 (Coimbra and Paris) 683-684. In Montaigu there were seven classes (Thurot, appendix 11).

²²¹ *Mon. Paed.* 666 711 (there were examinations for promotions every three months); cf. Thurot, appendix 13.

²²² Thurot, appendix 11.

²²³ On Donatus, see Paulsen 47; cf. *Litt. Quadr.* I 350; *Mon. Paed.* 90. According to Goulet there was "nil utilius Donati cognitione" (Quicherat I 329). Editions appeared in Paris in 1526, 1528, and 1535.

²²⁴ Cf. Goulet in Quicherat I 329. Editions of the *Rudimenta grammatices* of Nicolaus Perotti appeared in Paris in 1505 1507 1525 and 1551.

²²⁵ Aug. Datus, *De ordine discendi*. Cf. Goulet in Quicherat I 329.

²²⁶ Joh. Sulpitius Verulanus, *De arte grammatica*. Cf. Goulet in Quicherat I 329. Editions appeared in Paris in 1506 1508 and 1527.

²²⁷ Guy de Fontenay was a professor in Sainte-Barbe from 1509. On him and his works see Quicherat I 102-111. His grammar, the "vile Guidonis opus," as Buchanan calls it in 1530 (*ibid.* 358), was being used in Montaigu in 1508 (Thurot, appendix 11).

²²⁸ The grammar of Despauterius, which according to Goulet was "pro adultis optimus" (Quicherat I 329), was printed in Paris in 1514 1517 1521 and 1524. It displaced the *Doctrinale* (*ibid.* 162). From the beginning the Jesuits introduced it into their schools wherever possible (*Litt. Quadr.* I 352; *Mon. Paed.* 89; Herman 66).

²²⁹ Quicherat I 329; cf. *Mon. Paed.* 683 (Coimbra).

tions, and similar exercises, and the obligatory employment of Latin in speaking the new pupils were quickly introduced into the use of the language of the schools.

Among the numerous regulations "in virtue of holy obedience" contained in Estoutevilles' reform statutes of 1452 was the following: "We warn all teachers in virtue of holy obedience to see to it that their young students make progress in knowledge and virtue."²³⁰ The *Compendium de multiplici Parisiensis Universitati magnificentia*, which one of the professors, Robert Goulet, had drawn up for the students in 1517 and had dedicated to his fellow teachers in the Collège de Chana also stressed the importance of religious instruction in the colleges. In it he mentions the colleges of Navarre, Montaigu, Burgundy, Chanac, Sainte-Barbe and Bons-Enfants as exemplary institutions; and he describes the character of a good principal in the following terms:

He fears God and teaches others to fear Him, for all good comes from Him, at the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord. Again and again he admonishes the young men to lead virtuous lives. He appoints good and pious regents but no blusters or vagabonds.²³¹ The regents should give no scandal to the young but should turn them away from intemperance and drunkenness and set before their eyes the temporal and eternal punishments of vice so that they may be able to say with the Psalmist: "I have had understanding above the ancients because I have sought Thy commandments."²³²

Gouvea had endeavored to carry out these directions and counted among his Latin teachers excellent men such as Dolet and Cordier. Since 1515 Martin Dolet,²³³ who had been rector of the university in 1509 and 1522, had taught Latin prosody in Sainte-Barbe. He was himself a good Latin poet and had the knack of introducing even his rudest students into the secrets of his art. He was progressive and combined a selfless, virtuous life with great talent for teaching. Always ready to be of service to his younger colleagues, he was on this account universally honored and esteemed. His fellow teacher, Mathurin Cordier,²³⁴ at forty-eight years old when Francis came to Paris. After his ordination to the priesthood he had, twenty years before, given up parish work and dedicated himself entirely to the instruction of youths in different colleges such as Reims, Lisieux, and Marche, where he abandoned the rod used by others and strove to teach through love. He complained that many students came to school as innocent as angels but left it at the close of their studies as depraved as devils. He was therefore mainly interested in leading them to Christ and encouraging them to piety and discipline.

But there were teachers of a different stamp as well. Among the young regents who had recently finished their philosophy and were now teaching Logic or philosophy were some who gave to their pupils, who were not much younger than themselves, an example of a dissolute life. Instead of edifying, they corrupted them, spending their days and nights in poolhalls and disreputable taverns. And if, contrary to all the regulations, students put on secular garb and carried breastplates and went out at night armed with swords and daggers, with their hats pulled down over their faces so as not to be recognized, and made the narrow streets unsafe by plundering passers-by and then squandered the st

²³⁰ *Chartularium* IV 726.

²³¹ Goulet (Quicherat I 327).

²³² Goulet (*ibid.* 331).

²³³ Quicherat I 100 161 181 300; Villoslada 434 436.

²³⁴ On Cordier see Quicherat I 152-154; Doumergue I 60-69; Haag IV 681-695.

money in public inns and other disreputable places on women of loose morals, then their regents could at times also be seen among them.²³⁵

The rules of the college were indeed strict, and the porter saw to it that no one went out during the day without permission or at all at night. It was strictly forbidden for one of the collegians to spend the night outside the house. "If a stipendiary spends a night outside the house," so run the statutes of the Collège de Mans for 1526, "he will be beaten with rods in the classroom for the first offense, and for the second he will be punished with the 'salle,' that is, he will be beaten with rods in the aula according to the custom in Paris."²³⁶ And the rules of the Collège de Beauvais state that "if a stipendiary goes out without permission or is away overnight, he will be caned by the master and lose his stipendium for a month; others will be punished by dismissal without further ado."²³⁷

There were similar prescriptions in the Collège de Sainte-Barbe, and Gouvea saw to it that they were strictly enforced. But he had been away in far-off Portugal since 1526, and the students took advantage of his absence.²³⁸ Many of Xavier's fellow students, and even his teacher, were morally corrupt.²³⁹ At night they often climbed over the college wall²⁴⁰ to engage in mad play²⁴¹ in the poorly lighted streets²⁴² or in secret carousals in the student inns,²⁴³ and

²³⁵ Bulaeus VI 247 (1534); Franklin 44-45 (1554); cf. Thurot 101 (1445).

²³⁶ Cros, *Doc.* I 259.

²³⁷ Chapotin 78.

²³⁸ The following is derived from the written testimony of the *vigario* of São Thomé, Gaspar Coelho, which Aires Brandão included unaltered in a letter written from Goa on December 23, 1554, to his companions in Europe. Coelho, who had lodged Xavier in his house for four months in 1546, wrote: "Durando assí nossa conversação e amizade, me contou do principio de sua vida até aquella hora o que avia passado, começando na terra em que nacera, e quem era seu pai e mai, e de que idade viera a Paris, e que lhe acontecera nelle. E tratando na vida dos studentes, me dise que erão devasos no libido desordenado, e o seu mestre como elles, e que muitas vezes sayão de noite do collegio, e o levavão consigo com ir o mestre; e mas, que a elle lhe tomou o medo das boubas, que via no mestre e discipolos, em tão grande extremo, que d'aqui lhe naceo a não ousar a ter aquella conversação, e com este medo se sustentara huum ano ou dous, até que morreo o mestre da mesma doença, e veo outro mestre casto e virtuoso, e elle se foi alando com a vertude de seu mestre e castidade; donde nunca em seus dias conhecera molher até aquella presente hora que elle contava aquilo" (*Mon. Xav.* II 947-948). "Donde" cannot mean "from then on," as Brodrick believes, who, following a poor copy of the letter writes "*De donde*" in the text (34).

²³⁹ Favre also speaks of the scandal which his fellow students gave him in Paris: "Habui etiam plures alias turbationum tentationes super alienorum defectuum contemplatione, suspitionibus et iudiciis" (FN I 34). But Ignatius, who first came to Sainte-Barbe in 1529, recommended Paris in preference to all other universities for his nephew Millán, not only because of the excellence of its schools, but also because "es tierra donde màs honestidad y virtud guardan los estudiantes" (MI *Epp.* I 148-149; cf. 78).

²⁴⁰ Cf. the regulations for the Collège de Navarre of 1445 (Thurot 101).

²⁴¹ Cf. the real and imagined student pranks in Paris given by Rabelais, who almost certainly studied here from 1528 to 1530 (*Oeuvres*, ed. Lefranc I, p. CXXX), in his *Pantagruel* (c. 16). He tells, for example, how Panurg and his companions made four youths from the country drunk one evening, loaded them onto a cart, and let them roll down from the heights near Sainte-Geneviève or the Collège de Navarre onto some unsuspecting watchmen who were passing by.

²⁴² On October 27, 1525, shortly after Xavier's arrival, it was announced that no one could carry sticks, and that according to custom lanterns should be lit at night (Versoris 178). In November of the following year the provost of the merchants declared that he had been ordered to call out the city guard, and that people in all the houses of the city were placing lanterns and candles in the streets, as had been done the year before, through fear of the "rowdies" who were making the city dangerous at night (Cros, *Doc.* I 283).

they also took part in worse escapades in the disreputable houses of the Latin Quarter.²⁴⁴ Francis' cheerful, amiable disposition had soon won for him friends in Paris, and he excelled in jumping in the games played on the Ile de Notre Dame.²⁴⁵ His comrades invited him to accompany them on their nightly prowls and on more than one occasion he joined them since their teacher also went along. He found no fault with a merry student prank, but God protected him from serious errors. He saw the ugly sores on the faces of his master and his fellow students that betrayed their sins.²⁴⁶ It was a warning even in the dark and fear seized him with an iron grip. For a year the dread of contracting the disease kept him from the abyss. When his dissolute teacher died as the result of his sins,²⁴⁷ a new virtuous master took his place.²⁴⁸ The latter's exampl

²⁴³ Böhmer exaggerates (as he does elsewhere when he describes the defects of the Catholics) when he writes that Xavier "was an excellent athlete, but apart from this there was not much good to be said of him. He was one of a number of students of Saint Barbe who as often as they could flouted the strict house order and went out at night to enjoy themselves in the dives of the Latin Quarter" (141). That Xavier visited houses of prostitution does not follow from his text, especially since he assures us that he kept himself unstained. If Ignatius made a general confession to a bad religious in Paris in order to convert him, then Xavier may have pursued a similar aim in the case of the count which he gave to the *vigario* of San Thomé, who also had his weaknesses, and had painted his past as darkly as he could (Ex II 388-391; Q 2910).

²⁴⁴ In 1529 the tenant of the house "By the Image of the Virgin" on the Rue de Petite Bretonnerie near the Torre Saint-Jacques complained that Master Fleury had sheltered students in one of his rooms, that Jeanne de Bourges had kept ten public prostitutes in four others, and that they had both done this against his will (Coyne, n. 1055).

²⁴⁵ Gonçalves da Camara wrote of Xavier's student years: "Era en la isla de Paño uno de los mayores saltadores" (FN I 705). Eustachius of Knobelsdorf, who was in Paris from 1541 to 1543 and had published his *Lutetiae Parisiorum descriptio* there during the latter year, was the first to describe the games of the students. He mentions fencing, tossing the javelin, shooting, weight-lifting, high-jumping, and foot-racing. Ball games (tennis and pelota) were also very popular, and there were numerous halls in the city where these games were played. See below, appendix 5.

²⁴⁶ Syphilis was not unknown in Saint-Barbe. In January, 1532, Gouvea wrote to the king, that Cordovil (a Portuguese stipendiary who had matriculated in 1526) was, as heard, returning to Paris. He would send him elsewhere for six months, for "me gas toda minha casa e a destroi de maneira que o nom sei dizer, porque elle a peçonher e encheo de boubas hum filho de Simão de Faria, moço fidalgo e mui gentil filho, e d'outros bolseiros, e mais ouvera de emcher a Mestre André [de Gouvea]; porque se elle fora ha comprar certas provisões se lançou na sua cama 6 ou 7 dias, que de dormir na cama onde os outros dormião apegou os outros" (Costa 312).

²⁴⁷ Böhmer puts the death of the evil teacher in 1528 (141). Brou argues: "D'après le P. Balth. Alcazar (*Chrono-Historia de la C. de J. en la Provincia de Toledo* I [Madrid 1710], p. XXVII) Peña lisait le cours de philosophie pour la seconde fois en 1529. Donc il avait débuté en 1528-1529. Donc, comme Xavier, d'après propre témoignage s'était soutenu un an ou deux, il avait subi le mauvais maître entre 1526 et 1528" (n. 2). But Alcazar only states that "Fabro estudiò en Santa Barbara la Philosophia, el primer Curso que là explicò Juan de Peña. Al fin del Curso tomò el grado de Maestro. Entonces fue quando entrò San Ignacio à estudiar el segundo Curso de Peña." Favre declares that he had taken the entire three-and-one-half year course under Peña, that he had done this in the company of Xavier: "Anno 1529 10 die Ianuarii creatus bachalaureus in artibus, et post pascha licentiatus sub magistro Ioanne Penna. De bonitas divina gratam memoriam ad recognoscendum beneficia, quae in his tribus : cum dimidio contulit, dando scilicet mihi talem praeceptorem talemque societatem, lem inveni in suo cubiculo; dico autem maxime de magistro Francisco Xavier" (n. 31-32). Peña became a master of arts at the beginning of 1525. He gave his first course in philosophy from 1526 to 1530. Favre and Xavier completed it on March 15, 1530, and they took their examination for the licentiate. Shortly afterwards, between the months of 15 and 24, Xavier earned the master's degree, and three fellow students "under M

gave Xavier the strength even for the future to remain chaste in the midst of all the dangers of the university city.

A second incident that occurred toward the end of his Latin studies made another deep impression on him. On September 28, 1526, the beadle of the German nation, a twenty-two-year-old student by the name of Jasper Gosse, was hanged to death on the gallows. He had been sentenced by the provost and his criminal lieutenant and a decree of Parlement. An orphan from the age of six, he came from a prominent Parisian family and had inherited the office of beadle from his father. Though he had received the tonsure, Gosse had gone completely astray. He was known as one of the greatest brawlers of the Latin Quarter and had been involved in three deaths. One of his victims had been the nephew of the president of Parlement. Because of this, despite all the privileges of the university, his clerical status, and the intercession of his relatives, he was executed.²⁴⁹

Peña" did the same between March 24 and June 23 (*Acta Rctoria* 9952, 77v 105v-106v). From what has been said, it follows that Xavier's evil teacher was his Latin teacher; he died around the end of 1526. Xavier's expression "huum ano ou dous" means "in the school year of 1525-1526." Brou is therefore also in error when he states that "François dut avoir pour professeurs quelques-uns de ces maîtres qui, en ce temps-là, faisaient la fortune de Sainte-Barbe: Cordier, Strebaeus, Buchanan, Gelida, Fernel" (I 24). Cordier had the *quarta* and died in 1564; Strebaeus taught Latin only from 1529 to 1534; Buchanan had the *tertia* only from 1528 to 1531; Gelidas conducted two courses in philosophy from 1524 to 1528 and from 1528 to 1532; and Fernel completed his course in mathematics in 1528, when Xavier began to attend his.

²⁴⁸ Juan de la Peña.

²⁴⁹ *Journal* 245.

CHAPTER II

UNDER THE SPELL OF ARISTOTLE (1526-1530)

1. MASTER PEÑA (1526)

Three days after the execution of the beadle, Francis, having passed his Latin examination, began his course in philosophy on the feast of St. Remy,¹ October 1, 1526, under Master Juan de la Peña² and moved with him to the same quarters³ in an upper tower room on the Rue des Chiens opposite the Collège de Montaigu.⁴

Peña came from the diocese of Sigüenza in New Castile.⁵ He had enrolled in the university in 1522⁶ and had studied Aristotle in Sainte-Barbe under the Portuguese João Ribeiro. He had obtained his master's degree early in 1525⁷

¹ This follows from the date of his licentiate: March 15, 1530.

² The record of matriculation has "Joane de la Paine" (**Acta Rectoria* 9953, 48) "Jo. Penia" (*ibid.* 9951, 119). Favre writes "Penna" (FN I 32), Polanco "Peña" (*ibid.* 182).

³ Favre assures us that he lived in the same room with Peña and Xavier from 1526 to 1530, and from 1529 with Ignatius as well (FN I 32). Contrary to this, Rodrigues, writing thirty-five years after Favre, tells us that Ignatius, Favre, and Xavier were all living at Sainte-Barbe in the same house *distinctis tamen cubiculis* (Rodrigues 453-454) when Ignatius won over the other two. Xavier lived at Sainte-Barbe before and after his course in philosophy, and Favre probably lived there after finishing his. Brodrick wrongly concludes from Rodrigues' statement that Xavier had perhaps asked for another room in order to avoid Iñigo (41).

⁴ According to Antonio Pinheiro, the later royal chronicler and bishop of Miranda and Leiria, who lived at Sainte-Barbe from 1527 to 1541 as a student and regent, Ignatius had his quarters in the upper, third story of the house, known as "paradise" (Franco, *Imagem de Lisboa* 22; see above, p. 76). Writing in 1754, Lebeuf denied the statement of the *Almanach Spirituel de Paris* that the room of Ignatius was still preserved. The area in question had long since been rebuilt, and the chapel that had been erected there was dedicated in 1695 (I 254). In 1853 Lefeuvre maintained that the small tower (*tourelle*) in which Favre and Xavier had lived had been preserved until the middle of the nineteenth century (*Histoire du Collège Rollin, ci-devant de Sainte-Barbe* 41). According to Quicherat the room opened out on the Rue Saint-Symphorien (I 195). Reference here is to the corner tower of the Chalon house to the right of the college gate, which was completely restored by Dugast in 1553 (*ibid.* I 304-305). The tower disappeared at the latest in 1695, when a new chapel was built in its place (*ibid.* II 214-215). This came to be known as the "old chapel" after the building of a third chapel in the nineteenth century. The two were torn down in 1846 (*ibid.* III 252). The five-cornered tower which was built in 1553 on the site of the old Coulons house was also demolished in 1846. It had nothing to do with the tower of the Chalon house (*ibid.* I 304-305, III 253). On Truschet's plan of 1551, the three-story corner tower rises over the two-story Chalon house.

⁵ "Dioceseos Saguntie" (**Acta Rectoria* 9951, 119), that is, from the diocese of Sigüenza (not Valencia, as in Villoslada 413).

⁶ Villoslada 413.

⁷ "Jo. Penia incepturus sub Mag. Jo. Ribero, cuius bursa valet 4 solidos parisienses," during the time that Mag. Petrus Luillier was rector. Because of a contest between two candidates, he was elected on January 12, 1525, and remained in office until March 23 (**Acta Rectoria* 9951, 117 119; Crévier V 181).

and had decided to study medicine.⁸ His teacher was a pupil of Celaya, who had been a pupil of Lax, who had in turn been a pupil of Major.⁹

Johannes Major¹⁰ (or "John Mair," his real name) was born in Scotland in 1469. After studying Latin in his native country, he went to Cambridge for philosophy but had then gone on to Paris, where he continued his course at Sainte-Barbe and finished it in the Collège de Montaigu under the principal Standonck. He received his master's degree from the Collège de Montaigu in 1495, at a time when Erasmus was also living in Paris. He lectured on Aristotle with Noël Beda and then, with Clichtovaeus, Merlin, Mazurier, and others, he earned his doctorate in theology in the Collège de Navarre under Petrus de Valla. After this he lectured on the sacred sciences. In 1518 he returned to his native Scotland, where he held the chair of philosophy and theology in Glasgow and St. Andrew's. While he was there Cardinal Wolsey tried in vain to get him to come to Oxford. He returned, instead, to Paris and from 1525 lived again in his beloved Collège de Montaigu as a professor of theology. He was the most renowned philosopher and theologian of the University of Paris when Francis began his studies there and was admired by his contemporaries as an oracle.¹¹ He was the main representative of the Nominalistic School and of the old, conservative Scholasticism that rejected anything new. He and Beda were the two personalities who set the tone for the world-renowned Sorbonne, the summit of theological science in the Christian world. His pupils were regents in almost all the colleges of the capital, and his commentaries on Petrus Hispanus, Aristotle, and Peter Lombard, which appeared in quick succession from 1504 on, were found in all hands.

The Aragon Gaspar Lax,¹² of Sarifena, a pupil of Major, was born in 1487 and had lectured on Aristotle in the Collège de Montaigu until 1524, when he returned to Spain. In 1507, when he was barely twenty years old, he had already published his first work. This was followed by eleven other philosophical and mathematical treatises in the next eight years. These were so full of subtleties and hair-splittings that his admirers called him "the Prince of Parisian Sophists" and even "the Greatest of Sophists," as he was described by Ribeiro. The humanist Luis Vives, one of his former pupils, however, in his essay *In Pseudodialecticos*, which appeared in 1519, declared that he had often heard his teacher complain about having frittered away so many years on such useless trifles.

Lax's most famous pupil was his fellow countryman, Juan de Celaya.¹³ Juan, born about the year 1490, had inherited from his father, a caballero who had taken part in the capture of Granada, the proud and quarrelsome temper of a genuine hidalgo. He had come about the year 1505 to Paris, where he studied in the Collège de Montaigu. After acquiring his master's degree, he lectured in philosophy from 1509 to 1515 in the Collège de Coqueret, and from 1515 to 1522 in the Collège de Sainte-Barbe. Between 1515 and 1523 he published his commentaries on the *Summulae* of Petrus Hispanus and on almost all the books of Aristotle. In these he tried to unite the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and the Nominalist Ockham. At the same time he was attending

⁸ FN I 32.

⁹ Villoslada 183.

¹⁰ Major is handled in detail by Villoslada 113-114 127-164.

¹¹ Tschudi to Erasmus in 1518 (Herminjard I 40).

¹² On Lax see Villoslada 404-407 133 195 212.

¹³ On Celaya see *ibid.* 180-215; Quicherat I 115-121.

lectures in theology, and in 1523 he obtained the doctorate in this faculty. The following year, however, Celaya returned to Spain with Lax, leaving behind him as his successor the Portuguese Ribeiro. In 1517, in an appendix to Celaya's *Physica*, Ribeiro had declared that there was no nation in Europe which cultivated the liberal arts that had not heard of the reputation of his master. Although many had written learned works on the *Physica*, no one had done this so clearly as he. No books were so popular with beginners at Paris as his. No one received greater applause than he. When he, Ribeiro, went out with his master, all eyes were directed at him, and fingers were pointed at him as if he were a preternatural being. It could therefore be expected that the whole mass of arts students would soon reject the writings of everyone else in order to follow the teachings of Celaya alone, for they deserved to flourish in every school.¹⁴ And this praise was not completely exaggerated. In the colleges of Coqueret, Beauvais, and Lisieux, his lectures were repeated; and the religious of the Collège de Marmoutiers left their usual lectures in the neighboring Collège du Plessis to attend instead those of Celaya at Sainte-Barbe.¹⁵

João Ribeiro,¹⁶ Celaya's pupil and successor, whom Francis met in 1525 in Sainte-Barbe, had been born in Lisbon. After an unfortunate attempt to make his fortune through a business trip to Africa, he went to Paris about 1513 to dedicate himself to learning. There he studied first at the Collège de Montaigu and then, in 1515, at the Collège de Coqueret under Celaya, following him this same year to Sainte-Barbe. He next taught philosophy as a regent in the Collège de Beauvais and then, after the completion of the course, returned to Sainte-Barbe, where he became Celaya's successor in 1524. In 1525 he published a new edition of the latter's commentary on the *Summulae*, and in 1526 he also saw the same author's *Magnae Suppositiones* through the press. He numbered among his students Peña and Gélida. In the same year he returned to his native Portugal in order to take over the chair of logic at the University of Lisbon.

2. PETER FAVRE (1526)¹⁷

Francis found a second roommate in Peña's quarters who was to exercise a lasting influence upon him—Pierre Favre.¹⁸

Peter Faber, as he was also known from the Latin version of his name, was of medium height and of a handsome, manly appearance, with light blond hair

¹⁴ Quicherat I 337-338.

¹⁵ Villoslada 209.

¹⁶ On Ribeiro see Matos 18-19 113; Villoslada 194-197 208-210; Quicherat I 336-338 138-139.

¹⁷ The main sources for Favre are published in *Fabri Monumenta (Epistolae, Memoriale, Processus)*; the first part of the *Memoriale* was critically re-edited in FN I 23-49. An unpublished original process of 1605, entitled **Information, et attestation de l'origine, bonté et bonne vie du bienheureux pere pierre faber, du Villaret, faictes par Messieurs Jehan fornier, Curé du grand Bournand, Claude perrissin et Jean Blanc, presbitres dudict lieu*, is to be found in the curial archives of the Society of Jesus (*Fondo Gesù XX 2b, n. 1*). The most important accounts are those of F. Pochat-Baron, *Le Bienheureux Père Le Fèvre ou Pierre Favre* (Paris, 1931), and Georges Guitton, S.J., *L'ame du bienheureux Pierre Favre, dit "Lefèvre"* (Paris, 1934). The latter gives a good bibliography (249-254), which has been supplemented by that in the *Archivo Teológico Granadino* 10 (1947) 424-426. See also B. Pierre Favre, *Memorial, traduit et commenté par Michel de Certeau, S.J.* (Paris, 1960), and G. Guitton, S.J., *Le bienheureux Pierre Favre* (Lyon-Paris, 1960).

¹⁸ This is how he signed his name in the one French letter which we possess from his pen.

and beard.¹⁹ He was pious, but not extravagant in his devotions and of a free and open disposition. His gentle kindness and reserve greatly attracted all those with whom he associated.²⁰ He had been born on Easter Monday, April 13, 1506, and was thus only six days younger than Francis.²¹ His birthplace was a cluster of wooden houses pertaining to the neighboring parish of Saint-Jean-de-Sixt²² high up in Villaret in the midst of the magnificent Alps of the Duchy of Savoy. The highway that passed by his home, some 3,280 feet above sea level, led from Annecy over the Petit-Bornand pass to Mont Blanc on the right and Geneva on the left. His father was Louis Favre, his mother, Marie Perissin from Grand-Bornand,²³ simple peasants, who earned their living through the work of their hands and raised their small son in the fear of the Lord.²⁴ When he was five, Peter already knew the small catechism by heart; and he did not keep to himself what he learned from his pious mother and the parish priest. When he was still very small he was sent to watch the family herd in the mountain pastures; and at the age of six he would sit upon a small rock overlooking the field and teach other children who were engaged in the same task the truths of the catechism, the rosary, and other prayers. Even adults liked to listen to him and would give him as a reward walnuts, hazelnuts, and apples, which he would then share with his contemporaries.²⁵

But with the passage of time Peter ambitioned something more. When he was ten he experienced a great longing to study, and with many tears and entreaties he eventually persuaded²⁶ his parents to take him to the town of Thônes, lying two hours down the valley, where a pious priest named Crozet²⁷ conducted a small school. There Peter, who was naturally quick, learned how to read and the elements of Latin,²⁸ so that when he was twelve he could be sent to the Latin school of La Roche, which lay three miles north of his home on the other side of the Petit-Bornand pass, halfway between Villaret and Geneva. The founder and director of the college was a saintly priest, Pierre Velliard,²⁹ who exercised an extraordinary influence on his numerous students. Above all he knew how to implant in their young hearts a love for chastity and a fear of the Lord, interpreting for them the pagan poets and authors in such a way that they became preachers of the Gospel.³⁰ All his life long Favre honored him together with

¹⁹ "Il estoit de fort belle stature, le visage vénérable, franc, devost, la chevelure blonde" (testimony of the ninety-two-year-old Claude Perissin, *Information*, 3v); "de fort belle taille et visage blond, fort grave" (the seventy-two-year-old Pierre, the son of Luis Favre, *ibid.* 4v); "de stature commune, le visage venerable et devot, tirant sur le blond" (Pierre Marchand, who was about one hundred years old at the time, *ibid.* 5); "doux, merveilleusement gracieux" (Pierre Critan, *ibid.* 5v); "beau, éloquent, attrahant, et très bon" (Luis Blanchet, *Fabri Mon.* 776).

²⁰ Thus Rodrigues (Rodrigues 453; cf. *Fabri Mon.* 776 762 804).

²¹ FN I 28; *Fabri Mon.* 810.

²² Pochat 1-3.

²³ *Fabri Mon.* 761; Pochat 2.

²⁴ According to Favre his parents were "*agricolae sufficientes in bonis temporalibus*" (FN I 29) "*pauperes*" (*Fabri Mon.* 774 778 800 804).

²⁵ *Fabri Mon.* 76 773-775 777-778 799-800 804.

²⁶ FN I 26.

²⁷ Probably Pacques Crozo (Ducroz), who was himself a chaplain in a hospital in 1520 (Pochat 7).

²⁸ *Fabri Mon.* 762 774 804; Pochat 7. Favre omits his stay in Thônes and simply writes that he had studied in La Roche for nine years (FN I 31).

²⁹ *Fabri Mon.* 799; FN I 29.

³⁰ FN I 29-30.

St. Bruno, the founder of the Carthusians, as a saint.³¹ His words had a great influence on the young Peter. During the holidays when he returned for the first time to his home from La Roche and again watched the family herd on the mountain slopes as he had before, he felt his heart so inflamed with love for the creator of those beautiful surroundings that he made a vow of perpetual chastity.³²

Favre remained in the college of La Roche till his nineteenth year and, under Velliard's direction, studied besides Latin some theology from the *Commentary on the Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Following the dictation of his teacher, Peter copied down in a notebook in his fine, neat hand the main points of his sacramental teaching. But his thirst for knowledge drove him still further.³³ Three hours northeast of the Grand-Bornand, in a quiet retreat where the mountains on the right and left rose over six thousand feet in height, lay the Carthusian monastery of Reposoir, where Dom Mamert Favre, his paternal uncle, had died in 1522 as prior. His successor was a cousin of the young student, Dom Claude Perissin, who gave him help and advice,³⁴ so that in the fall of 1525 he could go to Paris to complete his studies at the university.³⁵ He took with him his notebook of 150 pages, which began as follows: "Here begins the fourth book of the *Sentences*, in which the sacraments and the sacramentals are discussed. Preface to the fourth book of the *Sentences*: 'A man went up from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among robbers.'" The notebook contained a summary of the fourth book of the *Commentary on the Sentences* with Velliard's additions from the *Summa* of St. Thomas and other authors, and it began as follows: "O good Jesus, O kind Jesus, O sweet Jesus; Jesus, son of the Virgin Mother, you who are full of love and compassion, graciously wash away all our sinfulness! For this I have with God's help taken excerpts from the fourth book of the *Sentences* for you, so that with the help of the Divine Physician I might also help you." Around the border of the first page were painted small flowers, and amidst the spirals of the initial for the word "*Homo*" could be seen four grimacing faces, such as those found in the printed works of the fifteenth century.³⁶ Between the quiet, simple peasant of the Savoyan Alps and the son of Dr. Juan de Jassu, naturally so different, there soon sprang up a deep bond of friendship.

³¹ *Fabri Mon.* 504.

³² FN I 30-31.

³³ FN I 31; *Fabri Mon.* 774.

³⁴ *Fabri Mon.* 762 774 778. Favre's uncle Mamert Favre was prior of the chartreuse from 1508 to 1522; after his death Favre's cousin, Claude Perissin, succeeded him as prior from 1522 to 1547 (Jean Falconnet, *La Chartreuse du Reposoir* [Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1895] 593-594). The letter which Favre wrote to him in 1543 shows that he maintained a grateful affection for him (*Fabri Mon.* 201-205).

³⁵ FN I 31.

³⁶ The Latin introduction reads as follows: "Incipit quartus sententiarum liber, in quo de sacramentis et sacramentalibus signis agitur. Prologus in ipsum quartum sententiarum. Homo quidam descendebat de hierusalem in hierico et incidit in latrones." The original manuscript, a gift of Marquis Albert Costa de Beauregard in 1865, is today in the possession of the Jesuits of the Rue de Grenelle in Paris. On it see *Fabri Mon.* 843-847 774. A model for the initial *H* with its flourishes and grotesque figures seems to be the initial *L*, which has similar flourishes and grotesques, and which is first seen in Pierre Le Caron, *Les Fais Maistre Alain Chartier* (Paris, 1489). This was repeated in many works published in Paris, Lyons, Besançon, Dôle, and Troyes up until the turn of the century. See the series in A. Claudin, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie en France* (Paris, 1883-1914) II 75-76 462 472 475, IV 410 412-414 434 486-487 491.

3. LOGICA PURA (1526-1528)

The students of philosophy were divided into three year classes: summulists, logicians, and physicists.³⁷ The first two years of the course, which Favre began together with Francis, were dedicated to logic, which was intended to furnish the students with clear concepts and enable them to set forth their views skillfully, to defend them successfully, and to recognize and expose immediately the fallacies of their adversaries. Aristotle was the great teacher of wisdom.³⁸ His works, however, were not read during the first year, but rather the *Summulae* of Petrus Hispanus,³⁹ who from the thirteenth century on had provided a foundation for lessons in logic. The *Summulae* was a brief manual giving a summary of the *Organum*, or the *Logic* and *Dialectics*, of the Prince of Philosophers in the first six chapters and the *Parva logicalia* in the seventh, a series of exercises in which the then flourishing school of the Nominalists exhausted itself in subtleties, and which had to be heard by everyone before receiving the baccalaureate.⁴⁰

During recent decades a series of commentators had composed notes to these *Summulae* and had published them at Paris. The little work as a consequence became so expanded that it appeared in quarto and folio volumes. These were printed in Gothic type, but with the countless abbreviations common to manuscripts of the Middle Ages. Among these commentaries there were, for example, those of Georgius Bruxellensis from 1493 to 1497; of the learned Faber Stapulensis, also known as Lefèvre d'Étaples, who was a professor at the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine from 1492-1497; and of Johannes Major, the Prince of the Nominalists, of 1506.⁴¹ In addition to these were the new commentaries of Juan de Celaya, which he had first given as lectures in the Collège de Coqueret and then in 1515 in Sainte-Barbe,⁴² and of Fernando de Enzinas, regent in the Collège de Beauvais, which appeared in Paris in 1520-1521 in three volumes under the title *Liber oppositionum primus, secundus, tertius*.⁴³ A new edition of this was prepared by Master Peña, a pupil of Enzinas and Ribeiro.⁴⁴

In six books the *Summulae* treated the axioms, the five universals, the predicaments, the syllogisms, the *loci communes*, and the fallacies; the seventh dealt with the properties of terms.⁴⁵

³⁷ Thurot 101.

³⁸ Goulet: "In logica summe colatur Aristoteles" (Quicherat I 330).

³⁹ Villoslada 235-237. On the *Summulae* see J. P. Mullally, *The Summulae Logicales of Peter of Spain* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1945). The work went through over one hundred and seventy editions; the most recent is that of J. M. Bochénski, O.P., *Petri Hispani Summulae Logicales* (Torino, 1947).

⁴⁰ *Chartularium IV* 128.

⁴¹ These three commentaries were particularly esteemed in Goulet's time (1517). See Quicherat I 330.

⁴² *Petri Hispani summulae logicales, cum expositionibus Johannis de Celaya* (Paris, 1515), edited "dum regeret in famatissimo collegio de Coqueret pro primo cursu, et ab eodem enucleata in dive Barbare emporio pro cursu secundo." The second edition produced by Ribeiro appeared in Paris in 1525.

⁴³ *Oppositionum liber primus Ferdinandi de Enzinas, in quo quae ad primum tractatum Petri Hispani pertinent disputantur* (Paris 1520 and 1528). *Liber secundus de relativis atque oppositionibus in propositionibus in quibus ponuntur relativa* (*ibid.* 1520). *Exponibilia Ferdinandi de Enzinas seu tertius eiusdem oppositionum liber* (*ibid.* 1521, "venumdatum Parhisiis in Clauso brunelli").

⁴⁴ This slightly enlarged edition appeared in Paris in 1537. Villoslada writes that Xavier had almost certainly read this work (naturally one of the earlier editions) and probably based his lectures on it (*Homenaje* 30).

⁴⁵ See Villoslada 235-236.

On the feast of St. Remy in 1527, Francis and Favre both began their second year of philosophy. Master Peña was now lecturing on the Latin text of the *Organum* of Aristotle instead of on the *Summulae*, and whenever he wished to know the Greek text of a difficult passage he called on Favre, who had studied both Greek and philosophy.⁴⁶

The second year of the course prepared one for the baccalaureate. To be admitted to the examination for this degree, one had to have attended lectures on the entire *Logic* of Aristotle: the *Logica vetus*, that is, Porphyry's introduction to the five predicables; the predicaments, or categories; the *Perihermenias*, on axioms; the *Logica nova*, that is, the two books of the *Analytica*, on syllogisms; the *Topica*, or dialectics on the art of disputation; and the *Elenchi*, on the fallacies of the Sophists. Then there was also the *De anima* on the soul, at least a part of which a candidate must have heard.⁴⁷

Printed commentaries on all of these books were available for teachers and pupils alike. These had been written by the same authors who had composed commentaries on the *Summulae*, foremost of whom was Johannes Major.⁴⁸ They also included Faber Stapulensis' paraphrase of the *Logic* of Aristotle, which was published by F. Renault in May, 1525, at "the Elephant," not far from the church of Saint-Yves. The title page contained the following admonition for the reader: "Now, young men, draw from the work of Aristotle as from the noblest and purest spring and taste its water, but avoid other works as you would abominable swamps and the pestilential lakes of Trinacria.⁴⁹ Almost every evil comes from the fact that a student abandons the texts of his authors and the authors themselves and turns entirely to empty glosses." At its end there was printed a verse from the second book of *Elegies* of John Murellius:

Renown and wealth, youth, beauty, power fade away:
Virtue alone will see an everlasting day.⁵⁰

Peña preferred Celaya's commentaries, two of which his own teacher Ribeiro had prepared for the press before his departure for Lisbon in 1526. These were the *Dialecticae introductiones* and the *Expositio in librum praedicamentorum*, which appeared in Paris shortly before the beginning of the school year 1527-1528.⁵¹

These books and their problems were argued from dawn till dusk. "There are disputations before meals, during meals, and after meals. There are public disputations and private disputations, at all places and at all times," was Vives' observation on these years in Paris.⁵² And Goulet had already in 1517 noted in his *Heptadogma*: "It is useless to speak about hours of lecture for the dialecticians. The day is hardly long enough, especially for the constant disputations,

⁴⁶ FN I 182: "por ser buen griego."

⁴⁷ *Chartularium* IV 728; Villoslada 74-75.

⁴⁸ See Villoslada 133 (Major) 207 (Celaya) 410 (Gélida).

⁴⁹ Name for Sicily.

⁵⁰ *Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis in libros logices Paraphrasis* (Paris, 1525).

⁵¹ *Dialecticae introductiones sive termini magistri Johannis de Celaya, Valentini, cum nonnullis magistri Johannis Ribeyro Ulixbonensis sui discipuli additionibus recenter impressae, et per eundem suae integritati restitutae* (Paris, 1527). *Expositio magistri Johannis de Celaya, Valentini, in librum Praedicamentorum Aristotelis, cum quaestionibus eiusdem, secundum viam triplicem beati Thomae, realium et nominalium* (Paris, 1527). *Magnae suppositiones magistri Johannis de Celaya, Valentini, cum parvis eiusdem a magistro Joanne Ribeyro novissime castigatae suaeque integritati restitutae et de novo impressae* (Paris, 1526).

⁵² Dudon 633.

for the vigorous defenses of sophisms on Sundays and feast days, for the general repetitions held three times a week, and for the reviews and debates held on Saturdays.”⁵³

4. THE PORTUGUESE FOUNDATION (1526)

At the beginning of August, 1527, before Francis and Favre began their second year of philosophy, the principal, Dr. Diogo de Gouvea, returned after an absence of a year and one-half⁵⁴ and was received in triumph at the college.⁵⁵ His journey had been crowned with unwonted success. He had obtained from King John III a foundation that would provide fifty scholarships for Portuguese students.⁵⁶ News of this had already reached Paris at the end of 1526, and the first group of eleven stipendiaries had arrived.⁵⁷ He now brought with him about thirty more.⁵⁸

In his *Monalosphaerium*, which appeared at the beginning of February, 1527, a textbook which he had composed at the request of Gouvea for his pupils, Jean Fernel, the celebrated professor of mathematics at Sainte-Barbe, had already praised the knowledge, virtue, and prudence of the principal; and he now congratulated him on the brilliant outcome of his trip.⁵⁹ Juan Gélida, a Spaniard who had been like Peña a pupil of Ribeiro, and who was now a professor of philosophy in the same college, dedicated his *De quinque universalibus*, which appeared at the end of September, 1527, to the returned doctor. While young poets in the introduction praised both Johannes Major, who deserved the title of *Maximus*, and Martin Dolet, under whose direction the Collège de Sainte-Barbe had breached the ramparts of barbaric Latin, Gélida could not find words enough to praise the college and its principal. Was not Sainte-Barbe a Trojan horse, from which came forth great numbers of brave men who passed into the camp of the theologians, physicians, and lawyers? And among them, to name only one, was there not Johannes Major, whom no one could ever praise enough? And had not Gouvea as a true follower of the teachings of St. Paul and the keenest adversary of the Lutherans brought the college to such a flourishing state? And had it not now become all the more so because of the king's generous foundation?⁶⁰

Gouvea himself wrote to his great benefactor that same month:

As far as your stipendiaries are concerned, believe me, Your Highness, you have obtained more honor and renown through them than if you had captured Fes, which I hope you soon will. Two desires of my life are now fulfilled—to become a doctor in Paris and to see a foundation for Portuguese theologians. My third desire is to be able to offer Mass and preach in the mosque of Fes. This is why I studied theology and why your uncle King Don João sent me to Paris; and I hope that this desire also will soon be fulfilled, for never was there a more opportune time. Never has Fes had so few horses and even fewer inhabitants. Moreover, it is grievously oppressed by the sherif. If you conquer it, then you will be powerful enough to become the greatest lord on earth. For if you have a great number of subjects and great wealth, you will

⁵³ Quicherat I 330.

⁵⁴ Costa 305; cf. 297; Brandão, *A Inquisição* 52-54.

⁵⁵ Quicherat I 127.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 353.

⁵⁷ Matos 55-60.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 61-70.

⁵⁹ Quicherat I 348.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 350.

then become the sovereign lord of the Indies and can then become also the lord of Africa and Asia.⁶¹

Gouvea's father had not been a Christian knight in vain. His son had inherited his warlike spirit.

Because of the great influx of Portuguese students, Portugal and its young empire became a matter of prime interest in the Collège de Sainte-Barbe. Francis now heard reports of new lands and peoples such as he had never heard in the mountains of Navarre.

In 1515 Ribeiro, in his epilogue to Celaya's *Summulae*, had already noted that the science of navigation flourished among the Portuguese, and that with the help of the astrolabe and their knowledge of mathematics they had made great progress in sailing. Men who had earlier been scarcely able to steer a small boat across the Tagus from Lisbon to Almada now dared to push out beyond the Ganges into the heart of India.⁶²

Fernel had already made good use of the nautical skill of the Portuguese seafarers; and in February, 1527, a young Portuguese in vigorous Latin verse proudly drew attention to his country's empire. In his copy of the *Monalosphaerium* he wrote that from the golden book of his teacher one would learn how

To fix the regions of the skies on charts,
To mark where lie the lands of India
And Ethiopia, the Ganges' stream,
And where the waters of the Nile disgorge.⁶³

In his second work, the *Cosmotheoria*, which he dedicated to John III and published in February, 1529, Fernel praised the king for the fifty scholarships which he, another great-hearted Maecenas of learning, had donated to the highly renowned University of Paris. He also praised the Portuguese kings who had opened up new lands for geographers and had carried the boundaries of their empire beyond those known to Alexander the Great and Ptolemy of Alexandria; for Henry the Navigator had explored the coasts of West Africa; Bartholomaeus Dias and Peter Cão had pushed on beyond the western cape of Africa to the island of St. Thomas and had sailed on around the Cape of Good Hope in the Antarctic; John II had planted the standard of Portugal in Sofala, the biblical Ophir; and under Manuel, the most renowned of all the Portuguese kings, Vasco de Gama had sailed to Calicut, thus discovering the sea route to India; and other fleets had sailed to, and established outposts in, the farther realms of India. Christians were further indebted to the Portuguese kings for having taken the spice trade away from the Turks and for having spread the faith, as was indicated by recent embassies—one from Manicongo and another to the distant realm of Prester John. The greater portion of the fourth continent, "America," was also subject to Portugal. And only within the past year Portugal had discovered there the great Plata River with a mouth twenty leagues wide and waters that flowed sweetly for more than twenty leagues out into the sea.⁶⁴

But France was also asserting its demands.⁶⁵ In 1493 the Spanish pope

⁶¹ Costa 297-298.

⁶² Villoslada 195.

⁶³ Quicherat I 179.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 352-355.

⁶⁵ On the rivalry between France and Portugal and the negotiations in which Gouvea had an important role, see, in addition to the letters of Gouvea and others (Costa 297-377),

Alexander VI had divided the newly discovered world between Spain and Portugal; and a year later the two kingdoms, through the Treaty of Tordesillas, had agreed upon the line of demarcation. Spain received the lands 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands; Portugal received those east of this line to the farthest Indies. But Francis I, the French king, and the seafarers of Normandy and Brittany were also seeking their place in the sun and were demanding freedom of the seas and of trade with the lands across them. In 1522 Verazzano, who was in the service of the French, had fitted out ships for India and Brazil;⁶⁶ and in 1524 he had vainly sought to find the northwest passage to Cathay above North America.

This rivalry was bound to break out into violations of territorial claims and open clashes, and Francis I merely shut his eyes when his subjects confiscated rich Spanish and Portuguese vessels. In the beginning of 1526 the Portuguese coast guard captured a French flotilla which had plundered a Spanish ship and brought the crew back as prisoners to Lisbon. When this became known, excitement rose to a boiling point in the harbors of northern France. In February ten ships were ready for an attack upon Brazil. John III was thus compelled to send a fleet there under Christovão Jacques to ward it off.⁶⁷ Fighting broke out, and three Breton vessels which had plundered one of the caravelles of the Portuguese fleet were captured after a fierce battle by Jacques near Bahía and their crews sent to Lisbon. In France the report was spread that the Portuguese had buried them up to their shoulders and then cruelly shot them. All this happened while Gouvea was in Portugal.⁶⁸ He had hardly returned to Paris in August, 1527, when he learned that Verazzano, after attempting to sail to India and being compelled by his sailors to return at the Cape of Good Hope, had on his return voyage captured a Portuguese vessel coming from Brazil. The doctor had therefore, as agent of his king, gone immediately to Rouen and obtained the surrender of the prisoners and artillery.⁶⁹ When Francis I heard of the capture of the three Breton ships and of the alleged cruelty of the Portuguese in Bahía, he sent his herald, Helies Alesgle, to Portugal in September, 1528, to make a protest and to demand damages of sixty thousand *escudos*. This made it necessary for Gouvea to return to Lisbon in order to mediate the affair.⁷⁰

5. KING AND EMPEROR (1526-1529)

When Francis came to Paris in the fall of 1525, he found the country in mourning,⁷¹ for Francis I, the king, had fallen into the hands of his adversary on February 14 at the battle of Pavia⁷² and was being held as a prisoner in Madrid by Charles V.⁷³ Here in January, 1526, he made a treaty with the vic-

Brandão, *A Inquisição* 41-83; *Historia da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil* III 57-188; M. E. Gomes de Carvalho, *D. João III e os Francezes* (Lisboa, 1909); Fernando Palha, *A carta de marca de João Anjo* (Lisboa, 1882); J. D. M. Ford, *Letters of John III* I 7 ff.; Santarem III 206 ff.; Matos 30-32; P. Peragallo, *Leone Pancaldo* (Lisboa, 1895).

⁶⁶ Sophus Ruge, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* (Berlin, 1881) 505-506.

⁶⁷ *Historia da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil* III 68-71.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 73-74.

⁶⁹ Brandão, *A Inquisição* 54-55; Costa 298-299.

⁷⁰ Brandão, *A Inquisição* 55-57.

⁷¹ Félibien II 961; Jourdain, *Index chron.* 331.

⁷² Driart 102-103; *Journal* 191-194; Versoris 161-162 168.

⁷³ *Journal* 209.

torious emperor according to which he renounced Italy, Burgundy, and Flanders and promised to pay two million talers, for which he gave his two eldest sons as hostages as he crossed over the frontier.⁷⁴ But hardly had he returned to French soil, when he declared that the treaty had been made under duress.⁷⁵ In May he aligned himself with Pope Clement VII, Venice, and Milan in the Holy League with the intent of driving the Spaniards and imperialists out of Italy and of obtaining better terms for the return of his sons.⁷⁶ But then the king, who had been a widower since 1524, abandoned his allies and wasted his time at his castles in hunting, playing, and amorous intrigues.⁷⁷ Meanwhile the Grand Turk captured Hungary;⁷⁸ and Colonna, the ally of the emperor, sacked the Vatican.⁷⁹ Henri d'Albret, the young king of Navarre, who had been born three years before Xavier in Sangüesa,⁸⁰ had been captured with Francis I in Pavia and then, in an adventurous flight, had escaped from prison to France,⁸¹ where on January 30, 1527, he celebrated his marriage with the sister of the king, Margueriet d'Angoulême, the duchess of Alençon, amidst elaborate festivities in Saint-Germain-en-Laye not far from Paris.⁸² The royal couple held their solemn entrance into Paris with the king on Palm Sunday, April 14, 1527.⁸³

A month later news came of the capture and sack of Rome by the German and Spanish imperial troops and of the imprisonment of the pope.⁸⁴ This shook Francis I out of his revels. The English king Henry VIII, who was seeking to obtain from Clement VII a dissolution of his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, the aunt of the emperor, promised the French king a monthly contribution of thirty-two thousand crowns for his army, which crossed the Alps in June under General Lautrec in order to free the pope in Italy.⁸⁵

Soon Lautrec could report victory after victory to France,⁸⁶ and in the middle of January, 1528, it was announced that the head of the Church was again free.⁸⁷ In May a procession in thanksgiving was held in Paris for Lautrec's victory near

⁷⁴ *Ibid* 230-231.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 236-237; Driart 116; Versoris 184-185; Capefigue III 39-40.

⁷⁶ Pastor IV 2, 211; *Journal* 239-240; Versoris 186.

⁷⁷ Pastor IV 2, 223; Capefigue III 49.

⁷⁸ Pastor IV 2, 227; *Journal* 246-247.

⁷⁹ Pastor IV 2, 227-231; *Journal* 242.

⁸⁰ See above, p. 9.

⁸¹ *Journal* 228; Bordenave 30-31.

⁸² *Journal* 253. On Marguerite see Pierre Jourda, *Marguerite d'Angoulême* (Paris, 1930) and *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Angoulême* (Paris, 1930). Born in 1492, she was two years older than her brother, the king. Her father died in 1496. Strictly educated by her mother, Louise of Savoy, she spoke French, Spanish, Italian, and Latin, and had also learned some Greek and Hebrew. Wildly enthusiastic about religious matters, she became entranced with the new ideas of Erasmus, Lefèvre, d'Étaples, and Briçonnet, and strongly opposed to monasticism. She was a protectress of the Reformers without completely breaking away from a Catholic viewpoint. Married to Charles III, duke of Alençon, in 1509, she was already a widow in 1525. Henry d'Albret, her second husband, was not very happy that his court in Nérac (Béarn) became a refuge for heretics, but he eventually left her alone. She died in Odos (Bigorre) in 1549, leaving a daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, the mother of Henry IV.

⁸³ Versoris 196; Briart 125; *Journal* 266-267; Félibien II 978.

⁸⁴ On the *sacco* see Pastor IV 2, 268-292. The news reached Paris on May 25; cf. Versoris 196-197; *Journal* 271-273.

⁸⁵ Pastor IV 2, 300-301; *Journal* 273-274 277.

⁸⁶ Driart 129; *Journal* 271-280.

⁸⁷ *Journal* 307; cf. 284.

Naples;⁸⁸ and in the beginning of June, he was sent the lord of Saint-Pol with thirty thousand men as help.⁸⁹

Two weeks before this, Ercole d'Este, the son of the duke of Ferrara, who was only twenty years old, had come to Paris⁹⁰ and had there on June 28 celebrated his marriage with the eighteen-year-old Renata, daughter of Louis XII and sister-in-law of Francis I;⁹¹ but then in September he had returned to his duchy.⁹² He had received bad news from there: Lautrec had died, his army was in retreat, Doria had gone over to the emperor with his fleet, Italy was lost!⁹³ On top of this, in July of the following year, 1529, it was learned that the French army had been defeated near Milan, that Saint-Pol had been imprisoned, and that Venice had deserted the alliance.⁹⁴ Francis I was thus compelled to surrender Italy on August 5 at the Peace of Cambrai and to promise that he would also persuade Henri d'Albret to renounce Navarre.⁹⁵

6. LUTHER AND MELANCHTHON (1521-1527)⁹⁶

But in Germany a new and dangerous opponent had risen up against the victorious emperor. Luther's apostasy from the Church in 1517 had immediately produced wide repercussions, and the newly invented printing press had everywhere spread his revolutionary writings, which followed one another in rapid succession. After the Disputation of Leipzig in 1519 the two parties had appealed to the renowned Theological Faculty of Paris;⁹⁷ and in 1521, after a thorough investigation of the matter, this had, on the basis of a report of the syndic Noël Beda, condemned the heresies of the Doctor of Wittenberg in a clear and sharp reply drawn up by Jodocus Clichtovaeus.⁹⁸

The University of Paris with its Theological Faculty was the main rampart and eye of the true faith, as its rector, Jean Prothais, of the Collège des Cholets, declared in November, 1526.⁹⁹ Luther struck back by calling the Theological Faculty a leper out of which flowed as out of a poisonous carbuncle all the heresies of Christendom, a public prostitute who led all to hell.¹⁰⁰ And Melancthon, his youthful colleague, drew up an apology for his master entitled *Against*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 286-288.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 290.

⁹⁰ Picotté 66.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 68-73; *Journal* 304.

⁹² *Journal* 305. On Renata see Bartolomeo Fontana, *Renata di Francia* (Roma, 1889-1899), 3 vols.; Emanuel Rodocanachi, *Renée de France* (Paris, 1896), and Carlo Zaghi, "Saggio di bibliografia di Renata di Francia e della Riforma in Ferrara," *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione Ferrarese di Storia Patria* 28 (1931) 17-130.

⁹³ *Journal* 307 309; Versoris 209.

⁹⁴ *Journal* 331-332; Versoris 214.

⁹⁵ *Journal* 324 328; Picotté 77; Driart 143; Versoris 215.

⁹⁶ For the following section see in particular the collection of sources in Argentré, *Collectio iudiciorum de novis erroribus* (Paris, 1728-1736), and P. Feret, *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris. Epoque Moderne* (Paris, 1900-1906). See also H. Bernard-Maitre, S.J., "Les fondateurs de la Compagnie de Jésus et l'humanisme Parisien de la Renaissance," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 72 (1950) 811-833. The entire period which follows until 1536 is handled with a critical bibliography in P. Imbart de la Tour, *Les Origines de la Réforme* (Paris, 1905-1935, vols. 1-2, which appeared in a second edition in 1944-1948); see also Joseph Lecler, S.J., *Histoire de la Tolérance au siècle de la Réforme* (Paris, 1955).

⁹⁷ Feret I 91-99; Doumergue I 92-93.

⁹⁸ Feret I 99-101; Argentré I 2, 365-374.

⁹⁹ Bulaeus VI 205.

¹⁰⁰ Feret I 102.

the Insane Decree of the Parisian Theological Bellies,¹⁰¹ in which he revealed the hatred of the Humanists and Reformers for the Scholasticism of the Middle Ages:

Last year the Cologne and Louvain sophists damned the Gospel. Those who have condemned Martin Luther surpass them in madness. Paris was once regarded as a peak of Christian learning, and it certainly produced important men in times past, for example, Gerson of the last century. But now those ruling there are sophists instead of theologians. There has risen up in Paris that profane scholasticism which, if it is tolerated, will prevent any recovery for the Church. We are no longer Christians, nor even men of the Law, for the *Moralia* of Aristotle has become our text. In Paris there are no longer even any philosophers; all they do is to spin out their sophistries on the *Parva logicalia*. For where are there greater sophists than Versor,¹⁰² Tartaret,¹⁰³ and other writers of this sort that have been produced almost without limit in Paris during this century? I have seen the commentaries of Johannes Major (I do not condemn the moral character of the man) on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and he is now said to be the leading theologian in Paris. Good God! What a wagon-load of trifles! On how many pages he disputes as to whether or not a horse is needed for riding, whether the sea was created salty, not to mention at all his blasphemous statements on free will!¹⁰⁴

I am aware of the fact that there are also individuals in Paris who are not displeased with Luther. But the minority there has the last word. Are we supposed to yield to the folly of well-fed masters who have not even learned their *Parva logicalia* correctly? Luther led us back to the Bible and therefore to the Fathers. But you, what do you do except drag Christian children through the formalities of Scotus¹⁰⁵ and the glosses of Ockham,¹⁰⁶ instead of introducing them to the teachings of Christ? Are you not therefore directly opposed to the rising Bible, as were Jannes and Mambre,¹⁰⁷ whose successors are the Sorbonne? O that it were granted to me, Parisians, that I might explain this to you in more detail in that Sorbonne of yours!

Then after placing the pope at the side of the Antichrist and comparing the doctors of the Sorbonne with the priests of Baal in the time of Elias, he continues:

What chameleon, what octopus, what Proteus is more wonderful than a commentary of a Sorbonne dreamer? That article [of the Theological Faculty against Luther] could have been read by a child in the heart of Germany out of Gabriel Biel¹⁰⁸ or Scotus.

¹⁰¹ *Adversus furiosum Parisiensium theologastrorum decretum Phil. Melanchthonis pro Luthero Apologia* (Corpus Reformatorum I 398).

¹⁰² Johannes Versor, who died about 1485, was a Thomist and renowned commentator on the *Summulae* and Aristotle.

¹⁰³ Petrus Tartaret was a secular priest of the diocese of Lausanne. A very subtle representative of the Scotists, he received his doctorate in 1500. He taught philosophy in the Collège de Reims in Paris and then at the Franciscans. He wrote famous commentaries on the *Summulae* and Aristotle (1494-1496). He was ridiculed by Melanchthon, Rabelais (*Pantagruel*, c. 7), and André de Gouvea (Costa 273). He died in 1522. See Villoslada 218-219.

¹⁰⁴ See Villoslada 138, n. 16.

¹⁰⁵ Duns Scotus, O.F.M., *Doctor subtilis* and founder of Scotism, was born in Scotland about 1266. He wrote a famous commentary on the *Sentences*, lived in Paris from 1293 to 1296 and from 1302 to 1305, and died in Cologne in 1308.

¹⁰⁶ William of Ockham, O.F.M., was born in Ockham, England, towards the end of the thirteenth century. He was the founder of Nominalism and wrote a *Summa totius logicae*, which was printed in Paris in 1498. He died in Munich in 1349 or 1350.

¹⁰⁷ The Egyptian magician, who opposed Moses in the presence of the pharaoh (Exodus 7:11; 8:13; 2 Tim. 3:8.).

¹⁰⁸ Gabriel Biel was born in Speyer about 1418. He was a professor at Tübingen in 1484 and died near there in 1495. His *Collectorium*, a commentary on the *Sentences* printed in 1501, became the main text in the schools of the Nominalists.

Augustine speaks in more than one place against the Pelagians, that is, against the Sorbonne sophists. But in that whole Sorbonne faculty there is not one who has understood Augustine. What then must be their knowledge of Holy Scripture?

O unhappy France, which has such censors and judges for all that is holy, who are more fit to cleanse sewers than to discuss theology! But this teaching of Luther on penance cannot be torn out of men's hearts by any power of the underworld, not even by that of the Sorbonne or of the pope!

An answer to this nasty provocation was not long in coming. On June 13, 1521, Parlement forbade the printing of books without previous censorship. Melanchthon's libelous pamphlet was, nevertheless, publicly advertised for sale that same year in the Latin Quarter;¹⁰⁹ and the royal counselor, Louis de Berquin, translated Lutheran writings and added some of his own of a similar content. But Beda, who had been syndic of the Theological Faculty since 1520, was not sleeping.¹¹⁰ In 1523 a search was made of Berquin's house. His heretical essays were discovered along with the works of Luther and Melanchthon. They were condemned by the Theological Faculty and publicly burned at the command of Parlement on the square in front of Notre-Dame.¹¹¹ In the same year all the works of Luther and Melanchthon were handed over to the flames. Their surrender was ordered and their sale forbidden; and with them, listed by name, was the slander directed against the Sorbonne.¹¹² A series of statements directed against the veneration of saints, prayers to the Mother of God, such as the *Ave Maris Stella*, the *Salve Regina*, and the *Regina Coeli*, the taking of stipends for Masses, and the offering of Masses for the dead was also proscribed.¹¹³ In 1524 a new heretical work was condemned by the faculty and, at Beda's insistence, also by Parlement.¹¹⁴

A further decree of the Theological Faculty in 1525, shortly after Xavier's arrival in Paris, affected Guillaume Briçonnet, the bishop of Meaux.¹¹⁵ He had gathered about himself a number of men more or less infected with the ideas of the Reformers: Lefèvre d'Étaples, the celebrated reviser of Aristotelian philosophy, whose commentaries on the four Gospels had already been condemned in 1522, and whom the pious but theologically inept bishop had named as his vicar-general;¹¹⁶ his friends Jean Le Comte;¹¹⁷ Masters Guillaume Farel¹¹⁸ and Gérard

¹⁰⁹ Doumergue I 93.

¹¹⁰ Noël (Latin, *Natalis*) Beda, born at the end of the fifteenth century in the diocese of Avranches, was principal of the Collège de Montaigu from 1504 to 1513, and also director of it later on. He became a doctor of the Sorbonne in 1507 and was syndic of the Theological Faculty from 1520 to 1533. He was the main adversary of the Lutherans and humanists. Because of his imprudent zeal he was imprisoned by order of the king in Paris between 1534 and 1536 and then in the monastery of Mont-Saint-Michel, where he died on January 8, 1537. See Feret II 4-17; Godet 59-69; Villoslada 111-113; *Dictionnaire d'Hist. et Géogr. Ecclésiastique* 7 (1934) 391-393.

¹¹¹ Feret I 109-113; Argentré I 2, 404-406; *Journal* 142. On Berquin see also Allen III 505.

¹¹² Feret I 103-106; Argentré I 2, 406-410.

¹¹³ Feret I 106; Argentré I 2, 374-379.

¹¹⁴ Feret I 115-117; Argentré II, 1, 7-9.

¹¹⁵ Guillaume Briçonnet, born in 1472, became abbot of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1507, which he reformed. In 1489 he became bishop of Lodève and of Meaux in 1516. He died in Montereau in 1534 (Launoy II 656-658).

¹¹⁶ Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (Faber Stapulensis) was born about 1450. He was a humanist, philosopher, and theologian. Taken with the ideas of the Reformers, he still did not break away from the Church. A productive author, translator, and commentator on Sacred Scripture, he taught first in the Collège de Lemoine and then, until 1517, at the Sorbonne. He followed his student Briçonnet first to Saint-Germain-des-Prés and

Roussel;¹¹⁹ two doctors of the Sorbonne, Martial Mazurier¹²⁰ and Pierre Caroli;¹²¹ the Hebrew scholar François Vatable;¹²² Michel d'Aranda;¹²³ and Jacques Pauvant.¹²⁴ Meaux had thus become a center of Lutheranism by the time that the

then, in 1520, to Meaux. He died in Nérac at the court of his protectress, Marguerite, in 1536. See Feret I 117-123; *Diction. de Théol. Cath.* 9 (1926) 132-159; Dudon in *Etudes* 154 (1918) 497-529 (against Doumergue, who makes him out to be a Protestant); Villoslada 220-229 252-253 339-345; K. H. Graf, "Jacobus Faber Stapulensis," *Zeitschrift für histor. Theologie*, 1852, 1-86 165-237, and Grente 438-440.

¹¹⁷ Jean Le Comte was born in Étaples (Picardy). He was a student of Lefèvre and preached his errors in Meaux. Protected by Marguerite, he became the tutor of the sons of Admiral Bonnavet. In 1532 he fled to Switzerland, where he apostatized. From 1558 to 1567 he taught Hebrew in Lausanne. He died as a minister in Grandson in 1572.

¹¹⁸ Guillaume Farel was born in Gap (Dauphine) in 1489. A student of Lefèvre, he fled to Basel in 1523, where he associated with Oecolampadius and Zwingli. Driven from Basel, he went to Metz and Strasbourg. From 1526 on, he was in Switzerland as a minister in the service of Bern. In 1535 he helped to introduce the Reformation into Geneva. Expelled by Calvin in 1538, he went to Neuchâtel and became the leading Reformer in the French-speaking, western part of Switzerland. He died there in 1565. See Haag VI 385-416 and "Guillaume Farel, 1489-1565," *Biographie nouvelle* (Neuchâtel, 1930). In 1524 Erasmus wrote of him: "Nunquam vidi hominem confidentius arrogantem aut rabiosius maledicum aut impudentius mendacem" (Allen 1510). See also V. Carrière, "Guillaume Farel, propagandiste de la Réformation," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 20 (1934) 37-78, a fundamental study based on primary sources.

¹¹⁹ Gérard Roussel (Ruffus) was born in Vaquerie near Amiens about the year 1500. He was a student in the Collège des Cholets in Paris, where he earned his master's degree in 1521 under Lefèvre. Roussel, Clichtovaeus, and George Valla published a translation of the original Greek text of the *Moralia* of Aristotle in 1522. Briçonnet appointed him as his canonist and treasurer. He was in communication with Farel and Oecolampadius and was inclined towards their teachings. From 1526 he was Marguerite's chaplain and obtained through her the rich abbey of Clairac. In 1536 he was named bishop of Oloron (Béarn), where he spread his errors. He died a violent death in Mauléon in 1555. Cf. Ch. Schmidt, *Gérard Roussel* (Strasbourg 1845); *Herzogs Realencyklopädie für prot. Theologie und Kirche* 17 (1906) 178-180; L. Delaruelle, "Note sur G. Roussel, l'Helléniste," *Annales du Midi* 61 (1948) 102; Doumergue I 24 100 107 136-137 322 327 to 329 333 403-405 420-422. On the year of his death, see Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici* XIV 577; Van Gulik 280; *MI Epp.* V 170-171.

¹²⁰ Martial Mazurier, a student of Petrus de Valla, became a doctor of the Sorbonne in 1510. A penitentiary of Paris, he later became, through the influence of Briçonnet, pastor of Saint-Martin in Meaux. In 1530 he was principal of the Collège de Chanac in Paris, and suspect in the faith (Cros, *Doc.* I 328; cf. Villoslada 129-130 341 343 427). In 1540 he was a canon in Paris (Coyecque, n. 1373). See also Launoy II 692-694.

¹²¹ Pierre Caroli, doctor of the Sorbonne and canonist of Sens, received the parish of Alençon through Marguerite. In 1535 he fled to Geneva, where he apostatized. A few years later he returned to the Church. See Feret I 277-279; Haag III 770-775.

¹²² François Vatable, from Gamaches near Amiens, was first a parish priest in Bramet (Valois). About 1519 he studied in Paris under Lefèvre together with Danès, Toussaint, Farel, Roussel, and Caroli. He quit the Meaux circle as dangerous and gave up his interest in heresy as a consequence of the execution of Pauvant in 1526 and of Berquin in 1529. In 1530 he became the royal professor of Hebrew in the Collège de Lemoine. He died in 1547 (Lefranc 175-177 113). His *Praelectiones in Genesim* are in *Bibl. Nat. Paris: Fonds lat.* 532; his picture is in Doumergue I 206.

¹²³ Michel d'Aranda was a priest of the diocese of Le Mans, a licentiate in law, and a chaplain of the queen-mother Louise and, later, of Marguerite. In 1523 under the latter's protection he delivered a scandalous series of Lenten sermons in the cathedral of Bourges. He turned Lefèvre away from the veneration of saints. In 1526 he became bishop of Saint-Paul-trois-châteaux in the Rhone valley. He corresponded with Farel from 1536 on and died in 1539. Cf. *Diction. d'Hist. et Géogr. Eccl.* III 1427; Doumergue I 93 180 396 403-404.

¹²⁴ Jacques Pauvant, a young theological student from Bohan near Théroüanne (Picardy), translated Lutheran writings and preached their doctrines in the diocese of Meaux. He recanted in Paris in 1525, but was burned in 1526 because of a relapse.

Theological Faculty condemned forty-seven statements in the pericope of the diocese as being heretical. This had been printed three years before, and it was now ordered to be publicly burned. The bishop and Mazuier submitted.¹²⁵ Caroli, professor of theology in the Collège of Cambrai, whose Lenten preaching in the church of St. Paul had been censored this same year, was forbidden to preach and teach.¹²⁶ An essay of Pauvant and a defense of the same by Matthieu Saunier, who was living in the Collège de Reims, were branded as heretical in December, 1525.¹²⁷ Farel by this time had already publicly apostatized and was preaching in Switzerland. Lefèvre and Roussel had fled to Strasbourg and had remained there until the king, who had returned from Spain, called them back to France, where Lefèvre became librarian in the royal palace of Blois and tutor of the prince,¹²⁸ and Master Gérard the court chaplain of Marguerite, the king's sister.¹²⁹

But the faculty and Parlement remained steadfast. In January Berquin was again brought to trial because of his relapse into Lutheranism;¹³⁰ in February the French translation of the Bible by Lefèvre was forbidden and its surrender demanded under the threat of death;¹³¹ and in March Berquin's new writings were condemned by the Theological Faculty.¹³²

The Court of Justice also went against the Reformers. On August 8, 1523, an ignorant forty-year-old hermit, Jean Vallières, had his tongue pierced and was burned alive in the Pig Market before the Porte Saint-Honoré for denying the virgin birth of Christ.¹³³ On January 17, 1526, the leader of a gang of thieves was strangled and burned for blasphemy against God and His holy Mother.¹³⁴ On February 17 a twenty-eight-year-old licentiate of the Law Faculty, Master Hubert, suffered the same fate on the Maubert Place in the center of the Latin Quarter. He was burned as a Lutheran because he had blasphemed God, the Most Blessed Virgin, St. Genevieve, and the other saints of heaven. He was constrained to make apologies in front of Notre-Dame and Sainte-Geneviève, and he died repentant.¹³⁵ On April 14 a Lutheran fuller from Meaux had to make an abjuration of his heresy in front of the cathedral of Notre-Dame and the Palais. As was the custom, he was dressed in a plain shirt and held a burning candle in his hand. He was condemned to seven years of imprisonment on bread and water for having spoken against prayers for the dead, the use of holy water, and the veneration of images.¹³⁶ On August 28 of the same year it was a student's turn, Master Jacques Pauvant. He was burned as a Lutheran on the Grève Place before the town hall. He had made an apology the preceding Christmas but had relapsed, and all the efforts of the grand penitentiary, Dr. Jean Merlin, to

Cf. *Journal* 233 244-245; Driart 113 120; Doumergue I 107-108. His name is also given as Pavanès, Povent, and Pauvan.

¹²⁵ Feret I 117-122; Villoslada 341-343.

¹²⁶ Feret I 277-279.

¹²⁷ Feret I 123-127; Argentré II 1, 30-34 (Dec. 9, 1525). An Antoine Saunier was arrested for heresy in the Collège de Reims in 1530.

¹²⁸ Doumergue I 400.

¹²⁹ Herminjard I 458.

¹³⁰ Feret I 128-129; *Journal* 234.

¹³¹ *Journal* 232-233; Driart 114.

¹³² Feret I 128-131; Argentré II 1, 40-46; *Journal* 234.

¹³³ Driart 78-79; Versoris 127.

¹³⁴ Driart 113; Versoris 181-182; *Journal* 229, cf. 34.

¹³⁵ Driart 114-115; Versoris 182.

¹³⁶ Driart 117; *Journal* 363.

turn him away from his errors had remained fruitless.¹³⁷ Master de Cornibus later used to say that even if it would have cost the Church a million gold pieces, he should not have been publicly executed since many were so devoted to his teachings after his death that they could never be turned away from them.¹³⁸

The same fate was suffered in the same place on March 5, 1527, by the prothonotary Lucas Daillon because of his blasphemies against God and His Mother. He was in possession of a number of benefices, had associated with the royal court, and had become a minutant in Rome in the service of Pope Clement VII.¹³⁹ On October 26 a Lutheran by the name of de la Tour, a nobleman in the service of the duke of Albany, was burned in the Pig Market for having preached heresy in Scotland, while his Lutheran servant was flogged before his eyes and had his tongue cut out.¹⁴⁰

While Parlement and the Court were employing every means to counteract the propaganda of the Reformers, and Dr. Quercus (Guillaume du Chesne), pastor of Saint-Jean-en-Grève, who died on July 5, 1525, shortly before Xavier's arrival, was warning the people of heresy from the pulpit,¹⁴¹ the doctors of the Sorbonne also took up the battle in the literary arena with the Frenchman Jérôme de Hangest¹⁴² and the Fleming Jodocus Clichtovaeus at their head. In 1523 Hangest published an *Antilogia* against the errors of his opponents,¹⁴³ and in 1527 a defense of free will against Luther.¹⁴⁴ But even more than he his Flemish colleague deserved the title of "Hammer of the Heretics."

Jodocus Clichtovaeus¹⁴⁵ had been born at Newport in Flanders in 1472 and, after completing his humanistic studies in Louvain, had studied philosophy in Paris in the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine under Lefèvre d'Étaples and had then taught there. He later attended the theological lectures of Petrus de Valla in the Collège de Navarre and had been an associate of the Sorbonne since 1499. Like his teacher Lefèvre, with whom he had at first worked, he was, as a humanist, in favor of a reform in philosophical studies, which he wanted to be based upon the Greek text of Aristotle. He was also interested in a reform of the theological studies, which he wished to be based more upon Scripture and the Fathers; and

¹³⁷ Driart 113 120; *Journal* 233 244-245; Versoris 188.

¹³⁸ According to a note of Farel on a letter of Pauvant dated October 5, 1524, de Cornibus was accustomed to say: "Satius fuisset datam fuisse et insumptam myriadem plusquam sexcentum myriadam quam palam mortuum; nam a morte eius tot adhaerent eius sententiae, ut avelli non possint" (Herminjard I 293-294).

¹³⁹ *Journal* 265; Driart 124.

¹⁴⁰ *Journal* 363-364.

¹⁴¹ Guillaume Du Chesne (Quercus) was born in Normandy. He was described in the following terms: "Venerable et discrete personne, monsieur Maistre Jehan de Quercu, lequel avoit très honorablement vesqu tout le temps de sa vie, environ de l'âge de soixante et dix ans ou plus, qui lisoit et preschoit continuellement, bon catholique et ennemy des Lutériens, pour son temps autant optime que de son temps avoit esté maistre Jehan de Gerson." (Driart 111). In 1521, for Erasmus, he was only: "Normannus seniculus virulentus" (Allen 1188), and for Glareanus: "Stercus" (Herminjard I 70).

¹⁴² Jérôme de Hangest was born in Compiègne. He became a doctor of the Sorbonne in 1514. A subtle philosopher and excellent speaker, he was appointed canonist and vicar-general in Le Mans, where he died in 1538 (Feret II 25-30).

¹⁴³ *Adversus nonnullos articulos Antilogia* (Paris, 1523).

¹⁴⁴ *De Libero arbitrio et ejus coefficientia in Lutherum* (Paris, 1527).

¹⁴⁵ On Josse van Clichtove (Jodocus Clichtovaeus) see *Diction. de Théol. Cath.* 3 (1908) 236-243; *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* 4 (1873) 172-174; Feret II 20-41; and J. A. Clerval, *De Judoci Clichtovaei vita et operibus* (Paris, 1895). In 1527 he came as a canonist and cathedral preacher to Chartres, where he died in 1543.

he had already published a respectable number of books: philosophical and theological treatises and editions of important works of the past, which he edited himself or helped to edit, such as, for example, those of Hugh of Saint Victor, William of Auvergne, St. Bernard, Cyril of Alexandria, Caesarius of Arles, Sulpius Severus, Odo of Cluny, and others. As a former teacher of Bishop Briçonnet, he had connections with members of the latter's circle, which was under the spiritual direction of Lefèvre d'Étaples. Luther's appearance on the scene showed him the perils of their efforts; and he broke off his connections with his former friends and worked closely with the indefatigable Beda, the champion of the University of Paris, against the errors of the Reformers. He composed the *Determinatio* of the Theological Faculty against Luther in 1521. Simon de Colines published his quarto volume on the veneration of saints in 1523¹⁴⁶ and then his two folio volumes which were to become the Catholic *Summa* against the Lutherans: his *Anti-Lutherus* in 1524 and his *Propugnaculum Ecclesiae adversus Lutheranos* in 1526. His quarto volume on the Eucharist against the errors of Oecolampadius in Basel¹⁴⁷ appeared in 1527.

7. ERASMUS AND BEDA (1521-1529)

The Reformers found comfort and support among the Humanists. This was even true of their leader, Erasmus of Rotterdam,¹⁴⁸ who had been living in

¹⁴⁶ *De veneratione Sanctorum* (Paris, 1523).

¹⁴¹ *De sacramento Eucharistiae contra Oecolampadium* (Paris, 1526).

¹⁴⁸ Erasmus was born in Rotterdam in 1466 as an illegitimate child of one destined for the priesthood. In 1487, following the wishes of his guardian, he became a canon regular of St. Augustine at Steyn near Gouda, though he had no true vocation for the life. He was ordained in 1492 and sent to Paris in September, 1495, by the bishop of Cambrai, in whose service he was, to complete his theological training. He resided first in the Collège de Montaigu but soon left it because of ill health. He returned to Bergen and Steyn to recuperate and then moved to a private dwelling in Paris in the autumn of 1496. Becoming disgusted with his studies, he left Paris in 1499, and was thereafter a mortal enemy of monks and scholasticism. He led an unsettled life in Germany, the Netherlands, France, Italy, and England until 1514, when he finally left his order. From 1514 to 1516 he lived in Basel, and then went to the Netherlands. In 1521 he returned to Basel and stayed there until the outbreak of iconoclasm, moving to Catholic Freiburg in Breisgau in 1529. A sick man, towards the end of 1535, he wanted to return to his homeland, but he died in Basel on the way on July 12, 1536. The main source for his life is his correspondence, admirably published by Allen. His *Opera omnia* were printed at Basel (1540-1541) in nine volumes and at Leiden (1703-1706) in ten. The best bibliography of his manuscripts, with precise descriptions of individual editions, is given in the *Bibliotheca Erasmi* (*Bibliographie des oeuvres d'Erasmus, extraite de la Bibliotheca Belgica* 2 [1964] 271-1048, publié par F. Vander Haeghen, etc.). This includes, for example, the bibliography on *Adagia* (Gand, 1897), the *Colloquia* (1903-1907), the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (1911), and the *Moriae Encomium* (1908). K. Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 1517-1585* I (1933) 221-236 (nn. 5492-5845) gives a bibliography of works on Erasmus. Among Catholic works that may be consulted are J. Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* II (Freiburg i.Br., 1889¹⁵) 7-24; H. Hurter, S.J., *Nomenclator* II (Oeniponti, 1906³) 1289-1300; *Diction. de Théol. Cath.* 5 (1913) 388-397; *Lexikon der Pädagogik* I (1913) 1081-1085; for Protestants works see R. B. Drummond, *Erasmus* (London, 1873) and K. A. Meisinger, *Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Berlin, 1948²). On his youth see Paul Mestwerdt, *Die Anfänge des Erasmus* (Leipzig, 1917), and Albert Hyma, *The Youth of Erasmus* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1930). On the history of the *Colloquia* see Preserved Smith, *A Key to the Colloquies of Erasmus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927). On Erasmus' relations with the Theological Faculty of Paris, see the documents in Delisle and the study by Marg. Mann, *Erasmus et les débuts la de*

Basel since 1521. He was in correspondence with all the leading personalities of Europe and his works were everywhere printed, sold, and devoured. Theological depth and clarity were not his forte. He abhorred the Scholasticism of the Middle Ages and wished to replace it with a theology of few dogmas built upon Scripture and the Fathers. He had therefore published a Greek New Testament with a new classical Latin translation in 1516, and in the foreword to his "Exhortation to the Study of Christian Philosophy," he wrote:

I would like to have even the simplest little woman read the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul and to have these translated into every tongue so that not only the Scotch and the Irish but even the Turks and Saracens might read them, and farmers might sing verses to themselves behind the plow, and weavers hum them in the midst of the rattle of their shuttles, and travelers free themselves from the tedium of their journey with them.¹⁴⁹

To promote his new theology, Erasmus had also begun to publish the Church Fathers; and new volumes of their writings appeared year after year from his pen.

But at the same time he did not cease to scourge the ills of the Church (and these were not few) in biting satires that included serious exaggerations, generalizations, and invented scandals, and to ridicule the pope, bishops, priests, monks, and nuns, and ecclesiastical institutions, and to expose them to public ridicule and contempt, and even to cast doubt on the teachings of the Church.

His collection of proverbs, the *Adagia*, was published in Paris in 1500. This was followed by his *Enchiridion militis christiani* in 1503, his *Moriae encomium* ("In Praise of Folly") in 1511, and his *Colloquia* in 1518, a collection of dialogues, each one more biting than the last, which could also serve as an exercise book for Latin students. His clever, piquant, and elegant works written in classical Latin had an immense success. By 1526 one hundred thousand copies of his New Testament had already been distributed.¹⁵⁰ Within a few months twenty thousand copies of his "Praise of Folly" were sold.¹⁵¹ By 1525 his *Enchiridion* had already gone through fifty editions, and twenty-five editions of his *Colloquia* were printed during their first four years. New satirical dialogues were added to these from year to year, but instead of reforming the Church they undermined its authority and prepared the way for the new heresies.

The Carthusian Sutor,¹⁵² a doctor of the Sorbonne and former professor of philosophy in Sainte-Barbe, had already in 1522 written a work in the defense

Réforme française, 1517-1536 (Paris, 1934), and especially A. Renaudet, *Études érasmiennes*, 1521-1529 (Paris, 1939), disputed in part by Louis Bouyer, *Autour d'Erasmus* (Paris, 1955). See also Jacques Etienne, *Spiritualisme érasmien et théologiens louvanistes. Un changement de problématique au début du XVIe siècle* (Louvain, 1956). For recent literature see J. V. M. Pollet, "Erasmiana," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 26 (1952) 382-404.

¹⁴⁹ *Opera* VI (1706), at the beginning of the *Adhortatio*. On this see EX I 377.

¹⁵⁰ Allen 1723.

¹⁵¹ H. De Vocht, "Erasmus," *The Clergy Review* 12 (1936) 17.

¹⁵² Pierre Couturier (Petrus Sutor) was born in Chemeré-le-Roi (Maine). He taught philosophy at Sainte-Barbe and from 1502 on was a member of the Sorbonne, where he became a doctor in 1510. In the same year he entered the Carthusian monastery in Paris, and became prior first here and later in Notre-Dame-de-la-Prée near Troyes (Aube). He was made visitor of the French province of the order and died in 1537 in the chartreuse of Notre-Dame-du-Parc in Sarthe, not far from his home. Cf. Feret II 392-395; Le Vasseur, O. Carth., *Ephemerides Ordinis Cartusienensis* 2 (Monstrolii, 1890) 346; Allen VI 132, and H. Bernard-Maitre, S.J., "Un théoricien de la Contemplation à la chartreuse parisienne de Vauvert, Pierre Cousturier dit Sutor," *Revue d'Ascétique et Mystique* 32 (1956) 174-195.

of his order;¹⁵³ and two years later, in 1524, he violently attacked and sought to ridicule the new translators of the Bible, Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étaples, who had published in 1523 a French translation of the New Testament. In this work Sutor declared that anyone who attacks the Vulgate and maintains that the study of Greek is necessary for an understanding of Sacred Scripture is an impious heretic. His book was printed with the approval of the Sorbonne, a fact which particularly irritated the "Prince of the Humanists" in Basel.¹⁵⁴ Erasmus answered with an equally vehement *Apologia*,¹⁵⁵ and Sutor followed in 1526 with a still more vehement *Antapologia*,¹⁵⁶ to which Erasmus made a still further reply.¹⁵⁷

The contest with the world-renowned Theological Faculty of Paris, which the Humanists would have preferred to avoid was thus engaged; and Beda, in whom alone, according to Erasmus, there were three thousand monks,¹⁵⁸ also entered into the fray.¹⁵⁹

Erasmus had himself brought it to a head. In February, 1522, a new edition of his *Colloquia* was published in Basel with a new dialogue: "On the Manner of Asking on the First Encounter."¹⁶⁰

George meets his friend Livinus and sees that he is macerated with hunger. "Where are you coming from?" he asks compassionately. "From the Collège de Montaigu." "Then you are surely coming full of knowledge." "On the contrary, full of lice." "Are you bringing any news from Paris?" "Yes, but it is something that you just won't believe: the beet is wise and the oak preaches (*Beta sapit et Quercus praedicat*)." "Then the people there must be really learned, if even the beet [Beda] and the oak [Quercus] are wise (*sapient*)." ¹⁶¹

Matters got even worse. In August, 1525, a new edition of the *Colloquia* appeared with a further dialogue: "The Young Man and the Prostitute." The theme was taken from a work of the nun Hroswitha of Gandersheim, but Erasmus had reworked it in his own way.

Lucretia, a prostitute, after a long time was visited by her Sophronius. To her amazement he lectured her on penance, giving her all kinds of reasons for abandoning her wretched way of life. He reminded her of the anxiety of her parents and relatives, of the shame of her calling, of the risk of catching the Spanish disease, of the passing of youthful beauty, and of her enslavement to a depraved mob. She marveled at his pious exhortations. "Where did you get this new-fangled holiness? I heard you were in Rome." "I was." "But people as a rule return from there worse than they were." "Yes, but I went to Rome with another intent, and with an honest man. At his advice

¹⁵³ *De vita cartusiana* (Paris, 1522).

¹⁵⁴ *De translatione Bibliae et novarum interpretationum reprobatione* (Paris, Dec., 1524); cf. Doumergue I 103.

¹⁵⁵ *Adversus Petri Sutoris, quondam theologi Sorbonici, nunc monachi cartusiani debachationem Apologia* (Basiliae, Aug., 1525).

¹⁵⁶ *Antapologia adversus quandam Erasmi Apologiam* (Paris, June, 1526); cf. Allen 1687.

¹⁵⁷ *Appendix Erasmi Roterodami respondens ad quandam Antapologiam Petri Sutoris* (Basiliae, Aug., 1526).

¹⁵⁸ Allen 1969.

¹⁵⁹ Allen 1571, introduction.

¹⁶⁰ *Dialogus Percontandi forma in primo congressu*; cf. Smith 6-7.

¹⁶¹ The *beta*, English "beet," had the reputation in antiquity and during the Middle Ages of being the most insipid and tasteless of all garden produce, as is indicated by Martial's verse: *Ut sapiant fatuae fabrorum prandia betae* (lib. 13). Diogenes called weak, effeminate men *betae*. Erasmus plays with the double meaning of *sapere*: "to have a taste"; "to be wise, to have understanding."

I took with me instead of a flask a little book, a translation of the New Testament by Erasmus." "By Erasmus? He is said to be a heretic and a half." "You mean to say that he is known even here?" "No one is more famous." "Have you seen him?" "No, but I would like to have seen one about whom so much evil is spoken." "No doubt by wicked men." "On the contrary, by priests." "By whom?" "I can't tell you." "Why not?" "If you would blab it about and they got wind of it, I would lose a good deal." "I see, by heaven, that you are a pious prostitute and help poor beggars with alms." "Not at all, I earn more from those mendicants than from you rich people." "Yes, they steal from honest matrons in order to enrich poor harlots."

The prostitute was indeed converted; her friend, whose father confessor at Rome had set himself up as an example of how youthful debauchery ruins the body, sought a refuge for her with a pious woman and also gave her the means so that she could carry out her good resolve. But the dialogue also made two further points: Erasmus got in a word for his New Testament, and he openly turned the tables on Rome and his spiritual opponents, among whom were the mendicant orders, which he cordially hated.¹⁶²

Beda was angry that he and his colleagues had been mocked before his pupils and the whole world,¹⁶³ especially since two years before, on the feast of the Epiphany, he had been ridiculed in a farce at the Collège du Plessis.¹⁶⁴ In 1523 Erasmus published his *Paraphrases on the New Testament*. In these he dedicated the Gospel of St. Mathew to Charles V, of Mark to Francis I, of Luke to Henry VIII, and of John to King Ferdinand,¹⁶⁵ for despite all his scorn for the rubbish of the Mendicants, the Prince of Humanists did not despise, as did his peers, the rubbish of the great ones of this world.

In January, 1524, copies of Erasmus's *Paraphrase of the Gospel of Luke* reached Paris, and the publisher who wanted to reprint the work asked Beda to give an expert opinion on it. In reply, Beda wrote that it contained fifty questionable opinions. A copy of this report through an act of indiscretion came into Erasmus' hands. Fearing that the syndic of the Theological Faculty might follow Sutor's example and write openly against him,¹⁶⁶ Erasmus sent a letter to Beda in which he thanked him for the *errata* and asked him to send on any other errors which might be discovered in the remaining paraphrases.¹⁶⁷

Beda replied in a long letter in which he pointed out the scandal which Erasmus had given by mocking celibacy, religious vows, fasts, feasts, prayers in choir, and the like; and he advised him to remove everything opposed to faith and morals from his works and, instead of writing more, in view of his advancing years, to prepare himself for death and, instead of reading the pagan classics, to

¹⁶² *Dialogus Adolescentis et scorti*; see Smith 21. In a letter to Cardinal Wolsey of 1526 and another to John Longland of 1528 Erasmus made special efforts to defend this dialogue (Allen 1697 and 2037).

¹⁶³ Heinrich Botteus wrote to Erasmus in 1528 that as soon as he had read the name "Beda" in his writings, he was forced to recall the time when he had studied in the Collège de Montaigu. He had looked upon Beda as a good man, "donec leviculo illo dicterio lesus 'Beta Lutetiae sapit' in tantam maledicentiam prorupit, ut apertius ementitam sanctimoniam atque latens sub gibbo illo suo virus evulgare non potuisset" (Allen 1963).

¹⁶⁴ Feret II 7-8.

¹⁶⁵ *Paraphrases in Novum Testamentum* (Basileae, 1523-1524). The single parts appeared separately from 1521 to 1524.

¹⁶⁶ Allen 1571, introduction (according to Beda's *Apologia* of 1529. Allen's numbers 1571 1579 1596 1620 1679 1685 are from this).

¹⁶⁷ Allen 1571; cf. Renaudet 242.

read Gerson's little book on the following of Christ and learn Christian humility from it.¹⁶⁸

Erasmus thanked him cordially in an equally long letter, but one that was filled with fine irony, and advised him in his conclusion that, notwithstanding his old age, he should not shy away from, but rather take up again, the study of Greek and Latin, since he was aware of his dislike for the classical languages and humanistic literature.¹⁶⁹

But when the humanist in Basel discovered that at Beda's urging the Theological Faculty was holding up the reprinting of his *Paraphrase of Luke*, and that it had condemned Berquin's French translation of four of his other works, including a dialogue of his *Colloquia*, and that a sharp censure which Beda had personally sent him listing more than two hundred questionable points in his other paraphrases was being circulated in Germany (Quercus had passed this around in manuscript form without Beda's knowledge), he dallied no longer¹⁷⁰ but picked up the gauntlet. As a consequence, Xavier soon after his arrival in Paris witnessed a battle in which the student world took a lively interest.

A new edition of Erasmus' *Colloquia* appeared in February, 1526, with his answer, the "Ichthyophagia," a new dialogue between a butcher and a fishmonger in which Erasmus made a specific reference to Beda's Collège de Montaigu.

Instead of meat, which was forbidden by the statutes of the house, salted herrings or eggs were served to the students, as was indicated in the same statutes. The butcher therefore predicts that the eating of fish will fill their bodies with humors and thus cause fevers, gout, epilepsy, leprosy, and various other ills; and the smell of the fish themselves will be intolerable. Then Erasmus, lurking behind the fishmonger, continues:

Thirty years ago I lived in Paris in a college which got its name from vinegar (*acetum*).¹⁷¹ Its very walls were infected with theology, but I brought nothing with me from Paris except a body full of the worst humors and a swarm of lice. Johannes Standonck was in charge of the college, a man full of good intentions but utterly lacking in judgment. He had himself grown up amidst abject poverty and wanted to do something for poor students. But how? With beds so hard, and food so coarse and scanty, and work and vigils so severe that he caused the deaths of many promising young men in the first year of this experiment and afflicted others with blindness, madness, and leprosy. I was personally acquainted with some of these, and there was not one of them who was not in danger of dying. Not satisfied with all this, he forced them to wear cloaks and cowls and would not allow them to eat meat at all. This is the way monasteries begin, which are now a threat to popes and monarchs. When they asked for something to eat in the dead of winter, they received only a small piece of bread and water from a foul well, all the more dangerous because it was drunk on a cold morning. I know many who are still today afflicted with diseases which they acquired at that time. Some of the rooms were laid out on the bare ground. The plaster was falling off the walls and the rooms themselves were contaminated by the neighboring latrines. Everyone who lived there acquired some sickness or deadly disease.

I pass over the cruel floggings which were inflicted even upon the innocent. It is thought that a rebellious nature is tamed this way and made suitable for the cloister. How many rotten eggs were devoured there! How much spoiled wine was drunk!

¹⁶⁸ Allen 1579.

¹⁶⁹ Allen 1581.

¹⁷⁰ Al'en 1571, introduction, and Beda's defense of his actions in his letter of March 29, 1526 (*ibid.* 1685).

¹⁷¹ A play upon Montaigu (*mons acutus*).

Conditions there may now be better, but it is too late for those who perished or who were infected with some disease.

I do not speak in this way because I wish to harm the college. If I saw that a man frees himself from his wickedness by putting on a cowl, I would advise this for all. But I have hardly ever entered into a Carthusian monastery without running into one or another who was either silly or raving mad.¹⁷²

With this dialogue Erasmus dealt a blow to Beda and Sutor; and the Parisian student world, where the *Colloquia* were freely circulated, was naturally delighted.

Beda was justifiably incensed by this attack. He had known Erasmus from the fall of 1495, when the bishop of Cambrai had supported him in the Collège de Montaigu. At that time the old college building, which had been erected in the fourteenth century, was in danger of collapse and needed to be rebuilt.¹⁷³ In 1490 Standonck had therefore purchased a house behind Sainte-Barbe between the Rue des Chiens and the Rue de Reims for his poor students and there accommodated more than eighty of them.¹⁷⁴ Living conditions left much to be desired, and after a short time Erasmus left the house. By 1496 the old college, however, had been rebuilt¹⁷⁵ and enlarged by the addition of a garden¹⁷⁶ that lay between it and the small house. In 1499 the college acquired a villa for the holidays.¹⁷⁷ In 1501 two neighboring houses were purchased and added to the establishment,¹⁷⁸ and a separate building was also obtained for the sick.¹⁷⁹ In 1504 Beda succeeded Standonck as principal, and the college was doubled in size through the acquisition of the house of Vézelay and the garden of the theologians near Sainte-Barbe.¹⁸⁰ With papal permission the rigorous statutes were relaxed,¹⁸¹ and the Collège de Montaigu became one of the best attended and most famous of the university. In 1509 it had 30 "rich masters"; 50 portionists of the first class, who ate at the masters' table, and 130 of the second class; 200 half-pensioners (camerists); and 122 poor students;¹⁸² and plans were being discussed for enlarging it through the addition of a new building.¹⁸³

Even after the relaxation of 1513 the rule of the Collège de Montaigu was strict enough,¹⁸⁴ but the rich pensioners were not bound to observe it. The program of studies in the college was taken over from that of Sainte-Barbe.¹⁸⁵ It had many excellent professors, including, for example, Johannes Major. Former students could be found as teachers in practically all of the colleges of Paris, among whom were Hangest, Lax, Coronel, Dolz, Celaya, Almain, and Crockaert.¹⁸⁶ In founding the Congregation of the Poor Students of Montaigu, Standonck had aimed at actively assisting in the reform of the Church; and he had served

¹⁷² Smith 39-43; Renaudet 261-262.

¹⁷³ Godet 1 6 11-14. For what follows, see the description on p. 86.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 9-11 131-132.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 11-16.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 15-16.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 35.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 34-35 57.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 20-21 57.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 61.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* 64-65 186-189.

¹⁸² *Ibid.* 62.

¹⁸³ Coyecque, nn. 733 737-738.

¹⁸⁴ The text of the rule of 1503 is in Godet 143-170; cf. 43-58; on the changes made see 65-67. The rich pensioners received their own rules in 1509 (*ibid.* 61-62).

¹⁸⁵ Godet 7. On the studies, see Thurot, appendices 11-13; Villoslada 106-126.

¹⁸⁶ Godet 61; Villoslada 106-107 114.

it better with his college than Erasmus did with his ridicule. Within a few years more than three hundred of his poor students entered different religious orders. The reformed monasteries of the Benedictines, Carmelites, Franciscans, and Dominicans were only too glad to receive candidates from his college,¹⁸⁷ and Louis XII¹⁸⁸ and Francis I had good reasons for praising it and giving it their generous support.¹⁸⁹

Erasmus' *Colloquia* had been written as a Latin reader and were in the hands of everyone; in some Parisian colleges they had even been introduced as a text. A remedy therefore had to be found for this, and Beda's efforts proved to be successful. After a two-day hearing in the chapter room of the Mathurins and in the Sorbonne, the *Colloquia* were solemnly condemned on May 16, 1526; and a long list of "erroneous, scandalous, and blasphemous" statements with citations from the pertinent dialogues was set before Parlement so that the teachings propounded in them might be banished from the realm. The report ended with the following observations:

Erasmus makes a damnable use of his rhetorical gifts in these dialogues and through them instills in children, their teachers, and all his readers the already condemned errors of the Arians, Wycliffites, Beghards, Lutherans, and other heretics. Such books should not be permitted to come into the hands of Christians, at least of the young, for their readers will be poisoned by them and in this way become completely estranged from Christianity!¹⁹⁰

Twelve days later Beda's *Annotationes* on Lefèvre's and Erasmus' paraphrases of the New Testament were published with the approval of the Sorbonne,¹⁹¹ and Sutor's *Antapologia* appeared soon after.

Erasmus set about mending his fences. He had his *Elenchus*¹⁹² printed as quickly as possible as a preliminary answer to Beda's book and sent it with a covering letter to Parlement in the middle of June.¹⁹³ In a second letter to Francis I he asked the king to put a stop to Sutor's and Beda's efforts and to give his protection to Berquin.¹⁹⁴ He wrote a third to the Theological Faculty protesting his inability to understand why Beda set heaven and hell against him because of three words about rotten eggs in his college; and he bitterly complained that while he, Erasmus, was fighting Luther and the new doctrines in Basel, he was being stabbed in the back in Paris.¹⁹⁵ In August he published his *Prologus*, a reply to Beda's accusations, with an appendix dealing with Sutor's *Antapologia* and Clichtovaeus' *Propugnaculum Ecclesiae*, which had attacked Erasmus this same year.¹⁹⁶ In March, 1527, he finally published his definitive reply, the

¹⁸⁷ Godet 40.

¹⁸⁸ Godet 39-40 184-186.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 67. Recent authors seem to have accepted Erasmus' gross exaggerations and the still more intemperate exaggerations of his satellite Rabelais at their face value. Böhmer already notes that Erasmus resided in the Collège de Montaigu before Standonck's reform (128).

¹⁹⁰ Feret I 135-136; Delisle, nn. LXXVII-LXXIX; Argentré II 1, 47-52; Renaudet 263.

¹⁹¹ *Annotationum Natalis Bedae in Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem libri duo, et in Desiderium Erasmus Roterodamum liber unus, qui ordine tertius est* (Paris, 1526). Cf. Renaudet 263; Allen 1722, introduction.

¹⁹² *In censuras erroneas Natalis Bedae Elenchus*. Cf. Delisle, n. LXXX; Allen 1721, introduction.

¹⁹³ Allen 1721; cf. Renaudet 265.

¹⁹⁴ Allen 1722; cf. Renaudet 265.

¹⁹⁵ Allen 1723; cf. Renaudet 265-266.

¹⁹⁶ *Prologus Erasmi in supputationem calumniarum Natalis Bedae. Responsiunculae*

Supputationes errorum in censuris Bedae ("A Computation of the Errors in the Censures of Beda"),¹⁹⁷ in which he declared in his own defense that Beda's book contained 181 lies, 310 slanders, and 47 blasphemies. Beda was in fact so full of errors, he wrote, that even if the pope himself approved them, an appeal would have to be made from a sleeping to a wakeful pope, for white could never become black even if the pope of Rome should say so, which he would not do.¹⁹⁸

Although Francis I, who wanted to bring the famous humanist to France, forbade the further sale of the *Annotationes* after this letter, it was too late. The publisher Bade had already sold more than 600 of the 650 printed copies;¹⁹⁹ and, in its answer to the king, the Theological Faculty declared that Erasmus' letter was inflammatory, scandalous, and favored the heretics since he had told the prince in it that if people such as Sutor and Beda were left free to rave the University of Paris would become a den of thieves. They therefore protested against the royal prohibition²⁰⁰ and had the works of Lefèvre, Erasmus, Meigret, Caroli, and Berquin examined for errors. They also made a representation to the chancellor Duprat with respect to the protection which he had offered to those who were thought to be suspect in the faith.²⁰¹

It was all to no avail. The king and his sister Marguerite favored the accused. In March, 1527, he ordered the Theological Faculty to justify its opposition to Lefèvre, Roussel, and Caroli.²⁰² In April, Master Merilin of the Collège de Navarre was imprisoned for stating in a sermon that the Lutherans had many friends at court.²⁰³ This gave them courage. Berquin, Erasmus' friend, made a counterattack. On July 9 the king sent the university an anonymous tract, *Twelve Articles Concerning the False Beliefs of Master Noël Beda*, recently composed by Berquin, and asked that the four faculties of the university should give their opinion on it the same day that they received it. He also established a commission to conduct on Berquin's behalf a trial of Beda, the priors of the Carthusians and Coelestines, and of the Theological Faculty.²⁰⁴ Erasmus was triumphant. At the beginning of September, 1527, he wrote to Vergara that all of his writings were being sold in Paris and that only recently Simon de Colines had printed his *Colloquia* there, even though the Parisian theologians were more hostile to it than they were to any other book.²⁰⁵

But Erasmus was still not a little disturbed when he learned this same fall that the Theological Faculty was examining his works for errors and that

ad propositiones a Beda notatas. Appendix de Antapologia Petri Sutoris et scriptis Jodoci Clithovei. Quibus addatur Elenchus errorum in censuris Bedae, jam pridem excusus (Basileae, August, 1526). Cf. Allen 1664, introduction.

¹⁹⁷ *Supputationes errorum in censuris Bedae* (Basileae, March, 1527). Cf. Feret II 11-13; Renaudet 277-280.

¹⁹⁸ "Si quid scripsit Bedda, quod ea Facultate [Parisiensi] sit indignum, ut certe scripsit permulta, . . . etiamsi summus Pontifex ea probaret, sim appellaturus ab eo dormitante ad eum vigilantem. Neque enim ideo nigrum esset album, si ita pronuntiaret Romanus Pontifex, quod illum scio nunquam facturum" (*Opera* 9 [1706] 517).

¹⁹⁹ See the letter of the printer Josse Bade to Beda of August 3, 1526, in Philippe Renouard, *Documents sur les Imprimeurs, Libraires etc. à Paris 1450-1600* (Paris, 1901) 6.

²⁰⁰ Allen 1722, introduction; Cros, *Doc.* I 282; Delisle 335, n. LXXXI; Renaudet 266.

²⁰¹ Delisle 336, nn. LXXXV-XC.

²⁰² Brandão, A. *Inquisição* 89-90.

²⁰³ Feret II 185-186; Driart 124-125; *Journal* 266; Crévier V 219-220; cf. Bulaeus VI 200-201.

²⁰⁴ Allen 1902, introduction; Feret I 132, II 15; Delisle 336-338, nn. XCIV-XCVI; Renaudet 268 280; cf. also Allen 1875 and VII 234.

²⁰⁵ Allen 1875.

Beda had already collected a great many items from his paraphrases and the *Elenchus* so that they might be condemned by the university.²⁰⁶ He therefore wrote several letters in the middle of November to prevent this. Among these were one to the Sorbonne,²⁰⁷ a second to Parlement,²⁰⁸ a third urgently addressed to Beda himself,²⁰⁹ a fourth to the cardinal of Lorraine,²¹⁰ and a fifth to the Dominican theologian Francisco de Vitoria requesting his help against his adversaries, that is, Beda and his associates; and he added the threat that if they were not interested in peace, he would not put up with their slanders, not even if six popes agreed with them.²¹¹ But all was in vain! On December 16, 1527, the one hundred sentences which Beda had collected from Erasmus' works were condemned by the Theological Faculty, but the decree was not immediately published out of respect for the king.²¹²

Erasmus took his revenge by including a new biting dialogue in the 1528 edition of his *Colloquia*.²¹³ In this dialogue, which he entitled "The Gathering of the Grammarians,"²¹⁴ he makes an allusion to a work which Sutor had written against the Anticomarites,²¹⁵ who were opposed to the veneration of Mary; and he advises the assembly to deliberate on what kind of a person an Anticomarite really is. He is a kind of beet (*beta*) known to the ancients as a "swimming beet" (*beta natatilis*), with a twisted, knotty stalk. Moreover, it is remarkably tasteless and has a foul stench, as can be noted by anyone who comes in contact with it. As its specific name *natatilis* indicates, it is a weed that grows best in mud or on a dung heap and is a choice morsel for hogs, asses, and cows. But the Pelini eat it as a relish. Among them the lord of a household can serve his guests whatever he pleases; and they must swallow everything he sets before them without a word, even if it should happen to be cabbage or hemlock. A medicine is also made out of this *beta natatilis*. It is mixed with oak galls (a reference to Quercus) and shoe polish (a reference to Sutor) as a remedy against dog mange and hog itch.

But Erasmus' ridicule was ineffective. Since February, 1528, in the monastery of the Grands-Augustins in the Latin Quarter in Paris, there had been held the provincial council of Sens under the presidency of the archbishop and chancellor Antoine Duprat.²¹⁶ Clichtovaeus, the tireless champion of the Church, had been extremely zealous in its promotion. The council urged that the sharpest measures should be taken against the current errors. At the request of the assembled bishops, Clichtovaeus added to the acts of the council, which were published in 1529, a short, clear presentation of Catholic teaching and of the opposite Lutheran errors.²¹⁷ At this same time an act of vandalism on the part of the Reformers exasperated the Catholics to the extreme. During the night between Pentecost and Pentecost Monday, June 1, 1528, a religious fanatic decapitated

²⁰⁶ Allen 1902, introduction. For the next five letters see Renaudet 288-289.

²⁰⁷ Allen 1902.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 1905.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 1906.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* 1911.

²¹¹ *Ibid.* 1909; Villoslada 346-349.

²¹² Feret I 136-138; Argentré II 1, 53-77; Renaudet 289.

²¹³ Smith 44-47.

²¹⁴ *Dialogus Synodus Grammaticorum*.

²¹⁵ *Apologeticum adversus novos Anticomaritas* (Paris, 1526).

²¹⁶ Driart 130-131; Dudon 627-633; Feret II 39.

²¹⁷ *Compendium veritatum ad fidem pertinentium contra erroneas Lutheranorum assertiones ex dictis et actis in Senonensi Concilio quod Parisiis celebratum est* (Paris, 1529).

a statue of the Madonna belonging to the house of the lord of Beaumont, which was located behind the church of Petit-Saint-Antoine on a corner of the Rue des Rosiers and the alley of the Jews, and had thrown the head into the mud. On June 9 the university conducted a procession in expiation for the deed. Two days later, on the feast of Corpus Christi, there was a procession of the Blessed Sacrament to the site, in which the king took part and the king of Navarre, Ercole d'Este, and the lords of Vendôme and Longueville carried the canopy. On the following day the king again went to the site in a general procession and tearfully took down the mutilated statue and replaced it with a silver one.²¹⁸

Ten days later, on June 22, Beda and Master Barthélemy, in the name of their colleagues in the Theological Faculty, asked the other three faculties to forbid the *Colloquia* in the schools; and on July 17 the university approved this request.²¹⁹ It was small consolation to Erasmus that he was forwarded an exaggerated report from Paris that Simon de Colines, after hearing a rumor about a possible prohibition of the work, had printed 24,000 copies of it. These had been quickly distributed and the work was consequently in everyone's hands.²²⁰

A second and third blow followed. On February 1, 1529, Beda published his *Apology Against the Secret Lutherans*,²²¹ by whom he meant Erasmus in particular, and together with this apology his exchange of letters with his adversary. The answer of the humanist in Basel appeared in Paris in April in the form of a *Responsio* to a work of Alberto Pio, count of Carpi, containing as an appendix: "Transitory Comments on the Captious Criticism of Beda." This was soon sold out and reprinted in June,²²² but it was too late. On April 17, 1529, Berquin, his protégé, was burned in the absence of the king as a relapsed Lutheran on the Grève Place.²²³ Master de Cornibus, the renowned Franciscan preacher, mentioned Luther and Erasmus from the pulpit as he expounded the Scriptural verse: "You will walk upon the asp and the basilisk and you will trample upon the lion and the dragon" (*Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem*).²²⁴

Diogo de Gouvea, the principal of Sainte-Barbe, who at the request of the Theological Faculty had vainly sought to bring Berquin back from his erroneous teachings,²²⁵ was solidly with Beda during Erasmus' fight with the Sorbonne.²²⁶

²¹⁸ Picotté 66-67 446-464; *Journal* 290-294; Driart 133; Versoris 206-207; Tuetey 24-26; Fouqueray I 32-33; Cros, *Doc.* I 286-288; Félibien II 981-983, IV 676-679; Bulaeus VI 209; cf. A. Bonnardot, "La Vierge de la rue des Juifs," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris*, 1879, 26-29.

²¹⁹ Argentré II 1, 47-52; Feret I 136; Bulaeus VI 210-211; Renaudet 295.

²²⁰ Allen 2126. More recent authors have rightly regarded this figure as being exaggerated; cf. Drummond II 179; Smith 45; *Bibliotheca Erasmiana: Colloquia*, ed. 1527, Paris.

²²¹ *Apologia adversus clandestinos Lutheranos* (Paris, 1529); cf. Renaudet 303.

²²² *Erasmi Responsio ad epistolam paraneticam Alberti Pii, Carporum principis. Eiusdem notatiumculae quaedam extemporales ad Naenias Bedaicas. Nihil horum non novum est* (Paris, 1529); cf. Renaudet 296.

²²³ Picotté 76; *Journal* 317-322 423-427; Driart 138-139; Versoris 213; Feret I 132-134; Allen 2362 2188; Renaudet 303-304 and R. Rolland, "Le dernier procès de L. de Berquin (1527-1529)," *Mélanges d'archéologie de l'École française de Rome* 12 (1892) 314-325. Erasmus wrote with respect to Berquin's death to Utenhove on July 1, 1529: "Si non commeruit supplicium, doleo; si commeruit, bis doleo. Ab instituto Lutheri plurimum abhorrebat" (Allen 2188). On Berquin see Haag II 418-434.

²²⁴ Al'en 2205; cf. 2126.

²²⁵ Matos 39-40.

²²⁶ Brandão, *A Inquisição* 84-94.

On his return from Portugal he had reached Valladolid in July, 1527, where the grand inquisitor Manrique had summoned a group of theologians to weigh the complaints made by the Spanish Dominicans against the Prince of Humanists. The grand inquisitor invited him to take part in the sessions and Gouvea was able to express his opinion about Erasmus. It was the sharpest of all. He recalled the scandalous life which Erasmus had lived as a student in Paris²²⁷ (Gouvea had lived with him in the Collège de Montaigu); he noted the poison which his works concealed behind an innocent guise; he begged the grand inquisitor to oppose his pernicious propaganda if he did not want to see Spain soon involved in a bitter religious controversy. In his New Testament Erasmus had described the Johannine Comma as a later interpolation, although Cardinal Cisneros in his Polyglot Bible had already noted three of four Greek manuscripts that contained it. On this count alone Erasmus, who repeated the erroneous teachings of the Arians, deserved to be burned as a heretic. His criticism of St. Jerome was blasphemous and scandalous. In his conclusion, Gouvea referred to a saying of a German Franciscan: "Erasmus laid the egg; Luther hatched it," and he added: "Would to God that the chicken be choked and the eggs broken!"²²⁸

Hardly had the principal of Sainte-Barbe returned to Paris when he wrote on September 18, 1527, to John III in Portugal, to whom Erasmus this same year had dedicated his edition of St. John Chrysostom:²²⁹

As far as the teaching, or sect, of Erasmus is concerned, Beda, the principal of the Collège de Montaigu, has collected more than two hundred statements from his *Paraphrases* of the Gospels and Epistles alone and has had them printed. When Erasmus learned of this he wrote to the king and to Parlement. They ordered the faculty to examine the statements selected by Beda. They in turn nominated twelve deputies for this purpose, who picked out about eighty of the more obvious errors. These were reviewed by three more doctors, and then nine more were named for the same purpose. Erasmus as a consequence will certainly be condemned. They are now having his other books reviewed: the *Annotationes*, *Enchiridion*, *De modo orandi*, *De matrimonio*, and so forth, in order to pick out the dangerous and erroneous passages for condemnation. I do not think that Erasmus will come from this trial unscathed, and I believe that he will fare better if he restricts himself to writing history and royal chronicles. This would bring him more praise than anything else.²³⁰

A year later, on July 19, 1528, two months before his next trip to Portugal and two after the university had proscribed the *Colloquia*, Gouvea wrote to his

²²⁷ Erasmus returned to Paris in the fall of 1496. In the spring of 1497 he took up his residence with two young Englishmen, Grey and Fisher, as a private teacher, but that summer was turned out of the house because the guardian of the young men suspected him of immoral relations with Grey (Allen 58, introduction). At the end of 1498 evil rumors of his life in Paris reached Steyn, so that he felt compelled to defend himself against the charges, that he "ociosum ineptire, obsonare atque amare" (*ibid.* 83-84). In 1514 he confessed to his childhood friend, the prior Rogerus, that "voluptatibus, etsi quondam fui inclinatus, nunquam servivi" (*ibid.* 296). In 1497 he revealed his feeling toward his teacher at that time in a letter to Grey in which he speaks of the *subtilissimae subtilitates* of these *theologastri*, "quorum cerebellis nil putidius, lingua nil barbarius, ingenio nil stupidius, doctrina nil spinosius, moribus nil asperius, vita nil fucatus, oratione nil virulentius, pectore nil nigrius" (*ibid.* 64).

²²⁸ Brandão, *A Inquisição* 84-88; Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus et l'Espagne* (Paris, 1937) 268-271; *Études sur le Portugal au temps de l'humanisme* (Coimbra, 1952), p. IX; cf. Allen 1528 2906 2956.

²²⁹ Allen 1800.

²³⁰ Costa 299; cf. Brandão, *A Inquisição* 91-92.

king: "A work by Erasmus, a series of dialogues known as *Colloquia*, has been condemned and burned. The booksellers have been forbidden under the penalty of death to sell it, and all commerce in it has been forbidden under the severest penalties. I hope that with God's help his other works will share the same fate."²³¹

8. A NEW ROOMMATE (1529)²³²

Francis and Favre had in the meantime enrolled in the university and had taken the oath of obedience to the statutes that was customarily administered on such an occasion.²³³ Between the feast of St. Martin (November 11) and Christmas, 1528, they had engaged in the usual disputations under the presidency of Master Peña in the Rue de Fouarre and then in the Collège de Saint-Barbe.²³⁴

²³¹ Costa 302; Brandão, *A Inquisição* 94.

²³² A good survey of the more important literature on Ignatius is given in Ig. Iparraquirre, "Obras Completas de San Ignacio de Loyola (Madrid 1952) 7*-48* 69*-80*"; see also Dudon (pp. XIII-XX) supplemented by Leturia (306-317) and Jesús Juambelz, S.J., *Bibliografía sobre la vida, obras y escritos de San Ignacio de Loyola 1900-1950* (Madrid, 1956) and the current bibliography of the ARSI. For more recent literature on Ignatius see the critical surveys by Hugo Rahner, S.J., "Ignatiusforschung im Gedenkjahr 1956," *Geist und Leben* 30 (1957) 140-149; A. Martini, S.J., "Spigolature bibliografiche sul Quarto Centenario Ignaziano," *Civiltà Cattolica* 108 2 (1957) 294-306; and especially Ig. Iparraquirre, S.J., *Orientaciones bibliográficas sobre San Ignacio de Loyola* (2 ed., Rome, 1965). In 1971 an index was published of the first hundred volumes of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*. Almost all are concerned with the time of Ignatius. For our purpose the most important are the four series of the *Monumenta Ignatiana*: (1) *Epistolae*, (2) *Exercitia*, (3) *Constitutiones*, (4) *Scripta de S. Ignatio*, and in this last series the four volumes of the *Fontes Narrativi* (1943-1965). Particularly important for the period up to 1535 are the autobiography of St. Ignatius, which he dictated to Luis Gonçalves da Camara between 1553 and 1555 (FN I 353-482), the letter of Laynez of 1547 (*ibid.* 70-106), the Spanish *Sumario* of Polanco of 1548 (*ibid.* 151-186), and his Latin life of Ignatius of 1574 (FN II 506-569), the *Memoriale* of Favre of 1542 (FN I 28-39), and the *Relatio* of Rodrigues of 1577 (*Ep. Broëti* 451-461). In addition to these there are the Latin and Spanish lives of Ignatius by Ribadeneyra of 1572 and 1583; the histories of the assistancies by Astráin, Fouqueray, Tacchi Venturi, and Rodrigues; and the more recent biographies by Dudon (1934) and the Protestant Böhmer, whose first edition of 1914 is superior to the abbreviated versions of 1941 and 1951. The *Fontes Narrativi* give a better description of the earlier published texts along with a critical apparatus. A new edition of the autobiography of St. Ignatius has been published by Larrañaga. This does not include a critical apparatus, but it has a detailed commentary which discusses all the problems that are in any way connected with the text. The most important publication on Ignatius to appear after the German edition of our first volume on Xavier is Hugo Rahner, S.J., *Ignatius von Loyola. Briefwechsel mit Frauen* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1956).

²³³ We did not find Xavier's name on the list of *jurati*. A student as a rule matriculated shortly before his examination for the baccalaureate. Favre did this towards the end of 1528 during the time that Petrus de la Cousture was rector (thus between Oct. 10 and Dec. 17, 1528), when "Petrus faber dioeceseos gebennensis" is named among the *jurati* (*Acta Rectoria* 9952, 52v). The number 5 on the page is written almost like a 4, so that Fouqueray 38, n. 3, became confused and read it as "42v."

²³⁴ Thurot 45-46; *Auctarium* I, p. XXIX; Bulaeus V 723. The opening disputation in Xavier's time was still held in the Rue du Fouarre; the later ones were held in Sainte-Barbe. These disputation which were held before Christmas since the fifteenth century had replaced those which had been held during Lent and had more recently been reduced to a private status (Thurot 48 44). Dudon's account of them on page 191 is therefore wrong.

Early in 1529,²³⁵ Francis stood for the usual examination for the baccalaureate,²³⁶ which was given by five examiners of the five provinces of his nation in the Grandes Écoles of the French nation on the Rue de Fouarre.²³⁷ He then took the usual oath at the hands of the procurator of his nation, paid the usual fees, and then with the other candidates held the festive banquet that was customary at the beginning and close of the examinations.²³⁸

Not long after this, in the summer of 1529, Dr. Gouvea, having completed his business in Portugal, returned to Paris.²³⁹ An incident then plunged him and the whole Spanish colony in the Latin Quarter into an unusual state of excitement. Sometime around July they lost three of their countrymen. One of these was the forty-four-year-old master Juan de Castro,²⁴⁰ a member of a prominent family in

²³⁵ Favre received his baccalaureate on January 10, 1529 (FN I 31); Xavier must have received his about the same time since he passed the licentiate examination with Favre the following year.

²³⁶ Thurot 46-47.

²³⁷ *Ibid.* 47-48; cf. Brandão, *O Colégio* I 181.

²³⁸ Thurot 61-63; Bulaeus VI 334; *Chartularium* IV 729-730; *Auctarium* I, p. XLV; FN I 476-479.

²³⁹ Gouvea wrote from Rouen on September 22, 1531, to Dom Antonio d'Ataide, count of Castanheira, the Portuguese ambassador extraordinary at the French court: "Eu fui a Portugal no ano de 526, andei la hum ano e meo. Acheguei aqui em 27, tornei logo no ano de 28; *la amdei ate agora como V.S. sabe*" (Costa 305). He thus states that he had gone to Portugal in 1528 and had only returned in 1531. But the evidence afforded by Ignatius, Laynez, Salmerón, Polanco, and Ribadeneyra forces us to believe that the doctor, who states that he must be brief since he has been suffering from severe headaches for three days, and does not know how he can help himself, here skips over his short stay in Paris from summer to November, 1529. It is clear that the principal did not stay away from his college without a compelling reason, especially since from 1527 on, he was responsible for a considerable number of Portuguese stipendiaries of his king. The embassy of the French herald, Helies Alesgle, who was commissioned by his lord, Francis I, to demand sixty thousand *escudos* from John III as indemnity for the Bretonese ship owners, obliged Gouvea to make a fourth trip to Portugal in September, 1528 (Alesgle left Paris on September 19). On January 18, 1529, the doctor was present at the first audience given to the ambassador in Lisbon as an agent and an interpreter. The negotiations dragged on for nine weeks without accomplishing anything. After Gouvea had obtained for Alesgle the return of his credentials, the latter went to France, where he gave an account of his mission to Francis I on July 3, 1529, in Crucy (Languedoc). See Brandão, *A Inquisição* 56-57; *Historia da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil* III 74-76. With Alesgle's departure, Gouvea's mission in Portugal was completed. He too, accordingly, returned to Paris at this same time (June, 1529) to look after his college and to defend his king, if necessary, against the distorted accounts of the herald. A new and unexpected mission forced Gouvea to make a fifth trip to Lisbon even before the end of the year. On October 15, 1529, Francis I ordered his treasurer, the lord of Saignes, Pierre de La Garde, to furnish the money needed for this trip. As ambassador extraordinary of his king, La Garde is said to have asked John III for a loan of 400,000 *cruzados* to help in the ransom of his children who were being held in Spain as hostages, and Chancellor Duprat asked Gouvea in a personal letter to support the ambassador at the Portuguese court. La Garde arrived in Lisbon on December 14, 1529; and, after a month's negotiations, he wrote from there to Duprat on January 18, 1530, that D. Gouvea had been of great assistance to him (Matos 31-32 172; Gomes de Carvalho, *D. João III e os Francezes* [Lisbon, 1909] 177-188; Costa 319; Brandão, *A Inquisição* 58-59). This also explains why Quicherat wrote that the doctor's nephew, André de Gouvea, had taken the place of his uncle as principal of Sainte-Barbe from 1530 (more precisely, from the end of 1529) to 1534 (III 409). Diogo de Gouvea had certainly reproached his nephew on the appointment of the heretical Cop in 1530 "cum ipse deponens esset in Portugallia," but not on that of the equally heretical Buchanan in the fall of 1528 (Costa 196).

²⁴⁰ Juan de Castro, who was born in Burgos in 1485, was a *socius* of the Sorbonne in 1525, where he became a doctor of theology on October 25, 1532. He entered the

Burgos, an associate of the Sorbonne, and a student of theology. Another was the bachelor Pedro de Peralta,²⁴¹ of the diocese of Toledo, and a candidate for the master's degree. The third was the Guipuzcoan Amador de Elduayen²⁴² of the Collège de Sainte-Barbe. The last two had been enrolled in the university since the end of 1526. They suddenly left their colleges, distributed their possessions, including their books, among the poor, betook themselves to a refuge for the homeless in the hospital of Saint James on the Rue Saint-Denis on the other side of the Seine, and began to beg for their food from door to door.

The first two were prominent personages, and their departure raised a storm of protest. Their friends and countrymen went to the hospital and tried to persuade them to return. When this charitable advice proved to be fruitless, they armed themselves and set out again in a crowd for the hospital. They dragged the three away by force and brought them back to the Latin Quarter, where they made them promise that they would not leave again until they had completed their studies.

A certain Iñigo de Loyola, a Spanish student, was apparently behind all this. He had given the three a series of meditations which he called "Spiritual Exercises," and these exercises had made them decide to flee from the world.²⁴³ Iñigo became the brunt of the whole affair, and Gouvea threatened him with the

chartreuse of Val de Cristo at Segorbe (Valencia) on June 23, 1535, where he died in 1556. Cf. L. Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides Ordinis Cartusianensis* 2 (1890) 447-452; Villoslada 385 247 431; MI *Epp.* 110 191; FN I 33; Larrañaga 315-316.

²⁴¹ Pedro de Peralta, who matriculated in Paris in 1526, became a master of arts in 1529 with the observation that his "bursa valet 4 solidos parisienses" (*Acta Rectoria* 9951, 159v; 9952, 72v). In 1534 he returned to Spain and became a canon and preacher at the cathedral of Toledo, where we still find him in 1554 (FN I 179 468; *Ep. Mixtae* I 387; *Nadal* I 233).

²⁴² Amador de Elduayen was matriculated in 1526 (*Acta Rectoria* 9951, 155), together with "Dom Dominicus de Elduayen, nobilis" (*ibid.* 155v), of the diocese of Pamplona, which at that time also included his native Guipúzcoa. On the noble family of the Elduayen, see *Geografía General del País Vasco-Navarro: País Vasco-Navarro* 347 402-403; Juan Carlos de Guerra, *Estudios de Heráldica Vasca* (San Sebastián, 1928) 93; cf. Schurhammer, *Baskische Studenten* 637. Polanco says that the three remained "pii et boni" (FN II 560).

²⁴³ The sources for the storm which the three disciples of Ignatius created in the Latin Quarter are a note of February 20, 1542, which Ignatius wrote for Araoz (MI *Epp.* I 190-191); the detailed account in his *Autobiography* (FN I 468-474); the descriptions in Polanco's Spanish *Sumario* (*ibid.* 179-180) and *Vita* (*ibid.* II 555-558 560-561); *Nadal* (*ibid.* 77-78) and Ribadeneyra (*Vida* 2, 2-3). Polanco specifies the time: "15 meses después de llegado a Paris se comenzó a levantar una [contradicción]" (FN I 179), "15 fere menses postquam Parisios pervenit" (*ibid.* II 560). Since Ignatius came to Paris at the beginning of February, 1528, Polanco's date brings us to April or May, 1529. In his autobiography Ignatius gives a second determinant for the time. He states that after his return from his first trip to Flanders ("venido de Flandes la primera vez") he had given the Exercises at almost the same time to the three named—Peralta, Castro, and Amador. The first trip to Flanders was, as will be shown below, in the Lent (February-March) of 1529, so his return was in April. The Exercises, which usually lasted a month, were thus given in April, May, or June. Ignatius adds that his three disciples underwent a great change after the Exercises and had immediately given all their belongings to the poor and had retired to the hospital. This occurred while he was in Rouen, and thus around July, that is, at a time when Alesgle and Gouvea also, as we believe, had returned from Portugal. Only after his return to Paris (July-August), did Ignatius hear what had happened and that the inquisitor was looking for him. He went to him and asked that the investigation might be conducted immediately, since he wanted to begin his course in philosophy on October 1. This was shortly before the date mentioned ("Di lì a poco tempo venne Sto. Remigio, che è il principio di Ottobre" FN I 468-474).

"salle," that is, to have him publicly flogged in the aula if he ever dared to show up in his college as a bad influence on the students, for he had certainly addled the brain of his Amador.²⁴⁴ And Dr. Ortiz,²⁴⁵ who lived in the Collège de Montaigu²⁴⁶ and had been entrusted with the care of Peralta,²⁴⁷ delated the corrupter of his ward as a potential heretic to the inquisitor in the monastery of the Dominicans.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁴ Ignatius' account of this is as follows: "Levantáronse en Paris grandes murmuraciones, maxime entre hespanholes, contra el peregrino; y nuestro maestro de Govea, diciendo que habia hecho loco a Amador, que estaba en su colesio, se determinó y lo dixo, la primera vez que viniere a Santa Barbara, le haría dar un 'Sala' por seductor de los escolares" (FN I 468).

²⁴⁵ Pedro Ortiz was born of New Christian parents in Toledo in 1501. His mother was named Ines Yañez; his father, Sancho Ortiz, was *mayordomo* of Ambassador Rojas. His oldest brother, Juan, was secretary of the admiral of Castile, Don Fadrique Henríquez, in Toledo; the second oldest, Francisco, was a preacher in the Franciscan monastery of San Juan de los Reyes in the same city; two of his sisters were nuns there; two others were not married. After the completion of his philosophy in Alcalá, Pedro went to Paris, where he found two patrons, one of them Briçonnet, the bishop of Meaux, who furnished him with money (see the statements of his brother Francisco in Eduard Böhmer, *Franziska Hernandez und Frai Francisco Ortiz* [Leipzig, 1865] 87-88 67-69). "An expert in Parisian disputations" (*Fabri Mon.* 46, n. 10), he earned his doctorate in theology there in 1525 (Villoslada 430), worked energetically for the condemnation of Briçonnet and Erasmus (E. Böhmer 67-69), and in 1529 obtained a chair in Sacred Scripture in Salamanca. From the end of 1530 he represented Charles V in Rome in the matter of the divorce of the English king. In 1540 and 1541 he was living with Favre in the employ of the emperor at the Diet of Worms and in Regensburg. Then he again took up his teaching in Spain and died, always a warm patron of the Society of Jesus, in Alcalá in 1548 (FN I 44, n. 48).

²⁴⁶ According to Quicherat I 192, whose sources (Ribadeneyra, Orlandinus, and the letter of Peralta), however, say nothing of a regency of Ortiz in the Collège de Montaigu. The new edition of the commentary on the *Sentences* by Johannes Major, *In secundum Sententiarum disputationes theologicae*, which appeared in Paris in September, 1528, contained a dedication of the author to the "primarii vigilantissimi" of the Collège de Montaigu, Noël Beda and Pierre Tempête, dated "Ex Montisacuti collegio literis et moribus decorato ad quintum Kalendas Sept. 1528," and another of Petrus Peralta to Ortiz, "Petro ab hortis doctori theologo eruditissimo," in which he states that at the request of Major he has made the index to the new edition. He then continues: "Tu igitur qua nos nostraque soles fronte, diligentiam nostram boni consulens suscipe et in hortos istos admitte, in quibus sunt omnis disciplinae praesertim theologiae et fontes irrigui et arbores procerae amoenissimis studiorum et naturae fructibus decoratae: de quibus quia alias plenius loqui constituimus consultius nunc tacere quam parum dicere ducimus. Vale igitur decus et praesidium nostrum dulcissimum. Ex Monteacuto ad Calendas Sept. 1528."

²⁴⁷ His relative, Blas Ortiz, a canon of the cathedral of Toledo from 1524, had recommended him to Peralta, as Francisco de la Cavalleria y Portillo, S.J., notes. Blas erroneously takes him to be a brother of Pedro (*Historia de Villa-Robledo* [Madrid, 1571] 113-125; cf. *Cartas del B. P. Pedro Fabro* [Bilbao, 1894] 405-407) Francisco Ortiz mentions Blas, who was one of his judges, simply as a relative of his father (E. Böhmer 88).

²⁴⁸ According to Ribadeneyra (*Vida* 2, 8). But Polanco wrote in 1548 that Ignatius had not wanted to go to Rome in 1537 while Dr. Ortiz was there, "que le había sido contrario a Paris... a su [Dr. Ortiz] salida de Paris; por la mutación de los doctores [Castro and Peralta] arriba dicha no estaba bien con las cosas de Iñigo, antes dejó rogado que procediesen contra él, por la mala información que entonces tenía" (FN I 191-192); and in 1574 he again wrote: "qui Parisiis recedens quo tempore secundam illam tragediam ibi excitatam esse contra Ignatium diximus, amicis commendatum reliquerat, ut Ignatii doctrinam diligenter excuterent" (*ibid.* II 577). This raises a difficulty. During the Lent of 1529 Ortiz was called to his father's deathbed in Toledo. On his return trip he was present on March 17 for the arrest of the *beata* Francisca Hernandez at Castrillo near Valladolid (E. Böhmer 67-71), and in October he began his lectures in Salamanca (M. Bataillon, *Erasmus et l'Espagne* [Paris, 1937] 477). The solution is that he left Paris as quickly as he could. He then returned there after the death of his father in April

Iñigo de Loyola had come to Paris from Barcelona at the beginning of 1528 to complete his studies.²⁴⁹ Every day Francis could look out from the window of his room in the tower and see him pass by the Collège de Saint-Barbe. Dressed in the cassock of a Parisian student and walking with a slight limp, since his right leg was shorter than his left, he could be seen making his way to the neighboring Collège de Montaigu. There, despite his thirty-eight years, he took his place among the Latin students to study grammar. Iñigo was lean and of less than average stature. He had a distinguished, somewhat haggard appearance. He wore a black beard, and had a hearty complexion, prominent nose, high forehead, and downcast eyes.²⁵⁰ He was a nobleman from Guipúzcoa, a posthumous son of the lord of Loyola, and had been an officer in the service of the duke of Nájera when the latter was viceroy of Navarre. In 1521 he had fought on the ramparts of the fortress of Pamplona against the Navarrese and their French allies. During the siege a cannonball had shattered his right leg, and as he lay on his sickbed at Loyola he had resolved to forsake the world. According to reports he had already come into conflict with ecclesiastical authorities in the universities of Alcalá and Salamanca.²⁵¹

In Paris also he had soon become an object of discussion. After taking lodging with a Spanish fellow student in a private house in the Latin Quarter, he had given his money to his roommate for safekeeping. When his countrymen proved to be faithless, having squandered the whole sum with which he had been entrusted, Iñigo had been evicted by his landlord and, after Easter,²⁵² had found a place to stay in the hospital of Saint-Jacques on the Rue Saint-Denis; but he still had to beg his food from door to door. Since the hospital was not opened before dawn and was closed again in the evening at the ringing of the *Angelus* and was far away from the Collège de Montaigu, Iñigo always missed the first and last hours of class. His begging also consumed a good portion of his time. Even though Castro, a friendly Carthusian, and the canons of Saint-Victor had tried to help the former nobleman to find a place as a servant of a professor or fellow student so that he might support himself in this way, their efforts were unsuccessful.²⁵³ Finally, on the advice of a Spanish monk, he had traveled to Flanders during the Lent of 1529²⁵⁴ and begged the money he needed for the coming year from rich Spanish merchants in Antwerp and Bruges.

to take care of his affairs before going to Salamanca. Ortiz, moreover, had the reputation of being too ready to suspect others of heresy (*Fabri Mon.* 46, n. 10.).

²⁴⁹ On February 2, 1528 (*MI Epp.* I 74).

²⁵⁰ On the exterior appearance of St. Ignatius see Ribadeneyra, *Vida* I, 4, c. 18; FN I 637-727 (death mask *ibid.* 168-169); Rodrigues, *Historia* I 1, 37-40; Böhmer 275-279 and below, IV, 4, 1.

²⁵¹ See Polanco, *Sumario* (FN I 1540158 172-177). On the life of St. Ignatius before his trip to Paris, see besides his autobiography and the letter of Laynez and the other sources mentioned above (p. 136, n. 232) Leturia, *El Gentilhombre* (Barcelona, 1949^o).

²⁵² Easter fell on April 12 in 1528.

²⁵³ According to Ignatius' autobiography (FN I 464-466) and Polanco (*ibid.* 178-179).

²⁵⁴ Ignatius traveled three years in a row to Flanders to seek help from Spanish merchants in Bruges and Antwerp. On his third trip he also went to England (FN I 179 466; Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 2, 1; cf. Larrañaga 316-324). One of these journeys was made during Lent, and on this occasion he had his well-known encounter with the humanist Luis Vives in Bruges (FN II 557-558). This must have been on his first trip to Flanders, and it must have been during the Lent of 1529 for the following reasons: (1) The trip to Flanders took about two months (FN I 466). Under normal circumstances, therefore it could have only been made during the fall vacation. Students of philosophy attended classes in July and August, but these were completely suspended in September. Those

After returning from Flanders, he gave Castro, Peralta, and Amador the meditations of his Spiritual Exercises for a whole month and then went off to Rouen, where the fellow who had squandered his money lay sick and was asking for his help. Upon his return to Paris, Iñigo was informed of the effects of his Exercises and of the fact that the inquisitor was looking for him. He immediately presented himself to him in the monastery of the Dominicans near the Porte Saint-Jacques and asked to be tried at once. He wanted to begin the course of philosophy on the feast of St. Remy, October 1, and was afraid that otherwise his studies would be interrupted. The inquisitor admitted that a charge had been filed against him, but he did not press it.²⁵⁵

Dr. Gouvea's anger had subsided when in September Iñigo de Loyola, to everyone's amazement, took up his residence as a paying portionist in Sainte-Barbe in order to study philosophy under Master Peña. He was given a place in the room in which Peña lived with Favre and Xavier;²⁵⁶ and, at the request of his teacher, Favre undertook to repeat the lectures with his new companion.²⁵⁷

At first everything went well. But Peña soon discovered that an ever greater number of students were missing from the prescribed disputations on Sunday mornings. Instead of attending them, they had been persuaded by the newcomer

studying Latin attended classes, even if they were somewhat curtailed, into September. Therefore, if Ignatius made this trip once during Lent, he must have been forced by circumstances to do so. Such circumstances, however, are only to be found at the time of his first trip when a complete lack of resources compelled him to make it. The Latin classes which he missed, and which he would also have lost in the fall, would have been more easily made up than those in philosophy. (2) Ignatius lived for "algun tiempo" in the hospital after Easter, April 12, 1528, and at the same time attended lectures in the Collège de Montaigu until he realized that he was making too little progress in his studies (FN I 466) because he was missing his morning and evening classes and losing time in begging. This is why he looked "por muchos dias" for a position as a servant in different monasteries and through different mediators before deciding to make his first trip to Flanders (*ibid.* 98). This alone could indicate that Ignatius did not make his trip in July or August, two and a half or three months after Easter, 1529. (3) The quick succession of events precludes a trip to Flanders in the autumn of 1528. Ignatius states that after his return from his first trip to Flanders he gave the Exercises to the three at almost the same time, that these had immediately (*luego*) begun to beg, that their Spanish fellow students had immediately sought to dissuade them from this (FN I 468), and that on his return to Paris he had learned what had happened and had immediately gone to the inquisitor and asked that his trial should be held soon, since October 1 would soon be at hand and he wanted to begin his course in philosophy on that date (FN I 474 180). If Ignatius made his first trip to Flanders in the fall of 1528, then he would have had to wait a full year before he could begin his philosophy, and there would thus have been no reason to hurry. The chronology of events must therefore have been more or less the following: from February to the middle of April, 1529, the first trip to Flanders; from May to June—his return to Paris and apostolic work among the students through spiritual conversations, which gave rise to a persecution about fifteen months after his arrival in Paris (FN I 468); from June to July—the Spiritual Exercises of about thirty days given to the three at almost the same time; in July—Gouvea's return; from August to September, 1529—the uproar, Gouvea's threat, and Ignatius' return from Rouen.

²⁵⁵ The autobiography states that Matthaëus Ori was the inquisitor (FN I 474).

²⁵⁶ FN I 32 474.

²⁵⁷ The correct text of the *Memoriale*, distorted in some manuscripts, reads as follows: "Hoc anno [1529] venit Ignatius, ut esset in eodem collegio Stae. Barbarae, et in eodem cubiculo nobiscum, volens ingredi cursum artium in Sto. Remigio [October 1] sequenti. Erat autem supradictus magister [Peña, not Xavier] id oneris suscepturus. Benedicta sit in aeternum divina providentia, quae sic ordinavit in meum bonum et salutem. Cum enim ab illo [Peña] fuisset sic ordinatum, ut ego docerem praedictum sanctum virum [Ignatius]" (FN I 32).

to go with him to the Carthusian monastery to confess their sins and to receive Holy Communion. When, despite a triple warning, the matter continued to get worse, Peña lost his patience and referred the matter in an exaggerated fashion to the principal. Through his teacher, Gouvea then informed the accused that he would have to limit his activities to his studies and that he should not lead the other students astray. Since these various warnings and threats produced no effect, Gouvea, who still remembered the case of Amador and was a staunch defender of the house rules, decided to make an example of the incorrigible old student.

One day when the students were at class, he ordered the gates of the college to be shut and all to be summoned to the aula through the ringing of the house bell. This meant that the teachers would appear with their rods in order to give the "*salle*" to some guilty student. The culprit would be told to strip himself to the waist, and would then be thoroughly flogged by four masters. This was a painful and humiliating punishment; but if the accused would not accept it, he would be expelled from the university.²⁵⁸

As Francis, Favre, and the rest of the students were waiting in suspense in the aula to see what would happen, the doors opened and the principal entered leading Iñigo by the hand; but instead of giving the signal for a caning, he knelt down and with tears in his eyes asked his companion's pardon for having sought to punish him, and he declared that he was a second St. Jerome.

When the bell rang, Iñigo had immediately realized what it meant and, after a brief inward struggle, had gone to the principal's room and told him that he was quite ready to suffer for Christ but that Gouvea should think of the scandal he would give to the younger students whose piety he, Iñigo, had fostered. The somewhat effervescent, but deeply religious doctor, was completely won over²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ The punishment, called "*aula*," "*sala*," or "*salle*," is described as follows in the statutes of the university of 1488: "Puniatur delinquens scholasticus in aula collegii, cuius se profitetur scholasticum, a quatuor Regentibus et a singulis eorum verberetur in dorso nudus, praesentibus omnibus scholasticis de suo collegio, ad pulsum campanae" (Bulæus V 783-784). This was also the kind of punishment meted out in Coimbra by Diogo de Teive, who had studied with Ignatius at Sainte-Barbe. He had a guilty student punished by four professors, with "muitos infindos açoutes" (Teive 78). In the collège de Bordeaux, Costa, another of Ignatius' fellow students at Sainte-Barbe, had a delinquent beaten by all the professors (Costa 220). Ribadeneyra also maintains with respect to our particular case that all the *magistri* were armed with rods (FN II 383). Polanco says only in general that "reus denudatus virgis caeditur acerbissime et ignominiose" (*ibid.* 563).

²⁵⁹ For this incident, which is not to be confused with the earlier mentioned threat (p. 138), we have four witnesses: Laynez, Salmeron, and Polanco, who were students with Ignatius at Paris, and Ribadeneyra, who investigated the matter when he was himself a student there in 1542. The detailed account which we follow is that of Ribadeneyra, written before 1572 (FN II 382-384). Although he was only sixteen in 1542, he was mature for his age and could determine what happened, especially since the companions were at the time on intimate terms with Gouvea and his college; the old doctor even offered them his college as a dwelling (*Ep. Mixtae* I 72 84-85). Ribadeneyra's description, which goes into even the slightest details, gives an impression of credibility throughout; and his account of Gouvea's part in the affair is in perfect agreement with the latter's temperament, which was quick, irascible, and robust, but at the same time humble and childlike in its piety, as can be seen in his letters and is corroborated by the testimony of his contemporaries. One of them, for example, Teive, declared that he was "muy vehemente em suas paixões" (Teive 170; on Gouvea's character, see also Brandão, *A Inquisição* 204-214). Salmerón notes in an unpublished report, **Varias persecuciones de la Compañía, de que dió noticia el P. Salmerón*, that "the beating which Dr. Gouvea wanted to give Ignatius publicly in Paris served to make him better known, loved, and treasured, and furnished the occasion for ours to be summoned by the king

and from that time on the zealous student could go undisturbed with his young friends on Sundays and feast days to the Carthusians; and the disputations were set for another hour. From then on, Gouvea was ever Iñigo's faithful friend and patron, and the incident only served to make the latter better known, loved, and esteemed.²⁶⁰

At this time Francis I, whose subjects with his secret approval had already plundered over three hundred Portuguese ships worth some 500,000 cruzados,²⁶¹ sent Lord La Garde as ambassador to John III in order to ask him for a loan of 400,000 cruzados for the ransom of his two sons who were being kept in Spain as hostages. The archbishop of Sens, chancellor Duprat, wrote to Gouvea that he might be of help to La Garde in his mission to the Portuguese court. The principal was therefore obliged to go to Portugal for a rather longer stay and left his nephew, André de Gouvea, in charge of Sainte-Barbe.²⁶²

On November 11, about the time that Gouvea was leaving Paris, the king gave orders that the victory of the Christians over the Turks before Vienna should be heralded at the street crossings, and that it should be announced that the enemy had retreated leaving fifty thousand dead on the field of battle. The jubilant citizens kindled bonfires in the streets, and on the following Sunday there was a procession of thanksgiving to Saint-Martin-des-Champs. Word was also spread about that the Turks were retreating still further because they had learned that Prester John, king of the Indies, and the Sophi, king of the Persians, had invaded Turkey with 400,000 men and were causing great havoc.²⁶³

9. MAGISTER ARTIUM (MARCH, 1530)

In October, 1528, Francis and Favre had begun their third year of philosophy, or "physics," which was to prepare them for their examinations for the licentiate. In order to be admitted to this examination, a student had to have attended,

of Portugal and to be sent to India" (Ms. 750 in the Archives of the Jesuit Province of Toledo, f. 2v). In 1559, Laynez, as general of the order, pointed Ignatius out as an example in a public speech to the Roman companions, since he had embraced with the greatest fortitude things which were contrary to his proud nature: "Essempio quando lo bolsero battere in Parigi nel collegio di Sta. Barbara, che saltó di piacere in camera sua, et corse in quel collegio etc.," or, as another manuscript reads: "andò correndo dove lo volevano battere" (FN II 139). Polanco, finally, gives a similar account of the entire proceedings in his *Vita*, including the genuflection and the tears of Gouvea (*ibid.* 562-563). Ribadeneyra gives his account of the affair in his Latin and Spanish lives of Ignatius, which appeared in 1572 and 1583 (2, 3), and which were submitted to the most important members of the order for censoring. Not one of these keen censors had anything to say against it (MI *Scripta* I 712-744). His critic and literary opponent Maffei also gives it in his *Vita Ignatii*, which was published in 1585 (I, 20). The description of the event in Quicherat (I 192-194) is fantastic; Fouquieray runs together Gouvea's first threat and his later action (I 23-26). Dudon does the same (202-203), placing the events before Ignatius began his philosophy and even before his trip to Rouen; Böhmer takes Gouvea's genuflection and the apology as later college gossip (136-137). The self-humiliation of the principal should not be rejected simply because Ignatius says nothing of it in his autobiography, as Quicherat, Böhmer, and Tacchi Venturi, also, in his most recent edition (II 1, 329, n. 2 against 61, n. 2) have done; for Ignatius passes over the whole affair.

²⁶⁰ According to Salmerón. See the preceding note.

²⁶¹ See the letter of John III to João da Silveira (Gomes de Carvalho, *D. João III e os Francezes* [1909] 178 181).

²⁶² See p. 137, n. 239.

²⁶³ *Journal* 333-335.

or be in the course of attending, lectures on the *Physics*, or *Natural Philosophy*, of Aristotle, that is, his works on becoming, existence, and decline, and on the heavens and earth; the *Parva naturalia*, on sense perception, sleeping, waking, thought, memory, and the length and shortness of life; the *Metaphysics*, dealing with the First Principle, the basis of all things, the *Ens per se*, or God, and other immaterial substances; and at least four books of the *Ethics*, the greater part of which had to have been heard by those who were to take the examination for the master of arts. Besides the works already mentioned, those seeking a bachelor's degree had to have heard lectures on some mathematical books,²⁶⁴ especially the *Sphaera* of Sacrobosco, in which the spherical shape of the earth, of the seas, and of the sky, the different spheres of the heavens, the movements of the sun, moon, and stars, eclipses, and so forth²⁶⁵ were explained according to the Ptolemaic system. Lectures also had to be attended on meteorology, dealing with such phenomena as rain, hail, thunder, lightning, earthquakes, comets, and the like.²⁶⁶

Master Jean Fernel taught mathematics at Sainte-Barbe in 1527-1528. For his lectures he published his own textbooks: the *Monalosphaerium* in 1527, and the *Cosmotheoria* and *De proportionibus* in 1528. The young professor had come from Clermont-en-Beauvoisis to the Collège de Sainte-Barbe in 1523 when he was barely eighteen years old. After only two years of study he obtained his master's degree in philosophy. He had then locked himself up in his room like a hermit for two more years and devoted himself entirely to mathematics, Aristotle, and Cicero. His father finally forced him to make a choice of vocations by cutting off his allowance. He decided on medicine; and, in order to earn his keep, he undertook to teach the two-year course in mathematics. His lectures, for which he prepared a number of astronomical instruments, including a simple astrolabe (*monalosphaerium*), were so popular that there was no classroom large enough in the college to hold them, and his chair had to be moved out into the court.²⁶⁷

For the *Sphaera* of Sacrobosco the students could use the commentaries of Petrus d'Ailly (1499), Sánchez Ciruelo (1498), or Faber Stapulensis (1497).²⁶⁸ The

²⁶⁴ According to the reform statutes of 1452 (*Chartularium* IV 729). This has been compared with the paragraph on the oath taken by bachelors during their licentiate examination, which was composed between 1252 and 1366 but received later corrections and additions (*ibid.* II 678); cf. Villoslada 75-76.

²⁶⁵ *Chartularium* II 678. The *Sphaera* of the Englishman Johannes a Sacrobosco was the manual of astronomy ordinarily used from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries; see Lynn Thorndike, *The Sphere and its Commentators* (Chicago, 1949). Illustrated editions of it appeared in Paris, for example, in 1521 1527 1531 1534 1536.

²⁶⁶ According to the statutes compiled before 1316. Those of 1452 only mention books on meteorology indirectly; they are obviously reckoned among the "mathematical books" which must be heard, since among the questions in the text of the examination for the licentiate already mentioned are included some from books of required reading which, in the fourth part, are called "libri Physicorum de coelo, de generatione, meteorum, de anima" and "parvi libri naturales." A later hand adds to this: "Non dispensatur" (*Chartularium* II 678). Even Vives declares that they were read: "Libros Meteororum ita tractant, ut aliud videantur agere" (Thurot 82, n. 4).

²⁶⁷ Quicherat I 170-174 178-181. Fernel, "the modern Galen," as he was called, died in 1558 as the physician of Henry II. On him see also the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* XVII 477-483; L. Figard, *Un médecin philosophe au XVI^e siècle. Etude psychologique de Jean Fernel* (Paris, 1903) and Charles Sherrington, *The Endeavour of Jean Fernel* (Cambridge, 1946).

²⁶⁸ Villoslada 52.

latter had likewise composed a commentary for the *Physics* and *Ethics* of Aristotle, which his pupil Clichtovaeus had published in Paris between 1514 and 1528.²⁶⁹ Celaya, who gave his lectures in Sainte-Barbe, published commentaries on almost all the works of the Stagirite between 1517 and 1523.²⁷⁰

The examination for the licentiate was given one year after that for the baccalaureate.²⁷¹ Just as the latter was a private examination of the particular nation to which the candidate belonged, so the examination for the licentiate was a function of the faculty, and was therefore surrounded with greater solemnity. The first secret examinations began February 3, the day after the feast of the Purification, in Sainte-Geneviève before the local chancellor, who had to be a canon of the monastery and a master of arts. These examinations were conducted in his private residence by four examiners whom he had himself appointed,²⁷² one from each of the four nations. Before the examination the candidates had to swear that they were twenty-one years old, unmarried, in possession of a bachelor's degree, that they had studied philosophy for three years, taken part in two public disputations with several masters on the Rue de Fouarre, and had attended lectures on the prescribed books; and as a proof of this they had to submit a written testimony from their teacher.²⁷³

After their first oral examination the candidates were arranged according to the grade they had received and divided into groups of eight. Each month two of these groups were then called for a second examination.²⁷⁴ Since Francis stood twenty-second and Favre twenty-fourth on the list,²⁷⁵ they were both in the same third group. At the beginning of March they presented themselves to the chancellor in Sainte-Geneviève for the second examination before four new examiners chosen by the faculty.²⁷⁶ In their presence they had swear that

²⁶⁹ *Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis Introductio in Ethicen Aristotelis, explanata a J. Clichtoveo* (Paris, 1514). *Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis in quoscunque philosophiae naturalis libros paraphrasis, cum scholiis J. Clichtovei* (Paris, 1525; also contains the *Meteorology*). *Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis Decem librorum Moralis Aristotelis tres versiones* (Paris, 1528, with a commentary by Clichtovaeus).

²⁷⁰ *Expositio in octo libros Physicorum* (Paris, 1517). *Expositio in quatuor libros de coelo et mundo* (1517, dedicated to the principal of Sainte-Barbe). *Expositio in libros de generatione et corruptione* (1518). *Aurea expositio in decem libros Ethicorum Aristotelis* (1523, "very useful for students," as the royal approbation for the printing declares). See Villoslada 207-208.

²⁷¹ The main sources for the examination for the licentiate are: (1) the book of the chancellor of Sainte-Geneviève composed between 1252 and 1366 (*Chartularium* II 675-680 474-475); (2) the reform statutes of Estouteville of 1452 (*ibid.* IV 729-733); (3) the now lost register of Sainte-Geneviève, from which Denis Petau (Petavius, S.J.) gives an extract on the licentiate examinations of Xavier and his companions in a letter to the French assistant Étienne Charlet, S.J., of July 28, 1635 (*Original letter in ARSI: *Francia* 33 I 160-v; the *Acta Sanctorum*, Julii VII, give a Latin translation of this: "Ignatius, Comm. praevious," nn. 170-172 [Venetiis, 1749] 441-442). See also the descriptions given by Denifle in the introduction to the *Auctarium* I, pp. XXV XXXI-XXXII, and in *Chartularium* II 676, note ("Thurot 56 ss. confuse"); Thurot 51-58; Feret, *L'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève* I (Paris, 1883) 283-288. Bulaeus (V 858), who wrote in 1670, describes the later ceremonies. The descriptions in Fouqueray, Cros, Brou, Rodrigues (*Historia*), Dudon, and Villoslada (42-43) do not give an accurate and full account of the ceremony customary in Xavier's time.

²⁷² Thurot 54-55; *Chartularium* II 676; Feret, *Sainte-Geneviève* I 283.

²⁷³ On the oath see Thurot 51-52; see also *Chartularium* II 676 678, IV 730.

²⁷⁴ Thurot 55-56 and appendices 6-7; *Chartularium* II 676.

²⁷⁵ Register of Sainte-Geneviève (Petavius 441). That Xavier received a better grade in the exam than Favre only shows how inaccurate is Brodrick's assertion that he shunned books and studies as much as possible before his conversion (30).

²⁷⁶ Thurot 56; *Chartularium* II 474 676 678; *Auctarium* I, pp. XXV XXXI. This second

they had neither given nor would give anything to the chancellor or the examining committee for their efforts. They had moreover to promise under oath before the procurator of their nation that they would uphold the statutes, freedoms, and privileges of the university, especially those of the Philosophical Faculty and of their nation, that they would obey the rector of the university and the procurator of their nation, and that they would give an honest account of their scholarships, that is, of their weekly living expenditures.²⁷⁷

At the end of the examination the chancellor let them know when they should report to the monastery of the Mathurins. Here the rector read the list of those who had taken the examinations according to their rank and asked them to be present in the same place at a determined day and hour in the prescribed ceremonial garb (*cappati et ornati*).²⁷⁸ For Francis, Favre, and their six fellow candidates, the appointed day was March 15, 1530.²⁷⁹ Led by the beadles of the four nations, they went with the rector and the procurators of the nations in solemn procession from the Mathurins to the church of Sainte-Geneviève, where the ceremony was to take place.²⁸⁰ The chancellor seated in cape and chaperon in the chapel of Our Lady of Mercy on the south side of the cloisters was waiting for their arrival.²⁸¹ He handed the list of the eight candidates to one of the beadles to read and then had each of them come forth individually and spoke to them briefly. He then had them swear on the Gospel that they would faithfully fulfill their duties as masters. They then all knelt down; the chancellor rose and with bared head pronounced the solemn formula:

I, James Aimery,²⁸² in virtue of the authority granted to me through the apostles Peter and Paul give you the licence to teach, to direct, to dispute, to decide, and to exercise the other scholastic and magisterial functions in the Faculty of Philosophy²⁸³ in Paris and everywhere on earth (*Parisius*²⁸⁴ *et ubique terrarum*²⁸⁵). In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.²⁸⁶

No slight expense was entailed in obtaining the licentiate, for in addition to paying the prescribed fees the candidates had to provide a banquet for their

examination first became public in 1615 (Jourdain, *Histoire* 88-89, *Pièces Just.* n. 45; Bulaeus V 858).

²⁷⁷ Thurot 56; *Chartularium* II 475 675-676; Bulaeus IV 273.

²⁷⁸ Bulaeus V 858; Crévier IV 195-196; Thurot 57-58 and appendix 8.

²⁷⁹ Register of Sainte-Geneviève (Petavius 441).

²⁸⁰ Bulaeus V 858; Crévier IV 195-196.

²⁸¹ At an earlier period the ceremony took place in the choir of the great abbey church (Feret, *Sainte-Geneviève* I 285); in Xavier's time, it seems, it was already held in the chapel of the cloister, which was near the kitchen, and was therefore called *Notre-Dame-de-la-Cuisine* or *Notre-Dame-de-la-Miséricorde* (*ibid.* 175 286 352; cf. Lebeuf I 238-239).

²⁸² He was chancellor of Sainte-Geneviève from 1521 to 1540 (Feret, *Sainte-Geneviève* I 175). Villoslada confuses him with Nicolas d'Origny, the chancellor of Notre-Dame (*Homenaje* 29).

²⁸³ "Et ego, Jacobus Aimery, auctoritate apostolorum Petri et Pauli, in hac parte mihi commissa do vobis licenciam legendi, regendi, disputandi et determinandi ceterosque actus scholasticos seu magistrates exercendi in facultate artium Parisiis et ubique terrarum, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen" (*Chartularium* II 679; cf. Thurot, appendix 8). Feret, *Sainte-Geneviève* I 287 gives a later formula.

²⁸⁴ *Parisiis* is a more common form than *Parisiis* in the documents. Cf. *Diction. d'Arch. Chrét.* 13 (1938) 1817-1818.

²⁸⁵ Xavier alludes to this formula when he writes in the address of his letter of January 20, 1548, to Ignatius and the other companions in Europe: "qui sunt Romae et ubique terrarum" (EX I 396).

²⁸⁶ On the ceremony see *Chartularium* II 679; Thurot 58 and appendix 8, which is taken from the book of the chancellor of Sainte-Geneviève.

teachers and comrades.²⁸⁷ The master's degree required a still greater outlay. Favre therefore postponed his to a future date, but Xavier did not. In this same month of March he took his degree under the presidency of Master Peña.

On the appointed day, Don Francisco went to the school of the French nation on the Rue de Fouarre. He was dressed in the prescribed garb, "a dark, special cloak made of good material with a fur-trimmed chaperon,"²⁸⁸ and was accompanied with great pomp by his teacher, the beadle of his nation, and his friends. Here he gave his inaugural address, the *inceptio*, under the presidency of his teacher. At its conclusion the presiding officer asked the masters present whether they thought that the licentiate Don Francisco de Xavier should receive the master's biretta. They answered with their "*Placet*." Peña then delivered a short speech and solemnly set the four-cornered biretta upon the candidate's head as an indication of his new dignity. Through this ceremony Francis was admitted to the body of university professors and empowered to act as a regent in any of the colleges of Paris.²⁸⁹ The secretary inscribed his name along with those of the other new teachers in a fine, neat hand in the university register:

Here are the names of the *incipientes* under this rector [Petrus Aprilis, who was in office from December 15, 1529, to March 24, 1530], and in first place in the noble nation of the Gauls (*honoranda natio gallicana*) according to the examinations for the licentiate: Don Francisco de Xavier of the diocese of Pamplona (*Dominus Franciscus de Xabier xamxilonensis* [instead of *pampilonensis*] *dioceseos*).²⁹⁰

At the next general assembly at the Mathurins, Leroux, the secretary of the Faculty of Philosophy, presented him with the usual unadorned parchment diploma having the great seal of the university upon it. This declared that "our beloved and prudent Master Franciscus de Xabier of the diocese of Pamplona, after having been rigorously examined by the highly renowned Arts Faculty of Paris" has obtained the master's degree.²⁹¹ A banquet, which was usually sponsored by four new masters in common, ended the festivities.²⁹² From that time on Don Francisco was called *Magister Franciscus*.²⁹³

²⁸⁷ *Chartularium* IV 730 475; *MI Epp.* I 91-02; *Auctarium* I, p. XXXI; Thurot 62-63.

²⁸⁸ "Portabitis cappam rotundam et propriam, non accommodatam nec conductam neque alio quocumque simulato seu ficto colore acquisitam, de bono panno... et quod capucium huiusmodi cappe sit satis amplum et longum, forratumque minutis variis vel grossis novis" (*Chartularium* II 680).

²⁸⁹ For the ceremony in conferring the master's degree, see *Chartularium* II 475 680, IV 732-733; Thurot 59-60 62-63 and appendices 8-9; *Auctarium* I, pp. XXXI-XXXII XLVIII-LI; cf. Bulaeus V 858 and Crévier IV 196, at whose time the ceremony had already been changed.

²⁹⁰ *Acta Rectoria* 9952, 77v. Brodrick is therefore not justified in doubting that Xavier ever received the master's degree (30 42); it is also incorrect to say that Ribadeneyra does not give Xavier this title, as he also maintains (60, n. 1).

²⁹¹ Xavier's diploma is lost. We give the text according to Favre's (*Fabri Mon.* 4); the same text is given in the extant diplomas of Masters Ignatius, Codure, Bobadilla, Jay, and Salmerón.

²⁹² On the expenses see Thurot 62-63; *Auctarium* I, p. XLI.

²⁹³ We shall discuss Xavier's knowledge of philosophy and his high regard for the study of Aristotle in our second volume.

CHAPTER III

WHAT DOES IT PROFIT A MAN? (1530-1533)

1. REGENT IN THE COLLÈGE DE BEAUVAIS (1530)

After completing his philosophy, a young master usually took a position as a regent; that is, he became a professor of philosophy or teacher of Latin in one of the colleges in order to earn his keep while he attended lectures in one of the three higher faculties in his free time. Master Francis soon found such a position. In the fall of 1530 he made an agreement with the principal of the neighboring Collège de Beauvais¹ to give a full three-and-one-half-year course in philosophy according to the practice of the University of Paris. He would be present in the study hall and at daily Mass in the college chapel at the appointed hour; he would give the usual lectures and carry out the other activities according to the customs of the university; and he would wear the usual garb of a master, a long, sleeveless robe with falling wings² and a chaperon (the cockade of the master) on his left shoulder.³ For this he would receive board and lodgings from the college, that is, an unfurnished room⁴ for himself, a servant, and eventual

¹ Rodrigues wrote that after his conversion Xavier "adduci potuit, ut publice aristotelicam philosophiam per tres annos cum dimidio profiteretur in collegio, si probe meminere, beluacensi" (Rodrigues 454). Until 1539 it was customary in Paris for the same master to teach the whole three-and-one-half-year course of philosophy. The Latin teachers, contrary to this, were assigned a fixed class and were not advanced with it (Quicherat I 236 253 118; Matos 62; Villoslada 23 193-194; FN I 32; against Thurot 101 and Dudon 189).

² See the contemporary description in *Acta Rectoria 9952, 36, where the hanging wings have a small three-cornered incision in front, like that which is still preserved in the academic gown of one of the Oxford colleges. Cf. Buchanan: "longa metuendus veste magister" (Quicherat I 357). The regents wore a black cassock (Thurot 71) without a cincture to distinguish them from the students (Bulaeus VI 247).

³ The earlier hood (*capitium*), that is, the covering for the neck (*epitogium*), called a "chaperon" in French, as it can still be seen in paintings and in illustrations of the late fifteenth century, had by Xavier's time shrunk to a cockade worn upon the left shoulder. It consisted of a ring, from which a strip of cloth was hung. Cf. Buchanan: "mantica ex humero laevo terga premit" (Quicherat I 357). In 1554 Parlement again regulated the dress of the professors. They had to wear "leur robe longue sans manches coupées et leur chaperon sur l'épaule" (Félibien III 648). A reform statute of 1534 had already prescribed that the regents should be "ornati vestitu, qui Regentem deceat, non decurtata veste et fractis manicis; sed ferant ut maiores sui capitia, sine quibus non legant nec per gymnasium incedant" (Bulaeus VI 247).

⁴ The regents usually received unfurnished rooms (Targe 203). In 1532 Calvin wrote from Paris that his friend Cop (a regent in Sainte-Barbe since 1530) had not been able to lend him any money since his funds had been exhausted in obtaining furniture for his room (*Opera X*, 2, 17).

students.⁵ In September Francis therefore moved into his new quarters;⁶ and on October 1, 1530, the feast of St. Remy, he began to give his lectures on Aristotelian philosophy.

As an actual teacher of philosophy, Xavier was a fully qualified member of the Arts Faculty.⁷ He had active and passive voice in the election of academic officials and would, if he so desired, be given special preference in the distribution of any benefices which the university had a right to confer.⁸ From this time on he took part in the faculty meetings, which were usually held after Mass on Saturdays in Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre or at the Mathurins.⁹ He also took part in the election of the rector, in his procession which occurred four times a year, in the banquets which the French nation provided for the masters at its own expense three or four times a year, and also in the divine services which this same nation conducted in the Collège de Navarre, and which the masters had to attend in their official garb.¹⁰ These services included Solemn Vespers in honor of our Lady on Friday afternoons; seven o'clock Mass on Saturday mornings before the faculty meetings; High Mass and Vespers on the feast of St. William, the nation's patron, on the feasts of our Lady, and on the chief feasts of the nation, that is, the feasts of the Purification, St. Nicholas, and St. Catherine; and the annual Mass for the deceased associates. On all of these occasions the masters received a stipend and the regents twenty *solidi parisienses*. At the procession of the rector they received ten, and on the feast of the Purification a blessed candle.¹¹ Twice a year a regent gave a dinner for his pupils and at this time received from them the tuition for his teaching, for the professors received no stipends from their colleges but only board and room.¹²

The Collège de Dormans-Beauvais¹³ lay along the narrow Rue de Jean-Beauvais, only a few minutes distant from Sainte-Barbe. It had received its name from John de Dormans, bishop of Beauvais and cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, who had established a college here in 1370 for twelve poor students of his native diocese of Soissons, and especially for those from his native city of Dormans who wished to study for the priesthood. Through further gifts the number of the scholarships rose to twenty-eight. One of the stipendiaries had always to be a

⁵ This is taken from the contract which Master Alvaro da Fonseca, a resident at Sainte-Barbe, concluded with the principal of the Collège du Plessis in 1540 (Coyecque, nn. 1433-1434). Xavier's contract is no longer extant, but it must have been like this.

⁶ In order to be able to carry out his new duties as a regent and to be spared needless expenses, we are of the opinion that Xavier moved into the Collège de Beauvais at the end of September, 1530. Favre comes near to saying the same when he writes that he thanked God for the grace that He had conferred upon him "in his tribus annis cum dimidio" of philosophical studies in giving him such a teacher (Peña) and the company of such a band of fellow students, and especially that of Master Francis Xavier (FN I 32). This would indicate that Xavier moved to some other place after the completion of these three and one-half years. The later tradition (Pages I, p. VIII) that he had lived for some time in the tower of the neighboring commandery of Saint-Jean-de-Latran (Tour Bichat, destroyed in 1855) does not deserve consideration.

⁷ For the following see Thurot 90-92.

⁸ *Ibid.* 91; Crévier I 265. On the benefices which the university had the right to confer, see Bulaeus III 599-624; Targe 219-230; Thurot 29-31 33; Jourdain, *Hist.* I 6-7, *Index chron.*, nn. 1716-1717 (regulations of 1536).

⁹ Thurot 22; cf. Crévier II 25.

¹⁰ "Pileo quadrato et toga academica et epomis" (Targe 30).

¹¹ Goulet 9-9v; Targe 29-31.

¹² Thurot 61. On the two banquets (*Minervalia*) see above, p. 99.

¹³ For the following see Chapotin, *Le Collège de Dormans-Beauvais* (Paris, 1870) and Berty, *R. Centr.* 103-112 446-450 and the plan on p. 569.

religious of the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes of Soissons.¹⁴ Over the door that led to the roomy court and college buildings was prominently placed the coat of arms of the founder: three gold leopard heads on a blue background. To the right of this was the entrance to a Gothic chapel dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, one of the most beautiful in the city. It had been completed in 1380, and the most prominent artists of the age, including the architect of the Louvre, had worked on it. Over the main entrance in the façade stood painted statues of the church's patron and of the founder and his brother, the royal chancellor Guillaume de Dormans. Over the side door was a richly painted statue of the Madonna and Child. The vault of the chapel, which was sixty feet high, was supported by light, elegant beams. The walls were pierced with tall, stained-glass windows and adorned with portrait busts of the twelve apostles. The high altar, which was flanked by two side altars, had a brightly painted reredos adorned with columns bearing silver angels. In the middle of the nave was a magnificent black marble sepulcher with recumbent bronze statues of Miles de Dormans, the founder of the chapel, who had died in 1387, and of his brother, Guillaume, one of the great benefactors of the college, who had died in 1405 as archbishop of Sens. The side walls of the church were adorned with life-sized, stone statues of three men on the left and three women on the right representing members of the house of Dormans and benefactors of the college, as their French and Latin inscriptions indicated. The sacristy also had an altar with a reredos magnificently decorated with paintings.¹⁵ In the treasury of the chapel could be seen many precious objects: a gilded silver portrait of our Lady with a thorn from the Holy Crown; three silver busts of Sts. Ivo, John the Evangelist, and Nicholas; a silver cross containing a relic of the true cross; precious missals, choir books, chalices,¹⁶ and vestments. The chapel's slender tower, crowned by a gilded cock, contained two bells. The college building¹⁷ to the rear of the paved court had four floors and a small tower in the center with a winding stairs leading up to them. In addition to an aula, it housed a library, which had been richly equipped by the founder,¹⁸ a kitchen, living quarters, and classrooms. There were four stipendiaries to each room, but the masters and chaplains had their own private room.¹⁹

According to its statutes, the college was subject to the supervision of Parlement, which had the right of examining its books. The abbot of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes had the right of presenting the scholarships. Boarding students were admitted along with the stipendiaries. They had to pay sixty *solidi parisienses* a year, keep the order of the house, and eat in common with the others in the refectory. The garb of the stipendiaries was a robe, mantle, and cowl of violet or dark blue material. They had to wear this garb when they left the house, and they always went out two by two. They had to have their hair cut short and wear the tonsure so that they could be immediately recognized as students of the college. They kept silent at meals, during which a weekly appointed reader, a *hebdomarius*, read from Sacred Scripture. Every evening they all gathered in the chapel and sang an antiphon with versicle and oration before

¹⁴ Chapotin 58-71.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 81-101; cf. Berty, *R. Centr.* 104 110-112. The church is still extant.

¹⁶ Chapotin 564-575.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 102-112.

¹⁸ See the list of books, *ibid.* 570-572.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 105.

the picture of the Mother of God, and every Sunday after Mass they sang the Office of the Dead with nine lessons. At least four times a year, before the main feasts, the students had to go to confession. Externs could also come to the lectures in the college upon the payment of a sum fixed by their respective teachers and an enrollment fee of four *solidi* to the procurator.²⁰ The college did not, however, have full university rights like Sainte-Barbe and Montaigu.²¹ The principal had an assistant, a procurator, and five chaplains to help him.²² The latter had nothing to do with the school. They merely had to celebrate the Masses for the founders and to recite the Hours of the Divine Office in the chapel. Matins were sung before the morning bell. All the residents assisted three times a week at High Mass: on Mondays at one for the deceased founder and benefactors, on Thursdays at one in honor of the Holy Spirit, and on Saturdays at another in honor of the Blessed Virgin; and at each of these there was a memento for the repose of the soul of the founder. On other days they assisted only at a Low Mass: the Mass of the day on Sundays, one in honor of St. John the Evangelist on Tuesdays, and a Mass for the Dead on Wednesdays and Fridays.²³ On the feasts of Pentecost and Corpus Christi, St. John before the Lateran Gate (May 6), and the Ascension, the chapel was decorated with boughs, and the statues of the saints were adorned with flowers.²⁴ On major feast days such as Easter, the ceiling of the chapel was hung with bunting. On feast days during the winter the floor was strewn with straw so that one could sit on it. This was done, for example, at Christmas,²⁵ when a mystery play was staged.²⁶ On other days the floor was covered with mats.²⁷ The daily order was much the same as in the other colleges. The students rose at five o'clock, when the chaplains began to sing Matins in the chapel. Fifteen minutes later they assembled in the aula for morning prayers in common. They then went to their rooms or classrooms. At six o'clock they all assisted at Mass. Dinner was served at eleven o'clock in the refectory and supper at six. The students retired at nine-thirty. The intervening times were filled with classes, repetitions, and disputations.²⁸

At the beginning of the school year, 1527-1528, twenty-six persons were living in the college besides the paying pensioners: the principal, Master Berthyn Mys, who received a weekly salary of ten *sols tournois*; his assistant, Master Jean Meignem; the procurator, Master Crespin Gringaut; the five chaplains, Jacquillon, Stéphane, Touzet, Master Bobeu and Master Pourcel; and, according to the terms of the foundation, a Benedictine priest from the monastery of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in Soissons, Messire Pierre Beauchets. There were also thirteen stipendiaries, two choristers, a steward, and a cook. All were French.²⁹

In June, 1528, the principal was elected rector of the university.³⁰ The

²⁰ *Ibid.* 73-80 (according to the statutes drawn up by the founder).

²¹ *Ibid.* 175.

²² On the chaplains, *ibid.* 113-129.

²³ *Ibid.* 135 (according to the statutes of 1425).

²⁴ *Ibid.* 138 (financial report of 1379).

²⁵ Still customary in 1521 (*ibid.* 139).

²⁶ Thus in 1508 (*ibid.* 140).

²⁷ Thus in 1377 (*ibid.* 139).

²⁸ *Ibid.* 137-138 264-267.

²⁹ Cros, *Doc.* I 307.

³⁰ Vil'oslada 437. In 1532 Jean Morin was elected rector of the university. He had taught philosophy as a regent in the Collège de Dormans-Beauvais in 1525 as Xavier's

procurator, who had studied canon law, had already been living for more than twenty years in Paris when Master Francis took up his duties as regent.³¹ Since his office kept him close to the college, he had leased his parish of Notre-Dame-d'Avrainville in Monthléry in 1529 for six years to a brother of the Parisian bookseller Aufray for fifty-two pounds and ten *sols tournois*.³² At the time of Xavier's arrival the chaplain Bobeu had already been at least seven years in office.³³ His colleague, and head chaplain, Master Charles Jacquillon, had held his post even longer. The latter had been a servant and chorister of the former head chaplain Jean Notin, who was buried in the chapel. When Notin wrote his will in 1501, he bequeathed four houses to his colleague. Three of these were in Paris: one was "At the Image of Saint Christopher," on the Rue Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois; a second "At the Stocking,"³⁴ on "the Street of the Washerwomen" near Sainte-Opportune; and the third "At the Peacock," on the Rue de la Baudroierie. The other house was in Nanteuil.³⁵ In his will Notin had also founded a new chaplaincy with the condition that his servant should hold the post during his lifetime and that after his death, if possible, it should go to the latter's nearest blood relative.³⁶ When Master Francis began to teach at the Collège de Beauvais he was no longer alive. He had died October 11, 1527, "in the room [of the college] that leads out into the street of Saint-Jean-de-Beauvais." Among his possessions were found six cups mounted on gold bases and decorated with enameled representations of the six virtues. These were estimated as being worth seventy-eight pounds. There was also a gilded monstrance³⁷ with figures of the twelve apostles worth fifty-six pounds. He also left a valuable library of sixty-five volumes. For the most part, these were large, heavy tomes bound in boards with leathern coverings and fitted with metal clasps to hold them shut. Among them were the great glosses of Nicholas of Lyra, the *De civitate Dei* and *De Trinitate* of St. Augustine, the *Sermones quadragesimales* of Leonard de Utino, a large *Vita Christi*,³⁸ the *Historia scholastica* of Petrus Comestor, the *Ethica* of Buridanus, Cicero's *De officiis*, with a commentary, the *Dialogus* and *Quodlibeta* of William of Ockham, the commentary of Petrus de Aliaco on the *Sentences*, the *Summa totius logicae* of Burlaeus, the *Quodlibeta* of Breton, the *Quaestiones morales de fortitudine* of Martin Magistri, the *Parochiale curatorum* (Jacquillon had been at the time of his death also a parish priest of the church of St. Nicholas in Cheminon-la-Ville in the diocese of Châlons). There were also the *Politica* of Aristotle and the *Tractatus de arte moriendi*, a *Legenda sanctorum*, the *Lectura* of Gregory of Rimini on the first and second books of the *Sentences*, the *Ordinaire des chrestiens*, two editions of the *Decretales*, the *Clementinae* and the *Extrava-*

predecessor (*ibid.* 438; Coyecque, n. 565). From 1543 to 1555 the college provided five more rectors (Chapotin 181-182).

³¹ Crespin Gringaut, a student of canon law, was a witness in Paris in 1508 (Coyecque, n. 6); he was procurator of the college in 1527 (*ibid.*, nn. 599 836).

³² *Ibid.*, n. 1006. In 1530 he made a contract in Paris to provide stone statues of the Princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, for the abbey church of Saint-Pierre in Melun (*ibid.*, n. 1176).

³³ *Ibid.*, n. 411.

³⁴ "Souloit pendre pour enseigne la heuze" (Chapotin 124).

³⁵ The text has: Nanteaulx. The college obtained the house only after Jacquillon's death (*ibid.* 125).

³⁶ *Ibid.* 123-125.

³⁷ "Calice à soleil."

³⁸ Probably the *Vita* of Ludolph of Saxony.

gantes, and so forth.³⁹ These all show that the residents of the house were not lacking in scientific helps for their studies.⁴⁰

About the same time that Master Francis began his teaching in the Collège de Beauvais, a colleague of his in Sainte-Barbe, the Scot George Buchanan, described in classical Latin verse his own life as a regent and, in so doing, that also, more or less, of his fellow sufferers.⁴¹

The miner at night sleeps free of his fetters; the sailor rests in the midst of the sea; and even the tired peasant finds refreshing sleep. But while the rest of mankind is sleeping, the teacher is busy deep into the night preparing his lectures. He shakes the dust from his yellowed pages and often scratches himself behind his ear and chews at his fingernails or pounds his fist angrily on the desk. And scarcely has he laid his tired head down to sleep when a thundering bell rouses him from slumber as it rings out the fourth hour of the morning. An hour later it summons the students to class. Their feared teacher follows them, wearing a long robe and on his left shoulder the sign of his profession. In his right hand he has a rod and in his left a copy of Virgil. He sits down and toils away explaining the text to his pupils, but most are asleep and snoring or are thinking about something else. One is missing, a second has to go out to get him, a third has forgotten his stockings, a fourth is putting on a shoe, a fifth is sick, a sixth is writing home; and they must be encouraged with the rod despite all their tears. Mass follows and then school again and new blows until it is time for the midday meal, which lasts hardly an hour. Then there is more school until the brief evening meal and after that more study deep into the night.

And what patience a master must have! The students stream into the class from the street wearing their hobnailed boots and are unhappy that the *Doctrinale* of Alexander and the grammar of Guy de Fontenay are not esteemed, and that their teacher does not have a thick folio in front of him filled with glosses on its margins; in their discontent they run off grumbling to the Collège de Montaigu or some other school where "Beda is wise" (*ubi Beda sapit*).⁴²

As a Latin teacher, Buchanan had to instruct those in their third year. Master Francis taught philosophers, who were three years more advanced, but his life essentially was the same as that of his colleague. On a regular class day a regent spent seven hours in the classroom and nearly all the rest of the day with his pupils.

2. THE SUIT FOR THE TITLE OF NOBILITY (FEBRUARY, 1531)⁴³

In the same year that Ifigo took up his residence at Sainte-Barbe, Francis received news of the death of his mother. She had died in July, 1529.⁴⁴ Many

³⁹ Coyecque, n. 599.

⁴⁰ This description should show that the Collège de Dormans-Beauvais was not an obscure college as Brodrick would believe (42).

⁴¹ Quicherat I 356-359.

⁴² A quotation from Erasmus' *Colloquia*, with which the writer was thus familiar.

⁴³ The original transcript of the suit was taken from the Archives of the Corte Mayor in Pamplona to the Jesuit college there. It has been lost like the records of other suits preserved in official copies of 1549, 1557, and 1559 (Cros, *Doc.* *II 27). Two official copies are preserved which complement each other. One, which is more complete, was made in 1616 from a copy of the year 1559. It is now in the Archives of the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus in Rome. Many of the names in it are misspelled (published in MX II 32-88). The second copy is less complete and lacks different parts, for example, all the evidence given by the witnesses. It is in Archives Granada 60, 20 f. 304v-320r (published by Fita in the *Boletín de la R. Ac. de Historia* 22 [1893] 439 to 457). The text in Esca'ada 247-279, his own abbreviated synthesis, is of no particular use.

⁴⁴ Fidel Fita, S.J., "San Francisco Javier. Obito de su madre," *Boletín de la R. Ac. de Historia* 23 (1893) 540-549; Cros, *Doc.* I 301-303; Escalada 243-247.

things had changed in the castle of Xavier since his departure. In September, 1525, shortly after he had left home, the suit for the damages incurred during the destruction of their houses in Xavier, Azpilcueta, and Pamplona had been settled. The royal authority paid 10,000 ducats as compensation, but both parties had to bear the costs of the suit.⁴⁵ In 1527 the rights of the mistress of the castle were also recognized in her dispute with the city of Sangüesa over Ugasti, Valdarte, and the Escampadero;⁴⁶ but the quarrel with the Roncalese over the passage of their flocks was still in abeyance.⁴⁷ During this same time Miguel had brought home as his wife Isabel de Goñi, the daughter of the lord of Tirapu.⁴⁸ In 1528 her uncle, Dr. Remiro de Goñi, who had been one of the leaders in the fight for freedom with Miguel and Juan, had been made chief capitular (*arcediano de tabla*) in the cathedral of Pamplona to succeed the deceased Juan de Beaumont.⁴⁹ In the same year Captain Juan, Xavier's second brother, had married a rich widow, Juana de Arbizu, the heiress of the lord of Sotes and Aoz, and since his marriage had been living in her house in Obanos south of Pamplona.⁵⁰ In this he had followed the example of his cousin Captain Valentín de Jassu, who in 1527 had married the rich widow María Cruzat in the capital.⁵¹

With the attainment of their licentiate degrees in March, 1530, Favre and Xavier had completed the first portion of their university studies. They now had to decide in which of the three higher faculties they would enroll. Favre vacillated. He felt as if he were a small boat on the high seas, rudderless and tossed about by the changing winds. At one time he wanted to marry; at other times he thought of becoming a physician like Peña, or a jurist, a regent, a doctor of theology, a simple cleric, or even a monk. In addition to this uncertainty about his vocation, he experienced physical and spiritual trials. He was plagued with scruples. He felt that he had not made a good confession for a long time since he was frequently troubled by sensuous thoughts. To be free of them, he would have gladly gone into the desert and lived there forever on roots and weeds, if such a course of action would have afforded him some relief. Then, too, he was tempted to gluttony and sloth and exposed to the evil example of many of his fellow students. If he was not exactly tepid, he was still without peace of mind and had no fixed star to give him his bearings. His studies were simply an end in themselves and not a means to an ultimate goal. As yet the cross of Christ had no great influence upon him, neither at the beginning, nor in the middle, not at the end of his endeavors.⁵²

He finally summoned up enough courage to reveal the state of his soul to Iñigo as they were studying the text of Aristotle together, and the latter was able to give him both spiritual and temporal assistance. Along with advice for his spiritual needs, Iñigo repeatedly gave him financial help. He instructed him on temptations and scruples⁵³ and advised him to make a general confession

⁴⁵ Escalada 234-236.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 51 (Archives Granada 64, 5).

⁴⁷ This was only decided in 1541; see Escalada 9 (Archives Granada 60, 18).

⁴⁸ Cros places the marriage in 1527 (*Vie* I 117; *Doc.* *II 213).

⁴⁹ M. Arigita, *Historia de San Miguel in Excelsis* (Pamplona, 1904) 9-10.

⁵⁰ Cros, *Doc.* I 296-299, *II 217 (will of her father of 1529).

⁵¹ Cros, *Vie* I 116, *Doc.* *II 217-218.

⁵² *Fabri Monumenta* 104.

⁵³ Thus he had, for example, at the time a scruple whether he should give the barber a *double* (one-sixth of a *sou*) or a *liard* (one-fourth of a *sou*) (FN I 724-725).

⁵⁴ FN I 32-35; *Fabri Monumenta* 103-104; Rodrigues 453.

to Master Castro at the Sorbonne, the same individual to whom Iñigo had given the Exercises in 1529, and whose conversion had caused such a storm of indignation among the Spanish students of the Latin Quarter. Iñigo also advised Favre to make a weekly confession and to take up the practice of receiving Holy Communion at the Carthusian monastery on Sundays with himself and the others. He also advised him to make a daily examination of conscience.

This not only brought peace of mind to Favre but also made him aware of his vocation. Henceforth he would follow Christ and His cross in his studies; he would become a priest; and, from the spring of 1531, he was determined to visit the holy places in Palestine with Iñigo, to bid farewell to the world, and to follow Christ in the poverty of the cross and in the service of souls.⁶⁴

But it was otherwise with Master Francis. His way was clear to him. He was destined for the priesthood and had already received the tonsure as a cleric of the diocese of Pamplona. Thanks to his noble origin and his family connections, the priesthood opened up a way for him to wealth and honors. His cousin, Dr. Martín de Azpilcueta, with whom he was in correspondence,⁶⁵ had a chair of canon law in the University of Salamanca⁶⁶ and two benefices;⁶⁷ and he was sure to receive a bishopric,⁶⁸ as was his pupil Don Francisco de Navarra, the prior of Roncesvalles.⁶⁹ In 1518, Don Francisco, who had fought with Xavier's brothers against the Spaniards, had been named prior of Roncesvalles by the pope when he was only twenty years old and still studying canon law under Dr. Martín de Azpilcueta in Toulouse.⁶⁰ His monastery was considered to be one of the richest in Christendom.⁶¹ When he traveled he was accompanied by eight or more companions on horseback and an equal numbers of servants on foot, each with a pair of pack animals caparisoned with the prior's coat of arms.⁶² He had a seat and voice in the Cortes and precedence even over the dean of Tudela and the prior of the Johannites.⁶³ Dr. Remiro de Goñi, however, as head of the

⁶⁵ In 1614 Martín de Azpilcueta, grandnephew of Dr. Navarrus and lord of the palace of Azpilcueta in Barasoáin, declared during the process of canonization in Pamplona that Xavier had written to his granduncle many times from Paris to Toulouse and from Rome to Salamanca, and that he knew all this because he had read it in the letters and papers of his "uncle" Dr. Navarrus (MX II 672-673). The statement contains an error: the doctor was in Toulouse from 1518 to 1523, when Xavier was still in Navarre, and in Salamanca from 1524 to 1538. Xavier could thus have only written to him in Salamanca from Paris.

⁶⁶ In 1525 he lectured as a substitute for Dr. Tapia; in 1528 he received a "cathedra de cursatorias de canones," which had earlier belonged to Collado; in 1529 he was appointed as a substitute to Dr. Villasandino, who held the *cathedra prima* of decrees. He received this chair after the latter's death. In 1537 he received the *cathedra prima de canones* by a majority of over five hundred votes (Olóriz 40-41 45-46 360 362 364 366; Arigita, *Dr. Navarro* 115-118).

⁶⁷ San Justo del Villar in 1524 and Santa Maria de Luimil in Portugal in 1528 (Olóriz 36-39 319-329).

⁶⁸ Olóriz 13-14 365; Arigita, *Don Francisco de Navarra* 110-113 133-139.

⁶⁹ Dr. Navarrus wrote in his *Epistola Apologetica ad Illm. Ducem Albuquerqueensem* that he had at the request of the empress left "primariae functionis sacrorum Canonum cathedram Salmanticensem, quam nullus ante me unquam auditur reliquisse, nisi ob opulentum episcopatum," in order to go to Portugal (Arigita, *Dr. Navarro* 137). In 1556 Don Francisco de Navarra became archbishop of Valencia with an annual income of thirty thousand pounds (Arigita, *Don Francisco de Navarra* 353).

⁶⁰ Arigita, *Don Francisco de Navarra* 395 147-149.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 149 353.

⁶² *Ibid.* 502 164.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 184-188 498-506.

cathedral chapter, had the highest and most lucrative place in it and was immediately below the bishop. A small Spanish diocese provided an annual income of 24,000 ducats. The archbishop of Toledo, on the other hand, received each year 250,000 ducats, enough to support forty thousand men in the field for a month.⁶⁴ A benefice as a canon in Pamplona would be a sinecure for Francis and could open up the way to higher things. If he returned home from the University of Paris as a doctor, he could be sure of a brilliant career. But since many benefices were reserved to the nobility,⁶⁵ it was advisable for him to obtain in good time an official document of his own title.

A rainy January in 1531 was followed by extraordinarily mild weather. The almond and apricot trees were already in bloom⁶⁶ when, on February 13, three students showed up at the residence of a public notary, Iñigo Ladrón de Cegama, in Paris: "The very noble Francisco de Jasso y de Habier, *Magister Artium*, cleric of the diocese of Pamplona, legitimate son of Dr. Don Juan de Jasso and Doña María de Azpilcueta, the deceased lady of Xabier and Azpilcueta"; the Reverend Don Martín de Urtarroz, Bachelor in Canon Law and Philosophy;⁶⁷ and Lorenzo de Larrasoaña.⁶⁸ The latter two, who were in residence at Sainte-Barbe, were students, like Xavier, and fellow countrymen from Navarre.

Don Francisco commissioned the notary to draw up an authorization so that he could have his title of nobility officially confirmed by the Royal Council and the Supreme Court of Navarre, and he named the following individuals as his procurators: his brothers, the very noble lords Miguel de Xabier, lord of the house and lands of Xabier, and Captain Juan de Azpilcueta; and, in addition to these, Carlos de Larraya,⁶⁹ Juan de Jaca,⁷⁰ Miguel de Veramendi,⁷¹ and Juan

⁶⁴ A. Astráin, S.J., *Introducción histórica a la Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España* (Madrid, 1912) 32-33.

⁶⁵ About this same time two of Xavier's relatives had a patent of nobility drawn up for themselves. One of these was Master Pablo de Eguía, cleric, bachelor, and student of law in Toulouse. In 1518 he had a document of this type which he needed drawn up by his close relative Miguel de Eguía in Estella (Archives Granada 85, 2a). The other was León de Goñi, who asked for and obtained one in 1525 (*ibid.* 74, 18); and in the same year he obtained the benefice of Pastrana in the archdiocese of Toledo when it was relinquished by his relative Dr. Remiro de Goñi (*ibid.* 84, 37bc.).

⁶⁶ Driart 151.

⁶⁷ Don Martín de Urtarroz, who was born in Navarre, matriculated in Paris in 1530, earned the master's degree at the beginning of 1536 under the rector Jacques Houllier (December 15, 1535, to March 24, 1536) (*Acta Rectoria* 9952, 100; 9953, 36v), and on June 4, 1536, received the habit of an Augustinian canon regular in the cathedral of Pamplona. On June 3, 1537, after completing his year of novitiate, he made his profession. There, that same year, he assisted Jerónimo Frago on his deathbed. He died in 1556, as a postscript to his *diary declares (Cathedral Archives of Pamplona, *Arca HH*, n. 21; cf. Cros, *Doc.* I 323-324). The text in Fita has "Uztarroz" by mistake.

⁶⁸ Lorenzo de Larrasoaña matriculated in Paris in 1533 (*Acta Rectoria* 9952, 175). The *Acta Rectoria* erroneously have: "Laurentius de Iarcassorim." The text of the MX has: "Lorez de la Bazcuana" (II 36).

⁶⁹ On him see p. 65.

⁷⁰ Juan de Jaca conducted the process for Xavier's patent of nobility as Miguel's procurator (MX II 47-50 87); from 1551 to 1558, he represented the valley of Aibar in its *suit with the lord of the castle of Xavier (Archives Granada 60, 20, f. 251). In 1490 an Arnald de Jaca was a neighbor of Xavier's grandmother Guilherma in Pamplona (Escalada 179). A Francés de Jaca was chief alcalde of the Corte Mayor and arbitrator between Xavier and Leyre in 1491 (Cros, *Doc.* I 81-82).

⁷¹ In 1503 Veramendi conducted the suit of the city of Sangüesa against Xavier's father (Cros, *Doc.* I 107), and in 1514 he was a witness in the suit against Miguel de Espinal; at this time he was forty-one years old (*ibid.* *II 152).

Martínez de Lesaca,⁷² procurators in the Royal Council and Supreme Court of Navarre.

The notary drew up a document as requested in the following form:

Sacred Majesty! Don Francisco de Jasso y de Xabier, legitimate blood brother of Miguel de Xabier, lord of Xabier, Azpilcueta, and Idocin, declares that he, the petitioner, the said Don Francisco de Jasso, is an hidalgo and nobleman in origin and descent on both his father's and his mother's side, and that it is known that he is regarded, held, and accounted as such. The said petitioner further states that he is the true, legitimate son of Don Juan de Jasso, Doctor, who was president of the Royal Council of this Kingdom of Navarre, and of his lawful wife, Doña María de Azpilcueta, who were lord and lady of the lands and palaces of Xabier, Azpilcueta, and Idocin; and he states that he was regarded, held, and accounted to be the true and legitimate son of the said father and mother, and that he was reared as, and called, a son; and that his parents, who were Don Juan de Jasso and Doña María de Azpilcueta, were of the gentry and nobility, and lord and lady (*hombres hijosdalgo, gentileshombres, nobles, é señores*) of the said palaces and lands and that they dressed as nobles and gentry, and that they were held, regarded, and accounted as gentry, as is known. And the said Don Juan de Jasso, Doctor, the father of the petitioner, was also the true and legitimate son of Ernalt Pérez de Jasso, financial adviser for the royal accounts (*oydor ... de los comptos reales*) of this Kingdom of Navarre, and of his lawful wife Guillerma de Atondo, and was held, regarded, and accounted as the true and legitimate son of the said Ernalt Pérez de Jasso and the said Guillerma de Atondo, and that they were gentry by birth and descendants of nobles and dressed as gentry and nobles and were regarded, held, and accounted as such in the city of Pamplona and in other regions of the realm where they were known. Moreover, the said Doña María de Azpilcueta was a true and legitimate daughter of the legitimate marriage of Martín de Azpilcueta, who owned the said palace of Azpilcueta, and of Doña Joana Asnáriz, his lawful wife, who were lord and lady of the lands and palace of Xabier; and that she was regarded, held, accounted, treated, reared, nourished, and called daughter by them as their true and legitimate daughter; and that Martín de Azpilcueta and Doña Joana de Asnáriz, his lawful wife, were gentry and nobles and dressed as gentry and nobles and were regarded, held, and accounted as such, and that they had, and have, the known coat of arms of the said palace of Azpilcueta, as is known, a black and white checkerboard; and the coat of arms of Jasso, a rampant bear at the base of a holm oak on a field of silver; and of the palace of the said estate and palace of Xabier, a black and white checkered crescent on a red field; and that of Guillerma de Atondo, the coat of arms of the palace of Atondo, from which she descends, two gold bands on a field of blue, and between the bands two gold crescent moons, as lord and masters of the said estates and palaces.

The petitioner is thus on his own account an hidalgo and nobleman and descendant from hidalgos and nobles in his origin and descent from his grandparents on all four sides from whom he descends, as is public and manifest. And since the petitioner is studying at Paris, where it is unknown, as elsewhere, that he is a hidalgo, a nobleman, and of noble descent, he therefore asks that witnesses be summoned and heard who can give information with respect to his origin, descent, gentry, and nobility, and that, when this has been established, an official certificate be sent him which will declare that he is a hidalgo through parents and grandparents and a descendant of father, mother, and grandparents who were gentry, nobles, and lords and ladies of the said palaces of Azpilcueta and Xabier, Idocin, and their lands, and that the aforementioned

⁷² Juan Martínez de Lesaca acted as Xavier's representative in the latter's suit for a patent of nobility (MX II 47 ff.). In 1520 we meet him in Idocin with Xavier's brother Miguel, and at Xavier, where he was engaged in the suit over the Escampadero (see above, pp. 53-65). From 1551 to 1558 he was the lawyer for the lord of the castle of Xavier in the suit with the valley of Aibar (Archives Granada 60, 20, f. 251). He was quite familiar with the archives of the castle (Cros, *Doc. *II 93*).

coats of arms of his said predecessors are his, and that he can bear them with the necessary differences as a son and descendant of the said palaces, and that he should enjoy the privileges, freedoms, and exemptions which other hidalgos and nobles enjoy....⁷³

At the same time that he sent this authorization, Francis forwarded a letter to his brother Miguel in which he asked him to procure for him a canonical benefice in the cathedral of Pamplona through the intervention of Dr. Remiro de Goñi.⁷⁴

3. THE SIEGE OF THE FORTRESS (1530-1533)

Iñigo had won Master Favre over to his ideal without any special resistance. It was otherwise with Xavier. But, as an old soldier, the Guipuzcoan knight knew how to storm this proud citadel at its weakest point.

Beggarly poor himself, he had, after the success of his first trip to Flanders in 1529, traveled again to the Spanish merchants in Bruges and Antwerp during the fall holidays of 1530, and also to those in London in 1531; and he had brought back such an abundance of alms that he could not only take care of his own expenses but could also help other needy students,⁷⁵ especially since he also received financial support at times from benefactors in Barcelona.⁷⁶ Moreover, in order to save him from making additional trips, his benefactors in the north had promised to see to it that he would in the future receive an annual subsidy.⁷⁷

The new regent in the Collège de Beauvais was, like others, more than once in financial difficulties. The annual expenses for a student in Paris amounted to some thirty to fifty ducats.⁷⁸ The expenses which one incurred in procuring a master's degree came to at least fifty-six *livres tournois* and thirteen *solidi*.⁷⁹

⁷³ MX II 37-39.

⁷⁴ In 1620 J. A. de la Peña, S.J., wrote that the cathedral of Pamplona took pride in the fact that Xavier had been elected one of the cathedral canons, as is known from the history of the Society of Jesus, "y lo manifiesta el poder que el Santo Padre Francisco embió desde Meldas [Meaux] al prior que entonces era de la iglesia catedral, tio suyo, para que en su nombre admitiese qualquier beneficio ó dignidad; el qual poder tiene en guarda esta santa iglesia" (MX II 23). Xavier may have sent his resignation from Meaux, but not the authorization. Our search through the cathedral archives proved to be as fruitless as those of earlier investigators, including Cros. An inventory of the castle archives of Xavier of the year 1607 had the following: "An authorization of Maestro Don Francisco Xabier to accept any benefice in his name and to take possession of it" (Cros, *Doc.* *II 89). This authorization is now lost.

⁷⁵ FN I 98 466 179; II 556-557.

⁷⁶ FN II 557.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* I 98; II 553 557; MI *Epp.* I 83-85.

⁷⁸ In 1532 Iñigo wrote to his brother that he should send his son Millán to study at Paris, and he added: "Para su costa, maestro y otras indigencias de estudio, creo bastarán cinquenta ducados cada año, bien prouehidos" (MI *Epp.* I 78). Paris was considered to be an expensive place in which to live. "Everything here is frightfully expensive," wrote Jacob Dryander (Enzinas). "The rent alone of a small dirty little room costs more here than board and room in Louvain, even if one lived there in style" (Dourmergue I 54). In 1533 Sturm asked for thirty crowns from his pensioners; in 1532 a student named Siderander found accommodations in a private home for twenty-four crowns, and eventually with a printer for less than twenty; but he also complained that Paris was a veritable Charybdis that gobbled up all of one's money (Lefranc 137).

⁷⁹ According to the *Advertissements sur la réformation de l'Université de Paris, au roy 1562* of Peter Ramus, who like Xavier had taught in the Collège de Beauvais (Crévier VI 90-91; cf. Jourdain, *Hist.* I 18, where there is mention of fifty-four pounds). In order to give some idea of the high cost of living he sets down a number of current costs: In 1542 a person in Paris could buy an ox for eight livres, a cow for three,

Besides this, Don Francisco, as a son of the former president of the Royal Council of Navarre, wanted to live in a manner suitable to his rank. He consequently retained a poor student as a servant.⁸⁰ But the financial help which he received from Navarre was slight and fitful,⁸¹ and his master's examination⁸² and the necessary outlay in his new position as a regent⁸³ had forced him into debt. The year 1531, moreover, was marked by a poor vintage and an unprecedented rise in prices, which lasted until March, 1532.⁸⁴ Iñigo, therefore, repeatedly helped his Basque countryman in his financial difficulties and also found friends for him who imitated his own example.⁸⁵ Further, he recommended Xavier to others and thus procured pupils for him, whom he then personally introduced to their new teacher.⁸⁶

Even more important was a further service which Iñigo rendered to the young master. He warned him of people who outwardly appeared to be good but were, as Xavier later wrote, inwardly full of heresies; and, as a consequence, he thereafter avoided their company.⁸⁷

Who were these individuals about whom he was warned?

4. DANGEROUS COMPANY (1530-1532)

The battle which the Theological Faculty had undertaken against Erasmus in 1529 under Beda's direction had ended in a victory. But the triumph did not last long. In spite of everything the Prince of Humanists still had many spirited followers in Paris; and these were not limited to the student body, particularly those of the Arts Faculty; but they were also to be found at court.⁸⁸

From the beginning of his reign, Francis I had thought of founding a school for the study of classical languages; and humanists such as Étienne Poncher, the bishop of Paris, Guillaume Petit, the king's confessor, Guillaume Cop, his physician, and Guillaume Budé, his librarian, had encouraged him in this design; and, at his request, they had sought to win over Erasmus for the project in 1517 and 1518. Although the latter had rejected the invitation,⁸⁹ he rejoiced when the plan, despite all difficulties, was put into effect twelve years later.⁹⁰ In March, 1530, when

a pig for two, a wether for one, and a lamb for one-half livre (Avenel IV 82 107 123). Robert Estienne sold the Latin Bible which he printed in 1534 for fifteen sous (*Nouvelle Biographie Universelle* 16 [1872] 488). A livre was worth twenty sous.

⁸⁰ Rodrigues 504.

⁸¹ EX I 8 11.

⁸² On the expenses for the degrees of bachelor, licentiate, and master, see Thurot 61-64; Bulaeus VI 334; *Auctarium* I, p. XLI. Ignatius speaks of the great expenses at the time of his licentiate examination (FN I 476-478; MI *Epp.* I 90).

⁸³ Even Cop, the son of the royal physician, was in need of money because of the expenses involved in furnishing his room in Sainte-Barbe (see above, p. 148, n. 4).

⁸⁴ Driart 153-155; Picotté 93-94. On May 1, 1531, Palha complained about the high prices in a letter from Paris to John III: "The most expensive year in the memory of man" (Prospero Peragalla, *Leone Pancaldo* [Lisboa, 1895] 58-59); Gouvea also complained about the same problem in his letters of November 18, 1531, and January 17, 1532 (Costa 304 307-308 310).

⁸⁵ EX I 9-10.

⁸⁶ According to Polanco (FN II 565).

⁸⁷ EX I 10.

⁸⁸ In a letter to Erasmus of January 1, 1524, Johann Angelus lists these friends (Allen 1407; cf. Villoslada 345).

⁸⁹ Lefranc 46-57.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 115-116.

Xavier received his master's degree, the king founded four chairs for Greek and Hebrew⁹¹ with the approval of the whole humanistic world.⁹² The royal professors, as the holders of these chairs were called, were Danès⁹³ and Toussaint⁹⁴ for Greek, and Guidacerius⁹⁵ and Vatable⁹⁶ for Hebrew. Not long after this, Orontius Finaeus⁹⁷ was appointed to a chair of mathematics, and in 1531 Paradis⁹⁸ to one in Hebrew. In 1534 Latomus⁹⁹ was named a professor of Latin and Johann

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 109-394. Cf. *idem*, in *Le Collège de France. Livre Jubilaire* (Paris, 1932) 33-34.

⁹² Lefranc 110-112.

⁹³ Pierre Danès was born in Paris in about 1497. He studied in the Collège de Navarre under Budé, taught in the Collège de Lisieux in 1519, and was royal professor of Greek from 1530 to 1534 and from 1537 on, after a three-year study trip in Italy. In 1545 he was sent to the Council of Trent as a representative of Francis I; he became bishop of Lavaur in 1557 and as such again attended the council. He died in 1577. See *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* XII 923-925; Lefranc 171-173; Allen VII 474 and M. Forget, "Les relations et les amitiés de Pierre Danès," *Humanisme et Renaissance* 3 (1936) 365-383; 4 (1937) 59-77. There is a picture of him in *Le Collège de France* 14 and in Doumergue I 204.

⁹⁴ Jacques Toussaint (Tusanus), born in Troyes towards the end of the fifteenth century. He studied with Danès under Lascaris and Budé in the Collège de Navarre. In 1526 he published Budé's letters, and in 1527 the epigrams of Lascaris. From 1518 on he corresponded with Erasmus. He died in 1547 (*Nouvelle Biographie Générale* XLV 555-556; Lefranc 173-175).

⁹⁵ Agathius Guidacerius was born in Calabria. He learned Hebrew from a Portuguese Jew after his ordination in Rome and then taught this language at the Sapienza. He published a Hebrew grammar in Rome in 1514, which was reprinted in Paris in 1529. In 1524 he published a Hebrew and Latin text of the Cantic of Canticles, which was also reprinted in Paris in 1531. During the sack of Rome he lost his valuable library and all his manuscripts. Desperately poor he left Rome for Paris by way of Avignon. From 1530 on, he lived and lectured at the Collège des Lombards. He died in 1540 (*Nouvelle Biographie Générale* XXIII 537; Lefranc 181-182 113).

⁹⁶ On François Vatable (Watebled) see above, p. 122.

⁹⁷ Oronce Finé (Finaeus) was born in 1494 in Briançon (Dauphiné). He studied Latin and philosophy in the Collège de Navarre and then devoted himself to mathematics, which he taught in the colleges of Montaigu and Navarre. The lectures of this self-educated man were attended by scholars, magistrates, ambassadors, and princes, and even by the king himself on numerous occasions. In addition to his many mathematical and astronomical works, he published a map of France (Paris, 1525) and a world map in the shape of a heart (Paris, 1536). In 1555, when he was scarcely sixty years old, he died in bitter poverty (*Nouvelle Biographie Générale* XVII 706-712; Lefranc 177-179). There is a picture of him in *Le Collège de France* (Paris, 1932) 16.

⁹⁸ Paolo Canossa, called Paradis, was born of Jewish parents in Venice. He was converted to Christianity at an early age, taught Greek and Hebrew at the court of Marguerite, and obtained a position as a royal professor through her recommendation. He was an elegant man of the world and quickly won the favor of the king as well as other patrons and attracted many hearers. In 1534 he published his *De modo legendi hebraice dialogus*. He died in 1549 (*Nouvelle Biographie Générale* XXXIX 185; Lefranc 179-180 400; Quicherat I 129).

⁹⁹ Bartholomaeus Latomus (Masson) was born in about 1485 in Arlou (Luxembourg). He studied from 1514 to 1520 in Freiburg im Breisgau, where he earned a master's degree and taught Latin. In 1519 he published an elegy on the death of the emperor Maximilian, and in 1521 an *Epistola* to Charles V in verse. In the same year he accompanied Erasmus to Alsace. In 1522 he helped to defend Trier against Franz von Sickingen. He described the siege in a poem of 1,089 verses. He then taught logic and rhetoric in Cologne, where he wrote a number of handbooks between 1527 and 1530. He left Cologne for Paris in 1531, where he taught Latin in the Collège de Sainte-Barbe (from 1534 on as a royal professor). After a trip for study in Italy (1539-1540), he moved from Paris to Coblenz, where he became a champion of Catholicism in the service of the archbishop of Trier. He died in 1570 (*Biographie Nationale Belgique* 11 [1891] 425-434; Lefranc 183-184). There is a picture of him in *Le Collège de France* (Paris, 1932) 50.

Sturm¹⁰⁰ a lecturer in dialectics. These new professors were supported by the king.¹⁰¹ They were independent of the university and were not required to have a licentiate or any other academic degree for teaching;¹⁰² and their lectures, which they began at once,¹⁰³ were free and open to all.¹⁰⁴ This constituted a veritable revolution in the history of the old and famous University of Paris.

Humanism triumphed. Nicholas Clénard,¹⁰⁵ who came from Louvain to Paris in the summer of 1530 and took up his residence with his countryman, the printer Ludwig Cyaneus on the Rue Saint-Jean-de-Latran¹⁰⁶ not far from the Collège de Sainte-Barbe, was enthusiastic about the zeal with which Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were studied, for example, at the Collège de Lisieux.¹⁰⁷ As early as October 21 he wrote to his friend Hoverius: "Yesterday my *Institutiones*¹⁰⁸ were reprinted by Colines, for all five hundred copies were sold during these days, and more than three hundred of my Hebrew textbook.¹⁰⁹ *Incipiunt enim hic fortiter graecari et hebraicari* ('For here Greek and Hebrew have come strongly into their own')." ¹¹⁰ Alciati, the renowned professor of law and humanist, had moreover already written a month before from Bourges: "A very great number of young students in the colleges of the university [of Paris] have begun to study the three languages."¹¹¹

The lectures of the royal professors were crowded, especially those of Pierre Danès, who set up his chair in the great lecture hall¹¹² of the Collège de Cambrai¹¹³

¹⁰⁰ Johann Sturm was born in 1507 in Schleiden near Cologne. He studied in Liege from 1522 to 1524 and in Louvain from 1524 to 1529. Here he entered into a partnership with a publisher and went to Paris on business in 1529. There he first studied medicine but then taught Latin and dialectics as a lecturer in conjunction with the royal professors. For the latter course he replaced the text of Aristotle with that of his teacher Agricola. After his marriage he opened up a boardinghouse which attracted German students in particular. He exchanged letters with Bucer in 1533, and in 1537 accepted his invitation to come to Strasbourg. There he joined the Reformers and opened up a school which soon flourished, but it was closed in 1581 because of religious differences. He therefore moved to the neighboring Norheim, where he died afflicted with blindness in 1589 (*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 37 [1894] 21-38; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* XLIV 595-597; Lefranc 120-121).

¹⁰¹ They received an annual sum of "deux cens escuz d'or soleil," but this was not always paid, Finé 150 (Lefranc 394).

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 107.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 109.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 107.

¹⁰⁵ Nicolaus Clénard (Cleynaerts, alias Beke) was born in 1493 or 1494 in Diest. He studied and taught at Lyons from 1512 to 1530. In the latter year he became a teacher of Greek and Hebrew in Paris, where, for example, he had the Franciscan Frey Roque de Almeida as an enthusiastic student. From 1531 to 1533 he was in Salamanca, and in 1533 in Evora and Braga. From 1538 to 1540 he studied Arabic in Granada. From 1540 to 1541 he was in Morocco. He died in 1542 in Granada. See Alphonse Roersch, *Correspondance de N. Clénard* (Bruxelles, 1940-1941); Victor Chauvin and A. Roersch, *Étude sur la vie et les travaux de N. Clénard* (Bruxelles, 1900); H. De Vocht and others, *Nicolaus Clénardus* (Antwerpen, 1942, with bibliography); Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira, *O Renascimento em Portugal-Clenardo* (Coimbra, 1917-1918); *O Humanismo em Portugal, Clenardo* (Coimbra, 1926).

¹⁰⁶ Cyaneus lived here from 1528 to 1532, then on the Rue Saint-Jacques (Doumergue I 608).

¹⁰⁷ *Meditationes graecanicae, in artem grammaticam* (Lovanii, 1531) 127-128.

¹⁰⁸ *Institutiones in linguam graecam* (Paris, Simon de Colines, 1530).

¹⁰⁹ *Tabula in grammaticen hebraeam* (Lovanii, 1529).

¹¹⁰ Roersch, *Correspondance* I 13-14 215; II 18-22 149.

¹¹¹ *Bulletin de l'Association G. Budé* 3, 2 (1953) 25.

¹¹² Berty, *R. Centr.* 512.

¹¹³ Lefranc 145 113.

only a few steps away from the Collège de Beauvais. Danès, a pupil of Budé, came from an old, wealthy, and influential Parisian family; and soon after he had completed his studies in the Collège de Navarre he had made a brilliant career. Handsome and endowed with elegant manners, he was not only widely versed in the classical languages of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but also in mathematics, medicine, and theology, which he had taken up as a hobby. Then too he had close connections with the court and with the leading politicians. Because of his brilliant eloquence he exercised an extraordinary influence on the Parisian intellectual world.¹¹⁴ It was the fashion to attend his lectures. Three or four hundred would listen attentively to his words, among whom would be students, professors, scholars, the highest officials of the realm, and even members of the royal household;¹¹⁵ and among those who frequented his lectures was also the young regent in the Collège de Beauvais, Master Francis Xavier.¹¹⁶

After the departure of the principal, Diogo de Gouvea, for Portugal in November, 1529, a fresh wind had also descended upon Sainte-Barbe. The old doctor had, it is true, promoted the study of Latin and had made his college one of the best in the university through its reputation for excellent teaching. But Latin for him was only a preparation for philosophy and theology.¹¹⁷ He retained the old scholastic traditions for imparting it and shied away from Greek as the language of heretics.¹¹⁸

His nephew, André de Gouvea,¹¹⁹ who directed the college in his absence,

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* 171-173.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* 141-142.

¹¹⁶ Did Xavier study Greek? We have shown above (p. 103, n. 219) that he did not have to take an examination in Greek before beginning his course in philosophy, as is maintained, for example, by Cros, Michel, and Villoslada. W. Hoffmann wrote in a note to his translation of H. Venn's *Life of Xavier* (*Franz Xavier* [Wiesbaden, 1869] 120): "An English cleric has assured the translator that there is a handwritten notice in the royal library in Paris which states that Xavier learned Greek there from a student of Melanchthon and attended his lectures on the New Testament. As a result of this he subscribed to the teaching of justification through faith alone and remained in this belief. The notice further states that this difference in belief prompted him to ask Loyola for the missions as his sphere of activity. The matter would be worth still further research." Without naming his source, Böhmer, on the basis of this assertion, states without reservation: "There were at that time in Paris, especially among the humanists, many overt and covert Lutherans. One of these, a student of Melanchthon, became Xavier's teacher in Greek" (143). Brou correctly describes the whole business as a Protestant legend (I 39-40). Lefranc also draws on the same source (Hoffmann), when he writes: "Calvin fut dès l'année de la fondation l'auditeur assidu de Danès, qui fut son maître de grec. Qui sait? Peut-être s'est-il assis plus d'une fois sur le même banc qu'Ignace de Loyola, que Pierre Lefèvre et François-Xavier, qui tous les deux, nous le savons de bonne source, suivirent les cours de grec à cette même époque?" (133-134). But the manuscript mentioned by Hoffmann has not been found to this day. There was no student of Melanchthon among the royal professors. It is most probable that Xavier followed the usual procedure as a regent in the College de Beauvais and at times attended the lectures of Danès in the neighboring Collège de Cambrai, although we do not find even in his writings any evidence for his knowing Greek. The same is true of his companion Favre. The statement that he thereby became interiorly a Protestant is absurd. E. A. Stewart even makes Xavier a professor of Greek in the Collège de Beauvais (*The Life of St. Francis Xavier* [London, 1917] 65, and under her new name of E. A. Robertson she does the same, *Francis Xavier* [London, 1930] 43).

¹¹⁷ Brandão, *A Inquisição* I 122 128-135.

¹¹⁸ Teive later declared of Gouvea: "Chamava luteranos homens que sabião grego e philosophia e estavam mal com a sofistaria" (Teive 6; cf. Matos 41; Costa 273).

¹¹⁹ André de Gouvea was a son of Dr. Gonçalo de Gouvea and a brother of the principal. He matriculated in Paris in 1522 and studied under Gélida in Sainte-Barbe,

was of another opinion.¹²⁰ André was in complete sympathy with the course of the humanists. After obtaining his licentiate in 1528,¹²¹ he had taught Latin and then philosophy in Sainte-Barbe as a regent; ¹²² and at the same time he had attended lectures in theology given by the Dominicans,¹²³ whose prior was his confessor. ¹²⁴ Repelled, however, by the scholastic method, he had soon concluded that instead of losing his time with "sophistic theology," as he described it, which was learned from Tartaret and Durandus, he should flee from this Egyptian darkness and seek his light in Sacred Scripture and the Fathers of the Church; ¹²⁵ and, as a fluent speaker and brilliant Latinist,¹²⁶ he was able to win others also over to his own ideas.

One of his first acts was to summon his friend Nicholas Cop, a student of medicine and regent in the Collège de Lemoine, to Sainte-Barbe and to give him there in the fall of 1530 a regency in philosophy. In Cop, the son of the royal physician, he found a sympathetic companion who was as enthusiastic for the new learning as he was opposed to medieval scholasticism and its representatives.¹²⁷

The new principal found a second sympathizer with his ideas in Master Juan Gélida, for whom he had written in 1527 some Latin verses as an introduction to his book *De quinque universalibus*.¹²⁸ Gélida had formerly praised the old master of the scholastic method, Johannes Major, to the skies.¹²⁹ But his reading of the works of Faber Stapulensis had convinced him when he was teaching philosophy at Sainte-Barbe between 1524 to 1532 of the necessity of going back to the original text of Aristotle and the pupils of the Stagirite rather than to his medieval commentators, and he was able to communicate his scorn for the old school to his pupils.¹³⁰

In 1527 he obtained as his servant a poor seventeen-year-old student from Normandy, Guillaume Postel,¹³¹ who was endowed with an extraordinary gift for

where he received the master's degree in 1526, and then taught Latin and philosophy. From the end of 1529 to 1534 he was principal in Sainte-Barbe. He fell out with his uncle, whose place he was taking, because of his religious opinions. In 1534 André took over the direction of the Collège de Bordeaux, which he soon brought to a flourishing state, though he had few scruples in his choice of assistants. In 1547 he was called to Coimbra as principal of the arts college. He died there suddenly in 1548 without receiving the last sacraments. On him see Brandão, *A Inquisição* I 181-214 255-613; Matos, index; Quicherat I 130-131 218-242 360-361; Bataillon, "Sur André de Gouveia," *O Instituto* 78 (1929) 1-19; Rodrigues, *História* I 2, 336-339.

¹²⁰ Brandão, *A Inquisição* I 184.

¹²¹ **Acta Rectoria* 9952, 53v.

¹²² Brandão, *A Inquisição* I 138.

¹²³ *Ibid.* 186; Matos 51 153.

¹²⁴ Brandão, *A Inquisição* I 179.

¹²⁵ See his letter of August 13, 1537, to the Portuguese ambassador in France (Costa 273).

¹²⁶ Barbosa Machado mentions his manuscript "Orationes habitae in Collegio Barbarano" and adds that these "were written with the purity and majesty of style of Cicero. Many of them have been preserved and they are treasured by the scholars who possess them" (*Bibliotheca Lusitana* I 150).

¹²⁷ Brandão, *A Inquisição* I 187-199; Costa 5 196; Quicherat I 214.

¹²⁸ Quicherat I 130-131.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* 350.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* 165-167 174-175; Brandão, *A Inquisição* I 187-188; Costa 327-328 196 327-328; Villoslada 410. He left the Collège de Sainte-Barbe for that of Lemoine and this in turn, on the invitation of André de Gouveia, for that of Bordeaux, where he died in 1551.

¹³¹ Guillaume Postel was born in Dolerie (parish of Barenton, Manche). When he was hardly sixteen years old he came to Paris, where he lay sick for eighteen months

languages and had learned Hebrew from a Jew in the neighborhood almost without any help, and Portuguese and Spanish from his fellow students in Sainte-Barbe.¹³² Every morning he got up before four o'clock to translate for his teacher a passage from the Greek commentary of Themistius on Aristotle.¹³³ In 1532 he passed the examination for his licentiate under Gélida.¹³⁴ In this same year his teacher finished giving his second course in philosophy, but he had in the meantime told his pupils that he had taught them poorly since he lacked the necessary preparation. Before doing any more teaching, he wanted to begin his studies all over again; and for this purpose he took up residence in the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine.¹³⁵

Sainte-Barbe had an outstanding Latin teacher in Jacques Louis Estrebay, who taught the language of Cicero here from 1529 to 1534. Strebaeus, as he was also known in Latin, had come to Paris as the son of a poor peasant of the Ardennes and had maintained himself during his studies as a servant in the college. When Francis I in 1534 added a Latin professor to the other royal appointees in the person of Latomus, many were of the opinion that Strebaeus was more deserving of this chair, as an epigram of his pupil Jean Voulté openly declared.¹³⁶

and studied in Sainte-Barbe as a servant of Gélida from 1527 to 1532. He taught privately in Amiens and then traveled in April, 1535, with the French ambassador to the sultan in the east. On his return, he taught in Paris from 1538 to 1542 as a royal professor of oriental languages. In 1544 he joined the Society of Jesus in Rome but was dismissed the following year because of signs of mental illness. He then led a nomadic life (he was in the Holy Land from 1548 to 1549, in Paris in 1552, and in Vienna in 1553), and was often in conflict with the Inquisition. He returned to Paris in 1559. From 1564 on he was interned in the monastery of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, where he died in 1581, after publishing a series of works full of oriental learning and phantastic tales. On him see *Diction. de Théol. Cath.* 12 (1935) 2658-2662; Lefranc 184-201; G. Weill, *De Guilielmi Postelli vita et indole* (Paris, 1892); Quicherat I 166-170; J. M. Prat, *Maldonat et l'Université de Paris* (Paris, 1856) 541-548; [Prat] *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du P. Broet* (Le Puy, 1885) 179-183 322-325 562-563; H. Bernard-Maitre, S.J., "Le passage de G. Postel chez les premiers Jésuites de Rome," *Mélanges Henri Chamard* (Paris, 1951) 227-243; *idem.*, "Aux Origines françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus. L'Apologie de G. Postel," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 38 (1952) 209-233; and Levi della Vita in *Studi e Testi* 92 (Città del Vaticano, 1939) 307-327 and 143 (1948) 180; see also the text in the MHSI: MI *Epp.* I 344, *Scripta* I 708-712; *Lainii Mon.* V 406; VI 268-271; VIII 638-640; *Litt. Quadr.* I 656; Polanco, *Chron.* I 148-149; IV 235-237; V 533 and Fouqueray I 143-145.

¹³² Weill 14-15; Quicherat I 167.

¹³³ Quicherat I 167.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* 169.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* 166.

¹³⁶ His name was derived from his home in Estrebay (Ardennes). He was first a servant and student and then later a teacher in Sainte-Barbe. In 1534 he accepted a call from the bishop of Lisieux and died poor and abandoned as a typesetter in Reims (Quicherat I 155-157).

¹³⁷ George Buchanan was born in 1506 in Killearn (Stirlingshire, Scotland). He studied in Paris from 1520 to 1522 and then in Scotland under Major. In 1526 he was again in Paris in Sainte-Barbe as a servant of William Manderston. In 1528 he became a *magister artium* and then taught Latin for "almost three years" from 1528 to 1531. Then, from 1531 to 1536, he was the private tutor of the young Earl of Cassilis and returned to Scotland with him. There he became the teacher of Murray, the illegitimate son of King James V. He was imprisoned for his satires on monks. In 1539, suspected of heresy, he fled to Paris. From 1539 to 1547 he taught in the college of André de Gouvea in Bordeaux and in the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine in Paris, and from 1547 to 1550 in Coimbra. From 1550 to 1552 he was held prisoner by the Inquisition. From 1552 to 1561 he lived in France and Italy, most of the times as a tutor of a son of Marshall De Brissac. In 1561 he returned to Scotland, where he apostatized. From 1566 to 1570 he was principal of Saint Leonard's College in St. Andrews, then in the

His colleague was the Scot George Buchanan,¹³⁷ who had supported himself as a servant of his countryman William Manderston in the same college,¹³⁸ and who had taught the third Latin class there as a regent since 1528.¹³⁹ He too was of the opinion that the older professors, who wanted to have nothing to do with the progressive ideas of the humanists, were miserable sophists, with the doctors of the Sorbonne at their head.¹⁴⁰ On the recommendation of Dr. Vauchop, he was four times elected by the German nation as their procurator. An excellent scholar in Latin and Greek,¹⁴¹ he left the medieval *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villedieu to the regents of the backward Collège de Montaigu and was even unwilling to have anything to do with the newer and commonly taught Despauterius, who was even approved by Mathurin Cordier, as being still too barbaric and replaced him with the English grammar of Linacre, which he translated into Latin for his pupils.¹⁴² He preferred to read the *Colloquia* of Erasmus instead of scholastic folios,¹⁴³ and ridiculed the older generation in mordant epigrams. One of these was Martin Dolet, who had been rector of the university in 1509 and 1528 and had taught metrics with exemplary zeal to the Latin students in Sainte-Barbe since 1515. In 1528 Fernel had described this highly respected teacher as "the Patron of Scholars," but his Scotch colleague wrote of him as follows:

The words of Doletus are brilliant, all know,
But brilliance is all that his words have to show.
That his poems are stupid is no great surprise,
Since he never thinks straight, though often he tries.¹⁴⁴

Buchanan's satirical pen did not even shrink from ridiculing his fellow countryman and teacher, Johannes Major of the Collège de Montaigu, "the Prince of the Nominalists" and the standard-bearer of scholasticism in Paris, whose numerous works were in the hands of all. In his commentary on the third book of the

service of his pupil, the pretender Murray, who was opposed to Mary Stuart. From 1570 to 1578 he was keeper of the Great Seal and tutor of her son, who subsequently became James VI. He died in Edinburgh in 1582 after completing his *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*. The main sources for his life are: *Opera omnia* (Leiden, 1725*), his autobiography (*ibid.* and in J. M. Aitken, *The Trial of George Buchanan before the Lisbon Inquisition* [London, 1939], pp. XIV-XXVII); on his trial by the Inquisition, see also Costa and Teive, and his own account edited by Guil. J. C. Henriques, "Buchanan na Inquisição," *Arquivo Historico Portuguez* 4 (1906) 241-281; see also his *Poemata* (Leiden, 1628). Some of these data are in Quicherat I 161 265-269 135-137 98 356-359. See his life by Hume Brown, *George Buchanan* (Edinburgh 1890); Brandão, *A Inquisição* I 233-235 332-339, *O Colégio* I 405-408; Matos 65; and Quicherat I 158-164 299-301.

¹³⁸ According to Diogo de Gouvea (Costa 195).

¹³⁹ He matriculated under the rector Alvaro de Moscoso (June 23, to October 10, 1527) (*Acta Rectoria* 9952, 19v). He became a *magister artium* in March, 1528, and then, according to his autobiography, taught grammar in Sainte-Barbe for "almost three years" (Aitken p. XVI), that is, from 1528 to 1531 (Henriques 243) in the *tertia* (Quicherat I 159). See Brandão, *A Inquisição* I 133-134; Matos 65.

¹⁴⁰ He described the Sorbonne as being "sterilis veri" (Quicherat I 161).

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* 159-160.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* 162 358. His translation appeared in print in Paris in March, 1536, with the title: *Th. Linacri Rudimenta Grammatica ex Anglico sermone in Latinum versa interprete Georgio Buchanano*.

¹⁴³ He refers to it in his poem on the life of a professor: "ubi Beda sapit" (Quicherat I 358).

¹⁴⁴ "Verba Doletus habet, quis nescit? splendida; verum / Splendida nil praeter verba Doletus habet. / Carmina quod sensu careant mirare Doleti, / Quando qui scripsit carmina mente caret" (Quicherat I 161)?

Sentences of Peter Lombard, Major had begun his dedication with the words: *Johannes solo cognomine Maior* ("Johannes, 'Greater' in name only"), a confession which provoked the following comment from Buchanan:

A man who is "Greater" in surname alone
Has written a book without a sound page.
The truth in the preface is easily shown:
Not even a Cretan can it always outrage!¹⁴⁵

In 1531, when Major returned to his native Scotland, Buchanan had left Sainte-Barbe in order to take up a position as private tutor to his countryman, the earl of Cassilis.¹⁴⁶ In this same year André de Gouvea obtained for his college the Luxembourg humanist Bartholomaeus Latomus, who was already forty-six years old and a friend of Erasmus and Budé. The new professor, like his friend Sturm, did not base his lectures on dialectics upon Aristotle but upon the *De inventione dialectica* of Agricola, which had appeared in Germany.¹⁴⁷ Even the fifteen-year-old son of the elderly Budé attended his lectures with his younger brothers, and soon the students spoke of him and Sturm no less highly than they did of the royal professors.¹⁴⁸

Another personage who could frequently be seen at Sainte-Barbe in 1531-1532 was Cop's friend John Calvin,¹⁴⁹ who was three years younger than Xavier and undistinguished in his exterior. He was rather small, stooped, lean, and square-shouldered, and had a pale, earnest look. He had a prominent nose, black hair, a sharp, piercing gaze, and a high brow.¹⁵⁰ Born in 1509 in Noyon, Picardy, he came to Paris¹⁵¹ in 1523 at the age of fourteen and studied Latin in the Collège de la

¹⁴⁵ "Cum scateat nugis solo cognomine Major, / Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro, / Non mirum, titulis quod se veracibus ornat: / Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet" (Quicherat I 98; cf. Villoslada 135).

¹⁴⁶ According to his autobiography (Aitken, p. XVI; cf. Quicherat I 164).

¹⁴⁷ Quicherat I 360-361 223-234; cf. Bulaeus VI 235.

¹⁴⁸ Letter of Siderander of May 28, 1533 (Lefranc 135-138).

¹⁴⁹ On Calvin see the sources: *Opera omnia* (Braunschweig, 1863-1890, 59 vols.) especially the first volume of his *Epistolae* (X, 2), and Herminjard (Genève, 1864-1897 9 vols.). Descriptions of Calvin may be found in: R. N. Carew Hunt, *Calvin* (London, 1933); F. Wendel, *Calvin* (Paris, 1950); Fritz Büsler, *Calvins Urteil über sich selbst* (Zürich, 1950); and E. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin. Les hommes et les choses de son temps* (Lausanne, etc., 1899-1927, 7 vols., valuable for its pictures and its collection of materials, but biased and apologetic). For the chronology before 1536 see Karl Müller, "Calvins Bekehrung," *Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1905, 189-214, improved by Th. Dufour, "Calviniana," *Melanges M. Emile Picot* 2 (Paris, 1913) 51-66, who gives new dates to four important letters. More recent literature may be found in Grente 148-152. For that before 1900, see Alfredus Erichson, *Bibliographia Calviniana* (Berolini, 1900).

¹⁵⁰ "Fu Calvino di corpo ed aspetto quasi difforme, di bassa statura, macillante nel volto, secco et estenuato nelle membra, di color olivastro, di pelo negro, di barba caprina, di spalle quadre e curvo, di naso aquilino; ma di spirito gagliardo, d'ingegno fraudolente e vivace." This is the description given by the anonymous author of the **Governo politico di Ginevra* (Vatican Archives: *Fondo Bolognetti* 33, f. 31v), composed about 1640 by a competent judge in Geneva. On the margin of the manuscript there is a gloss: "Beza dipinge Calvino: 'horribili forma vultu, sc. funesto, barba barbarica, ore hianti et cacaturiente.'" In a suit in Ferrara of 1536 he is mentioned as "quodam gallo parvae staturae" (Bart. Fontana, "Documenti circa il soggiorno di Calvino a Ferrara," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 8 [1885] 115). Cf. Duden in the *Etudes* 222 (Paris, 1935) 795-796. In *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia* 2 (1908) 358 Calvin is described in the following terms: "He was of medium height but thin because of poor health. He had a pale, haggard, finely chiseled face, a well-shaped

Marche under Mathurin Cordier¹⁵² and then in the Collège de Montaigu under a Spanish teacher. Following this he studied philosophy for three years,¹⁵³ until the end of 1527, and then at his father's request attended lectures in law at Orléans and Bourges.¹⁵⁴ But after his father's death he returned to Paris in 1531 in order to dedicate himself to humanistic studies and to hear the royal professors.¹⁵⁵ Like his friend Cop,¹⁵⁶ Calvin was an enthusiastic supporter of Erasmus; and in April of the following year the printer Ludwig Cyaneus (Blaublom), who had his shop on the Rue Saint-Jacques in the house "Under the Two Cocks," published his Latin commentary on Seneca's *De clementia*, in which he cited fifty-seven Latin and twenty-two Greek authors. He sent a copy of it to Erasmus, "the honor and delight of the learned world," whose edition of Seneca in 1529 had inspired his own efforts.¹⁵⁷

Not only Sainte-Barbe but the whole Faculty of Philosophy was in a state of ferment. The appointment of the royal professors by Francis I was an assault upon the age-old privileges of the university, and the Faculty of Theology was especially alarmed by this promotion of Greek and Hebrew and by the appointment of lay professors whose teaching was withdrawn from its jurisdiction. The Latin Vulgate was the official text of Sacred Scripture acknowledged by the Church, and private attempts to improve upon this old version by unqualified humanists, who were for the most part quite ignorant in theological matters, were bound to increase the already great confusion among the laity in these dangerous times. On April 30, 1530, a month after the inauguration of the lectures of the royal professors, the Theological Faculty therefore condemned two opinions: first, that one

mouth, a long, pointed beard, black hair, prominent nose, high forehead, and piercing eyes."

¹⁵¹ Doumergue I 28 31 76.

¹⁵² In his first life of Calvin, which was published in 1563, Beza states that he had studied under Cordier in Sainte-Barbe, but in his second, published in 1564, he states that he had studied under the same master in the Collège de la Marche. Quicherat (I 205-213) defends the first statement. This has been disputed by Jules Bonnet in "Calvin fut-il barbiste?" *Nouveaux récits du seizième siècle* (Paris, 1870) 293-298, and Doumergue I 59, n. 2.

¹⁵³ The school year closed in September, 1527. Ignatius came to Paris on February 2, 1528. The two could not therefore have met each other in the classroom of Montaigu, as many authors have wrongly presumed. Calvin left Paris at the end of 1527 to go to Noyon, where his father had destined him for a legal career.

¹⁵⁴ He studied law in Orléans from 1528 to 1529 and in Bourges from 1529 to 1531. In Bourges he also began Greek under the Lutheran Melchior Volkmar, who introduced him to the doctrines of the Reform.

¹⁵⁵ On May 26, 1531, his father had died excommunicated in Noyon. His son, now set free, discontinued his legal studies, which he had taken up against his will. Shortly before this Calvin had been in Paris for a few weeks in March in order to see a work of his friend Duchemin through the press. After his father's death he returned to Paris in order to take up humanistic studies. The letters of June 27 and December 27, which earlier editors assigned to 1531 (*Calvini Opera* X, 2, 9-12; Herminjard II 346-348 383 to 385), were written in 1533; the one allegedly written at the beginning of 1532 (*Calvini Opera* X, 2, 17-18; Herminjard II 393-394) is from the end of 1533; the one formerly thought written about March, 1534 (*Calvini Opera* X, 2, 37-38; Herminjard II 156-158) is of January of the same year, as Dufour has shown.

¹⁵⁶ On Calvin's friendship with Cop about this time, see *Calvini Opera* X, 2, 9, and 17 (letters of 1531 and 1532), and Doumergue I 75 114 198. Cop's father was an intimate friend of Erasmus from 1498 on (*ibid.* 113-114), his son Michael later became a minister in Geneva.

¹⁵⁷ Doumergue I 210-222; Hunt 34-35, who shows in opposition to Doumergue that Calvin's work on Seneca was not an apology for the Lutherans but a purely scientific work.

cannot have a good understanding of Sacred Scripture without a knowledge of Greek, Hebrew, and other languages, as erroneous and scandalous; and second, that a preacher cannot expound the Epistles and Gospels according to their true meaning without these languages, as false, impious, and pernicious, since it turns Christians away from hearing the word of God, and the defendants of these opinions incur a grave suspicion of Lutheranism.¹⁵⁸

When in the same year a number of theologians advocated a reform of the Philosophical Faculty, the latter replied in August, 1530, with a memorial to Lizet, first president of Parlement, in which it declared that the University of Paris had now become an object of ridicule to other nations. Putting aside the Gospels and doctors of the Church such as Cyprian, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine, it was teaching a new sophistic and dialectic, through which it had not pleased God to save His people. They therefore petitioned that provisions should be made to the effect that in the future no one would be admitted to the grade of licentiate in theology who had not been instructed in all these matters. The memorial was successful. A short time after it was sent, Parlement decreed that whoever wished to obtain a licentiate in theology must first attend lectures on the Old and New Testament in addition to those on the Master of the Sentences.¹⁵⁹

The Theological Faculty in its turn made a complaint to Parlement in July, 1531, to the effect that heretical books in French and Latin were being daily sold in Paris.¹⁶⁰ In December of the same year it spoke of "an almost deathly sickness" in the Arts Faculty owing to the fact that Aristotle had been set aside and the students were being taught from the works of an obscure German named Agricola.¹⁶¹ In 1531 and 1532 Claude Chevallon was printing in his workshop on the Rue Saint-Jacques the ten folio volumes of Erasmus' edition of Augustine,¹⁶² but during this same time, on July 7, 1531, the Theological Faculty published its censure of more than a hundred opinions which Beda had taken from Erasmus' *Paraphrases* and *Elenchus*. These dealt with ecclesiastical fasts, oaths, the indissolubility of marriage in case of adultery, justification through faith, long prayers, which Christ, according to Erasmus, had explicitly condemned, membership in the Church, celibacy, the translation of Scripture, and so forth. With respect to the translation of the Bible into the vernaculars, although this was recognized as a praiseworthy activity in itself, attention was brought to the dangers that arise when translations of the sacred books are indiscriminately handed out without any explanation, as was evidenced from the history of the Waldensians, Albigensians, Turlepines, and more recent heretics, who misused these books for the spreading of their erroneous teachings. Therefore, under the circumstances, these translations were rightly forbidden.¹⁶³

5. IÑIGO'S WARNING (1530-1533)

When Iñigo was a student at Alcalá in 1526, many individuals, including his own confessor Miona, had advised him to read the *Enchiridion militis christiani* of

¹⁵⁸ Feret I 151; Lefranc 122-125; Doumergue I 207. The decree was aimed at least indirectly at the royal professors.

¹⁵⁹ Bulaeus VI 227.

¹⁶⁰ Cros, *Doc.* I 329.

¹⁶¹ Bulaeus VI 235.

¹⁶² Delisle 338.

¹⁶³ Feret I 136-40.

Erasmus, which his benefactor, the publisher Miguel de Egúá, had a short time before printed in Latin and Spanish. But when Iñigo learned that certain preachers and persons in authority had already found fault with this author, he refused to have anything to do with him, saying that there were books about which no evil was spoken, and that these were the books which he wanted to read.¹⁶⁴ The condemnation of Erasmus' work by the Theological Faculty of Paris strengthened Iñigo in his rejection of the humanist in Basel, and he warned Master Francis of him and his admirers.

To the latter belonged also the royal professors. With them, as with Erasmus, theology was not their strongest forte. Like Lefèvre d'Étaples and his followers, they were tainted with errors; and experience had revealed the truth of the sayings: "One who studies Greek becomes a Lutheran,"¹⁶⁵ and "Greek without theology leads to heresy."¹⁶⁶ The Latin Vulgate had been approved by the Church and sanctified by hundreds of years of use. The new translation and editions of Scripture put forth by the humanists were not, and these professors with their Greek and their exegesis instilled their errors into their hearers unperceived.¹⁶⁷

Danès was suspect in the faith,¹⁶⁸ and so was his colleague Toussaint, and the doctors of the Sorbonne had reason for being hostile to them. Toussaint was in correspondence with Erasmus, and the latter consoled him on March 13, 1531, with respect to the obstacles which the followers of the old sciences were putting in his way, mentioning among other things: "I was, if not the first, then at least one of the first to make this hydra [the Sorbonne] hiss."¹⁶⁹

The same was true of the professors of Hebrew. One of them, Paradis, was a converted Italian Jew, a man of the world who had been a private tutor in Greek and Hebrew to the sister of the king, Marguerite d'Angoulême, who was also suspect in the faith. Through her intercession he had been appointed to this professorial chair.¹⁷⁰ Vatable, who was also a protégé of Marguerite, had belonged

¹⁶⁴ FN I 585 669; II 416-416; cf. R. G. Villoslada, S.J., "Humanismo y Contrareforma, o Erasmo y San Ignacio de Loyola," *Razón y Fe* 121 (1940) 5-36, and "San Ignacio de Loyola y Erasmo de Rotterdam," *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 16 (1942) 235-264 399-426; 17 (1943) 75-103.

¹⁶⁵ Bobadilla wrote in his autobiography: "Eo tempore incipiebat grassari Parisiis haeresis lutherana, et multi comburebantur in platea Mumbert [Maubert], et qui graecizabant, lutheranizabant" (Bobadilla 614).

¹⁶⁶ Nadal said the following on this: "Viderat exempla P. Ignatius quod Lutetiae plerique (et in Germania audierat plures) per studia litterarum graecarum absque theologia evanescebant et ad novitates fidei abducebantur" (*Scholium* 81-82). Diogo de Teive, who studied with Xavier in Sainte-Barbe from 1527 to 1532, was accused of having associated with people in Paris who were suspect in the faith. He excused himself by saying that almost all educated men had to endure this suspicion, "ut qui politioribus literis in Gallia superioribus temporibus exculiti essent, et praesertim, qui graecam linguam callerent, fere pro suspectis haberentur; horum ego, cum literis graecis studebam, consuetudinem secutus sum, nec quidem nego me familiaritatem cum quibusdam invisisse, qui postea suspecti habiti sunt et haereseos tandem accusati, quos etsi nonnumquam liberius loqui audiebam, minime tamen (ut candidus animus suspicax non est) tanto crimine contaminatos putabam" (Teive 67).

¹⁶⁷ According to Beda in 1534 in his opposition to the royal professors (Cros, *Doc.* I 331-332).

¹⁶⁸ Beza said of him: "Il estoit entré en quelque connaissance de la vérité," and "autrefois des premiers à condamner les abus de la papauté" (*Histoire ecclésiastique* I 65; cf. Doumergue I 209).

¹⁶⁹ Allen 2449; Lefranc 117-118. In 1524 Johann Lange had already written to Erasmus from Meaux that he (Erasmus) had defenders in Paris, among whom were Gérard Roussel and Jacques Toussaint (Allen 1407).

¹⁷⁰ "Très lancé dans le monde," after leading a "joyeuse vie," he left behind him in

until 1525 to the circle of Meaux along with such suspect individuals as Lefèvre d'Étaples, Roussel, Farel, and Caroli.¹⁷¹ He was a stipendiary in the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine, which, as far as the orthodoxy of its professors was concerned, did not enjoy the best reputation.¹⁷² Moreover Sturm, who maintained a pension in his house for Swiss and German students, came from Germany, which was already to a great extent contaminated by doctrinal errors.¹⁷³

And what was true of the royal professors was also true of the teachers in Sainte-Barbe, who were madly enthusiastic about the new teaching. Among these were Cop, who came from the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine, the Luxembourger Latomus,¹⁷⁴ who shared the same opinions as Sturm, André Gouvea, and others.

What was common to them all was their rejection of scholasticism, and yet the scholastic method with its sharp, clear concepts, its long logical training, and its daily disputations was precisely what the humanists with their confused ideas about philosophy and theology needed, and what the battle with the heresies of the time required.¹⁷⁵ There was a definite need to return to the original texts of philosophy and theology, to get rid of the countless glosses of the Middle Ages, to put a check on the all too subtle hairsplittings of the Nominalists, and to purify the corrupted Latin; and even the advocates of the older teaching such as Major,¹⁷⁶ Beda,¹⁷⁷ and Clichtovaeus¹⁷⁸ realized this. But still the system of education at Paris with all its faults was so superior that Iñigo in the middle of June, 1532, wrote to his brother, the lord of Loyola, and advised him to send his son Millán to Paris for his philosophical and theological studies. In no place in Christendom would he find greater opportunities for learning. In four years he would derive more fruit at this university than he would at others in six or more.¹⁷⁹

1549 an illegitimate son. His sister was a lady-in-waiting at the court of Marguerite (Lefranc 179-180).

¹⁷¹ Vatable was a student of Lefèvre d'Étaples and a friend of Marot, whom he persuaded to translate the Psalms into French, and a favorite of Marguerite; one of his few students, the Protestant Jean Mercier, became his successor (Lefranc 176-177; Doumergue I 205).

¹⁷² People like Lefèvre d'Étaples, Briçonnet, Farel, Beatus Rhenanus, the two Amerbachs, Gélida, Johann Lange, and others taught and studied in the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine. Driart, as a consequence, wrote on his diary in January, 1525: "Item, en ce moys y eust esmeutte au Cardinal-le-Moyne, à cause d'aucuns leuteriens qui y estoient, et pulluloit fort la mauvaise doctrine, de laquelle on estimoit estre fauteur Monseigneur de Meaulx" (101-102).

¹⁷³ He had his first contacts with Protestants in Strasbourg in 1528; in August, 1533, he began to correspond with Bucer, their leader, and in 1537 he went to Strasbourg and apostatized.

¹⁷⁴ Many were indignant over his appointment as a royal professor in 1534 since he came from Germany where there were countless heresies (Bulaeus VI 244). In 1543 he wrote to Bucer that during his nine years of public teaching in Paris he had never been accused on account of his religious views (Lefranc 112, n. 2). In 1534 he had to go into hiding as being suspect in the faith because of the affair of the placards.

¹⁷⁵ Cf the eleventh rule on thinking with Church in St. Ignatius, *Spiritual Exercises*.

¹⁷⁶ Villoslada 133 141-143 162-164.

¹⁷⁷ See, for example, his letter to Erasmus of May 21, 1525 (Allen 1579), and his statement concerning lectures on Greek and Hebrew in 1534 (Cros, *Doc.* I. 331). Crévier says of him: "caractère inquiet et ardent, qui ne mérite pas toutes les invectives desquelles l'ont chargé les écrivains Protestants" (V 281-282).

¹⁷⁸ This is shown by his philosophical works, his publications of the writings of the Fathers, his recommendation of a study of Scripture and of the Fathers (Ferret II 31-36 41).

¹⁷⁹ *MI Epp.* I 78 148-49.

Diogo de Gouvea, who returned from Portugal in September, 1531, after almost two years of absence,¹⁸⁰ was of exactly the same mind as Iñigo. He was not pleased with the new spirit which had been fostered by the royal professors and his nephew André de Gouvea, and he was even less pleased with his nephew's friendship with individuals such as Gélida and Cop.¹⁸¹ As far as he was concerned, those who studied Greek and spoke ill of scholasticism were Lutherans.¹⁸² And the old doctor could see immediately the harm which Erasmus and the humanists in conjunction with the Reformers were doing to France in Rouen, where he had been summoned by the bishop of that city for the trial of heretics. "Believe me, Your Highness," he wrote on January 17, 1532, to his king from Dieppe, "the evil is much greater than imagined!"¹⁸³

The success of heretical propaganda could also be seen in Paris. In February, 1530, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Antoine Saunier of the neighboring Collège de Reims because Lutheran writings and letters had been found in his possession.¹⁸⁴ On March 2, 1531, the Theological Faculty condemned a whole series of Lutheran works filled with blasphemies.¹⁸⁵ The havoc caused by these writings, which were for the most part printed in the vernacular, soon became manifest. On the night of May 21, 1530, a Lutheran desecrated a statue on a house standing on the corner of the Rue Saint-Martin and the Rue Aubry-le-Boucher. He scratched out the eyes of the Mother of God and of her Child and pierced her heart and also slashed the statues of Sts. Roch and Fiacrius with several strokes of a sword. A procession of expiation was therefore held and a decree issued that no one was to blaspheme God, the Blessed Virgin, or the saints, to print Lutheran books, or to wear masks under the penalty of having one's tongue pierced for the first offense and of being hanged for the second. It was further ordained that all Lutheran books should be burned and that all images of saints on houses should henceforth be placed at least ten feet above the ground. A second decree promised a reward of twenty gold ducats for the denunciation of secret Lutherans and provided the penalty of burning for their concealment.¹⁸⁶

Iñigo therefore advised Xavier to listen to the lectures on theology given by the Dominicans near the Porte Saint-Jacques or by the Franciscans instead of attending those of the royal professors.¹⁸⁷ Master Francis was thankful for his

¹⁸⁰ Brandão, *A Inquisição* I 61-64; Costa 305 (Gouvea's letter of September 22, 1531).

¹⁸¹ Costa 196.

¹⁸² See above, p. 162.

¹⁸³ Costa 312.

¹⁸⁴ Cros, *Doc.* I 326.

¹⁸⁵ Feret I 141-145.

¹⁸⁶ *Journal* 366-367 431.

¹⁸⁷ We believe that the "malas compañías," those individuals who appeared outwardly to be good but who were full of heresy within, and from whom Ignatius deterred Xavier, as the latter wrote to his brother Juan in 1535, were in particular the royal professors, since Ignatius also persuaded Bobadilla to attend the lectures of the Dominicans and Franciscans instead of theirs (Bobadilla 614). Did Xavier before his conversion also go each week with Ignatius and his comrades to the Carthusians to confess his sins and receive Holy Communion? What Favre says of himself alone, namely, that Ignatius persuaded him to go to confession and receive Holy Communion each week (FN I 33-34), Teixeira wrongly attributes to both Favre and Xavier; and he adds that the two had continued this practice together for four years (before Favre made the Exercises) (MX II 817-818). Following him, Tursellinus wrote that Favre had received the sacraments weekly for four years, but that Xavier, "quanquam idem vitae genus amplexus," had nevertheless stubbornly resisted the Holy Spirit (1, 2). Xavier's position as a regent probably made it impossible for him to go regularly to the Carthusian monastery on Sunday mornings, both before and after his conversion.

interest and advice and from then on avoided those who were suspect in the faith.¹⁸⁸ But he held fast to his dreams for the future and rarely let slip an opportunity to make fun of the plans of his Basque countryman for fleeing from the world; and, when, towards the end of 1532, two young students, Laynez and Salmerón by name, came to Paris from Alcalá, having been attracted there by Iñigo's reputation, the cheeriul and high-spirited regent of the Collège de Beauvais directed his banter also at them.¹⁸⁹

6. MAGDALENA'S DEATH (1533)¹⁹⁰

News, however, which reached Francis in the spring of 1533, made him more serious. On January 20 of this same year his saintly sister Magdalena had died in Gandía as abbess of the Poor Clares.¹⁹¹ Before the birth of her youngest brother, when she was in the bloom of her youth and a maid-in-waiting of Queen Isabella, she had bidden farewell to the world and had become a humble daughter of St. Francis of Assisi.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ Ex I 10.

¹⁸⁹ Teixeira describes the winning over of Favre and then continues: "El P. Maestro Francisco estuvo un poco más duro y dificultoso, porque aunque gustaba mucho de la conversación y amistad de Ignacio, todabía no osaba del todo mudar el estado de su vida, por ser naturalmente inclinado á la honra y fausto del mundo, según después nos contaron algunos, que en este tiempo particularmente le conversaron" (MX II 818). Teixeira could have known this from Xavier's fellow students, for example, from Rodrigues, Mansilhas, Medeiros, or Lope Serrão. Edmond Auger, who was born in 1530, and whose brother Étienne taught Greek in Paris and became a good friend of Favre there (Juvencius, *Historia Soc. Jesu* V, 2 [Romae, 1710] 769), entered the Society of Jesus in Rome in 1550 (Polanco, *Chron.* II 431). At his death in 1591 he left behind a manuscript of a dialogue in which he described the traditions of the foundation of the Society and its way of life. In it he has Polanco say: "J'ai ouï dire à notre grand mouleur d'homme, Ignace, que la plus rude pâte qu'il ait oncques maniée c'était au commencement ce jeune François Xavier... Il était jeune, gaillard et noble biscayen: ayant assez bien étudié dans la philosophie, il faisait assez peu d'état d'Ignace, qui pour lors allait vivant à la merci d'autrui, ... qu'à peine le rencontrerait-il sans se gaudir de ses desseins et jeter quelque mot de risée sur Laynez et Salmeron qui l'étaient venu trouver de Alcalá à Paris par dévotion fondée sur le rapport de ses rares vertus et perfections excellentes. Ignace le sut si bien et avec telle adresse et patience amadouier et apprivoiser qu'il en a fait un immortel apôtre des Indes et ne s'y est pas moins fait connaître que le grand Alexandre, piqueur excellent à dompter son farouche Bucephale" (Tournier 662-663). Maffei, who was probably familiar with Auger's dialogue, wrote in his life of Ignatius in 1585 (1, 21): "Principio non ita studiosus Ignatii, ut eius pietatem (ut fit) etiam procaciter irrideret."

¹⁹⁰ The sources for Magdalena's life in the order and for her death are: (1) A letter of the abbess Sor Anna to Father Ladrón de Xavier, S.J., from Gandía of December 30, 1561. The original of this is now lost, but a copy of it may be found in the report which Father Peña drew up in his account of the house of Xavier in 1620 (MX II 27-30; Escalada 286-289 gives the same text. There is a poorer copy made in the seventeenth century for Possinus in ARSI: *Hisp.* 98, 393-v). (2) A report from the same monastery contained in a manuscript of the year 1596 in the Bibliotheca Publica of Porto. This bears the title *Memorial de varias cartas* and was published by José Pinto (Porto, 1942) 328-331. Lucena used it at times for his life of Xavier (1, 1). Father José Llopis, a confessor of the monastery, also used the same report for his **Crónica del Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Gandia* (I, 2, 4 and 10). This life was composed between 1780 and 1814. He erroneously places Magdalena's entrance into the monastery under the abbess Clara Berbejal (1510-1514) and has her die in her eighties, when Xavier, according to him, had already been on the missions thirty-six years.

¹⁹¹ Lucena 1, 2; cf. *Memorial* 331.

¹⁹² Lucena 1, 2; *Memorial* 328. Her entrance was at the latest 1504, when Isabella died.

At first as a novice she found the life most difficult. The rough habit, the hard straw pallet, and the strict rule repelled her; but she was comforted by a dream in which she saw a procession of nuns, all dressed in red brocaded garments with the exception of two dressed in blue. When she asked what this meant, she was told that these were the living and deceased sisters of her monastery, who had been clothed by the Lord in such festive garments as a reward for wearing their habits and leading such poor lives. The nuns dressed in red were those who had remained virgins; those in blue were the two widows who were at that time living in the house.

The small faults which she saw in her fellow sisters proved to be another temptation that assailed her. She was freed from this by a second vision. One night during prayer in choir she saw herself in a wonderful garden. In it were Christ the Lord and a choir of virgins with crowns of flowers on their heads and palms in their hands. They were dressed in shimmering white robes and were in the company of radiant angels. She conceived the desire of going up to them. But the slope was high and steep, and after only a few steps her strength failed her and she fell down. But the angel at her side, who had pointed out the garden to her, lifted her up and helped her at every fall until at last she reached the heights. When she asked her companion the meaning of this vision, he told her: "That steep mountain is the religious life; it is a safe way to heaven, but one cannot ascend it without effort and trials. Those virgins on the heights of the mountain are the nuns of Santa Clara of Gandía. Falling and again rising, they mount to the peak of perfection."¹⁹³

This caused her temptations to disappear. Sister Magdalena persevered and became an example to her fellow sisters in the cloister because of her humility and charity, her spirit of prayer, and her tranquility of mind. Both as portress and as abbess she used to wash the clothes of the old and sick sisters. This came as a rule to six or seven woolen habits a day. She employed almost all the time that was left over from prayers in choir in such services of charity. These entailed a great deal of fatigue, since she was small and slight of frame.

She was particularly fond of prayer. The sisters got up at midnight for the recitation of the Office. After this she remained in the church until Matins, six hours later. During the day she was constantly united with God. During her work she repeated ejaculations such as the *Gloria Patri* or the *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*; and she was so accustomed to this that she often woke during the night with the *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto* or *Gloria in excelsis Deo* on her lips. Every day she meditated upon the whole life of Christ, and she designated the different rooms of the monastery as stations for meditating upon His sufferings. Those who knew her marveled at her great devotion during prayer despite all the distractions afforded by her duties as portress or abbess. When she returned from the door or parlor to the choir, she was so recollected that she seemed to be withdrawn from the earth and to be associating with the seraphim. And her prayers were often heard in a wonderful way.

She practiced continual silence. No one ever heard idle words coming from her lips or such as would provoke laughter. Even when it was necessary for her to speak, she did so in a quiet voice, with few words, and with great modesty. In addition to this, she was outwardly gentle and kind towards all. She was

¹⁹³ Peña 29-30. The *Memorial* confuses the two visions and puts them together.

never seen to be irritated or impatient.¹⁹⁴ The fact that the convent was free from the noisome plague of fleas and other insects was ascribed to her prayers.¹⁹⁵

Towards the end of her life God revealed to her that she would have an easy, peaceful death, but that a sister religious, Sor Salvador,¹⁹⁶ would have a very painful one. Through many prayers and tears, however, she obtained that their lots should be exchanged. Her subject slept peacefully away into another life, but she herself had such a fearful death agony that her sisters burst into tears at seeing her suffering so grievously without their being able to help her. But she endured it all with great patience and cheerfulness. The violence which she did to herself at the time was revealed only after her death: her tongue was all bitten from her efforts to conceal her sufferings. Sor Ursula Monteiro had a vision in which the deceased abbess appeared to her and told her that she was already entering into heaven, as she told the confessor of the convent, Fray Damian Visquiet, O.F.M.¹⁹⁷ Although the other sister and superiors of the convent were usually buried in the common crypt of the Poor Clares, her remains were placed under the statue of the Mother of God in a separate tomb as those of a saint.¹⁹⁸

The old prosperity had not returned to the castle of Xavier after the fight for freedom. Miguel, to be sure, had received in 1526 and 1530 an award of fifty pounds;¹⁹⁹ but when Juan married, his mother had promised him a dowry of a thousand ducats. To pay this, Miguel in 1528 had to obtain a loan from his cousin Captain Valentín de Jassu in Pamplona and then, in 1531, to sell him the revenues of Subiza, Zizur Mayor, and Ibircu for eight hundred ducats.²⁰⁰ In addition to this, the lord of Xavier was engaged in lawsuits over the Escampadero from 1525 to 1527,²⁰¹ over *El Real* from 1526 to 1527,²⁰² over the fields adjoining the property of the castle with the people of Sangüesa in 1527,²⁰³ over the mill of Burguete in 1529, which Francis had leased in 1525 before his departure for Paris,²⁰⁴ and with the peasants of Idocin in 1530.²⁰⁵ Meanwhile the Roncalese shepherds were constantly striving to avoid the toll levied upon their flocks.²⁰⁶ All this time

¹⁹⁴ Peña 27-29; cf. *Memorial* 329.

¹⁹⁵ *Memorial* 329-330.

¹⁹⁶ Llopis, c. 10.

¹⁹⁷ *Memorial* 330-331; cf. Peña 30.

¹⁹⁸ Llopis, c. 10; Cros, *Vie* I 132.

¹⁹⁹ Cros, *Doc.* I 254.

²⁰⁰ F Fita, "San Francisco Javier. Óbito de su madre," *Boletín de la R. Academia de la Historia* 23 (1893) 540-549; Escalada 120-121.

²⁰¹ The decision in favor of the lord of the castle of June 22, 1526, was ratified by the Royal Council on February 12, 1527; and Xavier's mother was given possession of the disputed site on March 18 (Archives Granada 64, 5; Escalada 51).

²⁰² Doña María again took up the suit dealing with her right of usufruct on *El Real* in 1526 (*Mendivil 3).

²⁰³ The suit concerning the illegal laying out of fields and vineyards on the castle grounds by the citizens of Sangüesa was decided in favor of the lady of the castle on October 17, 1527 (*Orbayceta 41).

²⁰⁴ Escalada 247.

²⁰⁵ The suit with Idocin was not settled in favor of the lord of the castle of Xavier until June 6, 1537 (Cros, *Doc.* I 301-302; *Ollacarizqueta 18).

²⁰⁶ On October 23, 1525, the Royal Council had ratified the disputed decision of the arbiters, but the contest continued. Since the Roncalese did not worry about the law, the people of Xavier secured their rights in other ways. When on April 29, 1526, natives of Isaba drove their herds through the castle lands without paying the toll, the chaplain of Xavier with two or three other clerics and six or seven servants armed with cross-bows and lances fell upon them and drove their eighty cows to the castle. When they finally gave them back to their owners, they kept one as a fine. The lord's people

Miguel was still waiting for the dowry of his wife²⁰⁷ and for the thousand ducats promised as damages for the destruction of his houses under Cardinal Cisneros, of which he later, in 1532, received only one hundred and sixty.²⁰⁸

It was therefore no surprise that Francis' many expenses in Paris caused concern at the castle of Xavier, and that serious thought was given to his recall. But Magdalena, when she learned of this, had written to her brother Miguel urging him in spite of all the difficulties to continue to support Francis in his studies, since she hoped that with God's help he would one day become a great servant of God and a pillar of the Church.²⁰⁹

7. Two Books (1530-1533)

Two books had had a great influence upon Iñigo during his long illness in the castle of Loyola: ²¹⁰ *The Life of Christ* written by the pious Carthusian, Ludolph of Saxony, ²¹¹ and *The Legend of the Saints* (popularly known as "*The Golden*

acted in a similar fashion in 1530, when they took sixteen sheep from shepherds and cut the strings of their crossbows. In 1533 they again moved against the Roncaleses. The dispute was not brought to an end until 1558 when it was settled by a compromise (*Ejecutorial 11 23 v-24 1; Cros, *Doc.* I 301-302).

²⁰⁷ Archives Granada 75, 26; cf. 72, 14.

²⁰⁸ Cros, *Doc.* I 379.

²⁰⁹ Juan Osorio, S.J., in his *Conciones*, which were published for the first time in Salamanca and Medina del Campo in 1591-1594, declared that he had seen the letter of Xavier's sister Magdalena at the castle of Xavier directed "ad utriusque parentes, qua ait, necessaria omnia abunde ministrari oportere esset; quoniam ille futurus erat novi mundi Apostolus" (*Concionum R. P. Joannis Osorii S.I., tomus quartus* [Coloniae Agrip., 1605] 387). Lucena states that she had written the letter a few years before her death to Xavier's father (1, 1). During the process of canonization conducted at Pamplona in 1614, Fermín Cruzat, the parish priest of Xavier, who had been born at Yesa and was then thirty-eight years old, declared that in 1600 Fray Benito de Ozta, then prior of Leyre, had shown him at the castle of Xavier the original letter which Xavier's sister, the abbess of Gandía had written to her father, Dr. Jasso (MX II 677-678). Fray Benito de Ozta is even more precise: "Estando el dicho Padre Xavier estudiando en París, y probeyéndole para sus estudios el señor de la cassa, que no saue si fué Miguel de Azpilqueta ó el Dr. Jasso, no tan cumplidamente, por falta de hacienda, y estando con propósitos de mandarle boluer á su cassa, le escribió una carta soror Madalena Xauier, hermana del dicho P. Francisco Xauier, monja descalça en el monasterio de Santa Clara de Gandía, á uno de los dos, que no se acuerda cuál fue, si fue á Miguel de Azpilqueta ó al Dr. Jasso, en la qual carta la monja les persuadía no se cansassen de prober al dicho P. Francisco Xauier para sus estudios, porque esperaba en Dios que hauía de ser una columna de su yglesia." And he further declares that he had also seen the letter which the abbess wrote about Sor Magdalena after her death. He had seen both of these letters in the possession of the viscount Don León de Garro, and he had held and read them both before and after the viscount's death. But he did not know what had later become of them (*ibid.* 666-667). Don León died at the end of 1604. The inventory of his possessions drawn up and signed by Fray Benito de Ozta in 1605 lists documents from the castle archives that are of only legal interest (Schurhammer, "Inventario de los bienes que quedaron en Xavierr," *Principe de Viana* 11 [1950] 309-328).

²¹⁰ In his autobiography Ignatius states that he had asked for knightly novels on his sickbed in Loyola; but, since none of these were to be found at the castle, "le dieron un *Vita Christi* y un libro de la vida de los Santos en romance." He then describes the impression which this reading had on him and how he copied out passages in an elegant hand in red, blue, and black inks. These amounted to a book of almost three hundred quarto pages, which he took with him to Manresa (FN I 370-376 388).

²¹¹ A life of Ignatius written about 1567 describes it as the "liber Ludolphi Carthusiani de vita Christi hispanice conscriptus" (FN II 429); Nadal called it a "*vita Christi ex Chartusiano vulgari sermone*" (*ibid.* 64; cf. 186). It was the *Vita Christi cartuxano romançado por fray Ambrosio* (Alcalá, 1502-1503), a free translation by Fray Ambrosio de

Legend") by Jacobus de Voragine.²¹² Later at Manresa, after his conversion, he came to know and to treasure a small book which he ever after kept with him, and which he recommended to all: the *Imitatio Christi*, or "*Following of Christ*," which was usually ascribed to the former chancellor of the University of Paris, Jean Gerson, who had died in 1429.²¹³

The little book begins with a chapter "On the Following of Christ and the Despising of All Vanities of the World," which immediately pointed out the folly of the plans of the young regent in the Collège de Beauvais.

He that followeth me, saith Christ our Saviour walketh not in darkness, for he shall have the light. These be the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby we be admonished to follow his teachings and his manner of living, if we will truly be illumined and delivered from all blindness of heart.

What availeth it to reason high secret mysteries of the Trinity if a man lack meekness, whereby he displeaseth the Trinity? Truly nothing. For high curious reasons make not a man holy nor rightwise, but a good life maketh him beloved with God. I had rather feel compunction of heart for my sins than only to know the definition of compunction. If thou knewest all the Bible without the book, and the sayings of all philosophers by heart, what should it profit thee without grace and charity?

All that is in this world is vanity, but to love God and only to serve him. This is the most excellent wisdom that may be in any creature, by despising of this world to draw daily nearer and nearer to the kingdom of heaven. . . .²¹⁴

A meek husbandman that serveth God is more acceptable to him than is a curious philosopher who, considering the course of heaven, wilfully forgetteth himself.

The most high and the most profitable learning is this, that a man have a soothfast knowledge and a full despising of himself. . . .²¹⁵

What availeth us the knowledge of such things as shall neither help us at the day of judgement if we know them, nor hurt us if we know them not?

Let all the learned be still in thy presence, and let all creatures keep them in silence, and thou only, Lord, speak to my soul.

Montesinos, O.F.M. See A. Codina, S.J., *Los Orígenes de los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Barcelona, 1926) 220-243; MI *Exercitia* 53-94; E. Raitz von Frentz, S.J., "Ludolphe le Chartreux et les Exercices de S. Ignace de Loyola," *Revue d'ascétisme et de mystique* 25 (1949) 375-388.

²¹² According to Nadal it was "un libro di Vite di Santi che si chiama *Flos Sanctorum* in vulgar spagnolo" (FN II 187). It was a Spanish translation of the *Legends of the Saints* by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine, and was probably the edition of Zaragoza, printed in 1500, with a foreword by Fray Guaberto Maria Vagad, O.Cist., or the Toledo reprint of this of 1510 (Leturia, *El Gentilhombre Iñigo López de Loyola* [Barcelona, 1949] 150-76 304-305; MI *Exercitia* 51-53).

²¹³ Gonçalves da Camara wrote in his *Memoriale* of Ignatius: "Item dixo más: que en Manresa avía visto primero el *Gerçonzito*, y nunca más había querido leer otro libro de devoción; y este encomendava a todos los que tratava" (FN I 584). He gave the book to everyone whom he wanted to honor; in Montecassino he allegedly left a copy for each of the monks there (*Acta Sanctorum*, Julii VII, n. 641). He recommended its reading during the Exercises (MI *Exercitia* 322); he called it the "partridge" of spiritual books, and in his room in Rome he usually had only two books on his table—the New Testament and the *Imitatio Christi*, the "*Following of Christ*" (MI *Scripta* I 516), and he used to read from it twice a day (FN I 584). See P. Mercier, *Concordance de l'Imitation de Jésus-Christ et des Exercices de Saint Ignace* (Paris, 1885), and Böhmer 44-46. The edition of Burgos of 1516 has the title "Contemptus mundi. Compuesto por el famoso maestro en sancta theologia Juan Gerson Chancellor de Paris." We think it self-evident that Ignatius recommended this book also to Xavier.

²¹⁴ *Imitatio Christi* 1, 1.

²¹⁵ "Haec est altissima et utilissima lectio, sui ipsius vera cognitio et despectio" (*ibid.* 1, 2).

Oh, if they would be as busy to avoid sin and to plant virtues in their souls as they be to dispute questions,²¹⁶ there would not be so many evil things in the world, nor so much evil example given to the people, nor yet so much dissolute living in religion. Tell me, where be now all the great clerks and famous doctors whom thou hast well known? When they lived they flourished greatly in their learning, and now other men occupy their prebends and promotions, and I cannot tell whether they think anything on them. In their life they were holden great in the world and now is little speaking of them. O how shortly passeth away the glory of this world!

Truly he is great that hath great charity, and he is great that is little in his own sight and that setteth at naught all worldly honour. And he is very wise that accounteth all worldly pleasures as vile dung, so that he may win Christ, and he is very well taught that forsaketh his own will and followeth the will of God.²¹⁷

An in the forty-third chapter of the third book, "That We Should Eschew Vain Secular Learning," Xavier could read the following:

My son, saith our Lord, let not fair and subtle words move thee, for the kingdom of heaven standeth not in words but in good virtuous works. Take heed to my words for they inflame the heart and lighten the understanding; they bring compunction of heart for sins past, and cause oft times great heavenly comfort suddenly to come into the soul. Read never in any science to the intent thou wouldst be called wise, but study rather to mortify in thee all stirrings of sin as much as in thee is, and that shall be more profitable to thee than the knowledge of many hard and subtle questions. . .

The time shall come when Christ, Lord of Angels and Master of all Masters, shall appear to hear the lesson of every creature and to examine the conscience of every person. And then shall Jerusalem, that is, man's soul, be searched with lanterns and lights of God's high knowledge and rightful judgements. Then also shall be made open the deeds and thoughts of every man, and all excuses and vain arguments shall cease and utterly be set apart.

I am He also that suddenly at a point illumine and lift up a meek soul, that it shall be made able to take and to receive in short time more perfectly the true reason of the wisdom of God, than another that studieth ten years in schools and lacketh meekness.

I teach without sound of words, without diversity of opinions, without desire of honour, and without strife and arguments. I am He that teacheth all the people to despise earthy things, to loathe things that be present, to seek and to savor eternal things, to flee honours, to bear patiently all evil words and speakings, to put their trust wholly in Me, nothing to covet without Me, and above all things burningly to love Me.

In *The Life of Christ* by Ludolph of Saxony,²¹⁸ moreover, there was a section which seemed to have been written especially for Master Francis. It was the sixty-eighth chapter of the first part and bore the title, "On Ambition and Certain Other Defects of the Clergy and Religious." The author gives a meditation on the Multiplication of the Loaves and on our Lord's flight when the people tried to make Him king, and then continues:

²¹⁶ Cf. Xavier's letter of January 15, 1544, on the University of Paris: "Y así como van estudiando en letras, si estudiassen en la cuenta que Dios nuestro Señor les demandará dellas" (EX I 166).

²¹⁷ *Imitatio Christi* 1, 3.

²¹⁸ The *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony "war im Spätmittelalter und im 16. Jahrhundert vielleicht das allerverbreitetste Andachtsbuch. Fast jede grössere Bibliothek besitzt eine Handschrift oder einen alten Druck davon" (Böhmer 304). From 1472 on it was constantly reprinted, and it was published repeatedly in Paris, for example, in 1497-1498 1502 1509 1529; see Mary Immac. Bodenstadt, *The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian* (Washington, 1944).

Christ gave us an example of how we too should act. For He did not flee on His own, but on our behalf. . . . For a love of honour is one of the greatest snares and most serious reasons for the perversion of souls, whether the honour is one of prelacy, or of power, or of knowledge, or of something similar. . . . Ambition is a very grave defect and a cause and root of many other vices. . . . What does it profit them if they gain the whole world but lose themselves and are a cause of their own ruin?²¹⁹ Perhaps there are some who flatter themselves in their ambition with the thought of gaining souls, as if they could thus better attend to the salvation of others. To these St. Bernard replies: "...It is difficult and perhaps impossible that the sweet fruit of charity should come forth from the bitter root of ambition." But, alas! men as a rule today seek honours rather than a burden. . . . St. Bernard therefore says, "Clerics of every age and rank, both the learned and the unlearned, everywhere run after ecclesiastical cares as if they who attain such cares (*curas*) can now live without cares (*sine curis*). . . . Men are now ashamed to live as simple clerics in the Church. . . ." The same St. Bernard addresses the ambitious man in the following terms, whispering as it were into his ear: "Those who are in command will experience a most severe judgement, and those who are powerful will endure fearful torments! Your pride is always ascending. Follow your king! Let your eyes gaze upon the heights; hasten to multiply your benefices; fly to an archdeaconry; then aspire to the episcopacy; but not even there

²¹⁹ Since 1594 all of Xavier's biographies maintain that Ignatius converted him and won him over with the words: "What does it profit a man?" The only source for this is Tursellinus, who, following the custom of the time, wove several speeches into his *Vita Francisci Xaverii* (1, 8 9 10 12). The first are the warnings which, according to him, Ignatius directed to Favre and Xavier at the same time, and whose contents he summarily repeats in indirect discourse. Among these are also the words of Christ: "Reputarent secum non ad brevem hanc et miseram vitam natum esse hominem. . . . Quid enim prodesse homini si universum mundum lucretur, animae vero suae detrimentum patiat?" (1, 2). Tacchi Venturi thinks that Tursellinus "dovette attingerlo da fondate relazioni domestiche" (II, 1, 125, n. 5). This is incorrect. This conversation (like all the conversations in Tursellinus) is freely invented. The same is true of the saying in Alcázar (*Chrono-Historia* I, pp. XXIX-XXX), who even has Ignatius on this occasion quote Seneca and Boethius, and in Bartoli (*Vita di S. Ignazio* 2, 2). Lucena gives the first part of Tursellinus' speech as far as the words of Christ and then adds: "e repetindolhes a este proposito aquella pergunta do Senhor 'Que aproueita a hum homem ganhar o mundo todo, se em fim perder a propria alma?'" (1, 2). Alcázar and Bartoli already quote Ignatius directly. That Ignatius reminded Xavier of his ambitious plans for the future, opposing them to this saying of Christ, is both possible and probable. The verse was ready at hand. It appears in Matt. 16:26; Mark 8:36; Luke 9:25; it is constantly brought up in the Gospels at Mass, and it is also found in Ludolph of Saxony. In a letter to Rodrigues of January 20, 1548, Xavier writes that if the king wanted to do him a favor, he should pray for a quarter of an hour to God each day that He might teach him how to understand better that saying of Christ: "Quid prodest homini, si universum mundum lucretur, animae vero suae detrimentum patiat?" and that he should get the habit of ending all his prayers with these same words (EX I 420-421). In a letter of November 5, 1549, from Kagoshima he moreover wrote to his confreres in Goa and Europe: "Think often on that saying of the Lord: 'Quid prodest homini, si universum mundum lucretur, anime vero sue detrimentum patiat?'" (*ibid.* II 193). These words were found in the Gospel of the feast of the Stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi, his patron saint (September 17), in the appendix to his breviary of 1543, which he took with him to Japan. In 1555 Xavier's fellow worker, H. Henriques, also wrote from the Fishery Coast: "I would be glad to have time for my soul, for 'Quid prodest homini si universum mundum lucretur, animae vero suae detrimentum patiat?'" (ARSI Goa 8 I, 70). But when Böhmer writes that the words of the Gospel with which Ignatius admonished Xavier, "traf den jungen Weltmann wie der Pfeil eines Starcken. Es bohrte sich förmlich in seine Seele ein, also dass er es nicht mehr loswurde und immer wieder daran denken musste, sein ganzes Leben lang, bis er es schliesslich wie eine liturgische Formel in alle seine Gebete aufnahm und jedes Gebet mit der Frage schloss: *quid prodest homini, si universum mundum lucretur, animae vero suae detrimentum patiat?*" (142-143), it is pure fantasy and not history.

will you have rest, since you are reaching for the stars. Where are you going, you wretch? May not your fall be greater because from a loftier height? And such a fall will not be gradual, but like lightning. Like another Satan you will in an instant be violently cast down." Such are the words of St. Bernard...

The heart of an ambitious man is never at rest; it longs for honors which it does not have, or it fears to lose that which it has. The devil thus constantly spins his heart as if it were an ever turning top... There are some evils in which many are today involved, but which they do not consider to be wrong but licit. The first evil is that many eagerly seek to be promoted to ecclesiastical cares and dignities through their own efforts and those of others before they are called... When St. Louis, the king of France, was asked by a certain devout person why bishops were not now saints as they once had been he answered, as is believed, through divine inspiration: "Because then bishops were canonically elected by those chosen for this task through the invocation and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, but now they are obtained through the intercession and entreaties of others..." Ambitious men are accustomed to excuse themselves by bringing forth the saying of the apostle: "Whoever desires a bishopric desires a good thing." To this it may be answered that the thing is good but the desire is evil.

The second evil is that friends of the flesh are frequently preferred to others who are better and more worthy in the distribution of benefices... For often the nephews of prelates and their other friends of the flesh, who were not to be seen before the prelates were themselves promoted, begin to appear after such a promotion as if they had been born on a single day, that is, on the day of the other's promotion... A dying pope once said to the crowd of people that was standing about him: "The doctors have robbed me of my body and my friends of my soul."

The third evil is that frequently men who are unworthy, and who are at times even wicked and enemies of Christ, are promoted to ecclesiastical benefices... According to St. Bernard: "...When such a man is promoted, he is rightly lifted up by the devil over the pinnacle of the temple and mocked by the evil spirit: 'If you are the son of God, cast yourself down!' Now you are looked upon as being among the sons of God. To those who do not know you, you will soon appear to be something other than you are. Therefore do something that will win you their praise. Do something to make yourself renowned. Do something that will make you seem to be great among men: 'Cast yourself down!'... And, indeed, men such as these are always throwing themselves down, since by seeking only for riches, honours, and glory they daily become worse... A monkey is placed on a roof and a robber on a flight of steps before the people, not to be honoured, but to be ridiculed. It is the same with an unworthy man who has been exalted within the Church. This is why Seneca declares: 'For an unworthy man, an honour is a shame.'..."

The fourth evil is that one is not content with a single benefice; ...and, while others are hungry, he fills himself up with pomp and vanity... Many servants make many men poor... For, as St. Bernard notes, the devil leads these persons up to a very high mountain and shows them all the kingdoms of the world and their glory... And, in truth, after they have pursued their greed and acquired many benefices, they adore, worship, venerate, and follow him as if he were their god... William, the bishop of Paris,²²⁰ a prince in theology called together a meeting of theologians and brought up the question of a plurality of benefices. After long and subtle debates it was shown that no one who held two benefices could hope to be saved if one of them was worth fifteen Parisian pounds. The aforesaid bishop and all the masters of theology agreed upon this with but two exceptions. These were Master Philip, the chancellor²²¹ of Paris, and Master Arnold, who later became the bishop of Amiens.²²² But let us see what happened to the aforesaid Philip. When he was in his death agony, Bishop William visited him as a good shepherd and asked him to withdraw his peculiar opinion about

²²⁰ William of Auvergne, died in 1248.

²²¹ Philip, died in 1236.

²²² Arnold, died in 1247.

the plurality of benefices and to resign all his benefices into the hands of the Church with but one exception. But he refused saying that he wished to find out if one were damned for keeping more than one benefice. Thus he died, and after a few days he appeared to the aforesaid bishop of Paris in a foul and wretched guise and told him among other things that he had been damned for a plurality of benefices. . . . Robert, cardinal of the Roman Church and Master in Theology,²²³ . . . and Peter Cantor of Paris of blessed memory²²⁴ said the same about this same question and Master Guillardus, bishop of Cambrai,²²⁵ also affirmed it in the following words: "I would not for all the gold of Arabia keep two benefices for a single night, and this because of the uncertainty of life." . . . When Pope Gregory IX of blessed memory²²⁶ was asked if he could with the fullness of his power grant a dispensation to those holding a plurality of benefices, he replied: "I am not able to make such a dispensation except where those retaining them are in some trouble." . . .

The fifth evil is that most do not reside in their benefices. They receive the fruits of these benefices but do not perform the labor that is due nor serve the Church. They rejoice and are glad that they have an income of so many florins, but they should fear that these florins are taking them to hell. . . .

The sixth evil is that many do not hesitate to waste the fruits of their benefices and ecclesiastical goods, and they turn the patrimony of Christ and the goods of the poor to vain and illicit uses. For, no matter how profitably one labors for his benefice, he cannot claim for himself anything beyond his food and clothing, since whatever is left over belongs to the poor. . . . Hence St. Bernard says, "One should therefore not be proud or sensuous, or become rich or more wealthy from his clerical state. He should not build large palaces for himself from the funds of the Church nor fill his coffers. He should not squander the goods of the Church on vanities or luxuries. He should not extol his relatives or nephews, or, alas! that I should say it, hand over his daughters in marriage from the resources of the Church. Not to give to the poor the goods of the poor is judged to be equal to the crime of sacrilege. . . . See how they come forth bright and adorned, clothed in brilliant garments like a bride coming forth from her bridal chamber. . . . From where do you think they have this abundance of goods, these brilliant garments, these luxurious tables, this abundance of gold and silver vessels except from the goods of their bride? This is why she is left poor, needy, and bare; and why her countenance is rough, coarse, pale, and unkempt. This is why the bride is not now adorned but stripped, not protected but destroyed, not defended but exposed, not instructed but made wanton, why the flock is not fed but slain and devoured. . . ." ²²⁷

The seventh evil which is connected with the former, is the accursed vice of curiosity, which the servant of God should refrain both from arousing and from indulging as if it were a poisonous snake. . . .

From what has been said it should be seen at least in some small degree in what grave and serious danger the clerical state is today and what great scandals have been caused and what great persecutions have thus been aroused in the Church. Hence St. Bernard says: "...From the patrimony of the cross of Christ you do not write books in the churches, but you feed prostitutes, you fatten dogs, you equip horses. . . ." ²²⁸ The sorrow of the Head redounds upon the members. . . . The persecution which afflicts our holy Church is today great and far more severe than can be believed, and it is of

²²³ Robert de Courçon, died in 1219.

²²⁴ Died in 1197.

²²⁵ Guiard of Laon, bishop of Cambrai, died in 1247.

²²⁶ Died in 1241.

²²⁷ "Propter hoc non est hoc tempore ornare sponsam, sed spoliare, non est custodire, sed perdere, non est defendere, sed exponere, non est instruere, sed prostituere; non est pascere gregem, sed mactare et devorare."

²²⁸ Here one may recall Ignatius' letter from Venice to Diego Cazador of February 12, 1536. In it he wrote that one could not consent to a person's leaving his property to another "para nutrir caballos, perros y caça" (MI *Epp.* I 95).

such a kind as has never been from the beginning. The devil has persecuted her in many ways but never more severely than today.... The Church at her origin was persecuted by tyrants. As she advanced, she was persecuted by heretics. Now that she is flourishing and joyful, she is persecuted by immorality."... The state of the Church certainly shows the truth of this, since nowhere do the three ills of the world, pride, avarice, and luxury, flourish so strongly as among clerics and prelates.... Therefore St. Jerome says: "Since pride is proper to the devils or to women, and luxury to cattle, and avarice to merchants, from all these is made that monster of an evil cleric."... And if anyone is angry with me for having written as I have, he admits that he is one such as I have described.

Chapter 2 of the second part of Ludolph's *Vita Christi* bore the title: "An Exhortation on the Following of Christ and the Example of His Passion." Here the author explains the words of Christ on the necessity of self-denial:

"If one wishes to follow after Me," that is, if one wishes to attain to the perfection of a Christian life, he must do the following, "he must deny himself, take up his cross, and follow Me." In this, three things are expressed that constitute the perfection of a Christian life. The first is the denial of oneself, the second the carrying of the cross, and the third the imitation of Christ.... We should therefore abnegate ourselves by perfectly resisting all the desires of the flesh and the concupiscences of the world and take no personal or human complacency in our acts but aim solely at the divine honour in all that we do, so that we can truthfully say with Christ: "I have come not to do my own will but the will of Him who sent Me." As far as the second is concerned, the carrying of the cross can be understood in three ways: through the mortification of the flesh, the having compassion on our neighbor, and the endurance of martyrdom.... As far as the third is concerned, the imitation of Christ, we should know that the following of Christ simply consists in following in His footsteps and in being conformed to His life.... "For what does it profit a man if he gain the whole world," nothing of which can he take with him when he dies except its sin. Rather, the more one has acquired from the world, the more he has acquired of hell.... Isidore therefore says: "And if you had the wisdom of Solomon, the beauty of Absalom, the strength of Samson, the longevity of Enoch, the wealth of Croesus, the might of Thebes, what would all this profit you if in the end your flesh is given to worms and your soul to the devils to be tortured with the rich man forever?"... Christ removes the obstacle [of human respect] first, by the promise of a reward, and second, by the threat of punishment, for He will confess those who have confessed Him, and He will be ashamed of those who were ashamed of Him when He comes in His own majesty, that is, His human majesty, that of His glorified body, and in the majesty of His Father, that is, of the divine majesty, which is common to Him with His Father, but which He has from His Father.

These were certainly the thoughts which Iñigo strove to awaken in his young friend in the Collège de Beauvais,²²⁹ and slowly the seed he had sown in Francis' soul began to ripen.

8. POLITICS AND RELIGION (1532-1533)

In the spring of 1533, when Xavier received the news of the death of his saintly sister, there was a turn in politics and in religion that was bound to have an effect upon him.

²²⁹ That Ignatius was familiar with these passages taken from the *Following of Christ* and Ludolph of Saxony is certain; that he advised Xavier to read them is quite probable, especially since both books were to be found throughout Paris at this time.

On July 3, 1530, Francis I recovered both of his sons from their Spanish imprisonment;²³⁰ and four days later he married Leonor, the widow of King Manuel of Portugal and the sister of the emperor, in accordance with the agreement of Madrid.²³¹ In March, 1531, he made his solemn entrance into Paris, and three thousand students went out in procession to meet him as far as Saint-Lazare.²³² But fear and hate kept the French king from any real peace. In May, 1532, he concluded a secret agreement with the German leaders of the Schmalkaldic League, in which he promised to help the outlawed Lutheran count of Württemberg regain his rule so that he might drive a Protestant wedge into Catholic southern Germany and thus weaken the emperor, his deadly foe.²³³ In October of this same year Francis I made a solemn agreement with Henry VIII, whose suit for divorce and immoral conduct with Anne Boleyn grieved the whole of Christendom, in order to obtain his help against Charles V.²³⁴ In September, 1531, the royal mother, Louise of Savoy, died.²³⁵ She had been a protectress of the Catholics against the assaults of the Reformers, who now found a safe refuge at court in the person of Marguerite, the sister of the king.²³⁶

At the beginning of 1533 two works appeared which furnished valuable support to the followers of the new ideas in their war against the old teaching in the University of Paris. In his *Nugae*, Nicholas Bourbon,²³⁷ Xavier's colleague in the Collège de Dormans-Beauvais,²³⁸ ridiculed the orthodox Sorbonne, and Beda and Sutor in particular. At the same time he glorified Toussaint, his teacher, Erasmus, Gérard Roussel, Michel d'Aranda, and Grynaeus. In a Latin poem composed in a classical meter occasionally used in ecclesiastical hymns, he wrote:

Christ with compassion on the human race
Has now restored the fallen world and by
His coming to our midst has with His light
Dispelled the darkness that about us clung....

Before His coming, blind we lived, led on
By leaders blind themselves. So proud and harsh
We were that day by day the wrath increased
Of God's all-holy, injured Majesty.

²³⁰ News of this reached Paris on July 4, and it was celebrated with bonfires and processions of thanksgiving even at the university (*Journal* 340-343; Picotté 82-84; Tuetey 66-68).

²³¹ *Journal* 343.

²³² Bulaeus VI 229; Feret I 37; Driart 152; cf. Tuetey 73-90 105-118.

²³³ By the treaty of Scheyern of May 26, 1532 (J. Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes* 3 [1891] 260-262).

²³⁴ *Journal* 353-354; Driart 159; A. Hamy, S.J., *Entrevue de François Ier avec Henry VIII à Boulogne-sur-Mer en 1532* (Paris, 1898).

²³⁵ *Journal* 352-353; Picotté 93; Driart 154. On her attitude towards the Reformers, see Feret I 113.

²³⁶ Bourrilly 13-14.

²³⁷ Nicolas Bourbon was born in 1503 in Vendoeuvre (Bar-sur-Aube) and studied in the Collège de Montaigu. He was known as a litterateur and Hellenist. Marguerite therefore entrusted him with the instruction of her daughter Jeanne, who became a Protestant in 1556. In 1536, like his friend Marot, he foreswore his heresy so that he could return to France. He died soon after 1549 (G. Carré, *De vita et scriptis N. Bourbonii* [Paris, 1888]; Haag V 1129-1136; Grente 123-124; Allen X 193-194).

²³⁸ That is indicated by the dedication of his *Nugae* to his pupil, the son of the *maître d'artillerie* of Francis I, Galliot de Genouilhac, and his letter of March 23, 1533, to J. Salazar. This may be found in *Scaligeri novorum epigrammatum liber unicus* (Paris, 1533) on the reverse side of the title page.

The only objects of our earnest care
Were syllogisms artfully contrived,
And varied riddles, frigid nothings, words,
Mere endless trifles, straw, and smoke and dung...

No age before had seen such servitude
As that by which we here were overwhelmed
Up to a recent day. A swamp of woe,
A purpled prostitute had caused these ills.

That hydra with its triple, gleaming crown
Had made the kings and rulers of this world
Her humble slaves, and with her baneful cup
Of error she had laid and held them low...

How greatly different is our king from these,
Our Francis, nobly born beyond the rest,
Through whom, as king, a universal joy
Has bit by bit at last returned to earth.

He has attracted learned men and paid
Them publicly. He was the first to found
A threefold language school, than which
There is no fairer institution anywhere. . . .²³⁹

At this same time there was circulating in the Latin Quarter a French book entitled, *The Frightful and Astounding Words and Deeds of the Greatly Renowned Pantagruel, King of the Dipsodes, Son of the Great Giant Gargantua, Recently Composed by Master Alcofrybas Nasier*.²⁴⁰ This work, which had been printed at Lyons, cast scorn in unspeakably filthy language upon every Christian sensibility and grotesquely exaggerated the poisonous complaints which Erasmus had lodged in his *Colloquia* against the doctors of the Sorbonne and the scholastics.

Just as Erasmus in his dialogue, "The Convention of the Grammarians," described an imaginary visit to the alleged library of the abbot of Saint-Bave in Bruges, so here a visit of Pantagruel to the library of the monastery of Saint-Victor in Paris was described and a list of the principal holdings drawn up. Their titles were simply so many slanders on the Church and her doctors, and on Scholasticism and Christian morality. Some of these were as follows:

"The Spectacles of Pilgrims Bound for Rome"; "'On the Manner of Making Sausages,' by Major"; "'On the Absolute Perfection of Tripe,' by Beda"; "On the Most Subtle Question: Whether a Chimaera Humming in a Void is Able to Eat Second Intentions, Debated over a Period of Ten Weeks by the Council of Constance"; "'On the Right of the Church to Depose the Pope,' by Gerson"; "'Against a Certain Person who Called Him a Rogue, and that Rogues Are Not Condemned by the Church,' by Sutor," and so forth.²⁴¹

²³⁹ For the Latin text see below, appendix 6.

²⁴⁰ Pseudonym for Rabelais. On Rabelais see Grente 587-594; J. Plattard, *Vie de François Rabelais* (Paris, 1928); Lucien Febvre, *Le Problème de l'incroyance au XVIe siècle. La religion de Rabelais* (Paris, 1942), with a bibliography; Roger Pons, "La pensée religieuse de Rabelais," *Études* 279 (1953) 299-317; and D. B. Wyndham Lewis, *Doctor Rabelais* (London, 1957).

²⁴¹ The titles of the books were augmented and at times altered in later editions. We give those of the first edition according to the critical text in A. Lefranc, *Rabelais Oeuvres* (Paris, 1912 to 1931), vol. 3 (1922) 82-96, in the seventh chapter of *Pantagruel: Les Lunettes des Romipetes*; Majoris, *De modo faciendi boudinos*; Beda, *De optimitate triparium*; *Questio subtilissima, utrum Chimera in vacuo bombinans possit comedere*

At the beginning of February, 1533, the king traveled to Picardy with his court and left behind the king of Navarre as governor of Paris with his wife Marguerite. This gave courage to the Reformers.²⁴² During Lent the chaplain of the court, Master Gérard Roussel, preached daily in the Louvre. His sermons attracted great throngs of hearers. His place of preaching had to be changed three times, for from four to five thousand people would assemble to hear him. Henri d'Albret, king of Navarre, and his wife, Marguerite, and their courtiers were in constant attendance at these sermons. Similar Lenten discourses reflecting the new teachings were also held in other parts of the city.²⁴³

In 1531 Beda had already pointed out Roussel's heretical views.²⁴⁴ Under his guidance the Theological Faculty took counter measures. Six bachelors were charged with delivering sermons to refute him and to instruct the people on the errors of Luther. Three doctors were sent to the two vicars of the absent bishop, Jean de Bellay, to warn them that they should be on their guard with respect to the Lenten preachers. When this proved to be of no avail, the faculty appealed to the bishop, the chancellor, and the president of Parlement. But all were afraid to offend Marguerite, the protectress of the Reformers, since this would disturb the king himself, over whom she had a great influence.

But Beda did not withdraw from the fight, and his preachers became vehement,²⁴⁵ especially Master Francois Le Picart.²⁴⁶ He had been born in Paris two years before Xavier of a very prominent family (his father, the lord of Atilly and Villeroy, was a humanist and friend of the renowned Guillaume Budé), and he had received a thorough education in Latin and Greek. He had studied and lectured in philosophy in the Collège de Navarre²⁴⁷ and had earned the degree

secundas intentiones, et fuit debatuta per decem hebdomadas in concilio Constantiensi; Gerson, De auferibilitate Pape ab Ecclesia; Sutoris, Adversus quendam qui vocaverat eum fripponatore, et quod Fripponatores non sunt damnati ab Ecclesia.

²⁴² The main sources for the following are the letter of the student Petrus Siderander to Bédrot of May 28 (Herminjard III 54-61), that of Johann Sturm to Bucer of August 23, 1533 (*ibid.* 72-75), and the register of the Theological Faculty in Delisle 346-349. The best account is in Bourrilly 31-47.

²⁴³ Siderander 55; Sturm 73; Bourrilly 31-33 36; see also Herminjard III 53.

²⁴⁴ Bourrilly 24-26.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 33-35; Siderander 55-56; Sturm 73; see Herminjard III 53.

²⁴⁶ François Le Picart always showed himself to be a warm friend of the Jesuits, whom he would have joined if his leg had permitted him to do so. Xavier still thought of him in India (EX I 167). In 1548 he became dean of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. In 1555 he delivered the funeral sermon for his friend Master de Cornibus, and died himself the following year. Twenty thousand persons took part in his funeral, including the members of Parlement, of the Treasury, of the Magistracy, and of the Theological Faculty. It was like that of a king, and all were in tears. On Picart see the sources in the MHSI: Polanco, *Chronicon* I 94 419, II 297, IV 232, V 332 355, VI 486; MI *Epp.* I 133 175 281, II 400, III 142 584, IX 452 665, X 354, XI 214; *Ep. Mixtae* I 64 69 582-583; *Litt. Quadr.* II 294, III 109-110; *Ep. Broëti* 75 78 86-87 89 101-102; Bobadilla 561; *Lainii Mon.* I 226 591, IV 85-86; *Fabri Mon.* 99 note; FN II 56, and also the **Acta Rectoria* 9952, 7v; Villoslada 431; Herminjard III 57 161; His biography was written by Father Hilarion de Coste, *Le parfait ecclésiastique ou l'Histoire de la vie et la mort de François Le Picart* (Paris, 1658); see further: Launoy II 685-691; Feret II 97-101; Doumergue I 240-241; Crévier VI 23-25; [Prat] *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Père Broët* (Le Puy, 1885) 293-299; and, especially, Henri Bernard-Maitre, S.J., "François Le Picart, Docteur de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris, et les débuts de la Compagnie de Jésus (1534-1536)," *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* (Toulouse, 1954) 90-117.

²⁴⁷ Dom Johannes Bellais received the master's degree under Master Franciscus Picart when Claude Roillet was rector (December 15, 1526, to March 23, 1527) (**Acta Rectoria* 9952, 7v).

of bachelor in theology.²⁴⁸ Though he had a limp,²⁴⁹ this proved to be no hindrance to his apostolic zeal. He had a beautiful, ringing voice;²⁵⁰ and his fiery eloquence,²⁵¹ forgetfulness of self, and devotion to the poor and needy had soon made him the darling of the common people of Paris.²⁵² He fearlessly opposed the new teachings and warned his hearers about the dangers which threatened the faith of their fathers.²⁵³ And his efforts were not without effect. Pamphlets, cartoons, and satires attacking the sister of the king appeared in the bookstores. The people began to grumble and their attitude became threatening.²⁵⁴

At Marguerite's insistence, her husband and the bishop placed before the eyes of the absent king the danger of a revolt and reminded him of the lot of Berquin, who had been burned in his absence before he could intervene. Accordingly, shortly after Easter, at the king's command, a judicial investigation was made of heresies and incentives to riots. Witnesses were heard. Roussel, Le Picart, and two other Lenten preachers were held under house arrest and forbidden to preach;²⁵⁵ and even Beda was interned in the Collège de Montaigu. But through his letters which he wrote from there, the doctor encouraged the continuation of the battle; and after a few days the valiant syndic of the Theological Faculty could again be seen riding on his mule past Sainte-Barbe to the Sorbonne.²⁵⁶

But Marguerite's intercession for her protégé Roussel was successful. A letter from the king on May 18 consigned him to the care of his sister for the length of his trial. Picart and his two fellow preachers and Beda as well were, on the other hand, banished to twenty leagues from Paris.

The letter was a hard blow to the Theological Faculty. The followers of the Reformers were triumphant. There was a stir within the student body. A literary battle began between the two parties. A poster in French verse mocked Picart and his companions and Master de Cornibus. This was torn down and another put in its place demanding that the "Lutheran dogs" be burned, and this in turn was followed by another against Roussel. The university forbade such attacks after Beda on May 27, 1533, went into exile.²⁵⁷ Not long afterwards the sad news reached Paris that Henry VIII, the ally of France, had on June 1 had his paramour, Anne Boleyn, solemnly crowned as queen, thus openly proclaiming his apostasy from the Church.

9. IÑIGO'S MOST DIFFICULT VICTORY (1533)

Recent events and the efforts of Iñigo, who had taken his examination for the licentiate on March 13, 1533,²⁵⁸ produced their effect on Master Francis. For some time he had been looking upon the old student under a different light. He

²⁴⁸ According to Feret he began his theological studies in 1526.

²⁴⁹ *Ep. Mixtae* I 64.

²⁵⁰ *Lainii Mon.* IV 85-86.

²⁵¹ Nadal wrote in 1557: "Vidimus enim nostra aetate celeberrimum magistrum nostrum Picardum, quem honoris causa nomino, qui maximo cum spiritus fervore, pietate, fructu Lutetiae concionaretur" (FN II 56). See also Doumergue I 240-241.

²⁵² Doumergue I 241.

²⁵³ Siderander 55; Bourrilly 34-35.

²⁵⁴ Sturm 74; Siderander 55-56.

²⁵⁵ Sturm 74; Siderander 56; Bourrilly 35-36. Cf. the king's intervention in favor of Roussel in Delisle, nn. CXXVII-CXLV (346-349).

²⁵⁶ Siderander 56; Sturm 75; Delisle, n. CXXXVI.

²⁵⁷ Siderander 56-60; Sturm 74-75; Delisle n. CXXXIX (346-349); Bourrilly 36-47. See also Marguerite's letter in favor of Roussel in Herminjard III 52-53.

knew how the Guipuzcoan officer had wrestled with himself when he was lying ill in his ancestral castle of Loyola.²⁵⁹ During that time he had asked for a courtly novel with which to while away the lonely hours, but the only thing that could be found for him was a *Flos sanctorum* and *The Life of Christ* by Ludolph the Carthusian. He still yearned for the glittering tinsel of the world and dreamed of performing heroic deeds like those of Amadís de Gaula that might win for him the favor of a highborn lady. But when these dreams passed, Iñigo found that his soul was cold and empty. On the other hand, when he thought of imitating the heroic deeds of such saints as St. Francis and St. Dominic and of following Christ his King in poverty, in self-denial, and in conquering the enemy within himself, he experienced a peace of soul that the world could not give. He therefore resolved to give up everything so that as a poor man he might follow the poor Christ. He hung up his sword before the black, miraculous picture of the Mother of God at Montserrat and took an oath of everlasting service to her and her Son. He led an austere and penitential life in Manresa at the foot of the mountain and there learned to master himself. He then went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and visited the sites where Christ had lived and died. When he was forbidden to stay longer by the Franciscan guardian in Jerusalem, who represented the pope in the Holy Land, Iñigo returned to Spain. In Barcelona he went to school with young boys to learn Latin. He then entered the University of Alcalá, where he continued his studies and attempted to assist others through spiritual conversations. He and his associates there fell under the suspicion of being Alumbrados, and two inquisitors came from Toledo to make an investigation. The vicar-general, Juan Rodrigues de Figueroa, was ordered to continue the inquiry. After Iñigo had been detained in prison for forty-two days he was set free, but the vicar ordered him not to speak about matters pertaining to the faith until he had completed four more years of study. Iñigo then passed on to the University of Salamanca; but when a similar injunction made his apostolic labors impossible there, he went on to Paris for his philosophy and theology. He wanted to become a priest in order to be able to work more effectively for Christ and the salvation of souls, and he hoped to find companions who would imitate him in his desire of leaving all things for this high ideal. It seemed to him that this was the best course of action at this particular time, when both high and low, whether within the Church or without it, were the prey of greed, ambition, and immorality, and when there was a crying need for a reform of the Church in both head and members.

Master Francis armed himself against the appeals of his countryman. He repeatedly resisted Iñigo's appeals and refused to consider his suggestions. He put up the most stubborn defense that Iñigo ever encountered, but slowly and gradually he gave way.²⁶⁰ Francis did not find the decision which he had to make, and upon which his whole future depended, easy. He prayed for light and strength, and eventually yielded to grace. The idle dreams of the son of Dr. Juan de Jassu were gradually dissipated. He gave up his longing for a reputa-

²⁵⁸ Register of Sainte-Geneviève (Petavius 441).

²⁵⁹ That Ignatius gave a thorough account of his earlier life to his followers is shown, for example, by Laynez' detailed letter of 1547 on it (FN I 70-145). After his death Nadal wrote: "Pater noster Ignatius . . . narrat vitam suam, sua peccata, persecutiones, carceres, infirmitates; ita movet mire" (*ibid.* II 314-315).

²⁶⁰ See above, p. 172, n. 189.

tion among men and for a glittering place in the world and decided that he would become a close follower of Christ.

In the beginning of June, 1533, his friend Favre had to return home to his aged father for a considerable length of time in order to straighten out his family affairs.²⁶¹ But by the time of his departure, Master Francis had been won over.²⁶² The same fire now burned in his heart as in Iñigo's, and only with difficulty was he persuaded by his friends to continue his course in philosophy in the Collège de Beauvais to the end.²⁶³

²⁶¹ According to Favre (FN I 35). That he left Paris at the beginning of June, 1533, follows from the fact that he remained in his homeland for seven months, and that after he returned he made the Exercises when the Seine was frozen (*ibid.* 704); but this only happened in January, 1534 (Driart 166).

²⁶² Authors vary concerning the date of Xavier's conversion. We place it between December, 1532, and June, 1533. Our reasons for this are the following: (1) According to Rodrigues, Xavier's conversion was after Favre's and before his own; but his was almost a year before Laynez's (Rodrigues 453-455). (2) Favre's conversion was in 1531, since at his departure in June, 1533, he had already persisted in his good resolve to follow Ignatius in the poverty of the cross for over two years and had first begun to do this four years before (Favre 34-35). (3) But Xavier's conversion was before Favre's departure, for the latter writes: "Contigit autem in fine horum quatuor annorum circiter, quod, cum me invenissem jam fortem in solo Domino super propositis, in quibus iam perseveraveram plusquam duos annos, sequendi, scilicet, Ignatium in vitae paupertate, nec aliud exspectassem quam studiorum meorum, eiusque et magistri Francisci caeterorumque eiusdem animi et propositi finem: hoc, inquam, tempore sum profectus visitaturus parentes, fuique cum patre septem menses" (*ibid.* 35). (4) Xavier's conversion occurred after the arrival of Laynez and Salmerón, for Polanco states that Favre had been the first to join Ignatius, and Xavier the second, and that Laynez had come from Spain "aliquanto prius" Xavier's conversion (Polanco 565). Auger however states that before his conversion Xavier had ridiculed Laynez and Salmerón (Tournier 662-663). The editors of the *Fontes Narrativi* I would like to place the arrival of Laynez and Salmerón in September, 1533, since Böhmer and Tacchi Venturi believe this date is fairly accurate (33*). Laynez became a *magister artium* in Alcalá on October 26, 1532 (*Lainii Mon.* VIII 633). From this Tacchi Venturi (II, 1, 101, n. 1) concludes that he had probably not gone immediately from there to Paris, since he had studied theology there for only a year and one-half, as is shown by the evidence given in the *Lainii Mon.* VIII 634. But this proves nothing. This same stereotyped "one and one-half years" reappears in all the preserved data on the first companions (Ignatius, Codure, Favre, Jay, Salmerón, Rodrigues). Favre, for example, by October 14, 1536, when his diploma was made out, had already studied theology in Paris for at least a full five years! Böhmer argues, however (144), that Salmerón did not complete his course of philosophy in Paris until 1536. But since the course for the arts students in Sainte-Barbe always began on October 1, and they were not allowed to enter later, as is shown by the letter of Ignatius of June, 1532 (MI *Epp.* I 78), Salmerón could only have come to Paris with Laynez in 1533. But Ignatius only states that one could not begin philosophy during the school year. But if Salmerón wanted to review or complete his Latin studies, or to hear the lectures of the royal professors, or to study privately, he could have come at this time of the year. Ignatius himself had arrived in Paris in the middle of the school year, on February 2. The Exercises of Laynez were at the latest in the summer of 1534; his conversion, according to Rodrigues, was thus at the latest in the summer of 1533, and his arrival at the latest in the spring of 1533. But since Laynez and Salmerón came to Paris not only in order to study but also to become acquainted with Ignatius, about whom they had heard so much in Alcalá (according to Polanco 565), it is probable that they set out as soon as possible, even in November or December. This is also implied by the observation of Laynez, writing in November, 1552, that it was almost twenty years since he had begun to follow the Lord in the evangelical counsels (*Lainii Mon.* I 217); and, according to Ribadeneyra, Ignatius did not win him over immediately, but "poco a poco" (*Vida del P. M. Diego Laynez* [Madrid, 1954] I, 1, p. 7). When speaking here of a conversion, we mean his decision to follow the evangelical counsels as a disciple of Ignatius.

²⁶³ According to Rodrigues (454).

In keeping with his position, Francis after becoming a regent had retained a poor student as his servant.²⁶⁴ The latter was a Navarrese countryman by the same of Miguel Landívar,²⁶⁵ who was preparing for his bachelor's examination.²⁶⁶ He saw that the sudden conversion of his lord had robbed him of his position, and he conceived a great hatred for the one who had brought this about.²⁶⁷ He resolved to murder Iñigo. But as he climbed up the stairs to the room in the tower of Sainte-Barbe, where his intended victim lived, he suddenly heard a warning voice: "You wretch! what are you going to do?" Terrified, he relinquished his plans,²⁶⁸ threw himself at Iñigo's feet, and in tears confessed his guilt.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ Rodrigues (504) states that he was Xavier's servant.

²⁶⁵ Miguel de Landívar probably owed his name to the hamlet of Landibar in the parish of Zugarramurdi (Navarre), which belonged to the diocese Bayonne; but according to the *Acta Rectoria* he was from the diocese of Pamplona. He was a fickle individual. He traveled to Venice in 1536, joined the companions on their trip to Rome in 1537, but left them on the return trip. He appeared again in Rome in 1538 as their accuser. Banished from there, he was in Barcelona in 1542, where Favre found him repentant (*Fabri Mon.* 157). He then disappears from history. On him see the MHSI: FN I 202 500-502 709 II 170 332 373 590; MI *Epp.* I 110 139, *Scripta* I 543-546; Rodrigues 504; *Fabr. Mon.* 157; *Ep. Mixtae* I 11-14 16, n. 2; see also Ribadeneyra, *Vida del E. P. Ignacio* 5, 2, and Schurhammer, *Bask. Studenten* 638 642.

²⁶⁶ He matriculated under the rector F. Jacquart (December 15, 1534, to March 24, 1535): "Michael de Landiuart, pampil." (*Acta Rectoria* 9953, 10). Rodrigues says of him: "In artium facultate vel mediocriter excultus, theologiamque primoribus, ut aiunt, labris dumtaxat degustarat." He adds that when Landívar saw that the companions had departed for Venice he set out after them (504). At the time he was already a *magister artium* (*Ep. Mixtae* I 16, n. 2; FN II 373).

²⁶⁷ Orlandinus is the first, in 1615, to give this as the reason: "Michael quidam Hispanus studiosissimus Xauerii cliens, ut qui in eo forsitan spes suas conditas, et locatas habebat, cum patronum suum, in secreta se loca frequenter abdere, et solito crebrius cum Ignatio, raro cum aliis communicare sensisset; suspicatus id quod erat, Xauerium mediis ex honoribus, ad humile vitae genus Ignatii consilio fuisse traductum, inusitata rabie efferatus, eius concilii auctorem tollere decrevit e medio, strictoque gladio furens, eius in hospitium irrupit" (*Historia Soc. Iesu* I, n. 86).

²⁶⁸ Ribadeneyra learned this from Ignatius' own words on Ascension Thursday, 1553 (FN II 332).

²⁶⁹ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 5, 2. Peña then accepted him as a servant (MI *Epp.* I 110).

CHAPTER IV

INIGO'S DISCIPLES (1533-1535)

1. IN THE NEW LIFE (1533)¹

A new life had begun for Master Francis. The first thing which Iñigo was accustomed to recommend to his disciples was a general confession and a daily examination of conscience and then a weekly confession and Communion. As far as his duties as a regent would permit, Xavier now went with Iñigo and the other students whom he had won over to this practice on Sunday mornings to the monastery of the Carthusians, where they went to confession and received the Body of the Lord.² Soon after this a new student attached himself to Iñigo—Simon Rodrigues.

Simon Rodrigues³ had been born in 1510 in the village of Vouzella in the diocese of Viseu in northern Portugal. He was tall and had an olive complexion, dark hair and beard, and a distinguished gait which betrayed his noble origin.⁴

¹ The heading comes from Ignatius, who at the end of 1536 wrote from Venice of Landívar: "Magister Miguel está aqui en nueva vida" (*MI Epp.* I 110).

² See above, pp. 142 155 171, n. 187, and especially Bobadilla 615 and Nadal I, 2.

³ Rodrigues was superior from 1540-1546 and provincial of the Portuguese province from 1546-1552. In 1553 he was called to Italy by Ignatius where he remained until 1564. He then went to Spain where he lived in various houses of the Society. In 1573 he returned to Portugal, where he died in 1579. On him see the sources in *Ep. Broëti* 437-875 (in which is his important *Commentarium de origine et progressu Societatis* 451-517), *MI Regulae* 15-134, *Scripta* I 666-707, and the detailed description in Rodrigues *Hist.* I (vols. 1 and 2, especially I, 1, 41-80); II, 1, 310-321.

⁴ At the end of 1537 Broët and Salmerón came to Siena and remained there until the Lent of 1538; in 1539 Broët returned there with Rodrigues. On both occasions the priests stayed in the house of the painter Giovanni di Lorenzo degli Alessandrini. A report on their activities which his nephew Lorenzo wrote about 1561 for the Jesuits contains a description of the priests. This goes back to data furnished by his uncle, and its clarity betrays the sharp eye of the painter (*Ep. Broëti* 491 510-513; Tacchi Venturi II 1, 130-133 196-204). The description of Broët, which we give below, is followed by that of his companion: "E l'altro, suo compagno, si domanda P. Salmerone, spagnuolo, huomo grande con barba negra, e volto olivastro: anche lui faceva segno d'esser disceso di sangue nobile" (*Ep. Broëti* 197). The description does not fit Salmerón, who was of medium size and beardless. In 1547 Ignatius wrote to Rodrigues about him, saying that he was not suited for the position of a patriarch in Abyssinia because of his youthful appearance, for Maestro Salmerón was "de poco tiempo, y está quasi tan moço y sin barbas como antes lo conoçistes" (*MI Epp.* I 599). In Lorenzo's report Salmerón is confused with Rodrigues, as happens again later in the same text where it is said that the same two priests who had come to Siena in 1537 returned there in 1539 (*Ep. Broëti* 199). The most recent account of Simon Rodrigues gives us no description of his appearance. It only refers to a painting of the seventeenth century by a mediocre artist (Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 42) and includes a reproduction of this in the first volume "de um painel antigo." In 1645 Tellez wrote: "Foy Rodrigues dotado de todas aquellas perfeiçoens exteriores, e corporaes, de que os homens mais se pre-

His father was Gil Gonçalves de Azevedo Cabril, his mother Doña Helena de Azevedo, both of noble lineage. When he was still young he had entered into the service of Dom Diogo Ortiz de Vilhegas, the dean of the royal chapel, and had come to Paris in the fall of 1527 as a stipendiary of his king in the Collège de Sainte-Barbe,⁵ where his elder brother Sebastian became a master of arts in 1533 and then took up the study of medicine.⁶ Simon first attended Latin classes and only began his philosophical studies in late October.⁷ He was a vivacious young student with a slight frame⁸ and attractive exterior,⁹ and he was universally loved for his cheerfulness. His sudden conversion caused no slight surprise to his countrymen, since he had the reputation among his fellow students of being somewhat wild and untamed.¹⁰ He had never previously associated with the old Spanish student living in the upper room in the tower, but the reputation for sanctity which he enjoyed had at last induced the merry but upright Simon¹¹ to open up his heart to him. The young man longed to serve God perfectly, and his association with Ifigo made him decide to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and there devote himself entirely to the service of souls.¹² Soon there were changes in the course of events that were bound to strengthen the two new disciples in their resolve.

zam... A estatura proporcionada, o aspecto veneravel, e composto, os olhos grandes, a cor branca, a compostura toda do rosto, o gesto, o meneo do corpo, com tam grande igualdade, e correspondencia de membros, que podia ser hum fermoso retrato, pera se debuxar hum bom quadro, que pudesse representar autoridade" (I 600). But does this description go back to a portrait, and was this authentic?

⁵ Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 41-44.

⁶ Seb. Rodrigues matriculated in Paris in 1526 and earned the master's degree during the rectorate of Matthaeus Paviot (March-June, 1533). He then studied medicine and returned to Portugal before 1541, where he became the chief physician (*fisico-mor*) of John III (Matos 55-56 58-59). He should not be confused with his namesake who matriculated in 1537 and became a doctor of theology in 1550 (*ibid.* 90-92).

⁷ Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 52.

⁸ This is indicated by his illnesses in Paris, Bassano, Siena, and Lisbon; see also FN I 704.

⁹ This is shown by Lorenzo's description, and it is also indicated by the various adventures which he reports in his *Commentarium de origine*; see also Franco, *Imagem de Lisboa* 22-23.

¹⁰ "Era de todos muy amado, e bem quisto, porque tinha grande graça e affabilidade na conversação. Era de natural vivo e por isso tido dos Portuguezes por travesso, e inquieto. E assim contou o Bispo D. Antonio Pinheyro ao P. Francisco de Araujo, que o deyxou escrito, que fizera grande espanto a sua conversão entre aquelles que o conhecião. Disto foy testemunha de vista o mesmo Bispo, que então estudava em Paris" (Franco, *Imagem de Lisboa* 22).

¹¹ His confessor Ruy Martins declared after his death that he always preserved his baptismal innocence (*ibid.* 22).

¹² After the first three, Ignatius, Favre, and Xavier, "quartum locum lusitanus quidam natione obtinet [Rodrigues]... Fuit quintus ab iis quatuor, decurso fere anno, Pater Iacobus Laynes," as Rodrigues writes (455). Since Rodrigues was an eyewitness and a partaker in the events, his precise dates are certainly to be preferred to those given by Polanco, who was prejudiced against Rodrigues and sought to place him after Bobadilla and even Jay in joining up with Ignatius (FN I 183, II 566; see Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 34, n. 3). Polanco's observations in this context are vague and at times obviously wrong. He states, for example, that Xavier made his Exercises almost at the same time as Favre. Rodrigues may have made his Exercises after Bobadilla.

2. THE PLAGUE IN PARIS (SEPTEMBER, 1533)

The plague had already entered Paris in 1531,¹³ and it had caused Inigo to be excluded from Saint-Barbe for several days. He had visited a pesthouse with Dr. Frago in order to obtain a place to stay for a monk.¹⁴ Because of the plague a special cemetery was established on the Grenelle Place for those who died from it.¹⁵ But it was not until August, 1533, that the epidemic became dangerous.¹⁶ On September 13, Parlement passed an ordinance dealing with the problem which was proclaimed by the royal herald to the sound of trumpets at the crossroads of Paris, on the Rue Saint-Jacques, on the corner of the Mathurins, in front of the town hall, on the Tanners' Street, and before the royal palace. It provided severe penalties for infractions of the following:

All houses which have been afflicted by the plague during the past two months must make this known for twelve months by means of two wooden crosses. All who were, or are, sick with the plague, or who have those who are sick living with them, must carry a white staff on the street. Whoever visits, attends, washes, or serves those suffering from the plague must not associate with others for forty days. The Faculty of Medicine is appointing four doctors, two surgeons, and six barbers who, at the expense of the city, are to devote themselves exclusively to the care of the pest-ridden. The public baths will be closed till Christmas. No one may purchase or carry off clothes from those who are sick. The streets are to be repaired and kept clean. Morning and evening householders must pour water in front of their houses so that the filth is washed away. Chamber pots must not be emptied out of the windows but poured into gutters and the filth flushed away with at least three pails of water. Those who fail to do this will be subject to corporal punishment. Refuse must be carried out into the fields or at least placed in baskets at assigned places for hauling away. Pigs, rabbits, chickens, and doves must not be kept within the city or suburbs, but must be sent out into the country. Dirty linen must not be hung out of the windows to dry. Individuals should be appointed in every parish to carry off and bury those who have died of the pest, and to air out their houses and mark them with crosses. Tanners, under the threat of exile, must not exercise their trade in the city or in the suburbs. For this they must go to the bank of the Seine beyond the Tuileries and Saint-Germain-des-Prés and there stretch out their hides, and the dyers should there also spread out their wool to dry. A similar prohibition is leveled against butchers and salt-fish handlers, and these are further forbidden to throw their refuse into the river or quays.

There were good reasons for the ordinance. In four of the sixteen quarters of the city the plague was already raging, as the civil assistant of the police reported to the court twelve days later.¹⁷ But another malady had also spread about the city.

3 THE RISING TIDE (OCTOBER, 1533)

The banishment of Beda and Picart had robbed the Catholics of their two strongest leaders, so that Latomus on June 24, 1533, could write triumphantly

¹³ Félibien IV 679; Driart 153; Tuety 135.

¹⁴ It was during his course in philosophy (1529-1533), probably in 1531 or 1532 (FN I 476).

¹⁵ Félibien II 994; Tuety 135.

¹⁶ Tuety 167-170.

¹⁷ "La Peste à Paris en 1533," *Journal de l'Institut Historique* (Paris, 1833) 46-52; Félibien III 607-612; IV 682.

from Sainte-Barbe to Melanchthon: "The theologians have suffered such a blow that they now have no other hope except the death of the queen of Navarre, whose pregnancy is now far advanced, or a radical change of conditions."¹⁸

The hopes of the Reformers rose. Sturm, the royal lector, wrote two months later, on August 23, a letter to the leader of the Reform in Strasbourg, the ex-Dominican Martin Bucer, who had married a nun, in order to inform him of what was going on. In the letter he mentions the happy change of events for the movement in Paris, the Lenten preaching of Roussel, the crowds that flocked to hear him, the vain efforts of the Sorbonne to silence him, the king's letter, and the eventual banishment of Beda and Picart; and he ends it with the following observation: "Apart from greyheads of the age of Priam¹⁹ and a few others, there is no one who favors these Phrygian priests. The younger theologians are already beginning to come to their senses (*sapere*). Gérard Roussel is so modest that by far the greater number of those of sound judgment are turning to him."²⁰

The election of the rector on June 23, 1533, seemed to prove him right. André de Gouvea, known as a progressive principal at Sainte-Barbe,²¹ was elected rector of the university; and his election was heartily approved, as the records of the German nation indicate.²² At the next election, on October 10, a second advocate of the new teaching was elected. This was Gouvea's bosom friend, Nicolas Cop, a bachelor in medicine and a regent in the same college. Cop thus saw his quiet but skillful campaigning crowned with success in his own person.²³

But the Catholics were also active. In the Collège de Navarre, one of the two pinnacles of the Theological Faculty, it was customary for the new philosophers to stage a play on October 1, at the beginning of the school year. This year it was aimed at Marguerite, the sister of the king, and her protégé, Master Gérard; and it won tremendous applause. The queen was represented as busy spinning thread and being encouraged by the Megaries (or "Furies"—a reference to Master Gérard) to read one of the Gospels. In this way she was herself changed into a Fury and began to rant and rave against the innocent and helpless. The skit came to the knowledge of the parties concerned and a high police official showed up at the Collège de Navarre with a hundred of his men and arrested

¹⁸ Bourrilly 43 47.

¹⁹ Priam, the father of Hector, was slain near the altar in the palace during the sack of Troy.

²⁰ Herminjard III 72-75.

²¹ "Anno Domini sesquimillesimo tricesimo tertio, die vero vicesima tertia mensis iunii . . . discretus vir Magister Andreas de Gouvea, Collegii Divae Barbarae Primarius, in rectorem fuit electus" (*Acta Rectoria* 9952, 172).

²² "Natio Germanorum una cum ceterarum nationum intransitibus delegit in rectorem Magistrum Andream a Gouvea, Collegii Divae Barbarae vigilantissimum Primarium, qui a praeclara Artium Facultate magno assensu receptus est" (Matos 80).

²³ So wrote the student of philosophy Don Rodrigo Manrique from Paris to Vives on December 9, 1533, as our confrere Father Henri Bernard-Maitre has drawn to our attention. This letter, published by Henry De Vocht in the *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia* IV (Louvain, 1934) 434-457, forms one of the main sources for the following events. On the election of Cop as rector he wrote: "Nicolaus Cop, ut apud Gallos magni nominis, ita et dexteritatis summae. Paucis abhinc mensibus conatus est, ut honoraretur dignitate, quam hic vocant Rhetoratus, nec multum laboravit; nam placide et grate in illum delatus est" (Manrique 437-438).

the principal and his assistants after being first received by the students with a shower of stones.²⁴

But then another blow fell upon the queen, who was giving no small comfort to the Reformers. She had provided a refuge for Lefèvre d'Étaples in her palace of Nérac in Béarn,²⁵ had retained as her chaplain Master Gérard, who was commonly known to be a Lutheran,²⁶ and had protected the court poet Clément Marot, who, besides leading an immoral life, had already been convicted of heresy and had praised Berquin as a martyr in one of his poems.²⁷ Attracted as she was by the new teachings, the princess passed from the writing of pseudo-mystical fantasies on one day to the retelling of indecent scandals at court in the style of Boccaccio's *Decameron* on the next. In 1531 she published at Alençon, her sovereign territory, an anonymous work bearing the title of *Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse*. It contains long and tedious repetitions, digressions, and common-places; but also some beautiful passages on a disinterested love of God such as the following: "Not the great height of heaven, nor the abyss of hell and its depth, not the extent of all this earth, nor death nor sin, despite all that they do to me, can separate me for a single day from the great charity and love which my Father through Jesus Christ bears towards me."²⁸

But her heretical tendencies could also be seen in the work. Thus, for example, she changed the *Salve Regina*, which was forbidden by the Reformers, into a *Salve Jesu Christe*, and thus revealed her rejection of a devotion to Mary.²⁹ When it first appeared, the book drew no attention; but in 1533 Antoine Augereau printed a new edition bearing the name of its author in his shop on the Rue Saint-Jacques not far from the monastery of the Dominicans.³⁰ The representatives of the Theological Faculty discovered it in their visitation of the bookstores, and in the name of the university they placed it along with other works upon the list of forbidden books.

When his sister complained about this, the king wanted to know the reasons for the condemnation.³¹ On October 24 Cop, the newly elected rector, summoned the four faculties to a general convocation at the Mathurins; and in the presence of the king's confessor, a Dominican, Guillaume Petit, he accused the authors of the prohibition in a long and weighty sermon for having dared to attack the majesty of the queen, "the mother of all virtues and of all good arts." He warned them to avoid the wrath of the king, and urged the university to reject any responsibility for what had happened. His challenge was taken up. Nicolas Le Clerc, pastor of Saint-André and doctor of the Sorbonne, whom everybody

²⁴ Calvin to Daniel, October 27, 1533 (*Calvini Opera* X 2, 27-28); Sturm to Bucer, middle of October, 1533 (Herminjard III 94); Bourrilly 47-48.

²⁵ Doumergue I 395-396.

²⁶ In 1553 Laynez wrote: "Il tempo ch'io stetti in Parisi, non senti predicatione nisuna di Maestro Girardo, nè mancho gli parlai; et però solamente so questo: che, non solo da buoni et catholici era tenuto lutherano, ma etiam dalla commune plebe" (*Lainii Mon.* I 225).

²⁷ Bourrilly 1-3. On Marot see Grente 488-494.

²⁸ "Certes du Ciel le tres grande hauteur, / Ni de l'Enfer l'abisme, et profondeur, / Ny la largeur de toute ceste terre, / Mort, ne Peché, qui tant me fait de guerre, / Ne me pourront separer un seul iour / De la grande charité, et amour, / Que mon pere, par Jesus Christ, me porte."

²⁹ See Beza's condemnation in Feret I 147-149.

³⁰ *Le Miroir de tres chrestienne princesse Marguerite de France, royne de Navarre, duchesse d'Alençon et de Berry*, with the subtitle *Miroir de l'ame chrestienne*.

³¹ Feret I 147-149; Bourrilly 48-49; Calvin to Daniel (*Calvini Opera* X 2, 28).

regarded as the cause of the embarrassment, declared as final speaker that the commission to which he belonged had not wished to offend the virtuous and pious queen. It had condemned immoral books such as *Pantagruel* and the *Sylva Amorum* and others of a similar stamp but had set the *Miroir* aside as suspect since, contrary to what was decreed, it had been published without the permission of the Theological Faculty. When he had finished, the king's confessor stood up and declared that he had read the work in question and had found nothing to blame in it. At this the rector placed all the responsibility upon the Theological Faculty, which would have to answer to the king for itself.

Three days later, on October 27, this faculty held a meeting. Fifty-five of the doctors present, including Diogo de Gouvea, Jacques Barthélemy, Martial Mazurier, Juan de Castro, Matthaeus Ory, Thomas Laurentii, Johannes Benedicti, Robertus Vauchop, Alvaro de Moscoso, Jerónimo Frago, and Petrus de Cornibus declared under oath in writing that they had not known anything about the condemnation of the *Miroir*.³² Nonetheless, the irritated king immediately issued an order depriving the Theological Faculty of its right to nominate preachers for individual parishes in the city and handed this over to the bishop.³³

4. COP'S SPEECH AS RECTOR (NOVEMBER 1, 1533)³⁴

The situation was serious. Beda and Picart were in exile, the king was far away in southern France. Henri d'Albret, king of Navarre, and Marguerite, his wife, who were ruling Paris for the king, Bishop Jean du Bellay and a number of influential personages,³⁵ such as Guillaume Petit, the bishop of Senlis, Guillaume du Bellay, the confessor of Francis I, Admiral Chabot and others, were favorably disposed towards the Reformers;³⁶ and under their protection the latter began to speak freely and to preach openly.³⁷ Heretical books were publicly sold in the Parisian bookstores.³⁸ Cop's friend, Calvin, had moreover returned to the capital in June, 1533, and taken up his residence in the Collège de Fortet near Sainte-Barbe in order to attend the lectures of Danès in the Collège de Cambrai,³⁹ and to promote the new gospel.⁴⁰ Never was there a more favorable occasion for the victory of the new teaching, and Cop as rector had to take advantage of it.

³² Calvin to Daniel (*Calvini Opera* X 2, 28-29); Bulaeus VI 238; Crévier V 271-274; Bourrilly 50-51; Feret I 150; Delisle, nn. CXLVII-CXLVIII (349-350).

³³ Calvin to Daniel (*Calvini Opera* X 2, 29-30).

³⁴ On Cop's speech as rector see Karl Müller, "Calvins Bekehrung," *Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse 1905* (Göttingen, 1905) 188-255; Doumergue I 331-357 575-579; Hunt 38-41; De Vocht 447-450; Wendel 22-23.

³⁵ Bucer to Blarer, Strasbourg about January 13, 1534 (Herminjard III 130).

³⁶ Doumergue I 331, n. 2.

³⁷ Bucer to Blarer: "Factum est, ut, absente Rege Franciae, palam praedicare Christum quidam coeperint, omnes loqui liberius" (Herminjard III 130).

³⁸ Haller to Bullinger, January 25, 1533, on tolerance in Paris and Lyons (*ibid.* 75, n. 20).

³⁹ Calvin to Daniel, on June 27, but without the year (*Calvini Opera* X 2, 9-11). The editor places the letter in the year 1531, but he wrote it in 1533, as Dufour maintains, for Calvin greets Daniel's wife in it; he did not marry her until May, 1533.

⁴⁰ The dispute about the date of the "conversion" of Calvin is still undecided. The question as to when he decided to break openly with the Church, does not concern us here. That he had already given up the faith interiorly and was secretly working for the spread of heresy is shown by letters written at this time, for example, his letter to Daniel of October 27, 1533 (*Calvini Opera* X 2, 25-30). At this time he was at least as far

On November 1, the feast of All Saints, the members of the four faculties, among whom was Master Francis, assembled in the spacious church of the Franciscans⁴¹ in order to hear a sermon which the rector, according to ancient custom, had to deliver on this day.⁴²

Its very introduction created a sensation. Cop began by praising the "Christian philosophy" which, with its brilliancy, darkened the wisdom of the world, and which alone with God's grace freed one from his sins. He therefore wanted with the help of Christ, the only Mediator with the Father, to explain the day's Gospel. Then, after reciting the usual *Ave gratia plena* and the text "Blessed are the poor in spirit" from the fifth chapter of St. Matthew, he began his sermon. It was put together from Erasmus and Luther.

He first gave a brief description of the contrast between the Gospel, the "Good News," of Christ, who came to help all and to bring all to everlasting life, and the Law, with its prescriptions and threats. He then made a passionate attack on "the miserable sophists," who were incapable of understanding the philosophy of Christ,⁴³ who constantly fought, argued, and quarreled about trivialities (*lana caprina*) and did not know how to say anything about faith, the love of God, or true works. They slandered everything and caused it to totter, and they drove everything before them with their laws, that is, their sophistries. He then addressed himself to his audience and urged them to make an end to this rule of the sophists: "I ask all of you who are here come together not to tolerate any longer with a calm conscience these heresies, these abuses against God!"

After this assault on scholasticism, which he opposed, as did Erasmus to the "philosophy of Christ," Cop returned again to the Gospel.

But does not the Gospel also speak of laws when it orders men to be poor, meek, and peaceful? And does it not also set forth a reward, even though we should still

away from the Church as his friend Gérard Roussel ("G. noster"), who remained in the Church and later used his office as bishop to convert his diocese to Protestantism. See Doumergue I 578 388; *Ep. Mixtae* I 15-16.

⁴¹ Driart (154), Manrique (438), and Félibien (II 996) maintain that the sermon was preached in the Franciscan church, contrary to Quicherat I 216, Doumergue I 331, and Böhmer 146, who place it in the church of the Mathurins. In 1480 it was held in the Dominican church (*Auctarium* II 824).

⁴² The text of the speech, published in *Calvini Opera* X 2, 30-36 and Herminjard III 418-420, is preserved in two manuscripts. One of these, now in Strasbourg, is complete but without any mention of its author. The other, now in Geneva, is a fragment containing only the first third of the speech. It is written in Calvin's own hand and bears a notice added by his fellow worker Colladon or one of Calvin's secretaries: "Concio Domine Rectoris Nic. Copi scripta Cal. Novemb. MDXXXIV" (should read 1533). See the reproduction in Doumergue I 332. De Vocht is not entirely certain that the manuscripts give the actual text of Cop's speech (447-448). He is wrong. Hunt is more correct when he writes: "It is as good as certain that we have the sermon as it was delivered" (40). In his letter to Blarer of about January 13, 1534, Bucer mentions Cop's speech: "Alter filiorum Copi, electus in Rectorem orationem de more habuit, in qua cum interspersisset pauca de fide justificante, in tale discrimen venit per theologos, ut fuga sibi consuluerit" (Herminjard III 129-130). The detailed summary of the speech in Manrique's letter leaves no doubt that we have Cop's real speech in the Strasbourg manuscript. According to A. Lang the Geneva fragment is the text which Calvin wrote for Cop and the Strasbourg manuscript is a copy of the text of the final speech as Cop edited it, striking out, for example, passages which were too sharp (Doumergue I 331). According to K. Müller they are both copies going back to a common text (224-236).

⁴³ This saying, like the whole introduction of the speech is taken, and at times word for word, from Erasmus' preface to his edition of the New Testament of 1524. The speaker continues, again at times word for word, with Luther's All Saints' sermon as found in Bucer's Latin translation of his book of homilies (Müller 238-240).

seek the honor of God without taking into account either punishments or rewards? No! If Christ said: "Your reward is very great in heaven," then He wanted to indicate in this way that the goodness of God confers its benefits without any merits on our part.

Then the speaker urged his listeners to reflect upon this divine favor, to rise up from darkness and sleep, to forget themselves, and not to attempt to please men through sophisms and empty trifles (*nugae*) but rather to attend to God, who searches the heart and reins, who can thrust souls into hell, and before whose judgment seat we shall one day have to stand. Anyone who has a proper understanding of this will hunger and thirst after justice and will then be filled. But how?

He will be certain that his sins have been forgiven. As St. Paul assures us in his Epistle to the Romans: "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered up." "For we reckon that a man is justified by faith independently of the works of the Law." The Gospel thus freely promises the forgiveness of sins and justification. Anyone who doubts this will go to hell. "The sensual man," Paul further observes, "does not perceive the things that are of the Spirit of God, . . . but the spiritual man judges all things, and he himself is judged by no man." Anyone who denies this distorts the whole Gospel, completely buries Christ, and corrupts all true worship of God; for one cannot worship God if he despairs of his own salvation. If the poor in spirit have doubts about their own strength, they are still certain of the forgiveness of their sins and of the justification through the grace of God.

This was the doctrine that Luther had already proclaimed in his sermon on All Saints' Day, a doctrine of faith alone without works. And in his conclusion Cop exhorted the congregation to hold fast to this teaching despite all the persecutions of the old Church.

When he explained the words "Blessed are the peacemakers," the rector stressed the fact that these do not refer to persecutors who work with threats, and who seek to establish peace in the Church with the sword in these unfortunate times. For Christ, the good leader whom we must follow, could have destroyed all His enemies, both pagans and Jews; but instead of this He sought to win them over through His words. "Blessed are they on the contrary who are persecuted, who suffer persecution for justice' sake." This does not refer to the pagans, who do not know God's justification. Neither does it refer to those who suffer persecution because they have cursed good men or have slandered princes (this was a blow at Beda and Picart). Nowhere does Christ call these blessed, but rather those who suffer persecution because they seek the justice of God. But he seeks God's justice who clings to the word of God and despises the dreams and reveries of men (a reference to the scholastics), who does not stray a finger's breadth away from the teaching of the Gospel, and who clings fast to the saying of St. Paul: "Even if an angel from heaven should preach a Gospel to you other than that which you have received, let him be anathema!"

"Blessed are you," he declared at the end of his sermon, "Blessed are you when men reproach you, and persecute you, and, speaking falsely, say all evil against you, for my sake." Why then do we hold back, and why do we not rather speak the truth? Should we please men rather than God? Or should we fear those who can destroy the body but not the soul? The world and the godless call one who sincerely tries to bring the Gospel to souls a "heretic," "tempter," or "deceiver." And they think that in doing so they are rendering God a service. But truly blessed and happy are they who bear this with equanimity, who thank God in their tribulations, and who courageously accept His visitation. "Blessed are you," he said, "because your reward is great in heaven!" Therefore, fellow Christians, let us strive with all our strength after so great a blessing as this! May God, who produces faith, hope, and charity in all men, assist us with His grace and open up our minds so that we may believe the Gospel and truly recognize that He is the God whom we must serve alone with our heart, and for whom we must suffer and endure all things. May He fill us with

all joy and peace in our faith, so that we may exult in hope through the strength of the Holy Spirit and finally triumph for evermore in heaven. Amen." ⁴⁴

5. THE RECTOR'S FLIGHT (NOVEMBER, 1533)

If Cop and his fellow worker Calvin had hoped to promote the victory of the new teaching at the University of Paris with this speech, they were deceived. The Theological Faculty took the matter in hand. Six heretical opinions were extracted from the sermon and handed over to Parlement; and Lizet, the president, a penitent of Master de Cornibus, ⁴⁶ ordered an investigation and the hearing of witnesses. The rector managed to obtain the points of the indictment. He announced a general assembly of the university in the church of the Mathurins for November 19, ⁴⁷ to which all the colleges, faculties, deans, and professors, among whom was Xavier, were invited.

In a well-prepared speech, Cop declared that the Franciscans had accused him to Parlement and in so doing had infringed upon the rights of the university, to whose jurisdiction the matter belonged. He then lashed out at his accusers as being guilty of slander and sought to prove that their six points had been simply plucked out of the air. He admitted only one of them, namely, that he had explained the reference in St. Paul to the sensual man incorrectly; and, as a witness of this, he called upon his predecessor as rector, André de Gouvea.

Gouvea, an old friend of Cop, arose and gave his support to what had been said. Then the representatives of the four nations and of the three higher faculties withdrew so that they could deliberate on what measures should be taken.

The rector had an easy time with the Arts Faculty. The four nations decided that the Franciscans should be deprived of the stipend that would ordinarily have been due to them, and that in the future no more sermons should be held in their church because of the controversy in which they had involved the uni-

⁴⁴ See also André Favre-Dorsaz, *Calvin et Loyola. Deux Reformes* (Paris, 1951) 91-95, who points out how this ideal passed over into the lives and writings of Ignatius and Xavier but was abandoned by Cop and Calvin in their hurried flight, and how this forced the latter into an open break with the Church.

⁴⁶ In the first life of Calvin, published by Beza in 1564, it is said that Calvin must have taken flight because Cop's speech placed him in a difficult situation; in the second life, published by Colladon in 1565, Calvin is said to have fled because he was Cop's friend. In the third life, published in 1595, however, Beza says that Calvin had written Cop's speech. The common opinion generally held by Protestant historians up until recent times also maintained Calvin's authorship. The reasons advanced against it by Müller in 1905, Hunt in 1933 (39-41), De Vocht in 1934 (447-450), and Wendel in 1950 (22-23) are not convincing. De Vocht states, for example, that in his letter of October 27, 1533, Calvin was still opposed to the Lutherans, for he wrote with respect to the hostile skit on Marguerite staged in the Collège de Navarre: "Visum est, statui pessimum exemplum eorum libidini, qui rebus novis inhiant, si impunitas daretur huic improbitati." But here, according to Calvin, the innovators are not the Lutherans but their enemies, especially the students of the Collège de Navarre, as Müller has rightly shown in opposition to Doumergue and Herminjard (198). De Vocht further contends that it is incredible that the rector of the university should have had his inaugural speech written by another. On the other hand, it is very probable that the young medical student would have had such a Latin speech written for him by his humanistically educated friend Calvin. A few years later João da Costa, who studied philosophy under Cop from 1530-1533, wrote a university speech in Latin for his colleague Master Eusebio at the University of Coimbra (Costa 74).

⁴⁶ Manrique 438; see Villoslada 438; Bulaeus VI 238.

⁴⁷ Bulaeus VI 238.

versity by overstepping its authority. They further decided that the trial should be conducted at the expense of the university and that those found guilty of slander should be banished. Since Cop was a physician, the Faculty of Medicine agreed with this decision out of a sense of loyalty; but it was otherwise with the Faculties of Theology and Canon Law. They took the position that since it was a matter pertaining to faith, no promises could be made with respect to it.

Despite all this, the rector thanked the assembly in a soaring speech and expressed the desire that the slanderers might be sent at once into exile. When he finished speaking, Master de Cornibus rose up and declared that he and his monastery were without blame. None of his religious had brought the matter before Parlement; and a second Franciscan, a master teaching in his monastery, repeated the same.

Meanwhile the time for a decision had come. But while the Philosophical Faculty kept pushing violently for a vote, the Theological Faculty declared that the assembly was not competent in this particular case since it involved a matter of faith. The arguments raged back and forth, the excitement increased, and a general uproar prevailed. At noon the assembly broke up without coming to a conclusion.⁴⁸

On the next day Parlement issued an order asking the rector of Sainte-Barbe to appear before its court. Cop set out accompanied by his beadles and was already near his destination when he was secretly warned that he would be imprisoned. When he learned this, he slipped away from his companions, returned hastily to his house, quickly put together what he most needed, including (by accident?) the seal of the university, and fled.⁴⁹ Calvin, his friend, compromised by the sermon on All Saints' Day, also sought safety in a hurried flight.⁵⁰ When Morin, the assistant chief of police, arrived at the Collège de Fortet with his men, he had to be content with confiscating papers and letters that had been left behind. Their contents compromised many of Calvin's friends.⁵¹ The possessions of the fugitive rector, including his valuable library, were seized by the Treasury.⁵²

On the news of Cop's flight, the Theological Faculty and Parlement wrote letters to the king on November 26, in which they described the dangers impending from the heretics. They complained about the bishop and drew attention to the fact that a member of Parlement had warned the rector as he was on his way to answer its summons and had thus withdrawn him from its arm.⁵³ Parlement further had all the principals of the colleges make an appearance, and it forbade them to use the works of Melancthon, Lefèvre, and Erasmus as textbooks in their schools until the king had arrived in Paris. Latomus, Toussaint, and

⁴⁸ Manrique 438-440; Bulaeus VI 238-239 adds the following from the acts of the Medical Faculty: "Tumultus sane in ea congregatione fuit, horrescoque dum refero."

⁴⁹ Manrique 440; see Costa 196, Teive 87, Bucer in Herminjard III 130; Quicherat I 362; Bourrilly 52; Doumergue I 353-354.

⁵⁰ He remained in hiding in a private house in the suburb of Chaillot; from here he wrote two letters to Daniel in November, 1533, and January, 1534 (*Calvini Opera* X 2, 17 and 34), and he received one while there from Daniel written on December 27, 1533 (*ibid.* 11), as is shown by Dufour, contrary to what earlier editors maintain.

⁵¹ Doumergue I 354-355; Bulaeus VI 239.

⁵² Manrique 440.

⁵³ Bourrilly 54-58.

Danès were, moreover, forbidden to give any Greek lectures for the same duration of time.⁵⁴

Since the rector had vanished and no trace of him could be found, the procurators of the French nation with the great beadle, two beadles of the nation of Picardy, and a secretary in the employ of the Philosophical Faculty went to Sainte-Barbe in the middle of December and asked where he might be staying. The principal replied that the rector had been away for fifteen days and had taken the seal of the university with him. He further informed them that three days before he had received from an unknown hand a sum of money (three hundred pounds and thirty *deniers*) and some keys. These he surrendered to the procurator along with the *Liber jurandorum*; and on December 16 the faculty, as a consequence, proceeded to elect a new rector.⁵⁵

Three days later, on December 19, the king's answer to Parlement came from Lyons. In his letter, dated December 10, Francis I confessed his grief over the fact that the accursed, heretical sect of Luther had taken root and grown in his good city of Paris, the capital of his kingdom and the seat of the chief university of Christendom. He ordered an example to be made of these heretics: they should be relentlessly sought out, and two members of the council should be designated to give their exclusive attention to this. Measures, moreover, should be taken against the preachers who had favored these errors, and a search should be made for the person who had warned Cop and had thus enabled him to flee. Along with the document the king sent two papal bulls against the "accursed heretics."⁵⁶

Parlement immediately set to work.⁵⁷ On the following day, December 20, two Lutherans were arrested, and within a week the prisoners numbered more than fifty. Three hundred crowns were posted as the reward for anyone who would bring in the escaped rector, living or dead, and an edict was passed to the effect that anyone convicted of Lutheran errors by two witnesses should be burned to death.⁵⁸

The police went to the Collège de Dormans-Beauvais and, in compliance with the orders of Parlement, arrested the author of the *Nugae*, Nicholas Bourbon, and seized his possessions: an elegant portable bed, linen shirts (a gift from his mother), two coats, three cassocks, a biretta, a cage with a nightingale, a pair of slippers and gloves, a guitar (a gift of a prominent friend), several old and valuable copper and silver medallions, and books. During his imprisonment these were sold or frittered away.⁵⁹

The grand master, Anne de Montmorency, who was well disposed towards, and sympathetic with, the Catholics, came from Lyons at the end of December. He received the representatives of the Theological Faculty with the greatest kindness;⁶⁰ and at their request in the beginning of January, 1534, he recalled Beda, Picart, and their companions from their exile in Montargis.⁶¹ Picart was received

⁵⁴ Manrique 440-441. On Latomus, whose inaugural speech was printed in Paris the same year, see *Le Collège de France. Livre Jubilaire* (Paris, 1932) 52-53.

⁵⁵ Quicherat I 362 (according to the university register); see Villoslada 438.

⁵⁶ Herminjard III 114; Bourrilly 55-56; Cros, *Doc.* I 350.

⁵⁷ Bourrilly 57-62.

⁵⁸ Bucer to Blarer, about January 13, 1534 (Herminjard III 129-130); Myconius to Bullinger, April 8, 1534 (*ibid.* 160, cf. 146).

⁵⁹ See his letter from London, May 13, 1535 (Haag V 1132).

⁶⁰ Bourrilly 57-62.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 63, n. 6; See Feret II 14, n. 4; Driart 165.

in triumph. The whole city thrilled with joy.⁶² On February 25 he received the degree of doctor of theology⁶³ and immediately began to preach again in Saint-Eustache and to lecture in the Collège de Navarre, while Beda continued his war upon the heretics with his former zeal.⁶⁴

On January 4 the new rector went in procession with the university to the cathedral of Notre-Dame to thank God, the Blessed Virgin, and all the saints for the king's intercession on behalf of the Catholic faith; and on this occasion Master de Cornibus delivered a sermon to the people in which he explained in detail the good intentions of the unjustly slandered prince.⁶⁵

6. THE RETURN OF THE KING (JANUARY-APRIL, 1534)

Recent events seemed to have justified de Cornibus. Francis I had met with Clement VII in Marseilles on October 12, 1533; and on the twenty-eighth of that same month the marriage of the fourteen-year-old countess of Urbino, Catherine de Médicis, the pope's niece, with Henri, the count of Orleans, the fifteen-year-old son of the king, was celebrated with great splendor. The pope himself performed the ceremony and then negotiated with Francis I until his departure on November 12. No one knew what was agreed upon at the time.⁶⁶ But the king's answer to the letter of Parlement gave hopes for the best.

Beda had hardly returned from his banishment when he discovered a new danger to the faith.⁶⁷ At different places in the Latin Quarter there were posters affixed to walls advertising the lectures of the royal professors at the Collège de Cambrai and elsewhere: Guidacerius and Vatable on the Psalms, Paradis on the Proverbs of Solomon, and Danès on one of Aristotle's works. The syndic of the Theological Faculty therefore presented a petition to Parlement in which he earnestly asked the general procurator of the king not to allow any lectures on Sacred Scripture without the express permission of his faculty, especially since the persons in question were grammarians and rhetoricians, and not theologians. Lizet, the president, therefore summoned the professors on January 14, 1534, and arranged for a discussion in his presence among the interested parties on the following day. The meeting took place on January 15.

Beda declared that he had not made the petition to impede the lectures of the royal professors in Greek and Hebrew, whose learning he praised, but because he feared that, being perhaps little experienced in theology, they could bring the Vulgate into discredit, which the Roman Church had approved for eleven hundred years. Moreover, he was of the opinion that the humanists who sought to encroach upon the area of theology and tried to improve the aforementioned text, as did Erasmus, Lefèvre, and others, were doing grave harm to Christendom. When such individuals said that the Greek or Hebrew text was different from the Latin, they could cause doubts in their hearers about the Church's translation; and, in addition to this, the Greek and Hebrew texts came for the most part from Germany, where they had perhaps been altered. This was particularly true

⁶² Doumergue I 240-241.

⁶³ Villoslada 431.

⁶⁴ Erasmus to Cholerus, February 19, 1534: "Bedda cum collegis suis revocatus est ac triumphat serio" (Allen 2906).

⁶⁵ Driart 166.

⁶⁶ Pastor IV 2, 479-482.

⁶⁷ On this opposition to the royal professors, see Bulaeus VI 239-244; Lefranc 143-148 404-405; *Le Collège de France* 42-50; Cros, *Doc.* I 330-337.

of the Hebrew Bibles, for several Jews who had printed them were Lutherans. He then petitioned the court that if it permitted the doctors concerned to continue their lectures on the Greek and Hebrew texts of Scriptures, it should at least forbid them to ridicule the Vulgate or say anything that would promote Lutheranism.

The defender of the accused, Gabriel de Marillac, an advocate of Parlement, then argued that the king had chosen the professors with great care and that he had not been deceived in his choice. Their lectures had drawn vast throngs of hearers, and no one had ever found anything in them that was erroneous or opposed to the faith. The royal professors had their commission from the king, and this was sufficient. An authorization from the Theological Faculty was not necessary. They had been conducting their lectures on the books of Sacred Scripture for four years and neither the syndic nor any of their audience had made any complaints about them before.

To this, Montholon,⁶⁸ the speaker for the opposition, replied that Sacred Scripture has not only a literal but also a mystical sense, which cannot be expounded without theology. If this were not taken into account, a handle could easily be given to the Lutherans, especially in these dangerous times, when the sect, which the king wished to uproot entirely, was secretly creeping around and spreading its poison. This was why Parlement had also forbidden new translations into the vernacular. The syndic did not want to bring the royal professors before the forum of the Theological Faculty, but Parlement might ask the king if he thought them capable of expounding and translating the Sacred Scriptures, and he should forbid them to speak in their lectures against the approved translation of the Church.

The king was not pleased with the measures taken by Parlement against his professors and simply replied that on his return he would do what was necessary.⁶⁹ At the beginning of February, 1534, he returned to Paris after almost a year's absence, and for sixteen days there were feasts and tournaments in the Louvre in honor of his newly married son and his young bride.⁷⁰ But if the Catholics had hoped that they would see him strongly intervene on their behalf, they were deceived.

In his war against the emperor, his mortal enemy, Francis I sought allies wherever he could find them—in the Grand Turk, Henry VIII, the Protestant princes in Germany. With respect to the latter he had duped the pope in Marseilles;⁷¹ and during the course of his return from that city, he had entered into a secret agreement with their leader, the landgrave Philip of Hesse, promising his help for the restoration of the banished Protestant duke, Ulrich of Würtemberg, and had thus surrendered the land to the Reformers.⁷² Francis I, therefore, had to avoid everything that could irritate his German allies. With his entrance

⁶⁸ François de Montholon, a lawyer in Parlement, who founded an annual Mass for his first wife, buried in the chapel of the Collège de Dormans-Beauvais (Coyecque, nn. 890-891).

⁶⁹ Bourrilly 62, n. 2.

⁷⁰ *Journal* 356; Picotté 101-102.

⁷¹ Pastor IV 2, 481.

⁷² *Ibid.* 527 538-539; Bourrilly 65; see the letters of Bucer and Myconius in Herminjard III 131 160.

into Paris, the persecution of heretics ceased. His sister Marguerite again had a free hand, and the young niece of the pope was entirely in her power.⁷³

During the coming Lent of 1534 two individuals whose faith was suspect were accordingly allowed to preach daily, and they attracted great crowds. One of these was the Augustinian monk Elias Courault, whom the Theological Faculty had already censured at the end of 1533 for his activities in the pulpit. He preached in a church near the Louvre (Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois). The other, an Italian Carmelite whom the pope had given as a chaplain to his niece, preached in the Louvre itself. The most prominent men of the city could be seen going daily to their sermons, and among them were the royal professors, Vatable, Toussaint, and Danès, who had been freed from the charges against them and now openly confessed themselves to be "disciples of Christ," as the Lutherans called themselves. The result was that Picart cried out from the pulpit: "It is all over with us. All I see about me are little old women. The men are running off to the Louvre."

The bishop of Paris, himself, Jean du Bellay, and the bishop of Senlis, Guillaume Petit, were known to be friendly to the Lutherans.⁷⁴ Beda had therefore written in despair to the pope that the king favored the heretics, which was only too true. But Clement VII, deceived by Francis I, had immediately permitted the letter to be forwarded to the king. The latter then had Beda's papers in the Collège de Montaigu seized and the zealous, if not too prudent, doctor imprisoned.⁷⁵ Beda was condemned for treason and, to the grief of the Catholics, incarcerated in the bishop's prison under lock and key. Le Clerc and Picart were also imprisoned,⁷⁶ while Nicolas Bourbon, who had been sent to jail because of his heretical poem, "The Hydra with the Tiara," was freed on May 19 at the request of the English king.⁷⁷ Roussel, who had likewise regained his freedom,⁷⁸ confident of the protection of his exalted patroness, dared to mount the pulpit of Notre-Dame on Wednesday of Holy Week (April 1) in order to deliver the usual sermon on the Last Supper. All of Paris was tossing about like the sea before a storm. The great cathedral was filled to capacity. Numerous students were in the crowd, and among these were Laynez and his countryman Olave. When the court preacher of the queen of Navarre tried to begin his sermon, the people cried out in anger: "Down with him!" A hail of stones showered the pulpit. The result was that Morin, the assistant chief of police, had to dash in with his men and hasten the brazen preacher off to safety.⁷⁹

7. THE GROUP OF DISCIPLES (1534)

At the beginning of 1534, at about the same time as Beda and Picart, Favre had also returned to Paris. His mother had died before he reached home, and

⁷³ Bourrilly 65; see the letters of Bucer to Blarer, of February 3, 1534 (Herminjard III 130), and of Myconius to Bullinger, of April 8 (*ibid.* 160-161) and February 28, 1534 (*ibid.* 145-146).

⁷⁴ Myconius to Bullinger, April 8, 1534 (*ibid.* 160-162).

⁷⁵ Jourdain, *Index chron.* 341, n. 1; Journal 377; cf. Sturm to Bucer, March 10, 1535 (Herminjard III 272). Bourrilly 66, n. 1, and Feret II 14-16 give other reasons.

⁷⁶ Driart 166; cf. 171; Bulaeus VI 249; cf. Myconius to Bullinger, April 8, 1534 (Herminjard III 161-162); Cop from Basel to Bucer, April 5, 1534 (*ibid.* 158-159).

⁷⁷ Bourrilly 66.

⁷⁸ Cop to Bucer, Myconius to Bullinger (Herminjard III 158-162).

⁷⁹ *Lainii Mon.* I 225-226; *MI Epp.* V 174-176; Bobadilla 176-177.

he had spent seven months with his father.⁸⁰ He returned with sad news from his homeland. Pierre de la Baume, his bishop, had abandoned his episcopal see of Geneva and had handed it over to the heretics, whose party was supported by the Protestants of Berne.⁸¹ Immediately after his return Favre made the Spiritual Exercises under Iñigo's direction.⁸² These were a series of meditations on the eternal truths and the life of Christ which the master had put together from his own inner experiences in the solitude of Manresa and had subsequently perfected. To make the Exercises, Favre withdrew for thirty days to a house on the left side of the street in the quiet suburb of Saint-Jacques, where his director visited him from time to time to give him the points for his meditations and to furnish him with the necessary instructions. Winter that January was severe. The Seine was so frozen that for eight days heavy wagons could be driven over it.⁸³ But instead of heating his room, Favre slept in a plain shirt on the bare, board floor of his apartment and made his meditations in the snow-covered court. For six full days he ate nothing⁸⁴ and drank no liquids except a little wine which he took according to custom when he received Holy Communion in the neighboring church.⁸⁵ When Iñigo learned of this on one of his visits, he ordered him to kindle a fire and to eat. But Favre was forever freed from the craving for food which had plagued him throughout his earlier years.⁸⁶

During this time the bishop of the capital was absent in Rome dealing with the divorce of Henry VIII.⁸⁷ His brother René and his cousin Louis du Bellay were taking his place as vicars in Paris.⁸⁸ After he had completed the Exercises, Favre was ordained a subdeacon on February 28, 1534, in the magnificent Gothic chapel in the upper story of the bishop's palace near Notre-Dame⁸⁹ by the bishop of Luçon, Milo d'Illiers. On April 4 he received the diaconate from the bishop of Grenoble, Laurentius Alamandis, O.S.A. Finally, on May 30, he was ordained a priest by Bishop Jean du Bellay, who had in the meantime returned from Rome, on the basis of a dimissorial letter from the bishop of Geneva and the title of his patrimony, even though the respective documents had not as yet been received. He celebrated his first Mass on July 22, the feast of the saintly penitent Mary Magdalene, who, as he declared, was "his intercessor and that of all sinners."⁹⁰ In the meantime Favre, Iñigo, Xavier, and Rodrigues, who were all living together, had been joined by three more disciples, all of whom were Spaniards—Layneze, Salmerón, and Bobadilla.

Diego Laynez⁹¹ was short and slight in stature and of an inconspicuous exterior.

⁸⁰ FN I 35.

⁸¹ F. W. Kampschulte, *Johann Calvin, seine Kirche und sein Staat in Genf I* (Leipzig, 1869) 133.

⁸² Favre himself (FN I 34-35) and Ignatius (*ibid.* 704-705) have left an account of the former's Exercises.

⁸³ FN I 704. The Seine was frozen for eight days in January, 1534 (Driart 166); this determines the time of the Exercises.

⁸⁴ FN I 34 704-705.

⁸⁵ The church was nearby (FN I 705); it was probably that of the Carthusians, who were accustomed to give a little wine after Communion (*ibid.* 34).

⁸⁶ FN I 34.

⁸⁷ Feret I 452-454.

⁸⁸ Bourrilly 57.

⁸⁹ Corrozet (ed. 1586) 64-v; Saint-Victor I 241.

⁹⁰ FN I 35-36. On the documents for ordination, see *Fabri Mon* 1-4.

⁹¹ Diego Laynez was at the Council of Trent in 1546, 1551, and 1562 as a papal theologian. In 1552 he became provincial of Italy, in 1556 vicar-general, in 1558 general.

He had a light brown complexion, a large, aquiline nose, bright, shining eyes, a cheerful expression, and, as a rule, a friendly smile upon his lips.⁹² He had been born in 1512 in the town of Almazán in Old Castile of pious, well-to-do parents, who had but one handicap: his father Juan Laynez was a "New Christian." Although the family had been Christian for three generations, it still had Jewish origins.⁹³ After completing his Latin studies in Soria and Sigüenza, Diego had gone to the University of Alcalá, which had been founded and brought to a flourishing state by Cardinal Cisneros. His quick wit and remarkable powers of intuition enabled him to grasp immediately the greatest subtleties. He had an insatiable thirst for knowledge and was very widely read, and he copied out passages from his readings with tireless energy.⁹⁴ He had a great facility for debate, which enabled him to perceive at once the weaknesses of his adversary's position and to attack them with all the fire of his soul.⁹⁵ Because of these natural gifts he easily surpassed his fellow students. On October 26, 1532, he had passed his master's examination with distinction, as is noted in a beautifully illuminated parchment diploma which he preserved as a precious treasure.⁹⁶ He had placed third among twenty-three candidates, although, as his fellow student Salmerón observed, everyone was of the opinion that he had deserved to be first. The examiners had servilely given the first place to a son of the king's treasurer, and the second to another who had taken the course a second time.⁹⁷ Everyone urged him to employ a classical style in the Latin speech which as a new master

He died in 1565. His bibliography is given in Sommervogel IV 1596-1600; IX 579; Rivière 1121. The sources are published in the *Lainii Mon.* 1-8 (letters), the FN I (his life of Ignatius 54-145) and II (his exhortations 127-140), and the *Disputationes Tridentini*, ed. Hartmann Grisar (Oeniponte, 1886); see further *Ep. Salmeronis* II 734-738; Nadal II 45-46; Salmerón, *Commentarii in Evangelicam Historiam* I (Madrid, 1598), praefatio. The principal accounts that have been given of him are Ribadeneyra, *Vida del P. M. Diego Laynez* (Madrid, 1594); Feliciano Cereceda, S.J., *Diego Lainez en la Europa religiosa de su tiempo* (Madrid 1945-1946), 2 vols.; James Brodrick, S.J., *The Progress of the Jesuits* (London, 1946, especially his "Portrait of Laynez," pp. 66-111); *The Origin of the Jesuits* (London, 1945) 228-237; G. Gutiérrez, S.J., *Españoles en Trento* (Valladolid, 1951) 280-291; M. A. Palacín, *Nuevas Investigaciones Historico-Genealogicas referentes al M. R. P. Diego Laynez* (Madrid, 1906); Mario Scaduto, S.J., *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia* III: L'Epoca di Giacomo Lainez. Il Governo, 1556-1565 (Roma, 1964) 123-165.

⁹² "Fue pequeño de cuerpo, de color blanco, aunque un poco amortiguado, de alegre rostro, y con una modesta, y apacible risa en la boca, la nariz larga y aguileña, los ojos grandes y vivos, y muy claros. Fue de delicada complexion, aunque bien compuesto, y ancho de pecho, y no menos de corazón" (Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* 111). Ignatius wrote in 1547 that he would be no good for the position of a patriarch in Abyssinia, for "Maestro Laynez, no teniendo persona, es mucho delicado" (MI *Epp.* I 599).

⁹³ Cereceda I 18-22 (contrary to Palacín).

⁹⁴ Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* 111-112. Salmerón, his friend from his youth, calls him "virum singulari, ac pene divino ingenio praeditum, multarumque disciplinarum eruditione pene ad miraculum instructum, praestantissimoque iudicio cumulatum" (*Commentarii in Ev. Hist.* I, praefatio).

⁹⁵ Brandão wrote to Xavier from Coimbra on November 29, 1551, that Laynez and Salmerón had gone to the Council of Trent, "y destos dos dizen que son dos de los grandes letrados que aora ay en el mundo, y en special el Padre Laines." When the council fathers discussed who could be appointed to confront the heretics in case Bucer or some other Lutheran wanted the questions settled by debate, all were of the opinion that Laynez was best suited for this because of his knowledge and virtue (MX II 162-163). Laynez had already demonstrated his talent for disputation in Paris (Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* 7).

⁹⁶ The original document, published in *Lainii Mon.* VIII 633, is contained in ARSI *Ep. NN.* 89, n. 4.

⁹⁷ *Ep. Salmeronis* II 734.

he had to deliver on this occasion, but he rejected the suggestion, not caring to deck himself out like a crow in the feathers of others. Iñigo had studied at Alcalá for more than a year shortly before Laynez enrolled in the university, and he was still an object of considerable dispute. Some praised him as a saint, but others looked upon him as a heretic who had come into frequent conflict with the Inquisition and the episcopal court. Soon after taking his master's examination, Laynez decided to go to Paris with his young friend Salmerón to continue his studies at the university there and to become acquainted with Iñigo. As luck would have it, he was the first person whom they met on their arrival in the Latin Quarter. They had hardly dismounted at an inn when they encountered him. Iñigo immediately gave them help and advice.⁹⁸ He brought them to the Collège de Sainte-Barbe⁹⁹ and had no difficulty in gradually¹⁰⁰ winning them over to making the Sunday visit to the Carthusians.¹⁰¹

Layneze had passed his youth in innocence and in a hatred of vice. One day during the course of a sermon he heard the words of Christ quoted from the sixteenth chapter of St. Matthew: "If anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." He asked what kind of a cross this might be and came to the conclusion that it must be marriage. He found himself ready to make even this sacrifice, but as he grew older he came to a better understanding and would laugh at his former simplicity.¹⁰² As a student at Alcalá he had already manifested a great love for the poor and had spent more upon them than upon himself.¹⁰³ Since Laynez was naturally pious, Iñigo found him to be, in spite of Xavier's initial raillery, a ready student; and, after he had finished giving the Exercises to Favre, he was able to give them also to him at the end of 1534. Laynez devoted himself to them with his usual enthusiasm. For three days he abstained from all food, and for another fifteen he fasted on bread and water. He wore a hairshirt, disciplined himself frequently, and with tears asked for light and strength; and his prayers were heard. He resolved, as Favre and Xavier had done before him, to follow Christ in the poverty of the cross as a disciple of Iñigo and to make a pilgrimage with him to the Holy Land.¹⁰⁴ Salmerón had made the Exercises at the same time and, moved by Laynez's example, came a week later to the same conclusion.¹⁰⁵

Alonso Salmerón,¹⁰⁶ three years younger than Laynez, was of average height,

⁹⁸ "Y dándole algunos consejos aun para lo temporal, se le hizo amigo" (according to Polanco in FN I 182); cf. Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* 6-7.

⁹⁹ Quicherat says that Laynez lived in the Collège de Lisieux (II 25), and cites Ribadeneyra, *Vita P. Jacobi Layneis* 3, c. 2 as his authority. But there is not a word to support this either in the Latin, or in the Spanish original, or in its sources (*Lainii Mon.* VI 183-184).

¹⁰⁰ "Poco a poco" (Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* 7).

¹⁰¹ We have shown on p. 187, n. 262, that Laynez and Salmerón had already come to Paris at the end of 1532. That Laynez and Salmerón joined Ignatius soon after this is indicated not only by Auger's account of Xavier's ridicule (Tournier 662), but also by Laynez' letter to Ignatius of November 15, 1552, in which he wrote: "Ha casi 20 años que comencé á proponer de servir al Señor en los consejos evangélicos" (*Lainii Mon.* I 217). According to Rodrigues, Laynez' conversion took place "decurso fere anno" after his own (455; Portuguese text: "pouquo menos de hum anno depois de sobredito," that is, after Rodrigues').

¹⁰² Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* 113-114.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 7.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Rodrigues 455 (Portuguese text: "obra de oito dias depois"); FN I 182.

¹⁰⁶ Alonso Salmerón was with Laynez at the Council of Trent in 1546, 1551, and

but well built and enjoyed indestructible good health.¹⁰⁷ His talents for learning were hardly less than those of his older countryman.¹⁰⁸ His lively, piercing eyes shone over a large nose¹⁰⁹ and revealed a cheerful, open soul entirely free from guile.¹¹⁰ He had been born of an Old Christian family on September 6, 1515, in Toledo, the ancient metropolis of Spain. He was named after his father, Alonso Salmerón. Before her marriage his mother had been Marina Díaz. They came from the neighboring villages of Olías and Magán. Even though they were not rich in temporal goods, they let their son, who had an extraordinary thirst for knowledge, attend school in his native city and then sent him off to the University of Alcalá,¹¹¹ where he studied Latin and Greek in the Collegium Trilingue ("Trilingual College") founded in 1528.¹¹² With his fabulous memory,¹¹³ his ringing voice,¹¹⁴ and his natural gift of speech,¹¹⁵ he was, to the astonishment of his fellow students, soon able to deliver speeches in Latin and Greek, and easily won the first prizes.¹¹⁶ Throughout his later life he could quote from memory the Latin and Greek poets whom he had once read.¹¹⁷ Salmerón became a close friend of Laynez and decided to accompany him to Paris by way of Almazán.¹¹⁸ He too hoped to become acquainted with Iñigo, to see new lands, libraries, and schools, and to study philosophy and theology in the renowned university.¹¹⁹

Soon after winning over Laynez and Salmerón, Iñigo gained another disciple through the Exercises. This was Bobadilla del Camino, or simply "Bobadilla," so called from his home in the diocese of Palencia in Old Castile.¹²⁰ His real

1562 as a papal theologian. He was provincial of the Neopolitan province from 1558-1576, and then an author. He died in Naples in 1583. His main works are his *Commentarii* on the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Pauline Epistles, which appeared posthumously in Madrid from 1598-1602 in sixteen folio volumes. His bibliography is given in Sommervogel VII 24-32; Rivière 2273 5257; Uriarte II 3476 3505. The sources are given in *Epistolae Salmeronis* (Matriti, 1906-1907), 2 vols.; the *Commentarii* (Matriti, 1598-1602); the "Oratio Alph. Salmeronis" of 1546 in *Hispanorum Orationes in Concilio Tridentino habitae* I (Matriti, 1668) 199-217; and his *Sermones* (Antverpiae, 1600); also *MI Epp.* I 599; *FN* I 541; *Ep. Mixtae* I 36; Rodrigues 455. He is treated by Ribadeneyra, "Vida y muerte del P. Alonso Salmerón," *Vida del P. Laynez* (Madrid, 1594) 120-152; José Boero S.J., "Vida del Siervo de Dios P. Alonso Salmerón, trad. por el P. Ig. Torres" (Barcelona, 1887, with an appendix of documents); C. Gutierrez S.J., *Espanoles en Trento* (Valladolid, 1951) 54-67; Paul Dudon S.J., "Sur un texte inédit de Salmeron (1562)," *Gregorianum* 11 (1930) 410-417.

¹⁰⁷ "Mediano de cuerpo, y sano, y para los trabajos de robusta complexión" (Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* 129).

¹⁰⁸ *MI Epp.* I 599.

¹⁰⁹ Boero-Torres 190-191.

¹¹⁰ Ignatius once jokingly observed that there were only two hypocrites in the society: Bobadilla and Salmerón (*FN* I 541; cf. Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* 129).

¹¹¹ Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* 120-121.

¹¹² Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* 129; cf. *Ep. Salmeronis* II 820; *Ep. Mixtae* I 36. Polanco states that he studied Latin, Greek, and philosophy in Alcalá (*FN* II 565). According to Boero, Salmerón would have also studied Hebrew in Toledo (Boero-Torres 6).

¹¹³ St. Bernardino Realino said of him: "He had the best memory that I ever saw" (*Ep. Salmeronis* II 818; cf. Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* 129).

¹¹⁴ Boero-Torres 190-191.

¹¹⁵ Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* 129.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* 121.

¹¹⁷ *Ep. Salmeronis* II 818.

¹¹⁸ *MI Epp.* I 153.

¹¹⁹ Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* 121.

¹²⁰ Nicolás Bobadilla was later a tireless worker in Germany 1542-1548, in Valtellina 1558-1559, in Dalmatia 1559-1561, and especially in Italy 1540-1541, 1548-1558, and 1561-1590.

name was Nicolás Alonso y Pérez.¹²¹ He was six years older than Salmerón and of a somewhat uneven and extravagant character. Rough and rustic like his native land, he was opposed to any kind of sham or flattery. His heart was ever on his tongue, and he told everyone to his face exactly what he thought. Of a carefree, jovial, and cheerful disposition, he was always ready for a joke; but he also took the teasing of others without offense. Since he had a quick tongue and liked to speak of himself and his many experiences, he gave frequent occasions for this. Energetic, enthusiastic, argumentative, and prone to gesticulate, he was also at times stiff-necked and opinionated; but for all that he was still good-hearted, self-sacrificing, pious, and full of zeal for his studies and apostolic labors.¹²²

Bobadilla was born about the year 1509¹²³ and had been brought up in the fear of the Lord by his pious but poorly circumstanced parents, Francisco Alonso and Catalina Pérez. When he was nine years old they sent him to the local Latin school. At the age of eleven he received the tonsure and, as he was returning from the ceremony, was almost drowned while crossing a stream. His father died about this time and his widowed mother sent him off to Valladolid, where he studied logic and rhetoric. When he was barely thirteen years old, he passed from there to the University of Alcalá, where he obtained a free place in the Colegio de Santa Liberata (also known as de las Catalinas) as a poor student. Despite his poor health he studied philosophy under the learned Nominalist Jorge de Naveros and received his bachelor's degree on June 20, 1529, by an obviously narrow margin, for he was the fifty-first of fifty-eight candidates. The reason for his lack of success may have been that at this same time he was also attending lectures on the theology of Gabriel Biel given by Dr. Juan de Medina and on that of St. Thomas by Pedro Ciruelo. After passing the required examinations, Bobadilla returned to Valladolid, where he obtained a position as a teacher of logic. At the same time he continued his theological studies under the Thomist Diego de Astudillo, O. P., in the Colegio de San Gregorio.

But he did not remain there. The reputation of the royal professors of Paris had also reached Valladolid; and, since Bobadilla had already completed four years of theology, he decided to go to the French capital to study Latin, Greek, and Hebrew there at the university. After a stormy voyage from San Sebastián to La Rochelle, he arrived penniless in Paris in the fall of 1533,¹²⁴ where the

He died at Loreto in 1590 as the last of the first companions. His bibliography is given in Sommervogel I 553-555, VIII 1850; Uriarte-Lecina I 494-518. The sources are brought together in *Bobadillae Monumenta* (Matriti, 1913, especially his autobiography, pp. 613-633); see also *Ep. Broëti* 455 701; *Ep. Salmeronis* I 20-22 27-28; *Lainii Mon.* VI 100; Nadal II 52-53; EX I 87-88; Polanco (FN I 49, II 171). To these may be added the data in *Rosefius (ARSI; *Vitae* 15) and his *Parisian extracts (*ibid.* *Opp* NN. 52). On him see *Diction. d'Hist. et de Géogr. Ecclés.* 9 (1933) 270-272; Astráin I 76-78, II 12-21; Bernhard Duhr, S.J., *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge* 1 (Freiburg i. Br., 1907) 24-32; Gius. Boero, S.J., *Vita del P. Nicolò Bobadiglia* (Firenze, 1879); P. Dudon, S.J., "Le 'Libellus' du P. Bobadilla sur la Communion Fréquente et Quotidienne," *AHSI* 2 (1933) 258-279.

¹²¹ Autobiography (Bobadilla 613).

¹²² On his character see Bobadilla, pp. VIII-XV and, especially, the opinions of his confreres: Ignatius (FN I 541), Salmerón (*Ep. Salm.* I 20-22), Nadal II 52-53 (too sharp, as Duhr I 32 points out), Xavier (EX I 87-88), Rodrigues (701), Polanco I 49, II 171, Manare (Bobadilla 646-648) and Canisius (Braunsberger I 159).

¹²³ Bobadilla, p. VI.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* 613-614 630-632 561. The time of his arrival in Paris is derived from his statement that he had studied theology for seven years, four of which were in Spain. He therefore studied theology for three years in Paris, from 1533 to 1536 (Bobadilla 560 614).

attention of Iñigo was drawn to him. Iñigo at the time was helping many students with their temporal needs, and through his intercession Bobadilla obtained a regency in philosophy in the Collège de Calvi¹²⁵ near the Sorbonne. This secured support for the newcomer during his studies. Iñigo warned his countryman of the dangers that could threaten his faith from the teachings the royal professors. Bobadilla therefore avoided their lectures and instead, on the advice of his mentor, attended the lectures in scholastic and positive theology given in the Dominican monastery by Doctors Benedictus and Ory and in the Franciscan monastery by Master de Cornibus.¹²⁶ He too, like the others, made the Exercises under Iñigo's direction in this same year of 1534. He passed the time in great austerity in a quiet, private house apart from the college. Simon Rodrigues was the only one who remained in the Collège de Sainte-Barbe during the course of the Spiritual Exercises. He did this so that he would not have to interrupt his studies and because of his poor health. He therefore did not fast as had the others.¹²⁷ With the addition of Bobadilla, the number of Iñigo's disciples had now mounted to six. This was the same number that St. Bruno had when he left Paris according to the painting in the small cloister of the Carthusians.¹²⁸

8. THE TRUE REFORM (JULY, 1534)

On July 3, 1534, Master Francis attended a general assembly of the university in the monastery of the Mathurins¹²⁹ which approved of a series of reforms for the Arts Faculty.

The Latin teachers were told in no uncertain terms that they should instruct their young charges in basic principles, and that they should leave dialectics to the dialecticians. (This was a blow at Latomus.) The dialecticians should exercise their pupils during their first year in the art of disputation and should therefore dictate the questions to be disputed according to the old custom. In logic and physics they should give a running commentary on the text of Aristotle, but still without neglecting the ordinary disputations.

The immoral writings of heretics, which ruin the souls and bodies of the young, must be banned. No one suspected of Lutheranism should be tolerated, and an investigation should be made of the students to see if there were any dissolute individuals who had suspected books or tried to mislead others.

The students should be taught how to behave and how to lead a pure and noble life, and the first duty of the professors should be to encourage them in the service of God. The students, moreover, should be made to assist at Mass and to recite the Office of the Blessed Virgin, the Seven Penitential Psalms and the Litany

According to Polanco, Bobadilla arrived about the time that Laynez and Salmerón joined Ignatius (FN I 182).

¹²⁵ In 1530 Master Pierre Jaquin, regent of philosophy in the Collège de la Marche, had leased the Collège de Calvi for life with the obligation of appointing good regents who were not suspect in the faith (Coyecque, n. 1203).

¹²⁶ According to Polanco (FN I 182) and Bobadilla 614. Ignatius probably procured the place for him in the Collège de Calvi through his friend at the Sorbonne, Dr. Castro.

¹²⁷ According to Ignatius (FN I 704). But the adventure which Rodrigues describes, probably of himself, would indicate that he withdrew for at least a short time into a private house, perhaps to prepare for his general confession (Rodrigues 454-455).

¹²⁸ "E numero tanto sex surrexere, priores / Ingenio et sophia, rebusque ac sanguine prisco." This was written under the picture of their departure from Paris (Berty, *F. Saint-Germain* 366).

¹²⁹ Thurot 22.

of the Saints during the course of the day. The *Salve Regina* and the other prayers which, according to old custom, were sung in the colleges should not be omitted. Special prayers, moreover, should be offered for the king, for the purity of the faith, and for the faithful departed; and care should be taken that students did not bring worldly books to divine service instead of prayer books.

The students should be obliged to speak Latin under the threat of severe punishment. They were not to be permitted to leave a college without being supervised. Their professors should give them a good example and not waste their time in poolrooms or other unseemly places, let alone in bars. They should not wear long beards when giving lectures, nor have their gowns too short, or their sleeves perforated. Instead, they should wear the common garb of regents. In the classrooms they should also wear the usual professorial insignia (*capitia*). Pupils and teachers who had not as yet received their degrees should wear a belt over their scholastic gown to distinguish them from those who had.

An appeal should be made to the secular arm to put an end to speculators who, without any legal title, were holding endowed colleges under constraint and using them for their own advantage. Such men did not even have a university degree and were sheltering vagabonds, murderers, and prostitutes instead of stipendiaries.¹³⁰

While the university was debating the reform of the Arts Faculty, the time had come for the seven companions to determine their own plans for the future. All had made the Exercises with the exception of Master Francis, who had to put them off until later because of his lectures. The higher faculties had already decided that June 29 should be the end of the term,¹³¹ and the increasing heat (the summer of 1534 was hot and dry, and July was the hottest ever)¹³² gradually diminished the interest in teaching and learning in the Arts Faculty as well.¹³³

In the beginning of 1531 the renowned humanist Alberto Pio, prince of Carpi and representative of the pope to the French court, had died and had been buried in the church of the Franciscan monastery in the habit of St. Francis.¹³⁴ In 1526 he had sent to Erasmus a written admonition which appeared in print in Paris in 1529. The latter answered it this same year in a *Responsio*, to which he added "Short and Impromptu Comments on the Criticisms of Beda." Pio had accused Erasmus of preparing the way for Lutheranism through his writings; and Beda had taken advantage of this to note that the representatives of scholastic theology in the Sorbonne, despite the ridicule they received from Erasmus, were the main champions of the Church against the heretics. In answer to this, the accused declared that he only found fault with those theologians who made no pretence of literary culture, knew neither the Fathers nor Scripture, and wasted time on overly refined and useless questions. What had those learned doctors been doing when Luther, like a wild boar, was laying waste the vineyard of the Lord? Where was Beda's zeal? Why with all his learning did he leave the Jews in their blindness,

¹³⁰ Bulaeus VI 247-248.

¹³¹ *Mon. Paed.* 707; cf. *Litt. Quadr.* I 354; *Quicherat* I 85.

¹³² *Driart* 169.

¹³³ Goulet: "Nec tantis sunt lectionibus onerandae mentes juvenum tenerae, maxime aestatis tempore, cum dicat epigrammaticus: 'Aestate pueri si valent, satis discunt'" (*Quicherat* I 331).

¹³⁴ *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 2 (1958) 955; Gonzaga 121. On his elaborate state funeral, see Tuetey 101-103. On his tomb, which was erected in 1535 and is now in the Louvre, see Raunié III 284-285.

the Bohemians and Greeks in their schism, and the Turks and other half-Christians without help?¹³⁵

Erasmus' reproach was not entirely unfounded. With the exception of Picard and de Cornibus, there was hardly one of the learned doctors of the Theological Faculty who busied himself with preaching or the care of souls.¹³⁶

This accusation could not have been made against Iñigo and his disciples. They devoted the hot summer days to long consultations in order to determine their plans for the future in greater detail.¹³⁷

All had decided to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and to follow the example of Christ and His disciples by devoting their whole lives to their own sanctification and the service of souls under the banner of their heavenly King,¹³⁸ and they would do this by renouncing all earthly goods and honors. To be able to do this more perfectly, they decided to postpone their departure from Paris to the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul on January 25, 1537,¹³⁹ to prepare themselves in the meantime for their ordination to the priesthood by completing their theological studies, and to ask God for light and strength in their high and difficult undertaking.¹⁴⁰ They further decided to make a pilgrimage to Rome before their departure from Venice in order to obtain papal permission for the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, as was required by a constitution of Clement V at the Council of Vienne.¹⁴¹

After long discussion¹⁴² it was decided that in order to give greater solemnity to their resolutions they should all take vows of poverty,¹⁴³ chastity,¹⁴⁴ and of making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.¹⁴⁵ After this they would, with God's help, devote themselves with all zeal to the welfare of both believers and nonbelievers

¹³⁵ *Supputationes errorum in censuris Beddae* (Opera 9 [1706] 524).

¹³⁶ See Nadal's apology (FN II 55-56); cf. Cros, *Doc.* I 345; EX I 166-68. He reproached the Parisian doctors in the following terms: "Alii non tacebunt . . . vestrum otium infinitum, vestrum talentum absconditum opponent. Audietis: 'Quid totum diem ociosi sedetis?' . . . Cur in tam infinito Parisiorum populo tam sunt rari doctores qui concionentur et animarum saluti deserviant? Vidimus enim nostra aetate celeberrimum magistrum nostrum Picardum . . . , qui maximo cum spiritus fervore, pietate, fructu Lutetiae concionaretur. Praeterea fere neminem. Et tamen semper videt Lutetia, ut minimum, 100 magistros nostros."

¹³⁷ The best and most detailed report on these deliberations is that of Rodrigues (497 to 459). This is confirmed and amplified by the texts in FN I: Ignatius (480-481), Favre (36-37), Laynez (102 110-112), Polanco (183-185 190 263-264); FN II: Nadal (82-83) and Polanco (567). See moreover the data furnished by Bobadilla 615; Polanco, *Chronicon* I 509; *Polanci Complementa* I 509; *Fabri Mon.* 9-10; *MI Epp.* I 132; and the letter of Gouvea in Costa 321. The main accounts are in Astráin I 78-79; Fouqueray I 46-47; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 61-64; Böhmer 147-150; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 56-60; Brou I 42-44; Dudon 208-210 637-639; see also P. Leturia, *Apuntes Ignacianos* (Madrid, 1930) 71-77, "Génesis de los Ejercicios de S. Ignacio y su influjo en la fundación de la Compañía de Jesús," *AHSI* 10 (1941) 16-59; P. Dudon, "Saint Ignace à Montmartre," *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 15 (1934) 403-407, "S. Ignazio di Loyola e i suoi primi compagni al monte dei martiri," *Civiltà Cattolica* 85, 3 (1934) 393-400.

¹³⁸ *MI: Constitutiones* I 80.

¹³⁹ According to Laynez and Polanco (FN I 102 185).

¹⁴⁰ Rodrigues 457; Bobadilla 615; cf. FN I 110 (Laynez), 264 (Polanco).

¹⁴¹ *Fabri Mon.* 9; FN I 110-112 (Laynez).

¹⁴² Rodrigues 457.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* 457 (Rodrigues); FN I 37 (Favre), 102 110 (Laynez), 183-184 263 (Polanco); *Polanci Complementa* I 509.

¹⁴⁴ Rodrigues 457; FN I 263; *Polanci Compl.* I 509.

¹⁴⁵ Rodrigues 453-457; FN I 37 (Favre), 480 (Ignatius), 185 (Polanco); Bobadilla 615.

through work in hospitals, preaching, and dispensing the sacraments;¹⁴⁶ and they would not accept any stipends for these spiritual ministries. The vow of poverty, however, would only go into effect after the conclusion of their studies, and they could take with them the necessary funds for the trip to the Holy Land. Mass stipends, however, and stole fees, although these were licit in themselves, would be refused so as not to give any opportunity to the heretics for slander.¹⁴⁷

The companions were of different opinions about what they should do after the pilgrimage. Some were eager to remain in the Holy Land if this could be arranged so that they might bring the light of the Gospel to nonbelievers, and, if it was in accordance with God's will, to die there for Christ.¹⁴⁸ Others wanted to return to Europe and help souls there.¹⁴⁹ On one point they were in solid agreement: they were all ready and willing to lay down their lives, if this were necessary, wherever the greater honor of God required it. With respect to the other question of whether they should remain or return, they reached a compromise. They would recommend the matter to God in prayer in Jerusalem, and then, if the majority decided to remain, they would all remain; but if the majority decided to return, then all would return.¹⁵⁰

It was further decided that if in spite of all their efforts they could not find an opportunity to sail for Palestine within one year after their arrival in Venice,¹⁵¹ or if the guardian of the Holy Land would not allow them to remain, as had happened to Iñigo at the time of his pilgrimage,¹⁵² or if the work there proved to be impossible,¹⁵³ or if the majority decided to return, then they would all go to Rome together¹⁵⁴ and put themselves at the disposal of the Holy Father, the Vicar

¹⁴⁶ Rodrigues 457; FN I 480 (Ignatius), 110 (Layne), 263-264 (Polanco).

¹⁴⁷ Rodrigues 457; cf. FN I 37 187.

¹⁴⁸ According to Ignatius, "se non gli fosse data licentia di restare in Hierusalem, ritornarsene a Roma" (FN I 480). Polanco states explicitly that "el intento dellos era, después de visitar aquellos santos lugares, entrar entre los infieles...; que, no le ubiendo salido la primera vez, pretendía el Padre Ignatio provarlo la segunda" (*Polanci Comp.* I 509. Laynez and Xavier also shared his longing. Laynez writes: "de andar a los pies del Papa y demandarle licencia para ir a Hierusalem; y si hubiese oportunidad, para quedar aprovechándonos y a otros fieles o infieles" (FN I 110). We shall take up later Xavier's longing for the missions in Paris.

¹⁴⁹ According, it seems, to Favre, who wrote briefly that they were going to Montmartre, "ut ibi quisque votum faceret, eundi Hierusalem et post reditum inde ponendi se sub obedientia pontificis romani" (FN I 36-37), and Rodrigues, who said that they had decided, "ut sese omnes voto obstringerent paupertatis, castitatis, Hierosolymam navigandi, et post reversionem proximorum salutis procurandae" (Rodrigues 457).

¹⁵⁰ Rodrigues 457-458; FN I 185, II 567. At any rate they wanted to remain "for some time" (*Fabri Mon.* 9; FN I 37; Rodrigues 457).

¹⁵¹ Rodrigues 458; FN I 110-112 185 264 480, II 567; Polanco, *Chron.* I 509.

¹⁵² FN I 480; *Polanci Compl.* I 509.

¹⁵³ FN I 110-112 185; *Polanci Compl.* I 509.

¹⁵⁴ "At si plures in oppositam sententiam eant, omnes simul, nulla facta disiunctione, redeamus" (Rodrigues 458; cf. FN I 185, II 567). Was Ignatius already thinking in Paris about the founding of the Society? Polanco seems to deny it, for he wrote of the first companions: "Viniendo a Roma no traían propósito ninguno de hacer congregación ni forma alguna de religión" (FN I 204; cf. II 504 592). Laynez seems also to have said the same: "Nuestra intención desde Paris aun no era de hacer congregación" (FN I 110). But Nadal wrote of Ignatius: "Quo tempore Lutetiae fuit, animum simul intendit quo spiritus illum ac divina vocatio ducebat, ad Ordinem religiosum instituendum; tametsi singulari animi modestia ducentem spiritum sequebatur, non praeibat. Itaque deducebatur quo nesciebat suaviter, nec enim de Ordinis institutione tunc cogitabat; et tamen pedetentim ad illum et viam muniebat et iter faciebat, quasi sapienter imprudens, in simplicitate cordis sui in Christo" (FN II 252). When Ignatius visited his nephew Beltrán at

of Christ.¹⁵⁵ He knew better than anyone else where there were the greatest needs,¹⁵⁶ and he could send them wherever they could do more for the honor of God and the salvation of souls,¹⁵⁷ since they were ready to go under holy obedience¹⁵⁸ to any region in the world, whether among Christians and unbelievers,¹⁵⁹ and even to places that were subject to the Turks or to other tyrants hostile to Christianity.¹⁶⁰

They then fixed the time and place for the solemn taking of their vows, and decided to prepare themselves for the great day through meditation, fasting and other penitential works, and confession.¹⁶¹

9. MONTMARTRE (THE FEAST OF THE ASSUMPTION, 1534)¹⁶²

It was a mild summer's day,¹⁶³ three weeks after Favre's first Mass, when the seven companions,¹⁶⁴ on the morning of August 15, the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, left the Latin Quarter, passed the cathedral of Notre-Dame, crossed through the market of Les Halles, and went out through the city gate to the hill of Montmartre. This rose up solitary and steep out beyond the city walls. It was crowned by a convent of White Benedictine nuns,¹⁶⁵ whose church had been consecrated by Pope Eugenius III in 1147 with the assistance of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter Venerable, the abbot of Cluny.¹⁶⁶

Loyola in 1535, he spoke to him already of the Society which he hoped to found, as he wrote to him in September, 1539: "Me acuerdo que allá en la tierra me encomendastes os hiciese sauer de la Compañía que esperaba" (MI *Epp.* I 150). Xavier, when he learned of the ratification of the Society of January 15, 1544, wrote that he thanked God, "pues tuvo por bien de manifestar públicamente lo que en occulto a su sirevo Ignatio dió a sentir" (EX I 176). See Dudon 622-625 and Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 182-194.

¹⁵⁵ Rodrigues 457; FN I 37 112 185 480; II 567; Polanco, *Chron.* I 78.

¹⁵⁶ MI *Epp.* I 132; cf. *Fabri Mon.* 498.

¹⁵⁷ FN I 480 (Ignatius) 185, II 567 (Polanco).

¹⁵⁸ "Como fuésemos de diversos reynos y provincias, no sabiendo en qué regiones andar, o para entrar entre fieles o infieles, por no errar, hizimos la tal promesa y voto para que su santidad hiziese nuestra división o misión" (MI *Const.* I 160). Favre declares that they took the vow "ponendi se sub obedientia pontificis romani" (FN I 37); and Laynez does the same (*ibid.* 112).

¹⁵⁹ FN I 264: "Pur dal canto suo erano più inchinati a restar fra li infideli" (Polanco).

¹⁶⁰ Rodrigues 458.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* 459; FN I 102.

¹⁶² The main source for the vows at Montmartre is the account of Rodrigues (458 to 460). See also the accounts of the other members: Favre (FN I 36-38); Laynez (*ibid.* 102-103 110-111), and Bobadilla 615 498 (the answer of the general in Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 64, n. 5) 523-524 602; see also Polanco (FN I 184-185 263-264; II 567) and his *Chronicon* I 421. The principal descriptions are in Astráin I 79-80; Fouqueray I 47-50; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 63-64; Böhmer 147-150; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 58-60; Dudon 209-211. On the site (monastery and chapel), see Paul Lesourd, *La Butte Sacrée: Montmartre* (Paris, 1937); Lebeuf I 440-457; Clair 165-175; Fouqueray I 647-650; Dudon 637-639.

¹⁶³ Driart 171.

¹⁶⁴ "Jaius nondum venerat Lutetiam, Magister Joannes Codure et Paschasius [Broët] nondum erant capti," according to Favre (38-39).

¹⁶⁵ Although Étienne Poncher, the bishop of Paris, prescribed a black habit for the nuns in 1505, the Benedictine nuns of Fountevrault, whom he called to reform the monastery, introduced their white habit, which the sisters did not change again for black until 1612 (Lesourd 119 463, n. 300; cf. 462, n. 286).

¹⁶⁶ Lesourd 53 448, n. 156.

Here there was solitude and quiet.¹⁶⁷ Only the great sails of windmills¹⁶⁸ rising up occasionally in the midst of the vineyards¹⁶⁹ enlivened the scene.

Halfway up the hill, a good hour's distance from Sainte-Barbe and some six hundred yards below the monastery, there was an ancient building with a lantern rising from the roof which was known as "the martyrs' chapel." It was a peaceful and devout little church dedicated to the memory of St. Dionysius, the first bishop of Paris, who, according to tradition, had suffered martyrdom here with his two companions Rusticus and Eleutherius.¹⁷⁰

The chapel belonged to the monastery and was locked as a rule. Mass could only be celebrated there with the permission of the abbess.¹⁷¹ A young sister, the twenty-two-year-old subsacristan, Perette Rouillard, was taking her turn as portress when the companions came to the monastery for the key.¹⁷²

The shrine was highly venerated. St. Thomas of Canterbury had prayed here a year before his own martyr's death.¹⁷³ In 1518 King Francis I had had a Mass celebrated here when the newly born crown prince was deathly ill, and it was here that all the parishes of the capital had come in procession when the king himself was taken prisoner in 1525.¹⁷⁴

Through later additions the chapel had been divided into an upper and a

¹⁶⁷ Rodrigues 459.

¹⁶⁸ See the city plans in Braun (1530) and Truschet (1551).

¹⁶⁹ On the eve of the Assumption, 1566, Rodrigues meditated on "lo que en aquel día avíamos pasado en Monmartre y en sus viñas" (*Ep. Broëti* 734). The vineyard near the martyrs' chapel is mentioned already in 1133 (Lesourd 446, n. 1444).

¹⁷⁰ "Sacellum illud D. Dionysii, quod in medio monte Martyrum situm est," writes Rodrigues clearly (459). On Truschet's map it is called "Chapelle des Martirs." In 1549 the Parisian Jesuits went to "Montem Martyrum, ubi caput Divi Dionysii conscissum est" (Polanco, *Chron.* I 421). The church of the Auxiliatrices, Rue Antoinette 9, marks the site of the former chapel. Favre states that they went "ad Sanctam Mariam, quae Mons Martyrum dicitur" (FN I 56); Laynez declares that they took the vows "en Sancta Maria de Monte Martyrum" (*ibid.* 102); the same is said by Polanco, who follows him (*ibid.* 184, II 567). The three authors just mentioned therefore mean the martyrs' chapel and not, as Böhmer (147) thinks, the abbey church, a double church, one being dedicated to St. Peter, the other to St. Dionysius. Polanco states explicitly that it was the chapel where St. Dionysius was beheaded, and Oliver Manare, who entered the Society in Paris in 1551 (Polanco, *Chron.* II 292), says the same (MI *Scripta* I 523). An altar piece portraying the Pietà, an *ex-voto* offering of the abbot Guillaume Lévêque of the year 1410, which was in the sacristy of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, the monastery of the founder, at the time of the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, and which is now in the Louvre (picture in Lesourd 16), represents the abbey and the Louvre in the foreground and Montmartre with the martyrs' chapel and the Benedictine convent in back. According to Clair (171-172) this was in the martyrs' chapel in 1534. He was of the opinion that it had probably been dedicated to Mary by St. Dionysius himself (169), and he found a confirmation of this in Favre's *Memoriale*, who on the octave of the Assumption, 1542, meditated on the sorrows of Mary (*Fabri Mon.* 541). Clair cites Albert Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français* III 13, as the source for his assertion. He means Alexandre Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français* 3 (Paris, 1802) 13-20, where the picture is given and described under n. 556. On the origin of the painting, however, Lenoir cites only the chronicle of the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés of 1624, which says: "In the sacristy may be seen an old painting, executed on wood, which was once use in a chapel (*dans quelque chapelle*)." There is thus no mention of the martyrs' chapel. On the picture see also Albert Lenoir, *Statistique monumentale de Paris* I (Paris, 1867) 77-78.

¹⁷¹ Clair 170-171; Lesourd 170-171 450, n. 166; Lebeuf I 451.

¹⁷² Fouqueray I 47-48. The name has been preserved in the still extant formula of profession.

¹⁷³ Lesourd 475, n. 407.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 169.

lower church. In the small, dark lower church¹⁷⁵ the companions were left to themselves.¹⁷⁶ There were no strangers to disturb their devotion.¹⁷⁷ Three nations were represented in the small group, which consisted of five Spaniards (two Basques and three Castilians), one Portuguese, and one Savoyard. They were of different ages: Iñigo was forty-three, Favre and Xavier twenty-eight, Bobadilla twenty-five, Rodrigues twenty-four, Laynez twenty-two, and Salmerón only nineteen years old. They were also of different temperaments. There was the self-possessed leader Iñigo, the quiet Favre, the fiery Xavier, the delicate Rodrigues, the rough Bobadilla, the keen Laynez, and the cheerful, young Salmerón; but all were united in the same ideal of following Christ.

Favre, the only priest among them, celebrated the Mass.¹⁷⁸

"Let us all rejoice in the Lord!" began the Introit, "for we are celebrating a feast in honor of the most Blessed Virgin Mary, at whose Assumption the angels rejoice and praise the Son of God. My heart has sent forth a goodly word: I speak of my works to the King."

During the Epistle, which sang the praises of the Mother of God, the queen of this small group, they recalled their year of searching and the discovery of their goal: "In all things I sought rest, and I shall abide in the inheritance of the Lord. Then the Creator of all things commanded and said to me: "Let thy dwelling be in Jacob, and thy inheritance in Israel, and take root in my elect.... And so I was established in Sion, and in the holy city likewise I rested, and my power was in Jerusalem." The Gospel described the commotion of the world and the peace of the true disciples of the Lord; and that which the divine Master said of Mary Magdalene was applicable also to them: "Martha, Martha, thou art anxious and troubled about many things, and yet only one thing is needful. Mary has chosen the best part, and it will not be taken away from her."

After the consecration, when it was time for the Communion, Favre turned to his companions, holding the sacred Host above the paten; and then each one of the six in turn kneeling in his own place recited the formula of the vows in a loud voice which could be understood by all. They thus made their vows to the Lord of poverty, chastity, and of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and, in case they returned from there, of obedience to the Holy Father, the Vicar of Christ, for any mission he might choose for them. After the last had pronounced his vows,

¹⁷⁵ It was fifty-five feet long and lay over the crypt, which was only discovered in 1611 (Fouqueray I 648); it was dark (Clair 173).

¹⁷⁶ Favre mentions those who took part by name (FN I 37-38); see Clair 439-440 on the ambiguous passage in Rodrigues (459), where he simply intends to say that Ignatius was not present at the renewal of vows in 1535 and 1536. The Portuguese text of Rodrigues reads: "A este voto, que depois se fez per duas vezes em o mesmo dia e annos seguintes e no mesmo lugar e capela ou ermida de S. Dinis, não se achou presente o P. Ignacio por certos respeitos."

¹⁷⁷ Rodrigues 459.

¹⁷⁸ Was the Mass offered according to the Roman, the Parisian, or the Benedictine missal? We cite it from parts that were common to all. Favre's missal, which was destroyed in 1931 along with the professed house in Madrid by arsonists protected by the anticlerical regime, followed the Roman rite. On the title page was printed: *Missale secundum morem sancte romane ecclesie*, with the further information: *Explicit missale secundum morem romane curie, Venetiis per Bonetum Locatellum presbyterum diligenter impressum, 1501*. But we do not know if Favre had it at this time or used it on this occasion. In Paris, for example, there was published the *Missale ad sacrosancte Romane ecclesie usum* (1518) with the Mass as it was said during the next four centuries, and the *Missale ad consuetudinem ecclesie Parisiensis* (1516), which had a sequence and differed in other respects from the Roman text as well.

Favre gave Holy Communion to them all. He then returned to the altar, pronounced the same vow formula in a loud voice and received the Body and the Blood of the Lord.¹⁷⁹

After making their thanksgiving, the seven companions climbed up the hill to the monastery, returned the key, and descended the northwest slope to the neighboring well of St. Dionysius,¹⁸⁰ where the martyr, according to tradition, had carried his head after his execution and washed it. In this way he had bestowed upon these waters the power to cure fevers. All this was brought to mind by an ancient stone statue representing the saint vested for Mass with his head in his hands. Here in the midst of this quiet solitude surrounded by vineyards from which one's gaze could sweep far out over the plains north of Paris to Saint-Denis and Argenteuil and still farther beyond,¹⁸¹ the small group ate the lunch which they had brought with them¹⁸² and spent the rest of the day in intimate conversation, speaking of their great longing to serve their Lord King and His Blessed Mother and to labor for the souls of others.

The sun was already setting in the west when the seven companions began their trip home over the hill.¹⁸³ As they descended the slope the city of Paris lay at their feet—a broad sea of houses with walls, towers, churches, and the Seine running through their midst, and the whole scene dominated by the black, truncated towers of Notre-Dame. The sky was growing dark, the evening star was coming out, within their hearts were ringing the bells of the cathedral, where that day, during the Sequence of the Mass of the Assumption, there had been sung: "Let the faithful choir joyfully exult, alleluia! The couch of a virgin has sent forth the King of Kings, a wondrous thing. The Angel of the Council is born of a virgin, the Sun from a star, a Sun that knows no setting, a Star that is always beaming, always clear."¹⁸⁴

A star of Jacob had entered the hearts of the seven Parisian students, and the remembrance of these hours of consecration would never depart from them.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁹ Rodrigues 459. Polanco gives the content of the vows (FN II 567); the precise formula is not known. Manare's contention that the companions took only the vows of poverty and chastity at Montmartre, and those of the pilgrimage and of obedience to the pope at Notre-Dame-des-Champs (MI *Scripti* I 523-524), is erroneous.

¹⁸⁰ It was to be found on what is now a dead-end street, the *Impasse Girardon* (Rue Girardon 5), and it should not be confused with the neighboring Fontaine du Buc, which has also disappeared (Rocheude 344).

¹⁸¹ On the well see Rodrigues 459-460; Clair 172; Fouqueray I 49; Lesourd 30. According to Lesourd it lay in the center of a woods, and a footpath led to it.

¹⁸² Astráin says incorrectly: "una refección harto frugal, pues se redujó á pan y agua" (I 80). Laynez simply says: "quedandonos después alli a comer en caridad" (FN I 102).

¹⁸³ Rodrigues 459-460.

¹⁸⁴ The Sequence is found in the Mass for the feast of the Assumption in the *Missale ad consuetudinem ecclesie Parisiensis* (Paris, 1516) f. 185v. The introduction reads as follows: "Laetabundus exultet fidelis chorus, Alleluia. / Regem regum Intactae profudit thorus; res miranda. / Angelus consilii natus est de Virgine, sol de stella. / Sol occasum nesciens, stella semper rutilans, semper clara."

¹⁸⁵ Bobadilla designates this day as the day on which the Society was founded (Bobadilla 498; cf. 523-524 602); Rodrigues does the same (547; cf. 459).

10. THE EXERCISES (SEPTEMBER, 1534)¹⁸⁶

During the peaceful holidays after the conclusion of his three and one-half years of teaching philosophy in the Collège de Beauvais, Master Francis now at last found the leisure to make the Spiritual Exercises under Iñigo's direction, the last of the companions to do so.¹⁸⁷ For thirty days¹⁸⁸ he withdrew into a solitary house¹⁸⁹ to be alone with God. The master of the Exercises¹⁹⁰ visited him from time to time, and gave him the material for his meditations¹⁹¹ and instructions on the daily order, the special practices, the general and particular examinations of conscience,¹⁹² and the general confession. He also explained to him the three manners of prayer,¹⁹³ the rules for the discernment of spirits,¹⁹⁴ on scruples,¹⁹⁵ on penance,¹⁹⁶ on eating and drinking,¹⁹⁷ and so forth. He also helped him in word and deed with any doubts and difficulties that may have arisen.¹⁹⁸ Now and then one of the other companions also came to visit him.¹⁹⁹ He attended Mass in the neighboring church and also received Holy Communion²⁰⁰ on Sundays and assisted at Vespers.²⁰¹

The Exercises were divided into four so-called "weeks," and a full hour was devoted to meditation five times a day. At the very beginning of the manuscript²⁰²

¹⁸⁶ The Exercises have been critically edited in the MI *Exercitia* (Matriti, 1919). This is the edition that we cite. The history of their development has been written by A. Codina, their editor, in *Los Orígenes de los Ejercicios espirituales de San Ignacio de Loyola. Estudio histórico* (Barcelona, 1926). This has been restudied in a more definitive manner by P. Leturia, S.J., in "Génesis de los Ejercicios de S. Ignacio y su influjo en la fundación de la Compañía de Jesús (1521-1540)," *AHSI* 10 (1941) 16-59, and by H. Pinard de la Boullaye, S.J., *Les Etapes de rédaction des Exercices de S. Ignace* (Paris, 1945), who also edited a valuable new text, the *Codex Martinensis*, which goes back to the Exercises which Favre gave at Louvain in 1543 ("Un nouveau texte du B. Pierre Lefèvre sur les Exercices de St. Ignace," *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 22 [1946] 253-275). The result of his investigations is that the text, as presented to Xavier for his Exercises, apart from incidental, and for the most part stylistic, changes, is the same as the one we have today, that is, St. Ignatius' Spanish autograph of 1541 and the *versio prima* of that same year. We enter into Xavier's Exercises in some detail and reconstruct them as it were from his own letters and instructions, for the book of the Exercises became his book of life, and reminiscences of it appear again and again in his letters and instructions. Ignatius said specifically that Favre and Xavier had been won for the Society through the Exercises (FN I 476; cf. II 565 and Nadal IV 666-677). On Xavier and the Exercises see also Ignacio Iparraguirre, S.J., *Práctica de los Ejercicios de San Ignacio de Loyola en vida de su autor (1522-1556)* (Bilbao-Roma, 1946).

¹⁸⁷ FN I 36 610. This was so, Ignatius says, "porque lefa artes." Brodrick errs in maintaining that Ignatius had postponed Xavier's Exercises because he feared "that his ardour would outrun his discretion," since his teaching would have left him time for them (45). This was not the case in Paris.

¹⁸⁸ According to Ignatius the Exercises should last about thirty days (*Ex.* 228; cf. 27 610 908 951 and *Ex.* II 111 16 3); Brou wrongly maintains that Favre made the Exercises in forty days and cites the *Memoriale* as his authority, but there is nothing in it to this effect (I 42). It is absolutely unintelligible to us how Eduardo Fabregat could say at the Congress of Religious at Rome in 1950 that Ignatius sent Xavier to India "sin haberle dado enteros los Exercitios" (*Sacra Congregatio de Religiosis, Series: "Congressus et cursus speciales."* *Acta et Documenta Congressus Generalis de statibus perfectionis, Romae 1950*, vol. 3 [Romae, 1953] 629).

¹⁸⁹ Rodrigues 454; FN I 704; cf. *Ex.* 246-248.

¹⁹⁰ Ignatius was accustomed to visit his exercitants twice a day during the first week, but otherwise only once a day, unless more frequent visits were necessary (for example, at the time of the election or for some other reason—*Ex.* 1106 908 961). Frequently even the daily visit was omitted (*ibid.* 1021 1128). The latter gave rise to Favre's (FN I 704-705) and to Xavier's acts of imprudence (see below).

¹⁹¹ *Annotatio prima* (*Ex.* 224).

¹⁹² *Ex.* 252-272; cf. EX I 454-455, II 97 164.

which he wrote at Manresa, and which he completed at Paris through new meditations and additions,²⁰³ St. Ignatius defined these Exercises in the following terms: "By 'Spiritual Exercises' are meant every method of examination of conscience, of meditation, of contemplation, of vocal and mental prayer, and of other spiritual activities ... that prepare and dispose the soul to rid itself of all inordinate attachments, and, after their removal, to seek and find the will of God in the disposition of one's life for the salvation of one's soul."²⁰⁴ During thirty days of quiet retreat far from the turmoil of the world, the exercitant should let the everlasting truths work upon him. He should interiorly experience and relish the secrets of the life and sufferings of Christ.²⁰⁵ He should enter into these Exercises with courage and generosity towards his Creator, ready for anything that God, his Lord, might demand of him.²⁰⁶ He has to learn how to distinguish between the influence of the good and the evil spirits in the changing moods of his soul. He has to learn how to behave in consolation, when the soul is inflamed with love for its Creator and Lord and can no longer love anything created outside of Him,²⁰⁷ when he sheds tears of repentance for his sins and of compassion for the sufferings of Christ, when faith, hope, and charity draw his soul heavenwards in the peace of the Lord. He must also learn how to act in desolation, when God seems to abandon him to punish him for his tepidity, to test the strength and disinterestedness of his love, and to reveal to him his weakness.²⁰⁸ The soul is then in darkness, is troubled and drawn towards earthly things. It is sad, sluggish and lukewarm, without faith, hope, and love;²⁰⁹ and it feels as if it were separated from its Creator. At such a time of trial one must remain steadfast and not give up the battle. Instead, one must redouble one's prayers and penances, trusting in God's help, and open up one's soul to one's director;²¹⁰

¹⁹³ *Ex.* 434-448.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 510-536; cf. Annot. 6-10 (*Ex.* 228-232).

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 542-548.

¹⁹⁶ First week, Additio 10 (*ibid.* 306-310).

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 410-416.

¹⁹⁸ Annot. 17-20 (*ibid.* 240-248).

¹⁹⁹ "Saepius cum Ignatio, rarius cum aliis sociis communicans" (Rodrigues 454).

²⁰⁰ See Favre's Exercises (FN I 34).

²⁰¹ Annot. 20 (*Ex.* 246-248).

²⁰² *Ex.* 250.

²⁰³ Pinard de la Boullaye 6 36.

²⁰⁴ Annot. 1: "disponer para quitar de sí las affectiones desordenadas, buscar la voluntad divina" (*Ex.* 224); "disponer" (EX I 166, II 183 194), "desordenadas affectiones" (*ibid.* I 40 127 167, II 193 195), "conocer la voluntad divina" (*ibid.* I 167), "se despusiesen en buscar a Dios" (*ibid.* II 194).

²⁰⁵ Annot. 2: "sentir y gustar" (*Ex.* 226); "gustan de la cruz" (EX I 127), "sentir la pasión de Christo" (*ibid.* II 199).

²⁰⁶ Annot. 5: "entrar con grande ánimo y liberalidad" (*Ex.* 228); "se dispone a poco" (EX II 183), "os dispongáis para mucho" (*ibid.* 193).

²⁰⁷ "Inflamarse en amor de su Criador, quando ninguna cosa criada puede amar en sí, sino en el Criador de todas ellas" (*Ex.* 514); "los enflamasse en el amor de Dios" (EX I 136), "sperando en el Criador de todas las cosas" (*ibid.* 327).

²⁰⁸ "Por provarnos para cuánto somos" (*Ex.* 520); "en ver para cuánto sois" (EX II 199).

²⁰⁹ "Llama consolación todo ahumento de esperanza, fee y charidad" (*Ex.* 514); "ainda que toda a fee, esperança, confiança seja dom de Dios" (EX II 150).

²¹⁰ *Ex.* 516-520. Annot. 17 reads as follows: "Mucho aprovecha, el que da los exercicios ser informado fielmente de las varias agitaciones y pensamientos, que los varios spiritus le traen" (*ibid.* 240); "Trabalhai, pera ajudar os exercitantes em espirito, que vos descubirão suas tentações" (EX II 94-95).

for the devil, the enemy of the human race,²¹¹ is like a woman boundless in her rage towards one who fears her, but cowardly where she finds resistance.²¹² He is like a seducer whose plan becomes ineffectual as soon as a wife reveals his words to her husband, or a daughter to her father.²¹³ He is like a military leader who looks all about for the weakest side of a citadel in order to attack it there and thus take and plunder the fortress.²¹⁴ Therefore it behooves one to guard oneself against his attacks even when he clothes himself as an angel of light²¹⁵ in order to deprive a soul gradually of its peace under the appearance of good and confuse it and thus win it over to his deceits and evil intentions. And the exercitant does not have to fight simply against the temptations of the enemy. If he tries to induce him to shorten the hour of meditation, then he should move against his adversary and meditate even longer so as not only to turn aside the attack but also to strike him to the ground,²¹⁶ for the Exercises should teach one how to overcome oneself, as is already indicated in their title.²¹⁷

A principal weapon in the battle is prayer. An exercitant must therefore during the free time that is left over from his meditations make use of three kinds of prayer. The first consists in taking each of the Ten Commandments, the seven capital sins, the three powers of the soul, and the five senses and asking oneself for the space of three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys (or, if necessary, even longer) how one has acted in their regard in the service of God so that in the future one may with His help avoid possible failings.²¹⁸ In the second manner of prayer one takes the common prayers, the Our Father, Hail Mary, Apostles' Creed, *Anima Christi*, and *Salve Regina*, and meditates upon them slowly word by word for an hour or for as long as one finds in them spiritual food, inspiration, comparisons, light, and consolation. And this exercise is continued from day to day until one has gone through all the prayers. And, finally, in the third type of prayer, one recites these same prayers, but pauses for only an instant between the individual words and directs the gaze of the soul on high to the person addressed or to one's own nothingness. In this way one will acquire a habit and will become accustomed to reciting these prayers devoutly and will avoid saying them mechanically and without thought.²¹⁹

²¹¹ "El enemigo de natura humana" (Ex. 526); "O inimigo da humana natureza" (EX I 466).

²¹² "Es proprio del enemigo enflaquezarse y perder ánimo" (Ex. 524); "El demonio quán confuso y flaco quedaría en verse vencido!" (EX II 184).

²¹³ "Descubre sus vanas palabras y yntención depravada" (Ex. 524): "Todas as tentaçõens as descobrireis ao Padre... o inimigo perde as forças quando vê que suas tentaçõens vão descobrindo e que não se cumpre sua danada intenção" (EX II 165).

²¹⁴ Ex. 526.

²¹⁵ "Ángel malo, que se forma sub angelo lucis" (Ex. 530); "Lucifer, trasfigurándose en ángel de luz" (EX II 196).

²¹⁶ Annot. 13 (Ex. 234).

²¹⁷ "Exercicios espirituales para vencer a sí mismo" (Ex. 250); "Muytas vezes ouvyr dizer ao nosso bemaventurado Padre Ignatio que os que da nossa Companhia avião de ser, avião de trabalhar muyto pera se vencerem" (EX II 150).

²¹⁸ Ex. 434-438. According to the statements of Fr. Gil Gonzalez, Xavier was later accustomed to give as a penance to those who went to confession to him the practice for a few days of the "modi di orare" of the Exercises, as Fr. Bernardino Rossignoli wrote from Rome to Fr. Filippo Rinaldi in 1599 (ARSI: *Ital.* 162, 70; cf. Ex. 1173). This means especially the first mode of prayer, which is found in the Christian rule of life which Xavier used to recommend to his penitents (EX I 458 449-450).

²¹⁹ Ex. 438-448.

Inigo posed the great and serious question about man's ultimate good at the beginning of the Exercises before taking up those of the first week, and he made it the foundation for all that follows: "Man was created to praise, reverence, and serve God our Lord, and by this means to save his soul. The other things on the face of the earth were created for man to help him in attaining the end for which he was created. Hence, man is to make use of them in as far as they help him in the attainment of his end, and he must rid himself of them in as far as they prove a hindrance to him. Therefore, we must make ourselves indifferent to all created things, as far as we are allowed free choice and are not under any prohibition. Consequently, as far as we are concerned, we should not prefer health to sickness, riches to poverty, honor to dishonor, a long life to a short life; and the same holds for all other things. Our one desire and choice should be what is more conducive to the end for which we were created."²²⁰

This is followed by the meditations of the first week²²¹ on man's turning away from his final goal through sin. The first meditation is made at midnight. The exercitant rises and, as he is dressing, imagines himself as a knight standing before the eyes of his king and his whole court in shame and confusion because he has in the past injured his lord from whom he has received so many favors and benefits.²²² The exercitant also prays for shame for his own sins when he next meditates upon the threefold sin: the fall and punishment of the angels, of our first parents, and of many an individual who has been eternally condemned by his just Creator for a single mortal sin or for fewer sins than one has oneself committed.²²³

On the next morning this is followed by two meditations on personal sins. While dressing himself, the exercitant imagines that he is being brought in chains before his high and everlasting Judge, like a criminal that is being led in chains from prison to his death.²²⁴ The grace which he asks for is a deep sorrow and tears for his sins.²²⁵ Then he reviews his former life—the places where he has lived, the persons with whom he has associated, the works which he has performed—so that he may know the extent of his sins. Then he reflects upon their loathsomeness in themselves, how they make the soul of the sinner resemble a foul abscess from which so many sins and such revolting poisons flow.²²⁶ Then he weighs their seriousness by reflecting on man's wretchedness and the Creator's greatness and goodness, and he brings both of these meditations to a conclusion with a colloquy with his crucified Lord,²²⁷ who suffered death to save him from everlasting death. He asks himself: "What have I done for Christ? What am I doing for Christ? What ought I to do for Christ?"

²²⁰ "El hombre es criado para alabar a Dios, y mediante esto salvar su ánima" (*Ex.* 250); "às almas . . . aquele que as criou pera lovarem o Criador e salvarem-se" (EX II 95).

²²¹ Xavier frequently gave the first week (EX I 67, II 89 91 218 432), and he suggested to Father Barzaeus that he give his penitents some meditations from it as a preparation for their general confession (*ibid.* II 97).

²²² *Ex.* 300.

²²³ *Ex.* 282-284; EX I 355-357.

²²⁴ *Ex.* 300.

²²⁵ "Pedir crescido y yntenso dolor y lágrimas" (*Ex.* 284); "Para que achem contrição, dor, lagrimas e pezar de ver sua perdição" (EX II 97 451).

²²⁶ *Ex.* 386. The description reminds one of Luther, who compared the University of Paris with such an abscess (see above, p. 119).

²²⁷ *Ex.* 282. Xavier advised Barzaeus, in his preaching, for example, even on the Lord's Passion to speak « à maneira de colloquios de hum peccador com Deus" (EX II 88).

This is followed by two repetitions of the same meditations, one before and one after the noon meal; and both are ended with a threefold colloquy to the Mother of God, to Christ, and to the Eternal Father, in which one asks for the grace to understand the disorder of one's life and to flee from the vanity of the world.²²⁸ Before the evening meal one makes fifth meditation on hell so that if through one's own fault one's love should ever become so cold that it no longer suffices to keep one from sin in the hour of temptation, then at least the fear of everlasting torments may preserve one from them.²²⁹

If the exercitant has obtained a clear knowledge of his sins through the meditations of the first week and has been reconciled with his Creator through earnest penance and a general confession and has separated himself from his past and awakened within himself an earnest desire to make amends to the Lord in the future through redoubled zeal, then Iñigo places before his eyes at the beginning of the second week a new scene in the meditation on the Kingdom of Christ. An ideal king²³⁰ chosen by God, whom all Christian princes and people obey, calls his subjects to battle so that they may conquer the lands of the infidels. He will himself march with them and share everything with them—food and drink, clothing and lodging, work during the day and watching at night, and in the end victory and its rewards. If one remains behind and does not leave all things at once to follow his king, must he not be looked upon by the whole world as a cowardly and ignoble knight? Iñigo then places Christ, the everlasting King before the exercitant and shows him how He invites the whole world and each one in particular to follow Him in battle so that whoever follows Him in His toils may also follow Him in His glory. Certainly everyone who has judgment and reason will accept His invitation. But should not a true disciple desire to do more than the ordinary run of men? Should he not as a brave knight desire to distinguish himself through great deeds in the service of his King and sacrifice everything for Him in the war against sensuality and carnal and wordly love? And should he not follow Him as closely as possible in poverty and disgrace wherever the greater service of his Lord called him, provided that his King should deign to choose him for it?²³¹

The exercitant then lets the life of Christ, his King and Leader, pass before him in a visible and tangible way, as if he were actually present at the various mysteries. He emerges himself in them and lets them work upon him. He contemplates the incarnation at Nazareth, the visitation of the Blessed Virgin to her cousin Elizabeth, the birth of Christ in the stable at Bethlehem, the adoration of the shepherds, the circumcision, the call of the three kings, the presentation in the temple, the flight into Egypt, the hidden life in the poor home at Nazareth, and how Christ, when He was twelve years old, left His father and mother for the first time in order to carry out His office as teacher in the temple despite

²²⁸ *Ex.* 290-292; cf. EX I 393-394, II 206-207.

²²⁹ *Ex.* 294-298; cf. EX II 451 96.

²³⁰ *Ex.* 314-321.

²³¹ "Los que más se querrán señalar en todo servitio de su rey eterno, haziendo contra su amor carnal y mundano, harán oblaciones de mayor stima: . . . solo que sea vuestro mayor servitio" (*Ex.* 318-320); "Pues os dessáis señalar en servir a Christo" (EX II 194 197 199), "Não sereis tão combatido do inimigo e da carne, em hir contra elles" (*ibid.* 164), "haziendo oblación de sus vidas" (*ibid.* 191), "hemos de hir a todas as partes, donde mais podemos servir a Deos" (*ibid.* I 284).

the sorrow His loss caused His parents.²³² Five times a day the exercitant meditates on these mysteries for a full hour, and each time he asks his Lord in them for the grace to know Him better, to love Him more intimately, and to follow Him more closely.

Then the scene is suddenly changed. Iñigo sets two military camps²³³ before the eyes of the retreatant—Babylon and Jerusalem, Lucifer and Christ. He sees the proud spirit of darkness and confusion tyrannically sitting on his great throne of fire and smoke, and then the lowly, lovable, and true King in the land of peace. Both are enlisting the souls of men. Lucifer, the mortal enemy of the human race, is striving to bring men to a desire for wealth, then to worldly honors, and finally to a proud disdain of the Creator and to all other vices. Christ the Lord, on the other hand, calls men to holy poverty and from this to a love of contempt and suffering and thus, finally, to a humble subjection to God and to every virtue. This meditation takes place at midnight, and the exercitant must repeat it three times during the day. In the evening he is confronted with a second scene which places him in the presence of God and the whole court of heaven. A false attachment to an earthly good, ten thousand ducats, holds three classes of men²³⁴ fast in its bonds and robs them of their peace, since they have not acquired the money with a completely right intention. They are all three looking for peace in God, but their ways of attaining it are different. The first class keeps delaying and takes no means until death catches up with them. Although the second class does something, it never takes the decisive step.²³⁵ The third class, however, is composed of men who know what they want. They choose the surest means to their goal and attain peace. The exercitant ends up each one of these meditations with a triple colloquy to the Mother of God, to Christ, and to the Eternal Father in order to obtain the grace to be enrolled under the banner of Christ in perfect poverty and in the bearing of insults and injuries so that he may imitate his King more perfectly in this.²³⁶ And he constantly repeats the same prayer as he continues his meditations on the public life of his Lord: His departure from His beloved Mother in Nazareth, His baptism in the Jordan, His temptations in the wilderness, the call of His apostles from a lowly position to one of such high dignity, the eight beatitudes, the walking upon the waters, the cleansing of the temple, the resurrection of Lazarus, and the triumphal entry of the Prince of Peace into the Holy City.²³⁷

During these meditations, the exercitant earnestly asks for the highest degree of humility from the infinite majesty of God. He wishes to become so humble that he will never even remotely think of committing a venial sin, not to mention a mortal one, not even if he were offered all the goods of the world to do so or be threatened with a loss of life for failing to comply. He wishes to become so

²³² *Ex.* 322-344 448-460; cf. EX I 357-358, where Xavier describes the mysteries of the incarnation, birth, and childhood of Jesus.

²³³ *Ex.* 348-356. According to Ignatius the devil wants to lead men to greed, ambition, and from there to "crescida sobervia" (*ibid.* 352-354); Xavier advised humility, so that the soul does not suffer "crecyendo en alguna soberia" (EX II 191).

²³⁴ *Ex.* 358-362.

²³⁵ Ignatius says of the first group: "No pone los medios" (*Ex.* 360); Xavier speaks of sinners in the confessional who have something that does not belong to them or who are ensnared in an impure passion and do not want to do anything "tomando meos para sairem de pecados" (EX II 95), and of those who overcome themselves in a manly fashion "tomando meos para iso" (*ibid.* 150).

²³⁶ "Para más le ymitar" (*Ex.* 356); "por mais imitar a Christo" (EX II 150).

²³⁷ *Ex.* 364-366 462-482; EX I 359-360.

humble that he is entirely indifferent to riches and poverty, to honor and contempt, and to all other created things. In fact, if they would both equally serve to the honor and glory of God, he would ardently embrace poverty and contempt like Christ his King so that he might become more like his Lord and serve Him more perfectly.²³⁸ In this way the disciple is prepared for the crucial moment of the Exercises, the election,²³⁹ when he must make a decision with respect to his whole future. (When Francis made the Exercises he had already made his election. He had therefore only to strengthen himself in it and to lay a new hold upon it.)

In order to make a proper election, Iñigo places four considerations before the exercitant. He should determine his course of action only out of a love of God. He should place before his eyes a man for whom he wishes every perfection, and he should himself do that which he would counsel the other in this regard. He should imagine himself at the hour of death, and he should now decide to do what he would then wish to have done.²⁴⁰ Finally, he should consider the decision which he would wish to have made when on the Last Day he will be standing before the judgment seat of God, and he should make it now.

After the exercitant has decided to forsake the world and all its possessions and his own self so that he may follow Christ, his crucified King, as generously as possible in the greatest poverty and bitterest contempt, he strengthens himself in his holy resolution during the third and fourth weeks by meditating upon the sufferings and death of his Lord, His glorious resurrection and ascension, and by glancing at the future reward of everlasting peace in store for these who fight valiantly.²⁴¹

The conclusion consists in a meditation on the love of God,²⁴² who has overwhelmed us with so many benefits, who is present in all of them, who works personally for us, and who permits us to see and anticipate in all of them a glimmer of His beauty, goodness, and perfection. This encourages the soul to give back freely to God all that it owns, to live constantly in His holy presence, to work solely for Him, and to be ever more consumed by a holy love for Him who is the infinitely lovable and everlastingly source of all beauty, perfection, and good.²⁴³

Francis gave himself to the Spiritual Exercises with all the generosity of his fiery, knightly soul. He abstained completely from food and drink for four

²³⁸ "Si yqual o mayor servitio fuere" (*Ex.* 372); "Sendo mayor serviço de Deus ou igual" (*EX I* 281).

²³⁹ *Ex.* 372-390. Ignatius speaks of those, "que primero quieren aver beneficios y después servir a Dios en ellos. De manera que estos quieren que Dios venga derecho a sus affecciones desordenadas" (*Ex.* 374); Xavier writes in a similar fashion of the students in Paris who only studied in order to obtain a benefice: "Está en custumbre dezir los que estudian: 'Desseo saber letras para alcançar algún beneficio, o dignidad ecclesiástica con ellas, y después con la tal dignidad servir a Dios. De manera que según sus desordenadas affecciones hazen sus elecciones'" (*EX I* 167; cf. 40).

²⁴⁰ "Considerar como si estuviese en el artículo de la muerte, la forma y medida que entonces querria aver tenido" (*Ex.* 386-388); "Para pôr em obra o que à ora de nosa morte folgariamos ter feito" (*EX I* 281; cf. 410, *II* 63).

²⁴¹ *Ex.* 392-426 482-510. Xavier advised the novice Bravo to meditate each week on one of the four weeks of the Exercises (*EX II* 163).

²⁴² *Ex.* 426-432.

²⁴³ "Todos los bienes y dones descien den de arriba, como de la fuente las aguas" (*Ex.* 432); "De quien todo bien nace y procede" (*EX II* 206). The whole later life of Xavier was a practical application of this final meditation of the Exercises.

days.²⁴⁴ As a penance for his vanity in the games on the island of the Seine, where he had once ranked as one of the best jumpers, he tied his arms, hips, and feet so tightly that his limbs swelled up and the thin cords could hardly be seen; and it seemed impossible to remove them.²⁴⁵ He spent two days in the most grievous pain and his companions were afraid that at least one of his arms might have to be amputated, when God heard their earnest prayers and assisted him as if by a miracle.²⁴⁶

What Master Francis saw and experienced during these holy Exercises he was never again to forget. When he returned again to his companions after thirty days he was another man. Though he was the same cheerful and lovable companion as before, a holy fire illuminated his countenance. His heart was burning with an earnest longing and a holy love for the crucified Christ,²⁴⁷ his King and Lord. He desired to serve Him henceforth with all the strength of his soul; he wanted to follow Him in life and death, wherever the greater service of God might indicate;²⁴⁸ and he wished to serve Him alone. The book of the Exercises was to become his map of life, from which he would constantly draw new light and strength for himself and others.²⁴⁹ From henceforth Iñigo was

²⁴⁴ Jo. Petrus Maffejus, S.J., *De vita et moribus Divi Ignatii Lojolae* (Romae, 1585) 1, 21; Tursellinus 1, 3).

²⁴⁵ Gonçalves da Camara wrote in his *Memoriale*: "Maestro Francisco, ultra de su abstinencia grande, porque era en la isla de Paris uno de los mayores saltadores, se ató todo el cuerpo y las piernas con una cuerda reciamente; y ansí atado, sin poderse mover, hacía las meditaciones" (FN I 705). This was probably during the first week in the meditations on sin.

²⁴⁶ Rodrigues wrote of Xavier's Exercises: "In secretum quendam locum sese abdidit, ut orationi, corporis castigationi, confessioni et sacro Christi convivio assidue vacaret; saepius cum Ignatio, raro cum aliis sociis communicans. At in corpore affligendo incauto, sed pio quodam fervore aliquando correptus, funiculis rigidis quidem et inter se bene colligatis, ita lacertorum toros et coxendices religavit vehementer, ut intumescerent, et funiculorum vix ullum appareret vestigium; tantusque erat tumor, ut eos abscindendi nulla esset spes. Interim tamen fiebat oratio a sociis cum ingenti dolore pro eo. Sed hoc incommodo duos fere dies acerbissime iactatus, metuentibus sociis, ne saltem alterum brachiorum, quod arctius fuerat constrictum, scinderetur, singulari Dei misericordia (me prorsus ignorante repentinæ sanitatis rationem) plane convaluit" (454). Maffei states that Xavier bound his limbs during the Exercises and thus meditated "non sine acri sensu doloris dies aliquot" (*Vita Ignatii* 1, 21). Camara and Rodrigues say the same. Tursellinus repeats this verbatim for the Exercises, which in the first edition of 1594 (1, 3) he erroneously states were made before the vows taken at Montmartre in 1536. But then he has Xavier bind himself again before his departure from Paris, so that after a few days of travel he breaks down from a loss of strength. He is then taken to the next inn and a doctor is summoned who says that surgery is impossible and leaves. But during the night Xavier is miraculously cured. In the morning the cords are found to be broken and the swelling to have disappeared (1, 4). The source of Tursellinus' error is Rodrigues' statement about one of the first group of companions (himself) who left Paris five or six days before the others in 1536. He writes that on the first night a frightful, bloody swelling had appeared on the shoulder "cuiusdam patris" so that he feared that he would not be able to continue his journey on the next day; but on the following morning the swelling had disappeared (Rodrigues 463). The editors of the account, like Orlandinus (1, n. 108), Tellez (1, 21) and Bartoli (*Vita di S. Ignazio* 2, 28) before them, rightly take this as referring to Rodrigues and not to Xavier. The legend has passed on from Tursellinus into all the lives of Xavier down into the twentieth century.

²⁴⁷ On Xavier's love for the Crucified see EX I 127, II 199.

²⁴⁸ EX I 284.

²⁴⁹ The book of the Exercises is almost the only text which he cites, and passages appear again and again, as in his letters 6 7 9 15-16 20 47 49-50 55-56 58-59 61 66-68 70 73

for Master Francis the highly revered and beloved “father of his soul,”²⁵⁰ his “only father in the love of Christ,”²⁵¹ through whom God had spoken to his soul.²⁵²

77 80 82-83 85 89-90 92 101 114 117-120. On this see also Fermín de Urmeneta, “Ascética xaveriana. Reminiscencias de los ‘Ejercicios’ en las cartas de Javier,” *Manresa* 24 (1952) 265-279.

²⁵⁰ EX II 7.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.* 5.

²⁵² FN I 476.

CHAPTER V

THE TWO CAMPS (1534-1535)

1. THE PLACARDS (OCTOBER, 1534)¹

A few days after completing the Exercises, Master Francis was to see the plight from which Iñigo had saved him when he warned him about those of doubtful faith. The favor which the French king had shown to the Reformers after his secret Schmalkaldic alliance at the beginning of 1534 and his attitude towards Beda, Le Clerc, and Picart, whom he had allowed to be imprisoned, had emboldened the advocates of the new teaching. Their numbers were increasing in the capital and in the provinces,² but not quickly enough for many of the extremists who now sought to help their party win a victory over the old Church through a bold stroke.³

When the citizens of Paris woke up on Sunday, October 18, they found placards affixed to walls at almost all the corners and squares of the city⁴ bearing the title: "True Articles with Respect to the Horrible, Great, and Intolerable Abuses of the Papal Mass, Directly Invented against the Sacred Supper of Our Lord, the Sole Mediator and Sole Savior, Jesus Christ."⁵ The placards themselves were filled with grave slanders against the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and the Blessed Sacrament. They were an open appeal to apostasy from the Church and to subversion, as may be seen from the following:

¹ The main sources for the affair of the posters are the diaries of Picotté (110-111 464-472), *Journal* (358 378-379), and Driart (172), and the letters of Gesner, Sturm, and Latomus (Herminjard III 235-240 266-270 305-306). Bourrilly 78-90 gives the best account of it; see also Doumergue I 501-503.

² Gesner to Bullinger, Strasbourg, December 27, 1534 (Herminjard III 237). Granvelle wrote to the imperial ambassador in France: "It is said that the number of heretics in France is very great and that the danger is very great" (*Papiers d'Etat du cardinal de Granvelle*, ed. Ch. Weiss 2 [1841] 283).

³ "Homines furiosi... quod non satis esse putarunt, laeta fieri principia, quod metuerunt, parum multos fore suarum partium, nisi astutis, ut ipsis videbatur, sed, ut res indicant, stultissimis et seditiosissimis rationibus regna et gentes perturbarent, libellos... affixerunt," is Sturm's report on the affair to Melanchthon on March 6, 1535 (Herminjard III 267).

⁴ "Per compita totius fere urbis Parisiensis chartas pene innumeras et libellos quosdam affixerunt," as the rector of the university declared on November 21, 1534 (Bulaeus VI 248); cf. Driart 172, *Journal* 378, Picotté 110.

⁵ *Articles véritables sur les horribles, grands et importables abus de la Messe Papale, inventée directement contre la sainte Cène de Nostre Seigneur, seul Médiateur et seul Sauveur Jésus-Christ*. A copy of the poster is to be found in the cantonal library in Bern; cf. L. Febvre, "L'origine des placards de 1534," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 7 (1945) 62-75 (with a photograph). It was drawn up by Ant. Marcourt in Neuchâtel (Switzerland), printed by Pierre de Vingle in the same city, and brought to Paris by Master Guillaume Feret (Bourrilly 79-80 99, n. 26). In 1541 Marguerite wanted to attribute its composition to a Catholic reactionary (Herminjard III 238, n. 16).

Experience has taught us the fruit of the Mass. It extinguishes all knowledge of Jesus Christ; it impedes and banishes the preaching the Gospel; it spends time in the ringing of bells, howling, shouting, and the performance of empty ceremonies, in the lighting of candles, the burning of incense, mumblings, and similar magical acts. In this way the poor world, both sheep and goats, is miserably cheated, repressed, and led astray; and it is eaten, relished, and devoured by these ravenous wolves. Who can count the thefts of this pack of rascals (*paillards*), or even imagine them?

They have plundered, destroyed, and devoured everything with their Mass. By means of it they have robbed princes and kings, merchants and lords, and all the world, both living and dead, of their inheritance. In brief, the truth repels them; the truth accuses them; the truth persecutes them; the truth terrifies them; and within a short time they will be annihilated by the truth. *Fiat. Fiat. Amen.*⁶

The posting of the placards created a furor in the city.⁷ Even the eyes of the king were opened. Someone had dared to affix one of the placards to the doors of his bedroom in the palace of Amboise, where he was staying, and to place a libelous pamphlet in the box where he kept his handkerchiefs.⁸ The fact that the same placards had been posted in other cities of France at this same time⁹ indicated the existence of a far-reaching conspiracy that had followers even within the most intimate court circle.¹⁰ It was said that the conspirators planned to set fire to all the churches of the capital, to plunder the Louvre,¹¹ and to overthrow the king on Christmas Eve; and the example of neighboring Germany with its peasant wars and the excesses of the Anabaptists and iconoclasts caused the worst to be feared even in France.¹² The king therefore ordered Morin, the assistant chief of police, to take sharp measures against the guilty; and it was rumored that he had increased his annual salary by six hundred livres for this purpose.¹³

The reaction in Paris was immediate. On October 22 Parlement and the officials of the city held a procession of expiation from the Sainte-Chapelle to Notre-Dame, where the principal of the Collège de Laon preached a sermon on the Blessed Sacrament. On the twenty-third there was a procession of the university across the city to Saint-Martin-des-Champs.¹⁴ On the twenty-fourth the Court ordered that it should be announced through two heralds at the street crossings and at the marble monument of the Louvre that whoever pointed out

⁶ The editor of the *Chronique* of Picotté gives the text (464-472).

⁷ "Perturbatus hac re populus, territae multorum cogitationes, concitati magistratus, inflammatus rex," is Sturm's account of it (Herminjard III 267; cf. 263, n. 5 305-306, and Bourrilly 88).

⁸ According to Gesner (Herminjard III 236), Sturm (*ibid.* 267) and the *Journal* 379; cf. Bourrilly 80 108.

⁹ "Per universam fere Galliam nocte in omnibus angulis," according to Sturm (Herminjard III 267), for example, in Orleans (*ibid.* 236), Rouen, Blois, Tours, and Amboise (Bourrilly 78 80); cf. Driart 172.

¹⁰ Bourrilly 80 88 108.

¹¹ Granvelle wrote to the imperial ambassador in France: "The plan of the heretics about which you have written to me, namely, to set fire to the churches and to plunder the Louvre, shows that they have already become exceedingly strong" (*Papiers d'Etat du cardinal de Granvelle* 2 [1841] 283). Andrew Baynton wrote in a similar vein from Paris to England on February 1, 1535: "Ilz avoient déterminé entre eulz mesmes de bruler tous les esglises en Paris sus la vigile de Nouel" (Bourrilly 88, n. 3).

¹² Bourrilly 88. The manifesto of Francis I dated February 1, 1535, speaks of a "contagiosa pestis atque ad teterrimam spectans seditionem" (Herminjard III 252); see also the letter of Erasmus (Allen 3049).

¹³ *Journal* 379; Bourrilly 81-82.

¹⁴ *Journal* 379; Driart 172; Bourrilly 80-81; Tuetey 192-193.

the Lutherans who had affixed the placards would receive a reward of a hundred dollars, and that whoever concealed them would be punished by being burned to death.¹⁵ And on the twenty-fifth there were devotions and processions of reparation in all the parishes of the city.¹⁶

In the meantime houses were everywhere searched; heretical books were confiscated and burned or thrown into the Seine;¹⁷ and the Châtelet and the Conciergerie were filled with prisoners of every social standing, both men and women, with booksellers, printers, and those engaged in other trades. By the middle of November the number had already mounted to two hundred.¹⁸ When questioned, some of these confessed that the conspirators had unanimously agreed to murder the Catholics while they were assisting at divine services in their churches.¹⁹ The people by this time were infuriated and looked upon every German, Fleming, and Englishman as a Lutheran; and they made no further distinction between these and the Erasmists and Anabaptists.²⁰

On November 10 the first capital sentences were passed.²¹ The fires began to burn, and new tortures were added to the old. The condemned, after making a required apology in front of Notre-Dame, were led to the place of execution and there, after having had their tongues pierced, were suspended from a gallows over a burning fire. From time to time they were let down into it and were thus slowly tortured to death amidst the raillery of the mob, who could only be restrained with difficulty from tearing their victims to pieces.²²

On November 13 Milon, the lame son of a cobbler, was burned in the cemetery of Saint-Jean behind the town hall because the famous "Articles" had been found in his possession.²³ On the fourteenth it was the turn of a rich cloth merchant, Jean du Bourg, who had affixed one of the placards to the walls of the cemetery of Les Saints-Innocents opposite his house, "At the Black Horse," on the Rue Saint-Denis. His right hand was chopped off at this spot, and he was then delivered to the flames near the neighboring covered market.²⁴ On the sixteenth a bookseller on the Rue Saint-Jacques who had printed and sold Lutheran books was burned at the Maubert Place in the Latin Quarter.²⁵ On the eighteenth another Lutheran was burned in the Pig Market in front of the Porte Saint-Honoré after having had his tongue pierced.²⁶ The following day a book-binder who lived on the Maubert Place was throttled and burned there for having bound and sold heretical books and for having been involved in the affair of the placards.²⁷

¹⁵ *Journal* 378-379 358.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 358 379; Driart 172.

¹⁷ According to Gesner (Herminjard III 238).

¹⁸ The estimates vary: about 160 (Bulaeus VI 249), 200 (W. Penizon on November 16, 1534, in Bourrilly 82), over 300 (Gesner to Bullinger, December 27, 1534, in Herminjard III 236-237), around 400 (Gesner to Myconius, December 21, 1534, *ibid.* 237, n. 11); cf. *Journal* 360.

¹⁹ Bulaeus VI 249; cf. Herminjard III 252, n. 8.

²⁰ Herminjard III 236, n. 5 268 273 305.

²¹ Bourrilly 82.

²² Herminjard III 237 and n. 11 305-306.

²³ *Journal* 379; Driart 173; Picotté 112; Bourrilly 63 83.

²⁴ *Journal* 379-380; Driart 173; Picotté 112; Bourrilly 84.

²⁵ *Journal* 380; Bourrilly 84.

²⁶ Driart 173; Bourrilly 84.

²⁷ *Journal* 380; Driart 173; Bourrilly 84.

On November twenty-first a general assembly of the university resolved to thank the king for the energetic measures which he had taken against the heretics and to take up at least unofficially the question of freeing Bede, Le Clerc, and Picart, who were still being detained in the bishop's prison. Within a few days the latter two were both released.²⁸

But in the meantime the executions continued. On November 28 a mason by the name of Poille had his tongue pierced and was burned to death in front of the church of St. Catherine.²⁹ On December 4 a young secretary of the lord of Carriez³⁰ suffered the same punishment before the Temple, and on December 5 the young assistant of a miniature painter was executed in like manner at the end of St. Michael's bridge, not far from where he had been living.³¹

On December 20 the king returned to Paris. He ratified all the measures that had been taken and on the next day appointed a commission of Parlement to prosecute the heretics.³² Its first victim was the printer Antoine Augerau, who had his shop on the Rue Saint-Jacques. In 1533 he had printed the *Miroir* of the queen of Navarre in Paris. He was burned on Christmas Eve on the Maubert Place.³³

2. THE GREAT PROCESSION (JANUARY 21, 1535)³⁴

But the king was still not content with what he had done. He decided to stage a new spectacle which would make it obvious to all that the old faith of their fathers still reigned in the land and that he, the king, was resolved to defend it against all enemies. This was to be a great procession of reparation in which the Blessed Sacrament³⁵ and all the relics of his capital would be carried, and one that would surpass anything of this sort since the day of its founding.³⁶

²⁸ Bulaeus VI 248-249.

²⁹ *Journal* 380; Driart 173-174; Picotté 112; Bourrilly 85.

³⁰ *Journal* 381; Driart 174; Bourrilly 85.

³¹ *Journal* 381; Driart 174; Bourrilly 85.

³² Bourrilly 89.

³³ Picotté 112; Bourrilly 89-90.

³⁴ The sources for the procession are given with a few exceptions in Bourrilly 90, n. 3. The main *account is the official description drawn up by Guillaume du Bellay, with some corrections by Bishop Jean du Bellay (Bibl. Nat., Paris: *Dupuy* 76, f. 158 ff.), with additions in Picotté 113-29. There is also the detailed *report of the city (Tuetey 195-199) which Bourrilly follows (90-94); that of *Parlement (Nat. Arch., Paris: *X^{la} 1538*, ff. 607-610), which Cros, *Doc.* I 339-344, and Fouqueray I 34-35 use; that of the *cathedral chapter (Nat. Arch. Paris: *LL 442, 446*); that of the *Theological Faculty (Bibl. Nat., Paris: *Mss. lat. 9960*, f. 29); that of the Medical Faculty, used by Bulaeus VI 251-253; the **Ordre de la procession* (Ch. Kohler, *Catalogue des Mss. de Sainte-Geneviève*, n. 3042), which Picotté cites and which incorrectly places the procession in 1539; and the pamphlet printed at the time, the *Procession generale faicte a Paris, le Roy estant en personne. Le XXII. iour de Janvier. Mille. cinq centz, trente et cinq.* (The Bibliotheque du Protestantisme, Paris, has a copy: *Rés. 15938*.) These sources are supplemented by the data given in *Journal* 358-359 382 and Driart 175-176; Corrozet 158-v; Félibien V 343-346, IV 688 (detailed); Nicolas Gilles, *La Mer des chroniques* (Paris, 1537); and by the letters of the Venetian ambassador *Giustiniani of January 26, 1535 (Vatican Library: *Mss. Vat. lat. 3922*, ff. 163-165v) and of the English Baynton to Cromwell of February 1, 1535 (Bourrilly 91-92, n. 1).

³⁵ Picotté 113; *Giustiniani; Tuetey 195.

³⁶ Driart 175; *Giustiniani; Tuetey 195.

January 21, 1535, was designated as the day for the solemn event. The streets were spread with festal carpets. Before every house which the procession passed a wax torch burned in honor of the Blessed Sacrament.³⁷ At four places altars were set up, as on the feast of Corpus Christi, so that the monstrance could be placed on them while the Gospel was sung. Scenes such as that of the Jew who pierced the Sacred Host, paintings, emblems and inscriptions were set up in many places. Thus, for example, a fountain surmounted by a crucifix on the Notre-Dame bridge was adorned with passages from Scripture extolling the Blessed Sacrament and heralding the victory of the king over his enemies. In addition to these was a Latin poem asking the Blessed Virgin and all the saints for help, and a French poem describing the happiness of the true faith. Its ten stanzas ended with the refrain: "France flourishes beyond all nations."³⁸

To prevent disorders, the principals of the colleges were told to keep their students at home during the festivities.³⁹ The side streets emptying into the one taken by the procession were shut off with barriers; and the police, dressed in military tunics adorned with silver and the coat of arms of the city (a white ship on a red ground), kept order with white staves.⁴⁰ In the early morning the parishes of the city and suburbs headed with their crosses, banners, and relics towards Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois near the Louvre.⁴¹ From there the procession was to go to the Rue Saint-Honoré past the cemetery of Les Saints-Innocents, Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie, and the bridge of Notre-Dame to the cathedral.⁴²

At nine o'clock in the morning the procession began to move.⁴³ The crosses and banners of the numerous parishes of the city led the way. These were followed by an endless band of citizens and merchants walking two by two with burning wax torches in their hands.⁴⁴ Then came the four mendicant orders, the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Carmelites.⁴⁵ These were followed by the secular clergy of the parish and collegiate churches arranged according to their privileges and wearing their choir mantles. Very many were carrying relics with them. Among these were the body of the saintly bishop Landericus, the gilded silver casket of the saintly abbot Medericus, the relics of Bishop Honoratus, of the saintly abbess Opportuna, and of other saints.⁴⁶ Behind these came the Trinitarians wearing their white habits with red and blue crosses upon them.⁴⁷

Next came the four great Benedictine abbeys with their treasures.⁴⁸ On the right was Saint-Germain-des-Prés with the body of the saintly bishop Ger-

³⁷ Félibien V 343; Cros, *Doc.* I 342-343; Tuetey 195-196.

³⁸ Picotté 114 127-129; Félibien V 342, IV 688; Cros, *Doc.* I 343-344; Tuetey 196.

³⁹ Félibien V 343; Bourrilly 90; Tuetey 195-196.

⁴⁰ Picotté 114 120-121; Félibien V 343; Cros, *Doc.* I 343 339; Tuetey 196.

⁴¹ Picotté 114-115; Corrozet 158; *Giustiniani; Bourrilly 90-91; Tuetey 196.

⁴² Bourrilly 91; Tuetey 196.

⁴³ According to Tuetey 196, Bourrilly 91, and Félibien V 343. According to Cros, *Doc.* I 340, the procession began about ten o'clock; according to the *Procession generale* it was between nine and ten o'clock in the morning.

⁴⁴ Picotté 115; Cros, *Doc.* I 340; *Journal* 358.

⁴⁵ "A leur manière accoustumée" (Picotté 115; cf. Targe 19, n. 2); we follow Tuetey 197 for the order of the procession.

⁴⁶ Picotté 115; *Journal* 358; Cros, *Doc.* I 340; Tuetey 197.

⁴⁷ Tuetey 197; Cros, *Doc.* I 340; *Procession generale* and Bourrilly (92) name them before the secular clergy.

⁴⁸ Picotté 115; Cros, *Doc.* I 340.

manus, which had, as far as men knew, never before left the monastery.⁴⁹ On the left was Saint-Martin-des-Champs with the head of St. Martin and the silver reliquary of the saintly martyr Paxentius, a disciple of St. Dionysius; then Saint-Magloire with the reliquary of the saintly bishop Magloire, who had fled to Paris at the time of the Danish invasion of Wales; and Saint-Eloy with the body of the saintly abbess Aurea and the reliquary of St. Eligius, which was carried by members of the locksmiths' guild wearing hats crowned with flowers.⁵⁰

These were followed by even more precious relics, those of Notre-Dame and Saint-Geneviève.⁵¹ There was first the head of the apostle Philip, adorned with precious stones, carried by sixteen of the citizens. Then came the richly adorned tablet of St. Sebastian. These two relics, both from the cathedral of Notre-Dame,⁵² had never before been seen in a procession. They were followed by the principal treasures of both churches: on the left, according to old custom, the reliquary of the saintly bishop Marcellus, carried by twelve bareheaded and barefooted members of the goldsmiths' guild,⁵³ and on the right the reliquary of St. Genevieve, the patroness of the city, which left the cloister only in time of dire need, and then only together with the body of St. Marcellus.⁵⁴ In front of these were four gendarmes with candles adorned with the coat of arms of the city.⁵⁵ Sixteen of the most prominent citizens of Paris, who had shaved their beards as a sign of penance and had gone to confession and received Holy Communion, carried the reliquary.⁵⁶ They were barefooted and wore long albs and had bright crowns of flowers on their heads. They were accompanied by the abbot⁵⁷ and monks of the monastery of Sainte-Geneviève and the monks of Saint-Victor, their mother-house, walking barefooted and dressed in precious vestments in honor of the saints;⁵⁸ and the police had difficulty in keeping the throngs in check.⁵⁹

On the left, behind the two reliquaries, came the representatives of the university, first the rector, walking "with great magnificence," in a purple robe and ermine-trimmed mantelet. His purse, adorned with gold, hung from a silk cincture. Behind him were the fourteen beadles with the gilded scepters of the Medical Faculty and the silvered scepters of the others. Then came the procurators, secretaries, treasures, and doctors of the three higher faculties, the physicians and jurists in red robes and capes, and the theologians in black. And there were other representatives in great numbers.⁶⁰ On the right, behind the reliquaries, came the chapter and choir of Notre-Dame with their affiliates,

⁴⁹ Driart 175; Tuetey 197 (according to him those from Saint-Magloire came first).

⁵⁰ Picotté 115; Tuetey 197; Lebeuf I 191-192.

⁵¹ Picotté 115-116; Cros, *Doc.* I 340; *Journal* 358; Driart 175; Bourrilly 92.

⁵² Picotté 116; Driart 175; *Journal* 358; Cros, *Doc.* I 340; Tuetey 197.

⁵³ Picotté 116; Driart 175; *Journal* 358; Feret, *L'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève* I 352; Tuetey 197.

⁵⁴ Picotté 116; Driart 175; *Journal* 358; Cros, *Doc.* I 340; Feret, *Sainte-Geneviève* I 350.

⁵⁵ Cros, *Doc.* I 340; Félibien V 343.

⁵⁶ Picotté 116; Feret, *Sainte-Geneviève* I 349 352; Tuetey 197; the *Journal* incorrectly states that it was carried by the goldsmiths (358), Giustiniani is also wrong in saying that it was carried by twelve canons.

⁵⁷ *Journal* 358; Tuetey 196.

⁵⁸ Picotté 116; Driart 176; Tuetey 197.

⁵⁹ Picotté 116.

⁶⁰ Picotté 116-117; cf. 121; Bulaeus VI 251; Cros, *Doc.* I 340; *Giustiniani; *Procession generale*; Bourrilly 92; Tuetey 197.

and behind these the canons of the Sainte-Chapelle in rich choral capes singing antiphons and responsories.⁶¹

Then came the Swiss guard, composed of tall, strong, and handsome soldiers dressed in the blue and yellow livery of the king. They marched with a firm step two by two carrying halberds on their shoulders, and were accompanied by flying banners and pipes and drums playing mournful tunes.⁶² These in turn were followed by the court musicians—oboists, violinists, trumpeters, and cornetists. These also were magnificently arrayed and playing their instruments.⁶³ Then came the court choir, the choristers of the Sainte-Chapelle combined with those of the Louvre. They were dressed in surplices and sang to the accompaniment of instruments pious motets and hymns such as the *O Salutaris Hostia* and the *Pange lingua*.⁶⁴

Behind them marched the king at arms and the heralds two by two in many-colored jackets with the coat of arms of the Valois—three golden fleurs-de-lis on a blue field beneath a silver half-moon and a silver lambel.⁶⁵

All of these together formed the honor guard which accompanied the chief relics, those of the Sainte-Chapelle, which had not been taken from the shrine since the time of its founder, St. Louis.⁶⁶

First came ten bareheaded priests dressed in Mass vestments bearing the head of St. Louis in its precious reliquary supported by four silver angels and richly adorned with precious stones and the golden crown of the saint, in which one ruby alone was valued at sixty thousand dollars.⁶⁷

This was followed by the three famous relics which the saintly king had brought back from the Orient: the Lord's crown of thorns, the great relic of the true cross, and the point of the lance with which Longinus had pierced the side of the Redeemer.⁶⁸

Behind these came two by two a long file of bishops and archbishops dressed in choir mantles, and the remaining relics of the Sainte-Chapelle⁶⁹ carried by ten archbishops or bishops walking in the middle between the others. Then there was the sponge with the blood of Christ, vials with blood which had miraculously flown from a statue of Christ in the East when it was struck by an unbeliever, a ring and chain from the pillar of the scourging, a piece from the purple cloak and from the seamless robe of Christ, the towel with which he had girded himself at the Last Supper, a piece of His handkerchief, a piece of stone from the Holy Sepulchre, the swaddling clothes in which He had been wrapped as an infant, the reed with which He was struck when he was crowned with thorns, the rod of Moses,⁷⁰ the great cameo portraying "the triumph of St. Joseph,"

⁶¹ Picotté 116; Driart 176; Cros, *Doc.* I 340; Tuetey 197.

⁶² Picotté 117; *Procession generale*; Félibien V 344; Tuetey 197; cf. Picotté 300 and A. Hamy, S.J., *Entrevue de François Ier avec Henry VIII en 1532* (Paris, 1898), p. XLI.

⁶³ Picotté 117; *Procession generale*; Bulaeus VI 252; Tuetey 197.

⁶⁴ Picotté 117; Driart 176; Cros, *Doc.* I 340; Bourrilly 92; Félibien V 344; Tuetey 197.

⁶⁵ Picotté 117; cf. 300; Félibien V 344.

⁶⁶ Picotté 117; Corrozet 151; Bourrilly 92.

⁶⁷ Picotté 117; Journal 358; Bourrilly 93; Saint-Victor I 96; Tuetey 198.

⁶⁸ Picotté 117; Driart 175; *Journal* 358; Bourrilly 92; Saint-Victor I 96; Tuetey.

⁶⁹ Picotté 117-118; Corrozet 158; Driart 175; Cros, *Doc.* I 340; Tuetey 198. On the relics of the Sainte-Chapelle, see Saint-Victor I 95-97; Piganiol I 547; Lebeuf I 222 and Tuetey 198, n. 1.

⁷⁰ According to Félibien "la verge d'Aaron" (V 344); also Tuetey 198.

allegedly carved by the sons of Israel in the wilderness,⁷¹ milk from the Blessed Virgin, part of the head of John the Baptist, the victory cross of the emperor Constantine, and others.

Behind the archbishops came the ambassadors, among whom were those of the German emperor, of Henry VIII, and of Venice.⁷² These were followed by three cardinals in their vermilion robes, Tournan, Le Veneur, and Châtillon, walking side by side.⁷³ Then came the three royal princes—the seventeen-year-old dauphin, François; the sixteen-year-old Henry, count of Orléans; the thirteen-year-old Charles, duke of Angoulême—and the young son of the duke of Vendôme. Bareheaded and dressed in black satin garments adorned with gold, they were carrying a dark red and gilded canopy over a precious monstrance shaped in the form of a cross containing the Blessed Sacrament. This was borne with great piety by the bareheaded bishop of Paris, Jean du Bellay, assisted by his arch-deacon.⁷⁴ Two hundred noblemen of the royal house on the right and left accompanied the Blessed Sacrament with burning torches,⁷⁵ and close behind came the king. He walked alone, bareheaded, dressed in a black velvet tunic with a white belt. With great reverence he held in his hand a candlestick covered with purple velvet containing a white candle. At his side a little behind him, was the cardinal of Lorraine, also carrying a candle; and at their right and left were twenty-four members of the royal bodyguard in white, silver-trimmed military coats carrying wax torches.⁷⁶

The king and the cardinal were followed by the three highest dignitaries of the kingdom—the count of Saint-Pol, François de Bourbon; the grand master, Anne de Montmorency; and the high admiral, Chabot de Brion.⁷⁷ Behind them in the center of the street were the princes and members of the military orders with their grand collars and a great number of the rest of the nobility, all on foot. Three hundred carried candles bearing the coat of arms of the king and a hundred bore halberds. Behind them came nobles of the court in great numbers, all bareheaded and carrying lighted candles.⁷⁸

By their sides walked the representatives of the realm and of the city. First, on the right, came the Parlement: the four presidents, one behind the other; the masters of requests; and then the councillors, two by two, a hundred doctors, all in red robes. On the left were the lords of the Treasury, also walking two by two, dressed in black velvet and silk. Then came the representatives of the city—on the right the provost of Paris in black silk with the assistant city attorney

⁷¹ According to Félibien it was the tablet of the Law of Moses (V 344). It is a carved onyx representing the triumph of Augustus and has the portraits of the four evangelists at the four corners. It was a gift of the Greek emperor in 1397 (Saint-Victor I 96-97); beneath this Titus is represented as receiving Germanicus, and still lower are prisoners (Piganiol I 559). On this see the basic study by Gerda Bruns, "Der Grosse Kameo von Frankreich," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 6 (Rome, 1953) 71-122.

⁷² Cros, *Doc.* I 340; *Giustiniani; Picotté 121; Fouqueray I 34.

⁷³ Picotté 118; Cros, *Doc.* I 340; Bourrilly 93; Tuetey 198.

⁷⁴ Picotté 118-119; Bourrilly 93; Félibien V 344; Bulaeus VI 252; Cros, *Doc.* I 341-342; *Journal* 359; Driart 174-176; Tuetey 198.

⁷⁵ Picotté 119; Cros, *Doc.* I 342. "Avec haches d'armes" (Félibien V 344; Tuetey 198).

⁷⁶ Picotté 119; *Procession generale*; Bourrilly 93; *Journal* 359; Driart 175; Cros, *Doc.* I 342; Tuetey 198.

⁷⁷ Bourrilly 93; Tuetey 198-199.

⁷⁸ Picotté 119-120; Cros, *Doc.* I 342; *Journal* 358-359; *Procession generale*; Bourrilly 93; *Giustiniani.

and assistant chief of police dressed in scarlet, and his six counselors. On the left were the provost of the merchants and his assistants dressed in the reddish brown of the city. They were accompanied by four assessors, the secretary, quaestor, and procurator of the city, and representatives of the six merchant guilds.⁷⁹

The procession was brought up in the rear by four hundred members of the royal bodyguard in silver-trimmed military jackets. These were led by four captains with flying banners.⁸⁰

A countless throng of people had assembled for the spectacle. Never had there been such splendor and so many relics to be seen, "and there was no one, large or small, who did not weep abundantly and pray to God for the king, whom the people saw to be so devout. And certainly there is no Jew or unbeliever who, if he had seen the example of the prince and of his people, would not have been converted to the faith." This was the impression made upon an eye-witness who has left a description of the events.⁸¹

In the cathedral of Notre-Dame, to which the queen with the princesses and ladies of the court had earlier ridden,⁸² the bishop of Paris sang a solemn pontifical High Mass before the Blessed Sacrament. The sermon, which was directed against the heretics, hinted that such were also to be found among the merchant associations.⁸³ After the noon meal the king delivered a discourse in the neighboring episcopal palace before representatives of the clergy, university, city, and Parlement in the presence of the cardinals and bishops, the members of his family, the lords of his Inner Council, and the ambassadors and other high personages of foreign lands.

In this address, which made a deep impression upon all, he spoke to them, as he observed, not as a king to his subjects but as a servant of the King of Kings, to whom his kingdom was more obligated than any other, since it bore the title of "the most Christian nation" for having preserved for fourteen hundred years its faith in the true God. Thus it grieved him all the more that wretched men were now staining its good name through the spread of outrageous attacks on the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, the Memorial of the redeeming death of Christ, the Tabernacle of the God-head, the Sacrament of Sacraments, containing all graces and uniting within itself the divinity and the humanity of Christ, the Bread of Life. Against this most Holy Sacrament slanderers of low condition and of still less learning had distributed writings filled with such calumnies that no people of the world would tolerate them; and they had done this in his fair city of Paris which had ever been renowned for its holy learning, and which had been a source of light to all the rest of the world.

He had therefore resolved to hold this solemn procession to show that if anyone had been led astray, it was not through his, the king's, fault or that of his reign, and to call down the grace of the Redeemer upon his people.

He therefore ordered the guilty to be punished severely, and he warned his subjects to persevere in the Catholic faith and to instruct their children well in it so that they would not incur this punishment. He ordered the lords of the university to keep a watch over their colleges and their regents. He advised the representatives of the city

⁷⁹ Picotté 119-120; cf. 295-298; Cros, *Doc.* I 342; Corrozet 104v-105; Félibien V 345-346; Tuetey 199.

⁸⁰ Picotté 120; cf. 303; Cros, *Doc.* I 342.

⁸¹ Bourrilly 93-94; Tuetey 198.

⁸² *Procession generale; Journal* 358; *Giustiniani; Bourrilly 92; cf. Driart 176; Picotté 121, Tuetey 196-197.

⁸³ Driart 176; Cros, *Doc.* I 343; *Procession generale*; *Giustiniani; *Journal* 359; Tuetey 199.

to have pity on the poor people. He warned the erring to return to the Catholic faith; and he ordered all to reveal the guilty without any consideration of family or friendship, for this false teaching must disappear entirely from his land; and no one should be spared in this regard. Indeed, even if his own arm were afflicted with this plague, he would cut it off; even if his own children were so unfortunate as to have fallen into this accursed and pestilential teaching, he would himself deliver them up and offer them to God as sacrificial victims.⁸⁴

The Parisians were to see that very same evening that the king meant what he said. After he had ridden out to Villeneuve-Saint-George, three hours away,⁸⁵ six Lutherans were hanged on a gallows and slowly burned on the Rue Saint Honoré and near the covered market:⁸⁶ a tax collector, a scribe of the Châtelet,⁸⁷ a royal singer, a fruit vendor, a basket weaver, and a carpenter. Two days later the wife of a cobbler who had neglected the regulations for fasting, and who had also forbidden her children to recite the Hail Mary and other prayers to the Mother of God in school, suffered the same death in the same quarter of the city.⁸⁸

On January 25, four days after the procession, a royal herald rode through the city and also through the Latin Quarter to the sound of trumpets and ordered a long list of seventy-three accused to appear in court within three days. If they failed to do so, they would be banished from France, their goods confiscated, and they themselves in case of a relapse would be handed over to the flames.⁸⁹ In addition to the names of simple workmen and lower officials, the list⁹⁰ contained those of the treasurer of the Royal Amusements, of the widow of a royal counselor, of the lords of Roynac, Robertval, and Fleuris, of the secretary and court poet of the Queen of Navarre, Clément Marot, of four Augustinian monks, of several masters, of an apostate Celestine and doctor of theology, Pierre Caroli, who had received the parish of Alençon from Marguerite in 1530, of the principal of the Collège de Tournai, and of Mathurin Cordier, a former professor in Sainte-Barbe.

Like Cop and Calvin, they had all sought safety in hasty flight. Along with many others who fled from Paris at this time was a cousin of Xavier. Hoping to bring him back, Master Francis rode after him as far as Notre-Dame-de-Cléry, a distance of thirty-four leagues on the road to Navarre, but he could not overtake him.⁹¹

⁸⁴ Picotté 121-127; Cros, *Doc.* I 343; Bulaeus VI 252-253; *Giustiniani; Driart 176. Bulaeus gives the text of the speech from the *Annales d'Aquitaine* of 1557. Picotté 122-126, Félibien V 346, and Tuetey 199 give a portion of it.

⁸⁵ *Procession generale*; Bourrilly 96 (against Doumergue I 503); cf. Picotté 127; Bulaeus VI 252. During the "amende honorable," the apologies of the six condemned persons in front of Notre-Dame, the king and queen were still in the episcopal palace (Picotté 129; Félibien V 346; Tuetey 199).

⁸⁶ Driart 176-177; Picotté 130-132; *Journal* 382; *Giustiniani; Cros, *Doc.* I 343; Tuetey 199. On the manner of execution see *Procession generale*.

⁸⁷ *Journal* 382; Driart 177; *Procession generale*; Bourrilly 94-96.

⁸⁸ Picotté 112; *Journal* 382; Driart 177; *Giustiniani; Bourrilly 96.

⁸⁹ *Journal* 381-382; Picotté 129-130.

⁹⁰ The list is given by Picotté 130-132 and Bourrilly 97-100 (fifty-one names with a commentary and variations).

⁹¹ EX I 11-12. By this is probably meant Carlos de Mutiloa, who matriculated in 1533. He was a distant cousin of Xavier. María de Jassu, the daughter of Xavier's uncle Pedro, who died before 1513, had married the merchant Juan de Mutiloa in Pamplona and left behind at her death four children: Pedro, Janotico, Isabelica, and María (Cros, *Doc.* I 164-165, *II 166-167). A Francisco de Mutiloa from Pamplona, lord of the palace

3. IÑIGO'S DEPARTURE (SPRING, 1535)

The affair of the placards had opened up the eyes of many in France, including even those of the humanists. Guillaume Budé, their leader, in the foreword to his *De transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum*, praised the king for the procession of reparation on January 25 and the zeal with which he had attacked the blasphemers of the Blessed Sacrament on that day.⁹² And Francis I showed that his speech on that occasion was not simply an empty shot in the dark. On January 29 he issued an edict to the effect that whoever concealed a heretic would be punished as one, and that whoever turned one in to the authorities would receive a quarter of the confiscated goods.⁹³ On February 15 the rich merchant Étienne de la Forge, who had once provided accommodations for Calvin, was burned.⁹⁴ On the eighteenth the shopkeeper Louis de Medici⁹⁵ and a young student from Grenoble who had posted placards at the bidding of his master suffered the same fate.⁹⁶ And on March 16 a chorister of the royal chapel, who had fastened the same articles on the door of the royal bedroom in Amboise incurred a similar punishment.⁹⁷ Other Lutherans were publicly whipped and banished from the realm after having their possessions confiscated.⁹⁸ Among those who suffered the latter punishments were also some Lutheran women. On the last Sunday of the month, February 28, Beda had to mount a scaffold in front of the cathedral of Notre-Dame and there, barefooted and holding a lighted candle in his hand, make a public apology in the presence of the royal procurator and advocates and a great throng of spectators for having falsely accused the prince of favoring the heretics; and on this same occasion a number of his letters were burned.⁹⁹

The king's advice to the erring was not without effect. Many gave up their erroneous beliefs, and Iñigo brought a good number of these to the inquisitor Liévin at the monastery of the Dominicans so that they might be reconciled to the Church and receive absolution.¹⁰⁰

The Guipuzcoan knight had had no easy time with his studies. As an old soldier, he had little inclination for them. Besides this, there was his poverty, especially during his first years, his spirit of penance, which caused him to flee from all earthly consolations, his weak health, and a plague of constant distractions.¹⁰¹ When he listened to the lectures of Peña in philosophy, he received new spiritual lights (as had happened five years before in Barcelona when he was studying Latin), but they had nothing to do with the dry definitions and arguments of Aristotle. To free himself from this temptation, he went to his teacher and promised him that he would finish the course as long as he could find bread and

of Subiza, met Xavier in Lisbon in 1541 (EX I 72). On a nephew of Xavier, Juan de Xavier, who studied in Paris from 1539 to 1541, see above, p. 81, n. 50.

⁹² Herminjard III 239, n. 23. On Budé see Grente 140-143.

⁹³ *Catalogue des Actes de François Ier* III 8.

⁹⁴ *Journal* 382; Driart 177-178; Bourrilly 104-105.

⁹⁵ Driart 178. The *Journal* gives the date February 26 (383).

⁹⁶ *Journal* 383.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 384.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 383-384; Bourrilly 106-107.

⁹⁹ Driart 178; Bourrilly 111; Sturm to Bucer, March 10, 1535 (Herminjard III 272); Latomus to Erasmus, June 29, 1535 (*ibid.* 306).

¹⁰⁰ FN I 180; II 561. Polanco is wrong in saying that the inquisitor was Ory; it was his predecessor Liévin (MI *Scripta* II 3).

¹⁰¹ MI *Scripta* I 394; FN II 198.

water in Paris.¹⁰² He also made an agreement with Favre, with whom he repeated the lectures, that they should not speak of spiritual things at this time, for an indulgence in such discourses made them completely forget the Stagirite and his logic.¹⁰³ This helped. Moreover, during his philosophical studies, he restricted his spiritual exercises and contented himself with the twofold examination of conscience, daily Mass, and weekly confession and Communion. At the same time he mitigated his apostolic zeal, let others give the Exercises, and avoided everything which would distract him from his studies.¹⁰⁴ During this time he kept on intimate terms with only a few exceptional persons, such as Doctors Martial Mazurier,¹⁰⁵ Valle,¹⁰⁶ and Alvaro de Moscoso;¹⁰⁷ and he also gave them the Spiritual Exercises. Through their intercession, and with the help of the alms collected in Flanders and London, he had been able to assist other students whom he wanted to win for God. He had furnished them with money, sought out benefactors, found them places as servants, or obtained free board and room for them; he had also found pupils for the regents and assisted them in word and deed. As a consequence of all this, he had made many friends.¹⁰⁸ One day Dr. Frago met him and expressed his surprise at the fact that no one was now persecuting him but rather, in contrast to what had happened before, everyone was wishing him well. To this Iñigo replied: "The reason for this is that I do not now speak to anyone about the service of God, but after I finish philosophy I shall work again as before."¹⁰⁹

Thanks to his stubborn persistence, Iñigo passed his examination for the baccalaureate in 1532 and for the licentiate in 1533 in good style; and he had asked

¹⁰² FN I 474; II 251 341.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* II 384-385 542.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* II 474 542-543 558.

¹⁰⁵ He is called simply Dr. Martialis by Polanco (FN I 181; II 559). This could hardly be Dr. Martial Gallicier, mentioned as "Doctor régent" of the Faculty of Law after 1518 and also as pastor of Saints-Innocents in Paris after 1524, who acted as procurator for the bishop of Meaux in his trial for heresy in 1527 (Coyecque, n. 127 483 796). He was certainly not Marcial de Gouvea, who was not a doctor and who, at Ignatius' time, was not in Paris (on him see his process, published by Antonio Baião, "O processo desconhecido da Inquisição contra o lente do Colégio das artes, Mestre Marcial de Gouveia," *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da Historia* 9 [Lisbon, 1945] 9-16; Mário Brandão, "Marcial de Gouveia und seine Beziehungen zu Erasmus und Melanchthon," offprint from the *Revista do Instituto de Cultura Alemã em Lisboa*, 1944; the processes of Costa and Teive and Matos 14), but rather Dr. Martial Mazurier, principal of the Collège de Chanac in 1530, of whom we spoke above on page 122.

¹⁰⁶ Valle (FN I 181) or Vagli (*ibid.* II 559) as he is called by Polanco, is probably the same as the George Valla who cooperated with Gérard Roussel in translating the *Magna Moralia* of Aristotle from the Greek and published it in 1522 with Clichtovaeus through Simon de Colines in Paris (cf. L. Delaruelle, "Note sur G. Roussel. L'Helléniste," *Annales du Midi* 61 [1948] 102).

¹⁰⁷ FN I 181; II 559. Alvaro de Moscoso, who was born in 1480 in Cáceres (Estremadura), became procurator of the French nation in Paris in 1523, socius of the Sorbonne in 1524, rector of the university in 1527, and a doctor of theology on May 27, 1530 ("M. Alvarva do Monoscoso" *Bibl. Nat. Paris: Mss. lat. 5657 A*, f. 38). He became chaplain of Charles V in 1540, bishop of Pamplona in 1550, bishop of Zamora in 1561, and died in 1564. He was always a warm friend of the Jesuits and in 1555 wrote to the bishop of Huesca: "Al P. Maestro Ignacio, fundador de esta orden, vi morar y estudiar muchos años en Paris, y le conversé familiarmente, y nunca supe dél cosa que no fuese de varón apostólico" (*Ep. Mixtae* IV 730). On him see José Goñi Gaztambide, "Los navarros en el Concilio de Trento," *Revista Española de Teología* 5 (1945) 211-217; C. Gutierrez, S.J., *Espanoles en Trento* (Valladolid, 1951) 70-73; Villoslada 397.

¹⁰⁸ FN I 181-182; II 559-560.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* I 476; II 385.

before the latter examination that he should be put to a severe proof.¹¹⁰ In his examination Favre had ranked twenty-fourth; Iñigo ranked thirtieth in his.¹¹¹ He devoted himself with the same stubborn persistence to the study of theology. On most days, and during the winter this was long before sunrise, he went to the Dominican monastery to hear in addition to the other lectures one that was delivered early, principally for the scholastics of the order.¹¹² The result was that he made great progress in learning, as was indicated by his answers in the public acts and in his dealings and disputations with his fellow students.¹¹³ His companions, like Nadal, were astonished at the excellence of his answers to difficult problems that were discussed in his presence. A famous doctor, surprised at this, declared that he had never seen a man who spoke with such sovereign eminence and majesty on theological questions.¹¹⁴ Dr. Martial went so far as to say jokingly that he would make Iñigo a doctor even before his examination for the baccalaureate on the ground that since he, the student, was teaching him, the doctor, it was right that he should hold the same rank.¹¹⁵

After completing his course in philosophy, Iñigo again gave free rein to his desire for prayer and apostolic work. He liked to spend his time in the quiet chapel of Notre-Dame-des-Champs, and he frequently withdrew for prayer to a gypsum pit on Montmartre near the chapel of the martyrs.¹¹⁶

His longing to help souls made him inventive.

One of the students was accustomed to visit a prostitute who lived in the suburb of Saint-Marcel. Since all of his prayers, warnings, and threats of divine punishment proved to be fruitless, Iñigo waded out one day into the ice-cold Bièvre brook and stood there up to his neck in the water under the bridge that his fellow student would have to cross. When he saw him, he cried out: "Go, you poor wretch, to your filthy pleasures! Do you not see God's punishment hanging over your head? I shall do penance here until I have turned away God's anger from you." This helped.¹¹⁷

He found another means to assist a religious priest who was leading a worldly and scandalous life and was much opposed to him and had resisted all his attempts to convert him. One Sunday morning Iñigo went as usual to

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* II 196.

¹¹¹ Register of Sainte-Geneviève (Petavius 441).

¹¹² FN II 196 555.

¹¹³ According to Laynez: "Quanto al estudio, aunque tuvo por aventura más impedimentos que ninguno de su tiempo, tuvo tanta diligencia o más, ceteris paribus, que sus contemporáneos, y aprovechó medianamente en las letras, según que, respondiendo públicamente y en el tiempo de su curso platicando con sus condiscipulos, monstró" (FN I 100). The expression "medianamente" here means "very good progress," for Laynez also says of himself and the other companions: "El Señor especialmente nos ayudó así en las letras, en las cuales hicimos mediano provecho" (*ibid.* 102); see also *MI Scripta* I 394.

¹¹⁴ FN II 199.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* I 181.

¹¹⁶ *MI Scripta* I 523-524.

¹¹⁷ According to Ribadeneyra. He heard it from Juan Baptista de Ribera, S.J. (who was born in 1525 in Jerez de la Frontera, entered the order in 1554, came to Rome as an assistant to the secretary of the order, Polanco, in 1557, was in India and Macao from 1565 to 1575, in Rome as general procurator and general secretary from 1582 to 1584, and died in 1594). Ribera heard it from Dr. Peralta (FN II 356 and *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* 5, 2; cf *MI Scripta* II 811). According to Gonçalves da Camara, Laynez refers this incident to Barcelona: "De lo que conta Lainez del Padre, en Barcelona se metió en el agua para ayudar a uno," and he mentions Ribadeneyra's *Vida* as his source (FN I 730-731).

receive Holy Communion at the Carthusians. He then went to the house of the religious, who happened to live in the neighborhood, and asked the priest to hear his confession, even though the latter was still in bed. After confessing his sins of the past week, Iñigo then confessed those of his youth with so much contrition and so many tears that his confessor recognized the gravity of his own errors and made the Exercises under Iñigo's direction. From that time on he atoned for his former scandals through the piety of his life.¹¹⁸

On another occasion the zealous student sought out a doctor of theology whom he had often attempted to win over, but without success. The doctor was busy playing billiards and kept urging his visitor for such a long time to take part in the game that the latter finally agreed upon one condition: Whoever lost would have to do the will of the other for thirty days. The doctor picked up the challenge and lost. Iñigo gave him the Spiritual Exercises for a month, and the exercitant was from that time on a different man.¹¹⁹

The first to whom Iñigo gave the Exercises in Paris were, after Amador de Elduayen, Dr. Pedro de Peralta and Juan de Castro. Both preserved their affection for him.¹²⁰ Peralta regarded his retreat master as a saint.¹²¹ His friend Castro received his doctor's biretta in October, 1532.¹²² Meanwhile Peralta had gone to Italy in order to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. But a relative, a captain in the imperial army, intervened with the pope; and the pilgrim was ordered to return.¹²³

The next to make the Spiritual Exercises were three doctors, Moscoso, Martial, and Valle; but Iñigo was also on intimate terms with other doctors and students in Paris. From the beginning of his stay there,¹²⁴ he had as one of his friends

¹¹⁸ Ribadeneyra heard the story from the companion who had gone with Ignatius that morning to the Carthusians (*Vida* 5, 10).

¹¹⁹ Ribadeneyra's authority is here again the companion who was with Ignatius at the time (*Vida* 5, 10). Was this the doctor who stated in Paris in 1549 that all Jesuits, if they were to be treated as they deserved, should be publicly flogged off the streets as corruptors of youths? To prove his point he added that Ignatius had persuaded him to make the Exercises for thirty days in a room (Polanco, *Chron.* I 420). And was this Dr. Martial Mazurier?

¹²⁰ "A suscepto vitae proposito destiterunt, quamvis viri pii ac boni hi tres in posterum fuerint," according to Polanco (FN II 560).

¹²¹ In 1595 Ribadeneyra testified: "Se acuerda aver oydo dezir al doctor Peralta, que en París avía sido discipulo spiritual del P. Ignacio, que por sólo lo que él avía visto en él, bien le podían canonizar" (*MI Scripta* II 166).

¹²² Villoslada 431.

¹²³ Peralta traveled to Italy on foot. He must have wished to make this pilgrimage during his stay in Paris, and before 1535, since at the beginning of this year he was again in Spain (FN I 468 188). The "long trip" on horseback which Peralta and Castro made from Paris, and for which Ignatius gave them advice (*MI Scripta* II 328), was probably their trip to Spain in 1534, since Castro was still in Paris in October, 1533 (*Delisle* 350, n. CXLVIII); on Peralta see also Larrañaga 324-325.

¹²⁴ Polanco simply calls him Dr. Mongelos. In 1549 he wrote to Dr. Bernardino de Salinas in Paris that Ignatius was sending his greetings to his friend Dr. Mongelos, and added: "que me parece desde el tiempo que ay studiaron juntos le tiene Nuestro Padre muy special amor en Jesus Christo" (*Polanci Complementa* I 54). Diogo de Teive, who studied in Sainte-Barbe from 1527 to 1532, states that he had corresponded with Master Nicolao Mongelos in Paris (Teive 160). In 1549 and 1551, however, Frey João Pinheiro, O.P., and Dr. Diogo de Gouvea senior affirmed in Paris that Dr. Mongelos had broken off correspondence with Teive, Costa, and Buchanan because they had appeared to him to be suspect in the faith. They also stated that they had little regard for the orthodoxy of André de Gouvea and Gélida (Costa 4-6 102 196-197). Mongelos first taught philosophy in the Collège de Lisieux and then physics in Sainte-Barbe from 1539-1540. He was

the Basque Nicolás Hirigaray, a regent of philosophy in the Collège de Lisieux since 1535. He was known simply as "Mongelos" from his native home in Lower Navarre, two hours from Saint-Jean-Pied-du-Port. Another of Iñigo's friends from the time of his arrival in Paris was Dr. Jerónimo Frago, who came from Uncastillo in Aragon on the other side of Sangüesa. This lay within the diocese of Pamplona, and his ancestors had been benefactors of the cathedral in the capital of Navarre. He had received his master's degree in 1521, and had then taught a course in philosophy from 1521 to 1525. In 1529 he became an associate of the Sorbonne, where he gave lectures on Scripture and received his doctor's degree in 1533.¹²⁵ Another of Iñigo's friends was Francisco de Astudillo from Burgos. He had matriculated in 1527, had become a master of arts in 1533, and had taught Latin and philosophy since 1534 in the Collège de Mans.¹²⁶ He had a wealthy countryman, Juan Alonso de Polanco, among his pupils,¹²⁷ and he counted Martín de Olave among his closest friends.¹²⁸ Olave,¹²⁹ a native of Vitoria, the capital of the province of Alava, was also a friend of Iñigo and Xavier.¹³⁰ As a young student at Alcalá in 1526 he had been the first to give an alms to Iñigo when he arrived there. In 1529 he left Alcalá for Paris, and with his friend Astudillo took up his residence in the Collège de Mans.¹³¹ The two received their master's degree in 1533. In 1534 he became a fellow of the Sorbonne, where his learned lectures on philosophy attracted many students,¹³² among whom were his countryman Antonio de Hozes¹³³ and the Navarrese Charles de Caparroso.¹³⁴ The Portuguese Manuel Miona¹³⁵

procurator of the French nation in 1540. His real name was Nicolás Hirigaray of Mongelos (Quicherat I 252; cf. Matos 115 117, n. 3; Costa 196).

¹²⁵ Jerónimo Frago y Garcés died as canon in Pamplona in 1537. On him see the *Diarium of Martín de Urtarroz (Cathedral Archives Pamplona: *Arca HH* n. 21); Cros, *Doc.* I 322-323; Villoslada 247 408; the **Acta Rectoria* 9951, 100 119 and FN I 476.

¹²⁶ On Astudillo, later a canon in Seville, and his relations with Ignatius and the first companions, see *MI Epp.* I 191; *Ep. Mixtae* IV 380-381; *Polanci Complementa* I 96 143-144 (he sends greetings to Polanco, Laynez, Salmerón, Bobadilla, and Nadal); *Lainii Mon.* I 318; *Ep. Salmeronis* II 277-278 293-296; Villoslada 385-386.

¹²⁷ The **Acta Rectoria* 9953, 75 list among the *incipientes* before Easter in 1537, that is, 1538: "D. Joannes Alphonso Polancho sub Mag. Francisco Astudillo, cuius bursa valet 7 solidos parisienses."

¹²⁸ *Ep. Mixtae* IV 380-381; *Polanci Complementa* I 137.

¹²⁹ Olave later resided at the court of Charles V. He entered the Society in Rome in 1552 and died in 1556. On him see José Malaxecheverría, S.J., *El Doctor Martín de Olave* (Rome, 1940); Gutiérrez 762-775.

¹³⁰ In 1553 Polanco wrote at Ignatius' request to Xavier: "P. Dr. Olave, que V. R. conoció en París, es un raro supósito en todas buenas partes" (*MI Epp.* V 269).

¹³¹ Register of Sainte-Geneviève (Petavius 442).

¹³² The **Acta Rectoria* 9953, 56v-57v give fifteen students who earned the master's degree under Olave during the term of Jean Tiercelet as rector (December 13, 1536, to March 24, 1537).

¹³³ He became master under Olave at the end of 1538 (**Acta Rectoria* 9953, 95).

¹³⁴ "Carolus Marcilla, vulgo Caparosa, nobilis, Pamp. dioc.," matriculated in 1535 and became a master at the beginning of 1537 (**Acta Rectoria* 9953, 16; Villoslada 379). In 1544 Master Charles de Caparroso, living in Paris, brought a suit against the lord of the castle of Xavier and Xavier's brother Juan because of a longstanding debt of thirty ducats. From this it follows that the master boarded Xavier's nephew Juan de Xavier in his residence in Paris from 1538 to 1541, and that Xavier's brother Miguel had promised to pay thirty ducats a year for this service. A portion of the process and a few photographs are published in Nicolás S. de Otto, *Francisco Javier y la Universidad de Paris* (Valladolid, 1934) 111-112; instead of *Juan de Xavier* the editor wrongly gives *Fnco* and instead of *Maestro Charles* he again gives erroneously *Miguel Charles*.

¹³⁵ Miona entered the Society in Rome in 1544. He was professed in 1549. He labored

had been Iñigo's confessor in Alcalá and he continued to be so in Paris, where he followed his penitent in 1532.¹³⁶ There, despite his advancing years (he was already about sixty years old),¹³⁷ he took up his studies again and obtained his master's degree two years later.¹³⁸ He was pious and very much given to prayer, but despite his high esteem for Iñigo and his companions he could not decide to make the Exercises. He was naturally scrupulous and was somewhat suspicious of them.

Among the many friends and acquaintances whom Iñigo had among the students, there were, for example, the Frenchman Jean Rousseau, who was on intimate terms with both him and Xavier;¹³⁹ the Spaniards Antonio Arias,¹⁴⁰ Diego de Cáceres,¹⁴¹ Lorenzo García,¹⁴² and Jerónimo Nadal; the Portuguese

in Messina and Palermo from 1555 to 1558 and then returned ill to Rome, where he died in 1567. He was known for his great love of prayer. On him see Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 197-200, and Dom. Stanislao Alberti, S.J., *Historia de la Compagnia di Giesu. La Sicilia* (Palermo, 1702) 223-227.

¹³⁶ Bataillon 514.

¹³⁷ Under the rector Adam Sequart (March 24 to June 23, 1534) according to the *Acta Rectoria* 9952, 194.

¹³⁸ Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 248-249, n. 2.

¹³⁹ In 1579, when Maldonatus was visiting the Collège de Bordeaux, a canon of that city, Jean Rousseau, handed over his priory of Saint-Sauveur in Saint-Macaire to the college under the condition that he was to receive a pension of four hundred livres as long as he lived. A document of the year 1603, in which the province of Aquitaine gives the reasons for moving the novitiate from Toulouse to this former Benedictine priory, mentions Rousseau, "qui B. P. N. Ignatium et Xaverium familiariter Parisiis noverat" (ARSI: *Congr.* 50, 353v).

¹⁴⁰ Arias was a priest and bachelor of theology when in Venice he joined the companions for their trip to Rome in 1537. He left them, however, during the return trip. In 1548 he again showed up in Rome with the intent of joining the Conventuals. In 1560 he was again in Venice in a confused state of mind. From there he went to Padua, where he died that same year. On him see *Ep. Mixtae* I 12-14; *Fabri Mon.* 7-8; *Ep. Salmeronis* I 67 403.

¹⁴¹ Cáceres belonged to the diocese of Segovia. He matriculated in Paris in 1534 (Villoslada 395). Polanco says of him: "Parisiis amicum se Ignatio exhibebat" (FN II 544). He came from Paris to Rome in 1539, where he took part in the deliberations. He returned that same year to Paris and joined the young students of the Society who had come there from Rome in the spring, but he left them shortly after his ordination in 1541 or 1542. After this he became a spy in the service of Francis I and later in that of the king of Navarre. He is mentioned for the last time in 1561. On him see *Ep. Mixtae* I 72; see also 15-16 61 63 66 68 70 72-73 582; V 628; EX I 18 78; *Lainii Mon.* I 8; V 406-407; *MI Epp.* I 88, VIII 542; *Scripta* II 3; *Constitutiones* I, pp. XLI-XLVI 8 13; *Fabri Mon.* 105; FN II 180-181 544 566-567; C. Dalmases, S.J., "Notas Ignacianas," *Estudios eclesiásticos* 24 (1950) 98-101; *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign and Domestic: Henry VIII*, vol. XX, 1, nn. 689 957 and 1087. He never belonged, despite statements to the contrary, in a strict sense to the Society of Jesus, as Polanco wrote to Broët in 1555 (*MI Epp.* VIII 542); he is to be distinguished from the Lope de Cáceres, Ignatius' disciple in Spain, as Po'anco expressly notes (FN II 544 566-567; cf. *MI Epp.* I 88, n. 6), in opposition to Ribadeneyra (*Ep. Mixtae* I 72, n. 1) and M. Bataillon (*Revista de Historia de America* 31 [Mexico, 1951] 60).

¹⁴² Lorenzo García was of the diocese of Jaén in Andalucía (*MI Scripta* I 548). He was, it seems, one of the three nephews of the archdeacon of Barcelona, Diego Cazador (*MI Epp.* I 94; *Ep. Mixtae* I 15-16). He was still in Paris in 1537 (*MI Scripta* II 3, where the *Garsia* of the Ms. becomes *Daosia* and, in the index, *Daosia Vincenzo*). In 1538 we meet him already a priest with the companions in Rome; he fled from there, however, to Paris at the outbreak of the persecution. From there he wrote to Ignatius in 1539 that he had become a doctor. In 1542 he was in Barcelona and Perpignan, where Favre found him regretting what he had done (*Fabri Mon.* 156-157; *MI Epp.* I 187).

Jerónimo Osorio,¹⁴³ Sebastian Rodrigues, the brother of Simon,¹⁴⁴ Manuel dos Santos,¹⁴⁵ Antonio Pinheiro,¹⁴⁶ and others. Under Iñigo's guidance a number of these friends had resolved to leave the world. Every Sunday many, both students and nonstudents, went with him to the Carthusians to confess their sins and to receive Holy Communion.¹⁴⁷ Among them was one whom Iñigo sought to win over for his Montmartre group at any cost—Jerónimo Nadal.¹⁴⁸

Nadal was of a rather short stature, slightly built, and of a somewhat melancholy appearance, but he had bright flashing eyes, a keen spirit, and was a tireless worker. A young, practical, energetic, and fiery Mallorcan,¹⁴⁹ he came

¹⁴³ Jerónimo Osorio, the renowned humanist, was born in the diocese of Coimbra about 1514. He studied Latin, Greek, and law in Salamanca. In 1533, at the age of nineteen, he came to Paris, where he matriculated in 1534. He remained there until 1537 and then went to Bologna, where he continued his studies. He returned to Portugal, became secretary of the Infante Dom Luis and tutor of his son Dom Antonio. In 1564 he became bishop of Silves in Algarve, where he died in 1580 known as "the Portuguese Cicero." The *Vita*, which his nephew added as a preface to his collected works, states that "Ignatius Loiola, aliquot sibi socios Parisiis adsciverat, cum quibus Osorius singularem iniiit consuetudinem, et in Petri Fabri familiaritate maxime versabatur" (*Opera omnia I* [Romae, 1592] 3). This biography also gives a brief description of him: he was of medium height, broad shouldered and strong, and had blue eyes and a snub nose. In Salamanca he took a vow of perpetual chastity. In Paris he was simply called "the philosopher" (*ibid.* 2). On him see, in addition to the *Vita*, Matos 85; Aubrey F. G. Bell, *O Humanista Dom Jerónimo Osorio, trad. de Alvaro Dória. Com introdução de Luis de Almeida Braga* (Coimbra, 1934, pp. CXXIV and 84). Bell's essay appeared first in English in the *Revue hispanique* 73 (1928) 525-556; cf. Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 204-206.

¹⁴⁴ Sebastião Rodrigues, later the physician of John III, earned a master's degree under the rector Matthieu Paviot (March 24 to June 23, 1533). In 1538 Dr. Gouvea wrote to the king that he went to the Carthusians every Sunday to receive Communion (Costa 321). On him see Matos 55-56 58-59. He is to be distinguished from his namesake who matriculated in 1537 and was still described as a theologian in Paris in 1550-1551 (*ibid.* 90-92).

¹⁴⁵ Manuel dos Santos matriculated in Paris under the rector Landericus Macyot (December 16, 1531, to March 24, 1532). He became titular bishop of Targa in 1540 and inquisitor in Lisbon in 1564. He died in 1570 (Almeida, *Hist. da Igreja III*, 2, 672-673). In 1556 Father Francisco Moraes, S.J., wrote to Ignatius: "O bispo de Targa conheceu a V. R. em Paris e o tratou, segundo entendo com alguma intimidade" (*Litt. Quadr.* IV 275). On him see Matos 75-76 and Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 207-208.

¹⁴⁶ He studied in Paris from 1527-1540 (Matos 61-64 149-150); on his love for the Society see Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 206-207.

¹⁴⁷ According to Laynez he persuaded many in the Collège de Sainte-Barbe to go to confession and receive Holy Communion and others to forsake the world and to follow the path of poverty and the cross. Some of these did not persevere, but others became Franciscans, Dominicans, or Carthusians. At the time of Ignatius' departure in 1535 there were twelve or fourteen companions who had decided to serve the Lord "por via de oración." Two or three of these became Franciscans (FN I 100-102; cf. 183). Laynez wrongly includes in this number Jay, Broët, and Codure. He is also wrong in saying that Ignatius had studied ten years in Paris. Cáceres is also included (*ibid.* II 566-567). On the Communions received at the Carthusians, see also Rodrigues 460.

¹⁴⁸ Jerónimo Nadal was born in 1507 and entered the Society in Rome in 1545. He became one of Ignatius' principal assistants and was commissioned by him to visit the European houses of the order from 1552 to 1555 and to publish the Constitutions in them. He made a second visitation in the same provinces from 1560 to 1568. From 1573 to 1577 he lived in Hall (Tyrol) and then returned to Rome, where he died in 1580. On him see *Epistolae Nadal* (Matri, 1898-1905) 4 vols.; FN II (nn. 1 3-5 7-10 13 15) and Miguel Nicolau, S.J., *Jerónimo Nadal S.I., Sus obras y doctrinas espirituales* (Madrid, 1949, with a bibliography).

¹⁴⁹ "Staturae fuit modicae potius quam pusillae, vultus in modestia, ac religione admodum vividí. Porro animo indefessus, industrius, acer; ingenio promptissimo" (Sacchini IV, 8, n. 28), "vehemente natura" (Nadal I 31).

from a prominent family of Palma in Mallorca.¹⁶⁰ He had gone to Alcalá, and had there come to know Laynez, Salmerón, and Bobadilla; he also met Iñigo, though he had not become intimate with him.¹⁶¹ He came to Paris in 1535 and enrolled in the university at the age of twenty-six.¹⁶² It was only there, while he was teaching mathematics and at the same time studying theology, that he got to know Iñigo better. The latter recognized the excellent qualities of his young friend, who not only had a natural talent for practical affairs but had also received an exceptionally fine education and had a good knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and also of scholastic and positive theology.¹⁶³ When a popular outbreak occurred in 1532 against Italian marauders known as "Marrabaeans," who were accused of kidnapping little children in order to drink their blood, he was in mortal danger¹⁶⁴ because of his dark skin. At the beginning of 1535 Nadal met Iñigo in the Rue Saint-Jacques and told him that he had just recovered from a serious illness and that he had been afraid that he would die. "You poor fellow," Iñigo asked him, "why were you afraid?" His friend then asked him in turn, "What? Are you not afraid of that death which Christ feared?" But Iñigo replied, "For fifteen years I have not feared it."

After this meeting Nadal went to confession to Miona and accompanied the others on the next Sunday to the Carthusians to receive Holy Communion. Iñigo's companions also sought to win him over for their company. Laynez visited him in his room and found him reading Theophylactus. He spoke to him of the mystical sense of Sacred Scripture but without success. Favre later met him when he was with Escobar, a fellow student from Spain,¹⁶⁵ and spoke to him of piety; but this also made no impression. Finally, even his confessor Miona sought to win him over for Iñigo, but Nadal would answer him: "You are not an Inquist yourself, why do you want to make me one?"

Iñigo eventually made one last personal attempt to get him to make the Exercises. He met him near the Porte Saint-Jacques and told him of the persecution which he had experienced in Salamanca because of his zeal for souls and how he had been questioned and his innocence proved, for he was afraid that his friend might be in doubt about the purity of his faith. He went with him to the neighboring chapel of Saint-Étienne-des-Grès opposite the entrance of the Dominican monastery and read to him as he leaned upon the baptismal font a long letter which he had sent to a nephew in Spain in order to call him from the world to a more perfect life. Nadal felt the effects of Iñigo's arguments working upon him, but he held his ground. They left the church and in front of its door Nadal pointed to his New Testament and said: "I will follow this book; I do not know, where you will land. Don't talk to me about this any more and leave me in peace!" Followers of the Alumbrados had been discovered at Llerena in Spain. The times were dangerous. Who knew but that Iñigo and his disciples might not some day fall into the hands of the inquisitors? This was his reaction; and from then on he avoided their company, especially since a fellow countryman, a Franciscan with

¹⁶⁰ Nadal I 28.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* 1.

¹⁶² According to the *Acta Rectoria* 9952, 163v, he matriculated under the rector Thomas Pinchemaille (December 16, 1532, to March 24, 1533).

¹⁶³ *MI Epp.* II 25-26.

¹⁶⁴ Nadal I 2; cf. *Journal* 355.

¹⁶⁵ Francisco de Escobar of the diocese of Valencia (Villoslada 411 413).

whom he was on good terms, had warned him about Iñigo; and he feared that he might write home something that could be harmful to him.¹⁵⁶

Nadal's fears were not entirely unfounded. Even Miona had had similar suspicions. Because of his apostolic labors Iñigo had already in Spain been haled before the ecclesiastical courts. Because of the Exercises which he had given to Castro, Peralta, and Amador, he had been delated to the inquisitor in 1529; and his Spanish countrymen, especially those from Burgos, such as Dr. Garay and Masters Salinas and Malvenda, had never forgotten the incident. Behind the secrecy which surrounded his disciples and the Exercises, more than one perceived a disguised heresy.¹⁵⁷

In Beire on December 11, 1534, Francis' sister Anna wrote in her will:

Above all else we confess and believe in the articles of the holy Catholic faith, and we wish to live and die in this holy Catholic faith; and if at any time or in the hour of our death, through the suggestion or persecution of the devil or through the wanderings of our mind or the weakness of our spirit, we should ever doubt about the articles of this holy Catholic faith, we now protest in the presence of God's majesty and of our Blessed Mother and of the whole heavenly court that we do not wish to yield to that temptation, but that we wish to live and die in the holy Catholic faith and in obedience to our Holy Mother the Church as a Catholic Christian.¹⁵⁸

In Navarre there was concern about Francis' orthodoxy. Disturbing reports had been heard there about him and his relations with Iñigo, as Father Fray Vear was able to report on his return to Paris.¹⁵⁹

During this time Iñigo had earned his master's degree, and on March 14, 1535, he received his diploma.¹⁶⁰ He was not now in good health. Every two weeks he experienced grievous pains in his stomach which lasted for an hour, but which on one occasion persisted for fifteen or sixteen hours and caused a fever. Every possible means was employed to relieve him, but without success. His physicians could finally see only one means for him to regain his health: he should exchange the cold of Paris for the milder climate of his native land. His companions also encouraged him to try this final remedy.¹⁶¹ But there were other reasons as well for the trip. If he regained his health, he would be able to visit relatives of his Spanish companions in Navarre, Almazán, and Toledo and would thus be able to counteract the slanders that had been going around and arrange their affairs. He could also obtain alms from them for the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. From Spain he could then go to Venice and wait there for the arrival of his disciples at the beginning of 1537. Iñigo also had two other personal reasons for going. In Azpeitia, his native town, he could make reparation for the scandal he had

¹⁵⁶ Nadal I 2-3 (in his autobiography; the account given by his companion P. Jiménez, *ibid.* 28-29, is less exact).

¹⁵⁷ *MI Epp.* I 190-191.

¹⁵⁸ *Cros, Doc.* I 315-316.

¹⁵⁹ *EX* I 9.

¹⁶⁰ At the general assembly at the Mathurins on March 14, 1534, according to Parisian dating. It was thus actually in 1535. The document states that Master Ignatius (the way Iñigo is already named in the **Acta Rectoria* of 1532) de Loyola earned a master's degree after Easter, 1534. It was thus between Easter, 1534 (April 5), and Easter, 1535 (March 28) (*MI Scripta* II 1-2). The **Acta Rectoria* 9953, 12 state that he received the master's degree under the rector Florentin Jacquart (December 15, 1534, to March 24, 1535). It was thus quite probably in March, 1535, as would have been the usual case (contrary to Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 60 and FN I 33 and 479, n. 22).

¹⁶¹ FN I 478-480 100 185 768-769; II 568; Rodrigues 461.

given in his youth; and during the course of his travels he could look up the earlier companions that he had won in Spain and the friends that had returned there from Paris—Artiaga, Calisto, Peralta, and Castro—and possibly win them over for his new company.¹⁶²

But as he was busy making his preparations for his journey, he was informed that he had been delated to the inquisitor Liévin as being suspect in the faith, mainly because of the Exercises, and that a suit had been initiated against him.

Since he received no summons, Iñigo went himself to the Dominican monastery and explained to the inquisitor that he had heard of the accusation. He was forced to travel to Spain and had companions upon whom he could not allow any suspicion to fall. He therefore asked him to bring the trial to a conclusion and render a judgment. Iñigo was no longer unknown to Liévin. During the preceding days he had brought him a good many erring sheep who repented their former errors. The religious admitted that a denunciation had been made, but he had done nothing about it. However, he would like to look at the manuscript of the Exercises, which some thought suspect.¹⁶³

In Paris Iñigo was in the midst of the battle between the old and the new faiths, and he recognized the need of clear ideas and of holding to the mind of the Church, something which the humanists such as Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étaples and their followers failed to realize. He therefore added to his Exercises rules on thinking with the Church.¹⁶⁴ He took these in part from the list which Clichtovaeus, the Church's champion against the Lutherans, had published in 1529 with the decrees of the Council of Sens.¹⁶⁵ They began with the basic principle that a true Catholic must set aside his own judgment and be ready in all things to obey the true Bride of Christ, our Holy Mother, the Hierarchical Church. The rules went on to say that one must praise auricular confession, a frequent reception of the Sacrament of the Altar, the hearing of Mass, hymns, Psalms, and long prayers, the Hours of the Office, virginity, religious vows, works of supererogation, the veneration of relics, station devotions, pilgrimages, indulgences, and candles lighted in church. Moreover, one should praise fasts and other penitential works, the decoration of churches, the veneration of images, and all the precepts of the Church. Further, one should refrain from finding fault with the lives of ecclesiastical superiors before others so as not to arouse the people against them. One should praise the positive theology of the Church Fathers and the scholastic theology of St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, the Master of the Sentences, and others; and, finally, one should be convinced that what seems to be white is black if the Church so defines it, for the same Spirit and hand that gave the Ten Commandments rules and guides Holy Mother the Church for the salvation of souls.¹⁶⁶

Iñigo gave the manuscript of his Exercises to the inquisitor, and the latter praised their contents and asked for and received a copy of them. But he was reluctant to pass a sentence on the matter, especially since Iñigo's accuser had himself let it drop; and even when Iñigo sent different friends to him he persisted in his refusal. In order to bring the matter to an end, Iñigo betook himself with

¹⁶² FN I 480 185 187-188; II 568-569; EX I 8 11.

¹⁶³ FN I 480 180-181; II 561-562. Polanco incorrectly says that the inquisitor was Ory; it was instead Valentin Liévin (*MI Scripta* II 3).

¹⁶⁴ *MI Ex.* 548-562.

¹⁶⁵ Dudon 627-633; on this see P. Leturia, "Sentido verdadero en la Iglesia militante," *Gregorianum* 23 (1942) 137-168.

¹⁶⁶ Rule 13. See above Erasmus, p. 132.

a public notary and two or three masters as witnesses to the residence of the inquisitor; and when the latter spoke in high praise of the accused, he had the notary draw up on the spot an official protocol to that effect.¹⁶⁷

4. THE LETTER TO HIS BROTHER (MARCH 25, 1535)

Iñigo celebrated Easter, which fell on March 28, with his companions and then took his departure.¹⁶⁸ Because of his illness they had purchased for him a small, brown horse.¹⁶⁹ It was raining when he left them for his distant home.¹⁷⁰ He carried with him letters of recommendation from his disciples to their Spanish relatives. One of these was a letter of Francis to his brother Captain Juan de Azpilcueta in Obanos.

In this letter Xavier mentioned the fact that he had often written to his brother during the preceding days, since he owed him many thanks for his numerous kindnesses to him. But apparently many of his letters as well as his brother's answers had been lost on the long road between Paris and Obanos. Juan was certainly not lacking in love for his brother, since safe in his house at Obanos,¹⁷¹ where he had everything needed in rich abundance, he regretted the trials and difficulties which his younger brother experienced as a student in Paris, where he was in constant need. Once Juan was better informed of his condition, he would certainly send him help for the future.

Then he took up the slanders which were being spread about him in his native land.

Señor, during the past days the Reverend Father Friar Vear¹⁷² has been at this university, and he has brought me news of certain complaints which Your Grace has made against me. He mentioned these to me at great length, and if it is true that Your Grace, as he has given me to understand, is greatly distressed on this account, then this is in itself an indication and clear proof of the love and heartfelt affection which you have for me.

What troubled me most, Señor, in the matter was the thought of the great sorrow caused Your Grace by the reports of certain wretched and contemptuous men, whom I would certainly like to know so that I could pay them off as they deserve. But since everyone treats me here in a very friendly fashion, it is difficult for me to discover who they are. God knows how much it pains me that I have to delay punishing them as they deserve; my only consolation is that *quod differtur, non aufertur*.

¹⁶⁷ FN I 480 181; II 562.

¹⁶⁸ Probably at the beginning of April (FN I 33*, n. 96 and I 40; Rodrigues 461). Polanco is wrong in saying that Ignatius left in the fall (FN II 569).

¹⁶⁹ FN I 482; II 569; *MI Scripta* II 190 204; *Litt. Quadr.* I 494. Laynez says that Ignatius made the trip on foot as he usually did (FN I 104). This probably means that he traveled at times on foot.

¹⁷⁰ On July 13, 1535, the bodies of Sts. Genevieve and Marcellus were carried in a procession in Paris "à cause des par trop grandes pluyes qui ne cesserent à Paris et ès environs depuis Pasques jusques à cedict jour. Depuis laquelle procession le beau temps revint" (*Journal* 391-392; cf. Picott: 140).

¹⁷¹ The house is still standing. The coat of arms of Captain Juan, which was over the entrance, was brought by Father Escalada (died 1946) to his museum at the castle of Xavier.

¹⁷² Martinus de Veard of the diocese of Pamplona matriculated when André de Gouvea was rector (June 23 to October 10, 1533). After Easter, 1533, Dom Martinus de Veriam of the same diocese became a *magister artium* during John Gonzalis' term as rector (March 24 to June 23, 1535) (*Acta Rectoria* 9953, 21). The references are to the same individual, who was probably not the same as P. Fray Vear.

And in order that Your Grace may clearly know what a great favor our Lord has conferred upon me in having me come to know Señor Master Iñigo,¹⁷³ I give you my word of honor that I will never be able as long as I live to repay him the great debt of gratitude that I owe him. Many times he has assisted me in my needs with money and friends; and he has also been the reason why I gave up evil companions whom I, in my inexperience, did not recognize as such. And now that these heresies have been driven out of Paris, I would not for the whole world have associated with these people. I cannot repay Señor Master Iñigo for this fact alone, that he was the reason why I did not enter into conversations and friendships with individuals who outwardly appeared to be good but who were inwardly full of errors, as has been proved by events.

I therefore entreat Your Grace to receive him as you would my own self, since he has put me so greatly in his debt by his good services. And Your Grace may well believe that if he were such as he has been described to be, then he would not go to Your Grace's home and thus come into your hands, for no evildoer surrenders himself into the power of one whom he has offended. And from this alone Your Grace can see quite clearly that everything which has been told to Your Grace about Señor Master Iñigo is false.

I earnestly entreat you not to fail to talk and converse with Señor Iñigo and to have confidence in his words, for his advice and conversation can be of great advantage to you, since he is such a great man of God and so good in his way of life. I ask you as a favor not to let this opportunity slip by. And whatever Señor Master Iñigo will tell Your Grace in my name, do me the favor of believing it just as you would if I told it to you myself. Your Grace can learn more about my needs and burdens from him than from any other person in the world, since he knows better than anyone else on earth my miseries and needs.

If Your Grace is so kind as to wish to do me the favor of alleviating my great poverty, then Your Grace can give what you wish to send me to Señor Iñigo, the bearer of this letter. He must go to Almazán and has certain letters with him from a student here, a great friend of mine who is studying at the university. This student is a native of Almazán and is being very well and safely supported. He is writing to his father that if Señor Iñigo gives him funds for different Parisian students, he should send them along with his own and in the same kind of coin. Since there is such a safe means at hand, I beg Your Grace to be mindful of me.

I have nothing more to tell Your Grace from here except that our dear cousin¹⁷⁴ has fled from the university. I followed him as far as Notre-Dame-de-Cléry,¹⁷⁵ which is thirty-four leagues from Paris. I beg Your Grace to let me know if he has reached Navarre, for I am very much afraid that he will never be well. As to what has happened here with respect to heresies, Master Iñigo, the bearer of this letter, will tell you all that I could write in a letter.

And so I conclude, kissing the hands of Your Grace and those of your lady a thousand times. May our Lord prolong Your Graces' lives for as many years as Your Graces' noble hearts desire.

From Paris, March 25.

Your Grace's devoted servant and younger brother, Francés de Xavier.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ Inigo (Latin "Eneco") is the Basque spelling of the name used by Ignatius himself and Xavier. It became Iñigo in Spanish (cf. EX I 9, n. 6).

¹⁷⁴ Probably Carlos de Mutiloa (see above, p. 234, n. 91).

¹⁷⁵ A well-known pilgrims' church, nine and one-half miles southwest of Orléans on the road leading to Navarre. On the list of pilgrims who visited the basilica occurs also the name of Xavier (Lucien Millet, *Notre-Dame de Cléry* [Paris, 1926] 114).

¹⁷⁶ EX I 8-12. Brodrick wrongly concludes from the tone of the letter that Miguel, Xavier's oldest brother, must have died and that Juan had become the head of the family. He maintains that Xavier would have written to Miguel if he had been alive in 1535 (50 n. 1). Miguel, however, did not die until 1542; Xavier wrote to Juan because he was immeasurably better off financially than his older brother.

CHAPTER VI

THE QUEEN OF THE SCIENCES (1535-1536)

1. THE BOND OF AFFECTION (1535-1536)

At the time of his departure, Iñigo told Favre, as the "eldest brother," to take his place among the companions that remained behind.¹ And he left them five means for preserving their spirit and unity of mind.

Every year on the feast of the Assumption they all went together to the martyrs' chapel on Montmartre in order to renew their vows and to eat a simple meal near the spring of St. Dionysius. They often came together during the course of the year in the room of one or other of the companions, for they did not all live at Sainte-Barbe. Each one would bring his own food for a kind of cheerful agape in order that they might, through intimate conversation, strengthen themselves in their fixed resolves. They also helped each other in their spiritual and temporal needs and in their respective studies. Further means for keeping the holy fire burning were the daily examination of conscience, prayer, meditation, and the weekly confession and reception of Holy Communion on Sundays with other students in the church of the Carthusians. In addition to these means, there was the ideal that was constantly before their eyes. They wished to follow Christ in poverty and sacrifice, to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, to labor for souls and, if God willed it, among infidels, with the prospect of a martyr's death for Christ.² And even if the future, because of the poor health of their leader Iñigo seemed to be uncertain, the companions still trusted in the Lord, to whom they had wholly dedicated themselves.³

2. THE STUDENT OF THEOLOGY (1535-1536)

One of the bonds which kept the small group of disciples together was their common study of theology, the queen of sciences. Lectures in this were given at the Dominican and Franciscan monasteries, at the Sorbonne, and in the Collège de Navarre. Among the professors of the companions to whom Favre later sent greetings from Rome⁴ were Master Bartholomaeus⁵ and Petrus de Cornibus at the convent of the Franciscans and Picart and Adam in the Collège de Navarre.⁶ Besides these there were the Scot Robert Vauchop⁷ and the Dominicans Thomas

¹ According to Laynez (FN I 104).

² FN I 102-103 184; II 79 253 567; Bobadilla 615.

³ Rodrigues 461.

⁴ In 1538 Favre wrote to Dr. Gouvea at the request of his companions: "Superest, ut te deprecemur, uti digneris nos commendare observandissimis magistris nostris Bartolomeo, de Cornibus, Picardo, Adamo, Waucob, Lauremcio, Benedicto ceterisque omnibus, qui lubenter volunt dicy praeceptores nostri et nos discipulos suos et filios yn Xpo. Ihu" (MI *Epp.* I 133-134).

Laurentius and Johannes Benedictus. Matthaeus Ory was also at the Dominican monastery, and Jerónimo Frago and Alvaro de Moscoso were at the Sorbonne.

According to the university statutes, one who wanted a doctor's degree in theology had to spend fourteen years in obtaining it, but actually it could be obtained in twelve. If a student had attended lectures for five or six years, had reached his twenty-fifth year, and had passed the usual exams, he became a bachelor.⁸ He then spent five more years in study, taking part in public disputations and giving a course in the *Sentences* for a year under the direction of a doctor.⁹ In his last year he received his licentiate and doctorate.¹⁰ Master Francis and his companions could thus not have completed a full course in theology or have obtained a doctor's degree. They had to be content with the lectures that prepared them for the priesthood and would be useful for their future apostolate.

According to the statutes, students had to bring with them to the lectures during the first four years two texts—the Bible and the *Commentary on the Sentences* of Peter Lombard.¹¹ This commentary was the manual of theology during the Middle Ages. It was an encyclopedia of all that one should know in four books dealing with (1) the nature and attributes of God, (2) the work of creation, (3) the Incarnation, and (4) the sacraments. It handled all questions in a syllogistic form. Since many of the bachelors spent most of their time on the first book and upon philosophical subtleties, there were loud complaints that theology was being neglected. This domination of theology by philosophy could also be seen in the commentaries of the standard-bearer of the Nominalistic School in Paris, Johannes Major, which had been published there in 1509 and since then had been several times reprinted.¹²

From the beginning of the sixteenth century the Dominicans had therefore begun to replace the *Commentary on the Sentences* with the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas.¹³ In clarity and method this work was superior to that of Peter Lom-

⁵ Jacques Barthélemy was a secular priest. At the general meeting at the university on June 22, 1528, he and Beda asked for a condemnation of Erasmus' *Colloquia* (see above, p. 134).

⁶ Johannes Adam belonged to the Collège de Navarre. In 1532 he became rector of the university (Villoslada 438; Launoy II 692).

⁷ Robert Vauchop (as he signed his name) had been born in Scotland and was a priest of the diocese of St. Andrew. In 1526 he was already a *magister artium* and regent of philosophy in Paris. In 1528 he received the baccalaureate, and in 1531 the licentiate, in theology. In 1530, as dean of the German nation, he recommended Buchanan as an elector (*intrans*) for the rector (**Acta Rectoria* 9952, 125v; Bibl. Nat. Paris: *Fonds lat.* 9995, 9 151 270; Quicherat I 160; Bulaeus VI 233). In 1539 he was appointed administrator of the archdiocese of Armagh in Ireland, and was employed, although blind, along with Jay and Bobadilla from 1540 to 1545 as a theologian of Tommaso Campeggi in Germany and Austria. He took part in the Council of Trent as an archbishop and went as papal legate to Ireland in 1550, where he visited his whole archdiocese with great success. He died in Paris in 1551 as he was laying plans for visiting Ireland a second time (B. Duhr, S.J., "Ungedruckte Briefe des Dr. Vauchop und des P. Jaius," *Zeitschrift f. kath. Theologie* 21 [1897] 593-621).

⁸ Thurot 138; Villoslada 98.

⁹ The lecture hall had two lecterns, a lower one for the bachelors and a higher one for the doctors, who on occasion explained or ameliorated what was said or took part in the disputation.

¹⁰ Thurot 141-156; Villoslada 98-99.

¹¹ Thurot 136 (according to the reform of 1366).

¹² Villoslada 134.

¹³ Villoslada 261-301. Nadal declares: "Ratio studiorum Parisiensis, quam nostris scholis fecimus familiarem, constanter est retinenda" (*Schola* 351), and adds two pages later that the Master of the Sentences was no longer used in the Society as a text, at

bard. The thesis (*quaestio*) was set forth and defined in a strictly scholastic form. This was followed by an objection from Scripture or the Fathers. The true opinion was then set forth in answer to a difficulty that had been raised, and the objections that had been presented at the beginning were answered point by point. Thus in a clear and concise manner all the important questions of theology were handled. The first part of the *Summa* dealt with the unity and trinity of God and the creation and preservation of the world. The first half of the second part took up the goal of men and of human acts. The second half of the second part discussed the virtues and vices. The third part took up the Incarnation, the sacraments, and the last things. The *Summa* had been printed at Toulouse since the end of the fifteenth century and in Paris since 1512 and was, therefore, like the commentary of Cardinal Cajetan (Paris, 1514-1519) accessible to all.¹⁴ In 1533 the prior of the Dominicans in Paris, George Drouetus, and Masters Ory, Benedictus, Laurentius, and other members of the order wrote to John III in Portugal: "Here at this university, as in all others, the teaching of St. Thomas, our Angelic Doctor, is held by all in the highest regard."¹⁵

Mathaeus Ory¹⁶ had been born at Caen in the diocese of Saint-Malo in Brittany and had received his doctorate in 1528.¹⁷ He was learned, eloquent, and had a winning manner and a youthful, ascetical appearance.¹⁸ He became prior of the monastery in 1535¹⁹ but continued to give his lectures.²⁰ Even more learned was Master Johannes Benedictus (Benoft).²¹ He was equally profound

least not where the *Summa* of St. Thomas was taught (352); and even before making this observation he had written: "Up till now, except for Scripture and the *Summa* of St. Thomas, we have taught almost nothing but controversies and questions of conscience" (103). In Evora in 1561 he decreed that it would be sufficient to teach Thomas; although it was not customary to teach the Master of the Sentences, still lectures could also be given on him (*Mon. Paed.* 692). The Constitutions of the order state that in theology lectures should be given on the Old and New Testaments and the scholastic doctrine of St. Thomas; the commentator of 1556 and 1594, however, notes: "También se leerá el Maestro de las Sentencias" (*MI Const.* II 475-477). In 1541 Doménech, Cáceres, and Mirón attended lectures at the Dominicans in Paris where they followed Durandus' *Commentary on the Sentences* and Benoit's lectures on the *Summa* (*Ep. Mixtae* I 66).

¹⁴ Villoslada 261-264 271-273.

¹⁵ "Cum videamus, in hac Universitate, ut passim in omnibus aliis, Divi Thomae, angelici Doctoris nostri, doctrinam summe amplecti" (Mário Brandão, *Alguns documentos respeitantes à Universidade de Coimbra na época de D. João III* [Coimbra, 1937] 208-209).

¹⁶ On May 30, 1536, Ory was confirmed by the king as an inquisitor for France, a post to which he had been assigned by his French provincial. In 1538 he was in Rome as a penitentiary of St. Peter's. He was appointed inquisitor general through a brief of July 15, 1539, after the death of Valentin Liévin. In 1554 he was at the court of Ferrara for three months, and during this time he reconciled the duchess Renata with the Church. He died in 1557. On him see *Diction. de Théol. Cath.* 9 (1932) 1620-1624; B. Fontana, "Documenti dell'Archivio Vaticano e dell'Estense sull'imprigionamento di Renata di Francia," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 9 (1886) 163-227; Cros, *Doc.* I 348; H. Bernard-Maitre, S.J., "L'inquisiteur dominicain Mathieu Ory et son *Alexipharmacum* contre les hérétiques (1544)," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 30 (1956) 241-260.

¹⁷ Villoslada 276 430.

¹⁸ "Di molta grazia nel porgere e di molta efficacia." In 1554 the Italian ambassador in France, Giulio Alvarotti, wrote that he was a "giovane simpatico, che pareva un santarello" (Fontana, *Doc.* 178-179).

¹⁹ Cros, *Doc.* I 344. In 1533 George Drouetus was prior (Brandão, *Alguns documentos* 209).

²⁰ Bobadilla 614.

²¹ In 1553 Jean Benoft, O.P., became abbot of the Augustinian monastery Sainte-

in philosophy and theology, and expounded the *Summa* of St. Thomas to a hitherto unheard of number of students.²² He had been born in Evreux in Normandy, had entered the order in 1510, and had become a doctor four years after Ory in 1532.²³ Thomas Laurentius (Laurency), the secretary of the inquisitor Liévin and a doctor since 1528, also taught theology.²⁴ The lectures began at six in the morning when the bell was rung in the convent for Prime. They thus began in winter before dawn.²⁵ The ancient unadorned aula, which had been built in 1228, and where Thomas Aquinas, the *Doctor angelicus*, had sat at the feet of Albert the Great, and where he had himself later lectured on Scripture and the *Sentences*, no longer accommodated the swarms of students who came here from other colleges, including Sainte-Barbe, to hear Master Benedictus. The result was that in 1534 the friars asked the Portuguese king for alms with which to build a new and larger hall.²⁶

Behind the monastery of the Dominicans was that of the Franciscans of Strict Observance, where Alexander Hales, the *Doctor irrefragabilis*, Bonaventure, the *Doctor seraphicus*, Duns Scotus, the *Doctor subtilis*, Roger Bacon, Nicholas of Lyra, and, more recently, the secular priest Pierre Tartaret (died in 1522) had taught. The latter had been as subtle as Scotus, whose system was followed here; and in dialectical acuteness he was unsurpassed by any of his contemporaries in Paris.²⁷ His chair²⁸ was now occupied by Master Peter de Cornibus,²⁹ who was "never praised enough by all theologians" according to Bobadilla.³⁰ Born at Baune in Burgundy in 1480, he had received his doctorate in Paris in 1524³¹ and was the most prominent personage of his order at the university.

Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers and general of the same order. He was entrusted with its reform. At the same time he was prior of another monastery with an annual income of twelve hundred livres. He became hostile to the Jesuits because his nephew entered the order and composed the famous decree of the Theological Faculty of the university against the Society of Jesus already approved by the pope (1554). He persisted in his animosity to it. He died in Langres in 1563 or 1565. On him see Feret II 293-295; Villoslada 276-277; Fouqueray I 208-209 216-217 374; J. Quéfif, *Scriptores Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* 2 (Paris, 1721) 190; *Litt. Quadr.* III 540-541; *Lainii Mon.* II 72-73. He is not to be confused with Dr. Jean Benoît in the Collège de Navarre who became a doctor in 1531 and died in 1573 (Feret II 196-197).

²² Bobadilla 614; cf. *Ep. Mixtae* I 66.

²³ Villoslada 430. The *Vita Christi per Ludolphum Saxonium* (Parisiis, apud Claudium Chevallonium, sub sole aureo in via ad D. Jacobum MDXXXIV) was published in 1534 with a detailed index "a Joanne Benedicto doctore Theologo" (see the description in José dos Santos, *Catálogo da Livraria Azevedo e Samodães* 1 [Porto, 1921] 568); was this made by our doctor or by a relative of the same name?

²⁴ Thomas Laurency signed the letter of the Dominicans to John III in 1533 as "regens studii." In 1536 he was a member of the reform commission of the Theological Faculty (Cross, *Doc.* I 344) and secretary of the inquisitor Liévin, whom he succeeded in 1537 (*MI Scripta* II 3). He received his doctorate the same year as Ory (Villoslada 430).

²⁵ FN I 177-178; II 555; Thurot 145.

²⁶ Brandão, *Alguns documentos* 208-209.

²⁷ On Tartaret see above, p. 120.

²⁸ In 1587 Gonzaga wrote that sixty years earlier the monastery had only a single aula for theological lectures (126).

²⁹ Petrus de Cornibus (also Descornes, De Cornes, De Corne, Cornet, Cornu) was praised by Favre, Bobadilla, and Xavier as their teacher. He defended the Society of Jesus in Paris in 1541 and died in 1542. His funeral resembled that of a king for the throngs of citizens that took part in them. On him see Gonzaga 122 131 133 871; Allen VIII p. 94; *Ep. Mixtae* I 64 90 583; Polanco, *Chron.* I 94; FN I 254.

³⁰ Bobadilla 614-615; cf. Gonzaga 781.

³¹ *Bibl. Nat. Paris: Fonds lat. 5657 A, 36v.*

In 1523, 1530, and 1531 he held the office of guardian.³² Distinguished for his piety and learning,³³ he was one of the best preachers in the capital.³⁴ He was strongly opposed to Erasmus and made no secret of this in his sermons and lectures.³⁵ He was also one of the champions of the Church in combating the errors of the Reformers. His religious brother, the learned and pious Richard Cenomanus (Le Mans),³⁶ also taught in the spacious aula of the monastery.

If the earlier positive theology had been neglected in favor of that of the scholastics,³⁷ the former was now receiving greater emphasis, as was also, and especially, the study of Scripture. A complaint of the Philosophical Faculty in 1530 had been successful, and Parlement had ordered that candidates for the examination for the licentiate in theology would have to have attended lectures on the Old and New Testaments in addition to those on the Master of the Sentences.³⁸ A commission of reform was established in the Theological Faculty, and among its members were de Cornibus, Ory, Laurentius, Benedictus, and Alvaro de Moscoso. At its suggestion, Parlement, at the beginning of 1536, introduced four new lectures in Scripture—two at the Sorbonne, and two at the Collège de Navarre. It further decreed that those doctors who had no lectures to give should make themselves useful through preaching in Paris and its environs.³⁹ The elderly, who were not accustomed to such labors, were exempted from this decree. In 1535 Picart, after he had obtained his doctorate, gave lectures of this new type on Scripture in the Collège de Navarre to great throngs, even though he was also giving the Lenten sermons in Saint-Eustache at this same time.⁴⁰ Doctors Jerónimo Frago⁴¹ and Alvaro de Moscoso,⁴² both of whom were on intimate terms with Xavier and his companions, were giving lectures on Scripture at the Sorbonne.

At the time when Master Francis was beginning his studies in the sacred sciences, the bookseller Jean Petit offered for sale (in October, 1532) in the house "At the Lilly" on the Rue Saint-Jacques a handsome quarto volume of 568 pages entitled *Novus Orbis Regionum ac Insularum veteribus incognitarum*. It had been written by Simon Grynaeus⁴³ and printed by Antoine Augereau, the same person

³² Félibien V 336; Tuetey 94 103.

³³ Gonzaga 131.

³⁴ He preached in 1529 in Notre-Dame on the occasion of the thanksgiving procession (*Journal* 325), in 1530 at the reception of the cardinal legate Duprat (Félibien V 336), in 1531 at the funeral of Alberto Pio, count of Carpi (Tuetey 103), and again at Notre Dame in 1534 at the time of the thanksgiving procession (Driart 166); see also Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, c. 14.

³⁵ Luis de Carvajal, who was a pupil of Erasmus and belonged to the same order, attacked him vigorously at Salamanca in his *Apologia* in 1528 and his *Dulcoratio* in 1530 (Villoslada 399-400).

³⁶ On him see Bobadilla 561; Gonzaga 126 131.

³⁷ Roger Bacon already complained of this in the thirteenth century (Crévier II 42).

³⁸ Bulaeus VI 227.

³⁹ Cros, *Doc.* I 344-345.

⁴⁰ Villoslada 431.

⁴¹ He is described as follows in his epitaph: "Doctor theologus, sociusque Sorbonicus, / Exurgentibus diabolica Luteri instigatione heresibus, / Francisci primi, Gallorum regis, jussu et Theologiae / Facultatis electione designatus, qui utrumque Testamentum / Ortodoxe in earumdem heresum extirpationem cum tribus aliis / Doctoribus interpreta-retur" (Cros, *Doc.* I 322).

⁴² Obviously as a bachelor before his doctoral examination in 1530, since this was prescribed.

⁴³ Simon Grynaeus (Grüner) was born in Veringendorf (Hohenzollern) in 1493. He became a fellow student of Melanchthon, who won him over for the Reformation. From

who reprinted the *Miroir* of the queen of Navarre the following year and was burned as a Lutheran in 1534. The work contained valuable accounts of travels of ancient and more recent times. There were, for example, those of Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, and Pinzón to America, the new world in the west; the books of Haiton the Armenian on the Tartars and of Marco Polo on his journey to Cathay; the account of Peter Martyr on the new islands in the east discovered through Magalhães; the journeys of the Indian Joseph to Europe and of Varthema to Ethiopia, Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and to the near and far sides of the Ganges in India; the letter of King Manuel of Portugal to Pope Leo X on his victories in India and Malacca; the voyage of Dadamosto to the west coast of Africa; and, in particular, a new description of the Holy Land. There was also a map of the world drawn up by the royal professor Orontius Finaeus,⁴⁴ who had been rector of the university in 1518.⁴⁵ It had been compiled from the latest discoveries. In two heart-shaped ellipses, it showed in the lower portion of the map the southern tip of Africa, Madagascar, South America, and the great unexplored southland around the Antarctic pole, and in the northern section the islands discovered by Columbus, the east coast of North America, Europe (including Navarre), North Africa, the Near East, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, Ormuz, India, and, farthest to the east, the South Sea with the Moluccas, and, beyond central Asia and the desert of Lop, Cathay and its neighboring lands, which had been described by Marco Polo. The book was certainly not unknown at Sainte-Barbe with its many Spanish and Portuguese students; and from the day of his vows on Montmartre, the thoughts of Master Francis more than once went out beyond a doctor's chair and the *Summa* of St. Thomas to the Holy Land and those of the Moors and pagans.

At the end of December, 1534, Turkish ambassadors had come to Paris with the king in their turbans and caftans,⁴⁶ and the rumor spread about that they had come because the sultan of Constantinople wanted to marry a French princess and have his son baptized.⁴⁷ An ambassador of Francis I, who was accompanied by Guillaume Postel, a former fellow student of Xavier at Sainte-Barbe,⁴⁸ returned with them in the spring of 1535⁴⁹ in order to conclude with Suleiman, the Grand Turk, an offensive and defensive alliance in the name of the French king.⁵⁰ This caused great indignation in the Christian West. Francis I, therefore, had a special manifesto printed for the German countries in which he sought to justify his actions.⁵¹ One day Master Francis dreamed that he had taken and baptized

1524 to 1529 he taught Greek in Heidelberg. From 1529 he taught Greek, and from 1536 the New Testament, in Basel. In 1534 he went to Tübingen in order to Protestantize the university there with Blarer. In 1536 he helped compose the Helvetic Confession. He died in Basel in 1541 (*Nouvelle Biographie Générale* XXII 272-273; Allen VI 244).

⁴⁴ On Oronce Finé see above, p. 160.

⁴⁵ Villoslada 436.

⁴⁶ The people were offended that "Solimani legatos honorifice excipi, . . . per vicus et fora, per compita omnia, volitare homines cultu ac vestitu turcico," as the manifesto of the French king of February 1, 1535, observes (Herminjard III 250-251).

⁴⁷ *Journal* 357.

⁴⁸ Lefranc 187.

⁴⁹ See the instructions for the ambassador Jean de la Forest, dated February 11, 1534 (French reckoning, and therefore in 1535), in E. Charrière, *Négotiations de la France dans le Levant* 1 (Paris, 1848) 258-263. On the embassy see L. Bourrilly, "L'ambassade de La Forest et de Marillac à Constantinople (1535-1538)," *Revue historique* 76 (1901) 297-328.

⁵⁰ The contract dated February, 1535 French reckoning, and therefore 1536, was closed in Constantinople. *Ibid.* 285-294; cf. 283, n. 2.

⁵¹ The manifesto of Francis I of February 1, 1535 (Herminjard III 249-254).

a Turkish child, for he had great zeal for the conversion of infidels;⁵² and when he saw a Jewish lad on the street, he would ask his companion: "How can we help these souls?"⁵³

3. THE WORK OF THE COMPANIONS (1535-1536)

Favre, who had added Sts. Genevieve, Marcellus, and Dionysius to his patrons, St. Bruno and Velliard,⁵⁴ became the head of the small group of companions in Paris after Iñigo's departure. With his simple, cheerful, gentle manner, he had such a wonderful gift for winning over his fellow students and inflaming them with a love of God that Rodrigues had never seen its like in any other.⁵⁵ He was highly esteemed by both students and professors and gave the Exercises to a number of them, for example, to the Portuguese Lope Serrão, a student of medicine at Sainte-Barbe.⁵⁶ There was no one with the exception of Iñigo himself who could give them better than he.⁵⁷ He won over others for the weekly confession and Communion at the Carthusians, among whom were the small fourteen-year-old Leão Henriques, who came from Madeira, and his seventeen-year-old cousin Luis Gonçalves da Camara, who had come to Paris with him at the end of 1535;⁵⁸ and several of these, including Diego de Cáceres, showed a desire to join the company of Montmartre.

Among those who entrusted themselves to Favre's direction were the Frenchman Jean Bochet⁵⁹ and a Catalan by the name of Jacobo, a poor student of remarkable simplicity. He wanted to study at all costs, and during his stay at Paris he even learned how to read and write. One day he was overcome with the desire of becoming a hermit. With this intent in mind he took his possessions to a small woods near Paris and set up house. About midnight he heard a noise and the tinkling of bells. The sounds were made by merchants going to the capital with their mules and wares, but he took them for evil spirits and cried out in fright as an exorcism a verse from St. John's Gospel: *Et verbum caro*

⁵² Bobadilla 619.

⁵³ *Rosefius 8v.

⁵⁴ *Fabri Mon.* 504.

⁵⁵ "Quo in Patre [Fabro] floruit praecipue rara quaedam et iucunda in tractandis hominibus suavitas et gratia, quam hactenus in nullo alio vidisse me ingenue fateor. Nam, nescio qua ratione, ita se in aliorum dabat amicitias, ita sensim in aliorum animos influebat, ut et morum consuetudine et grata sermonis lenitate cunctos, quibuscum age-ret, in Dei amore vehementer raperet" (Rodrigues 453; cf. *Rosefius 18v).

⁵⁶ "Muy conocido nuestro de Paris," Xavier writes of him (EX I 43; cf. 49-50).

⁵⁷ "Hablando [Ignacio] de los ejercicios decía que de los que conocía en la Compañía, el primer lugar en darlos tuvo el P. Fabro, el segundo Salmerón" (FN I 658). Two copies of his conferences on the Exercises are still extant: the *Codex Coloniensis* of 1544 contains the Exercises he gave in the Carthusian monastery in Cologne in 1541 (ed. MI Ex. 579-623); the *Codex Martinensis* those at Louvain at the end of 1543 or in January, 1544 (ed. Pinard de la Boullaye in *Revue d'Asc. et Mystique* 22 [1946] 257-274). In addition to these there is the *Codex Reginensis* of the Englishman John Helyar, who made the Exercises between 1535 and 1536 in Paris, probably under the guidance of Favre (ed. MI Ex. 624-628).

⁵⁸ Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 61-64; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 447.

⁵⁹ Ribadeneyra writes of him in his *Dialogues*: "In Paris he became a companion of Master Favre. He then came to Rome and entered the Society, where I knew him as a lay brother. In 1541, if I remember correctly, he left the order for reasons unknown to me. He went to Catalonia and was there imprisoned and hanged as a highwayman" (ARSI: *Instit.* 104, 194).

factum est. The very next morning he gave up his eremitical life and returned to Paris to report his adventure to Favre.⁶⁰

Favre was also a close friend of Étienne Auger, a teacher of Latin and Greek.⁶¹ And both he and Xavier had other friends as well.⁶²

Layneze had passed on from philosophy to theology.⁶³ He had an extraordinary thirst for knowledge and applied himself to his studies without stint, especially to Scripture and the works of the Fathers. His notes contained so many abbreviations that they could hardly be deciphered by anyone except Salmerón,⁶⁴ to whom he gladly lent them. When the latter could not make any sense out of a particular passage, Laynez would say: "This passage is about that heretic; this is a decision of such and such a council," and so forth.⁶⁵ His keen, penetrating mind, fiery temperament, ardent zeal for studies, and attendance at the University of Paris made him the most skillful debater of his time.⁶⁶

Salmerón, his inseparable friend,⁶⁷ found time during his course of philosophy, which he still had to complete, to deepen his knowledge of Greek with the help of an Aragon friend of Vives;⁶⁸ and at the same time he attended lectures in theology. He was strongly attracted to the sacred sciences.⁶⁹ Like Iñigo and the other companions, he sought a middle course between two extremes, esteeming both scholastic and positive theology, the latter being chiefly concerned with Scripture and the Fathers;⁷⁰ and he energetically employed the "scholastic method" against the attacks of the Reformers. If Luther insulted Rome by calling it Babylon, and the two famous universities of Paris and Louvain by referring to them as Sodom and Gomorrah, it was because these two schools, like a Trojan

⁶⁰ *Rosefius 16.

⁶¹ Étienne Auger was the brother of the renowned Fr. Edmond Auger, S.J. Juvencius writes that Edmond had studied with his brother Stephen in Lyons, and that Stephen taught Latin and Greek there as he had earlier done in Paris. Stephen sent his younger brother from Lyons to Peter Favre at Rome, "quo Parisi antea familiariter usus erat" (*Historia Societatis Jesu*, pars 5, 2 [Romae, 1710] 769).

⁶² Prat writes that Broët often mentioned the "maître des requêtes" Thierry Dumont, the lord of Acy-en-Multien, in his letters; he then continues: "Déjà Saint François-Xavier et le B. Pierre Le Fèvre avaient associé son souvenir, dans leur estime et leur reconnaissance, à celui des docteurs Cornet et François Le Picart" (*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Père Broët* [Le Puy, 1885] 293-294), and Fouqueray describes him "si estimé de François Xavier" (I 208). The sources frequently mention him as a friend of the Society until 1554 (*Ep. Broëti* 13 107 125 127; Polanco, *Chron.* III 286; IV 319-320; 323 335; *Litt. Quadr.* III 109; Bulaeus VI 480). But these sources say nothing at all of his knowing Favre and Xavier, and they in turn never mention his name in their writings. On him see also the *Catalogue des Actes de François I^{er} V*, n. 15287; VII, n. 25130; VIII, n. 33040.

⁶³ The Latin translation which Andreas Schott, S.J., made of Ribadeneyra's *Vita P. Jacobi Laynii* (Col. Agr., 1604) 4 states that Laynez had done this on the advice of Ignatius. There is nothing of it in the original Spanish text.

⁶⁴ *Rosefius 37. On Laynez' illegible writing see also *Lainii Mon.* I 60; II 599 628; *Ep. Salmeronis* I 325-326 368. A facsimile is in *Lainii Mon.* VIII 878-879.

⁶⁵ Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* 3, 6, pp. 111-112.

⁶⁶ See MX II 162-163.

⁶⁷ For his friendship with Laynez see his preface to the *Commentarii in Evangelicam Historiam* 1 (Matriti, 1598).

⁶⁸ *Ep. Mixtae* I 36.

⁶⁹ "Profiteor me ab adolescentia ad haec divina et sacra studia magnopere fuisse incensum, eorumque comparatione caeteras disciplinas mihi sorduisse," wrote Salmerón in the so-called "preface" to his *Commentarii* about the time of his entrance into the Society.

⁷⁰ See H. Bernard-Maitre, S.J., "Calvin et Loyola," *Bulletin de l'Association G. Budé* 3, 2 (1953) 74-85.

horse, had sent forth mighty warriors against the heretics.⁷¹ Scholastic philosophy disposed one to accept the faith and then helped one to an understanding of it through the application of rational principles to the data of revelation. This philosophy had been taught in the Church for five hundred years and had been represented by such renowned individuals as Peter Lombard and Sts. Thomas, Bonaventure, and Albert the Great. It had been approved by the Church and afforded a safe understanding and exposition of revealed truths that could be used against false doctrines. And nothing showed more clearly the necessity of debate, careful inquiry, and the drawing of exact distinctions than the vagaries of the Reformers. If Erasmus and his friends poked fun at the barbaric Latin of the scholastics, this was in a way foolish, for in every science new terms must be coined for new concepts; and, after all, the kingdom of God is not found in brilliant speech but in the strength of truth.⁷²

Salmerón had no great esteem for Erasmus. He was in complete sympathy with James Latomus when that Louvain doctor reproached the Prince of Humanists for his religious neutrality, his refusal to take sides with either the Catholics or the heretics. Like old Dr. Gouvea, Salmerón looked upon Erasmus as the predecessor of Luther. He lamented the harm done by the errors in Erasmus' *Annotationes* on the New Testament and his *Paraphrases*, not to mention his ridicule of, and attacks upon, ecclesiastical customs.⁷³ In Paris at the time there was a take-off on St. Paul's observation *Corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia mala* ("Evil conversations corrupt good manners") to the effect that *Corrumpunt mores bonos Colloquia Erasmi* ("Erasmus' *Colloquia* corrupt good manners"). And of Erasmus' *Encomium moriae* ("Praise of Folly"), it was said: *Moria mors juvenum; Moria digna mori* ("Folly is the death of youth; Folly deserves to die").⁷⁴

But despite all his opposition to Erasmus and the humanists, Salmerón could appreciate the value of their labors in bringing out editions of the Fathers. Erasmus had published editions of Sts. Jerome, Hilary, Irenaeus, Ambrose, Augustine, Epiphanius, and Chrysostom, and had thus made them available to all. Lefèvre d'Étaples had done the same for Pseudo-Dionysius, John Damascene, and the letters of Ignatius, Polycarp, Clement, and Leo the Great. Clichtovaeus had edited the work of Sts. Bernard and Cyril of Alexandria. Works of St. Basil and Venerable Bede and Theophylactus' exegeses of the Gospels and the Letters of St. Paul had also been published in Paris. Salmerón, like Laynez, poured tirelessly through these works in order to forge weapons for battle with his opponents.⁷⁵ Later it could be said of him that there was hardly an author whom he had not read,⁷⁶ and he could always bring forth a whole series of Church Fathers in

⁷¹ Gélica employs this same image of the Trojan horse in the preface to his book *De quinque universalibus*, which was published in Paris in 1527 (Quicherat I 350).

⁷² Prolegomena XVII and XVIII on the value of scholastic philosophy and theology for the understanding of Sacred Scripture (*Commentarii in Evangelicam Historiam* I 416-429).

⁷³ Salmerón, *Commentarii in omnes epistolas B. Pauli* I (Matriti, 1602) 76-77.

⁷⁴ "'Corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia mala' (1 Cor. 15). Memini me, cum iunior essem, audisse unico verbo immutato: 'Corrumpunt mores bonos Colloquia Erasmi'" (*ibid.* II 280).

⁷⁵ See Paul Dudon, S.J., "Sur un texte inédit de Salmerón (1562)," *Gregorianum* 11 [1930] 410-417). The speeches of Laynez and Salmerón at the Council of Trent surpass all others in the number of quotations from the Fathers with which they prove their theses. On December 7, 1551, Laynez cited forty references to prove the proposition that the Last Supper was a sacrifice, and Salmerón added thirty more.

⁷⁶ Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* (Madrid, 1594) 129.

support of his opinion on any particular question. Rodrigues, who had begun his course in philosophy in 1532, was, like Salmerón,⁷⁷ also studying theology at the same time.⁷⁸

Bobadilla lived near the Sorbonne in the Collège de Calvi, where he was giving a course in philosophy in order to support himself. But in addition to his teaching, he attended lectures on scholastic and positive theology given by Dr. Benedictus and Master Ory in the Dominican monastery and by Masters de Cornibus and Cenomanus in the convent of the Franciscans. He was also diligent in attending the public acts, or disputations, by means of which bachelors prepared themselves for the licentiate, and the licentiates for the doctorate. It was his opinion that one learned more theology from these disputations in a single year than he could by attending a whole course given by the greatest of theologians.⁷⁹

There were different kinds of public acts, or scientific debates, in which the disputants could show their knowledge and skill in rebuttal. There were the *Magna Ordinaria* (at the ceremony of *Vesperiae*); the *Parva Ordinaria* (at the *Aulica*); the *Sorbonica* (introduced by Dons Scotus and held at the Sorbonne during the holidays), during the course of which a bachelor had to argue questions on philosophy and theology without the help of a master and without taking any food or drink from five in the morning until seven in the evening; and the *Quodlibetum* (in Advent).⁸⁰

The Sorbonne was particularly renowned for its disputations, which took place on almost every weekday after the summer solstice (June 24), but especially on Saturdays. The doctors listened to the disputations from behind grills and windows.⁸¹ The presiding officer was the prior of the college from the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul (June 29) until the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (September 8). During the other times of the year they were presided over by the *magister studentium*. The manner of disputation was strictly fixed, and a violation of the rules or disobedience to the presiding officer was punished by the withdrawal of the culprit's ration of wine. Fifteen days before the disputation the defendant and his opponent received the thesis to be argued on the second following Saturday. The youngest stipendiary had to begin the debate. Defendant and adversary exchanged places the following week. The defendant could present three propositions from the *Sentences*, each one supported by a citation or a proof. His opponent was limited to eight objections, and each of the others to three. After the principal opponent had finished, the *magister studentium* made his objections. He was followed by the prior and doctors if they so wished, then the *sententarii* (the bachelors teaching the *Sentences*) and *cursores* (those lecturing on Scripture), beginning with those who had already given two courses, and, finally, the stipendiaries of the college according to their age. Outsiders could also take part in the disputations.⁸²

⁷⁷ Rodrigues matriculated under the rector André de Gouvea (June 23 to October 10, 1533) (**Acta Rectoria* 9952, 176) and became *magister artium* under Jean Marie (June 23 to October 10, 1536) (*ibid.* 9953, 48).

⁷⁸ See the document of October 14, 1536, on his one and one-half years of theology in the Archives of the University of Coimbra in *Broteria* 26 (1938) 606-608, illustrated.

⁷⁹ Bobadilla 561 614-615.

⁸⁰ See Nadal, *Scholia* 104.

⁸¹ Goulet 16.

⁸² Thurot 131-132; Villoslada 46; *Chartularium* II 554-556; Gonzaga 129.

At the *Vesperiae*, which had been held for a long time with great solemnity in the morning at the Sorbonne or in the Collège de Navarre, the disputation began with the first of four questions chosen by the candidate for the doctor's degree. The first objections were raised by his teacher. These were followed by those of all the bachelors. After all the objections had been posed, the defendant repeated the objection of his first opponent and gave a solution to the difficulty. One of the older doctors, while seated, next set forth the candidate's second question with arguments for and against it. The defendant repeated these and then gave his own opinion. The first doctor brought forth three of four objections against it, and the defendant solved them. A second doctor followed with two or three objections, which the defendant could answer twice. A short lecture of the master in praise of Sacred Scripture ended the ceremonies.⁸³

All doctors, bachelors, and students of theology had to be present for the *Aulica* in the bishop's palace. After receiving his biretta a new doctor delivered a short speech in praise of Sacred Scripture and then a student proposed the third question, which was answered by a bachelor. His teacher, the new doctor, raised objections to it, and the chancellor could also object if he so wished. One of the older and one of the younger doctors then arose. The first set forth the fourth question with arguments for and against it and then sat down. His adversary, the younger doctor, answered these briefly but comprehensively. The elder doctor again arose and brought forth two or three arguments against his adversary and then sat down again. The younger doctor then summarized the objections and gave a solution to them. After this passage at arms, two other doctors continued the disputations, both somewhat younger than the former; and they argued twice against each other. As a conclusion of the debate, the new doctor made a brief summary of the third question and the ceremony came to an end.⁸⁴ The new doctor's inaugural address, the so-called *resumpta*, in which he gave a résumé of the third question and its solution, was delivered some time later.⁸⁵

In addition to attending these disputations, Bobadilla listened to the sermons of Dr. Picart and others.⁸⁶ In his room he read the works of the Church Fathers,⁸⁷ especially those of "the four Doctors of the Church" (*los 4 doctores de la yglesia*), and the writings of St. John Chrysostom⁸⁸ and other exegetes. After taking his vows on Montmartre in 1534, he filled page after page with excerpts from their works with a tireless industry that was only interrupted once by a sickness in the summer of 1535. He finally put these pages together into a thick volume of a thousand pages.⁸⁹ They were written in black and red ink with red titles and borders and with the names of the authors inscribed

⁸³ Villoslada 168-172.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 363-364.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 366.

⁸⁶ Bobadilla 561.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 615.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 560.

⁸⁹ The *volume is found in the Archives of the Society of Jesus under the heading *Opp. NN. 52*. It has never before been used by historians. On the inside of the cover Bobadilla wrote in his strong and sweeping hand: "Hic liber est Magistri Bobadillae quem scripsit parisiis propria manu ad gloriam Dei et salutem animarum anno 1534." It measures 21.6 by 15.6 cm. We are citing a few extracts from it since it gives us some knowledge of the studies of the first companions in Paris and an insight into the character of the writer. In f. 336v he mentions his illness.

on the margins in either red or black. He first made brief summaries on Genesis using Eugubinus as his source, who had based his commentaries on the primitive Hebrew. He then added some brief notes on the Psalms. These were followed by lengthy extracts on the Gospel of St. Matthew. His main sources for these were St. Jerome and St. John Chrysostom, the commentaries of Johannes Major, St. Thomas, and Theophylactus; but he cited other sources as well, including Albert the Great, Venerable Bede, Augustine, Gregory, Hilary, Nicholas of Lyra, Origen, John Damascene, Dionysius, Symmachus, Scotus, Seneca, and the *Glossa ordinaria* and *marginalis*. These in turn were followed by passages dealing with the Gospel of St. Luke taken from Ambrose and Dionysius; on the Gospel of St. John from Chrysostom, Augustine, and Thomas; and, finally, on the Epistles of St. Paul from Augustine, Anselm, and Theophylactus.

At the conclusion to his extracts on the Epistle to the Romans Bobadilla states that "In his preaching, Picart has said that 'the whole of Sacred Scripture is like a single book of lamentation, praise, promise, and joy'" (f. 317). Since St. Paul in the last chapter of his Epistle gives a warning about the pursuit of novelties, Bobadilla uses this as an opportunity to express his feelings about the Reformers.

It is characteristic of those who deceive their listeners that they should speak sweetly to them. Yet it is not through mere faith but through faith combined with good works that one becomes holy (318v-19). The thorns of heresy cannot bring forth good fruit, but only harm, confusion, and other evils. Men and beasts can both find rest under a good tree. Under thorns, however, no man finds shelter (45).

In contrast to such errors, he describes the beauty of the Church, of her teaching, and of her pursuit of virtue.

The secrets of truth are pearls; the secrets of God are shut up in words of deep meaning in Sacred Scripture like pearls that are shut up in shells lying in the depths of the sea (44). "But I," says the Lord, "want my warrior to wrestle unto the shedding of his blood⁹⁰ and to fight until death" (20v). "Let him who can take it, take it!" With this the Lord calls his soldiers to the prize of chastity: one who can fight must fight, conquer, and triumph! (76v). "Go, sell, and give to the poor!" It is in our power to become perfect if we but will it. Whoever wills to be perfect must sell all that he has and not simply part of it, like Ananias and Saphira, and follow his Redeemer in the contempt of riches; that is, he must avoid evil and do good (77). Great is the grace that contains all good; but the greatest of all graces is that of the priesthood if one keeps it inviolate (102). The Church is the boat in which the Lord sails, the sea the world, the storm the unclean spirits. When the Lord sleeps, He permits us to be tempted. The prayers of the disciples are the prayers of the saints. And in the end the Lord grants peace. The ship is the Church; it has God as its pilot and the angels as its oarsmen. It bears the saints and has in its center the banner of the Cross raised aloft. The breath of the Holy Spirit pushes it to the haven of paradise (48v).

From the heights of theology Bobadilla looked down with compassion upon the nit-picking of the philosophers. One of the standard-bearers of the Nominalists was his fellow countryman Fernando de Enzinas of Valladolid. Fernando had taught philosophy in the Collège de Beauvais and was thus one of Xavier's predecessors. While there, in 1520, he had published for students of logic the first book of his *Oppositiones*. At the time that Bobadilla was copying out his extracts on the First Epistle to Timothy, Master Peña, Xavier's teacher, was preparing a new edition of this work. Its author had died at Alcalá in 1523, when Bobadilla

was studying philosophy there. At the end of this Epistle, St. Paul gives the following advice: "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding the profane novelties of words, and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called, which some promising, have erred concerning the faith." On this Bobadilla observed: "Where a good foundation has been laid, a man can build what he wants. The apostle speaks of 'oppositions,' since there are numerous contradictions that must be resisted. Thanks be to God, Amen! Avoid the sophisms and *Oppositiones*⁹⁰ of Enzinas!" (439v).

4. THREE NEW DISCIPLES (1535-1536)

While Bobadilla was copying out his texts, Favre's zeal among the students had won three new members for the Montmartre group. At the renewal of their vows on the feast of the Assumption in 1535 they were accompanied by a new companion, Claude Jay, and at the renewal in 1536 by two more, Paschase Broët and Jean Codure.⁹²

Claude Jay⁹³ (or "*Jaius*," as he was called in Latin), was born between 1500 and 1504. He was of medium height and had a somewhat haggard appearance, grey eyes, and blond hair.⁹⁴ Like Favre, his countryman,⁹⁵ he was shy, modest, gentle, and amiable. He had been born in Vulliets,⁹⁶ a hamlet lying in the midst of apple orchards on the north side of the valley of the Griffe, a tributary of the Arve, in Upper Savoy. A little to the west of Vulliets, and farther down in the valley, was the large parish of Mieussy with its church dedicated to St. Gervasius. Nineteen miles farther west was Geneva, and an equal number of miles south was Villaret, Favre's birthplace. Jay's grandfather was one of the wealthiest farmers in Vulliets. Even when he had to divide his property among his four sons, Gérard, Claude's father, received two houses with meadows and fields of wheat and hemp in the valley below, and a brown and white home high up in the Alpine pastures in the neighborhood of Aux Gevallets, from which there was a beautiful view of Mount Blanc towering over the chain of Alps in the east. The lower part of the house was made of stone and the upper of wood. It was roofed with shingles and had living quarters, a stable, and a hay loft; and it stood among beech and birch trees in the midst of airy Alpine meadows. Here, surrounded by the fragrant mountain air and the beauties of God's nature, Claude

⁹⁰ Erasmus had declared that he was ready to fight for the defense of his faith "usque ad sanguinis effusionem exclusive."

⁹¹ *Oppositiones* are (in Aristotle) antitheses and logical concepts, including the relative, contrary, positive-negative, and affirmative-negative particles.

⁹² FN I 38-39 183; Rodrigues 459.

⁹³ Claude Jay (not Le Jay) first worked in Italy (1537-1541) and then in Germany (1542 to 1549). He also attended the Council of Trent from 1545 to 1547. He received a doctorate in Bologna in 1550 and then attended the Diet of Augsburg. He died in Vienna in 1552 as the rector of the university in that city. His letters are published in *Ep. Broëti* 255-405. On him see J. M. Prat, S.J., *Le Père Claude Le Jay* (Lyon, 1874); H. Taverner, "Le P. Claude Jay, sa patrie et sa famille," *Revue Savoisiennne* 35 (1894) 79-94.

⁹⁴ When he had already reached a hundred, Perrette still had a good remembrance of Jay, whom he had known when he was about eighteen years old: "It estoit de corpulence et stature médiocre, aiant le visage maigre, les yeux gris, les sourcils blonds, apparence d'estre plustot blond que d'autre couleur" (*Fabri Mon* 846).

⁹⁵ Cf. the opinions of Polanco (*Chron.* I 153: "erat humilis et subtimidus"), Canisius (Braunsberger I 159 409), and Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 4, 5.

⁹⁶ Now *Vers les Jays*.

grew up with his sister Michelle and his brother Gervais. He wanted to follow the example of his uncle Pierre and become a priest.⁹⁷ He therefore entered the Collège de la Roche halfway between Mieussy and Geneva, and was thus a fellow student of Favre, but in a higher class. There in 1519, from the dictation of his teacher Velliard, he copied out the main points of the *Commentary on the Sentences* of Peter Lombard.⁹⁸ On March 28, 1528, he was ordained to the priesthood at Geneva by the bishop there.⁹⁹ He celebrated his first Mass in Faverges, a town near the southern shore of Lake Annecy, and was conducting a small college¹⁰⁰ there in 1533 when Favre visited him and urged him to go to Paris to continue his studies.¹⁰¹

Jay heeded his advice. At the beginning of the school year, in October, 1534, he came to Paris¹⁰² and rented a room in the Collège de Sainte-Barbe with Favre¹⁰³ and was soon persuaded by the latter to make the Exercises under his direction.¹⁰⁴ Jay had never sought ecclesiastical honors or benefices, and while he was still in Upper Savoy he had written a saying of St. Augustine in the Little Office which he brought with him to Paris: "It is not proper to seek a high office necessary for the ruling of a state, even if it should be administered well." He had also copied out two observations of St. Gregory: "One who is truly virtuous should only take up ruling under compulsion; but one who is lacking in virtue should not do so even when compelled." "A proud ruler falls into the sin of apostasy every time that he takes pleasure in being in charge of men and delights in the loftiness of his position." He also added the following from St. Bernard: "Not all who are called to some office are also chosen for the kingdom of heaven. This is to be seen in Saul, who was called to the royal throne, and in Judas, who was called to the priesthood." And, finally there are the terrible words of Christ: "Woe to you who love the first places in the synagogue!"¹⁰⁵

Jay therefore made the Exercises earnestly. He practiced rigorous penance and abstained entirely from nourishment for three full days. When he finished the Exercises, he joined the company of Montmartre.¹⁰⁶ On March 6, 1535, he ranked seventy-third in his examination for the licentiate in philosophy.¹⁰⁷ During

⁹⁷ Tavernier 88, n. 3.

⁹⁸ In 1621 two excerpts from the *Commentary on the Sentences* were preserved in the Collège de Chambéry, that of *Favre (now in Paris) from the fourth, and that of Jay from the first and fourth books of Peter Lombard. The text of the latter was the same as Favre's, since both went back to Velliard's manuscript. At the close of his extract from the first book, Jay notes: "Exaratus Rupe A. D. 1519, in mense maio, et in S. Urbani die"; but at the close of his extract from the fourth book he writes: "Exaratus Rupe per Rev. Praeceptorem Petrum Velliardum, eiusdem loci scholarum monitorem celeberrimum" (*Fabri Mon.* 843-846).

⁹⁹ The *text of the document attesting his ordination is in ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 89, n. 3.

¹⁰⁰ Tavernier 81-85 93.

¹⁰¹ Rodrigues 456.

¹⁰² When the companions pronounced their first vows on August 15, 1534, Jay was not yet in Paris, as is indicated by Favre (FN I 38-39). On November 29 of this same year he received certain spiritual privileges for having bestowed an alms on the city hospital in Paris (original in ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 89, n. 8). He matriculated under the rector Florentinus Jacquart (December 15, 1534, to March 24, 1535) (*Acta Rectoria* 9953, 6v).

¹⁰³ Prat, *Le Jay* 10.

¹⁰⁴ Rodrigues 456.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 322-323.

¹⁰⁶ FN I 704.

¹⁰⁷ Register of Sainte-Geneviève (Petavius 442).

his philosophy he attended theological lectures as well.¹⁰⁸ He had a great respect for his guardian angel, for the Blessed Virgin, whose rosary he was fond of reciting, and for the sufferings of Christ, upon which he later made a daily meditation.¹⁰⁹ He had a high regard for meditation and wrote of it in the following terms: "Nothing is sweeter in this life, nothing draws the spirit so far away from the love of the world, nothing strengthens the soul so much against temptations, nothing encourages and helps us so much in the performance of good works as the grace of holy contemplation."¹¹⁰

Paschase Broët,¹¹¹ the second of the new companions, had an imposing ap-

¹⁰⁸ This is indicated by the testimony he gave on October 14, 1536, with respect to his one and one-half years of theological studies in Paris (original in ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 89, n. 22). A quarto volume of 343 pages in the Archives of the Upper German Province of the Society of Jesus (signature: V 67) contains a summary of his Parisian studies. It is described briefly in Braunsberger I 416, but has not been evaluated by any previous historians. With the exception of an extract from Alphonsus Zamorensis (ff. 166-181), it is written entirely in Jay's hand, as Peter Canisius notes in the introduction. It was composed in Bavaria in 1542 and 1543, where Jay was lecturing in theology in Regensburg and Ingolstadt. The volume is made up of thirty-nine fascicles numbered with the letters of the alphabet. These were later bound together, paginated, and given an index by Canisius. The fact that thirty-two fascicles (ff. 1-158 191-198 235-343) have Bavarian watermarks shows that the manuscript was written in Bavaria. The watermarks are: a Gothic P with a shield over it (Briquet, nn. 8823 8795) and a shield divided into lozenge-shaped compartments with a cock's head at the top, the mark of the paper mill of Schrobenausen that stood between Regensburg and Ingolstadt (*ibid.* 2231). Only six fascicles show Italian watermarks: F X Y A2 B2 (ff. 165-190 199-214 223-234): sirens (*ibid.* 13 880), a mermaid in a decagonal elongated shield with a star (*ibid.* 12 235) and a lily; and they also differ in their format. The date "27 Aug. 1543 Ingolstadii" is found on f. 288v. The volume contains a long treatise on Sacred Scripture (in September, 1542, Jay began his lectures on the Epistle to the Galatians in Regensburg), ten keys for understating it, its different senses, tradition, the infallibility of the Church with respect to the canon of Scripture, and the errors of the heretics (1-71) and those of Erasmus, whom he regarded as being simply a pagan (269), the decisions of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris concerning Erasmus' *Colloquia* and his paraphrases of the Gospels of 1526 and 1527 and its decree on the heresy of Luther issued in 1521 (263-274). The volume then takes up the controversies on vows, the religious state, the sacraments, original sin, the teaching of salvation through faith alone, the certainty of justification, and so forth. F. 251 contains the Hebrew alphabet, f. 164 a Greek quotation in Greek script. Contemporary authors are cited along with such ancient writers as Bede, Alexander of Hales, Thomas, Bonaventure, Hugo of St. Victor, Rhabanus Maurus, Ambrose, Jerome, Isidore, Gratian, Aeneas Silvius, and Jacobus de Valentia. Among the more recent works cited are the edition of Tertullian which Beatus Rhenanus published in 1521 (62); Alexander de Castro's *Adversus omnes haereses*, printed in Paris in 1529 (40); the condemnation of the errors of Matthias Dévai by Gregory Szegedin, a member of the Sorbonne, published in 1535 (15-21); the *Antilogia* of Hangest, of 1523 (274); and the *Christianae religionis institutio* of Calvin, which appeared at the beginning of 1536 (144). According to Jay he was a "Zwinglian apostate" (292). Jay was acquainted with all of these authors from his stay in Paris. Other names, such as Driedo in 1537 (199-210) and Albertus Pighius in 1538 (156) did not come to the fore until after Jay's departure from Paris. F. 48 lists seven causes of heresy: (1) immoderate self-love; (2) thirst for fame; (3) passion, stubbornness, avarice, lust, ambition; (4) contempt for authority; (5) ignorance; (6) false interpretation of Scripture; (7) false zeal. In his notes he quotes the words of Venerable Bede on the Book of Kings: "Without Christ to know all things is to know nothing. He knows nothing, who knows all things without Christ" (54).

¹⁰⁹ Canisius affirms this in his obituary in 1552 (Braunsberger I 409).

¹¹⁰ In Jay's Ms. vol., f. 13, mentioned above.

¹¹¹ Paschase Broët labored in Siena from 1537 to 1540, went with Salmerón as papal legate to Ireland in 1541, and then labored in Italy from 1542 to 1551. He was provincial in France from 1552 to 1562 and died in Paris in the latter year while serving victims of the plague. His letters are published in *Ep. Broëti* 1-254. On him see J.M. Prat, S.J.,

pearance. His handsome, fine features were set off by a blond beard, so that he could have been taken for a member of the nobility;¹¹² but he had a simple, humble soul. For twenty years he prayed for the virtue of humility and complained at the end that he had not yet obtained it. He was pious, gentle, pleasant, and good-natured in his manner of acting. He was imperturbable, always cheerful, but in spite of all his simplicity he was still shrewd in his dealings with men and was regarded by all who had any close dealings with him as an angel in the flesh.¹¹³

He had been born in 1500¹¹⁴ of a well-to-do country family, in the village of Betrancourt in Picardy, halfway between Amiens and Arras. His father was Frederick Broët (also known as Ferry de Brouay). Paschase, the second child, had four sisters, Matthieu, Gabriel, Françoise, and Marie. He began his studies in his native village and then continued them in the neighboring episcopal city of Amiens, where, in 1524, he was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Nicholas, the abbot of the neighboring monastery of the Premonstratensians, on the title of a patrimony of twenty-four *livres tournois* guaranteed to him by his family.¹¹⁵ After laboring for ten years in his native land, he came to Paris at the end of 1534¹¹⁶ and took up his residence, like Bobadilla, in the Collège de Calvi¹¹⁷ in order to complete his studies. During this time the vicar-general of Amiens was condemned for heresy and detained in a monastery (October 7, 1534).¹¹⁸ In Paris Broët became acquainted with Favre.¹¹⁹ He made the Spiritual Exercises under his direction and then joined the companions.¹²⁰ His excessive zeal after making the Exercises almost cost him his life. He went about with his eyes continuously cast down. As a

Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Père Broet (Le Puy, 1885). The main source for the period before he went to Paris is the letter, dated October 26, 1625, which Michel Rabardeus, S.J., wrote from Amiens to the Jesuit general (ARSI: *Francia* 30, 1-11). It was used by Ant. Bonucci, S.J., *Istoria della Vita del Ven. P. Pascasio Broet* (Roma, 1713).

¹¹² "Huomo di bella statura, bella faccia, accompagnata anco con una bella barba roseccia, et il volto suo era molto ben profillato, mostrando esser disceso di gente nobile franzese," as he is described by Lorenzo Alessandrini, following the data supplied by his uncle, the painter Giovanni di Lorenzo Alessandrini, who provided lodgings for Broët in his house in 1537 and 1539 (*Ep. Broëti* 197). After Favre's death Ignatius considered him to be the most suitable person for going to Abyssinia as patriarch; for, as he wrote to Rodrigues in October, 1547, he had more than all the others the necessary qualities in their fullest extent: "bondad, letras, persona." He further observed: "Tiene asaz buena persona, fuerças y salud, y de edad de quarenta años, poco más o menos" (*MI Epp.* I 599-600).

¹¹³ *MI Epp.* 599-600; Nadal II 52-53; *Rosefius 6v; Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* (Madrid, 1594) 88; Bonucci 115-116 120 126.

¹¹⁴ Prat, *Mémoires Broet* 2 559-560; *MI Epp.* I 600.

¹¹⁵ *Rabardeus, who obtained his information from the parish priest of the place, who had questioned the oldest people of the village about the family, and from the *Liber Ordinationum Episcopatus Ambianensis*. He notes that twenty-four *livres tournois* was a good income, for among the candidates for ordination of this and the following years there were only two who indicated more (thirty *livres*); almost all the others had less: twenty, eighteen, fifteen, and fourteen *livres* (ARSI: *Francia* 30, 1-3v). He was ordained deacon on "Saturday, February 20, in the year of the Incarnation 1523 *more gallico*, therefore in 1524 according to the more common reckoning." His ordination to the priesthood was on March 12 of the same year (see Prat, *Mémoires Broet* 557-560).

¹¹⁶ Prat, *Mémoires Broet* (6) without mention of sources. Favre states that at the time of the first profession of vows, on August 15, 1534, Jay was not yet in Paris, and that Codure and Broët "nondum erant capti" (FN I 39).

¹¹⁷ Register of Sainte-Geneviève (Petavius 442).

¹¹⁸ Prat, *Mémoires Broet* 8. See Parlement's warrant of arrest of December 23, 1533 (Cros, *Doc.* I 350).

¹¹⁹ Through Jay, according to Prat, but without proof (*ibid.* 9-10).

¹²⁰ He was won over after Jay but before Codure (Rodrigues 456).

consequence he once suffered a severe injury and almost fell into a deep pit. After that he walked erect and kept his eyes open as before.¹²¹

Jean Codure,¹²² whom Favre had won over in 1536, shortly before his own departure and the last renewal of vows,¹²³ came from southern France. His birthplace was the old grey village, of Seyne, over 3,280 feet high and at the base of the 9,060-foot-high Montagne de la Blanche in the diocese of Embrun in Provence. He had already studied some theology before coming to Paris.¹²⁴ Here he took up lodgings near Sainte-Barbe in the Collège de Lisieux¹²⁵ and engaged a poor countryman as a servant.¹²⁶ At the end of 1534 he enrolled in the university.¹²⁷ In addition to his philosophical studies he attended lectures in theology.¹²⁸ To protect himself from the dangers of the university city, he placed himself under Favre's direction. Since he combined a longing for perfection with a great innocence of life, he was persuaded to make the Exercises. He too joined the companions, and on August 15, 1536, in the chapel of the martyrs on Montmartre he took his vows along with the rest.¹²⁹

5. THE INVITATION TO MELANCHTHON (1535-1536)

On May 5, 1535, the last three heretics were burned at Paris, two in the Pig Market before the Porte Saint-Honoré and the third before the Collège de Tournai in the Latin Quarter, whose principal had fled as a Lutheran.¹³⁰

The king then returned again to the sphere of politics and began to think of his secret allies, the German Protestant princes and the heretical Swiss in Bern. On July 15 Beda, the Catholic champion, was taken from the episcopal prison in Paris to Mont-Saint-Michel, where he was interned in the monastery of the Benedictines.¹³¹ On the following day Francis I issued a general pardon to all heretics except the Sacramentarians, granting them permission to return and promising them that they would regain their possessions if they forswore their errors within six months. When the chancellor Duprat died during this same month, the king named one who was well disposed towards the Reforms as his successor.¹³²

Further negotiations had been begun in June, 1535, to bring Melanchthon to Paris, where Robert Estienne had already published a series of his textbooks and five editions of his Latin grammar between 1526 and 1532. It was thought that through personal dealings with the doctors of the Theological Faculty he might bring about a spiritual reunion of Christendom.¹³³ Through personal letters

¹²¹ *Rosefius 23v.

¹²² Codure was the first of the ten companions to die. He went to his reward in Rome on August 29, 1541. His letters are published in *Ep. Broëti* 415-433. On him see *MI Epp.* I 406-407 and Prat, *Mémoires Broët* 12-14.

¹²³ Rodrigues 456.

¹²⁴ Prat, *Mémoires Broët* 12.

¹²⁵ Register of Sainte-Geneviève (Petavius 442).

¹²⁶ *Ep. Mixtae* I 67.

¹²⁷ During the time that Hugo Lespervier was rector (October 10 to December 15, 1534) (**Acta Rectoria* 9953, 2v).

¹²⁸ On October 14, 1536, he was certified as having studied theology in Paris for one and one-half years (*original in ARSI: *Epp.* NN. 89, n. 20).

¹²⁹ FN I 39; Rodrigues 459.

¹³⁰ Bourrilly 108-109.

¹³¹ Jourdain, *Index chron.* 341, n. 1.

¹³² *Journal* 359-361 392-393; Picotté 144; Bourrilly 112.

¹³³ Argentré I, 2, 381-401; Bourrilly 412-413.

the king,¹³⁴ Bishop Jean du Bellay¹³⁵ (created a cardinal on May 21, 1535), and Sturm,¹³⁶ the royal lector, urgently entreated the German humanist and Reformer to accept the invitation. The negotiations fell through because the Parisian doctors laid down conditions that were not acceptable and the elector of Saxony would not let his protégé depart.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, despite this failure, Sturm could write on November 18, 1535, to Bucer in Strasbourg that it had never been better for the Gospel at Paris.¹³⁸

Rabelais, the author of *Pantagruel*, which had been condemned as soon as it appeared by the Theological Faculty because of its immorality, had published a second volume, *Gargantua*, in October, 1534, just before the affair of the placards. Following the example of Erasmus, he ridiculed the Collège de Montaigu in this work¹³⁹ and showed an unfeigned preference for the Reformers. When the persecution broke out at the beginning of 1535, he disappeared from the hospital of Lyons, where he was a physician, *sans congé prendre*; but he again showed up after the general pardon and traveled to Rome in July with Cardinal Jean du Bellay as the latter's physician. There the pope through a brief absolved him from all earlier irregularities.¹⁴⁰

A further symptom of the times was the fact that in February, 1536, Marguerite, the sister of the king, obtained the bishopric of Oloron in her kingdom of Béarn for her protégé Master Gérard Roussel, who was accused of being a Lutheran.¹⁴¹ At this Picart, during a sermon preached at Saint-Benoît in the Latin Quarter, at the words from the Acts of the Apostles "Choose one from your midst!" openly censured those who appointed heretics as bishops. Many took this, and not without reason, as a reference to the appointment of Roussel.¹⁴²

In March, 1536, Calvin published at Basel, where his friend, the ex-rector Cop, was also staying, an octavo volume of 520 pages bearing the title of *Christianae Religionis Institutio*. This contained not only the substance of his teaching but also an open letter to Francis I in which he sought to soften the king's objections to the Reformers. In it he expressed his contempt for religious and the ancient Church, and threatened the king with divine vengeance if he continued to oppose the Gospel and persecute its followers.¹⁴³

6. THE WAR WITH THE EMPEROR (1536)¹⁴⁴

Political developments, however, soon claimed the attention of all. On November 1, 1535, Duke Sforza of Milan died without leaving any legitimate heirs. The

¹³⁴ Letter dated June 23, 1535 (Herminjard III 300-301).

¹³⁵ Letter dated June 16, 1535 (Argentré I, 2, 381-382).

¹³⁶ Letter of March 6, 1535 (Herminjard III 266-270).

¹³⁷ Argentré I, 2, 383-401. Melanchthon's answer to Guillaume du Bellay of August 28, 1535, *ibid.* 382-383.

¹³⁸ Herminjard III 362-367.

¹³⁹ *Gargantua*, c. 37.

¹⁴⁰ See the chronology in Rabelais, *Oeuvres*, ed. A. Lefranc, I, pp. CXXXIII-CXXXV. See also J. Lesellier, "L'absolution de Rabelais en Cour de Rome," *Humanisme et Renaissance* 3 (1936) 237-270.

¹⁴¹ The appointment was on February 4, 1536 (Van Gulik 280).

¹⁴² *Lainii Mon.* I 225-226.

¹⁴³ Doumergue I 508-513 589-595.

¹⁴⁴ The main sources for the war are the correspondence of the emperor in Karl Lanz, *Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V* (2 [Leipzig, 1845] 248-252 663-669), and of his attendant Martín de Salinas (*Boletín de la R. Academia de Historia* 45 [Madrid, 1904]

old struggle over the possession of the duchy broke out again.¹⁴⁵ In the middle of February the troops of Francis I marched into Savoy and occupied the land, an imperial fief. In March they captured the capital of Turin and forced the prince to flee.¹⁴⁶ The French king then demanded the duchy of Milan for life.¹⁴⁷ At the same time his ally, the sultan Suleiman, was preparing to attack the emperor in the east.¹⁴⁸ This prompted Charles V, on Easter Monday, April 17, 1536, to deliver an emphatic speech before the pope, cardinals, and ambassadors, demanding the immediate evacuation of Savoy. He further stated that if he did not receive a conciliatory reply from Francis I within twenty days, he would have to declare war.¹⁴⁹ By the end of April all hopes of preserving peace had disappeared.¹⁵⁰

From the end of May an attack of the emperor on Provence was a foregone conclusion, and it was expected that the count of Nassau would attack Picardy from the Netherlands.¹⁵¹ The duke of Vendôme was therefore sent hurriedly to the north, and the grand master Montmorency to the south, to oppose the enemy.¹⁵²

The king also departed for the south with the three princes.¹⁵³ On June 2 a report came from Lyons that the imperial forces were moving against Piedmont, that Francis I had withdrawn his troops into the mountains, and that eight thousand Swiss auxiliaries, four thousand lansquenets, and seven thousand Italian legionaries were coming to his help.¹⁵⁴

In the north the enemy also began to move. Paris was worried. Since the end of June one session of the Council had followed another; and when serious questions were brought up, representatives of Parlement, of the Treasury, of the university, and of the bishop also took part in the discussions.¹⁵⁵ On the twenty-seventh the provost and jurymen informed Parlement that an inquiry had been made into the amount of artillery and munitions on hand and that the city walls had been inspected. Some of the light artillery was unusable and would have to be recast. Parlement approved this and had the walls restrengthened from the Bastille to the Porte Montmartre and from Saint-Victor as far as the Tour de Nesle. They were badly in need of repair, and frequently too narrow for cannon to be placed upon them. On the thirtieth it was therefore decided that they should be

315-352 369-399) on the one hand, and the chronicle of Picotté (*Chronique du Roy François Premier* 147-200) and the records of the brothers M. and G. Du Bellay, published by Bourrilly and Vindry (*Mémoires* II 320-369; III 136-318), on the other. The principal accounts for one side are V. L. Bourrilly, "Charles en Provence (1536)," *Revue historique* 127 (1918) 209-280, and Capefigue, *François Ier et la Renaissance 1515-1547* (4 [Bruxelles, 1845] 53-67), and for the other Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V* (23, 6-13 19). From the papal standpoint there are Carlo Capasso, *Paolo III* (1 [1924] 266-341); Pastor V 182-184; and, for the time up to the invasion of Provence, Ludwig Cardauns, "Paul III., Karl V. und Franz I. in den Jahren 1535 und 1536," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 11 (Rom, 1908) 147-244. Foronda 424-431 gives the route taken by the emperor.

¹⁴⁵ Pastor V 168; Bourrilly, *Charles* 209-213; Cardauns 173.

¹⁴⁶ Cardauns 174; Bourrilly, *Charles* 214; Du Bellay II 320 328-329.

¹⁴⁷ Bourrilly, *Charles* 215; Pastor V 176.

¹⁴⁸ Pastor V 176-184.

¹⁴⁹ Cardauns 219-231 211-214 191-193; Pastor V 174-178; Bourrilly, *Charles* 216-217.

¹⁵⁰ Pastor V 181.

¹⁵¹ Lanz II 663; Salinas 316; Foronda 424; Bourrilly, *Charles* 238.

¹⁵² Capefigue IV 55-58; Bourrilly, *Charles* 231-231.

¹⁵³ Capefigue IV 56.

¹⁵⁴ Cros, *Dod.* I 347.

¹⁵⁵ Our principal sources for the following are the protocols of the Council of Paris, published by Tuetey 223-300; Henri Lemonnier gives a short excerpt from them in "Paris menacé (Juillet-Septembre, 1536)," *La Revue de Paris* 22 (1915) 96-103.

widened, that the unserviceable artillery should be melted down, that saltpeter and cannonballs, breastplates, helmets, pikes, and halberds should be procured, and that provisions of all kinds, especially wheat, should be brought into the city. Five days later it was further decided that the river between Tournelles and the Ile de Notre-Dame should be blocked off with a chain; the breach between the Porte Saint-Jacques and that of Saint-Michel be filled in; the moats near the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine, which had become almost filled, be cleared; and the walls which had been weakened by the erection of neighboring buildings be strengthened, despite the protests of the royal professor Vatable who lived there.¹⁵⁶

On July 3 the City Council wrote to the king that he should send a high personage to take over the defense and care of the city in the absence of the governor.¹⁵⁷ On the twenty-first, Cardinal Du Bellay, who had secretly slipped off to Rome at the beginning of March,¹⁵⁸ was appointed governor of Paris and its environs.¹⁵⁹ Four days later the emperor with his army crossed the French frontier near Nice,¹⁶⁰ and within a short time his troops took up their positions before Marseilles and Arles.¹⁶¹

On July 26 Du Bellay entered Paris.¹⁶² The city had in the meantime experienced some anxious days. On the twelfth news had come from Compiègne that the enemy had already crossed the Somme with six thousand horse and was threatening the city. The report proved to be premature, but Paris still sent it five cannons on the fourteenth; and the quartermasters, at the request of the council, sent their men from house to house to discover what weapons were available and where foreigners and suspected individuals might be living. Superiors of monasteries and principals of colleges were told to hand over the lists of their students with their names and nationalities, and they were also advised to keep an eye on them. The guards of the city gates were ordered to attach chains and windlasses to their drawbridges. The following day a meeting was held in the great hall of the Hôtel de Ville. This was attended by Lizet, Montholon, Budé, and other members of Parlement, and by Morin, the assistant chief of police. On this occasion, the lord of Nevers submitted a letter of Vendôme in which the duke asked the city for a loan of forty thousand pounds. The count of Nassau had attacked Picardy; and, if he did not have the money to pay his twelve thousand troops on time, he would not be able to stop the advance of the enemy. He needed immediate help, and the sum was granted.¹⁶³

When he reached Paris, the cardinal energetically took up the defense and provisioning of the capital. On July 28 the defenses of the city began to be set in order with feverish activity, since its walls and towers had fallen into a ruinous state after the demise of King Philip Augustus.¹⁶⁴ From sixteen to twenty thousand workmen were ordered¹⁶⁵ to lay out great trenches and ramparts in the suburb of Saint-Honoré next to Montmartre at a bowshot's distance from the city walls. This of course destroyed the fruitful gardens of the citizens located in that area.

¹⁵⁶ Tuetey 223-232.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 226-228.

¹⁵⁸ Cardauns 186.

¹⁵⁹ Tuetey 243.

¹⁶⁰ Foronda 426; Du Bellay III 136-137; Bourrilly, *Charles* 247.

¹⁶¹ Sandoval 23, 8 10; Bourrilly, *Charles* 250.

¹⁶² Tuetey 238.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 233-238.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 239-246 250-254 256 258 270-271.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 241 245 252-253; Picotté 174, note.

The cost of the fortifications amounted to 300,000 dollars,¹⁶⁶ and for a month and one-half practically all other work was suspended.¹⁶⁷ As a result of all this activity, the king could write that the cardinal hoped that the city of Paris would soon be the strongest in Christendom.¹⁶⁸ For further protection the gates of the city were made so narrow that no one could ride through them without a permit,¹⁶⁹ and the quartermasters were ordered to deliver to the town hall new lists of all subjects of enemy lands living in Paris.¹⁷⁰

Care was also taken to stock the city with provisions. The cardinal had wheat brought into Paris in case of a siege.¹⁷¹ During the cold winter the Seine had been frozen over for three months, and during the dry summer it had been too shallow for boats to bring in provisions.¹⁷² The cattle of the neighboring villages were brought together so that they could be butchered if need be for the making of salt meat. Hay, firewood, and coal were also stored up. Within eight days there were sufficient provisions in the city to support the populace and a garrison of thirty thousand men for a year.¹⁷³

In the meantime, ever more threatening clouds were gathering in the northeast. Appeals for help from the front were increasingly urgent. On August 3 it was reported that the fortress of Guise had fallen.¹⁷⁴ Compiègne and, shortly afterward, Coucy and Amiens asked for cannon powder and money;¹⁷⁵ and Vendôme kept sending letter after letter and making appeal after appeal. On July 29 the city handed over twenty thousand pounds, the first half of the promised sum, to its representative,¹⁷⁶ but Vendôme needed more. On August 10 the cardinal informed the representatives of the estates in the bishop's palace that the strength of the enemy on the northern front had been underestimated. Bohain had fallen after Guise. A second army of the emperor was threatening Boulogne and Montreuil, and a third Dunkirk. Vendôme had to enlist new troops, and his monthly outlay for salaries had risen from sixty to two hundred thousand pounds. In addition to the twenty thousand pounds that had been allotted on August 9 for the duc de Guise, who was defending the northern flank near Boulogne with seven thousand lansquenets, the king wanted the city to send sixty thousand pounds to Vendôme over and above the twenty thousand already sent. The request was granted,¹⁷⁷ and on the fourteenth Parlement ordered Meaux, the key to Paris, to be strengthened.¹⁷⁸ Conditions became worse from day to day. The imperial forces had been in Aix in Provence¹⁷⁹ since August 13, and Péronne in the north had been besieged by the enemy.¹⁸⁰ If it fell, the road to the capital lay open to the foe.¹⁸¹ Such, then, was the state of affairs when Master Francis and his eight companions set out for Montmartre on August 15, the feast of the Assumption. They passed

¹⁶⁶ Picotté 174-175; *Journal* 362.

¹⁶⁷ Tuety 245 256.

¹⁶⁸ Picotté 174, note.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 176.

¹⁷⁰ Tuety 258.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* 257.

¹⁷² Du Bellay III 302; Capefigue IV 60.

¹⁷³ Huety 257-258; Du Bellay III 303.

¹⁷⁴ Tuety 252-253.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 253 258-259 269 272.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 246.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 265; cf. 264.

¹⁷⁸ Cros, *Doc.* I 348.

¹⁷⁹ Foronda 429; Bourrilly, *Charles* 250.

¹⁸⁰ Picotté 154; Tuety 274 287; Du Bellay III 232.

workmen who were busily engaged in digging the trench to defend the city, and who could not interrupt their labors even for the feast,¹⁸² and then went on to the chapel on Montmartre to renew their vows as they had done the preceding year.¹⁸³

On August 20, at another meeting in the episcopal palace, the new contribution of the city for Vendôme was raised from sixty to one hundred thousand pounds, for everything was at a stake in Paris. Four days later there was a solemn general procession in which the bodies of Sts. Genevieve and Marcellus were carried to implore God's help, and on the twenty-eighth it was reported that the work on the defenses would have to be continued for forty more days.¹⁸⁴

There was an increase of alarm on September 4 when a messenger arrived from Vendôme with a new and urgent request for assistance. The enemy had taken up its position in front of Péronne with thirty thousand men and had sworn that it would not withdraw until it had captured the stronghold. The emperor, moreover, had written to the count of Nassau that with God's help or the devil's he would keep his promise of marching straight on to the French capital without stopping anywhere along the road. Two days later there was a general meeting of the estates in the aula of the town hall attended by more than sixty individuals. There it was decided that Vendôme should be given six thousand rather than the twelve thousand men he had requested, and that their expenses should be paid from city funds for a month. They should not, however, be sent to the northern front but rather be stationed in readiness in Paris and its environs in order to defend the city in case the enemy crossed the Oise.¹⁸⁵

The anxiety of the citizens and the students had reached its peak when on September 12 an entirely unexpected report came that the count of Nassau had lifted the siege of Péronne and had taken the road back to the Netherlands. Three days later more good news came from the south.¹⁸⁶ The plan of Montmorency, who had converted the land into a wilderness to compel the enemy to withdraw from hunger,¹⁸⁷ had been successful. The emperor, as the cardinal of Tournon and Francis I wrote, had lifted the siege of Marseilles and Arles and had left the country in flight¹⁸⁸ with his greatly weakened army (over ten thousand men had perished from hunger and sickness in the siege of Aix).¹⁸⁹ At this news Cardinal Du Bellay ordered the ringing of the "Marie" and the great bells of Notre-Dame, the singing of a solemn *Te Deum*, and the holding of a general procession in thanksgiving for the victory.¹⁹⁰

But the war continued. The emperor refused all of Francis I's requests for peace,¹⁹¹ and on October 20 a letter came from the king and another from Du Bellay that the work of fortification should be continued so that the city would

¹⁸¹ Tuetey 287.

¹⁸² *Ibid.* 256-271.

¹⁸³ Rodrigues 459.

¹⁸⁴ Tuetey 280-283.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 286-290-294.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 295-296.

¹⁸⁷ Bourrilly, *Charles* 235-237; Caepigue IV 54-55; Sandoval 23, 10; Du Bellay III 147-148 296-300 317-318; Salinas 378-381.

¹⁸⁸ Tuetey 292.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 295-296.

¹⁹⁰ Tuetey 292 295-296; Cros, *Doc.* I 348; Corrozet 57; Félibien II 1000.

¹⁹¹ Tuetey 299-300; Du Bellay III 343-347; Lanz II 669; Sandoval 23, 13 19 22; Pastor V 183-184.

be safe from any possible attack.¹⁹² On November 3 there was another procession to the Sainte-Chapelle to obtain victory for the royal forces.¹⁹³

7. THE DEPARTURE FROM PARIS (NOVEMBER, 1536)

The political situation forced the companions to change their plans. The direct route from Paris to Italy through Provence and Piedmont was shut off. If they wanted to arrive in Venice in time for the departure of the pilgrim ships, they would have to leave earlier and take a wide detour over the passes of the German Alps.¹⁹⁴

It was most important, if they wished to bring their studies to a close, that Broët, Rodrigues, and Codure should take their examinations for the licentiate in philosophy on March 14, 1536. Broët obtained the twenty-seventh, Rodrigues the thirty-fifth, and Codure the fifty-ninth place.¹⁹⁵ Codure received his master's degree on September 4,¹⁹⁶ but the rest who still had to do so did not obtain their degrees until a month later. Favre received his under Master Peña, Rodrigues his under his countryman Master Payo Rodrigues de Villarinho, and Salmerón and Bobadilla theirs under Master Francis Xavier.¹⁹⁷ Together with Jay they all received their diplomas on October 3.¹⁹⁸ A week later, on October 14, during the general assembly at the Mathurins, they had a document drawn up for all, including Iñigo, to the effect that they had studied theology in the Theological Faculty of Paris for a year and one-half. This was a formula written out upon a strip of parchment and affixed with the seal of the university which simply stated the minimum.¹⁹⁹ On the twenty-seventh of the month, Laynez and Salmerón each gave an alms to the city hospital and obtained in return certain spiritual privileges.²⁰⁰ Codure obtained the same on November 10.²⁰¹ Jay had already secured such a document on November 29, 1534.²⁰²

¹⁹² Tuetey 299-300.

¹⁹³ Félibien II 1000.

¹⁹⁴ Rodrigues 462.

¹⁹⁵ Register of Sainte-Geneviève (Petavius 442).

¹⁹⁶ *Original in ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 89, n. 13.

¹⁹⁷ The following observation comes from the time that Jean Marie was rector (June 23 to October 10, 1536): "Sequuntur nomina incipientium in honoranda gallorum natione: Dominus alphrusius Salueon [Alphonsus Salmeron] torthane [toletanae] dioceseos incepturus sub magistro francisco de chamer [Chauier], Dominus petrus faber gebennensis dioceseos incepturus sub magistro Joane de la paine [Peña], Dominus Nicolaus alphonse de bobadylla Palletine [Palentinae] dioceseos incepturus sub magistro francisco xabiere, Dominus Symon Rodoricus vincen. [Visentinae] dioceseos incepturus sub magistro pelagio rodorico" (**Acta Rectoria* 9953, 48).

¹⁹⁸ The following *originals are still extant in the ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 89: Bobadilla (n. 14), Favre (n. 15, ed. *Fabri Mon.* 4), Jay (n. 16), Salmerón (n. 17). Rodriguez' of the same date was still preserved in the Archives of the College of Coimbra in 1717 (Franco, *Imagem de Lisboa* 21-22). Xavier's is lost.

¹⁹⁹ The *originals, all of the same date, have been published in ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 89 for Ignatius (n. 19, ed. *MI Scripta* II 2-3), Favre (n. 21, ed. *Fabri Mon.* 6-7), Laynez (n. 22, ed. *Lainii Mon.* VIII 634-635), Salmerón (n. 24, ed. *Ep. Salm.* I 572-573), Jay (n. 22), Codure (n. 20); in 1938 Rodrigues' was discovered in the Archives of the University of Coimbra and published with a photograph of it in *Broteria* 26 (1938) 606-608. Xavier's is lost. The text (except for the names) is the same for all.

²⁰⁰ The identical formulae, printed on parchment with the names added by hand, measure 17.5 by 14.2 cm. (the margin is cut in Laynez' copy), have been published in ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 89: for Laynez (n. 9; cf. *Lainii Mon.* I 1), for Salmerón (n. 10, ed. *Ep. Salm.* I 573-574).

The departure, which according to the original plan was to have been on January 25, 1537, was advanced to November 15. Since his arrival in Venice at the beginning of 1536, Iñigo had been in correspondence with Favre and his companions; ²⁰³ but the war made it impossible for them to inform him immediately of their earlier departure. ²⁰⁴

Two doctors of the university, prudent and understanding men and friends of the companions, were taken into their confidence. They praised their plan but noted the many difficulties and dangers it entailed. The companions were advised to go by way of neutral Lorraine, through which both Spaniards and Frenchmen could pass unhindered. ²⁰⁵

Another doctor, a pious and learned man, heard that Favre wanted to leave Paris. He spoke to him earnestly about this as a matter of conscience, telling him that he was of the opinion that he could not go without committing a mortal sin, for he would thus deprive many of a sure means of saving their souls in order to work elsewhere with uncertain success. He also added that this should not be taken as simply an idle fancy. He was ready, if Favre so desired, to assemble all the doctors of the Theological Faculty and prove to him the truth of what he was saying with compelling arguments. But Favre remained firm in his resolve. ²⁰⁶

As the companions were making preparations for their departure, an unexpected message came from Pamplona with an official document of the cathedral chapter for Master Francis. This informed him that he had been elected to a canonical benefice in the cathedral, and that he should, if he so wished, appear within a fixed time to take the habit of a clerk regular of the Canons of St. Augustine and begin his year's novitiate. ²⁰⁷

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* n. 11 (the same printing as Jay's, different from the two already mentioned, but with the same contents).

²⁰² *Ibid.* n. 8.

²⁰³ Rodrigues 461; *MI Epp.* I 94 113 723-725.

²⁰⁴ The letters of commendation which Ignatius wrote to Señora María and Gabriel Guzmán, O.P., the confessor of Queen Leonor, on behalf of the traveling companions at the beginning of November, 1536, to Favre himself, and to Miona on November 16 (*MI Epp.* I 109-113 723-725), indicate that he was still of the opinion that they would leave Paris, as agreed, on January 25, 1537 (against Fouquieray I 60, Brou I 51, Dudon 251).

²⁰⁵ FN I 106; Rodrigues 462.

²⁰⁶ Rodrigues 461-462.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 462. A similar *invitation to Pedro de Góngora, *jur. utr. bacc.*, at the University of Salamanca, of 1528, is preserved in the Cathedral Archives of Pamplona (*Arca FFF* 36-2). It bears the title "Carta que se embia a los electos señalandoles el día del habito." Cros, *Doc.* I 321, gives a formula which differs considerably from this. The letter to Góngora reads as follows: "Venerabilis in Christo frater carissime! Cum propter defectum sufficientis numeri (quamvis certus non sit numerus) canonicorum nostra huiusmodi Pampelonensis alma mater ecclesia in suis regimine et servitio pateretur detrimentum, volentes super hoc, prout nostrae convenit curae ac sollicitudini providere, novam electionem decrevimus facere; eamque, sicut in domino speramus, et ecclesiae Christi et personis profuturam, die praesenti infrascripta, per quam domino opitulante divinus cultus suscipiet incrementum, ad honorem Dei et beatissimae virginis Mariae, genitricis eius, in Spiritu Sancto celebravimus, et inter ceteros vos vestris exigentibus meritis nostro consortio adiungere volentes elegimus in canonicum et in fratrem. Ideo praefatam electionem vobis tenore praesentium intimamus expectantes vos cum gaudio ad secundam diem mensis februarii proxime futuri, in qua Purificatio eiusdem virginis celebratur. Quem terminum vobis et ceteris electis ad recipiendum habitum eiusque Mariae sanctae religionem in hac nostra ecclesia in eius laudem duximus praefigendum peremptorie. Quare vos enixe rogamus et in Domino exhortamur, ut intentioni nostrae et termino

At the beginning of 1531, as has already been observed, Xavier had sent a notarized authorization to his brothers Miguel and Juan in Navarre so that they might obtain for him a patent of nobility which would help him secure a benefice.²⁰⁸ But the procedure would cost money, and the matter had been left languishing. Xavier's letter, which Iñigo delivered to Captain Juan at Obanos in August, 1535, had opened up his eyes and those of Miguel. The Guipuzcoan was threatening with his unwordly plans to take Francis away from his family. The matter had now become urgent. The authorization of 1531 was therefore dug up, and the process for establishing Francis' nobility was begun.

On August 13 Juan Martínez de Lesaca, as procurator, submitted a request for the introduction of the suit in the court at Pamplona.²⁰⁹ On September 20 an order was issued that persons involved in the action should be cited and the petition relative to it be posted.²¹⁰ On October 2 the document was affixed to the door of the cathedral for public advisement. On the twenty-seventh, Miguel in the castle of Xavier approved the petition before a public notary and named Miguel de Veramendi and Lesaca as his procurators.²¹¹ At Pamplona, on November 19, he gave the necessary authorization and promised to pay for the costs of the suit.²¹² On December 1 authorization was granted for the hearing of witnesses.²¹³ Four months later on March 28, 1536, six persons were heard: Don Pedro de Atondo, the eighty-year-old parish priest of Cemboráin;²¹⁴ the ninety-year-old Juan de Hualde;²¹⁵ Xavier's two cousins, Esteban de Huarte²¹⁶ and Juan de Azpilcueta, the lord of Sada;²¹⁷ Sancho Ramírez;²¹⁸ and Juan de Gúrpide.²¹⁹ On May 5 the procurator presented their testimonies to the court.²²⁰ In June he submitted the petition for a final judgment.²²¹ In July the proofs were acknowledged to be worthy of credence, and on August 4 the document was made out. It declared that Don Francisco de Jasso y Xabier was a "*hombre hijodalgo, noble y gentilhombre,*" with thirty-two noble ancestors, and the true and legitimate brother of Don Miguel de Xabier, the lord of Xabier, Ydocin, and Azpilcueta.²²²

satisfaciatis, ne dicta vestra electio praeterlapso dicto termino inanis censeatur et devotio nostra frustrata. Interim valet felix, valebitisque dum accesseritis feliciter. Ex nostro capitulo Pampelonensi sub sigillo eiusdem capituli, die Jovis 17 [Septembris or Decembris, since in 1528 only in these months was the seventeenth day of the month a Thursday] anni 1528. Ad omnia, quae vestro cesserint commodo et honori, Prior canonicorum et capitulum ecclesiae Pampelonensis. Ex mandato praefatorum dominorum Prioris Canonicorum et Capituli: Secretarius [?]. Venerabili in Christo fratri nostro carissimo Petro de Gongora, juris utriusque bachalaureo, in universitate Salamancensi."

²⁰⁸ See above, pp. 156-7.

²⁰⁹ MX II 39.

²¹⁰ The MX II 44 gives the wrong date: "September 20, 1534." Fita has it correctly: "September 20, 1535" (*Boletín de la R. Ac. de Historia* 22 [1893] 444).

²¹¹ MX II 44.

²¹² *Ibid.* 50.

²¹³ *Ibid.* 51.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.* 56.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* 61.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.* 67.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.* 71.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.* 74.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.* 76.

²²⁰ *Ibid.* 79.

²²¹ *Ibid.* 81.

²²² *Ibid.* 82-83.

On June 4, 1536, six newly elected canons had received their habit in the cathedral of Pamplona. Among these were two whom Xavier had known at Paris, Martín de Urtarroz, who had accompanied him as a witness to the notary in 1531, and Jerónimo Frago, a doctor of the Sorbonne.²²³ It was now Francis' turn, who had more than one relative among the members of the cathedral chapter.²²⁴ But the news had come too late. He wrote a letter of thanks to Dr. Remiro de Goñi, the head of the chapter, and to the chapter itself, but declined the offer.²²⁵ For three years he had been possessed of another ideal—"the way of poverty and of the cross of Christ."²²⁶

For their departure the companions divided themselves up into two groups. The first left five or six days before the second and would wait for it at Meaux. Those who were left behind divided up their possessions among the poor as St. Bruno and his companions had earlier done. They kept for themselves only their notes, a few books, and the necessary money for the trip. On November 15 they departed very early so that no one would see them. They traveled on foot, as the founder of the Carthusians and his companions had done before, with their luggage of books and clothes upon their backs. They left the Latin Quarter, passed Notre-Dame on the island of the Seine, walked along the still sleeping streets of the city to the gate,²²⁷ and then took the highway which led past Belleville, Pantin and Bondy to Meaux.²²⁸

Soon the towers and walls of the city in which Master Francis had spent eleven of the most decisive years of his life disappeared, and he and his com-

²²³ Cathedral Archives Pamplona: *Arca HH*, n. 21; Cros, *Doc.* I 322-323. In 1768 Juan Lorenzo de Irigoyen, bishop of Pamplona, incorrectly stated that one of those elected canons on June 4, 1536, had been Xavier (Cathedral Archives: *Arca A*, n. 85); he probably confused the conferring of the habit with the election.

²²⁴ Eighteen canons were present at the profession of Frago and Urtarroz on June 3, 1536. Among them were Dr. Remiro de Goñi and Juan de Orbara, abbot of Urdax. They had both led the fight for freedom with Xavier's brothers from 1521 to 1524. Juan Cruzat, Miguel de Añues, and Martín Cruzat were also present (Cathedral Archives: *Arca HH*, n. 21).

²²⁵ See Rodrigues 462. In 1854 Andrés Artola, S.J., wrote: "Dans le cloître de la cathédrale de Pampelune on voit encore l'építaphe du docteur Frago... Saint François Xavier, élu chanoine en même temps que son professeur, n'accepta pas, et, à cette occasion, il écrivit deux lettres de remerciement au chapitre; elles ont échappé aux recherches du P. Roque Menchaca" (Daurignac, *Histoire de Saint François Xavier* 2 [Paris, 1857] 331-332). But in 1848, Madoz maintained: "Al mismo tiempo que Gerónimo [Frago] fue electo San Francisco Javier, mas no llegó a tomar el hábito; en la Barbazana [chapel in the cloister of the cathedral] se conservan dos cartas que escribió con este motivo" (*Diccionario* XII 652). The letters are still there today. Despite their title they have nothing to do with Xavier. One is an original letter of the general of the order, St. Francis Borgia, from Rome to Fr. Antonio de Córdoba, dated "May 14 [1563]" and signed "Francisco"; the second is a letter of St. Ignatius from Rome to his nephew Beltrán of October 4, 1540. Peña wrote in 1620 that Xavier was appointed a canon of the cathedral in 1536, as is proved by the history of the Society "y lo manifiesta el poder, que el santo Padre Francisco embió desde Meldas [Meaux], lugar que está beinte y cuatro millas de París, al prior que entonces era de la iglesia catedral, tío suyo, para que en su nombre admitiese qualquier beneficio ó dignidad; el qual poder tiene en guarda esta santa iglesia" (MX II 23). He perhaps confuses the refusal with the authorization, for Xavier certainly did not send an authorization from Meaux. See also José Goñi Gaztambide, "Fue canónigo San Francisco Javier?" *Ecclesia* 12 (Madrid, 1952) 233.

²²⁶ "La via de la pobreza y cruz," as Laynez expressed it (FN I 100).

²²⁷ Rodrigues 463-464; Bobadilla 615; Berty, *F. Saint-Germain* 371-373. Whether Xavier belonged to the first or the second group is uncertain. We believe that the second is more probable.

²²⁸ Estienne, Route 60; see Truschet's map.

panions could now apply to Christ, Iñigo, and themselves the verses describing the departure of St. Bruno and his companions which were inscribed under the picture of their departure in the small cloister of the Carthusian monastery:

Master, with whom no other here on earth
 Can be compared, we swear, by all the stars
 Which shine among the reaches of the skies
 That we can never live apart from you.
 Through fire and sword we'll follow where you lead,
 No matter what an adverse fortune brings.
 Farewell, O Paris, city of our toils!
 Farewell, dear brothers, parents too; and homes,
 Intriguing wealth, and pleasant fields, farewell!
 As exiles on this earth, we hasten to
 Our everlasting rest. Farewell, proud halls
 And noble tapestries! No longer will
 Our eyes behold you here. The dwelling place
 Of others will you be. To unknown shores
 We go, and come not back—and so, farewell! ²²⁹

²²⁹ Berty, *F. Saint-Germain* 366-372. The Latin verse in the cloister corresponding to this reads as follows: "Praeceptor, cui non est alter in orbe / Aequandus . . . per Numina, per tot / Quot per olympiacos scintillant sydera tractus, / Testamur: sine te possemus vivere numquam. / Per medios ignes, te per media arma sequemur, / Eveniat quaecumque tibi fortuna sinistra. / . . . valete! / Tuque Parisina urbs nostrorum theca laborum. / Germani valeant, valeant utrique parentes; / Divitiae atque domus, et pingua rura valet! / . . . Nos fugimus terram et coeli properamus ad arcem. / . . . Aula superba, vale! redimita aulea, valet! / Non eritis per nos ultra visenda; colonis / Linqumur externis vos esse habitanda, valet! / Imus ad ignotas (nunquamque redibimus) oras."

BOOK III

THE HOLY LAND

1536 — 1538

*Laetatus sum in his, quae dicta sunt mihi:
In domum Domini ibimus.*

**"I rejoiced in those things that were said
unto me: We shall go into the house of the Lord."**

Psalm 121: 1

CHAPTER I

THE GERMAN WINTER (1536-1537)¹

1. THROUGH A WAR-TORN LAND (NOVEMBER, 1536)

Trusting in God's protection, the companions who had been left behind in Paris started off on November 15, 1536,² on their long trip to Venice in a festive mood; and joy gave such wings to their feet that they hardly felt the road beneath them. All were wearing the long, shabby cassock of Parisian scholars tucked up in their belts for easier walking. They had broad-brimmed hats covering their heads and rosaries hung openly about their necks. At their sides they carried leathern wallets suspended from their shoulders by leathern straps. These contained their Bible, breviary, and personal writings. Long pilgrims' staves completed their accoutrement.³ Rodrigues, who had set out with the first group five or six days earlier, was carrying with him his Bible;⁴ Favre, his small portable missal;⁵ Bobadilla, his thick volume of extracts from Scripture and the

¹ The main account of the journey from Paris to Venice is the one given by Rodrigues (461-474). This is complemented by the shorter accounts of Laynez (106-109), Favre (39-40), Bobadilla (615-560), and Polanco (FN I 189-190, II 572-574). These have provided the data for the description of the journey in Böhmer (193-197), Michel (31-41), Rodrigues (*Hist.* I, 1, 63-68), Dudon (251-257), and Larrañaga (460-464). The *Guide des Chemins de France de 1553* by Charles Estienne (Routes 60 69 74 88) gives the itinerary from Paris to Verdun; Caspar Hedio also names the principal sites in his *Ausserlessnen Chronick* (Strasbourg, 1539), in which he describes the journey from Strasbourg to Paris: Pareiss [Paris], Meatis [Meaux], Schettedüre [Château-Thierry], Apperne [Éperney], Schalon [Châlons], Sanct Mynnehe [Sainte-Menehould], Würdun [Verdun], Metz, Nanse [Nancy], Sanct Niclausport [Saint-Nicolas-du-Port], Lienstatt [Luneville], Blanckenberg [Blamont], Lützelstein [Luxembourg], Zabern (766-767).

² Some of the companions set out five or six days before the others, among these was Rodrigues (Rodrigues 463); Rodrigues, Favre, Laynez, and Polanco give the day of departure for the second group (FN II 572; the first draft of the *Chronicon* I 54 had November 11).

³ Rodrigues 462-463. The Portuguese text reads as follows: "com roupas compridas ia usadas a modo dos estudantes de Paris, e com bordões nas mãos e sombreiros na cabeça e cada hum levava hua bolsa de coura ao pescoso, lançada a hua ilharga do corpo, em a qual levavão cada hum sua Biblia e Breviario e alguns otros escritos." The manner of dress was regulated in the Society in 1541 as follows: "camisa, calça, jubón, vesta [cassock] a la francesa, larga asta el suelo, menos quatro dedos; la sotana [a sleeveless gown] asta la media pierna; el manteo un palmo más corto que la vestidura larga; cinta de cuero negro o lana, de ancho un dedo" (*MI Const.* I 41-42 48).

⁴ On Rodrigues' Bible, which was printed in Lyons in 1532, see Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 232, n. 7.

⁵ Favre's missal, which was destroyed by fire along with the professed house in Madrid in 1931, measured 10 × 14 ½ cm. It was printed entirely in Gothic type and had a single, poor woodcut portraying Christ on the cross with Mary and John at the beginning of the Canon. It was bound in wood covered with black embossed leather and had two clasps to keep it closed. The title ran: *Missale secundum morem sancte romane ecclesie*, and the colophon: *Explicit missale secundum morem romane curie. Ve-*

Fathers;⁶ and Laynez, his notes. In addition to this, the latter was wearing a haircloth under his shirt, even though he had scarcely recovered from an illness when he set out.⁷ Like Xavier,⁸ he was always helpful; and, despite his short stature, he was accustomed on this journey to test the footing when they had to cross a stream and thus lead his brethren to the opposite bank.⁹

The weather was rainy and remained so until they reached the German frontier.¹⁰ The road was soft and difficult to traverse, and the pilgrims were still novices in traveling on foot. Besides this, the country was at war with the emperor, and the Spaniards were in danger of being arrested by soldiers as enemies, especially since only two of them (one of whom was Xavier) spoke French well.¹¹ To avoid arousing suspicions, the Frenchmen and the Savoyards did the talking as long as they were on French soil.¹² As a consequence, the soldiers themselves at times showed them their way.¹³

But the trip was not without incidents. On one occasion a soldier joined up with one of the Spanish companions who could speak French and asked him about his homeland. "I am a student of Paris," he was told. Not content with this, the soldier asked him again: "I want to know your nationality. Where do

netiis per Bonetum Locatellum presbyterum diligenter impressum. 1501. It was arranged as follows: the *litterae dominicales*, *calendarium*, index, movable feasts (1-147), feasts of the saints (148-189), common of the saints (189-209), votive Masses (209-219v), Masses for the dead and nuptial Mass (219v-225v), blessings (225v-228), a Mass *contra mortalitatem* (228-229), the *Dies Irae* (229), formula for baptism (229v-231), and blessing for a new ship (231-232). Father Martín Hernández, S.J., who entered the Society in Alcalá in 1550 and died in 1596 at the age of sixty-seven in Navalcarnero (on him see ARSI: *Tolet.* 37; Francisco Antonio, S.J., **Historia de la Provincia de Toledo de la C. de Jesús*, c. 155), wrote on the reverse side of the title page: "This missal belonged to Father Favre, who had it bound as it is, since it was his. Father Hernández." On page 1 he wrote: "This missal belongs to the College of the Society of Jesus of Alcalá. Father Master Hernández uses it with the permission of Father Provincial. Father Martín Hernández." He repeated this on the reverse side of the same page, and two pages further on he stated again: "This missal belonged to Father Petrus Faber, and he used it on his travels."

⁶ "Estos scriptos porté sobra les espaldas, á pie, de París á Venetia, y en Roma, caminando á pie con mis compañeros," wrote Bobadilla in 1583 (*Bob. Mon.* 560).

⁷ According to Polanco (FN I 189; II 572). *Rosefius adds: "Quando P. Laynez venit Romam, portavit Lutetiá cilicium per totum iter, et nihilominus libros etiam super humeros," and he states that he learned this from Father Jacobus Acosta, and that Brother Hieronymus Vanegas had seen the hairshirt (29v-30). Rosefius met both of them in Rome between 1563 and 1566.

⁸ Tursellinus 1, 4.

⁹ Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Laynez* 6.

¹⁰ "Nos llovió quasi cada día por toda la Francia" (Layne 108).

¹¹ Xavier was certainly one of the two Spaniards, "qui optime gallicam callebant linguam" (Rodrigues 465). The last kings of Navarre, the d'Albret, were French; both Spanish and French were spoken at the court where Xavier's father was an important figure. It was only natural that he should have had his sons learn this language as well. The French allies who fought with Xavier's brothers at Maya and Fuenterrabía wrote to one of them in French, addressing him as "Monsieur de Chavyères" (Cros, *Doc.* I 223). Xavier, moreover, taught in an exclusively French college in Paris, and he was later in Rome a confessor in the French national church of San Luigi dei Francesi (EX I 31). The other Spaniard who spoke French was perhaps Laynez. He has a French sentence in his account (Layne 108). Rodrigues spoke French well (Tellez I 134), but he was not a Spaniard.

¹² Rodrigues 465.

¹³ Laynez 108.

¹⁴ Xavier was perhaps the hero of this adventure. According to Rodrigues the soldier called him a "bellua pinguissima" (465). In the Portuguese text this is "grossa besta." In the French it must therefore have been "grosse bête."

you come from?" But again he was told: "I am a student of Paris." Despite all his questionings the soldier could get no more out of his companion. Finally, losing his patience, he said: "Oh, you dumb ox, I know that," and stomped off in anger.¹⁴

The travelers had already put a good day's march behind them when towards evening they came into the vicinity of an inn, which lay at some distance to the side of the road. A group of peasants and soldiers were struck by the unusual garb of the travelers. "Hey, there!" they cried out. "Who are you, where are you coming from, and where are you going?" The French masters replied: "We are students of Paris." But one of the soldiers asked further: "What kind of people are you? Are you Carmelites, monks, priests, or something else? Come closer, we have to know with whom we are dealing!" The situation was becoming critical, when an old woman¹⁵ said to the soldiers: "Let them go, let them go; they are going to reform a land (*ils vont réformer quelque pays*)." They all laughed and let the company pass on.¹⁶

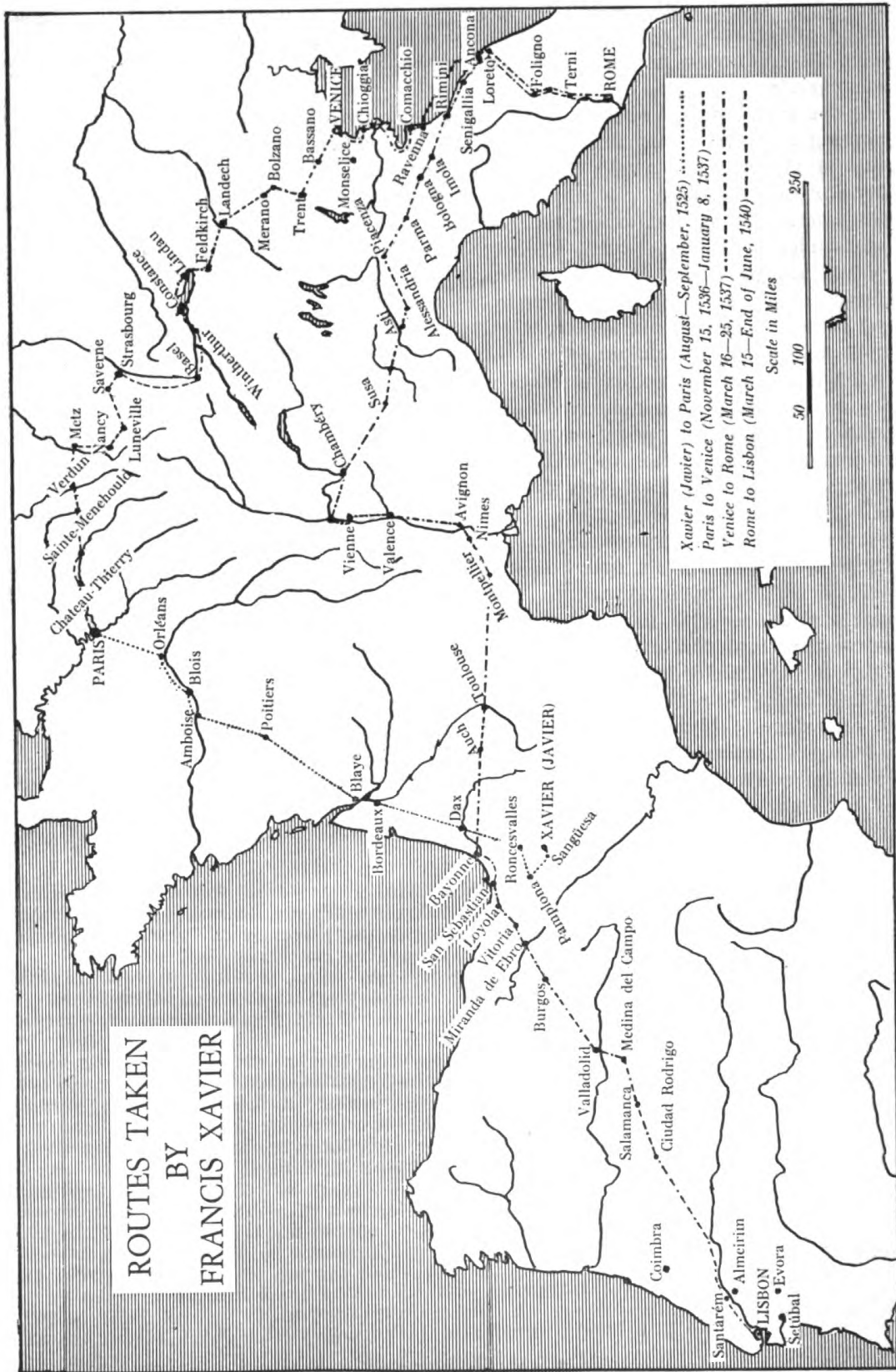
At Meaux, twenty-eight miles from Paris,¹⁷ they celebrated a happy reunion with those who had gone on ahead; and they held a last consultation. After commending the matter to God in prayer and preparing themselves by going to confession and receiving Holy Communion, they decided on the following course of action: They should continue the journey to Venice on foot as they had already decided in Paris; they should take the money necessary for the journey with them; and they should stay together. They had to pass through the lands of heretics in the midst of winter, when everything was covered with snow, and would thus be able to help each other more effectively if one or other was prevented from continuing because of the cold or sickness. If they were asked the goal of their pilgrimage, they would reply that they were on their way to the shrine of Saint-Nicolas-du-Port, a famous place of pilgrimage in the territory of Lorraine.¹⁸ After they had settled on this plan, their order of travel was as follows: They meditated, sang psalms, recited their breviaries, or engaged in spiritual conversation along the way. The three priests, Favre, Jay and Broët, or at least one of them, celebrated Mass each day; the others confessed and received Holy Communion. In the evening, after they had entered an inn, they

¹⁴ According to Laynez it was "un homme" (108).

¹⁵ Rodrigues 464. His Portuguese text rounds out the Latin. Laynez gives the French term (108). *Rosefius, who gives as his authority the professor of theology Diego Ledesma, erroneously lays the scene in Piedmont, and he distorts it (24v).

¹⁷ According to Rodrigues, Meaux lies forty-eight *millia passuum* from Paris (463). According to his Portuguese text it is "twelve leagues (*legoas*), if I remember correctly." It is twenty-seven miles. Estienne gives the route: Paris, Pantin, Bondy, Villeparisis, then through the woods of Parisis, Claye-Souilly, and from there across the Bevrone and along the Marne to Meaux (Route 60). The daily average of the companions would have amounted to about thirty-one miles since (1) they were still young and vigorous; (2) since there were Spaniards among them, they wanted to leave France as soon as possible; (3) Sebastian Rodrigues overtook his brother at Meaux after traveling on horseback for only two or three days; (4) they completed the stretch from Saint-Nicolas-du-Port to Strasbourg, ninety miles over the snow-covered Vosges Mountains, in two or three days; (5) at the end of November they were already in Strasbourg, for Rodrigues says that they had traveled from there to Venice in over a month and a half. According to the Portuguese text they did this in about a month and a half (469-470). In 1562, when Broët, Nadal, and Jiménez traveled through Burgundy to Paris in order to meet their father general, they traveled between twelve and thirteen leagues (*legoas*) each day (*Ep. Nadal I 745*).

¹⁸ Rodrigues 465-466.



knelt down and thanked God for the benefits of the past day; and before starting out on their journey in the morning they offered up a short prayer again upon their knees. During their meals they practiced temperance, taking rather too little than too much.¹⁹ And if a decision had to be made, they prayed over it and then followed the opinion of the majority.²⁰

The nine companions traveled in rainy weather from Meaux up the valley of the Marne towards the east past Château-Thierry and Dormans to Épernay,²¹ through hilly country covered with meadows, fields, and groves of trees. The white birch trees, knotty oaks, and elms were in their autumn dress. Here and there could be seen a quiet village with a pointed church tower. They walked along beneath a grey, cloudy sky over a muddy, endless road; but in their hearts shone the sun of spiritual joy,²² and far off beyond the sea the Holy Land was beckoning.

The companions had already traveled two or three days beyond Meaux when two horsemen overtook them at full gallop. They were Sebastian, the brother of Simon Rodrigues, and another Portuguese, a close friend of Simon, who had studied with him for years. As soon as they had learned of his departure, they had ridden after him. They now asked him why he had left Paris without saying a word to them, and what he intended to do. They then used all their eloquence to persuade him to return with them, pointing out the dangers of traveling through war-torn lands, the misery that awaited him, the shame, sorrow, and disappointment which he would cause his parents and his entire family. But it was all in vain. Simon remained steadfast and even encouraged the two to follow his own example. Since they could not bring themselves to this, they had to depart sad and alone for Paris. The companions then continued on their journey.²³

At Épernay the pilgrims left the Marne in order to take a direct route to Lorraine over the lonely plateau of Champagne.²⁴ At Sainte-Menehould in the valley of the Aisne they reached the frontier. Before bidding farewell to the soil of France, on which they had lived for so many years, they confessed and received the Body of the Lord.²⁵ After they had eaten,²⁶ a high-ranking French officer

¹⁹ Laynez 106-108, cf. 112; Rodrigues 465-467; Nadal (FN II 81-82).

²⁰ Polanco (FN I 189, II 573).

²¹ Estienne gives the route: Meaux, Trilport, where the Marne was crossed, then through the forest to Saint-Jean-les-deux-Jumeaux and Fay, where the Marne was again crossed, to La Ferté-sous-Juarre and Luzancy, where the Marne was again crossed, to Méry-sur-Marne, then along the right bank of the Marne to Crouettes, Charly, through the forest of la Hargue to Mont-de-Bonneil and past the Augustinian abbey of Essommes to Château-Thierry (Route 69), a total distance of thirty miles.

²² Rodrigues 466.

²³ *Ibid.* 466-467. Rodrigues does not mention his own name throughout his report; Bartoli (*Vita di S. Ignazio* 2, 28) and all the authors say that he and his brother Sebastian are meant here. Estienne gives the route: Château-Thierry, Paroy, Sauvigny, where the Marne was crossed, Dormans, Port-à-Binson, La Cave, Boursault, Mardeuil, Épernay (Route 74), about thirty-one miles. The meeting could have taken place between Dormans and Épernay.

²⁴ Estienne gives the route: from Épernay over the Marne to Ay (the companions probably did not take the detour past Châlons-sur-Marne since they were in a hurry and the Spaniards in their midst made it wise for them to avoid the larger French cities), to Les-Grandes-Loges, where the Nesle was crossed, straight across the road between Reims and Châlons to Saint-Remy-sur-Bussy, Sainte-Menehould, where the Aisne was crossed, to Verrières, then through the Argonne Forest to Clermont-en-Argonne and across the Aisne to Verdun (Route 88), about sixty-two miles.

²⁵ "Cum iam Galliae fines egredierentur, quasi ultimum ei vale facientes," says Ro-

came up to the pilgrims with a large number of soldiers and began to argue passionately with them about the doctrines of the Church. The Parisian masters, however, were able to give him such excellent answers that he soon left them alone, and they were able to continue their journey unmolested.²⁷

The road led up through the Argonne Forest, which formed the boundary between France and Lorraine; and the companions could breathe more easily again when, towards evening, they reached neutral territory at Clermont-en-Argonne in the valley of the Aire, the first city of Lorraine. But they were not on this account out of danger. Here in the western part of the duchy were swarms of French soldiers who had attacked the Netherlands and were returning laden with booty and making everything unsafe through their lack of restraint and insubordination. The people were, as a consequence, afraid to travel abroad and were astonished, as others were later on, that the Parisian students had escaped the hands of the soldiers. If the Spaniards had been recognized as such, they would have been in danger of losing their freedom and their lives.²⁸ Despite all the fears of the natives, the masters set out on their journey the next day and in the evening reached the episcopal city of Verdun in good condition. Eleven hours further to the east lay the strong, free, imperial city of Metz. Here the travelers encountered the main portion of the hostile army²⁹ and discovered that the gates of the city were closed and strongly guarded, since the worst was to be feared from the rough soldiers. After a long discussion they were finally allowed to enter into the city as Parisian students making a pilgrimage to Saint-Nicolas-du-Port. A swarm of fleeing peasants, who had left their property and possessions in jeopardy in order to save themselves from the ravages of the soldiers, also entered with them. They remained there for three days, that is, until the army had departed from in front of the city.³⁰

As soon as the way was clear, the companions mounted up the Moselle Valley and went past Pont-à-Mousson to Nancy, the capital of Lorraine, lying thirty-seven miles south of Metz. From here they continued their journey for two and one-half hours to Saint-Nicolas-du-Port³¹ on the bank of the Meurthe, a tributary of the Moselle. Its new and ornate Gothic church, which had been begun in 1495 and was now, in 1536, to a large extent finished, dominated the valley far and wide.³²

drigues (467), without mentioning the name of the place. The site on the frontier was Sainte-Menehould, some thirty-six miles from Épernay.

²⁶ "Post prandium" (Rodrigues 467; his Portuguese text has "depois de comer"), that is, the meal which they took after Mass and Communion before setting out again.

²⁷ According to the context, their Communion, meal, and disputation were all on the same day and at the same place on the French frontier. The officer was probably the commandant of the post there.

²⁸ Rodrigues 467-468.

²⁹ "In copias totius exercitus inciderunt" (Rodrigues 468; the Portuguese text has: "Encontrarão o corpo do exercito iunto de Mes, cidade em Loreina"). Ignatius says that his companions had come from Paris "pasando por tantas afrontas de guerras" (MI *Epp* XII 321). The anonymous life of Ignatius adds: "Venetias pervenerunt, cum prius multam vexationem et persecutionem a militibus passi essent, qui paratis tormentis ipsos insequabantur, sed nunquam sunt consecuti" (FN II 440). This could refer to the trip to Verdun and Metz. Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 234, gives the route from Verdun to Metz.

³⁰ Rodrigues 468.

³¹ *Ibid.* and Laynez 106.

³² The cornerstone of the present church was laid in 1495; the brickwork was finished in 1518; the double tower was completed in 1544; the building was completely finished in 1533 (Édouard Gérardin, *Saint-Nicolas-de-Port en Lorraine* [Paris, 1928] 43-45).

The city, which was inhabited by wealthy merchants, had more houses than the capital itself.³³ The astonished citizens were of the opinion that the nine pilgrims must have flown in through the air, so incredible was it to them that they had come on foot safe and sound through the war-torn land.³⁴ The church, which was adorned with brilliant stained-glass windows,³⁵ had a finger of St. Nicholas of Myra, the patron of the country,³⁶ preserved in a golden reliquary shaped like an arm and richly adorned with jewels. Among the pilgrims who had visited the sanctuary in former times was Joan of Arc, "the Maid of Orléans," who had here in 1428 recommended her religious and patriotic mission to the saint.³⁷

The cold of winter was already making itself felt when the travelers, after completing their devotions, left this place of pilgrimage.³⁸ From here their road went east past Luneville and Blamont, which was protected by a stronghold, to the frontier of Lorraine and from there northeast through the snow-covered Vosges Forest past Sarrebourg and Lutzelbourg to Saverne,³⁹ where they entered German Alsace.⁴⁰ Three days⁴¹ after leaving Saint-Nicolas-du-Port the travelers arrived in Strasbourg.⁴² The large imperial city with its beautiful cathedral had already fallen away from the Church; and Bucer, the former Dominican monk, was here the spiritual leader instead of the bishop.

As soon as the magistrates learned of the arrival of the Parisian masters, they summoned them into their presence. Since the companions were now in German territory, the Frenchmen prudently remained at the inn while the others went off to the town hall. When they were asked about themselves, they declared that they were Spaniards who had studied in Paris and were now making a pilgrimage to the Holy House of Loreto in Italy. In Saint-Nicolas they had chosen this as a place of pilgrimage and had decided that in Germany they would say that Loreto was their goal. The council was satisfied with this explanation and let them go without further annoyance. One of its members followed them

³³ Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 235.

³⁴ Rodrigues 468.

³⁵ Émile Badel, *Guide du Pèlerin et du Touriste à Saint-Nicolas de Port* (Nancy, 1893) 130-137.

³⁶ Gérardin 40 146-148. The relic was destroyed during the French Revolution.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 37. There is a commemorative window of Xavier in the chapel of St. Nicholas today. Badel erroneously maintains that he was miraculously cured here by St. Nicholas (35). He describes this nonhistorical incident by putting together Rodrigues 454 and 463. Cf. above, p. 223, n. 246.

³⁸ Rodrigues 469.

³⁹ Hedio gives two routes: one, the shortest route from Strasbourg to Paris, went from Saint-Nicolas-du-Port past Luneville, Blamont, Saint-Quirin, Haslach, Mutzig, and Molsheim; the other went from Metz past Wich (Vic), Tüse (Diuze), Münster, Sarwerd (Saarwerden), Lützelstein, Herrnstein, and Zabern (Saverne) to Strasbourg (*Ausserlessne Chronick* [Strasbourg, 1539] 766-767). In 1520 Bishop Wilhelm III of Strasbourg had the "Zabern Path" cut through the cliffs and mountains, so that the ordinary route may have been from Saint-Nicolas-du-Port past Luneville, Blamont, Heming, Saarburg (Saarebourg), Lutzelbourg (near Phalzburg) and Zabern (Saverne) to Strasbourg (Martin Zeiler, *Itinerarium Germaniae* [Strasbourg, 1632] 229, and Sanson, "Carte des Postes de France 1693," *Nouvelle Introduction à la Géographie* [Paris, 1694]).

⁴⁰ The road went past Wilden (Wilgottheim) and Stissen (Stützeim); cf. Sanson, "Carte des Postes," and *Acht und fünfzig accurate Post- und Boten-Charten der vornehmsten Residenz- und Handels-Städte in Europa* (Hamburg, Christian Herold, 1749) 478.

⁴¹ After Saint-Nicolas-du-Port the travelers came "post duos vel tres dies" to a German city which belonged to Emperor Charles V (Rodrigues 469). Strasbourg is meant. The distance equaled ninety-three miles.

⁴² The context shows that this was Strasbourg, as already noted by Böhmer 195.

through the door and began to give them many reasons in Latin for not making the pilgrimage to Loreto, but the masters were ready with their answers.⁴³

It was already the end of November when the travelers reached Strasbourg,⁴⁴ and they now began to experience the German winter in earnest. This year it was particularly severe.⁴⁵ Deep snow covered and concealed the roads. None of the comrades could speak German, and besides this handicap, they were passing through an heretical land. They placed their confidence, however, in God, for whose love they had undertaken this journey. And they would have endured any want or suffering even to the sacrifice of their lives for Him.⁴⁶

2. AMONG THE VALIANT SWISS (DECEMBER, 1536)

A three-day hike⁴⁷ brought the travelers across the plains of Alsace from Strasbourg to Basel, the renowned university city in Switzerland on the Rhine. A statue of the Mother of God that had been placed there in Catholic times greeted them from the Spalen gate as they entered the city,⁴⁸ but Basel itself had apostatized from the faith some years before. It had accepted the teachings of Zwingli, who, in opposition to Luther, denied the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Completely exhausted from the long journey which they had made through the snow-covered land and half-dead with cold, the companions took up lodgings in the public inn near the city gate.⁴⁹ There they stayed for three

⁴³ Rodrigues 469.

⁴⁴ "Hinc egressi plus quam unum et dimidiatum mensem consumpserunt, antequam in Italiam venirent" (Rodrigues 469-470). The Portuguese text is preferable: "Dali adiante ate entrarem em Italia, que será caminho de mes e meo pouquo mais ou menos." The distance from Paris to Strasbourg is 312 miles. If they traveled at an average of thirty miles, including in this the three days of rest in Metz, the companions could have reached Strasbourg before the end of November. Among the places where they probably stopped for the night are Meaux, Château-Thierry, Épernay, Grandes-Loges (?), Sainte-Menehould, Verdun, Metz, Saint-Nicolas-du-Port, Blamont, Saverne, Strasbourg.

⁴⁵ "Erat autem tempus hiemale, frigidum valde" (Favre 40). "It was a long, cold winter. All the vines that were not covered in the city and the country froze" (*Basler Chroniken*, ed. A. Bernoulli VI [Leipzig, 1902] 164). "Incominciò l'anno [1537], prendendolo dagli ultimi giorni del passato, con freddo grandissimo, ed i ghiacci durarono per più di un mese" according to the *Diario di Bologna* (Corradi 3027).

⁴⁶ Rodrigues 469-470. Laynez states that "Venimos sobre la nieve per todo el camino de Alemania" (108).

⁴⁷ "Post dies aliquot" (Rodrigues 470). The distance was seventy-eight miles, and the companions traveled steadily for they arrived in Basel all worn out. There were two possible routes: the shorter one was nearer the Rhine. It followed the old Roman road past Friesenheim, Markolsheim, Fessenheim, Ottmarsheim, Gross-Kembs, and St. Ludwig; the other led past Matzenheim, Benfeld, Schlettstadt, Colmar, and Ensisheim to Basel (Zeiller, *Itinerarium Germaniae* [Strassburg, 1632] 266).

⁴⁸ As it still does today.

⁴⁹ The *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation*, ed. Dr. Paul Roth, contains in vol. 6, n. 374, a mandate of December 11, 1533, which states, that foreign Mass-priests should not be lodged in private dwellings but should stay in the public inns. Dr. Christian Vischer of the university library of Basel, who kindly brought this document to our attention, further informed us that the Lützelhof, which the deceased chaplain Hägi of St. Clare told us was probably an inn, had been located in the suburb of Spalen from a notice in the register of deeds in the city archives of Basel. At the same time a second Lützelhof is mentioned on the "Freien Strasse" between "Himmelzunft" and "Wildem Mann." The "Herbergasse" still reflects the presence of another inn north of Spalen Gate near St. Peter's. In former times there was located here the "hospitale pauperum et exulum peregrinorum." Since 1441 it had provided

days in order to recuperate from their exertions and to gain the strength needed for the labors still to come.⁵⁰

Three weeks earlier, on November 3, Duke Henry of Braunschweig had passed through here with his infantry on his way back from the campaign in Provence. His men had been in a pitiable state and had been dying all along the way. Fevers, diphtheria, and the plague had carried off some twenty thousand of the imperial army in southern France; and among these had been many nobles and other important personages. Many horses had also perished. The Swiss had had compassion upon them and, after taking pledges, had permitted the troops to pass through Basel. They were a wretched and miserable lot, and among the unfortunates were a good many counts, princes and other great lords.⁵¹ The Basel lansquenets who had served in the French army had, on the other hand, returned home "fresh, fat, and generously paid."⁵²

The Parisian scholars in their strange garb, ignorant of German, wearing rosaries around their necks, and kneeling down in the inn to pray, were soon the talk of the town. Professors of the university repeatedly came to dispute with them in Latin and to try to win them over from their Catholic ways, but they soon found them to be competent adversaries who fearlessly attacked the errors of the Reform and energetically defended the teachings of the Catholic Church.⁵³

In the university at this time there were a number of experienced theologians: Sebastian Münster, a former Franciscan, who had published a Bible in Hebrew and Latin in Basel in 1534-1535, the first German to do so;⁵⁴ Simon Grynaeus, professor of Greek and of the New Testament, who had helped to Protestantize the university of Tübingen two years before, and who had published a collection of travelers' reports in Paris in 1532 under the title of *Novus Orbis*;⁵⁵ Oswald Myconius, pastor of the cathedral and professor of the New Testament and, as successor to Oecolampadius, the head of the church at Basel;⁵⁶ Wolfgang Weissenburg, the rector of the university at this time and pastor of St. Theodore, who had this same year published in Strasbourg a description of the Holy Land;⁵⁷

rooms at the "Münchshoff." On this see L. Kaufmann, "Franz Xaver in Basel," *Basler Volksblatt*, Dec. 3, 1952. It is not certain that the companions stopped here, as the writer contends, since they were carrying money with them.

⁵⁰ Rodrigues 470.

⁵¹ *Basler Chroniken* VI 208-209; I 149-150.

⁵² *Ibid.* I (1872) 149-150.

⁵³ Rodrigues 470 467. His Portuguese text has: "Diversas pessoas por algumas vezes vierão a casa, onde estavam os Padres a disputar com elles da fee."

⁵⁴ Seb. Münster, the author of the famous *Cosmographia*, which went through forty-six editions from 1544 to 1560, was born in Ingelheim (Alsace) in 1489. He entered the Franciscan order in 1503 and studied in Rufach, Heidelberg, Tübingen, and Vienna. He taught Hebrew in Heidelberg from 1524 to 1527. He became a professor of the Old Testament and Hebrew at the Protestant university in Basel in 1529 and died there in 1552. See Viktor Hantzsch, *Seb. Münster* (Leipzig, 1898).

⁵⁵ On Grynaeus, see p. 251, n. 43. In 1545 Rodrigues told a judge of the Inquisition that Damião de Goes had been a great friend of a heretic by the name of Simon Grynaeus, "o qual habitava em Basileá, o qual Simão Gryneus era tido dos lutheranos em muito conta e grande reputação" (Max. Lemos, "Damião de Goes," *Revista de Historia* 10 [1921] 52).

⁵⁶ Myconius, whose real name was Geisshütler, was born in 1488 in Lucerne. He studied in Rottweil, Bern, and Basel. A friend of Zwingli, he became a follower of Oecolampadius in 1532. In 1534 he drew up the Confession of Basel. He wrote commentaries on the Bible and died in Basel in 1552.

⁵⁷ Weissenburg was born in Basel in 1496. He studied and was ordained there in 1522, and then became a preacher in the Franciscan church. Through the writings of

and Karlstadt, a "heresiarch," well versed in the scholasticism of both St. Thomas and Duns Scotus. At different times he had been both for and against Luther. In 1534, after a varied career, he had finally found a refuge in Basel as a professor of theology and a preacher in St. Peter's, which was not far from the inn where the Parisian masters were staying.⁵⁸ Rodrigues still remembered his name forty years later when he wrote his account of this journey.⁵⁹

In March, 1536, Calvin had published his *Christianae Religionis Institutio* in Basel, but since August of this same year he had been living in Geneva, where he was promoting the Reform with Farel.⁶⁰

In Basel itself every trace of the former Catholic worship had disappeared by the time that the companions arrived there. Only sermons were given in the churches.⁶¹ The dead were buried without sound or song, without cross, candles, or responsories, and no longer in the old cemetery but in a field in front of the city.⁶² The beautiful cathedral, like the other churches, had been desecrated. Although it contained the tombs of their ancestors, the people of the city had despoiled it of its altars and statues of the saints and had converted it into a rope factory, where three or four machines were then in operation.⁶³ In the cloister of the cathedral the masters saw the tomb of Oecolampadius, who had brought about the Reformation in Basel and had died in 1531;⁶⁴ and, to their great astonishment, they found in the choir the tomb of Erasmus, who had found his last resting place here in this heretical city.⁶⁵

Luther he became alienated from the old faith and helped Oecolampadius carry out the Reform in Basel. He became a doctor in 1540, and the successor of Grynaeus as professor of theology in 1541. He died in 1575 (*Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* 42 [1897] 291-292).

⁵⁸ Andreas Rudolf Bodenstein, known simply as "Karlstadt" from the fact that he had his origins in Karlstadt in Lower Franconia, was born about 1480. He studied in Rome and then in Wittenberg, where in 1505 he began to teach a strict type of Thomism. He became a canon in 1508, a doctor of theology in 1510, and a *doctor utriusque juris* in 1516. Influenced by Luther he gave up scholasticism, fell away in 1522, and married. He was in constant conflict with Luther and, after 1534, with Myconius in Basel, where he died in 1541 (*Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* 3 [1867] 8-15; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 5 [1960] 1363-1364). Pictures of these Reformers are contained in Ernst Staehelin, *Das Buch der Basler Reformation* (Basel, 1929), and Doumergue I 489 491 506.

⁵⁹ "In ea urbe tunc temporis commorabatur Carolus Stadius, magnus et pestilens haeresum magister" (Rodrigues 470).

⁶⁰ F. W. Kampschulte, *Johann Calvin* I (Leipzig, 1869) 278-282.

⁶¹ Rodrigues 470; see Allen 2133.

⁶² Rodrigues 470.

⁶³ "Templum superbum quidem, ac aedificio pulcherrimum; pro aris et sanctorum imaginibus, plures habebat rotas, conficiendis funibus destinatas" (Rodrigues 470; the Portuguese text has: "tres ou quatro rodas de cordoeiros que nella fazião cordas").

⁶⁴ Johann Oecolampadius, whose real name was Hussgen, that is, Hausschein, was born in Weinsberg (Württemberg) in 1482. He studied in Stuttgart, Tübingen, and Basel, where he became a doctor of theology in 1518. From 1518 to 1520 he was a preacher in the cathedral of Augsburg. He spent the years from 1520 to 1522 in the monastery of Altomünster troubled with doubts. He became a professor of Sacred Scripture in Basel in 1523, where he furthered the Reformation in 1528, taking a position between Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. He died in 1531 (*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 7 [1962] 1125-1126; Ernst Staehelin, *Das theologische Lebenswerk Oekolampads* [Leipzig, 1939]). The stone now on his sepulcher was not laid until 1542.

⁶⁵ The original marker placed on Erasmus' tomb in 1537 has disappeared. In 1928 the present stone with an inscription dating from 1538 was transferred along with the tomb itself to the first pillar left of the choir in the Schaler chapel.

It had been a tragic burial. In 1524 he had taken up the battle against Luther, who denied the freedom of the will. In 1525, he composed a memorial for the Council of Basel in order to keep the city in the old faith. But he was unable to check the revolutionary movement which he had himself promoted through his ridicule of the Church. On February 8, 1529, there had been an outbreak of iconoclasm. A mob incited to a frenzy of destruction by preachers smashed everything that could be a reminder of the old religion. The Catholics, including the mayor and a part of the city council, were forced to flee in the face of further armed violence. The bishop, nobility, and cathedral chapter then abandoned the city. Erasmus and the professors of the university, following their example, retired to the Catholic city of Freiburg im Breisgau. As "the Prince of Humanists," Erasmus had made Basel famous throughout the world, and before he left the city attempts were made to persuade him to stay. During the course of a long conversation in the garden of the printer Frobenius, Oecolampadius assured him that he would have nothing to suffer because of his religious convictions. He also reminded him of the disgrace it would be to the city if he turned his back upon it. But Erasmus knew that if he stayed on, this would be taken as an approval on his part of the religious revolution and of the iconoclasm of the people. He therefore left the city.⁶⁶ In a letter which he wrote on May 9, 1529, from Freiburg to his friend Willibald Pirckheimer he described the events in Basel which had forced him to leave the city:

The Council let the smiths and craftsmen take whatever they wanted from the churches. They treated the statues of the saints and even the crucifixes so shamefully that it is a wonder that no miracle occurred, as happened so frequently in former times when such things were done.⁶⁷ There are now no statues left in the churches, gates, vestibules, or monasteries. All the paintings on the walls have been covered over and concealed with whitewash. Everything that would burn was tossed on the funeral pyres. Everything has been destroyed, no matter what was its material or artistic worth.⁶⁸ Masses were immediately proscribed. They may not be offered even once in private homes, nor may one attend them in the neighboring towns.⁶⁹

During this same year Erasmus wrote a pamphlet against the Reformers of Basel which he called *A Letter against Those Who Falsely Boast of the Name "Evangelical."* He informed Cardinal Cajetan that he was willing, after the example of St. Augustine, to write his *Retractationes*; and, in 1533, he published his *De*

⁶⁶ Allen 2147 2158 2196, cf. 2134. He left on April 13 (*ibid* 2149).

⁶⁷ The diary of a Carthusian in Basel gives some details. A large crucifix was carried out of the cathedral, and children of eight, ten, and twelve years dragged it with a rope to the grain market chanting, "Oh, you poor Judas!" They also shouted other invectives, for example: "If you are God, defend yourself; but if you are a man, bleed!" (*Bist du Gott, so wer dich, bist du aber Mensch, so bluot!*) They then burned the crucifix in the workhouse (*Basler Chroniken I* [Leipzig, 1872] 448; see also Paul Roth, "Eine Elegie zum Bildersturm in Basel," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 42 [1943] 131-138).

⁶⁸ Oecolampadius wrote about the iconoclasm to Capito on February 13, 1529: "Vi irruperunt in templum summum et omnia idola deturbarunt... similiterque in omnibus templis egerunt." He added that on Ash Wednesday it had been decided that all idols should be turned into ashes. Nine fires were therefore kindled on the cathedral square. At the same time a decree was issued that all idols should be removed from the city and country and that Masses should be completely abolished from all churches and homes (Ernst Stachelin, *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads 2* [Leipzig, 1934] 281-282).

⁶⁹ Allen 2158, cf. 2133.

amabili Ecclesiae concordia ("On the Sweet Harmony of the Church"). In May, 1535, Paul III wrote a special letter to the aging humanist acknowledging his services. In August he assigned him a rich benefice in Deventer so that he might spend the rest of his days free from financial worries.⁷⁰ His friends in Rome, and among them were six cardinals, even thought of procuring for him a red hat. But he discouraged this. He felt that his end was near.⁷¹ In June of this same year he had returned to Basel to see his *Ecclesiastes* through the press. From there he intended to go on to Besançon or to his native Netherlands. But God willed otherwise. On June 28, 1536, he wrote to his friend Goclenius: "Because of my poor health, I had to leave Freiburg. I intended to settle in Besançon in order to be within the emperor's domain after my *Ecclesiastes* had been printed. But my declining health has forced me to spend the winter here. Though I am now in the midst of very true friends, such as I never had in Freiburg, still, because of the doctrinal differences I would prefer to die elsewhere. Would to God that Brabant were nearer!" This was his last letter.⁷² During the night of July 11, he was called to his eternal reward. Even though he had died against his wishes in a heretical city and had refused to have any of the Reformers about his house during his last illness,⁷³ his remains were still borne in a solemn procession, in which the professors of the university, the citizens, and the mayor took part, to their last resting place in the choir of the desecrated church of the Blessed Virgin.⁷⁴

After staying for three days in Basel, the companions started out again, this time for Constance, about one hundred miles away. As they went up the course of the Rhine, they could see on their left, on the north bank of the river, the fir trees on the slopes of the Black Forest covered with snow. They then went inland through the hilly country of northern Switzerland.⁷⁵ Here they began the

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 3021 3033.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 3048-3049 3052 3063.

⁷² "Hic enim quamquam sum apud amicos sincerissimos, quales Friburgi non habebam, tamen ob dogmatum dissensionem malim alibi finire vitam. Utinam Brabantia esset vicinior!" (Allen 3130). On Erasmus' desire for his native land, see also the letter of his friend Bonifatius Amerbach (Allen 3141).

⁷³ "Hic mihi crede a sectis nihil est periculi. Nemo vobis verbo molestus est, nec vellem habere domi qui novis dogmatibus esset infectus" (Allen 3122).

⁷⁴ Allen 3134 3135; *Basler Chroniken* VI 209. "Sanctissime vixit, sanctissime mortuus est, ita adfectibus in Christum compositis, ut nihil in ore nisi dulce Iesu nomen haberet," Bonifatius Amerbach wrote from Basel on February 1, 1537 (Allen 3141). His last words were: "O Iesu, fili Dei, miserere mei, misericordias Domini et iudicium cantabo" (*ibid.* 3134). Rodrigues had written in the Portuguese copy of his report that they had found "Erasmus Roterodamo, Zonglio, Ecolampadio e outros hereges" buried in the cathedral of Basel. He corrected the ambiguous text in the Latin copy: "Eo in templo terra iniecta iacebant Zoinglius [obviously an error], Oecolampadiusque, insignes haeretici, et alii complures, nec non Erasmus Roterodamus" (470). See the excellent study by R. G. Villoslada, S.J., "La muerte de Erasmo," *Studi e Testi* 124 (1946) 381-406.

⁷⁵ For the following, see G. Schurhammer, "Die Reise des hl. Franz Xaver durch die Schweiz," *Schweizerische Rundschau* 17 (1916-17) 16-33. It should be noted that the companions certainly followed the main road through the snow-covered countryside from Basel to Constance. Its principal stations were posted in Basel. There were two common routes. The north road went past Baden, Kaiserstuhl, Schaffhausen, and Stein, as is indicated in the road map of 1501 (see H. Krüger, "Die Romweg-Karte Erhard Etzlaubs," *Petermanns Mitteilungen* 88 [1942] 285-296; a new edition with a commentary has been published by Aug. Wolkenhauer in *Erhard Etzlaubs Rom-Karte Durch Deutschland 1501* [Berlin, 1919]). The south road went past Baden, Kaiserstuhl, Winterthur, and Frauenfeld to Constance. Since Rodrigues does not mention Zürich, there is hardly any question about this city. In December, 1146, St. Bernard traveled by way of Rheinfelden,

most difficult and dangerous part of their journey. They were in neutral territory, but the country through which they were passing had for the most part fallen into heresy. None of the companions knew German, still less the guttural Alemannic dialect of this region; and the farmers they met did not understand Latin. They could thus only rarely obtain information about their route. They repeatedly wandered off the main road, climbing up high hills and plunging down into deep valleys, where they often sank over their knees in the snow.⁷⁶

At the end of their second day's journey, when it was already late at night and they had strayed from the highway, they reached a large village.⁷⁷ Loud music was pouring out of a brilliantly lit inn. It was filled with farmers who were celebrating the wedding of their pastor with eating, drinking, and dancing almost the whole night through. The latter sat in their midst with a huge sword at his belt, which he proudly wore for display.⁷⁸

They experienced another adventure in their last stopping place, sixteen miles before Constance.⁷⁹ Here too they had wandered from the highway, when towards

Säckingen, and Schaffhausen to Constance in five days; and he returned to Basel in another five days by way of Winterthur, Zurich, Birmenstorf (near Baden), Frick, and Rheinfelden. Since Rodrigues' report rules out the northern route, the companions probably went from Basel to Constance by way of Rheinfelden, Frick, Brugg, Baden, Kaiserstuhl, Winterthur, Frauenfeld, Pfyn and Weinfeld, a distance of about one hundred miles. On the following, see also Hektor Ammann and Karl Schib, *Historischer Atlas der Schweiz* (Aarau, 1951), maps 17 and 32.

⁷⁶ Rodrigues 470-471.

⁷⁷ "Ad pagum amplum iam de nocte" (Rodrigues 471; the Portuguese text has: "mui de noite a huma aldea grande"). A glance at the complicated political and religious situation in northern Switzerland in December, 1536, is necessary to determine the site. Since the companions frequently strayed from the road, we must assume that they stopped for the night three times between Basel and Constance. The first stop lay between Frick (twenty-one miles) and Brugg (thirty-one miles), the second between Kaiserstuhl (forty-seven miles) and Winterthur (sixty-seven miles), the third was at Weinfeld (ninety-six miles), four hours from Constance. It is not very likely that they strayed from the road on the first day, for the way was clearly defined. It passed first along the Rhine and then up the valley of the Frick. Not far from Basel was the frontier of Austria, a Catholic country. A festive and noisy wedding of a parish priest would have been impossible there, especially during Advent. The first night's lodging was perhaps in Catholic Frick. Hornussen, the last Catholic village, lay less than an hour beyond Frick. From here the road led past Mount Bötzt to Brugg, which was reached after a walk of two hours through Protestant territory belonging to Bern. But it is not very likely that the travelers strayed this far. The second day's hike went past Baden to Kaiserstuhl, through a region that was religiously neutral, but subject to the old Catholic cantons, which would hardly have permitted the pastor's wedding mentioned above. Just beyond Kaiserstuhl (forty-seven miles) began the Protestant territory of the canton of Zurich. The pastor's wedding is therefore to be placed here. It was quite easy to stray from the road through the hilly country between Kaiserstuhl and Winterthur, but the site cannot be further determined.

⁷⁸ Rodrigues 471; the Portuguese text has: "Hum dia entre outros errando ho caminho chegarão mui de noite a hua aldea grande, que começava de todo em todo a deixar a fee chatolica, e acharão a pousada chea de gente e com grandes musiquas e banquetes, e nisto gastou aquella gente quasi toda a noute fazendo festa ao seu cura, que se lhes casara, e elle andava com hua espada mui grande à ilharga mui contente."

⁷⁹ "Sexdecim fere passuum millia ante Constantiam," according to Rodrigues (471). His Portuguese text is clearer: "Hua outra vez quatro legoas ou por ventura mais antes de chegar à cidade de Constantia chegarão a hua villa." As Rodrigues notes further on, the city lay two leagues (*legoas*) away from the main road to Constance and separated from it by a hill. This rules out Stein (contrary to Böhmer 195) and the northern route and definitely identifies the site: Weinfeld. Instead of continuing straight ahead after crossing the Thur at Märstetten, the travelers followed the course of the river east to

evening they reached a small town and, dead tired from their long journey, entered the inn. The pastor of the place, an apostate priest,⁸⁰ was married and already had a flock of children. He had a good grasp on the teachings of his sect and was, as he himself avowed, rather well versed in the classics.⁸¹ When he learned of the arrival of the Parisian scholars, he came with six or seven of the leading citizens to where they were staying. Though it was already beginning to grow dark,⁸² he wanted to argue with them about the Catholic faith. After discussing religious problems with the travelers for several hours, he quoted the words of Virgil: *En iam nox humida caelo praecipitat, suadentque cadentia sidera coenam* ("Behold, the damp night is already rushing down from heaven and the falling stars are inviting us to supper").⁸³ He then continued: "Tomorrow you must certainly come to my house and see my *libros et liberos* ("books and children"). Let us now eat, and return again later to the arena!" The companions agreed to this, but when the others wished to sit at table with them, they firmly declined. Appealing to the words of St. Paul on heretics, they said that they would never eat together with those who had been excommunicated.⁸⁴ The pastor smiled compassionately and took his place with his friends at a neighboring table. After they had finished eating, they began their debate again with new energy.⁸⁵ Laynez⁸⁶ opposed the minister so effectively that he finally had to admit that he was beaten.⁸⁷ But when one of the other masters pressed him further, asking him: "Why then do you subscribe to a sect which you cannot defend?" the pastor showed that he was hurt. He stood up angrily and replied: "I will have you thrown into jail tomorrow and show you whether I can defend my sect or not," and with a curse, which the companions did not understand since it was in Alemannic,⁸⁸ he departed from the inn with his followers and left the Parisian

Weinfeld. All of Rodrigues' observations have reference to this place as the administrator of the Historical Museum in Frauenfeld, Prof. Gustav Büeler, to whom we owe the data on Weinfeld, kindly informed us in 1926.

⁸⁰ "Oppidum, cuius spiritualis pastor duxerat uxorem, et florum copiosum alebat gregem" (Rodrigues 471; the Portuguese text has: "Hua villa, aonde acharão o cura que fora clérigo e estava casado com filhos").

⁸¹ "Pestiferae atque haereticæ sectæ peritus, in literis, ut prae se ferebat, mediocriter versatus" (Rodrigues 471; the Portuguese text has: "grande herege e mediocremente douto ao que mostrava"). Weinfeld was reformed in 1536. There was no Catholic priest in the town at this time since Ulrich Vör, the former pastor, had become an Evangelical in 1528. In 1536 the Protestant minister was Martin Mötteli, who had probably been born in Weinfeld. He had studied Scripture and had been educated in the teaching of the Reformation. The justice Hans Ulrich of Sax deemed it necessary to warn him about this. He died in 1576, probably in Weinfeld (H. Gustav Sulzberger, *Biographisches Verzeichnis der Geistlichen aller evangelischen Gemeinden des Kantons Thurgau von den frühesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* [Frauenfeld, 1863] 75-76); a citizen of St. Gall, Brendli, also lived there. Like Mötteli, he too adhered zealously to the new teaching (communication from Professor Büeler).

⁸² "Sub noctem" (Rodrigues 471; in the Portuguese text: "ia quasi noute").

⁸³ Virgil, *Aeneid* 2. 8-9, where the text has *somnos* instead of *coenam*.

⁸⁴ Rodrigues 471; the Portuguese text has: "Os padres estavam ia tam encendidos em zelo da fee que disserão: 'Não avemos de comer comvosquo a hua mesa, que sois hereges excommungados.'"

⁸⁵ Rodrigues 471; in the Portuguese text: "Tornou-se acender fortissimamente a disputa."

⁸⁶ Orlandinus I, n. 113, says that it was Laynez, who mentions the incident (108).

⁸⁷ According to Rodrigues the minister admitted: "Ego certe sum conclusus" (472; in the Portuguese text he is also quoted in Latin: "Perfecto, ego sum conclusus").

⁸⁸ "Germanice deinde nescio quid cum iurgio effutiens, hospitio excessit" (Rodrigues 472; in the Portuguese text: "E assi se foi com os outros hereges, dizendo em Alemão

masters alone. Although they would have gladly suffered for their faith, and, if it were God's will, even have given up their lives for it, they were still afraid of being separated from each other. They therefore commended themselves to God that night in fervent prayer.

The danger passed. The next morning at dawn a tall man, who appeared to be in his thirties, came into the inn and with a friendly glance made them understand that they should follow him, since he would show them their way.⁸⁹ He led them out of the town and then across fields where there was neither a path nor snow, though everything else was covered with it.⁹⁰ They then climbed over a hill. As he walked silently before them, their guide would turn and look back at the companions from time to time, letting them know by his expression that they had nothing to fear. After walking thus for two hours, they reached the snow-covered highway,⁹¹ where the footprints of earlier travelers could be seen. Here the man pointed out the direction they should take and then left them. After two more hours they reached Constance.⁹²

3. FROM THE LAKE OF CONSTANCE TO VENICE (DECEMBER, 1536-JANUARY, 1537)

The free imperial city of Constance on the lake of the same name had completely renounced the old faith. Between 1528 and 1530 all the altars, paintings, and statues had here too been taken down and destroyed, and the treasures of the cathedral had been melted and sold to replenish the empty coffers of the city. The venerable old cathedral had been desecrated; Masses had been suspended;⁹³ and attendance at them in the neighboring Catholic villages was forbidden under the penalty of death.⁹⁴ Only in a monastery of the clerks regular of St. Augustine close outside the walls in the Swiss territory⁹⁵ could Mass still be heard, but

não sei que palavras"). We suspect that the words which they did not understand were an Alemannic slang expression such as "*Chaibepfaffe*" or "*Saupfaffechaibe*."

⁸⁹ The man was probably a Catholic; there were still Catholic families in Weinfelden in 1536. It lay in the religiously neutral canton of Thurgau.

⁹⁰ "Eos sistit extra oppidum, transversisque itineribus per octo fere passuum millia ducit, ac tandem in regiam viam infert. Pars erat huius viae quaedam, quae difficilior videbatur; verum circum circa sine ulla nive perfacilis reperta est... ne vestigium quidem viae regiae, nec transversus ullius itineris... spatium illud magis arduum sine ulla nive, reliquum vero totum constratum... ad regiam viam, in qua iam vestigia praeconium viatorum inerant, reduxit" (Rodrigues 472; in the Portuguese text: "os tirou fora da villa e os levou por fora do caminho real duas legoas a meu parecer até os tornar outra vez ao caminho real. Indo por este caminho acharão os padres hum pedaço delle, que parecia o mais trabalhoso de andar, sem neve nelle nenhum, pouquo ao redor delle... nem rasto de caminho nem sinal de atalho vio, ... ali não avia neve, estando a terra toda cuberta della, ... pondo-os no caminho real, o qual ia sobre a neve, de que estava cuberto, tinha pisadas d'outros que por ali passarão"). The man led them straight across Mount Otten (2,180 feet high), which was partly free of snow on the south side, to the main road leading from Frauenfeld to Constance. This concurs with the reference to the initially difficult way and the distance (according to Büeler).

⁹¹ Probably at Altenklingen (Büeler). This was still six miles from Constance.

⁹² According to Rodrigues the last stopping place was sixteen thousand paces, that is, four "legoas" (Portuguese leagues) from Constance (471).

⁹³ Rodrigues 473. On the iconoclasm in Constance see Joseph Laible, *Geschichte der Stadt Konstanz* (Konstanz, 1896) 85; Conrad Gröber, "Die Reformation in Konstanz (1517-1532)," *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 46 (1919) 283-286 299; Ph. Ruppert, "Was aus dem alten Münterschatz geworden ist," *ibid.* 25 (1896) 237-242.

⁹⁴ Ruppert 237-239; Gröber 282.

⁹⁵ Rodrigues 473. The abbey of Kreuzlingen is meant. It stood near the city gate until 1633, as is indicated by the large old city plan in the Rosgartenmuseum in Con-

anyone who wished to attend had to pay a silver coin worth one Spanish *real*.⁹⁶ Opposite the monastery lay a hospital in which poor and sick travelers could find refuge.⁹⁷

It was bitterly cold when the companions left this inhospitable city to continue their pilgrimage on the snow-covered highway skirting Lake Constance.⁹⁸ But a final adventure still awaited them before they crossed over into Catholic Vorarlberg. After a difficult journey,⁹⁹ the pilgrims came to a city which, like

stance. The north wall of the present inn "Zum Schöpfle" seems originally to have been the south wall of the monastery (J. Marmor, *Geschichtliche Topographie der Stadt Konstanz* [Konstanz, 1860] 57). The monastery burned down in 1499, but was rebuilt in 1502. When Masses were forbidden in 1528, the huge and eloquent dean of the chapter, and later abbot, Georg Tschudi, fearlessly stepped forward to defend the old faith (*ibid.* 63). In 1532 he again assigned a priest to the monastery church (H. G. Sulzberger, *Biogr. Verzeichmis* 238-239).

⁹⁶ According to Rodrigues 473; in the Portuguese text: "Deixarão todavia hua igreja fora dos muros e perto delles, onde permetião que se disesse missa com tal condição, que quem a quisesse ouvir, pagasse huas certas moedas de prata as quaes, se me bem alembra, podião fazer a contia de hum real castellano pouquo mais ou menos." This probably refers to the small fee for confession which was then customary (Böhmer 196).

⁹⁷ Marmor 57 65-67.

⁹⁸ Our sources mention only one site visited by the travelers after Constance: Trent. There were two possible routes from Constance: one went along the north shore of Lake Constance past Meersburg and Lindau; the other went along the south shore past Rorschach and Rheineck. The two Strasbourg itineraries for pilgrims going to Rome in the fifteenth century publisher by Mone give these two routes from Constance and then the route past Feldkirch, the Arlberg, the Finstermünz pass, and Trent (*Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins* 4 [1853] 1-67). In 1486 Konrath von Grünenberg chose the road past Rheineck (*ibid.*); in 1492 Andrea de Franceschi, who was in the retinue of the Venetian ambassador, crossed the lake from Constance to Bregenz; but the horses and a part of the company were sent around by land past Lindau (H. Simonsfeld, "Ein venetianischer Reisebericht," *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte* 2 [1895] 272). Both then continued on the road past Feldkirch and Landeck. We were formerly of the opinion that the travelers more likely took the southern route, and that the city which had gone over completely to the heretics mentioned by Rodrigues after Constance was, following the example of Böhmer, St. Gall, since the sites lying directly on the main road do not come into question. Between 1531 and 1534 Rorschach had been brought back to the old faith by Abbot Diethelm of St. Gall. But in Rheineck and the other sites on the southern shore which lay within the so-called "common territories," the Catholics had obtained very little tolerance from the laws of 1531 (Schurhammer, "Die Reise des hl. Franz Xaver durch die Schweiz," *Schweizerische Rundschau* 17 [1916/17] 16-33). Some important factors, however, militate against St. Gall: (1) The city lay off the main road, and even in winter it would have been impossible to stray from it since it continuously skirted the lake. (2) The Roman road map of 1501 (see p. 288, n. 75) and the somewhat later ones of Augsburg and Strasbourg completely ignore St. Gall and give only the route past Lindau. (3) No pilgrim guidebook or account mentions St. Gall. (4) Even though the city turned Protestant, the monastery remained Catholic, and Rodrigues' account makes no reference to it. (5) The city archivist Dr. T. Schiess, whom we visited in St. Gall in 1925, gave still more reasons against it. The way past St. Gall would have required a lengthy detour and there was only a mule path from it past Trogen to Speicher, and from there to Feldkirch there was probably no road at all. The Protestants of the city at that time were, moreover, so hostile that they permitted no Catholics to enter the hospital before the city gates, nor would they permit any priests to be lodged in the city. As a consequence, only the north route past Lindau would have been possible.

⁹⁹ Rodrigues wrote in his Portuguese text: "Partidos dali [from Constance] passarão por alguns dias mui rigurosos frios e outros trabalhos e forão ter a hua certa villa ou cidade toda herege." He corrected this in the Latin: "Inde profecti, post duram frigoris asperitatem, diversosque labores, direxerunt patres iter in oppidum" (473). He makes no mention here of "alguns dias." From Constance one went six miles straight across the north arm of the lake to Meersburg. From here it was still twenty-five miles to

Constance, had gone over to the new faith.¹⁰⁰ A little more than a half a mile before reaching it, they passed a hospital for lepers.¹⁰¹ As soon as an old woman living in the hospital saw and recognized them as Catholics, she rushed out, raised her eyes up to heaven, stretched out her arms, thanked God in German, and kissed the rosaries which the masters were wearing about their necks. She then made them understand by signs that they should wait. She hastened back into the building and came out again with her apron filled with rosaries and the hands, feet, and heads of statues of saints which the heretics had struck off. The companions knelt down in the snow and kissed the pious relics; but the woman, beside herself with joy, carried her treasures back into the hospital and then accompanied the travelers to the neighboring gate of the city and harangued the people there in German. Her words were later translated for the travelers. "See! see! you cheats and frauds!" she cried. "See! you base deceivers, see! Here are true Christians. Did you not tell me, you frauds, that all men had sworn allegiance to the accursed errors of the heretics? You lied, you openly lied, you wretches! It is false, and you wanted to deceive me! This will not happen again. Now I know you through and through."

Some of the citizens knew Latin, and they told the newcomers about the woman who was accompanying them. Neither threats nor gifts had been able to induce her to subscribe to their sect. She had therefore been banished from the city and was now living in the hospital with the sick. One of their informers immediately assured the masters that the woman was crazy and that she was the most stubborn woman in the whole world: Even if the whole world would accept the truth—the name he used for his sect—she would still stick to her own opinion and would defend her views in spite of everything.¹⁰²

Lindau, the last Protestant city. Some have imagined that the travelers were hindered by ice from crossing over to Meersburg and traveled around the northern arm of the lake on foot, thus taking two days to go from Constance to Lindau. But this is very improbable.

¹⁰⁰ Rodrigues says that he could no longer remember the name of the city (473). It could only be Lindau. At this time it was already completely Protestant (cf. Karl Wolfart, *Geschichte der Stadt Lindau am Bodensee* I, 1 [Lindau, 1909] 249-421). Lindau lay on the Roman road, a day's march from Constance, and was the last Protestant city they encountered on their journey. Kempten is out of the question since the last nun did not leave it until 1537 (F. F. Baumann, *Geschichte des Allgäu* 3 [Kempten, 1894] 372). Its leper asylum was located near St. Stephen's chapel "am Keck" in the northeast section of the city (Max Förderreuther, *Die Stadt Kempten und ihre Umgebung* [Kempten, 1901] 7). The travelers, moreover, would hardly have taken the route past Kempten, Füssen, and the Fern pass. This was longer, more difficult, and not as a rule taken by travelers from the west. There were two towns between Lindau and Kempten. One of these, Wangen, was Catholic in 1525, Protestant in 1531, and certainly Catholic again in 1546 (Baumann III 399). The other was Isny, which became Lutheran in 1536, but the abbot and his monks could still have Mass behind closed doors from 1534 to 1546 (*ibid.* 380). In 1492 the retinue of the ambassador Contarini spent a night in Lindau in the inn "Zur Krone" (Simonsfeld 272).

¹⁰¹ Rodrigues 473; in the Portuguese text: "Antes de chegar a esta dita villa por espaço de hum meio quarto de legoa encontrarão os padres com hum hospital que parecia de lazarus." He means the infirmary for poor lepers in Aeschach, less than a mile north of Lindau, located on the site now occupied by the parish house of Aeschach. The adjoining meadow, known as "Der Siechenbrühl" perpetuates the site. The chapel dedicated to St. Gangolf, which was demolished in 1901, belonged to it. From the beginning of the Reformation, a minister of the city regularly preached there to the sick (Karl Wolfart, "Der Lindauer Siechhof," *Neujahrsblatt Nr. 3 des Museumsvereins Lindau i. B.* [1913] 27-32).

¹⁰² Rodrigues 473-474. In 1514 the reformer of Constance, Ambrosius Blaurer, recom-

In this city also the companions engaged in a number of disputes. But whenever one of them made an appeal to Scripture, their adversaries would almost always answer that this was not so. They would open up their Bibles, which had been translated from Latin into German, and point to the verse in question. In almost every instance according to Rodrigues, a passage which might have been used to refute them had either been mistranslated or suppressed.¹⁰³

This brought the adventures of the Parisian masters in the lands of the Reformers to an end. Just beyond this city they would be in Catholic territory again. Leaving Lake Constance behind them, they continued south up the broad valley of the Rhine. After a day's walk they arrived at the old city of Feldkirch.¹⁰⁴ From here their road went east through a wild gorge into the broad valley of the Ill,¹⁰⁵ flanked by lofty Alpine mountains, to Bludenz, and then through the narrow valley of the Kloster over the Arlberg pass to Landeck. Here there was a fork in the road, one branch going east down the valley of the Inn past

mended to the mayor and council of Lindau a poor leper, Mrs. Anna Mürklin. As a citizen she had been permitted to live with the poor sick at the Lindau hospital for the incurables, but the council had declared that she had lost this benefit on account of her misbehavior. Blarer asked that she might be taken back into the hospital since she promised to improve and her sufferings were now so far advanced that she could no longer use a leper's clapper to warn the people when she was begging for alms, and she had already borne the punishment "ain gute zeyt" (Wolfart, *Der Siechhof* 27-28). Could this have been the woman, and could her "misbehavior" have been her stubborn adherence to the old faith?

¹⁰³ Rodrigues 474.

¹⁰⁴ From Lindau two roads led to Landeck in the valley of the Inn: (1) The northern route followed the old Roman road past Kempten, Füssen, Reutte, Lermoos, and the Fern pass. This was much used during the Middle Ages and carried both horses and wagons (Walther Cartellieri, *Die römischen Alpenstrassen über den Brenner, Reschen-Scheideck und Plöckenpass mit ihren Nebenlinien* [Leipzig, 1926] 81-82). One could travel past Wangen and Isny, or past Rucksteig, Weiler, and Immenstadt, to Kempten, or go directly from Immenstadt over the Gacht to Lermoos (Baumann, *Geschichte des Allgäu* II 673-675; III 583-586). (2) The southern route, which went past Feldkirch and the Arlberg was opened up in 1218; in 1335 the emperor made a contract with the dukes of Austria according to which the road "from Vinstermünz over the Arle" to Swabia and return should be free of taxes to both their peoples. In 1386 a place of refuge was built on the Arlberg pass (J. Zösmair, "Geschichte des Arlbergs 1218-1418," *28. Jahresbericht des Vorarlberger Museum-Vereins über das Jahr 1889* [Bregenz, 1889] 28 32). The Strasbourg pilgrim guides of the fifteenth century therefore give both routes as roads to Rome. One of these went by way of Feldkirch, Arlberg, and the Finstermünz pass (cf. p. 292, n. 98). In 1419, for example, Hans Porner, and in 1495 Duke Alexander, count palatine on the Rhine, went by way of the Arlberg and the Finstermünz pass (R. Röhrich - H. Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Land* [Innsbruck, 1900] 104 188). Peter Füessli of Zurich took the same route to Venice in May, 1523, and returned on it in January, 1524 (Böhmer, appendix 6 55). According to Mone, pilgrims from western Germany usually chose this road, the so-called "higher road" ("Zur Handelsgeschichte der Städte am Bodensee," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins* 4 [1853] 11); and Aloys Schulte maintained that pilgrims and merchants as a rule took this same much traveled route to Venice (*Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Handels und Verkehrs zwischen Westdeutschland und Italien mit Ausschluss von Venedig* 1 [Leipzig, 1900] 380). In contrast to the northern route, this road across the Arlberg was only accessible to pedestrians and mules (Cartellieri 81). We are therefore of the opinion that the travelers took this road through Bregenz, Feldkirch, and the Arlberg. They would have thus passed through Catholic territory. This would also explain why Rodrigues mentions no more encounters with Protestants after Lindau.

¹⁰⁵ Before 1550, when the new wooden bridge was built "ob dem Hohen Wuhr" over the Ill, one had to go past Lenzengast and Letzi and then over the stone bridge near the crucifix (Johann Georg Prugger, *Feldkirch, das ist Historische Beschreibung der löblichen O. O. vor dem Arlberg gelegenen Stadt Feldkirch* [Feldkirch, 1685] 10).

Innsbruck to the Brenner pass, and the other going south up the same valley over the Finstermünz pass in the valley of the Etsche to Meran.¹⁰⁶ Near Bolzano the two routes again converged.¹⁰⁷ Here, in the midst of the beautiful snows of the Tyrolese Alps, the travelers celebrated Christmas.¹⁰⁸ From Bolzano they went south to Trent,¹⁰⁹ where German was no longer spoken but Italian instead. From here they took the direct road for Venice, which skirted the yawning abysses of the dangerous Horni Blatna pass in the wild and romantic Val Sugana. Beyond Primolano the lofty, sheer rock cliffs came close together, leaving at times hardly enough space for the mule track and tumbling brook. At Bassano¹¹⁰ they passed

¹⁰⁶ It is not known which of the two Romans roads was chosen by the travelers. We believe that the route over the Finstermünz pass (Reschen-Scheideck) is more likely. This was the route taken by Porner in 1419, Fabri in 1492, Count Palatine Alexander in 1495, the knight Von Harff in 1496, Füessli in 1523 and 1524 (Röhricht-Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen* [Berlin, 1880] 289, [Innsbruck, 1900] 104 188 513 528), and Rot in 1554 (*Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins* 32 [1880] 265). In 1749 it was still said of the Brenner pass that it was not dangerous in July and August but that, as far as the other ten months were concerned, there were storms in the summer "and at other times heavy snows and blustering weather to worry about. It is therefore very dangerous to travel, especially because of the snow falling down from the mountain tops. It rolls down in such great and monstrous masses that often entire wagons and carriages with men and horses alike are hurled into the abyss" (*Die vornehmsten Europäischen Reisen* [Hamburg, Ch. Herold, 1749] 355). Nevertheless, the Brenner was the usual military route of the German emperors, and they traversed it with their troops even in the depths of winter. It was at its prime from 1400 to 1520. Duke Sigismund improved it in 1483 (Oskar Wanka Edler von Rodlow, *Die Brennerstrasse im Altertum und Mittelalter* [Prag, 1900] 80 118 140 147-148).

¹⁰⁷ The "upper road" which went past Finstermünz and Meran joined the "lower road" coming from the Brenner pass between Meran and Bolzano at the place where the bridge of Drusus near Gries and Bolzano crossed over to the right bank of the Etsch, which the road then followed to Neumarkt (Cartellieri 69-72 77-80 119).

¹⁰⁸ Where did the travelers celebrate Christmas? Füessli traveled the road from Feldkirch to Venice by way of the Finstermünz pass in May, 1523; and in January, 1524, he returned by horse in twelve days. Travelers on foot probably needed a somewhat longer time. The distance amounted to some three hundred miles. Cardinal Gasparo Contarini estimated that it would take seven days of traveling for the trip from Trent to Innsbruck (some 120 miles) in the winter of 1541 (Fr. Dittrich, *Regesten und Briefe des Cardinals G. Contarini* [Braunsberg, 1881] 148). According to our calculations, the travelers arrived at Lindau about the ninth of December, where they rested for a few days. They then went on to Feldkirch in the middle of December, and arrived in Venice on January 8. They thus had three weeks for the stretch from Feldkirch to Venice, during the course of which they were probably delayed from time to time by snowstorms. They therefore celebrated Christmas in German Tyrol.

¹⁰⁹ Bobadilla 615.

¹¹⁰ According to Hedio, *Ausserlessne Chronick* (Strassburg 1539) 754, there were two roads from Trent to Venice, the longer went by way of Verona, the shorter through Val Sugana by way of Feltre or Bassano. Near Borgo in Val Sugana an old Roman road branched off and went north past Tosano, Lamone, and Casteletto to Feltre; another road went from Cismo past Arsie to the same place. The latter route was chosen by Faber in 1483 ("Die Reisen des Felix Faber, O.P.," *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart* [1843] 22-23), by Füessli in 1524 (Böhmer, appendix 55), by Georg Fabricius in 1543 (*Roma* [Basileae, 1551] 50), by Reinhard of Hanau in 1550 (R. Röhricht, "Die Jerusalemfahrten der Grafen Philipp Ludwig und R. v. Hanau," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde* 26 [1891] 146-148), and probably by others also who do not mention any stops before Feltre. Among these were Grünenberg in 1486, Schachten in 1491, and Lühnhart in 1495 (Röhricht-Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen* [Berlin, 1880] 146 162 308). Hedio also mentions this route: Persen (Pergine), Burgo (Borgo), Alascala, "Zur Leiter" (Kofel), Arse (Arsie), Veltres (Feltre) (*Ausserlessne Chronick* [Strassburg, 1539] 754). But in the sixteenth century and later the usual route was the one that went by way of Bassano. In 1480 Stade traveled by way of Bassano (he describes

from the mountains into the fruitful Venetian plain. A two days' walk brought them from here past Castelfranco and Mestre to the Adriatic Sea. On January 8, two days after the feast of the Epiphany,¹¹¹ the companions in good health and cheerful spirits entered the City of the Lagoons.¹¹²

the road past Feltre, however, as being more common and as the one he had actually wanted to take; cf. E. Oehlmann, "Die Alpenstrassen im Mittelalter," *Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte* 3/4 [1878/79] 249). Fabri in 1492, Bueseck in 1554 (Röhricht-Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen* [Berlin, 1880] 278 455), Füessli in 1523 (Böhmer, appendix 6), and Rot in 1554 (Rot 13-17) also took this same route. In 1552 Laynez as provincial accepted the donation of the hermitage in Bassano as a hospice for members of the order who were traveling to, or from, Germany (Polanco, *Chron.* II 490), and in an instruction for priests traveling from Rome to Ingolstadt, Ignatius gives two routes: one by way of Bologna and Verona, the other by way of Venice and Bassano (*MI Epp.* XI 532). J. Henr. a Pflaumern, *Mercurius Italicus* (Aug. Vind., 1625) gives an exact description of the road from Trent past Bassano to Venice. Andreas Schottus, S.J., *Itinerarium Italiae* (Amstelodami, 1655), wrote that this route was longer but more convenient than the one going past Verona (30); but he was wrong in this, for the route by way of Verona came to 126, and that by way of Bassano to 102, miles.

¹¹¹ Laynez 108; Bobadilla is not precise when he gives "ad festum Epiphaniae" (615).

¹¹² "Sospites et laeti in spiritu" (Favre 40).

CHAPTER II

IN THE CITY OF THE LAGOONS (JANUARY-MARCH, 1537)¹

1. THE MISTRESS OF THE SEA

To the nine companions, after their long wandering through the snow-covered German cantons and the wintry Alps, Venice, the queen of the Adriatic, with its countless canals, bridges, and churches must have appeared to be a kind of fairy wonderland rising up from the blue sea. Here there were more gondolas to be seen than mules and horses on the streets and lanes of Paris,² and on both sides of the Grand Canal one proud palace after another rose immediately from the water. Their white marble façades brilliantly adorned with gold and colored stones, their gaudy docking-posts painted in the heraldic colors of their owners, and the ornate rows of Gothic windows over their doors were all reflected in the tranquil waters of the canals.

Even though the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 and the loss of the spice trade to Portugal through the discovery of the sea route to the East Indies by the Portuguese in 1499 had dealt a severe blow to the merchant republic, Venice was still the center of trade, the point of exchange between the Levant and central Europe, the port of embarkation for pilgrims going to the Holy Land, and the capital of a powerful state, whose military and merchant ships plied the Mediterranean. In the number of its inhabitants Venice was on a par with Paris, but in wealth it far surpassed the French capital.³

A colorful populace enlivened the narrow streets and canals. Besides the proud patricians dressed in flowing robes and attended by Negro slaves, there were representatives from every Christian nation and from the Near East to be seen about the city. Among them were Jews, Turks, Armenians, Syrians, and Egyptians in their colorful oriental garb. The square of St. Mark was the center of the city. Here was located the partly Gothic, Byzantine cathedral with its domes and dark nave adorned with wonderful mosaics set in a golden background. Here too were the proud Gothic palace of the doge and the lofty, free-standing campanile. There were seventy-two parish and forty monastery churches in the

¹ The main source for the first stay of the companions in Venice is the account of Rodrigues (474-478), supplemented by the shorter ones of Laynez (108-112) and Ignatius (490-492; see also his letter to Berdolay in *MI Epp.* XII 321), Favre (40), Bobadilla (615). In addition to this are the descriptions in Polanco (FN I 190-191 264-265; II 574-577), Nadal (FN II 82-83 255-256), Böhmer (176-199), Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 78-82 and Larrañaga (443-466).

² See the account of Grefin Arfagart, **Voyage en Jerusalem* (Bib. Nat. Paris, *Ancien Fonds français* 10 265), who was in Venice in 1533 (Sedgwick 162). Rot, who visited the city in 1554, wrote that it had thirty thousand gondolas (243); in 1576 Alberti mentions a more moderate sum of over eight thousand (*Isole appartenenti alla Italia* [Venetia, 1576] 79).

³ Giustiniano, *Relazione* 148.

city.⁴ Among these was that of the Dominicans dedicated to Sts. John and Paul with the ornate tombs of the doges.⁵ In front of it stood the equestrian statue of the condottiere Colleoni wearing a gilded suit of armor.⁶ To the west of St. Mark's lay the idyllic house where Titian, the leader of the Venetian school of painting, created his masterpieces surrounded by a devoted circle of artists and literary figures.⁷

Beneath the thriving industry and colorful display of the rich mercantile city lay concealed, however, many spiritual and corporal miseries. "When the companions came to Venice," Rodrigues later wrote, "confession and Communion had become so far neglected that anyone who received the sacraments once a week became the talk of the town and was described in letters sent abroad as some great novelty."⁸ Most of the nobility never made their Easter duty;⁹ and, according to the city chronicler Sanuto, who died in Venice nine months before Xavier's arrival, there was little concern in the Serenissima for public morality.¹⁰ It is no wonder then that syphilis, "the French disease," as it was called, which the troops of Charles VIII had brought to Italy in 1494, spread rapidly about and found ever new victims.

But by this time the Catholic reform had also set in. With the help of generous individuals, the gentle and zealous Gaetano da Thiene founded in 1522 a "hospital for incurables" for the victims of the frightful disease.¹¹ The Venetian nobleman, Girolamo Miani,¹² after having had a varied career as a soldier, received holy orders and from then on devoted all his efforts to works of charity, especially to the care of orphans. He first housed them at San Rocco but later, in 1531, transferred them to the hospital of the incurables.¹³ In 1527 the Theatines, who had been driven from Rome during the sack of the city, had established a new residence near the church of San Nicolò de Tolentino. At their head was the fiery Neapolitan Gian Pietro Carafa, who in 1524 had renounced his archdiocese of Brindisi, his diocese of Chieti, and his patrimony in order to found with Gaetano da Thiene a new order of clerks regular. These religious, who dressed as secular priests, by their quiet withdrawal from the world and holy lives, their

⁴ Rot 244.

⁵ Andrea da Mosto, *I Dogi di Venezia con particolare riguardo alle loro Tombe* (Venezia, 1939); Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia* (Venezia, 1663) 56-72.

⁶ According to Philipp von Hagen in 1523 (Ludwig Conrady, *Vier rheinische Palae-strina-Pilgerschriften* [Wiesbaden, 1882] 234).

⁷ Fabio Mutinelli, *Annali urbani di Venezia* (Venezia, 1838) 73-75. It is now Biri in Campo Rotto, n. 5526. On his works in 1537 see H. Knackfuss, *Tizian* (Bielefeld, 1910) 90-94.

⁸ Rodrigues 477 478; cf. Pastor IV 2 593.

⁹ Pastor IV 2 608 (according to a memorandum of Carafa of 1532).

¹⁰ Sanuto stated that Venice had 300,000 inhabitants in 1509 and 11,654 public prostitutes (*Diarii VIII* 414); neither figure can be accurate, as Kretschmayr observed (*Geschichte von Venedig* 3 [Stuttgart, 1934] 208). According to him there were more than 100,000 living in the city in 1509 and 175,000 in 1575 (*ibid.* 188). According to Pastor there were 162,000 inhabitants at the middle of the sixteenth century (VI 262). The number sank to 134,800 in 1581 as a result of the plague of 1576 (Ch. Yriarte, *La Vie d'un patricien de Venise au XVI^e siècle* [Paris, 1874] 96).

¹¹ Antonio Veny Ballester, *San Cayetano de Thiene* (Barcelona, 1950) 183-186; Francesco Andreu, "S. Gaetano e l'Ospedale degli Incurabili di Venezia," *Regnum Dei* 2 (1946) 115-123; Pastor IV, 2, 592-594.

¹² Pastor IV, 2, 624-626.

¹³ Am. Ant. Cicogna, *Dalle Inscrizioni Veneziane V* (Venezia, 1842) 299 313.

devoted service to God, their simple evangelical preaching, their encouragement of the reception of the sacraments in the confessional and from the pulpit, and their care for the sick and poor, provided a yeast which slowly penetrated both clergy and people.¹⁴ At the same time the house of the well-educated, wordly-wise, and deeply pious Gasparo Contarini became a gathering place for politicians, humanists, philosophers, and theologians.¹⁵ Even though Miani had left Venice in 1531, Tiene in 1533, Contarini in 1535, and Carafa in September, 1536, a number of Theatines still remained in the city. These, paternally supported by the aging doge Gritti and other zealous benefactors, such as Pier Contarini and Andrea Lippomani, continued the work of their predecessors. Such then, was the condition of the City of the Lagoons when early in January, 1537, Xavier arrived there with his companions and, after almost two years of separation embraced Iñigo, his father in Christ.

2. IÑIGO AND HIS FRIENDS

On the south bank of the Grand Canal, shortly before one came to St. Mark's Square, lay opposite the palace of the Contarini, between the Customs Office on the farthest point of the Dorsoduor peninsula and the abbey church of St. Gregory, La Trinità,¹⁶ a priory of the Teutonic Order, built in the thirteenth century by the doge Ranieri Zen.¹⁷ It was a great complex¹⁸ of buildings with an ornate, devotional church¹⁹ and a large, beautiful garden²⁰ with a well in the center.²¹ The prior, Monsignor Andrea Lippomani,²² was a small,²³ modest, and unpretentious man. Of a prominent patrician family,²⁴ he was already past fifty²⁵ when the nine Parisian masters arrived in Venice. He lived like a hermit within the four walls of his priory without even visiting his garden.²⁶ His cassock, shirt, hose, cincture, biretta, and cloak were clean but threadbare and, like his bed and room, betrayed the utmost poverty.²⁷ And yet he had held for many years

¹⁴ Pastor VI 363-375; IV, 2, 594-609; V 357; Cardella IV 160-167.

¹⁵ Pastor V 104-106.

¹⁶ On the Trinità, see Vittorio Piva, *Il Seminario di Venezia* (Venezia, 1918) 75-83; and *Il Tempio della Salute* (Venezia, 1930) 13-24; Karl Schellhass, "Die Deutschordenskommende zu Padua," *Quellen und Forschungen in italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 7 (1904) 91-120. There are *two obituaries for Andrea Lippomani: *account A was written in 1574 by a Jesuit who had lived with, and served, him (ARSI: Ven. 105, 7-8); *account B was drawn up after 1574 by a Jesuit who was with him when he died (ARSI: Ven. 105, 4-5, ed. Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 680-684).

¹⁷ Piva, *Sem.* 75-77, *Il Tempio* 13-24.

¹⁸ "Estrambos lugares [the priory in Padua and the one in Venice] son capacísimos, con iglesia y jardines y muchas estancias," Laynez wrote in 1542 (*Lainii Mon.* I 23).

¹⁹ On the church see Sansovino, *Venetia* (1663) 276-277; Piva, *Il Tempio* 20; Polanco, *Chron.* II 208.

²⁰ "Giardino spazioso e dilettevole" (Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 681).

²¹ See the plan from the end of the fifteenth, and the sketch of Albrecht Dürer from the beginning of the sixteenth, century in Piva, *Sem.* 76-77, and that of Francesco de Tomaso of 1576.

²² So he wrote his name in an autograph *letter to Cardinal Sirleto of January 27, 1571 (Bibl. Vaticana: *Vat. lat.* 6184, 91).

²³ *Account A 6.

²⁴ Ignatius calls him a "persona molto principal" (MI *Epp.* I 358; cf. Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 680).

²⁵ He died at the beginning of 1574 in his nineties (Piva, *Il Tempio* 20).

²⁶ *Account A 7; Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 681.

²⁷ *Account A 6v; Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 680-681.

two benefices, the priories of the Trinity in Venice and of St. Mary Magdalene in Padua with rich properties and incomes.²⁸ Like his friends Gaetano da Thiene, Carafa,²⁹ Miani,³⁰ and Pier Contarini,³¹ he spent everything on the poor and sick.³² His table was poor; he ate alone and never invited even his closest relatives to dine with him.³³ He would take some soup, a piece of common meat, and only rarely a dessert.³⁴ But when he learned that someone in the vicinity was ill, he would have a hen or roast prepared as if for himself and send it secretly to his afflicted neighbor. Besides this, he would also pay for the physician and medicine.³⁵ Every day he distributed bread, wine, soup, and money.³⁶ When orphans had need of a dowry, he provided one; if youths gave indications of having a vocation to the religious life, he helped them to get an education and looked around for monasteries into which they could enter.³⁷ His house was always open for transients, particularly for priests and religious, and especially for pilgrims to the Holy Land.³⁸ He was well educated and had a fine library, in which were to be found the works of the Church Fathers, Sts. Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Cyprian, Leo the Great, and of Bl. (later St.) Lawrence Justinian, and others.³⁹ It was only because of his humility that he had not been ordained a priest.⁴⁰ Every day he assisted at several Masses⁴¹ offered by his four chaplains.⁴² He received Holy Communion⁴³ three times a week and on all feast days, and during almost all his free time he could be seen in the choir with his breviary or rosary or some pious book.⁴⁴ He spoke of himself only as a useless sinner. He rejected all titles of honor and always crossed them off in the letters he received.⁴⁵ He would not light a fire even in the depth of winter, or would burn at most two or three small sticks of wood in the fireplace.⁴⁶

He had helped Iñigo during the course of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1523 and also on his return from there the following year. And Iñigo was again staying with him when his disciples arrived from Paris.⁴⁷ The joy of the

²⁸ Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 680-682; *Account A 6v.

²⁹ Veny Ballester, *San Cayetano* 385.

³⁰ Piva, *Il Tempio* 17.

³¹ *Lainii Mon.* I 23.

³² *Account A 6-6v; Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 681-682.

³³ Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 682.

³⁴ *Account A 6v; Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 681.

³⁵ *Account A 6v.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 6.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 6; Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 682.

³⁸ *Account A 6, and the apology of Laynez of 1546 (ARSI: *Ven.* 105, 2v).

³⁹ *Lainii Mon.* I 32.

⁴⁰ *Account A 6v; Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 681.

⁴¹ Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 681.

⁴² Piva, *Il Tempio* 20.

⁴³ *Account A 7; Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 681.

⁴⁴ Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 681.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 680-681.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 681.

⁴⁷ On February 12, 1536, Ignatius wrote to Cazador from Venice: "Estoy en compañía y casa de un hombre mucho docto y bueno; que me parece que más á mi proposito en todas estas partidas no pudiera estar" (*MI Epp.* I 94). *Account A mentions Andrea Lippomani as the host. Angelo Martini, S.J., refers to it ("Di chi fu ospite S. Ignazio a Venezia nel 1536?" *AHSI* 18 [1949] 253-260). According to it, "Allogió anco il Nostro B. P. Ignacio di B. M. con li compagni, quando andorno in Gierusalemme, et anco al ritorno, che furono molti giorni et anco mesi per la fortuna et poco nollo della Nave" (A 7). Cardinal Valier, who died in 1606, also declared that Ignatius stayed with

reunion was great,⁴⁸ and for Iñigo it was all the greater in that it came as a complete surprise. The companions were to have left Paris on January 25, 1537, and could thus not have reached Venice before March. In November he had written to Favre in detail and given the messenger three more letters, one for his former confessor Miona, in which he encouraged him to make the Exercises, as he had once promised to do, and two others in which he warmly recommended the projected journey of his Parisian friends to Gabriel Guzmán, O.P., the confessor of Queen Leonor, and to a prominent benefactress in the French capital named Mary.⁴⁹

Iñigo had recovered fairly well in his native land;⁵⁰ he had visited his friend Castro, who was now a Carthusian in the monastery of Val de Cristo near Segorbe in the kingdom of Valencia;⁵¹ and since the beginning of 1536 he had been staying in Venice in the house of Prior Lippomani, where he was able to continue in private and undisturbed his theological studies.⁵²

But his disciples did not find him alone. Their master had not spent all of his time on his books but had engaged in some apostolic labors as well and had gained another companion, Diego Hozes, an Andalusian from Malaga. Though

Lippomani, and Martini further notes that Ignatius' observations fit Lippomani admirably well. Other reasons can also be given. Simon Rodrigues wrote in 1548 from Lisbon to Rome: "Baltasar, the hermit, who went to Jerusalem, returned with a holy picture (*huma varonica*); it seems to me that he stole it in Venice from the house of the monsignor of La Trinità, since it seems to me that I had earlier seen it there" (*Ep. Broëti* 601). This was hardly in 1538, when Rodrigues came through Venice on his journey from Padua to Rome, for on this occasion he lived "in pauperum hospitio" (Rodrigues 494), and thus probably in the hospital of San Giovanni e Paolo, where he had earlier cared for the sick. He was therefore already known at La Trinità in 1537. This is obvious from the fact that he visited Ignatius there from time to time, and that the companions lived with Ignatius for a few days after their arrival before they established themselves in the hospital. Laynez, according to the custom of the Society, also took up his residence in San Giovanni e Paolo as a poor man after his arrival in Venice in 1542; but Lippomani immediately took him into his own house (*Lainii Mon.* I 21-23). In 1546 Lippomani lodged Jay in his priory (*Ep. Broëti* 314-316); in 1547 he personally received Jay and Salmerón as if they were his own sons (*Ep. Salmeronis* I 38); in 1548 he housed Laynez and Jay for two and one-half days (*Lainii Mon.* I 89); and in 1554 Ignatius recommended his companion Rodrigues to him as a pilgrim to the Holy Land so that he might receive him with his usual charity (*MI Ep.* VII 85-86). Lippomani, who never left his home, as is emphasized by account A, was personally acquainted with Ignatius, as his letter to the founder of the order in 1548 suggests (*Ep. Mixtae* I 572). The extraordinary gratitude which Ignatius showed him in his letters and his great confidence in him make it practically certain that Lippomani founded the two establishments of the Society in Padua and Venice. In 1546 Ignatius asked him to continue administering the property that had been handed over to the order, "vedendo che non solo offerisce li suoi beni esteriori, ma etiam la persona, dignandosi per el divin amor haver cura paterna di noi, come fin qui abundantissimamente habbiamo sperimentato" (*MI Epp.* I 366). In 1548 he wrote to Laynez in Venice: "Y como vos señaladamente, yo y todos los otros desta minima Compañía le [the prior Lippomani] seamos mucho y más que mucho obligatísimos, si no queremos ser mucho reprehendidos delante de la divina magestad, nosotros devemos ayudar á monseñor nuestro, el prior, en todas cosas" (*ibid.* II 172) and again: "Sabéys que le somos obligatísimos in eterno" (*ibid.* 225).

⁴⁸ Bobadilla 615; Favre 40; FN I 190.

⁴⁹ They were written on November 1, 3, and 16, 1536, an indication that Ignatius knew nothing of the early departure of his disciples. These have been published in *MI Epp.* I 109-113 723-725.

⁵⁰ Ignatius 486; *MI Epp.* I 94 724.

⁵¹ Ignatius 486.

⁵² *MI Epp.* I 94-96 724.

he was dark-skinned and externally somewhat repulsive,⁵³ Hozes longed to work in the vineyard of Christ. He was already a priest when he came on a visit to Venice, and he had there frequently spoken with Iñigo and Carafa.⁵⁴ The Theatine bishop had a fiery temperament that brooked no contradictions. He was easily carried away by his emotions, and he was particularly averse to Spaniards. He would like to have seen them expelled from Naples as foreign oppressors of his native land.⁵⁵ Iñigo had become acquainted with him and had sent him one day a memorial in which, with the best of intentions, he pointed out certain things which he thought might prove to be harmful to the development of the new order: In his manner of living and dress Carafa differed from the rest of his household; the members of his order, who, according to their rule, had neither fixed possessions nor steady income, nor were allowed to beg, lived too retired a life. They should make themselves known to the people and clergy through frequent apostolic labors. Otherwise they would find it increasingly difficult to obtain support and grow as they should. These suggestions has not been accepted in the spirit in which they had been given, and the friendship between the two was broken forever.⁵⁶ Hozes had allowed himself to be influenced by Carafa and began to have doubts,⁵⁷ especially since there were rumors about Venice at this time that Iñigo was a disguised heretic who had fled from Spain and Paris, where he had been burned in effigy.⁵⁸ After a great deal of hesitation, Hozes finally decided to make the Exercises under Iñigo's direction, but before beginning them he armed himself with a number of books just in case his Spanish countryman might try to mislead him with false doctrines. After three or four days, however, he saw that his fears were groundless. He then opened himself up to his retreat master and at their end joined Iñigo as a disciple in order to go with him and the other companions to the Holy Land and share in their labors.⁵⁹

In Venice Xavier met two other countrymen who had returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and were now with Iñigo. They were brothers from Estella in Navarre. The elder went by the name of Don Esteban, the younger by that of Don Diego, de Egufa.⁶⁰ Their family was related to Xavier's, for their

⁵³ On Hozes see Larrañaga 449-452; FN I 188; on his exterior, see Laynez 138 ("negro y feo de rostro"). He had been won over before the arrival of the companions (*ibid.* 108).

⁵⁴ Ignatius 490: "Praticava molto col pelegrino [Ignatius], et anche col vescovo di Cette [Chieti: Carafa]."

⁵⁵ On Carafa's character, see Pastor IV, 2, 594; VI 363-374.

⁵⁶ His memorandum to Carafa is printed in MI *Epp.* I 114-118 (on this see Paul Van Dyke, *Ignatius Loyola* [New York, 1926] 113-117); the objection which Pio Paschini (see *Gaetano Thiene* [Roma, 1926] 138-139) and Veny Ballester (491-492) raise against the validity of the document is not convincing (cf. AHSI 21 [1952] 158). On the quarrel with Carafa, see Polanco 575; Nadal IV 76; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 79-80; Böhmer 187-189; Larrañaga 450-458.

⁵⁷ "Haveva paura non gli insegnasse negli Exercitii dottrina cattiva, per le cose che haveva detto un tale" (Ignatius 492); Nadal is clearer: "Antequam Societas confirmaretur, Venetiis excitata est contradictio a Petro Caraffa, qui fuit Paulus 4" (IV 706).

⁵⁸ Ignatius expressly distinguishes this persecution from the first (492), as does Polanco (575-576). That this second persecution had already begun in 1536 is indicated not only by Hozes' attitude but also by the fact that Ignatius at his request obtained a testimonial from the inquisitor in Paris on January 23, 1537 (MI *Scripta* II 3).

⁵⁹ Ignatius 490-492.

⁶⁰ The two Egufa are often mentioned in the MHSI. The main sources are: Archives Granada: *legajos* 85-92; Cros, *Doc.* I 59-62 236-242. *II 26-73, and the Ms. chronicle of Egufa y Beaumont, **Historia de Estella* (1644), c. 17 (Tafalla, Bibl. Azcona), *Ep. Mixtae* II 487-489, and Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 487-489. On Diego see Polanco, *Chron.* VI 48-49; FN I 628

grandfather on their mother's side had been Bernardo Périz de Jassu, the brother of Arnalt Périz de Jassu, Xavier's own grandfather.⁶¹ Their father, Nicolás de Eguía, was one of the wealthiest and most influential persons in his native city, and his wife had borne him twenty-eight children.⁶² The Eguía, like the Xavier, had originally been Agramontese; but they had passed over to the party of the Beaumontese when the leader of their party, the powerful Mossen Pierres de Peralta had caused a relative of theirs, Bishop Nicolás de Echávarri, to be cut down in the streets of Tafalla in 1468 after a heated discussion in the Cortes.⁶³ As a follower of the Beaumontese, Nicolás de Eguía had always taken the part of Spain. When Alba entered Navarre in 1512, he won Estella for Ferdinand the Catholic with the help of his four grown sons Pedro, Esteban, Miguel, and Diego, but had been forced to flee to Castile⁶⁴ when the French and the patriots attacked in 1521. Juan, their eldest brother, had endowed the hospital in the city of his birth and had then become a monk in the monastery of Irache.⁶⁵ Miguel had then gone to Alcalá as a printer,⁶⁶ and Diego had followed him there in order to study at the university and become a priest.⁶⁷ Here they both became acquainted with Iñigo after his arrival in 1526 and gave him their generous support.⁶⁸ Diego was a priest⁶⁹ and Esteban a widower⁷⁰ when they made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1536.⁷¹ Both were simple, pious men full of zeal for God and His holy service. They had made the Exercises under Iñigo's direction and had decided to forsake the world. They were now thinking about returning home to put their affairs in order so that they might follow the divine call.⁷²

656-668; *Ep. Mixtae* II 593-596; ARSI: *Ital.* 59, 336 (*votum of 1542); *Ital.* 105 III 446v-447v (*letter about Xavier's death); and José Malaxecheverría, S.J., *El P. Diego Eguía y Jasso Monografía histórica* (Ms. in the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus, Rome). On Esteban see *MI Epp.* I 491; *Ep. Mixtae* II 499-501 (necrology) and ARSI: *Ital.* 58, 326 (*votum 1548); see also the following notes 61-72. The main dates after 1536 are as follows: From 1537 to 1538 Diego was in Estella, at the end of 1538 in Rome, at the beginning of 1540 in Paris, in 1541 in Rome, in 1542 in Barcelona, from the end of 1542 to 1551 in Rome; from 1537 to 1543 Esteban was in Estella, and from the end 1543 to 1556 in Rome. Diego became the confessor of St. Ignatius.

⁶¹ See the *family tree of the Eguía in the Archives Granada 85,2; see also Cros, *Doc.* I 61-62 236-237; *II 63 66-67.

⁶² A painting in the chapel of St. Agueda in the church of St. Michael in Estella represents Nicolás with his wife and children. This is mentioned in the **Inteligencia del arbol y noticia del mayorazgo de Eguía*, which notes that Nicolás had twenty-eight children according to common tradition (Archives Granada 85, 2b). According to Baltasar de Lezaun y Andía, **Memorias históricas de la ciudad de Estella* (1710), he had thirty children, of whom twenty-six reached adulthood (Tafalla, Bibl. Azcona, Ms., f. 113). But in 1518 Nicolás states in his will that fourteen of his children are still alive, eight girls and six boys (Cros, *Doc.* *II 68, *Vie* I 34).

⁶³ Eguía y Beaumont, **Hist de Estella*, c. 17.

⁶⁴ Archives Granada 86, 15, 17 18; Cros, *Doc.* I 237-238 240-241; *Eguía y Beaumont, c. 17.

⁶⁵ Cros, *Doc.* I 239; *II 70; *Vie* I 34-35.

⁶⁶ José Goñi Gaztambide, "El impresor Miguel de Eguía procesado por la Inquisición (ca. 1495 à 1546)," *Hispania Sacra* 1 (1948) 35-88.

⁶⁷ Cros, *Vie* I 35.

⁶⁸ Ignatius 442.

⁶⁹ His *celebret* is dated: Rome, April 17, 1536 (ARSI: *Ep. Nostr.* 89, n. 18).

⁷⁰ He was married to María de Mongelos, who bore him two children—Nicolás and Catalina. He founded a house opposite San Francisco in Estella (*Eguía y Beaumont, c. 17).

⁷¹ The papal permission for the pilgrimage to Jerusalem of April 20, 1536, is in ARSI: *Sard.* 13, 139 (cf. FN I 110, n. 3).

⁷² In 1547 Laynez wrote: "Llegamos a Venecia, donde hallamos al Padre M. Ignacio y... don Diego de Eguía y Estevan de Eguía, su hermano, los quales habían tor-

Before the arrival of his companions, Iñigo had also given the Spiritual Exercises to some others, and these had won for him their lasting friendship.⁷³ Among the exercitants were two influential Venetians, Pier Contarini and Gasparo de Dotti. The Magnifico Misser Pier Contarini, who belonged to the distinguished family of the Contarini of San Trovaso,⁷⁴ was a distant relative of Cardinal Gasparo Contarini.⁷⁵ He had led a pious life as a youth and had later gone with his father Zaccaria to France and there as a young man had spent three years in prison with him for the freedom of the republic. In his travels he had visited many countries and had come to know their customs and ways of acting. After making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he renounced all his dignities and offices in order to devote himself entirely as a cleric to the service of the poor and sick.⁷⁶ He became one of the procurators of the hospital for the incurables in 1523 and since then had been its mainstay and support.⁷⁷ Because of his piety and virtue he was honored and esteemed throughout the city by his fellow citizens and known as "the Father of the Poor."⁷⁸ Gasparo de Dotti, who had also been born in Venice, also became a warm friend and benefactor of Iñigo, after making the Exercises.⁷⁹ He conducted the suit which the latter brought against his calum-

nado de Hierusalem" (108-110). In 1548 Polanco adds to this: "y determinados asimismo de seguir el modo de vivir de Iñigo" (FN I 188-189). But in 1574 Polanco makes out of this: "Ibi [Ignatius Venetiis anno 1536] redeuntes ex peregrinatione Hierosolymitana P. Didacum de Egua et Stephanum, eius fratrem, in Societatem suam admisit" (574); and he notes that at the end of 1537 the Society consisted of ten members, "si Hozium, et Didacum ac Stephanum de Egua in Navarram profectos numeremus" (595-596). But the anonymous life of Ignatius says: "[Ignatius] Venetias se contulit, antequam reliqui socii eo pervenirent, ibique tres alios lucratus est socios, qui, tametsi tunc eum secuti non sunt, post fundatam inde Societatem ingressi sunt. Lucratus est etiam unum Bacalaureum [Hozes]" (FN II 440). Nothing can be said for a reception of the two Egua in Venice in 1536-1537.

⁷³ Ignatius mentions a Spaniard Roças (490), whom the editors identify with the Rodrigo de Rozas, who was in Naples from 1547-1551 and in intimate correspondence with Ignatius and Diego de Egua. Tacchi Venturi believes him to be the Francisco de Rojas who was a friend of the two Egua. He entered the Society in Rome in 1540 and was dismissed about 1556 (II, 1, 79). Larrañaga regards him as the Roxas (perhaps to be identified with Francisco de Rojas) who had half decided upon entering the Society in 1539 and was intimate with Ignatius and brought a letter from him to Loyola (449; *MI Epp.* I 143-146). None of these are to be identified with Fanste de Rojas in Alava, about whom Ignatius wrote in 1540 (*MI Epp.* I 166-167; cf. *MHSI Regulae* 4, n. 3). Among Ignatius' exercitants, Tacchi Venturi counts also the Spanish consul Martín de Zornoza (II, 1, 79), a friend of Pier Contarini, about whom the founder of the order wrote in detail in August, 1537, from Vicenza (*MI Epp.* I 123), and whom he calls his "old friend and brother in the Lord" in 1540 (*ibid.* 169); he is not to be confused with his namesake, who entered the Society in Sicily about 1548 and died in 1566 (Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 79; Larrañaga 445-446).

⁷⁴ In 1543 Gian Matteo Giberti, the saintly bishop of Verona, asked that Pier Contarini of the distinguished family of the Contarini dagli Scrigni (San Trovaso) might become his successor, but he was not appointed by the pope (Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 48-58). In 1557 he became bishop of Baffo (Paphos) in Cyprus. He resigned his bishopric in 1562 at the Council of Trent (Van Gulik 287) and died in Padua in 1563 (J. M. Gibertus, *Opera* ed. P. et H. Ballerinus [Verona, 1733], p. XLV).

⁷⁵ Of the family of the Contarini della Madonna dell'Orto, which had been separated from the other branch since the eleventh century (Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 49).

⁷⁶ *D. Gregorii Nyssae Pontificis, Magni Basilii Fratris, Doctissimus in Hexaemeron Commentarius, Petro Francisco Zino, Veronensi, Interprete* (Venetiis, 1553), with a dedication to Pier Contarini, pp. 3v-5.

⁷⁷ Cicogna V 306; Sanuto XXXV 131.

⁷⁸ Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 21-58.

⁷⁹ In 1546 Gasparo de Dotti (de Doctis) received permission from the pope to enter

niators.⁸⁰ He lived in the Dominican monastery near San Giovanni e Paolo⁸¹ and was a doctor of canon law, a canon of the ancient cathedral of Torcello north of Venice, apostolic notary, and vicar-general of the papal legate Girolamo Veralli.⁸² Another friend whom Iñigo gained in Venice was Martín de Zornoza, a Basque countryman and consul of Charles V in the City of the Lagoons.⁸³

3. IN THE SERVICE OF THE SICK

Immediately after the arrival of his companions, Iñigo held a consultation with them on what they should do during the six months of waiting that lay before them, since the pilgrim ships did not as a rule sail for the Holy Land until June or July. They decided to devote themselves to the service of the sick and to make a pilgrimage to Rome for the feast of Easter and obtain permission from the pope to make the pilgrimage and to be ordained.⁸⁴ Iñigo soon found places in which his ten disciples could stay. He sent five of them to the hospital near San Giovanni e Paolo in the north of the city,⁸⁵ and five to the hospital of the incurables in the south.⁸⁶ He himself remained with his host in order to bring his theological studies to an end. From here he visited his companions, and they in turn came to see him from time to time.⁸⁷ During his long years at Sainte-Barbe, Favre had learned enough Spanish so that he could also make himself understood in Italian. He and Hozes heard the confessions of the sick;⁸⁸ the others devoted themselves principally to their corporal needs, serving them both day and night. They made the beds, emptied the pots, swept the rooms, washed and fed the sick, dug graves, and buried the dead. The Parisian masters

the Society of Jesus, but he was appointed *uditore* of Cardinal Carpi and then governor of Loreto, where he brought the Jesuits. In 1556 he pronounced the simple vows, but retained his position at Ignatius' request. He died in 1563 as archpriest of the shrine and ever warm friend and benefactor of the Society (Larrañaga 447-449; FN I 11, n. 30).

⁸⁰ *MI Scripta* I 624-627.

⁸¹ *Ep. Salmeronis* I 577-578.

⁸² In the decision of October 13, 1537, he describes himself as: "Decretorum doctor, canonicus torcellensis, prothonotarius apostolicus, necnon H. Veralli legati eiusque palatii causarium vicarius in spiritualibus generalis" (*MI Scripta* I 625).

⁸³ See p. 304, n. 73.

⁸⁴ They immediately got ready (Rodrigues 474) and began their service in the hospital a few days later (Bobadilla 615).

⁸⁵ According to Laynez each of the hospitals received five of the companions; Favre and Hozes heard the confessions (110). The confessors naturally separated so that they could go to the two houses. Hozes went to San Giovanni e Paolo, since Favre states that five of the newly arrived companions from Paris were in the hospital for the incurables and four in the other (40). Polanco consequently explains Laynez' account when he writes: "Repartiéronse por los hospitales, cinco en San Juan y Paulo y cinco en lo hospital de los incurables, contando entre ellos el bachiller Hozes" (FN I 190). Since Böhmer wrongly refers this statement about Hozes to the hospital of the incurables, he has him work there (197). In addition to Hozes, Rodrigues was also at San Giovanni e Paolo (Rodrigues 475-476) and, it seems, Salmerón, since Dotti, a resident in the nearby Dominican monastery, was on intimate terms with him (*Ep. Salmeronis* I 577-578).

⁸⁶ Favre, Xavier (Rodrigues 475; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 82), and Laynez were here, as Salmerón expressly states when he censored the life of Laynez by Ribadeneyra (*Ep. Salmeronis* II 734).

⁸⁷ Rodrigues 474.

⁸⁸ Laynez 110.

did all this with such care, promptness, and enthusiasm that the patients and staff could not conceal their amazement, Their reputation soon spread throughout the city. A number of distinguished citizens came to see them at work and returned home with a high regard for their sanctity.⁸⁹

While Hozes, Rodrigues, and three other companions shared the hospital of San Giovanni e Paolo as their field of labors, Favre, Xavier, Laynez, and two others went to the hospital of the incurables.⁹⁰ This was located on the broad canal of the Giudecca, south of the Grand Canal between the church of the Hieronymites of the Holy Spirit and that of the Jesuati. At the beginning of 1522 two prominent patrician women, Madonna Maria Malipiero and Madonna Grimani, had brought here from San Rocco three women stricken with syphilis and had supported them in a rented house. It was in this way that the hospital of the incurables for men and women who suffered from this dreadful disease was founded.⁹¹ The zealous Gaetano da Thiene took care of the spiritual and temporal needs of the sick during its first two years. Under his direction the hospital, even though it had no fixed income, soon flourished as the result of an influx of generous gifts.⁹² The saintly Girolamo Miani was in charge of it in 1531 and 1532.⁹³ Under his direction it became a refuge for orphans and penitent women as well as a home for the sick.⁹⁴ As the result of this expansion, the number of residents reached eighty in 1524 and one hundred and fifty in 1525.⁹⁵ Fifteen years later the numbers had increased to five hundred.⁹⁶ Among the procurators of the institution were some of the most eminent patricians of the city, both men and women. Among these were the son of the doge Grimani and Pier Contarini, who soon took the main burden of the work upon himself.⁹⁷

⁸⁹ Rodrigues 474-475; in the Portuguese text: "Em estes hospitaes servião os padres, fazendo suas camas, alimpando e varrendo tudo o que estava suio, lavando os vasos, em que os probes fazião suas necessidades, e tambem lhe davão de comer a seu tempo, e aos que morrião fazião os covas e os enterravão, e isto fazião de dia e de noite com tanto fervor e cuidado e com tanto gozo et alegria, que era cousa de grande edificação a todo aquelle hospital." Study had to give way to the service of the sick (Layne 110).

⁹⁰ The former hospital of the incurables, Zattere allo Spirito Santo 423 (none of the other buildings from Xavier's time are still standing), is the present Distretto Militare. Its inscriptions and history are given in Cicogna V 297-404. The main sources for its origins are Sanuto and, in particular, the **Repertorio Catastico* (cited as: R), a parchment codex of ninety-five pages measuring thirty-four by twenty-five centimeters in the Archives of the Ospedale Civile in Venice. It was begun in 1540 and continued until 1586 and bears the title of *Repertorio Catastico et Registro de stabeli Possessiononi, Cavedali, Ponti de testamenti et altre cose perpetue... del hospedal delli incurabili de Venetia... del anno MD XXXX, redutto insieme et cautisi delli libri del detto hospedal come de instrumenti et memoriali de quello... a gloria de sua Maiesta, a Benefittio d'innumerabili infirmi, orphani et altre miserabile persone.*

⁹¹ Sanuto XXXVI 103; XXXIII 299. He incorrectly states that the hospital was begun during the Lent of 1522. Lent began on March 5, but already on February 22 the Council had ordered that all the poor infected with the French disease should be placed in the hospital for the incurables (Cicogna V 309). A house had been rented for the purpose on January 4 (R 1v).

⁹² Sanuto XXXVI 103; XXXVIII 140-141.

⁹³ Cicogna V 313.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 310 313.

⁹⁵ Sanuto XXXVI 103; XXXVIII 140-141.

⁹⁶ Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 48-50.

⁹⁷ Sanuto XXXIII 299; XXXV 184.

The rented house to which the first sick had been brought in 1522⁹⁸ soon proved to be insufficient. In this same year various properties were therefore acquired: a large building with two adjoining cottages as dwelling places for the servants,⁹⁹ a house for the resident chaplain,¹⁰⁰ and a smaller one next to it.¹⁰¹ In 1523 another small house and two pieces of ground were acquired,¹⁰² and an unpretentious chapel with a bell tower and adjoining cemetery¹⁰³ were built in the center of the complex. By 1524 more than a thousand ducats had thus been spent in purchases and construction.¹⁰⁴ In 1525 a well was dug so that drinking water would be readily available.¹⁰⁵ The hospital consisted of four large rooms, for sick men and women, and orphan boys and girls respectively. In addition to this, quarters were found for penitents in quickly erected temporary barracks. It was only in 1536 that Contarini started to replace these with permanent stone buildings. He began with an infirmary for the sick women with a residence for the orphan girls on the upper floor.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁸ On January 4, 1522, a house with a shed (*tezza*) and an empty yard, which had not been previously cultivated, was rented from Madonna Andriana Navaier and Madonna Marina Navaier (R 1v).

⁹⁹ On August 4, 1522, a large house and two cottages made of stone were bought from Zuan Paruta. To their rear was a street called Pesina, and in front a garden and a lane (*calle*). It went as far as the Canal della Giudecca. In 1540 the hospital was being used for various purposes and as a dwelling for different types of servants and for those in extreme need of a place to live (R 1v). This could be the house with smaller houses adjoining it on the left and right shown in the city plan drawn up by Giov. Andrea Vavassore in 1517 with its façade on the Giudecca Canal (original in the patriarchal seminary in Venice).

¹⁰⁰ On September 4, 1522, a house with an empty yard was rented from Misser Zaccharia Semiteculo. In 1540 this was being used as a dwelling for the priests of the hospital; the empty yard was occupied by a cemetery and a large men's hall (R 2). It was needed for the expansion of the hospital, and Semiteculo let it go for 530 instead of 700 ducats (Sanuto XXXIII 414).

¹⁰¹ On September 10, 1522, an empty lot with a small house was bought from Misser Francesco Navaier along with an adjoining piece of property belonging to his sisters Andriana and Marina.

¹⁰² Later, on July 16, 1523, an empty lot was purchased from the brothers Mafio and Fantino Viaro. This was being used in 1540 for a chapel and cemetery (R 2). On August 26, 1523, another empty lot with a small house was purchased by the hospital from Misser Francesco Moresino. The house was being used in 1540 as an infirmary for the poor, and the lot for a chapel and cemetery (R 2v).

¹⁰³ On July 10, 1523, the patriarch admitted that the hospital had to be built, and in this same year Cardinal Lorenzo granted permission to its procurators to erect an oratory, or chapel, with a portable altar so that Mass could be said, divine services held, confessions heard, and the sacraments dispensed to the sick. He also gave permission for the construction of a low church tower with one or two modest bells (Cicogna V 309-310). In 1531 the church was still not finished (*ibid.* 301), although it was already being used for Mass and sermons in 1524 (Sanuto XXXVI 102-103 342).

¹⁰⁴ Sanuto XXXVI 103.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 178.

¹⁰⁶ In 1526 vacant lots with sheds and cottages (*terreni squeri, tezze et casette*) next to the hospital in San Gregorio were rented from Misser Lunardo Savina (R 2v). On one of these lots, on which only a half-fallen shed stood, "è stata incominciata fabrica nova del hospedal et principiata l'infirmeria delle donne infirme et de sopra delle donzelle, come se vede al presente [1540]. Questo terreno fin al anno 1536, che fu dato principio alla detta fabrica è stato sempre vacuo." Although two stalls and a small wooden house had been built on the Giudecca Canal in 1533 to make the land more profitable, and even though these had been rented, they were torn down for the new building (R 3; cf. Cicogna V 301 314).

The hospital had a common kitchen in which women for the love of Christ prepared the food for the sick of both sexes. One of the kitchen help kept looking harshly at the masters and addressing them with insults when they came to the kitchen to get food for their charges. She was heard by one of them to say to the other women: "You do not know these men. They are great and very learned. I have done everything I could to keep them away from here but without success." The master noted these words and thought that the woman might be possessed. The next time he returned to the kitchen, she shouted wildly at him. He tried to calm her, but she fled and would have thrown herself into the fire if her companions had not restrained her. The priest took her by the hand, but she jerked back so quickly that her head almost touched the flames. She straightened up again and raised such a cry that the chaplain and others came running up and took her to the church where she was exorcised. The chaplain forced her to say the Creed with him; but when she came to the words "from thence He will come to judge the living and the dead," she cried out in terror: "Oh, wretch that I am, what shall I do on that dreadful day?" And she lay for a time as though dead upon the floor.¹⁰⁷

This work in the hospital required a great deal of self-conquest on the part of the nurses. The "French disease" began with a fever. Then the whole body was covered with ugly and repulsive sores two fingers wide. These were round and raised above the surrounding surface of the skin, and were larger and worse than those of measles. They were often full of pus and exuded an evil smell that lasted for several months. They were so repulsive that frequently even the physicians fled away in disgust. The rash spread over the whole body, but especially on the face, right up to the eyes. The sores often took the shape of thick, hard, irregular crusts of a dark green color extending also to the hands and feet, giving one the appearance of a leper. But the sores were worse than those of lepers because of their unbearable stench, which betrayed the nature of the disease. Besides this, the sick were afflicted with headaches which at times did not allow them to sleep for forty, sixty, or even a hundred days. The victims as a consequence cried out continuously and collapsed under their pains. They were also subject to attacks of fever and deep moral and physical depression. The sores lasted as a rule for a year, but frequently longer. They then disappeared but would suddenly return with even greater virulence. A kind of cancerous rot then set in and began to eat away one member after the other—nose, lips, gums, eyes, and so forth. The disease was regarded as being extremely contagious and incurable.¹⁰⁸

One day a man who was completely covered with these sores called Master Francis and asked him to scratch his back. Francis did him the favor, but a sudden shudder ran through him and he became nauseated with the fear of becoming infected. This had happened to him once before, in Paris, when he saw his teacher afflicted with the same disease and had thus himself been kept from sin. In order to overcome this revulsion he at once decided to stick his fingers into his mouth, as Iñigo had once done in Paris in order to overcome a similar temptation in the house of one sick with the plague. The next morning he

¹⁰⁷ Rodrigues 476-477. Here Dudon falsely includes Rodrigues among Xavier's companions (314).

¹⁰⁸ On the French disease, syphilis, and its manifestations, see Cassiano da Langasco, O.F.M.Cap., *Gli Ospedali degli Incurabili* (Genova, 1938) 46-48 55-57.

laughingly told his companions that he had dreamed that he had caught the man's leprosy in his throat and that he had coughed and spit continuously in order to get rid of it. But thereafter he was ever free from a feeling of repugnance in the service of the sick.¹⁰⁹

Rodrigues performed a similar act of heroic self-conquest in the hospital of San Giovanni e Paolo. When a "leper" was refused admission because of a lack of room, Master Simon generously shared his own bed with him. The next morning the sick man was gone; but, to the horror of the brethren, he had left his leprosy with Rodrigues. The latter, however, assured them that it was nothing, and he arose the following day completely cured.¹¹⁰

On February 8, *Giovedì Grasso*, the last Thursday before the carnival, the traditional ox feast was celebrated in St. Mark's Square to commemorate the victory of the city over the patriarch of Aquileia in 1170.¹¹¹ Towards the middle of March the companions had to think about leaving so that they could celebrate Holy Week in Rome.¹¹² They were joined by Hozes and two more companions who wanted to make the pilgrimage with them to Rome and Jerusalem. These were Spanish countrymen and old acquaintances from Paris who had found their way to them in Venice, Master Antonio Arias,¹¹³ a priest, and Miguel Landívar,¹¹⁴ Xavier's former

¹⁰⁹ On this Laynez is brief and explicit: "Mastre Francisco, con notable fervor y caridad y victoria de sí mismo hasta lamer o tragarse la sarna de uno que tenía mal francés, se exercitaba en servir aquellos pobres y contentallos" (110). Polanco's account goes back to him (FN I 190 265; II 576). Rodrigues is more detailed, but in the Portuguese text he incorrectly calls the disease a leprosy. In the Latin he has: "leprosum aut leprosi referens speciem," and he describes its appearance: "todo cuberto de hua sarna ou caspa sequa." He then continues, stating that Xavier, after he had scratched the sick man, in order to overcome the temptation, "meteo os dedos da mão, con que cosava aquella enfermo, na boqua e começou a lamer e chupar aquella caspa he sugidade que os dedos trazião" (475). Already in Nadal it starts to become exaggerated: "Xavier eo proventus est fervoris, ut ulcera etiam infirmorum deoscularetur, et eorum saniem nonnunquam xugeret" (FN II 82). He also has some of the other companions do the same as Xavier: "ut ulcera non solum oscularentur, sed etiam lingerent, ac nonnunquam saniei concretionem deglutirent" (*ibid.* 255-256). Xavier's heroism was not forgotten, as is indicated by Laynez' letter of 1547 (Layne 110) and by another of the hospital's procurators written in 1663 (ARSI: *Ven.* 97, 228). A portrait of the saint was later placed in the chapel of the cloister with the inscription: "S. FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS HIC CELEBRAVIT ET ULCERA LAMBENDO AEGROTUM SANAVIT" (Cicogna V 361). That Xavier celebrated Mass here is false; that he cured the sick is not found in the sources. Polanco adds: "Inde eius charitas erga leprosos et contagiosis morbis infectos reliquo vitae tempore peculiaris admodum extitit" (576). According to Nadal this victory portended Xavier's fruitful labors in India (FN II 82). On a similar action of Iñigo, see Ignatius 476. Dudon here also falsely has Rodrigues as one of Xavier's companions (314).

¹¹⁰ Rodrigues 476-477.

¹¹¹ S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia* 9 (Venezia, 1860) 40-42.

¹¹² MI *Epp.* I 119.

¹¹³ On April 27, 1537, Favre asked for, and received permission in Rome, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem for himself and his twelve companions, that is, for the first ten with the addition of Hozes, Arias, and Landívar (*Fabri Mon.* 9-11, where "V Kal. Maii" should be read instead of "VII Maii"). Hozes and Arias obtained faculties for confessions on April 30, 1537 (*ibid.* 7-8). He also received permission for the ordination of his confreres, including Landívar (MI *Scripta* I 543-545). His letter of September 12, 1537, shows that Landívar went to Rome with Arias and the others (*Ep. Mixtae* I 14).

¹¹⁴ On November 3, 1536, Ignatius wrote from Venice to the confessor of Queen Leonor at Paris: "En el buen Maestro Juan [de Peñal] pide mucho ser visitado y encomendado, cuio criado Miguel [Landívar] está aquí en nueva vida, de quien y de todo

servant. Iñigo remained behind in Venice. His presence in the Eternal City could impede the efforts of his disciples; for there were in Rome, as he observed, two influential persons who were hostile to him: Dr. Ortiz, who had been opposed to him ever since Peralta made the Exercises, and who had delated him in Paris to the inquisitor; and Gian Pietro Carafa, who had broken off relations with him forever in Venice¹¹⁵ and had been living in the papal court since October, 1536, where Paul III had raised him to the cardinalate on December 22.¹¹⁶

lo demás que saber placirá escribo" (MI *Epp.* I 110). Rodrigues was in error when he wrote in 1577: "Hic [Landívar] ubi socios Paris profectos Italiam versus contendisse cognovit, illos insequutus Venetiis offendit" (504).

¹¹⁵ Ignatius 492; Polanco (FN I 190; II 577); Larrañaga 467.

¹¹⁶ Pastor V 357.

CHAPTER III

THE PILGRIMAGE TO ROME (MARCH—MAY, 1537)¹

1. THROUGH THE WILDERNESS OF THE PO DELTA

On March 16² the twelve pilgrims³ began their journey to Rome. Among them were five priests: Favre, Jay, Broët, Hozes and Arias. They carried their leathern wallets with their books at their sides⁴ but were without provisions or money, for they now wished to practice holy poverty for the first time and to trust entirely in the providence of God.⁵ The shortest route, the Via Romea, passed along the Adriatic coast by way of Ravenna.⁶ A passage by sailboat that lasted several hours⁷ brought the travelers southwards through the lagoons to Chioggia,⁸ where they began their journey on foot.

¹ Rodrigues (478-587) gives the main account of the trip to Rome. This is complemented by Laynez (112-114), Bobadilla (615-616 634), Favre (40), Ignatius (492 and MI *Epp.* XII 521-523), and Polanco (FN I 190-192 265 II 576-578). See also the accounts of Tacchi Venturi (II, 1, 82-85); Böhmer (199-204, full of errors!) and Larrañaga (466-476).

² According to Rodrigues the companions arrived in Ravenna on the evening of March 18 after traveling for two or three days (479-480); they therefore left Venice on March 16. The distance is seventy miles: fourteen to Chioggia, on the route usually taken, and fifty-six from there to Ravenna. Böhmer is wrong in setting the distance at 124 miles, for which the travelers would have needed at least six or seven days. He therefore places their departure on March 10 (199). Larrañaga figured on six traveling days and had the companions set out on the twelfth (466). In 1925 we made the trip from Chioggia to Ravenna on foot in two days without the slightest difficulty. In 1491 Dietrich von Schachten took three days to go from Cervia (twelve miles south of Ravenna) to Chioggia (Röhrich-Meisner 239).

³ The nine companions with Hozes, Arias, and Landívar. Böhmer is wrong in having Hozes remain in Venice, and he omits Arias completely (199).

⁴ Laynez 112.

⁵ Rodrigues 478-479.

⁶ According to the Venetian Bartolomeo Fontana, who traveled from Venice to Rome in 1538 (*Itinerario ovvero viaggio da Venetia a Roma... di Roma fino a Santo Iacobo, per piu d'una via che far si puo. Fedelmente descritto, si come dall'Auttore è stato cercato, e veduto* [In Vinegia, 1550] 2v). Fontana gives the distances in *miglia*, which at that time in Italy could be from one to two and one-half kilometers depending upon the region. In Fontana one *miglio* is approximately one kilometer (0.6214 mile), as is indicated by the distances he gives: by ship from Venice to Chioggia 25 *miglia* (22 km.), then overland to Le Fornaci 16 (20 km.), Goro 18 (to Mesola 15 km.), Volano 18 (from Mesola to Volano 13 km.), Magnavacca 18 (14 km.), Primaro 9 (12 km.), Ravenna 18 (18 km.), altogether 122 *miglia* (112 km.). In 1578 the Venetian Monoletto gives the same distances (L. Fano, "Relazione del cav. Luca Danese sul taglio di Porto Viro," *Atti e Memorie d. Dep. Ferrarese di Storia Patria* 26 [1926] 131). It should be noted that Goro is the only one of these towns that has changed its site. The road is still called the *Via Romea*.

⁷ A rowboat with six oarsmen covered the distance of fourteen miles in six hours. A sailboat took less time (John Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* [London, 1869] 589).

⁸ A ship was usually taken to Chioggia, as Fontana and the older guidebooks expressly note. Ribadeneyra took the same route in 1543 with Jerónimo Doménech and

They recited litanies, sang psalms, and were in the best of spirits despite the rainy weather.⁹ But they were soon confronted with unforeseen difficulties.¹⁰ They had hardly traveled an hour when a broad stream¹¹ swollen by torrents of rain barred their passage, and there was a second that had to be crossed two hours later.¹² Since there were no houses or villages around from which the twelve pilgrims might have obtained an alms,¹³ and the ferrymen stubbornly

gave a report of the trip in a letter in 1595 (Ribadeneyra II 162), in his *Confessiones* 1611 (*ibid.* I 29-30), and in his *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús de las Provincias de España* 3, 8, 6 (ARSI: *Hispan.* 94). His fellow religious Arnold Conchus and his companion took this same route when they traveled from Rome to Venice in 1550 (*Ep. Mixtae* II 372). Rodrigues conclusively rules out the longer route past Mestre, Lugo, Adria, and Codigoro when he states that they traveled along the coast and covered the stretch from Venice to Ravenna in two or three days without passing a village (479).

⁹ Laynez 112; Rodrigues 478-479.

¹⁰ The appearance of the Po Delta has changed greatly in the course of time. After the rupture of the dike of Ficarolo in 1152, another mouth of the river, the Po Grande near Fornaci, was added to the old mouths of Primaro, Magnavacca, Volano, Abbate and Goro. Mesola lay within the delta between Goro and Abbate. The duke of Ferrara built a hunting lodge there in 1578 and encircled the entire area with an extensive wall about 1583. This also included the southern arm of the Po dell'Abbate, which the duke had already cut off from the Po in 1568. The prince, in addition to this, continued to drain the swamps south of the Po d'Ariano (the Goro arm) until 1580. Between 1598 and 1604 the main arm of the Po, the Po Grande, which empties into the bay between Le Fornaci and Goro, was diverted to the Sacco di Goro by the so-called "Taglio di Porto Viro." In the following three hundred years this moved the coast about twelve and one-half miles to the east and altered the landscape extensively. An exact description of the coast is given in Biondo da Forlì, *Roma restaurata, et Italia illustrata. Tradotte per Lucio Fauno* (Venetia, 1543) 144 147v-48v. The Latin edition appeared in 1453; the Italian edition includes an appendix with corrections, but these do not affect our text. Biondo, who wrote part of his work on his estate in San Biagio southwest of the lagoon of Comacchio, was excellently informed (147v). The Ms. map of Lombardy by Luc'Antonio degli Rubertis (1515-1525), published in Leo Bagrow, *Geschichte der Kartographie* (Berlin, 1951) 147, gives the mouths of the river between Chioggia and Ravenna before the alterations just mentioned. More details are given in the large maps "Ferrariae Ducatus" and "Flaminia" in the gallery of geographical maps in the Vatican, painted by Egnatio Danti, O.P., in 1580-1583. A detailed commentary by Roberto Almagià may be found in the *Monumenta Cartographica Vaticana III: Le Pitture murali della Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* (Città del Vaticano, 1952) 28-29 32-33, plates X and XII. These maps are partially based upon those of Gio. Ant. Magini, *Italia* (Bononiae, 1620), especially the general survey, the "Dominio Veneto," which still shows none of the changes mentioned. See also the maps dealing with particular areas, "Territorio Padovano" (Venice to Le Fornaci), "Polesino di Rovigo" (Chioggia to Volano), "Ducato di Ferrara" (Le Fornaci to Ravenna) and "Romagna" (Primaro to Ravenna), on which the later changes such as the Taglio di Po were subsequently added. See R. Almagià, *L'Italia di Giov. Ant. Magini e la Cartografia dell'Italia nei sec. XVI e XVII* (Napoli-Firenze, 1922). Since the inn of Goro was passed before the Ariano branch of the Po split into the Goro and Abbate outlets, the companions crossed seven arms of the river between Chioggia and Ravenna: the Brenta, the Etsch, and the five arms of the Po—Le Fornaci, Goro (Po d'Ariano), Volano, Magnavacca, and Primaro.

¹¹ The Brenta.

¹² The Etsch (Adige).

¹³ Rodrigues 479. Fontana lists Chioggia, Le Fornaci, Goro, Volano, Magnavacca, and Primaro and adds: "And these are all the river crossings and inns" (2v). Ribadeneyra wrote of himself: "Nos embarcamos para Choza [Chioggia], ciudad 25 millas de Venecia ... y [Doménech with me] con calentura anduvo a pié hasta Ravena, que son casi cient millas por tierra inculta despoblada, y que no se hallava una casa ni un hombre, sino de 18 en 18 millas, con grande trabajo y pobreza" (Ribadeneyra II 162); and later: "Andava [Doménech with Ribadeneyra] seis leguas a pie con calentura por la soledad y bosques que ay entre Choça [Chioggia] y Ravena sin topar alma viva"

refused to carry them across the streams without pay, they had to give one of them a writings set and the other a linen vest for their passage.¹⁴ That evening the travelers arrived completely soaked at a lonely inn bearing the name of Le Fornaci.¹⁵ This was situated on the estuary of another broad river, the Po Grande, and they had to consider themselves fortunate that they found a free place for the night on some straw.¹⁶

As they were dealing with the boatman the next morning, entreating him for the love of God to ferry them across the stream without charge, a man came up. Since the pilgrims were not traveling in rags like beggars and were carrying full leathern wallets at their sides, which did not give the impression of great poverty, he good-humoredly observed: "I see that you do not wish to change your gold *scudi*, I'll pay your way," and with that he handed the boatman the toll.¹⁷

(*ibid* I 31). But Conchus wrote that he went from Ravenna to Chioggia "per loca inhabitata, plana satis sed aquosa, perque portus maris ibidem vicinos. Quotidie solvere habebamus medium julium ad transnavigandum flumina et paludes; bis etiam dormivimus in feno, cooperti feno, et ventus flabat ab omni parte. Eleemosynam petivimus; factus etiam obviam Ferrariae dux, qui tres julios nobis dedit. In die enim vix duas domos invenimus. Venimus tandem in civitatem Chioza ... vicesimo quinto Martii vesperi appulimus Venetias" (*Ep. Mixtae* II 372).

¹⁴ Rodrigues merely states in general, without indicating the sites, that on the way to Ravenna the travelers often encountered great difficulties in getting across the streams without paying, and that once they had to give writing materials (*calamariam thecam cum atramentario*; in the Portuguese text: "huas escrevaninhas"), and on another occasion a linen vest (*lineos thoraces*; in the Portuguese text: "o jubão"), as toll (481). We place both of these incidents at the beginning of their pilgrimage, when they still did not as yet realize that they would have to make five more crossings. Later, for example, when they crossed the Primaro, they were not so generous. We believe that they gave the writing materials, which they could easily spare, when they crossed the Brenta, the vest when they crossed the Etsch. Bartoli imagines that they gave other gifts as well: "Quando un coltello, e altre tali coserelle di loro uso" (*Vita di S. Ignazio* 2, 32).

¹⁵ Rodrigues states that they went along the coast of the Adriatic Sea and spent two or three days on the way to Ravenna almost without any nourishment since they could find no places where they could beg (479). This raises the question as to where they spent two nights before reaching Ravenna. They spent the second at Magnavacca. We therefore believe that the companions left Venice in the morning and, after reaching Chioggia, went twelve miles further on that same day to the inn of Le Fornaci. The next inn, the one at Goro, was twenty-two miles away and thus too far to reach on the first day. It was also too close to Volano for the travelers to declare that they were completely worn out before they reached that place. Le Fornaci got its name from the wayside inn (Biondo 148v). It lay on the north bank of the river not far from the mouth of the Po Grande (Magini, *Italia*), whose main stream did not turn to the southeast until 1598-1604 (Philippus Cluverius, *Italia antiqua* [Lugd. Bat., 1624] 405).

¹⁶ Rodrigues states that on this trip to Rome they stayed sometimes in hospitals, at other times in haystacks, and at times even in stables with their wet clothes, stockings, and shoes (478). Conchus tells us that he and his companions slept twice on hay on their way from Ravenna to Chioggia (*Ep. Mixtae* II 372).

¹⁷ Without being more specific about the time or place, Laynez simply says that this happened between Venice and Ravenna (112-114). It probably occurred at the crossing of the Po Grande, where they were more likely to meet other people, for there were a number of small villages in the vicinity. The farther they went, the more barren and deserted the countryside became. At Volano they were given something to eat, and it is thus likely that they received free transportation. They had to pay at Magnavacca. They could probably have waded across the stream at Bell'occhio. They paid nothing at Primaro. This leaves only the crossing at Le Fornaci and the less probable one near the inn of Goro. The toll was one *quattrino*. In 1544 thirty-seven *quattrini* equaled one *giulio* and eleven *giulii* amounted to one gold *scudo* (E. Martinori, *La moneta* [Roma, 1915] 184; see p. 316, n. 35).

The companions continued their journey fasting because they hoped to find a church on the way where the priests could celebrate Mass and the others could receive Holy Communion.¹⁸ They had moreover resolved to keep the Lenten fast¹⁹ and, in keeping with the Lord's words, to take no forethought for their further journey: "Do not worry about the morrow!"²⁰ But the sixty miles between Chioggia and Ravenna proved to be nothing but a great solitary wilderness: there were no villages, no houses, or shelters to be seen. There was not even a field or a tree where food might be found.²¹ The solitary inn of Goro, at a new crossing of the river within the territory of the duchy of Ferrara, was the only shelter they encountered after three hours of walking.²² Then a deathly silence set in about them. To the left was the boundless sea, to the right a lagoon.²³ After a time there appeared far beyond it the tall solitary tower²⁴ of a church. Before them lay a bleak strip of land with a soggy, rain-soaked road leading to the south. The travelers sat down exhausted on the edge of the road or stretched out on the ground unable to advance any further. Rodrigues now regretted the fact that he had fasted so much in Venice, and he resolved to be more concerned about preserving his strength in the future. His companion would have gladly gone to the village on the other side of the lagoon to obtain food for the others, but he too lacked the strength for this. Finally they aroused themselves and set out again. About noon they reached the watchtower of Volano,²⁵ which lay on

¹⁸ Laynez 112.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* and Rodrigues 484-480.

²⁰ Rodrigues 478-479.

²¹ "Neque enim locus ullus Ravennam usque sese obtulit, ubi cogeretur eleemosyna" (Rodrigues 479; see p. 312, n. 10).

²² Dietrich von Schachten, who traveled through here in 1491, wrote that Goro lay on the sea, where a large body of water had to be crossed, and that it was only an inn (Röhricht-Meisner 239). In 1537 the inn of Goro lay exactly halfway between that of Le Fornaci and that of Volano, eighteen *miglia* distant from both (Fontana 2v). Shortly before the Po d'Ariano divides into the two arms of the Po di Goro and the Po dell'Abbate in the "Polesino" map of Magini, there is the word "Hosteria" on the south bank of the river. Goro, which was already mentioned in a bull of Marinus II in 944 A.D., was located near Mesola in Roman times (Gius. Maciga, "Cenni idrografici e storici sull'antico Delta Padano," *Atti e Memorie della Dep. Ferrarese di Storia Patria* 26 [1926] 50-60, and maps). Mesola, as it was already called in the thirteenth century, lay off the road east of the inn within the three-cornered delta of the Goro and Abbate branches of the river. Evidently our travelers were not aware of its existence. But even if they were, they would have had to cross the Po dell'Abbate both going and coming in a ferryboat to visit it. On Mesola see Moroni XXIV 44-45 163; XLV 309. The modern village of Goro, since it followed the growth of the delta, lies six miles south-east of Mesola and four miles from Volano.

²³ The Valle Celle according to Magini, the modern Valle Vallona and Valle Giralda. The road from the inn of Goro did not follow the dell'Abbate branch of the Po but, as the Danti map in the Vatican indicates, went straight southeast to the sea and then along the coast to Volano.

²⁴ The high church tower of the ancient abbey of Pomposa, three miles inland. It can be reached from Volano by means of a mole.

²⁵ The Torre di Volano is often mentioned in the older itineraries. Carlo Silvestri mentions the Roman road which led from Chioggia past the inn of Goro and Torre Volano to Torre Magnavacca and Torre Bell'occhio to Primaro (*Istorica e geografica descrizione delle antiche paludi adriane* [Venezia, 1736] maps). In 1502 Duke Ercole I came here from Ferrara to fish ("Diario Ferrarese 1409-1502, a cura di Gius. Pardi," in Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Scriptores* XXIV, 7 [Bologna, 1928-1933] 287). It was one of the ordinary watchtowers used to guard the entrance of the river. Pliny had already called it by the same name. The tower was six or seven hours away from Le Fornaci.

a broad arm of the Po at a distance of three hours from the last inn.²⁶ Here they obtained bread and water. Refreshed, they started out again on their journey.²⁷ They followed the solitary road between the sea and the lagoon for three more hours without encountering a house or a trace of any living being. Towards evening they reached Magnavacca,²⁸ the first town after Chioggia. This was a wretched village with a watchtower,²⁹ inn,³⁰ and church³¹ at the entrance to

²⁶ We locate this incident, which Rodrigues describes in detail (479-480), on the stretch between Goro and Volano, since the context rules out any other. It was not on the first day, when the pilgrims still had their strength and had been able to eat in Venice or Chioggia, nor on the third, when they had their only meal in the morning as they were starting out. It therefore had to be the second day. They were exhausted with hunger (*tum propter cibi inopiam*) and the strain of the journey (*tum viae labores*). It could therefore not have been before they reached the inn of Goro, which was only three hours distant from Le Fornaci. They obtained something to eat there and were able to continue their trip refreshed. This must have been Volano, the only site between Goro and Magnavacca. The remark of one of the companions that if he were strong enough he would try to beg food for the others in one of the neighboring places also indicates that the incident occurred in this general area. The tower of the church in Pomposa, visible from a distance, gave them the impression that there was a village in the neighborhood. That the food which they ate in Volano was all that they had between Le Fornaci and Magnavacca is deduced from Rodrigues' observation that on the third day they ate only a little bread in the morning, "cum pridie nihilo certe lautius accubuissent" (480), and that they had traveled for two or three days from Ravenna almost without any nourishment (479).

²⁷ "Verum auctis tandem divinitus viribus, ulterius progredientes, ciboque exiguo paululum recreati, caeptum tenuerunt iter" (Rodrigues 480; in his Portuguese text: "Todavia Nosso Senhor Ihes deu força que passarão adiante, e acharão algum socorro ainda que fraquo"). A travel guide of 1828 says of the stretch between Volano and Magnavacca: "Entre le *Pó de Goro* et *Volano* on passe le canal de *Cento*. Plus on avance, plus le voyage devient incommode à cause des nombreuses rivières et des marais, qu'on est obligé de traverser en barque ou a gué. Passé la *Tour de Volano*, le voyageur voit à sa gauche les vallées de *Comacchio*. . . Dans toute l'étendue de ce pays l'air est humide, le sol inculte, et la campagne presqu'entièrement déserte" (*Itinéraire d'Italie* [Milan, Vallardi, 1828] 228).

²⁸ The fact that Magnavacca, today Porto Garibaldi, lying three hours from Volano, was the last place where they spent the night before reaching Ravenna is deduced from Laynez' statement that they had celebrated Mass before setting out in the morning and had traveled twenty-eight *millas* from there to Ravenna (112). His *milla* roughly equalled an Italian *miglio*, that is, three-fifths of a mile, as did Fontana's (see page 311, note 6), who gave the distance from Magnavacca to Ravenna as twenty-seven *miglia* (2v). Ribadeneyra gives distances similar to those of Fontana: Venice to Chioggia twenty-five, the intervals between the inns about eighteen, Chioggia to Ravenna almost one hundred *millas* (Ribadeneyra II 162). He is mistaken when he says in his life of Ignatius that twenty-eight *millas* were more than nine Spanish *leguas* (*Vida* 2, 7). The further observation of Laynez, that the church was situated at a river crossing, rules out Comacchio, which lay three miles off the road (114).

²⁹ A fortified watchtower here guarded the entrance into the lagoon of Comacchio (Gian F. Bonaveri, *Della Città di Comacchio* [Cesena, 1761] 135), which gave the place its name (Moroni XV 31). The Ostium Caprasiae of Pliny and the Roman Augusta were located here (Filippo Borgatti, *L'agro ferrarese nell'età romana* [Città di Castello, 1906], maps).

³⁰ In 1491 Dietrich von Schachten said that he had to cross a wide expanse of water at Mangesack [Magnavacca] and that there was only an inn there (Röhricht-Meisner 239). But Blaeu states that the name Magna Vacca comes "a diversorio publico iuxta sito" (*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, pars tertia* [Amsterdam, 1641] 54v).

³¹ Laynez 114. As Monsignor Gino Carli, vicar-general of the diocese of Comacchio, kindly informed us in a letter dated June 10, 1952, the *report of Mons. Cristoforo Lugaresi on the pastoral visit of 1746, preserved in the episcopal archives of Comacchio, gives a more accurate account of Magnavacca. According to it, there was at this time

the great lagoon of Comacchio. Here in the inn outside the town they found a poor place to rest upon the straw.

The next morning the priests celebrated Mass and the others received Holy Communion.³² It was Passion Sunday,³³ and since they had here to pass over a new arm of the river, Hozes,³⁴ the last to celebrate, without the knowledge of the others and against their custom, asked during his Mass for an alms for the crossing. He received only two *quattrini*, while his fellow travelers, on the way from the church to the neighboring stream, without asking for them, received fourteen or fifteen, which was more than the ferryman demanded.³⁵ They therefore returned the two coins to Hozes with the observation: "There, take your *quattrini*, and know that God does not need the money which you begged at Mass!"³⁶

On the other side of the river, the pilgrims met a man who shared his lunch with them, giving them two small loaves so that each one got three bites to eat. Refreshed and grateful to God, they started out on their journey again,³⁷

a chapel there dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, which in the report of the visitation of 1675 was described as having been built "ab antiquo" but it is not mentioned in earlier reports. Moreover, according to Lugaresi, in 1746 there was another chapel, the "Oratorium Sancti Nicolai Episcopi ad mare," lying "super canale Portus in conspectu cauponae nuncupatae *della Posta*"; and he notes that according to the account of the visitation of 1574 this second oratory was "antiquissimum." From what has been said, it follows that the inn was near the sea apart from the village, and that the church in which the companions said Mass and received Communion was St. Nicholas' chapel.

³² Laynez 112-114.

³³ Rodrigues 480; Laynez 112.

³⁴ "Un sacerdote, que ya está en el cielo," wrote Laynez in 1547 (114); "un sacerdote que iba en su compañía," Polanco declared in 1548 (FN I 191); "quidam sacerdos, qui de ipsorum numero non erat, sed ipsis se adiunxerat," is how he stated this in 1574 (*ibid.* II 577). Hozes, who died in 1538, is meant. Of the other priests, Arias died in 1560, Broët in 1562, and Favre in 1546; but the latter would certainly not have asked for an alms at Mass "contrary to our custom," as is stressed by Laynez; and Polanco, according to whom the alms were sought at the end of the Mass, excludes him (FN I 191).

³⁵ "Salidos de la iglesia y yendo hacia el río, sin pedir nos dieron hasta 14 o 15 quatrines; de manera que hubo justamente para pasar el río, y praecise dos quatrines más, que había pedido en la misa" (Laynez 114). There were twelve companions; the toll was one *quattrino* for each man. Conchus wrote that on the trip from Ravenna to Chioggia there were so many river crossings that he and his eight companions (Polanco, *Chron.* II 60) had to pay a half *giulio* as toll each day (*Ep. Mixtae* II 372). One *giulio* was worth thirty-seven *quattrini*. Since they made the trip in three days and paid out eighteen *quattrini* each day, they thus paid out one *quattrino* each as toll for each crossing, making an average of two of these a day. In 1925 we paid a toll of three *soldi* at Volano and four at Magnavacca.

³⁶ Laynez does not mention the place; but that Magnavacca is meant and not the place they stopped the first night may be deduced from his statement that the travelers ate early in the morning of the third day (114), while they started out fasting on the second day (Rodrigues 480), and also from the fact that there was no church where they stopped the first night.

³⁷ Magnavacca lay on the fourth arm of the Po, also called Corlazzo. Laynez says: "Pasados el río, hallamos un hombre que nos da de comer a su mesa, y con ello materiam gratiarum actionis" (114). Before this he mentions what they had to eat: "un poco de pan a la mañana" (112); Rodrigues is more exact: "emendicandoque illo die duos tantum acceperunt exiguos panes; quorum unum vel alterum dumtaxat frustulum singulis in cibum obtingebat" (480; in the Portuguese text: "e aquelle dia não avião achado esmola mais que hum ou dous pães bem pequenos, dos quaes repartidos antre tantos comeria cada hum até tres boquados"). Magini describes a site opposite Magnavacca on the south bank of the river as "cassette," and thus a group of houses. Was it perhaps the inn mentioned in 1491?

barefooted, cheerful, and chanting Psalms despite the ceaseless rain.³⁸ After walking for only an hour they had to cross another ditch filled with water near the old watchtower of Bell'occhio.³⁹ But worse was yet to come. An hour later they came to the inn of Primaro located on a new arm of the river.⁴⁰ They could see that the land on the opposite side was extensively flooded.⁴¹ Wading across was unthinkable. In vain they asked the ferryman for the love of Christ to carry them over free of charge. For all their prayers and entreaties he had only a decisive "No." But when, worn out with hunger and want, they continued to importune him, he at last grudgingly allowed them to climb into his boat and took them to a spot which rose slightly above the level of the water. Here he set them down, pointed with his finger the direction which they would have to go, and then turned around. From here they had to wade for almost a mile through water that at times reached up to their waists and even up to their breasts⁴² until they reached dry land near a pine forest.⁴³ They seized the pine-cones lying about, broke them open, and ate the seeds; but the meager rewards were not worth the efforts required, and precious time was passing. They therefore decided to continue on their way.

It was already late at night when they reached Ravenna, soaked to the skin, tired and half dead with hunger.⁴⁴ They had come eighteen and one-half miles

³⁸ Laynez 112.

³⁹ At the small Bocca di Bell'occhio (Phil. Cluverius, *Italia antiqua* [1624] 403), which already in 1641 Blaeu describes as half filled with sand (*Theatrum, pars tertia* 53). The tower is still standing.

⁴⁰ It was the fifth arm of the Po, that of Primaro. Danti and Magini indicate an inn on its north bank. Today one must cross a second stream, the Lamone, soon after crossing this branch of the Po before coming to the swamps north of Ravenna. The intractable Lamone has often changed its course since 1500. When Alberti published his description of Italy in 1550, it still flowed into the Padusa, the swamps of Ravenna (Alberti 1577, 307 [a typographical error for 315]); on Danti's map of 1583, the oldest detailed map which we have of this region, and on Magini's, the Lamone flows into the Po di Primaro at Sant'Alberto, six miles west of where the Via Romea crosses the river.

⁴¹ Today the Via Romea goes straight through the marshes on a mole which was built about 1840, the "Cassa di colmata del Lamone" (Carlo Cesari, "Cenno geografico storico su le espansioni pausane o 'Padusa,'" *Atti e Memorie della Dep. Ferrarese di Storia Patria* 29 [1931] 303). On the maps of Danti and Magini the swamps between the Po di Primaro and the northern Pineta of Ravenna are already indicated.

⁴² Laynez 112; Rodrigues 480 ("passus mille"; in the Portuguese text: "se meterão a caminhar aquelle quarto de legoa que estava cuberta de agoa e chegava-lhes a agoa ate a sintura e alguas vezes ate debaixo dos braços"; he had already noted that the land in front of them was flooded "por hum quarto de legoa ou pouquo menos"). Bartoli has the companions walk "un miglio intero" (*Vita di S. Ignazio* 2, 32). Böhmer states that after crossing the Po di Primaro they still had "ganze 24 spanische Meilen unagesetzt in strömenden Regen durchs Wasser waten" (200).

⁴³ The Pineta di San Vitale, as it is already called on Danti's map, should not be confused with the Pineta di Classe near Sant'Apollinare, which lies south of Ravenna, and was made famous by Dante (contrary to Böhmer 200). The Pineta still today runs east of the Via Romea from north to south for a distance of three hours. Where it stops, Danti draws in the Via Cupa to Ravenna.

⁴⁴ "Denique de nocte, madidi, defessi et fame enecti Ravennae in hospitem domum fuerunt excepti" (Rodrigues 480; in the Portuguese text: "Enfim aquelle dia assi chegarão bem de noite a hum hospital de Ravenna, molhados, cansados e esfaimados"). The fact that they arrived so late in Ravenna indicates that the five Masses which they offered one after the other in the small church of Magnavacca did not permit them to leave until late that morning. Their arguments with the ferryman and stay in the pine forest also delayed them.

that day in streaming rain without any other food than the small amount of bread they had taken in the morning, but they had not lost their good spirits.⁴⁵ Here, as during the whole course of the journey, Master Francis distinguished himself through his love of poverty and cheerful manner.⁴⁶ Master Johannes (Codure), who had suffered for many days from a malignant sore on his leg, discovered that evening that it was healed.⁴⁷ Throughout the whole trip to Rome no one fell sick despite the many hardships and sufferings they endured.⁴⁸ In the different hospitals of the city the travelers found places to stay for the night.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Laynez 112.

⁴⁶ Ribadeneyra, "Vida del B. Padre Francisco Xavier," in *Flos Sanctorum, segunda parte* (Madrid, 1609) 62.

⁴⁷ Laynez 112; Rodrigues 480.

⁴⁸ Rodrigues 478.

⁴⁹ The Latin text of Rodrigues (480) is supplemented by the Portuguese, which has the following: "Chegarão bem de noite a hum hospital de Ravena. O refrigerio que tres delles acharão em ho hospital, onde forão ter, foi darem-lhe pera os tres (os outros busquarão seus remedios em outros hospitais) hua cama." In which hospital did Xavier find admission? We went to Ravenna in 1925. From Corrado Ricci, *Guida di Ravenna* (Bologna, 1923), we knew that the modern Scuola Normale Femminile at Via Giroto Guaccimanni 3 had formerly been the Ospedale degl'Infermi, where pilgrims found shelter. It was enlarged after the huge flood of 1636 and reconstructed in 1795. From 1827 to 1919 it served as a girls' orphanage (157). The orphanage is now located next door at n. 5 on the same street. The fifty-eight-year-old portress, Valeriana Giulia, told us that according to tradition Xavier had lived in n. 3, and that the two corner windows in the upper story facing the Via Marco Dente, to the left of which was now the lavatory and to the right a stairway, had been Xavier's room. It had been a huge hall with six main windows facing the Via Giroto, but it had since been divided into three classrooms. Xavier had slept there three or four days. She had herself lived in this house from 1874 to 1915 and had heard about Xavier in her youth from the then already old superior. The tradition of an alleged three-day stay of Xavier in Ravenna is found in a manuscript of the archivist Benedetto Fiandrini, O.S.B., written in 1794, **Memorie Istoriche dell'antica città di Ravenna tratte e raccolte da diversi uomini pubblici e privati*. The original of it is in the library of the seminary in Padua. An account of the year 1537, which mingles facts with fiction, states: "Passò per Ravenna, con i suoi compagni San Francesco Saverio, discepolo di Sant'Ignazio, che per umiltà volle alloggiare all'Ospeda'le, dove fermossi tre giorni. Prima d'arrivare in città, si fermarono nella Pigneta, dove li sequestrò una dirottissima pioggia per due giorni e due notti: furono costretti a cibarsi di pigne verdi e acerbe e a dormire per terra, tutti molli e grondanti di acqua. I compagni del Santo erano nove. Per la quantità degli ammalati, tre soli e più stanchi (all'Ospedale) dormirono in letto." Cf. A.M. Begheldo, "Sulle orme del Saverio," *Le Missioni Illustrate*, 1941, pp. 94-96, where an inscription is also given commemorating Xavier's stay. Girolamo Fabri, *Le Sagre Memorie di Ravenna antica* (Venetia, 1664), already mentions Xavier's stay in the hospital and makes a reference to Bartoli, *Vita di S. Ignazio* 2, 32 (222). In his description of the church of the Madonna della Croce, the chapel for the hospital located at Via Giroto Guaccimanni 1, he states that Ravenna had six hospitals inside its walls in the first half of the sixteenth century: San Barnaba, Santa Caterina, San Giov. Battista, San Giov. Evangelista, Sant'Apollinare, and Santa Maria della Croce. In 1567 the first four of these were suppressed and their revenues were given to the last two. Sant'Apollinare (later called Santa Trinità) was a founding home; Santa Maria della Croce cared for the sick and pilgrims until after the flood of 1636. Then only the latter were housed there. It was the o'dest of all and is already mentioned in 1160 under the name of *Santa Maria in Senodochio* (248). The tradition embellished by Fiandrini goes back to Bartoli, who distorts Rodrigues' account. Some of his expressions are repeated verbatim by Fiandrini (*Vita di Ignazio* 2, 32).

2. FROM RAVENNA TO ROME

The next morning they met and decided that they should continue their journey in groups of two or three. A priest would accompany each of the groups, and French and Spaniards would be mixed together. If they traveled together, they would find it difficult to obtain food and alms; and the Spaniards were more easily understood. Since it had been raining constantly and the rivers were swollen and they still had many more to cross on their way to Ancona, they decided that, after their recent experiences, it would be more prudent to go by sea.⁶⁰ Most of the groups therefore begged the money needed for their fare to the harbor of Ravenna near Santa Maria in Porto fuori, and from there by sailboat to Ancona.⁶¹

Rodrigues and his companions embarked on a ship without money, food, or drink and, after sailing a day and a night, arrived at the port city, which was picturesquely situated on a steep promontory. When the ship's owner here asked for his money and the pilgrims told him that they did not have a single coin, he fell into a rage and swore that he would not set any of them on land until they had paid up. They finally were able to persuade him to let one of them go into the city and beg for what was needed. The one sent was not yet a priest, and he returned after some time with the required sum, which he had obtained by pawning his breviary at a bookstore.⁶²

In the hospital, which they immediately sought out after landing, they met two more of their companions, whose ship had arrived before their own.⁶³ While one of them remained behind to guard their possessions, the rest went out to beg, since they had had nothing to eat for twenty-four hours. When he arrived at the steeply rising marketplace, Rodrigues met one of his confreres who could have easily made a name for himself through his great learning, keen intellect, and other outstanding qualities. Barefooted, and with his cassock drawn up to his knees, he was asking the market women for a small gift, humbly thanking one for a turnip and another for an apple or some similar alms. Seeing the example of his poverty and humility, Rodrigues deemed himself unworthy of being numbered among such saintly companions.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Rodrigues 481-483.

⁶¹ Rodrigues and his two companions collected alms in Ravenna only for the passage to the harbor of the city (481). It was only there, he declares, that they learned that they would have to cross several more rivers before they reached Ancona. They therefore decided to travel by sea (483). They all agreed upon this since they all went by sea. The harbor of Ravenna, which has been completely silted up since 1736, lay near the church of Santa Maria in Porto Fuori on the Fiumi Uniti two miles southeast of the Porta Nuova. Later also the sea route from Ancona to Ravenna or beyond was frequently chosen by those going from Rome to Venice (cf. *Ep. Mixtae* II 368; *MI Epp.* XI 532).

⁶² Rodrigues 483.

⁶³ The two companions were perhaps Xavier and Laynez, who were together on the trip to Rome (FN II 381-382). They had evidently come with another ship, but not on foot, as Böhmer says (200); they would have had to travel eighty-four miles in twenty-four hours on foot! A late "tradition" would identify the site with a house behind the Gesù Church, where Ignatius [sic!] stayed with his companions on this occasion (*Mo-roni* LXXXIII 57).

⁶⁴ In the Portuguese text, at the sight of his confrere, Rodrigues thinks of the "letras e partes que tinha para valer no mundo," in the Latin, "ipsius eximiam eruditionem, singularemque doctrinam copulatam cum egregio ingenio, aliisque animi ornamentis, quibus nomen sibi et gloriam comparare potuisset apud homines" (484). Tellez

The success of the begging tour surpassed all their expectations. The masters, who were all again united in the hospital, could still their hunger with a modest and cheerful meal, redeem the pawned breviary,⁵⁵ and set out the same day for Loreto.⁵⁶ The road went through rolling country by way of Camerano.⁵⁷ For the first time since his departure from Navarre in 1525, Xavier saw the silvery, grey green olive trees. After a five-hour walk the pilgrims reached the sanctuary of Loreto lying on a steep height and strongly fortified against Turkish pirates.⁵⁸ There under a lofty cupola was the poor house of the Mother of God adorned by the famous Sansovino and other masters with white marble walls carved with scenes from her life.⁵⁹ The interior of the house itself was quite dark, but at one end could be seen the miraculous picture lit up by burning lamps.⁶⁰ An opening in the house was shown through which the archangel Gabriel had come when he announced to Mary that she had been chosen by God to bear His son.⁶¹ According to tradition the house had been brought from Nazareth to Dalmatia by the hands of angels and from there to Loreto. The Mother of God had herself revealed this to a saintly man in a dream in 1296, and it had been confirmed by many miracles, as was affirmed by an inscription on the right. The many shops in the city with souvenirs for sale, the numerous votive tablets on the walls of the church, and the precious dedicatory offerings all showed the great reverence

refers the passage to Laynez (I 23), as does Franco (*Imagem de Lisboa* 40). Bartoli changes the text so that it refers only to Xavier, while he also has Rodrigues think of the "nobiltà, le ricchezze del secolo" of his confrere (*Vita di S. Ignazio* 2, 32). Brou tends to think Xavier is the companion (I 56), while Boero thinks there are two instead of one: Xavier and Laynez (*Vita del P. Lainez* [Firenze, 1880] 16). Bartoli has the market women give the beggar a "pizzico d'erbe." According to Brodrick it was "a cabbage or similar vegetable" (*The origin of the Jesuits* [London, 1945] 56). In Böhmer it becomes a fig (202). The incident probably took place on the steeply rising Piazza del Plebiscito, which is still the marketplace today.

⁵⁵ Rodrigues 484.

⁵⁶ According to Böhmer the companions counted up in the evening what they had collected, fed the other poor travelers with what was left, and on the following day went to Loreto, about one day's distance away (202). The travelers left Ravenna in the morning and, according to Rodrigues, traveled for a day and a night, thus arriving the next morning in Ancona, where they immediately begged their food; but it is not clear why they should have in this case spent the whole day in Ancona.

⁵⁷ N. Donzelli, "Memorie storiche del Comune di Camerano (Ancona)," *Studia Picena* 16 (1941) 148; 17 (1942) 47-67. He indicates that the usual route of the pilgrims to Loreto went past Camerano. In 1538 Fontana chose the alternate road past Osimo and Castelfidardo (6-v).

⁵⁸ When Turkish pirates burned the harbor of Recanate in 1518, Leo X had the church, which had already been fortified by Alexander VI and Julius II, and the city strengthened with walls, bastions, and artillery (H. Tursellinus, S. J., *Lauretanae Historiae libri* 5 [Romae, 1597] 2, 20-21; Alberti 283). See the description of Francisco d'Olanda written about 1540 in *Os desenhos das antigualhas que vio F. d'Olanda, publ. por E. Tormo* (Madrid, 1940) 52.

⁵⁹ The marble enclosure of the Holy House of Loreto with its fine reliefs, which were begun in 1513, was almost finished when Xavier arrived in 1537. The statues of the sibyls and the prophets, which were begun in 1540, were not there. The beautiful drawing of the south side with the adoration of the shepherds and of the wise men by Francisco d'Olanda still shows the empty niches (*Os desenhos* 51). On these works see Giov. Pauri, *Loreto e le sue bellezze artistiche* (Firenze, 1924) 23-27.

⁶⁰ In 1535, when Fichard visited the church, twelve large lamps and many candles were burning before the miraculous image (118-120). This was burned in 1921 and has been replaced by a faithful copy. The French plundered the rich treasure in 1798.

⁶¹ Tursellinus, *Laur. Hist.* 1, 10.

in which the miraculous picture and the Holy House were held throughout the whole of Christendom.⁶²

Rodrigues and his companions remained at Loreto two or three days to satisfy their devotion,⁶³ but the others set out again the next morning after assisting at the Mass of one of their companions and receiving Holy Communion.⁶⁴

A good five-day hike still lay before them.⁶⁵ They walked along in pouring rain on wet and muddy roads in groups of two or three.⁶⁶ The priests offered Mass each morning before setting out; the others confessed and received Holy Communion. They fasted and begged for their food along the way. They slept in hospitals where they could; where there were none, they spent the night in barns or stables. They taught the Creed and other prayers in their broken Italian to the beggars in the hospitals. They engaged those they met on the way in spiritual conversation, recited litanies, sang Psalms, and meditated. Those who saw them said to each other: "They obviously took part in the sack of Rome and now are doing penance and going to Rome to obtain absolution from the pope."⁶⁷

A day's march from Loreto took them over the heights and past the picturesque mountain cities of Recanate and Macerata to Tolentino.⁶⁸ The following day they traveled up the valley of the Chianti, which at times became so dark and narrow that the waters tumbling down between the grey rock cliffs hardly

⁶² *Ibid.* 1, 1-13, and Fichard 118-120. For the more recent research see *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 7 (1951) 1556-62. The companions had vigorously defended the pilgrimage to Loreto in Strasbourg.

⁶³ In the pilgrims' hospice of San Benigno (on the site of the present hospital) poor pilgrims were boarded for three days at no cost (Tursellinus, *Laur. Hist.* 3, 4). Rodrigues states that the companions remained at Loreto for two or three days. By this he means himself and his two companions who set out with him from there for Tolentino (484). The fact that the others left immediately on the next day is certain, not only from Ignatius' statement that the pilgrims left Venice in the middle of Lent in order to celebrate Holy Week in Rome (MI *Epp.* XII 321), but also from the assurance of Bobadilla that they had arrived in Rome on Palm Sunday (March 25)—which would have been physically impossible if they had not left at once—and had spent all of Holy Week in the Spanish hospice in Rome (615).

⁶⁴ Xavier and Laynez should also be included among those who went on immediately.

⁶⁵ Böhmer's chronology is erroneous. According to him the companions left Venice on March 10, arrived in Ravenna on the eighteenth, at the port of Ravenna (which was only a mile and one-half from the city) at the earliest on the twentieth, in Ancona at the earliest on the twenty-first, in Loreto on the twenty-second, and left there on the twenty-fourth. He therefore concludes "Foglich können sie, da sie von Loreto wenigstens noch 225 km zu marschieren hatten, schwerlich vor dem Ostersonntag, 31. März, in Rom eingetroffen sein" (202). Our chronology is as follows: They left Venice on March 16 and arrived in Ravenna on the eighteenth, left there on the morning of the nineteenth and arrived in Ancona on the morning of the twentieth, left there in the afternoon and arrived at Loreto in the evening, left Loreto (except for the group with Rodrigues) on the twenty-first and arrived at Tolentino on the same day; they left here on the twenty-second (and probably stopped at Foligno on the same day, arriving at Terni on the twenty-third, and at Civiltà Castellana on the twenty-fourth) and reached Rome on March 25. This would mean that they traveled an average of about thirty-one miles a day from Loreto to Rome, except for the stretch from Tolentino to Foligno, which is thirty-seven miles. These were the usual distances covered on foot. In 1555 Rodrigues made the trip from Rome to Venice in twelve or thirteen days despite his illness (*Ep. Broëti* 658).

⁶⁶ Rodrigues 484.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 478-479 484; Laynez 112.

⁶⁸ Rodrigues states that the companions took the usual road by way of Tolentino. It is thirty-one miles, a day's trip from Loreto. Rodrigues and those with him also made the trip in a day (484).

left room for the path. At other times the defile opened up and became more friendly. From time to time they passed a solitary house or a grey brown mountain village, until they finally reached the watershed near Serravalle. They then crossed a marshy plateau with lofty mountains in the distance. From here they passed down a steep gorge⁶⁹ and eventually reached the smiling fields of Umbria. At the foot of the Apennines lay Foligno with its churches and towers,⁷⁰ surrounded by a paradise of olive, almond, and fig trees, and vineyards, meadows, and fields.

From Foligno the Via Flaminia passed south through fruitful plains. As the travelers walked along they could see Trevi, picturesquely situated on the slope of a mountain to their left in the midst of silvery olives,⁷¹ and then Spoleto, similarly situated on a mountainside with a fortress on its heights.⁷² From here the road led over the steep Somma pass⁷³ to Terni at the foot of the range.⁷⁴ It then went over a level plain to Narni, a city nestled in the mountains, still largely in ruins and deserted from the time that the Venetians had burned it during the attack on Rome in 1527.⁷⁵ Beyond Narni the road ran along the dizzy

⁶⁹ The road from Tolentino over the Apennines went then, as it does today, by way of Belforte, Valcimara, Valdica, Muccia, and Gelagna to Serravalle. It then turned left to go around the marshes by way of Taverna (the modern road goes to the right) to Colfiorito. It then went up in steep switchbacks past Casetta di Cupigliolo (while the modern road goes to the right and climbs the steep country in sweeping curves) to Cifo, Casenove, Scopoli, and Pale. From there the dangerous old road followed the steep precipices (whereas the new one runs high above on the left) to Foligno. In 1820 the last stretch of the road was still described as follows: "La montée et la descente de Casenove à Foligno sont très difficiles; dans un endroit appelé *Carriere di Foligno*, le chemin est très étroit et sans parapet; il côtoie un précipice effrayant et célèbre par des événements funestes" (*Manuel du Voyageur en Italie* [Milan, Giegler, 1820] 439). The itinerary of Andreas Schottus allowed two days for the stretch from Loreto to Foligno (sixty-eight miles): "Fulgineum accedes, bidui itinere confecto post Lauretum" (*Itinerarium Italiae* [Amstelodami, 1655] 265).

⁷⁰ See the engraving of the city in 1578 in Ugo da Como, *Girolamo Muziano 1528-1592* (Bergamo, 1930) 58. Here the road ran again into the *Via Flaminia*, which was usually followed by all travelers from here to Rome. See also E. Martinori, *La Via Flaminia* (Roma, 1929), and *Enciclopedia Italiana* XV 531-532. The railroad follows it to Spoleto and from Cività Castellana to Rome. Fontana gives the stopping places before Rome and the distances between them (8). For the following descriptions see Alberti, who, basing his work on Biondo da Forlì, finished his *Descrittione di tutta Italia* in 1536. He kept adding to it until 1548 and published it in Bologna in 1550. We have used the edition of 1577.

⁷¹ "Sopra Fuligno in man manca, in uno alto colle, è Trivio molto pieno d'olive" (Biondo 115v). "Passato Fuligno veggonsi da ogni lato della via Flaminia per questa bella pianura fruttiferi campi, ornati di diversi ordini d'alberi dalle viti accompagnati, con molti ruscelletti di chiare acque, gran moltitudine di mandorli, e d'olivi" (Alberti 90v).

⁷² "Eine elegante Stadt, aber sehr hügelig" (Fichard 34); "È situata parte sopra il colle, e parte nella pianura, et hà una fortissima Rocca sopra il colle, da riporre fra le forti d'Italia" (Alberti 92v), "adornato, poco fa, di bellissimi edifici" (Biondo 116).

⁷³ "Da Spoleto lungo la via Flaminia entrasi nella Valle di Strettura tutta sassosa posta fra altissimi rupi. Nel cui fine vicino a Terno da 4 miglia ritrovansi selve d'olivi, con vigne, et altri fruttiferi alberi" (Alberti 49v).

⁷⁴ "Antica città" (Biondo 118v), "fra due fiumi, molto abbondante delle cose necessarie, et molto piena di popolo" (Alberti 94v-95).

⁷⁵ "È situata sopra la schiena dell'altissimo, precipitoso, e sassoso monte, havendo dal Mezogiorno una precipitosissima rupe, alle cui radici passa il fiume Negra" (Alberti 102). When Alberti passed through here in 1530, the once populous city was still deserted; only two or three shops were open on the marketplace, more for travelers than for those who lived in the city; when he returned from Rome he found it again very sparsely inhabited (102v). In 1535 Fichard still calls it "jämmerlich verwüstet" (6).

heights above the white-foaming Nera ⁷⁶ and then through charming hill country past ancient Otricoli ⁷⁷ down to the Tiber, where the old Roman bridge lay in ruins. One had to cross the river in a boat ⁷⁸ to get to Borghetto, which had been largely destroyed by fires set by the soldiers in 1527. From there the road led across the plain, and at times over the old Roman flags, ⁷⁹ to the Etruscan city of Cività Castellana, surrounded by deep gorges in the tufa. ⁸⁰

On the last day of their journey, the pilgrims passed from here over the lovely campagna with its ruins of former greatness. On their left Mount Soracte rose steeply. Then passing through the poor villages of Rignano and Castelnuovo, they reached the inn of Prima Porta, ⁸¹ where they saw again the old Roman road with its great, grey flags. ⁸² There they crossed the Roman bridge, the Ponte Molle, ⁸³ with its protecting towers, where in 312, Constantine the Great had fought his memorable battle under the banner of the cross. They had attained their goal. It was Palm Sunday, ⁸⁴ March 25, in the evening, when the companions passed through the Porta del Popolo ⁸⁵ into the Eternal City. Laynez went barefooted out of respect for the soil sanctified by the blood of so many martyrs. ⁸⁶

⁷⁶ "Uscendo fuori della città e seguitando la via Flaminia, incontinenti vedesi il sassoso monte col ferro tagliato per poter passare. Vedesi alla destra uno spaventevole precipitio, al cui fine passano con grande strepito per i sassi l'acqua della Negra" (Alberti 103). The dangerous old stretch was abandoned in 1790-1791 and a new road built, as is indicated by two inscriptions today.

⁷⁷ "Veggonsi insino ad oggi quivi molti roine di edifici, come di Torri, e parte di un' Anfiteatro, con altre simili fabbriche, chi parte, chi mezo diroccate" (Alberti 103v).

⁷⁸ "Si trova nella strada Flaminia un ponte su'l fiume [Tevere] fattovi gia da Cesare Augusto; ma hora, fattovi su un castello, il ponte è rovinato" (Biondo 90); "Ora si passa quivi detto Tevere con le barche" (Alberti 103v). A new bridge was not built until 1589-1604 (Keyssler 874).

⁷⁹ Alberti 73.

⁸⁰ "Cosi intornata d'altissime scocese ripe, che non le fa mestiero muro alcuno, per esser gagliarda e forte" (Biondo 90-v).

⁸¹ On the Via Flaminia between Cività Castellana and Rome, see Gius. Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana* 3 (Roma, 1913) 204 ff.

⁸² Alberti 84. Gregory VIII cleared more of the old Roman pavement in 1580. "Viam Flaminiam ante deviam spinis et terra alte obrutam purgatam aperuit," as is mentioned in an inscription at Albergo della Posta (Tomassetti III 288).

⁸³ *Ibid* 232.

⁸⁴ Bobadilla 615.

⁸⁵ A Dutchman, Marten van Heemskerck, who stayed in Rome from 1532 to 1538 (*Enciclopedia Italiana* XVIII 426), has left us a sketch of the city gate (H. Egger, *Römische Veduten* 1 [Wien, 1932], plate 2).

⁸⁶ Polanco 578.

⁸⁷ Rodrigues 465; Bobadilla 615. The Spanish national hospice was San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli; the French, San Luigi dei Francesi (D'Armailhacq, *L'Eglise Nationale de Saint Louis des Français à Rome* [Rome, 1894]; Pierre La Croix, *Mémoire historique sur les Institutions de la France à Rome* [Paris, 1868]; and Armellini 532-534); the Portuguese, Sant'António dei Portoghesi (Miguel d'Almeida Paille, *Santo António dos Portugueses em Roma* [Lisboa, 1951-1592]; Armellini 404-405 1255 and *Estatutos da igreja e hospital de Santo Antonio dos Portuguezes em Roma 1539* [Lisboa, 1890]). The Savoyards apparently did not as yet have their own national church with a hospice in Rome at the time of their arrival (O. F. Tencajoli, *Le Chiese Nazionali Italiane in Roma* [Roma, 1928] 7; Armellini 556); but since Francis I had annexed Savoy in 1536, Favre and Jay had the right to stay in San Luigi dei Francesi.

3. IN THE SPANISH HOSPICE

The pilgrims found free lodging in the various national hospices.⁸⁷ Xavier and his Spanish companions stayed in San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli.⁸⁸ Across from it lay the Sapienza, the university of Rome, and behind it was the great Piazza di Navona. The beautiful church, which had been rebuilt and enlarged in 1484 by Bishop Alonso de Paradinas, contained many ornate tombs. It also possessed two votive offerings of Ferdinand the Catholic, the key of Tripolis and a stone from the walls of Granada, which he had sent to Rome in fulfillment of a vow after capturing the two walled cities.⁸⁹ Adjoining the church was the residence of the twelve chaplains⁹⁰ charged with the duty of celebrating the endowed Masses in San Giacomo, including those for Pope Alexander VI.⁹¹ Here also had been located since 1505 the men's hospice⁹² with twenty-two beds⁹³ for poor Spanish pilgrims, who, as the statutes of 1491 declared, could obtain free lodgings for eight days; and it also served as a hospital for sick Spaniards.⁹⁴

The residents of the hospice were awakened in the morning by the ringing of the *Angelus*. Those who were well then rose and went out to look for food.⁹⁵ After the *Salve Regina*, which was sung each evening in the church as it was at the castle of Xavier,⁹⁶ the church and hospice were closed.⁹⁷ The residents of the latter were forbidden to lay bread or meat upon the beds so that mice and rats would not chew upon covers. The sheets were changed every two weeks and the straw mattress renewed each year. The statutes prescribed that on this occasion there should be a thorough cleansing of the house "so that fleas, bedbugs, and other noisome vermin may be kept as far away as possible."⁹⁸

The management of the church and hospice was in the hands of the "Spanish nation" in Rome, whose representatives, mostly members of the Curia, elected its officers. The chaplains had to be from Castile or Navarre,⁹⁹ for the Catalans and Aragonians had their own hospice in Santa María di Monserrato. At the annual meeting held on December 28, 1536, Don Juan Moedano, an auditor of the Rota, was elected governor of the hospice and its church for 1537; Don Felipe de Agnelis, *abbreviatore della Presidenza Maggiore*, Pedro Ortiz, Doctor of Theology,

⁸⁸ On San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, see Armellini 465-467; C. Cecchelli, "San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli," *Roma* 14 [Roma, 1936] 325-334; and Ramón de Santa María, *La fiesta de la Concepción, en la antigua R. Iglesia de Santiago y San Ildefonso de los Españoles en Roma, el año 1715* (Roma, 1908). The latter also drew up an **Indice del Archivo de los RR. Establecimientos Españoles en Roma* (Roma, 1911), in which nn. 16-18 65 511-51 and 2257 are of concern to us (this work is cited as AE).

⁸⁹ Santa María, *La Fiesta* 37-42; Armellini 467.

⁹⁰ The inventory of 1530 in the **Libro de diversos Istrumentos, Inventario de Iglesia, hospital y cassas*, ff 80-81 (AE 65), gives an exact account of the furnishings of the twelve rooms and the names of their tenants.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 88.

⁹² Santa María, *La fiesta* 39.

⁹³ **Libro de diversos Istrumentos* 79v.

⁹⁴ According to the **Constitutiones viejas* of 1491, n. 14, f. 7v-8 (AE 17) (contrary to Armellini 467).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* n. 23, f. 11.

⁹⁶ In 1538 the book composed by Chaplain Juan Escobedo, "in quo decantatur cotidie *Salve Regina*," was bound for twenty-three *giulii*, as is stated in the **libro de Camerlengo y Iglesia del Año 1538* (AE 512), f. 55.

⁹⁷ **Constitutiones viejas*, n. 23, f. 11.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, n. 18, f. 9; n. 22, f. 22.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, *Addenda*: Decision of December 28, 1536, f. 20.

Juan Martínez de Anguiano, agent of the emperor, and Martín de Aguinaga, *Doctor utriusque iuris*, were elected as his advisers; and Don Luis de Torres and Antoniotto de la Salde were elected to take care of the accounts and to manage the assets of the foundation.¹⁰⁰

The news of the arrival of the Parisian masters spread like wildfire among the Spanish members of the Curia and gave rise to a good deal of comment and speculation. Some were convinced that they had come in search of rich benefices; others were certain that they were religious who had fled from their monasteries and were making a pilgrimage to the Eternal City in order to obtain a release from their vows and permission to lay aside their habit. But when the newcomers were questioned about the reason for their journey, they replied that they had made the pilgrimage to Rome in order to visit the churches and the other holy places of the capital of Christendom. Their manner of acting soon showed that they were not ordinary benefice seekers or vagrant monks. They spoke with everybody about spiritual things and begged their daily food from door to door. Some of the wealthy members of the Curia, as a consequence, took kindly to the companions and provided free food and lodging in San Giacomo not only for their Spanish countrymen but also for their fellow travelers during the whole time that they were in Rome. They thought it would be a disgrace to their nation if they allowed their countrymen to go around begging. Although the fare was modest, intended as it was for poor men, the masters were glad to accept what was offered since it enabled them to stay close together and to visit the shrines of the Eternal City unhindered.¹⁰¹

In the middle of Holy Week, Rodriguez and his two companions arrived in Rome.¹⁰² He had, as usual, a number of experiences to relate.¹⁰³ While he was begging in Ravenna, he had come to a house of ill fame without realizing it. There he was greeted by three primped and painted prostitutes. As soon as he saw where he was, he spoke earnestly to the women on penance. One of them burst into tears and decided that she should go to Rome with him. It was only with difficulty that he prevented her from carrying out her resolve. The only bed offered to him and his companions in the hospice in Ravenna was so dirty, and the spread so damp and stained with blood and pus,¹⁰⁴ that he was afraid to sleep on it and lay down instead upon the bare floor. His two companions, however, slept in the bed, one dressed and the other undressed. To punish himself for his weakness, Rodriguez took advantage of the next opportunity that

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, ff. 19-v and **Libro de diversos Istrumentos* ff. 9v-10 (AE 65).

¹⁰¹ Rodriguez 485-486. Bobadilla says that the companions spent all of Holy Week in the Spanish hospice (615); they also remained there until they left Rome. The presence of the twelve masters made extraordinary demands upon the hospice. The **Libro de Camerlengo y Iglesia del Año 1537* (AE 511, ff. 49v-52) lists the following expenditures: January, two *giulii*, seventeen *quattrini*; February, two *giulii*, twenty-eight *quattrini*; March, three *giulii*, twenty-eight *quattrini*; April, five *giulii*, two *quattrini*; May, eight *giulii*, twenty *quattrini*; and June (after the companions had left), three *giulii*, one *quattrino*.

¹⁰² Rodriguez states that he had remained with his companions in Loreto for two or three days and had then covered the thirty miles to Tolentino in one day (484); we may therefore conclude that they arrived in Rome two or three days after the others.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 480-483 484-485.

¹⁰⁴ "Lectus satis immundus ac tritus, cuius sindones madidae, sanieque valde maculate erant" (*ibid.* 480; in the Portuguese text: "hua cama com huns lenções mui suios em extremo e cheos de nodos de chagas e sangue").

afforded itself. They came late at night to a village beyond Tolentino,¹⁰⁶ where the old nurse in the hospital had only a single bed—one in which a man had died that same day from pediculosus. Moreover, the only spread available was the one on which the corpse had lain when the priest had come for the funeral. Rodrigues' companions lay down on the bed fully clothed, but he undressed before getting into it. Sleep, however, was out of the question. The vermin that swarmed through the bed tortured him so much that he broke out into a positive sweat. He and his companions had still another experience in Tolentino. They arrived there still fasting in the dark of night. It was raining and they were soaked to the skin. A large, handsome man holding his cloak in front of his mouth came up to them and silently pressed a silver coin into Rodrigues' hand and then went on his way. The alms was so generous that when they reached the hospital Rodrigues was able to send a beggar out to buy bread, wine, and dried figs in the neighboring inn for himself, his companions, and the other poor of the hospice.¹⁰⁸

4. THE VISIT TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES

After the terrible sack of Rome by the Spanish and German soldiers in 1527, the city and its environs resembled a desert. Four-fifths of the houses were uninhabited and its churches had been plundered, desecrated, converted into stables. The population had shrunk from fifty-five to thirty-two thousand.¹⁰⁷ The great flood of 1530, which destroyed four hundred of the still standing houses,¹⁰⁸ had taken a toll of three thousand more victims; and it had also damaged severely the Spanish hospice.¹⁰⁹

The Eternal City had only partially recovered from this visitation when Xavier and his companions arrived there as pilgrims. The capital of Christendom probably numbered again at this time fifty thousand inhabitants,¹¹⁰ most of whom were crowded together in the quarters along the Tiber. The city's poorly paved, dark, and narrow streets, old grey houses, and brown towers gave an impression of poverty and of the Middle Ages despite the new palaces that had been erected. Beyond this crowded section lay the still and desolate ruins of the city extending out to the half-ruined, reddish brown walls with their protecting towers. Cows and goats grazed amidst the numerous ruins of pagan Rome overgrown with weeds and round about lonely chapels and monasteries.¹¹¹ The main attraction for the visitors to Rome were the numerous churches with their shrines and countless indulgences, which could not be equaled by any other city in the world.¹¹² Like other pilgrims to Rome the nine companions made a visit

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 481. The hospital was perhaps in the village of Muccia, halfway between Tolentino and Foligno, a common stopping place on this route. In keeping with his customary way of acting, Rodrigues may have stopped in the morning at the tomb of St. Nicholas of Tolentino to satisfy his devotion.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 484-485.

¹⁰⁷ Pastor IV, 2, 562.

¹⁰⁸ Filippo Clementi, *Il Carnevale Romano nelle cronache contemporanee* I (Roma, 1939) 206-207.

¹⁰⁹ **Libro de diversos Istrumentos* (AE 65), ff. 7v 8v 89.

¹¹⁰ Pastor IV, 2, 562; VI 263.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* VI 262-267 292-299; IV, 1, 391-392.

¹¹² *Ibid.* VI 304-305.

to the Seven Churches soon after their arrival to gain the great indulgences connected with this practice.¹¹³

The first visit was to St. Peter's,¹¹⁴ where the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles was located, and where, according to tradition, were preserved halves of the bodies of Sts. Peter and Paul,¹¹⁵ the head of St. Andrew, and the bodies of the apostles Simon and Jude and of many other saints. Near the fountain located in St. Peter's Square the pilgrims saw the great flight of stairs with its thirty-five steps and the marble statues of the two princes of the apostles on either side. Over the terrace of the staircase, and adjoining the Vatican palace, rose the high, three-storied Loggia of Benedictions. On each level there were four arcades and the whole was dominated by a many-storied campanile with a pointed roof. To its left was an unpretentious building, the vestibule of the church with its three entrances and the palace of the cardinal archpriest with a projecting loggia at one end.¹¹⁶ Three more portals led from the vestibule into a marble-paved atrium with a fountain and a huge bronze pinecone under a roof adorned with gilded peacocks. In front of the court was the vestibule with its columns and to its rear the façade of the old Constantinian basilica with its shimmering gold mosaics.¹¹⁷ Here five doors provided entrances into the five-

¹¹³ "Visitabant septem ecclesias et alia loca sancta Romae" (Bobadilla 615). See Pastor IV, 1, 393-394; VI 305. The engraving *Le Sette Chiese di Roma*, which Ant. Lafrery published for the jubilee year of 1575, gives the sequence, beginning with St. Peter's, and descriptions of the Seven Churches (also in Mario Giordano, *Bellezze d'Italia. La Città del Vaticano* [Milano, 1930] 143). Jer. Doménech, S.J., followed this order when he took his vows in 1540 (ARSI: *Ital.* 58, 81), while Guillaume Postel, who took his vows in 1544, began with St. Paul's and ended with St. Peter's (*ibid. Ital.* 59, 389). Fontana, who visited Rome in 1538, began his description of the Seven Churches with St. Peter's (8v-10). The contemporary pilgrim guides to the *mirabilia Romae* list the principal relics and indulgences. One of these guides is the *Le Cose Maravigliose della Città di Roma* (Vinegia, 1542), a translation of the booklet *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum principalium urbis Romae* (Rome, c. 1472). On this guide, which was frequently reprinted in the sixteenth century with very few revisions, see L. Schudt, *Le Guide di Roma* (Wien, 1930).

¹¹⁴ Pastor VI 305. In 1582 Tiberius Alpharanus gave an exact description of the old St. Peter's. He had lived near it since around 1544 and cites as his main authority Jacopo Herculano, who had been born in Rome in 1495, had served in St. Peter's from 1505, was ordained in 1537, named master of ceremonies of the chapter in 1538, received a benefice in 1548, became a canon of the church in 1558, and was vicar of Saint Peter's from 1567 to his death in 1573. Alpharanus' *De Basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura*, which includes an exact plan, has been published by Mich. Cerrati with an excellent commentary in *Studi e Testi* 26 (Roma, 1914). The many exact drawings made by Marten van Heemskerck in 1532-1538 and a number of other sketches by his contemporaries are our only means of reconstructing an image of St. Peter's as it appeared to our pilgrims at the end of March, 1537. At this period it presented an ever changing appearance because the new constructions going up required the tearing down of the old; and its paintings, statues, and reliquaries were being transferred to those parts of the church still standing. The most important scenes have been published in the first volume of H. Egger, *Römische Veduten* (Wien, 1932, two vols.). See especially plates 17-20 29-33 36-39 and 45. The German traveler Fichard made some brief observations on St. Peter's in 1535 (see Pastor VI 270-273; IV, 1, 392). Armellini 858-893 1410-1416 gives a few illustrations and the most recent literature. See also the reconstruction of the old basilica in Pastor, *Die Stadt Rom zu Ende der Renaissance* (Freiburg i. Br., 1925) 14-15.

¹¹⁵ Fontana 8v; Alpharanus 35; *Le Cose Maravigliose* (1542).

¹¹⁶ Egger I, plates 17-18; see also Alpharanus 22-23 127-129.

¹¹⁷ Egger I, plate 29; Pastor, *Die Stadt Rom zu Ende der Renaissance* 16; Armellini 889.

nated church. A sixth door on the right, the "Holy Door," was only opened during a jubilee year.¹¹⁸

The huge building with its high wooden ceiling over the central nave, its forest of columns, numerous chapels, altars, frescoes and mosaics, its tombs of popes, emperors, princes, and prelates, its countless relics and memorials documented some fifteen hundred years of Church history.¹¹⁹ The high clerestory of the nave was adorned with three rows of mosaics, one over the other, representing scenes from the Old and New Testament and portraits of the popes.¹²⁰

There were seven privileged altars protected by bronze balustrades, where special indulgences could be gained for the dead.¹²¹ Among these, immediately to the right of the entrance, was that of the "Holy Face" with Veronica's veil,¹²² which was highly revered throughout the whole of Christendom, and the lance of Longinus.¹²³ Opposite this on the left was the altar of St. Gregory, with the head of St. Andrew.¹²⁴ Between these two (and thus between the doors) were the altar of St. Wenceslaus with the porphyry slab upon which the bodies of Sts. Peter and Paul had been divided when one half of each was sent to the church of St. Paul outside the Walls,¹²⁵ and the altar of the dead with the tomb of Leo IX.¹²⁶ On the left, next to the fifth column of the nave, was the altar of the apostles Simon and Jude,¹²⁷ and opposite this that of two other apostles, Philip and James.¹²⁸ Some steps farther on to the right was the organ of Alexander VI raised up on six porphyry columns, and beneath it was a life-sized bronze statue of St. Peter. Across from this seated figure, whose foot was kissed by pilgrims,¹²⁹ was to be found the choir chapel of Sixtus IV.¹³⁰

¹¹⁸ They were from right to left: the Porta Sancta, Guidonea, Romana, Argentea, Ravenniana, and the Porta Judiciii (Alpharanus 115-118).

¹¹⁹ Pastor VI 271. According to the guides to Rome, there had once been 109 altars, but by 1472 most of these had already been destroyed (*Indulgentiae ecclesiarum Romae* [1472]; *Le Cose Maravigliose* [1542]).

¹²⁰ Armellini 898 and pictures on page 1411.

¹²¹ The *Memoriale* of Jacopo Hercolano (Alpharanus 177-178) gives a list of the seven privileged altars: (1) *Santa Maria del Soccorso s. S. Leone* (*ibid.* 38-41, n. 14, transferred to n. 43 in 1544); (2) *De ossibus Apostolorum* (*ibid.* 35, n. 9, transferred to n. 50 under Julius II); (3) *San Pietro dello Bronzo s. SS. Processo Martiniano* (*ibid.* 44-45, n. 20, transferred to n. 42 in 1548); (4) *SS. Sacramento s. Sta. Maria di Papa Innocenzo VIII* (*ibid.* 57-59 64, n. 38, whose destruction was decided upon in 1507, was transferred to n. 108 in 1548, and n. 48 became the Altar of the Blessed Sacrament); (5) *Volto Santo* (*ibid.* 107-108, n. 115); (6) *Delli Morti* (*ibid.* 66-67, n. 48); and (7) *San Gregorio* (*ibid.* 177-178, n. 85). On the indulgences see Alpharanus 36, who lists, instead of the seventh altar, that of the *Spirito Santo*, also known as *Stae. Annae*, among the seven privileged altars (67, n. 49).

¹²² Alpharanus 107-108, n. 115.

¹²³ In 1507 they were brought here from altar n. 38 (*ibid.* 57, n. 1).

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* 86-88, n. 85.

¹²⁵ Transferred here from altar n. 9 under Julius II, who died in 1513 (*ibid.* 35, n. 1).

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* 66-67, n. 48.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* 63-64, n. 44.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* 64, n. 45.

¹²⁹ There is still extant a copy of an original drawing by Heemskerck which was made before the erection of the wall built by Paul III in 1538 that shut off the still standing rear half of the old basilica (Alpharanus 62, n. 1). This sketch (Egger I, plate 30), which shows the bronze statue beneath the organ to the right of the tenth pillar, is also important for other reasons. It provides a clear picture of the front half of the old St. Peter's, which had by this time been largely demolished, and of the choir and St. Peter's crypt. See also Alpharanus 44-45, n. 20, and 62, n. 42.

¹³⁰ See Heemskerck's sketches in Egger I, plates 33 and 37. It was still standing in 1564 (*ibid.*, plate 45).

The days of Constantine's old and venerable basilica were, however, numbered. From the bronze statue of the prince of the Apostles, one could look up into the blue sky. The second half of the church had already been reduced to a few columns. Four huge pillars with double arches and the lower courses for the drum of the cupola had already been erected, and the high octagon of the new choir was covered with a temporary roof. A small Doric temple with three arches, a three-quarter Attic story, and saddle roof had already been erected as a protection for St. Peter's tomb.¹³¹ This was surrounded by twelve twisted columns "from Solomon's temple."¹³² One of these had a balustrade with an inscription on it which stated that the Lord had been accustomed to lean against this pillar when he taught in the temple.¹³³ Near an obelisk to the left, and apart from the basilica, still stood the round chapel of the Madonna della Febbre.¹³⁴ Here could be seen the highly honored miraculous picture of the same name,¹³⁵ the tomb of St. John Chrysostom,¹³⁶ and the chair of St. Peter.¹³⁷ To the right of the basilica rose the tall and massive Vatican palace, its gates guarded by German lansquenets in gaily colored uniforms and armed with halberds.¹³⁸ Within the palace were the loggias of Raphael and the Sistine chapel,¹³⁹ where Michaelangelo was engaged at this time in painting his great Last Judgment.¹⁴⁰

¹³¹ Egger I, plates 30 and 32. Fichard, who visited St. Peter's in 1535, found over half of it unfinished and without a roof so that grass was growing with in it. Leo X (died in 1521) had a small shrine built over St. Peter's tomb (43). In 1521 the abbot of Clairvaux had already written about the condition of the old basilica, noting that it "étoit du tout ou a peu pres desolée et ruinée et est piteable Chose de la veoir ... faute de couverture yl se ruinoit fort" (Pastor IV, 1, 392).

¹³² Egger I, plates 31 and 37; Alpharanus 32-33, n. 5; 53-57; they were actually from the time of Constantine.

¹³³ It was already slightly separated from the others in 1535 (Fichard 43). On it see Alpharanus 46-47, n. 25; the inscription on the balustrade was from 1438 (*ibid.* 56). A picture of it by Francisco d'Olanda is given in Armellini 875.

¹³⁴ The round chapel, earlier called the chapel of St. Andrew, allegedly a former temple of Mars, is shown with the obelisk which today adorns St. Peter's Square on many of Heemskerck's sketches and those of his contemporaries (Egger I, plates 20 33 36-39). It was still standing in 1564 (*ibid.*, plate 45), though the other round chapel, that of St. Petronilla, had already been long destroyed when Heemskerck made his sketches.

¹³⁵ In 1542 the miraculous picture was transferred to the former *secretarium*, left of the entrance into the old church (Pastor VI 309), which at this time was also called the chapel of the Madonna della Febbre (Alpharanus 119-120, n. 142). Apparently the Pietà of Michelangelo was transferred with it. According to Vasari this was in the first chapel (*ibid.* 119, n. 9), but in 1544 it is already mentioned as being in the second (Fabriczy in the *Archivio storico italiano*, ser. 5, vol. 12 [1893] 276 281 329-330; cf. Alpharanus 122).

¹³⁶ His tomb was in the connecting passage between the chapel of St. Petronilla and that of the Madonna della Febbre, also called St. Andrew's chapel (Alpharanus 137-138, n. 164). In 1566 it was transferred into St. Andrew's chapel itself (*ibid.* 140, n. 168).

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 41, n. 2; 141, n. 169. Fontana mentions it among the objects most worth seeing in St. Peter's along with Veronica's veil, the twelve pillars of Solomon and St. Peter's cloak (8v).

¹³⁸ The German lansquenets who guarded the entrance under Paul III were not replaced by the Swiss again until 1548 (Pastor VI 272).

¹³⁹ See the two valuable sketches by Heemskerck in Egger I, plates 17 and 18.

¹⁴⁰ The Last Judgment was begun in 1536 and opened to the public in 1541 (Pastor V 780-782).

The second of the Seven Churches visited by our pilgrims lay isolated in the malaria infected campagna outside the city walls. This was San Paolo fuori le Mura,¹⁴¹ a good hour's distance from St. Peter's. St. Paul's was, like St. Peter's, a five-apsed basilica. It had a square atrium surrounded by columns on three sides, which were now falling into ruins. Behind this was the façade of the basilica glittering with gold and varicolored mosaics. The architraves above the central columns within the basilica had long rows of medallions with busts of the popes beginning with St. Peter, the first Vicar of Christ in the Eternal City. In St. Paul's, according to tradition, were the other halves of the bodies of the two Princes of the Apostles.¹⁴²

From St. Paul's the lonely "way of the Seven Churches" led through the deserted campagna to San Sebastiano and the cemetery of San Callisto containing the tombs of eighteen popes and many martyrs.¹⁴³ From there it led past the chapel *Quo Vadis* through the Porta San Giovanni back within the city limits to the ancient Lateran basilica,¹⁴⁴ "the Mother of All the Churches in the City and in the World" (*Mater Omnium Ecclesiarum Urbis et Orbis*). Here were to be found the heads of the two Princes of the Apostles, the table of the Last Supper, the ark of the Covenant, and the altar of John the Baptist in the desert. Behind the basilica was the baptistry of Constantine the Great, and to the left in front of it the chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum with its precious relics,¹⁴⁵ including the Holy Stairs from Herod's palace stained with the blood of the Redeemer.

From here the pilgrims passed on to the neighboring church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme¹⁴⁶ with its relics of the Passion,¹⁴⁷ and then out through the Porta Maggiore and past the ruins of an old Roman aqueduct¹⁴⁸ to the tranquil church of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura.¹⁴⁹ Here were preserved the bodies of Sts. Lawrence and Stephen and the stone on which the body of St. Lawrence had been placed after he had been roasted on the gridiron.¹⁵⁰ Thirty-five frescoes in the vestibule of the basilica depicted scenes from the lives of the two saintly deacons.¹⁵¹ The route then led back into the city to the large basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore with its golden mosaics,¹⁵² its portrait of the Mother of God

¹⁴¹ On the condition of St. Paul's in Xavier's time, see Pesarini, "La Basilica di S. Paolo sulla Via Ostiense prima delle innovazioni del sec. XVI," *Studi Romani* 1 (1913) 386-427, according to the *notice of O. Panvinio, O.S.A., who died in 1568; cf. Armellini 1151-1162 1404-1406 and the engraving by Lafréry, *Le Sette Chiese*, made in 1575.

¹⁴² Fontana 8v-9; *Le Cose Maravigliose* (1542).

¹⁴³ Fontana mentions the eighteen tombs of the popes at a site under the church called *Cimitero di S. Callisto*, where one could gain a plenary indulgence, and another site in the church called *Catacumbe*, a grotto with many tombs which he visited with candles, and which had the same indulgences as St. Peter's (9); see Armellini 1112-1128 1443.

¹⁴⁴ On the Lateran see Armellini 120-136 1306-1312; Ph. Lauer, *Le palais de Latran* (Paris, 1911); Pastor VI 202-203 and the drawings of Heemskerck in Egger I, plate 87.

¹⁴⁵ *Le Cose Maravigliose* (1542); Fontana 9v, Fabriczy 282.

¹⁴⁶ Armellini 981-989 1282; Pastor VI 303-304. Picture in Lafréry, *Le Sette Chiese* (1575).

¹⁴⁷ Fontana 9v; *Le Cose Maravigliose* (1542); Fabriczy 281.

¹⁴⁸ *La Pianta di Roma Du Pérac-Lafréry del 1757, per cura di F. Ehrle* (Roma, 1908).

¹⁴⁹ Armellini 1075 1329-1330. Egger II, plate 51, gives a sketch by Heemskerck; see also Lafréry, *Le Sette Chiese* (1575).

¹⁵⁰ Fontana 9v; *Le Cose Maravigliose* (1542).

¹⁵¹ A. D. Tani, *Le Chiese di Roma. Chiese Stazionali* (Torino, 1922) 135-136.

¹⁵² Armellini 281-294 1357-1360. Picture in Lafréry, *Le Sette Chiese* (1575).

painted by St. Luke, the body of the apostle Matthew, the tomb of St. Jerome, and the crib and swaddling clothes of the Infant Savior.¹⁵³ It usually took eight hours to make the circuit of the Seven Churches;¹⁵⁴ pilgrims made it fasting and received Holy Communion or celebrated Mass in one of the churches which they visited.

5. FROM HOLY THURSDAY TO EASTER

Holy Week had already begun when Xavier and his companions entered the Eternal City. Each day natives and visitors alike made the Station in the appropriate church.¹⁵⁵ On Monday this was held in the ancient chapel of Santa Prassede¹⁵⁶ near Santa Maria Maggiore, on Thursday in that of Santa Prisca¹⁵⁷ on the Aventine hill, on Wednesday and Easter Sunday in Santa Maria Maggiore, on Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday in San Giovanni in Laterano, and on Good Friday in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.

But the last days of Holy Week and Easter were those that drew the greatest number of pilgrims.¹⁵⁸ On Wednesday morning,¹⁵⁹ Veronica's veil, one of the most revered relics of Christendom, was displayed in St. Peter's.¹⁶⁰ On this occasion Romans received an indulgence of three thousand, visitors from neighboring regions six thousand, and pilgrims who had come from across the mountains or beyond the sea twelve thousand years, and an equal number of quarantines. Besides this, they obtained the remission of a third part of the guilt of, and punishment for, their sins.¹⁶¹ In the afternoon the pope assisted at Matins in his palace chapel.¹⁶²

On Holy Thursday Cardinal de Cupis¹⁶³ celebrated Mass in the Sistine chapel in the presence of the pope and the other cardinals. At its conclusion the pope himself carried the Blessed Sacrament into the *capella parva*. After the twelve candles had been extinguished at separate intervals, the Holy Father laid aside his red vestments and was carried to the Loggia of the Benedictions, where the cardinals proffered their obedience to him. A subdeacon read in Latin the bull *In coena Domini* to the crowd in St. Peter's Square, and Cardinal Carpi¹⁶⁴ after

¹⁵³ *Le Cose Maravigliose* (1542); Fontana 10.

¹⁵⁴ Dom Edme, abbot of Clairvaux, who was in Rome in 1521, took this much time to make the circuit of the Seven Churches (E. Rodocanachi, *Rome au temps de Jules II et Léon X* [Paris, 1912] 308).

¹⁵⁵ In the sixth rule for thinking with the Church in the Exercises, St. Ignatius says that one should praise the stations. Rodrigues notes that the companions were very glad to get room and board in the Spanish hospice since this would enable them to visit the sacred sites with greater ease (486). His Portuguese text reads as follows: "para melhor poderem andar suas estações."

¹⁵⁶ Armellini 296-303 1418-1420; Tani 238-246.

¹⁵⁷ Armellini 705-709 1420; Tani 247-249.

¹⁵⁸ Pastor VI 307-308.

¹⁵⁹ Rot 251; Pastor VI 306.

¹⁶⁰ "Mag. Nicolaus Bobadilla fatetur se vidisse multas reliquias. . . . Sed inter caeteras reliquias tres valde placuerunt illi: *il volto santo* cum cruce Christi Romae" (Bobadilla 629).

¹⁶¹ *Le Cose Maravigliose* (1542).

¹⁶² *Cesena 182v. Rot attended the services in the Sistine chapel during the ceremonies of Holy Week in 1554 (251-252).

¹⁶³ Giov. Dom. de Cupis, bishop of Trani, was made a cardinal in 1517; he died in 1553 (Van Gulik 16; Cardella IV 17-18).

¹⁶⁴ Rodolfo Pio de Carpi, a cardinal since 1536 (Van Gulik 27; Cardella IV 173-177).

each section read its Italian translation. The sky, however, was heavy with clouds, and a strong wind and rain were disturbing the ceremonies. The pope, therefore, first shortened the readings and then stopped them completely. He then gave his blessing before the candles, in keeping with an ancient custom, were thrown down to the people and the black veil removed. He was carried off to the *sala tertia* where he carried out the *mandatum*, washing the feet of thirteen poor men. After this he returned to his private apartment.¹⁶⁵ During the course of the day crowds of native Romans and foreign pilgrims visited the elaborately decorated "Holy Sepulchers" in the churches of the city.¹⁶⁶ The pope did not take part in Matins in the afternoon.¹⁶⁷

Good Friday morning, the pope brought the Blessed Sacrament back from the *capella parva* to the Sistine chapel. There Cardinal Pucci, the grand penitentiary,¹⁶⁸ celebrated Mass in his presence. All those present, with the pope at their head, participated in the veneration of the cross. After the close of the ceremony, the pope again carried the Blessed Sacrament under a canopy back to the *capella parva*.¹⁶⁹ That evening members of the Gonfalone confraternity dressed in their traditional garb, which left only a slit open for their eyes, held their usual penitential procession to the Colosseum.¹⁷⁰

On Holy Saturday Cardinal Sanseverino¹⁷¹ celebrated Mass in the Sistine chapel. At the *Gloria* music sounded, trumpets were blown, and bells rang out from countless church towers. The pope assisted at the blessing of the Easter candle, the prophecies, the Litany of the Saints, and Mass in his red *cappa magna*. The representative of the Republic of Venice carried his train.¹⁷² In St. Peter's, Veronica's veil and the holy lance were again displayed.¹⁷³

The climax of events, however, was reached in the ceremonies of Easter Sunday. Very early the pope distributed Holy Communion in the Sistine chapel to numerous deacons, cardinals, ambassadors, and other eminent personages and their assistants. Because of the rainy weather he had also intended to have Mass celebrated here; but when it began to brighten, he had himself carried in the *sedia gestatoria* in solemn procession to St. Peter's. He was dressed in precious white vestments and wore a tiara on his head. There he offered up a short prayer before the high altar and then went to his throne, where the cardinals and prelates offered him their obedience. This was followed by Terce. The deacon of the Sacred College, Cardinal Piccolomini,¹⁷⁴ held the book for him as he sang the versicle and oration. At the washing of his hands in preparation for Mass, the water was first offered to him by the ambassador of the duke of Ferrara, then by that of Venice, then by a senator of the city, and finally by the ambassador of the emperor. After the blessing of the incense, the pope

¹⁶⁵ *Cesena 182v-183v; *Firmanus 58v-59; cf. Pastor VI 306 and Montaigne 305-308.

¹⁶⁶ Rot 251; cf. Pastor VI 306.

¹⁶⁷ *Cesena 183v.

¹⁶⁸ Antonio Pucci, Cardinal Santiquattro (that is of the church of the Santi Quattro Coronati), received the red hat in 1531 and died in 1544 (Van Gulik 23; Cardella IV 127-129).

¹⁶⁹ *Cesena 183v-184; *Firmanus 59.

¹⁷⁰ Pastor VI 307.

¹⁷¹ Antonio Sanseverino, made a cardinal in 1527; he died in 1543 (Van Gulik 21; Cardella IV 90-92).

¹⁷² *Cesena 183v; *Firmanus 59.

¹⁷³ Rot 252.

¹⁷⁴ Giov. Piccolomini, Cardinalis Senensis (of Siena), received the purple in 1517 and died in November, 1537 (Van Gulik 16; Cardella IV 15-17).

went in procession to the altar with Cardinal Cesarini¹⁷⁶ acting as deacon and Cardinal Piccolomini as subdeacon. On his way three of the cardinal priests who had been appointed in the preceding December, Filanardi,¹⁷⁶ Sadoletto,¹⁷⁷ and Jacovazzi,¹⁷⁸ came up and, following an ancient custom, kissed him on the face and breast before he began the *Confiteor*. The deacon also did the same after the incensation. During the Mass the pope, as celebrant, distributed Communion to the people. After the *Ite Missa est* he was carried in the *sedia gestatoria* to the entrance of the church, where he venerated on his knees the holy face and holy lance. He then gave his blessing from the loggia, to which a plenary indulgence was attached, as the people were told in Latin by Cardinal De Cesis¹⁷⁹ and in Italian by Carpi. Despite the threatening clouds many people had gathered in St. Peter's Square,¹⁸⁰ especially since it was customary for the Holy Father on this occasion to have silver and gold coins hurled out among the throng. The ringing of bells, the sound of trumpets from the parapet of the palace gate, and the thundering of cannon from Castel Sant'Angelo heightened the festive mood.¹⁸¹

After Vespers, in the afternoon, the relics preserved in St. John Lateran's were displayed and named one after the other. In addition to those already mentioned, there were, among many others, the head of St. Zachary, the father of John the Baptist, that of St. Pancratius, a shoulder blade of St. Lawrence, a tooth of St. Peter, the chalice from which St. John had drunk poison without being injured, the chains in which he had been brought from Ephesus, his tunic, which had raised three people from the dead, a sackcloth and ashes which had belonged to John the Baptist, milk, hair, and clothes of the Blessed Virgin, a shirt which she had woven for her divine Child, the towel with which our Lord had washed the feet of His disciples at the Last Supper, the reed with which He had been struck at the crowning of thorns, the purple mantle of the *Ecce Homo*, the veil with which Mary had covered her son on the cross, the handkerchief which had been placed over His face in the tomb, the tablets of the law, the rod of Aaron, the staff of Moses, and so forth. The printed pilgrims' guides noted that the indulgences were so many that, as St. Boniface had said, only God knew their number; and if men knew the indulgences of this church, they would not have to go on pilgrimages to the Lord's tomb in Jerusalem or to Santiago in Galicia. That same afternoon the treasured relics of Santa Maria Maggiore were also put on display.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁵ Alessandro de Cesarinis was made a cardinal in 1517; he died in 1542 (Van Gulik 18; Cardella IV 57-58).

¹⁷⁶ Ennio Filonardi, cardinal of Sant'Angelo (also called Verulanus), died in 1549 (Van Gulik 27; Cardella IV 167-169).

¹⁷⁷ Giacomo Sadoletto, Cardinalis Carpentoratis (bishop of Carpentras), died in 1547 (Van Gulik 27; Cardella IV 170-173).

¹⁷⁸ Cristoforo de Jacovazzi died in 1540 (Van Gulik 27; Cardella IV 169-170).

¹⁷⁹ Paolo de Cesis was made a cardinal in 1517; he died in August, 1537 (Van Gulik 18; Cardella IV 54-57).

¹⁸⁰ *Cesena 184v-186; *Firmanus 59-v.

¹⁸¹ Rot describes the celebration of 1554 (252). The register of the pope's *tesoriere secreto* for April 1, 1537, lists fifty-five *scudi* as alms for the poor in San Pietro, "since His Holiness is going to celebrate Mass there" (Dorez II 114).

¹⁸² *Le Cose Maravigliose* (1542); see also the *Mirabilia Romae* of 1489, published by Ch. Hülsen (Berlin, 1925), and Rot 252.

6. THE AUDIENCE IN CASTEL SANT'ANGELQ (APRIL 3, 1537)

Iñigo had remained in Venice because he had feared that Carafa could be a source of difficulties, and in this he had not been deceived.¹⁸³ Nevertheless, the Parisian masters were pleasantly surprised by the attitude of Dr. Ortiz. Some of them sought him out on their arrival and explained to him the reason for their coming to Rome.¹⁸⁴ Their words and way of life made an extremely fine impression upon him; and instead of being an adversary, he turned out to be a warm friend and benefactor.¹⁸⁵ The doctor had been living in the Eternal City since January, 1531, as the agent of Charles V in the matter of the English king's divorce. He had been charged by the emperor with the defense of the rights of his aunt, Queen Catherine.¹⁸⁶ She had died on January 7, 1536, and Ortiz had obtained permission from the emperor to return to Salamanca to fill again his chair there in Sacred Scripture. But during the preceding years Paul III had come to treasure the learned and upright doctor. He therefore wrote to Charles V, to the university, and to the cardinal of Toledo so that he would not be deprived of his valuable support in the pending general council.¹⁸⁷ Just as the doctor in his capacity as a counselor had already put in a good word for the Parisian masters at the Spanish hospice, so he now did the same with the Holy Father.

On Easter Monday the station was at Saint Peter's. When the ceremonies were finished, Ortiz took advantage of the occasion to recommend his new friends, the Parisian theologians, to the pope as men of great promise who wanted to make a pilgrimage in perfect poverty to Jerusalem. The Holy Father was ready to grant them an audience at once. He told Ortiz that he might bring the masters on the following day and that he might also invite some other theologians, for he would be glad to hear them dispute a theological problem during lunch.¹⁸⁸ Like his predecessor, Paul III liked to listen to philosophical or theological disputations when he was eating, or even to recitals by poets. To these he frequently invited such individuals as Gasparo Contarini, Grimani, Pole, Cortese, Sadoletto, Carafa, Savelli, and other cardinals and scholars as well. At times he would himself take part in the debates.¹⁸⁹

Since the middle of the fifteenth century the popes had been accustomed to go in solemn procession to the Dominican church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva on the feast of the Annunciation. There, after the High Mass, they gave dowries

¹⁸³ "Nos habían en Venecia dado aviso de dos personas grandes que nos podrían ser contrarias; y la una en parte lo fué" (Layne 114). "Llegados, pues, a Roma, fueron bien vistos de quasi todos" (FN I 191). Ignatius states that he went to Rome at the end of 1537, "perchè l'altra volta che li compagni erano andati, quelli dui, delli quali lui dubitava, si erano mostrati molto benevoli" (496).

¹⁸⁴ According to Polanco 578; cf. Rodrigues 486.

¹⁸⁵ "Nos abrazó con grande caridad" (Layne 114). "Les ha seydo en grande manera muy favorable" (MI *Epp.* XII 321); cf. Polanco (FN I 191-192; II 578). Tacchi Venturi writes that Ignatius in accordance with his custom had given letters of recommendation to his companions on their trip to Rome for influential persons such as Pier Contarini, Cardinal Pole and others (II, 1, 83). Pole had been in Rome since 1536, and Ignatius wrote that his disciples had gone there "sin fabor de nyngunas personas, de letras ny de otra cosa alguna, confiando y esperando solamente en el Señor, por quien venyan" (MI *Epp.* XII 321).

¹⁸⁶ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 104-105.

¹⁸⁷ See the letter of Paul III to the University of Salamanca in *Concilium Tridentinum* IV, pp. CXXXVIII-CXXXIX.

¹⁸⁸ Rodrigues 486; Layne 114; Bobadilla 616.

¹⁸⁹ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 83-84.

to a number of poor girls from the income of an endowment that had been set up by Cardinal Torquemada.¹⁹⁰ Since the feast fell this year on Palm Sunday, Paul III had postponed the celebration to Easter Tuesday. That morning the pope set out very early from Castel Sant'Angelo, where he had spent the night, in great pomp to the sounding of trumpets and the thunder of cannon. The procession itself was led by the *conservatores* and the superintendents of the streets. The pope, wearing a rochet and a hat over his pileolus, rode on a mule accompanied by cardinals, archbishops, bishops, canons, many prominent Romans, barons, princes, and officials, and his bodyguard, all either mounted or on foot. The papal horses and mules were white and adorned with gold, silver, silk, velvet, and precious stones. At the door of the church, the Vicar of Christ was received by the friars with cross and holy water; and as the procession moved up to the high altar, they sang the *Te Deum*. Mass was celebrated by Nicholas Schomberg,¹⁹¹ the cardinal of Capua. When it was finished, the priors and officials of the confraternity collected in silver vessels alms from the pope and his attendants for the girls to be married. There were fifty-five of them in all, dressed in white and wearing white veils. They were presented individually by their patronesses, Roman matrons, to the Holy Father; and after they had kissed his foot, they each received a white silk purse containing their dowry.¹⁹² After the close of the ceremony, the pope returned along the Via Maddalena, going past the church of Santa Maria Rotonda and the Torre Sanguigna, straight to the Castel Sant'Angelo, where he took his noonday meal.¹⁹³

The Parisian masters were introduced by Fray Barberàn, a Spanish Franciscan from Onteniente in the kingdom of Valencia.¹⁹⁴ There were many other theologians of both the secular and religious clergy,¹⁹⁵ learned doctors,¹⁹⁶ and many cardinals and bishops also in attendance.¹⁹⁷ They stood around the pope's table as he was eating and disputed with the masters, asking the opinion of now one and now another on some theological question.¹⁹⁸ And among the disputants was their friend Dr. Ortiz.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁰ Pastor VI 305.

¹⁹¹ Nicholas Schomberg, O.P., archbishop of Capua, was made a cardinal in 1535; he died in September, 1537 (Van Gulik 26; Cardella IV 143-145).

¹⁹² *Cesena 186-v; *Firmanus 59v-60; see the accounts in Rot 256, Masarelli (*Concilium Tridentinum* II 162), Rodocanachi 301, and Pastor VI 305. In 1554 there were about three hundred horses and mules (Rot 256). The *tesoriere secreto* of the pope lists twenty-five *scudi* for the poor on April 3, "since His Holiness is going to Minerva" (Dorez II 115).

¹⁹³ *Cesena 186v-187. Julius III also took his noonday meal in the Castel Sant'Angelo on the same occasion in 1550 (Masarelli in *Concilium Tridentinum* II 12) and 1554 (Rot 256). His contemporary Francisco d'Olanda has left a picture of Castel Sant'Angelo (see *Enciclopedia Italiana* XXIX 784, plate 190). Bobadilla indicates that the disputation took place in Castel Sant'Angelo when he writes: "Tertio vero die Paschatis introducti sunt ad prandium summi pontificis, Pauli tertii, Farnesii, et ibi disputarunt" (616).

¹⁹⁴ According to the unidentified censor of the life of Laynez by Ribadeneyra, who heard it himself from Fray Barberàn (*Lainii Mon.* VIII 856).

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ Bobadilla 616.

¹⁹⁷ According to Ignatius (MI *Epp.* XII 321).

¹⁹⁸ Rodrigues 486; Laynez 116. Bobadilla wrote of himself: "En Roma disputó delante del papa cum primis Patribus" (*Bob. Mon.* 634).

¹⁹⁹ MI *Epp.* XII 113. Tacchi Venturi maintains that the famous Fra Cornelio Musso, O.F.M. Con., who was at this time the theologian to the young cardinal Alessandro Farnese and preacher in San Lorenzo in Damaso, also took part in the disputation. He cites as his source Francesco Dilarino, S.J., *Vita del ven. servo di Dio Giac. Laynez* (Roma, 1672) (II, 1, 84, n. 4); but here as elsewhere he lets his imagination run too

Paul III was dressed in a white cassock and ermine-trimmed, red mozzetta. He was slight of frame and of medium height, and his hands were fine and slim. He had a fresh, tanned, intelligent face framed by a long grey beard, a large aquiline nose, dark, bushy brows, and piercing eyes, which betrayed the restrained but fiery energy of the sixty-nine-year-old Farnese pope. His speech was as a rule soft, slow, and elegant. Though he was usually deliberate, he could take quick and energetic action when this seemed necessary.²⁰⁰ The Parisian masters knew how to take the measure of their adversaries, and Xavier not the least of all.²⁰¹ The pope, like the rest of the audience, gave free expression to his joy at witnessing their learning,²⁰² and at the end of the meal he gave them permission to kiss his foot. He then stretched out his arms as if he wished to embrace them all and said in his usual choice Latin: "It is a great consolation and joy for me to see such learning united with such modesty. If you need anything from me, I shall gladly grant it to you." The companions replied that they wanted nothing more than his blessing and permission to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and to be ordained by some bishop, and this outside the usual times. To this the pope replied: "I gladly give you my blessing and permission, but I am afraid you will not get to Jerusalem."²⁰³ He then conferred his blessing twice. After encouraging them to persevere in their resolve, he graciously dismissed them,²⁰⁴ giving them sixty ducats for their pilgrimage and the tax demanded by the Turks. His example was immediately followed by the cardinals and members of the Curia, especially the Spaniards.²⁰⁵

freely in his description of the scene. Dilarino states, for example, that Ortiz had known Laynez "di lungo tratto" in Paris and that the pope had put various difficult and disputed questions to the masters, especially through Fra Musso, bishop of Bertinoro (19-21). But Ortiz left Paris in 1529, and Laynez did not arrive there until the end of 1533; Fra Musso was not called to Rome by Paul III as theologian of his grandson Alessandro until the beginning of 1538, as the friar himself declares in a letter to the cardinal; he did not begin his preaching in San Lorenzo in Damaso until the Lent of 1539; and he did not become bishop of Bertinoro until 1541. See H. Jedin, "Der Franziskaner Cornelio Musso, Bischof von Bitonto. Sein Lebensgang und seine kirchliche Wirksamkeit," *Römische Quartalschrift* 41 (1933) 211 265; G. Cantini, O.F.M., "C. Musso dei Frati Minori Conventuali," *Miscellanea Franciscana* 41 (1941) 152-153 163. Dilarino confuses the disputation of 1537 with that of 1538.

²⁰⁰ The splendid portrait painted by Titian in 1543 (in the Museo Nazionale, Naples) is the nearest to this particular time. There is a good reproduction of it in *Enciclopedia Italiana* XIX 992. In 1535 Fichard calls him "klein und grauhaarig" (71). See the description of Paul III in Pastor V 22-24.

²⁰¹ If we are to believe Tursellinus (1, 5) and *Confalonierius. The latter states that the priests answered so well that the pope applauded them himself, and that he was particularly pleased with Xavier and praised him for his ready wit, keen understanding (he was well trained in humanistic studies), depth, and modesty, which was always revealed in his eyes, his expression, and in his gestures (81v).

²⁰² "De manera qu'el papa fué tan contento y todo el auditoryo" (Ignatius wrote in July, 1537. See *MI Epp.* XII 321). "Su Sanctidad, el primer día que entramos y disputamos a su tabla, mostró especial alegría" (Layne 114-116). "Post disputationem pontifex, ut prae se ferebat, laetus surrexit e mensa et contentus" (Rodrigues 486). Nadal, led astray perhaps by Laynez' expression "el primer día," assumes that they disputed "many days" (FN II 169); also Tursellinus (1, 5). This happened in 1538.

²⁰³ Rodrigues 486-487; Bobadilla 616; *MI Epp.* XII 321.

²⁰⁴ *MI Epp.* XII 321.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* and Laynez 116; Rodrigues 487.

7. THE PAPAL FAVORS

Paul III had granted the desired favors by word of mouth, but it took time for the Apostolic Chancery to draw up the necessary documents, even though Ortiz and the Spanish members of the Curia did everything to expedite them.

On April 27, the grand penitentiary, Cardinal Pucci placed his *Fiat* beneath the petition in which "Master Peter Favre, cleric of the diocese of Geneva, currently residing in Rome, where he has come not without great difficulties and dangers to visit the tombs of the apostles and the other basilicas of the city," expressed the desire of making a pilgrimage to the tomb of our Lord in Jerusalem and to other pious places beyond the sea, and there, to the extent of his ability, of remaining in some pious place for a time in the service of God; and since, according to the constitution of Pope Clement V of blessed memory promulgated at the Council of Vienne, papal permission was required for this, he asked permission for himself and his twelve companions to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Lands and to remain there, and, if they should so desire, to return from there and to bring with them some relics. All of these requests were granted, and without a chancery tax, since the petitioner to the Curia was poor, as was indicated at the end of the parchment document.²⁰⁶

On the same day Cardinal Pucci had the dimissorial letters drawn up. Through these, at their request and in virtue of a special and express command of the pope, he, as grand penitentiary, granted permission to the "beloved clerics, scholars, and masters of arts, Nicolaus de Bovadilla, Didacus Laynez, Franciscus Xabier, Alfonsus Salmeron, Ioannes Coduri, Simon Roderici, Michael Landiuar, and Ignatius de Loyola,"²⁰⁷ without their having any determined bishop and without their being religious, to receive beyond the fortieth milestone from Rome, from any bishop whatever, the tonsure (where necessary) and minor and major orders (but Salmerón the priesthood only after he has begun his twenty-third year) even apart from the prescribed time on three Sundays and feast days, and to celebrate Mass (even without the permission of the local ordinaries). On the reverse side of the document, beneath the signature of the cardinal, was written: "Gratis, because of their learning and pilgrimage."²⁰⁸

Three days later, on April 30, Cardinal Ghinucci²⁰⁹ affixed his signature and seal to another document which declared that Pope Paul III had "authorized Peter Favre, *Magister artium*, Antonius Arias, *Baccalaureus theologiae*, and Didacus Hozes, *Baccalaureus artium*, worthy priests of the dioceses of Geneva, Toledo, and Malaga,²¹⁰ to hear the confessions of the faithful and also to absolve them from all episcopal reservations."²¹¹

²⁰⁶ The original in ARSI: *Ep. N. 60*, 1 is edited in *Fabri Mon.* 9-11, where "V K[al]. Mail" should be read instead of "VII Maii," as is clear in the original.

²⁰⁷ Ignatius is intentionally mentioned in the last place, probably out of regard for Carafa.

²⁰⁸ The *original is in ARSI: *Ep. N. 89*, n. 26; the document has been published from the transcriptions of the testimonials of ordination in *MI Scripta I* 544-545, *Ep. Salmeronis I* 574-576, *Lainii Mon.* VIII 635-637. Ignatius wrote that the pope gave those who were not ordained "reverendas ó cartas dimisórias" (*MI Epp.* XII 322).

²⁰⁹ Girolamo Ghinucci was made a cardinal in 1535; he died in 1541 (*Van Gulik* 26; *Cardella IV* 147-148).

²¹⁰ Broët and Jay did not hear confessions, quite probably because they did not as yet know enough Italian (contrary to Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 85, who instead of Favre, Arias, and Hozes gives the names Favre, Jay, and Broët, adding "che soli erano sacerdoti").

On the day before this, Francesco Vannuzio,²¹² the papal almoner, had given a further alms of thirty-three *scudi* to the Parisian masters in the name of the pope.²¹³ This brought the sum of money collected for the pilgrimage to a total of two hundred and ten *scudi*.²¹⁴ At the request of the companions, their Spanish benefactor furnished them without charge a draft on a Venetian bank so that they would not have to carry the money with them.²¹⁵

8. THE RETURN TO VENICE (MAY, 1537)

At the beginning of May the pilgrims began their return trip. They traveled in three groups of mixed nationalities²¹⁶ on foot and begging²¹⁷ as they had come. They were happy and grateful for all the help they had received in the Eternal City. Nevertheless, their golden dreams for the future were tempered by a slight cloud.

The pope had told them that he feared that the pilgrimage to the Holy Land might be impossible. He knew of what he spoke. Since August, 1536, news had been coming to Rome from various quarters that the Grand Turk, Sultan Suleiman, an ally of France, was preparing a great expedition against Italy²¹⁸ for the coming spring and was mustering an army of four hundred thousand infantry and one hundred thousand cavalry and a fleet of four hundred ships²¹⁹ for this purpose. In December Paul III had therefore appointed a commission of cardinals to determine what countermeasures should be taken. At the beginning of January, 1537, it had been decided that a double tithe should be imposed upon the Italian clergy, and that every household in the Papal States should be required

²¹¹ The *original in ARSI: *Hist. Soc. Ib*, n. 49, is edited in *Fabri Mon.* 7-8. Ignatius wrote in general: "A los que heran sacerdotes los dió facultad para que pudiesen confesar y absolver de todos casos episcopales" (*MI Epp.* XII 322).

²¹² Francesco Vannuzio, born in Rome in 1482, was an almoner for Paul III, Julius III, Marcellus II, and Paul IV, a canon of St. Peter's, and, until his death in 1556, a warm friend and benefactor of St. Ignatius (*Dorez II* 44-45).

²¹³ *Dorez II* 122.

²¹⁴ In his original letter to Verdolay of July 24, 1537, Ignatius twice mentions the fact that the companions brought a check of 260 ducats from Rome. After this he states that others had added more than 150 to the 60 given by the pope (*MI Epp.* XII 321-323). The figure for the check is probably a slip since 60 plus 150 is 210, and Laynez (116), Rodrigues (487), Polanco (*FN I* 192; *II* 578) and Nadal (*FN II* 83) all agree that the sum was 210. In his autobiography Ignatius himself says that the companions returned with a check of from two to three hundred *scudi* (492). The assumption of Dorez, that the first alms of the pope came to sixty-six and not to sixty *scudi* (*I* 311), is opposed to the sources. Larrañaga, who cites the texts given above, is inclined to believe that the sum was 260 (471-473).

²¹⁵ Laynez 116; *MI Epp.* XII 322; Rodrigues 487; Ignatius 492.

²¹⁶ After the last document was drawn up they had no further reason for staying in Rome, and on May 31 they took part in the Corpus Christi procession in Venice. Since the pilgrims' ship usually left in June and the companions wanted to be ordained before this, there was no time to lose. The route they took is not known. They may have gone by way of Loreto and Ancona, a route which they already knew; or they may have gone by way of Florence, Bologna, and Padua to avoid the numerous river crossings. Some may have taken the former and others the latter route.

²¹⁷ Ignatius 492.

²¹⁸ Pastor V 184. For the following see Capasso I 398-427.

²¹⁹ *Fine 106.

to pay a ducat so that the money needed for the defense of the country might be raised. In February the pope had ordered the troops to be mustered as quickly as possible and the defenses of the harbors of Ancona and Civitavecchia to be set in order. On April 2, when the companions were in Rome, news had come that the independent frontier fortress of Klissa in Dalmatia, lying north of Spalato, had fallen into the hands of the Turks despite the help given to this strategically important base by Venetian and papal forces.²²⁰ On April 22 Cardinal Cupis, the episcopal administrator of Recanate, had therefore ordered the ruined walls of Loreto to be restored, a guard to be posted, and a third of its forest to be sold²²¹ to obtain the necessary funds. Four days later the pope had given orders that all the cannons and munitions of the cities and fortresses of the Papal States should be shifted to Ancona so that they might ward off any attacks from the infidels along the coast. On the twenty-ninth of the month he had gone in person to Civitavecchia to inspect his galleys which were sailing to Naples to join the imperial Spanish fleet so that the combined forces might protect the Italian coast from the attacks of the Turkish vessels under the feared Barbarossa (Khair ed-Din),²²² who had appeared with his fleet at the mouth of the Tiber in August, 1534, and filled Rome with mortal terror.²²³

What were Master Francis' thoughts during his return from the Eternal City? He had slept next to Rodrigues in the Spanish hospice and had awakened him one night with loud cries in his sleep: "Más! más! más!" Master Simon repeatedly asked him what he had dreamed and why he had made such a cry, but Francis always gave him an evasive answer.²²⁴ On the way back to Venice, Xavier traveled with Laynez and slept with him in the hospitals, as he had before in the hospital of the incurables in Venice. Many times when he awoke he told his companion: "Jesus, how exhausted I am! Do you know what I dreamt? I dreamt that I was carrying an Indian on my back, and he was so heavy that I was almost crushed."²²⁵

Twelve had begun the pilgrimage from Venice to Rome; only ten returned from there to Ifigo. For the day on which the pope traveled to Civitavecchia, his treasurer, Messer Bernardino della Croce, wrote in his account book: "On April 24, 1537, our lord, His Holiness must give thirty-three *scudi* to Messer Francesco Vannunzio so that he may pass them on as alms to eleven Parisian scholars who are going to the Holy Sepulcher."²²⁶ Ifigo was the eleventh. Favre had asked and received permission for thirteen pilgrims to make the journey, but

²²⁰ Pastor V 184-186; *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez* III 370-371; *Fine 106-v; Bibl. Vaticana: *Vat. lat.* 6978, 139.

²²¹ Joseph. Ant. Vogel, **De Ecclesiis Recanatensi et Lauretana* X 68v (Archives of the Santa Casa di Loreto).

²²² Pastor V 186; *Cesena 188.

²²³ Alberto Guglielmotti, O.P., *Storia della Marina Pontificia* 3 (Roma, 1886) 367; see also Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma* 2 (Roma, 1903) 97.

²²⁴ Lucena 1, 7 and 10.

²²⁵ "Jesús, qué molido estoi! Sabéis que soñava que llevaba a cuestas un indio y que pesava tanto que no le podía llevar?" This is recorded by Ribadeneyra, who learned it from Laynez (FN II 381-382).

²²⁶ The entry in the register for the private expenditures of Paul III of 1535-1538, f. 62a reads: "La Santità de Nostro Signore deve dare a dì 29 Aprile 1537 scudi 33 pagati a messer Francesco Vannutio per darli per eleemosina ad undeci scholari Parisini che vanno al Santo Sepulchro" (Dorez II 122).

Arias and Landívar had become disaffected and had disappeared without leaving a trace.²²⁷ Had they been advised by ill-disposed countrymen²²⁸ that the companions were secret Alumbrados?²²⁹ Did they fear the hardships of the poverty which they had experienced on the way,²³⁰ or imprisonment at the hands of the Turks during the pilgrimage to the Holy Land? They were not the kind of soldiers that the Lord needed.

²²⁷ In his letter to Ignatius of September 12, 1537, Landívar himself states that he was persuaded by Arias to leave the companions during the trip to Rome ("via romana") (*Ep. Mixtae* I 14). That this happened in Rome is indicated by Della Croce's entry which mentions only eleven pilgrims.

²²⁸ Rodrigues says that some ("aliqui") of the Spaniards in the Curia had received a good impression of the companions (486). Polanco states that at their arrival "fueron bien vistos de quasi todos" (FN I 191). There were consequently others who were opposed to the Parisian masters, even among their own countrymen.

²²⁹ This is indicated by Landívar's letter (*Ep. Mixtae* I 12).

²³⁰ Arias' inordinate attachment to money is mentioned by Landívar in 1537 (*ibid.* 13) and by Salmerón and Laynez in 1548 and 1560 (*Ep. Salmeronis* I 67 403).

CHAPTER IV

A PRIEST FOREVER (MAY—OCTOBER, 1537)

1. THE CORPUS CHRISTI PROCESSION IN VENICE (MAY 31, 1537)

After they had returned to Venice, the companions again took up their work among the sick in both hospitals, where they were joyfully welcomed by all.¹ At the same time they prepared themselves for the reception of holy orders,² having brought back with them from Rome the necessary authorization.

Still in the same month, on May 31, there was held in the City of the Lagoons the solemn procession of Corpus Christi;³ and, according to ancient custom, the masters, as pilgrims to Jerusalem, took part in it.⁴ During the pontifical High Mass in St. Mark's cathedral they had a place in the choir in front of the patricians of the Council, who were dressed in their long, scarlet, ceremonial robes. At the end of the service the procession got under way. The passage through the church lasted for two hours. Each member of the Council had a pilgrim on his right. As they left the cathedral, they each received a lit white candle as a gift. The broad square in front of St. Mark's was overhung with curtains as a protection against the sun. In the midst of the sheen of silver and gold, pearls and precious stones, scarlet and silk, and to the sound of singing and musical instrument, the seemingly endless procession passed on to the arcade of the doge's palace and past the soaring campanile. The guilds and confraternities marched in front with their relics and symbolic standards from the Old Testament. Then came the religious and secular clergy, the students of the cathedral school, the cathedral chapter, and the patriarch carrying the Blessed Sacrament in an uncovered golden chalice. Behind him were the doge and the representatives of the pope, emperor, French king, and other princes, and the patricians and lords of the Council with their clients.

At the end of the procession the pilgrims were presented in the upper story of his palace to the eighty-two-year-old doge Andrea Gritti. Despite his age he was still vigorous and presented a majestic appearance with his short, full beard, and he was both amiable and eloquent. In his early years he had lived in France,

¹ Rodrigues 487.

² Polanco 579.

³ There are two extant descriptions of the Corpus Christi procession of 1523, one by Füessli (Böhmer, appendix 8-9) and the other by Philipp von Hagen (Ludwig Conrady, *Vier rheinische Palaestina-Pilgerschriften* [Wiesbaden, 1882] 234). See also Samuele Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia* 9 (Venezia, 1860) 27, and the picture in Pompeo Molmenti, *La Storia di Venezia nella Vita Privata* 2 [Bergamo, 1905] 87. In addition to these, see the order of the procession held in 1502 in Marino Sanuto, *Le Vite dei Dogi* (Città di Castello, 1900) 91-95.

⁴ Bobadilla 616.

Spain, England, and Turkey.⁵ He offered his hand to the pilgrims and promised them that he would do everything he could for them under the circumstances.⁶

The pilgrim ships usually sailed to the Holy Land after the feast of Corpus Christi. But this year, for the first time in thirty-eight,⁷ no one erected the white pilgrim flag with its red cross along with the papal flag and his own on St. Mark's Square as an indication of his readiness to sail.⁸ Rumors of war were whirling through the air, and it was rumored that the Serenissima had secretly taken the oath with Paul III and the emperor against the Turks.⁹

2. HOLY ORDERS (JUNE, 1537)

Meanwhile, the time for the companions' ordination was approaching. Two prelates offered themselves for this: Girolamo Veralli and Vincenzo Nigusanti.¹⁰ Girolamo Veralli,¹¹ who had been born in 1500, came from an old, prominent family of the town of Cori in the Volscian Mountains near Rome, and was a relative of Cardinal Jacovazzi. When Paul III had been bishop of the neighboring Velletri, he had often visited his father. As soon as he mounted the papal throne, he had summoned him to Rome, and he had also shown favor to his son. Girolamo had become an auditor of the Rota,¹² papal notary, chaplain, and domestic prelate. In 1535 he had been sent on a diplomatic mission to the emperor, and in 1536 as a legate to Venice with the authority of a cardinal legate *a latere*. He was a worthy person and universally esteemed for his learning and virtue.¹³

Vincenzo Nigusanti,¹⁴ thirteen years older than Veralli, belonged to a prominent family in Fano in the March of Ancona. When he was only twenty-seven years old and secretary of Cardinal Adriano, he had been given a dispensation because of his youth and consecrated bishop of Arbe.¹⁵ Like his predecessor, he lived as a rule in Venice,¹⁶ where he was known as a pious and learned prelate, skilled in canon law and in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.¹⁷

⁵ On Gritti see Andrea da Mosto, *I Dogi di Venezia* (Venezia, 1939) 158-163; Romanin VI 40 ff. Titian painted his portrait.

⁶ We deduce this from the earlier reports (Böhmer 76 and appendix 9; Conrady 235).

⁷ Laynez 116; cf. Verdizzotti 610-611.

⁸ Röhrich-Meisner 12 17; Böhmer 78; Conrady 101, note 131; P. Zinsmair, "Ein Beitrag zur Jerusalemfahrt des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Ober-rheins* 86 (1934) 545 (for 1521).

⁹ Rodrigues 488.

¹⁰ *MI Epp.* XII 322.

¹¹ On Veralli see Moroni XCIII 224-226; LXXXIX 199-200; Van Gulik 34 154 170 304; Walter Friedensburg, *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland: Die Nuntiatur Verallios 1545-1546* 8 (Gotha, 1898) 9-14.

¹² He was already an auditor in 1537 (*MI Scripta* I 625; and thus contrary to Moroni).

¹³ "Homem grave e de e de muytas letras e vertude" (*Corpo Dipl. Portuguez* IV 159).

¹⁴ On Nigusanti see Van Gulik 128; Moroni LXXXVI 163; LXXXVIII 291; Daniele Farlati, S.J., *Illyrici sacri tomus quintus* (Venetiae, 1775) 264-266. His seal (ARSI: *Ep. N.* 89, n. 27) bore the inscription: VI NIGVSANT ARBEN EPISC. In the text of the testimonial of ordination he is called *Nigusanus*.

¹⁵ Slovene: Rab, in Dalmatia, south of Fiume, once a suffragan diocese of Salona, next of Zara, and then suppressed in 1828. Arbe lies between the neighboring islands of Veglia and Pago. The diocese was founded about A.D. 530 and embraced the seven villages on the island, including the town of the same name (where the cathedral and two parishes were located) on the west coast, and the northern third of the island of Pago.

¹⁶ His predecessor, Luigi Malombra, bishop of Arbe from 1484 to 1514, also lived in Venice, where we meet him in 1508 (Van Gulik 128).

¹⁷ Farlati V 264.

Both prelates showed the Parisian masters every kindness and affection. They left it up to the companions on what title they should be ordained—on that of voluntary poverty or of sufficient learning, or on both together. Iñigo and the others decided upon the double title, and the legate Veralli gladly gave them the necessary dispensation.¹⁸

To avoid offending either of the prelates, they asked the bishop of Arbe to ordain them, but placed in the hands of the legate, in the former's presence, their vows of poverty and chastity,¹⁹ "of their own free will and compelled by no one."²⁰

On June 10, accordingly, the seven companions who were not yet priests, Ignatius, Xavier, Rodrigues, Laynez, Salmerón, Bobadilla, and Codure,²¹ received the four minor orders from the hands of Nigusanti in the private chapel of his residence.²² At this time Laynez and Salmerón also received the tonsure. Five days later, on June 15, the feast of Sts. Vitus and Modestus (a holy day of obligation in Venice, when the doge in solemn procession went across the Grand Canal to the church of these saints to thank them for the discovery of an earlier conspiracy),²³ they received the subdiaconate, and on the seventeenth the diaconate. On the twenty-fourth, the feast of St. John the Baptist, they were all, with the exception of Salmerón, who was still too young, ordained. On the twenty-seventh they received from the bishop the testimonials of their ordination,²⁴ bearing his seal with his coat of arms, a bend dexter adorned with three stars.²⁵ All this was gratis. Nigusanti did not take a farthing or even a candle.²⁶ He later declared that he had ordained many in the past, but never with such joy and consolation.²⁷ And the joy and the consolation of the Parisian masters was certainly no less.²⁸

One who had received permission in Rome to be ordained with the others, and who was therefore named with them in the dimissorial letters of Cardinal Pucci, did not come for ordination. This was Miguel Landívar, Xavier's former servant in Paris. He had become disenchanted in Rome and had disappeared with Master Arias. He later showed up again, however, at the Trinità, where Ignatius was staying. He was filled with remorse for his lack of constancy and

¹⁸ MI *Epp.* XII 322; Ignatius 492. Cf. the testimony of ordination cited below, n. 24. For the question of canon law, see Nikolaus Nilles, S.J., "Asterisken zur Geschichte der Ordination des hl. Ignatius von Loyola und seiner Gefährten," *Zeitschrift für kath. Theologie* 15 (1891) 146-159. Both titles were still valid at this time; for that of voluntary poverty, however, a dispensation was necessary.

¹⁹ Rodrigues 487; Ignatius 492 and the testimonials of ordination and also MI *Const.* I 4.

²⁰ MI *Epp.* XII 322.

²¹ "Los que nos hordenamos fuimos siete," Ignatius wrote (MI *Epp.* XII 322).

²² It is not known where this residence was located.

²³ Böhmer, appendix 14; Sanuto, *Le Vite dei Dogi* (Città di Castello, 1900) 87.

²⁴ The *testimonials of ordination of Ignatius, Laynez, Bobadilla, Salmerón, and Codure are preserved (ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 89, n. 27-31), edited in MI *Scripta* I 543; *Lainii Mon.* VIII 635; *Bob. Mon.* 2 (only the *Summarium*, which confuses Bobadilla with Salmerón); *Ep. Salmeronis* I 574.

²⁵ The seal is preserved in ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 89, nn. 27 and 29.

²⁶ Laynez 118; MI *Epp.* XII 322.

²⁷ Rodrigues 488; in the Portuguese text: "E o bispo Arbensis que os ordenou disse depois a certas pessoas falando nelles: 'Eu tenho por muitas vezes ordenado e dado a muitos ordens, mas nunqua me achei tam consolado nem com devação como quando ordenei aquellas padres.'"

²⁸ Laynez 118.

placed all the blame for it on Arias. He then departed with the promise that he would return in a few days or write, but from then on nothing had been heard from him.²⁹ His example pointed out the need for greater care in the future.³⁰

3. THE APPROACH OF THE TURKS (JULY, 1537)³¹

The companions continued their service for the sick even after their ordination, ever hoping that a pilgrimage could perhaps sail to the Holy Land. But in the oppressive heat of July,³² the clouds kept gathering ever more darkly in the east. For months nothing had been more discussed throughout the whole of Italy than the huge preparations of the Turks, and a paralyzing fear lay over Christendom because of the uncertain future and threatening danger.³³ Legates came and went, seeking to win over the Serenissima and the powerful republic to their side for the decisive struggle at hand. They came from the sultan,³⁴ from Francis I,³⁵ from the emperor,³⁶ and from the pope,³⁷ while the Signoria, especially the old Gritti³⁸ and his generation, strove frantically, despite their many years of alliance with Constantinople, to preserve their neutrality. But the news which reached them week by week was increasingly ominous.

At the end of March the Turkish fleet was ready at Istanbul:³⁹ three hundred ships, including two hundred and twenty galleys with more than three thousand

²⁹ *Ep. Mixta* I 11-12.

³⁰ *MI Epp.* XII 323.

³¹ An important source for the Turkish War in 1537 is the diary of Cornelius de Fine, **Ephemerides Historicae ab anno 1536 ad annum 1543* (Bibl. Vat. *Ottob. lat.* 1614). The writer was "over forty-five" and living in the Borgo San Donnino on June 21, 1537 (110). He first gives a brief and inaccurate account of the war (106-131) and then another in detail and "according to the best information" (132-137). The letters of Cardinal Charles de Hemard, bishop of Mâcon, are also important. In these he sends all the available news about the war from Rome to France (ed. Charrière I 322-340). These are supplemented by the letters in L. Bourrilly, "L'ambassade de la Forest," *Revue historique* 76 (1901) 297-328. Marco Guazzo wrote about the war as a contemporary in *Historie di tutti i fatti nel mondo dal MDXXIIII sino a l'anno MDXLIX* (Vinetia, 1540; we cite the edition of 1549), but his confused chronology should be corrected from the other sources already mentioned. Venetian sources are used by the following: Paolo Paruta in his chronicles *Historia Vinetiana* (Vinetia, 1605; we cite the edition of 1645); Andreas Maurocenus [Morosini], *Historia Veneta ab anno 1521 usque ad annum 1615* (Venetiis, 1623); Francesco Verdizzotti, *De Fatti Veneti dall'anno 1504 sino al 1570*, vol. 2 (Venetia, 1686); and P. Daru, *Histoire de Venise* 4 (Paris, 1821) 62-75. Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 3 (Pest, 1828) 138 ff., uses Turkish sources. See also Pastor V, 184-193 832, Capasso I 428-431, and the letters of the *Corpo Diplomatico Portu-guez III*.

³² "L'estate ebbe nel luglio eccessivi calori; il Bembo, stando a Padova, non ne ricordava de' maggiori" (Corradi 3027; he quotes Pietro Bembo, *Lettere* 3 [Milano, 1810] 437). Damião de Goes complains in two letters from Padua dated July 1 and 19, 1537, about dizziness brought on by the extreme heat (*Revista de Historia* 10 [Lisboa, 1921] 55).

³³ *Fine 106-v 111-113; Charrière I 324 330; Pastor V 189-190.

³⁴ Hammer III 694 181; Verdizzotti 610-612; Charrière I 324; Bourrilly, *L'ambassade* 323; Capasso I 408.

³⁵ Maurocenus 174; Verdizzotti 615-618; Paruta 412-421; Bourrilly, *L'ambassade* 323.

³⁶ Charrière I 332; Bourrilly, *L'ambassade* 323.

³⁷ Pastor V 191; cf. 185.

³⁸ Andrea da Mosto, *I Dogi* 161.

³⁹ Charrière I 326.

cannon and twenty-five thousand soldiers. Among these were four thousand select janizaries from the sultan's bodyguard, a thousand arquebusiers and twelve standards, each with eight hundred men. The dreaded Khair ed-Din Barbarossa was commander of the fleet and Lutfi Pasha the general of the army;⁴⁰ and it was further reported that the sultan would conduct the operations in his own exalted person.⁴¹

On May 17, shortly after the departure of the fleet, Suleiman set out with an army of two hundred thousand soldiers.⁴² In June he was already in Macedonia and passed from there into Albania.⁴³ It was said that he intended to capture Apulia and in conjunction with France drive the emperor completely out of Italy.⁴⁴ But no one could say upon whom the great blow would fall—Apulia, the Papal States, Tunis, or Corfu.⁴⁵

Preparations were therefore made in Venice for every contingency. On February 22, the Council of Ten had already decided to strengthen the fleet and had elected fifteen *governatori* as captains.⁴⁶ Three associates were added to the council to expedite matters. The arsenal was seized with feverish activity. The old galleys were reconditioned and fifty new ones built in order to bring the number of battleships up to a hundred. It was decided to recruit eight thousand men for the war. The cities along the coast were provided with troops, munitions, and food. To raise the money necessary for these activities, three honorary procurators were named, each one of whom had to pay twelve thousand gold ducats for the honor; and two hundred thousand ducats were solicited from the pope from the tithes of the clergy. Every town in Venetian territory had to provide a fixed number of galleys and every guild a fixed number of rowers. Processions and public prayers were ordered, and alms were distributed to poor religious.⁴⁷ In May, Girolamo Pesaro was sent to Corfu as admiral with seventy galleys and other ships. But on July 6 the fleet was divided. Pesaro remained at Corfu with fifty-four galleys, while Vitturi with forty-six sailed for Cattaro to protect the Dalmatian coast, since the arrival of the Turks was imminent.⁴⁸

On July 10 Barbarossa had sailed with his fleet through the straits of Corfu. Greetings had been given on both sides and gifts exchanged,⁴⁹ and the Turkish admiral had, at Pesaro's complaint, hanged a number of marines who had committed some crimes.⁵⁰ The next day he had sailed with his ships into the bay of Valona. On the evening of the twelfth Suleiman and his army had also arrived there by land,⁵¹ and the two were now lying there on the watch like tigers ready

⁴⁰ Guazzo 193-v; Verdizzotti 613-614; Paruta 409; cf. *Corpo Diplomatico Portoguez* III 393 ("three hundred ships waiting for another one hundred and fifty").

⁴¹ Charrière I 330-331.

⁴² *Ibid.* 330-333. "One hundred and fifty thousand cavalry, countless infantry, three thousand cannons, three hundred camels" (*Corpo Diplomatico Portoguez* III 393).

⁴³ Verdizzotti 612-614.

⁴⁴ Charrière I 323-324 330-333.

⁴⁵ Verdizzotti 612; Pastor V 190; Paruta 407; *Corpo Diplomatico Portoguez* III 393.

⁴⁶ Guazzo 193v; Dittrich, *Regesten* 98; *Corpo Diplomatico Portoguez* III 372.

⁴⁷ Maurocenus 174; Verdizzotti 612; Paruta 407-408.

⁴⁸ Guazzo 193v; Verdizzotti 614-615; Maurocenus 172; Daru IV 64; Paruta 411.

⁴⁹ *Fine 132; Guazzo 194; Daru IV 66-67; Letter of La Forest from Valona dated July 13, 1537, in Bourrilly, *L'ambassade* 321.

⁵⁰ Verdizzotti 618; Bourrilly, *L'ambassade* 321.

⁵¹ La Forest wrote on July 13: "The sultan arrived here [in Valona] last evening" (Bourrilly, *L'ambassade* 322; contrary to *Fine 113: "beginning of July"); cf. *Corpo Diplomatico Portoguez* III 393.

to spring upon Corfu or Apulia. The sultan had, it is true, immediately after his arrival let it be known in Venice that he wished to remain allied with the republic and would keep their treaties and alliances with the Serenissima. But no one trusted him; the French ambassador, for example, added the following note to a dispatch sent from Venice on July 15: "For the last ten days Venice has been on the verge of declaring war on the Turks."⁵²

The Ionian Sea between the southern tip of Italy and the numerous islands on the west coast of Greece was now swarming with Turkish galleys and freighters bringing food and munitions to Valona, and the Venetian admiral was anxiously exerting himself in accord with his instruction to avoid any incidents.⁵³ But in the long run it was hardly possible to avoid them.

Andrea Doria, the commander of the papal-imperial fleet, had immediately set sail on July 14 from Messina on learning of the arrival of the Turks;⁵⁴ and on the next day he had captured a ship laden with wares between Cephalonia and Zante.⁵⁵ On the seventeenth he had sunk ten cargo ships bringing provisions to the Turks from Cairo between Corfu and Parga.⁵⁶ Then, because of the bad weather, he had withdrawn to Corfu for two days and taken the opportunity to visit Pesaro repeatedly. He urged him to take part in the war; and to create the impression among the enemy that Pesaro was already on his side, he had caused a feigned letter to the Venetian admiral to fall into the hands of the Moslems which would make them conclude that a secret treaty already existed between the Republic of St. Mark and the emperor.⁵⁷

At the same time Venice was receiving letters from Pesaro reporting the first incidents.⁵⁸ A Venetian galley under the command of the Dalmatian Simone de Nasso had encountered a Turkish ship carrying munitions to Valona; and, since it had refused to raise its flag as required by military custom, the captain ordered it to be sunk.⁵⁹ The sultan became indignant when he heard of what had happened and sent his chief dragoman, Janus Bey, with two galleys and a fust from Valona to Corfu with a request for thirty thousand ducats in damages from the Venetian admiral and the punishment of the guilty captain. But as luck would have it, the three vessels encountered four Venetian ships under the command of Gradenigo on the watch in the channel of Corfu. The Turks refused to raise their flags and were therefore pursued and driven up on the neighboring shore, where they were taken captive by the villagers of Chimara. Although Pesaro, when he learned what had happened, paid a heavy ransom to free them and sent them back to Valona with a written apology,⁶⁰ Doria had in the meantime captured and burned their ships.⁶¹ They therefore had everything to fear from the angry sultan,⁶² especially since the imperial admiral, whose forces had

⁵² Bourrilly, *L'ambassade* 323. "Great fear in all of Italy" (*Fine 111-v) and in Venice (Charrière I 333).

⁵³ Daru IV 67; Paruta 410.

⁵⁴ In Guazzo 195v and *Fine 132v the chronology of what follows is somewhat confused.

⁵⁵ Guazzo 196.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 196 (*Fine 132v, incorrectly: July 13); Charrière I 336 ("douze squiraces").

⁵⁷ Guazzo 196; Verdizzotti 175 622; Hammer III 184; Daru IV 68; Paruta 425-426.

⁵⁸ Maurocenus 174.

⁵⁹ Verdizzotti 619; Maurocenus 174; Daru IV 67-68; Paruta 422.

⁶⁰ Verdizzotti 619; Maurocenus 174-175; *Fine 132v (July 19); Hammer III 183; Paruta 422-423.

⁶¹ Guazzo 196-v; Charrière I 336; Daru IV 67-68.

⁶² Maurocenus 174-176.

been augmented on July 21⁶³ by the addition of ten Maltese ships, had on July 22, during the course of a great sea battle between Parga and Cape Rilla not far from Corfu, captured twelve Turkish galleys despite stout resistance. He had killed their whole crew and taken their commander Ali Tschelebi as a prisoner to Messina.⁶⁴

Under such circumstances there could be no further thought of making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the near future. There were still hopes, however, that an open war between the Signoria and the sultan could be avoided, for Venice could not live without the Turks and the Turks could not live without Venice.⁶⁵ But even if their alliance were renewed, no ships could sail until the following year. Ifigo and his companions therefore decided to wait till then⁶⁶ and to employ the time of waiting in preparing for their first Masses and in apostolic works. They then sent back to Dr. Ortiz the 210 ducats which had been given to them in Rome for their pilgrimage. They did not want to give the impression that they were retaining the money for some other purpose, and they asked him to keep it until an opportunity for sailing presented itself.⁶⁷ On July 5 Veralli had already granted them without charge the faculties they needed to carry out their labors in the territories he governed as papal legate. They could thus celebrate Mass, hear confessions, grant absolutions from cases reserved to bishops, archbishops, and patriarchs, dispense the sacraments, preach, and give lectures on Scripture, and, in case of need, perform these functions even without the permission of the local ordinary.⁶⁸

Since their strenuous labors in the hospitals left no real time for interior recollection,⁶⁹ the companions decided to withdraw into a solitude for three months in order to devote themselves entirely to prayer and to meditating upon heavenly things free from all other cares.⁷⁰ They would beg from door to door for their daily needs;⁷¹ and after the passage of the first forty days,⁷² in order to overcome themselves and to be of help to souls, they would also engage in

⁶³ Guazzo 196v.

⁶⁴ *Fine 132v-133; cf. 114; Charrière I 336; Guazzo 196v-197v; Hammer III 182-183 697; Guglielmotti III 419-422.

⁶⁵ Bobadilla 616, who erroneously states that Venice broke with the Turks on June 3, the Sunday within the octave of Corpus Christi.

⁶⁶ Ignatius wrote this to Verdolay on July 24, 1537 (MI *Epp.* XII 323). On the disputed question as to whether the vow taken at Montmartre to wait a year for an opportunity to sail to the Holy Land was binding from January to December, 1537 (Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 63 and 88), or from June, 1537, to June, 1538 (Leturia), see Pedro Leturia, S.J., "Importancia del año 1538 en el cumplimiento del 'Voto de Montmartre,'" *AHSI* 9 (1940) 188-207. We favor the second opinion. The vow assumed that they would not arrive in Venice until May; the pilgrim ships did not as a rule sail until June; the first companions—Ignatius (MI *Epp.* XII 323), Favre 40-41, Laynez 110-112, Rodrigues 488, and Bobadilla 616—confirm this view (despite a certain lack of clarity in Laynez 116-118 and Ignatius 494-496) and are thus opposed to Polanco (FN 1 192-194 264-266; II 309-310 579 582) and Nadal, who held the second opinion in 1557 (FN II 82-83) and the first in 1563 (*ibid.* 257-259).

⁶⁷ MI *Epp.* XII 323; cf. Ignatius 492; Rodrigues 487.

⁶⁸ The *faculties, preserved for Ignatius, Bobadilla, Laynez, Favre, Broët, Codure, and Jay (ARSI: *Hist. Soc. Ib.* nn. 36-41), have been edited for Ignatius, Favre, Laynez, and Codure in MI *Scripta* I 546; *Fabri Mon.* 11; *Lainii Mon.* I 1, and *Ep. Broëti* 415.

⁶⁹ Laynez 118.

⁷⁰ Favre 41; Rodrigues 488 490; MI *Epp.* I 125. Gaetano da Thiene had also spent three months preparing for his first Mass.

⁷¹ Laynez 118.

⁷² In Vicenza (Ignatius 494) and Monselice and certainly also in other places.

some public preaching without learned pretensions.⁷³ They would thus prepare themselves for the great day of their first Mass.⁷⁴ In order to be able to assemble more easily in case, against every expectation, they should find an opportunity for sailing before the completion of the three months' period, they decided to remain within the territory of the republic.⁷⁵ After obtaining information with respect to particular sites from individuals acquainted with them, they divided themselves up into groups of two or three,⁷⁶ and it was decided by lot where the several groups should go.⁷⁷ Vincenza fell to Iñigo, Favre, and Laynez; Monselice to Xavier and Salmerón; Verona to Broët and Bobadilla; Bassano to Jay and Rodrigues; and Treviso to Codure and Hozes.⁷⁸ Their departure was fixed for July 25.

On the twenty-fourth Ignatius wrote a letter to his friend in Barcelona, Master Verdolay,⁷⁹ who was laboring there with great zeal. He invited him to come to Venice, since in that city he would find a better way to serve the Lord than he could in Barcelona. In the letter Ignatius told him how the Turkish fleet had prevented their making the pilgrimage to the Holy Land for the current year. He and his companions would therefore wait until next year for an opportunity to sail and leave the future to God, who had thus far so kindly led them on their way. In the middle of January nine friends in the Lord had come to him from Paris, all masters of arts and well trained in theology, four Spaniards, two Frenchmen, two Savoyards, and one Portuguese. They had traveled on foot in the midst of the turmoil of war and in the depth of winter. In Venice they had served the sick poor in the hospitals, performing the lowest services and those most repugnant to the senses. They had made a pilgrimage to Rome where, without any letters of recommendation but trusting in God alone, they had been received with the greatest consideration. There in the presence of the pope they had disputed with numerous cardinals, bishops, and doctors and had not only received permission to make the pilgrimage and to be ordained but also 260 ducats for the journey.⁸⁰ After their ordination, they had received extensive faculties from the papal legate for the exercise of their priestly ministries. Because of their gratitude for these divine favors, they were now doubly bound not to bury their talents. On the morrow they would separate and go to different places in Italy and wait another year for an opportunity to sail to the Holy Land. If this did not present itself within the coming year, they would go their way without making the pilgrimage. Some others had wished to join them as companions. These had not lacked the necessary learning; but, through fear of defections, they had preferred to exercise restraint rather than to increase their number.⁸¹ He then brought his letter to a close with his usual formula: "May the Lord give us His grace so that we may know His most holy will and carry it out with all our hearts. Poor in virtue, Ynigo."

⁷³ *MI Epp.* XII 323; Laynez 118-120.

⁷⁴ Favre 41; Laynez 118; Rodrigues 488. If a pilgrim ship set sail during this time, they could celebrate their first Masses in the Holy Land.

⁷⁵ Laynez 118.

⁷⁶ Rodrigues 488.

⁷⁷ Ignatius 494; Rodrigues 488; *Bobad. Mon.* 560.

⁷⁸ Favre 41; Laynez 118; Rodrigues 488-489.

⁷⁹ The original of this important letter has been published in *MI Epp.* XII 320-323; a copy of it in I 118-123.

⁸⁰ See above, p. 338, n. 14.

⁸¹ The defections of Arias and Landívar are meant by the relapses (*caydas*).

4. HERMIT IN MONSELICE (END OF JULY—END OF SEPTEMBER, 1537)

An hour's journey across the lagoon brought the companions who were going to Monselice, Vicenza, and Verona from Venice to Lizzafusina.⁸² The others set out for Mestre. From Lizzafusina a seven-hour walk⁸³ along the bank of the ship-laden Grand Canal brought them through fruitful plains sown with villages, inns, and elegant villas of Venetian nobles⁸⁴ to Padua.⁸⁵ The following day they set

⁸² Biondo 187; Fontana 35; Rot 20; Alberti 475; Schottus 57-58.

⁸³ It was on this trip that Ignatius deliberately stopped with Laynez so that a shepherd boy could have the pleasure of having a good laugh at him (Maffei, *Vita Ignatii* 3, 5; FN I 722).

⁸⁴ The road led past the villages of Mira, Dolo, Strà, and Noventa (Fontana 35).

⁸⁵ Did Ignatius and Xavier also become acquainted with the renowned Portuguese humanist Damião de Goes during their stay in Padua? Goes lived there from 1534 to 1539. On September 5, 1545, Simon Rodrigues declared before the court of the Inquisition in Evora that he had been in Padua eight or, at the most, nine years before, and that at this time he had met his countryman and had argued with him for about two months. He also stated that at this same time, and again later in Venice, he had argued with the Portuguese Franciscan Frei Roque de Almeida over the teachings of Luther, and that he had seen that they were both infected with heresy. He also said that, according to Goes, a cardinal had written to him that as a friend of the Lutherans he might use his influence so as to lead them back to the Church, and that a Flemish student had also been present at their discussions (G. J. C. Henriques, *Ineditos Goesianos* 2 [Lisboa, 1899] 5-11; M. Lemos, "Damião de Goes," *Revista de Historia* 10 [1921] 51-53). The time given by Rodrigues, that is, "nine years before," would bring us to 1537; the two months of discussions in Padua would bring us to 1538, when Rodrigues stayed there from March to April. In his defense of 1571, Goes asserts that at Frei Roque's request he had given him in Paris in 1533, when he was on his way to Rome, a letter of recommendation to Melanchthon. He had also received a letter from the friar accompanied by a second of Melanchthon, which Erasmus had sent him from Freiburg im Breisgau [on August 25, 1534: Allen 2963]. One and one-half or two years later the friar had visited him at Padua; he had kept him in his house for "a few days" out of compassion, but had then sent him away, since he no longer wanted to wear his habit. Almeida had then gone to Venice and become an alchemist there (Henriques 50-51 72 121; Lemos 51). If these statements are correct, Frei Roque would have come to Padua at the latest in the summer of 1537. His discussions with Rodrigues would therefore have taken place at this time. The letter of Cardinal Sadoleto, which Rodrigues and Goes mention, would also be of this time (Henriques 34-35 37), since he wrote to Goes on June 17, 1537, and a "Flemish" student, Petrus Bohemus, was staying with Goes at this time (Lemos 50-53). Concerning his discussions with Rodrigues, Goes declared in his defense of October 3, 1571: "Peço a Vossas Mercês que acerca do que contra mim testemunhou Mestre Simão [Rodrigues] tenham duas considerações: a uma da má vontade que me tinha pelos reparos que de mim fez a Mestre Ignacio, autor da regra dos Irmãos da Companhia do nome de Jesus, pelos quaes foi reprimido: e o dito Mestre Ignacio veiu de Veneza a Pádua a se desculpar de mim, onde pousou em minha casa com alguns irmãos da sua regra" (Henriques 70; Lemos 53). If Ignatius really apologized to Goes because of Rodrigues and there is no lapse here on the part of the humanist's memory, this could only have been on July 25, 1537, on his way to Vicenza, since he would hardly have traveled with a few of the companions from Venice to Padua at any earlier date. If this is the case, we must conclude that Rodrigues had met Goes and disputed with him earlier, for example, on the return trip from Rome in May, 1537. He would then have continued these discussions in March and April, 1538. The memory of Goes, however, was not always accurate thirty-four years after the events; he says, for example, in one place that he stayed in Padua for six, and in another, for four or five years (Henriques 34 73). But even if Rodrigues did not have these discussions with Goes until 1538, Ignatius could have spent the night with the humanist when he traveled to Vicenza with Favre and Laynez, for the son-in-law of the accused, Luis de Castro, also testified in 1571 that Goes knew the founder of the Society of Jesus and had conversed with him (*ibid.* 39). Then Goes would only have erred concerning the apology.

out from here upon their separate ways. Xavier and Salmerón took their departure from Iñigo and the other companions and walked south for four hours through the fertile, densely populated plain, keeping the green Euganean Hills on their right. Where these broke off, there rose up immediately from the plain on the left the golden brown rock walls of a soaring mountain of trachyte, which fell off gently to the south. It was crowned by the ruins of a fort and surrounded by five encircling walls, the outermost of which embraced also the town at its foot, called Monselice from the fortress on the heights.⁸⁶

The stronghold, built in the thirteenth century under the emperor Frederick II,⁸⁷ had been in a wretched condition for a long time⁸⁸ when the imperial artillery smashed it to ruins during the War of Cambrai (1509-1513). The town had also suffered severely at this time,⁸⁹ but it had since been rebuilt. The two Parisian masters entered it through the Paduan gate, which was protected by a tower.⁹⁰ Passing the town hall with its heraldic emblems⁹¹ and the crenellated Ca' Marcello, the former palace of the tyrant Ezzelino,⁹² they reached the *duomo*. This was dedicated to St. Justina and lay on the main street at the east edge of town. From here there was a gently sloping path leading up the hill to a lonely, deserted chapel, a few minutes away. This was the goal of their journey.

Monselice had been under the Republic of Venice since 1405, and Girolamo Balbi was governing the city as *podestà* in its name.⁹³ The Romanesque cathedral,⁹⁴ built in the thirteenth century, was in good condition. Its high altar, one of nine in the church,⁹⁵ had a beautiful picture of St. Justina and other saints painted on a golden background.⁹⁶ The choir was adorned with frescoes representing the mother of God enthroned with her Child and holy virgins in different scenes.⁹⁷ The church also had an organ and three good bells. In the treasury of the large sacristy⁹⁸ were precious illuminated missals and hymnals.⁹⁹ The archpriest and four mansionaries drew their benefices in Venice and left

But it is not very probable that, in addition to the three companions already mentioned, the others, including Xavier, would have accepted the hospitality of the humanist on July 25, 1537, instead of living in the hospital. See, however, Luis de Matos, "Un Umánista portoghese in Italia: Damião de Goes," *Estudos Italianos em Portugal* 19 (1960) 41-61.

⁸⁶ On Monselice see the *reports of the visitations in the episcopal archives in Padua and Marino Sanuto, *Itinerario per la Terraferma Veneziana nell'anno MCCCCLXXXIII* (Padova, 1847) 33-34, and the later accounts: Gaetano Cognolato, *Saggio di Memorie della Terra di Monselice* (Padova, 1794); Andrea Gloria, *Il Territorio Padovano* 3 (Padova, 1862) 126-162; Adolfo Callegari, *Monselice* (Milano, 1926: *Le Cento Città d'Italia*, fasc. 110); A. Mazzaroli, *Monselice Notizie storiche* (Padova, 1940); N. Barbantini, *Il Castello di Monselice* (Padova, 1940).

⁸⁷ Gloria 133.

⁸⁸ See Sanuto's description of 1483: "Castello tondo e alto, ben dirupto et mal condizionato con torre altissimo" (*Itinerario* 33).

⁸⁹ Cogno'ato 55.

⁹⁰ Sanuto, *Itinerario* 33.

⁹¹ Built in 1470, described by Sanuto (*Itinerario* 33), but no longer extant (Callegari 3).

⁹² Newly restored, described by Angelo Cipollato, "Il Castello di Monselice [Ca' Marcello]," *Le Vie d'Italia* 46 (1940) 1380-1389.

⁹³ Gloria 155.

⁹⁴ On the *duomo* see the *visitation report of 1536; see also Gloria 142-144 and Callegari 7-10

⁹⁵ *Visitation report of 1536.

⁹⁶ Callegari 8.

⁹⁷ Still extant.

⁹⁸ *Visitation report 1536.

⁹⁹ Callegari 9; Gloria 144. Still extant.

the work to be done in Monselice by poorly paid substitutes. Don Giovanni de Thodeschini, fifty-five years old at this time, was taking the place of the arch-priest and had built with him a beautiful new house for the parish. As assistants he had four substitutes for the mansionaries: Francesco Verbato, Giovanni de Lazaro, Camillo Lucrifago, and Francesco Sanabello. He also had a chaplain, Agostino de Nigri. All of these were natives of Monselice and were living with their relatives. In addition to these he had the help of still another priest, Bartolomeo Sigolotto.¹⁰⁰ There were a number of other churches and chapels in Monselice besides the cathedral, for example, the parish church of San Paolo near the palace of Ezzelino. It contained the body of St. Sabinus, the patron of the city,¹⁰¹ whose birthplace was pointed out not far from here. There were also the Dominican church of San Stefano, where Fra Sebastiano de Monselice¹⁰² was the prior of the local community, the church of San Francesco, which had been founded according to tradition by St. Francis of Assisi himself, with its conventual monastery,¹⁰³ and others.

The small church in which Xavier and Salmerón found shelter¹⁰⁴ had once

¹⁰⁰ *Visitation report of 1536.

¹⁰¹ Gloria 144 147 (the legend of St. Sabinus, *ibid.* 134-137).

¹⁰² *Visitation report of October 30, 1536; Gloria 148.

¹⁰³ Sanuto, *Itinerario* 34; Gloria 148. Destroyed in 1758 (Callegari 14).

¹⁰⁴ "Pater Franciscus Xavier et Alfonsus Salmeron in aediculam desertam et solitariam in Monte Celesio sitam venerunt" (Rodrigues 489; in the Portuguese text: "O padre Francisco Xavier he o padre Afonso de Salmeron forão ter a hua ermida que acertou estar despovoada em hum certo monte"). This statement refers to the only chapel still standing on the mountain today, that of St. George, which is already mentioned in 1099 (Cognolato 53-54). The visitation reports of 1457 and 1489 mention this church (Gloria 145), but the report of 1536 does not; it was evidently deserted at this time. In 1483 Sanuto gives only the following churches in Monselice: the cathedral of Santa Giustina, the beautiful Franciscan church of San Francesco, San Domenico (he means the Dominican church of San Stefano), and the chapels of the two lower castles: San Pietro on the north and San Giorgio on the south (*Itinerario* 33). Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Venetian patrician Francesco Duodo, procurator of San Marco, inherited this part of the mountain and built here the present elaborate Villa Duodo. In 1592, with the pope's permission, he tore down the old chapel of St. George in order to replace it with the modern one. His son Pietro built six more chapels between it and the cathedral and in 1605 obtained for them the indulgences of the Seven Churches of Rome. His heir, Francesco II, received the bodies of three martyrs from Rome for the chapel of St. George (Cognolato 56-59); and his successor, Alvise (died in 1674), built a crypt next to it with a long flight of stairs, copying that of St. Francis of Assisi on Mount Alverno (Callegari 11). In 1719 Gio. Dom. Pioli composed a long poem about it and the villa (*Rime dell'avvocato G. B. Felice Zappi* II [Venezia, 1818] 406-411). Nicolò (died in 1742) increased the number of the church's relics to 357, including those of Sts. Francis of Assisi, Francis of Paula, and Francis Solano. His grandson Girolamo built a chapel onto the church for these in 1791. Cognolato composed a history of the shrine with an exact list of the 357 relics in 1794 (61-64 95-96), but neither he nor Pioli mention Xavier. In 1862 Gloria conflated two traditions. He wrote that people were shown a grotto in the church of St. George where, according to common report, St. Francis, who had undoubtedly come into this region in 1225, spent forty days in meditation (145). In 1925 Callegari wrote that Sts. Francis of Assisi, Xavier, and Ignatius had stayed in Monselice (12).—About the middle of the nineteenth century the villa passed through marriage over to the Balbi-Valier family. In 1905 a marble slab was placed onto the chapel commemorating the site's great past. It perpetuates "the glory of Francesco Duodo, the conquerer of Lepanto; of Pietro and Alvise Duodo, ambassadors to Paul V and Henry IV; of the daring Adriano Balbi, the discoverer of Australia; of the doges Bertucci and Silvestro Valier, 'al mistico rifugio di San Francesco Xavier,' and so forth. In 1923 thirty thousand pilgrims marched in procession from the cathedral to the church of St. George with the reliquary containing the arm of Xavier and were

been the chapel of the lower castle on the south side of the hill. Both the chapel and castle were dedicated to St. George,¹⁰⁵ whose relics according to tradition were contained in a marble casket.¹⁰⁶ The adjoining fort lay in ruins. Only a slim, four-cornered tower was still standing from earlier times.¹⁰⁷ The new home of the two Parisian masters lay halfway up the slope.¹⁰⁸ Below it was the outer wall that surrounded the entire hill. It was an ideal site for a hermitage. Over the parapets of the wall they could gaze out upon the neighboring cathedral and the town lying to its right, then over the green plains to the left, and the blue mountains in the west. There were no visitors or sounds to disturb the quiet of their retreat, and the beauties of nature raised their hearts to God in prayer and meditation.

The walks outside in the evening were wonderful when the heat of the August days had lessened and cool breezes came blowing in from the sea. A winding path led steeply up over the rocky soil to the top of the hill through terraced vineyards, where heavy clusters of purple and yellow grapes were ripening beneath the green foliage. Every step and every turn expanded the view and created a new spell.¹⁰⁹ At the top two gates led into the innermost court of the castle, which was located on the highest terrace and had in its center the *rocca*, or "keep." The heavy, two-storied square tower (the other structures had been destroyed in the final siege) was built of yellow blocks of trachyte. It had a sloping base and an entrance nineteen feet above the surrounding court reached by a ladder. The terrace of the fort offered a stupendous panoramic view of

blessed with it from the stairway of the grotto. In the grotto there is a picture of St. Francis Xavier next to that of St. Francis of Assisi.

¹⁰⁵ The *visitation report of 1457 mentions the church of St. George "in castro fortilitio." When Sanuto visited San Giorgio in 1483, Mateo dai Zenda was castellan (*Itinerario* 33). The castle was probably destroyed in the War of Cambrai along with the upper fort.

¹⁰⁶ According to the *visitation reports of 1457 and 1489 and Sanuto, who saw the shrine in 1483 (*Itinerario* 33).

¹⁰⁷ Today it forms the left side of the Villa Duodo (picture in Callegari 12).

¹⁰⁸ Laynez wrote in 1547 that he had lived with Ignatius and Xavier in Vicenza in a house without doors and windows, and that they had slept on a little straw (120). Ignatius, who was familiar with his report, repeated the same in 1555 (494). Already in 1572 Ribadeneyra gives an erroneous account of this dwelling in his Latin biography of Xavier. He describes it as an "aediculam humilem et ruinosam, ventis perviam," in which they "palearum aliquantulā copiā comportatā humum ad cubandum sternunt" (2, 8). In 1577 Rodrigues accepts this passage literally in his account (488) and adds two pages further on: "Patres in cubiculo, paleis fere toto constrato, somnum capere" (490). Using this as a source, Teixeira, writing in India in 1580, described it as follows: "una casilla vieja medio caída, sin amparo ninguno de puerta ni bentana, puesta á las llubias y ayres, cubierta con paja, que ellos cogieron por el campo." He then notes that from this house one could conclude what the dwellings of the other companions were like, for example, that of Xavier in Monselice (822). In 1594 Tursellinus, who made use of Teixeira, went one step further in his life of Xavier: "Franciscus . . . quam longissime a coetu hominum recessit: desertamque ac semirutam devio in loco casam nactus, tecto e straminibus refecto, quaecunque sibi diversoriolum paravit, hoc gratius, quod repraesentaret Christi domini sui praesepe . . . humi super stramine cubitans in tugurio imbribus, frigoribus [in August!], ventis obnoxio" (1, 6). Monselice is thus here, as in the rest of the life, simply identified with Vicenza in all its particulars. But one cannot without further ado draw conclusions about the other places, even if all the companions were inspired with the same spirit.

¹⁰⁹ With the exception of the straight Napoleonic road to Rovigo, which cuts across the plain, there has been little change in the landscape since Xavier's time.

all the surrounding country.¹¹⁰ A fruitful plain stretched emerald green to the south, where white roads, farmsteads, villages, cities, and church towers could be seen in the glow of evening as far as, and even beyond, the lofty towers of Rovigo on the other side of the silver ribbon of the Etsch. To the east was the shimmering white lagoon of Venice and the Adriatic Sea. To the west were the blue volcanic peaks of the Euganean Hills and the gray green pyramid of Monte Ricco reaching 1,230 feet into the sky, its luxuriant slopes covered with orchards, vineyards, and olive groves.¹¹¹ And to the north was Battaglia, lying at the foot of the hill, and far in the distance the towers of Padua.¹¹²

The two solitaries, following the example of Christ, spent forty days¹¹³ of prayer, meditation, and penance in this quiet retreat,¹¹⁴ completely taken up with heavenly things and in sweet union with God.¹¹⁵ Each week they exchanged positions as superior and subject in order to exercise themselves in the virtue of obedience.¹¹⁶ They daily went down to the cathedral¹¹⁷ to assist at Mass and to receive the Body of the Lord.¹¹⁸ Although Santa Giustina was a collegiate church, the Office was not recited there in choir, for the five canons drew their benefices in Venice without worrying about their obligations.¹¹⁹ The two hermits begged for their daily food from door to door.¹²⁰ On Mondays, when the weekly

¹¹⁰ Although the mountain is only 494 feet high, it rises up isolated from the plain.

¹¹¹ Sanuto, *Itinerario* 33-34.

¹¹² In clear weather the Apennines can be seen between Bologna and Modena to the south, the Alps to the north, and St. Marks's in Venice to the northeast.

¹¹³ What Ignatius says of Vicenza (494), is also true of the other places. From the beginning the companions had evidently agreed upon spending three months in solitude; but, following the example of Christ, they intended to devote only the first forty days to a purely contemplative life; the remaining time they would also engage in apostolic works. Towards the end of the forty days, Ignatius, Favre, and Laynez had their faculties reviewed in Vicenza and Salmerón obtained permission to preach. In an excellent article, Hugo Rahner, S.J., describes the spirit of the companions at this time ("Die Vision des heiligen Ignatius in der Kapelle von La Storta," *Zeitschrift für Ascese und Mystik* 10 [1955] 17-35). But we cannot agree with him when he says that apostolic restlessness prompted Ignatius and his companions to break off their three months of strict contemplative life in order to begin preaching. To support this he quotes Iñigo's letter on the employment of one's talents which he wrote to Verdolay "during their days of solitude." The letter was written before their departure for the hermitages, and the apostolic labors during the three months were thus already foreseen. Besides this, Ignatius was not one to change a fixed plan simply because of apostolic restlessness.

¹¹⁴ Ignatius says of Vicenza: "In questo modo passorno 40 dì, non attendendo ad altro che ad orationi" (494). Teixeira says the same of all the companions when he gives a report of the individual Spiritual Exercises: "Quarenta días continuos se dieron á la oración, meditación y contemplación de las cosas divinas, y lición de libros sanctos. En esta vida, penitencia y oración passaron los quarenta días" (822-823). Tursellinus is still more explicit when he states: "[Xaverius] voluntariis quotidie poenis corpus afflictabat suum" (1, 6). Ribadeneyra goes a step still further when he writes: "Las diciplinas eran cotidianas, el cilicio continuo, la oración perpetua, gastando el día, y la mayor parte de la noche en la lición, meditación, y contemplación" (*Flos Sanctorum* II, appendix [Madrid, 1609] 62).

¹¹⁵ Rodrigues 488; Favre 41.

¹¹⁶ Rodrigues 489-490.

¹¹⁷ We assume this from the fact that the cathedral was at the edge of the city only a few minutes distant from the chapel of St. George and far from the bustle of the town.

¹¹⁸ That they communicated daily we deduce from the fact that they did this on the trip from Paris to Venice and from there to Rome (Layne 106 112).

¹¹⁹ *Visitation report of 1536.

¹²⁰ Laynez says of Vicenza that they had to beg there twice a day to obtain the bread they needed without any trimmings except a rare bit of butter or oil (120). Riba-

market was held,¹²¹ they went also to the stalls of the peasants who came to town to sell their produce—no small self-conquest for the Parisian masters. A sheaf of straw served as bedding for the night,¹²² and the mosquitoes were a source of mortification even during their sleep.¹²³ But they cheerfully endured all these sacrifices as they looked upon their crucified King and meditated upon the great day of their first Mass, for which they were now preparing.

What Ignatius wrote during those days from Vicenza to Pier Contarini,¹²⁴ Xavier and Salmerón could also have said of themselves:

Daily we more and more experience the truth of the saying: "Having nothing, we possess all things."¹²⁵ This "all" embraces what the Lord has promised to those who first seek the kingdom of God and His justice.¹²⁶ If he who seeks first the kingdom of God and His justice will obtain all things, what can be lacking to him who seeks only His kingdom and His justice? What can be lacking to one whose blessings are not the blessings of the dew of heaven and the fat of the earth¹²⁷ but only of the dew of heaven. What can be lacking to one who is not divided but who has both eyes turned towards heaven? May He grant this to us who, although He was rich in all things, rid himself of all things for our instruction; who, when He was in the glory of such great power, of such great wisdom, and of such great goodness, still subjected Himself to the power, judgment, and will of the least of men.¹²⁸ Pray therefore with us to the Lord that He may grant us all the grace to fulfill His Holy Will, which is the sanctification of all.¹²⁹ Farewell in Christ Jesus, our Lord, and may He lead us all on the way of peace,¹³⁰ which no man finds except in Him alone.

The spiritual sentiments of the two solitaries on Monselice could also be mirrored in a letter which Magister Claudius (Jay) wrote on September 5, from his hermitage in Bassano to one of his fellows¹³¹ shortly after Iñigo and Favre had visited and consoled his fever-stricken companion Rodrigues:

God grant us according to the richness of His glory the grace through His Spirit to be strengthened in the inner man.¹³² Amen! On Saturday morning, September 1, Don Ignatius¹³³ and Don Petrus Faber left us to return to Vicenza. After their departure Master Simon again had a light attack of fever. Praise be to Jesus Christ, for whose name's sake we must patiently bear each day all the adversities and hardships

deneyra (*Vita* 2, 8) and Teixeira (822) repeat this with respect to Vicenza, but Tursellinus transfers it all to Monselice (1, 6).

¹²¹ Sanuto, *Itinerario* 33.

¹²² We deduce this from the example given in Vicenza by Ignatius, Favre, and Laynez, who refused to accept the beds offered to them, though they were sick with fever (Laynez 120), and from that of Rodrigues who, despite his deathly sickness, slept on bare boards with Jay in Bassano until Ignatius obtained a bed for him (Rodrigues 489).

¹²³ The plain of the Po is notorious for these, and from personal experience we can say that the mosquitoes come up as far as the parish house of the cathedral, where we spent a night in August, 1929.

¹²⁴ *MI Epp.* I 124-126.

¹²⁵ 2 Cor. 6:10.

¹²⁶ Matt. 6:33.

¹²⁷ Cf. Gen. 27:28 (Jacob's blessing).

¹²⁸ Freely taken from Phil. 2:6-8.

¹²⁹ Cf. 1 *Thess.* 4:3.

¹³⁰ End of the *Benedictus* (Luke 1:79).

¹³¹ A *copy of the letter is in ARSI: *Inst.* 110, 203-v; edited by Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 43-44, with an omission.

¹³² Eph. 3:16.

¹³³ "Dominus Ignatius." In 1546 the saint signed a letter to Lippomani "Don Ignatio" (*MI Epp.* I 367).

of the present life.¹³⁴ Yes, we must "glory also in tribulations, knowing that tribulation worketh patience; and patience trial, and trial hope; and hope confoundeth not."¹³⁵ The world seeks silver and gold, and gathers it in and glories in it. Poverty, however, is the lot of the servant of Christ, and he glories in it. For "blessed" is he "that hath not gone after gold nor put his trust in money nor in treasures."¹³⁶ The world delights in the praise of men. The servant of God, however, rejoices in suffering disgrace for the name of Jesus.¹³⁷ The cross appears to the world as foolishness¹³⁸ and the world calls those fools who carry the cross after Christ. But Paul said, "God forbid I should glory save in the cross!"¹³⁹ Therefore, dearest brother in Christ Jesus, we wish to follow naked the naked Christ! Overflowing with wealth is he who is poor in Christ.¹⁴⁰ "The rich," David says, "have wanted and have suffered hunger: but they that seek the Lord shall not be deprived of any good."¹⁴¹ Living in this solitude, I write to you as a hermit. Farewell in Christ!

On August 15, the feast of Mary's Assumption, Xavier and Salmerón celebrated the anniversary of their vows on Montmartre. The forty days which they devoted exclusively to the contemplative life ended during the first week of September, and it was now time for the companions to carry out their desire of combining prayer with apostolic labors. On July 5 they had all, with the exception of Salmerón, received the necessary faculties for this from Veralli. Because of his youth, he was not as yet ordained. Nevertheless he also received permission to preach. At the end of August a messenger from Venice brought a document from the vicar-general of the legate, Gasparo de Dotti, addressed as follows: "To Alfonso Salmerón, beloved in Christ as a son, a Spaniard and dearest friend, in Moncelese." The letter granted the requested authorization¹⁴² in warmest terms:

Since it has been requested in your name, Alfonso Salmerón, my dearest son in Christ, that you, who have only been ordained a deacon, be granted the permission to exercise the office of preaching, which is the office of a deacon, and since I know your zeal for the honor of God, your own soul, and that of your neighbor, and realize that you are a good son, learned and Catholic, I can only rejoice at this. We therefore grant you with the present letter the permission to preach the word of the Lord publicly and privately to the people in the territory of Venice, but always under the condition that you present yourself to the ordinaries and obtain their permission. And we do not doubt that this will gladly be given. Therefore I have desired to write this with my own hand so that the matter may be more quickly accomplished, and also to indicate that I know you personally and am fully informed about you. I have nothing further to add except that I recommend myself always to your prayers, and this is the payment I ask for this letter. In testimony of this, I also placed my seal upon it and have signed it with my own hand. Given at Venice, in our residence in the monastery of San Giovanni e Paolo.¹⁴³ Venice, August 25, 1537. So it is, Gaspar de Doctis, Canon of Torcello,¹⁴⁴ Vicar-General of the Most Reverend Lord Hieronymus Verallus, Apostolic Legate in the territory of Venice.

¹³⁴ Cf. Acts 9:16.

¹³⁵ Rom. 5:3-5.

¹³⁶ Ecclus. 31:8.

¹³⁷ Cf. Acts 5:41.

¹³⁸ Cf. 1 Cor. 1:23.

¹³⁹ Gal. 6:14.

¹⁴⁰ *Imitatio Christi* 3:37.

¹⁴¹ Ps. 31:10

¹⁴² The *original is in ARS1: *Inst.* 194, 50 and is edited in *Ep. Salmeronis* I 577-578.

¹⁴³ From the unusually intimate tone of the letter we conclude that Salmerón served in the hospital of San Giovanni e Paolo, which lay near the Dominican monastery where he was living.

¹⁴⁴ The *Ep. Salmeronis* should read *torcellensis* instead of *cancellarius*.

At the stipulated time Xavier and Salmerón, like the rest of the companions, began their preaching in the public squares of Monselice. They would obtain a bench from a neighboring inn or house,¹⁴⁵ stand upon it, cry out, and invite the people to come by waving their hats.¹⁴⁶ They would then begin, without great study¹⁴⁷ or long preparation, to speak to the people out of the fullness of their hearts. Some were attracted by their curiosity to hear what these new preachers of penance might have to say. Others came up under the impression that they were jugglers.¹⁴⁸ A good many could hardly understand anything of the preachers' extraordinary mixture of Spanish, French, Latin, and Italian;¹⁴⁹ but they were nonetheless impressed by the sincerity that shone through their awkward words and gestures and by the fact that at the end of their sermons they would not take up a collection or even accept any money.¹⁵⁰ Although the main advantage of this street preaching was the self-conquest of the Parisian masters, still many of their hearers drew profit from their exhortations.¹⁵¹

But two or three weeks had hardly passed since the beginning of their apostolic labors, when Iñigo at the end of September, and thus before the completion of the planned three months, unexpectedly summoned his companions to Vicenza.¹⁵²

5. THE BREAK WITH THE TURKS (SEPTEMBER 13, 1537)

From his headquarters Iñigo had been attentively following the political developments which would determine his whole plan for the future, and he had been kept informed as to what was going on by his friends in Venice such as Zornoza and Contarini.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁵ There is nothing about this in the sources, but Ribadeneyra's Latin life of Ignatius mentions it where he speaks of the preaching of the companions in general (2, 10). It is in itself quite probable.

¹⁴⁶ The four companions did this in Vicenza (Ignatius 494), and it is probable that the others did the same elsewhere. We should assume that they would have agreed upon their manner of street preaching in Venice.

¹⁴⁷ "Con poco o ningún estudio," according to Laynez (118-119) in the best manuscripts and the oldest Latin translation, going back apparently to the lost original. Instead of this, the copies of Alcalá and Evora read "con pocos oyentes o ninguno," that of Diego Ximénez "con poco o ningun auditorio." Polanco follows the better text in 1548 (FN I 193).

¹⁴⁸ Nadal (FN II 257-258).

¹⁴⁹ Nadal (FN II 257); Polanco 580; Ribadeneyra, *Vita* 2, 8.

¹⁵⁰ Ribadeneyra, *Vita* 2, 10.

¹⁵¹ Laynez 118-120.

¹⁵² Rodrigues expressly asserts that this happened before the determined time. In his first (Portuguese) draft he had written: "Acabandosse o tempo, que tinham determinado estar em os lugares solitarios arriba ditos, se aiuntarão todos em aquella cidade de Vicencia." In the final (Latin) copy he is more exact: "Nondum illud erat tempus exactum, quod solitudini dandum patres destinarant, cum Vicentiam omnes ad Ignatium convenerunt" (490). He adds that after this some of them returned to their hermitages in order to complete the time which they had decided to devote to the eremitical life (491). Bobadilla gives the month as September (616).

¹⁵³ Ignatius was in correspondence with both from Vicenza (MI *Epp.* I 123), and we consider it as self-evident that they would have informed him about these developments. Ignatius could also have received information from Veralli, who sent regular reports to Rome about the progress of the Turkish war (see Capasso I 407-408 447-453).

The republic had sought in vain to avoid any kind of a military encounter with the Turks. On July 23 Suleiman had ordered his fleet to sail to Apulia.¹⁵⁴ On the twenty-fourth Barbarossa had set out from Valona with a hundred galleys in quest of the imperial admiral Doria and his fleet, and he had been followed three hours later by the rest of his ships, at least three hundred in all.¹⁵⁵ Pesaro, the commander of the Venetian fleet, had sailed north from Corfu to avoid an encounter with the Turks. But the wind had driven him back to Otranto where his forward ship, under the command of Alessandro Contarini, had been unexpectedly attacked by the galley of Bustan Pasha during the night. The Venetians had set up their defense and, after a bitter battle, had sunk the enemy's ship along with its commander and two hundred janizaries.¹⁵⁶ The following day Pesaro and his forty-three galleys had run across eighty Turkish galleys between Cape Santa Maria and Otranto and had only escaped battle through hasty flight. Five of his ships under the command of Luigi Contarini had been left behind. One of them had been able to reach Otranto in time, but the others had been captured by the enemy and their captains beheaded.¹⁵⁷ A few days later, at the end of July, the city of Castro in Apulia, upon the advice of a traitor, had surrendered to the Turks, who had promised free departure to the garrison¹⁵⁸ but had then broken their word and massacred them all. For three long weeks they had plundered the land with fire and sword and, after a vain attempt to gain control over Otranto as well, they had suddenly left in the middle of August, hauling off with them ten thousand Christians, mostly women and children, into slavery.¹⁵⁹

At the same time Orsini, at the sultan's request, had gone with Janus Bey from Valona to Venice. There by means of threats they sought to obtain reparations for the lost ship and a severe punishment for the guilty captains. The Senate promised to punish Gradenigo and to recall Contarini and Nasso for questioning.¹⁶⁰ But before its ambassador had returned, the indignant sultan, inflamed by Barbarossa, had already entered into open conflict with Venice by giving orders for the sack of Corfu.¹⁶¹ On August 25 Barbarossa had landed twenty-five thousand Turks and thirty cannons under the command of Lufti Pasha on the island. Four days later the rest of the army had followed under Ayas Pasha, Mustafa Pasha (the *beglerbeg* of Macedonia), the *gha* of the janizaries, and others with twenty-five thousand more soldiers; and for three long days they had laid waste the land with fire and sword and had begun the siege of the fortress.¹⁶²

The news of this open breach of peace had put the war party in power in Venice, and the republic had decided to carry on the war against the Turks with every available means. Although it had now been left in the lurch by Doria,

¹⁵⁴ Hammer III 697. For the following see also Capasso I 428-454.

¹⁵⁵ Charrière I 336.

¹⁵⁶ Daru IV 69; Verdizzotti 621; *Fine 133; Guazzo 197v; Maurocenus 175; Paruta 424.

¹⁵⁷ *Fine 133v; Daru IV 69-70; Verdizzotti 621-622; Maurocenus 175; Paruta 425.

¹⁵⁸ Charrière I 337-338; Guazzo 197v-198.

¹⁵⁹ Guazzo 198; *Fine 114-115v 121-122; Verdizzotti 619-620; Pastor V 190; Hammer III 183.

¹⁶⁰ Maurocenus 176; Charrière I 356; Hammer III 184; Paruta 426-428.

¹⁶¹ Maurocenus 176 185; Guazzo 199; Paruta 428.

¹⁶² "Fractum est foedus venetorum cum turcha, quia Solima voluit expugnare Corfu" (Bobadilla 616); Nadal (FN II 257); Hammer III 186 697-698; Guazzo 201; Verdizzotti 623-625; Maurocenus 176; *Fine 135; Pastor V 191.

who had sailed with his ships to Genoa, the galleys of the Signoria had undertaken the battle alone.¹⁶³ Their fortress on Corfu had withstood all attacks upon it,¹⁶⁴ while in the meantime a plague and hunger raged among the besiegers and the *sophi* of the Persians, supported by Spanish arquebusiers of the emperor, was threatening their boundaries in the east.¹⁶⁵ The sultan, therefore, leaving behind forty thousand dead,¹⁶⁶ had retreated, taking with him fifteen thousand Christian slaves.¹⁶⁷ On September 15 Corfu had been liberated. Two days earlier, on September 13,¹⁶⁸ Venice had finally decided to join the league of the emperor and the pope against the Turks.¹⁶⁹ On September 23 the news was received in Rome,¹⁷⁰ and on the twenty-fourth in Bologna, with jubilation.¹⁷¹ The pilgrimage to Jerusalem before the summer of 1538 was now unthinkable, and the companions had to decide what they should do for the future.¹⁷² This was why Iñigo summoned his disciples to Vicenza before the completion of the fixed time.¹⁷³

6. SAN PIETRO IN VIVAROLO (END OF SEPTEMBER, 1537)¹⁷⁴

After a good day's march, Xavier and Salmerón reached Vicenza at the end of September.¹⁷⁵ On the other side of the city northwest of, and a quarter of

¹⁶³ Verdizzotti 624-627; Paruta 431-433; *Fine 135-v; Bibl. Vat. *Vat. lat.* 6978, 140.

¹⁶⁴ *Fine 135-136.

¹⁶⁵ Verdizzotti 628; Pastor V 191; *Fine 133v-134 136.

¹⁶⁶ *Fine 137.

¹⁶⁷ Paruta 435; Verdizzotti says the number was twenty-five thousand (629).

¹⁶⁸ *Fine 137; Paruta 436.

¹⁶⁹ Pastor V 192; *Fine 133.

¹⁷⁰ Pastor V 192; Charrière I 339. On September 15 people were already talking about this in Rome (Bibl. Vat. *Vat. lat.* 6978, 140), where the nuntius Veralli had sent the news on the fourteenth (Capasso I 450).

¹⁷¹ Jacopo Rainieri, *Diario Bolognese* (Bologna, 1887) 31.

¹⁷² "Quiso nuestro Señor que aquel año (lo que no había acaecido muchos años, ni después) no pasasen los peregrinos a Hierusalem, por haber rompido los Venecianos con el Turco" (Layney 116-118; cf. Ignatius 494). Nadal wrote: "Ubi parant navigationem, bellum inter Venetos et Turchas exarsit, invaserat enim fines Venetorum Turcha et Corcyram oppugnabat. Hinc intellectum est nullam eo anno futuram navigationem in Palaestinam ad deportandos peregrinos, quae tamen alias intermitti nunquam solebat. Itaque suam peregrinationem viderunt esse interpellatam . . . cogitandum porro esse ex integro quidnam essent acturi" (FN II 257). "Vicentiam omnes ad Ignatium conveniunt, ut cum eo statuerent, quibus in rebus reliquum tempus, ante hierosolymitanam navigationem, impendendum foret" (Rodrigues 490).

¹⁷³ "Itaque [Ignatius] curavit ut convenirent omnes" (Nadal in FN II 259); also Tursellinus: "Ignatii accersitu venit [Xaverius] Vicentiam" (1, 6). After Rahner writes that apostolic restlessness had moved the companions in Vicenza to begin preaching ahead of time, he continues: "Es scheint den anderen Gefährten ähnlich ergangen zu sein. Der Drang nach Seelenarbeit, wohl auch die materielle Not, die ein rechtes Beten nicht möglich machte, scheint sie aus der Einsamkeit getrieben zu haben" ("Die Vision des hl. Ignatius," *Zeitschrift für Aszese und Mystik* 10 [1935] 23). But this was not so.

¹⁷⁴ The main sources for the stay of the companions in Vicenza are Ignatius (492-494-496 and MI *Epp.* I 123-126 142); Laynez (118-120 and FN II 132-133); Favre 41; Rodrigues 488-491; Bobadilla 616; Polanco (FN I 193-194 203-204; II 310 580-582 595-597); and the anonymous author (FN II 440-442). The main accounts are: Francesco Barbarano de Mironi, O.F.M.Cap., *Historia Ecclesiastica della Città, Territorio, e' Diocesi di Vicenza*, vols. 6 (Vicenza, 1649-1662, especially I 250-255); Ribadeneyra, *Vita* 2, 8-10; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 87-90; Rodrigues, *Historia* I, 1, 73-74; Rahner, "Die Vision des hl. Ignatius," *Zeitschrift für Aszese und Mystik* 10 (1935) 17-35; D. D. Bortolan, "S. Ignazio di Loyola e S. Francesco Saverio a Vicenza e nel Vicentino," *Bolletino Ecclesiastico* 1 (Vicenza,

an hour beyond, the Porta di Santa Croce lay in the open fields the abandoned monastery of San Pietro in Vivarolo.¹⁷⁶ It formed a square, one side of which comprised the church.¹⁷⁷ More than forty years before, the monks of St. Jerome of Fiesole,¹⁷⁸ to whom it belonged, had withdrawn into the city to Santa Maria delle Grazie, since they were safer there during times of war. In 1536 the sole brother whom they had left behind to look after the old monastery followed them into the city.¹⁷⁹

The buildings were therefore in a state of ruin.¹⁸⁰ During the War of Cambrai, the soldiers in the cold winter of 1511-1512 had here, as in the city, used windows, doors, and furniture as firewood.¹⁸¹ Since then the building had stood open to the winds and weather. Here Ignatius, Favre, and Laynez had set up house with the permission of the monks.¹⁸² They collected a little straw and

1911) 193-202; Angelo Poli, "La prima Messa di S. Francesco Saverio a Vicenza," *Le Missioni Illustrate* 27 (1930) 372-375; Vincenzo Porta, "La prima Messa di S. Francesco Saverio," *Osservatore Romano*, Dec. 6/7, 1937, p. 3; Federico Mistrorigo, "IV Centenario della prima Messa di S. Francesco Saverio a Vicenza," *L'Avvenire d'Italia*, Oct. 23, 1957, p. 4.

¹⁷⁵ September (Bobadilla 616); Dudon has incorrectly: at the beginning of September (326).

¹⁷⁶ This is the correct name (Barbarano V 400). St. Ignatius' original letter to Pier Contarini has Varuello (not *Vainello* as is given by Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 87); the copy published in the *MI Epp.* I 125 has *Varnello*; this was crossed out by a later hand and *Riccasolo* written above it.

¹⁷⁷ See the city plan of 1611 (a section of it is in Poli 373). The Capuchins lived here from 1567 to 1807. In 1815 the church and cloister were demolished. Mistrorigo describes their condition: "Sorgeva al di là del bersaglio, che oggi si sta demolendo, e precisamente nel bralo di proprietà Molon nell'attuale stradella dei Cappuccini al N. 16, proprio dirimpetto alla Via Luciano Manara. La tradizione popolare, che ivi addita il luogo del Convento, è avvalorata dall'esistenza di parte dell'antica cinta conventuale e dalla esistenza sul terreno rialzato di enormi fondamenti. Si può vedere ancora parte del pozzo di cui parlava lo storico Barbarano. Alla Biblioteca Bertoliana esiste una carta topografica della città di Vicenza stampata nel 1611. Fuori di Porta S. Croce è segnato il Convento dei Cappuccini con una Chiesa annessa; questa è certamente la Chiesa ove S. Francesco Saverio celebrò la Sua prima Messa."

¹⁷⁸ The congregation of San Girolamo di Fiesole, founded by Bl. Carlo dei Conti Guidi di Monte Granelli di Bagno (diocese of Sarzana) in 1386, grew out of the third order of St. Francis of Assisi. It adopted the Augustinian rule under Eugenius IV (died in 1447) and was suppressed in 1668 (Moroni XXXI 107-108; Heimbucher I 596).

¹⁷⁹ Barbarano V 400-405; I 253 gives the history of the monastery.

¹⁸⁰ "In diruto coenobio" (Rodrigues 490).

¹⁸¹ "In coenobium extra urbem, bellorum turbine olim eversum" (*ibid.* 488). The War of Cambrai is meant, during which the city and surrounding areas were repeatedly plundered by different armies. Thus, for example, in 1509 all the farmhouses were burned by the imperial army, all the trees cut down, the cattle driven off, the crops destroyed; and in the cold winter of 1511/12 the Venetian troops hauled windows, doors, furniture, stairs, railings, and so forth from the houses in order to use them as fuel (Francesco Formenton, *Memorie storiche della città di Vicenza* [Vicenza, 1864] 405-412; Silvestre Castellini, *Storia della città di Vicenza* 13 [Vicenza, 1783-1822] 137-138; cf. Barbarano I 250).

¹⁸² *MI Epp.* I 125. On the room in which Ignatius and his companions traditionally lived, Barbarano writes: "La Cella, nella quale Sant'Ignazio habitò (come hò inteso da Padri vecchi) fù doue hora è l'infermaria del' cantone sopra il Claustro nel' dormitorio della Chiesiola per gl'infermi, dirimpetto alla spicciaria, e appresso il Camino maggiore, non essendo stati mutati li muri maestri di questo dormitorio, qual' era l'antico del' monasterio di San Geronimo, e' di San Pietro in Viuarolo" (I 253). Barbarano, of the family of the Counts Barbaran de Mironi, born in Vicenza in 1596, entered the Capuchin order in Bassano in 1614 and came to the monastery of San Pietro in Vivarolo in 1627. He was guardian of the monastery in 1635, 1637, and 1639 and died in 1656. He was thus in a good position to evaluate traditions of the town and region. Vigilio Nolarci

spread it out on the floor of an empty room to serve them as a place to sleep.¹⁸³ The empty windows were closed at night with broken tiles, which were then removed in the morning to let in light.¹⁸⁴ Here not only Xavier and Salmerón but also the companions from Verona, Bassano, and Treviso¹⁸⁵ came and learned from Iñigo the reason for their summons. It was a joyful reunion, and there was much to relate.

In Vicenza Iñigo and his two associates had not lacked opportunities to confirm themselves in their love of the cross. Since the house lay close to the Bacchiglione River, it was a haven for mosquitoes. Although they came down one after the other with a fever,¹⁸⁶ they still slept on the straw without spreads or mattresses. Twice a day two of them went into the city to beg their food from door to door, since one trip was not sufficient for their needs.¹⁸⁷ Those who went out were as a rule Favre and Laynez. Iñigo usually remained at the monastery. He was again suffering from pains in his stomach,¹⁸⁸ and his eyes had become weak because of the many tears he shed in prayer.¹⁸⁹ Since beginning to prepare himself for his ordination in Venice, he had again experienced many spiritual consolations and heavenly visions just as he had at Manresa in the early days of his conversion.¹⁹⁰ He therefore usually did the cooking, when there was anything to cook;¹⁹¹ and as an old soldier he was more versed in such practical matters than the others.¹⁹² His companions usually brought back so little from their begging tours, that it was hardly enough to keep them alive. This might be a few hard crusts of bread, which Iñigo would then soak in water and brew into a kind of soup. They had no meat or wine for the table, and only occasionally did they have some butter or oil for their dry bread.

During the first forty days the three hermits had therefore had numerous opportunities to practice patience.¹⁹³ Then Codure had come from Treviso;¹⁹⁴

[Luigi Carnoli, S.J.] adds: "V'habitano i PP. Capuccini, che tengono in veneratione una stanza detta di S. Ignatio, per traditione confermata da un vecchio manoscritto, d'haver vi habitato il Santo, e vi si leggono questi versi: 'Hunc venerare locum: fuit hic Ignatius hospes; Sanctus qui toto grandior Orbe fuit'" (*Vita del patriarca Sant'Ignatio di Loiola* [Venetia, 1687] 121).

¹⁸³ "Estando sin cama ni puerta ni ventana, sobre un poco de paja etc., estando enfermos" (Layneze 120); "stavano dormendo sopra un poco di paglia che havevano portata" (Ignatius 494); "ubi patres in cubiculo, paleis fere toto constrato, somnum capere" (Rodrigues 490; in the Portuguese text: "e ali pousarão todos naquele mosteiro desamparado em hua camara quasi toda chea de palha, em que dormião").

¹⁸⁴ Rodrigues 490; cf. Laynez 120; Ignatius 494.

¹⁸⁵ Laynez 120; Ignatius 496; Rodrigues 490; Bobadilla 616.

¹⁸⁶ Laynez 120; Polanco II 580-581.

¹⁸⁷ Laynez 118-120; Ignatius 494.

¹⁸⁸ FN II 440-441.

¹⁸⁹ Ribadeneyra, *Vita* 2, 8.

¹⁹⁰ Ignatius 494-496.

¹⁹¹ Polanco 580.

¹⁹² MI *Scripta* I 499.

¹⁹³ Laynez 120; Ignatius 494; Polanco 580.

¹⁹⁴ "Passati li 40 dì venne Maestro Gioanne Coduri" (Ignatius 494). The forty days were over on September 6. Why did he come before the others? "Ut P. Ignatium de negotiis quibusdam alloqueretur," says the anonymous author (FN II 441), which does not say very much. An explanation may be that at the end of August Ignatius visited the deathly sick Rodrigues in Bassano and procured a bed for him. On September 1, he returned with Favre to Vicenza. Four days later, on the fifth, Jay reported to a confrere that his companion had suffered a slight relapse. We believe that Jay's letter was addressed to Codure for the following reasons: (1) Codure and Hozes were in Treviso and were therefore the nearest companions to Bassano (thirty-one miles away).

and the four masters, of whom Iñigo, Favre, and Laynez had had their faculties approved by the administrator of the diocese, Girolamo Zilioli, on September 6,¹⁹⁶ had decided to begin their preaching. On the same day and at the same hour they each went to a different place in the city. They invited the people to come by shouting and waving their hats, and then began to address their hearers,¹⁹⁶ even though the good people of Vicenza did not understand much of the gibberish which the foreigners were using. Iñigo, for example, was convinced that he was speaking Italian when he began to say half in French and half in Latin: "Hojuordi sancta Mater Ecclesia," by which he meant: "Today Holy Mother the Church celebrates."¹⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the earnestness and warmth with which they communicated the eternal truths made an impression. Their preaching was much discussed in the city, and many began to take a practical interest in them. From this time on alms flowed in so generously that there was enough for all, even after the arrival of the rest of the companions.¹⁹⁸

Rodrigues and Jay had been received by an old, pious, but ignorant hermit, Fra Antonio,¹⁹⁹ who was living with two companions outside the walls of Bassano

They also had better postal service because of Venice. (2) Codure was French like Jay and had been on intimate terms with him longer than the Spaniard Hozes. (3) In his report of 1577 Rodrigues only mentions after his trip to Bassano the companions in Vicenza (who do not come into question as the addressees) and in Monselice and "Johannes Codure and a certain Hosius, who recently joined the companions in Venice" (489). (4) The main purpose of the note was to inform his confrere of the illness of Rodrigues. We suspect that Hozes immediately hurried to Bassano after receiving the letter so that he might give his sick confrere priestly support, since as a Spaniard he could understand Rodrigues more easily than his French companion; and he could also help Jay care for him. It was only natural that Codure, now alone, should go to Ignatius at Vicenza, where he arrived around September 7. His faculties do not have the *visum* of Zilioli like those of Ignatius, Favre, and Laynez, who received theirs on the sixth of the month—an indication that Codure was not as yet in Vicenza at this time. Jay's letter could have arrived in Treviso on the evening of the fifth, and it was forty miles from there to Vicenza. Codure could therefore have been in Vicenza by noon of the seventh.

¹⁹⁶ MI *Scripta* I 542. Ignatius wrote on his copy of the *faculties: "Licentia de Venetia para Ynigo" (not Yñigo, as the editors give it). The *visum*, issued immediately after the forty days, shows that Ignatius and his companions had decided to begin their preaching even before the arrival of Codure.

¹⁹⁶ Ignatius 494.

¹⁹⁷ Nadal (FN II 84). The words "Hojuordi sancta Mater Ecclesia" should probably be completed by "celebrat festum Nativitatis Mariae." This would have been said on September 8, which fell on a Saturday (according to our reckoning, the day after the arrival of Codure).

¹⁹⁸ Polanco 580-582. Ignatius says: "Con queste prediche si fece molto rumore nella città, et molte persone si mossero con devotione, et havevano le commodità corporali con più abundantia" (494). Laynez writes: "Después a la fin se habian encomenzado tanto a aficionar, que para once que allá se congregaron, daban abundantemente limosna" (120), and Polanco: "Undecim congregati abundanter necessaria in ea urbe inveniebant, vel eis offerebantur" (582). But already in 1563 Nadal states: "Principio igitur cum vix panem, quo vitam egre sustentarent, ex stipe colligerent, et in suburbanis stabulis cogerentur se recipere, postea ipsi et hospiti et victus commoditas non solum affuit, sed affluxit, ut plura etiam offerrent, quam vellent accipere" (FN II 258). One of the benefactors was the patrician Giuseppe Fortezza, who still remembered Ignatius and his companions in 1605, and who remained a great friend of the Society of Jesus until his death (ARSI: *Venet.* 105, 488v-489).

¹⁹⁹ On Fra Antonio see Barbarano III 52-54; Bartoli, *Vita di S. Ignazio* 2, 35, and *Uomini* 1, 6; Pietro Michieli, *Cenni storici della chiesa suburbana di S. Vito di Bassano e di Fra Antonio Eremita* (Bassano, 1893) 18-38, and also the reports of his contemporaries: Polanco (FN I 194); Rodrigues 488-489; Ribadeneyra, who knew Fra Antonio personally

on the street which led over the covered wooden bridge to Val Sugana.²⁰⁰ He was tall and gaunt and had a long, flowing white beard. Without laying aside their priestly garments, the two masters had shared his rough life with him and his companions. They had gone out into the fields at harvest time with a donkey to beg wine from the vinters and wheat from the threshers. But Rodrigues was in the long run too weak to live such a rigorously ascetical life as that of Fra Antonio. At the end of August the news reached Vicenza that he was deathly ill and had been given up by the doctors. When the one bearing this news arrived, Iñigo was himself suffering from a light attack of fever. With his usual iron energy, however, he took Laynez, who was also sick, to the hospital²⁰¹ and set out on foot with Favre for Bassano, a distance of twenty-two miles; and he pushed on so vigorously that his comrade had difficulty in keeping up with him. Iñigo's fever had disappeared, and on the way he received an assurance in prayer that Master Simon would not die of this disease, as he informed Favre.²⁰² When he arrived at San Vito, he found his sick companion lying clothed on boards. He told him to be of good courage and obtained a bed for him through Fra Antonio on which he could lie more lightly dressed.²⁰³ The joy of the meeting and the encouragement and prayers of Iñigo were so effective that Rodrigues immediately felt better,²⁰⁴ and his two visitors could begin their return

(*Vita* 2, 9). The **Dicta* of the hermit are in ARSI: *Ep. Ext.* 46, 71-72 (partially published from this by Bartoli, *Vita di S. Ignazio* 2, 35).

²⁰⁰ The still extant hermitage lies not far from Bassano on the road from there to Val Sugana. The chapel adjoining the church has three modern frescoes commemorating Fra Antonio, Rodrigues, and St. Ignatius' visit. It was once the room in which the hermit lived, an old, half-fallen tower (Michieli 21 31, nn. 4 37). Ribadeneyra, who visited San Vito, is mistaken when he says that it lay on a high hill with a beautiful view of the Brenta Valley (*Vita* 2, 9).

²⁰¹ On this visit of St. Ignatius, see Ignatius 496; Rodrigues 489 (and *Ep. Broëti* 664); Jay (Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 43); Laynez 136-138; Polanco (FN I 193-194) and Ribadeneyra (FN II 333-334), "Ego ex P. Laynez Venetiis anno 48, et postea de P. Ignazio Romae 53. Pater autem Simon et agnoscit et praedicat hoc beneficium"). According to Böhmer, Ignatius jumped up at the news of Rodrigues' illness, hired a horse as soon as he could with the only *giulio* which he had so that he could take Laynez to the hospital, and then went to Bassano (208). He confuses two different events—the trip to Rome and the one to Bassano (FN II 332-334).

²⁰² Ignatius himself states that he immediately shared this light with Favre (496); Favre told Laynez (Polanco 581), and Laynez told Ribadeneyra (*MI Scripta* II 156). The words are given differently by Ribadeneyra in different places (FN II 333-334; *Vita* 2, 9; *Vida* 2, 9); the simplest form is "No será nada lo de Simón" (FN II 334).

²⁰³ Rodrigues 489.

²⁰⁴ Ignatius simply says: "Et arrivando a Bassano, lo ammalato si consolò molto, et sanò presto" (496). Rodrigues states that Ignatius encouraged him, saying that he would not die from this sickness (489). In 1555 he wrote to him from the hermitage delle Salbeghe in Bassano, where Fra Antonio had moved, that he might send him a blessing so great that it would reach as far as these mountains of Bassano, "domde aora justamente en esto tienpo ha diez y ocho annos que V. R. vino aquí á verme, estando yo para morir, como sabe: y pues Dios hastonces me dió la vida del cuerpo, V. R. haga aora con sus oraciones que me dé la dell'alma" (*Ep. Broëti* 664). But while Polanco still writes in 1548: "Luego como llegaron, quiso el autor de la salud dársela a Maestro Simón, el cual desde la llegada dellos comenzó a mejorar" (FN I 194), in his first edition Ribadeneyra has Ignatius greet him with the words: "'Nihil est quod timeas, Simon: surge!' et ita convaluit" (FN II 334). In the second edition these become: "E asi se levantó y estuvo bueno" (*Vita* 2, 9). Both times he mentions Laynez and Rodrigues as his authorities.—Rodrigues' alleged temptation to give up the apostolic life and become a hermit, which Ribadeneyra adds to the Spanish edition of his life of Ignatius, is a legend. It grew out of an adventure which Rodrigues had when he visited a hermitage

to Vicenza on December 1. Although he had a light attack of fever after this,²⁰⁵ he had quite regained his health when Iñigo called his disciples together.

The other companions were also able to narrate their experiences in their retreats, and Bobadilla was proud to say that in Verona Master Tullio Crispoldo had given him his writings to examine and that he had brought his attention to some mistakes.²⁰⁶

7. LANDÍVAR'S REPENTANCE (SEPTEMBER, 1537)

While Xavier was staying in Monselice, his former servant, the unpredictable Miguel Landívar, had again been heard from. At the time when Venice was joining the league, a letter from there written on September 12 arrived in Vicenza addressed "To my dearest in Christ Ynigo de Oyola in Vizentia."²⁰⁷ It began with a self-accusation.

I left your place of residence with the intention of returning within a few days, or at least of writing to you in detail about my affairs; and it seems to me that I also promised you that I would do this. Neither now nor in the past, as you know, have my promises been of much account. My life is a daily tragedy: I begin well and end up as a wretched soldier. May our Lord grant me the grace and the strength to enter the fray to his honor and the salvation of my soul and make me victorious and triumphant over those wild beasts who keep me under their banner: the world, the flesh, and the devil!²⁰⁸

He then gave an account of what happened. After leaving Iñigo in Venice, he had eaten the evening of that same day with Mase²⁰⁹ Arias in Padua.²¹⁰ The

at Saint-Nicolas-du-Port (468-469; cf. Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 73, n. 2). Dudon, who uncritically repeats the legend, erroneously attributes the temptation to Jay (325-326). Xavier's "traditional" visit with Fra Antonio from Monselice or Padua is also legendary (Michieli 29), although it has been immortalized by an inscription and painting in San Vito (Fed. Mistrorigo, "Sulle orme di San Francesco Saverio fra il Brenta e il Bacchiglione," *Vita Trentina*, Dec. 3, 1957, p. 3).

²⁰⁵ According to Jay (Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 43).

²⁰⁶ *Bob. Mon.* 560. Tullio Crispoldo Gaetani senior of Rieti (1510-1573), who was a member of the learned academy founded by Bishop Giberti in Verona, held lectures on the four Gospels here in 1537. He was in the service of the bishop and wrote a catechism in dialogue form for him, the *Interrogatorium puerorum*. Gasparo Contarini consulted him in 1542 when he wrote his *De praedestinatione* (Dittrich, *Gasparo Contarini* 216 482 806 831-834 866-871; *Regesten* 100). He later published *Commentarii in D. N. Jesu Christi passionem et mortem, Petro Francisco Zino interprete* (Venetiis, 1547; cf. Rosenthal, *Catalogus* 41, n. 2437), and *Alcune cose et brevi meditationi sopra li comandamenti di Nostro Signor Dio, sopra il Paternoster e sopra il Credo e l'Ave Maria, e li sette santi sacramenti e sopra la Messa* (Roma, 1549). Before 1556 he translated part of the *Libro de la Oración* of Fray Luis de Granada (*MI Epp.* X 598-599). He then published *Arte di servire a Dio, composta per Alonso de Madrid, dell'Ordine di S. Francesco in lingua Spagnuola, et di quella nella nostra Italiana tradotta* (Venetia, 1558); *Considerationi et avvertimenti spirituali sopra la passione di Gesu Cristo* (Modena, 1559); and *Practica aurea, communes locos nonnullos complectens, Divini Verbi concionatoribus utilis, et necessaria* (Venetiis, 1566). On him see Ant. Colarieti, *Degli uomini più distinti di Rieti* (Rieti, 1860) 42.

²⁰⁷ The original of the letter is in ARSI: *Ep. N.* 65 II 355-356v; it was published with an omission in *Ep. Mixtae* I 11-14.

²⁰⁸ While he was in Venice, Ignatius lived with Andrea Lippomani in the priory of La Trinità.

²⁰⁹ *Mase* is the old form for *Maestro*.

²¹⁰ What follows shows that Arias was staying in Padua. A horse-drawn barge could go from Lizzafusina to Padua in half a day (Alberti 475).

latter had received him with a bright and cheery countenance; and before, during, and after the meal, he had earnestly inquired about each of his former companions, wanting to know how they were and what they said about him. Landívar told him that he was surprised that such a clever and learned man as he, who had been initiated into the most secret mysteries, feared that they might speak ill and unbecoming of anyone, since their lives more so holy. There was no suspicion of their being Alumbrados²¹¹ since they sought only to help the erring and to lead them back to the right way. Arias answered this by stating that he did not believe that they spoke ill of him or of others, but that he would like to know what they said about his departure. Landívar then told him that he had asked the companions about this and they had replied: "If a licentiate of the Sorbonne invited all the doctors of Paris with the rector at their head to accompany him to Notre-Dame in order to receive a doctor's hat²¹² and then, when all had assembled, he said to them, 'I will not receive it; return home!' they would all take him to be a numbskull since he should have carefully thought over the matter beforehand." Landívar had told Arias that he was as pained as if he were his brother by what would be said about him in Italy, Spain, and elsewhere when friends and foes learned about his withdrawal. He then told him: "Señor, what you must do is to return to them; or let us both enter a hermitage!" But Arias replied: "What difference does it make to me what they say about me? How do they know if I gave the money to the poor or if they dismissed me in Rome?"²¹³ As they were speaking about this, it came time for him to embark that very night for Venice.²¹⁴ Arias accompanied him to the boat and told him that within three days he would see him again in Venice. But he had not shown up, and it was said that he had gone to Rome.

Some time after this Landívar met a woman from Genoa in St. Mark's Square. Arias had lived in her house, and she inquired about "her saint," as she called him. When he asked her why she called him that, she replied, that he had shamefully abused her confidence. She had kept a book which her husband treasured in a little box in her room, and which he had enjoined her to guard as if it were the apple of her eye, since it contained a great secret.²¹⁵ Master Arias had stolen this book from her and had gone off with it without saying a word. Landívar assured her that he would get it back to her some way or other. He then asked her to tell him under the seal of confession what she thought of Mase Arias. She had then told him the following under the seal of the strictest secrecy, asking him out of a regard for the sufferings of Christ to tell no one anything about it.

²¹¹ Many people in Spain, France, and Italy thought Ignatius was an Alumbrado (FN I 53 316 442-443 492; II 70 246).

²¹² See the description of the ceremony in Goulet 15v and Villoslada 363-364. It refers to the conferral of the doctorate in theology.

²¹³ Money was his weakness. At the beginning of 1548 Salmerón wrote about him: "El buen Antón Arias en venido aquí [to Bologna] para entrar en una religión de conventuales, donde pueda tener sus dineruelos, y ase hecho doctor en theologia en Padua: creo que es movimiento che no le durará mucho" (*Ep. Salmeronis* I 67); and in 1560 Laynez wrote from Rome to Salmerón: "Del pobre Arias escribe Maestro Simón, que un veneciano le cogió su dinero, y parte sus frayles, y tornóse loco, y los frayles lo hecharon, y andava loco por Padova, cayéndose por los lodos; y en solo contar de sus dineros mostrava seso; y hazíanle qualque limosna en el collegio [de la Compañía de Jesús], y así es muerto el desdichado. Plega á nuestro Señor que no sea de muerte doblada, porque son grandes sus juycios" (*ibid.* 403).

²¹⁴ The context shows that Venice is meant.

²¹⁵ Probably a book about alchemy or magic.

A handsome lad had come frequently to his room, and Arias had then shut the door and sinned with him, as she had observed through the keyhole; and this had happened so many times that she had feared that her house would fall down upon her and bury them all in its ruins.²¹⁶ Landívar told her that he would try to find out where Arias was living and when he discovered it, he would have him delated to the pope or brought to account in some other way. He wanted to repay him doubly for what he had done to him on the way to Rome,²¹⁷ for Arias had been the reason why he, Landívar, had withdrawn from the companions and thus from the service of God. He then concluded:

With respect to myself, I have no peace without study, and since I have no help from men, I shall, trusting in God, depart this week from Venice in order to pursue my fortune. With respect to my promise to return and to serve God, I always come to this conclusion: Without studying I cannot serve God as I wish to serve Him. Constantly, wherever I am, I offer myself to you and I hope through your prayers and those of my confreres that God will have mercy on me and enlighten my understanding in case I am mistaken. If you should wish to write to me, it will be a consolation to me and place me evermore in your debt. In this do as God will inspire you. I recommend myself to my esteemed confreres in Christ! Venice, September 12. With the request that you remember me in your prayers. Your least, Miguel.

8. THE DAY OF THE FIRST MASS

The defection of the two companions brought the others all the more closely about Iñigo, whom they all revered as their father, even though like all the rest he obeyed the superior, who was changed each week.²¹⁸ The monastery, from which one could see the nearby foothills of the Alps in the north and Mount Berico in the south with its popular shrine of Our Lady,²¹⁹ provided room for all; and the friends who had interested themselves in Iñigo and his companions in Vicenza took care of their needs. But the hermits in San Pietro in Vivarolo kept to their custom of begging their daily food from door to door, and some of them even made begging tours to the surrounding villages.²²⁰

Three or four of them also preached at times²²¹ in the public squares, and Bobadilla even delivered a number of Latin lectures in the cathedral.²²² For these the heavy volume of commentaries which he had put together in Paris and carried to Venice served him in good stead.²²³ His Italian was to be sure extraordinary. In one of his sermons, for example, he once said; *Ego dico vobis bona et pia; io porterò robba buona, si non vultis audire, abite!* ("I am telling

²¹⁶ This passage is omitted by the editors of the *Ep. Mixtae*.

²¹⁷ "De lo que me hizo via romana" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 14). This refers to the companions' trip to Rome in March-May, 1537.

²¹⁸ Rodrigues 490.

²¹⁹ The famous shrine, which was begun in 1428, owed its origin to two apparitions of the Blessed Virgin there during the Great Plague. Its history was published in Vicenza in 1527. Barbarano I 190-209 gives a detailed account of it.

²²⁰ Ignatius 496. Laynez called the begging and preaching an exercise (118), the first an exercise of poverty and the second of humility and apostolic zeal (118). Brodrick's description, therefore, of the eleven frozen and half-starved companions sleeping together in straw in a roofless ruin should be corrected (63).

²²¹ *MI Epp.* I 142; Rodrigues 490 (in the Portuguese text: "alguns delles").

²²² Bobadilla 642 665.

²²³ *Ibid.* 560.

you good and pious things; I shall bring you good wares. If you do not wish to hear, depart!").²²⁴

In the meantime the day was approaching when the newly ordained priests, Xavier, Laynez, Bobadilla, and Codure, were to celebrate for the first time the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Salmerón was not yet ordained; Rodrigues wanted to complete his three months of preparation;²²⁵ and Iñigo wished to wait. An opportunity to make the pilgrimage to the Holy Land might still present itself during the following year. He would then be able to celebrate his first Mass in the cave of the nativity in Bethlehem, where the Lord appeared for the first time here on earth.²²⁶

The monastery church of San Pietro in Vivarolo, which had been dedicated to St. Jerome²²⁷ when it was rebuilt in 1471, was still in good condition.²²⁸ A painting of the deposition of Christ adorned the altar.²²⁹ Here Master Francis, soon after his arrival, perhaps on September 30, the feast of St. Jerome, the church's patron, and one which had been annually celebrated at the castle of Xavier, offered up his first Mass²³⁰ with tears of devotion.²³¹ And this devotion

²²⁴ *Rosefius 38v. He names as his authority a Father Laurentius Belga, who died of the plague in Vienna [1562]. This was the Belgian Laurentius Andreas, who was sent from Rome in 1559 and in 1560 published in Vienna the *Assertiones Logicae* which were defended under him. In the college catalog of 1561 he is mentioned with the first year logicians: "M. Laurentius Andreas Diaconus Lector et Praefectus sanitatis, Flander" (Braunsberger II 504; III 539). Rosefius wrote: "Quadam vice, puto Romae accidisse, dicebat P. Bobadilla: 'Ego dicam vobis bona et pia, io porterò robba buona. Si non vultis audire, abite!' quia a principio mirabiliter solebat loqui Italice" (38v). We would prefer to place the sermon at the beginning of his preaching either at Verona or Vicenza.

²²⁵ He said his first Mass in Ferrara (Rodrigues 490).

²²⁶ This was probably the main reason why Ignatius waited a full year to offer up his first Mass. Only when the pilgrimage to the Holy Land had been finally given up did he do so on Christmas day before the crib in Santa Maria Maggiore.

²²⁷ Barbarano V 402.

²²⁸ This follows from the date in Barbarano. The church was consecrated in 1471 and was not completely deserted by the monks until 1536 (V 402-403). In 1500 it was visited by the Confraternity of St. Jerome (*ibid.* 97). When the bishop wanted to give it to the Capuchins in 1567, the Hieronymites of Santa Maria delle Grazie declared that they were ready to take over the ecclesiastical functions in the church again (Angelo Poli, "Una gloria missionaria vicentina. S. Francesco Saverio celebra la prima Messa a Vicenza," *L'Avvenire d'Italia*, Dec. 2, 1930, p. 4). In 1570 the Capuchins gained possession of it. They did not raze it until 1623, when they built the neighboring church of San Giovanni Battista. The city plan of 1611 shows the old church intact. The Capuchins were able to use the old altar screen in their new church (Barbarano V 403-405).

²²⁹ *Ibid.* 404.

²³⁰ Barbarano writes: "Per tradizione si tiene, que questo Santo [Francesco Xaverio] celebrasse la sua prima Messa nella Chiesa di San Gieronimo, qual era poco distante dove adesso è la Chiesa di San Gio. Battista delli Cappuccini, e' molti Padri Gesuiti venivano per devotione à celebrar in essa" (I 254). The church is also called San Pietro in Vivarolo, its older name. Barbarano's authorities were well informed. The patrician Giuseppe Fortezza was living during his youth, for the *annual letter of 1605 reports the death of "Joseph Fortezzius, vir nobilis, admodum senex, ut qui B. P. N. Ignatii et sociorum meminisset Vincentiam adventum ante conditam Societatem" (ARSI: *Venet.* 105 II 488v). Three years before this *Francesco Fortezza, the superior of the Jesuit residence there, who was born in Vicenza in 1557, had written that Xavier celebrated his first Mass in his own native city (*ibid.* *Venet.* 117, 383v). From 1540 to 1570 the Capuchins were living not far from San Pietro in Vivarolo near the cathedral in the monastery of St. Mary Magdalene. Barbarano's statement is confirmed by the fact that none of the other churches in Vicenza have a tradition of being the site of Xavier's first Mass (Poli, *La prima Messa* 373). The well-known authority on Vicenzan history, Don Bortolan, writing in 1911 of the then profaned Oratorio dei Servi (north of the Piazza dei Signori at

at the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice was to accompany him to the end of his life.

9. IN THE HOSPITAL OF THE INCURABLES (OCTOBER, 1537)

The fever which had earlier confined Laynez and Iñigo to their beds now seized Xavier, and Rodrigues also suffered a relapse. Twenty minutes away from San Pietro in Vivarolo, on the other side of the Porta di Santa Croce in the suburb of Pusterla and opposite the monastery of the Jesuate lay the old hospital of Santa Maria della Misericordia,²³² cared for by the Confraternity of St. Jerome, the *Compagnia Secreta di San Girolamo*. Since the time of Gaetano da Thiene, whose confreres had taken over the care of the poor afflicted with the French disease eighteen years before, it had been simply called "the hospital of the incurables."²³³ On the same site also, but separate from it, the confraternity had a large house²³⁴ with three beds in it for poor pilgrims, as was stipulated in

the intersection of the Contrà Cabbianca and the Contrà Oratorio dei Servi), stated that a confrere had written to him that he faintly remembered a distinguished professor of the college telling him when he was a student that Xavier had celebrated his first Mass there. But he adds that this was impossible since this oratory was not built until 1600 [and certainly on the site of a private house; see Barbarano V, 32], as is indicated by the inscription over the entrance. The tradition transmitted by Barbarano should therefore be retained (*Bolletino Ecclesiastico* 1 [1911] 193). Yeo imagines that Xavier, because of his devotion to Mary, celebrated his first Mass in her shrine of pilgrimage on Mount Bérico (59); Piero Chiminelli categorically asserts that he offered his first Mass in the hospital of the incurables in Vicenza (*San Gaetano Thiene, Cuore della Riforma Cattolica* [Vicenza-Roma, 1938] 297); and A. Veny Ballester agrees with this opinion: "Sin duda que el Oratorio dedicado a San Jerónimo en el Hospital de la Misericordia, donde había sido favorecido con la aparición del Máximo Doctor, atraería irresistiblemente el ánimo del nuevo sacerdote y movería su devoción para preferirlo a cualquiera iglesia en aquel acto trascendente" (*San Cayetano de Thiene* [Barcelona, 1950] 158, n. 30). But these are pure figments of the imagination without any historical foundation. The last of these is further refuted by the fact that Xavier's illness, during the course of which St. Jerome appeared to him, was after, and not before, his first Mass (Laynez 120; FN II 84). The so-called "tradition" that Xavier celebrated his first Mass in a chapel of Santa Maria degli Angeli on the Giudecca Island of Venice has no basis whatever.

²³¹ We deduce this from the devotion with which Xavier was accustomed to say Mass in Bologna (MX II 116-117) and in India (Lucena 5, 5). Teixeira, who erroneously places Xavier's first Mass at Monselice, says that he read it "con mucha devoción y lágrimas, y mucho consuelo en el Señor" (823). Tursellinus correctly places his first Mass at Vicenza and adds that the devotion and fervor with which he celebrated it were so great that all those who watched him could not refrain their tears (1, 6). Ribadeneyra wrote: "Celebróla con tantas lagrimas de alegría espiritual, que todos los que se hallaron presentes, con solo verle derramaron muchas" (*Flos Sanctorum. Segunda parte*, appendix [Madrid, 1609] 62).

²³² For the history of the hospital see Barbarano V 97-102 425-427; II 241-243; Francesco Andreu, "Nuovi documenti per la vita di S. Gaetano," *Regnum Dei* 2 (1946) 54-69; Giov. Mantese, "Una pagina di vita religiosa nel Cinquecento vicentino," *ibid.* 3 (1947) 13-38 (used the archives of the hospital); Cassiano da Langasco, *Gli 'Ospedali degli Incurabili'* (Genova, 1938), and Veny Ballester, *San Cayetano* (Barcelona, 1950).

²³³ In 1520 Gaetano's mother bequeathed five gold ducats to the priests of the hospital "Santa Maria de burgo Pusterla pauperum incurabilium" (Mantese 21). In the same year it was affiliated with the hospital of San Giacomo in Rome "nuper in burgo Posterla Vicentie erectum hospitale, sub vocabulo beate Marie Misericordie, pro alendis et curandis pauperibus infirmis morbo incurabili gallico laborantibus et ibi confluentibus" (Langasco 258-259).

²³⁴ "Duo in morbum inciderunt, admissique in xenodochium incurabilium, lectum

the statutes of the foundation.²³⁵ Here the two sick masters found a place to stay. But two of the beds were already occupied, and there was only one left for the two of them.²³⁶

Even before this, on the tenth and twenty-eighth of September, the doge Gritti had sent two written admonitions to Alviso Contarini, the *podestà* of Vicenza, in which he complained that according to information which he had received, the funds of the hospital were being poorly managed, and even misused, by the confraternity.²³⁷ Xavier and Rodrigues were also to experience the effects of this. The house in which they were lodged was poor and drafty and the bed so narrow that there was hardly room enough for them both. They consequently had to practice a great deal of patience. When one wanted to remove the sheets and spreads because of an attack of fever, the other, shaking with cold, wanted to cover himself as completely as he could. Added to this distress was the fact that they were in need of almost everything. But each thought more of the other than of himself and sought to give what help he could.

Xavier had always had a great devotion to St. Jerome. One night as he was lying awake, as it seemed to him, upon his sick bed, this saint appeared to him in an attractive and venerable guise and consoled him with these words: "You will spend the winter in Bologna," he said (Xavier's father had studied in Bologna and had received his doctor's degree there, and more than once Xavier had seen the city from the keep on the top of Monselice), "and you will have to suffer many difficulties there. Some of the others will go to Rome, and some to Padua, Ferrara, and Siena." And so it turned out.²³⁸

10. THE CONSULTATION OF THE COMPANIONS (OCTOBER, 1537)

While Xavier and Rodrigues were lying sick in the hospital of the incurables, the companions were busy in San Pietro in Vivarolo discussing the matter that had prompted Ifiigo to summon them to Vicenza, though they told neither of the

unum sortiti sunt . . . in vasta huius xenodochii domo, paupere, et ventis pervia, seiuncta tamen ab incurabili domicilio" (Rodrigues 490). The preface to the statutes of the Compagnia de San Girolamo describes the founding of the hospital for the incurables: "They began it on January 8, 1520, making it dependent on their own hospital" (Veny Ballester 151).

²³⁵ Barbarano V 99.

²³⁶ Rodrigues 490.

²³⁷ Mantese 29.

²³⁸ Rodrigues 490-491 (in the Portuguese text: "em casa bem desobrigada e pobre, não bem tratados"). The apparition is the subject of a picture which the director of the hospital, Guerra, had painted in 1738 (picture in Poli, *La prima Messa* 372). Today it is in the Ospedale Civico San Bortolo in Vicenza. In 1565 the Somascans took over the hospital of the incurables, which was also serving at this time as a home for foundlings and orphans. They moved the sick into the hospital of Sant'Antonio Abbate south of the cathedral. On this site the modern Ospedale Civico San Bortolo in the Borgo Pusterla was erected in 1775. The orphans stayed in the original hospital for the incurables (today it is a home for orphan girls at the intersection of the Contrà della Misericordia and the Contrà San Bortolo next to the Collegio Convitto delle Dame Inglesi). In 1565 the foundlings were moved to San Marcello (Mantese 29-30). On the painting, whose inscription erroneously assumes that the apparition took place in the hospital of Sant'Antonio, see Poli, "Intorno ad un'antica pittura raffigurante San Francesco Saverio," *L'Avvenire d'Italia*, Dec. 4, 1930, p. 4.

two patients anything about it.²³⁹ Now that Venice had openly sided with the league and by so doing had declared war upon the Turks, there could be no further thought of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land before the following summer. They therefore had to determine what they were to do in the meantime.²⁴⁰

They decided to wait until the following year for an opportunity to sail. It was said that the sultan wanted to return in the spring to continue the war,²⁴¹ but by the beginning of October a letter from the Venetian ambassador in Bastia (opposite Corfu) had reached Venice which contradicted this. The ambassador stated that Ayas Pasha, who was friendly towards the republic, had sought him out and told him that the sultan had waged war on Corfu because of the encounter of the Venetian and Turkish fleets and the instigation of ministers who were hostile to Venice. But he wanted to forget this wrong he had suffered, and the ambassador might inform his country that Suleiman, though he was prepared to continue the war, was also ready for peace. The letter was read in the Council. In the debates which followed, the younger members advised prosecuting the war, while the older were for peace. It was eventually decided that the emperor should be informed of the offer of the Turkish ruler.²⁴² There was thus some hope that peace would be again established and that a pilgrim ship would be sailing the following summer. But if this were not the case, the companions decided that they would no longer be bound by their vow to make the pilgrimage and should place themselves at the pope's disposal.²⁴³

In the meantime they would separate again and go to the principal universities of northern and central Italy in order to win,²⁴⁴ if possible, new recruits from among the student bodies and to assist their neighbors by their preaching, lectures on Scripture, spiritual conversations, instruction of children and illiterates, visits to the sick and those in prison, giving the Spiritual Exercises, hearing confessions, dispensing the sacraments, and performing all the spiritual and corporal works of mercy with the approval of ecclesiastical superiors.²⁴⁵ Iñigo also warned his disciples to keep a sharp eye out for false teaching which under the guise of zeal spread the doctrines of Luther.²⁴⁶

Iñigo, Favre, and Laynez were to go to Rome, where they had been summoned.²⁴⁷ Codure and Hozes were designated for Padua, Jay and Rodrigues for Ferrara, Xavier and Bobadilla for Bologna, and Broët and Salmerón for Siena.²⁴⁸

²³⁹ Rodrigues 491. Laynez (120) and Nadal (FN II 84) expressly state that the deliberations, and therefore Xavier's illness, were after his first Mass.

²⁴⁰ Rodrigues 490.

²⁴¹ *Fine 137; Pastor V 193 832.

²⁴² Charrière I 353-356.

²⁴³ "Si compartirno per lo venetiano con intenzione di aspettare l'anno che havevano deilberato; et poi che fosse fornito [read: finito], et non fosse passaggio, se ne andariano a Roma" (Ignatius 494). "Poi tornorono tutti a Vincenza. . . Poi, finito l'anno, et non si trovando passaggio, si deliberorono di andare a Roma" (*ibid.* 496); see p. 347, n. 66.

²⁴⁴ Laynez 120; Polanco 582.

²⁴⁵ Rodrigues 491; Nadal (FN II 84-85; 259-260).

²⁴⁶ According to Nadal (FN II 261).

²⁴⁷ "Post id vero temporis vocati sumus Romam, ivimusque eo tres, qui eramus Vincentiae" (Favre 41).

²⁴⁸ Laynez (120) and Rodrigues (491) contrary to Polanco (FN I 194; II 582), who subsequently changed Salmerón to Simon. Since Rodrigues later went to Siena with Broët, Polanco erroneously has Bobadilla go to Ferrara with Jay, since he went there after Hozes' death in March, 1538, and sends Salmerón with Xavier to Bologna, probably because he was with him in Monselice.

Iñigo had astutely arranged the groups, combining the various nationalities, always putting a Frenchman with a Spaniard or Portuguese and an older priest with a younger one. For Bologna he had made an exception. The rough, brash, and impetuous Bobadilla needed a counterweight in the son of the former president of the Royal Council of Navarre.²⁴⁹ The companions were to work at their allotted posts through the winter; in the spring Iñigo would then call them to Rome, for further decisions.²⁵⁰

One question still remained to be settled. If they were asked at the university cities about the kind of congregation to which they belonged, what were they to answer? They prayed for light and reflected on the problem.²⁵¹

The University of Paris was made up of seven companies: the three higher faculties and the four nations of the Arts Faculty. In 1525 the lawyer Borchard had called the Theological Faculty "this holy company" (*cette sainte Compagnie*).²⁵² While the companions were living in Paris, the grand master of the Knights of St. John, Philippe de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, the heroic defender of Rhodes, had built the chapel of the Name of Jesus in the Temple and had decorated it with life-sized statues of the twelve apostles and with painted flames and swords and the inscription: "For the Faith!"²⁵³ In Vicenza, moreover, between 1492 and 1494 Fra Bernardino da Feltre had followed the example of his great religious predecessor, St. Bernardine of Siena, and given missions to the people. He had also promoted devotion to the most Holy Name of Jesus and had founded there a confraternity to help the poor. This *Compagnia del buon Gesù* was still extant.²⁵⁴ The old confraternity of the *Compagnia di Santa Maria e di San Cristoforo* had also affiliated with itself a group of young candidates which bore the name of the "*Compagnia dei Soldatelli di Gesù*."²⁵⁵

In 1535 Iñigo had already told his nephew Beltrán at the castle of Loyola that he was thinking of founding a *compañía* and hoped that God would also call him so that he might distinguish himself in it.²⁵⁶ Now that the question of a name had come up for discussion, he made the following suggestions. Since they had no other head and no other leader except Jesus Christ, whom they all desired to serve, it seemed best to him that if they were asked who they were,

²⁴⁹ Ignatius had probably arranged the groups for the trip to Rome in March, 1537, and the appointments in July of the same year so that they were composed of individuals from different nationalities. He now assigned individuals to particular cities, as is generally admitted by the authors. Ignatius seems to indicate such an arrangement for the first trip to Rome, when he says: "Li compagni tornorono a Vinetia divisi in tre parti, et in tal modo, che sempre erano di diverse nationi" (492).

²⁵⁰ Rodrigues 491-492.

²⁵¹ Polanco writes of this in 1548: "Cuanto al nombre de la Compañía, y modo cómo se hizo y confirmó etc., lo que de información y escrituras de los mismos padres de la Compañía he podido saber, es lo siguientes: El nombre es 'La Compañía de Jesús,' y tomóse este nombre *antes* que llegasen a Roma; que tratando entre sí cómo se llamarían a quien les pidiese qué congregación era esta suya, que era de 9 ó 10 personas, comenzaron a darse a la oración y pensar qué nombre sería más conveniente" (203-204; contrary to Böhmer 211).

²⁵² Feret I 120; cf. Franklin 247 (*Les sept Compagnies* in the order of the procession in 1719); Quicherat I 54-55.

²⁵³ Corrozet (1550) 99-v.

²⁵⁴ Barbarano II 209 218.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.* V 94; Mario Spagnolo, "Prodromi della Riforma a Vicenza nel sec. XVI," *Regnum Dei* 5 (1949) 109-110.

²⁵⁶ *MI Epp.* I 150.

they should reply that they belonged to "the Society of Jesus," the *Compagnia di Gesù*, and this suggestion was approved by all.²⁵⁷

11. THE DEPARTURE FROM VICENZA (OCTOBER, 1537)

Before the arrival of his companions in Venice in January, 1537, Iñigo had been an object of attacks and slanders. It was rumored that he had fled from Spain and Paris as a heretic and that he had been burned there in effigy. He eventually saw that he would have to conduct a suit against his calumniators before the papal legate.²⁵⁸ He therefore wrote to Paris to obtain a favorable deposition. Since his companions had already left the city when his letter arrived, two of his former fellow students and countrymen, Master Lorenzo García and Diego de Cáceres²⁵⁹ went to the inquisitor Fray Thomas Laurentius in the Dominican monastery, and the latter drew up the requested document on January 23, 1537. In it he declared that he had been the secretary of his predecessor, the inquisitor Valentin Liévin when the latter had undertaken an official investigation into the life and teaching of Ignatius of Loyola, and that this had established his complete innocence and Catholic teaching. Moreover, he had himself seen that not only Loyola but also Master Peter Favre and their companions always lived in a Catholic and virtuous manner, and that the Exercises given by Ignatius appeared to him to be Catholic as far as he could see.²⁶⁰

The trial had dragged on in Venice even though Gasparo de Dotti, Iñigo's friend, did all he could to expedite it. In the second week of October, however,

²⁵⁷ The sources suggest that Ignatius made this proposal (FN II 204). There were three definite stages in the naming of the Society of Jesus: (1) the deliberations in Vicenza, in October, 1537. (2) The corroboration through the vision at La Storta. (3) The deliberations in Rome in 1539, when the order was finally founded. This is indicated in Polanco (FN I 203-204; II 595-597), Laynez (FN II 133), Nadal (*ibid.* I 313-314 321; II 158-159), and Ribadeneyra (*ibid.* II 377; *Vida* 2, 11). Canisius declared in his censure of Ribadeneyra's *Vita* that the La Storta vision had not been the sole or principal source of the name "Society of Jesus" (*MI Scripta* I 715). The name "Societas Iesu" was thought to be military, as Polanco observes (597); cf. *MI Epp.* I 501 and J. Iturriz, S.J., "Compañía de Jesús. Sentido histórico y ascético de este nombre," *Manresa* 27 (1955) 43-55.

²⁵⁸ At the end of 1538 Ignatius wrote that the vicar-general of the legate of Venice (Gasparo de Dotti) had brought a suit against him "después que comenzamos a predicar en la Señoría de Venecia" (FN I 11-12). This refers to the "Exercises and spiritual discussions" which Ignatius conducted in the city in 1536 (*ibid.* 490). The first persecution was directed against his Exercises. In 1555 Ignatius mentioned a second persecution in Venice in connection with this. He had been suspected of heresy and says of this: "Et questa cosa andò tanto inanzi, che si è fatto processo, et fu data la sentenza in favore del Pellegrino" (*ibid.* 492). Ignatius mentions the first persecution in connection with Hozes' Exercises in 1536, the second before giving an account of the arrival of the companions in January, 1537. The fact that Ignatius, who was slanderously accused of having been burned in effigy in Paris, asked for a certificate from the inquisitor there at the end of 1536 (which was granted on January 23, 1537) shows that the process had already been introduced in 1536. Ignatius' letter to Pier Contarini of August, 1537, shows that Dotti was detained in Venice by the trial (*MI Epp.* I 126). Polanco assures us that Ignatius had forced the legate to begin the trial, and this before the companions arrived in Venice (575-576). Nadal says the same (FN II 254; contrary to Böhmer 205 and Dudon 329).

²⁵⁹ The *original document has "Laurentio Garsia" (written almost like Daosia, as the editors mistakenly read it) and "Jacobo de Cacers."

²⁶⁰ The original is in ARSI: *Ep. N.* 89, n. 25, edited in *MI Scripta* II 3.

the doctor could write to Iñigo that he might come to Venice for its conclusion. On October 13 he was able to present his final decision. In this he declared that he had made an official investigation of the priest Ignatius of Loyola; he had summoned witnesses and taken their testimony; he had heard Ignatius' defense and had determined that all the accusations made against him were false, vain, and frivolous, and that the said Don Father Ignatius had been and was a priest of a good and pious life and holy teaching, and of excellent origin and distinguished reputation, and that he had given proof of this up to the present hour in Venice through his words and example.²⁶¹

Iñigo and his companions could therefore leave Vicenza in the second half of October²⁶² with light hearts for new centers of apostolic labors.²⁶³ Some went back to their hermitages to complete the three months of their retreat.²⁶⁴ In order to prepare themselves better for their first Masses,²⁶⁵ Jay and Rodrigues returned to Bassano and the hermitage of Fra Antonio,²⁶⁶ who had been grieved to see them go.²⁶⁷ Salmerón, who was still not yet ordained to the priesthood, went with Broët to Verona.²⁶⁸ The others traveled over the plains of the Po to

²⁶¹ A *copy with an autograph note by St. Ignatius on the back is in ARSI: *Hist. Soc. Ib.*, n. 17, edited in *MI Scripta* I 624-627.

²⁶² "Erat autem mensis Octobris," Favre says (41); "hacia el principio del invierno," Laynez (120). Ignatius was in Venice on October 13 to receive the decision. He therefore returned to Vicenza on the sixteenth at the earliest. On December 19, 1538, he wrote: "Más ha de un año que tres de la Compañía llegamos aquí en Roma" (FN I 7); and on June 15, 1538 Bobadilla wrote concerning Favre and Laynez: "Léense dos lecciones de la sacra scriptura en la Sapiencia dende el mes de Nobienbre hasta agora" (*Bob. Mon.* 3). It is 340 miles from Vicenza to Rome. Therefore, even if the three travelers covered only twenty-five miles a day, they could make the trip in fourteen days (contrary to Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 3, who thinks the distance was 374 miles and would require at least a month).

²⁶³ Favre states that the companions started from Vicenza: "Vocati sumus Romam, ivimusque eo tres, qui eramus Vincentiae" (41), and Polanco: "Partiéronse para este efecto de Vincentia" (FN I 194). This is contrary to Dudon, who has Ignatius call the companions back to Venice so that he might confer with them and then set out from there with them for Rome at the beginning of November. He has them decide on the name "Society of Jesus" at the crossroads before taking their separate ways (350-351). Rahner also has the companions depart from Venice, and on October 15 (*Zeitschrift für Aszese und Mystik* 10 [1933] 24). He is here obviously influenced by Böhmer (212). Although F. Rodrigues is correct in having them depart from Vicenza, he errs in setting the departure at the beginning of October (*Historia* I, 1, 76).

²⁶⁴ "Caeterum priusquam in has urbes decessio fieret, nonnulli patres in suas illas solitarias aediculas reverterunt, ut impendendum solitudini tempus, in desertis illis locis, totum exigerent. Quo demum peracto, in sua omnes oppida, quo diximus ordine, sunt profecti" (Rodrigues 491). This passage is overlooked by Böhmer (212), Tacchi Venturi (II, 1, 90), and Rahner (24), all of whom have the eleven companions travel together until each group comes to its destination, with the result that, according to them, Ignatius and his two companions continued their journey alone only after reaching Siena.

²⁶⁵ Rodrigues said his first Mass in Ferrara (Rodrigues 490).

²⁶⁶ Rodrigues' preference for the eremitical life and his postponement of his first Mass, for which he wanted a longer preparation, indicate that he was one of these "nonnulli." Jay, who was appointed to go to Ferrara with him, naturally accompanied him.

²⁶⁷ Rodrigues 489.

²⁶⁸ The condition had been set in Rome that Salmerón could not be ordained until he had begun his twenty-third year: "cum primum vigesimum tertium tuae etatis [aetatis] annum attigeris, vel ex nunc, si in eo constitutus existas" (*Ep. Salmeronis* I 575). He became twenty-two on September 8, 1537 (Ribadeneira, *Vida de Laynez* 120). He was apparently not ordained until the end of October or the beginning of November, for he did not receive the authorization to say Mass, hear confessions, and so forth until November 4, 1537. This authorization, which he obtained from Veralli in Venice,

Padua,²⁶⁹ where Codure and Hozes were left behind.²⁷⁰ The rest then went on to Ferrara²⁷¹ and Bologna,²⁷² where Xavier and Bobadilla remained, while Iñigo, Favre, and Laynez took the road over the Apennine passes for Rome.

was valid only for the territory of the republic (*Ep. Salmeronis* I 578-580). Salmerón was thus at this time not as yet with Broët in Siena but in Venetian territory. He had evidently gone with Broët to his hermitage at Verona, unless we would rather suppose that Broët went with Salmerón to his hermitage in Monselice because of its proximity to Venice, where his companion was going to be ordained. Rodrigues (487-488) and Astraín (I 87) erroneously place Salmerón's ordination on June 24, 1537; the editors of the *Epistolae Salmeronis* prefer to date it on September 8, 1537 (I 577, n. 1); Laynez (120), Polanco (582), Tacchi Venturi (II, 1, 88), and Dudon (331) have him celebrate his first Mass in Vicenza together with the others in September or October, 1537.

²⁶⁹ There is a vague tradition that Xavier said Mass in St. Andrew's church in Padua, not far from the university. The tradition may go back to the painting of Natale Plancke, who worked in Padua from 1646 to 1654. The painting, which is found over the second altar to the left, shows Xavier raising a boy from the dead. Since Padua, twenty miles from Vicenza, was perhaps the first place he spent the night on his trip to Bologna (he was perhaps still weak from his illness), it is quite possible that the tradition is correct.

²⁷⁰ Ignatius says: "Andorono a Roma divisi in tre o quatro parti, et il pelegirino con Fabro et Laynez" (496). Since two went from Vicenza to Bassano and two to Verona (or Monselice), these could not have traveled with the others. The rest took the same road until each group reached its destination.

²⁷¹ By way of Monselice, Stanghella, Boare, Rovigo, Bosaro, Poleselle (where the duchy of Ferrara began), Garofalo, and Ponte Lagoscuro.

²⁷² Ercole I, duke of Ferrara (1471-1505), had already begun to drain the marshes in the region of San Martina south of Ferrara. Bologna was doing the same on its side at Poggio Renatico. Later, by virtue of a contract of December 3, 1512, the Reno was rerouted into the Po in 1526 at Po Rotto, a little above Ferrara. In this way the marshes were drained so that a practicable road, called the Traversia, could be laid between Ferrara and Bologna. This eliminated the roundabout route by way of Torre dell'Uccellino. When Ercole II directed the Reno into the marshes again in 1542 because of the frequent flooding of the Po, this new road became impassible and the old route came into use again (Alberti 314v-315 [incorrectly paginated 306v-307] 325v; Gius. Maciga, *Cenni Idrografici e storici sull'antico Delta Padano* [Ferrara, 1925] 57). The stretch from Vicenza to Bologna is ninety-four miles, or a three- to four-day trip.

CHAPTER V

BOLOGNA "LA GRASSA" (OCTOBER, 1537-APRIL, 1538)¹

1. AT THE TOMB OF ST. DOMINIC (OCTOBER, 1537)

Bologna with its world-renowned Faculty of Law had more than a thousand students from all over the world, but particularly from Italy, Germany, and Spain. In addition to these students, the city had in the first half of the sixteenth century

¹ Our main authority for Xavier's stay in Bologna is Francesco Palmio, S.J., who has left us a valuable letter of the year 1546 and three *reports on the history of the Jesuits in Bologna, which are now in the archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome: (1) **Historia del principio e progresso del Collegio della Compagnia di Giesù fondato nella magnifica città di Bologna in Santa Lucia*, from 1569 (*Ven. 112*, 196-206v; another copy, *ibid.* 207-216); (2) **Informatione del principio et origine et di tutte le cose notabili del Collegio della Compagnia di Jesu di Bologna*, from 1579 (*Ven. 105*, 74-76v, edited in MX II 114-118. A continuation of the history from 1580 to 1673 is in *Ven. 112*, 1-194v); and (3) **Breve informatione del Collegio di Bologna fatta l'anno 1580* (*Ven. 105*, 124-129, some texts of which were published by Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 243-250).—Palmio, born in Parma in 1518, met Favre and Laynez there in 1539, and through them came to know and treasure the Society of Jesus. When soon after he went to Bologna to study, he visited there two former penitents of Xavier, Suor Romea, whom he had met in Parma in his mother's home, and Madonna Violante Gozzadina, to whom he was introduced by Suor Romea as a friend of the Society of Jesus and who spoke to him at length about her pious spiritual adviser. A few months later he returned home in poor health, but immediately after his ordination, invited by Madonna Violante, he returned to Bologna, where she persuaded him to remain, and, as chaplain of Don Girolamo, the rector of Santa Lucia, he took over Xavier's work and penitents. He was so inspired by what he heard from them about Xavier that he diligently collected everything he could about him. Together with Don Girolamo and Madonna Violante he was able to persuade Ignatius to send Jerónimo Doménech to Bologna in 1546 to found a residence there. He himself entered the Society in 1547 and until his death in 1585 he was the defender, head, and spirit of the college in Santa Lucia. A second important source is the **Vita Patris Hieronymi Dominech Societatis Jesu*, written in Sicily by Nicolò Faranda, S.J., about 1593. His statements about Doménech's relations with Xavier, although they are somewhat confusing and contradictory, obviously go back to information supplied by Doménech, who was Faranda's provincial almost without interruption from the time of his entrance into the Society in 1560 until 1576. The oldest manuscript is in *Fondo Gesù: Manuscripta 2b*, n. 27, ff. 71-74v; two copies are in ARSI: *Sic. 190*, 45-55v and 35-44v. The statements of Palmio and Faranda are supplemented by the testimony of the vicar-general of 1538 (MX II 133-134), Don Girolamo Casalino's letter of 1555 (*Ep. Mixtae* IV 717-719), Doménech's observations (FN II 382), and the brief comments of Laynez in 1547 (120-122), Bobadilla in 1569 (634), Polanco in 1574 (582-584), and Rodrigues (491-493). The later biographers, Teixeira, Tursellinus, Lucena, Seb. Gonçalves (inaccurately translated by Cros), and Brou, contain nothing new except for embellishments. Two accounts should be mentioned: Antonio di Paolo Masini, *Bologna perlustrata* I (Bologna, 1666) 119-120 491-492, and Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 109-128. We are indebted for further information to the former keeper of the episcopal archives in Bologna, Don Angelo Macchiavelli, who put in order the *Jesuitica* preserved there (305 thick packets and thirty volumes, primarily of a financial nature). We are also indebted to our deceased confreres, Fathers A. Basile and Natale

about sixty thousand inhabitants,² occupied in trade, agriculture, and especially in the silk and wool industries.³ Its arched porticoes, lofty towers, churches, palaces, cloisters, and encircling wall gave it a medieval appearance. It was located on the old Roman road, the Via Aemilia, which led from Rimini on the Adriatic to Piacenza, and lay at the foot of the Apennines on the edge of the fertile plain of the Po at the entrance to the ancient pass leading to Florence and central Italy. It was called *la Grassa* ("the fat") with good reason. The slopes above the city were covered with vineyards, olive groves, and orchards, where figs, cherries, apples, and pears grew in abundance. The plain was covered by a bright carpet of rye, barley, flax, hemp, and bean fields, separated by long rows of fruit trees bound together by garlands of vines; along the paths were mulberry trees, whose leaves furnished food for silkworms; and numerous flocks and herds grazed in the soft green meadows.⁴

It was a late October day when the Parisian masters, coming from Ferrara, entered the city through the Porta Galliera, tired and covered with dust. The street of the same name led straight south from here and then turned left to the old cathedral of San Pedro,⁵ whose main entrance was guarded by stone lions.⁶ There on November 6, 1470, the archdeacon Dr. Lodovico de Bolognini, had handed to Xavier's father in the presence of the infante Don Pedro de Foix and his family a copy of the *Libri Decretalium* ("*Books of Decretals*"), first shut and then open, had placed a doctor's biretta on his head, slipped a gold ring on his finger, given him the kiss of peace and his blessing, and had then bestowed upon him the doctor's degree in canon law, as was evidenced by the elaborately illuminated diploma in the castle of Xavier.⁷

A few more steps brought the travelers to the Piazza Maggiore, shut off on the west by the strong, red brick front of the broad Palazzo Comunale, the seat of the papal legate and governor. On the north was the palace of the *podestà* and opposite it on the south the broad, and still largely bare, brick façade of the lofty church of San Petronio, the most prominent in the city. A narrow street on the east side of the square led to two tall and slender towers, the Torre Asinelli, soaring more than three hundred feet into the sky and the smaller, sharply leaning Torre Garisenda. Near these distinctive landmarks of Bologna the Strà di Santo Stefano turned off towards the southeast. From there it passed on to the ancient church of Santo Stefano, a conglomerate of eight different shrines.

Fabrini in particular, who most generously allowed us to see his still unpublished manuscript on the beginnings of the Society of Jesus in Bologna.

² The population was 61,716 in 1560 (Luigi Simeoni, *Storia della università di Bologna* 2 [Bologna, 1940] 63). Palmio mentions Italian, Spanish, German, Hungarian, and Polish students (**Breve* 127).

³ In 1589 the spinning of silk employed 30,000 of the 72,000 inhabitants, and the weaving of wool 15,000 (Masini 420-421).

⁴ See the **Historia di Bologna di F. Leandro degli Alberti Bolognese dell'Ordine de' Frati Predicatori*, ff. 24-v, written in 1540 (Bologna, Bibl. Università Ms. 98), which gives a detailed description of his native city. Other works on Bologna, besides Masini, are Giuseppe di Gio. Battista Guidicini, *Cose notabili della città di Bologna* (Bologna, 1868-1873); Corrado Ricci, *Guida di Bologna* (Bologna, 1907); Gida Rossi, *Bologna nella storia, nell'arte e nel costume* (Bologna, 1924-1928); and, on the university, Albano Sorbelli-Luigi Simeoni, *Storia della università di Bologna* (Bologna, 1940).

⁵ Built during the twelfth century in a Romanesque style, replaced in 1605 by the present building.

⁶ Described in Guidicini I 48-49, no longer extant; see also Alberti, **Hist.* 13.

⁷ Escalada 163-168.

This was followed by another church on the left at the juncture of the Via della Cartoleria Nuova, San Biagio. Associated with it was the monastery of the Discalced Augustinian Hermits and a hospice, the hospital of San Biagio, also known as the hospital of Santa Maria dei Servi, managed by a pious confraternity,⁸ where pilgrims⁹ and the homeless poor could find shelter.¹⁰ Here also the Parisian masters were hospitably received as poor men of Christ.¹¹

A few minutes to the west and separated from the hospital by a parallel street, the Strà Castiglione, was the monastery of the Dominicans, where the founder of the order had died in 1221. It had about 120 religious at this time and a precious library unequalled by any other in the whole of Europe.¹² Raised up on columns in front of the neighboring church of San Domenico were the elaborate tombs of two renowned legal scholars, Egidio Foscherari and Rolandino Passeggeri. Within the church was the simple, modest tomb of their colleague Lodovico de Bolognini, the renowned expositor of the Pandects, who had bestowed the doctor's hat upon Xavier's father. It was located near the entrance of the sacristy along with a bronze bust of Lodovico bearing the inscription: *Omnia mea mecum porto* ("I carry all that I have with me").¹³ In recent years Fra Damiano da Bergamo had adorned the choir stall of the presbytery and the chapel of St. Dominic in the church with admirable scenes from the Old Testament and from the life of the founder in inlaid wood (intarsia).¹⁴ But the main treasure of the shrine was the wonderful, richly carved, white marble sarcophagus containing the remains of St. Dominic. This was up on the right side of the church and reached by a flight of thirty-two steps.¹⁵ Three splendid groups in the center represented the adoration of the shepherds and of the wise men, with their horses, camels, and elephants. To the left of this was portrayed the birth, and on the right the glorification of the founder of the order, both scenes framed by a kneeling angel bearing a lamp, the one on the left by Nicolò dall'Arca and the one on the right by Michelangelo. Above these were two more scenes separated by a lovely statue of the Queen of Heaven with her Child. On the left St. Dominic was represented as raising from the dead a young man who had been crushed

⁸ Guidicini I 221-222; V 49-50. In 1512 Don Francesco da San Venanzo was rector of the church, in 1549 Don Nicolo Vergili (Masini 136). The hospital, now a beer parlor, lay on the Strà di Santo Stefano 81.

⁹ Founded as a hospital for pilgrims in 1320 (Guidicini V 49).

¹⁰ For "vagabondi poveri" (Alberti, *Hist. 20).

¹¹ Palmio merely says that Xavier, in Bologna, "giunto che fù, secondo il suo costume, se n'andò ad albergare all'hospitale" (*Hist. 196v; *Inform. 74v-75; MX II 115). Two later documents, discovered in the episcopal archives of Bologna by N. Fabrini, mention the hospital. The introduction to **Campione delle case alienate o demolite in città ed in campagna* (N. 1348: **Campione di stabili, alienate o permutati in campagna et in città*) says: "Entrò il primo della Compagnia in Bologna S. Francesco Saverio nell'anno 1537 ed ebbe suo alloggio nell'Ospitale di S. Biagio, appresso." But the **Campione della chiesa antica e nuova di Santa Lucia e sua sagrestia* (N. 1347: **Camipone de' Monti in essere, censi attivi, censi passivi, case in città, ed in campagna e chiesa antica, e nuova. 1771*) states that Xavier was received by Giroalmo Casalino, "il quale non volle, consentire, che il Santo Homo giacesse nello spedale di S. Biagio da lui eretto a sua stanza" (6-7).

¹² Alberti, *Hist. 15v.

¹³ *Ibid.* 14v; Ricci 38. He was born in Bologna in 1446 and taught there until his death, from 1469 to 1508 (Borbelli 240-242).

¹⁴ Alberti, *Hist. 14; Fichard 120; Masini 113.

¹⁵ Guidicini I 193. The chapel of his tomb was between the modern chapel and the choir.

by a horse and returning him to his mother. On the right could be seen his book withstanding an ordeal by fire in his battle with the Albigenses. Above these panels was a roof-shaped superstructure with statues of Sts. Francis of Assisi, Petronius, Dominic, Florian, and others, and still higher up those of the four great prophets and wreaths held by two putti and a statue of the Ecce Homo. Crowning it all was a globe surmounted by a statue of God the Father.¹⁶

Here at the tomb of St. Dominic Master Francis offered up his Mass the morning after his arrival in Bologna.¹⁷ Two Dominican tertiaries, Suor Margarita and Suor Isabetta Casalino, who happened to be present, were struck by the devotion of the strange young priest at the celebration of the sacred mysteries. The former was a Spanish woman of great virtue and holiness, and of a prominent family, who had come from Spain to end her life near the tomb of St. Dominic. The latter, who was of a similar mind, was the niece of Don Girolamo Casalino, the pastor of Santa Lucia, with whom she lived. When Xavier had finished his Mass, they both expressed their desire of speaking with him. His words made such a deep impression on them¹⁸ that Suor Isabetta suggested that he might call on her uncle and help him by his example and holy admonitions to carry out his pastoral duties.¹⁹

Xavier humbly acquiesced to her request.²⁰ The parish church of Santa Lucia lay on the Strà Castiglione on the way from San Domenico to the hospital where he was staying. It was a plain old building, 102 feet long. According to tradition it had been erected in the fifth century by St. Petronius, destroyed by the Huns in the tenth, and rebuilt in the thirteenth.²¹ It had a cemetery, campanile,²²

¹⁶ Cf. Ricci 35-37. The group of marble figures below the *mensa* of the altar, over which the sarcophagus rises, is from 1768.

¹⁷ "Como era molto devoto del P. S. Domenico, la prima messa, che celebrò in Bologna, la volse celebrare alla capella, ove è sepolto il corpo di detto Santo, volgarmente nominata 'la capella dell'arca'" (Palmio, **Hist.* 196v; cf. **Inform.* 75; MX II 115). This is commemorated by a painting of Giuseppe Pedretti (died in 1778) on the right front of the church above the arcade. In his *Annali della città di Bologna* 6 (Bologna, 1844), 470, Salvatore Muzzi erroneously places Xavier's first Mass here on his feast, December 3.

¹⁸ Palmio, **Inform.* 75; MX II 115. In his **Historia*, Palmio leaves the place for the name of Margarita blank, but he adds "del terzo ordine di S. Domenico, ò come chiamano, di penitenza," and states: "Finita la messa detta M. Spagnola in compagnia di S. Isabetta volse parlare al Padre Francesco. Il ragionamento fù di cose spirituali" (197), and in his **Informatione* he says: "Il ragionamento fu tale che restorno molto edificate et consolate nel Signore." Tursellinus mentions only Isabetta and says: "Colloquium tale fuit, ut illa viri sanctitate capta teneretur" (1, 7), which Seb. Gonçalves translates: "Tal foi a pratica que ficou no divino amor inflamada" (1, 3). In Cros this becomes: "Elle lui parla après la messe et, disoit-elle, 'cet entretien m'anima fortement à pratiquer toute vertu'" (*Vie* I 144-145).

¹⁹ Palmio, **Inform.* 75; MX II 110.

²⁰ "Il che con molta humiltà promise di fare, e fece detto Padre" (Palmio, **Hist.* 197). "Il che il B. Padre con molta humiltà, carità et prudenzia fece" (**Inform.* 75; MX II 116). Masini erroneously places this visit on the twelfth (119); the **Memorie prime de' principi del Collegio di Santa Lucia*, in the episcopal archives of Bologna, N. 252, n. 35, dates it, also incorrectly, on September 18 (communication from Father Fabrini).

²¹ Before it was restored by the Jesuits, the church was "molto vecchia et brutta" (Palmio, **Breve* 124). Descriptions and histories of it are given in Palmio (**Inform.* 85-86v 94); Masini 119-120; Guidicini I 280-289 and ARSI: *Ven.* 112, 1-594v. The church lay on the corner of Strà Castiglione 391 and the Via Campo di Santa Lucia (Guidicini I 280-282), between the modern 38:3 and 38:4. The site is now occupied by an inner court, already indicated on the plan of 1672. In 1474 Pietro Malcalzati endowed St. Peter's altar to the right of the choir (Palmio, **Inform.* 111v). In 1562 the Jesuits took over the church and parish. Between 1548 and 1672 they acquired almost the entire island:

and an old, decrepit parish house attached to it on the south.²³ Nevertheless, the parish was one of the largest and most important in the city, stretching out as it did far beyond the Porta Castiglione to the monastery of the Olivetans, San Michele in Bosco,²⁴ where Don Girolamo in 1535 had inherited some property with a yearly rental of twelve lire, twelve *soldi*, and two pairs of live capons.²⁵ The rector of the church, Don Girolamo Casalino of Forlì, was a doctor in canon law.²⁶ Since 1531, he had been pastor of Santa Lucia,²⁷ and since 1532, a canon in the collegiate church of San Petronio.²⁸

The impression which Xavier's visit made upon him was such that he asked him to stay with him and to bring along his companion Bobadilla.²⁹ The two

twenty-one houses on the Via Cartoleria Vecchia, thirty-three on the Via Campo di Santa Lucia, and ten on the Via dei Chiari (list in Guidicini I 285-288), including the Palazzo Gozzadino on the south in 1562 and the Palazzo Locatelli on the north in 1621. In 1564 Xavier's room was converted into a chapel and connected with the church. In 1567 the portion of the parish lying outside the city gates was transferred to the church of the Misericordia. A side chapel was built next to Xavier's room specifically for the remainder of the parish in 1568, and other chapels were added between 1576 and 1579. In 1623 the new church was begun on the site of the Locatelli palace, a few steps north of the old one; and in 1659 the first Mass was celebrated there. In 1650 the old church had to give way to the new college gate. The plan approved by the general in 1672 shows a large inner court behind the gate with Xavier's room on the right. Between 1661 and 1676 the open channel of the Sávena on the Strà Castiglione was covered over from the Gozzadino palace to the Pepoli palace and an arcade built above it. In 1673 the Via Campo di Santa Lucia was closed. After the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773, the Barnabites took over the church and school. In 1866 they were driven out and the church became a gymnasium (Via Castiglione 36). Several public schools were laid out in the completely rebuilt college and Xavier's room disappeared without a trace. Four *plans of the college and its surroundings are preserved in the archives of the Society of Jesus: two from about 1583 (*Hist. Soc.* 154, f. 2, and 152, n. 1), one from about 1621 (*Hist. Soc.* 152, n. 2), and one from 1672 (*ibid.*, n. 41).

²² Palmio, **Inform.* 85v-86v; Guidicini I 281 286. The campanile and cemetery lay on the south side of the choir, in the northeast corner of the present inner court. Many bones were still found there when the church was reconstructed (begun in 1866), as we were told by the porter in 1923. He had himself heard this from his predecessor forty years before, who had been alive at the time. See also the *plan of 1583 (*Hist. Soc.* 154, 2).

²³ "Al tempo che noi havessimo la chiesa [1562], detta canonica era tutta ruinosa, non vi essendo muraglia bona, anzi ne ruinó una bona parte" (Palmio, **Inform.* 107). Palmio adds that the parish house was almost entirely converted into side chapels of the church or demolished in order to give more light to it.

²⁴ Palmio, **Hist.* 206v; **Inform.* 82; **Breve* 124.

²⁵ Palmio, **Inform.* 112-v.

²⁶ Palmio, **Inform.* 75; MX II 115-116. From then on his house was the hospice for Jesuits who were passing through. In 1544 he received Palmio into his home. In 1548 he gave a small house on the Via Campo di Santa Lucia to the Jesuits. In 1555 he wrote to Ignatius and asked that they might be left at Santa Lucia (*Ep. Mixtae* IV 717-719). In 1556 he piously died after receiving the last sacraments from Palmio (Polanco, *Chron.* VI 183).

²⁷ Litta III: Gozzadini Tav. VII.

²⁸ **Dignitari e Canonici di S. Petronio. Notizie storiche*, n. 100 (Bologna, Archivio di Stato, N. 128). From a communication of Father Fabrini.

²⁹ "Capitandoci li Reverendi M. don. Francesco Seuiere et M. don Nicolò Bobadiglia, piaque a Dio farmi gratia che li dessi albergo in casa mia, et cosi stetero sempre, fin tanto che V. R. li chiamò a Roma," Casalino (as he signed the letter) wrote in 1555 to Ignatius (*Ep. Mixtae* IV 17). "La cui visita fu tale, che quel buon sacerdote ne restò molto edificato et consolato nel Signore, e per ciò lo pregò si degnassi per il tempo che restava in Bologna habitar con lui, offerendoli la stanza, e ciò che gli bisognava" (Palmio, **Inform.* 75-v; MX II 116). Giacomo Certani says that Casalino visited Xavier in the hospital and begged him with tears in his eyes to live with him (*L'Apostolo dell'Indie* [Bologna, 1650] 43).

gladly accepted the invitation, but under one condition: As poor men of Christ they wished to continue begging their daily bread from door to door.³⁰

2. APOSTOLIC LABORS (1537-1538)

Xavier and Bobadilla called upon the vicar-general, Agostino Zannetti, in the episcopal palace near the cathedral and obtained from him the necessary faculties for their apostolic labors,³¹ which Xavier undertook with his usual zest, even though he was still weak and had hardly recovered from his severe illness.³²

Their daily order was simple. The two rooms which Don Girolamo placed at their disposal adjoined the parish church on the south.³³ Xavier, like his companion, made an early meditation, recited his breviary, and offered the Holy Sacrifice in Santa Lucia.³⁴ Occasionally he celebrated Mass elsewhere, for example, in San Petronio,³⁵ where he could see in the ninth chapel on the left the tomb of

³⁰ "Accettò il buon padre l'offerta, mà quanto al vivere, li parve trovarlo per via della santa mendicà" (Palmio, *Hist. 197; *Inform. 75v; MX II 116).

³¹ "De nostra licentia predicarunt," according to the vicar-general (MX II 133).

³² "En Bolonia asímismo se hizo mucho fruto y con gran mortificación, siendo especialmente Maestro Francisco enfermo, predicando en las plazas, y confesaba quasi todo el día, de tal manera, que aún dura el buen olor de aquel fruto; y fué hecho tal principio, que cresce y crescerá cada día más," Laynez wrote from Bologna in 1547 (Layneze 122).

³³ Pompeo Scipione Dolfi wrote that Don Girolamo had given Xavier two rooms in his parish house (*Cronologia delle famiglie nobili di Bologna* [Bologna, 1670] 387). He probably meant to say that Xavier and Bobadilla together had two rooms. Palmio consistently speaks of only one room occupied by Xavier. It measured fourteen by sixteen feet and lay against the south wall of the church halfway between the entrance and the choir. The *plan of 1583 gives the exact position (*Hist. Soc. 154, 2*). Palmio, "tenerissimo verso S. Francesco Saverio ancor vivo" (*Ven. 112, 16*), considered himself fortunate to be able to live and sleep in this room for awhile. In 1564 he had it changed into a chapel with the help of Mateo Zani, another of Xavier's admirers (*Inform. 75v; MX II 116). The chapel was consecrated to the Circumcision and to St. Matthew, as is indicated by two inscriptions, one of Fulvius Cardulus, S.J., and the other of Mateo's brother Andrea, erected in 1576 (*Inform. 85v-86; text in Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 243). After Xavier's canonization in 1622, the chapel was dedicated to him and magnificently adorned (Masini I 120). The *Santa Capella* remained intact when the new entrance was laid out in 1662 and appears in the *plan of 1672 (*Ven. 112, 403v; Certani 44*); it was sacrificed to the destructive spirit of foes of the Church when they began rebuilding in 1866.

³⁴ "Quasi ogni giorno celebrava la Messa in detta chiesa di Santa Lucia" (Palmio, *Hist., 197), "ove ogni giorno celebrava la Messa" (*Inform. 75v; MX II 116).

³⁵ An inscription on the Epistle side of the first chapel to the right of the entrance, the *Capella della Pace*, recalls the fact that Xavier celebrated Mass there. It reads as follows: "D.O.M. / Questo altare della B.V. della Pace / fu arricchita dalla s.m. di Gregorio XIII / del privilegio di liberare un'anima purgante / per ciascuna Messa che vi si celebra / ed altre indulgenze plenarie per chi la visita / nei giorni festivi della Beata Verigne / Vi celebrò S. Francesco Saverio e Clemente VIII / il quale aggiunse anche per le dette visite / altre indulgenze particolari / Anticamente fu qui eretta una Congregazione / detta della Concordia con facultà speciali / per comporre i dissidi e le liti / senza lo strepito e dispendio del foro / Nel 1585 fu sostituita altra Compagnia / detta della Pace dotata di più indulgenze / affinché impetrasse colle orazioni / procurasse coll'opera la concordia / nelle famiglie. / Le dignità, i canonici e il Capitolo / di questa perinsigne Collegiata / ornarono quest'altare e ridussero / questa Cappella nella pristina forma / l'anno 1727." The chapel, one of the oldest in the church, is adorned with a stained-glass window (rosettes with the four evangelists). Over the altar is a painting by Giacomo Francia. It depicts God the Father and two angels with a streamer bearing the words: "Gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis."

his father's teacher, the Sicilian Andrea Barbazza.³⁶ Andrea had been a renowned teacher of civil and canon law in the University of Bologna from 1450 to 1479 and had been present when Xavier's father had received his doctor's degree.³⁷ He too was named on his diploma. After celebrating Mass, the two companions spent the rest of their time in preaching, teaching Christian doctrine, hearing confessions, and visiting the hospitals, where they served the poor sick and consoled them.³⁸

Shortly before Xavier's arrival the forceful preaching of the Sienese Fra Bernardino Ochino³⁹ of the newly founded Capuchin order had made a deep impression in Bologna; and Jacopo Ranieri, whose family had its house on the Strà Castiglione not far from Santa Lucia,⁴⁰ had written in his diary:

There came a friar, dressed in greyish brown (*de bixe*) to Bologna with a pointed cowl on his head, and he called himself Fra Bernardino da Siena, and he had a companion clothed like himself, and he preached in San Petronio on Thursday, September 6. He had come three or four days earlier. And he delivered a beautiful and profitable sermon. And it is said that this friar is of the original order of St. Francis, and that St. Francis was thus dressed; and many people came to his sermon; and everyone was satisfied. And on Friday, September 7, the said Fra Bernardino delivered another very beautiful (*belitissima*) sermon; and very many people went to hear him, more than the day before. And on Saturday, September 8, the said Fra Bernardino delivered another very beautiful sermon, and still more people came. And on Sunday, September 9, he delivered another very beautiful sermon, and very many people came. And it was a very beautiful sermon, and all praised it very much; and he recommended the founding hospital and said that three hundred of those little children had died.⁴¹

Ranieri wrote nothing of the two Parisian masters in his diary. They were not eloquent pulpit orators like Fra Bernardino Ochino. Here, as in Vicenza, they often went to the piazza,⁴² where jugglers performed their tricks and wandering merchants offered their not infrequently heretical and immoral pamphlets for sale.⁴³ They would fetch a bench from a neighboring house, stand on it, beckon the crowd with their hats,⁴⁴ and then preach in a mixture of Italian, Latin,

Beneath them are four seated women with bass viols (1518). The statue by the Fleming Hans Ferrabech, which was moved here in the beginning of the fifteenth century, was placed in the center of the picture. It represents the *Madonna della Pace* with a crown and the Infant on her lap. Her feast was celebrated on November 21 (Masini I 526-527).

³⁶ Alberti, **Hist.* 13v; Ricci 16. Cf. Escalada 167.

³⁷ Sorbelli 239-241.

³⁸ "Andava spesso a visitar gl'hospitali, servia e consolava li poveri infermi, che stavano in quegli" (Palmio, **Hist.* 197, "Il resto del tempo spendeva in confessare, visitar hospitali, servir à poveri, predicar in piazza et insegnar la Dottrina Cristiana" (**Inform.* 75v; MX II 116). Teixeira is the first to add that Xavier also visited the prison (824).

³⁹ On Ochino see Karl Benrath, *Bernardino Ochino* (Braunschweig, 1892²); the excellent article by Fr. Frédégard Callaey, O.F.M.Cap., in the *Dict. de Théol. Cath.* 11 (1931) 916-928; and the bibliography in the *Lexicon Capuccinum* (Romae, 1951) 1234-1236.

⁴⁰ Guidicini I 320-321. The Jesuits later inherited the house.

⁴¹ Ranieri 30-31; see also Corradi 3028.

⁴² "Haveva costume di predicar spesso nella piazza" (Palmio, **Hist.* 197).

⁴³ See the detailed information and titles of the works in Palmio, **Breve* 124v-125, published by Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 247-248.

⁴⁴ "Bononiae, tum in plateis praedicando, auditoribus pileo advocatis, tum etiam confessionibus assidue audiendis et christiana doctrina docendo, optimum odorem, qui plurimos annos duravit et instituendi ibidem collegii occasio fuit, sparserunt," wrote Polanco, who lived at Santa Lucia for two months in 1546 (584). Teixeira adds that the one designated the subordinate for the week called the people "por las plaças" to the sermon and got a bench for the superior, who then preached. He further states that they received alms in abundance and immediately distributed them among the poor,

Spanish, and French on the eternal truths and the frequent reception of the sacraments.⁴⁵ Despite all the clumsiness of his expression, the piety and deep devotion of Francis did not fail to make an impression upon his hearers. The pastors were opposed to this street preaching, but Bobadilla had gone to the vicar-general and had obtained his approval. On one occasion after Xavier had finished his sermon, one of his listeners offered him some money to test his virtue. When he refused the alms, the man cried out: "Good Father, you are a true preacher of the faith contained in the Gospels!"⁴⁶

The teachings of Luther had found their way over the Alps, and especially to Bologna, where many German students were to be found.⁴⁷ Various means had been used to counteract them in the city: In 1530 a bull of Clement VII against heretics had been published; in 1532 Fra Giovanni da Fano had printed his refutation of Lutheran heresies;⁴⁸ in 1534 Fra Raffaele de Nobili had reedited *The Dialogue of the Soul*, an exposition of Catholic doctrine by Fra Melchior da Parma;⁴⁹ and in 1536 there had appeared the *Pious Poems and Dialogues with Jesus Christ our Redeemer* by a nun of the order of St. Clare of the Observance.⁵⁰

and that when they saw someone particularly moved by the sermon, they would take him aside and teach him at greater length (824). Tursellinus and Seb. Gonçalves embellish the matter still further. Seb. Gonçalves says: "Quasi de continuo pregava ao povo nos lugares publicos; o sino com que tangia à pregação era sua vox disendo: 'Vinde ouvir a palavra de Deus!' e tambem com o barrete na mão asinava para todas as partes convidando aos que passavão a ouvir o sermão" (1, 3). In Cros this becomes: "Il parcourait aussi les rues, agitant en l'air son chapeau et criant: 'Venez ouir la parole de Dieu!'" (*Vie* I 145).

⁴⁵ Rodrigues 491-492; *Ep. Mixtae* IV 718. *Faranda says of Doménech: "Illum [Xaverium Bononiae] saepius audiebat paratum ad sacram synaxim devote reverenterque percipiendam" (71).

⁴⁶ "Id vero accidit, ut eum [Xaverium], dum vellet ad populum in foro concionem habere, parochi impedirent. Qua de re P. Nicolaus Bobadilla Christi Vicarium [read Vicarium Generalem Bononiae] adivit, ex quo potestate facta, B. Franciscus maximo spiritus ardore coepit ad populum verba facere. Quidam, ut virtutis eius periculum faceret, pecuniam obtulit, qua spreta hominis virtutem admiratus: 'O Patrem optimum, verumque evangelicae fidei concionatorem!' exclamat" (*Faranda 71).

⁴⁷ On the heresy in Bologna at Xavier's time, see Antonio Battistella, *Il S. Officio e la riforma religiosa in Bologna* (Bologna, 1905) 7-28. In 1541 the danger of the spread of heretical teachings by friars infected with heresy was so great that Lenten sermons were permitted only in the cathedral and San Petronio (Tacchi Venturi I, 1, 463); and in 1547 Luigi Lippomani wrote: "Perchè in tutte le terre della Chiesa non si pone una severissima inquisitione contro questi lutherani? Dirò solamente di Bologna. Non ce n'è qui un numero infinito? Et peggio che questa impietà è seminata più per le femine che per gli huomini; et non dimeno *nullus est, qui quaerat et videat*; et ogni dì si va di male in peggio" (*ibid.* 457-458; for the same year see *Ep. Salmeronis* I 63). In 1545 Baldassare Altieri wrote to Germany that a lord in Bologna had already recruited six thousand men for the Evangelical community in case it should become necessary to make war on the pope. In 1541 Bucer of Strasbourg congratulated his coreligionists in Modena and Bologna for daily increasing in numbers and faith. Cardinal Morone later confessed that as legate in Bologna he had permitted the heretical German students to carry arms and had not molested them so as not to get the name of being a persecutor of heretics (Battistella 11 24-25).

⁴⁸ *Opera utilissima volgare chiamata incendio de zizanie Lutherane, cioè contra la perniciosissima heresia di Martin Luthero* (Bologna, 1532); cf. Tacchi Venturi I, 1, 128, n. 3; Battistella 21; Gustavo Cantini, O.F.M., *I Francescani d'Italia di fronte alle dottrine luterane e calviniste durante il Cinquecento* (Romae, 1948) 69-74.

⁴⁹ *Dialogo dell'anima* (Battistella 21).

⁵⁰ *Divotissime compositioni rhytmice e parlamenti a Jesu Christo nostro Redentore de una Religiosa del ordine de S. Clara de osservantia* (*ibid.* 21-22).

Moreover, as Rainieri observed in his diary,⁵¹ in September and the beginning of October, 1537, men and women were whipped and set up in a pillory for their heretical blasphemies. Some even had their ears cut off. The two Parisian masters, therefore, in their preaching, and Bobadilla in his lectures on Scripture in the church,⁵² spoke out against the current errors and alerted the people to their danger.⁵³

At the request of Casalino,⁵⁴ Xavier instructed children, preached to adults, and heard confessions in Santa Lucia.⁵⁵ Many prominent families lived within the boundaries of the parish, including the Guastavillani and the Pepoli. The church was centrally located in a peaceful quarter of the city, and an almost unbroken series of arcaded walks led from it to the schools, to the Piazza Maggiore, and to the cathedral. Even on a rainy day one could go dry-footed to Santa Lucia. The church was therefore always well attended,⁵⁶ and the number of Master Francis' clients increased to such an extent that he soon spent almost his whole day in the confessional.⁵⁷ He assembled a small group of men and women, mostly from prominent families, who, despite the original opposition of the secular and religious clergy and contrary to what had been the custom,⁵⁸ came frequently to the sacraments. Don Girolamo, in the meantime, rejoiced to see how the "earthly, secular, and sensual spirit" of many of his parishioners had yielded to

⁵¹ On September 27 and 28 and October 7 (Rainieri 31-32).

⁵² *Bobadillae Mon.* 634 642 665.

⁵³ The vicar-general testified as follows on June 26, 1538: "Attestamur, quod Franciscus Xabier et Nicolaus Bovadilla, presbyteri, in hac nostra civitate bononiensi de licentia nostra predicarunt sincere et christiane, nec in aliquo cum Luteri doctrina convenientes, imo eam summis viribus extirpantes, in quibus concionibus multum utilitatis attulerunt huic nostrae civitati, et eorum vita et moribus, quos omnes probarunt, eas corroborarunt" (MX II 133).

⁵⁴ In 1580 Palmio gave the following as one of the reasons why the college in Bologna was highly esteemed: "Perchè la santa memoria del P. Francesco Xaviero fu quello in un certo modo che lo cominciò: poichè in quei primi tempi toccò a lui venire a fruttificare a Bologna, et particolarmente nella chiesa di Santa Lucia, ove predicò, insegnò la Dottrina Christiana, confessò et comunicò, habitando per alcuni mesi nella detta casa di Santa Lucia, et lasciando grandissima edificazione et odore di sua santità in Bologna" (*Breve* 128). The same is said in the inscription inscribed by Andrea Zani in 1576 on one of the walls of a side chapel that was contiguous to the saint's room: "Ann. D. MD. XXXVII hoc in templo vir sanctus pueros christianis praeceptis instituit, populumque bonon. ad usum sacramentorum frequentiore traduxit" (Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 243).

⁵⁵ "Pregato dal detto D. Girolamo e con licenza del Vicario della città confessò molte persone nella detta chiesa, delle quali molte ho conosciuto; parte son morte, e parte vive, tutte però persone da bene, et molto affettionate alla Compagnia" (Palmio, **Hist.* 197v).

⁵⁶ Palmio, **Inform.* 84 93v-94. In 1555 Ignatius wrote of Santa Lucia: "La parocchia è celebre e di gente onorata" (MI *Epp.* IX 479). On January 19, 1625, the parish was suppressed and the parishioners divided among the three neighboring parishes of San Giovanni in Monte, San Biagio, and San Cosmo e Damiano (*Ven.* 112, 67v-68).

⁵⁷ Laynez 122.

⁵⁸ "Nella chiesa di Santa Lucia aiutò molte anime nelle confessioni, inducendo molti *utriusque sexus* alla frequentia de' santi sacramenti, al che attendeva molto assiduamente, et io ho conosciuto molti, et ne conosco alcuni che anchora vivono, quali fono suoi figli spirituali et poi sono stati miei dopo lui, dalli quali ho inteso le dette cose, et altre del detto Padre, *cuius memoria in benedictione est et erit aeternum*" (Palmio, **Inform.* 76; MX II 117), "et fece in molte persone grandissimo frutto" (*ibid.* 93v). Palmio speaks elsewhere in detail about the oppositions and persecutions, especially under Xavier's successors (**Breve* 124v-126v; Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 246-248); Don Girolamo also treats of them in 1555 (*Ep. Mixtae* IV 718).

one that was "religious, Catholic, and heavenly," and how they began to live as perfect Christians.⁵⁹

Mateo Zani, who lived near Santa Lucia,⁶⁰ was one of Xavier's penitents who placed themselves under his spiritual direction. Among the pious women who did the same⁶¹ was Suor Romea Caprara of the Third Order of St. Francis. She was a woman of great virtue and holiness, much given to prayer and mortification. She had a great devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and was loved and esteemed by all throughout the city.⁶² There was also a pious widow, the *molto magnifica* Madonna⁶³ Violante Gozzadina e Casali,⁶⁴ daughter of Francesco Casali, treasurer

⁵⁹ The letter, written in 1555, mentions the work done by Xavier and his successors (*Ep. Mixtae* IV 717-718).

⁶⁰ Count Carlo Antonio Zani *wrote in 1663 that his granduncle Mateo Zani, his grandfather's brother, had received the site for a chapel with a family vault from General Laynez in 1564, "che da esso in riverenza e memoria del affetto portato al vivente S. Francesco Xaverio fù dappoi a sue spese fabricata nel loco della camera già abitata dal detto glorioso Santo in Bologna" (*Ven. 112, 409v*). On the other side of the Via Campo di Santa Lucia was the old church on the Strà Castiglione, followed first by the house of the Formigine, then that of the Zani, and finally the large house of the Locatelli. This last was bought by the Jesuits in 1621 for 22,000 lire. The two others were purchased in 1625, and all were torn down to make room for the new church (*Guidicini* I 286; see the *plans of 1583 and 1621).

⁶¹ The main benefactors and friends of the Jesuits in Santa Lucia in 1546, according to Palmio, were first of all Don Girolamo Casalino and Madonna Violante Gozzadina, and then the nobles Gio. Batt. Giglio, Bernardino Balzano, Mateo de Zani, Ottofredo de Ottofredi, Jacomo de' Conti, and Ascanio Loiani, all of whom lived near Santa Lucia. Under Madonna Violante's direction they purchased two small houses behind the church on the Via Campo di Santa Lucia for the priests, one belonging to "Grapedina," the other to Don Girolamo and his niece Isabetta, so that they could live near the church (**Hist.* 201v-202). The following are also mentioned as early benefactors: Livia, the wife of A. Loiana; Paola, the niece of Margarita Giglia; the cousins of Madonna Violante; counts Giulio and Andrea Bentivoglio; and Tommaso Giglio, the brother of Gio. Battista (*Ven. 105, 118-v*). Palmio wrote that between 1539 and 1540 the reputation of Favre and Laynez had so spread from Parma to the surrounding cities that both religious and laity came from them for spiritual instruction. Among these were three women of the third order of St. Francis, "Suor Romea Caprara bolognese, Suor Camilla venetiana, e Suor Tomasa modenese," and two priests from Bologna, Don Pantaleone Rudino and Don Pietro dal Toledo (*Ven. 112, 199*; see also Masini I 492, who connects this visit with Xavier's departure). One of Xavier's penitents was almost certainly Margarita Gigli, "madre affetionatissima della Compagnia" (*Ven. 112, 4*). She was a friend of Madonna Violante and like her urged Ignatius to send priests to Santa Lucia. She was the daughter of Cavaliere Giovanni Antonio de Almerico and Isabella Ariosti and was married to Giovanni Francesco Fantuzzi. When Violante died in 1556, she became the chief benefactress of the college. For twenty years she contributed as much as she possibly could to its support. Ignatius often wrote to her (in 1673 these letters were still preserved by the family), and Laynez granted her a share in all the merits of the Society. In 1569 she left a thousand gold *scudi* to the college in her will. The founder of the Society had appeared to her at the time of his death and had recommended the Society in Bologna to her, promising her a reward for her services (*Ven. 112, 6-v*; Ribadeneyra, *Flos*, appendix [Madrid, 1609] 43-44). Her two brothers, Giovanni Battista and Tommaso Gigli, later the bishop of Sora, were also from the beginning great benefactors of the order (*Cartas de S. Ignacio* II 318; *MI Epp.* III 388-389; Polanco, *Chron.* I 361; V 128; VI 184-185 188). On Margarita Gigli see also Palmio, **Hist.* 202; **Inform.* 116 118v; **Breve* 126v; Rahner, *Briefwechsel* 243-253 600-601.

⁶² On Suor Romea Caprara see Palmio, **Hist.* 199-v; **Inform.* 118; Masini I 492. The Caprara were parishioners of Santa Lucia (Palmio, **Inform.* 105 118).

⁶³ Palmio also speaks of her in this way (**Inform.* 118; *Ep. Salmeronis* I 582).

⁶⁴ For Madonna Violante Gozzadina and her relatives, the main sources are as follows: Palmio, **Hist.* 197v-199v 202v-205; **Inform.* 77-78v (MX II 117) 118 and *Ep. Salmeronis* I 582-583; see also *Ven. 112, 5v-6*; *Ep. Mixtae* IV 478-479 719; V 516-518 603; *MI Epp.*

of the Church, and of Madonna Ginevra Aldrovandi. She had been born in 1498 and was at the time of Xavier's arrival in her fortieth year.⁶⁵ Her palace, which was located on the corner of the Strà Castiglione and the Via della Cartoleria Vecchia, adjoined the parish house of Santa Lucia on the south. It was a large, imposing building with noble rooms, two inner courts, a cistern, stables, lofts, sheds, and two small houses on the Strà Castiglione.⁶⁶

Her husband, Camillo Gozzadino, born in 1479, had come from one of the oldest and most prominent families of Bologna. He had been a counselor⁶⁷ and was in Portugal in the service of King Manuel when he learned that the Bentivoglio, who had controlled Bologna for a hundred years, had had his father Bernardino cut into pieces by hired assassins for his papal leanings. On learning this, Camillo had hastened back to Italy to avenge his father's death. As a papal *condottiere* he campaigned with the pope against Bologna and freed his ancestral city from the domination of the hated tyrants. In 1506 he was made a knight by Julius II in San Petronio. After the pope had returned to Rome it was reported that the banished Bentivoglio were mustering troops in order to regain control of the city. Camillo and Ercole Marescotti then set fire to the Bentivoglio palace, reputed to have been the most beautiful and ornate in Italy, and incited the people to plunder and destroy it "so that the vulture would not return to its nest."⁶⁸ At the coronation of Charles V by Clement VII in San Petronio, Camillo had charge of the city police. When the emperor's general Antonio de Leyva once threatened him, saying that he had put a bridle on Milan and would do the same to Bologna, Camillo replied: "In Milan men make rings and pins, but in Bologna swords and daggers; and our city also produces men who know how to use them."⁶⁹ He had died an untimely death and had left his wife with five children:⁷⁰ Giulio

VIII 170 183-184 188; *Ep. Broëti* 294; Polanco, *Chron.* I 174-175; IV 114; V 127; VI 183-186; and the accounts in Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 242-243, and Masini I 119 161; III 195. — She was "the first mother of the college in Bologna," as Palmio calls her (**Inform.* 76; MX II 117). He assisted this pious woman to prepare for her death "in bona senectute" in 1556 (*Ep. Mixtae* V 516-518 603). She was buried as she had requested in Santa Lucia (Palmio, **Hist.* 204; Masini I 492). Three of her sons preceded her in death, the eldest being less than twenty-one (Palmio, **Hist.* 202v-203; see also Rahner, *Briefwechsel* 254-258 601).

⁶⁵ Litta III: Gozzadini, plate 7.

⁶⁶ In 1562 Palmio bought the palace of Gozzadino from Violante's daughter Ginevra through four agents. In his **Informatione* he gives a summary account of the purchase: "Instrumentum emptionis . . . de una domo magna, cupata et voltata cum duabus curiis, stabulo, cellariis et aliis supra existentibus . . . , in qua comprehenduntur certae modicae partes a latere, versus dictam ecclesiam Sanctae Luciae vero duae mansiunculae cum granario et tectis" (113v-114). He notes that "Il Palazzo Gozzadino e talmente posto et fabricato, che le stanze di esso sono molto belle et commode, et tutte cavate sotto terra, come si vede, con dui cortili" (85). See also Guidicini I 280. The Jesuits constructed twelve arcades on the Strà Castiglione. In 1673 the six on the south extended to the Gozzadino palace, the six on the north to the parish house and the old church (*Ven.* 112, 14v).

⁶⁷ Palmio, **Inform.* 76; MX II 117.

⁶⁸ Litta III: Gozzadini, plates 7 and 9 (picture); Rossi II 297-305.

⁶⁹ Rossi III 7-8; Pompeo Scipione Dolfi, *Cronologia delle famiglie nobili di Bologna* (Bologna, 1670) 387.

⁷⁰ Litta III: Gozzadini plate VII and IX; Palmio, **Inform.* 78v.

⁷¹ Giulio Cesare had already as a child received various parish benefices with a papal dispensation. Born in 1517, he obtained the benefice of Santa Lucia, which he handed over to Don Girolamo in 1531 but later reclaimed. He was ordained in 1554, and in 1556,

Cesare,⁷¹ the eldest, who was only twenty years old when Xavier arrived in Bologna, Tommaso⁷² Giovanni Battista,⁷³ Camillo,⁷⁴ and a daughter Ginevra, a year younger than Giulio.⁷⁵ The brother of Madonna Violante, Cavaliere Andrea Casali, was a counselor, one of the Forty, and one of the most prominent citizens of Bologna.⁷⁶ Under the guidance of her director, the pious widow made great progress in the spiritual life and became an example for the whole city in prayer, the frequent reception of the sacraments, and in exercising the corporal works of mercy. She brought her children up in the fear of the Lord and was most hospitable, always keeping her palace open for priests and pious individuals.⁷⁷

3. THE SAINTLY NEW PRIEST

What drew Madonna Violante and Xavier's other penitents so irresistibly to him was the high regard which they had for his sanctity.⁷⁸ When Francesco Palmio came to Bologna soon after Xavier's departure, his name was still on everyone's lips. In 1569, and again in 1579, Palmio recorded⁷⁹ what he had heard from Don Girolamo, Madonna Violante,⁸⁰ Suor Romea, and other penitents and admirers of Xavier:

as firstborn child, inherited the parental palace. He died in Venice in 1562 (Litta III: Gozzadini, plate 7, Palmio, **Hist.* 202v-204; **Inform* 76 78v; MX II 117).

⁷² Tommaso and his two other brothers took up the manufacture of weapons. He died in Worms in 1545 (according to Palmio, **Hist.* 202v, in Augsburg) in Jay's arms (*Ep. Broëti* 294). On his intercession for the persecuted priests in Bologna, see Palmio, **Breve* 125v.

⁷³ He died in Piacenza in the arms of Don Pantaleone Rudino, who later entered the Society (Palmio, **Hist.* 202v; **Inform.* 78v).

⁷⁴ Camillo received the benefice of Santa Lucia in 1519 when he was still a child (Masini I 119; is he here confused with Giulio Cesare, or did he give it to him later?). He served as a page at the court of the duke of Urbino; he accidentally killed his seventeen-year-old opponent in the tournament held during the carnival in Bologna in 1551. He then fought against the Sienese in the service of the Medici and died, assisted by Palmio, in Florence on November 24, 1554 (Litta III: Gozzadini, plate 7), two or three years after his marriage (Palmio, **Hist.* 202v; **Inform.* 78v). The letter of consolation which Ignatius sent to his widow is preserved in the registers (MI *Epp.* VIII 183-184).

⁷⁵ Ginevra was born in 1518 and married Alessandro Bolognetti in 1549 or 1550 (*Ep. Mixtae* IV 479; Palmio, **Hist.* 203; Guidicini I 280; Litta l. c.).

⁷⁶ *Ep. Salmeronis* I 582. Palmio, **Inform.* 77v 118 and **Breve* 124, gives Andrea's Christian name; in **Hist.* 201 he calls him Francesco, probably confusing in with that of his son Francesco Maria.

⁷⁷ Palmio, **Hist.* 197v.

⁷⁸ One of Xavier's spiritual daughters was "la magnifica Madonna Violante Guggiagina e Casali . . . , e perchè questa gentildonna era persona di grand'ingegno, prudenza e qualità rare, N. S. Dio la volse addoperare per mezzo in chiamar la Compagnia à Bologna, e nel luoco dove hora sta, e perciò li diede gran cognitione della santità, e virtù di detto Padre, dal quale fù così ben instrutta nelle cose spirituali, che ben si conosceva da tutta la città . . . s'affezionò molto alla virtù e santità di detto Padre" (Palmio, **Hist.* 197v). He left behind "grandissima edificazione et odore di sua santità in Bologna" (**Breve* 128).

⁷⁹ "Madonna Violante . . . me disse molte cose del Padre Francesco Xavier (Palmio, **Hist.* 199v).

⁸⁰ "Non posso ne debbo tacere quel che qui ho inteso da persone degne di fede, quali hanno veduto con li suoi occhi e sentito le cose maravigliose di questo Padre" (Palmio, **Inform.* 75v; MX II 116).

He was a man full of holy desires and much given to prayer;⁸¹ indeed, all the time that he was in Bologna he prayed both day and night.⁸² He spoke little, but with great persuasiveness. He talked of divine things with great devotion, and his words penetrated into the hearts of his hearers and held them fast.⁸³

When he celebrated Mass, especially that of the Passion, he had great devotion and shed abundant tears. One Friday, when he was offering the Mass of the Holy Cross in Santa Lucia, he had an ecstasy at the *Memento* that lasted for more than a hour. The cleric who was serving his Mass repeatedly tugged at his vestments, but failed to arouse him.⁸⁴

The whole time that he was in Bologna Xavier lived at Santa Lucia. While there he helped many souls in the confessional and persuaded many of both sexes to receive the sacraments frequently, and he was very persistent in this.⁸⁵ Madonna Violante obtained such a regard for the virtue and holiness of her spiritual director that she felt herself fortunate to be able to confess to him and to receive his advice.⁸⁶

While Xavier was staying at Bologna, a young Spanish priest by the name of Juan Jerónimo Doménech stopped there on his way to Rome.⁸⁷ Not yet twenty-three, he had studied grammar and philosophy and had already obtained a master's degree. He came from a wealthy and distinguished family of Valencia, where he was a canon in the cathedral. In the company of several servants and a learned tutor, who was also in charge of his domestic affairs, he was traveling to Rome on business for his father, Pedro. After finishing his task in the Eternal City, where his father's brother, also named Jerónimo, was a *scriptor* of apostolic

⁸¹ "M'hanno riferito, che erat vir desideriorum et multae orationis" (*ibid.*).

⁸² "E per tutto l' tempo, che stette in Bologna, mi è stato riferito, e dal detto D. Girolamo, et altre persone degne di fede, che si dava giorno e notte all'oratione" (Palmio, **Hist.* 197-v). Brou expands this: "On l'épiait pendant la nuit et dom Jérôme put constater de ses yeux que le temps du sommeil se passait pour lui à se mortifier et à pleurer sur les souffrances de Jésus en croix. Il essaya de le modérer un peu, ce fut en vain" (I 62). But there is nothing of this in the sources.

⁸³ "Nel parlare era tardo, mà efficace; parlava delle cose d'Iddio con gran sentimento; e pareva, che passasse il cuore di quelli che l'udivano" (Palmio, **Hist.* 197v; **Inform.* 75v; MX II 116).

⁸⁴ "E questo intese dal detto padre D. Girolamo, et da altre persone, che furono presenti" (Palmio, **Inform.* 75v-76; MX II 116-117).

⁸⁵ See p. 382, n. 58.

⁸⁶ "Questa benedetta donna s'affetionò tanto alla virtù et santità di detto Padre, che si reputava felice potersi confessare da sua Reverentia et haver qualche documento spirituale. Et la vita et virtù di questa matrona fu tale, che ben si conosceva esser stata figliola spirituale di quel Padre santo, et lo so, perchè fui confessore di lei per molti anni sin alla morte sua" (Palmio, **Inform.* 76; MX II 117).

⁸⁷ We have three reports on Doménech by Ribadeneyra: a short, but important notice of 1566 (FN II 382), the necrology of 1593 (Ribadeneyra II 160-164) and a short biography of 1611 in his **Historia de la Compañia de Jesús de las Provincias de España* (ARSI: *Hisp.* 94, 212v-213v). Further information is supplied by the **Vita P. Hieronymi Dominech Societatis Jesu* written by Nicolò Farranda, S.J., about 1593 and a notice by Polanco of 1548 (FN I 252-253).—He was born in 1516 and traveled from Valencia to Rome in 1537 or 1538. He went from there with Xavier's letter of recommendation to Favre and Laynez at Parma, where he decided to enter the Society of Jesus while he was making the Exercises, as his *vows of September 24, 1539, written in Catalan, indicate (ARSI: *Ital.* 58, 83). He was received by Ignatius in Rome in 1540 and traveled from there to Paris at the end of the year in order to complete his studies. He was driven from there during the war and went to Louvain. In 1543 he returned to Rome with Ribadeneyra by way of Venice and Ravenna. He was secretary of the order in Rome from 1544 to 1545 and in 1546 founded the residence in Bologna. In 1547 he was sent to Sicily, where he governed the province there almost without interruption until 1576. He then returned to his native city of Valencia, where he died in 1593 (Ribadeneyra II 159-164).

briefs,⁸⁸ he intended to go to Paris to complete his studies.⁸⁹ In Bologna he became acquainted with, and then a friend of, Bobadilla and Xavier. He was taken by Xavier's preaching and chose him as his model and confessor.⁹⁰ He conversed intimately with him⁹¹ and later told Ribadeneyra that Master Francis had at the time spoken mostly of India and of the conversion of infidels and had shown great zeal for this and a great longing to go there.⁹²

4. THE FIRST DEATH (MARCH, 1538)

Bologna was known for its cold winters, but when Xavier and Bobadilla were staying there, the season was unusually slow in coming. November and December were as warm as spring,⁹³ and there were severe storms throughout Italy.⁹⁴ At the end of the year, on December 30, a friar from the Misericordia of Ferrara in his departing speech advised his hearers to do penance for their sins, for Bologna would soon suffer a catastrophe. He repeated this twice and added that it would occur before the end of the new year. The astrologers had also prophesied the worst, and since the weather was hot and unhealthy and the skies threatening, there was fear of the plague.

On January 5, 1537, Alessandro de Medici had been slain by the sword of his cousin Lorenzino. When news reached Bologna that on January 7, 1538, Cosimo I had succeeded the tyrant, the event was celebrated with great festivities, including tourneys on the Piazza Maggiore, tilting at the ring, and masquerades. But on January 20 there appeared an ominous comet, and on the twenty-seventh there was a whirlwind with lightning, thunder, and showers of rain as if it were summer; and everyone said that this was a great portent.⁹⁵

⁸⁸ See his uncle's *will, signed in Rome on January 22, 1541. There is a modern copy of it in the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus in Rome, based on the parchment original "in the possession of Señor Ant. Saavedra y Rodrigo in Valencia."

⁸⁹ ARSI *Hisp.* 94, 212v; Ribadeneyra II 160; cf. FN I 252-253.

⁹⁰ "Patrem etiam Nicolaum Bobadillam, B. Franciscum Xaverium sua sibi virtute devinxit; idcirco Xaverius ei fuit a confessariis, illumque saepius audiebat paratum ad sacram synaxim devote reverenterque percipiendam; quo factum est, ut omnem in B. Xaverium benevolentiam conferret, eumque libenti animo concionantem audiret. [Then follows the passage about Xavier's street preaching. See p. 381, n. 46.] Hanc tantam Hieronymus virtutem suspiciens singula observabat sibi que omnia, quantum in se erat, imitanda proponebat" (*Faranda 71, who erroneously places this from the context in Rome instead of in Bologna).

⁹¹ In all three reports Ribadeneyra mentions this in connection with Xavier's first stay in Bologna: "Havía tenido comunicación con el P. Francisco Xavier en Bolonia; y yendo a París topó en Parma con los Padres Maestro Pedro Fabro y Diego Laynez" (Ribadeneyra II 160). "Yendo de Roma a París topó en el camino al Padre Francisco Xaviere, que venia a Portugal para la India, al qual avia conocido en Bolonia y tratado familiarmente" (*Hisp.* 94, 212v).

⁹² "Y el Padre maestro Gerónimo Doménech, el tiempo que estava en Boloña, y no era aún de la Compañía, tratando con el muy familiarmente, me dize que lo más de sus razonamientos era hablar de la India y de la conversión de los gentiles, mostrando grande hervor y desseo de yr allá" (Ribadeneyra in FN II 382). Palmio however notes: "Ultimamente fu chiamato à Roma dal Padre Ignatio. Mà perchè la divina providentia chiamava detto Padre alla grandissima et incultissima vigna della conversione dei gentili, havendoli molto tempo fa dato Dio N. S. un intenso e continuo desiderio d'andare à convertire e battezzare gentili, onde al tempo determinato fù chiamato" (**Hist.* 198).

⁹³ Corradi 768; Rainieri 34.

⁹⁴ *Fine 131.

⁹⁵ Rainieri 34; Corradi: "Tutta Bologna era in pianti, dubitando di total ruina" (3028).

The festivities of the carnival were hardly over when, in the middle of March, sad news reached Santa Lucia from Padua. The two companions who had gone there had been immediately imprisoned by the vicar-general and placed in chains. Hozes had been so pleased by this that he laughed all through the night. The next morning, however, the energetic prelate had recognized his error and had freed the prisoners and given them faculties. From then on they had been busy from morning till evening with preaching and hearing confessions, and they had converted many.⁹⁶ Hozes had preached with his usual fiery zeal in the marketplace, and the last time with even more fire than usual on the verse: "Watch and pray, for you know not the hour when the Lord will come!" Immediately after he had finished, he fell sick and died in the hospital for the poor where he was staying.⁹⁷ In death his formerly dark and homely countenance took on the appearance of an angel, so that his comrade Codure wept for joy.⁹⁸ It was the first death in the Society of Jesus. When he heard this sad news, Rodrigues hastened to Padua to help Codure. His place in Ferrara was taken by Bobadilla, and Xavier remained alone in Bologna.⁹⁹

In the meantime, with the beginning of the year, winter had also set in with full force. The icy cold, heavy snowfalls, and torrents of rain lasted until the middle of February,¹⁰⁰ and during this same month earthquakes and raging storms frightened the inhabitants of Bologna.¹⁰¹ Nature also took her toll upon Xavier, and what St. Jerome had foretold him in the hospital of Vicenza occurred. The cold and his own vigils, mortifications, and extraordinary efforts broke his strong constitution. An extremely violent undulating fever confined him to his bed. He had lost his earlier color and was reduced to a skeleton¹⁰² when Iñigo, toward the middle of Lent, 1538, called his disciples to Rome.¹⁰³

Soon after Xavier's arrival in Bologna news had come of a great victory of the Turks in Hungary, where thirty thousand Christians had fallen on the

⁹⁶ Laynez 120-122.

⁹⁷ Rodrigues 492 (in the Portuguese text: "Pregou com grandissimo fervor e zelo de espirito, e logo vindo de là [da pregação] sudatus, a pouquo adoeceo e desta doença faleceo").

⁹⁸ Laynez 138.

⁹⁹ The exact date of his death is not known, as is noted in the Italian menology, which mentions him on March 13 (*Menologio della Compagnia di Gesù* [Venezia, 1901, nuova ed.] 20). Ioannes Nadas, S. J., gives March as certain but the day as unknown (*Annus dierum memorabilium Societatis Jesu* [Antverpiae, 1665] 177). He is generally followed by other authors, for example, Nieremberg, Tanner, Patrignani, and Guilhermy. Ignatius says that he saw the death of Hozes in a vision at the time that he was giving Ortiz the forty-day Exercises on Monte Cassino (500). These Exercises were made in the beginning of 1538, probably during Lent, which began on March 6. The departures of Bobadilla and Rodrigues for Padua were probably also during the first half of March since Rodrigues, who left Padua for Rome at the end of April, later declared that he had disputed with Goes in Padua for two months (see above, p. 349, n. 85). Bobadilla and Jay, however, worked in Ferrara according to the testimony of the vicar-general "per plures et plures menses" (*Bob. Mon.* 5).

¹⁰⁰ *Fine 156v; Rodrigues 495.

¹⁰¹ Corradi 3028.

¹⁰² Rodrigues states that St. Jerome had predicted many hardships in Bologna to Xavier and that these had been realized, for "esteve ahi com huns quartans mui bravas he crueis e com muita pobreza e frio e estava tam magro, amarelo e desfigurado que parecia homem morto, de maneira que vendo-o depois em Roma tão disforme e consumido, cuidei alguas vezes que nunqua prestaria para nada" (491, Portuguese text).

¹⁰³ *Ep. Mixtae* IV 717; Palmio, **Inform.* 76v; MX II 117.

field of battle. A month later it was reported that the emperor and Francis I had concluded a three-month armistice, and at the end of December two cardinals, Carpi and Jacovazzi, had passed through Bologna. They had been commissioned by the pope to bring about a treaty of peace between the two princes.¹⁰⁴ On February 8, after some very stormy sessions in the Council, which had to be calmed by the duke of Urbino, the Venetians renewed their alliance with the Holy See against the Turks.¹⁰⁵ Drums were beaten at Bologna for recruits, and every day peasants came in from the surrounding villages to enlist and to march off against the "Turkish dogs," as Rainieri observed.¹⁰⁶ On March 23 the pope set out from Rome for Nice to effect a reconciliation between the emperor and the French king in view of the oncoming war with the mortal enemy of Christendom.¹⁰⁷

In the meantime Xavier and his companions had not labored in vain in Bologna. They had not obtained, it is true, any new disciples for the Society of Jesus from among the student body of the university, even though their lectures were held in private homes behind San Petronio, and thus not far from Santa Lucia.¹⁰⁸ There was no Theological Faculty at Bologna, and the students of arts, law, and medicine were not ready candidates for apostolic recruitment. Nor were there any greater possibilities among the thirty-one stipendiaries of the Spanish college, where Pedro Rodriguez de la Fuente del Sancho was rector from 1537 to 1538.¹⁰⁹ But they had made a fervent beginning with their small group in Santa Lucia. Despite all the opposition which they had encountered,¹¹⁰ they had succeeded in reintroducing a frequent reception of the sacraments. They had also been effective in their opposition to heresy. After Vespers on Laetere Sunday, March 31, a pile of Lutheran books, the *Sumarii de la Sacra Scriptura*,

¹⁰⁴ Rainieri 32-34; Pastor V 193-194.

¹⁰⁵ *Fine 137v; Pastor V 195.

¹⁰⁶ Rainieri 35; cf. 31.

¹⁰⁷ *Cesena 233; Rainieri 35; *Fine 139; Pastor V 197.

¹⁰⁸ Simeoni, *Storia della Università di Bologna* 19.

¹⁰⁹ A modern inscription recalls the visit which Ignatius and Xavier paid the college at the end of 1535. According to Alberti the college housed thirty-one poor students in 1540 (**Hist.* 19v). None of the fifteen stipendiaries whom we could identify in the **Acta Sodalium*, vols. 8 (1531-1536) and 9 (1531-1539) of the college archives for 1537-1538 is later mentioned in the published sources of the MHSI. We obtained from them the name of the rector for 1537-1538. The **Epitome chronologico de los casos notables, sucedidos en este Colegio mayor de S. Clemente, recopilado por el Dr. D. Juan Bernardo de la Fitta Ximénez de Bagnés 1672* (*ibid.*) contains nothing of interest for 1537-1538.

¹¹⁰ We should think of his "grandissimo frutto" (Palmio, **Inform.* 83v) in terms of the low level of the reception of the sacraments in Xavier's time and not in that of our own. After the number of Communions had increased through Palmio's efforts from 1544 to 1546, Salmerón's Lenten sermons in 1546, and the founding of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in the parishes of Bologna, Doménech wrote from Bologna on July 24, 1546: "Quando io sono qui giunto, partim per la diligentia grande che ha usato il nostro Francesco de Palmio, partim per la predicazione della quadragesima passata di Maestro Salmeron, ho trovato che sono stato ridutte, secondo mi dicono, fin'a 200 persone a comunicarsi ogni prima domenica d'il mese... qui in Santa Lucia. Ultra di questo seranno fin a 25 o 30 persone, le più di esse nobili, che ogni domenica si comunicano et alcune d'esse due volte la settimana, di modo che è una grande edificazione di tutto questo populo in veder una tal frequentatione di questi Santissimi Sacramenti" (*Litt. Quadr.* I 7-8). Palmio had written the same on May 4, 1546 (*Ep. Salmeronis* I 582-583).

was burned on the Piazza Maggiore.¹¹¹ Don Girolamo, the rector of Santa Lucia, had come to love and esteem his young assistant. When Bobadilla and Jay came from Ferrara in the middle of April to take Xavier away with them to Rome he saw his guest depart with great sorrow, for he would sadly miss his "pleasant and cordial company."¹¹²

¹¹¹ Rainieri 35. On the work see E. Rodocanachi, *La Réforme en Italie* 1 (Paris, 1920) 162-169, and Böhmer 232.

¹¹² "V. R. li chiamò a Roma," Don Girolamo wrote to Ignatius in 1555, "il che a me fu di grandissimo dolore, vedendomi privo de una si grata et cordiale compagna" (*Ep. Mixtae* IV 717). In the next chapter we shall show that Xavier, Bobadilla, and Jay set out for Rome together. It may seem strange that Xavier and Bobadilla apparently did not work among the students in Bologna and won no new companions from among them; but this was also the case with their confreres in the other university cities. They were foreigners, inexperienced in Italian ways, and not fellow students as in Paris. Nevertheless Xavier did win over a student that winter, and no less a person than Jerónimo Doménech.

CHAPTER VI

ON THE VIA CASSIA (APRIL, 1538)¹

1. THE ASCENT INTO THE MOUNTAIN CHAIN²

It was about the middle of April³ when Master Francis accompanied by Bobadilla and Jay left Bologna, passing through the Porta San Stefano. After walking for three hours on the ancient Roman road running below the fertile foothills of the Apennines, they reached San Ruffillo, where they crossed the Sávena River and then ascended its valley, going past the old Benedictine abbey of San Bartolomeo di Musiano⁴ to Pianoro⁵ at the foot of the mountain proper.

¹ On the Via Cassia see E. Martinori, *Le vie maestre d'Italia. Via Cassia e sue deviazioni* (Roma, 1930). *Ep. Mixtae* II 505 (see p. 402, n. 83) indicates that Xavier took this road in 1538. It is described in the older itineraries, for example, in that of Quetta in 1514 (H. Quaresima, "Das Tagebuch des Anton Quetta," *Forschungen u. Mitteilungen zur Geschichte Tirols u. Vorarlbergs* 11 [1914] 139-143 203-226), Fontana 1539 (11-14v), Criminali 1541 (AHSI 5 [1936] 248-249), Masarelli 1545 (*Concilium Tridentinum* I 151-156), Busnardus 1550 (*Litt. Quadr.* I 185-186), Polanco 1561 (*Pol. Compl.* II 838-840), Venturino da Fabriano 1571 (**Viaggio del Cardinale Alessandrino*, vol. 2 Bibl. Vat. *Barb. lat.* 5216, 1-14), Duarte de Sande 1585 (*De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium* [Macao, 1590] 226-231), Borghi 1600 (**Diario del viaggio fatto dal Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini*. Bibl. Vat. *Vat. lat.* 8510, 117v-150v), Keyssler 1730 (406-420), and also in all the older travel books from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. See also the maps in Roberto Almagià, *Carte geografiche a stampa* (Monumenta Cartographica Vaticana II. Città del Vaticano, 1948), plates 1-5 14 26. Quetta gives the following places: Rome to Isola eight Italian miles, Baccano six, Monterosi six, Sutri four, Ronciglione three, Viterbo eight, Montefiascone eight, Bolsena six, San Lorenzo three, Acquapendente five, Ponte Centeno four, Paglia seven, Ricorsi three, Scala five, San Quirico five, Buonconvento eight, Monteroni five, Siena seven, Staggia nine, Poggibonsi three, Tavernelle five, Santo Casciano seven, Florence eight, Ponte de Sieve twelve, Scarperia two, Fiorenzuola ten, Petramala four, Scaricalasino six, Lojano four, Pianoro eight, and Bologna eight (225).

² On the Via Sávena see *L'Appennino Bolognese*, published by the Club Alpino Italiano, Sezione Bologna (1881) 400-401 435-437 633-651 740-742. Ser. Calindri, *Dizionario corografico, storico della Italia: Montagna e Collina del Territorio Bolognese* (Bologna, 1781-1783), gives the history of the town (completely destroyed in World War II).

³ It was 255 miles from Bologna to Rome. Criminale made the trip on foot in eight days in 1541, Masarelli on horseback in seven days in 1545, and Cardinal Aldobrandini in a carriage in ten days in 1600 (not including his stay in Siena and Florence). In 1538 Easter fell on April 21. Ignatius, who had come to Rome in the middle of November, 1537, wrote: "Al cabo de quatro meses de nuestra venida, pensamos juntarnos todos en esta misma ciudad: y comenzando de llegarnos, pusimos diligencia en sacar licencia para predicar" (FN I 7-8). The permission was granted on May 3. Laynez says: "El principio del 38, después de la quaresma nos congregamos todos en Roma" (Layneze 124), and adds that they had at first all stayed in a house near the Trinità monastery. After the arrival of Rodrigues and Codure, the last of all, they moved from there into another house "after Easter" (Rodrigues 498 493). Xavier and his companions therefore arrived in Rome about Easter or not much later. They must have thus left Bologna around the middle of April.

⁴ The church, which had been built in A. D. 1000, was in the possession of the Celestines from 1493 to 1652 (*L'Appennino* 636-637).

Near the Albergo della Posta the road passed to the right over a stone bridge to the opposite side of the stream.⁶ It then rose quickly, passing along the precipitous slopes of the mountain. On the right were towering walls of rock, while deep down on the left the light green, foaming waters of the Sávena made their way through a rocky gorge.⁷

An hour beyond Pianoro there appeared at the end of the gorge San Ansano,⁸ a small monastery of the Servites with an adjoining church. These were located in a green meadow towered over by threatening walls of rock. The monastery had been restored in 1487, as was indicated by an inscription over the door of the church.⁹ Shortly after passing Pianoro they had to cross the stream again as it flowed swiftly down a broad bed of rubble.¹⁰ They then climbed the steep hill on the opposite bank and reached the village of Livergnano.¹¹

The road went up from here for half an hour and then down past the Ca' della Guarda¹² to Anconella,¹³ a poor hamlet with a chapel at the foot of a high, yellow rock wall on the left. The road then went up again to Sabbioni,¹⁴ a mountain village with a church, and then up through a broad depression overgrown with chestnuts, from which could be seen on the left a forest rising up the slopes of a lofty mountain. After reaching the heights, they could see the crests of four mountains on the right rising one above the other, and, looking back, the broad plain of the Po stretching from Bologna and Ferrara to Padua

⁵ Pianoro, first mentioned in 1056 under the name of Castel Petroso, originally lay about two miles up the valley on the left bank of the Sávena, on the Via Regia, as it was called in 1303. When it was destroyed in 1377, it was rebuilt on its present site (*ibid.* 639; Calindri IV 249-262).

⁶ The old road led over the stream to the left bank of the Sávena, as is expressly indicated in the travel guide of 1783: "A Pianoro si passa il fiume Savena sul ponte" (Boccolari 149). The present road with the stream on the right going straight to Livergnano is of a more recent date, but the map of the territory of Bologna of 1651 already shows the latter (Almagià, *Carte*, plate 26).

⁷ "Von Bologna nach Filligare steigt man immer höher; die Aussichten zur Linken . . . vortrefflich. An dieser Seite der Landstrasse sind wiederholt gegen die Abgründe hohe Stangen gestellt, die im Winter bei vielem Schnee den Kutschern zur Richtschnur dienen" (J. B. Hegemann, *Reise durch Italien* [Münster, 1835] 122). This refers to the stretch from Pianoro to Sant'Ansano.

⁸ On Sant'Ansano see *L'Appennino* 640-641; Calindri I 73-79. The Servites had possession of the monastery from 1293 to 1652. Not far from the church is a grotto where, according to tradition, St. Ansano lived as a hermit "on the once greatly frequented main road from Bologna to Florence" (Calindri I 78).

⁹ The church along with the inscription and valuable old paintings is still extant. A farm family now lives in the monastery.

¹⁰ "We took our noon meal at Lojano and then crossed the broad stream of Sávano, but it is not hard to cross in winter, and we came to Pianoro in the evening." *Venturino wrote in 1571 (I 13).

¹¹ The site is mentioned in 1209, and a pilgrim hospice in 1301; in 1783 the church had a bell dating from 1366 (Calindri III 131-134).

¹² Fontana calls the house Laguarda. Today it is known as La Ca', but in 1881 it was called Ca' della Guardia (*L'Appennino* 644).

¹³ The village lay on both sides of the "Via Vecchia, che conduceva da Bologna a Firenze, prima che nel secolo scorso fosse fatta a poca distanza e più in alto l'attuale strada" (*ibid.* 644). The old road circles the rock wall below on the right; the new road goes above on the left.

¹⁴ Already mentioned in 1304 (*ibid.* 645; Calindri V 13-15). Fontana writes that on April 6, 1539, he traveled from Scaricalasino to Bologna by way of Sabbioni, Anconella, Livergnano, Pianoro, and San Ruffillo, all tiny villages (*villuzze*) of from four to six houses with inns (14v). This was true however only of the places between Lojano and Pianoro.

and the Adriatic Sea, and then, beyond the plain, the distant Alps in the north. They finally reached Lojano,¹⁵ a large village with a parish church, pilgrims' hospice, and the ruins of a castle, some seven hours from Bologna. This town was as a rule the first stopping place for travelers on their way to Florence, and the companions were kindly received in the hospice.¹⁶

2. EXPERIENCES IN FERRARA¹⁷

On their way south Xavier's companions were able to tell him many of their experiences in Ferrara. Jay and Rodrigues had first returned to Bassano from Vicenza in order to finish their three months of solitude in the hermitage of San Vito. Only after completing this had they gone to Ferrara, the capital of Duke Ercole, and it was here that Rodrigues celebrated his first Mass.¹⁸ They had entered the city without any kind of stir, at a time when all eyes were focused on another—Fra Bernardino Ochino, who was giving the Advent sermons to overflowing crowds in the cathedral.¹⁹ There had been no one to equal him in eloquence between Sicily and the Alps since the days of Savonarola. Though he was only in his fifties, his gaunt, ascetical look, rough habit, strict, penitential life, his long, flowing beard and pale, emaciated face had gained for him the reputation of being a saint among both high and low; and his fiery words had an irresistible effect upon his hearers.²⁰

At first the two priests had suffered much, especially in January, when the late winter set in with its icy cold, numerous rains, and damp fogs that rose up from the neighboring swamps.²¹ The hospice where they found shelter was a large, damp, drafty, and poorly built adobe structure; and the person in charge of it was a harsh old woman, who would let no one sleep dressed in bed. In addition to this there was only one bed available for the two of them in the common dormitory. Before they retired all the newcomers had to appear un-

¹⁵ Lojano, 2,340 feet above the sea, is first mentioned in A. D. 1000. From 1180 it was the seat of the count of Lojano and from the fifteenth century that of the *capitano della montagna*, whose territory extended from Pianoro to Pietramala (*L'Appennino* 645-646; Calindri III 145-154). The old pilgrim hospice, "Il Pellegrino Vecchio," so called to distinguish it from the new inn, "Il Nuovo Pellegrino," lay at the entrance to the town to the right of the old road where it runs into the new. It was being used as a granary when I was there in 1941.

¹⁶ Criminali, who later worked with Xavier in India, spent the night here when he was coming from Bologna in 1541, as did Montaigne in 1580 and Goethe in 1786. In 1459 Pius II spent the night here on his way from Florence, as did Pius VI in 1783. The archpriest told us in 1941 that there were still in the parish archives many notices of saintly persons who had spent the night here.

¹⁷ On the work of the first priests in Ferrara see Rodrigues 495-498, Laynez 122, Polanco 584, and the reports of the vicar-general (*Bob. Mon.* 4-5), Ercole (*ibid.* 7-8), and Tacchi Venturi II, 1 114-120. On Ochino's stay in Ferrara in 1537-1538 see the *chronicle of Fra Paolo de Lignago, *Cronica Estense* (1557), quoted by Salvatore da Sasso, O.F.M.Cap., "Chi ha fondato il primo convento dei Minori Cappucini a Ferrara?" *L'Italia Francescana* 4 (1929) 342-355.

¹⁸ Rodrigues 490-491.

¹⁹ "Adi di tuto l'Advinto ha predicato in Domo ditto Frate Bernardino con grandissima audientia del S. Duca et Cardinale et di tuto el popolo," according to the *Cronica* (Salv. da Sasso 348).

²⁰ Benrath, *Bernardino Ochino* (Leipzig, 1875) 19-20.

²¹ Rodrigues 495.

dressed before the old woman. If she noticed that any had sores or contagious diseases, she took them to a separate room below. The others, the priests included, had to lay their clothes on a bench far from the beds so as not to bring in any lice.²² The two companions begged for their daily food from door to door, but without much success. They often had to go hungry, and they had other needs, as well. The vicar-general, Ottaviano del Castello, from whom they requested faculties, proved to be poorly disposed toward the strange beggars.²³ Still, the two worked indefatigably. Through preaching in the public squares and private conversations they strove to stamp out vice and to promote piety, especially a frequent reception of the sacraments. In addition to this they heard confessions and helped the poor in the hospice.²⁴

There was providentially staying at this time in Ferrara a pious widow, Vittoria Colonna, the marchesa of Pescara.²⁵ Renowned throughout Italy for her broad culture and deep piety, she was in close contact with the intellectual leaders of her time, with poets, scholars, princes, cardinals, and even the pope himself. But she was now leading a retired life in the city with the noble women in her company, completely given over to works of piety and charity. She had come here in May, 1537,²⁶ in order to make a pilgrimage from Venice to the Holy Land.²⁷ She had received permission for this from Paul III a short time before the companions,²⁸ but like them she had been detained by the Turkish war. In June she had been the sponsor at the baptism of Leonora, the third child of Renata.²⁹ The marchesa was a generous benefactor of the newly founded Capuchin order and had been a great help to Ochino when he founded the monastery in August for his fellow religious in Ferrara.³⁰ Since she frequently saw Jay and Rodrigues celebrating Mass in a church,³¹ she approached one of them and asked him if they belonged to the company of Parisian theologians who were waiting for an opportunity to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. When he assured her that they did, she made an inquiry as to where they were staying and went one day not long after this to the hospice to learn something about them from its directress.

²² *Ibid.* 495-496; the Portuguese text has: "Tinha por ordem não deixar dormir ninguém vestido."

²³ *Ibid.* 496-497.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 496-497; Laynez 122; *Bob. Mon.* 5 and 7.

²⁵ On Vittoria Colonna see Vittoria Colonna, *Carteggio*, pubbl. da E. Ferrero e G. Müller (Torino, 1892); Alfredo Reumont, *Vittoria Colonna. Versione di G. Müller ed E. Ferrero* (Torino, 1892²); Tacchi Venturi, S. J., "Vittoria Colonna, fautrice della riforma secondo alcune sue lettere inedite," *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto* 22 (1901) 149-179; Bart. Fontana, "Documenti Vaticani di Vittoria Colonna per la difesa dei Cappuccini," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 9 (1886) 343-371, and *L'Italia Francescana* 20 (1947) 1-136 with a bibliography (126-134). On her relations with the Society of Jesus, see Rahner, *Briefwechsel* 150-154 591-592.

²⁶ "Adì 8 di maggio è venuta a Ferrara la S. Marchesa di Ferrara," according to the *Cronica* (Salv. da Sasso 347).

²⁷ Colonna, *Carteggio* 143-144 163.

²⁸ The brief of March 13, 1537, is given in Fontana, *Doc. Vat.* 371-371.

²⁹ Colonna, *Carteggio* 158, n. 2.

³⁰ According to the *Cronica*, Ochino received on August 18, 1537, through the efforts of the duke and Vittoria, "per lui et per li altri soi Compagni frati chiamati li frati di Giesu," the site called "el Romitorio" for the founding of a monastery (Salv. da Sasso 347-348). Elsewhere the chronicler calls them more accurately "Scapuzini" (cf. *L'Italia Francescana* 6 [1931] 100).

³¹ Rodrigues 496; the Portuguese text has: "vendo-os em huma igreja dizer missa."

The old woman had kept her guests under a sharp eye. She had watched them secretly and had soon become convinced that they did not belong to the usual run of beggars who were her ordinary clientele. To her astonishment she had noticed that they, after a short sleep, got up at night, struck a fire with a flint, lit a wax candle, dressed, and then recited Matins on their knees and performed other long devotions. She had also seen how little they ate and how they taught prayers and the truths of the catechism to the others who shared their room. She had become convinced that they must be great saints and had spoken to others about them in terms of high praise. When her noble visitor, who was after the duchess the most distinguished woman in the city, asked her about her two guests, she could not praise them enough. "Signora," she said, "they are saints, of irreproachable morals, of blameless lives, and of wonderful purity of teaching. They eat nothing and drink nothing and pray the whole night long. I watch them every night and they always act in the same manner."³² The marchesa was now sufficiently informed. She sent food at once to the two priests and obtained better shelter for them in another hospice,³³ where they had their own room and bed. There they were also given their supper, which, even though it was rather meager, was still better than what they had received before. As a consequence, from this time on, they took their meals joyfully in the Lord.³⁴

The vicar-general now also mellowed in his attitude towards the Parisian masters. He proffered his services with the greatest good will and from this time on invited them to eat with him several times a week. On one of these occasions he explained to them the reason for his former reserve. Experience had taught him to be prudent. Not long before this he had become acquainted with a friar who was renowned for his preaching and sanctity. His sermons had drawn people of every sort, including the highest authorities, about his pulpit. But at the same time, when all were trembling at his preaching on penance, he had brought along with him on his journey a companion who turned out to be a prostitute dressed as a man.³⁵

The young duke Ercole, who held a brilliant court at Ferrara, also took note of the two priests.³⁶ In 1528 he had married Renata, the daughter of Louis XII, in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris; and in 1534, when he was only twenty-six years old, he succeeded his father in the duchy. He was a true son of Lucrezia Borgia, a perfect prince, fair in body and charming in manners. He could compose verses in elegant Latin, but he was also an expert soldier with sword and spear.³⁷ He repeatedly came to the sermons preached by the companions.³⁸ He confessed

³² Rodrigues 496; the Portuguese text has: "He eu os espreito cada noite e sempre fazem da mesma maneira."

³³ There were several hospitals in Ferrara. The best known was the Spedale Grande di S. Anna, founded in the fifteenth century (cf. Marcantonio Guarini, *Compendio storico* [Ferrara, 1621] 209-212), where Jay had a room in 1547 (*Ep. Broëti* 338). In 1552 the duke wanted to unite the various hospitals (*ibid.* 404).

³⁴ Rodrigues 496; the Portuguese text has: "onde lhes derão huma camara e cama e as noites pão, com que, ainda que pobremente, mais com muita alegria passavão sua vida."

³⁵ *Ibid.* 497-498.

³⁶ The marchesa probably recommended them to the duke, as Bartoli presumes (*Vita di S. Ignazio* 2, 38).

³⁷ Rodocanachi, *Renée* 62.

³⁸ Laynez 122.

to Jay and received Holy Communion from his hand.³⁹ He came to have a great affection for the zealous Parisian masters; ⁴⁰ and, after the departure of Rodrigues, he showed this same regard for Bobadilla,⁴¹ who preached here as he had in Bologna and gave his usual lectures on Scripture.⁴²

The duke had a secret problem, and Iñigo had had good reasons for sending the Savoyard Jay to Ferrara. For political reasons, at his father's request, Ercole had married Renata, the daughter of the French king, even though, with her flat, snub nose, flabby cheeks, and small, popping eyes, she was no great beauty. Her arrival in Ferrara had been celebrated with tourneys, comedies, and cavalcades; and a famous Spanish court jester had been especially invited to come for the occasion on a dromedary. But Ercole soon learned to his grief that his young wife, a pupil of Lefèvre d'Étaples, and her fourteen French ladies-in-waiting had little regard for the Church. After the death of his father, when he could act on his own authority, he banished from the court Madame de Soubise, Renata's governess and evil genius. To get even with her husband, the strong-minded princess offered shelter to the immoral and heterodox Clément Marot and a swarm of like-minded countrymen who had fled from France after the affair of the placards in 1534; and she gave them such generous support that it was common talk at Ferrara that the court of the duchess was full of heretics. The duke's constant remonstrances had been of no avail. Renata was a genuine Frenchwoman—lively, intelligent, and quick-tempered; and she could speak learnedly about all the sciences. She listened calmly to the warnings of her husband and played the part of the happiest person in the world at court: but she also continued to make it a haven for heretics. In addition to all this, in the spring of 1536 another one of her countrymen had shown up in Ferrara under an assumed name. It was John Calvin, who soon made his influence felt upon the duchess and secretly began to propagate his teachings. On Good Friday of this same year matters came to a head. Renata had in her service a court singer by the name of Jehannet. This young man in his twenties made an open show of leaving the church at the Adoration of the Cross and called the ceremony idolatry. When he was stretched on the rack by the inquisitors, he revealed his accomplices. They were all connected with the duchess. Calvin, Marot, and most of the others

³⁹ "El duque se confesó y comulgó con ellos" (Layne 122); "alteri eorum confessus est et de eius manu communicavit" (Polanco 584). Bartoli states that Jay was the duke's confessor at this time (*Vita di S. Ignazio* 2, 38). That this was not Rodrigues or Bobadilla is indicated by the fact that the former passes over his relations with the duke and the latter does not mention his labors in Ferrara even once in his autobiography. Jay was, moreover, Ercole's confessor in 1547-1548. He had been assigned to this position after the duke had made many requests for him to the pope (*Bob. Mon.* 149; cf. *Ep. Broëti* 394-395). In 1550 Jay sent the duke the following spiritual advice: He should keep his conscience clean, esteem Catholicism, practice justice, take care of the poor, and especially of the hospital of St. Anne (*Ep. Broëti* 350-351). Ercole's short letter to Jay, dated December 19, 1539, also betrays a certain intimacy with him, whereas nothing is known of any correspondence or later dealings which he might have had with Rodrigues (*ibid.* 385).

⁴⁰ In 1551 Broët wrote to Ignatius from Bologna: "Hieri ho parlato a Sua Ecc.^a [Ercole], al quale me disse che dipoi che ha cognosciuto la Compagnia, gli ha sempre portato amore et buon'affectione" (*Ep. Broëti* 59). In his testimony of June 19, 1538, the duke emphasized the fact that Bobadilla and Jay had spent many days in his city and had publicly preached and exhorted the people to live good and holy lives, and that they had produced much fruit in their listeners. He then stated: "et si sono portati con tanta modestia et continenza, che ad ogniuno hanno dato buono exemplo et bonissimo odore di sè, et sopra tutto si hanno fatto cognoscere per molto bene catholici" (*Bob. Mon.* 7).

escaped through headlong flight, but a number were imprisoned, including the secretary of the princess; and Renata did everything she possibly could to free them. She asked Marguerite, the queen of Navarre, to intercede with her brother, Francis I; and she even appealed to the pope himself. Since the matter was now getting out of hand and there were possibilities of diplomatic repercussions, Ercole eventually handed his prisoners over to the French ambassadors in Venice, banishing them forever from his realm. Although this brought about an apparent reconciliation between the duke and duchess, Ercole did not trust his wife, and this was why he had invited Vittoria Colonna to Ferrara. He hoped that she might bring Renata to a more Catholic frame of mind.⁴³

But the marchesa was unable to stay in the damp climate of the city, and ten months after her arrival, in February, 1538, she left it.⁴⁴ A short time before this, but also in February, Ochino too had departed in order to give the Lenten sermons in Florence.⁴⁵ When Bobadilla and Jay went to say goodby to the duke in April, he was sorry to see them go. He generously offered them his services⁴⁶ and stated that he was ready to bear all the expenses of their pilgrimage to Palestine in case such an opportunity presented itself.⁴⁷

3. OVER THE PASSES OF THE APENNINES⁴⁸

The road from Lojano led up the heights through scattered chestnut groves and afforded a view of the lonely mountains of the valley of the Sávena on the right and of the Idice on the left. After passing the sanctuary of the Madonna dei Boschi,⁴⁹ the travelers came in an hour and one-half to Scaricalasino,⁵⁰

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 2-4 6-8 15-16 22-23.

⁴² *Ibid.* 634 642.

⁴³ Rodocanachi 60-75; Fontana, *Documenti circa il soggiorno di Calvino a Ferrara* 108-137; Fontana, *Renata di Francia* I 28-65 245-252 278 311-333; see also *L'Italia Francescana* 20 (1947) 42-44.

⁴⁴ Colonna, *Carteggio* 151 153 156, n. 2.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 156-158; Salv. da Sasso 348-349.

⁴⁶ "Haciéndoles muchas ofertas" (Layne 122). Two months after his departure Bobadilla reminded him of this and asked him to intercede for the persecuted Society in Rome, "cognosciendo el ánimo que tiene para nos favorecer en las cosas del servicio de Dios" (*Bob. Mon.* 3); in 1540 he thanked the prince for his help and assured him that the Society would always turn to him with confidence, "para que correspondamos á los deseos que tenía quando de allá partimos" (*ibid.* 22). That Ercole was serious with his offer is shown by his interventions on behalf of the order in 1538 and during the trials it encountered during the struggle over its ratification in 1539. Ignatius could thus gratefully write to him that no other prince had given such effective help in its foundation (*MI Epp.* I 257-258; cf. 568-569).

⁴⁷ Layne 122.

⁴⁸ The old road led over the dangerous Giogo pass. In order to avoid it, the new road was built in 1752 over the Futa pass, which led from Pietramala by way of Covigliajo, the Futa pass, Montecarelli, the Osteria delle Maschere, and Cafaggiolo. It joined the old road again at the Osteria di Novoli just beyond San Piero a Sieve (*L'Appennino* 744). Goethe took this route in 1768.

⁴⁹ Before Xavier's time the road turned to the right soon after Lojano at La Fratta. It then went past Roncastaldo, the home of the *capitano della montagna*, where there was already in 1289 a hospice for pilgrims (*ibid.* 651). The new road by way of Madonna dei Boschi was, however, already being used in 1531, for in the document recording the gift of the newly built monastery in Scaricalasino to the monks of San Michele in Bosco this same year, Ramazzotto states that he is also handing over to them a piece of ground "iuxta viam antiquam romanam, qua itur ad Burgum Ronchastaldi, nunc propter aquas

which consisted of a small cluster of houses⁵¹ and a large, beautiful church with an adjoining monastery solidly built of gray hewn stones. This was the birthplace of the renowned *condottiere* Armaciotto Ramazzotto, who had served courageously under the Venetians, the Medici in Florence, Ferdinand II of Aragon and Naples, and the last Bentivoglio in Bologna. He had then fought against the latter with his relatives, the Gozzadini, in the army of Julius II. After this he had served under Leo X, Hadrian V, and Clement VII. In 1528, he had erected in Scaricalasino the church and monastery of San Michele delle Alpi for a prior and twelve monks from the Olivetan monastery of San Michele in Bosco in Bologna, as was noted in an inscription over the door of the church.⁵²

Beyond Scaricalasino the road went first along the divide and then straight across the upper reaches of the valley where the Idice had its source. The companions crossed the brook and walked on for half an hour and then, shortly before reaching Filigare, passed a stone bearing the coats of arms of Florence and Bologna which marked the boundary between the two states. The mountains of the valley of the Sávena had disappeared and two bare peaks sparsely overgrown with grass and firs rose up in the foreground. After climbing for an hour up the road that led between them, the travelers suddenly saw between the sloping cliffs on either side of them pale blue mountains far off in the distance. Going on a few steps further, they reached the summit of the windy Raticosa pass, almost three thousand feet above the sea.⁵³

A brilliant panorama spread out before them. To their right rose up majestically the steep rocky peak of Monte Beni and next to it that of Sasso di Castro. Below them, on the other side of the gnarled, weatherbeaten dwarf firs and the still lower, stony fields lay Pietramala, a charming village with its small church perched high up on the left in the midst of green meadows, poplars, oaks, and firs. On the other side of the hill below the village could be seen on the horizon a long blue chain of lofty mountains rising up from the Santerno Valley. These were for the most part covered with forests, and in the valley on the left lay a walled and turreted town—Firenzuola.

Pietramala was well known for its mysterious subterranean fires.⁵⁴ It was here that the old swordsman Ramazzotto, who had fallen out of favor with Paul III, was spending the evening of his life.⁵⁵ Here the travelers could find numerous inns in which to pass the night.⁵⁶ From Pietramala they went straight

et ipsius viae devastationem non frequentatam" (Giov. Gozzadini, *Memorie storiche intorno alla vita di Armaciotto de' Ramazzotti* [Firenze, 1835] 38). Don Angelo Macchiavelli, who was writing a history of his native Scaricalasino, brought this document to our attention. The modern highway passes between these two roads south of Madonna dei Boschi.

⁵⁰ Today Monghidoro. The old name alludes to the difficult climb to the Raticosa pass.

⁵¹ "Hora una picciola contrada di poche habitationi" (Alberti 325).

⁵² On Ramazzotto see Gozzadini, *Memorie*. He gives the inscription on page 40; see also Alberti 325. He died in Pietramala in 1539, but Xavier could have already in 1537 admired his elaborate tomb in San Michele in Bosco, which was completed in 1526. On Scaricalasino see *L'Appennino* 647-648; Calindri III 251-264.

⁵³ At a height of 3,129 feet.

⁵⁴ Almost all the guidebooks and travelers' accounts mention these subterranean fires. They lay off the road and were readily visible only at night. Today the natural gas (methane) is processed by the Società Idrocarburico Nazionale.

⁵⁵ He lived here from 1537 to 1539 (Gozzadini 23).

⁵⁶ Alberti 325.

down⁵⁷ into the fertile valley of the Santerno to Firenzuola, a clean little town⁵⁸ with an arcaded street passing from door to door as straight as a die. From here the road crossed over the stream and climbed up a narrow side valley to the village of Rifredo lying on a green mountain slope. It then passed through a dark forest along a narrow path up a steep rocky slope with fearful precipices on the left, which were fortunately hidden from view. This was the most dangerous stretch of the whole Apennine route.⁵⁹ It then climbed over the Giego pass⁶⁰ and continued down in steep zigzags through a dark fir forest, which afforded occasional views of the blue mountains of the valley of the Sieve. After a time the forest disappeared and the descent became easier as the road passed first through chestnut woods and vineyards and then through groves of olives, the first to be seen after Pianoro. It then descended further down the broad smiling valley until Scarperia hove into view. This was a busy trading town⁶¹ ten hours away from Lojano, where travelers on their way to Florence usually spent their second night.⁶²

From Scarperia the travelers descended into the floor of the valley. Near San Piero a great stone bridge crossed over the broad, boulder-strewn bed of the Sieve. The road then gradually mounted the calm and peaceful valley of the Carza, passing by Tagliaferro and Vaglia, small clusters of houses, as it followed the course of the stream. The hills on either side were covered with shade and fir trees that at times descended to the road. Four hours after leaving Scarperia the companions reached the last height,⁶³ Monte Uccellatoio.⁶⁴ From here they descended for two more hours the gently sloping ridge of the last foothills, passing an ever increasing number of houses, ornate country homes, vineyards, olive groves, and walls standing in front of towering cypresses. From the road they had a brilliant view of the fertile hills and broad valley of the Arno and its blue mountains lying in the distance far to the south. Beyond a deep gorge on their left, they caught sight of Fiesole perched on a proud height.

⁵⁷ In former times the route went straight from Pietramala to Firenzuola past La Castellaccia and Molino della Badia. Today it branches off from the road over the Futa pass at La Casetta.

⁵⁸ Firenzuola was founded by Florence in 1332. In 1571 it had about one hundred families (*Venturino I 31). Schottus describes it as "pagum non ignobilem" (182).

⁵⁹ "Petra mala: hinc descenditur ad Fidentiolam; ibi trajicitur flumen. Et ad pinnas, atque ad supremum cacumen Appennini superatis saltibus, relictisque ad laevam immensis profunditatibus, quae, nisi fuerint viatori penitus invisae, oculum abripient, et ad se vacillantem hominem praecipitari cogent. Angusta et difficilis est via, et passibus tribus millibus semper ascenditur, nec alicubi datur planicies, aut quiescendi locus, quoque tandem in eminentissimum Alpium verticem pervenies" (Schottus 182).

⁶⁰ The "Osteria sul Giego" is already drawn on the map of the territory of Florence of 1594. It lay 2,857 feet above sea level in the middle of the woods at the top of the pass (Almagià, *Carte*, plate 1).

⁶¹ Scarperia, a "vicus amplus" (Schottus 182), was founded by Florence in 1313 (Alberti 49v-50); in 1571 it had about one hundred families (*Venturino I 12). Fontana, who traveled through here in 1539, mentions the main industry of the place: the manufacture of ironware—knives, scissors, and the like (14).

⁶² Among those who spent the night here on their way from Lojano were Crimalini in 1541 and Montaigne in 1580. Polanco and Laynez stayed here in 1561 on their way from Florence.

⁶³ 1,547 feet above sea level.

⁶⁴ Fontana mentions the town of "L'Uccellatoio" some three Italian miles from Lastra and Vaglia. Between 1569 and 1579 the grand duke Francesco II built the country palace of Pratolino on the wooded Monte dell'Uccellatoio. This was to become famous in later years (Keyssler 375 gives an inscription from 1575).

Over it rose a slender campanile, and round about were dark cypresses and silvery olives. And then, as they moved on, they spied a broad sea of houses, churches, palaces, and towers and, rising high above, them the mighty dome of a cathedral. It was Florence, the haughty city of the Medici.⁶⁵

4. FROM FLORENCE TO SIENA ⁶⁶

The three travelers walked past the cathedral with its courses of black and white stone, the crenellated Palazzo della Signoria, and then over the Ponte Vecchio, which was flanked by cottages like the bridges over the Seine in Paris. They then passed through the Porta Romana and continued south through a hilly but well cultivated countryside with farmsteads, olives, and vineyards. After an hour they reached Galluzzo. Immediately beyond this village they could see on a nearby hill on the right a Carthusian monastery⁶⁷ rising above the shimmering olives and gloomy cypresses. An hour later, on the left beyond the village of Le Tavernuzze, they caught sight of the highly revered shrine of the Madonna dell'Impruneta rising up in the distance. They then traveled for two more hours up the quiet valley of the Greve, partially covered with pine and shade trees, until they finally reached San Casciano on the heights. From here they went down into the fruitful valley of the Pesa and then across the river and up again to Tavernelle and the neighboring, walled Barberino. These were three brown villages in a sea of olives, whose silvery green leaves and gnarled grey trunks were in striking contrast to the bright red soil and fresh green of the vines. From Barberino the travelers, having a brilliant view of the fruitful valley of the Elsa, descended to Poggibonsi. This busy trading center of about three hundred families⁶⁸ was twenty-eight miles from Florence. It was an outpost for the Florentines against their rivals in Siena,⁶⁹ and the first halting place for travelers on their way from Florence to Rome.⁷⁰

Beyond Poggibonsi they left the smiling valley of the Elsa behind them. The countryside became more sombre, and the walled towns with their forts and towers were a reminder of the dubious struggles that had occupied the Florentines and the Sienese for hundreds of years. To the left, enthroned on a hill, was the medieval town of Strozze, and to the right the frontier fortress of Poggio Imperiale, which had been built as a defense post by the Florentines in 1478. At Staggia, a brown village with an old fortress, the road left the territory of Florence and climbed up the heights of the valley of the Staggia, going past the stronghold of Castiglioncello to Monteriggioni. This town, two and one-half

⁶⁵ Travelers usually spent the night in Florence. Crimalini did so in 1541, Masarelli in 1545, Polanco and Laynez in 1561, Alessandrini in 1571, and Xavier and his companions must certainly have done the same.

⁶⁶ The real Via Cassia went from Florence past Siena; a road branching off from it, the Via Traiana Nova, went past Arezzo and Chiusi to Bolsena (Martinori 79).

⁶⁷ A correspondent in the *Bombay Examiner*, June 11, 1921, wrote that when he visited the Certosa in Florence, he had seen a large oil painting of Xavier, "who had visited the monastery before he left Europe to go to India," in a chapel (the chapter room). When we visited the chartreuse in 1939, no one there knew anything about such a tradition.

⁶⁸ *Venturino I 7v. "Civile e nobile castello" (Alberti 51v).

⁶⁹ Cf. Giorgio Piranesi, *Poggibonsi* (Le Cento Città d'Italia, fasc. 141).

⁷⁰ Polanco and Laynez spent the night here in 1561. Those traveling on foot from Florence usually stayed in Siena.

hours away from Poggibonsi, had been built in 1213 by the Sieneſe as an outpost againſt the Florentines. Deſpite its protecting wall and fourteen towers, it contained only about ſixty families.⁷¹ The road then deſcended the ſlope of Monte Maggio through a ſhady foreſt.⁷² Near San Dalmazio it croſſed the divide between the waters of the Arno and the Ombrone. The land took on the pale tints of the native liſtſtone—yellow, ſilver, and reddiſh brown. An inſcription on a column alongſide the road commemorated the meeting of the emperor Frederick III with his bride Leonor, the Infanta of Portugal, in 1451.⁷³ About ſix hours after leaving Poggibonsi, the travelers could ſee the red brick tiles of Siena riſing up on the heights, and ſoon after they entered the city through the Porta Campollia.

The gently winding ſtreet led ſlowly up along the ridge of the mountain between tall aſtere houſes made of gray tuff or bricks turning black with age. It paſſed dark narrow ſtreetſ with numerous arches deſcending ſharply to the right and left and continued down to the great ſhell-shaped city ſquare, the Piazza del Campo, which ſpread out like a fan from beneath the Gothic Palazzo della Signoria with its tall, ſlender tower on the left. On the other ſide of the ſquare was the back of the Loggia della Mercanzia. Not far away was the marvelous cathedral, riſing up in the miſt of a maze of narrow ſtreetſ. Outside and in, its walls were covered with courſes of black and white marble. The façade had three elaborate Romanesque-Gothic doors. The marble floor inside the church were inlaid with ſcenes from the Old Teſtament. Oppoſite the cathedral, on the other ſide of the ſquare, was the famous hospital and hoſpice of Santa Maria della Scala,⁷⁴ which eaſily rivaled that of the Santo Spirito in Rome. To the left of the palace of the Signoria, at the baſe of the tower, was a dark narrow ſtreet ſpanned by numerous arches that deſcended between tall buildings to the newly built chapel of San Giacomo in Salicotto⁷⁵ on the Via di Salicotto. Here Xavier and his two companions met Broët and Salmerón after ſix months of ſeparation.

After their confreres had left Vicenza, Salmerón had returned with Broët to his hermitage and had finally, the laſt of the companions, been ordained to the prieſthood.⁷⁶ When he and Broët arrived in Siena, they had been taken in by Giovanni di Lorenzo degli Alessandrini, who lived on the Via di Salicotto. Giovanni was the ſyndic of a confraternity, the Compagnia di San Giacomo in Salicotto, and was known as “Il Bianco” becauſe of the white garments he wore in fulfillment of a vow. He was an accompliſhed painter, and among his works was a beautiful picture of the Immaculate Mother of God in the neighboring church of San Martino. But he was not merely a fine artiſt, he was alſo well educated and had a good knowledge of Scripture. An excellent Chriſtian, he found time, deſpite his labors, to recite the Office every day; and his home was always open

⁷¹ *Venturino I 7v; in 1538 the town was under Siena (Guazzo 177).

⁷² “Après Poggibonsi, on traverse pendant un aſſez long eſpace, une forêt dont l'intérieur coupé par le profonds ravins, reſſemble preſque à un désert: cependant à environ deux lieues de Sienne, les montagnes ſ'abaiſſent et l'un jouit de divers points de vue très pittoresques” (J. P. Giegler, *Manuel du voyageur en Italie* [Milan, 1820] 394).

⁷³ Girolamo Gigli, *Diario Senese* I (Siena, 1857) 69-70; Martinori 147-148.

⁷⁴ Fontana praized the “rich and beautiful hospital, advantageous for the poor and pilgrims” (11v).

⁷⁵ Built between 1531 and 1536 (Giovacchino Faluschi, *Breve Relazione delle cose notabili della città di Siena* [Siena, 1815] 101).

⁷⁶ See above, p. 372, n. 268.

for pious visitors. With the permission of the vicar-general, Francesco Cosci,⁷⁷ Salmerón and Broët had gone from here to the Loggia della Mercanzia to preach. When this and the street in front of it⁷⁸ no longer sufficed for the throngs that came to hear them, they had gone to the Piazza del Campo, to a spot near the Banchetti,⁷⁹ below the narrow street del Bargello,⁸⁰ where a statue of the Mother of God, protected by a baldachin, stood near a bookstore. Though the Italian of the Parisian masters was quite imperfect—and the Siense spoke the best Italian in the whole of Italy—they had still been understood, and their ardent words had been well received. When their audience continued to grow, many of the city's distinguished patricians had sought them out and secured for them a place to stay near the church of San Giacomo, only four doors away from the home of their first host. There they had been provided with excellent beds and a abundance of food. Their friends had visited them frequently and made sure that nothing was wanting to them; and one of the confraternity had been commissioned to collect whatever alms were needed. Broët and Salmerón had thus been able to preach every day near the Banchetti to the general satisfaction of the city.⁸¹ They had heard confessions, taken care of the poor, and, to the edification of their parents, had instructed many children in Christian doctrine.⁸²

5. FROM SIENA TO ROME⁸³

The five companions set out in a body from Siena for Rome well provided for their journey through the kindness of their friends in the city. A year later Broët could point out to his confrere Rodriguez, as they were traveling from Rome to Siena, the house where the five had spent the night together in 1538,

⁷⁷ *Ep. Broëti* 200-201.

⁷⁸ It opened onto the Via degli Ufficiali.

⁷⁹ Opposite the tower of the Palazzo della Signoria, in front of the street Banchi di Sotto.

⁸⁰ Chiasso del Bargello.

⁸¹ On Broët and Salmerón's stay in Siena, see the report prepared by Lorenzo degli Alessandrini, a nephew of Giovanni, in *Ep. Broëti* 197-200, and Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 130-132, and also the *report of the Confraternity of St. James of June 27, 1538, in ARSI: *Hist. Soc. 1b*, ff. 109-110v.

⁸² Laynez 122. See also the report of the vicar-general in *Ep. Broëti* 200-201.

⁸³ It was 135 miles, a five-day trip, from Siena to Rome. Quetta gives the route in 1514 (see above, p. 391, n. 1). Fontana gives the same route in 1539, but his distances are not always the same: Rome to Bosco di Baccano ten Italian miles, Monterosi ten, Ronciglione seven, Viterbo nine, Montefiascone eight, Bolsena six, San Lorenzo three, Acquapendente four, La Paglia twelve, San Quirico thirteen, Buonconvento seven, Lucignano four, Siena eight (11-v). The companions probably stayed in the same places at night as did the Japanese ambassadors in 1585: (San Quirico twenty-six, Acquapendente thirty-two, Viterbo thirty-one) Monterosi twenty-four, and Rome twenty-three, miles from each other. Criminali, who spent the night at a place four Italian miles before Siena (probably Monteriggioni), hastened from there to Rome in four days. He spent the nights in San Quirico thirty-five, San Lorenzo thirty-seven, Ronciglione thirty-nine (he traveled eight Italian miles from there on horseback), and Rome thirty, miles away. L. Alessandrini's account states that his uncle generously equipped Broët and Salmerón for the trip: "Ritrovò le cavalcature, e gli providde di quanto havevano di bisogno, e promesse all'hosti per le cavalcature, e per tutto quello che ci era bisogno" (*Ep. Broëti* 109). We believe that the companions traveled from Siena on foot according to their custom; but Xavier, who had scarcely recovered from his sickness, may have needed a horse.

and a second, where some of them, because of the abundance of their consolations, had not been able to sleep the whole night long.⁸⁴

Beyond Siena the countryside took on a completely different aspect. Instead of the smiling, fruitful valleys thickly planted with olives and vines that lay between Florence and Poggibonsi, the travelers encountered an empty, monotonous, calcareous land. It was barren, treeless, and sparsely inhabited; and it became increasingly so the farther they traveled from Siena. The road led first down the valley of the Arbia past Monteroni to Buonconvento, a town surrounded by red brick walls lying at the confluence of the Arbia and Ombrone. It may have had a hundred families.⁸⁵ They then followed the road as it went uphill and down past Torrenieri, constantly having in view the pale blue heights of Monte Amiata in the distant south at the end of the ugly, rolling plateau. On a hill to the right they saw the town of Montalcino, and on another farther away on the left, Pienza. After walking for nine hours the companions reached San Quirico, seated on a hill covered with olive trees over the valley of the Orcia. This was a small walled city of about two hundred families⁸⁶ and the first stop for the night,⁸⁷ some twenty-seven miles from Siena.

Soon after leaving San Quirico they suddenly saw on the left of Monte Amiata high over the distant mountains an enormous mass of rock from which rose a solitary tower. This was Radicofani, the bastian of Siena in the south. The land then became ever more harsh and barren. Greys, yellows, and whites dominated the landscape. There were no trees or shrubs, and the naked limestone kept cropping out on the barren heights. At long intervals the travelers could see a solitary homestead or rusty brown village on one of the hills in the distance as if lost in the steppes. Now and then they encountered a farmer in the fields

⁸⁴ The decisive text for this chapter is a letter which Antonio Brandão wrote to his confreres in Coimbra on February 20, 1551, forty-three days after he had arrived in Rome. He had traveled from Portugal to the Eternal City with Simon Rodrigues, and certainly took the Via Cassia from Siena on. He wrote: "Asy passamos este camynho haté chegar a Sena, en ha qual cidade nos detyvemos poco tempo; mas certo que quando eu vya nela hos passos, por hos quais hos nossos prymeiros Padres andarão, e m'os amostrava ho P. M. Symão, que trocara ho camynhar pola estada nela; e grande era ho nosso contentamento, e asi em outros passos, que desta cidade até Roma ho P. M. Symão me amostrava. Humas vezes me amostrava humas casas, onde estyverão os Padres todos juntos [San Quírico?], outras onde alguns deles con devação não dormião toda huma noyte [Acquapendente?], e asy outras façanhas... A hum deles [dos primeiros Padres], scilicet ho P. Laynes, encontramos, saydos nos de Viterbo por espaço de duas legoas" (*Ep. Mixtae* II 515). In the spring of 1539 Rodrigues had gone from Rome to Siena with Broët, and at the beginning of 1540 had returned from there to Rome alone. Thus, if in 1551 he pointed out to Brandão the houses on the road from Siena and Rome which reminded him of the "first fathers," including the house where "all the fathers" were together, this could only refer to the passage of the five companions in 1538, about which he had been told by Broët on their way from Rome to Siena in 1539, for Rodrigues had come to Rome with Codure after the others by way of Loreto. This also nullifies the alleged tradition that Xavier went from Bologna to Faenza during the Lent of 1538, stayed there for forty days, and then went from there to Rome (R. Maria Magnani, *Vite de' Santi, Beati, Venerabili e Servi di Dio della città di Faenza* [Faenza, 1741] 301). This probably arose from confusing Xavier with Broët, who labored in Faenza from 1544 to 1547.

⁸⁵ *Venturino I 4v.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 4.

⁸⁷ "Which the *vetturini* sometimes make their first night's sleeping-place from Siena" (J. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy* [London, 1864] 351). Among those who spent the night here were Criminali in 1541 and the Japanese ambassadors in 1585.

with a pair of greyish white Sienese oxen with their large horns, and at times a dreamy inn—La Poderina, La Scala, and Ricorsi.

As they approached Monte Amiata, they could see that it was covered with thick woods to the top. Four hours beyond San Quirico they crossed the valley of Formone, a stony brook, and then zigzagged steeply up the wild, barren mountain, which formed the watershed between Orcia and Paglia. On their right was the majestic Amiata covered with chestnut and beech forests, over a thousand feet high; and in the midst of the forest, across the deep, steeply falling valley of the Paglia, was the village of Abbadia San Salvatore with its famous abbey. After two and one-half hours of steady climbing they reached Radicofani, a strongly fortified aerie of some three hundred families.⁸⁸ It lay at the foot of an imposing wall of basalt upon which a fortress and high watchtower were perched.

Then the countryside changed completely as if by a stroke of magic. A marvelous panorama opened up. The companions could see on the right, silent and still, the south slope of Monte Amiata. Both the mountain itself and its foothills were covered from top to bottom with forests of shade trees. On their left they could see the high peak of Monte Cetona, and on the south the silvery ribbon of the Paglia River and small brown settlements in the mountains on either side of it, and beyond these the green plateau of Acquapendente with its villages and the Volscian Mountains at its farther end. It was as if the yellow stream of the Sienese plateau had lifted itself up only to drop down and spread itself out into a stormy green sea, with one mountain rolling on after the other as far as the eye could reach.

From Radicofani the travelers descended steeply down into the narrow and untilled valley of the Rigo and then down into the valley of the Paglia. Near Ponte Centeno, three hours beyond Radicofani, they reached the boundary of the Papal States. An hour later they crossed over the Paglia,⁸⁹ which flowed in a broad rubble bed between low mountains. After walking on another hour they saw the walls of Acquapendente⁹⁰ rising picturesquely over a roaring waterfall. This was the second stopping place for the night,⁹¹ thirty-two miles from San Quirico.

From Acquapendente the companions walked for another hour and a half over a monotonous volcanic plateau. Then they suddenly came to the edge of the enormous crater of the Volscian Mountains. Through the treetops they could see a pale blue strip encircled by mountains and two small islands in its center—Lake Bolsena. They descended through a shady oak forest to the village of San Lorenzo,⁹² then to the lake, and then walked along the shore until they reached Bolsena.⁹³ This old town with its brown stone dwellings had a church with the

⁸⁸ *Venturino I 3v. On the town see Gius. Fatini, "Radicofani," *Le Vie d'Italia* 55 (1949) 1059-1065. The combination postal station and inn south of the town were built by the grand duke Ferdinando (1587-1609).

⁸⁹ A short time before Masarelli came through here in 1545, high water had destroyed the wooden bridge over the Paglia River (*Concilium Tridentinum* I 25).

⁹⁰ Fontana calls the city an old place (11v); the crypt of the present cathedral is from the ninth century. In 1571 Acquapendente had six hundred homes.

⁹¹ Busnardus and his companions spent the night here in 1550, the Japanese ambassador in 1585, Aldobrandini in 1600, and a part of Cardinal Alessandrini's retinue in 1571.

⁹² San Lorenzo Vecchi, also called delle Grotte. It lay in the midst of the forest halfway up the wall of the crater, but in 1773 it was moved to the plateau by Pius VI because of the malaria and renamed San Lorenzo Nuovo.

⁹³ "Assai honorevole Castello, e ben pieno di popolo, edificato sopra le roine dell'antica Città" (Alberti 70).

tomb of the martyr St. Christina. From Bolsena they walked on for three more hours, first along the shore, and then through an ancient oak forest⁹⁴ which afforded magnificent glimpses of the blue waters of the lake which they had left and the villages surrounding it. They then climbed up to the town of Montefiascone,⁹⁵ which, perched on the rim of the crater and surrounded by vineyards, dominated the area far and wide. They then went steeply down to the foot of the mountain.

For three more hours they had to travel across the dark brown Volscian plain. Treeless and barren, it gave the appearance of having been burned over. Here and there they could see ruins of the old Roman road, the Via Cassia.⁹⁶ To their left in the distance was the bright blue chain of the Apennines on the other side of the Tiber and in the foreground was the lofty wooded volcanic peak of Monte Cimino. Thirty-one miles south of Acquapendente they finally entered, through the Porta Fiorentina, the ancient city of Viterbo.⁹⁷ This large, episcopal city with its numerous fountains was the end of a three days' walk.⁹⁸

Immediately beyond the Porta Romana, the road from Viterbo began to rise slowly between groves of olives.⁹⁹ The travelers soon entered a shady forest of beech, oak, and chestnuts that covered the whole north slope of Mount Cimino. They next came to a lonely plateau evergrown with yellow, flowering broom. After climbing for two and one-half hours they reached the rim of a crater, the highest point on the road.¹⁰⁰ The Lago di Vico in the crater of an extinct volcano lay brilliantly blue beneath them. The slopes surrounding the lake were covered with dense, green shade trees, and from the depths of the crater rose the steep cone of Monte Venere, completely overgrown with tall beech trees. As they descended along the road, a glorious panorama unfolded before them. On the left rose the blue ridges of the Sabine Hills; towering up behind them was the pale blue

⁹⁴ In Roman times the Bosco di Montefiascone was sacred to Juno (*ibid.* 71). "Selva antichissima, anche al giorno d'oggi è sì venerata dai vicini abitanti, che non si osa tagliarne pur una pianta" (Artaria, *Nuovissima Guida dei viaggiatori in Italia* [Firenze, 1834] 346).

⁹⁵ "Monte fiascone, tante volte da i Tedeschi nominato, e desiderato per i soavi, e dolci vini moscatelli bianchi, e vermigli" (Alberti 71).

⁹⁶ Near the Osteria delle Fontanile.

⁹⁷ Fontana 11.

⁹⁸ Among those who spent the night here on their way from Siena were Rodrigues in 1551 and the Japanese ambassadors in 1585, and on their way from Rome Laynez and Borgia in 1551 (*Ep. Mixtae* II 515-516) and Alessandrini in 1571.

⁹⁹ The old Via Cassia led west of Viterbo around the heavily wooded Monte Cimino past Vetralla and Sutri, without going to Ronciglione. But in the sixteenth century travelers went straight south on the Via Cimina, already known in Roman times, along the east shore of the Lago di Vico to Ronciglione. This route was chosen, for example, by Quetta in 1514, Paul III in 1538, Fontana in 1539, Criminali in 1541, Masarelli in 1545, Busnardus in 1550. See also Alberti 80v-82 and Martinori 53-56. Artaria's *Nuovissima Guida* of 1834 mentions a new road which led from Viterbo past the village of Imposta and the Lago di Vico to Ronciglione, "non più salendo, come pochi anni addietro, l'altipreste Monte di Viterbo (*Mons Cyminus*), mercè la nuova e facile strada ivi fatta costruire" (349). It is already mentioned in the *Manuel du voyageur* of 1820 (409). It cannot have differed much from the old route, since the map of the Roman territory by Innocenzo Mattei of 1674, which is based on the accurate geographical investigations of Lukas Hostenius, gives the old road, the Via Cimina, as taking approximately the same route as the modern one. Beyond Viterbo the map shows Ferriera and then the Osteria del Monte, which must correspond to the modern Osteria della Brunca (Almagià, *Carte*, plate 14).

¹⁰⁰ It is 2,727 feet above sea level.

chain of the Apennines. Below the hills the silver ribbon of the Tiber wound through a green plain dotted with villages. Rising up abruptly from it was Mount Soracte; and in the south were the volcanic Sabatine Hills that terminated the extensive plain. In less than two hours the companions descended the sloping rim of the crater to the south shore of the lake and then ascended steeply up to Ronciglione.¹⁰¹ This village made of greyish brown tuff was not far from the lake and was connected to its fortress by a narrow bridge. From here they went on for two and one-half more hours to Monterosi, an unwalled town lying on the edge of a tiny blue volcanic lake. It was a favorite stopping place for the night,¹⁰² twenty-five miles from Viterbo and twenty-three from Rome.

Keeping Mount Soracte and the distant blue mountains on their left, the travelers made their last day's journey across the rolling Roman campagna, now largely abandoned because of malaria. Two hours beyond Monterosi they came to the two inns of Baccano. These lay on the flat crater of an extinct volcano near a lake of the same name.¹⁰³ From here they passed through the forest of Baccano. In former times this had been a notorious haunt for robbers, but it could now be safely traversed because of the energetic measures taken by the last four popes.¹⁰⁴ At the end of the forest was the inn of Bacanello,¹⁰⁵ then that of Isola,¹⁰⁶ and then, two hours beyond Baccano, that of La Storta and its chapel.¹⁰⁷ Soon after this there appeared on the right a tall, reddish white medieval watchtower,¹⁰⁸ and an hour further on, next to the road, a Roman tomb.¹⁰⁹ A half hour later the city of Rome with the tall black piers for the cupola of the new St. Peter's and the defiant Castel Sant'Angelo came into view. The road then descended steeply to the river. Two and one-half hours after leaving the chapel of La Storta the five companions reached Ponte Molle, the bridge over the Tiber at the juncture of the Via Cassia and the Via Flaminia. A half hour later, through the Porta del Popolo, they entered the Eternal City.

¹⁰¹ Paul III spent the night here in 1538, Criminalli in 1541, and Busnardus, who called the place an "oppidulum," in 1550.

¹⁰² Monterosi calls Fontana a "piccolo castello" (11); Clement VII stayed here in 1528, Paul III in 1533, Masarelli in 1545, and Aldobrandini in 1600. For the road from here to Rome, see the excellent and highly detailed map of Eufrosino della Volpaia, *Mappa della Campagna Romana del 1547, con introd. di Thomas Ashby* (Roma, 1914). The road originally led from Ronciglione by way of Sutri, as Quetta observed in 1514 and is indicated on the map of the Roman territory of 1557 (Ashby 4-5). Later it went straight to Monterosi, as, for example, on Mattei's map of 1674.

¹⁰³ Baccano and Ellera, already indicated on Volpaia's map. The lake has been drained since 1838. On Baccano see Fontana 11 and Alberti 82v.

¹⁰⁴ Alberti 82v-83. Whenever a tumult arose, the people used to say: "Pare, che siamo nel Bosco di Baccano" (Schottus 204). In 1540 the new *governatore* of Parma wrote concerning the city: "Veramente che da molti mesi in qua è stata questa città peggio che un bosco de Baccano: tanti omicidi, furti et saxinamenti sono fatti" (Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 222).

¹⁰⁵ Today the Osteria Piscia Cavallo.

¹⁰⁶ See the Volpaia map.

¹⁰⁷ On La Storta, where there was a postal station even in Roman times, see Leop. Fonck, S.J., "*La Storta, un antico Santuario di S. Ignazio alle Porte di Roma*" (Roma, 1924); Pio Pecchiai, "La risorta Cappella della visione di S. Ignazio alla Storta," *L'Osservatore Romano*, July 29, 1945; Larrafiaga 503-513.

¹⁰⁸ Torre Spizzichino.

¹⁰⁹ The so-called "Sepolcro di Nerone," near Volpaia, simply called "La Sepoltura," the tomb of P. Vibius Marianus.

CHAPTER VII

THE FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL (APRIL—NOVEMBER, 1538)¹

1. THE VINEYARD OF QUIRINO GARZONIO (APRIL, 1538)

From the Porta del Popolo, one street on the right led to the Castel Sant'Angelo, a second in the center led to the palace of St. Mark in the center of the city, and a third went peacefully to the left along the vine-clad slopes of the Pincio and came in a quarter of an hour to the Piazza della Trinità,² so-called because of the church of the Santissima Trinità dei Monti which, with its adjoining monastery of the Minims of St. Francis of Paula, looked down upon it from the neighboring heights. It had been built forty-five years before by the French king Charles VIII in thanksgiving for the cure of his predecessor, Louis XI, from a serious illness through the intercession of the founder of the order.³

Two roads led up from the piazza to the church, one going straight up, and the other in a winding course.⁴ From this latter there turned off to the left almost at once⁵ a third, which went up to the vineyard and country estate of the "molto magnifico Signore, Messer Quirino Garzonio."⁶ This lay a few minutes to the left below the monastery of the Minims and halfway up the heights of the steep slope. Here Xavier and his four companions met Iñigo, Favre, and Laynez when they arrived in Rome about Easter, which this year fell on April 21.⁷

¹ The main sources for the following chapter are, in addition to Rodrigues' detailed report (491 493-495 498-499 502-507) and Bobadilla's brief but important text (616) and his exchange of letters with Ercole (*Bob. Mon.* 2-14), the texts in the FN I: the long letter from Ignatius to Roser of December 19, 1538 (6-14) and his autobiography (496-502); the reports of Laynez (122-126 132 138), Favre (41-42), Polanco (196-203), and Nadal (308-310 313-314); and FN II: Laynez (132-133), Nadal (9-10 86 158-159 169-171 261-262), Ribadeneyra (377), Polanco (503 584-592), and the anonymous author (443-445). See also the letters and documents in MI *Epp.* I 297; *Scripta* I 548-550 627-629 746 751, II 830-831 872-873; *Const.* I 104; *Ep. Mixtae* I 16 and note 2; *Lainii Mon.* I 550; *Ep. Salm.* I 550. The main accounts are Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 3-5 90-93 102-109 112-114 135-172; Böhmer 212-236; and Larrañaga 497-552.

² Today the Piazza di Spagna.

³ See Fourier Bonnard, *Histoire du couvent royal de la Trinité du Mont Pincio* (Rome, 1933), and Armellini 413-416 1466.

⁴ On the site of the Spanish staircase built between 1721 and 1725; see the plan of Rome by Leonardo Bufalini of 1551 (*La Pianta di Roma del 1551*, ed. F. Ehrle, S.J. [Roma, 1911]).

⁵ Today the Via San Sebastianello. According to the plan of Bufalini, the road passed below the villa of Garzonio to the villa of the cardinal of Montepulciano, Giovanni Ricci, built in 1544. It is now the Villa Medici (on it see Luigi Callari, *Le Ville di Roma* [Roma, 1943] 82-87).

⁶ This is the title used by Ignatius in his letter of February 16, 1555 (MI *Epp.* VIII 427).

⁷ Gian Filippo Cassini, who entered the Society in 1540 as its first Roman and died in Sicily in 1584, liked to speak about Ignatius and Xavier. According to Dom. Stan. Alberti, S.J., Fr. Baldassarre Siracusa heard him narrate the following example of Xavier's

Messer Quirino, who had married Donna Leonora de Albertoni in 1532, was the son of a rich and prominent Roman patrician, Gasparo Garzonio. A doctor in civil and canon law, and a lawyer in the papal Curia, his family had come originally from Jesi in the March of Ancona. In 1512 he had purchased a palazzo on the Piazza Saponaria along with other houses near the church of San Luigi de' Francesi and had subsequently enlarged and beautified it as a residence for his family. Donna Leonora had brought him fifteen hundred ducats as her dowry, a thousand of which consisted in landed estates.⁸ Messer Quirino was a pious and virtuous man;⁹ and when Iñigo, Favre, and Laynez came to Rome in 1537, he had generously, for the love of God, placed at their disposal his empty villa on the Pincio. At the time only his gardener Antonio de Sarzana was living there.¹⁰

The house¹¹ had been erected against the steep slope of the hill. From the

obedience: "Il P. Cassino mi raccontò, che il N. B. P. Ignazio mandò il B. P. Francesco Saverio in Bologna per un negozio, e gli assegnò i giorni che doveva impiegare in tal viaggio, per fin l'ora, in che dovea ritornarsene in Roma. Ed ecco il miracolo dell'Ubbidienza del Saverio: nell'ultimo de' giorni assegnatigli, anzi pur nell'ora appunto prefissagli, si trovò nella Casa nostra di Roma" (*Dell'Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù: La Sicilia* [Palermo, 1702] 506). The historical basis for this legend may be that Xavier and his four companions arrived in Rome about the time that Ignatius was waiting for him there.

⁸ On Quirino Garzonio see Tacchi Venturi, *Le case abitate in Roma da S. Ignazio di Loiola* (Roma, 1899) 11-12; Amayden I 422-423. Besides his extensive vineyard on the Pincio and his houses in the center of the city, he owned a garden on the Rione Monti, which he leased in 1541 (R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma* 3 [Roma, 1907] 101).

⁹ Rodrigues 498; Ribadeneyra, *Vita* 2, 13.

¹⁰ *MI Scripta* II 830.

¹¹ The account of the origins of the professed house in Rome, written between 1609 and 1622 and edited with a commentary by Tacchi Venturi, calls the house in Garzonio's vineyard a *casetta* (*Le case* 5). Following this, Tacchi Venturi calls the house a *piccola casetta* (*Storia* II, 1, 92), *povera casuccia* (in the periodical *Roma* 18 [1940] 246). The account, which is swarming with errors, also calls the palace of the Frangipani, which sheltered the companions and four hundred homeless individuals, a *casetta*. In 1608, however, Gasparo Garzonio, Quirino's son, mentions "casa nostra in una vigna sotto la Trinità di Monte" (*MI Scripta* II 830). Laynez also refers to the house as a *casa* (124), as do Rodrigues (498), Polanco (586), and Nadal (FN II 169). At the beginning of the eighteenth century the house was extensively rebuilt and enlarged and given another story; in the nineteenth century still another story was added. It now belongs to the Resurrectionists, Via San Sebastianello 11. The older city plans show only the outline of the house. A sketch from the end of the sixteenth century, perhaps by Aegid Sadeler in 1593, but certainly after 1588, represents this house, to the front and left of La Trinità, and below the vineyard, as a square building with windows in the two upper stories (two on each side of each story). It also shows the door opening onto the court and the court entrance (Hermann Egger, *Römische Veduten* 2 [Wien, 1932] plate 124). The Bufalini plan of 1551 represents the house as a long rectangle, divided by a straight wall into two unequal parts with a retaining wall for the court on the side of the hill. The square half on the right is the house, the long section on the left is perhaps the garden terrace. The ground plan and verticle cross section of 1720 in the **Libro di Piante, e prospetti delle Case, che gode il Colleggio Romano della Compagnia di Gesù in Proprietà, ed intiero Dominio in Roma, Albano e Frascati... secondo lo Stato dell'Anno MDCCXX* (Fondo Gesù 1197, ff. 10v-12) shows the house after it had been extensively reconstructed at the beginning of the century: stairway, seven rooms on the main floor, two floors above this, each with eight windows on the valley side, a court with a cave, a shed, stable, garden, and an annex on the left. In 1609 Gasparo Garzonio handed over his villa to the Roman College, "quia Beatus P. Ignatius, et eius socii primum recepti sunt ab Ill. quondam D. Quirino eius patre in supranominata domo, cum primum Romae [!] venerunt, illamque per aliquot menses inhabitaverunt" (Fondo Gesù, *Instrum.* 79, 273-281), and its adjoining garden (ARSI: *Rom.* 32 II 254; 134 I 89 and 92). The

ground floor and its cellars,¹² which were blind in the rear, there was a staircase that led up past a mezzanine, where the rooms facing the hill were only lit by small windows lying close to the ground, to the main floor. From there it passed to an upper story where there were small windows set close under the roof.¹³ From the rooms on the main floor one could pass through a door into a court. Here there was a wall with a cave in the center. To the left of this was a stable, above it a granary, and further to the left a garden. To the right was a gate opening on the road that led down to the piazza.¹⁴ From the windows of the upper story of the main building there was a view on one side to the quiet wooded heights of the Pincio and its vineyards, and on the other to the monastery and church of the Minims. From the windows in front could be seen the Eternal City with its churches and towers. Beyond the Tiber could also be seen the Vatican palace and the lofty piers for the cupola of the new St. Peter's, the roof of its choir, and the Castel Sant'Angelo with the blue heights of Monte Mario on the right and of the Gianicolo on the left.¹⁵ The Parisian masters were on friendly terms with their neighbors, the Minims, who were mostly French;¹⁶ and they were able to celebrate Mass daily in their church, which already contained a series of beautiful chapels.¹⁷

property relinquished was valued at the time at twelve hundred *scudi*. In 1640 the house was given in hereditary tenure for three generations for the sum of six hundred *scudi* and an annual rent of fifteen *scudi* (ARSI: Rom. 150 II 518v 556). In 1661, when the question arose as to whether it should be perpetually leased or not, the superiors of the order declined "per riverenza di N. S. Padre," for it was said that St. Ignatius had lived there with his companions when he first came to Rome (*ibid.* Rom. 32 II 254; cf. 134 I 89 and 92). In 1700, when the family having the right of hereditary tenure died out, the college again received control of the house and had it enlarged and reconstructed "con molte spese" (Fondo Gesù 1179, 10v). In 1702 more than nine thousand *scudi* had already been expended on it. In 1704 the procurator of the college was censured for the great sums he had spent on the house to little purpose (*ibid.* Rom. 40, 202). For the above information we are largely indebted to the kindness of Signore Pio Pecchiai and our confrere Pietro Pirri, who are preparing a monograph on the house.

¹² In 1544 the cardinal of Montepulciano built his villa above Garzonio's. The plan of 1551 shows the road leading down to the latter. In 1564 the nephews of the cardinal bought the vineyard with two small gardens and the ruined country house of Camillo de Crescenzi "above Garzonio's house and the Minims' monastery" to enlarge their property and obtained from Messer Quirino a part of his road (*viale*) in order to make the steep narrow path (*vicolo*) leading up to the Villa Crescenzi suitable for wagons (Lanciani III 103-105). In a contract of November 9, 1568, which Fr. Pirri brought to our attention, two roads are named leading from the foot of the hill past the Villa Garzonio to the Pincio. One terminated at the chapel of the Theatines, the other at the vineyard of the cardinal of Montepulciano (Fondo Gesù 1106, f. 370). Evidently one passed below, and the other above, the house of Garzonio. The ground plan of 1720 indicates the upper road "to the Medici palace."

¹³ According to the views in Egger.

¹⁴ The ground plan of 1720 also gives the cave with its fountain. It already existed in 1538 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 16). The remains of Garzonio's coat of arms may still be seen there: a black eagle with outspread wings on a gold background in the upper field, and below, on the left, a red rose on a silver background and, on the right, a silver rose on a red background.

¹⁵ In the contract of 1568 Garzonio promised not to add any floors to his house so that he would not block the view from the Villa Medici, which was thought to be the most beautiful in the city (Bonnard 14).

¹⁶ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 92.

¹⁷ Armellini 414; Bonnard 32-39.

2. BEGINNINGS IN ROME (NOVEMBER, 1537-APRIL, 1538)¹⁸

Six months had flown by since the companions had seen each other, and they had much to narrate.

On the way from Bologna to Rome Laynez had suddenly fallen ill and was unable to continue because of his pains. Iñigo had then rented a horse with his last *giulio*. He had then wrapped up his sick confrere in his thin, worn cloak, placed him on the mount, and gone ahead so rapidly to encourage his companion that Laynez, though mounted, could hardly keep up with him.¹⁹

On this journey²⁰ Iñigo had received many spiritual consolations, especially at the time of Holy Communion, which he daily received during the Masses of one of his two companions. Just as in the meditation in the Exercises upon the Two Standards, he had recommended himself in a special manner to the Blessed Virgin so that she might obtain for him from her divine Son the grace to be received under His banner as a true soldier of Christ. When he was begging for this same grace at the chapel of La Storta, three hours from Rome, he had suddenly felt as if he were in an ecstasy and clearly perceived how the heavenly Father had impressed these words upon his heart: *Ego ero vobis Romae propitius* ("I will be propitious to you in Rome"),²¹ and he had immediately had a vision: He had seen the Redeemer carrying His cross and next to Him God the Father, who had said to His Son, "I will that you take this man as your servant." At this Jesus had taken him as His servant and had said to him: "I will that you serve Us." The prayer which Iñigo had uttered in the Spiritual Exercises at Manresa in the meditation on the Two Standards, and which he had so often repeated in later times, had thus been heard: The eternal Father had chosen him and with him

¹⁸ The main sources are in the FN I: Ignatius (7 496-500), Laynez (122-124 138), Polanco (196-197); in FN II: Nadal (169) and Polanco (584-586); Rodrigues 498; *Lainii Mon.* I 550; *Ep. Salm.* II 735; *Ep. Mixtae* I 16; *MI Scripta* II 807 830-831 872-873. See the accounts in Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 92-93 102-109; Böhmer 212-215 and Larrañaga 516-541.

¹⁹ Ribadeneyra according to the oral declarations of Laynez (FN II 332-333).

²⁰ The main sources for the famous vision at La Storta are published, with three exceptions, in the *Fontes Narrativi*. They are in chronological order: Ignatius in 1544 (reference in his spiritual diary in *MI Const.* I 104), Nadal in 1554 (FN I 313), Ignatius in 1555 (*ibid.* 496-498), Nadal in 1557 (*ibid.* II 9-10), Laynez in 1559 (*ibid.* 133), Nadal in 1561 (*ibid.* 158), Nadal in 1563 (*ibid.* 259-260), Polanco in 1564 (*ibid.* 310-311), Ribadeneyra in 1566 (*ibid.* 377), the anonymous author about 1567 (*ibid.* 443), Ribadeneyra in 1572 (*Vita* 2, 11), Canisius about 1572 (*MI Scripta* I 715), Polanco in 1574 (FN II 585 596). The two main accounts which we follow are those of Ignatius in 1555 and Laynez. The other authors distort them. See the articles which Hugo Rahner, S.J., published in *Zeitschrift für Ascese und Mystik* 10 (1935) entitled: "Die Vision des heiligen Ignatius in der Kapelle von La Storta" (17-35), "Der tatsächliche Verlauf der Vision" (124-139), "Die Mystik des hl. Ignatius und der Inhalt der Vision" (202-220), "Die Psychologie der Vision von La Storta im Lichte der Mystik des hl. Ignatius" (265-282); and R. Rouquette, S.J., "Essai critique sur les sources relatant la vision de Saint Ignatius de Loyola à la Storta (Octobre, 1537)," *Revue d'Ascétique et Mystique* 33 (1957) 34-61.

²¹ The authors give three versions of the words: "Ego ero vobis Romae propitius" (Laynez, the anonymous author, and Ribadeneyra in his *Vita*), "Ego vobis propitius ero" (Nadal in 1557, Ribadeneyra in 1566, Polanco in 1574), and "Ego vobiscum ero" (Nadal in 1554 and 1561, and Canisius in 1563). Tacchi Venturi accepts the third (II, 1, 4); Rahner favors the second (137); we attribute the word *Romae* to the authority whom Rahner follows and to whom Ignatius himself refers, that is, to Laynez. Rahner considers the third, shorter formula of Canisius, Tacchi, Huonder, and Böhmer as a "worn out tradition" (137). Why does he not reject the second abbreviated formula for the same reason?

his companions as true combatants for the crucified Savior.²² When he had left the chapel, he had told Favre and Laynez what had occurred and had added: "I do not know what the saying *Ego ero vobis Romae propitius* means. It may be that we shall be crucified in Rome." Nevertheless this heavenly vision had strengthened him in his resolve not to permit his youthful group of disciples to be called anything except "the Society of Jesus."²³

When they reached Rome, Iñigo had told his two comrades that he had seen the windows closed. By this he meant to indicate that they would experience many tribulations in the Eternal City.²⁴

But the windows had opened. Dr. Ortiz had proved to be a true friend,²⁵ and Garzonio had turned his villa over to the companions as a place in which they might stay. Paul III had appointed Favre and Laynez to be professors in the Sapienza,²⁶ the university of Rome, which he was striving to bring back to its former high position after the havoc caused by the sack of the city.²⁷ Since November²⁸ they had both been lecturing every day without remuneration,²⁹ Favre on positive theology, during the course of which he expounded the Scriptures,³⁰ and Laynez on scholastic theology,³¹ that is, on the *Lectura super Canone Missae* of the Tübingen Nominalist Gabriel Biel.³² At first, as he himself confessed, Laynez had given such little satisfaction to himself and to his hearers that Iñigo was almost ashamed of him, but he had gradually improved and had won the full approval³³ of all, even of the members of the Curia who came to his lectures.³⁴ In addition to this, both Favre and Laynez had been frequently invited by Paul III to be present when he was eating so that he might hear them dispute on learned questions with other professors of the university and other theologians as well.³⁵

Iñigo had in the meantime also sought to be of help by giving the Exercises to a number of learned and influential personages so that he might win them over to a more perfect service of God and at the same time obtain their support for his various projects. They could help him resist the opposition of worldly-minded individuals; and under their protection the companions would be able to preach the word of God on Roman soil, which was then barren and overgrown with weeds. And he had been successful in this with a number of prominent

²² His spiritual diary for February 23, 1544, recalls this: "Pareciendome en alguna manera seer de la Sanctissima Trinidad el mostrarse o el sentirse de Jesú, viniendo en memoria quando el Padre me puso con el Hijo" (*MI Const.* I 104).

²³ According to Laynez (FN II 133).

²⁴ Ignatius 498.

²⁵ FN II 443. He was probably the one who had called Ignatius to Rome (Favre 41; cf. Leturia in *AHSI* 9 [1940] 193). According to Gouvea the pope had called two of them to Rome, as he wrote to the Portuguese king on February 17, 1538 (Costa 321). Favre and Laynez are obviously meant. Ortiz had probably recommended them to him as professors for the University of Rome.

²⁶ Ignatius (FN I 7), Laynez (122).

²⁷ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 92-93; Böhmer 213.

²⁸ Bobadilla 3.

²⁹ Ignatius (FN I 12).

³⁰ *Ibid.* 7; Laynez 122; Polanco 584.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ep. Salm.* II 735.

³³ *Lainii Mon.* I 550; Rodrigues 499.

³⁴ Ignatius (FN I 9).

³⁵ *Ibid.* 10; Rodrigues 499.

persons.³⁶ Among them was his Spanish countryman, the physician Dr. Iñigo López,³⁷ a priest of the diocese of Toledo. At Alcalá Ignatius had been a close friend of his brother Dr. Luis Gómez.³⁸ Another was the well-known humanist Lattanzio Tolomei, ambassador of the Republic of Siena in Rome, the nephew of Cardinal Ghinucci, and a friend of Vittoria Colonna, Ochino, and Michelangelo. He was a patron of artists and litterateurs, and owned a precious collection of antiques. He not only knew Latin and Greek but also Arabic and Chaldaic, which he had learned from an Arab whom he had brought into his house as a teacher.³⁹ Still more renowned was another of Iñigo's exercitants, Cardinal Gasparo Contarini,⁴⁰ to whom he had been recommended by Gasparo's cousin Pier Contarini.⁴¹ He had been born in Venice in 1483 of the wealthy patrician family of the Contarini della Madonna dell'Orto. After completing his studies, he had become a member of the Great Council of Venice. In 1521 he had been sent as an ambassador of the republic to the imperial court, and in 1527 he had gone to Rome in the same capacity. Returning to Venice, he had taken up again his favorite humanistic and theological studies. A close friend of the leaders of the reform, Carafa, Giberti, and Cortese, he was well known for his learning, piety, and virtue. He had been created a cardinal in 1535 and had become the pope's chief adviser and president of the papal reform commission established in 1536. In March, 1537, this commission had presented to Paul III a program of reform for the Church in head and members, the fruit of four months of strenuous labors. Through an act of indiscretion this report, which unsparingly pointed up serious defects in the Church, fell into the hands of Protestants and was published in the spring of 1538 at Strasbourg with a spiteful preface by Johann Sturm, whom Xavier had known earlier in Paris. But by this time he had

³⁶ Ignatius (FN I 7). Polanco gives the names of the exercitants (FN I 196; II 585).

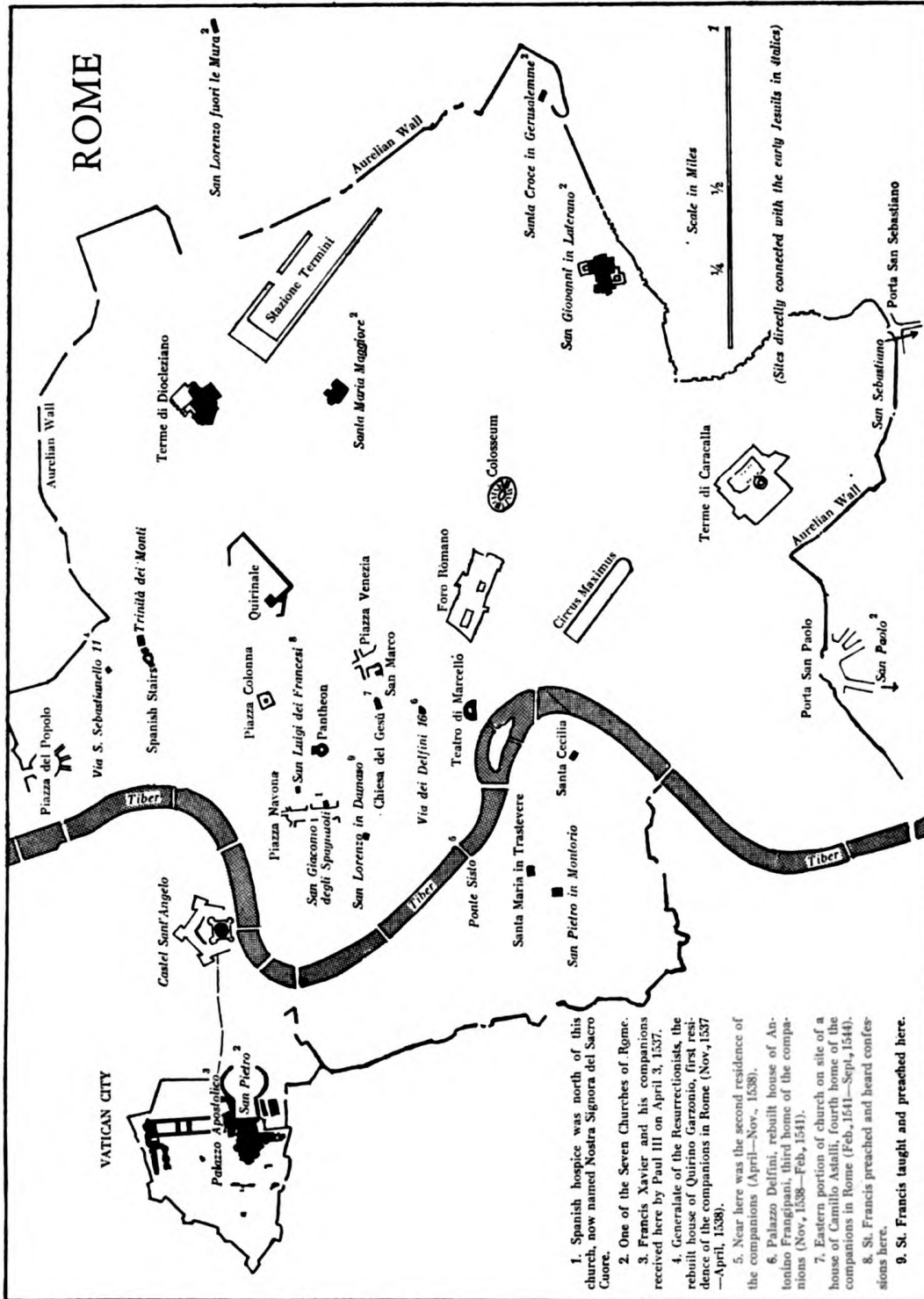
³⁷ In 1545 Dr. Iñigo López is called a "doctor en medicina" and a "clerigo" of Toledo (MI *Scripta* I 646-647). He held the parish benefice of Blacos and Torre de Blacos (Soria) and a second, simple benefice in the city of Soria (*Ep. Mixtae* II 316). Until 1547 he was the trusted friend and devoted physician of the members of the Society of Jesus in Rome. He was regarded almost as if he were one of the household, as the letters of the first companions indicate: Xavier's (EX I 88 260), Rodrigues' (*ibid.* 61 64; *Ep. Broëti* 522 542), Jay's (*Ep. Broëti* 268), Salmerón's (*Ep. Salm.* I 14), Strada's (*Ep. Mixtae* I 30 41) and Araoz' (*ibid.* 38 97 245 255 311). In 1547 he went to Sicily as the physician of the viceroy, where he assisted in the founding of the colleges of Messina and Caltagirone (Polanco, *Chron.* I 240 242 289). He died in 1549 (*Ep. Mixtae* II 316). In 1553 Ignatius recommended his nephew "per l'amore che tutti habbiamo tenuto al Dr. Ignatio Lapis, suo zio, de buona memoria" (MI *Epp.* V 460; cf. Polanco, *Chron.* III 192). On him see Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 107 and Larrañaga 531-535.

³⁸ Larrañaga 535.

³⁹ On L. Tolomei see Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 106-107; Larrañaga 531-532 and Francisco de Hollanda, *Vier Gespräche über die Malerei geführt zu Rom 1538*, edited by Joaquim de Vasconcellos (Wien, 1899) 199-200. In 1542 he entered strenuously into the battle against the heretics in Siena (Pastor V 846-847); in 1539 he also intervened on behalf of the Society of Jesus with his friend Gasparo Contarini (Dittrich, *Regesten* 379-380), who calls him "Messer Lactantio nostro" (MI *Const.* I 22). In 1542 he dedicated to him his work *De praedestinatione* (Dittrich, *Regesten* 234).

⁴⁰ On Contarini see Franz Dittrich, *Gasparo Contarini* (Braunsberg, 1885); Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 108-109; Pastor V 104-106; Larrañaga 535-541. He died in 1542 after he had vainly striven as legate in Germany in 1541 to win back the Protestants. He had always been a warm friend and benefactor of the young Society of Jesus, and he had zealously labored for its ratification (MI *Epp.* I 168).

⁴¹ We conclude this from the letter of Ignatius to Pier Contarini of December 18, 1540, in which he writes: "V. Signoria è stata in causa che Monsignor Revmo. Contareno cominciasse haver cura di noi e favorir in ogni cosa" (MI *Epp.* I 168).



1. Spanish hospice was north of this church, now named Nostra Signora del Sacro Cuore.
2. One of the Seven Churches of Rome.
3. Francis Xavier and his companions received here by Paul III on April 3, 1537.
4. Generalate of the Resurrectionists, the rebuilt house of Quirino Garzonio, first residence of the companions in Rome (Nov., 1537—April, 1538).
5. Near here was the second residence of the companions (April—Nov., 1538).
6. Palazzo Delfini, rebuilt house of Antonino Frangipani, third home of the companions (Nov., 1538—Feb., 1541).
7. Eastern portion of church on site of a house of Camillo Astalli, fourth home of the companions in Rome (Feb., 1541—Sept., 1544).
8. St. Francis preached and heard confessions here.
9. St. Francis laught and preached here.

Generated on 2019-11-01 16:28 GMT / http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015005659191
Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives / http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#cc-by-nc-nd-4.0

openly apostatized from the old faith.⁴² The Exercises made a deep impression upon Contarini. This pious prince of the Church confessed that he had found in Ignatius a masterly teacher of affectivity, and he kept the text of the Exercises which he had copied out for himself in his own hand as a precious treasure.⁴³

Influenced by the spiritual conversations⁴⁴ which he had had with Iñigo, Dr. Ortiz had also⁴⁵ resolved to make the Spiritual Exercises under his direction. To avoid the distractions caused by business and friends, he had gone with Iñigo to make the retreat in the monastery of Monte Cassino, a three-day journey south of Rome.

The doctor was in need of spiritual light and consolation. In the Lent of 1529 he had traveled from Paris to Toledo to assist his dying father; and he had there met his brother Fray Francisco, who spoke to him enthusiastically about the divinely enlightened *beata*, Francisca Hernández.⁴⁶ Intrigued by what he had heard, Ortiz stopped off on his return to Paris at Castrillo, five miles from Valladolid, the place where she was staying at this time. At his first meeting with Francisca, he too was captivated by the magic charm which emanated from the saint. But at this very time an official of the Inquisition came and informed the prophetess that the archbishop of Toledo ordered her to return with him to that city. When she was asked whose wife she was, she had answered that she was the betrothed of Christ. When she was asked what she possessed, she had replied that she owned nothing and that through the mercy of God she had need of nothing; and she had cheerfully set out on the trip south with the *alguazil*. Ortiz' esteem for the saint had only been confirmed by her attitude at the time of her arrest, and he had accompanied her for three whole days. On the way he had written to his brother that he thanked God with tears that he had been allowed to see something of this sort in Spain.⁴⁷ After his return to Paris, however, he had learned that his brother, when he heard that the *beata* had been transferred to the prison of the Inquisition, had declared in a public sermon, which he preached on April 6 before the cathedral chapter and representatives of the city, that the arrest of Francisca Hernández was a very grave sin and that it would be punished by God. He had thereupon been immediately arrested

⁴² Dittrich, *G Contarini* 361-371. Sturm received the text in March, 1538. Sadoletto answered him in July, 1538.

⁴³ Polanco 585; *MI Scripta* II 872-873; Maffei, *Vita Ignatii* 2, 6.

⁴⁴ Polanco 585.

⁴⁵ On him see above, p. 139, n. 245.

⁴⁶ Numerous studies have been made of Francisca Hernández. These make use of the different records of the trials by the Inquisition and include texts from them. The best short summary on the Alumbrados along with the sources and literature is given by Bernardino Llorca, S.J., *La Inquisición española y los Alumbrados (1509-1667), según las actas originales de Madrid y de otros archivos* (Madrid, 1936). The work of the Protestant Eduard Boehmer, *Francisca Hernandez und Frai Franzisco Ortiz* (Leipzig, 1865), is fundamental. He used the record of the trial of Ortiz preserved in the library of the University of Halle along with other sources. But he idealizes both of these persons as if they played a part in the Reformation, but they had nothing to do with it. M. Serrano y Sanz made use of other records in his three studies: "Francisca Hernández y el bachiller Ant. de Medrano," *Boletín de la R. Academia de la Historia* 41 (1902) 105-138; "Juan de Vergara y la Inquisición de Toledo," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 5 (1901) 896-912; 6 (1902) 29-42 466-486; "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, iluminado al-carreño del siglo XVI," *ibid.* 7 (1903) 1-16 126-139. See also A. Selke de Sánchez, "El caso del bachiller Antonio de Medrano," *Bulletin Hispanique* 58 (1956) 393-420; H. S. Otero, "En terno a los Alumbrados del reino de Toledo," *Salmanticensis* 2 (1955) 614-654.

⁴⁷ E. Boehmer 67-71.

by the Inquisition.⁴⁸ His arrest had been followed by that of other disciples of the visionary. A judicial investigation had been made of the faith of all involved with her. During the course of this it was discovered that the prophetess, who had been addressed by her admirers almost as if she were a supernatural being, was the spiritual leader of the Alumbrados of Toledo, a low, treacherous hypocrite and idle dreamer who, to save herself, accused her own followers of heresy during her trial and shamelessly admitted that she had been guilty of highly immoral conduct with her disciples.⁴⁹ Fray Francisco had tried to defend her to the end and had resolutely denied the accusation that he was himself an Alumbrado: He had never declared that the Mass, oral prayers, and other pious works were superfluous; and he had constantly preached against spasmodic meditation.⁵⁰ He had been imprisoned for three years and at the auto-da-fé of April 21, 1532, had made a solemn recantation. He had then been sentenced to two years of confinement in the monastery of Torrelaguna and to the performance of various penances; and he had been forbidden to preach for five years.⁵¹ The fate of the Franciscan preacher, who had once been so renowned, created a great sensation throughout the whole of Spain and also in the Spanish colony in Rome; and it was particularly painful to the doctor, who was known for his strict orthodoxy. His brother, who at Alcalá had once surpassed many of his contemporaries in scholastic philosophy and theology, after associating with Francisca Hernández for twenty days had declared in Valladolid that he had learned more wisdom during those twenty days than if he had studied for twenty years in Paris.⁵² He was now, even after the expiration of his period of confinement, living in retirement as a hermit in the isolated monastery of Torrelaguna. Pedro, who was deeply grieved by his misfortune, vainly sought to bring him away from there.⁵³ He would have gladly gone to visit him, all the more because he was annoyed by the scandalous life at the Roman court and was longing for his former peaceful occupation as a professor at Salamanca.⁵⁴

The doctor made the Exercises in Monte Cassino for forty days.⁵⁵ He profited

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 78-80.

⁴⁹ See Bernardino Llorca, S.J., "Sobre el espíritu de los Alumbrados Francisca Hernández y Fr. Francisco Ortiz, O.F.M.," *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 12 (1933) 383-404. Boehmer's erroneous opinion may be explained by the fact that he did not know the other court records. Serrano y Sanz, who knew them, wrote: "Las declaraciones de varios testigos contra Medrano probaron que éste era un monstruo de lascivia, mezcla de hipocresía y de fanatismo, y otro tanto la beata Francisca Hernández. Los testimonios son tan escabrosos que renuncio á extractarlos, y solo copio uno de los más púdicos" (F. Hernández y Medrano 106).

⁵⁰ E. Boehmer 95-96 122-123.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 172-175.

⁵² *Ibid.* 15.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 209-210 212-216.

⁵⁴ See Francis' answer of April 17, 1538 to a letter of Pedro (*ibid.* 212-216).

⁵⁵ Ignatius 500. On the legend that Ignatius had stayed on this occasion (after the Exercises of Ortiz) for some months in the priory of Santa Maria dell'Albaneta lying to the northwest not far from the main monastery in order to write there the rule of his order with the help of a Benedictine monk, see *Acta Sanctorum*, Julii VII, comm. praevious, n. 27, pp. 461-464. What may be true in the tradition is that Ignatius gave the Exercises to Ortiz in Albaneta and that he there had the vision of the death of Hozes as he was serving Ortiz' Mass, as was represented by a mosaic of the seventeenth century beneath the altar (destroyed in World War II along with the priory). Bartoli says that Ignatius had on this occasion given to each monk in the monastery a copy of the *Imitatio Christi*. (*Vita di S. Ignazio* 4, 12). The archivist of the monastery Dom Inganez, when he was asked about this by Father Leturia (before the destruction of

so much by them that he would have gladly joined the Society of Jesus if his stoutness had not made him seem unfit for the apostolic life of the companions.⁵⁶ He was skilled in the type of disputations held in Paris, had held the chair in Sacred Scripture at Salamanca, and could spot the least deviation from strictest orthodoxy.⁵⁷ He used to say after making the Exercises that he had learned a new theology from them which he had previously not even suspected, and which he treasured infinitely more than all the learning he had obtained with great efforts during the course of many years at the universities. For it was one thing to study in order to teach others and another to study in order to carry over into action what one had learned. In the first instance the understanding was enlightened, but in the second the will was inflamed with a love for God.⁵⁸

Hozes died in Padua while Iñigo was staying with Ortiz at Monte Cassino.⁵⁹ As he was praying for his distant brother,⁶⁰ Iñigo suddenly saw his soul ascend luminously into heaven, and this vision was so clear that he could have no doubts about it.⁶¹ When the priest at Mass came to the words *et omnibus Sanctis*, in the Confiteor, Iñigo had seen the heavens open and a great throng of saints in glory, and one of them was more brilliant than the rest. This was Hozes, his

the monastery) declared that there was no evidence at any time that there had been preserved a copy of any of these books in the library of the monastery and that there was no tradition within the monastery of such a gift. Lancicius wrote in his *De vitandis iudiciis temerariis*, where he speaks of David's dance before the ark of the covenant: "Quid simile edidit S. P. N. Ignatius, dum iussus privatim saltare more Cantabrico, suo saltu reduxit ab amentia ad sanam mentem Ortizium Oratorem Regis Hispaniae in Monte Cassinate, delirare incipientem in prima hebdomada exercitiorum quae ei dabat S. P. N." (*Opuscula Spiritualia* 2 [Antverpiae, 1650] 639, n. 51). In the original manuscript of his Spanish life of St. Ignatius, Ribadeneyra gives this same account with some variants about a "persona grave, que fué en un tiempo discipulo espiritual de N. N. en Paris." According to Ribadeneyra, Ignatius visited him in Paris and healed him by this means, and he notes that this person had told it to him himself. Ortiz cannot be meant by this, for according to Ribadeneyra he was an adversary of Ignatius in that city, and Ribadeneyra was not personally acquainted with him after his Exercises (E. Portillo, S. J., "El original manuscrito de la primera edición castellana de la vida de N. P. San Ignazio, por el P. Rivadeneira," *Razón y Fe* 42 [1915] 295-296).

⁵⁶ Polanco 585.

⁵⁷ *Fabri Mon.* 46, n. 10.

⁵⁸ Ribadeneyra, *Vita* 2, 12. Later on many attributed the meditation on death in the Exercises to Ortiz (MI *Ex.* 1097 1107); various copies of the Exercises contain an introductory admonition by Ortiz (text, *ibid.* 699-700; cf. 577-578 202-203 205).

⁵⁹ The sources for the double vision are chronologically as follows: in the FN I: 1547 Laynez (138), in 1548 Polanco (195), in 1555 Ignatius (500); in FN II: in 1566 Ribadeneyra (340); and also in 1572 Ribadeneyra, *Vita* 1, 12; in 1574 Polanco 583; in 1577 Rodrigues 492-493; in 1583 Ribadeneyra, *Vita* 1, 12; and in 1605 the *Rotulus remissorialis* (MI *Scripta* II 559). The reality of the vision is testified by Ignatius himself. The texts vary in isolated details. We follow Ignatius, Laynez, and Rodrigues.

⁶⁰ According to Laynez, Ignatius was uncertain as to whether or not Hozes was dead, and he recommended him to God after receiving the news of his death (138); according to Polanco, Ignatius already knew of his illness and learned of his death while he was praying (583). According to Ribadeneyra, Ignatius predicted his death far beforehand ("divinabat" in the *Vita*, "profetizó" in the *Vida*), which then transpired when Ortiz was making the Exercises (*Vita* 2, 12 and FN II 340). According to the *Rotulus*, Ignatius knew nothing of the death of Hozes before the vision.

⁶¹ Ignatius speaks of one vision (500), Laynez speaks of two (138); Rodrigues mentions a gleam of light (499). Ribadeneyra originally wrote that Ignatius had the first vision "cum die quadam oppidum transiret" (FN II 340), confusing it with the vision of Codure's death; he omitted this in the *Vita*. The *Rotulus* further adds "deducentibus angelis," an addition from the vision of St. Benedict at the death of St. Germanus, to which Ribadeneyra refers (*Vita* 2, 12).

disciple, the first to die in the Society of Jesus.⁶² The vision had filled him with such great consolation that for a long time he could not withhold his tears.⁶³

God sent a new disciple to replace the one who had gone to his eternal reward. On his return trip from Monte Caccino,⁶⁴ Iñigo met a Spanish countryman named Francisco de Strada.⁶⁵ He had been born about 1519⁶⁶ in Dueñas in the diocese of Palencia in Old Castile and had studied Latin and a year of philosophy at Alcalá, but he had then gone to Rome in 1536 to seek his fortune. Ortiz had obtained for him a position as a page of Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa; but while the doctor was at Monte Cassino, Strada and other Spaniards were released by their master.⁶⁷ Without means as he was, he had set out for Naples in order to enlist there as a soldier.⁶⁸ But Iñigo, who had already become acquainted with the young man in Rome, persuaded him to return to the city and make the Exercises there. During the course of this retreat, Strada decided to enroll in a different kind of militia, and he offered himself as a disciple to Iñigo.⁶⁹ A few days later he was sent out on a pilgrimage without money or provisions so that he might learn the practice of poverty and confidence in God. He was dressed in a long, blue smock, grey breeches, and a short, worn cloak made of rough brown cloth. The cloak, which had a bone button, had already been worn by Iñigo for a long time.⁷⁰

When they arrived at the villa of Garzonio, Xavier and his companions met another new confrere, an old acquaintance of their student years, Master Lorenzo García.⁷¹ He had been born in Jaén in Andalusia and was already a priest. In January, 1537, he and Cáceres had given evidence to the inquisitor Laurentius

⁶² According to Ribadeneyra, Rodrigues, and Polanco. Ribadeneyra notes that Hozes appeared brighter than the others, not because he had received a greater reward, but so that Ignatius might recognize him more easily.

⁶³ "In questo hebbe grandi lagrime et gran consolatione spirituale" (Ignatius 500), "muchos días" (Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 2, 12), "multis diebus" (Polanco 583).

⁶⁴ Ignatius 500, Polanco 583.

⁶⁵ Thus he wrote his name at times as "Strada" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 22), and again as "de Strada" (*ibid.* 141); the Spanish form is "de Estrada." On him see Ribadeneyra, **Historia de la Compañía de Jesús de las Provincias de España* (ARSI: *Hispania* 94, 182v-183v). Nieremberg, in the *Varones Ilustres* 9 (Bilbao, 1892) 158-162, at times copies from Ribadeneyra verbatim and at times adds new material. See also Polanco (FN I 244-251); Larrañaga 525-530; Astráin I 204, II 488-492. After a brilliant career as a preacher in Italy, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain, he became rector at Burgos (1551-1554), then provincial (1554-1557); then he lost his strength and spirit. Aging prematurely, he spent the last fifteen years of his life living like a hermit in Toledo, where he died in 1584.

⁶⁶ According to Polanco he was not yet twenty at the beginning of 1539 (FN I 245; *Chron.* I 81); according to Manaraeus he was twenty-two in 1542 (*De rebus Societatis Jesu Commentarius* [Florentiae, 1886] 10); according to Ribadeneyra he was about twenty-two in 1538 (*Hist.* 182v).

⁶⁷ *Ribadeneyra, *Hist.* 182v.

⁶⁸ Polanco 586. According to Ribadeneyra he wanted to visit Ortiz.

⁶⁹ Polanco 586.

⁷⁰ Ribadeneyra writes: "Passados algunos días le embió nuestro Beato Padre a peregrinar a pie, y pidiendo limosna, y vestido pobremente, y dióle entonces nuestro Beato Padre un manteo corte de buriel con un botón de hueso, que el mismo Padre avia traydo, y usado, y con el dezia después el Padre Estrada que nuestro Señor le avia infundido el espíritu del mismo Padre Ignacio como a Eliseo con el palio de Elias" (**Hist.* 182v). Nieremberg adds to the costume: "un sayo largo azul y unos valones pardos" (*Varones* IX 158), probably the clothes that Strada brought with him when he entered. Both authors agree on his trip to Montepulciano at the beginning of 1539, but this must be different from the present pilgrimage.

⁷¹ On him see above, p. 240.

in Paris as to Iñigo's character.⁷² Laurentius had sent him to Venice, and he had then gone to Rome to join Iñigo as one of his disciples.

3. EXPERIENCES IN PADUA (MARCH-APRIL, 1538)⁷³

The rest of the companions had already been together for some days in Rome when finally, after Easter,⁷⁴ Rodrigues and Codure⁷⁵ reached Garzonio's villa.⁷⁶ Complicated requests of their penitents had detained the priests in Padua and delayed their departure.⁷⁷ Rodrigues was shocked when he saw Xavier again. He found him so pale and haggard that he looked more dead than alive, and he had frequent fears that his companion would never recover his strength or be able to do any kind of work.⁷⁸

On hearing of Hozes' death, Rodrigues had hastened from Ferrara to comfort and console his confrere Codure and to help him reap the rich harvest which had been sown amidst many tears and was now coming to full fruition. The citizens of Padua had shown themselves grateful for the work of the foreign priests. When Codure fell seriously ill, a rich and prominent cleric took him into his house and showed him every kindness. His dealings with the sick man and with Rodrigues, who visited him during his free hours, made such an impression upon the cleric that he frequently assured them under oath that for a year he had had no forbidden intercourse with the woman whom he had in his house and who had already borne him offspring. At the urging of the companions he finally dismissed his concubine and honorably supported her elsewhere.

Rodrigues, who besides caring for his sick companion continued his usual apostolic works, had in the meantime found lodgings with a pious and wealthy woman who showed him every consideration. Her two sons also manifested their hearty good will to their foreign guest. When one of them lay dying, he asked his mother to treat the good priest as a second son. His brother, an important personage, who had earned a doctor's degree at the university, entered a monastery; but before leaving his home, he too earnestly enjoined his mother to treat Rodrigues in the future as a child of the house in his stead.

In order to remain true to their ideal of poverty, Rodrigues and Codure had had to fend off the generosity of the good widow and to accept only the most needed support. Accordingly, when at the time of their departure their benefactress generously wanted to provide her protégés with money and all they

⁷² *MI Scripta* II 3, where *García* should be read instead of *Daosia*.

⁷³ Our only source for this section is Rodrigues 493-495 498.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 493 498.

⁷⁵ Not Jay, as Tacchi Venturi (II, 1, 336) and Rodrigues (*Hist.* I, 1, 81) maintain, nor Codure and Jay, as Böhmer believes (217, n. 1).

⁷⁶ Tacchi Venturi thinks it possible, Rodrigues that it is certain, that Rodrigues did not arrive in Rome until after they had moved to the second house. Rodrigues (498) is not clear on the point and should therefore be interpreted according to the texts that are. Laynez says expressly: "Después de la quaresma nos congregamos todos en Roma; y al principio estábamos en una casa cerca de la Trinidad" (124); Polanco says the same: "Anno 1538 post quadragesimam iam omnes socii Romam convenerant, et domum quandam prope monasterium Sanctissimae Trinitatis, quam Quirinus Garzonius eis habitandam dederat, aliquandiu tenuerunt" (586). More recent authors are also very confused and uncertain in what follows.

⁷⁷ Rodrigues 493.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 491.

needed for their trip to Rome, they refused everything. Finally, however, at her insistence they took a pair of handkerchiefs as a remembrance of her so as not to cause her grief. When they unfolded them in the hospice of the poor in Venice, the money which she had secretly placed in them in Padua fell out.

Their friends were sorry to see the priests depart, and a canon, a prominent and wealthy man, took the pains to accompany them not only to Venice but also to Ancona and Loreto. He was greatly edified by their spirit of penance, since they slept the whole night on the floor and led a very strict life. Even if he himself lacked the courage to imitate them, he still told them repeatedly that they had found the true way to happiness.⁷⁹

4. THE UNMASKING OF FRA AGOSTINO (MAY, 1538)

In November, 1537, it was definitely revealed that the sultan would renew his attack in 1538. The Turks had in the meantime continued the war in Hungary. They had besieged the Venetian possessions in Greece—Malvasia and Napoli di Romania—and had plundered the islands of the Greek archipelago belonging to the Venetian patricians—Aegina, Skyros, Patmos, Paros, and Naxos. As a consequence, despite all the efforts of the French to the contrary, the Venetians had remained steadfastly opposed to them and on February 8, 1538, had ratified in Rome the Holy League. This defensive and offensive alliance, which had also been signed by the pope and the emperor, was solemnly proclaimed in St. Peter's two days later. The allies pledged themselves to raise an army of fifty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry and a fleet of two hundred galleys for the coming conflict with the Turks. Doria was to be in command of the fleet, the duke of Urbino was to have charge of the land forces. Grimani was named legate of the papal fleet, and earnest preparations for the war were being made in Civitavecchia, Ancona, and Venice. After appointing Cardinal Gian Vincenzo Carafa as legate of Rome, Paul III set out on March 23 for Nice in order to use his own personal intervention in bringing about peace between the emperor and Francis I in view of the approaching hostilities. Without this a successful war with the Turks was out of the question.⁸⁰

It was thus impossible to think of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land during the coming months, and Iñigo had therefore summoned his companions to Rome. Anticipating their arrival, he had also obtained for all of them from the cardinal legate Carafa the necessary faculties for their apostolic work in Rome. But his request encountered difficulties from a quarter where they had been least expected.⁸¹

During the spring of 1538 no less a personage than the renowned prior of San Agostino in Pavia, the Augustinian hermit Fra Agostino de Piemonte,⁸² had

⁷⁹ Rodrigues in here silent about his disputation with Damião de Goes during his two-month stay in Padua. See above, p. 349, n. 85.

⁸⁰ Pastor V 193-197; Rodrigues 498.

⁸¹ Ignatius (FN I 7-8).

⁸² On Fra Agostino Mainardi see Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 139-144 153-158, and Böhmer 220-224 230-232 and also H. Jedin, *Girolamo Seripando* (Würzburg, 1937) I 148 185 261-266 274, II 311 557. He was born in Saluzzo in 1482, became a doctor of theology in 1513, and was active as a preacher since 1532. In 1541 he publicly apostatized and fled to Chiavenna, where he founded a parish of the Reform. He died as its head in 1563. According to Laynez he was suspected of being the author of the *Summario de la*

delivered the Lenten sermons in the main church of his order, Sant'Agostino,⁸³ near the Piazza Navona not far from the Spanish national church to great throngs of hearers and much applause.⁸⁴ His majestic appearance, his dignified manner,⁸⁵ and his forceful words⁸⁶ had won him followers and admirers even among the Spanish members of the Curia, with whom Iñigo and his companions were on the most friendly terms.⁸⁷ Laynez and Favre⁸⁸ had also attended his sermons; but they had been increasingly astonished by what they heard. The friar was actually expounding the teachings of Luther on predestination, grace, free will, and salvation through grace alone,⁸⁹ which the Sorbonne in Paris had long since condemned. They first privately sought out the preacher and drew his attention to the errors he had expounded and begged him to deny them from the pulpit or to explain his words in a Catholic sense to obviate the danger they were causing to the faith of his hearers.⁹⁰ But the friar rejected the advice of the Parisian masters. He had already been accused in Rome of heresy because of his Lenten sermons in Asti in 1532 and had been obliged to make a recantation by the master of the Sacred Palace, Fra Tommaso Badia, O.P. But eventually, through a brief of Paul III of September 28, 1535, he had been declared orthodox.⁹¹ The companions therefore warned their countrymen, the Spanish members of the Curia, of the errors of the Lenten preacher. But their complaints had an opposite effect to what had been anticipated. Some of these, who were better skilled in curial affairs than in theological disputes and were enthusiastic followers of Fr Agostino, changed from being friends of the Parisian masters⁹² to bitter enemies. They now took them for disguised Alumbrados or Lutherans and spoke against them to the cardinal legate so that he would not grant them the faculties they had requested.⁹³

Despite the secret machinations of their adversaries, the legate, thanks to the intercession of his cousin Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa,⁹⁴ on May 3, granted faculties to Favre, García, Laynez, Xavier, Bobadilla, Rodrigues, Ignatius, Salmerón, Jay, Broët, and Codure in virtue of which they could preach and hear the confessions of the faithful of both sexes everywhere, even in Rome. They could also grant absolution from all episcopal censures without obtaining further permission, and they could distribute Holy Communion and administer the rest

S. Scrittura (132), copies of which were publicly burned in Bologna on March 31, 1538, during Xavier's stay there. According to Böhmer he is probably not the author (232). Laynez calls him Fra Agostino de Piemonte (132).

⁸³ Tacchi Venturi shows that the sermons were held in San Agostino during Lent. He proves this, in opposition to Böhmer, from the old *Libro de' conti* in the sacristy of this church.

⁸⁴ FN II 444; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 142, n. 4.

⁸⁵ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 146, n. 1.

⁸⁶ Rodrigues 503-504.

⁸⁷ Rodrigues 504; some of them also attended the lectures given by Laynez and Favre (Ignatius in FN I 9).

⁸⁸ "Cum quidam ex nostris concionatorem audissent, et aliqua, quae haeresim sapiebant, adnotassent" (Polanco 589). "Predicaba mala doctrina, al parecer de algunos de los compañeros" (FN I 201). This naturally refers to Laynez and Favre, since they were alone with Ignatius in Rome at that time.

⁸⁹ On his heresy see Böhmer 220-222; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 143-144.

⁹⁰ Polanco (FN I 201; II 589).

⁹¹ Böhmer 221-222; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 140-142; I, 1, 469-470.

⁹² Rodrigues 504.

⁹³ Ignatius (FN I 8).

⁹⁴ Polanco, *Chron.* VI 52; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 136.

of the sacraments, but these latter only with the approval of the pastor and without prejudicing his rights.⁹⁵

Provided with these extensive faculties,⁹⁶ four or five of the companions⁹⁷ began on the following Sunday,⁹⁸ May 5, to preach in different churches of Rome,⁹⁹ while others explained the catechism to the young in other churches.¹⁰⁰ Several teachers brought their pupils with them for these instructions.¹⁰¹ With Iñigo's permission the preachers attacked the errors of Fra Agostino without actually naming him, and they explained the Catholic teaching opposed to them.¹⁰² The sermons created a sensation and drew large crowds,¹⁰³ for as a rule, only monks and friars preached in Rome,¹⁰⁴ and they generally did this only during Lent and Advent.¹⁰⁵ But the Parisian masters had hardly left the pulpit when a fiercer storm rose up about them than any that Iñigo, whose life had been marked by persecutions, had himself experienced. It became a battle for survival that was to keep them tied down in Rome and in constant suspense for eight long months.¹⁰⁶

5. SLANDERED AS HERETICS (MAY, 1538)

The companions had run into a hornet's nest with their preaching. If these Parisian masters, these sharp theological professors in the University of Rome, who were infinitely more skilled in Parisian dialectics and theology than the people in the Roman Curia, accused Fra Agostino of heresy and brought him to trial for his faith, he would end up on the funeral pyre; and a similar fate threatened his followers and admirers, for they were compromised with him. In order to turn this threat away from their idol and from themselves, the followers of the friar, with three influential Spanish members of the Curia at their head,¹⁰⁷ Francisco de Mudarra,¹⁰⁸ and his assistants Barrera¹⁰⁹ and Don

⁹⁵ The original is edited in MI Scripta I 548-549. The incomplete section at the end (*et . . . s*), which is erroneously filled out by the Bollandists (*litteras*), should read *et nostras*, as is indicated by an authentic copy of September 18, 1539 (ARSI: Inst. 194, 52-53).

⁹⁶ "Licencia muy copiosa" (Ignatius, FN I 8); cf. Favre 41-42.

⁹⁷ Ignatius, FN I 8; Bobadilla 9.

⁹⁸ "En las fiestas y en los domingos" (Ignatius, FN I 8).

⁹⁹ "En diversas iglesias" (Ignatius, FN I 8); Bobadilla exaggerates this: "En las iglesias más principales de toda Roma" (3).

¹⁰⁰ Ignatius FN I 8; Bobadilla 3.

¹⁰¹ FN I 197.

¹⁰² "Predicaba mala doctrina, al parecer de algunos de los compañeros, los cuales, tentada la corrección y no se enmendando, determinaron de predicar la doctrina contraria, sin nombrar el autor" (Polanco, FN I 201). "Coeperunt igitur in illum aperte agere socii Ignatii, item concionibus" (Nadal, FN II 261).

¹⁰³ "Para todos sermones había asaz concurso de gentes, y sin comparación más de lo que pensábamos que hubiera" (Ignatius, FN I 8).

¹⁰⁴ Rodrigues 499.

¹⁰⁵ Ignatius (FN I 8).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 6; Favre 42; Laynez 132; Rodrigues 502.

¹⁰⁷ Ignatius speaks of three Spanish members of the Curia in 1538 without naming them (FN I 9), Bobadilla in the same year of three or four (9), Laynez in 1547 of "ciertos españoles" (132), Nadal in 1557 of three (FN II 88), and Rodrigues also of three in 1577 (504). Neither these nor Ribadeneyra in his biography of Ignatius mention the names of the adversaries. They were prominent individuals with wealthy, influential relatives in Spain (MI Scripta I 751). Mudarra and Barrera are named by Polanco in 1548 (FN I 202),

Pedro de Castilla,¹¹⁰ made a counterattack in order to get their dangerous opponents off their backs, or at least to force them to fly from Rome. They spread the rumor about the Curia¹¹¹ and among the people¹¹² that the “*preti riformati*,” as the companions were called, with Ignatius at their hand,¹¹³ were disguised Lutherans,¹¹⁴ who were seeking to obtain disciples through their Exercises.¹¹⁵ They had been sought for trial because of their immoral lives¹¹⁶ and heretical beliefs in Spain, Paris, Venice,¹¹⁷ and other Italian cities;¹¹⁸ and they had now

by Nadal in 1554 (*ibid.* 308-309), by Ignatius in 1555 (*ibid.* 502), and by Ribadeneyra in 1585 (MI *Scripta* I 751 746). The latter adds Castilla as the third (FN II 373; MI *Scripta* I 751 746), and Nadal adds a fourth, Pascual (FN I 308-309); he calls them all benefice hunters (FN II 261).

¹⁰⁸ In 1538 Bobadilla notes how the persecutors had worked through some auditors of the Rota and other high ranking individuals, “cerca de los quales alguno de los adversarios es familiar y notario antiguo” (9). By this he probably means Francisco Mudarra. In 1555 Polanco described him as a “cortegiano vechio et honorato in questa romana curia” (MI *Epp.* VIII 648). He was a close friend of Cardinal Seb. Ant. Pighini, a former auditor of the Rota (Van Gulik 36 211), who died in 1553 (*Ep. Mixtae* IV 843). Mudarra was perhaps his notary. In 1540-1541 we meet him at the gathering of the Spanish nation in San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli (Archivio de los Establecimientos Españoles en Roma, vol. 65 ff. 13v 15v). In 1548 Rodrigues made use of him to obtain a document from the Notarial Archives in Rome (*Ep. Broëti* 598; *Ep. Mixtae* I 543). In 1553 he had a prominent house with an administrator on the best site in Tivoli, next to the Jesuit college (*Ep. Mixtae* III 654; MI *Epp.* VIII 539; Polanco, *Chron.* VI 62; ARSI: *Rom* 126, 202). In 1554 he had many benefices and was worth many thousand ducats (FN I 708-709). Ignatius says that he was the worst persecutor of the Society in 1538 (MI *Epp.* XII 124; cf. FN I 708-709); he had a particularly high regard for Fra Agostino (Polanco 589-590).

¹⁰⁹ Favre (*Fabri Mon.* 18), Nadal (FN I 309), Ribadeneyra (MI *Scripta* I 746 751), and Coudret (FN I 503) call him Barrera; Ignatius (*ibid.* 502) and Polanco (*ibid.* 202) call him Barreda; Ribadeneyra calls him Cabrera, which is probably a slip of the pen. His relatives were *caballeros* (MI *Scripta* I 751). He let himself be influenced by Mudarra (*ibid.* 746 751), and soon after the persecution he entered the monastery on Monte Citorio, but he did not stay there long (*Fabri Mon.* 18).

¹¹⁰ On December 28, 1538, the Spanish nation in San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli elected Dr. Martín de Aguinaga and Francisco de Salazar, archdeacon of Medinaceli in the church of Sigüenza, as administrators for the year 1539. Since Salazar left Rome in 1539, the “nobilis ac magnificus vir, Dominus Petrus de Castilla, scholasticus compostellanus,” was elected on May 5 to fill his position as administrator. He held this office until 1541 (Archivio de los Establecimientos Españoles en Roma, vol. 65 f. 11-15); after 1535 he took part in the organization of the Spanish nation (*ibid.* 9v). He had distinguished relatives in Spain (MI *Scripta* I 746) and in 1554 had a claim “per regressum” to a canonry in Cordova and to a pension of six hundred gold ducats (Polanco, *Chron.* IV 457; cf. MI *Epp.* VII 110 253 540; *Ep. Mixtae* IV 490-491; V 92). In 1553 he was rector (*governatore*) of the convent San Francesco delle Monache in Naples (G. Buschbell, *Reformation und Inquisition in Italien um die Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts* [Paderborn, 1910] 216).

¹¹¹ Polanco 590.

¹¹² Ignatius (FN I 6).

¹¹³ The principal object of slander was Ignatius (Layne 132; cf. FN II 261; Polanco 590).

¹¹⁴ “Puniendo nombres inauditos, nos hacían ser suspectos y odiosos a las gentes, viniendo en mucho escándalo” (Ignatius, FN I 6). Polanco (FN I 201-202; II 590), Nadal (FN II 88), and the court records in Ferrara and Siena say that they were called heretics; the court record of Bologna (MX II 133) shows that they were suspected of being Lutherans.

¹¹⁵ The decision shows that the Exercises were also involved (MI *Scripta* I 627), as Nadal indicates (FN II 261).

¹¹⁶ Ignatius (FN I 7 502), Bobadilla (9), Nadal (FN I 309; II 261), and the decision (MI *Scripta* I 627).

¹¹⁷ Ignatius 502, Polanco (FN I 201), Nadal (*ibid.* 309), Rodrigues 504-505.

¹¹⁸ See the testimonials from Ferrara, Bologna, and Siena below.

fled to Rome, where they had founded a new order without papal approval.¹¹⁹ Their ringleader, Iñigo, who was infamous for his many shameful deeds,¹²⁰ had spread the rumor that once he got to heaven he would possess a greater glory than even Paul himself, the Apostle of the Gentiles.¹²¹ Iñigo's accusers, without making a formal charge¹²² to the governor of the city, Benedetto Conversini,¹²³ named one who had been personally acquainted with him and his followers in Paris and in Italy and had been entrusted with their innermost secrets. It was none other than Miguel Landívar,¹²⁴ Xavier's former servant, who had again looked up Iñigo in Rome and had on one occasion obtained hospitality from him. When he had at last been rejected as a companion, he took his revenge on them and won favor with the rich Spanish members of the Curia by becoming an informer.¹²⁵

These disclosures spread like wildfire throughout Rome. The effect surpassed all the expectations of their authors. Friends and benefactors withdrew from the Parisian masters as if ordered to do so, and people avoided them as if they were the plague.¹²⁶ García, whom Iñigo had sought to detain in a long conversation in the grotto on Garzonio's country estate,¹²⁷ fled headlong from the Eternal City with a second Spanish priest who had been on friendly terms with the companions¹²⁸ so as not to fall with Iñigo and his companions into

¹¹⁹ Ignatius (FN I 13).

¹²⁰ Polanco 590.

¹²¹ *Ep. Mixtae* I 16, n. 2.

¹²² Ignatius (FN I 6) Polanco (*ibid.* 201; II 590).

¹²³ Polanco 590; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 147. B. Conversini was a priest of the diocese of Pistoia when he became bishop of Bertinoro in 1537. On March 31, Paul III, before his departure for Nice, named him governor and thus also municipal judge of Rome. In 1540 he became bishop of Jesi, in 1542 governor and vice-legate of Bologna, in 1543 president of Romagna and exarchate of Ravenna. He died in 1553 (Van Gulik 109 154).

¹²⁴ Ignatius 500; Rodrigues 504; Polanco 590.

¹²⁵ Luis Gonçalves da Camara wrote that Ignatius had shown love for his enemy, Miguel, who had persecuted him "hasta recibillo en casa" (n. 314). Ribadeneyra went a step further; he notes that Miguel wanted to murder Ignatius in Paris and that "postea [1538] fax fuit illius incendii et tempestatis auctor, quae primo contra Patres nostros Romae coorta est, quem, ut bonum pro malo redderet [Ignatius], ipsis Societatis persecutoribus rogantibus, in Societatem admisit." He claims that he heard this himself from the founder of the order on the feast of the Ascension in 1553, and he repeats it in his Latin and Spanish biographies of Ignatius (5, 2). Polanco, however, writes that the companions had considered him to be unsuited for the Society and had therefore rejected him (FN I 202). Nadal states that he had sought out the companions in Rome, but they had not taken him in (*ibid.* II 170). Rodrigues explains this as follows: "Venetiis ab illis [sociis] obnixe petit, ut in suam ipsum societatem adscribant. Patres, illius levitatis conscii, id fieri posse omnino negant. Scholasticus deinde Romae ab spe societatis patrum omnino deiectus, dat se in amicitiam hispanorum sacerdotum" (504). The error may stem from the fact that Ignatius once granted him lodgings in Rome before the persecution and interceded for him after his condemnation (see FN II 332, n. 22; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 146, n. 4; Böhmer 226).

¹²⁶ Ignatius (FN I 6); Polanco (*ibid.* 201; II 590); Bobadilla 9.

¹²⁷ Rodrigues 503. García recalls this conversation "en la cueva que stá en la vinya de Miser Quirino" in his letter of February 1, 1539, to Ignatius (*Ep. Mixtae* I 16).

¹²⁸ Rodrigues declares: "Quibus minis et terroribus infestissimus humani generis hostis sacerdotes duos, qui paulo ante ad socios se adiunxerant, ex urbe concitatos in fugam compulit" (503). One of these was García, and he states in his letter of February 1, 1539, to Ignatius: "Dios perdona a quien me insitó ha esto [to flee from Rome], ó es, que me fuesse" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 16). When Favre met Miguel and García in 1532 on his trip to Spain and France, Miguel placed the blame partly upon García, but the latter placed it all upon Dr. Matheo Pasqual (*Fabri Mon.* 157). This was the Pasqual whom Nadal in 1554 counted

the hands of the Inquisition. Many were already saying that the accused would end up on the funeral pyre or be banished to the ends of the earth or be sent to the galleys.¹²⁹ Cardinal de Cupis, moreover, the dean of the Sacred College, advised Garzonio to expel the suspected guests from his house on the Pincio. He even persisted in this when the latter told him that he had ordered his gardener Antonio to watch the priests and that he had praised them as saints. Though they had been given beds, they slept on mats on the floor; and when he, Garzonio, or others sent them food, they would not eat it but gave it to the poor. The cardinal then told him that all this was nothing more than the outward show of wolves in sheeps' clothing. They tempted the credulous in this way so as to deceive them the sooner.¹³⁰

Iñigo recognized the seriousness of the affair. He therefore conferred with his companions on what should be done. They declared that according to the saintly teachers of the Church they were obliged to have their innocence juridically proved. This was necessary if they were to work successfully for the salvation of souls. They also obtained advice on this from several learned men, and they too were of the same opinion.¹³¹ Ignatius therefore sought out the governor at once with the letter he had received from Miguel in Vicenza.¹³² He asked for a trial and that his accuser should be summoned. The letter was ruinous for Miguel since it praised Iñigo and his companions to the skies and expressed his desire to join them. At the trial he named García as a witness of Iñigo's boasting, and a search was then made for him. On May 11 he was tracked down in Otricoli, a day and one-half north of Rome. He was then questioned before two witnesses, the local notary and the judge Marco Antonio Celio. García declared that he had no accusations to make against Master Ignatius and his companions to the

among the persecutors in 1538 (FN I 308; cf. *Ep. Nadal IV 706*: "Paschasius"). He appears to be the second Spanish priest who fled from Rome with García through fear of the Inquisition, and he had reasons for his fear. He had been born in Aragon in 1528-29 and, as the principal of the College of St. Ildefonso in Alcalá, had been one of the founders of the Collegium Trilingue of St. Jerome. He had compromised himself as a member of the commission which was all too indulgent in its judgment of the heretical *Dialogo de la Doctrina* of Juan Valdés and had fled like the latter to Rome, where they both were in 1530. When his trip to Rome was explained as a flight from the Inquisition, he returned to Zaragoza and there became vicar-general. In 1533 he was forced to go to the prison of the Inquisition in Toledo because of a foolish remark he had made about purgatory. In 1537 he was again free in Aragon. He returned to Rome and died there in 1553 and was buried in the Lateran (Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus et l'Espagne* [Paris, 1937] 371 392 453 480 514-517 522).

¹²⁹ Rodrigues 502-503.

¹³⁰ See the eyewitness account given in 1608 by Gasparo Garzonio, who was born in 1542 and was the son of Quirino. He had heard this from his father, mother, and other relatives (MI *Scripta* II 830-831). His testimony is supplemented by Ribadeneyra's report (*Vita* 5, 6). De Cupis lived near the Anima, not far from the Piazza Navona (Pastor VI 279).

¹³¹ Bobadilla 9 and 15.

¹³² "Cominciorno poi le persecutioni, et cominciò Michele a dar fastidio, et dir male del pelegriano [Ignatius], il quale lo fece chiamare davanti al governor, mostrando prima al governatore una lettera di Michele, nella quale lodava molto il pelegriano" (Ignatius 500-502). The editors believe that this probably refers to Miguel's letter of September 12, 1537, to Ignatius (*Ep. Mixtae* I 11, n. 1). Tacchi Venturi regards it as unproved (II, 1, 147, n. 2); but we, like Böhmer (226), think it certain. It was preserved in the archives of the order as an important document, where it still is today (ARSI: *Epp. NN. 65* II 355-356v). There is never any question of another letter of Miguel in the other sources or the old catalogs of the archives, and it fully suffices to label its author as a slanderer (contrary to FN I 501, n. 6).

effect that they were opposed to the faith and mind of the Church. He had once spoken with Master Miguel when he was finding a great deal of fault with them; and, in order to make him speak more freely, he had said to his visitor: "I too have heard Master Ignatius say that he hoped that the Lord would grant him as great, or even greater glory than he gave to St. Paul," but he had simply invented this at the time and had only said it in jest.¹³³

The upshot of all this was that García was allowed to go on his way; but Miguel, after he had been heard several times in the presence of the companions¹³⁴ and had proved himself to be a liar,¹³⁵ was banished forever as a slanderer from Rome¹³⁶ despite Ignatius' pleas on his behalf.¹³⁷ Garzonio told Iñigo of the reply he had received from Cardinal Cupis and that he was still being advised by him to turn the Parisian masters out of his house. Through the intercession of his host, Iñigo finally obtained an audience with the cardinal. He talked with him for two full hours, keeping the cardinal's other visitors waiting in the antechamber. At the end of the meeting, Cupis knelt down before him and asked his pardon. The cardinal thus became a true friend and sincere benefactor of Iñigo and his companions, and every week thereafter he sent them bread and wine as alms.¹³⁸

This brought the first phase of the battle to an end, and on May 5 the companions began their apostolic labors. Iñigo preached in Spanish¹³⁹ in Santa María di Monserrato,¹⁴⁰ the national church of the Catalans and Aragon; and many of his fellow countrymen, including some in high positions and of great influence, were in constant attendance. Ortiz would not miss any of his sermons; and another doctor of sacred theology, Jerónimo de Arze, used to say that he had never heard a man speak with such force, for he spoke as one who had authority.¹⁴¹ The others preached in Italian as best they could, Favre in San Lorenzo in Damaso, the church of the cardinal vice-chancellor, Laynez to the acclaim of all¹⁴² in San Salvatore in Lauro, Jay also with great applause, in San Luigi de' Francesi, the French national church, Salmerón in Santa Lucia,¹⁴³ Rodrigues in Sant'Angelo in Pescheria near the fish market, and Bobadilla in

¹³³ *Ep. Mixtae* I 16, n. 2 (the protocol of the trial).

¹³⁴ "Pocas vezes" (Polanco in FN I 202; cf. II 590).

¹³⁵ Ignatius (FN I 8); Bobadilla 9; Rodrigues "aliquot diebus transactis, dolisque detectis, ab urbe relegatur" (504).

¹³⁶ Ignatius 502; Rodrigues 504. "Desterrado de Roma, aunque no por nuestra instantia" (Bobadilla 9).

¹³⁷ Polanco (FN I 202; II 590).

¹³⁸ Ribadeneyra heard this from Quirino Garzonio, who got it from the cardinal himself, who remained a close friend of the priests up to his death in 1553 (Ribadeneyra, *Vita* 5, 6; cf. *MI Scripta* II 830 and Bobadilla 10).

¹³⁹ Ignatius (FN I 8), Laynez 124.

¹⁴⁰ Laynez 124; Polanco 586.

¹⁴¹ According to Polanco, who was told by Ortiz that he was glad that he had not missed any of the saint's sermons (FN I 197; II 586); Ribadeneyra, *Vita* 5, 9. We find Arze and Dr. Ortiz at the meetings of the Spanish nation in San Giacomo in December, 1533 (Archivo de los Establecimientos Españoles en Roma: vol. 65 f. 9) and again in 1542-1544 (*ibid.* 18v 20 21). Jay greets him as a trusted friend of the house in 1540 (*Ep. Broëti* 268); in 1543 he helped the house when it was in need with two hundred *scudi* (FN II 109-110 369). In gratitude for his charity, Ignatius had him nursed by a brother when he became ill (*ibid.* 492; I 562).

¹⁴² Polanco 586.

¹⁴³ Probably Santa Lucia del Gonfalone on the Via dei Banchi Vecchi (Armellini 513-514), the popular main church of the saint in Rome.

San Celso in the bankers' quarter not far from the Tiber.¹⁴⁴ Xavier however had to remain at home; his broken health required rest and relaxation.¹⁴⁵

The churches in which the companions were preaching were all in the densely populated center of the city. The house in Garzonio's vineyard on the Pincio was therefore, because of its distance, ill suited for their apostolic works.¹⁴⁶ Iñigo, for example, after his return from Monte Cassino had given the Spiritual Exercises to several individuals at the same time, some of whom lived near Ponte Sisto and others near Santa Maria Maggiore. Since these two sites were half an hour from each other and equally distant from the Pincio, he had been compelled to walk for an hour and one-half or two hours each day simply to give the points for meditation.¹⁴⁷ When the priests returned home at noon tired from preaching, hearing confessions, or teaching Christian doctrine, they frequently found the table empty and had to return again into the city in order to beg for their food from door to door at an unfavorable time. But they bore these hardships with great joy, especially since they saw how fruitful their labors were despite their poor knowledge of the language and lack of experience.¹⁴⁸ They preached on penance for past sins, the love of God, and the frequent reception of the sacraments; and the throngs going to confession were so great that they could hardly take care of them all.¹⁴⁹ Favre and Laynez, who were also engaged in the preaching, were further inconvenienced by the fact that they continued to lecture daily at the Sapienza,¹⁵⁰ which was in the center of the city and thus also far from the Pincio.

The labors of the companions were therefore lightened when on June 1, as the heat of the year was setting in,¹⁵¹ they were able to move to a house near

¹⁴⁴ The list of the churches and preachers are given by Laynez 124 and Polanco 586. According to Rodrigues 498-499 and Bobadilla 616, they also preached in the squares; but this perhaps did not occur until later.

¹⁴⁵ Laynez states: "Entre las dos pasquas [1538-1539] empezamos todos a predicar en diversas iglesias" (124); but he then fails to mention García, Codure, Broët, and Xavier when naming the preachers. These are also omitted by Polanco (FN I 197; II 586). Tacchi Venturi errs when he has Xavier preach this early in San Lorenzo in Damaso, citing the two authors mentioned above as his authorities. Bobadilla also wrote on June 15, 1538: "Habemos comenzado todos á predicar en las iglesias más principales de toda Roma" (3); but in his next letter of August 25, he corrects himself, stating that two had given lectures, four or five had preached, others had given instructions in Christian doctrine, and others had heard confessions (9). Ignatius wrote on December 19, 1538: "Después de habida [la licencia], comenzamos quatro o cinco a predicar" (FN I 9). Polanco changed the *todos* in Laynez, which he copied out almost verbatim in 1548, to *quasi todos* (FN I 197) and *ferè omnes* (*ibid.* II 586).

¹⁴⁶ Rodrigues 498.

¹⁴⁷ Ignatius 500.

¹⁴⁸ Rodrigues 499; cf. Nadal (FN II 169) and Polanco 586.

¹⁴⁹ Ignatius (FN I 8); Rodrigues 499. Laynez, who believed that the sermons at least offered the preachers an opportunity to mortify themselves, also admitted that they were beneficial and that the people began to receive the sacraments (124-126).

¹⁵⁰ Ignatius (FN I 8 and 12); Bobadilla 3 and 9.

¹⁵¹ According to Tacchi Venturi the newly arrived companions remained "pochissimi giorni" at Garzonio's villa (II, 1, 136) and settled at the end of April or, at the latest, on May 1, 1538, in their second house (*Case* 34). Rodrigues (*Hist.* I, 1, 81, n. 1) does not have the two last companions come to Rome until after the others had moved. According to Laynez and Polanco, however, they were all together in Garzonio's house and began to preach from there, as we have seen above. The persecution did not begin until after the sermons of May 5. The flight of García, and his earlier conversation with Ignatius in the grotto of Garzonio's house should therefore be set between May 5 and May 11, the date of his hearing in Otricoli, since his flight was caused by the persecution.

the Ponte Sisto in the center of the city not far from the residence of Dr. Ortiz.¹⁵² Their friends, anticipating the arrival of the other companions, had rented it for them for four months.¹⁵³

6. NEAR PONTE SISTO (JUNE, 1538)

Mударra and his allies however did not give up the fight after the banishment of their key witness Miguel.¹⁵⁴ Their slanders were causing even more serious harm. It was already reported in Spain and elsewhere that the Parisian masters were regarded as heretics in Rome.¹⁵⁵ Even though the companions continued their labors and at least two or three of them preached on every feast day,¹⁵⁶ they were still avoided by many as being suspect in the faith;¹⁵⁷ and two teachers withdrew their students from the lessons they gave in Christian doctrine.¹⁵⁸

Iñigo therefore demanded that the principal authors of these slanders, the men behind Miguel, should also be summoned to prove their accusations; and he cited them by name.¹⁵⁹ Since this produced no results, he sought to bring the matter up before another court from which there would be no escape. But his slippery adversaries were able to parry this move as well since they were rich and powerful, one having an income of a thousand, and another of six hundred, ducats; and a third was still wealthier than the other two. They were all members of the Curia and experienced in Roman procedures. They also had powerful protectors and were able to win over cardinals and many other high personages to their side. They thus managed to impede the feared summons to the court.¹⁶⁰ But Iñigo was a stubborn Basque and did not give in. After a long battle, he

Another consequence of this was the frequently repeated suggestion of Cardinal de Cupis to Garzonio that he expel the fathers from his villa, an indication that they were still living there in May. According to Rodrigues, their friends rented the second house for them for "a few months" (498); Bobadilla states how long it was, for he wrote to Duke Ercole on June 15, 1538, after he had described their work in Rome: "En estas y otras semejantes cosas será nuestra ocupación, á lo menos estos quatro meses" (3). It was therefore from June to September, the time when the pilgrim ships usually left for the Holy Land, for they had not as yet given up their thoughts on the pilgrimage (Bobadilla 616) and were waiting from one day, and from one month, to the next for the conclusion of the suit (FN I 6) which was keeping them in Rome. We therefore conclude that the house near the Ponte Sisto was rented for the four summer months of June to September. October 1, the feast of St. Remigius, was a regular time for renewing rents; and at the beginning of winter the companions were already living in their third house, as we shall see below. For a brief description of the Jesuit churches and houses in Rome, see Antonius Maria de Aldama, S.J., *Vestigia Sanctorum Societatis Iesu in urbe Romae* (Romae, 1953).

¹⁵² Nadal gives the approximate location: "Visto después por ser incómoda esta primera casa, se passaron a otra cerca de ponte Sixto y del doctor Ortiz" (FN II 169). Rodrigues only says that their friends had rented a larger and better located house for them, "quae et ad interiorem erat urbis partem, et ad ministeria Societatis magis appositae videbatur" (498).

¹⁵³ Rodrigues 498.

¹⁵⁴ "Poi cominciorno a perseguitare Mudarra et Barreda" (Ignatius 502).

¹⁵⁵ Polanco 590.

¹⁵⁶ Ignatius (FN I 12).

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 6-7 12-13; Bobadilla 10.

¹⁵⁸ Bobadilla 9.

¹⁵⁹ Ignatius (FN I 8-9).

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 9; cf. Polanco (FN I 202; II 590). Böhmer erroneously gives ten thousand instead of one thousand ducats (222).

finally succeeded in presenting his case before the cardinal legate and the *governatore* ("governor").¹⁶¹ The ringleaders, Mudarra and Barrera, had no choice then but to appear before the court.¹⁶² They were, however, fully aware of what would happen to them if the Parisian masters turned the charge of heresy against them.¹⁶³ They therefore took care not to expose themselves to an attack. They now pretended to be innocent of the whole affair, and with a most ingenuous tack they declared that they had attended the sermons and lectures of the accused and had discovered nothing in them or in the lives of the priests the least worthy of reproach.¹⁶⁴ Both the legate and the governor, who were favorably disposed towards the companions, then looked upon the matter as being ended and said that it should be buried in silence.¹⁶⁵ Other high prelates¹⁶⁶ and benefactors,¹⁶⁷ including Dr. Ortiz,¹⁶⁸ and even the companions themselves thought that the investigation should be dropped.¹⁶⁹

But not so Iñigo. Slanders had been spread abroad and the scandal remained, and it would impede all their apostolic labors. Since the beginning of the persecution their sermons and instructions in Christian doctrine had been poorly attended. If his innocence and that of his companions were not officially affirmed before all the world through a formal decision of the court, the stain of heresy would henceforth be affixed to him and his disciples, and it would vitiate their spiritual efforts.¹⁷⁰ The whole future of the "Society of Jesus" was at stake. Iñigo therefore requested an official written decision despite all the resistance to such a petition coming even from his friends and benefactors.¹⁷¹ In spite of his insistence, the legate and governor turned deaf ears to his request.¹⁷² They were not convinced that the matter had to be pursued in such an obvious manner; and Mudarra, who had been a notary in the Roman Curia for many years, was able, with the help of a number of auditors of the Rota and other prominent individuals, to strengthen the two prelates in their refusal.¹⁷³

Nothing therefore could be done before the return of the pope; but in the meantime Iñigo and his companions, who were now established in the house near Ponte Sisto, were not idle. They wrote to the different cities in which they had labored during the winter asking for testimonials as to their lives and teachings.

¹⁶¹ "Nos hicieron andar mucho tiempo en este combate" (Ignatius in FN I 9; cf. 502).

¹⁶² *Ibid.* 502.

¹⁶³ "Determinamos de hazer llamar á otros tres ó quatro personas litigantes y curiales; los quales, temiendo que nosotros les vuscábamos daño á sus personas (lo cual sienpre ha sido y es fuera de nuestros propósitos y voluntades), parecieron delante del legado y del gobernador" (Bobadilla 9).

¹⁶⁴ Ignatius (FN I 9 502); Bobadilla 9.

¹⁶⁵ Ignatius (FN I 9 502); Polanco (*ibid.* II 590-591); I 202: "alabándolos no poco".

¹⁶⁶ Ignatius 502; Polanco (FN I 202; II 591); Nadal (*ibid.* II 262); Laynez 132; Faber 42.

¹⁶⁷ Nadal (FN I 309).

¹⁶⁸ "Questo non piacque al legato, nè al governatore, nè anche a quelli che prima favorivano al pelegrino" (Ignatius 502). "El qual [juicio] amigos y enemigos impedían" (Layne 132). "Casi hacían rendir a los aficionados de la Compañía" (FN I 202).

¹⁶⁹ Nadal (FN I 309; II 262); Polanco 591.

¹⁷⁰ Bobadilla 13; Ignatius (FN I 9); Nadal (*ibid.* 309).

¹⁷¹ Ignatius (FN I 9 502; MI *Epp.* I 135-136); Xavier (EX I 41); Polanco (FN I 202); Nadal (*ibid.* 309).

¹⁷² "Nostros pedíamos y por muchas veces, que pareciese por escritura el mal o el bien que en nuestra doctrina fuese, para que el escándalo del pueblo se levantasse; lo qual dellos nunca pudimos alcanzar, ni por justicia, ni por derecho" (Ignatius in FN I 9).

¹⁷³ Bobadilla 9; cf. Polanco 591.

On June 15 Bobadilla informed Duke Ercole in Ferrara that he and his confreres had begun to preach in the principal churches of Rome and that they had heard a great many confessions. At the pope's request two of the companions had been lecturing every day in the Sapienza since November. They intended, moreover, to continue these and other good works for at least the next four months; but the Enemy of the Human Race, the Father of Lies, was striving to impede their labors. The report had been spread about that they had been accused of heresy and had therefore fled to Rome. He therefore asked the duke if he would not write to the cardinal legate or some other person in Rome who might inform the legate about their lives and teachings.¹⁷⁴

The duke did not have to be asked twice. On June 29 he informed Bobadilla that he was enclosing a testimonial letter for Master Giovanni Paolo Tolomei, an auditor of the Rota, which he should hand over personally to the cardinal legate in his name. In this document Ercole declared that Bobadilla and Jay had preached in his city of Ferrara for many days and with great fruit. Through their temperance and modesty they had given a wonderful example to all and had behaved as excellent Catholics.¹⁷⁵ Along with the duke's letter there came another from the vicar-general of Ferrara, Ottaviano de Castello. In this letter, dated June 28, he declared that the two priests had during the course of four months labored extremely well in his city and that they had left it in good standing and with his permission.¹⁷⁶

On June 26 the vicar-general of Bologna, Agostino Zannetti, also sent a testimonial in which he stressed the fact that Xavier and Bobadilla had received his permission to preach in that city and that they had done this in a truly Christian manner and without any suspicion of Lutheran heresy. On the contrary, they had sought to root out this evil with all their might. They had, moreover, ratified their teaching by their exemplary lives. It was therefore false to say that they had fled from Bologna.¹⁷⁷

At this same time two further documents came from Siena. The first of these, dated June 29, came from the vicar-general, Francesco Cosci. In it he affirmed that Salmerón and his companion Paschasio had not only preached the truths of the Gospel in a sound Catholic fashion and with his permission, but that they had also through their lives given an excellent example to all. Since he had heard that their good name was being attacked, he wished to give public testimony to it through this document.¹⁷⁸ The second letter was composed on June 27 and declared to be authentic on the thirtieth by the priors and captains of the people. In this document the thirty-five associates of the Confraternity of St. James of the church of San Giacomo in Salicotti, all of whom were mentioned by name—with the prior Biagio Doraddei at their head and their old friend Giovanni de Lorenzi among the others—declared that the two priests Alfonso and Pascasio had come to Siena in the preceding year, 1537, and had lived for about three months in the house of the confraternity near its church. During this

¹⁷⁴ Bobadilla 24. We place the request for witnesses after the juridical declarations of Mudarra and Barrera because Ignatius says that his request, despite these declarations, had not pleased the judges, but that finally, "dipoi di alcuni mesi," the pope had returned to Rome (502). He arrived on July 24.

¹⁷⁵ Bobadilla 6-8.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 4-5.

¹⁷⁷ MX II 133-134.

¹⁷⁸ *Ep. Broëti* 200-201.

time they had both in public and in private preached many sermons in different places in the city. During the preceding Lent they had always been ready to hear confessions and to perform other pious works. While staying in Siena, they had lived almost entirely on alms collected for them by the confraternity. They were excellent religious and had given a wonderful example to all. They had gone to Rome with the best wishes of the confraternity; but they begged them to return, for they were all most eager to see them again.¹⁷⁹

7. THE RETURN OF THE POPE (JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1538)

Through fear of the court no one spoke openly any more against the Parisian masters,¹⁸⁰ but nonetheless all of Iñigo's efforts to obtain an official juridical decision remained fruitless. Since he failed to obtain any help or understanding on this point from his friends and benefactors, he had only one further recourse. He would have to wait for the return of the pope.¹⁸¹

On July 24 Paul III solemnly entered Rome on his return from Nice.¹⁸² He was met at the Ponte Molle by representatives of the city and of the people; and at the Porta del Popolo he was greeted by an inscription wishing him health and victory, for his wisdom and authority had brought peace among Christians and war against the Turks. This was a reference to the successful outcome of his journey: He had persuaded the two contending princes, the emperor and Francis I, to agree upon a ten-year truce.¹⁸³ Near the palace of St. Mark, where he was going to stay, a triumphal arch had been erected representing him between the two rulers as he urged them to make peace. Next to these there were two warriors on horseback, driving away swarms of Turks in pairs. At the entrance to the palace was an inscription beneath the lilies on the pope's coat of arms expressing hope for an early victory that would end the Turkish war:

Your lilies shine midst oak and olive fronds:
The peace you wrought will put our foes in bonds!¹⁸⁴

For three successive nights bonfires lit up the festively adorned city. Santa Maria Rotonda appeared like a brilliant star in the skies, and the firing of cannons and fireworks at the Castel Sant'Angelo gave it the appearance of a raging volcano.¹⁸⁵

Paul III had returned from his successful journey in fine spirits. On his entrance into the city, he had had coins tossed freely to the crowds.¹⁸⁶ Iñigo

¹⁷⁹ ARSI: *Hist. Soc. Ib.* ff. 109-110 (original).

¹⁸⁰ Ignatius (FN I 9).

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* and Polanco (FN I 202).

¹⁸² Vincenzo Forcella, *Feste in Roma nel Pontificato di Paolo III. 1534-1545* (Roma, 1885) 51-62, gives an extract that was copied from a contemporary printed document and is now preserved in the Capitoline Archives.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* 56-58 and Pastor V 205.

¹⁸⁴ Forcella, *Feste* 61-62. The verse reads: "Hinc olea, hinc laurus merito tua lilia cingunt / Pacificator ades, mox quoque victor eris."

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 59.

¹⁸⁶ "N. S. tutto giocondo" (Forcella, *Feste* 55). "Monsignor di Rimini, Tesoriero generale, andò sempre buttando denari, oro, et argento, cioè scudi, Iuli, et grossi dalla Porta del Popolo fino a San Marco" (*ibid.* 59); see also Cola Colleine, **Diario Romano* (Bibl. Vaticana: *Vat. lat.* 10 379) 185v.

took advantage of the pope's favorable mood to present him with his request through one of his friends, and the pope gave an order that the matter should be brought to a conclusion.¹⁸⁷ When nothing happened, two of the companions reminded His Holiness once again of Iñigo's request.¹⁸⁸ The pope had ordered an investigation of the lives and works of the Parisian masters before this and answered: "Your manner of life has already been investigated more than enough, and the slanders of your adversaries are as clear as day."¹⁸⁹ This ended the matter for the present.

On the feast of Our Lady of the Snows, August 5, the pope rode with the cardinals and the Curia from the palace of St. Mark to Santa Maria Maggiore, where Cardinal Gian Pier Carafa sang a High Mass. After the Holy Sacrifice had been offered the pope intoned the *Te Deum* and then solemnly prayed for the preservation of peace, concord among Christian princes, and God's help for the imminent war against the Turks. On the feast of the Assumption, August 15, the anniversary of the vow of the pilgrimage on Montmartre, he assisted at a High Mass in the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli. The following week he held a consistory and a *signatura*.¹⁹⁰ He then went to Frascati in order to visit various places in the campagna from there.¹⁹¹

Since all of Iñigo's efforts to obtain a written decision had proved to be in vain, he now took a final step. He followed Paul III to Frascati, requested an audience, and was received that same day¹⁹² in the papal fortress, or *rocca*.¹⁹³ He remained for a full hour alone with the pope in his private apartment,¹⁹⁴ explaining to him in detail¹⁹⁵ in Latin¹⁹⁶ the plans and projects which he and his companions had in mind. He told him frankly of the various times when he had been brought to trial in Spain and Paris. He described his imprisonment in Alcalá and Salamanca and concealed nothing. He wanted to preclude the possibility of the pope's receiving information from other sources and to persuade him to accede to his request. He added, moreover, that he and his companions, if they were to preach and to instruct others, must have a good reputation not only before God but also before men so that there could be no suspicion about their lives and teaching. He therefore begged His Holiness in his own name and that of his companions to have some judge or other make an official investigation of their teaching and manner of life. If they were found guilty, they should be punished; but if they proved to be innocent, then His Holiness should take them under his protection and order a judgment to be rendered.

Despite all the frankness with which Iñigo recounted the earlier persecutions to which he had been subjected, the pope took his request well. He praised the talent of the companions and their apostolic zeal; and, after some fatherly words

¹⁸⁷ Ignatius (FN I 9). The friend was probably Cardinal Gasparo Contarini.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 9-10. This was probably done by Favre and Laynez at their usual disputation.

¹⁸⁹ Rodrigues 503. The answer was probably given on this occasion (contrary to Böhmer 228).

¹⁹⁰ By a *signatura* is probably meant a business day on which the pope signed petitions made to him.

¹⁹¹ *Cesena 234-235v. Ignatius 502 states that the pope first went to Frascati.

¹⁹² Polanco (FN I 202; II 591).

¹⁹³ Built by Pius II (died in 1464) and fortified by Cardinal d'Estouteville; it now serves as the episcopal palace (Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 151).

¹⁹⁴ "En su cámara a solas, bien al pie de una hora" (Ignatius, FN I 10; cf. 502).

¹⁹⁵ "Hablándole largo" (Ignatius, FN I 10; contrary to Polanco 591: "breviter").

¹⁹⁶ Polanco (FN I 202; II 591).

of advice, he gave strict orders to the *governatore* to conduct the desired investigation at once.¹⁹⁷

For good or ill Conversini had now to obey. He was forced to take up the trial again, especially since the pope, after being away for fifteen days, had returned to Rome and had repeatedly spoken in public in favor of the Parisian masters. He had even done this in the presence the companions who had to dispute before him every two weeks while he was eating.¹⁹⁸

In the meantime Bobadilla had sent a second letter to Duke Ercole¹⁹⁹ on August 25, in which he thanked him for the testimonials he had sent and asked him to intercede with the Holy Father and the *governatore* so that the trial might be brought to a speedy conclusion. This might happen if he wrote a letter to his ambassadors in Rome or to one of the cardinals friendly to the companions, such as, for example, Carpi,²⁰⁰ Trani,²⁰¹ or Sant'Angelo,²⁰² for these three were very well disposed towards them and contributed to their support. If they received letters from Ercole, they would certainly do all they could for them. He had further heard that Cardinals Campeggio²⁰³ and Simonetta²⁰⁴ would be passing through Ferrara. His Excellency might recommend this matter to them as well,

¹⁹⁷ Ignatius gives the main account of the audience (FN I 10; see also 502; Laynez 132; Polanco, FN I 202; II 591). Böhmer states that, "nach einer Mitteilung aus dem vatikanischen Archiv," the pope had been in Frascati from August 17 to 20, and that the audience had been on August 17 or 18 "luego después se partisce" (228). Tacchi Venturi, on the other hand, places the audience in the second half of August or the beginning of September and states that according to Cesena the pope had left Rome immediately after the feast of the Assumption (II, 1, 151). Neither account is completely accurate. When Ignatius writes: "Como [el Papa] luego después se partiese de Roma" (FN I 10), the *luego* refers neither to Ignatius nor to the Assumption, but to the request of the two companions that he give an order for the trial. *Cesena expressly states that within the week immediately following the feast of the Assumption the pope had held a consistory and a *signatura* and only then had traveled into the campagna (235v).

¹⁹⁸ "El Papa mandó con mucha diligencia al gobernador, que es obispo y justicia principal desta ciudad, así en lo eclesiástico como en lo seglar. que luego entendiese en nuestra causa" (Ignatius, FN I 10). The pope was away for fifteen days (*Cesena 235v). He held his first consistory after his return on September 17 (Vatican Archives: **Acta Consistorialia Borghese I 859, f. 58*).

¹⁹⁹ Bobadilla 8-11.

²⁰⁰ Rodolfo Pio di Carpi; see above, p. 331.

²⁰¹ Giov. Domenico de Cupis, bishop of Trani; see above, p. 331.

²⁰² Ennio Filonardi (see above, p. 333), not Ranuccio Farnese, as the editors maintain (Bobadilla 10, n. 9); cf. *MI Scripta I 751*.

²⁰³ Lorenzo Campeggio is meant, not Giovanni, as the editors assert (Bobadilla 11, n. 10). He was born in Milan in 1474 and was a professor of law in Bologna from 1499. After the death of his wife he chose the priestly, and after 1511 the diplomatic, way of life. As bishop of Feltre he became nuncio in his native city in 1512, in Germany from 1513 to 1517, and in England from 1518 to 1519. He became a cardinal in 1517 and archbishop of Bologna in 1523. In 1524-1525 he went to Germany again as legate, in 1528-1529 to England, and in 1530-1532 to Germany again. On March 20, 1538, the pope appointed him along with Simonetta and Alexander as a legate to make preparations for the council in Vicenza, and on this occasion he came with Simonetta to Ferrara. He died in Rome on July 25, 1539 (Van Gulik 17; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche 2* [1958] 909-910; Cardella IV 30-34).

²⁰⁴ Giacomo Simonetta is meant and not Sermonetta, as the editors believe (Bobadilla 11, n. 11). Born in Milan in 1475, he became an auditor of the Rota in 1511 and its dean from 1523 to 1528. He was referendary of the Signatura from 1512 to 1535 and was known as an excellent canonist. He became bishop of Pesaro in 1528, cardinal in 1535, and died in Rome on November 1, 1539 (Van Gulik 26 and 17; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche 9* [1964] 774; Cardella IV 148-150).

for they had always, both when they were in Rome and when away from the city, been kindly disposed towards the companions.

On September 20 the duke did as he was requested. He ordered his ambassador, Filippo Rodi, to make a strong recommendation in his name on behalf of the companions to Cardinal de Cupis if they still needed it.²⁰⁵

8. THE HAUNTED HOUSE (OCTOBER, 1538)

The lease on the house near the Ponte Sisto ran out on September 30.²⁰⁶ Since the trial had not as yet been concluded and the Turkish war was still in progress, the pilgrimage to the Holy Land was quite impossible at this time. The companions were therefore obliged to remain for the present in Rome whether they liked it or not. Their friends in the meantime had obtained another house for them not far from the Capitoline Hill, on which was located the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, or from the palace of St. Mark, where the pope preferred as a rule to reside. It was larger than the one they had previously occupied and stood near the tower of Merangolo in one of the most distinguished and populated quarters of the city. The house, which belonged to the Frangipani,²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Bobadilla 11-12.

²⁰⁶ "Locationis tempore peracto" (Rodrigues 500).

²⁰⁷ During the second half of the sixteenth century the house of "Misser Antonino Freapane apresso Torre Maramgulo," as Rodrigues addresses Xavier's letter of July 26, 1540 (EX I 50; cf. 32 and *Fabri Mon.* 20 24 28), was rebuilt into the Palazzo Delfini by Mario Delfini (Via Delfini 16). On this see Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 164, and *Case* 5 13-18 34-35. The three porter's rooms on the ground floor to the right of the entrance go back to the old house of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (*Case* 15-16). Umberto Gnoli states that three Merangolo towers stood near each other: one in the monastery Torre dei Specchi, the second in San Stefano del Cacco (Rione Pigna) and the third, the best known, on the Via Delfini in the Rione Sant'Angelo. According to a document of June 26, 1539, Ant. Frangipani had by this time obtained a house on St. Mark's Square (today Piazza Venezia) from the chapter of San Marco in hereditary tenure for a yearly tax of sixty ducats. He must have obtained it by mortgaging one of his houses in the five quarters of the city: Rione Ponte, San Eustachio, Parione, Regola, and Pigna (Philipp Dengel, *Palast und Basilika San Marco in Rom* [Rom, 1913] 19). Since none of Frangipani's houses are cited as being on the Rione Sant'Angelo, Gnoli hastily concludes that he did not own any houses there, and that the "house of A. Frangipane near the Torre del Merangolo," into which Ignatius and his companions moved in 1538, was therefore located in the Rione Pigna between the modern Via del Gesù and San Stefano del Cacco behind the palace of the Altieri. He believes that they later moved from here to the house belonging to the Delfini on the Via Delfini near the other Merangolo tower (*Topografia e Toponomastica di Roma Medioevale e Moderna* [Roma, 1939] 326-327). He is not justified in his conclusion, which is contradicted by all the sources. Faustina Jancolini's will of December 23, 1539, states that the priests were living at that time in the Rione de Campitello in the house in which Messer Antonino Friapane had once lived with his family (Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 225). According to the map of the *rioni* in Ch. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo* (Firenze, 1926) the entire Via Delfini lay within this *rione* (and not within that of Sant'Angelo). The account on the first houses of the Society in Rome, written between 1609 and 1622, expressly states that the second [read: third] house of the companions in Rome was "una casetta [better: casa], della quale con altre case vicine il sig. Mario Volfino [read: Dolfino] ne fece il palazzo, dove adesso abitano li figliuoli, et vi resta la camera, dove alloggiò il p. Ignatio" (Tacchi Venturi, *Case* 5). De Buck (*Le Le Gesù* [Bruxelles, 1871] 7), Rose (243, picture 247) and others erroneously think that the third house was that of Margana (Piazza Margana 40a). On this see Tacchi Venturi, *Case* 16-17.

was then empty. An unknown benefactor²⁰⁸ readily turned it over to the companions for an undetermined length of time. They were later to discover the reason for this generosity. The house was thought to be haunted and no one else as a consequence wanted to live there.²⁰⁹

When the first of October drew near, the companions took their household furnishing—chairs, tables, and dishes—over to the new dwelling; and one of the priests remained there during the night to guard them. The doors were locked and he was asleep when he was suddenly aroused by a frightful scream and devilish racket, but he refused to become alarmed. "If they are thieves," he said to himself, "they will find little or nothing to take; but if they are devils, they can do nothing to me without God's permission. If it is God's will that they kill me, then may His will be done." With that he went back to sleep.

When the rest of the companions moved into the house, the ghost began to act up again. During the night they frequently heard a racket as if all their pots, pitchers, and dishes were being broken to pieces; but on the following morning they always found them intact. At times, both during the day and at night, there would be a knocking on the door, but when it was opened there would be no one outside. Through these and other ghostly tricks the devils sought to drive the priests out of the house, but they laughed at this childishness and did not once think it worth the trouble to exorcise the house.²¹⁰

During these days Rodrigues was seriously ill. When his head was burning with fever, it seemed to him that a ghost was walking back and forth in the hall outside his room. He could clearly hear his footsteps, and it seemed to him as if the intruder at times lifted up the rug which served as a curtain to the door and stuck his head in to see what was going on. Although Rodriguez actually saw nothing, it seemed to him as if everything was happening before his very eyes. Master Francis had been charged by Iñigo with the care of his confrere. One night he slept on a mat on the floor near the sick priest's bed so that he might give him a pill about midnight. But Rodrigues had not been able to fall asleep. Instead he had fixed his eyes on his confrere and was thinking of his holy life. Then he suddenly saw Xavier start up and thrash wildly about as if he were out of his mind. A stream of blood flowed from his mouth and nose as he screamed and repeatedly affirmed his good will. Then he awoke. "What's the meaning of this?" Rodriguez asked him. "Nothing," was the reply. "But," countered his confrere, "I saw so much blood gushing from you, and you say that it is nothing?" To the queries of the other companions also, Xavier

²⁰⁸ "Haec porro domus ita patribus fuit ad habitationem tradita, ut neque qui donaret, neque utrum esset a cacodaemone occupata, ulla ratione cognoscerent" (Rodrigues 501). The owner was Antonino (Xavier and Favre always write Antonio) Frangipani, who was sixty-three years old at this time (Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle Chiese di Roma* [Roma, 1869-1884] II, n. 948). He had two grown sons, Curzio and Mario, born in 1501 and 1506 respectively (*ibid.*, nn. 1610-958). Besides the house on St. Mark's Square, which he received in simple hereditary tenure in 1538 (Dengel 18), he owned several other houses in Rome. The Frangipani, also called Fregepani (Forcella, *Iscrizioni* II, nn. 945 and 1610), Frigiapani (*ibid.* I, n. 457), and Fraiapani (*ibid.* II, nn. 69-71 77; VII, n. 731; XIII, n. 1302), bore on their coat of arms two fighting lions tearing a loaf of bread in two. They were one of the oldest and most distinguished patrician families of Rome (Amayden I 403-409) and had their family vault in San Marcello, where the monuments of Antonino, who died in 1546, and of his sons, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren are still to be seen.

²⁰⁹ "Vulgo enim lemurius, nocturnisque larvis habebatur infamis" (Rodrigues 500-501; in the Portuguese text: "por se dizer, que nella andavaõ demonios").

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* 501-502.

always gave an evasive answer; but they were of the opinion that "the devil seized him by the neck and tried to throttle him."²¹¹

9. THE GREAT DECISION (NOVEMBER, 1538)

A month after the companions moved to the house of the Frangipani Rome was in a festive mood. On November 3 the Madama,²¹² Margaret of Austria, the sixteen-year-old natural daughter of the emperor Charles V and widow of the duke of Florence made her solemn entrance into Rome. Her husband, the cruel and dissolute Alessandro de Medici, had been murdered in January, 1537. The day after her arrival in the Eternal City, she was married, as had been agreed upon at the conference in Nice, to Ottavio Farnese, the thirteen-year-old grandson of the pope. Banquets, balls, illuminations, horse, bull, and buffafo races followed for days on end in stupefying succession. For the main festival, twelve richly gilded triumphal wagons adorned with numerous life-sized figures and devices were drawn from the capitol past the house of the Frangipani to the Piazza Navona. These were accompanied by the *caporioni*, the ward captains of the city, dressed in ornate old robes, and by hundreds of citizens riding on horseback and wearing ancient Roman costumes. The *gonfaloniere*, or "standard-bearer," carried the city flag on a caparisoned horse with gleaming harness, and a great many merrymakers went along on foot.²¹³

²¹¹ Rodrigues omits the name Xavier as usual (502). Francisco Vázquez, S.J., gives it along with new details in a letter dated December 10, 1596, from Marchena to Father Cristobal de Castro in Alcalá. He writes that he had already told Father Francisco de Ribera about the matter in Salamanca at an earlier date. De Ribera had wanted to write a life of Xavier but had died while he was working on it. Vázquez believed his papers had been given to Ribadeneyra. In case the latter did not write his life, he wanted to repeat what had been said. He then asserts "as a priest of the Society of Jesus" that twenty-three or twenty-four years before this, when he was rector in Montilla, Simon Rodrigues had passed through there and had stayed in the college for fifteen days. Rodrigues had told him that he had become ill soon after the arrival of the companions in Rome and that Xavier had taken care of him and had experienced this dream at this time (*MI Scripta* I 571-571). Tursellinus already gives both names in 1594, but he erroneously places the dream in Lisbon (4, 8; in the succeeding editions 6, 6).

²¹² Margaret of Austria, who was born on December 28, 1522, in Oudenaarde. Her mother was the daughter of a shopkeeper's wife Johanna Van der Gheynst. In 1536 she had to marry, for political reasons, Alessandro, the natural son of Lorenzo de Medici, and then, for the same reasons, Ottavio Farnese, who had been born on October 9, 1524, the son of the dissolute Pier Luigi. In 1545 Ottavio received the duchies of Parma and Piacenza from Paul III. In 1559 Margaret was named vicereine of the Netherlands by her half-brother Philipp II of Spain. She ruled there until 1567 and later, from 1580 to 1583, in conjunction with her son, the wise and courageous Alessandro Farnese. She died at Ortona in 1586. On her see F. Rachfahl, *Margaretha von Parma* (München-Leipzig, 1898), and *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* 13 (1895) 649-669. Codure (died August 29, 1541) later became her confessor (FN II 94), and then Ignatius (*ibid.* 483).

²¹³ On her entrance into Rome, see the notices of the master of ceremonies, Biagio de Martinellis da Cesena, in Forcella, *Feste* 63-67, and *Cesena 242v-245; see also Guazzo 229v-230v; Capasso I 615-617; Pastor V 229-230 247-248; Francisco de Hollanda, *Vier Gespräche* (Wien, 1899) 81 215; and Benvenuto Cellini, *La Vita* (Firenze, 1924) 240-241.

²¹⁴ *MI Epp.* 134-135.

²¹⁵ Bobadilla 12-13.

²¹⁶ Ignatius (FN I 11-12); Laynez 132; Polanco (FN I 203; II 591-592); Rodrigues 505; Nadal (FN I 309; II 262).

But Iñigo and his disciples were more interested in furthering their trial in the court than in the festivities. During October they had not been idle. They had presented testimonials from Ferrara, Bologna, and Siena to the *governatore*. Iñigo had moreover written to his old friend in Venice, Pier Contarini, to ask his cousin, Cardinal Gasparo Contarini to put in a good word for him with the *governatore* so that he might expedite the matter. Messer Pietro had carried out this request, and the cardinal had immediately sent one of his servants to Conversini urging him to bring the trial of the Parisian masters to a speedy conclusion.²¹⁴ Duke Ercole, through his ambassador and a number of cardinals, had also been zealous in furthering the affair.²¹⁵ By a happy coincidence there came to Rome at this time three individuals who could give better witness to Iñigo's innocence and that of his companions than any others.²¹⁶ One was Juan Rodriguez de Figueroa,²¹⁷ the vicar-general of the archbishop of Toledo, who had imprisoned Iñigo in Alcalá and had presided at two of his trials. He was now returning from Naples, where the emperor had sent him on important business.²¹⁸ Another was Gasparo de Dotti, the vicar-general of the legate Veralli, who had conducted the trial in Venice.²¹⁹ The third was Matthaeus Ory, O.P., who, as inquisitor in Paris, had also had dealings with Iñigo.²²⁰ Besides these there was also in Rome at this time the bishop of Vicenza,²²¹ where the companions had been engaged as preachers. All four were questioned carefully by the *governatore* on the teaching, morals, and lives of the accused; and they gave eloquent testimony to their virtues, holy lives, and Catholic teaching.²²² After eight months the trial was as a consequence finally ended.

The decision was rendered on November 18. In it the *governatore* declared that it was important for the welfare of Christianity that both those who had edified the faithful by their teaching and example and those who had sown weeds in the Lord's field should be publicly known. The teachings, lives, and Spiritual Exercises of the Parisian master, Ignatius of Loyola, and of his companions, the Parisian masters Favre, Jay, Broët, Laynez, Xavier, Salmerón, Rodrigues, Codure, and Bobadilla, had been attacked. Their teachings and Exercises had been declared to be heretical and contrary to the teachings of the Church. In virtue of his office and at the special request of His Holiness, he, Conversini, had made a careful investigation of these matters, had heard the plaintiffs and other witnesses, had reviewed the evidence, and had discovered that all the

²¹⁷ Figueroa, who was born in Ledesma, conducted three suits against Ignatius in Alcalá in 1526 and 1527 and declared him innocent (FN I 30-31*); he died in 1566. On him see Larrañaga 264-265.

²¹⁸ He was to become an auditor of the Rota (MI *Scripta* I 750) and returned from Naples (Polanco 591).

²¹⁹ On him see above, p. 304.

²²⁰ This was apparently in 1529; on him see above, p. 249.

²²¹ With Tacchi Venturi (II, 1, 153) we believe that this was Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi, bishop of Vicenza from 1524 to 1550, because Ignatius writes expressly "el obispo de Vincencia" (FN I 12). The editors assume that he meant his suffragan Franciscus Varchionensis, bishop of Castro, and cite for their opinion Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* V 1066. Franciscus Vaschiensis (Boscheni) was bishop of Castro from 1532 to 1535, when he died (Van Gulik 172). In 1539 Ludovicus de Martinis, O.P., became the suffragan bishop of Vicenza (*ibid.* 353). Ignatius, Favre, and Laynez received their *visum* granting them faculties from Girolamo Zilioli, *Doctor utriusque iuris*, canon, "et in episcopatu vicentino vicarius substitutus" (MI *Scripta* I 547; *Fabri Mon.* 12; *Lainii Mon.* I 3). On Ridolfi see Cardella IV 61-63.

²²² Polanco (FN I 203).

rumors, talk, and accusations against the Parisian masters were completely contrary to the truth. He therefore declared that the accused, Ignatius and his companions, were not only not guilty, but that on the contrary their lives and teachings had shown forth with a brilliant light. He therefore urged and advised all the faithful to look upon the aforementioned worthy men, Don Ignatius and his companions, as Catholics and free from every suspicion, and to do this as long as they persisted in the same teaching and manner of life as they had in the past, which he hoped they would with God's help.²²³

The accusers were not named in the document, and Iñigo had asked in his petition that they should not be punished.²²⁴ He had a series of authentic transcripts of the decision made²²⁵ and sent to friends and benefactors.²²⁶ On December 2 he thanked Pier Contarini for his help,²²⁷ and on the eighteenth he sent a detailed account of the whole persecution to his old benefactress Isabel Roser in Barcelona.²²⁸ On November 26 Bobadilla had already sent a copy of the decision to Duke Ercole along with a list of the reasons why they had insisted upon the trial, and he had thanked him for his valuable help.²²⁹

The successful outcome of the trial removed one obstacle to their pilgrimage to the Holy Land, for as long as this remained unfinished, they could not have left Rome without arousing the suspicion that their guilty consciences had forced them

²²³ The text is given in *MI Scripta* I 627-629 (cf. FN I 12).

²²⁴ "Rogante P. Ignatio nihil est penae adversariis irrogatum," writes Nadal (FN II 91). Tacchi Venturi (II, 1, 158-159) and Böhmer 232-233 give brief accounts of the deaths of the three main persecutors. Soon after the persecution Barrera died as a Catholic from an illness in his home in Rome, full of repentance that he had let himself be misled by Mudarra, as Ribadeneyra declares (*MI Scripta* I 746 751). Don Pedro de Castilla was accused of heresy under Paul III but was acquitted in 1549. He was imprisoned by the Inquisition again under Julius III in Naples as a companion of Mudarra and brought to Rome in the summer of 1553. After he pleaded guilty, he was sentenced to life imprisonment and was reconciled with the Church. He was prepared for death by Fr. Diego de Avellaneda, S.J., and died in 1559 (*MI Scripta* I 751; G. Buschbell, *Reformation und Inquisition in Italien* [Paderborn, 1910] 320-321). Mudarra, who was twice condemned as a Lutheran, was able to obtain his freedom with money (*Ep. Mixtae* IV 738; *MI Epp.* VIII 648). Despite his friendship with Cardinal Pighini he was again imprisoned by the Inquisition in Rome in 1553. He escaped from prison in 1554, arrived in Florence in October, and then kept out of sight in Italy (*Ep. Mixtae* IV 843; FN I 308-309). He was burned in effigy in Rome; and his house in Tivoli, his many benefices, and his extensive resources were confiscated (FN I 708-709; II 373 445; *MI Epp.* I 648; *Scripta* I 746 571). Out of compassion for his enemy, Ignatius tried to help "the poor man," so that he would not go over to the Lutherans in despair (*MI Epp.* VIII 648; XII 124; FN I 30). He procured letters of recommendation for him from the duchess of Florence, Leonora de Toledo (*MI Epp.* VII 728; VIII 366-367 674; IX 5; *Ep. Mixtae* IV 737-739; Polanco, *Chron.* V 100), Duke Ercole in Ferrara (*MI Epp.* VIII 648 672), and the viscount of Sicily (*ibid.* X 482). Mudarra wrote him a letter of thanks on September 10 and asked him for further help since he wanted to die as a Catholic (*Ep. Mixtae* IV 843-844). Ignatius endeavored to obtain a new letter for him from the viscount in 1556 (*MI Epp.* X 482; XI 160 293 419-420; XII 35), but it was all in vain. Mudarra fled to Geneva (FN II 91), where he disappeared without a trace (Böhmer 233).

²²⁵ In the archives of the order there are still *five of these authentic copies which were not sent out (*ARSI: Hist. Soc. Ib.*, n. 19, ff. 35-44v).

²²⁶ Thus, for example, to the imperial ambassador in Venice, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (*MI Epp.* I 135), Duke Ercole (Bobadilla 13), Martin García, and Beltrán de Loyola (*ARSI* 1 [1932] 101).

²²⁷ *MI Epp.* I 134-136.

²²⁸ FN I 4-14.

²²⁹ Bobadilla 12-14.

to flee.²³⁰ In the meantime they had been anxiously watching the progress of the great offensive of the Christians against the Turks, who were the second obstacle to their projected pilgrimage.

The papal-Venetian fleet had been waiting in Corfu since June for that of the emperor.²³¹ An attack on the fortress of Preveza, which Grimani had undertaken with the papal fleet alone, was after an initial success thrown back by the enemy with bloody losses on August 10. During this same time Suleiman had been making preparations for attacks upon Hungary, Venice, and the Portuguese in India;²³² and Barbarossa had set sail from Constantinople with 260 ships, among which were 130 galleys, and was making the sea unsafe.²³³ Finally, on September 8, the ardently expected Doria with about 40 galleys had joined up with the papal-Venetian fleet at Corfu.²³⁴ This brought the number of the Christian ships to about 190, among which were 144 galleys.²³⁵ During the following weeks the eyes of all were anxiously directed towards the east, where the great offensive was to begin. But the attack, contrary to all expectations, failed to materialize.

On October 7 the pope finally made it known in a consistory that the Christian fleet was drawing near the army of the Turks. Through Cardinal Ghinucci he ordered public prayers to be offered in all the churches so that God might grant the Christians a victory in their imminent peril. Priests were ordered to recite at Mass two *Orationes imperatae*, the *Ecclesiae tuae*, against persecutors of the Church, and the *Contra paganos*. Before Mass the litanies were to be recited, and after the versicles the following prayer was to be said:

Almighty, everlasting God, who, through the precious blood of Thy dearly beloved Son, hast willed to redeem the human race and through Thy holy apostles, by the light of the Gospel, hast deigned to instruct the world lying in darkness, graciously bestow Thy strength upon the arms of the Christian princes and peoples against the impious Turks and all barbaric nations, the foes of the vivifying cross, so that they, fighting for the glory of Thy name, through the might of Thy outstretched arm, may return with victorious banners to Thy Church! Through Christ our Lord. Amen.²³⁶

On this same day, October 7, the first confused reports about the unfortunate outcome of the battle reached the imperial ambassador Aguilar in Rome, and on the following day the Venetian ambassador.²³⁷ Soon after this the papal treasurer, Parisani, received a letter which gave a detailed account of what had happened.²³⁸ The Christian fleet had set sail on September 27 in order to attack the Turkish fleet anchored near Preveza in the bay of Arda and destroy it. Victory seemed certain, when Doria, to everyone's amazement, suddenly gave the signal for retreat, which then degenerated into a headlong flight. The undertaking upon which so many hopes had been placed throughout the whole of Christendom had been shattered in a lamentable fashion, and Barbarossa had won the day.²³⁹

²³⁰ Rodrigues 503.

²³¹ Capasso I 548.

²³² *Ibid.* 550.

²³³ *Ibid.* 552.

²³⁴ *Ibid.* 555.

²³⁵ Gugliemotti IV 44.

²³⁶ *Cesena 236v-237v.

²³⁷ Capasso I 574.

²³⁸ Gugliemotti IV 70-77.

²³⁹ See the chapter "Il disastro della Prèvesa" in Capasso I 534-582; cf. Pastor V 208.

Although the Christians had captured the fortress of Castelnuovo at the entrance to the bay of Cattaro from the Turks this same month, the fleet was disbanded, since Doria refused to undertake anything more. Grimani sailed with the papal fleet to Ancona and returned from there to Rome to tell the pope about what had happened. Paul III however did not let his courage fail. On November 3 the three allies agreed upon a new plan of campaign for the following spring, according to which they would field an army of sixty thousand men.²⁴⁰

The pilgrimage of the companions was thus again put off for an indefinite future, and yet they had their gaze fixed constantly upon the Holy Land. During their conversations they came again and again to speak of their longing for Jerusalem, their great ideal for the future.²⁴¹

During this time four of the companions engaged in disputations every two weeks before the pope while he was eating. Paul III enjoyed seeing and hearing them and said: "The oftener the better."²⁴² When they came for the disputation after the decision November 18,²⁴³ His Holiness asked them: "Why do you have such a great desire to go to Jerusalem? Italy is a true and excellent Jerusalem if you wish to reap a harvest in God's Church!"

The companions reported these words of the pope to their confreres at home. They gave them something to think about.²⁴⁴ If it would be impossible to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land within a year, then they wished to place themselves at the disposal of the Holy Father so that he might send them wherever they could work more for the honor of God, as they had decided in their vow at Montmartre. Hitherto they had said nothing of this second plan to the pope, but now the time had come for it. Iñigo therefore requested an audience for himself and his

²⁴⁰ Capasso I 579.

²⁴¹ "Nam usque ad illud tempus semper habuerunt in corde et in ore implere votum hierosolimitanae peregrinationis illorum" (Bobadilla 616; cf. *MI Epp.* V 259-260).

²⁴² Brodrick has given a false portrait of Xavier. He deems him to be a great saint, but describes him as a man without attachment to family or country (22 27), without a feeling for the beauties of art and nature (113-114), who, as a student before his conversion, fled from his studies and books whenever he could (30 42) and apparently, after his conversion, did not finish his studies so as to attain even the lowest of the academic degrees, the *magister artium* (30 42 60). He describes him as being without any talent for learning, without any understanding of foreign religions such as that of Islamism (108-110) or Hinduism (112-113), without interest in the religion and culture of India (115), and without any knowledge of the religions and civilization of China, where he decided to preach the Gospel on the basis of a few incidental platitudes which he had heard in Japan (491). All of this is false, as we have already shown in part and will prove more in detail in our second volume. What Brodrick says about Xavier's stay in Rome is also wrong where he speaks of Laynez being regularly invited to dispute before the pope and then adds in his journalistic style: "No one thought of inviting Francis Xavier to enter the lists because no one considered him to be an intellectual. Nor was he either, thanks be to God" (66). For this as for many other bold assertions Brodrick does not offer the least shred of proof. Was Xavier one of the four who regularly disputed before Paul III? We do not know. In his examination for the licentiate he received a higher grade than Favre, who was one of the four. If Xavier was not selected for these disputations, it was not because of his meager gifts for studies—he gave ample evidence of such a talent in his disputations in Yamaguchi in 1551—, but rather because he was still weak from his sickness in Bologna. In all five ballots for the general of the Society, Favre voted for Xavier as his second choice after Ignatius, and not without reason (*Fabri Mon.* 51-53); and when Ignatius summoned Francis back from the Indies, it was in order that he might act as his substitute in ruling the Society (Q 6022-6023).

²⁴³ "Post habitam sententiam nostrae purificationis, cum nos ipsos praesentarem in holocaustum summo Pontifici Paulo tertio" (Favre 42).

companions and placed himself and his followers at the free disposal of Paul III, the Vicar of Christ. They told the pope that they were ready to serve the Holy See in perpetual poverty, ready to go under obedience anywhere he might wish to send them in the service of Christ, even to the farthest Indies. The Holy Father graciously accepted their offering and said that he was happy to take them into his service, and that he wanted them to serve him for all time. The great decision had been made. In the vision at La Storta Christ had said to Ignatius: "I will that you serve us." This request and the vow on Montmartre had now been fulfilled. From a band of divinely inspired pilgrims to Jerusalem, the *Preti pellegrini*, as they were called in Rome,²⁴⁵ had become a bodyguard, a flying squadron for the Vicar of Christ.²⁴⁶

The services of the Parisian masters had in the meantime already been sought from various quarters. Several prelates wanted them to work in their territories.²⁴⁷ The imperial ambassador, Juan Fernandez Manrique, marqués de Aguilar, asked for them in his lord's name for his possessions in the West Indies;²⁴⁸ and, at about the same time that the companions placed themselves at the disposal of Paul III, a new appeal came for the Portuguese East Indies.

The old principal of the Collège de Sainte-Barbe, Dr. Diogo de Gouvea, had received a letter from his former pupil, Master Jeronymo Osorio, in which he told him that sixty thousand Balamares²⁴⁹ had been converted to the faith through the preaching of a vicar, a bachelor in canon law, sent by Bishop Francisco de Mello. In February, 1535, he immediately sent the letter on with one of his own to Simon Rodrigues in Italy. He suggested that since the Turkish war made their pilgrimage to Jerusalem and their mission among the Mohammedans impossible, he and his companions should go to India, where it would be easier to learn the language and the people were more tractable.²⁵⁰ He made the same suggestion in a letter to Favre, and the latter answered him on November 23 in the name of all:²⁵¹

A few days ago your messenger arrived here with your letter for us.²⁵² We have thus learned how you are. From your letter we understand the fond memory which

²⁴⁴ Bobadilla 616.

²⁴⁵ See the address of Xavier's letter of October 22, 1540 (EX I 69).

²⁴⁶ "Fuit memorabile beneficium et quasi totius Societatis fundamentum," writes Favre, and he then continues in almost the same words as those of the La Storta vision: "Quapropter semper ero obligatus reddere gratias Iesu Christo domino nostro, qui dignatus est declarare voce sui Vicarii in terra, placere sibi ut serviremus ei" (42). See also P. Leturia, S.J., "Alle fonti della 'Romanità' della Compagnia di Gesù," *Civiltà Cattolica* 92, 2 (1941) 81-93.

²⁴⁷ Ignatius (FN I 11).

²⁴⁸ MI *Epp.* I 132-133. According to Böhmer, Mexico is meant by this, since Juan de Artiaga, Ignatius' former companion and bishop of Chiapa since 1538, asked for a Jesuit for his diocese about this same time (235). The diocese of Chiapa was not founded until March 19, 1539, and Arteaga did not receive it as his see until January 15, 1541 (*Dict. Hist. et Géogr. Eccl.* 12 [1951] 655; Van Gulik 180).

²⁴⁹ Erroneously written for *Malabares*. This has reference to the Paravas who were baptised between 1535 and 1537. The vicar was Miguel Vaz. See Schurhammer, "Die Bekehrung der Paraver," (AHSI 4 (1935) 201-233.

²⁵⁰ Gouvea wrote this on February 17, 1538, from Paris to the Portuguese king (Costa 321-322). See also F. Rodrigues, "O Dr. Gouveia e a entrada dos Jesuitas em Portugal," *Brotéria* 2 (1926) 267-274. Gouvea's first letter to Rodrigues may not have reached him at his address.

²⁵¹ MI *Epp.* I 132-134.

²⁵² The editors seem to think that the Portuguese ambassador in Rome, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, was the messenger (*nuntius tuus*). But the letter does not mention him. When Mascarenhas was sent to Rome at the end of December by John III, he told the

you have of us and also the desire which you have for the salvation of those souls among your Indians which are ripe for the harvest. Would that we were able to satisfy you; and, indeed, our souls are inflamed with the same desire as yours! But there are some things at the present time which prevent us from being able to answer the desires of many, including yours. You will understand this from what follows. All of us who have bound ourselves together in this Society have pledged ourselves to the supreme pontiff, since he is the master of Christ's whole harvest. When we made this offering of ourselves to him, we indicated that we were prepared for anything that he might decide in Christ for us. Accordingly, if he will send us there where you are calling us, we shall gladly go. The reason why we subjected ourselves to his will and judgment in this manner was that we knew that he has a greater knowledge of what is expedient for Christianity as a whole.

There are some who have already endeavored to have us sent to those Indians who are daily won over for the emperor by the Spaniards. A certain Spanish bishop and the legate of the emperor among others were asked to intervene in this matter; but they did not feel that it was the will of the supreme pontiff that we should depart from here, since even in Rome the harvest is great. The distance of those places does not terrify us nor the difficulty of learning the language, provided only that this is what is most pleasing to Christ. Ask Him therefore on our behalf to make us His ministers in the word of life. For although we are not sufficient of ourselves as of ourselves,²⁵³ still we have hopes in His bounty and riches.

Your will learn a great deal about us and our affairs from the letter which we have written to our outstanding friend and brother in Christ, the Spaniard Diego de Cáceres.²⁵⁴ He will show it to you. There you will see how many tribulations up till now we have suffered in Rome for Christ and how we have at last emerged from them unharmed. There are not lacking even in Rome many for whom the Church's light and truth are hateful. Therefore be vigilant, and, with as great an effort as you have hitherto labored for the defense of the faith and ecclesiastical teaching, seek hereafter to teach the people of Christ by the example of your life. For how can we believe that the good God will preserve in us the truth of His holy faith if we flee from Goodness itself? For we must fear that the principal source of these errors of doctrine lie in errors of life, and unless these are corrected, the former errors will not be taken from our midst.

As we bring this to a close, it only remains for us that we ask you to kindly commend us to our most worthy masters²⁵⁵ Bartholomaeus,²⁵⁶ de Cornibus,²⁵⁷ Picard,²⁵⁸ Adam,²⁵⁹ Waucob,²⁶⁰ Laurentius,²⁶¹ Benedictus,²⁶² and all the rest who are glad to be called our teachers, and us their pupils and sons in Christ Jesus, in whom may you fare well.

From the city of Rome on the 23rd of November of the year 1538.

Yours, in the Lord,

Petrus Faber and the rest of his comrades and brothers.

pope in the name of the king that according to the news brought by the last fleet from India over fifty thousand had been converted to Christianity in Cape Comorin and that they were hoping for the conversion of the whole province (Schurhammer, "Die Bekehrung der Paraver" 220).

²⁵³ 2 Cor. 3:5.

²⁵⁴ The letter is lost.

²⁵⁵ On the expression "Magister noster," see p. 80, n. 39.

²⁵⁶ Jacques Barthélemy, secular priest. On him and the other professors, see above pp. 247-251.

²⁵⁷ Petrus de Cornibus, O.F.M.

²⁵⁸ François Le Picard, secular priest (Collège de Navarre).

²⁵⁹ Johannes Adam, secular priest (Collège de Navarre).

²⁶⁰ Robert Vauchop, secular priest.

²⁶¹ Thomas Laurentius, O.P. (Laurency).

Now that the pilgrimage to the Holy Land had been definitely given up, the companions returned to the pope, who however did not wish to accept them, and to their Spanish benefactors through Ortiz, the alms which they had been given for their pilgrimage in the spring of 1537;²⁶³ and Iñigo, after waiting for a year and a half,²⁶⁴ celebrated his first holy Mass Christmas night in the chapel of the crib²⁶⁵ in Santa Maria Maggiore, a replica of the cave of Bethlehem. There too Gaetano da Thiene twenty-two years before had celebrated his first Mass²⁶⁶ with great devotion and heavenly consolations.²⁶⁷

²⁶² Johannes Benedictus, O.P. (Benott).

²⁶³ Rodrigues 487: "Ablata omni spe Hiersolymam navigandi, iterum, et summo Pontifici, et reliquis hispanis opera Ortizii reddita est. Quod factum admiratus pontifex, pecuniam non accepit; nec vero patres ea usi sunt."

²⁶⁴ "Aún más tarde de lo que había pensado, que fué la noche de Navidad del año de 1538... y así estuvo año y medio sin decirla después que le ordenaron" (Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 2, 11); in the Latin *Vita* he has erroneously written "integrum annum." The provision of canon law that a priest must celebrate several times during the year was not as yet in existence at this time; see Pedro Leturia, S.J., "La primera misa de S. Ignacio de Loyola y sus relaciones con la fundación de la Compañía," *Manresa* 13 (1940) 64-66.

²⁶⁵ "El día de navidad pasada, en la yglesia de nuestra Señora la mayor, en la capilla donde está el pesebre donde el nino Jesu fue puesto, con la su ayuda y gracia díxe la mi primera missa," Ignatius wrote to his relatives in Loyola on February 2, 1539. D. Fernández Zapico, S.J., published the original of this letter with a facsimile for the first time in *AHSI* 1 (1932) 100-104. On the lengthy, controverted question with respect to St. Ignatius' first Mass, see Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 103, n. 2; Larrañaga 499-503; and Leturia, "La primera misa," *Manresa* 13 (1940) 63-74. The chapel of the crib, which was moved to its present site by Sixtus V in 1586, was formerly located some fifty feet away. It went back to the thirteenth century, having been begun by Innocent III (died in 1216) and completed by Honorius III (died in 1227) on the site of an earlier chapel, which perhaps went back to Sixtus III (died in 440). The relics of the crib, which were highly honored here, came from Palestine under Gregory III (died in 741) or Theodore (died in 649); one of the boards has a Greek inscription on it dating back to the seventh, eighth, or ninth century (Armellini 291; H. Grisar, S.J., *Analecta Romana* [Roma, 1899] 577-594).

²⁶⁶ On the feast of the Epiphany, 1517, or Christmas, 1516 (Veny Ballester, *San Cayetano de Thiene* [Barcelona, 1950] 92).

²⁶⁷ FN II 444; see also Angel Suquía Goicoechea, *La Santa Misa en la espiritualidad de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid, 1950).

BOOK IV

THE SOCIETY OF THE NAME OF JESUS

1538 — 1540

*Si oblitus unquam fuero Societatis nominis Iesu,
oblivioni detur dextera mea.*

**"If I ever forget the Society of the Name of Jesus,
may my right hand be forgotten."**

*Xavier to his brothers in Rome,
from Cochin, January 20, 1548*

CHAPTER I

A SEVERE WINTER (DECEMBER, 1538—FEBRUARY, 1539)

1. FAMINE IN ROME¹

On Christmas Eve winter set in with all its keenness, and it persisted unbroken until the end of May.² It was a winter such as had not been experienced in Italy for forty years. There were endless showers of rain, snow, and an intolerable cold. Besides this, there had been a poor harvest in the Roman campagna and even in Etruria. This led to an unprecedented rise in prices;³ for despite all the warnings by the cardinal legate, Gian Vincenzo Carafa, and the *governatore*, Conversini,⁴ the necessary measures for providing the city with grain for bread had not been taken in time. The cost of wheat, wine, oil, cheese, and meat rose exorbitantly. Cattle, sheep, goats, and cows died in the fields because of the cold.⁵ Swarms of peasants from the campagna and the towns (*castelli*) of the neighboring mountains streamed to Rome. The poor were suffering bitterly from the cold, and many were found dead in the mornings.

The Parisian masters saw that something had to be done. At night they went through the streets and squares and brought the homeless to their residence, the large Palazzo Frangipani. They washed their feet and begged for the bread,⁶ vegetables,⁷ and wood that they needed, and even for beds for the weakest, making a place to sleep for the others on straw. They kept a large fire burning so that their wards could warm their stiffened limbs.⁸ Then, after feeding them,⁹ they brought them into a large room in the house, instructed them in Christian doctrine and the most essential prayers, and prepared them for the reception of the sacraments, a good confession and Holy Communion, since their ignorance of religious matters was appalling.¹⁰ During the day their protégés went through the streets

¹ The main sources are Rodrigues 499-500, Polanco 587-588 (and FN I 199-200), and *Fine 157-158v; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 161-169 gives the best account. Maffei gives a description of it (*Ignatii Vita* 2, 11).

² *Fine 157-v; "usque ad 25 mensis maii 1539" (*ibid.* 158v).

³ *Fine 157-158v; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 163.

⁴ Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 45-48 gives the text of his letters.

⁵ "Austerus hyems cepit pene mortalis, ceteris anteactis annis frigidior, copiosissimis nivibus, pluviis continuis et quam maximis frigoribus insuportabilibus, ita quod fere omnia deleret terre animalia, sc. oves, capras et vaccas tenues prolis... hiems frigidior quam ante 40 annos elapsis... Cara erant omnia: granum, vinum, oleum, caseum, carnes omnis generis" (*Fine 157-158v).

⁶ Rodrigues 499-500.

⁷ "Dabant ad comedendum, quae habebant caules" (*Rosefius 44v-45, from Ribadeneira).

⁸ Rodrigues 500; Polanco 587 (and FN I 199-200).

⁹ Polanco 587 (and FN I 200).

¹⁰ Rodrigues 500; Polanco 587 (and FN I 200).

of the city in search of alms, but at night they returned to the Palazzo Frangipani.¹¹ Their numbers rose to two, three, and then to almost four hundred,¹² so that soon there was no longer a free corner to be found in the house.

Despite all the misery, on *Giovedì Grasso*¹³ in the middle of February, the carnival was celebrated in Rome with extraordinary pomp, to the distress of the advocates of reform such as Gian Pier Carafa and Gasparo Contarini. The pope himself freely contributed to the expenses and viewed from the Castel Sant'Angelo the huge festive wagons as they moved past, each drawn by four buffaloes. The figures on the carts symbolized the marriage of Ottavio with Margaret of Austria, the daughter of the emperor, the pope's efforts for peace, his war against the heretics and Turks, and the past greatness of pagan Rome.¹⁴

The heroic charity of the *preti pellegrini*, however, still made a great impression upon the Eternal City. The consciences of a number of prominent individuals, and also of some of the cardinals, began to stir. They gave alms to the priests on their begging tours, and some even came at night with torches in their hands to see with their own eyes their charitable deeds. One of these visitors, since he had brought no money with him, even left as an alms part of his clothing.

The Palazzo Frangipani proved to be too small for the ever increasing number of homeless poor. They were therefore brought to a still larger house. Others were placed in the many hospitals and hospices of the city, where Iñigo and his disciples took charge of them.¹⁵ Their number eventually rose to over three thousand¹⁶ in a city of forty thousand persons.¹⁷ Alms flowed in generously, and the pope also helped with the work.¹⁸ From time to time the Madama¹⁹ sent two to three hundred ducats to be distributed among the poor and for the priests themselves. Iñigo however would not retain a *quattrino* for himself or his companions but gave everything to the monasteries and hospices.²⁰ Eventually, the *governatore* succeeded in obtaining from outside the necessary grain for feeding the people in Rome.²¹

2. OTHER WORKS

Besides taking care of the destitute, the Parisian masters still found time for other works. On December 19, 1538, Iñigo wrote to Barcelona that just after he had finished his letter the pope, through an edict of the *governatore*, had ordered the Latin students of the thirteen quarters of the city to come together

¹¹ Rodrigues 500.

¹² Polanco 587 (and FN I 199-200); Laynez 126.

¹³ The Thursday before Lent; in 1539 this fell on February 13.

¹⁴ Pastor V 248-249. Vincenzo Forcella, *Feste in Roma nel Pontificato di Paolo III, 1534-1545* (Roma, 1885) 69-83, gives the text of a contemporary report, which Clementi I 219-225 also follows.

¹⁵ Rodrigues 500.

¹⁶ Polanco 588 (and FN I 200); Rodrigues simply has "circiter duo mille" (500).

¹⁷ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 167.

¹⁸ Though Paul III, for example, usually gave the hospital of San Giacomo only twenty-five *scudi* a month, on April 30, 1539, he gave it an extraordinary alms of two hundred gold *scudi* (Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 166, n. 5).

¹⁹ Margaret of Austria.

²⁰ FN II 483; Maffei, *Ignatii Vita* 2, 11; Tacchi Venturi II, 1 166; Laynez 126; Polanco 588 (and FN I 200).

²¹ Rodrigues 500; Polanco 588.

so that they might receive instructions in Christian doctrine from the priests, a work they had begun before the outbreak of the persecution.²² In addition to this the *preti pellegrini* took care of the material and spiritual needs of the sick in the hospitals. They preached to them and heard their confessions, as they did also for nuns in various convents in the city. They also helped other individuals by hearing their confessions and giving them the Spiritual Exercises.²³

3. NEW HELPERS

The companions were assisted in these works by new helpers who came to them at this time.²⁴ By the middle of December there were four or five who had already made up their minds many days and even months earlier to join the Society of Jesus, even if Ignatius did not as yet dare to accept them. His hesitancy rose from the fact that one of the chief complaints of their opponents had been that he had accepted confreres and founded a congregation, that is, an order, without the permission of the Apostolic See.²⁵ The comrades were, moreover, being constantly asked if they were the evangelists mentioned by St. Vincent Ferrer in the last chapter of his *Tractatus de vita spirituali*. He had there written that God would at some future date send apostolic men who would be poor, simple, humble, and united by an ardent love for one another, and who would think of nothing, speak of nothing, and know nothing except Jesus Christ crucified.²⁶

Francisco de Rojas,²⁷ who had been intimately associated with the companions in Rome,²⁸ had left the Parisian masters before the *governatore* had vindicated them on November 18, 1538. He had gone with a letter from Iñigo to the latter's relatives in Loyola; and on February 2 Iñigo had sent him an authentic copy of

²² FN I 14.

²³ Laynez 126; Polanco 588 (and FN I 200).

²⁴ Polanco 588 (and FN I 200).

²⁵ FN I 13.

²⁶ Rodrigues 507-508.

²⁷ The main sources for Rojas are the *Ep. Mixtae*, the *MI Epp.* and Polanco, *Chronicon* (see the indices); he is treated briefly by Astráin I 269-271 and Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 291-292. According to the catalogue of Coimbra of 1542, he was a Castilian (Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 322), according to the **Historia de la Compañía de Jesús de la Provincia de Toledo* of Fr. Francisco Antonio, S.J., of 1604, he was the uncle of the count of Orgaz (ARSI: *Tolet.* 37, 7v). In 1538 he went to Spain. He returned to Rome, and in April, 1540, he was sent to Paris with Diego de Eguía and others to continue his studies. He studied philosophy from 1542 to 1544 in Coimbra, where he was ordained a priest (*Ep. Mixtae* I 157). From 1544 to 1547 he worked in Valencia, and from 1547 to 1556 he was superior in Zaragoza. He was an indefatigable worker but was unable to conquer his proud spirit, and because of it Rodrigues thought him to be unsuitable for the order. Ignatius wanted to dismiss him in 1547 because of the trouble he had given in Valencia (*ibid.* 588-589). Diego de Eguía (*ibid.* 557-558) and Borgia (Borgia III 33-35) sought to keep him in vain. He left the Society in 1556 (Polanco VI 537) because Ignatius was unwilling to grant him the ardently desired profession of the four vows unless he studied theology for four years (*ibid.*, III 347-348 367). Nadal had written of him in 1554: "Se toca de humor español y fumos" (Nadal I 238).

²⁸ In 1539 Ignatius indicated that he had visited with him in Rome (AHSI I [1932] 104), and in 1552 Antonio Gou wrote at Ignatius' request a long letter to Xavier from Oñate about the work of the Society in Spain, telling him among other things: "There is also a house in Zaragoza, and Father Rojas, whom Your Reverence knows, is its superior" (MX II 171).

the decision, "so that his good desires would not grow cold," as he wrote to his brother Martín García.²⁹

Rojas' place was taken by another, Antonio de Araoz,³⁰ who was related to Iñigo. In 1493 the lord of the castle of Loyola, Martín García, had brought home Magdalena de Araoz as his wife and mistress of the castle.³¹ Antonio, who had been born³² in 1516³³ at Vergara in Guipúzcoa, was her nephew. His father was Bachelor Juan de Araoz,³⁴ a former student in the Colegio de Santa Cruz, which had been founded in Valladolid by Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza,³⁵ and the alcalde of the hidalgos of the chancery of that city. His mother belonged to a prominent Neopolitan family.³⁶ Antonio himself had studied philosophy and theology at Salamanca and had earned a bachelor's degree in the latter.³⁷ His sister Isabel had always wanted to become a religious, but the lord of Loyola would not think of it until Ignatius, on his visit to his home in 1535, interceded for her and obtained her admittance into a convent.³⁸ When her brother visited

²⁹ AHSI I (1932) 104.

³⁰ The main sources for Araoz are his letters in *Ep. Mixtae* and those to and about him in *MI Epp.*, Laynez and Borgia. There are further references to him in practically all the other volumes of the collection of the MHSI. He is discussed in detail by Polanco, *Chronicon* (see vol. 6, index) and Astráin (especially I 204-205 230-258; II 482-488; III 102-105, too sharp). Among the earlier sources in the **Primera parte de la Historia de este Colégio de la Compañía de Jesús de Madrid* (ARSI: *Tolet.* 39, 1. 4, cc. 3-10, of Juan de Mosquera, S. J., who was for a long time the amanuensis of General Acquaviva. This was copied in the biography ascribed to Nieremberg in *Varones Ilustres* 9 [Bilbao, 1892] 13-54. The unfinished original of the **Historia* is contained in *legajo* 664 of the Archives of the Province of Toledo). For the time before Araoz entered the Society see, in addition to Mosquera, Ribadeneira, **Historia de la Compañía de Jesús de las Provincias de España* (ARSI: *Hisp.* 94, 4-v 106v-107v) and **Relación sumaria sacada de la vida del P. Dr. Antonio de Araoz de la Historia del Colégio de Madrid por el P. Ribadeneira, la cual cambió al P. Antonio Clar año 1605* (Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid: *codices y cartularios* 535B, pp. 65-68). The **Historia de la Compañía de la Provincia de Toledo, composta dal P. Francisco Antonio 1604* (ARSI: *Tolet.* 37, 219) follows Mosquera. We use the following abbreviations: M: Mosquera, R: Ribadeneira, *Historia*, Rm: Ribadeneira, *Relación*. — Araoz was superior of the Society of Jesus in Spain, where he labored from 1539 to 1541, and from 1543 to 1573. He died in Madrid in 1573. He had been ordained a priest in 1541, made his vows of profession in 1542, became provincial of Spain in 1547, provincial of Castile in 1554, and commissar in 1562. He was accused by the provincial Carrillo in 1566 (Borgia IV 242-248) but defended by the general of the order, Borgia, in 1571 (*ibid.* V 642-644) and by Ribadeneira (Ribadeneira I 783). After he died, it was written from Madrid that he had been as edifying in death as he had been in life (*Polanci Complementa* I 222, n. 3). Polanco praises him for having been a "vir multis Dei donis clarus" (*ibid.* 720); his devotion in death moved those who were present to tears (ARSI: *Hisp.* 118, 125). See also Alcázar I 90-92; II 419-423. The bibliography of his writings is given by Uriarte-Lecina I 249-252.

³¹ FN I 153, n. 5.

³² R Rm M.

³³ According to Rm and M. According to R he came to Rome in 1538 at the age of twenty-three.

³⁴ R.

³⁵ R Rm M.

³⁶ R.

³⁷ In the letters of Ignatius, who was always very exact in this regard, and of his confres, Araoz is always addressed as "Bachelor" until September, 1540 (*MI Epp.* I 162), as "Licentiate" until November 6, 1548 (*ibid.* II 124; *Ep. Mixtae* I 566), and as "Doctor" after November 23, 1548 (*ibid.* 569; *MI Epp.* II 500). Rm and M are therefore wrong when they state that he earned his doctor's degree in Salamanca before his trip to Rome in 1538.

³⁸ R M.

her there,³⁹ she told him a great deal about the great sanctity of his "uncle" and encouraged him to go to him in Paris. From there he was directed to Rome, where he arrived at the age of twenty-three.⁴⁰ He was hospitably received in the Eternal City by Don Pedro Sarmiento, archbishop of Compostella, who soon afterwards, on October 18, 1538, was named a cardinal. The imperial ambassador, the marqués de Aguilar, also treated him in a paternal fashion.⁴¹ Here he also met Ignatius.⁴² In May, 1538, when the persecution broke out against Iñigo and his disciples and they were being represented by their adversaries, with prominent Spanish members of the Curia at their head, as Alumbrados who had fled to Italy from the Inquisition, Araoz sought out his "uncle" and tried to persuade him to give up his manner of life. Iñigo listened to him long and attentively and then answered all of his objections so well that Antonio never after spoke to him about them.⁴³ But he still avoided being seen near him. Only after the *governatore* had rendered his decision on November 18, 1538, and had openly declared the innocence of the accused did Araoz dare to approach him again. Upon Iñigo's advice, he made the Exercises in December.⁴⁴ After completing them, he joined Iñigo as one of his disciples at the beginning of 1539.⁴⁵ One of the first trials to which he was subjected by his master of novices was to preach⁴⁶ in the silk clothes he had been wearing at the time of his entrance in the Banchi near the Ponte Sant'Angelo, where quacks usually held forth.⁴⁷ He also had to beg in the city wearing his silk coat and carrying a knapsack on his back, and to wash the dishes in the open street in front of the house. When one of his fancy satin shoes became torn, he wore the good one on one foot and a common leather shoe like those worn by the companions on the other.⁴⁸ But Araoz had

³⁹ According to M, Araoz wanted to enter a monastery at this time and therefore wished to say farewell to his sister.

⁴⁰ According to Polanco he came to Rome with worldly intentions (FN I 241: "con diseños de mundo"; *Chronicon* I 88: "cum Romam et animo et habitu saeculari venisset"); according to Rm and M he wanted to become a monk.

⁴¹ According to M. This is lacking in R and Rm. Sarmiento, who was the chaplain, almoner, and principal sacristan of the Madama and the emperor, became a cardinal at their request. He was well loved because of his amiable disposition and died in Lucca on October 13, 1541 (Gil González Dávila, *Teatro Eclesiástico de las dos Castillas* 1 [Madrid, 1645] 89-90; Cardella IV 140-143). In September of this same year, as a friend of the Society, he had witnessed the baptism of a Jew in Rome (MI *Epp.* I 182).

⁴² According to M, Araoz obtained no news of Ignatius in Rome. He therefore remained for some time in Cardinal Sarmiento's house and then decided to return to Spain in order to become a friar there. When he said farewell to the ambassador Aguilar, the latter told him that he had asked the pope if he had any letters for Araoz to take with him. The Holy Father had then told him that he had learned from a cardinal that Ignatius and his companions had arrived in Rome from Venice. Araoz immediately looked him up, and the persecution broke out a short time later. Rm states the same more succinctly. R only mentions the fact that Araoz had begun to associate with Ignatius in Rome when the persecution broke out. When he heard the scandals that were being spread about his relative, he was sorry that he had come from Spain to Rome to find such a vilely slandered individual.

⁴³ According to M and Rm. *Rosefius states on the authority of his confrere Hieronymus Sorianus that Araoz had come to Rome in order to convert Ignatius, since he mistook him for an Alumbrado (19v).

⁴⁴ Salmerón wrote of Araoz on September 25, 1539: "Ha estado en nuestra casa al pié de diez meses" (MI *Epp.* I 154); in these ten months are included the Exercises.

⁴⁵ R Rm.

⁴⁶ FN I 559.

⁴⁷ Polanco in FN I 241.

⁴⁸ Camara, who got this from Iñigo de Ochandiano; Araoz had told it to him (n. 39).

an ardent temperament⁴⁹ and was intent on practicing penance and self-abnegation; and since he was much given to prayer, these sacrifices seemed light to him.⁵⁰

Iñigo won over another disciple in the person of Bartholomeo Ferrão.⁵¹ He had been born of a distinguished family⁵² in Castello Branco in the diocese of Guarda in Portugal, had held a position in Rome,⁵³ and had been on intimate terms with Ignatius and his companions since the end of 1537. He made the Spiritual Exercises like Araoz and was induced by them to join the Parisian masters in the Palazzo Frangipani.⁵⁴ Iñigo always praised him for his great indifference and because of this called him "*El Intentable*."⁵⁵ When the question later arose as to whether or not he should continue his studies in the university, Ignatius had him pray for many days in the chapel for divine light. He used many other means and almost employed force to discover his preference.⁵⁶ The sole answer, however, that Ferrão would give was that he wished to submit himself with all his heart and strength to holy obedience.⁵⁷

At the end of 1538 the two brothers Diego and Esteban de Eguía⁵⁸ also returned from Navarre to Rome.⁵⁹ Diego, whom Favre used simply to call "the saintly Don Diego," was most successful in consoling those who were tempted in their vocation. To all their objections and difficulties he would only answer with imperturbable calm: "Bueno va, bueno va esso" ("Good, it is good"). Pride was foreign to him. "If anyone is of the opinion that he is good for something," he used to say, "he is good for little; and if anyone is of the opinion that he is good for much, he is good for nothing." In his humility he placed all his hopes in the merits of his confreres. "No one will accept a broken or damaged coin in payment for something," he used to say, "but if you pay a thousand *cruzados* to a wholesaler, he will allow such a coin to pass with the others. In the same way I hope that I shall be allowed to slip through with the other members of the Society." Without hesitancy Don Diego spoke of God and spiritual things with

⁴⁹ See his letter of April 1, 1545, to his friends and confreres in Barcelona (*Ep. Mixtae* I 205-209). It is a blazing fire from beginning to end.

⁵⁰ FN I 241.

⁵¹ On Ferrão see Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 616-617; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 210-212; and Schurhammer, "Die Anfänge des römischen Archivs" 100-102. He continued his studies in Paris and went from there by way of Louvain to Lisbon, where he was in October, 1543. In 1544 he returned to Rome and took his final vows in 1545. He was then secretary of the Society until March, 1547, and died there on October 30, 1548 (Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 616).

⁵² Camara says: "Tudo o que delle aqui digo soube por via muito certa" (n. 126).

⁵³ This follows from his *vow formula of 1539 (ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 56, 248-v) and from *Ep. Mixtae* I 87.

⁵⁴ According to his *vow formula of 1545 (ARSI: *Ital.* 58, 364-365v).

⁵⁵ According to Camara (n. 126).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 117.

⁵⁷ See his *vow formulas of 1539 and 1545 (ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 65, 248-248v; *Ital.* 58, 364-365v).

⁵⁸ On them, see above, pp. 302-303.

⁵⁹ That Diego was already back in Rome at the end of 1538 is indicated by his dispensation from the breviary of January 2, 1539. That Esteban came with him in 1538 is shown by the letters of Strada and Araoz, who after departure from Rome always greet the two together with the rest of the companions in their letters as old acquaintances (*Ep. Mixtae* I 30-35). In November, 1539, Strada received a letter of Esteban from Rome (*ibid.* 41). Catalina de Badajoz, who had taken her leave from Ignatius in Rome in November, 1537, and who had been in Naples for seventeen months, greets the two Eguía in her letter of March 23, 1539. She had obviously met the two in Rome in 1536, before their pilgrimage to the Holy Land (*ibid.* 18).

strangers whom he met on the road, in inns, and anywhere else.⁶⁰ Because of his weak eyes it was difficult for him, as it was for Ignatius, to recite the breviary. The two of them therefore had to obtain a dispensation from the pope, which he readily granted by word of mouth. His almoner, Francesco Vannuzio, canon of the basilica of Santa Maria in Fonte Olei in Trastevere, drew up the pertinent document for them on January 2, 1539. This stated that they had both endured such great and constant pains and sicknesses in the service of Christ that they could only finish the Office with great difficulty and at the expense of a great amount of time—Iñigo because of his physical weakness and especially the pains in his stomach, and Diego because of his poor eyes. His Holiness had therefore granted them *vivae vocis oraculo* permission to recite the shorter new breviary, that of Quiñone, or, if physical weakness or spiritual weariness prevented this or they thought it better, to recite other oral prayers, to hear confessions, to preach, or to perform other pious works as a substitute for it.⁶¹

Francisco de Strada joined the companions at the vineyard of Quirino Garzonio at the beginning of 1538. In 1539 his brother Antonio followed his example.⁶² He helped Ignatius as a secretary in writing letters,⁶³ since he possessed neither the robust good health⁶⁴ nor the fiery eloquence of his brother.⁶⁵

In the beginning of 1539 the small Society received a further increase in the Palazzo Frangipani in the person of Diego de Cáceres. He had been on intimate terms with Iñigo in Paris⁶⁶ in 1535, but when the companions had left that city in November, 1536, he had remained there to complete his studies.⁶⁷ He brought with him a letter from Lorenzo García, who had fled from Rome at the outbreak of the persecution, addressed as follows: "Jhs. To my brother in Christ our Lord, Don Ignigo de Hoiola in Rome." He wrote that he had received an answer from Ignatius that had come by two different routes to an earlier letter that he had written from Barcelona. He had originally intended to go only to Montpellier from Barcelona,⁶⁸ but he had, as it were, been forced to come to Paris. After three months he wanted to go with Master Esteban to the diocese⁶⁹ of Master

⁶⁰ FN I 657.

⁶¹ *MI Scripta* I 552-553.

⁶² Antonio de Strada studied in Paris from 1541 to 1542. He had been uncertain about his vocation from 1539 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 29). He returned to Rome in 1543, left the house there "hospite insalutato," and was dismissed in 1548. He was said to have taken a wife in Bologna. He was a priest at the time, but no "letrado" (*MI Epp.* II 250). The rumor of his marriage seems to have been without foundation, for Polanco still wrote on July 12, 1550, to Araoz that if Antonio de Strada came to Rome, Ignatius would submit himself to Araoz' judgment, to that of Father Borgia, and to that of his own brother, Francisco de Strada, if the latter was willing to be a judge (*MI Epp.* III 116-117). But then we hear nothing more about him. On him see Schurhammer, "Die Anfänge" 93-94.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ep. Mixtae* I 29 91.

⁶⁵ In 1548 Polanco wrote about him: "Quanto a Antonio de Strada, que a Nuestro Padre, todo mirado, no le pareze tenga partes para la Compañía, ninguna, sino ser hermano de Francisco de Strada" (*MI Epp.* II 250).

⁶⁶ On him see above, p. 240, n. 141.

⁶⁷ FN II 180-181.

⁶⁸ In 1536 Ignatius wrote to his friend Cazador in Barcelona that the news that the latter's three nephews had left Manble [Montpellier] had not disturbed him very much, and that he had written to his friends in Paris to visit them in his name (*MI Epp.* I 94). Montpellier had faculties of law and medicine and the three nephews had obviously gone to Paris to study.

⁶⁹ Oloron (Béarn), where Roussel had been bishop since 1536.

Gérard,⁷⁰ since heresy was causing much harm there. He therefore asked Iñigo's advice. He also asked him to write about what he had in mind for the companions, for he could not go to anywhere except where they went. He then added:

I now realize that you were a true prophet with respect to what you told me in the grotto of the vineyard of Misser Garzonio, namely, that I would always be restless. This is exactly what has happened. May God forgive him who encouraged me to flee. I hope in my Lord Jesus Christ that this will be to my advantage in that I shall hereafter realize how strong and clever the devil is. Once again I entreat you to do me the favor of sending me news, if possible before Cáceres returns, if you are going to remain there long, what you have in mind for your companions, and where I can find you. And since I am no good for anything else, I shall beg you to accept me as a cook. And I close, asking God our Lord to preserve and increase the life and honor of Your Grace and of all your companions in His holy service. From Paris, February 1, 1539, From one, my Lord, who is ready to do all that you command if it is in my power. Lorens Gartía.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Roussel, the heretical protégé of the sister of Francis I.

⁷¹ *Ep. Mixtae* I 15-16.

CHAPTER II

THE PLAN OF THE INSTITUTE (MARCH—JUNE, 1539)¹

1. THE MISSION TO SIENA (MARCH, 1539)²

When the Parisian masters had placed themselves at the disposal of the pope in November, 1538, the latter had expressed the wish that they should for the time being remain in Rome and work there;³ and this had also remained his desire when requests came for them for the East and West Indies and from various prelates who wanted to have them for their territories.⁴ But the different demands could not in the long run be turned aside. The fruit produced by Broët and Salmerón had not been forgotten in Siena, and the Confraternity of St. James had already on June 27, 1538, expressed an ardent desire to see them again within the walls of the city.⁵ A number of the nobility⁶ finally joined the archbishop Francesco Bandini, the renowned Dominican Fra Ambrogio Caterino,⁷ and Lattanzio Tolomei, the ambassador of the republic to the Holy See,⁸ in presenting a request to Paul III. They obtained the support of a cardinal⁹ and did not give up until the pope at last, wearied by their long insistence,¹⁰ on March 19, 1539, through Cardinal Gian Pier Carafa commissioned Broët and one of the companions to be chosen to assist him with the reform of the convent of the Benedictine nuns of San Prospero e Sant'Agnese in Siena.¹¹ This was a task which had been previously attempted by the archbishop and Fra Ambrogio without success,¹² even though the abbess was the friar's own sister.¹³

¹ The sources for the consultations and the *Summa Instituti* have been published in the new edition of the *Constitutions* in MHSI: MI *Const.* I 1-21, cf. XXXIV-XLVI CCV-CCVIII and EX I 14-18. In addition to these there are the observations of Rodrigues 508-509, Bobadilla 616-617, Laynez (FN I 128; II 132-133), Polanco (*ibid.* I 204-206; II 592-594 and *Chronicon* I 79), and Nadal (FN II 10 92-93 144 169 173 264), and the accounts in Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 171-182 267-274 and Böhmer 238-248.

² See Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 196-197.

³ Bobadilla 16.

⁴ FN I 11.

⁵ See above, pp. 428-429.

⁶ Bobadilla 16; Rodrigues 510.

⁷ Rodrigues 509-510.

⁸ *Ep. Broëti* 201-203.

⁹ Bobadilla 16.

¹⁰ "Esto se impetró al fin con gran dificultad" (*ibid.*).

¹¹ *Ep. Broëti* 201-203. "Mandato del papa a pascasio para yr a sena," Ignatius wrote on the document.

¹² Rodrigues 510.

¹³ Rodrigues 510; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 198.

2. THE DELIBERATIONS (MARCH, 1539)¹⁴

It was fairly obvious that the pope would soon yield to the requests of other prelates. The question therefore arose as to whether or not the association of Montmartre should be dissolved, or whether the companions, even if they were separated in body, should remain united within the bonds of a fixed Society,¹⁵ and if the latter seemed best, then whether in addition to the two vows of poverty and chastity, which had already been pronounced, a third also should be taken of perpetual obedience. As long as their house had been filled with the destitute and they themselves had been wholly occupied with their care, they had had no time for such considerations. But now that the Palazzo Frangipani was free and the shoulders of the companions had been partially unburdened, they had leisure to reflect upon the form they should adopt for the future,¹⁶ especially since they had acquired a certain amount of experience in the apostolate through their labors in Rome and in other Italian cities. Such planning was all the more necessary because the priests had widely different opinions about what they should do in the future. This was in itself not surprising since they had been brought together "from many different nations"—from France, Spain, Savoy, the Basque country, and Portugal.¹⁷

They therefore decided to devote the coming weeks of Lent and of the Easter season to deliberations on the choice of their way of life. A fixed point for discussion and decision should be chosen for each evening. During the day each one, without interrupting his usual work should at times recommend to God the question to be discussed in prayer, meditation, and at Mass; and they should put together the reasons for and against it so that it could be discussed in the evening sessions; and when a point had been sufficiently considered, the solution should be adopted which was unanimously approved by all.¹⁸

¹⁴ For the following, the main source for the principal account drawn up after the conclusion of the deliberations is the *Deliberatio primorum Patrum*, as it is called by Sotuellus. It is contained in *Const.* I 1-7 (cf. XXXV-XL). La Torre, *Constitutiones* (Matriti, [1892] 297, and Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 189 (ed. 1) and 173 (ed. 2, text), erroneously give Codure as its scribe. The editors of MHSI (*Const.* I, XXXVIII) and Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 173, n. 4, maintain that the scribe is unknown. In reality it was written by Antonio de Strada, as a closer investigation of its handwriting indicates (Schurhammer, "Die Anfänge" 93-94; see his writing in AHSI 1 [1932] 100). Laynez 128, Bobadilla 617, Polanco (FN I 205; II 593-594; *Chronicon* I 79) and Ribadeneyra (*Vita Ignatii* 2, 13) mistakenly place the consultations in the year 1538. Ignatius wrote on Strada's manuscript: "En tres meses. El modo de ordenarse la Compañía." Ferrão adds in darker ink: "1539" and "Para dar obediencia a uno della." According to Rodrigues the consultations lasted, "si recte memini, per menses tres" (508), according to Strada, "tres fere menses, a medio quadragesime usque ad festum Joannis Baptiste inclusive" (*Const.* I 7). They therefore began about the middle of March.

¹⁵ Tacchi Venturi (II, 1, 182-194) has gathered all the sources on the question as to whether or not Ignatius and his companions had thought about founding an order before this; see above, p. 211, n. 154.

¹⁶ "Iam tempus opportunum et tranquillum nacti socii" (Rodrigues 508).

¹⁷ "Viéndose de tan diversas naciones juntados," Polanco writes (FN I 205; II 593). "Quod cum pluries fecissemus, alique ex nobis essent galli, alii hispani, alii sabaudi, alii cantabrii," according to the protocol (*Const.* I 2).

¹⁸ *Const.* I 3-4; cf. Polanco (FN I 205; II 593) and Nadal, who adds that it seemed good to the companions, "ut adhibito omni studio, orationibus, ieiuniis, missis, consultationibus, inquirerent de ratione sui instituti" (*ibid.* II 92-93).

3. THE FIRST NIGHT (MARCH, 1539)

The first night everything went well. The question up for debate was the following:

Since we have offered and dedicated ourselves and our lives to Christ, our Lord, and to His true and legitimate vicar on earth, so that he may dispose of us and send us wherever he believes that we can produce more fruit, whether this be among the Indians, or heretics, or any others, whether believers or nonbelievers, would it be better for us to be so united and bound together in one body that no physical separation, no matter how great, could divide us; or would this perhaps not be best? To illustrate this by an example, we can see how the supreme pontiff is sending two of us to Siena. Should we have a regard for those who are going there, and they for us, and this be mutually understood; or should we perhaps have no more regard for them than for those who are outside the Society?

The decision was made in favor of the first alternative. It ran as follows:

Since the most clement and loving Lord has deigned to bring us together and unite us with one another, weak as we are and born as we were in different countries and with different customs, we should not dissolve this union and congregation that has been brought about by God but rather continually strengthen and confirm it by uniting ourselves into a single body, so that each of us has a regard and understanding for the others and thus we all labor more effectively for souls, since virtue itself has greater strength and endurance in the carrying out of any good and difficult task whatever when it is united and is not divided up into separate parts. And in all this which has been said or will be said, we wish it to be understood that we assert nothing at all in our own spirit and person, but only what the Lord will have inspired and what the Apostolic See will have approved and confirmed.¹⁹

4. THE VOW OF OBEDIENCE (APRIL 15, 1539)

After the first point had been unanimously agreed upon, a second was discussed on the following evening:

Since we all made a vow of perpetual chastity and a vow of poverty into the hands of the most reverend legate of His Holiness when we were living in Venice, would it be better to pronounce a third vow, namely, that of obeying one of our number so that we might be able to fulfill the will of God our Lord in all things with more sincerity and with greater praise and merit, and at the same time carry out as well the free will and command of His Holiness, to whom we have most freely offered everything that we have, our will, intellect, abilities, and so forth?

On this point the companions were divided. Even though they prayed for light through many successive days, they were unable to make any progress. They therefore began to consider the means they might take to resolve their doubt. A number of suggestions were made.

They first posed the following alternatives: Should they all, or three or four of them in the name of the rest, withdraw to a hermitage for thirty or forty

¹⁹ *Const.* I 3-4; cf. Bobadilla 616-617; Laynez 128; Polanco (FN I 205; II 593) and Nadal (FN II 92-93 144 169 264).

days to obtain divine light through prayer, fasting, and penance? Or should they remain in Rome and spend half of the day in prayer, meditation, and reflection, and devote the rest of their time to their usual labors of teaching and hearing confessions?

After mature deliberation, they decided to remain in the city for the following reasons: They would avoid giving offense to the people, who would say that they had fled from the city or were thinking about a new mode of life because of their inconstancy. They would also be able to continue their very fruitful labors in hearing confessions, preaching, and other spiritual works. For even if their numbers were increased fourfold, they would not be able to satisfy all the demands made upon them.

Instead, they would make use of the three means proposed in the Exercises for making a choice of a state of life to obtain a solution to this question. First, even if both courses of action would give equal honor to God, they should still strive to find peace and happiness in obedience. Second, they should each seek for a solution for himself alone without consulting others. Third, they should make their decision as if they were making it for another congregation.²⁰

During the discussions which followed they adhered closely to the old and reliable method of St. Thomas' *Summa*. They first set forth and debated in strict scholastic form the reasons against the suggestion and then on the following day the reasons for it, using the familiar *videtur quod* and so forth.

Thus, on the first evening the reasons against the vow of obedience were set forth. "It seems to me (*videtur quod*)," one objected, "that because of our own fault the expression 'religious life,' or 'obedience' (*nomen religionis seu obedientiae*) no longer rings true, as it should among Christians." A second then raised another objection: "If we decide on obedience, the pope may perhaps compel us to join some already existing order, and this could destroy all of our plans." A third then argued: "If we praise obedience, this could deter many from entering, when there is still so great a harvest and the laborers are so few." And similar objections continued to be raised.

On the following evening the reasons for the vow of obedience were set forth and discussed. One indicated the absurd consequences which the lack of such a vow would entail: Orderly work would be impossible. Because of a lack of authority, each one would shove his task off on another, as had frequently happened before; and a congregation without obedience could not last for long. A second presented some positive reasons: Obedience produces heroic acts and virtues of an enduring kind. A person under obedience is most ready to do what he is commanded, whether this is something that is very difficult or something that would be a cause of shame and ridicule, for example, to go, if so ordered, through the streets and squares half-naked or comically dressed; for obedience helps one to overcome one's own will and judgment and is the best means for destroying the opposite vices of pride and arrogance.

St. Thomas' method proved to be effective. After discussing the problem through Holy Week and the days after Easter, they unanimously decided that it would be better and even obligatory for them to submit themselves to the rule of one of their members. Through obedience they would be able to carry out more perfectly their desire of fulfilling the will of God in all things; the Society

²⁰ See MI: *Exercitia* 362 370-372 384-386.

would be better preserved; and fitting provisions could be made for their temporal and spiritual needs.²¹

On April 15, during the second week after Easter, they brought the first stage of their discussions to a close with a solemn ceremony. They all made a general confession and on the appointed day assisted at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. This was offered by Master Favre, who was, practically speaking, the confessor of them all. Just before the Communion he asked the companions in a group, and then each one individually, if they wished to be united together and form a common Society if this should please God and the Holy Father, and if they wished to join the Society. They all declared that they did and then received the Body of their Lord.²² After Mass they all signed a document which had been written by one of the companions.²³ It ran as follows:

I, the undersigned, confess in the presence of Almighty God, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of the whole court of heaven that, having commended the matter to God in prayer and having given it mature thought, I have of my own will and judgment deemed it more expedient to God's praise and to the permanence of the Society that there should be a vow of obedience in it; and I have deliberately offered myself, but without a vow or any obligation, to enter the same Society if, with the Lord's approval, it should be confirmed by the pope; and as a reminder of this resolve (which I recognize as a gift of God), I now, although most unworthy, with this same resolve approach to receive Holy Communion. Tuesday, April 15, 1539.²⁴

Then followed the signatures:²⁵ "Caçres," with his flourish in the form of an R at the beginning and end;²⁶ "Johannes Coduri," in his calm, regular hand

²¹ *Const.* I 4-7. According to Strada the discussions on the vow of obedience lasted for many days (*ibid.* 7). Bobadilla reports that the pope (at the end of November, 1538) asked the companions: "Why are you so eager to go to Jerusalem? Italy is a good and true Jerusalem if you want to produce fruit in the Church of God," and he adds: "Hac occasione supradictorum verborum inceperunt omnes simul tractare de unione in unum corpus et de religione instituenda; et fuit consultum et resolutum, quod singuli socii intrarent cubicula sua per quindecim dies ad orandum Deum, ut aperiret illis suam sanctam voluntatem, praemissa confessione generali; et in fine quindecim dierum, communicando in fine missae . . . omnes reperti sunt eiusdem animi" (616-617). Nadal states that the companions deliberated as to whether or not they should found an order with vows, "teniendo nuestro Padre M. Ignacio muchas significaciones interiores para esto" (FN II 144).

²² Bobadilla 617.

²³ The original is lost. According to Bobadilla, who however may be confusing this document with the *Summa Instituti*, it was given to the pope (617). With respect to it and the extant copies, see EX I 14-17.

²⁴ The text is edited in EX I 17-18 and *Const.* I 8 (see pages XLII-XLVI).

²⁵ The signatures in the extant copies 1-2 are at times imitated quite accurately and at other times imperfectly. In copy 2 (ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 98, 7-v) Xavier's signature is very poorly imitated. A facsimile of the signature is given in the "monumenta" in *Const.* I on a plate opposite p. XLII (towards the top). In copy 1 (in Lyons) Xavier's name has been cut out; a facsimile of the document is found in *Les Missions Catholiques* (Lyon, 1882) 571, and with Xavier's name added from copy 2 in Bartoli-Michel, *Histoire de Saint Ignace de Loyola* (Lille, 1893) 212. In order to reconstruct the exact form of the signatures in our document (*mon.* 2 in *Const.* I, opposite p. XLII), we compared it with the signatures in *mon.* 3 (May 23, 1539, *ibid.*), 6 (March 4, 1540, *ibid.*, opposite p. LXI), 9 (1541 in ARSI: *Inst. 1a*, ff. 9 10v), 12 (April 22, 1541, ARSI: *Hist. Soc. 1a*, f. 14v), and 14 (May 14, 1541, ARSI: *Inst. 1a*, f. 27). J. J. de la Torre has several false readings in the signature of *mon.* 3 in *Constitutiones* (Matriti, 1892) 301 (see Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 180, n. 1a).

²⁶ Cf. *mon.* 3. La Torre believes that the left flourish is an R.

with a flourish at the end;²⁷ "Layneze," carefully traced in his slow and deliberate hand with a verticle stroke before and after;²⁸ "Salmeron," plain and simple but enclosed within two loops;²⁹ "Bobadilla," strong, energetic, and impulsive, and surrounded by a complicated flourish which, drawn double at the beginning, resembles a *G* and a *J*;³⁰ "Paschasius Broet," with an unusually large *P*;³¹ "Petrus Faber," in his calm, elegant hand with a stroke before and after, and a complicated double flourish under, his name;³² "Franciscus," simple and energetic, with the three verticle and horizontal strokes crossing each other at the beginning and at the end³³ which Xavier had taken over from his mother;³⁴ "Ygnatius," in his neat hand with a long verticle loop before and after his name;³⁵ "Symon Rodorici," with even strokes boldly underlined;³⁶ and "Claudius Jaius," with the family name under the baptismal name and flourish at the end.³⁷ The other companions who had joined the Society in Italy did not sign the document for they were not "Parisian masters," and it would have been rash to receive them formally before the ratification of the Society by ecclesiastical authority.³⁸

5. THE ELEVEN POINTS (MAY 3, 1539)

On April 13 Lattanzio Tolomei had written at the foot of Cardinal Carafa's document of March 19: "I, Lactantius Ptolomeus, vicar of the bishop for the aformentioned monastery, permit and allow you, Don Paschasius, to bring the

²⁷ In the few extant official documents for Codure (three from Paris, fourteen from Italy) his name is always written *Coduri*. In the two copies of our document, that of Lyons has after the name a stroke in the form of a long *j* bending to the right. The other has a similar stroke in the form of a long *z*. We compared these with seven original signatures of Codure to be found in *mon.* 3 6 9 12 14 and ARSI: *Hist. Soc. Ia*, f. 25 (his vote at the general election of March 5, 1540). *Mon.* 12 resembles the Lyons signature. In all the others a flourish of two or three strokes follows, but separated from the name *Codur* itself: a long drawn out stroke in the form of a *j* (but different from the *i* or *j* with which Codure was accustomed to close words in his text) turned to the left (*mon.* 14 9a 3) or the right (*mon.* 6 9b and vote). It is followed by his own peculiar flourish, which is simple in *mon.* 14 but complicated in the others. Its lower loop is crossed on the right by a double stroke in the form of an *N* in *mon.* 9ab. Since the flourish is for the most part sharply separated from the name (cf. *Const.* I, p. XLII, center), the *j* seems to be a part of the flourish, but it is still probably the end of the name itself, which was later changed to *Codure*.

²⁸ See *mon.* 3 9 12 14.

²⁹ Cf. *mon.* 3 5 9 12 14.

³⁰ See Bobadilla 689.

³¹ The copies of our document have *Broet* (copies 3-4) and *Brouet* (copies 1-2), the original signatures always *Broet*, e.g., *mon.* 9 12 14.

³² See the two original signatures in *Const.* I, p. XLII (center and lower portions). On the left of the flourish is a *P*, on the right an *f*, the initials of *Petrus faber*. La Torre regards this *P* as an abbreviation of Broët's first name, Paschasius, in *mon.* 3.

³³ Cf. *mon.* 6 (*Const.* I, p. LXI) and MX I 200.

³⁴ Facsimile in Cros, *Doc.* I 163.

³⁵ Ignatius signs his name *Ygnatius* in *mon.* 12 (contrary to *Const.* I 68) and 14, *Ynigo* in *mon.* 3 6 9. The *Y* is contained here in the left flourish and is thus easily overlooked.

³⁶ Cf. *mon.* 6.

³⁷ The baptismal name in the abbreviated form *Cdius* stands above the family name in *mon.* 3 6 9 12; in *mon.* 14 they are next to each other and written out *Claudius Jaius*. La Torre mistakenly regards the flourish on the right of his name in *mon.* 3 for the initials of *Bobadilla*.

³⁸ FN I 13.

forementioned monastery back to its rule and to reform it and carry out freely all that the pope will order you to do. In proof of this, I sign this document with my own hand. Rome, April 13, 1539. The same Lactantius Ptolomeus, *manu propria*." He had also affixed his seal to document.³⁹ Soon after the ceremony of April 15, Broët therefore set out with Rodrigues and Francisco de Strada for Siena.⁴⁰

After the two main questions with respect to the foundation of a lasting Society and the vow of obedience had been settled, the discussions progressed rapidly. On May 3, the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross,⁴¹ the nine companions⁴² left behind agreed upon a number of points without any opposition. These were ratified on the following Sunday, May 4.

1. Everyone who has the necessary ability at his entrance into the Society must place in the hands of the general of the whole Society a personal vow of obedience in which he declares himself ready to go to any land whatever either of Christians or infidels.

2. Even those who are less endowed must vow that they will obey the pope if he should send them to infidels, even if they could do no more than say that Christ is the Savior; and if he should send them among the Christians that they will at least publicly or privately teach the Our Father, the Commandments, and so forth, according to the mandate of their superior or of the pope himself.

3. They must teach children and all others the Commandments.

4. They must spend a fixed amount of time in teaching the Commandments and the rudiments of the faith in a definite order and fashion.

5. They should spend each year forty days in teaching these basic truths. In these forty days will be included the Sundays and feast days which happen to occur, but on these Sundays and feast days they will not have to teach the Commandments.

6. It must be left up to the judgment of the superior of the Society to decide whether one coming to a place should teach the Commandments or preach or do something else.

7. If anyone desires to go to one country rather than to another among Christians or infidels, he must not have recourse for this directly or indirectly to the pope, but he should communicate his desire to the superior of the Society so that he may decide.

8. The instruction of children should last for about the space of an hour.

9. Those who are to be admitted should, before they begin their year of novitiate, spend three months making the Spiritual Exercises, in going on a pilgrimage, and in serving the poor in hospitals or elsewhere.⁴³ How much time is to be spent on each of these experiments is to be decided by the superior of the Society or by the Society itself. A candidate must, moreover, forsake all worldly goods before his entrance.

10. In exceptional instances, for example, in the case of a distinguished candidate who has powerful parents or friends, the superior can dispense from the pilgrimage or from the service in a hospital where these might endanger his vocation.

11. If one shall inform the superior or the whole Society of his desire to go to the lands of the infidels and the pope leaves the decision up to them, then such a one must be exercised for ten days in spiritual matters aimed at finding out from what spirit his desire comes. He should then be sent if this will seem good to the superior or to the Society.⁴⁴

³⁹ *Ep. Broëti* 203.

⁴⁰ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 197, n. 5; Polanco, *Chron.* I 81; *Ep. Mixtae* I 22.

⁴¹ The text of the original has erroneously: "Die quarta" (*Const.* I 9).

⁴² Favre writes: "Conclusa fuerunt ab omnibus ex octo" (*ibid.*) because Cáceres did not belong to the first ten.

⁴³ Cf. Laynez 128, Nadal (FN II 93) and Polanco (*ibid.* I 206; II 594) and for the pilgrimage FN I 609-610.

⁴⁴ *Const.* I 9-12, written by Favre.

6. THE OPPOSITION OF BOBADILLA (MAY 23, 1539)⁴⁵

Up to this point all the decisions had been made unanimously. But when on May 23, the Friday before Pentecost, an article was proposed to the effect that each year they should all have to instruct children for forty days in the basic truths of the faith and that this instruction should last for an hour and should be obligatory under the pain of serious sin like that of the other vows of obedience to the superior and to the pope, and like that of the prohibition of going directly to the latter if one wanted to be sent on a mission, Bobadilla raised an objection. The article was nevertheless adopted,⁴⁶ and it was further decided that in the future the opinion of the majority and not a unanimous vote should decide the matters up for debate.⁴⁷ On important issues, however, the final vote should not take place until the third following day. This decision was signed by seven of the companions present: Favre, Jay, Codure, Salmerón, Iñigo, Cáceres, and Laynez.⁴⁸ Xavier did not sign, probably because of sickness;⁴⁹ and Bobadilla refused to do so in protest.⁵⁰

7. THE LAST SESSIONS (MAY 24, 1539—JUNE 24, 1539)

Bobadilla took no further part in the remaining deliberations.⁵¹ A long and serious illness, from which he only began to recover at the beginning of July, had confined him to his bed.⁵² On June 11 three further details were adopted:

1. The Society should have a single superior, who will be elected for life.
2. The Society can take over houses or churches for its own use, but the right of ownership must remain with those who have furnished these buildings for it to use, so that they can at any time they want take them back again.
3. In the reception and dismissal of novices the superior will be bound to obtain the opinions of some individuals or of the Society, and he will then decide himself what is to be done after he has commended the matter to God. But in three cases the superior will not have the right to determine, nor have any voice in the matter: (1) when the candidate is related to him by blood or marriage; (2) when he comes from the same place or from a place so close that there could be a suspicion that the superior would be influenced by this proximity; (3) when he is a spiritual son of the superior, either because he has been given the Spiritual Exercises by him, or because he has been his penitent. In these three cases the decision will be up to the majority of the Society or of the house.⁵³

In later discussions Laynez asked if it would not be advisable to found university colleges for the education of the coming generation of the order like

⁴⁵ See *Const.* I 12 and p. LI, n. 15, and also Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 179-180.

⁴⁶ Contrary to Van Nieuwenhoff, *Leben des hl. Ignatius* 1 (Regensburg, 1901) 485.

⁴⁷ Nadal errs when he states (II 52) that it was decided that anyone who spoke against it in the future would lose the right to speak; cf. *Const.* I, p. LI, n. 15, and FN II 99, n. 138. Böhmer 242 follows Nadal.

⁴⁸ La Torre erroneously adds the names *Paschasius* and *Bobadilla* to the signatures (*Torre* 301).

⁴⁹ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 197 supposes this. La Torre wrongly believes that Xavier had been sent to Siena and was therefore missing (*Torre* 300); cf. *Const.* I, pp. XLIX-L.

⁵⁰ *Const.* I, p. XLIX.

⁵¹ Nadal (FN II 98-99).

⁵² Bobadilla 15-16.

⁵³ *Const.* I 12-14.

those in Paris. It was suggested as an objection to this that such foundations could be opposed to poverty.⁵⁴ A solution however was found: Such houses could have fixed revenues and their inmates should take a vow that they would enter the Society after the completion of their studies.⁵⁵ In further sessions it was decided that the Society should forgo prayers in choir,⁵⁶ solemn church music,⁵⁷ a special habit,⁵⁸ and prescribed fasts and penances⁵⁹ in order to be able to pursue its apostolic works unhindered.

A further point was adopted by all without discussion. Iñigo declared that he thought their foundation should bear the name "Society of Jesus," as had already been decided in Vicenza, if the rest agreed to it; and they all agreed.⁶⁰ The vision at La Storia had strengthened Ignatius in the choice of this name, and the others knew that he considered it to be a matter of great importance. Then, too, they had reason to believe that he had been enlightened by God in this as in many other matters.⁶¹

8. THE END OF THE DELIBERATIONS (JUNE 24, 1539)

Meanwhile the time had come when two more of the companions had to leave Rome. On April 21, Paul III had named the cardinal of Sant'Angelo, Ennio Filonardi, as cardinal legate for the territory of Parma and Piacenza, which since 1512 had belonged to the Papal States.⁶² The learned and zealous prelate wanted to have two of the *preti riformati* accompany him so that they might preach and dispute with the heretics in that area. These had caused much harm,⁶³ and the legate tried every means he could to overcome the opposition of the pope. When a prominent colleague likewise interceded for him, Paul III finally yielded and left it up to the priests themselves to choose two from their midst who might

⁵⁴ FN I 610; cf. Laynez 128; Nadal (FN II 93); Polanco (*ibid.* I 206; II 594).

⁵⁵ *Const.* I 19 and pp. CCV-CCVI.

⁵⁶ FN I 609; *Const.* I 19.

⁵⁷ *Const.* I 19.

⁵⁸ FN I 609; *Const.* I 20.

⁵⁹ *Const.* I 10. Nadal: "Primero resolvieron que era bien que se hiciese congregación y religión . . . y después los otros puntos de uno en uno, contenidos en la primera bula" (FN II 169); Polanco: "Trataron los otros puntos que se contienen en la primera bula de la erección y constituciones viejas, como de la pobreza, probaciones, colegios y otras cosas" (FN I 206; cf. II 594).

⁶⁰ Laynez places the proposal at the end of the consultation (FN II 133). See also Ribadeneyra (*ibid.* 377) and Nadal (*ibid.* 10).

⁶¹ Polanco (FN I 204; II 310-311 595-597), Nadal (*ibid.* II 169) and the *Acta Sanctorum*, VII Julii, 472-473, nn. 333-334. The data on this are arranged chronologically: 1548 Polanco (FN I 203-204), 1554 Nadal (*ibid.* 313-314), 1557 Nadal (*ibid.* II 10), Luis de Estrada, O.Cist. (*ibid.* 27), 1559 Laynez (*ibid.* 133), 1561 Nadal (*ibid.* 158-159), 1566 Nadal (*ibid.* I 321), Ribadeneyra (*ibid.* II 377), 1572 Ribadeneyra (*Vita Ignatii* 2, 11), and about 1573 Canisius (Braunsberger VII 258). See also the comparison of the texts in Huonder, *Ignatius* 70-72. When Ignatius was asked why he did not give the Society another name, he replied: "Only God can change this name" (Nadal, FN I 313-314). When Gonçalves da Camara questioned the founder of the order in 1555 about the reasons for his attitude towards habit, prayers in choir, and pilgrimages, he answered him and then gave as the ultimate reason for all his vision of the Trinity on the bank of the Cardoner near the chapel of St. Paul in Manresa (FN I 609-610); see Hugo Rahner, S.J., *Ignatius von Loyola und das geschichtliche Werden seiner Frömmigkeit* (Graz, 1947) 94-108.

⁶² Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 220.

⁶³ *MI Epp.* I 153.

be put at the disposal of Filonardi for some time.⁶⁴ Their choice fell upon Laynez and Favre.⁶⁵ The latter left behind his record of the discussions held in May and June,⁶⁶ and on the afternoon of June 20 he and his companion left Rome with the cardinal legate.⁶⁷

Four days later, on June 24, the feast of St. John the Baptist, the discussions were brought to a peaceful and harmonious close. "These conclusions were reached only at the cost of many vigils, prayers, and efforts of mind and body," as is noted in the conclusion of the Latin account of the discussions conducted during the previous three months.⁶⁸

On the same day Codure left the Eternal City in order to preach in Velletri for three months. This town lay twenty-six miles southeast of Rome in the Volscian Mountains. The cardinal of Trani, Gian Domenico de Cupis, who was in charge of the diocese, and who had been a great benefactor of the Society since the time of its persecution had secured him from the pope.⁶⁹ Bobadilla was wanted back in Ferrara. Letters had come urging him in the name of the duke to return and reap the harvest which he had sown during his first stay there with Jay. But he had been detained in Rome by sickness, as he wrote on July 4 to Ercole. Moreover, another noble, Asconio Colonna, the brother of the renowned Vittoria Colonna and duke of Paliano and Tagliacozzo, was making efforts to obtain him for an important mission in Naples.⁷⁰

9. THE FIVE CHAPTERS (END OF JUNE, 1539)⁷¹

At the request of the companions⁷² Ignatius now put together a *Summa Instituti* in five chapters.⁷³ It was based on the results of the three months of discussion and ran as follows:

1. Whoever will wish to engage in military service for God under the standard of the cross, and to serve the Lord alone and His vicar on earth in our Society, which we wish to be designated by the name of Jesus, after making a solemn profession of perpetual chastity, should recall the fact that he is a member of a community which has been founded for this particular purpose, that it should have a special care for

⁶⁴ Bobadilla 16.

⁶⁵ *MI Epp.* I 153; Laynez 128.

⁶⁶ *Const.* I 9-14. Ignatius entitled them *Determinationes Societatis*, a Parisian school expression, where the *determinationes* belonged to the usual course of study in philosophy.

⁶⁷ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 220-221 and I, 2, 194-195 (contrary to II, 1, 180, n. 2). Favre erroneously writes that the trip was in May (42); Polanco writes that it was at the end of autumn (*Chron.* I 82).

⁶⁸ *Const.* I 7.

⁶⁹ *Ep. Broëti* 416-417.

⁷⁰ Bobadilla 15-16.

⁷¹ The text, preserved in the minutes of Cardinal Contarini, is given in *Const.* I 14-21 and a German translation in Böhmer 242-246. The text together with that of the bull *Regimini militantis* is given by Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 180-192. See on this, *Const.* I, pp. CCV-CCVIII; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 267-274; and Böhmer 246-248.

⁷² "Per consenso de tutti pigliò il P. Ignatio l'assunto di far la formula del viver della Compagnia" (Nala in FN II 173).

⁷³ The scribe for the two extant texts is the same as the one who wrote out the Spanish text of the Exercises to which Ignatius added many notes in his own hand. It was apparently Ribadeneyra (see below). The main author of the text was Ignatius (*Const.* I, pp. CCVI-CCVII). Nadal calls the five chapters a *Summa Instituti* (FN II 265).

the spreading of the faith through the ministry of the word, spiritual exercises, and works of charity, and specifically through the instruction of children and the illiterate in the truths of Christianity;⁷⁴ and he should first of all have God always before his eyes and then the plan of this his institute, which is a kind of way to Him, and he should strive with all his strength to attain this end proposed to him by God; but each one should do this according to the grace given to him by the Holy Spirit and according to the particular grade of his vocation, lest anyone should perhaps be zealous but not according to knowledge.⁷⁵ The decision about the grade of each one and the determination and distribution of offices should be in the hand of the general or prelate to be elected by us so that the proper order necessary in every well-founded community may be preserved. And this general in accordance with the advice of the brethren should have the authority to draw up constitutions leading to the attainment of the end proposed to us in a council, the majority of votes always having the right to establish law. For more serious and lasting matters, the council should be understood as the majority of the whole Society which can be conveniently convoked by the general.⁷⁶ In matters of less moment, however, and those of a temporary character it should consist of all those who happen to be present in the place where our general will be residing. The right however of giving orders and carrying them out will be wholly within the competency of the general.

2. Let all the companions know, not simply in the first days of their profession, but as long as they live and daily keep in mind the fact that this whole Society and its individual members are doing military service for God in true obedience to our most holy lord Paul III and his successors and are under the command of the Vicar of Christ and the authority that he receives from God in such a way that we are bound to obey him not only according to the common obligation of all clerics but also by the force of vow to the effect that whatever His Holiness will have ordered with respect to the profit of souls and the propagation of the faith we are bound to carry out without any delays or excuses as far as it lies in our power, whether he will send us to the Turks or to the new world or to the Lutherans, or to any others, Christians or infidels. Therefore, whoever would join us, before they place this burden upon their shoulders, should reflect long and seriously on whether they have sufficient spiritual resources in doing good so that they can complete this tower according to the Lord's advice,⁷⁷ that is, whether the Holy Spirit, who urges them on, promises them enough grace that they may have hopes with His assistance of bearing the burden of this vocation; and, after they shall have enlisted under the Lord's inspiration in this military service of Jesus Christ, they must have their loins girt both day and night and be ready to carry out so great an obligation.⁷⁸ But lest there be amongst us either ambition for, or refusal of, such missions and cares, each one must promise that he will never directly or indirectly take up anything with the pontiff about missions of this sort, but that he will leave all this care to God and to His vicar and to the general of the Society. And this general must like the rest also promise that he will not consult with the pope about a mission for himself, either for or against it, without the advice of the Society.

3. And each one must vow that he will obey the general of the Society in all the things which are conducive to the observance of this rule of ours. He, in turn, must order those things which he will judge to be opportune for the carrying out of the end proposed to him by God and by the Society; in ruling, however, he should always be mindful of the kindness, meekness, and charity of Christ and of the example of Peter

⁷⁴ The Society of Jesus was therefore not founded especially to fight Protestantism, as is often asserted.

⁷⁵ Rom. 10:2.

⁷⁶ Called today a General Congregation.

⁷⁷ Luke 14:18-30.

⁷⁸ Eph. 6:14.

and Paul;⁷⁹ and both he and the council should have a diligent regard for this norm, and they should specifically esteem the instruction of children and of the illiterate in Christian doctrine with respect to the Ten Commandments and other basic truths, as will seem good to them according to the circumstances of persons, places, and times. It is particularly necessary that the general and his council keep a watch over the carrying out of these matters since faith cannot be built up in our neighbors without a foundation,⁸⁰ and there is the danger on our part that the more learned one is the more he may attempt to avoid such activities as being at first less attractive in appearance, although actually there is nothing more fruitful for the edification of our neighbors or for exercising ourselves at the same time in the offices of humility and charity. Subjects, moreover, both because of the great advantages of order and also because of the never-to-be-sufficiently praised practice of constant humility, must always be bound to obey the general in all things pertaining to the institute of the Society, and they must recognize Christ in him as if He were present, and they must revere him as he deserves.

4. Since we have learned that a life which is removed as far as possible from all contagion of avarice, and which resembles a life of evangelical poverty as far as it can, is more pleasant, pure, and suited to the edification of our neighbor, and since we know that our Lord Jesus Christ will provide his servants who are seeking only the kingdom of God with what is necessary in the matter of food and clothing,⁸¹ they must all as individuals and as a group take a vow of perpetual poverty, declaring that they can neither as private individuals nor as a group acquire any civil right to any property or to any revenues or incomes for the use or support of the Society, but that they will be content to have only the use of what is necessary as the owners wish and to receive money and the equivalent in things given to them for the purchase of what they need. They may, however, acquire a civil right to property and revenues for the sake of recruiting some talented scholastics and of having them educated in universities, especially in the sacred sciences, that is, for those who wish to advance in spirit and in letters and who, after they have completed their studies and probation, wish to be received into our Society.

5. All the companions in sacred orders, even though they cannot acquire rights to benefices and revenues, must still recite the Office according to the rite of the Church, but not in choir, so that they may not be taken away from the offices of charity to which we have wholly dedicated ourselves. Therefore in their Masses and other religious services they should not make use of organs, or chant and singing, for we have discovered that these things are no small impediment to us even though they laudably enhance the divine services of other clerics and religious and were invented to arouse and influence men's minds through solemn rites and hymns.⁸² They are an impediment to us since, in addition to carrying out the other necessary functions, we must according to our vocation be frequently occupied a great part of the day and even of the night in caring for those who are sick in body or mind.

This is what we have been able to draw up as a kind of outline of our profession, as we are now doing, so that we may give a brief description not only to those who ask us about our manner of life, but also to our successors, if it should be God's will that we ever have any imitators in this way of life. Since we have learned from experience that there are many great difficulties connected with it, we have judged it opportune to warn them not to adopt under the appearance of good two things which we have avoided. The first of these is that they should not impose upon the companions under the pain of mortal sin any fasts disciplines, or goings about barefooted or with heads uncovered, no special color of garments, distinct kinds of food, penances, hairshirts,

⁷⁹ 1 Peter 5:1-3; Phil. 3:17.

⁸⁰ See 1 Cor. 9:9-11.

⁸¹ Matt. 6:33.

⁸² Ignatius was personally fond of church music and prayers sung in choir (Huonder, *Ignatius* 54).

or other corporal austerities. We do not prohibit these things because we condemn them, for we praise and admire them greatly in those who observe them, but simply because we do not wish ours to be oppressed by so many burdens taken together or to give them an excuse for withdrawing from the exercises which we have proposed for ourselves. Nevertheless each one can, provided the general does not forbid it, devoutly exercise himself in those things which he knows are useful or necessary for himself. The second of the two things is that no one should be admitted into the Society who has not first been long and diligently tested, and when he will have been seen to be conspicuously prudent in Christ, either because of his learning or his holiness of life, he shall finally be admitted to the militia of Jesus Christ. May He deign to favor our slight beginnings to the glory of God the Father, to whom alone may there always be honor and glory forever. Amen.

These were the Five Chapters which Iñigo at the end of June or early in July⁸³ presented to his powerful benefactor, Cardinal Gaspar Contarini, in the name of the Society so that he might submit them to the pope for examination and approval. Contarini enthusiastically entered into the project⁸⁴ and told the pope that many praised the institute of the Parisian masters and some even wished to join it. Paul III had been acquainted with the cardinal's protégés since 1537, when they had begun to engage in disputations before him in the Castel Sant'Angelo. Ever since then he had been kindly disposed towards them.⁸⁵ He therefore gave the Five Chapters to the Dominican Fra Tommaso Badia, the master of the Sacred Palace, for careful study and an opinion.⁸⁶

⁸³ According to Bartoli (*Vita di S. Ignazio* 2, 45) Badia kept the document for two months; cf. *Const.* I, p. CCVI.

⁸⁴ *MI Epp.* I 168.

⁸⁵ "Sempre in tutte le persecuzioni che hebbe in Roma il P. Ignatio, gli fu propitio Papa Paulo III," Laynez states (FN II 136); cf. Nadal (*ibid.* 168-169).

⁸⁶ According to the minutes of Cardinal Contarini in *Const.* I 15-16 and 21.

CHAPTER III

THE BATTLE OVER THE CONFIRMATION (1539-1540)¹

1. THE ORAL CONFIRMATION (SEPTEMBER 3, 1539)

Fra Tommaso Badia² had been born in Modena in 1493³ and was at this time the confessor of Cardinal Contarini.⁴ He was known and esteemed alike for his learning and his piety.⁵ He had entered the Dominican order in 1509 and had taught theology in its houses in Ferrara, Venice, and Bologna. In 1529 he had been appointed master of the Sacred Palace for life by Pope Clement VII.⁶ In this capacity he had censured the erroneous opinions of Fra Agostino Mainardi in 1532;⁷ but three years later, when the Augustinian monk gave a satisfactory account of his orthodoxy, the censure was withdrawn.⁸ During this same year of 1535, Badia had also objected to the commentary of the renowned Sadoletto on the Epistle to the Romans because of the semipelagian errors he had discovered in it.⁹ In 1537, he had been one of the signers of the program for the reform of the Church submitted to Paul III by the commission appointed for this purpose.¹⁰

Scrupulously conscientious, Badia kept the Five Chapters of the Parisian masters for a full two months in order to give them a thorough examination.¹¹

¹ The main sources for this chapter are Contarini's minutes for the Five Chapters (MI *Const.* I 14-21), his letter about the ratification (*ibid.* 21-22), Lattanzio Tolomei's letter to Contarini of September 28, 1529 (Dittrich, *Regesten* 379-380), the letter of the *anziani* of Parma and their ambassador's answer of 1540 (Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 194-198), Duke Ercole's letter of December 19, 1539 (*Ep. Broëti* 385), and the reports of contemporaries: Ignatius 696 (and MI *Epp.* I 149-150 257), Laynez (FN I 130-131; II 135), Bobadilla 22 617, Salmerón (MI *Epp.* I 154), Rodrigues 509 514-515, Polanco (FN I 206-207 269; II 595), and Nadal (FN I 312; II 95-97 145-146 169-170 174 265 268-270 407). The main accounts are those of Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 267-290, and Böhmer 248-261, which complement each other.

² In 1540 Badia was sent to the Diet of Worms; in 1541 he was with Contarini at the Diet of Regensburg as his theologian. He became a cardinal in 1542 and died in Rome in 1547. On him see Innocenzo Taurisano, O.P., *Hierarchia Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Romae, 1916) 51; *Enciclopedia Cattolica* 2 (1949) 676-677; Pastor V 144-145; and Tacchi Venturi I, 1, 120-121 469; II, 1, 269-270. A bibliography on him is given by Angelo Walz, O.P., *I cardinali domenicani* (Roma, 1940) 33.

³ Other authors give 1483 as the year of his birth. According to Taurisano he died in 1547, when he was "almost fifty-four years old."

⁴ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 269, n. 4.

⁵ Pastor V 144; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 269-270.

⁶ On February 17, 1529 (Taurisano 51).

⁷ See Badia's letter to the bishop of Asti of September 17, 1532, in S. Fontana, "Documenti Vaticani contro la eresia luterana in Italia," *Archivio della Società Romana di storia patria* 15 (1892) 130-134.

⁸ Tacchi Venturi I, 1, 469; Böhmer 221-222.

⁹ Tacchi Venturi I, 1, 120-121.

¹⁰ Pastor V 117-126.

¹¹ Bartoli, *Vita di S. Ignazio* 2, 45; "si fidem hac in re Danieli Bartoli haberi oportet" (MI *Const.* I, p. CCVI).

He then sent them back with an opinion¹² to the effect that the companions' project was pious and holy.¹³ Ifigo immediately sent his cousin, the bachelor Araoz, with the two documents (the Five Chapters, edited in the form of a brief by the addition of an introduction and a conclusion, and Badia's opinion¹⁴) to Tivoli in the Sabine Hills some twenty miles from Rome, where the pope had recently gone on vacation with Cardinal Contarini¹⁵ to his palace of Rocca Piana. On September 2 Araoz delivered the Five Chapters and Badia's opinion on them to the cardinal.¹⁶ Contarini immediately read the Five Chapters to His Holiness. Paul III then readily approved of everything *vivae vocis oraculo*,¹⁷ adding that the Spirit of God was blowing here¹⁸ and that these priests would be a great help in the reform of the Church.¹⁹

On September 4 Araoz returned to Rome with the good news and a note from Contarini:

Reverend Don Ignatio! Yesterday through Messer Antonio, your Spaniard,²⁰ I received the copy of the chapters along with the note of the Reverend Master of the

¹² "Ho ricevuto la estensione delli capitoli insieme con una scedula del reverendo maestro sacro pallazzo," Contarini wrote on September 3, 1539 (MI *Const.* I 21).

¹³ "Negotium hoc dilecto filio Thome Badie, sacri nostri palatii magistro, delegavimus; qui re mature perspecta, nobis retulit universum propositum Societatis vestre pium sibi sanctumque videri," according to the notes to the brief of ratification (*ibid.* 16).

¹⁴ "Aos XXVI d'agosto Sua Santidade se partio aforado, como soye, pero Frascate e Tibolle, honde se amdou fogydo aos negoceos ate os V de setembro que aquy tornou," Dom Pedro Mascarenhas wrote on September 10 (*Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez* IV 124).

¹⁵ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 270.

¹⁶ The latest investigations of Father José Calveras, S.J., "Acerca del copista del autógrafa de los Ejercicios," AHSI 30 (1961) 245-263, and Schurhammer, "Zur Frage des Schreibers der Fünf Kapitel, approbiert von Paul III" (*ibid.* 264-266), render the account of what happened to these two manuscripts of the Five Chapters as given in the German original of our life of St. Francis, p. 448, obsolete. The history of these two documents may be described as follows: Before his departure for Tivoli, Contarini put them into the form of a brief by adding an introduction and conclusion. This text is preserved in two manuscripts, both written by B. Ferrão, to whom we are also indebted for the copy of the so-called "Spanish autograph" of the Exercises (Ignacio de Loyola, *Ejercicios espirituales. Reproducción fototípica* [Roma, 1908]. Araoz took one of Ferrão's copies with him to Tivoli. Contarini read the Five Chapters from it to the pope and sent it back to Ignatius through Araoz with a postscript in his own hand. This is now among Contarini's copies in the Vatican Archives (A. A. *Arm.* I-XVIII, n. 6461 ff. 145-148v). A photographic reproduction with the second half of the introduction and the beginning of the text of the Five Chapters is in AHSI 30 (1961) 265, plate 2. Tacchi Venturi, in the second edition of his *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia* I 2 (1950) 193, gives a reproduction of the second part of the concluding formula and the postscript in Contarini's own hand. In Rome Ignatius had Antonio de Strada add Contarini's postscript to Ferrão's second copy. This is now in the Roman archives of the Society of Jesus (*Institut.* 194, 8-11v). Ferrão's two copies have the same watermark: a star over a ten-cornered shield with a striding bird (EX I 29, n. 57), which we also find in Contarini's letters in 1537 and 1540 and elsewhere, for example, in the Spanish autograph of the Exercises and in a good many other documents of the Jesuit curia between 1542 and 1556.

¹⁷ Contarini states this in his letter of September 3 and in the postscript which he added in his own hand to the minutes.

¹⁸ According to Nadal (FN I 312; II 95 145 169-170 174 265), Maffei (*D. Ignatii Vita* 2, 12), Orlandinus (*Historia* 2, n. 82). In his *Vita Ignatii* of 1572 Ribadeneyra erroneously places the words in the mouth of the pope after the conversion of Guidiccioni (2, 17); in his Spanish edition of 1585 he replaces it with Exodus 8:19: "Digitus Dei est hic." The anonymous author and Garibay had already anticipated Ribadeneyra in this (FN 445 458).

¹⁹ According to Polanco (FN I 206 269; II 305 594; MI *Epp.* XII 276).

²⁰ Araoz.

Sacred Palace.²¹ I was with our lord today, and in addition to making an oral request, I read to His Holiness all the Five Chapters, which greatly pleased His Holiness; and he has most graciously (*benignissimamente*) approved and confirmed them. On Friday we shall return to Rome with His Holiness, and the Most Reverend Ghinucci will be asked to draw up the brief or bull. I recommend myself to your prayers. Greet our Messer Lactantio! Farewell in the Lord! From Tivoli, September 3, 1539. Your most devoted, Gaspar, Cardinal Contarini.²²

2. GHINUCCI VERSUS CONTARINI (SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER, 1539)

On September 5 Paul III returned to Rome with Contarini.²³ He held a *signatura* and on the ninth a consistory in San Marco and a meeting of all the cardinals.²⁴ On the following day, in the midst of thunder and lightning, he rode off with Cardinals Contarini, Jacovazzi,²⁵ and Alessandro Farnese and the latter's secretary, Marcello Cervini,²⁶ to Viterbo²⁷ in order to proceed from there by way of Nepi to Loreto, and from there to Camerino.²⁸

In his oral approbation of the Five Chapters at Tivoli, the pope had still left open the question about the manner in which the Society of Jesus should be solemnly ratified, whether this should be in the form of a brief or of a bull; and he asked Contarini to see to it that the minutes along with the Five Chapters were presented to Badia for an opinion before they were submitted to the *Secretaria*. The cardinal did as he was requested and, after returning to the Eternal City, handed the document over to Cardinal Ghinucci, the secretary for papal briefs, so that he might have the decree ratifying the new foundation drawn up in the form of a brief or bull.²⁹ Till his return from Loreto, Contarini could therefore hope for a favorable outcome for the project. But in this the cardinal and his protégés were to be bitterly disappointed.

Girolamo Ghinucci,³⁰ who had been born in Siena, was the uncle of Lattanzio Tolemei.³¹ He was universally esteemed for his virtue, knowledge, and long experience in curial affairs. He had been employed there from his youth and had served as secretary under Julius II in 1512 and then under Leo X. He had successfully carried out difficult enterprises, for example, the process conducted against Luther. As nuncio in England he had won the confidence of the then Catholic king Henry VIII, who named him bishop of Worcester in 1522 and sent him on a diplomatic mission to Spain that extended from 1525 to 1528. He had also gained the full confidence of Paul III, and he and Simonetta had been entrusted

²¹ Badia.

²² *MI Const.* I 21-22. The letter was dictated and signed by Contarini. We published a photograph of it in *AHSI* 1 (1932) 303.

²³ *Corpo Diplomatico Portoguez* IV 124 126; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 276, n. 2; cf. *MI Const.* I 22.

²⁴ *Corpo Diplomatico Portoguez* IV 126; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 270, n. 3.

²⁵ *Corpo Diplomatico Portoguez* IV 135.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 141.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 127.

²⁸ *Cena 268; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 276, n. 2.

²⁹ According to Contarini in his letter of September 3, 1539, and in his postscript to the minutes (*MI Const.* 21-22).

³⁰ On Ghinucci see Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 276; Böhmer 250; Van Gulik 26 and Cardella IV 147-148. He died on July 6, 1541.

³¹ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 106.

with the task of revising briefs and handling extraordinary affairs.³² In 1535 he was made a cardinal by the pope, who did nothing of any moment without seeking his advice and that of Simonetta.³³ When the latter died on November 1, 1539, after an illness of three months, Ghinucci became more influential than ever.³⁴

The affairs of the Parisian masters, whom he had known since 1537,³⁵ thus appeared to be in good hands, and there seemed to be no further obstacles to the early fulfillment of their desires. On September 24, therefore, Ifigo filled with gratitude to God wrote to his nephew Beltrán, who had been the lord of the castle of Loyola since the death of his father Martín García in 1539, that the Vicar of Christ had, despite all the opposition, approved of his Society and its way of life and had given them full freedom to draw up Constitutions for it.³⁶ Salmerón had also at this time written the same in the name of the companions to the father of Laynez in Almazán.³⁷

But the hopes of Contarini and the companions that the business would soon be successfully completed were without foundation. Ghinucci was far superior to Contarini in the carrying out of business matters, as the latter himself recognized.³⁸ He immediately saw that a brief was not sufficient for the solemn ratification of the Parisian masters' project, and that it would require the solemn form of a bull. This would in itself entail a considerable delay. His *Secretaria* was not able to issue bulls, which had to come from the *Cancellaria*. And before a bull could be drawn up, the various details would have to be scrutinized to see if they conformed to the latter's rules.³⁹

Still worse was the fact that Ghinucci took serious exception to several things in the minutes and especially in the Five Chapters themselves, as Lattanzio Tolomei wrote to Contarini in Loreto on September 28.⁴⁰

Ghinucci was concerned about the provisions against organ music and chant at divine services in the Society, and that superiors should not order their subjects under the pain of mortal sin to undertake any fasts, disciplines, or other penitential works. Even if it was added that the companions praised all

³² *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez* IV 126.

³³ *Ibid.* 53.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 228. Mascarenhas, the Portuguese ambassador, wrote to his king on February 27 that Ghinucci had been an enemy of the Portuguese Inquisition from the beginning and that all his efforts to win him over had been fruitless. Nothing that he had asked the pope in the name of His Highness seemed good to him. As a consequence Paul III at his, the ambassador's, suggestion had given him instead Simonetta to carry out his business (*ibid.* 11). On June 30 he wrote again: "I am taking all possible means to soften Cardinal Ghinucci; I am doing this, not because I am expecting any favors from him, but to prevent him from doing me any harm, for he is very efficient. And already I am beginning to tame him a bit through Lopo Furtado and his Madama [Margaret of Austria], and I have received great promises from him. If Your Highness could give him a pension of a few *cruzados*, I believe that he would serve you well in this matter, and I still have hopes of attaining this through the means generally employed in this country" (*ibid.* 53).

³⁵ On April 30, 1537, he had given Favre and his companions a certificate with respect to the faculties for hearing confessions that had been orally granted to them by the pope (*Fabri Mon.* 7-8).

³⁶ *MI Epp.* I 149.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 154.

³⁸ Dittrich, *Regesten* 370.

³⁹ Böhmer 250.

⁴⁰ Dittrich, *Regesten* 379-380.

of these things in others, and that they could, with the superior's approval, carry out such penances in private, still as censor he was afraid that these provisions could give a handle to the Lutherans. When the Parisian masters were informed of his objections, they agreed that the text should be changed. The fourth vow of absolute obedience to the Vicar of Christ presented a further difficulty. Ghinucci was of the opinion that such a vow was superfluous: All Christians, or at least clerics, were bound to such an obedience. The matter was discussed at length, and it was finally decided that the vow was not superfluous. The companions then clarified the text, as was indicated in the minutes which Ghinucci sent along with it to the vice-chancellor of the pope, his grandson Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, in Loreto. Lattanzio informed Contarini of this and noted that through the intercession of Marcello Cervini, bishop of Nicastro and private secretary of the vice-chancellor, he would be able to see the forwarded minutes. From as much of his covering letter as his uncle Ghinucci had let him see, he did not believe that the latter would oppose the issuing of the bull of ratification. But before this would be drawn up, he had wanted to take every possible precaution. He communicated this to Contarini so that he might induce His Holiness to bring to a favorable conclusion a matter which he had begun so well for the honor of God.⁴¹

Lattanzio's letter must have disquieted Contarini, and with good reason. This highly placed benefactor of the Parisian masters had regretfully to conclude that his colleague was against the execution of the bull of ratification.⁴² On October 12 Paul III returned with Contarini from Loreto, and on the following day Ghinucci sang the Mass of the feast in the presence of the Holy Father and thirteen cardinals to celebrate the anniversary of the papal election.⁴³ But despite all the efforts that were made, no agreement could be reached between Contarini and the secretary for briefs.⁴⁴

3. THE THREE THOUSAND MASSES (DECEMBER, 1539—MARCH, 1540)

Since the matter of the bull of ratification was not forthcoming because of the difference of opinion between the two cardinals, Paul III finally appointed an experienced canonist, Bartolomeo Guidiccioni,⁴⁵ as a third reviewer of the Five Chapters and asked him to draw up an opinion on them.

Guidiccioni had been born in Lucca in 1469 of a prominent family and had proved himself to be a self-sacrificing, zealous servant of the Church as auditor-

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 379.

⁴² Camara heard this from Ignatius (n. 287); cf. Böhmer 254.

⁴³ *Cesena 268v-269.

⁴⁴ According to Ignatius the main opponents were Ghinucci and a Dominican bishop (FN I 696); Laynez speaks of many opponents (*ibid.* 130) and of "cardinals" (*ibid.* II 135); Polanco of "algunas personas" (FN I 206), "ministri et altri" (*ibid.* 269).

⁴⁵ On Guidiccioni see the detailed study by Vinzenz Schweitzer, "Kardinal Bartolomeo Guidiccioni (1469-1549)," *Römische Quartalschrift: Geschichte* 20 (1906) 27-53 142-161 189-204. See also Van Gulik 29 125 246; Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 207-214; II, 1, 281-294; Böhmer 254-261. On February 17, 1540, he became prefect of the Signatura Justitiae. In August of the same year he and two of his colleagues were entrusted with the reform of the Rota. He became inquisitor-general in 1542, and from 1542 to 1544 he was engaged in drawing up the agenda for the Council. He became bishop of Chiusi in 1544 and bishop of Lucca in 1546. He died in Rome in 1549. V. Schweitzer gives a list of his principal works in *Concilium Tridentinum* XII 227.

general of Picenum and then as vicar-general of Parma. He had then retired to his hermitage of Carignano near Lucca in order to pass the rest of his days there far from the noise of the court and of the world. Immediately after his election as pope, Paul III had summoned him to Rome, but he had excused himself. It would be impossible for him at the age of sixty-five to return to his old legal studies and to the needs and cares of the Curia. He knew the dangers of greed and ambition, which were shunned not only by Christians but also by pagans and men of every persuasion as a deadly poison, especially for the old. One could hardly avoid them in a life at court, and the majority of clerics and even bishops were afflicted with them. If he was sought again at court, he was afraid that it was because the devil wanted to take him up to a high mountain in order to tempt him with a desire for all earthly possessions and to rob him of the remainder of his life, as he had already robbed him of the bloom of his youth. A second appeal of the pope two years later was again rejected. But then in September, 1539, Paul III put him in charge of the Datary, and he had to obey. His nephew Giovanni, bishop of Fossombrone, who knew the rough, stubborn character of his uncle, took this opportunity to give him some advice on his behavior at court. "If His Holiness wants your opinion," he advised him, "you must always tell him the truth, but with that restraint and reserve that behooves a subordinate; and, if the matter is discussed, do not be stubborn in your opposition or too free in your answers, but have confidence in the astuteness of His Holiness. Do not seek to reform the world, for if bit and bridle are anywhere unsuccessful it is in Rome." Guidiccioni enjoyed the pope's fullest confidence. On November 28 he appointed him vicar-general of Rome, and on December 12 bishop of Teramo; and on the nineteenth he created him along with Cervini a cardinal of the Holy Roman Church. In this way he rewarded his learning, his prudence, his care and deliberation, and above all his great caution in all his undertakings.⁴⁶

If Guidiccioni was sympathetic towards the Parisian masters because of his irreproachable character and his vigorous asceticism, and if he could be expected to give an accurate judgment on the Five Chapters as an experienced canonist, still his appointment as superreviser aroused serious misgivings in Iñigo and his companions. They were aware of the fact that when he gave his advice in 1535 on questions to be presented to the Council, he had expressed the opinion that no new orders should be founded, as had already been decreed by the Fourth Lateran Council and the Council of Lyons in 1274. Guidiccioni had, moreover, not only advocated no increase in the number of religious orders, but had even proposed reducing them to four—Dominicans, Franciscans, Cistercians, and Benedictines.⁴⁷

To counteract certain false impressions, for the young foundation still had many enemies in Rome, Iñigo and his companions, apparently on the advice of Ghinucci,⁴⁸ paid a visit to Guidiccioni⁴⁹ in order to explain to him personally

⁴⁶ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 281-285; Schweitzer 28-53 142-154.

⁴⁷ In his treatise *De Concilio Universali* (Tacchi Venturi I. 2, 207-208) in 1535 and in his *De Ecclesia* (*ibid.* 208-214 and *Concilium Tridentinum* XII 226-256) in 1538. Cf. Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 285-286; Rodrigues 514; Polanco (FN I 206-207 269; II 306 505 595); Nadal (FN I 312; II 145 174 267).

⁴⁸ Ignatius told Camara: "Después que hubo las Bulas, se fué a dar gracias al Ghinucci de un consejo que le había dado, el qual daba por estorbar la cosa; mas tomólo el Padre [Ignacio] mutatis mutandis, alcanzó lo que quería" (n. 287).

⁴⁹ The following is from Nadal.

what they had in mind.⁵⁰ But he received them most ungraciously, and his explicit opposition to the foundation of new orders immediately came to the fore.⁵¹ Guidiccioni was strongly opposed to compliments and visits.⁵² He did not want to see or hear the companions again, or to read their Five Chapters.⁵³ When he finally did skim through them, he treated them contemptuously, ridiculed the plans of the companions, laughed at their statutes,⁵⁴ and refused their request.⁵⁵ "If I had not been ordered by His Holiness, our lord," he told them, "I would not have admitted you, and I would not have deigned to give you a reply." Then he asked his visitors: "What mischief are you planning for yourselves? Who are you? From where do you come? Why are you bringing into the Church in these troubled times still more novelties and confusion?" Iñigo modestly replied that he and his fellows simply wished to present their case and explain it to His Grace. He was only seeking a better way to be of help to souls; he was not seeking anything for himself. He and his companions would gladly take upon themselves poverty and humiliations and would even sacrifice their lives for them. He therefore begged him to examine carefully this important matter, and not to judge everything from human motives, and to recommend the matter to God in prayer. They would also do the same.⁵⁶

The masters returned from this audience confused and ashamed. Only Iñigo was as peaceful, resolute, and confident as ever.⁵⁷ He advised them to storm heaven through prayers, Masses, fasts and other penances. When all their visits and efforts recoiled before the rugged opposition of the stubborn cardinal, they redoubled their prayers and penances,⁵⁸ and Iñigo vowed in the name of his Society three thousand Masses⁵⁹ in honor of the Blessed Trinity, to which he had always had a great devotion,⁶⁰ in order to obtain a victory from God over this proud bastion.⁶¹ Iñigo and his companions at once began these Masses in Rome.⁶² And he ordered the others who were living outside the Eternal City to do the same.⁶³ He also obtained the support of friends and benefactors of the Society in this.⁶⁴

But while taking these supernatural means, Ignatius did not forget those that were natural.⁶⁵ On December 6 he had Jay write to Duke Ercole, asking him to use his influence on the behalf of the Parisian masters as he had already

⁵⁰ FN II 145.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 96.

⁵² In 1536 he accepted the pope's call to come to Rome, where he was repelled by the visits of flatterers, the numerous greetings, and the cautious manner of speaking (Schweitzer 146).

⁵³ Nadal (FN II 145 174); Rodrigues 514.

⁵⁴ Nadal (FN I 312; II 268).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* I 312.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* II 96 268-269.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 145.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 96 269.

⁵⁹ Thus Laynez 130, Rodriguez 515, and Nadal (FN II 97 174 269 407). In 1548 Polanco gives the number as being "over three thousand" (FN I 207), and in 1574 as "over two thousand" (FN II 595).

⁶⁰ Nadal (FN II 146).

⁶¹ Polanco 595.

⁶² Nadal (FN II 269).

⁶³ *Ibid.* 9-7; cf. also EX I 64 87 176; *Fabri Mon.* 134; *MI Epp.* I 177.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 146 174.

⁶⁵ "Letters were sent to various places in Italy where members of the Society had labored with fruit" (FN I 207).

successfully done before; and on the nineteenth, the day on which Guidiccioni received the red hat,⁶⁶ the duke replied that he was herewith writing to his brother, Ippolito d'Este, who had been made a cardinal the year before, to assist the priests whenever they asked him to do so. He also recommended them to his friends and other high personages in the papal court. Cardinal Ippolito, as requested, also acted energetically on behalf of his brother's protégés.⁶⁷ On July 16 Codure had already received the laudatory testimonial of the vicar-general, Girolamo Aretino, with respect to his preaching in Velletri; and on December 12, 1539, he received another of the same sort from the vicar-general of Tivoli, Ludovicus de Collibus, with respect to his Advent preaching and other works.⁶⁸

Favre and Laynez obtained further support in Parma, where Paul III had been bishop from 1509 to 1516 and Guidiccioni vicar-general until 1528. The *anziani*, that is, the elders of the city, on January 26, 1540, sent a letter to their ambassador in Rome, the Reverendo Federico del Prato, in which they spoke of the two priests in terms of highest praise. They had come to their city with the cardinal legate and had worked there with great fruit and edification. Already a hundred persons were going to confession and receiving Communion each month. They also noted the desire which these two priests and their confreres in Rome had to see certain chapters containing their statutes approved by the Holy See. As he, the ambassador, knew, they had presented these some time ago to His Holiness and he, after long deliberation, had finally given them to Cardinal Guidiccioni to review; but the latter, it seemed, was proving to be somewhat stubborn. He, the ambassador, might therefore pay a visit to His Eminence. They were enclosing a letter of commendation for him, which would inform him about the exemplary lives and good works of the priests in Parma and encourage him to grant their petition with respect to the chapters just mentioned.⁶⁹

Del Prato carried out his commission, and on February 13, 1540, he was able to send a report on it to the magistrates in Parma. He had paid a visit to the cardinal, given him the letter of commendation, and praised the Parisian masters in glowing terms. Guidiccioni excused himself, the ratification of the chapters did not depend upon him alone but also upon Cardinals Ghinucci and Contarini. As far as he was concerned, he had given the Holy Father the opinion that had been requested of him, as he had been obliged to do. He had declared in it that the aforementioned chapters were good and very holy. It was quite true that he was little pleased at the prospect of seeing the desires of the aforementioned priests, who had already on one occasion received an oral approbation, confirmed in writing; and he was still less pleased that by virtue of these chapters a new order would be erected, especially since it would be different from the rest. Apart from the fact that the canons forbade the founding of new orders, such an undertaking seemed perilous at this time, even if it had hitherto

⁶⁶ The bull is dated December 12, 1539; it was published on the nineteenth of the month (Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 283, n. 5).

⁶⁷ *Ep. Broëti* 385. Bobadilla thanked the duke for this on March 22, 1540 (Bobadilla 22). In 1547 Ignatius wrote that no one had helped so much on this occasion as Duke Ercole (MI *Epp.* I 568-569); cf. also Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 280-287. On the cardinal see Cardella IV 209-212.

⁶⁸ *Ep. Broëti* 416-418.

⁶⁹ On this, and on the entire chapter, see Hermann Stoeckius, *Parma and die päpstliche Bestätigung der Gesellschaft Jesu 1540* (Heidelberg, 1913). The letter is published by Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 194-196.

produced excellent fruit; and he would personally write to the magistrates in this regard.⁷⁰

Thus the three thousand Masses had achieved little up to the middle of February, 1540; and, humanly speaking, without help from on high there could be no thought of a prompt drawing up of a bull of ratification of the Society.

⁷⁰ Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 197; cf. II, 1, 287-288.

CHAPTER IV

INIGO THE LEADER (1540)¹

1. APPEARANCE

As the battle over the written ratification of the Society of Jesus progressed, the Parisian masters continued their indefatigable labors in Rome. They took turns being superior for a month at a time, but Inigo was in reality the head, soul, and model of the small Society,² its father and guide.³

There was nothing particularly noticeable about his external appearance⁴

¹ The main sources for what follows are the reports of contemporaries: Laynez (FN I 138-140), Nadal (*ibid.* II 121-127 157-159), Manare (MI *Scripta* I 506-524), Velati (*Acta Sanctorum*, Julii VII, nn. 591 596), and especially Ribadeneyra in his *Vida* and collections of materials (FN II 317-394 411-422 472-499; MI *Scripta* I 441-471). See also the very important data in Luis Gonçalves da Camara (FN I 527-752, cited as Camara), Lancicius (MI *Scripta* 476-506 525-536), and the oldest constitutions and rules. Of the authors mentioned, Ribadeneyra came to Rome in 1540, Nadal in 1545, Velati in 1548, Manare in 1552, and Camara in 1553. Lancicius did not come until 1592, but he remained there for twenty years and was familiar with the labors of his predecessors, the archives, and thirty of St. Ignatius' contemporaries, among whom were two who had personally served him: Juan Pablo Borell, who arrived in Rome in 1543, and Giovanni Ignazio da Firenze, who arrived in 1559. He corresponded with others, for example, Ribadeneyra, Manare, and Velati. The anonymous account of a contemporary which we cite simply as A (MI *Scripta* I 559-561) is also very interesting. It was obviously copied by Lancicius from an earlier source (contrary to AHSI XIV 131-137), since it partially contradicts his own observations. In addition to these are the accounts in Maffei (*D. Ignatii Vita*, 3), Bartoli (*Vita di S. Ignazio*, 4), Aicardo (vols. 1-2), Böhmer 268-292, and especially Anton Huonder, S.J., *Ignatius von Loyola* (Köln, 1932). In contrast to all of these authors, we have omitted as far as possible all the *exempla* and anecdotes of later times and have tried to describe Ignatius and his environment as Xavier saw them in 1540 before his departure for India.

² Rodrigues 490.

³ *Ibid.* 453.

⁴ The main sources for the external appearance of St. Ignatius are (1) the descriptions of his contemporaries: Ribadeneyra (*Vida* 4, 18), Velati (*Acta Sanctorum*, Julii VII, nn. 591 596), Manare (MI *Scripta* II 489-498), and those of four other Belgian Jesuits: Coster, Sommal, Dupont, and Delange (*ibid.* 494); and (2) the still extant portrayals of his features: the plaster head and wax mask, both positive representations of the deceased made after his death from the lost plaster negative, and both probably produced in 1556 (see P. Leturia, S.J., "La 'Mascarilla' de S. Ignacio," AHSI 12 [1943] 119-134, with a photograph). There are also the portraits of Jacopino del Conte, which was painted in Rome immediately after his death in 1556 (see Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 353-358, with a picture), and of Alonso Sánchez Coello, produced in Madrid in 1585 under Ribadeneyra's direction from the death mask (on this see the account of Brother Cristobal López, S.J., in MI *Scripta* I 758-767, and the reproduction in Huonder), and the oval picture painted in Brussels in 1600. This had been commissioned by the five so-called "Belgian fathers," and they preferred it to all others (see MI *Scripta* II 489-498; the articles by M. Dierickx and D. A. Strake in *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 19 [1945] 199-209, with a reproduction in color; 20 [1946] 194-206; 26 [1952] 225-242; 27 [1953] 200-201; and *Acta Sanctorum*, Julii VII,

except for the fact that he walked with a slight limp.⁵ He had been wounded in the right leg at the siege of Pamplona, and an unsuccessful operation at the palace of Loyola had left it somewhat shorter than the other.⁶ But since he was accustomed to walk rather slowly, this was hardly apparent. He wore two stockings⁷ on his weak leg since even the slightest touch upon it caused him pain.⁸ It was remarkable that he could have made such long journeys despite this physical handicap, yet the soles of his feet were covered with callouses from his many pilgrimages.

In contrast to his blood brothers, Iñigo was rather small in stature,⁹ but sturdily built.¹⁰ He had a short, round face,¹¹ a pointed Basque chin,¹² a prominent, somewhat aquiline nose,¹³ a high, smooth forehead¹⁴ and arched hair-line that receded with age,¹⁵ medium-sized ears,¹⁶ rather prominent cheekbones,¹⁷ and deep-set, cheerful eyes,¹⁸ which were as a rule cast down.¹⁹ His eyelids

nn. 597-598, which gives an engraving of it by J. B. Bouttats). None of these pictures were completely satisfactory to his contemporaries (Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 4, 18; Manare, *MI Scripta* I 512). We are of the opinion that the most accurate representations are the plaster head and the portrait by Coello, which Ribadeneyra, Cardinal Quiroga, and other contemporaries praised as being true to life. Velati considered the plaster head as the best piece of sculpture and the Conte picture, which the Belgian fathers rejected, as the best painting; but he possibly did not know of the portrait by Coello. The testimony of Ribadeneyra, who had known Ignatius since 1540, is certainly, as far as we are concerned, to be preferred to that of the Belgian fathers, who had known the saint for only a short time towards the end of his life, from 1551 to 1553, especially since they did not know of the portrait by Coello or knew of it only through imperfect copies. For lack of a better picture, Ribadeneyra later circulated an engraving of the saint with four scenes from his life in the corners (*ibid.* 490), probably that of Hieronymus Wierx (in *AHSI* XX 304). An older, anonymous engraving circulated by Laynez (*Woodstock Letters* 48 [1919] 1-3, with a picture) is of no particular value.

⁵ "Un poco zoppo" (Camara, n. 180; Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 4, 18).

⁶ "Coxejant de la cama dreita," states Juan Pascual, who saw Ignatius in Manresa in 1522 (*MI Scripta* II 83).

⁷ Lancicius 490.

⁸ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 4, 18.

⁹ "Fué de estatura mediana, ó por mejor decir, algo pequeño y bajo de cuerpo" (Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 4, 18). In the eighteenth century a staff indicating his height was displayed in the *cappellette* of the Gesù in Rome. Ignatius Pinius sent a silk cord of the same length to the Bollandists, who reproduced the measurement in the *Acta Sanctorum* (521) on a scale of one to six. The line is 26.3 cm. (ten and one-fourth inches) long, which would give a height of 157.8 cm. (five feet, one inch), which is contrary to the data given by Clair: 156 cm. (403), Huonder: 158 cm. (4), and Böhmer: over 158 cm. (275). The edition of the *Acta* published in Venice in 1749 shortened the line to 24.5 cm. (nine and one-half inches) so that according to it Ignatius would have only been four feet, eight inches tall.

¹⁰ According to López (*MI Scripta* I 766) and Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 4, 18.

¹¹ The five Belgian fathers (*MI Scripta* II 491-495); Manare adds that the Conte picture has too long a face (*ibid.* 493).

¹² The same fathers (*ibid.* 494).

¹³ "La nariz alta y combada" (Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 4, 18).

¹⁴ "La frente ancha y desarrugada" (*ibid.*; cf. *MI Scripta* II 494). Delange, who had seen Ignatius in 1551, would have liked to have seen some wrinkles in the portrait (*ibid.* 492), such as those in the engraving of Wierx, which was made in Belgium.

¹⁵ "Con la calva de muy venerable aspecto" (Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 4, 18). In 1522 he was already "ab lo cap un poch calvo" (*MI Scripta* II 84).

¹⁶ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 4, 18.

¹⁷ The five Belgian fathers (*MI Scripta* II 494).

¹⁸ "Los ojos hundidos" (Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 4, 18). "Tinha naturalmente os olhos tam alegres, que segundo me contou o P. Laines, querendo hum indemoninhado de Padua exprimi-lo, usou desta periphrazi: 'Un espannoleto, piccolo, un poco zoppo, che ha l'ochi

were shrunken and wrinkled from the many tears which he shed during his prayers.²⁰ He had dark brown hair,²¹ partly shot through with grey,²² a short, trimmed beard²³ like that prescribed for masters in Paris.²⁴ His face had a fresh, healthy appearance,²⁵ and was tanned and gleaming.²⁶ It was at once paternal and majestic, gracious and earnest,²⁷ and lit up with an inner joy and supernatural glow²⁸ that revealed his self-control and imperturbable calm.²⁹

2. DRESS³⁰

Íñigo's dress was simple like that of his confreres, among whom he wished to see a high degree of uniformity in everything.³¹ It reflected poverty, but was always clean.³² Like the other companions he wore a cassock "in the French style"³³ reaching down to his feet.³⁴ It was made out of black, Roman material,³⁵ neither rough like that of hermits nor fine like that of prelates.³⁶ In cold

alegri" (Camara, n. 180). The "steady gaze of his eyes which seemed to pierce into the inner recesses of his viewer," which Böhmer describes as the one striking characteristic of Ignatius (275), goes back to Camara, nn. 361-362, who says: "El Padre no mira a la cara sino raro. . . . Quando mira a uno, si no es por benignidad en conversaci3n, parece que le traspasa el coraç3n, y que le vee tudo. . . . Huma so vez me lembra que me olhasse desta maneyra."

¹⁹ Camara, nn. 180-181. In 1522 Pascual mentioned the "gran modestia de los ulls", which Ignatius hardly ever raised (MI *Scripta* II 83).

²⁰ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 4, 18.

²¹ In 1522 Ignatius had "cabello rubio y muy hermoso" (*ibid.* 1, 5).

²² Velati: "Erat cana barba hic et illic, et non universe" (*Acta Sanctorum*, n. 591). The beard in the Conte portrait is brownish grey.

²³ He wanted all to have the same. He would not tolerate a turned up moustache or a long, flowing beard (Lancicius 502-503; Camara, n. 352; MI *Epp.* II 546; cf. Aicardo II 882-883).

²⁴ Bulaeus VI 247.

²⁵ He had "buenos colores" according to López (MI *Scripta* I 766), "color vivo y templado" according to Ribadeneyra (*Vida* 4, 18); in 1522 he was "blanc y ros, y de molt bona cara" (MI *Scripta* II 83).

²⁶ Manare, who was accustomed to compare its color with that of a grain of wheat (*ibid.* 490-491).

²⁷ "Tenia el rostro autorizado. . . . alegramente grave, y gravemente alegre," Ribadeneyra states (*Vida* 4, 18). According to Manare, who only knew Ignatius in his old age, his countenance was "gravis et suavis ac plena, sed non erat illa speciosa sive formosa, ut de formositate hominum loquimur" (MI *Scripta* II 493).

²⁸ Manare, *ibid.*

²⁹ Cardinal Quiroga, who declared that he had seen Ignatius more than a hundred thousand times, said of him: "Jamás le vi mudado el semblante por caso que le succediese, adverso ni próspero, sino que siempre estava con una paz tan grande, y tan sin mudarse, que es cosa que hasta oy no la he visto en otro que el P. Ignacio" (MI *Scripta* I 762-763; see also Camara, nn. 26-27 180, and Ribadeneyra in FN II 364-365 375-376).

³⁰ On the manner of dress see the *Constitutions* of March, 1541, signed by the six first companions who were residing in Rome (MI *Const.* I 40-43). See also A 559-560 and Lancicius 489-490 and in his *Opuscula* (Antverpiae, 1650) I 172; II 117-118; and Aicardo II 872-885; Huonder 76-77; and Böhmer 62, n. 1.

³¹ Lancicius 482: "Volebat in Societate summam in omnibus vigere uniformitatem."

³² A 559; Lancicius 489.

³³ "Una vesta a la francesa larga" (MI *Const.* I 41), that is, the Parisian garb.

³⁴ "Asta el suelo, menos quatro dedos, poco más o menos" (*ibid.*).

³⁵ "La sua veste era di panno romanesco" (A 559; cf. Lancicius 489 and MI *Const.* I 42).

³⁶ Lancicius 489.

weather he wore over it about the house a short coat (*domestica*³⁷), and a four-cornered biretta.³⁸ When he went out, he put on a cincture a finger's breadth in width,³⁹ made out of black material. He tied this simply about his waist so that its two ends did not hang more than four or five inches down.⁴⁰ Instead of a biretta and short coat, he wore on these occasions a broad-brimmed, low, felt hat without a lining, band, or trimming, but with two ribbons for stormy weather, as was customary in Rome,⁴¹ and a wide student cloak, hanging down from the shoulders and tied together in front at the neck.⁴² As he walked through the streets, he looked neither to the right nor to the left,⁴³ keeping the right corner of his cloak tucked under his left arm and holding the left corner in his left hand tightly against his breast in such a way that his hands were only visible when he had to raise his hat in greeting. The other priests followed his example in this.⁴⁴

His short coat and cape were of the same color and material as his cassock.⁴⁵ His short trousers, vest, stockings, socks, and leathern shoes were also black,⁴⁶ and his white shirt collar did not appear above the collar of his cassock.⁴⁷ His rosary was of average size, without cross or medal. The small beads were divided into five groups by five larger beads and were strung on a simple cord without forming a circle. He did not wear it on his cincture like the friars but kept it in his room,⁴⁸ for he sought to follow as closely as possible the practice of secular priests.⁴⁹ Because of his weak leg he wore slippers in the house, though

³⁷ "La sotana asta la media pierna, poco más o menos" (MI *Const.* I 41), a close-fitting overcoat, called a "domestica" (*domestica vestis*) in the German provinces, which is not to be confused with a cassock.

³⁸ A 559; Lancicius 489.

³⁹ "Traiendo manteo, la ropa larga sea ceñida, por no parecer fausto, con cinta de cuero negra, de ancho un dedo, o de otra de lana" (MI *Const.* I 41); "cingulum erat vel e panni extremitatibus abscissis, vel lana crassiore nigra, duobus digitis non latius" (Lancicius 489-490).

⁴⁰ Lancicius 489-490.

⁴¹ A 559; according to Lancicius the hats were lined (490).

⁴² "El manteo un palmo o poco menos más corto que la vestidura larga" (MI *Const.* I 41). "Quando usciva fuori portava, in luogo di mantello, la veste di scolari, fatta in questo modo, come la portano adesso i nostri scolari in Italia" (A 560). To the question: "Quando exibat foras, an gestabat pallium, an vestem, qua nunc utuntur scholares Romae, factam more gallico?" Velati replied: "Quando prodibat foras, gestabat pallium" (*Acta Sanctorum*, n. 591).

⁴³ A 560; see the regulations of 1549 (MI *Regulae* 162).

⁴⁴ Lancicius, *Opuscula* I 172 ("Ignatius, quem imitati sunt omnes antiqui Patres").

⁴⁵ MI *Const.* I 40 42.

⁴⁶ "Jubones y paletos sean negros o blancos y no colorados, ni de otra color inonesta. Item, calças ex consuetudine más negras que blancas y pardillas" (MI *Const.* I 42). "Sancti Patris subucula erat e tela nigra, uti et soccus" (Lancicius 490). "Vidi ego Romae plures S. P. N. Ignatii vestes, et exteriores et interulas, ut vocant; vidi saepe multas indusii eius particulas, et rubram subuculam, et pileum quadratum Augustae" (*idem*, *Opuscula* II 117).

⁴⁷ A 559; Lancicius 489.

⁴⁸ A 560. The sketch added to the manuscript has groups of four (and one of three) small beads, separated by five large beads: twenty-three small, and five large beads in all. The artist may have only wanted to give the order and not the exact number. Concerning the text see D. Fernández Zapico, S.J., "El rosario o corona de S. Ignacio de Loyola," *AHSI* 14 (1945) 131-137, where there is an explanation of the word *cavaleri*, which was not correctly understood by the editors.

⁴⁹ "Item, el traer de los vestidos sea símil o poco disímil de lo que en las tierras se acostumbra" (MI *Const.* I 41).

his disciples did not;⁶⁰ and he supported himself on his cane as he went about.⁶¹ His mere appearance made a deep impression and was as effective as a sermon. The people gazed at him on the street,⁶² even though he carefully avoided anything that was singular or would attract attention; and they called him the man "who always looked to heaven and spoke of God."⁶³

3. FOOD AND WORK

About the house Inigo was most unassuming. He ate little,⁶⁴ and he frequently remained for three days taking hardly any food or drink. The severe pains in his stomach, which had been caused by his earlier, excessive fastings, compelled him to watch his diet.⁶⁵ He contented himself with ordinary, coarse food, such as veal, cheese, and peaches.⁶⁶ At meals, as in everything else, he practiced such great self-denial⁶⁷ that he seemed to have lost his sense of taste.⁶⁸ He never spoke of eating and never complained if the food was poorly prepared, too flat or too salty, or if the wine was sour, even though this was hard on his stomach.⁶⁹ He ate no dessert, but occasionally his disciples placed before him four roasted chestnuts. He would then seem to take some pleasure in these, for they reminded him of his youth in his native Guipúzcoa.⁷⁰

Simple as was his table, he still believed that it should manifest a certain noble decency.⁷¹ In his dealings with others, he was the most polite and obliging man in the world.⁷² He never compelled anyone to eat in a hurry, and he never finished before the others. If he saw that one was still unfinished, he held a piece of bread in his hand as long as he could and broke it into ever smaller pieces and nibbled on it until all were finished.⁷³

Inigo was a foe to all idleness; he was always busy himself and he did not permit his disciples to stand idly about or spend their time in gossip.⁷⁴ When he was asked why he did not want to have a choir in the Society of Jesus, he

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 42-43; A 560.

⁶¹ A 560.

⁶² According to Philippus Aupolinus of Lorraine, a novice in the professed house in Rome in 1552 (*MI Scripta* II 476).

⁶³ Bartoli, *Vita* 4, 28.

⁶⁴ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 4, 18; A 561.

⁶⁵ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 4, 18; cf. Camara, n. 210.

⁶⁶ Ribadeneyra (FN II 474-475); Camara, n. 186. See also the medical prescriptions for Ignatius in *MI Scripta* I 577-579.

⁶⁷ Camara, n. 189.

⁶⁸ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 4, 18.

⁶⁹ Camara, nn. 186-189; Lancicius 499.

⁷⁰ "E a festa, que às vezes lhe fazíamos, era dar-lhe quatro castanhas assadas, que, por ser fruta da sua terra e com elle se criara, parecia que folgava com ellas" (Camara, n. 189).

⁷¹ Camara, nn. 191-192; Lancicius 486-487; *MI Regulae* 326. Benedetto Palmio, who has in Rome in 1546, when Ignatius was already accustomed to eat apart from the community wrote as follows: "Parsimonia et frugalitate Ignatii mensa splendescbat, nescio quid aulicum tamen redolebat; duo enim tresve aderant qui ministrarent, praesertim cum externi homines adhiberentur conviviae. Pocula vero adeo eleganter ministrabantur, ut ne in aulis quidem id fieri posset elegantius atque concinnius" (Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 252). Camara, in mentioning this, notes how the priests' toothpicks were covered with vine leaves and sage (n. 192).

⁷² Camara, n. 290.

⁷³ Camara, nn. 189-190; Lancicius 496.

⁷⁴ Ribadeneyra (FN II 494); *MI Regulae* 173; *Lancicius* 484.

replied: "I thought that if we had no choir, then everyone would know that we were idle if we were not seen to be busy taking care of our neighbors' souls; it thus forces us to work for souls."⁶⁵ An hourglass was set out for recreation after the noon and evening meals; when it ran out after an hour, the companions then went their separate ways.⁶⁶ Iñigo also used great care in writing his letters, especially if they were directed to people of standing or were concerned with important matters. He read them through again and again, weighing each word; and he frequently rewrote them two or three times, or had them recopied until he was satisfied.⁶⁷

Before he decided to undertake a task, he reflected on all its aspects and recommended the matter for a long time to God in prayer in order to obtain divine guidance. He also sought the opinions of his companions and other experienced individuals. But once he had decided upon a course of action, he held tenaciously to it, like the stubborn Basque that he was, until he had brought it to a conclusion; and he would not postpone its execution for even a day or an hour, though wind and weather and numerous other obstacles might be opposed to it.⁶⁸ One day he went to speak with a cardinal. When he was not admitted, he waited fasting for fourteen hours so as not to let the opportunity slip by.⁶⁹ On such occasions Cardinal Carpi was accustomed to say: "*Gia ha fisso il chiodo*" ("He has already pounded in the nail," that is, "there is nothing more to do").⁷⁰

About four hours of sleep were sufficient for him.⁷¹ When his companions had already retired, he would still walk back and forth for hours in his room, supporting himself on his cane, thinking and praying; and he only retired after midnight, rising again in the early hours of the morning.⁷²

⁶⁵ Camara, n. 137; MI *Regulae* 326.

⁶⁶ Camara, n. 169; Ribadeneyra (FN II 494).

⁶⁷ Camara, nn. 145-146; Ribadeneyra (FN II 494); MI *Scripta* I 466); Lancicius 513-514.

⁶⁸ Camara, nn. 282 282b 16 162-163. Ribadeneyra: "Era magnánimo y longánimo, y en las cosas que enprendia incansable, y por ninguna dificultad ni contradición que se ofreciese bolvíá atrás; y tales deseava que fuessen sus hijos" (MI *Scripta* I 463), and Nadal: "Numquam rem assumpsit, quam non confecerit" (FN II 121); see also Laynez 140 and Huonder 26-28.

⁶⁹ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 5, 12. In 1552, Ignatius had to travel with Polanco to the Kingdom of Naples on important business. When they woke two or three hours before daybreak for an early start, it was raining in torrents. Polanco advised his sickly superior to put off their departure until the following day, but Ignatius replied: "Vamos luego; que 30 años ha que nunca he dexado de hazer a la hora que me havia propuesto negocio de servicio de Nuestro Señor, por ocasión de agua, ni viento, ni de otros embaraços de tiempo" (Ribadeneyra, FN II 414; Polanco, *Chronicon* II 427).

⁷⁰ Camara, n. 20.

⁷¹ Maffei, *Vita* 3, 12.

⁷² "Soleva andare tardi al letto, come l'inverno a 7 o 8 hore di notte, nelle quali spaggiava per la sua camera tutto pensoso, et si levava a buon hora" (A 560); "baculo innixus" (Maffei, *Vita* 3, 12). The Romans counted the hours from six o'clock in the evening, or more precisely, they began the hours of the night a half-hour after sundown. The rules of 1552 prescribed that all should retire at the fifth hour of the night, that is, at about ten (inclusive reckoning) o'clock according to our time (MI *Regulae* 191).

4. SPEECH ⁷³

A man of action, Inigo was sparing in his speech. He spoke little, ⁷⁴ slowly, ⁷⁵ and with well-chosen words. ⁷⁶ These were simple, to the point, and free from superlatives, rhetorical flourishes, and affectation. ⁷⁷ His manner was definite, virile, and highly persuasive. He stressed the main points and did not delay on matters of little importance. ⁷⁸ Whenever anyone told him something, he listened quietly and without interruptions until the end; ⁷⁹ and if some exciting news was told him, he reflected on it before giving an answer. ⁸⁰ He was not exaggerated in his praise, nor did he speak of the faults of others; and he was accustomed to give a good interpretation to everything. ⁸¹

He made no rash promises, nor let any thoughtless words slip from his lips. ⁸² He once declared that he had not called anyone a fool or knave since his conversion, or addressed anyone in opprobrious terms. ⁸³

He allowed himself to be called "Your Reverence," but not "Your Paternity." ⁸⁴ After his conversion he had resolved to address all, even princes and high lords, whether of the spiritual or temporal order, only as "you." Later however he addressed everyone by his proper title, retaining the "you," solely for his companions. They also addressed him in this manner, for this seemed to him to correspond more exactly with the way in which Christ addressed His disciples, and they each other. ⁸⁵ In their ordinary conversations the companions simply called each other by their proper names without further ceremony. When Araoz once came to visit his "uncle" before his entrance into the Society, Xavier happened to be acting as porter. He announced the visitor's arrival with the words: "Inigo, Araoz is here and wants to speak with you!" ⁸⁶ The companions however

⁷³ See Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 5, 6 and Huonder 34-35.

⁷⁴ Camara, nn., 227; Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 5, 6.

⁷⁵ "Muy sosegadamente, ut solet" (Camara, n. 150).

⁷⁶ Camara, nn. 258 379; Manare 313; Ribadeneyra: "Era increíble la circunspección que tenía en el hablar; y así deseava que los de la Compañía fuessen muy mirados, no usando de palabras livianas, desconcertadas, de murmuración, detracción, ni arrojadas, ni aun hiperbólicas y encarecidas" (MI *Scripta* I 461; cf. *Vida* 5, 6).

⁷⁷ Camara, nn. 99 227; Ribadeneyra (FN II 412; MI *Scripta* I 461).

⁷⁸ Camara, n. 227; Manare 513; Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 5, 6.

⁷⁹ Camara n. 202-203; Ribadeneyra (*Vida* 5, 6 and FN II 412).

⁸⁰ Ribadeneyra (*Vida* 5, 6 and FN II 412 415 478).

⁸¹ Laynez 136; Camara, nn. 91 355; Ribadeneyra (*Vida* 5, 6 FN II 389 and MI *Scripta* I 450); Lancicius 496.

⁸² In 1545 he told Ribadeneyra: "I cannot recall that I have ever said or promised anything during the past eleven or twelve years that I later regretted" (Ribadeneyra in FN II 327; cf. *Vida* 5, 6).

⁸³ In 1553 he told the same person that he had not called anyone a knave or fool or used any other insulting term for thirty years (*ibid.*).

⁸⁴ The title of "Paternity" was not adopted for the general until 1561 (Camara, n. 400; Lancicius 482).

⁸⁵ Ribadeneyra (FN II 393). Xavier also always used *vos* ("you" in the plural) when he wrote to Ignatius or the other companions.

⁸⁶ Camara, n. 142. In the extant texts, *Lus. 109* has "Inigo," the Italian translation in *Vitae* 28: "Ignazio"; the others simply omit the name; but Xavier always used the form "Inigo" like Ignatius himself.

⁸⁷ Camara, nn. 107 142. Ignatius did not want the companions to be called "Father" or "Brother." Instead, they were to be called: "One of ours, one of the Society, a priest a layman" (Camara, n. 142); only the superiors were to be called "Father" (*ibid.*, n. 372; cf. Lancicius 478-479).

still retained their academic and other titles. They thus spoke of "Master Francis," "Licentiate Araoz," "Don Diego," and so forth.⁸⁷

Iñigo had not forgotten his native Basque tongue,⁸⁸ and he spoke Spanish with a Basque coloring.⁸⁹ His Italian was poor, a mishmash of Spanish, Italian, and Latin, with Spanish inflections and constructions. But his teaching of Christian doctrine, like his Spanish preaching, always made a deep impression, since he spoke with a holy fire. He was accustomed to end his instructions with the words: "*Amar a Dio con toto el core, con tota l'anima, con tota la voluntad*" ("Love God with your whole heart, with your whole soul, with your whole will"). As a consequence many would then confess their sins with great contrition and abundant tears.⁹⁰

5. PRAYER⁹¹

Iñigo was a man of prayer. He prayed constantly, for he always walked in the presence of God.⁹² He was often seen directing his gaze towards heaven,⁹³ for he was preoccupied with the thought of death and of his eternal home.⁹⁴ When he gazed at the sky with its host of stars at night, he used to say: "How earth repels me when I think of heaven!"⁹⁵ Even the most insignificant creatures, the leaf of an orange,⁹⁶ a flower, a small worm on a path were sufficient to lift his thought to his Creator.⁹⁷ When he entered a church where a solemn service was in progress, he immediately felt as if he were taken out of himself and placed in a higher sphere through the singing and music;⁹⁸ the monastic recitation of the Office also affected him strongly.⁹⁹ He found God in everything, even in his routine occupations;¹⁰⁰ for he did everything for His greater honor and wanted his disciples to do the same.¹⁰¹ Through frequent ejaculatory prayers

⁸⁸ In 1535 Ignatius preached and taught in Basque in Azpeitia and its environs (MI *Scripta* II 206; *Ep. Mixtae* I 47). Araoz substituted Basque for Spanish words in his letters so that only Ignatius could understand them (*Ep. Mixtae* I 197 241-242; V 643); see Jorge de Aguirre, S.J., "San Ignacio de Loyola y el idioma vasco," *Yakintza* 16 (1935) 270-277; Leturia, *El Gentilhombre* 53-55; and L. Lopetegui Otegui, S.J., "La lengua nativa de San Ignacio de Loyola," *Boletín de los Amigos del País*, 1961, pp. 51-94.

⁸⁹ For the text of his Exercises, see MI *Exercitia* 179-186; for that of his spiritual diary, see Plácido Mújica, S.J., "Reminiscencias de la lengua vasca en el 'Diario' de San Ignacio," *Revue internationale des Etudes Basques* 27 (1936) 53-61.

⁹⁰ Ribadeneyra (FN II 349-351). The substance of his teachings on Christian doctrine is given in the *Summa delle prediche di M. Ignatio sopra la dottrina christiana* (MI *Epp.* XII 666-673).

⁹¹ See Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 5, 1, and Huonder 53-61.

⁹² Camara, n. 175; Nadal (FN II 122-123); Manare 523.

⁹³ Manare 523.

⁹⁴ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 5, 1; Nadal (FN II 122); cf. Manare 520.

⁹⁵ Bartoli, *Vita* 4, 28; cf. Ignatius 376; Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 5, 1.

⁹⁶ "In folio taronici inveniebat Trinitatem coram P. Natali," writes Nadal (FN II 123). Instead of the Catalan *taronja* Nadal uses in another place the Spanish *hoja de naranjo* (*ibid.* 158).

⁹⁷ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 5, 1; Ignatius 504; Nadal (FN II 122).

⁹⁸ Camara, nn. 177178; cf. Ribadeneyra (FN II 337).

⁹⁹ Ribadeneyra (FN II 337).

¹⁰⁰ Ribadeneyra (FN II 364); Nadal IV 651-652 and FN II 122-123.

¹⁰¹ Camara, n. 176; Ribadeneyra (FN II 419; MI *Scripta* I 447); Manare 515; MI *Epp.* III 502; *Regulae* 222; *Const.* II 366-369.

he kept himself constantly united with his Creator.¹⁰² Indeed it seemed as if he had God visible before his eyes.¹⁰³ The external reverence which he manifested in all his prayers was thus extraordinary.¹⁰⁴ He did not want anyone to support himself on the benches or Communion rail¹⁰⁵ while praying in the church. He always recollected himself before making the sign of the cross, and his devotion at meal prayers was so great that his confreres often gazed at him in astonishment.¹⁰⁶

He never omitted his daily spiritual reading. He always found in it new nourishment for the fire that burned within his heart and new material for spiritual conversation. But he did not read much and had few books in his room.¹⁰⁷ As a rule there were only two—the New Testament and *The Following of Christ*.¹⁰⁸ Since his stay at Manresa the latter had become so much his favorite book that he recommended it to all and preferred it to all others. Every day he read a chapter in its successive order, but after his noon meal and at other hours he would open it up at random, and he always found what he had in mind or needed at the time.¹⁰⁹ He named it “the partridge” of spiritual books;¹¹⁰ and just as he followed exactly all the rules of his Exercises in his daily life, so too the teaching of this golden little book seemed to have come to life in him.¹¹¹

He had a very high regard for meditation and every day devoted a long time to it.¹¹² From it he sought light and strength in order that he might always serve his heavenly Sovereign more perfectly.¹¹³ More than once during meditation, as also on other occasions, he was seen with his countenance entirely inflamed with the fire of love and devotion,¹¹⁴ and no noise could disturb him at such a time.¹¹⁵

The daily examinations of conscience at noon and in the evening were not sufficient for him.¹¹⁶ He made his particular examen with great care and perseverance, and he reminded himself each hour of the fault which he was avoid-

¹⁰² Manare 515; MI *Regulae* 222.

¹⁰³ Camara, n. 183; Ribadeneyra (FN II 390).

¹⁰⁴ Ribadeneyra (FN II 490).

¹⁰⁵ MI *Regulae* 163 177 342; Lancicius 484.

¹⁰⁶ Camara, nn. 183-184; Ribadeneyra (FN II 390).

¹⁰⁷ A 561.

¹⁰⁸ Manare 515.

¹⁰⁹ Camara, nn. 97-98; cf. Nadal I 19.

¹¹⁰ Manare 516. By this he meant to say that he found *The Following of Christ* most to his taste.

¹¹¹ Camara, nn. 98 226.

¹¹² According to his spiritual diary, which he wrote in 1544-1545, he made his meditation before Mass (MI *Const.* I 86-158). According to Camara, who was in Rome from 1553 to 1555, Ignatius was accustomed to say the Hail Marys, which he substituted for his breviary, after he arose. He then celebrated or attended Mass; after this he meditated for two hours (n. 179).

¹¹³ Cf. the usual preparatory prayer for meditation in MI Ex. 274 and Huonder 14-15.

¹¹⁴ “Todas as vezes que a isso entrey, que forão muitas, o achey com hum rosto e vulto tam resplandescente, que ficava espantado e como fora de mym; porque não era como o que muitas vezes tinha visto em pessoas devotas, quando estão em oração, senão que claramente parecia cousa dos ceos, e muy extraordinaria” (Camara, n. 179).

¹¹⁵ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 5, 1.

¹¹⁶ Ignatius once asked a priest how often he had examined his conscience that day. “Seven times,” was the answer. “So seldom?” observed Ignatius, though at the time a good portion of the day still remained (Ribadeneyra in FN II 345).

ing¹¹⁷ or of the particular virtue which he wanted to exercise;¹¹⁸ and, following the advice of his book of Exercises, he steadfastly compared day with day, week with week, and month with month in order to make constant progress in the the spiritual life.¹¹⁹

When Iñigo began to recite the breviary after his ordination to the priesthood, he experienced such great spiritual consolation and shed so many tears that he had to stop at almost every word and interrupt the Office. The result was that he spent a great part of the day in praying the Hours, and there was a danger that he might lose his sight as the result of his excessive weeping. It reached such a point that one day he began a Psalm but was not able to finish it because of the abundance of heavenly consolations he experienced. The efforts he used in praying the breviary cost him so much that they increased his weakness. His companions finally asked for a dispensation for him and for the weak-eyed Don Diego de Egúfa. The pope graciously granted this favor on January 2, 1539, permitting them to substitute other oral prayers or pious works for the Office. But even when Iñigo recited a fixed number of Our Fathers and Hail Marys instead of the breviary, he was frequently enraptured by an excess of heavenly consolations.¹²⁰

He had a great devotion to the Mother of God.¹²¹ On his sickbed at Loyola, Mary had appeared to him with her divine Child and had forever freed him from temptations of the flesh.¹²² During those days he had composed a book for himself in which he wrote out the words of Christ in red ink and those of the Queen of Heaven in blue.¹²³ His first steps during his period of convalescence had taken him to the sanctuary of Olaz, which he was accustomed to greet from a distance with a *Salve*.¹²⁴ In the chapel of Our Lady of Aranzazu he had taken leave from his homeland and had pronounced a vow of perpetual chastity.¹²⁵ He had had his sword and dagger hung up as votive offerings before the famous miraculous statue of Our Lady of Montserrat, and he had kept his watch as a knight before it so that from thence on he might serve alone his heavenly queen.¹²⁶ In Manresa he had begun to recite her Office every day.¹²⁷ In the Holy Land he had visited with many tears the sites which had been sanctified by her and her divine Son.¹²⁸ In Paris he had pronounced his vows with those of his disciples on the feast of her Assumption, thus laying the cornerstone of the Society of Jesus. In Rome he had celebrated his first Mass in front of the crib in Santa Maria Maggiore, and he often celebrated it before her picture in

¹¹⁷ Camara, n. 24; Ribadeneyra (FN II 345).

¹¹⁸ Ribadeneyra (MI *Scripta* I 455-456).

¹¹⁹ Laynez 140; Ribadeneyra (*Vida* 5, 1 and FN II 344); Manare 523.

¹²⁰ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 5, 1; Nadal (FN II 126 157 416). Text in MI *Scripta* I 552-553.

¹²¹ See Aicardo II 552-556; Huonder 24-25; A. Drive, S.J., *Marie et la Compagnie de Jésus* (Tournai-Paris, 1913) 3-24.

¹²² Ignatius 374-376; cf. Laynez 140.

¹²³ Ignatius 376.

¹²⁴ Leturia, *El Gentilhombre* 206 (local tradition).

¹²⁵ Ignatius 380; MI *Epp.* VII 422; Laynez 74-76; Leturia, *El Gentilhombre* 238-241 216, n. 60, and J. Iriarte, S.J., "Fijando el voto de castidad de S. Ignacio de Loyola," *Manresa* 3 (1927) 156-164.

¹²⁶ Ignatius 386-388; Laynez 76-78.

¹²⁷ Ignatius 402.

¹²⁸ Laynez 90.

the small neighboring church of Santa Maria della Strada.¹²⁹ He did not wish to be separated from his rosary even when he went to sleep.¹³⁰

The high point of his day was always, however, the celebration of Mass. He had waited a year and a half after his ordination to the priesthood to offer the Holy Sacrifice for the first time on Christmas night in 1538. In the evening he carefully looked over the text of the Mass in the missal for the following day. He read it in a loud voice, as was customary in Rome.¹³¹ As a rule it brought him extraordinary consolations, lights, and visions.¹³² When he held Christ in the Sacred Host in his hands after the Consecration, he saw Him at once before him and in heaven¹³³ with such a lively faith that his emotions frequently caused him to lose his voice and tears prevented him from proceeding further. At times he even had to break off the Holy Sacrifice.¹³⁴ He thought that a Mass in which he did not weep at least three times was dry and devotionless.¹³⁵ As a consequence, he needed a full hour and more to celebrate, even though he urged his companions not to exceed half an hour in this.¹³⁶ One day he offered the Holy Sacrifice in San Giovanni in Laterano with his usual abundance of tears. When he had finished, a man came up to Francisco de Strada, who had served him, and said: "Your priest must be, or at least must have been, a great rogue, for from the beginning to the end of his Mass he wept continuously. He must bear a heavy burden upon his soul, and there is certainly more on his conscience than mere words."¹³⁷

At other times also, when he was meditating or praying, Inigo shed frequent tears. Laynez once observed that this happened six or seven times a day. The result of this weeping was that his eyes became weak and afflicted.¹³⁸ During his hard and penitential life at Manresa, which as a student he used to call his "primitive church,"¹³⁹ he had experienced his first supernatural favors and states. These included the gift of tears, special lights, visions, and revelations with respect to the Blessed Trinity, the humanity of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, the most Holy Sacrament of the Altar, and the creation of the world.¹⁴⁰ Once when

¹²⁹ Tacchi Venturi, *Le Case abitate in Roma da S. Ignazio di Loiola* (Roma, 1899) 5-6 21; Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 19-20.

¹³⁰ A 560.

¹³¹ Camara, n. 194.

¹³² Ignatius 504-506; see his spiritual diary (MI Const. I 68-158) and Nadal (FN II 122).

¹³³ Ribadeneyra (FN II 474).

¹³⁴ Ribadeneyra (*ibid.* 345-346); Nadal (*ibid.* 122); Manare 511 (cf. MI Scripta I 573).

¹³⁵ Camara, n. 183.

¹³⁶ Manare 511.

¹³⁷ Bartoli, *Vita* 4, 28. Maffei, who is the first to report the incident, gives more detailed information: "Cum initio sacerdotii, in medio Lateranensi templo Christi natalitia celebraret ad aram sacris Apostolorum Petri, Pauli et Andreae reliquiis inclytam" (*Vita Ignatii* 3, 1). On Christmas, 1538, Ignatius offered his first Mass in the chapel of the crib in Santa Maria Maggiore. On Christmas, 1539, Strada was not in Rome. In January, 1541, he left the Eternal City and did not return until 1550. Only three possibilities are therefore left: either the Mass was on Christmas, 1540; or Ignatius celebrated a second Mass in the Lateran in 1538, which seems to us quite unlikely; or the statements of Maffei and Bartoli do not agree on the day, the church, or the server.

¹³⁸ Laynez 140. On the saint's gift of tears see Larrañaga 641-647.

¹³⁹ Laynez 140.

¹⁴⁰ Ignatius 402-404; Laynez 138. On the mystical graces of the saint see the detailed study of Joseph de Guibert, S.J., "Mystique ignatienne," *Revue d'Ascétique et Mystique* 19 (1938) 3-22 113-140. See also A. Haas, S.J., "Die Mystik des hl. Ignatius von Loyola nach seinem geistlichen Tagebuch," *Geist und Leben* 26 (1953) 123-135; Canisius in Braunsberger VII 253-258 270; and Böhmer 48-56.

he was near the church of St. Paul, gazing thoughtfully down upon the Cardoner River, he had such a marvelous vision that it seemed to make a new man of him. All at once he received a new understanding, and many secrets of the faith were made clear and intelligible to him.¹⁴¹ This single vision, as Laynez observed, gave him more knowledge than all his seven long years of subsequent study. He received more from it than he could have from all the doctors of the world; and he said that even if there were no Sacred Scripture or other source of faith, he would still be ready to die for it simply on the basis of the lights which he had received at Manresa.¹⁴² In Paris he had ceased to experience these supernatural states and extraordinary graces, but they returned again in Venice and Vicenza. They became an almost daily occurrence, and he continued to experience them on his trip to Rome and in the Eternal City.¹⁴³ One day in Rome he even told Laynez that the heavenly favors which he had received in Manresa were small in comparison with those which God was now sending him.¹⁴⁴

6. FOLLOWING OF CHRIST

The fruit that Iñigo derived from his constant intercourse with God and these supernatural lights and consolations were a great devotion to the most Blessed Trinity¹⁴⁵ and an ardent love for Christ, his heavenly King and crucified Redeemer.¹⁴⁶ In 1532 he had written from Paris to his brother Martín García: "Whoever loves something for its own sake and not for God's does not love God with his whole heart." Later on in this same letter he declared: "One towards whom God our Lord has been so generous should not be stingy."¹⁴⁷ His life was therefore bound to be a constant, magnanimous following of the crucified Christ. He used to say that if one would lay on one balance of a scales all the goods of the world and on the other the favors which God had conferred upon him when he permitted him to suffer persecution, imprisonment, and chains for His love, he would esteem the former to be of no account, for no creature could give the soul such consolation as the thought of having suffered for Christ;¹⁴⁸ and he looked upon such suffering as the shortest way to perfection.¹⁴⁹

A second fruit of his inner life of prayer was a deep humility¹⁵⁰ founded on

¹⁴¹ On the vision near the Cardoner River see Ignatius 404-406; Laynez 80; Polanco (FN I 160-161; II 526); Camara, n. 137; Nadal (FN II 66 133 163 192-193 239-240 406); Laniccius 531-532; Hugo Rahner, S.J., *Ignatius von Loyola und das geschichtliche Werden seiner Frömmigkeit* (Graz, 1947) 56-60 96-100; and R. Cantin, S.J., "L'illumination du Cardoner," *Sciences Ecclésiastiques* 7 (Montréal, 1955) 23-56. When he was asked about certain arrangements in the Society, Ignatius mentioned this vision to Camara; Xavier perhaps also refers to it when he thanks God that through the confirmation of the Society the Lord publicly made known what He had secretly revealed to His servant Ignatius (EX I 176); see Leturia in AHSI 10 (1941) 29-31.

¹⁴² Ignatius 404; Laynez 84; Ribadeneyra, who learned about this from Laynez (FN II 324).

¹⁴³ Ignatius 494-496 504-506.

¹⁴⁴ Laynez 140; Ribadeneyra (FN II 344 478).

¹⁴⁵ Ignatius 400-402; Nadal IV 651; Polanco 529; Larrañaga 634-640.

¹⁴⁶ Hounder 19-22.

¹⁴⁷ MI *Epp.* I 80-81.

¹⁴⁸ Ignatius to King Dom João III in 1545 (FN I 53); Ribadeneyra (*Vida* 5, 10, and FN 288).

¹⁴⁹ Ribadeneyra (FN II 481).

¹⁵⁰ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 5, 3; Manare 508-509; Huonder 43-47.

a clear recognition of God's greatness and his own nothingness.¹⁵¹ Even after his conversion Iñigo still had to wage war for two long years on temptations to vanity. At Barcelona, for example, when he embarked for the Holy Land, he ventured to tell no one that he was making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.¹⁵² But in Paris these temptations disappeared forever,¹⁵³ and he had less fear of vanity than of any other vice. He looked upon himself as the greatest of sinners and wondered how God had, in spite of all his failings, conferred so many graces upon him.¹⁵⁴ He found reason for being edified by all in the house, but he was never satisfied with himself.¹⁵⁵ He ascribed all good to the goodness of God.¹⁵⁶ He would have gladly gone barefooted through the streets of Rome with his poor leg exposed and dressed as a fool to be like his humbled Redeemer if he had not been restrained by the thought of the needs of others.¹⁵⁷ He was resolute and unbending when he recognized that something was right; but when this light failed him, he gladly accepted the opinions of others.¹⁵⁸ He spoke little of himself and of his earlier life, and if he did so, it was to console his disciples or to encourage them by his example.¹⁵⁹

Just as he had freed Xavier from his ambitious plans in Paris, so he also wanted it known that all hopes for ecclesiastical preferments were excluded from his Society.¹⁶⁰ One day when he was visiting the imperial ambassador, Juan Fernandez Manrique de Lara, marqués de Aguilar, the latter jokingly remarked that he and others suspected that Master Ignatius was seeking to obtain a cardinal's hat or some other ecclesiastical dignity under the cloak of poverty and humility. Iñigo then took off his hat, blessed himself, and swore that he would accept no dignities that might be conferred upon him outside the Society unless the Vicar of Christ his Lord obliged him to do so under the pain of sin.¹⁶¹

He wished to follow Christ his Lord in everything—in His humiliations, His debasement, and in His extreme poverty.¹⁶² On this point he was strict. He regarded poverty as the strong protecting wall of the Society.¹⁶³ Like himself, his disciples should strive to practice it in its highest perfection, treating nothing as their own and seeking always to become more like their divine Leader in this regard.¹⁶⁴ No one should therefore drive in, or pull out, a nail without

¹⁵¹ Polanco (FN I 162-163).

¹⁵² Ignatius 356 412; Camara, n. 111.

¹⁵³ In 1545 Ignatius told Ribadeneyra that he had not been tempted to vanity for twelve years (FN II 327). In 1548 Polanco wrote that he had heard Ignatius say that God had so thoroughly freed him from vanity that he had not had to accuse himself of it in confession for eighteen or twenty years (FN I 162-163).

¹⁵⁴ Ribadeneyra (FN II 473-474).

¹⁵⁵ *Idem* (Vida 5, 3 and FN II 378 478).

¹⁵⁶ Ignatius 354-356.

¹⁵⁷ Laynez 140; Ribadeneyra (FN II 347).

¹⁵⁸ Laynez 140; Ribadeneyra (FN II 378).

¹⁵⁹ Ribadeneyra, Vida 5, 3.

¹⁶⁰ MI *Const.* I 164-166; Huonder 81-84.

¹⁶¹ Ribadeneyra (FN II 370-371). Aguilar was ambassador in Rome from 1536 to 1543; Huonder lays the scene in 1538 without giving any reasons for it (82).

¹⁶² See Huonder 180-193 and Ignatius' considerations about the advantages and disadvantages of poverty in 1544 (MI *Const.* I 78-81).

¹⁶³ MI *Const.* II 529.

¹⁶⁴ See his so-called "considerations" of 1544, the *Summarium Constitutionum* of 1553 (MI *Regulae* 324), and the thoughts in the Exercises on the third degree of humility (MI *Ex.* 370-372).

permission.¹⁶⁵ During those first years it was regarded as a reserved sin for one to give or receive anything worth the value of a pen without the permission of the superior at the time.¹⁶⁶ The companions had no stable revenues; they lived from hand to mouth on the alms of their benefactors and on the food which they begged from door to door when this was necessary.¹⁶⁷ Iñigo gave the best example to all in this. His room was poorly furnished like that of the companions: a bed, a table without a covering,¹⁶⁸ a footstool,¹⁶⁹ one or two books, writing equipment, a washbowl, and lamp.¹⁷⁰

Holy poverty was dear to Iñigo, not simply because it made him like Christ, his King, but because it promoted another virtue, an unbounded confidence in God.¹⁷¹ The words of Christ "Seek first the kingdom of God and His justice and all will be added thereunto" were always before his eyes.¹⁷² Since the days of Manresa he had placed all his confidence in God alone. God alone was to be his helper in his journey to the Holy Land. He had therefore refused a companion¹⁷³ for the pilgrimage, and before he went on board ship he had even left behind on a bench on the docks in Barcelona the few coins, five or six *blancas*, he had begged for the long journey.¹⁷⁴ When the dangers and difficulties of continuing his journey were described to him in Venice, he declared that if all other means failed him he still hoped that God would bring him to his goal upon a plank,¹⁷⁵ and he was not deceived. On that pilgrimage and throughout all his later life he had always experienced God's help in a wonderful manner. As a consequence, even in the worst circumstances, he always had an unshakable confidence in Him.

One day Araoz was sick and there was nothing in the house for the evening meal when Xavier returned. Night had fallen, and Iñigo told him to go to the gate and see if something had not come for the community. Xavier went and found a generous dish which had been left for the priests.¹⁷⁶ Despite all his love for holy poverty, Iñigo insisted on the greatest cleanliness in everything.¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁵ Lancicius 484 and the rules of 1549 (*MI Regulae* 168).

¹⁶⁶ Lancicius 484 488-489, *Opuscula* I 150, and *MI Regulae* 205. In March, 1541, the six companions who were staying in Rome decided that if the head of the Society during his lifetime should take even a *scudo* from the sacristy, which alone could possess anything, either for himself or for the Society, he should be dismissed and sent away (*MI Const.* I 40).

¹⁶⁷ In the beginning the priests in Rome begged every day for their food from door to door like the friars. But they soon found that this method of practicing poverty was not suitable for the Society. Already in March, 1541, they decided: "Quando al perlado pareciere, pidan ostiatin; y aunque no tengan necesidad, una vez en el año pidan todos, y el perlado, con visajas o caxetas, para una obra pía que no sea para ellos" (*MI Const.* I 47). From then on Ignatius wished it only as a test or in exceptional cases, as for example, after the death of the procurator Codacio (*MI Epp.* II 661; cf. *MI Regulae* 174 188; *Camara*, n. 253; *Lancicius* 480; *Aicardo* I 587-600).

¹⁶⁸ A 561.

¹⁶⁹ "Scamna" (*Lancicius* 503).

¹⁷⁰ *Lancicius* 503.

¹⁷¹ *MI Const.* 76. On his trust in God see Huonder 48-53; Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 5, 9.

¹⁷² See the Five Chapters (*MI Const.* I 19).

¹⁷³ *Ignatius* 410.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 412.

¹⁷⁵ *Maffei, Vita* 1, 13.

¹⁷⁶ Araoz in *FN* IV 937.

¹⁷⁷ Huonder 99-100; Böhmer 58-59, n. 4. *Lancicius*, who is followed by later authors, has Ignatius write out an order shortly after his arrival in Rome according to which Franciscus, that is, Xavier, as minister, Alphonsus, that is, Salmerón, as subminister, and

"Three things," he used to say, "reveal good discipline in a religious community: cleanliness about the house and of the clothing, silence, and the keeping of cloister.¹⁷⁸ He wanted the strictest cleanliness to be preserved in the toilets.¹⁷⁹ Nothing should attract the eyes of visitors from the outside. Shirts and sheets should therefore not be hung up to dry in a public place.¹⁸⁰ Rooms and corridors had to be swept regularly,¹⁸¹ and each one had to arrange his bed before sunrise.¹⁸² Books should be placed in order on the table in the rooms,¹⁸³ and everything else should be in its proper place: nightcaps hidden under the pillows, brooms under the beds or in dark corners; and the same held for shoes, shirts, candlesticks, and sheets.¹⁸⁴

Iñigo regarded soap as a superfluous luxury,¹⁸⁵ but the dishes had always to be clean and bright.¹⁸⁶ He also wanted his companions to have the same regard for order.¹⁸⁷ Broët, who came from a country village in Picardy and had not grown up in a seigneurial palace and in the midst of a distinguished court like Iñigo, took offense at what he considered to be Master Ignatius' excessive mania for cleanliness. He believed that this indicated that there was still something of the old worldly spirit left in the former hidalgo. One day, however, when he saw him as if in ecstasy and transfigured during meditation, he came to realize that he had been the subject of a temptation and that Iñigo's external modesty and care for cleanliness were to be attributed to an overflow of that heavenly beauty which his spirit beheld in prayer. He therefore began to imitate his example and even procured for himself a spittoon in order to keep the floor of his room clean.¹⁸⁸

7. DISCIPLES

The daily life of the companions in the Palazzo Frangipani resembled in many details that of their former life in the colleges of Paris. Six to seven hours were set aside for sleep.¹⁸⁹ Lights were put out in winter at ten o'clock;¹⁹⁰ and before

Johannes Paulus, as syndicus, had the duty of watching over the spirit and conduct of the companions (*Opuscula* I 137). But the text, given in *MI Regulae* 310-313, has nothing to do with Xavier. The order dates from 1552 or 1553; the minister is Francisco Marín, the subminister Alonso Sánchez, and the syndicus Juan Pablo Borell.

¹⁷⁸ Manare 516.

¹⁷⁹ Lancicius 486; *MI Regulae* 174.

¹⁸⁰ Lancicius 502.

¹⁸¹ Lancicius 488. The rules of 1549 state: "Ogni uno, tanto sacerdote como laici, assetti il suo letto la mattina a buona ora, cioè avanti che si leva il sole; et parimenti scopare la camera ogni mattina, ecetto li professi et alcuni altri, quali saranno occupati nelle negottii della casa: de li quali letti et camere, el ministro provedera di chi li habbi di ordinare" (*MI Regulae* 166-167).

¹⁸² Lancicius 488; *MI Regulae* 166-167.

¹⁸³ A 561.

¹⁸⁴ Lancicius 503; Manare 516.

¹⁸⁵ Ribadeneyra (FN II 357).

¹⁸⁶ Lancicius 486-487.

¹⁸⁷ Lancicius 503. Handkerchiefs were not as yet in general use at this time.

¹⁸⁸ *Rosefius 23v (according to Juan Alonso de Vitoria, who stayed in the professed house in Rome in 1549 and repeatedly thereafter). According to him, Broët's temptation was "in initio Societatis."

¹⁸⁹ According to the order of studies for Padua of 1546 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 591), the rules of 1549, 1551, and 1553 (*MI Regulae* 190 264 350), the *Constitutions* (*MI Const.* II 376) and Lancicius 483.

¹⁹⁰ According to the rules of 1549 (*MI Regulae* 191) similar to the rules of Coimbra of 1545 (*ibid.* 58 78).

dawn, at five o'clock in the morning, an *excitator* went from door to door and knocked as a sign for rising.¹⁹¹ Fifteen minutes later he went into all the rooms to see if everyone was up.¹⁹² No signals were given for meditation and examen.¹⁹³ Mass was offered outside the house. There was no breakfast as a rule, but bread and wine were set out for the weak and sick.¹⁹⁴ A small bell was rung to give the signal for dinner, which was at ten in the morning during the summer, and for supper, which was taken eight or nine hours later.¹⁹⁵

The table was simple.¹⁹⁶ But Iñigo always took care that the food was clean and tastefully prepared.¹⁹⁷ In winter mutton was served, and veal in summer. A salad or soup served as an introductory course, and fruit or cheese as a dessert. Fish or eggs could take the place of the meat.¹⁹⁸ Beginning in 1538 Cardinal de Cupis regularly sent an alms in the form of bread and wine for the Parisian masters.¹⁹⁹ The grace at meals ran as follows: "*Benedicite Deus!* May the triune God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, bless us and what we are about to eat! Amen." When the meal was finished the following prayer was said: "Honor be to God, peace to the living, rest to the dead! *Pater noster.* May Jesus Christ give us his holy peace and blessing and everlasting life after death! Amen. Blessed be the womb of the Virgin Mary which bore the Son of the eternal Father. Amen."²⁰⁰

Something from Sacred Scripture, *The Legends of the Saints*, or *The Following of Christ*²⁰¹ was read to the companions as they ate. After they had finished their noon and evening meals, they spent an hour of recreation²⁰² in light conversation. During this time, despite all his self-mastery and authority, Iñigo was not stiff and somber but cheerful and expansive. He could also appreciate a good joke;²⁰³ and the butt of the companions' joshing was as a rule Bobadilla,

¹⁹¹ MI *Regulae* 191-192; A 561. The order of studies for Padua already mention an excitator in 1546 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 591). In Coimbra the community arose at five in winter and at half past four in summer (MI *Regulae* 54).

¹⁹² Lancicius 483-484; see the rules of Coimbra for 1546 (MI *Regulae* 54-55).

¹⁹³ A 561. Later a bell was also rung for this (Lancicius 484 488).

¹⁹⁴ See the rules of 1549 (MI *Regulae* 46) and those of Coimbra of 1546 (*ibid.* 46).

¹⁹⁵ A 561 and MI *Regulae* 186.

¹⁹⁶ "Era a mesa pobre, todavia muito limpo em tudo" (Camara, n. 192). "Qua in re procuratores errarent, tres veluti in classes dividebat romanam victus rationem: (1) cardinalium et virorum principum, (2) virorum nobilium non supremae authoritatis, (3) opificum et vilioris conditionis personarum. Ex his mediam in Societate servari volebat" (Lancicius 497).

¹⁹⁷ Lancicius 497-499; MI *Regulae* 175-189.

¹⁹⁸ Camara, n. 186. The rules of 1553 state: "El comer nuestro y beber, es pan, agua y un poco de vino, un poco de carnero o pescado, y una menestra; los principios y fines, quando los produce la tierra, dellos se puede usar un poco al principio y otro al fin" (MI *Regulae* 377). As a penance one had to be content with bread, wine, soup, or vegetables (Lancicius 504); see also Aicardo II 211-228 863-871.

¹⁹⁹ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 5, 6.

²⁰⁰ Camara, n. 184.

²⁰¹ "Sempre si leggeva qualche cosa mentre mangiavano gl'altri" (A 561). The rules of 1549 state: "Essendo copia di persone, si lega alla mensa in latino o in volgare, della Scriptura, Flos sanctorum o De Contemptu mundi" (MI *Regulae* 162). According to Lancicius three books were kept on the table: "primo aliquid ex Scriptura, secundo vita alicuius sancti, tertio liber de contemptu mundi" (485). See Aicardo II 221-222 and Leturia, "Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà 2 (Roma, 1953) 1-50, supplemented by AHSI 23 (1954) 76-118 351-366.

²⁰² Ribadeneyra (FN II 488 and MI *Scripta* I 465); MI *Regulae* 291 349; Aicardo II 728-737.

²⁰³ Camara, n. 192; cf. 296 302 327.

who furnished the necessary occasion with his extravagant ways and enjoyed the fun because of his good nature.²⁰⁴

Iñigo was not simply a leader whom his disciples revered, but he was also their loving father.²⁰⁵ Though he was naturally serious and severe, he had by persistent efforts over the years greatly softened and refined his character.²⁰⁶ If he showed a certain severity towards those who did not conquer themselves and were unwilling to give themselves entirely over to God or were lacking in zeal, he was still goodness and kindness itself towards all the others.²⁰⁷ He had a paternal regard for all,²⁰⁸ and all knew that they were loved and esteemed by him. They were therefore enthusiastic in their love for him.²⁰⁹

He showed his care for his disciples especially when they were sick.²¹⁰ He visited them day and night, consoled them with friendly words and spiritual conversations,²¹¹ looked to see if the bandage had been correctly placed when they had been bled,²¹² and took care that they lacked nothing and that the medicines which the house physician, Dr. Iñigo López,²¹³ prescribed were immediately procured, no matter what they might cost. In case of necessity he was ready to sell or pawn the pewter plate and the bedclothes to procure them.²¹⁴ More than once he swept a sickroom himself, made the bed of an ailing confrere, and rid it of bugs.²¹⁵ He saw to it that the convalescent slept longer, were dispensed from fasting and provided with better food, had their time of prayer shortened, their studies broken off, and that they went for walks in the campagna so that they might regain their strength. Even the most loving mother could not have been more tender or more solicitous for her children than Iñigo was for the sick.²¹⁶ His own many ills and bodily infirmities had taught him, father that he was, to be weak with the weak and to have compassion upon their

²⁰⁴ See Bobadilla, p. XV, and Xavier's teasing in EX I 87-88. Did the first companions also play games at times during recreation? It seems not. When Ignatius built the Villa Santa Balbina in 1555 as a place of recreation, especially for the scholastics, he allowed only two games to be played there. The first was played on a board. It was like that of the doctors of the Sorbonne, who played a kind of billiards after dinner with their room keys. The second was a kind of *boccia* ("bowling") played with round iron disks (Camara, n. 173).

²⁰⁵ "Muchos y varios eran los modos que tenía nuestro bienaventurado Padre para plantar en las almas de sus hijos la perfección y todo lo que deseava; mas el principal era ganarles el corazón con un amor de suavissimo y dulcissimo padre; porque verdaderamente él lo era con todos sus hijos" (Ribadeneyra, *MI Scripta* I 449). See also Huonder 123-132.

²⁰⁶ "Una cosa maravillosa tenía . . . y es que, siendo de su complexión muy colérico, tenía tan vencida esta pasión, que los médicos que no le conocían le tenían por flegmático" (Ribadeneyra, FN II 375). Camara praised the "grande afabilidad" of the saint but added: "foy affavel como todos, e familiar com nenhum" (nn. 88-89).

²⁰⁷ Laynez 140; Camara, n. 86; cf. Ribadeneyra (FN II 413 487).

²⁰⁸ Ribadeneyra (*MI Scripta* I 449). See also the vote of Codure. He chose Ignatius "quia omnium semper se fecit minimum ac omnibus ministravit" (*Ep. Broëti* 419).

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 452-455; Camara, nn. 86 88; Lancicius 491 493.

²¹⁰ Huonder 1111-117; Ribadeneyra (*MI Scripta* I 451-452); Lancicius 499-500. Camara speaks of the saint's great concern for the physical welfare of all, "que quasi no se puede encarecer" (n. 88), and adds: "Es cosa admirable la compasión que el Padre tiene con los enfermos" (n. 215).

²¹¹ Bartoli, *Vita* 3, 42; cf. *MI Regulae* 343 563.

²¹² Ribadeneyra (FN II 366); Lancicius 500.

²¹³ Cf. EX I 61 88 260.

²¹⁴ Camara, nn. 31-33; Ribadeneyra (FN II 356-357 365-366; *MI Scripta* I 451).

²¹⁵ Ribadeneyra (*MI Scripta* I 451-452).

²¹⁶ Camara, n. 212; Ribadeneyra (*Scripta* I 452).

sufferings.²¹⁷ When Xavier, came to Rome from Bologna in 1538, reduced to a skeleton and almost without any hope of regaining his health,²¹⁸ he was the object of Iñigo's attention more than any of the others; and, thanks to his care, he gradually regained his former health. Xavier never forgot the love that had been shown him.²¹⁹

But even more than with his disciples' physical well-being, Iñigo was concerned with their spiritual progress. As in the Collège de Sainte-Barbe, one of the companions in Rome acted as syndic and kept watch over the order of the house and the conduct of the others.²²⁰ What Iñigo commended to his sons above all else in their work was that they should become fit instruments of divine grace by their constant efforts to advance in virtue, and that they should avoid anything that would interfere with, or impede, their apostolic labors.²²¹

Accordingly, after their arrival in the Eternal City, he had warned his comrades to avoid the company of women; and he had only made an exception in the case of those of high rank whose request for private spiritual guidance could not be easily refused. Even then there was need of great prudence. Master Francis had been called to hear the confession of such a woman and had later visited her several times in order to speak with her about spiritual things. She was later found to be pregnant. The guilty party, fortunately, was soon discovered and a grave embarrassment thus avoided. Codure had the misfortune of encountering a similar case. It was discovered that one of his spiritual daughters was having sinful relations with a man.²²² This was a lesson for the future, and Iñigo decided that from then on no one should go to hear the confessions of women in their homes without a companion.²²³

He was particularly insistent upon two points in the spiritual life.²²⁴ The first was complete indifference and prompt obedience.²²⁵ Once, when they had lost hope of going to Jerusalem and had not as yet received the approbation of the Society, Laynez told him that he longed to go to India so that he might help the poor pagans there who were perishing for the lack of one to preach the Gospel to them. To this Iñigo replied: "I have no such desire." When Laynez expressed surprise at this, he went on to explain: "We have pronounced a vow of obedience to the pope so that he can send us to any part of the world in the

²¹⁷ Ribadeneyra (FN II 365).

²¹⁸ Rodrigues 491.

²¹⁹ In 1552 Xavier wrote to Ignatius that he had read his letter and was writing his own with tears, "acordándome del tyempo pasado, del mucho amor que syempre me tubo" (EX II 287).

²²⁰ See the rules for Padua of 1545 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 591) and Rome of 1549 (*MI Regulae* 200), the rules of the syndic of about 1553 (*ibid.* 476-477), the *Constitutions* (*MI Const.* II 355 461), and Lancicius 484.

²²¹ Ribadeneyra (*MI Scripta* I 459).

²²² Ignatius 498; Ribadeneyra (*MI Scripta* I 460). Brodrick writes erroneously: "The impulsive, not to say imprudent, charity of Francis Xavier counted for something in the campaign of slander, for he was watched and seen to visit the house of an unmarried woman of scandalous reputation whom he was endeavouring to reform" (67). No source states that she was a woman of scandalous reputation.

²²³ See St. Ignatius' later regulations on the spiritual care of women in *MI Regulae* 529 and *Epp.* VII 588-589, his insistence on the observance of the rule of having a companion when visiting women, and Xavier's rules on prudence in dealing with women (EX II 431-433). See also Huonder 294-300.

²²⁴ Ribadeneyra (*MI Scripta* I 447).

²²⁵ Camara, n. 117; Manare 514.

service of the Lord as he sees fit. We must therefore be indifferent so that we are not inclined more in one direction than another. As a matter of fact, if I noticed that I had your desire of going to India, I would try to lean towards the contrary so that I might attain that balance and indifference necessary for the perfection of obedience."²²⁶

The second point which Iñigo stressed was self conquest.²²⁷ He had placed *Vince te ipsum!* ("Overcome yourself") at the head of his book of Exercises.²²⁸ And he had made his own the basic principle of *The Following of Christ*: "You will make progress in so far as you do violence to yourself."²²⁹ This was the measure he used to determine the progress of his disciples,²³⁰ and he placed greater value upon it than pious feelings and protracted prayers.²³¹ He believed that a person who was mortified gained more from a quarter of an hour of prayer than another from one or two hours.²³² "In order to undertake great things in the service of our Lord," he used to say, "one must overcome vain fear and esteem poverty, hardships, slanders, injuries and insults, and even death itself as nothing."²³³ He therefore held that the mortification of one's own will was infinitely more important than bodily penances,²³⁴ and Xavier often heard him say: "Those who wish to belong to our Society must make great efforts to overcome themselves and rid themselves of all those fears which are an impediment to faith, hope, and confidence in God; and they must take the necessary means for this. For even if all faith, all hope, and all confidence are gifts of God, still the Lord gives them to those to whom He will and, as a rule, to those who strive to overcome themselves."²³⁵

²²⁶ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 5, 4.

²²⁷ Cf. Huonder 165-174.

²²⁸ *MI Ex.* 250.

²²⁹ *Imitatio Christi* 1, 25.

²³⁰ Ribadeneyra (*MI Scripta* I 464; *FN II* 293-294).

²³¹ Camara, n. 195; Ribadeneyra (*Vida* 5, 1; *MI Scripta* I 471; *FN II* 364).

²³² Camara, n. 256. When Nadal as visitor suggested to Ignatius that the Spanish houses spend more than an hour a day in prayer, he received an admonition in reply: "Un verdaderamente mortificado bástale un quarto de hora para se unir con Dios en oración," and Camara, who was there, adds: "E não sey se ajuntou então o que outras muitas vezes lhe ouvi dizer, que de 100 pessoas muito dadas à oração as 90 serão illusas. E disto me lenbro muito claramente, ainda que duvido se dizia as 99" (n. 196).

²³³ Ribadeneyra (*MI Scripta* I 459-460).

²³⁴ Ribadeneyra (*ibid.* 447; *FN II* 419; *Vida* 5, 1).

²³⁵ *EX II* 150.

CHAPTER V

THE SMALL SOCIETY (1539-1540)

1. THE COMPANIONS

During the discussions on the Constitutions of the future Society of Jesus, Rodrigues, Broët, and Francisco de Strada had set out for Siena, and shortly before they were completed, Favre and Laynez had left for Parma. Cáceres had also gone off for Paris to complete his studies. There were thus only ten companions still remaining with Iñigo: Xavier, Bobadilla, Salmerón, Jay, Codure, Araoz, the two Eguía, Ferrão, and Antonio de Strada.

On June 24, 1539, after the discussions had been brought to a close Codure had gone off to Velletri, where he had worked till the middle of July.¹ At the end of the year he had given the Advent sermons in Tivoli.² Codure possessed an awe-inspiring exterior and great zeal.³ He was a man of solid virtue, and wherever he preached the word of God, he made a great impression.

After giving the usual alms and promising to make an annual contribution, Bobadilla, like Laynez,⁴ had on February 20, 1539, been received into the confraternity of the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia. Members of this confraternity enjoyed a large number of spiritual privileges. Each year on Pentecost they could obtain from their confessor an absolution from all papal reservations with the exception of the vow of making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; once during their lifetime they could receive an absolution from all their sins, excommunications, and censures; and they could obtain a plenary indulgence at the hour of death. In case of an interdict they could celebrate Mass for themselves and for all those living in the same house with them, and in case of death they could also have an ecclesiastical burial. They received some dispensations in gaining the indulgences connected with the stations and other pious works. They also enjoyed special favors on fast days on which the eating of cheese, eggs, and dishes made from flour were forbidden. They could gain a plenary indulgence every day, on all feast days, on the first Sunday of each month, on the feasts of Christ and the Blessed Virgin and their octaves, on those of the apostles, of the three kings, Easter and Pentecost and their octaves, and on the feast of the Ascension. They could also gain other indulgences on other feasts. They

¹ *Ep. Broëti* 416-417.

² *Ibid.* 417-418.

³ Nadal in FN II 105. Paul III appointed him confessor of the Madama (*ibid.* 94 105 265), but probably not until after Xavier's departure, for in 1556 Polanco wrote that it was false that the written confirmation of the Society in 1540 had been obtained through the intercession of women, particularly the Madama: "que aun entonzes no se tenía familiaridad con la casa de Madama" (*MI Epp.* XII 277).

⁴ ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 89, n. 32.

shared in all the pious works of all the faithful, in all the indulgences of jubilee years, stations, dedications of churches, and pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and in all vigils, prayers, fasts, Masses, Matins, Offices, and pious works that were daily offered in the aforementioned hospital and by the entire order of the Holy Spirit.⁵

Towards the end of the discussions a serious illness had confined Bobadilla to his bed. He was thus forced to stay in Rome and could not accept the invitation to come to Ferrara.⁶ He had hardly regained his strength when he returned to his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, using the book he had compiled in Paris. These were regularly attended by the Portuguese ambassador, Dom Mascarenhas.⁷ At the beginning of July, Bobadillo was already being considered for a mission to Naples. Finally, in September, 1539, he received an order from the pope and went on a secret mission to Gaeta and Ischia on behalf of Ascanio Colonna, who was seeking a reconciliation with his wife, Juana de Aragón.⁸

At the end of this same month, Araoz also took his departure from his companions.⁹ He had to go to Spain in order to straighten out important family affairs.¹⁰ Iñigo had received news of the death of his brother Martín García, the lord of Loyola, and consequently gave Araoz as he was leaving a letter of recommendation to his nephew Beltrán, who had succeeded him. In it he urged him to carry out a reform of the clergy of Azpeitia as their patronal lord. This was a project dear to his heart, and he had already urged it in his visit to Loyola in 1535. He also suggested that he send his younger brother Millán to study in Paris, where he could make more progress in a few years than he could in many more at other universities. He also informed him that the pope, despite all the opposition that had been raised to it, had ratified the *compañía* of which he had spoken on his visit home.¹¹ Araoz also took with him a letter of consolation from Iñigo to his aunt Doña Magdalena de Araoz, the widow of the deceased lord of the castle,¹² and a letter which Salmerón had written in the name of the absent Laynez and the other companions to Laynez' father in Almazán. In it he reported the happy news of the oral confirmation of the Society.¹³ As Araoz was leaving, Iñigo drew from his breast pocket a small hand-painted picture on parchment representing the Sorrowful Mother sitting beneath the bare cross, her hands folded in prayer before her breast and the sword of sorrow piercing her heart. "Take this picture," he told him, "and esteem it highly and give it to no one. Know that I have always taken it with me on all my pilgrimages, and God our Lord has granted me many graces and favors through it."¹⁴

⁵ *Ibid.* f. 8, edited in part in Bobadilla 14. The printed formulary, in which only the personal data are copied by hand, is identical with that of Ignatius, which has been published with the complete text (*MI Scripta* I 554-558).

⁶ Bobadilla 15-17.

⁷ *Ibid.* 618 .

⁸ *Ibid.* 16 618.

⁹ The letters which he took with him are dated September 24 and 25 (*MI Epp.* I 151-155).

¹⁰ Polanco, *Chron.* I 89.

¹¹ *MI Epp.* I 148-151.

¹² *Ibid.* 151-152.

¹³ *Ibid.* 153-155.

¹⁴ *MI Scripta* II 969-971. The *Acta Sanctorum*, Julii VII, p. 533, give an engraving copied from an earlier Roman engraving which faithfully reproduced the lost original

Salmerón,¹⁵ like Bobadilla, had a cheerful disposition and was a true Israelite without guile.¹⁶ Nevertheless, he was completely different from his fellow countryman. He preached and lectured at the Sapienza, the University of Rome.¹⁷

Jay, who possessed a cheerful disposition combined with religious gravity, was humble, mild, and modest in his dealings with others, and he let no opportunity for apostolic work slip by.¹⁸ He preached with great success in the French national church of San Luigi de' Francesi,¹⁹ where the treasurer, Philippe Vessonis, was a special friend of his. When Broët left for Siena, he took over his preaching in Sant'Angelo in Pescaria. The attendance at his sermons here in the Jewish ghetto was slight;²⁰ and this was also true elsewhere, for in those first days the companions frequently preached to almost nonexistent audiences.²¹

Xavier gave instructions in Christian doctrine²² in the titular church of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, San Lorenzo in Damaso, the church of the Cancellaria,²³ which had been built fifty years before. The Flemish merchants and the archconfraternities of the Blessed Sacrament and of the Five Wounds had their altars in the transept.²⁴ Fra Bernardino had preached here in 1535 before twelve cardinals and an overflowing congregation;²⁵ and before his departure for Parma, Favre had alternated in preaching here with Master Francis.²⁶ Besides this, the latter also heard confessions in San Luigi de' Francesi.²⁷ This had been begun in 1518 and had eight appointed chaplains.²⁸ The French colony, which had been scattered at the time of the sack of Rome in 1527, had slowly come together again, and the Confraternity of Mary's Conception, St. Denis and St. Louis now comprised again some ninety members.²⁹

Don Diego de Eguía could give an account of Iñigo's stay at Alcalá, for he had been living there at the time with his brother the printer Miguel de Eguía. They took Iñigo's three disciples into their house and helped him with alms.

of the College of Zaragoza. The reproduction in Clair 26 is inaccurate, as is the statement of Bartoli, *Vita*: "con sette spade" (2, 21), which is corrected in the later edition: "con certa spada". F. Mariani erroneously adds to this: "con in grembo il morto Figliuolo" (*Vita di S. Ignazio* [Bologna, 1741] 347).

¹⁵ An "Alfonsus de Salmerón, clericus toletanae dioecesis," held a chaplaincy in the parochial church of Santa María de Alcalá. On making a petition, he obtained another on January 23, 1539, at the altar of St. Ann in the same church. His first benefice was called "del Cabildo" and his second "de las Viñas." This latter had become vacant three years earlier through the death in Rome of his cousin Gómez de Salmerón. He received it for life and with the right of disposing of it as he willed. Tacchi Venturi II 2 647 gives the text of the petition, but the person who made it is probably distinct from our Salmerón.

¹⁶ Camara, n. 23.

¹⁷ FN II 94.

¹⁸ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 4, 5.

¹⁹ Polanco 586.

²⁰ *Ep. Broëti* 268.

²¹ Ribadeneyra (FN II 492).

²² Orlandinus 2 44.

²³ Armellini 456-463 1326-1327.

²⁴ The altar picture in the chapel of the Flemings is dated 1507. The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament received its chapel about 1500 (Armellini 461).

²⁵ Roland H. Bainton, *Bernardino Ochino* (translation, Firenze, 1940) 33-34.

²⁶ Orlandinus 2, 44.

²⁷ EX I 31.

²⁸ D'Armailhacq, *L'Église Nationale de Saint Louis des Français* (Rome, 1894) 11-25.

²⁹ Jean Delumeau, "Contribution à l'histoire des Français à Rome pendant le XVII^e siècle," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 64 (1952) 253-254, gives the date as 1541.

One day, when Iñigo again asked them for help and Diego had no money at all on hand, he opened up his trunk and gave him what was in it—bedspreads of different colors, lamps, and similar objects—after wrapping them all up in a sheet. The beneficiary took the pack on his shoulder and went off with it to his needy poor.³⁰

On January 9, 1540, Don Diego renounced his possessions in Estella in favor of the hospital which his uncle Juan had founded there in 1524.³¹ His brother Esteban at this same time, the beginning of 1540, set out for his homeland in order to put his family affairs in order.³²

Ferrão, who had never declared whether he wanted to continue his studies or not despite Iñigo's efforts to find this out,³³ was to leave with Don Diego and others for Paris in April, 1540, in order to finish them there.³⁴ Not far from the Palazzo Frangipani, on the heights of the Capitoline Hill, was the venerable old Franciscan church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, approached by a broad flight of one hundred and twenty-four steps. It had received its name from a tradition that the emperor Octavian had consulted the Tiburtine sibyl about the time of the birth of Christ and had received the reply: "This is the altar of the firstborn of God." After hearing this he had an altar erected on the site. The *Cappella Santa* to the left of the choir marked the spot where the first chapel had been built over this altar.³⁵ Here on December 4, 1539, the feast of Saint Barbara, Ignatius celebrated Mass. Ferrão assisted at it and before receiving Communion solemnly pronounced the vows of poverty and chastity "in order to be able to devote himself more perfectly to the service and contemplation of the Lord, in the presence of the whole heavenly court and the threefold hierarchy of angels, to the honor of the Blessed Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and invoking Mary, his lady and advocate, so that she might obtain for him from God the grace of perseverance."

He had previously prepared a document in which he declared that in order to thank God for His great mercy and numerous favors, and in order to avoid wasting his time in the future as he had done in the past, he was willing not only to offer up his temporal goods but also his body and soul and all his faculties and senses to the honor and service of the Divine Majesty without any reservation, being ready with His grace and help to embrace the cross and martyrdom, to follow the Lord perfectly, and to do His most holy will in poverty, contempt, and disgrace, not in order to make satisfaction for the past but to leave himself at the discretion of the Divine Mercy, hoping through the merits of his Lord Jesus Christ to join the Society of Jesus, which was made up of voluntarily poor priests, if this same Society would deign to accept him. He therefore surrendered the office which the Lord had bestowed upon him into the hands of Father Iñigo

³⁰ Ignatius 442 .

³¹ Madrid, Archives of the Toledo Province of the Society of Jesus: *codex 672*, f. 32; Cros erroneously has 1549 (*Doc.* I 239).

³² At the end of 1540 he received Francisco de Villanueva, who had become ill on his way through Estella, into his house and cared for him (*Varones Ilustres* VIII 7-8). Not until December, 1543, did he return from Barcelona to Rome (*Ep. Mixtae* I 157 160: *MI Epp.* I 284).

³³ Camara, nn. 117 126.

³⁴ At the end of April, 1540, Diego de Egúía traveled as superior to Paris with Ferrão (*Lainii Mon.* I 6-7), Rojas (*Ep. Mixtae* I 579), Carvajal (*ibid.* 70), and Isbrando (*ibid.* 56). Cáceres joined them in Paris (*ibid.* 61).

³⁵ Armellini 664-671.

and Father Francisco³⁶ and Father Jaime,³⁷ his confessor, so that they, as men seeking the honor of God our Lord, might decide about it and about him as would be more to the honor and service of His Divine Majesty. He therefore promised to place himself under their obedience and commands, to follow their rules and regulations, and to take the usual vows. And he had signed this document as follows: "With the desire to be the least in the house of the Lord and a poor day laborer, B. Ferron." The two vows of poverty and chastity, however, were to go into effect on the feast of the Epiphany, 1540, if Iñigo, Xavier, and Don Diego did not find it good to postpone them further.³⁸

Antonio de Strada, the brother of Francisco, was already in the house, when the deliberations on the Constitutions began, and he had himself written out the first protocol.³⁹ He was afflicted with poor health and was not as yet confirmed in his vocation.⁴⁰ He helped Ignatius with his writing.⁴¹

Rojas had returned from Spain the course of 1539,⁴² but he had then gone off again.⁴³ At the beginning of 1540 he was again in Rome with the companions so that he might leave for Paris in April with Don Diego in order to complete his studies there.⁴⁴

2. FRIENDS AND BENEFACTORS

The companions in the Palazzo Frangipani, although they still had to fight for the written recognition of their Society, already had many friends and benefactors, including some in the highest circles. First among the cardinals was Gasparo Contarini after he had made the Exercises. Cupis had also been won over by Ignatius at a time when they were still living in the vineyard house of Messer Quirino Garzonio. Ippolito d'Este, the brother of Duke Ercole, was a zealous supporter of the priests. Campeggio and Simonetta also furthered their cause, but both died in 1539. Besides these there were Carpi, a great friend of the Portuguese ambassador;⁴⁵ Pucci;⁴⁶ Alessandro Farnese, the grandson and vice-chancellor of Paul III,⁴⁷ after his return from Spain; and, in a special manner, the pope's private secretary, Marcello Cervini, who was appointed bishop of Nicastro on August 27, 1539, and received the red hat on December 19.⁴⁸ He was

³⁶ Xavier.

³⁷ Diego de Egúía.

³⁸ The *two works written in Ferrão's hand are in ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 65, 248-v (the beginning is edited in *Ep. Mixtae* I 87, n. 2).

³⁹ Schurhammer, "Die Anfänge des römischen Archivs" 93-94.

⁴⁰ *Ep. Mixtae* I 29 127; *MI Epp.* II 250; II 46-47.

⁴¹ Thus, for example, he wrote half of Iñigo's original letter of February 2, 1539, to his brother Martín García, and the entire letter of September 24, 1539, to his nephew Beltrán.

⁴² Araoz writes on October, 1539, to Rome for news about him (*Ep. Mixtae* I 38).

⁴³ Strada wrote from Montepulciano to Rome on November, 1539, that he had heard that Rojas had traveled to Sicily; he asked for further news (*ibid.* 41).

⁴⁴ *Ep. Mixtae* I 579 50-52.

⁴⁵ EX I 86.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, where he is called after his titular church *Santiquatro*.

⁴⁷ Alessandro Farnese, son of Pierluigi, was born in 1520, became a cardinal in 1534, vice-chancellor in 1535, and returned from the Spanish court to Rome in 1539 with Ribadeneyra as a page. There he took over the direction of the affairs of state. He was a patron of artists, writers, and scholars. He was also a promoter of the Council of Trent and of the Society of Jesus, for whom he built the professed house and the Gesù in Rome, and where he died in 1589 (Pastor V 100; Cardella IV 136-140).

⁴⁸ Marcello Cervini, who was born in 1501 in Montefano near Macerata, had been

distinguished alike for his knowledge and virtue and was a close friend of both Ignatius and Xavier.⁴⁹ Cardinal Pole, the noble friend of Gasparo Contarini, who returned to Rome in the end of 1539 after a year's absence in Spain, was likewise a benefactor of the Parisian masters.⁵⁰

Pole had been on friendly terms with the companions since their Parisian days. The same was true of Dr. Vauchop, whom the pope named administrator of the archdiocese of Armagh in Ireland, on July 23, 1539. He could not at the time, however, go to his episcopal see, which was occupied by an heretical priest under the patronage of Henry VIII.⁵¹ Another Parisian acquaintance was Dr. Ortiz,⁵² who had been won over as a permanent benefactor of the Society by Ignatius through the Exercises. The same was true also of Lattanzio Tolomei, the highly cultured ambassador of the Republic of Siena, and the house physician, Dr. Iñigo López. Dr. Jerónimo de Arze was likewise a kind friend of the Parisian masters.

Iñigo and his companions were also on intimate terms with other members of the Spanish colony in Rome, such as the imperial ambassador, the marqués de Aguilar, the licentiate Caballar (chaplain of Dr. Ortiz),⁵³ Dr. Carrión,⁵⁴ the Catalan Mosén Juan Bosch,⁵⁵ Don Lope Hurtado, one of Iñigo's penitents who

in the service of Paul III since 1534. He became bishop of Nicastro in 1539 and cardinal (he was also known as Santa Croce from his titular church); in 1540 he became bishop of Reggio Emilia and in 1544 bishop of Gubbio; in 1555 he became pope and took the name of Marcellus II. He died only twenty-two days after his election. On him see Pastor VI 325-327; P. Polidori, *De vita, gestis et moribus Marcelli II commentarius* (Rome, 1744).

⁴⁹ On the occasion of the election of Cervini as pope, Ignatius sent a circular to the Society in which he praised his virtues and added: "Prorsus paterno affectu nostram diligit Societatem, quam a primordiis eius Romae et quae per eam Deus operatur usque ad Indiam bene novit" (MI *Epp.* IX 16). See the similar opinions of Laynez, Nadal, and Ribadeneyra (FN II 136 277 342 352-353). On his love for Xavier see EX I 203*-204* 267 273; II 367-368. "Fu intrinseco amico di S. Ignazio di Loyola e di S. Franc. Xavier," states the *Vita di Ricciardo Cervini, Padre di Papa Marcello secondo* (Brou II 390). He collected Xavier's letters from India and had them read at table (*ibid.* 267). He cried for joy at the news that he would return to Europe from India and said that if he were still alive he would meet him in Portugal, as Polanco wrote to the Portuguese king in January 18, 1554 (MI *Epp.* VI 208).

⁵⁰ Reginald Pole, whose mother died a martyr's death in England in 1541, was born in 1500. He studied in Padua and Venice from 1519 to 1526, in Paris from 1529 to 1530, and was again in Venice and Padua from 1532 to 1536. A friend of Gasparo Contarini, he became a cardinal in 1536, but was only ordained a priest and bishop in 1557. He died in 1558. On his friendship with Ignatius and the Society of Jesus, see MI *Epp.* XII 508-509 and FN I 747; cf. Pastor V 116-117.

⁵¹ In November, 1540, Jay sent greetings from Brescia to him and other friends of the Society (*Ep. Broëti* 268), and Favre also sent greetings to him in 1541 (*Fabri Mon.* 100). At Xavier's departure he undertook to obtain from Ghinucci the India briefs for him and Rodrigues (MX II 135). On him see above, pp. 468-469.

⁵² Strada and Favre sent greetings to him and the other friends (*Ep. Mixtae* I 21 25; *Fabri Mon.* 100).

⁵³ Strada sent greetings to him in 1539 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 25), as did Favre in 1541 (*Fabri Mon.* 68 74 79 100 131). He is probably the "Señor Licenciado" whom Xavier greeted from Lisbon (EX I 88), for the licentiate Cristóbal de Madrid, theologian of Cardinal Cupis, did not come to Rome until 1540, perhaps only after Xavier's departure. Cristóbal de Castro states that Caballar was the chaplain of Dr. Ortiz in his *Historia del Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús in Alcalá de Henares* 2, 8 (Rome, Library of the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus: *Res.* 122 E 5).

⁵⁴ Jay and Salmerón sent him greetings (*Ep. Broëti* 268; *Ep. Salmeronis* I 14).

⁵⁵ EX I 64.

had become the Madama's *maggiordomo* in 1538,⁶⁶ Francisco de Salazar, archdeacon of Medinaceli in the cathedral of Sigüenza⁶⁷ and now in the retinue of the Spanish ambassador,⁶⁸ and the three Zapata,⁶⁹ Antonio Zapata,⁶⁰ a member of the Curia, Diego de Zapata,⁶¹ a warm admirer of the celebrated Vittoria Colonna,⁶² and the wealthy Francisco de Zapata, who also came from a noble and respected family in Toledo.⁶³ He retained a large number of servants in his home⁶⁴ and was in the papal service as an apostolic scribe.⁶⁵ Xavier and his companions hoped that they would some day exchange their life at court for the poverty of the Palazzo Frangipani.⁶⁶

Dom Pedro Mascarenhas,⁶⁷ the Portuguese ambassador, was also on good terms with the Parisian masters. He was a friend of Dr. Ortiz,⁶⁸ was accustomed to attend Bobadilla's lectures,⁶⁹ and had chosen Iñigo as his confessor⁷⁰ on the recommendation of his cousin Doña Leonora Mascarenhas, the tutoress of Prince Felipe at the Spanish court and a great admirer and benefactress of Iñigo.⁷¹

⁶⁶ EX I 60; cf. MI *Epp.* I 219 315-317. On him and his wife Margarita de Rojas, see Carlo Capasso, *Paolo III* (Messina-Roma, 1923-1924) I 614; II 62-73.

⁶⁷ Salazar was a friend of Caballar; Strada greets them both in 1539 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 25). Araoz recommends himself to his prayers (*ibid.* 97). His brother studied with the Jesuits in Paris in 1541 (*ibid.* 84 102). He remained in correspondence with Caballar when the latter went to Germany (*Fabri Mon.* 74 80). In 1546 he was in the monastery of Uclés in New Castile (*ibid.* 439).

⁶⁸ **Libro de diversos instrumentos*, ff. 11-v, where it is said that he was elected on December 28, 1538, together with Dr. Martín de Aguinaga to become the administrator of the Spanish nation in Rome for the coming year of 1539 (Rome, Archivo de los RR. Establecimientos Españoles: *codex* 65).

⁶⁹ Jay sent his greetings from Brescia in November, 1540, "a li signori Zappato tutti tre, cioè, seignor Francesco, seignor Anthonio, et seignor Diego" (*Ep. Broëti* 268).

⁶⁰ He signed the bull of confirmation of the Society of Jesus, *Regimini militantis*, of September 27, 1540 (MI *Const.* I 32).

⁶¹ Xavier named him in his letter from Lisbon of March 18, 1541 (EX I 88).

⁶² Francisco de Hollanda, *Da Pintura Antigua* (Porto, 1918) 43; *Vier Gespräche über die Malerei geführt zu Rom 1538* (Wien, 1899) 205. He is probably the same as our Diego. Diego was a member of the Compagnia della Grazia (Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 300), but he is hardly to be identified with the fourth son of the count of Barrajas, Don Francisco Zapata, as Vasconcellos believes (see Elias Tormo, *De la Pintura antigua por F. de Hollanda* [Madrid, 1921] 161).

⁶³ Alcázar I 11.

⁶⁴ Rodrigues greeted him from Lisbon in 1540 as "Nuestro hermano Inigo López y Francisco Zapata" (EX I 64), and Xavier also named him in 1541 (*ibid.* 88). On his life before his entrance, see MI *Epp.* I 374 and Camara, n. 51. In 1541, "omnibus dimissis," he accompanied Broët and Salmerón as a candidate to Ireland and paid all their expenses (MI *Epp.* I 184; Polanco, *Chron.* I 98-99; Astráin I 503-505). He then studied in Paris (Polanco, *Chron.* I 99). In 1544-1546 he made the usual experiments of the novices (service in the hospitals, pilgrimage, begging) and preached in Rome (MI *Epp.* I 252 270 374). He was accepted in 1546 but could not adjust himself to the religious life. In the dispute with Isabel Roser he took sides against Ignatius, and in 1547, after he had been put on trial, he was sentenced to a severe penance (MI *Scripta* I 629-645). When he ridiculed the street preaching of Nadal, he was dismissed by Ignatius. He then took the habit of St. Francis but remained a friend of the Society (Camara, n. 51; cf. FN II 387; Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 85-89).

⁶⁵ Polanco calls him "scriptor Apostolicus" (*Cron.* I 96). ⁶⁶ EX I 88. ⁶⁷ On him see chapter 7. ⁶⁸ MX II 136. ⁶⁹ Bobadilla 618.

⁷⁰ MX II 134-135. The great-grandfather of Dom Pedro was a brother of the great-grandmother of Leonor. On Leonor Mascarenhas, see José M. March, S.J., *El Aya del Rey D. Felipe II y del Príncipe D. Carlos, Doña Leonor Mascareñas* (Madrid, 1943); Ragner, *Briefwechsel*, pp. XXIII 487-506 544 615-616.

⁷¹ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 2, 16; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 352. She was a distant relative of the ambassador through another branch of the family (Tellez II 489-500).

Another of Iñigo's close friends was the Catalan Pero Doménech. He had been born in Gratal in Tarragona and was commendatory abbot of the canons regular of the Augustinian monastery of Nuestra Señora de Villa Beltrán and in the service of the Portuguese embassy in Rome.⁷²

For many years the learned and pious Dominican Fra Tommaso Stella in Santa Maria sopra Minerva had been an intimate friend of Ignatius. He had been born in Venice and had founded a confraternity of atonement called the *Compagnia del Sacratissimo Corpo di Cristo*. Through the bull *Dominus noster* of November 30, 1539, Paul III had confirmed it and had endowed it with rich indulgences. The object of the confraternity was to promote devotion to the Holy Eucharist and to refute the errors of the heretics who denied the presence of Christ in the most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.⁷³

The Parisian masters were also acquainted with the young Florentine Filippo Neri. In 1534, at the age of nineteen, he had renounced a fortune of twenty-two thousand *scudi* and had come to Rome and obtained lodgings with a fellow countryman on the Piazza Sant'Eustachio. He led a life of prayer and penance, attended lectures in philosophy and theology at the Sapienza and at the Augustinians', and then, dressed as a hermit, worked as an orderly in San Giacomo degli Incurabili and other hospitals. He was also active in other apostolic works, during the course of which he often encountered Ignatius and Xavier and came to know and esteem them.⁷⁴

3. MADONNA FAUSTINA DE' JANCOLINI

A number of women, such as Madonna Lucrezia de Bradine⁷⁵ and Madonna Faustina de' Jancolini,⁷⁶ were also on friendly terms with the Parisian masters.

⁷² EX I 50. On him see Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 700-707. In 1542 Ignatius gave him a letter of recommendation for Rodrigues "por sernos mucho afectado en el Señor nuestro" (MI *Epp.* I 230). He took the vows of the Society in Gandía in 1548 and established an orphanage for boys in Lisbon in 1549, from which he sent some to Xavier in India in 1551 (DI II 195; *Ep. Mixtae* II 491). Because of the unrest in the Portuguese province of the order, he returned to his abbey of Villa Beltrán in 1553, where he died in 1560. He is not to be confused with his cousin of the same name, who was born in 1526 in Barbeno and professed in Zaragoza in 1566.

⁷³ In September, 1540, Ignatius sent the bull and a letter to the citizens of Azpeitia through Araoz. In the letter he strongly encouraged them to join the confraternity, "una gran obra, que Dios Nuestro Señor ha hecho por un fraile dominico, nuestro muy grande amigo y conocido de muchos años" (MI *Epp.* I 162). On Stella and his foundation, see Tacchi Venturi I, 1, 223-226.

⁷⁴ On Filippo Neri see Louis Ponnelle - Louis Bordet, *Saint Philippe Neri et la Société romaine de son temps, 1515-1595* (Paris, 1929), and Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 301-304. Francesco Zazzara states in his *Memorie* (Roma, Archivio dei Padri Filippini f. 66) that in 1601 he had heard from Father Antonio Gallonio and Señor Marcello Vitelleschi, two of the intimate disciples of Neri, that the latter "aveva conosciuto et havuto familiarità con il B. Francesco Xaverio, compagno del B. Ignatio" (Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 302; Ponnelle 54). Xavier's letters later gave Neri and his disciples the idea of following him to India, but a monk of Tre Fontane, whom he asked for advice, declared that his India was in Rome (Ponnelle 163-164).

⁷⁵ Also called *de Biadene*. On her see *Ep. Mixtae* I 29; *Fabri Mon.* 40. When Isabel Roser, Ignatius' old benefactress, came from Barcelona in November, 1543, with Francisca Cruyllas and founded a religious congregation under the saint's obedience, Lucretia joined it. After this was disbanded in 1547, when Roser and Cruyllas returned to Spain, Ignatius helped Bradine to be accepted into a convent in Rome and then in Naples (MI *Epp.* I 440 493; II 342).

⁷⁶ On her see Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 323-328. The main sources are: (1) her *will in the

The Jancolini were old, respected Roman patricians and related by marriage to the chief families of the Eternal City.⁷⁷ Their coat of arms showed on one field a blue lily on a silver background and on the other a black and white checkered eagle on a blue field.⁷⁸ Their house lay on the Piazza Colonna near the Corso, one of the main streets of the city, which had been improved by Paul III in 1538.⁷⁹ She and her husband, Ubaldo de Ubaldis,⁸⁰ had been blessed with a number of children, but her palace had become desolate. Her father, Giovanni Battista de' Jancolini, her mother, Maria Drusiana de Janni, her brothers, Jacobo and Janni, her sisters, Maria Antonina and Maria Joanna, her cousin Maria Tanza delli Sordi, her husband, and her children had all died and been laid to rest in the neighboring parish church of Santo Stefano del Trullo on the Piazza della Pietra.⁸¹

Only one of her children had survived. This was her cherished son, Vincenzo, the hope of her old age and of her family; but he had been living far from Rome, high up in the north as a captain of infantry on the Tyrolian frontier. Towards the end of November, 1539, she had received the tragic news of his death. On the eleventh of the month,⁸² when he was only twenty-seven, and thus in the prime of life, he had been murdered in an encounter with Alpine soldiers as he was on his way to collect the payment of a debt.⁸³ At great expense his mother had brought his body from Verona to the Eternal City⁸⁴ and had laid it to rest in the church of the Apostles of the Franciscan Conventuals⁸⁵ near the Palazzo Colonna.⁸⁶ The chosen site was in the chapel of the Crucifixion which she had begun to erect not far from the altar of the Blessed Sacrament.⁸⁷

Archivio di Stato (Rome): *Archivio della Compagnia del Santissimo Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum: arm. II, mazzo I, n. 37 (cassetta 421)*, in part edited by Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 223-228; and (2) the epitaph of her son, now lost, but a copy of which is preserved in the Vatican library: *Chigi I, V, 167 f. 238v*, and another copied from the latter in *Cod. Vat. lat. 7904*, c. 65, n. 136, edited in Bonaventura Malvasia, *Compendio storico della Ven. Basilica di SS. Dodici Apostoli di Roma* (Roma, 1665) 152, and with errors by Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 324 and Forcella, *Iscrizioni II* 237, n. 704. It reads as follows: "D. O. M. VINCENTIO UBALDO RO. PEDITUM PRAEFECTO DESIGNATO / MAGIANA IN MARCELLUM CAEDE / DUM AES CREDITUM REPETIT / AB ALPINIS MILITIBUS / NON INULTUS TAMEN / PRIMO IUVENTUTIS INGRESSU / ACERBISSIME TRUCIDATO / FAUSTINA JANCOLINA RO. / MATER PIENTISSIMA / UNICO FILIO DULCISSIMO / FUNALIBUS EQUIS VERONA ROMAM / IMPENSA PENE REGIA TRANSVECTO / STIRPIS UBALDAE SPE SUBLATA, INCONSOLABILIS / FILIO MAXIMA QUAEQUE ORNAMENTA / MERENTI POSUIT. / VIXIT AN. XXVII. / OBIIT DIE XI NOVEMBRIS M. D. XXXVIII."

⁷⁷ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 224.

⁷⁸ Amayden I 458.

⁷⁹ R. Lanciani, "La Via del Corso dirizzata e abellita nel 1538 da Paolo III," *Bullettino della Commissione Archaeologica comunale di Roma* (1902) 240, n. 21.

⁸⁰ Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 224.

⁸¹ According to the will. On the no longer extant church, see Armellini 374-376.

⁸² According to all the texts except the one in Tacchi Venturi, in which the inscription has "XXVIII and MDXXXVIII" instead of "XXVII and MDCXXXIII."

⁸³ Tacchi Venturi explains the expression *Magiana caede* of the inscription as follows: "alla cima di Maggio, in quel di Rovereto" (II, 1, 324).

⁸⁴ "Impensa pene regia," according to the inscription. Julia Colonna lent her one hundred gold *scudi* for this, as the will indicates.

⁸⁵ On the church of the Dodici Apostoli, see Armellini 309-312 1256-1258 and Malvasia.

⁸⁶ The will states that the chapel of the crucifix had been begun but was not as yet finished; the codicil of April 28, 1540, declares that Vincenzo had *olim* been buried there.

⁸⁷ According to Malvasia.

Though her son's death had not been unavenged,⁸⁸ the unfortunate widow could not overcome her grief. In her desolation she was in need of supernatural light and encouragement.⁸⁹ Xavier visited her and did all that he could to help her through this most difficult trial of her life and to persuade her to forgive her son's murderers and to go to confession and receive Holy Communion.⁹⁰

Madonna Faustina showed herself grateful for this spiritual help.⁹¹ Two days before Christmas, on December 23, 1539, she made out her will in her home in the presence of the notary Alessandro Pavoni and seven witnesses summoned for this purpose: Fra Giovannis de' Mezzi da Subiaco, a penitentiary in Saint Peter's, Fra Pasquino da Radicofani and Fra Sebastiano da Chiusi of the order of St. Francis,⁹² and Fra Alessandro da Sassuolo, Fra Eliseo da Parma, Fra Santi da Pistoia, and Fra Filippo da Panicale from the neighboring Servite monastery of San Marcello on the Corso.⁹³ The will was drawn up "in the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit," and "under the invocation of the great and boundless mercy of the all-powerful Jesus Christ and His glorious Mother, the Virgin Mary, and the intercession of all the saints of the heavenly court, so that they might deign to forgive all the sins of her past life."

In this document, "the noble and distinguished Madonna Faustina de' Jancolini, Roman widow, of the Rione di Colonna and of the parish of Santo Stefano del Trullo," makes the following observations: Every prudent person, even when he is in good health, must think of death since it is inescapable and its day and hour are unknown. She herself is now alone since she has lost her children and blood relatives through death. Being sound in mind and body, even though deeply troubled and overcome with grief because of the loss of her dearly beloved and only son, Messer Vincentio de Ubaldis, and seeking as a wise and dutiful Christian to provide to the best of her ability for the salvation of her own soul and for that of her departed children and relatives, she wishes to make provision for the disposal of her goods through this will. She therefore ordains that:

1. After her death her heirs shall bury her in the chapel of the Crucifixion which she has begun in the church of the Apostles. They shall also transfer there the bones of her relatives that are now buried in the parish church of Santo Stefano del Trullo; and in case the chapel is not as yet finished at the time of her death, they shall finish it and set up a marble slab with an inscription upon it in memory of her son Vincenzo.⁹⁴

2. She bequeaths to the Conventuals for the chapel of their church her house "At the Cow" in the quarter of St. Eustachius at the end of the Piazza Navona,⁹⁵ a second

⁸⁸ "Non inultus tamen," as the epitaph states.

⁸⁹ Her sorrow is revealed in her will, in the epitaph, and also in Xavier's letter.

⁹⁰ EX I 31.

⁹¹ Our source for the following is her will.

⁹² "Frate Joane de medijs di Subiaco . . . , frate Pasquino q. petri del castelo di Radicofani, frate bastiano q. Jo. Bapt. de civitate clusina O. S. Francisci," probably Conventuals of the church of the Twelve Apostles.

⁹³ "Fratre Alexandro q. Jo. Marie de Saxola, regien. dioc., fratre Eliseo, baldassaris de ruberiis parmen., fratre sancti q. laurentii de pistorio et fratre philippo q. Michelangeli de Michaelibus de cast. Panicale perusine dioc., ordinis servorum b. Marie commorantibus in ecclesia S. Marcelli de urbe." On the church see Armellini 315-317 1340.

⁹⁴ The will provides for an inscription in "litere maioscole in epitaphio."

⁹⁵ The house brought a yearly rent of forty-six *scudi* in 1665 (Malvasia 152).

house in the Rione dei Monti⁹⁶ on the site known as the *Spoglia Christo*;⁹⁷ and each year a Roman "quart" of grapes from the inheritance of Nardo Parente.⁹⁸ In return for these bequests, the priests shall each day offer up a devout Low Mass of the Dead with a final absolution for the repose of her soul, for that of her son Vincenzo, and for those of her other deceased relatives; and on All Saints' they shall chant the Office of the Dead; and they shall furnish the chapel with vestments, chalices, and other necessary objects.

3. As soon as she dies, her heirs shall give mourning robes to the four persons mentioned in her will,⁹⁹ forty-eight *scudi* to the *Bizzoche* of San Jacobo della Moratta¹⁰⁰ in return for their prayers for her son Vincenzo and for herself, and a hundred *scudi* (each *scudo* being worth ten *giulii*) to the Illustrissima Signora Julia Colonna,¹⁰¹ who had lent these to her so that she might have her son's body brought back to Rome. Her heirs shall send two women to take care of her if she becomes sick, and after her death they shall give forty *scudi* as a dowry to Tarquinia if she should marry.¹⁰²

4. The house in which she is living at the time, "lying on the Piazza Colonna in the parish of Santo Stefano del Trullo, with the house of Luca Mulattieri on one side, that of the lute player Felice near the first door on another, that of Pompeo de Ville Corso on a third, and the public street on a fourth," she gives after her death "with its open garden, hall, rooms,¹⁰³ servants' quarters, all its adjoining buildings, and all that pertains to them" in perpetuity as a permanent residence to the poor priests of Jesus Christ, that is, to the so-called *preti riformati*,¹⁰⁴ who at this time are living in the Rione de Campitello in the house that was formerly occupied by Messer Antonio Friapane and his family, so that they may permanently live in it as religious in accordance with their holy lives. In return for this, they shall erect a chapel in it after her death, and during her lifetime they shall offer up prayers each day for her and her son Vincenzo and for her other deceased relatives, and at least one of them shall offer a Mass with a final absolution for them. Moreover, no woman shall ever enter into the house, no matter of what station she may be, whether she be old or young, rich or poor, a religious or of some other state of life, under penalty of forfeiting the house.

⁹⁶ Malvasia places the house in the Rione Pigna and says that its yearly rent amounted to seven *scudi*; it was the corner house in front of the convent of the Sisters of the Holy Spirit.

⁹⁷ On the church *Spoglia Christo*, between the fora of Trajan and Nerva on the Via di Campo Carleo, see Armellini 214-216. It was razed in 1864.

⁹⁸ A "quart" in Rome was the equivalent of sixty-two liters (Angelo Martini, *Manuale di Metrologia* [Torino, 1883] 597-598).

⁹⁹ Pietro Paulo Steccati, Cesare Tedellino, Adriano Tedellino and Julio Sordo.

¹⁰⁰ Renzo Musciani founded the hospital of San Giacomo delle Moratte, which was under the direction of the Compagnia del Santissimo Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum. In 1404 his sister gave nine shares of a vineyard for the support of a chaplain and some poor noblewomen. For a long time twenty women known as "le Bizochare dell'Amoratta," and also as "Bizzoche," were supported there. They were pious individuals with a habit but without a rule or cloister. They later adopted cloister and the rule of the third order of St. Francis. Finally, under Clement IX, they were annexed to the convent of Sant'Apollonia in Trastevere (Pasquale Adinolfi, *Roma nell'età di mezzo* II [Roma, 1881] 306-308).

¹⁰¹ In 1556 Giulia Colonna sold the Jesuits a house on the Piazza Margana for the Roman College for one hundred *scudi* a year until two thousand *scudi* had been paid. When the validity of the sale was contested, the priests relinquished it (Polanco, *Chron.* VI 14 37). In the census of 1527 the house of the "Illustrissima domina Julie de [Colonna]" had fifty-nine "bocche," or individuals; that of Madonna Faustina de Jancolini had six (D. Gnoli, "Descriptio Urbis o Censimento della popolazione di Roma avanti il sacco borbonico," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 17 [1894] 412).

¹⁰² In the codicil of March 14, 1541, Tarquinia's dowry was canceled; in that of April 28 a provision was made that Jacobo, a servant in the house, should receive twenty-five *scudi* at the time of her death if he continued in her service.

¹⁰³ In Tacchi Venturi it is erroneously given as *camera* (I, 2, 225).

¹⁰⁴ That is, Ignatius and his companions.

5. She gives in equal shares her property of Santa Rufina¹⁰⁵ in the Trastevere with all its revenues, meadows, hills, valleys, springs, and all that pertain to them to the confraternities of the Annunziata in the Dominican church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva¹⁰⁶ and of the hospital of the Santissimo Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum¹⁰⁷ near the Lateran. In return for this they are to see to the execution of her will. They shall also have an anniversary Mass offered for her, for her son Vincenzo, and for her other relatives in the church of the Apostles, and they shall visit the house in which the so-called *preti riformati* are living at least once a month in order to see that it is kept in a state of repair and has everything it needs and to give any admonitions that may be necessary. If the aforementioned priests and Conventuals in the church of the Apostles do not carry out their obligations, the aforementioned endowments shall pass over to the two confraternities, and in case these also should fail to fulfill their duties, they shall pass over to the cathedral chapter of St. Peter's. And she appoints the papal almoner Francesco Vannunzio¹⁰⁸ and her friend Julia Colonna as the executors of her will.¹⁰⁹

4. NEW RECRUITS

In the meantime the small community in the Palazzo Frangipani had increased in numbers. Before the departure of Favre and Laynez,¹¹⁰ the first Italian joined the companions. This was a canon by the name of Pietro Codacio,¹¹¹ who possessed both properties and benefices. His decision astounded the whole Curia, where he was both well known and respected. Codacio had a great appetite for food, had kept a fine table, and was stout.¹¹² Nevertheless he made the Exer-

¹⁰⁵ It probably received its name from the church of Santa Rufina in the Trastevere. It was next to the house of the same name of the Massimi and the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia, as is indicated in the will.

¹⁰⁶ On the church, which also had a chapel of the Annunciation, see Armellini 592-599 1361-1364.

¹⁰⁷ On the church of the Sancta Sanctorum (the proper title is San Lorenzo in Palatio), see Armellini 144-149 1443.

¹⁰⁸ On this friend of the Society, see above, p. 338.

¹⁰⁹ See the letter which she wrote as executrix of the will to the priests of the Society in 1557, which the legate had not received. In it she asked them to pay an annual rent of twelve *scudi* for the house located near the church of Santa Maria della Strada instead of purchasing it for five hundred *scudi* (Tacchi Venturi II, 1 359-360). Madonna Faustina died on August 17, 1556 (*ibid.* I, 2, 223).

¹¹⁰ Tacchi Venturi gives May 23 and June 20, 1539, as the outside limits for the date of his entrance. On the former date Cáceres is among the signers of the decisions, but not Codacio, who was an important personage (*MI Const.* I 13). Favre left Rome on the latter date; and, according to a letter he wrote on December 4, he had already known Codacio as a companion (*Fabri Mon.* 17, 20; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 305). But neither terminus is certain, for Cáceres signed the decisions as one of the Parisian masters; the two Eguía, who were certainly present, did not sign. Strada who had left Rome in the middle of April, 1539, greets "Señor Micer Pedro Codacio" along with "Señor Esteban" and "Señor Don Diego" on September 25. This would probably place Codacio's entrance before his own departure from Rome (*Ep. Mixtae* I 30).

¹¹¹ On Codacio (alias Codazzo), see Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 304-310 and II, 2, 21-23; the letter of G. B. Codacio to Bartoli of August 29, 1652 (*ibid.* 385-387); the statements in the autobiography of Benedetto Palmio, who knew him in 1546, three years before his death (Codacio died in 1549) (*ibid.* I, 2, 249-250); and the deed of sale of May 5, 1545 (*ibid.* II, 2, 661-664); see also Polanco, *Chron.* I 362, and Orlandinus 2, 66; 9, 7-8. He was a son of Ambrosio Codacio and had a sister, Cecilia, and two brothers, Francesco Antonio, the abbot of the Olivetans, and Gianigacomio.

¹¹² According to Benedetto Palmio (Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 250).

¹¹³ "Corpore erat obeso" (Polanco, *Chron.* I 362).

cises under Iñigo's direction with so much zeal that he ate nothing for three whole days. Although he could not make up his mind about his vocation during the course of his retreat, he soon decided to ask for admittance among the Parisian masters.¹¹⁴

Codacio came from Lodi in Lombardy, where he had some property,¹¹⁵ and where his family was one of the most distinguished and influential in the city. He had been born in 1507¹¹⁶ and had been ordained in 1532. For two years he had been an archpriest in charge of a neighboring parish¹¹⁷ and had then been elected a canon in the cathedral chapter of Lodi;¹¹⁸ but he had soon departed for Rome, where he began a career in the papal court under Clement VII¹¹⁹ and continued it under Paul III. There he had held the office of *maestro di camera*¹²⁰ and had received many favors, benefices, and honors.¹²¹

Still, he was no benefice hunter like so many of his colleagues in the Curia. Instead, he had joined the Oratory of Divine Love, where priests interested in reform came together. At the end of 1536 he wrote to his brother Giangiacomo that he would be content with what was necessary for the care of his body and the service of his soul until it pleased God to take him to Himself out of the dangers and difficulties of this life, and he hoped that He would give him the grace to carry out His will.¹²²

Codacio was a godsend. Despite the fact that he suffered from gout and from ischuria,¹²³ he immediately¹²⁴ took over the care of the temporal needs of the house. With great zeal¹²⁵ and patience¹²⁶ he acted as procurator, looking after the food, clothing, and everything else that was needed by his confreres so that they might carry on their apostolic labors without hindrance.¹²⁷ He had a mild, humble,¹²⁸ and charitable¹²⁹ disposition and soon won the hearts of all. His virtue and holy life¹³⁰ were an example to the others, and his familiarity with

¹¹⁴ Camara, n. 307; Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 250.

¹¹⁵ Tacchi Venturi II, 2, 661-664.

¹¹⁶ Although Palmio says that Codacio was fifty years old in 1546 (*ibid.* I, 2, 250), we agree with Tacchi Venturi in following G. B. Molossi, *Memorie d'alcuni uomini illustri della città di Lodi* 2 (Lodi, 1776) 47, which is also more consistent with the date of his ordination.

¹¹⁷ Fissiraghi.

¹¹⁸ Although Ignatius refers to him in a letter to the Madama in 1543 as a canon of Milan (*MI Epp.* I 271), this must refer to its nearness to Lodi.

¹¹⁹ "En el tiempo de Clemente gobernaba a uno que gobernaba al mismo papa Clemente" (Camara, n. 307).

¹²⁰ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 306.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* 385; I, 2, 250 and Orlandinus 2, 66.

¹²² Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 387.

¹²³ Palmio (*ibid.* I, 2, 250).

¹²⁴ Orlandinus 9, 7.

¹²⁵ According to Araoz (*Ep. Mixtae* I 272).

¹²⁶ According to Canisius (Bransberger I 613).

¹²⁷ Polanco, *Chron.* I 362.

¹²⁸ Orlandinus 9, 8.

¹²⁹ At this early period the companions were accustomed to address their letters to both Ignatius and Codacio, as did, for example, Favre (*Fabri Mon.* 35 58 68 72 76 80 83 85 87 92 95 100 110 113; three times to Codacio and Xavier 20 24 28), Laynez (*Lainii Mon.* 12, 13 16 18), Rodrigues (EX I 50 69; *Ep. Broëti* 523 526), Xavier (EX I 32), Jay (*Ep. Broëti* 267), Araoz (*Ep. Mixtae* I 48), Rojas (*ibid.* 52), and Doménech (*ibid.* 67).

¹³⁰ Palmio (Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 249).

the papal court and his many connections with prelates and other influential personages made his services invaluable to the Parisian masters.¹³¹

A few weeks after Codacio¹³² had joined Iñigo and his companions in Rome he was followed by a second Italian, Angelo dei Paradisi,¹³³ a young man with a weak constitution¹³⁴ but with a desire¹³⁵ to become a priest.¹³⁶ His parents' home¹³⁷ was in Ghedi,¹³⁸ ten Italian miles south of Brescia in the plains of Lombardy. His father Francisco was a loyal supporter of the Republic of Venice and had on one occasion been imprisoned and sentenced to death when he had attempted to return the city of Brescia, which was being occupied by the French, to the Serenissima through an understanding with the guard of the San Giacomo gate. He regained his freedom, however, through the payment of a large sum of money and received as a reward for his services to the republic a title of nobility, exemption from taxes, and the right to an ecclesiastical benefice for one of his sons.¹³⁹ As his first experiment Iñigo ordered the young Angelo at the beginning of 1539, shortly after his entrance, to make a pilgrimage to Loreto on foot and without any money¹⁴⁰ in order to ask there the blessing of the Mother of God on his new way of life.

¹³¹ In 1557 Xavier's companion, the old soldier Cypriano, wrote from San Thomé to Ignatius and sent greetings to his former friends in Rome, including the "grande y sancto Pedro Codacio, piedra provechosa que Dios deparó a V. P. para la fundación" (DI III 683).

¹³² At the latest in August, 1539, for Ignatius sent him on a pilgrimage in September.

¹³³ He thus signs his letter of September 13, 1540 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 50). The main sources for A. Paradisi are two *reports, the first by Father Pietro Antonio Rodinni sent from Brescia to Father Sacchini between 1606 and 1625 (ARSI: *Hist. Soc.* 176, p. 56-58), the second, an anonymous one of the same time, and scattered references to him in the MHSI (*ibid.* 52-55). See also Antonio Cistellini, "Il Padre Angelo Paradisi e i primi gesuiti in Brescia," *Memorie storiche della diocesi di Brescia* 22 (1955) 1-155. In the fall of 1549 he was sent to Paris to study after a difficult struggle with his parents, who finally agreed to let him go (*Ep. Mixtae* I 48-50; *Lainii Mon.* I 7; *Fabri Mon.* 25-26 28 31), but he could not bear the climate there (*Ep. Mixtae* I 63 65 68 79-81 87-88). At the beginning of 1542 he arrived in Coimbra (*MI Epp.* I 206-207; *Ep. Mixtae* I 106), but he had to leave this city also at the end of 1545 because of sickness and return to Rome (*ibid.* 144). There he was dismissed in peace from the Society because of his health. In Brescia he founded a company of priests and laymen. It had thirty members in 1567, when it was united with the Society of Jesus. Since their "general" Paradisi could not subject himself and conform to the rules of the Society, as he was requested by the visitor Ribadeneyra, he again withdrew in 1569 (Ribadeneyra I 622-662; *Polanci Compl.* II 24 680 701). He obtained a position as a canon in the church of San Nazaro in Brescia, where he labored to an extreme old age. He always remained a friend of the Jesuits, to whom he bequeathed a legacy of one thousand Brescian lire. He was buried in their church as he had asked (*report 55).

¹³⁴ We deduce this from his consistently poor health, which may also have been the reason for his lack of resolution, "llo, ut solet, de dubios," as Laynez wrote in 1540 (*Lainii Mon.* I 7). His pilgrimage was very hard on him (*Ep. Mixtae* I 27). He was still sickly and melancholy in 1569 (Ribadeneyra I 634). He had a very "delicata natura" (*report 52).

¹³⁵ After a hard battle his parents promised to pay for his studies (*Fabri Mon.* 28). Ignatius wrote to Rodriguez in 1542 that Angelo would at least have to study "latinidad y algunas cosas positivas" before his ordination to the priesthood (*MI Epp.* I 212).

¹³⁶ *Ep. Broëti* 533; *report 52.

¹³⁷ *Ep. Mixtae* I 48; *report 53.

¹³⁸ Gadium (Orlandinus 2, 95), Ghetti, Ghieti, Ghet, and Guet in Ribadeneyra.

¹³⁹ *Report 52 56. His mother was named Monica and his brother Girolamo (*ibid.* 56).

¹⁴⁰ *Ep. Mixtae* I 27 29. He was in Rome again in November (*ibid.* 41).

At this same time, before Araoz' departure,¹⁴¹ a Spaniard by the name of Carvajal¹⁴² decided during the course of the thirty days of Exercises to join the companions. He had not as yet finished his studies and had come to Rome, where his uncle, an archdeacon,¹⁴³ lived. The latter had also made the Spiritual Exercises and was a friend of the Society.¹⁴⁴ Carvajal was still not entirely sure in his vocation¹⁴⁵ when at the beginning of 1540 two more candidates asked for admittance at the Palazzo Frangipani.

The young Gian Filippo Cassini¹⁴⁶ was the first Roman¹⁴⁷ to join the Parisian masters. His father, Gian Nicolò, was a great friend of the *preti riformati*, and Ifiigo and his companions often went to visit him in his home. On these occasions Gian Filippo had come to esteem their virtue and conceived the desire of entering their Society¹⁴⁸ and imitating their example.¹⁴⁹

At this same time, in the beginning of 1540, another youth of a handsome appearance¹⁵⁰ begged for admittance. Favre had recommended him to Xavier in a letter of December 4, 1539, from Parma and had added that he might ask

¹⁴¹ Araoz sent greeting from Zaragoza on October 30, 1539, "en special á mi hermano Carbajal, del qual spero gran corona" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 39).

¹⁴² In April, 1540, he went with Diego de Eguía to study at Paris, but in 1542 he returned from there to Rome and left the Society (*ibid.* 70 82 87; *MI Epp.* I 208-209 211).

¹⁴³ *Fabri Mon.* 18. Was this uncle Salazar identical with the archdeacon of the same name?

¹⁴⁴ Favre wrote in December, 1539, that Doménech's uncle wanted to make the Exercises and added: "Creo que lo entiende al modo del archidiano, tío de Carvajal, y no al modo de Barrera, que no ha perseverado" (*ibid.*).

¹⁴⁵ Doménech's uncle, who did not want him to enter the Society, noted that Carvajal had decided within thirty days to give up everything he possessed and had immediately regretted this step (*ibid.* 16-17). The editors of the text are mistaken in believing that the person here called "Caravajar" is different from the "Carvajal" mentioned in the same letter.

¹⁴⁶ On him see Dom. Stanislao Alberti, S.J., *Dell'Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù: La Sicilia* (Palermo, 1702) 503-506, and Emmanuele Aguilera, S.J., *Provinciae Siculae Societatis Jesu ortus et res gestae* I (Panormi, 1737) 247-249. Cassini studied in Paris in 1541 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 64 71 80 89) and accompanied Broët to Montepulciano in 1547. At the end of 1548 he accompanied Laynez to Naples and from there to Sicily in 1549, where he remained until his death (*Lainii Mon.* I 59 104 123). As cofounder of the College of Palermo, minister in Messina, rector of the colleges of Syracuse and Polizzi, and first procurator of the Sicilian province, he was an example to all because of his angelic purity, his very penitential life, and his love of poverty. He died in Ali near Messina in 1584.

¹⁴⁷ According to Aguilera I 247-248. According to Alberti he was "un de' primi Romani" whom Ignatius accepted (*Istoria* 503). Doménech sent greetings from Paris on January 15, 1541, "al mio charissimo fratello Jo. Philippo" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 56). He entered before Xavier's departure.

¹⁴⁸ In 1608 the "Magnificus D. Vicentius Casinus, romanus, annorum 73" declared: "Io ho cognosciuto il P. Ignatio, perchè mio padre era molto amico suo et delli suoi compagni, et praticavano in casa nostra familiarmente, et con questa occasione mio fratello si fece di quella religione, et si chiamava Giovanni Filippo Casini, et magnavano spesso volte in casa nostra li suoi compagni" (*MI Scripta* II 807 831-832). His father was Giovanni Nicolò Cassini (*Ep. Mixtae* I 89, n. 2).

¹⁴⁹ "Condiva tutte le ricreazioni cogli esempj di virtù, che avea egli osservati in Roma ne' primi Padri della Compagnia, e massimamente nel Santo Padre Ignazio, e nel Santo Apostolo dell'Indie Francesco Saverio: e non è credibile con quanto piacere e profitto era allora udito da tutti" (Alberti, *Istoria* 505).

¹⁵⁰ Benedetto Palmio says in his *autobiography that Isbrando had been a youth "liberali forma" (*ARSI: Vite* 164, ff. 129).

Iñigo to give him the Exercises.¹⁵¹ Born of German parents in Rome,¹⁵² the small,¹⁵³ gifted Isbrando¹⁵⁴ had a keen thirst for knowledge¹⁵⁵ and a lively southern temperament; and Iñigo had to subject his young disciple to various trials in order to tame his fidgetiness.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ *Fabri Mon.* 19. On Isbrando, who after his return from Portugal was usually called Isidoro Bellini, see Alberti, *Istoria* 46-52; Aguilera I 8 10 77-80; Palmio (ARSI: **Vite* 164, ff. 129-v); Bartoli, *L'Italia* 4, 5; and, especially, the **Copia della satisfatione [que] fece Isidoro a tutti li scolari insieme congregati fuori delle due classe de figliolini*, written in Messina in 1549 (ARSI: *Rom.* 127 I, ff. 5-6v), which corrects the erroneous data in Alberti and Aguilera. At the end of 1547 he had already been, according to his own declaration, nine years in the order, and in 1549 ten years (**Copia* 5). He was sent to Paris before receiving the tonsure in April 1540 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 61-62), and studied there (*ibid.* 56 61-62 74 81-82 88). Since Rodrigues urgently wished that he should be sent "sus dos hijos, Micer Angelo y Esbrando, ò á lo ménos en todo caso à Esbrando" (*ibid.* 78; *Ep. Broëti* 523), he went to Coimbra in 1542 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 106; *MI Epp.* I 185 206-207). In 1547 he taught philosophy in Gandía (*Ep. Mixtae* I 338). In October of this year he came with Santa Cruz to Rome (*ibid.* 375; *MI Epp.* I 607), where during his hospital probation he was persuaded by monks of Monte Cassino to flee with them to Perugia without the knowledge of his brother, who was living in that monastery, so that he might join their order (**Copia* 5; Palmio in **Vite* 164, ff. 129-v). Brought back by Santa Cruz, he continued his hospital probation for fifteen days and was taken back at the end of January, 1548 (**Polanco* in ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 50, ff. 218v-bis, partly edited in Nadal I 115, n. 4). In March he was sent as a teacher of philosophy and minister to Messina, where he was always unsteady in his vocation. He was again persuaded by the same monks to flee from the college in 1549. He had already found a ship for his departure when he was led back by a better spirit to his companions and made amends for the scandal he had given by a public apology (**Copia* 5v-6; cf. *MI Epp.* II 183 198 205 246 295 333 449-450 514 529-630 639; Nadal I 66 74-75). In 1551, when he was still not a priest, Nadal took him as his companion when he sailed for Aphrodisia, which was threatened by the Turks. When the admiral's ship was sunk near the island of Lampedusa on July 4, Isbrando atoned for his past mistakes by a heroic death. See Nadal's report on his death (Nadal I 109-112; cf. 754-755). See also the reports by Benedetto Palmio (*Litt. Quadr.* I 428-430) and Polanco (*MI Epp.* III 590-591).

¹⁵² Aguilera I 8.

¹⁵³ He was accepted by Ignatius as a "puer" (B. Palmio in **Vite* 164, f. 129), "da figliolo" according to his own statement (**Copia* 5); cf. *Ep. Broëti* 557.

¹⁵⁴ Ignatius wrote *Isbrando* (*MI Epp.* I 512) and *Esbrando* (*ibid.* 206). The latter spelling is also employed by Favre, Rodrigues, and Rojas. It also appears simply as *Sbrando* (*Ep. Mixtae* I 56). The name may stand for the Dutch name of *Ysbrant* or *Isenbrant*.

¹⁵⁵ *Ep. Mixtae* I 142 358 340; Nadal I 159; *MI Epp.* II 26 96.

¹⁵⁶ Alberti, *Istoria* 46. Antonio Gallonio, a Roman who joined the Oratorians in 1577 at the age of twenty and wrote the life of their founder, declared in the latter's process of canonization that he had heard Ignatius say that the first one to send Italians to the Society of Jesus was Philip Neri, and this was repeated by other disciples of Neri such as Pietro Bacci and Germanico Fedeli (Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 303). This could hardly be applicable to Codacio, the first Italian to join. According to Bartoli, who as a rule made good use of the materials in the archives, Ignatius became acquainted with him in the papal anticamera (D. Bartoli, **Vita del P. Pietro Codaccio che fu il primo d'Italiani ch'entrasse nella compagnia di Giesù*, ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 98, f. 114v). Isbrando was recommended to Ignatius by Favre, and Cassini met him in his father's house. If the statement that Neri sent disciples to the Society is true for this period, it would refer most likely to Angelo Paradisi, whose motive for entering the Society is unknown to us. Rodrigues writes that he and Broët had gained some disciples in Siena who, despite the opposition of their parents, fled to Rome and were accepted by Ignatius (512); but these candidates do not seem to have stayed long since they are not mentioned elsewhere.

CHAPTER VI

THE SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY (1539-1540)

1. THE FIRST SECRETARY¹

When the companions began to leave Rome, they decided that those who remained in Italy² should write once a week to their confreres whom they had left behind, that those who went farther should do this once a month,³ and that those who remained in the Eternal City should take turns in answering⁴ these letters in the name of all, so that their mutual love and concern might be preserved despite their physical separation.⁵ Favre was holding this office of *hebdomarius* when he was compelled to go to Parma with Laynez on June 20, 1539.⁶ After his departure, Xavier took over the office of secretary of the Society on a permanent basis,⁷ since he was constrained by his poor health to remain at home. The letters of the absent companions were therefore first addressed to Iñigo or Codacio and then to Xavier when his confreres learned of his new position.⁸

2. LETTERS FROM SIENA⁹

At the beginning of May, Broët, Rodrigues, and Francisco de Strada had reached Siena soaked to their skin. Three Italian miles from the city they had

¹ Orlandinus already calls Xavier the first secretary of the Society (2, 81). Although Tacchi Venturi questions this title in a footnote in his first edition (II, 1, 368, n. 1), he omits this in the second.

² *Fabri Mon.* 21. Cf. the rules of 1547 (*MI Epp.* I 548) and the Constitutions (*MI Const.* II 620-621).

³ Thus, for example, the companions in Paris in 1540-1541 wrote monthly. The same is demanded by the rules and Constitutions mentioned above.

⁴ *Ep. Mixtae* I 20.

⁵ Polanco, the newly named secretary of the order, at Ignatius' request described the advantages of a frequent exchange of letters among the companions in a circular letter to the whole Society in 1547 (*MI Epp.* I 536-541); see also *MI Const.* II 620-621 229.

⁶ This is why Strada addressed his letter of July 5 and the one following it to Iñigo and Favre (*Ep. Mixtae* I 25 22). At the end of July he still did not know who the *hebdomadarius* was (*ibid.* 20).

⁷ *Ep. Mixtae* I 40. In October Araoz asked Xavier to write for him to the companions in Piacenza, Siena, and Gaeta (*ibid.* 36).

⁸ *Ibid.* 30 41 45 (to Iñigo and Xavier), *Fabri Mon.* 20 24 28 (Codacio and Xavier).

⁹ The letters which the companions in Siena had to send each week to Rome are no longer extant. We are, therefore, dependent upon the report which Rodrigues wrote in 1577 for General Mercurian (Rodrigues 509-513). This also was the principal source for later authors such as Tacchi Venturi and Rodrigues. We have filled in details from some other sources.

fallen into the Arbia and had almost drowned. Messer Giovanni degli Alessandrini, who was acquainted with Rodrigues from his first visit to Siena, received them into his house for their first days in the city so that they might recover from the fatigues of the journey. They then moved into the old dwelling near the church of San Giovanni in Salicotto, where the city provided them with all their needs. They then began to preach again to throngs of hearers near the Banchetti.¹⁰

Their main work, however, was the reform of the convent of Benedictine nuns of San Prospero e Sant'Agnese. The monastery of San Prospero had been formerly located outside the city, but because of some scandals and the fear of even worse, the nuns had been transferred to the convent of Sant'Agnese in the Contrada Spera in Dio near the Porta San Marco. The outcome of this had been a mortal struggle between the two communities,¹¹ which the archbishop and Fra Ambrogio Caterino, O.P., the brother of the abbess Donna Vittoria,¹² and others had sought in vain to quell.¹³ Lattanzio Tolomeo, who had been entrusted with the charge of the convent by the bishop, had asked the pope for the two priests, and had obtained for them the most extensive faculties for restoring discipline in the convent and bringing the nuns back to an observance of their rule.¹⁴ The task was not easy, but Master Paschasius, through his humility and mildness, which were united with great tact and an exemplary life,¹⁵ succeeded in attaining the desired goal.

Immediately after their transfer the newly arrived nuns had demanded that the convent be given the name of their former convent of San Prospero, but the nuns of Sant'Agnese held on stubbornly to their old name. Other matters also became objects of controversy, and the battle within the convent took on such proportions that the entire city looked upon its inmates as possessed, and life there became a real torment.

Prior to this the sisters of Sant'Agnese had simply been called *Speraindie* from the street on which they lived. The first thing, therefore, that Broët did after his arrival was to change their name to that of *Trafisse*, after the sword of sorrow which pierced the heart of the Mother of God when she met her Son carrying His cross. This removed the main point of controversy and opened up the way for a reconciliation of the two hostile parties.¹⁶

The second obstacle was the lack of a truly religious spirit among the nuns. Broët and Rodrigues gave them frequent exhortations, instructing them in the basic truths of the Exercises. They spoke privately with individuals, strengthening the tepid and wavering in a love of their vocation, and they encouraged them

¹⁰ *Ep. Broëti* 199.

¹¹ According to the short anonymous report **Come il P. Pascasio venne a Siena*, from the end of the sixteenth century (Roma, Fondo Gesù: *Manuscripta* 2b, n. 9, ff. 27-28).

¹² Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 198, n. 2.

¹³ Rodrigues 510.

¹⁴ *Ep. Broëti* 201-203.

¹⁵ On August 15, 1540, Bishop Francesco Bandini furnished Broët with the following testimonial: "Ea est Paschasii vestri, at potius nostri, vitae integritas, morum, suavitas, ut omnibus gratus jocundusque sit, mihi vero gratissimus, et in eo munere, quo hic fungitur, est adeo vehemens, ut summa eius cum laude oculos omnium in se converterit, nam verbis hortatur, exemplis iuvat, humilitate allicit, charitate ad bene beateque vivendum inflammat" (*Ep. Broëti* 203); cf. also Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 2, 15: "Era dotado de una columbina y prudente simplicidad."

¹⁶ *Como il P. Pascasio venne a Siena*, ff. 27-28.

to receive the sacraments frequently. Through such means the priests, to the joy and satisfaction of all, succeeded in restoring the old religious discipline in the convent and bringing the nuns back to a true sisterly love for one another. Their efforts thus proved to be more fruitful than anyone could have desired.¹⁷

The activity of the two companions, however, extended to other areas as well. They made a particular effort to inspire the promising young nobles who were attending the university with a zeal for virtue. Rodriguez began to lecture on one of the letters of St. Paul. The result was that soon the best students were his enthusiastic disciples. They went frequently to confession and Communion, zealously visited the hospitals and attended the poor sick day and night, made their beds, swept their rooms, and performed the lowliest services with great alacrity. They comforted the dying and strengthened them in their faith if doubts assailed them at their last moment. Not content with this, some of the students also wanted to make a general confession of their whole life and to make the Spiritual Exercises in solitude. In order to do this with less disturbance, they rented a house outside the city walls and withdrew there. One of the priests visited them each day in order to give them points for meditation and to furnish them with the advice they needed. But these unusual activities aroused suspicions, and a report went around that certain youths were being held incommunicado outside the city. A mob, goaded on by friends and relatives of the students, went out to free them and, if necessary, to ransack the house; but they found it empty. Shortly before their arrival, the retreat master, without being aware of what was happening, had sent the exercitants back to their lodgings.

Among those making the Exercises had also been a priest known throughout the city for his jokes, pranks, and gossiping tongue. He had also written skits and farces and had even mounted the stage to perform them. During the course of the Spiritual Exercises he decided to change his life completely and to make public atonement for the scandal he had given by his immoral life. The priest whom he consulted on this sent him to the vicar-general¹⁸ and to a Franciscan preacher,¹⁹ and they approved of his plan. When the friar had finished preaching in the main church of the city, the penitent priest, to the universal surprise and edification of the people, mounted the pulpit with a rope about his neck and with many tears asked their pardon for the bad example which he had given. After this he begged to be received into the Society of Jesus. When he failed in this request, he entered a Capuchin monastery in order to atone for his earlier errors through a life of penance.

Shortly before the arrival of the two priests a rumor had spread about that miracles were taking place in a Maltese chapel a few Italian miles away from the city. The owner of a neighboring inn and others who were financially interested in the matter had started it off. Pilgrims of both sexes, of every age and condition of life, kept streaming daily to the site; and men and women in colorful confusion were spending their nights out in the open field. A mass hypnosis had set in. The overwrought imaginations of the people soon saw wonders everywhere. When individuals worn out from their wild screaming entered the chapel, they often came out again at once shouting as if bewitched, "Miracle! Miracle!" Then, as if overcome with madness, they would race each

¹⁷ *Ibid.* and Rodrigues 510.

¹⁸ Francesco Cosci.

¹⁹ Does Rodrigues mean by this Bernardino Ochino? He preached in Siena in June, 1539, and both of these priests were acquainted with his sister (EX I 63).

other to a certain stone, throw themselves backwards upon it, and become possessed by the devil. A pious but ignorant woman in Siena, who could not travel such a distance, took the pains to find out how far the site was away from the city. She then ran around in a circle within her own home as if she were making the pilgrimage. Then, carried away by her insane cries of "Miracle!" she rolled over an imaginary stone and became possessed. Broët and Rodriguez frequently encountered other poor creatures of this same type. They exorcised them and freed no small number from the evil spirits which plagued them.²⁰

Rodrigues' poor health, however, could not endure the great fatigues of the work in Siena. In November his condition was already doubtful;²¹ and at the beginning of 1540 Iñigo called him back to Rome, where he arrived sick with a fever.²²

3. FRANCISCO DE STRADA²³

During the month of June the young Strada had written two or three times from Siena to Rome and had asked for advice as to whether he should remain there or go to Montepulciano, where his ardent preaching was earnestly sought.²⁴ Because of Favre's departure, he had not received an answer and had therefore accepted the invitation. His next letters, although they were at first addressed to Iñigo and Favre, were received by Xavier as secretary, and the latter must have frequently smiled as he ran across some happy expression or picaresque observation in them. The first of these is dated "Montepulciano, July 5,"²⁵ and its Latin inscription may be translated as follows: "Jesus. To my most dear and respected fathers in Christ Jesus, Messrs. Ignatius of Loyola and Master Favre in Rome."

When Strada arrived in Montepulciano, he saw that many people were going from the city to the Capuchin monastery on a mountain two Italian miles away,²⁶ where the renowned preacher and general of this order, Fra Bernardino Ochino, was holding a chapter at the time. They were followed by a procession of about three hundred young boys, who "as true soldiers were following their captain, the crucified Christ," that is, a crucifix which one of them carried in advance. They were all stripped to the waist and scourged themselves as they chanted the litanies and cried out from time to time in a loud voice: "Misericordia! Misericordia!" Since the monastery chapel could not accommodate such a large crowd, an altar had been erected out in the open so that all the people could assist at Mass. When this was finished, the Capuchins set before them baskets of bread which they had begged so that they could have lunch. After

²⁰ Rodrigues 510-512.

²¹ *Ep. Mixtae* I 41.

²² Rodrigues 513; Polanco, *Chron.* I 86. On March 10, 1540, Mascarenhas wrote of Rodrigues: "Ho portugues veo agora de Sena" (*Corpo Dipl. Port.* IV 292). The exact time of his return to Rome is not known; he probably arrived there in February, 1540 (cf. Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 203, n. 1 and Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 227, n. 4).

²³ The sources are Strada's letters (*Ep. Mixtae* I 19-30 38-45; V 625-627).

²⁴ *Ibid.* I 22-23; V 627.

²⁵ The letter is in ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 65, I, 227r + 67, 207v-r + 65, 227v-228v, ed. in *Ep. Mixtae* I 22-23 + V 625-627 + I 23-25.

²⁶ The chapel of St. Mary Magdalene on Mount Storciano, where the Capuchins built their first small monastery in 1532 (Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 205, n. 1).

the people had finished eating, a friar with an ascetic appearance preached to them in the open under the trees. After waiting for a time so that they could rest a bit, another priest preached to them, and a third in the evening. The people then returned to the city.

The example of the children proved to be effective. The men imitated it and issued decrees against blasphemy. Many who were at violent odds with each other because of past murders were reconciled, and others asked pardon of their injured adversaries. Even the women proposed laws against luxury in dress and offenses against public decency. Besides this, priests²⁷ went from house to house in their parishes and filled out lists with the names of those who wished to go to confession and receive Holy Communion. The result of this was that in some places the number of those who performed their Easter duty was doubled and even tripled.

Then Strada mentions his own activities:

I had hardly arrived here when some individuals, I know not whom, praised or slandered me in such a way that many people came to me, and they are still coming to speak with me; and many of the leading citizens have discussed their affairs with me and have earnestly begged me to remain for some time in this city.

They urged Strada to give lectures on the Gospels or other parts of Scripture as a substitute for the current lectures being given on poetry and fiction. Moreover, if he would deliver a short sermon for them, all, both men and women, would come to it. *Nolens volens*, accordingly, he wrote, he had to do them this favor although he was no authority. He then continued:

I hope in our Lord, *in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientie et scientie absconditi*, ("in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge"),²⁸ that God, since I am being as it were constrained, will be able, not only through me, but also through a stone to work great things, since His might is still the same now as it was in the time of Balaam.²⁹

He then went on to speak about the Exercises:

With respect to the Exercises, may I tell you that I gave them to four Sieneese who came here to Montepulciano. I did not lose much time with them, since they were all very ordinary fellows;³⁰ and in this I followed the rule of our own father.³¹ They all made a general confession and agreed that they had drawn great fruit from the Spiritual Exercises. I dismissed them content and happy, and they encouraged others here to imitate their example through their high praise of these Exercises. After a week three more wanted to make the Exercises, two from here and one from Siena. Many other important individuals in the community would like to do the same, and would already have done so, if they were not now busy harvesting wheat. But still in the meantime there is so much work to do that I entreat all of you to help with your holy sacrifices and earnest prayers.

²⁷ The *Ep. Mixtae* V 626 has erroneously *el cura*; the original has the *el* crossed out and inserts *cada cura*.

²⁸ Col. 2:3.

²⁹ Where God spoke to Balaam through the mouth of an ass (Num. 23:28-30).

³⁰ This is the way we translate the slang expression *cerbelin*, *cerbelin*, which literally means "small brain, small brain."

³¹ According to *Annotatio* 18 (MI Ex. 243-245).

Strada then described how two days before writing this letter the representatives of the city, that is, the five priors (*priores*) had summoned him into their presence and had spoken with him at length. They invited him to supper and urged him not to leave. When he informed them that he would have to obtain permission from the Society for a longer stay, they told him that they would write immediately to Rome; and one of them added that if it was necessary they would make a petition to the pope for an order to this effect.

In his conclusion Strada asked that one of his confreres might visit Señor Dr. Hortiz and give him his greeting and ask to be excused for not writing to him personally because of his many occupations. He further asked that his greetings should be conveyed to Señor Salazar and Caballar so that they would not think that he had forgotten them. He then added:

I would like to tell you what the Exercises have been christened. They are now called "Purgation" or "General Confession"; and since this name is more descriptive, I find that they do not shrink from it as they do from "Exercises."

This letter crossed one coming from Rome, and Strada thanked the sender for it in another which he wrote later. In this he repeated his request for a prompt decision with respect to his stay in Montepulciano, gave an account of his preaching, and wrote of a woman who, to avoid the dangers of the world, wanted to sell her possessions, divide the proceeds among the poor, and go to Rome and live there as a companion or servant of Madonna Lucrezia de Bradine, of whom he had spoken to her, or of some other pious woman.³²

Strada's next letter was still addressed to Iñigo³³ and Favre.³⁴ He first complained that, despite his earnest request for a prompt reply, he had as yet received no answer from Rome. Perhaps they had not read the passage in which he had made this request, or they intended to refuse his petition by postponing their decision. He assumed, however, that their letter must have been lost, for he could not imagine that they had failed to answer through negligence or forgetfulness, since the lord priors and other personages were waiting for their decision. He then observed:

I cannot but think that you must be extremely busy since you do not have even half an hour to write to me; but whatever obstacles or labors may be responsible for this, if I knew who the *hebdomarius* was, I would not fail to complain to him a little with all the humility that a subject should have towards his superiors.

He repeated his requests with respect to the woman who wanted to live with Madonna Lucrezia and added that his brothers in Rome might atone for their debts by a prompt answer. He then continued:

I have nothing new to write about my own affairs. I now have only one making the Exercises, although many citizens and doctors of law and medicine are ready to make them if I stay here. I shout³⁵ on Sundays and feast days, since I have no other way to describe it. The people come in such crowds that at times there is hardly any place to

³² The letter is lost; Strada cites it in the following letter (*Ep. Mixtae* I 19-21).

³³ In the Italian address he wrote first *Ignigo*, which he then improved to *Ignatio*. In his other letters he wrote the Spanish *Inigo* and the Latin *Ignatius*.

³⁴ ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 65 I 225-226v, ed. *Ep. Mixtae* I 19-22, where the letter is erroneously dated in June. It was written after that of July 5.

stand in the church. I preach in my usual manner in San Martino;³⁶ then, pestered by a great many of the leading personages, I must go to San Francesco, a church belonging to the friars,³⁷ which holds more people than the cathedral.³⁸ Since I have written about all of this at greater length in another letter, I shall not continue this further but only beg you to write me what I should do, for if it were to the equal service of God, I would gladly see you; but if it is decided that it is to His greater service that I remain here, I shall submit myself in everything to your will.

I entreat you again (in accordance with my custom) to greet Señor Dr. Hortiz for me. I kiss the hands of Señor Dr. Iñigo Lopez and recommend myself to him, and I also embrace all the servants (*Señores domésticos*) there and ask for news as to how they are faring. I entreat you to heed my request and write to me through the bearer of this letter, who must return very soon. And I ask this of you a second time. May the grace and the peace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you all!

The priors would have already written to the secretary of the pope³⁹ to obtain permission for me to stay here if I had not first wished to know your will in this regard. If you decide that I should stay here, send a letter at once.

*Vester parvulus in Christo,*⁴⁰

Franciscus Strada.

If I am to remain here, be sure and send me the rules for the discernment of spirits and temptations, and all the other rules of the Exercises, and don't neglect it! And also send me an answer about that woman! *Nil ultra.*⁴¹

After the messenger had departed with this letter, a reply came from Rome in the form of a letter to an official of the city in which the companions informed the priors that they had vowed obedience to the pope and that he alone could dispose of them. On August 26 the *gonfaloniere* and priors of the city, therefore, sent a second letter "To the Very Reverend Fathers in Christ Jesus of the Society of the *Preti Pellegrini* in Rome" filled with praise for the good example given by, and the labors of, Strada. They further declared that they had fellow citizens in the pope's retinue who were highly esteemed by him, and that they hoped to obtain their request through them.⁴²

Before this document reached its addressees, however, Strada had received an order to leave Montepulciano within three, or at most five, days and to return to Rome so that he might go to Bagnorea, where Bishop Solis wanted his assistance.⁴³ While he was still tarrying, Strada received a second letter from Xavier

³⁵ He writes: "Yo grido." His sermons made an extraordinary impression in Ghedi and in the cathedral in Parma (*Ep. Mixtae* I 49-50), in Brescia (*Fabri Mon.* 22 28-29), and in Louvain (Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 208-211). After hearing him in Brescia in 1540, Favre wrote about him as follows: "Tanto les plazen acá sus prédicas seu lectiones, que es para maravillar; y assí harían, creo yo, á qual quier que le oyesse" (*Fabri Mon.* 26).

³⁶ The church of the hospital.

³⁷ The church of the Conventuals.

³⁸ The collegiate church of Santa Maria is meant. Montepulciano did not become an episcopal see until 1561 (Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 208).

³⁹ Marcello Cervini, the secretary of Alessandro Farnese, the vice-chancellor of the pope.

⁴⁰ "Your little one in *Christo*." In 1539 he was about twenty years old.

⁴¹ "Nothing more."

⁴² The original is found in ARSI: *Epp. Ext.* 23, 1-2v, ed. (but without the address) in *Ep. Mixtae* I 24, n. 1.

⁴³ We conclude this from Strada's reply (*ibid.* 30). Solis was bishop of Bagnorea (today Bagnoregio) near Rome from 1528-1545 and a minor penitentiary. In April, 1540, he received Antonio de Strada and Jay instead of Francisco de Strada (*Ep. Broëti* 265).

in Rome repeating the order.⁴⁴ On September 10, however, the pope had left the Eternal City for Loreto with Alessandro Farnese and the latter's secretary, Marcello Cervini. He arrived in Perugia on the evening of the seventeenth and was there met by three or four of the most prominent citizens of Montepulciano and one of the five priors, Alessandro Cervini, the secretary's brother. On the nineteenth they received through him a document from Cardinal Farnese informing Strada that the pope wished him for the time being to remain in Montepulciano.⁴⁵ When he learned of this, Xavier wrote a letter to his young confrere bidding him in the name of the companions to carry out the wishes of the Holy Father and to continue his work in that city. At the same time he wrote that his brother Antonio was now well in soul and body.⁴⁶

Strada's reply to these various letters finally reached Rome. It was addressed as follows: "To the Very Reverend Fathers in Christ, Miser Inigo de Loyola, and Miser Francisco Xebier in Rome," and was dated Siena, September 25. In it he gave the reason for his long silence.⁴⁷

As soon as he had received his first order, Strada had made all the necessary preparations for an immediate departure; but he suddenly fell sick with a severe cold, a violent toothache, a fever, and a swelling under his beard. The next day he was bled and given two purges. His immediate departure was thus out of the question. During his illness he received the second letter from Rome, but he regained his strength slowly and was still convalescing when Miser Angelo showed up unexpectedly. He had heard of Strada's recall as he was setting out on his pilgrimage to Loreto and had therefore presumed that he would no longer be in Montepulciano. He arrived there starved and completely exhausted on his way back from Loreto. He had been soaked through by the rain and was suffering from a sore foot. He was consequently in need of care and rest like his confrere.

When the two had regained some strength, Strada decided to say goodby to the archpriest, the lord priors, and the others whom he knew. The people begged him to wait for a few more days until an answer came from the pope's secretary, to whom they had written in two different letters. When he insisted upon leaving, they offered him horses and money for himself and Angelo as far as Rome. He refused the money but accepted the horses for as far as Siena, since his companion's foot was still not healed.

In Siena Rodrigues informed him that Broët had gone the day before to Montepulciano since they had not heard from him for a long time and feared that he was seriously ill. Broët then returned with the report of the embassy that had gone to Perugia from Montepulciano. Xavier's third letter arrived from Rome soon after this, and four days later a messenger arrived from Montepulciano with a letter from Cardinal Farnese, which Strada enclosed.⁴⁸

Without waiting for further orders, he wrote, he would return at once to Montepulciano; and he asked his confreres to remember him in their sacrifices and prayers so that the Lord might bless his work. He then added that he had already written for the rules for the first and second weeks of the Exercises and anything else that might have been added to them. He repeated his request

⁴⁴ *Ep. Mixtae* I 26.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 28. The text is in Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 212-214.

⁴⁶ *Ep. Mixtae* I 28-29.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 26-30. The original is in ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 65 I 229-230v.

⁴⁸ *Ep. Mixtae* I 28.

with respect to the woman who wanted to go to Rome and stated that Master Simon and Paschasius were well but had not written because of their many labors. Like himself, they were eager to be informed about everything that happened in Rome, and he continued:

Miser Angelo is still here. He has no great desire to return to Rome before we do. I do not know what Master Simon will decide with respect to him. I shall advise you at once as to what happens. He is not as yet writing himself since his foot is not completely healed. As soon as it is well he will write to you at length.

I have just learned of my brother's sickness (he did not write of it himself) and of his recovery in *utroque homine* in the letter of Sor. Mastre Francisco, whom I must believe. I hope that he will take the means to make this permanent. I recommend myself very much to him and to my other brothers in Christ, begging them to assist me with their prayers. May the grace and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

From Siena, September 25, 1539

Your son in Christ,

Franciscus Strada.

I send my greetings as usual to Señor Dr. Hortiz, Señor Iñigo Lopez, and so forth. Miser Angelo and I earnestly recommend ourselves to Señor Micer Pedro Codazo, Señor Estevan, and Señor Don Diego, asking them to be particularly mindful of us in their pious prayers.

We would also be very happy to have news of Master Favre and Master Laynez and to see some of their letters. At the same time we would like to know the fruit which is now being procured in Rome so that we may be encouraged to continue our labors here with redoubled vigor.

You might tell Señor Bishop Solis how grieved I am that I cannot carry out his request, and so forth,⁴⁹ but I leave this up to your judgment. I would however be glad to receive news of him. *Nil ultra*. Yours as above. I write at length, since I want you to write to me.

Strada sent his next letters from Montepulciano. In the first of these he mentions the fruit of the Exercises which he was giving and writes that the archpriest was going to Rome in order to make the Spiritual Exercises there.⁵⁰

Angelo was again in Rome when the prior of the Dominican monastery of Montepulciano brought a second letter from Strada "To our Most Reverend Fathers in Christ, Miser Inigo de Loyola and Miser Francisco Xebier at the Merangulo Tower in Rome."⁵¹ In it Strada mentioned the fact that he was again suffering from a toothache and that some pills had been prescribed for it. He had not, however, on this account interrupted his preaching, but had rather increased it. On All Saints' he had preached twice, once in the morning and again in the evening. The reason for this was that on the preceding days he had earnestly encouraged his listeners to go to confession; and in order to be able to judge more accurately the effects of his words, he had encouraged all who had confessed to assemble at the church on the morning of the feast so that they might receive Holy Communion. He would preach there on the Last Supper, and they would all receive Communion together.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 30.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 39-40.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 38-41. The original is in ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 65 I 231-232v.

The result of these exhortations was that a large crowd assembled in the church on the feast of All Saints, where there were two priests to hear the confessions of all those who wanted to receive absolution. There were more than twice as many as Strada had even dreamt would come. He spoke to them about the way they should prepare themselves for receiving Holy Communion, the reverence which should be shown to the sacrament, and the advantages of frequent Communion. During the Mass they all went up to the Lord's table two by two. First there were two priors, then Strada with a doctor, and finally the rest, both men and women. At the same time Holy Communion was distributed in a similar fashion in three other churches. Others received the Body of the Lord on the following day, Sunday, All Souls' Day. After Vespers on the afternoon of All Saints', Strada preached a second sermon to a great crowd in the collegiate church of Santa Maria. It consisted in a homily on the fifth beatitude, "Blessed are the clean of heart," in which he indicated how one should conduct oneself after receiving Holy Communion in order to preserve the fruit of the sacrament. In his letter he noted that he was thinking of organizing a similar general Communion for the first Sunday of Advent and that he would strive, as long as he was permitted to remain there, to have all take part in it. He then continued:

I have already written to you in another letter of the special fruit of the Purgation, or Exercises, as they are called, and I am surprised that I have received no answer. I could put the whole blame for this (if I wanted to) upon Señor M.tre Francisco, who has undertaken the task of writing for all. But, to be kind to him, I shall excuse him this time. If the winter's cold makes his hands sluggish for writing, I beg that the heat of fire, which has the property of warming what is cold, may make them prompt and ready so that he can take up his pen without shivering. I write this jesting with Señor M.tre Francisco, as if I saw and spoke with him face to face. But he should be careful not to give a wrong interpretation to my manner of writing, for I speak from practical experience. Since it is very cold I had a small fire made in order that I might warm my hands and finish this letter.

They have written to me twice from Siena that Maestre Simon is very ill, as I believe that you also must have heard. I have received a letter from Señor Estevan de Guia. This letter will also be for him, since I cannot write to him personally because of my occupations. I ask him and his Señor brother and all the Señores there not to forget me in their prayers and sacrifices.

I kiss the hand of Señor Dr. Hortiz, and I am not writing to him since I believe that you show him my letters, thus giving him news of me. I am anxious to know if you have spoken with the archpriest of this place, who, as I wrote, was going to you in order to make the Purgation. Don't fail to see whether he could be won, etc.

I kiss the hands of Señor Dr. Iñigo Lopes. I commend myself earnestly to my brothers in Christ our Lord, Señor Strada and Miser Angelo. I have learned from Rojas that he has gone to Sicily. If you have heard anything from him since his departure I would be glad to hear it and also about Sr. Mastre Faber, M.e Lainez, and M.e Bobadilla. May the grace and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all!

Montepulciano, November, 1539.

Your son in Christ,

Strada.

The next letter came from Brescia, where he had been sent in the meantime and where he was living in the hospital of the incurables. It bears the date February 3, 1540.⁵² In it he casts a glance back upon his work in Montepulciano,

⁵² *Ibid.* 42-45. The original *ibid.* 233-234v.

where he had founded a *compagnia*, or confraternity, of the forsaken poor, a second of needy girls, a third of men, and a fourth of women, and where a more frequent reception of the sacraments had wrought a great change in the lives of the people.

He then describes his departure. He had first been detained for several more days by four doctors, who were among the most prominent personages in the city. They had retired into a retreat to prepare for a general confession and had a great desire to advance in the spiritual life. He had felt compelled to give them the Exercises and had visited each one of them twice a day in order to expedite the matter. All profited greatly, and some incredibly so. To make this more evident, he ordered all of them, after they had gone to confession, to go with some young men devoted to him to a monastery and there receive Holy Communion with him. This they did, to the edification of those who saw them. Then on a Sunday he organized a procession of the abandoned poor. The doctors already mentioned and four others went through the whole city with them chanting the litanies and collecting alms for the poor. One of the doctors had a knapsack on his back, others carried a basket or a jug, and still others freely offered to haul firewood. Strada led the way, knocking at the doors with a staff. The people looked on the spectacle with amazement. Everywhere windows were opened and contributions generously made: bread, wine, firewood, salt, eggs, and a considerable number of coins. One person offered a jar since he had nothing else to give. They had to deposit their burdens two or three times before finishing their begging tour. They were followed by a large crowd; and when they returned to the hospital, they thanked God before the altar and divided the gifts. One of the eight doctors later confided to Strada that he could have burst for joy, and that after he had returned to his house he had shed an abundance of tears as a result of the great consolation he had experienced.

When Strada had finally decided to depart, the brother-in-law of the archpriest came to his dwelling and complained that he had not as yet gained any fruit and that he greatly regretted his departure. He then asked Strada for the love of Christ to give him a rule of life, and he offered to beg alms for the poor twice a week. On the day of his departure he was told that seventy women were waiting for him at the hospital. He was thus compelled to give them to a rule of life. And they begged him to give them also the Exercises, for they too had souls like men. As a consequence of all this, his departure from Montepulciano had not been easy.

4. THE SPANISH JOURNEY OF ARAOZ ⁵³

Araoz, who had left Rome in September, 1539, also gave an account of himself. Towards the end of the year, Ignatius received a letter from him dated "Zaragoza, October 20," in which he gave a report on his journey to Spain. In it he mentioned two earlier letters which he had sent, one before his departure from Italy and the other after his arrival in Barcelona.

⁵³ Our sole source is Araoz' letter from Zaragoza dated October 30, 1539, in ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 65 I 2-3v, ed. in *Ep. Mixtae* I 31-38. The two previous letters mentioned in it do not seem to have reached Rome since they were not used by Polanco, Orlandinus, or Alcázar.

He had traveled overland to Pisa and had then embarked from a small harbor near that city in a Genoese galley. It had stopped for three or four days at La Spezia, a harbor of the Republic of Genoa, where they had purchased the necessary provisions. From here the boat had sailed out into the open seas, but it had encountered such a strong opposing wind that it had been in grave peril and had been forced to return to the harbor with broken yards to make repairs and to wait for more favorable weather. Eight days later, on a Sunday morning, they had set sail again and had enjoyed a good wind and a quiet sea until Thursday evening. Before nightfall, as they were crossing the Gulf of Lyons, the sea had become so wild that the waves had dashed over the deck and the marines had cried out in despair: "Misericordia!" Saturday afternoon, however, the storm had died down and the galleon had arrived about noon on October 19 in the harbor of Barcelona.

Sailing on the ship with Araoz had been a great friend of Salmerón and his companions. This was an Aragon who had been with Salmerón in Paris and had envied his profound knowledge of Greek and had taken advantage of it. He was also a friend of Luis Vives, and had been in the house of Cardinal Contarini in Rome, a gathering place for humanists. Araoz did not tell him that he was a disciple of Iñigo, and the Aragon spoke to him of Masters Laynez and Salmerón. He regretted the fact that they had given up their studies. He had a high regard for both of them, though he did not favor their way of life. During the course of their conversation the Aragon also spoke about the Exercises. When Araoz asked him what these were, he replied that during them one was given meditations on the life of Christ and many other things about heaven and hell with which he was not acquainted. He was of the opinion that the intentions of the priests were good but not the way in which they carried them out. He also spoke of Dr. Ortiz, and he had been in some ways edified by him.

Araoz remained in Barcelona for three days in the house of the archdeacon Jaime Cazador.⁵⁴ He also delivered the letters which he had brought with him to their addressees, for the news of his arrival brought many of Iñigo's former friends to the house. These people, who had known him before and after his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, were overjoyed by the fact that a favorable decision had been passed upon him and his companions after the severe persecution they had experienced in Rome. They were equally delighted with the oral confirmation of the Society and declared that they would be most happy to support a foundation of the priests in Barcelona from their own resources and to secure further friends for such a project. Many, both priests and laymen, came to inquire about the new foundation, and more than one expressed a desire to join it. They were partly influenced in this by the talks which Araoz delivered at the request of his visitors. In his letter Araoz was also able to write in some detail about Iñigo's former benefactors, Doña Isabel de Josa,⁵⁵ for example, and

⁵⁴ Jaime Cazador, the son of Guillermo, was born about 1480 in Vich. He was a friend of Iñigo, who in 1536 was still thanking him from Venice for the alms he had sent (*MI Epp.* I 93-99); at the end of 1538 he had him informed of the favorable judgment on the Society (*FN* I 14). He was bishop of Barcelona from 1546 to 1560 (*Van Gulik* 143; *Ep. Mixtae* I 321-323).

⁵⁵ She came from one of the most prominent families of Barcelona. She had been married to Don Guillermo de Josa, who died in 1539. She was completely devoted to pious and apostolic works and lived in retirement near Peu de la Crey, renowned for her virtue and knowledge. She befriended Iñigo in Barcelona and was with her friend Isabel Roser in Rome from 1543 to 1547. She died about 1570 in Barcelona. On her see

Doña Aldonzo de Cardona,⁵⁶ and Doña Guiomar Gralla, the wife of the *contador mayor de rentas* of Catalonia,⁵⁷ who had also generously supported their protégé while he was a student in Paris.⁵⁸

At Montserrat, Araoz spoke with Fray Jaime, who had met Iñigo in Venice in 1536, at the time of his own return from the Holy Land.⁵⁹ He rejoiced at the good news that his visitor brought him about Iñigo and his companions. He told him, moreover, that many of the monks had a great longing to see him because of the high esteem in which they held him. One of the hermits of the mountain, Fray Martín de Ubila, also came to visit him. He too was highly pleased with the good news that he brought him.⁶⁰

In Zaragoza, Araoz learned that Iñigo's nephew Millán was studying canon law in Salamanca and that Doña Magdalena, the mistress of the castle of Loyola, had died. He therefore requested the prayers of his confreres for the repose of her soul. Don Diego and Miser Esteban would certainly not forget her charity. He asked Mestre Francisco to write to the companions in Piacenza,⁶¹ Siena,⁶² and Gaeta⁶³ for him; and he asked Iñigo not to deprive him of the consolation of a letter, for he too wished to follow the directions which had been given to him about writing. Codure had also given him a letter. He should be told that he had not as yet been able to have it delivered to its addressee since his route had not taken him through France. He then brought his own letter to a close as follows:

I kiss the hands of all the Señores there, and I commend myself to the prayers of each and all, especially to those of my brother Carbajal, for whom I hope a great crown. I would like to have news of Rojas. When you write, please inform me about his affairs and their success. I kiss the hands of Señor Dr. Hortiz and Señor Dr. Iñigo Lopez, and I ask them to remember me in their prayers, since I have great confidence in them.

Your son in the name of Jesus,

Araoz.⁶⁴

Juan Creixell, S.J., *San Ignacio de Loyola. Estudio Crítico* (Barcelona, 1922) 292-296; *MI Scripta* II 92 275 289-290 301.

⁵⁶ Araoz does not give her family name; it was *Cardona*, not *Córdoba*, as the editors of the *Ep. Mixtae* believe; cf. *MI Epp.* I 91. In 1533 her son was a page of the empress (José M. March, S.J., *Niñez y juventud de Felipe II* 2 [Madrid, 1942] 189).

⁵⁷ In 1518 Guiomar de Hostralrich married Miguel Juan de Gralla y Desplá. Both were benefactors of Iñigo in Barcelona and every week gave him wheat for the poor. On her see Creixell 300-301 and *MI Scripta* II 89 274-275 284 287-288 330.

⁵⁸ *MI Epp.* I 91. Araoz does not name two of Iñigo's main benefactresses: Isabel Roser and Inés Pascual. The former was probably staying at the time in her country home outside the city; the latter was at this time in Valladolid (Creixell 313-314).

⁵⁹ Not to be confused with Fray Jaime Forner, O.S.B., born in 1534, one of the witnesses in Ignatius' process at Montserrat in 1606 (*MI Scripta* II 797).

⁶⁰ **Catálogo de los Padres y de los Hermanos Legos del Monasterio de N. Sra. de Montserrat desde 1493 hasta 1808 copiados por D. Fausto Curiel y Gutiérrez, O.S.B., 1910* (Monastery Archives of Montserrat) contains for this period only a Martín Moros from Aragon (professed 1501) and Martín de Ansa (professed 1507).

⁶¹ Favre and Laynez, who had been sent for Parma and Piacenza.

⁶² Broët and Rodrigues with Strada.

⁶³ Bobadilla.

⁶⁴ Araoz' next letter is from Vergara (Guipúzcoa), dated July 4, 1540. His long report on his trip to Almazán, Valladolid, and Burgos mentioned in this letter does not seem to have reached Rome since none of the early authors such as Polanco and Orlandinus used it.

5. BOBADILLA'S SECRET MISSION⁶⁵

Ascanio Colonna,⁶⁶ the brother of the renowned Vittoria Colonna, was one of the most powerful barons of the Roman campagna. He was forty-seven years old⁶⁷ and had been married since 1521 to the daughter of Duke Ferrante of Montalto, Donna Giovanna d'Aragona, who had formerly been celebrated for her beauty. She had borne him six children—four sons and two daughters. But soon after the birth of her last child, Marcantonio, in 1535, she had withdrawn to her castle on the island of Ischia and had been living there separated from her husband,⁶⁸ whom she accused of marital infidelity and of dissipating her property.⁶⁹ The quarrel between the two had become an open scandal,⁷⁰ and every effort to settle it had proved to be futile. Since his arrival in Rome at the end of 1537, Iñigo had been acquainted with Ascanio Colonna and his family. A young noblewoman in the service of Donna Giovanna, Catalina de Badajoz, who has hardly more than a child, but mature for her age, had become his penitent and had also come to know Favre and the two Egúfa. In March, 1539, "seventeen months" after her departure from Rome, Catalina wrote to her former spiritual director and sent her greetings through him to the three others just mentioned. She added that the small Marcantonio also kissed his hand and gave his own to his father.⁷¹

Ascanio had therefore turned in person and through intermediaries⁷² to Ignatius; and at the pope's request the latter entrusted one of his disciples, Bobadilla, with the delicate task⁷³ of seeking out Donna Giovanna in order to bring about, if possible, a reconciliation between her and her husband.

At the end of September Bobadilla set out alone and without money for the journey on his secret mission. The route led him past Terracina to the harbor of Gaeta, where he lived in the hospital on alms and preached in the

⁶⁵ Our main source is the short account in Bobadilla's autobiography (Bobadilla 618). It is supplemented by some other observations (*ibid.* 16-21 634 638 643 665). He wrongly ascribes this trip in 1538 and his stay in Naples, where he heard the sermons of Ochino and Fra Ambrogio Caterino, to the Lent of 1540 (*ibid.* 619). But these occurred instead in his second trip to the south. See also Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 261-263.

⁶⁶ On him see A. Bertolotti, *La prigionia di Ascanio Colonna, 1553-1557* (Modena, 1883), and Prospero Colonna, *I Colonna* (Roma, 1927) 187-188 202-203.

⁶⁷ Ignatius wrote in November, 1552, that Ascanio was sixty years old (*MI Epp.* IV 508).

⁶⁸ Bertolotti 28. She signed her name as Giovanna de Aragona (*ibid.* 74).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 30; P. Colonna 187; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 262, n. 2.

⁷⁰ See the twenty-six reasons which Ignatius gave her for a reconciliation in 1552 (*MI Epp.* IV 506-511).

⁷¹ The letter of the thirteen-year-old girl, written in a child's hand with a number of corrections (she changes, for example, *Roma* to *Napoles* and *e* to *y*), is in ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 65 I, 247, ed. in *Ep. Mixtae* I 17-19. The priest who is mentioned as the bearer of the letter cannot have been Bobadilla, as the editor believes. She may well have become acquainted with the two Egúfa before their pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1536 and with Iñigo and Favre at Rome towards the end of 1537, before her departure from Rome in November of that year, if we do not stress the "seventeen months in Naples" mentioned in her letter. Cf. Rahner, *Briefwechsel* 172-174 594.

⁷² "Por instancia del duque Ascanio Colona y otras personas" (Bobadilla 16).

⁷³ "La prima [missione] alla señora doña Johana en Ischia, año 1539, Papa Paulo 3º. Mtro. Ignatio, ad instantia de Ascanio Colona" (*ibid.* 638).

⁷⁴ "Pervenit Caietam, mansit in hospitali petendo eleemosinam, legendo in ecclesia cathedrali epistolas dominicales per annum" (*ibid.* 618). After this it appears that he again preached in Gaeta.

cathedral on the Sunday's Epistle.⁷⁴ On October 4, the feast of St. Francis of Assisi, as he continued on his way, he preached in the monastery of Sant'Oliveto in the neighboring village of Mola di Gaeta.⁷⁵ Here he embarked upon a boat for Ischia, but on the way he was seized with a malignant Maltese fever.⁷⁶ Since it was impossible to obtain proper care on the island, he had to sail on to Naples. There he was received into the hospital of the Annunziata and immediately bled and given a purge. He lay there sick for weeks and was repeatedly given up by the physician. After two months, however, he was so far recovered that he could return to Ischia, where he preached in the cathedral and in the castle.⁷⁷ He also tried to persuade Donna Giovanna to return to her husband.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 618. Today Formia.

⁷⁶ "Febris maligna, quam pecorariam vocant, genus quoddam pestis, et erat febris mortalis" (*ibid.* 618). By this is obviously meant the *febbre ondulante*, known also as *febbre melitense*, *febbre mediterranea* and, after the discoverer of its bacillus, *setticemia di Bruce*. The bacillus is usually communicated through the milk or cheese of sheep and goats. Its symptoms are a breaking out in perspiration, headaches, a loss of strength and appetite, and a fever, which usually disappears after two or three weeks, but which returns after four, seven, or fourteen days, and can return as many as seven times (*Enciclopedia Italiana* XXV 369).

⁷⁷ Bobadilla 618 634 643 665. Francesco Schinosi, S.J., adds that Bobadilla had reformed the family of Donna Giovanna and her sister, the marchesa del Vasto, had instructed the people of the place and, in the first months [*sic*] of the year 1539, had also taken care of the neighboring villages, had explained the Sunday Epistles in Gaeta, had then [*sic*] contracted the above-mentioned fever, and, after his convalescence in Naples at the beginning of 1540, had held a public disputation with the heretic Juan Valdés (*Istoria della Compagnia di Giesu appartenente al Regno di Napoli*, Parte prima [Napoli, 1706] 5-8). The meeting with Valdés is dramatically described in another form in an account of an unknown author. But he does not have Valdés, who died in 1541, come to Naples until 1551; and he confuses the stay of Salmerón, who attacked the erroneous teachings of Valdés here in 1551, and who was here with Bobadilla in 1552, with Bobadilla's first stay in 1539-1540 (Bobadilla 17-21). Vittoria Colonna, Giovanna de Aragona, and her sister have been included among the admirers of Valdés (Fermin Caballero, *Alfonso y Juan de Valdés* [Madrid, 1875] 194), but this is questioned by Menéndez y Pelayo (*Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* 4 [Madrid, 1928] 222). Bobadilla says of himself: "En Nápoles disputó contra Valdés" (Bobadilla 634). But this must have been in the Lent of 1540, shortly before his return to Rome. He perhaps did not write of it to his companions there since Lent began on February 10, and on March 14 he had already arrived in the Eternal City (*ibid.* 22). See also Domingo de Santa Teresa, O.C.D., *Juan de Valdés 1498(?) - 1541. Su pensamiento religioso y las corrientes espirituales de su tiempo* (Romae, 1937, *Analecta Gregoriana*, vol. 85).

⁷⁸ Bobadilla wrote that he had executed his mission to the complete satisfaction of the pope and Ascanio Colonna (*ibid.* 618); but in 1551 Ignatius had to personally intervene in a new attempt at a reconciliation, and this also was without lasting success. On Valdés and Bobadilla's mission, see also Tacchi Venturi I, 1, 451-456; II, 1, 261-264.

6. NEWS FROM PARMA ⁷⁹

On June 20, 1539, the cardinal legate Ennio Filonardi had set out from Rome with a small retinue of only six horses.⁸⁰ On July 21 the company, which included Favre and Laynez,⁸¹ reached Modena and Reggio. On the twenty-third they entered Parma. The legate was lodged in the episcopal palace opposite the cathedral, where a room had been prepared for his two companions.⁸² In accordance with the custom of the Society, however, the two priests asked for shelter in the neighboring hospital of San Cosma e Damiano,⁸³ where the confraternity of the *Disciplina Vecchia* (also called the *Disciplina di San Paolo* after the neighboring parish church of San Paolo)⁸⁴ had its headquarters, and where pilgrims and poor priests could find a place to stay.⁸⁵ Following the instructions they had received, they wrote every week to Rome: ⁸⁶ "To our brothers in Christ, Micer Pietro Codacio and Micer Francesco Xabier in the house of Micer Antonio Frayapane near the tower of Melangulo in Rome."⁸⁷ They also regularly received replies from Xavier as secretary,⁸⁸ for the confreres in Parma, especially Laynez, always wanted to be kept informed about the labors of their companions.⁸⁹

The constant change of rulers in hotly contested Lombardy prior to 1521, when Parma and Piacenza finally came again under the rule of the pope, had not failed to have its effects upon public morality. Party quarrels, manslaughters, and murders were the order of the day in town and country;⁹⁰ the number of illegitimate children was frightfully high;⁹¹ the clergy was in dire need of re-

⁷⁹ The main sources on the deeds of the priests in Parma are the letters of Favre (*Fabri Monumenta* 14-44), a brief remembrance of them in his *Memoriale* (*ibid.* 498-499), Laynez (*Lainii Mon.* I 3-18 and FN I 212-214), the letters of the *anziani* to their ambassador in Rome (Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 194-206), a report of 1567, **L'Origine et fondatione dell' Collegio di Parma* (ARSI: *Mediol.* 91, 274-281v), and the data in *Fabri Mon.* 35-39 and *Ep. Mixtae* I 583-587. New archival material is also to be found in the accounts given by Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 219-241 360-361 367; Schurhammer, "Leben und Briefe A. Criminali's," *AHSI* 5 (1936) 231-267; Luigi Leoni, *Il Beato Pietro Fabro e il suo apostolato in Parma nel 1539 a 1540* (Parma, 1910)

⁸⁰ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 220-221.

⁸¹ According to the *Ordinazioni Comunali* of the municipal archives and the *Cronaca Modenese di Tomasino de' Bianchi* VI 176 (Leoni 77-79).

⁸² Leoni 80; **L'Origine* 274.

⁸³ *Fabri Mon.* 32; *Lainii Mon.* I 6.

⁸⁴ Paolo d'Achille addressed a letter in 1540 to Favre "in Parma. Alla Disciplina de Santo Paulo" (*Fabri Mon.* 31; cf. **L'Origine* 274).

⁸⁵ The *Statuti et Ordinatione de la Compagnia della Disciplina Vecchia de sancti Cosma e Damiano, facti anno mille cinquecento desdoto* were printed in Parma in 1519 (cf. Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 223). The hospital has since disappeared; the church lies at the end of the Via Cavour (formerly known as the Via di Santa Lucia) near the now former monastery of St. Paul.

⁸⁶ *MI Epp.* I 153; *Fabri Mon.* 15 21; *Lainii Mon.* I 12 14. Most of the letters are now lost.

⁸⁷ Favre's original letters are in ARSI: *Epp. NN.* 60, 2 ff., ed. in *Fabri Mon.* 14 ff. Since he at times wrote portions of the addresses on the no longer extant binders of the letters, some of the words or letters are missing, and this was not noticed by the editors. Thus, for example, in *Fabri Mon.* 20 read "appresso la torre del Melangulo [in casa] de Mr. Anthonio Fraya [pane]," p. 28: "Melangulo [in clasa," p. 72: "Melangulo [in clasa."

⁸⁸ *Fabri Mon.* 15. Twice, therefore, Favre gives Xavier a personal commission (*ibid.* 19 23); Araoz (*Ep. Mixtae* I 36) and Strada (*ibid.* 29 40) do the same.

⁸⁹ *Lainii Mon.* I 8 13-14; cf. *EX* II 365-366.

⁹⁰ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 222-223; Leoni 66-69.

⁹¹ Leoni 88.

form;⁹² and the errors of the Reformers were creeping in like a plague. The zealous cardinal therefore had ample reasons for using every means he could to obtain two of the Parisian masters,⁹³ despite all resistance of Paul III, for preaching and disputing with the heretics.⁹⁴

The two priests, who made an excellent impression because of their poor and mortified lives,⁹⁵ began by instructing children in Christian doctrine,⁹⁶ a labor for which Laynez wrote his own catechism,⁹⁷ and by giving lectures on Sacred Scripture,⁹⁸ which Favre delivered in the church of San Gervasio e Protasio on the other side of the river,⁹⁹ and Laynez in the cathedral before a distinguished public. Among the latter's hearers were the vicar-general, the bishop, doctors of law and medicine, the Benedictine abbot of San Giovanni, who had an income of six thousand gold *scudi*, and thirty of his monks.¹⁰⁰ The conferences offered the priests opportunities for drawing some practical conclusions. "After I have unfolded the sail of Scriptures in my lectures," Laynez wrote to Rome, "I take up moral questions without causing distress to my hearers, even the learned."¹⁰¹

The solid learning of the Parisian masters and their knowledge of Scripture¹⁰² revealed in these conferences immediately gained for them the esteem and favor of the leading persons of the city.¹⁰³ At the request of their listeners,¹⁰⁴ they both gave, in addition to their lectures on Scripture in the afternoon, a regular sermon¹⁰⁵ in the morning¹⁰⁶ on all Sundays and feast days¹⁰⁷ in the churches already mentioned. And Laynez, whose fiery eloquence enabled him to overcome his still imperfect Italian,¹⁰⁸ also preached at times in the hospital

⁹² Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 222.

⁹³ Bobadilla 16.

⁹⁴ According to Salmerón (MI *Epp.* I 153).

⁹⁵ See the eulogy of the *anziani* in Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 194 199 204, and *Lainii Mon.* I 16.

⁹⁶ "Los mandamientos enseñamos ya al principio, quando venimos á Parma" (*Fabri Mon.* 32).

⁹⁷ The statutes of the *Compagnia di Gesù* founded in Parma in 1541 for the education of children state that if the students are to have the main truths of their faith well impressed upon their minds, "se gli insegnera il libretto di Don Giacomo spagnolo," meaning Laynez (Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 254-255).

⁹⁸ *Lainii Mon.* I 10-11; FN I 213-214.

⁹⁹ *Fabri Mon.* 36; *Ep. Mixtae* I 583-584. Today it is the church of the Annunciation.

¹⁰⁰ According to Laynez in FN I 213-214. The bishop from 1535 to 1560 was Guido Ascanio Sforza. The vicar-general until 1540 was de Martinis, who was succeeded in this same year by Nicolò Bozzalli (Leoni 71-72). During Advent Laynez lectured three times a week in Piacenza on the Gospel of St. Matthew (*Lainii Mon.* I 14).

¹⁰¹ FN I 213-214. In 1541 Xavier wrote in a similar fashion from Lisbon in a letter to Jay and Laynez, perhaps with a reference to this letter if Mansilhas conversed with Bobadilla instead of with Cáceres, "echara las velas de la Escritura revesando scientia" (EX I 87).

¹⁰² In March, 1540, the *anziani* praised the "dottrina et cognitione della Sacra Scrittura" of the two priests (Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 199).

¹⁰³ According to Laynez in FN I 213 and *Lainii Mon.* I 11.

¹⁰⁴ Polanco, *Chron.* I 82.

¹⁰⁵ FN I 213; *Fabri Mon.* 20 34 36, *Lainii Mon.* I 4; *MI Epp.* I 153; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 223-225.

¹⁰⁶ *Ep. Mixtae* I 584.

¹⁰⁷ Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 195.

¹⁰⁸ The *anziani* praised the great "fervore et bonissimo modo" of the sermons (*ibid.*) and were particularly anxious to retain Laynez "per esser predicator" (*ibid.* 201), "even though he did not have a good mastery of Italian" (**L'Origine* 274).

church, the *Disciplina di San Paolo*, as it was also called, and in San Giovanni, which was located behind the cathedral.¹⁰⁹

The two preachers not only explained Catholic doctrine and refuted the heresies of the Reformers,¹¹⁰ but they also recommended in a special manner two things—a frequent reception of the sacraments and a regard for the poor.¹¹¹ The people had almost completely forgotten about going to confession and receiving Holy Communion; and if one made one's Easter duty, it was quite an achievement.¹¹² To counteract this negligence, the two preachers advocated monthly and weekly Communion,¹¹³ and they succeeded in winning over some of the parish priests to endorse this custom.¹¹⁴ The numbers of those who confessed their sins and received Communion increased from day to day.¹¹⁵ Because of the destruction that had been caused by the wars, there were numerous opportunities for exercising the corporal works of mercy. The people living in rural areas had had their houses burned and their fields devastated, and they streamed in throngs into the cities so as not to die of hunger.¹¹⁶ The number of beggars in Parma alone rose to sixty-five hundred, of whom three thousand were foreigners.¹¹⁷ The exhortations of the preachers on their behalf were not without effect. The *Congregazione della Carità*,¹¹⁸ which had been founded in 1500 by the Franciscan Francesco da Meda, the spiritual and temporal rulers of the city,¹¹⁹ and many private individuals took the plight of the destitute to heart and contributed generous alms for their relief.¹²⁰

A second means employed by the priest to bring about a spiritual renewal of the city and its environs were the Exercises,¹²¹ which no one, after Ignatius, could give more effectively than Favre.¹²² Many were prepared through the meditations of the first week to make a general confession,¹²³ but there were also a number of priests, students, and women of the highest rank who made

¹⁰⁹ According to **Origine et fondatione del collegio di Parma* in the state archives at Parma (Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 223, n. 3). Laynez preached in the cathedral until Lent and then in the *Disciplina di San Paolo* (**L'Origine* 275).

¹¹⁰ The same manuscript of the Parma archives also refers to a Carmelite preacher, whose heretical opinions were compared with those of the Church by Laynez in the cathedral (Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 224-225). He is probably the same one mentioned by him on June 2, 1540 (*Lainii Mon.* I 7).

¹¹¹ The *anziani* praise this as a fruit of the sermons (Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 195-199).

¹¹² Rodrigues 477; cf. Tacchi Venturi I, 1, 253-257, and the objections of their opponents (*ibid.* 261).

¹¹³ *Fabri Mon.* 33-34; Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 195.

¹¹⁴ *Lainii Mon.* I 4; FN I 213.

¹¹⁵ *Fabri Mon.* 20-22 ("increyble número de la gente, que cada domingo se comulgan en Parma, etiam in locis circumstantibus"); FN I 213.

¹¹⁶ On the famine from the fall of 1539 to the beginning of 1540, "unheard of for a hundred years or more," see **Fine* 162v-165v 176-177 and Corradi 771-776 3029-3038 3761-3762. In 1539 there were not less than ten thousand beggars in Ferrara (Corradi 3031); see also *Fabri Mon.* 24, n. 16.

¹¹⁷ *Fabri Mon.* 23-24. The *anziani* speak of thirty-five hundred beggars, not including foreigners (Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 196).

¹¹⁸ On it see L. Leoni, *Compendio della vita di S. Filippo Neri e Breve Memorie della Congregazione della Carità di Parma* (Parma, 1895); *idem.*, *Il Beato Pietro Fabro* 90-95, and Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 256.

¹¹⁹ Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 196; II, 1, 240-241.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* II, 1, 199; FN I 213.

¹²¹ *Fabri Mon.* 18-20 22 32-34; *Lainii Mon.* I 4; FN I 212-213; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 225-227.

¹²² Camara, n. 226.

¹²³ *Fabri Mon.* 32-33; FN I 213.

the complete Spiritual Exercises for thirty days.¹²⁴ They became enthusiastic assistants¹²⁵ and won over others for the Exercises and gave them themselves,¹²⁶ and they labored with great apostolic zeal in the neighboring towns.¹²⁷

Among these new assistants was the chaplain of the convent of San Alessandro, Don Giovanni Battista Pezzana.¹²⁸ He was the confessor of Madonna Giulia Zerbini, the rich, young wife of Messer Cristoforo. Because of an illness, she was confined to her bed; and on December 4 Favre could write that she had not eaten or drunk anything since the July 5, but had been nourished solely by the Holy Eucharist, and that she had already made most of the Exercises, which her confessor was giving to her.¹²⁹ The labors of the two fathers had increased to such an extent that they hardly found time to write. On January 22, 1540, Laynez sent the following report to Rome:

Truly, with God's grace there is so much to do here that our consciences do not reproach either me or my companions of any sloth. For frequently, even during the carnival, we begin to hear confessions and to give the Exercises in the morning by the light of a candle and continue in this till an hour after sundown or beyond without any interruption except for eating. Master Jerónimo¹³⁰ is giving the Spiritual Exercises to more than fourteen individuals, among whom are some who would be fit for the Society. I am giving them to six students and four noble women. Besides these, there are more than fifteen who, though they have not made the Exercises, have still made a general confession. Moreover, there are some who have made the Spiritual Exercises and are now giving them to others. At present more than a hundred are making them in Parma. I am sure that the angels and devils see more tears being shed in Parma than they have for a long time. The number of communicants increases daily. We now have seventy, without counting those in other parishes, that have begun or will begin this practice, for their pastors have been won over by us. Monday I shall begin to preach on this in the individual parishes. We are all extremely busy every day, Favre and myself with the hearing of confessions, and all three of us with the giving of the Exercises. Master Favre studies as usual. I hardly have time at night for my breviary, supper, and recreation, and for a glance at, or better a thought for, my sermons, which produce more fruit than I can write. For our Lord uses these sermons for the temporal consolation of the poor and the spiritual advance of others. They listen to them with great attention and many not without tears. They abandon their sins, give alms, and change their lives both interiorly and exteriorly. To put it briefly, these sermons give encouragement, strength, and consolation to those who make the Exercises and go to confession, and also to a large portion of the rest in this city. The lectures helped us to obtain the esteem and good wishes of the principal people in this region . . . , but I finally had to break them off since there was more fruitful work to be done. As a consequence I have not given any since Christmas.¹³¹

¹²⁴ FN I 212-213.

¹²⁵ Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 227-235.

¹²⁶ FN I 212-213. The Exercises were still given then, as in the beginning, only to individuals. "As soon as a priest has made the Exercises, he gives them to others," Favre wrote (*Fabri Mon.* 22). "Many give them to others, one to ten, another to fourteen, *ita ut videamus filios filiorum usque in tertiam et quartam generationem*," Laynez observed (*Lainii Mon.* I 4).

¹²⁷ *Fabri Mon.* 34.

¹²⁸ On Pezzana see Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 234; Schurhammer, "Criminali" 239-240.

¹²⁹ *Fabri Mon.* 18-19; *Ep. Mixtae* I 584; Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 367-235.

¹³⁰ Doménech.

¹³¹ The letter is only preserved in Polanco's *Sumario* (FN I 212-214).

When the city fathers wrote to their ambassador in Rome on January 26, 1540, instructing him to further the written confirmation of the Society of Jesus, they could not praise enough the holy lives of the two priests, their zeal, and the fruit of their labors. A hundred persons were now going each month to confession and Communion, and among them were some who had led scandalous lives. The face of the city and its environs had changed.¹³²

Among those who made the Exercises was Don Orlando Bernuccio,¹³³ the pastor of Sissa,¹³⁴ a prosperous village lying eleven miles north of Parma not far from the Po, the original home of Don Giovanni Battista Pezzana. Since then Don Orlando had been tirelessly engaged in hearing confessions, giving the Exercises, teaching Christian doctrine, and preaching. Sometimes on feast days he preached in three or four different places, one after the other.¹³⁵ The lord of the castle of Sissa, whom Faber visited in the beginning of December, also wanted to make the Spiritual Exercises.¹³⁶ Since the feast of the Epiphany in 1540, his wife and many other persons¹³⁷ had received Holy Communion every week. In Parma the countess of Mirandola along with many other prominent matrons of the city approached the Lord's table every Sunday. Most of these had made the Exercises and had drawn great profit from them.¹³⁸

People daily came to the hospital where Favre and Laynez were staying in order to go to confession and receive Holy Communion.¹³⁹ Five pastors had already been won over for the Eucharistic movement,¹⁴⁰ and a new spirit had spread throughout the city and its environs. There was hardly anyone now in Parma who did not make a monthly confession. Many priests who had been brought back to a good life through the Exercises imitated the example of the fathers.¹⁴¹ A good percentage of the parish priests confessed every month.¹⁴² After making the Spiritual Exercises men and women undertook the teaching of catechism to children. Pastors gave the Exercises to their parishioners, and school teachers gave them to their more capable students. A number of women went from house to house in order to teach the fundamental truths of Christianity to girls and adults who could not easily go out. They instructed them especially on the Ten Commandments, the seven capital sins, and on how to prepare

¹³² According to the *anziani* on January 26, 1540, for the one hundred communicants (Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 194-195); and in March they added: "La maggior parte di questo popolo si è immutata nel vivere" (*ibid.* 199). Favre also wrote in this same month: "Todo se ha mucho reformado" (*Fabri Mon.* 21). The holy lives of the priests contributed to this. Although he was sick, Laynez practiced external penances; and although his stocking were all torn and he suffered greatly from the cold, he took no new ones (**L'Origine* 274v).

¹³³ Favre simply calls him Horlando (*ibid.* 33). On him see Schurhammer, "Criminali" 239.

¹³⁴ *Fabri Mon.* 18 33-34 498-499.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* 53-54. The parish was divided into four sections: Borgonovo, Sala, Casalfoschino, and Sottargine (Schurhammer, "Criminali" 235).

¹³⁶ *Fabri Mon.* 18 The lord of the castle was Francesco de' Terzi; on him see Schurhammer, "Criminali" 263, and Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 237, n. 4.

¹³⁷ *Fabri Mon.* 34. The countess was Isotta di Nogarola. On her see Schurhammer, "Criminali" 263.

¹³⁸ *Fabri Mon.* 20. The countess was Ippolita Gonzaga. On her see Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 238. She was the wife of Galeotto II Pico.

¹³⁹ *Fabri Mon.* 32.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* and *Lainii Mon.* I 4.

¹⁴¹ *Fabri Mon.* 33.

¹⁴² *Lainii Mon.* I 4.

for a good general confession.¹⁴³ Although voices were raised against the practice of frequent Communion, this did not stop the movement.¹⁴⁴

Favre used to give the following rules to his spiritual sons and daughters so that they might preserve the spirit of the Exercises: a daily morning and evening prayer; a short meditation on the life of Christ in the morning; an examination of conscience in the evening, with a particular examen on some special virtue; weekly confession and Communion, with a thanksgiving during the first half of the week and a preparation during the second; and a daily spiritual confession and Communion.¹⁴⁵ Through the Exercises, moreover, the priests did not simply gain zealous assistants; some of the exercitants even decided to enter the Society of Jesus. Already in December Favre had written to Xavier that he might ask Iñigo to give the Spiritual Exercises to Esbrando. Through them he himself won over another for the Society, Xavier's old acquaintance Jerónimo Doménech, whose entrance was to create a considerable storm.

7. DOMÉNECH'S VOCATION¹⁴⁶

Juan Jerónimo Doménech was a young and wealthy canon of Valencia. When he passed through Bologna in 1538, he had become acquainted with Xavier and had chosen him as his confessor; and he had retained him as his spiritual director in Rome.¹⁴⁷ His paternal uncle, also named Jerónimo, was employed in the papal Curia as an apostolic scribe and had had a great deal of experience in business matters. With his uncle's help, Doménech was able to complete successfully the task for which his father had sent him to the capital of Christendom.¹⁴⁸ When the summer of 1539 was coming to a close,¹⁴⁹ he decided to leave the Eternal City so that he might complete his studies in Paris.¹⁵⁰ Master Francis

¹⁴³ *Fabri Mon.* 33.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 22 36; cf. Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 236-238, and *Ep. Mixtae* I 583-585. The controversy was decided through a trial that vindicated the disciples of the two priests in 1543; see the decision in Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 194, n. 1.

¹⁴⁵ *Fabri Mon.* 39-43. Favre gave this rule at his departure, but noted in passing that he was not giving them any new food that he had not given them before.

¹⁴⁶ The main sources for this section, apart from those already mentioned on p. 386, are as follows: Ribadeneyra and *Faranda, who should be used with care, Favre's letter of December 4, 1539, Codacio's of November 13 of the same year, which we discovered in the Vatican Archives, Doménech's vow formula of September, 1539, and the report of the vicar-general of January, 1540. Tacchi Venturi also cites the **Responsa Natalis* (II, 1, 228, n. 1), but these deal with another Doménech.

¹⁴⁷ According to *Faranda, Doménech became a friend of Ignatius, Xavier, and Bobadilla in Rome and chose Xavier as his confessor there; but the circumstances he describes in connection with this are only consistent with his stay in Bologna in 1538, where he, as we have seen above, was already on intimate terms with Xavier. According to Nadasi, Xavier was his confessor in Rome (*Annus dierum memorabilium* 2 [Antverpiae, 1665] 334).

¹⁴⁸ "Paternis negotiis feliciter confectis" (*Faranda 71-v).

¹⁴⁹ Immediately after his arrival in Parma Doménech made the thirty days of Exercises and took a vow to enter the Society on September 24, 1539. We calculate that it required from eight to ten days to travel the 310 miles from Rome to Parma on horseback. (Xavier's letter of September 19 arrived on September 27 [*Fabri Mon.* 191]). Doménech's departure from Rome would consequently have taken place in the second week of August so that he could be in Paris at the beginning of the school year (October 1).

¹⁵⁰ According to *Faranda, he wanted to return to Valencia, but he took Xavier's letter of recommendation with him to Laynez, who was staying in Paris (71v). The

gave him a letter of recommendation for Laynez,¹⁵¹ in which he wrote that the latter might persuade his young friend to spend some days in Parma in order to make the Exercises and thus be won over for the Society, for which he possessed all the qualities.¹⁵²

When he arrived in Parma, Doménech took lodgings at an inn and went to the hospital to see the two Parisian masters, who were the talk of the town, and delivered Xavier's letter. When Laynez invited him to make the Spiritual Exercises, he gave his immediate consent, since he already had a great longing to serve God. During the course of the Exercises he decided to enter the Society of Jesus and to relinquish all his rich benefices, for he had "conceived a great desire to conquer and mortify himself, coming to esteem highly poverty and humiliations."¹⁵³

On September 24, 1539, he composed a document in his native Catalan in which he vowed to follow the divine vocation. It read as follows:

I, Joan Hieroni Doménech, after a long reflection and careful weighing of all things, with great peace of mind and without any precipitation, vow before our Lord Jesus Christ and His glorious Mother and St. Peter and St. Paul and my patron, St. Jerome, and all the other saints to serve Christ in constant poverty, as do the other companions, and to begin this a month and a half from now if it seems good to Master Iñigo or Master Favre and Master Laynez. September 24, 1539. Joan Hieroni Doménech.¹⁵⁴

He immediately dismissed his two servants¹⁵⁵ and joined Favre and Laynez in the hospital, where he devoted himself to the sick and poor,¹⁵⁶ and began to give the Exercises, for which he had a special talent.¹⁵⁷ He had purchased some costly material from a merchant in order to have a new suit made for himself. When he was now sent out to beg, and entered the shop where he had purchased the goods for his new outfit, the proprietor immediately arose and went to meet

author's memory became somewhat confused with age. Favre and Codacio expressly declare that Doménech wanted to go to Paris (*Fabri Mon.* 19 22).

¹⁵¹ According to *Faranda, Doménech met Xavier on his way from Rome to Valencia "Florentiā [corrected from *Florentiam*] iter faciens," who gave him a letter to take to Laynez, "qui tum bona omnium opinione Parisiis concionabatur" (71v). Doménech, traveling from Bologna in 1538 by way of Florence to Rome, met Xavier in Rome, and there in 1539 received from him the letter for Laynez, who was at that time preaching in Parma. Ribadeneyra wrote in his **Historia de la Compañia de Jesús de las Provincias de España* (ARSI: *Hisp.* 94, 212), which was still unfinished at the time of his death in 1611, that Doménech had met Xavier on his trip from Rome to Paris, when the latter was traveling to Portugal on his way to India, and that Xavier had given him a letter for Favre and Laynez in Parma; but in his obituary of Doménech, written in 1593, he omits the encounter with Xavier (Ribadeneyra II 160).

¹⁵² According to *Faranda 71v. Ribadeneyra has: "Dióle el P. Xaviere cartas para los Padres Pedro Fabro y Diego Laynez, que estaban en la ciudad de Parma, por donde avia de passar el Padre Doménech, para che le conociessen, y encaminassen en toda virtud" (**Hisp.* 94, 212).

¹⁵³ Polanco in FN I 253.

¹⁵⁴ Original in ARSI: *Ital.* 58, 83.

¹⁵⁵ According to Ribadeneyra, Doménech had numerous servants and a learned pedagogue with him on his journey to Rome (Ribadeneyra II 160; **Hisp.* 94, 212), and he dismissed the former after making the Exercises (Ribadeneyra II 160). According to *Faranda he dismissed his two servants and put himself completely under the direction of Laynez (71v).

¹⁵⁶ Ribadeneyra II 160.

¹⁵⁷ Polanco in FN I 253 and Laynez *ibid.* 212-213. *Faranda adds: "Multis enim sacerdotibus, laicisque huiusmodi exercitationes tradidit, nostram ingredi Societatem volentibus; et ne illis esset impedimento, propriis sumptibus aere alieno liberabat" (71v).

him with his head bared to discover the needs of his solitary customer. He was quite astonished when the latter asked him for an alms.¹⁵⁸

Xavier had had good reasons for sending his penitent to Parma for the Exercises. In Rome the young canon was closely watched. As soon as his uncle learned of his decision, he set heaven and earth in motion to dissuade him from it. He loudly protested that the young man had been misled and declared that he would write to the cardinal legate and have others write to him as well so that his nephew might be freed from the hands of his seducers and sent back to Rome.

But the companions were not idle in the Palazzo Frangipani, where everything was reported. Codacio wrote a letter to the legate, who happened to be his benefactor.¹⁵⁹ After a lengthy introduction on the blindness of those who are misled by the world, the flesh, and the devil, and on the freedom of those who leave everything to follow Christ and serve Him in accordance with the saying of St. Paul, that "the world is crucified to me and I to the world," he continued:

A few days ago a young Spaniard, very virtuous, a master of arts, and very rich in benefices and worldly possessions, came through Parma on his way to Paris. Since he wished to converse about spiritual matters, he asked my companions there, the Reverend Fathers Master Peter Favre and Master Laynez, to assist him in his holy resolutions. Since he greatly desired the salvation of his soul, he conversed with them for a number of days and received from this so much help and grace from our Lord God that he decided to remain for some months in the company of Fathers Master Peter and Master Laynez. And just as it is a cause of great admiration when anyone lays bare the injustice and the poison of the world and clings to God alone—blessed, happy, and precious resolution!—so may it please our Lord God that the whole world should know, seek, and find so great a good.

Certainly, Most Reverend Monsignore, these are gifts which must be guarded, supported, and encouraged more than all the vanities and treasures of the world; and everyone should acknowledge them with joyful jubilation. But, as I have said above, the world and its followers do not see, relish, or experience this heavenly gift. Instead, they look upon it and deem it something useless and foolish; and they imagine that a man can easily save his soul without so much trouble. And among those who oppose these many, beautiful gifts, the most evident, thankless, and energetic are the next of kin to such persons.

The young man we have mentioned will not be free from such opposition. He has an uncle,¹⁶⁰ an apostolic scribe living here in Rome, who loves him dearly with an earthly and sensible love. When he learned of his nephew's holy resolve, he was both surprised and grieved, more perhaps through fear of losing benefices and other goods than for other reasons. In this he is acting like a brother of mine¹⁶¹ who is constantly complaining, since he knows that I will abandon everything in order to be free from

¹⁵⁸ *Faranda states that Doménech had once said that when he came from Paris, where he had become acquainted with Father Ignatius, to Bologna to pursue his studies, he had bought the material from a merchant; "deinde vero statim in Societatem adscriptus," he had been sent according to the custom of the Society out to beg, and in the course of this he had again visited the same merchant (74-v). *Rome* should here be read rather than *Paris*, and *Parma* instead of *Bologna*.

¹⁵⁹ The *original is in the Vatican Archives: *Vescovi* 3, 132. The address is as follows: "Reverendissimo Monsignor, mio Signor et Benefattor colendissimo." Above this is the notation: "Responsum VIII Decembris."

¹⁶⁰ Jerónimo Doménech, canon of Valencia, brother of Pedro Doménech, the father of our candidate, as his *will indicates (see above, p. 387, n. 88).

¹⁶¹ Pietro Codacio had two brothers: Giangiacomo, *decurione* in Lodi, who could have been meant here, and Francesco Antonio, an Olivetan monk (Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 385-386).

this burden so that I can make my pilgrimage more easily. And just as my brother urges me each day and sends others to do the same in order that I might relinquish my resolve, so his good uncle urges him in a similar fashion. There is no doubt that he is excessively aggrieved by this gift. He says that he wants to write to Your Most Reverend Lordship and have others write to you so that you might send his nephew back to Rome, as if his nephew were a child of fifteen years, whereas he is a young man of twenty-one or more, as Your Most Reverend Lordship can easily determine for yourself. And he is one who could give counsel and advice to his uncle, since the latter has not as yet made so valuable a decision for everlasting life as he.

When I learned the step he had taken, I decided to inform Your Most Reverend Lordship so that you might be on your guard and, as a good servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, being favorably disposed towards His holy cross and towards all those who bear it and wish to obey the commandments and counsels of our Redeemer, reply to his uncle that his nephew deserves more to be imitated than to be restrained, and that it would therefore be good for him and his friends to thank our Lord for such a gift and encourage his nephew and strengthen rather than discourage him.

I therefore ask Your Most Reverend Lordship to do me this favor and speak with the young man and encourage him to persevere. In your answer to his uncle and the rest who will perhaps write to you, tell them that they should not burden their souls further with so heavy a weight by giving him adverse counsel; but rather that they should, out of a spirit of charity, help and encourage him to persevere unto the end. In this way Your Most Reverend Lordship will do a holy work deserving to be most highly commended by His Divine Majesty and by all good men in this world; and those who make these petitions to you will themselves be edified by this and will recognize their mistaken judgment and earthly love for what they are and thank Your Lordship; and I shall forever be beholden to you for this. I humbly kiss the hand of Your Reverence and entreat our Lord to bless you in accordance with your holy desires.

Rome, November 13, 1539. Your Reverence's most humble, insignificant servant, Petrus Codacius.¹⁶²

This letter had hardly been sent¹⁶³ when the priests in the Palazzo Frangipani learned that Doménech's uncle had left Rome in order to further his request in person. On November 19 Xavier therefore wrote to warn his companions in Parma,¹⁶⁴ and in the middle of December he received a long letter from Favre written on the fourth giving an account of the progress of the affair.¹⁶⁵

As we wrote to you, we thought that the canon should go this Saturday¹⁶⁶ to Montepulciano;¹⁶⁷ but when we received your letter on Thursday,¹⁶⁸ in which you wrote that his uncle was already on the way, we did not dare tell him to leave lest he run into him. Instead, we hid him,¹⁶⁹ fearing that his uncle might be bringing with him a binding order. Thus, when he came here, he did not find his nephew and was

¹⁶² The signature reads "Petrus Cod," since the second half of the name is torn off. This may be the reason why the letter has escaped notice until now. We complete his name as Codacius, since this is his signature in *MI Scripta* I 635.

¹⁶³ We deduce this from the fact that Codacio does not say anything about the departure of the uncle and that Xavier's letter was not written until six days later.

¹⁶⁴ *Fabri Mon.* 15.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 14-20.

¹⁶⁶ November 29.

¹⁶⁷ He was to make a begging tour to Rome by way of Montepulciano, one of the usual experiments of the novices (*Fabri Mon.* 15 23; *Lainii Mon.* I 8), and then serve in the hospital of the incurables under Fra Leone (*Fabri Mon.* 23).

¹⁶⁸ On November 27.

¹⁶⁹ In the palace of the duke of Terzi in Sissa, the modern Rocca, which now serves as the town hall.

much grieved at this.¹⁷⁰ However, we invited him to make the Exercises, promising him that if he did so he would see his nephew.

He spoke with the cardinal in the presence of Master Laynez and said that he was of the opinion that his nephew could not with a good conscience remain in our Society. One reason he gave for this was in connection with Don Diego,¹⁷¹ who had associated with Francisca Hernández.¹⁷² Another was in connection with Caravajal,¹⁷³ who, as he said, had within thirty days decided to rid himself of all that he possessed and had immediately afterwards regretted it.¹⁷⁴ The third was with respect to Micer Pietro Codacio, who has made an effective counterclaim to some benefice or other;¹⁷⁵ and since such things are not edifying, he did not want his nephew to be in our Society which accepts such persons.

The cardinal replied in a most Christian manner and could not have spoken better, so that Master Laynez did not have to give a reply (though the uncle had brought with him two letters from individuals on closest terms of intimacy with his Most Reverend Lordship), for he, the cardinal, said that such things did not scandalize him in the least, even if they were all true. The fact that some do not persevere does not lessen the worth of those who remain, just as Judas did not derogate from either Christ or His apostles. He further said that he was more pleased with our school than with any other order, and that if he had anyone such as the canon whom he wished well, then he would rather send him to us than to any others. Consequently, he, the uncle, should advise his nephew to remain with us for two or three years and as long as he wished thereafter, keeping in mind what happened between St. Francis and his parents.¹⁷⁶

He also spoke to his uncle about the Exercises, but entirely in their favor, assuring him that they were good and holy, and that he knew very prominent individuals who approved of them; among whom was Cardinal Contarino, who had also made them, so that all of his complaints instead of detracting from them only gave him, the cardinal, more information about them. The uncle finally declared that he did not want to take his nephew away with him, being content that he stay. But he wanted at least to see him and to speak with him about certain matters. The cardinal therefore asked Laynez to

¹⁷⁰ "Por lo qual mucho se dolió," according to the original; the editors read *me* instead of *se*, which makes no sense (*Fabri Mon.* 15).

¹⁷¹ Eguía.

¹⁷² On Francisca Hernández, the prophetess of the Alumbrados of Toledo, see above p. 414. Diego was living in Alcalá with his brother, the printer Miguel de Eguía, when Ignatius stayed there from 1526 to 1527. They generously supported him with alms and took his three companions into their house (Ignatius 442). At this time Miguel spoke with Francisca Hernández in Valladolid, and she accused him in 1530 of being a patron of the Alumbrados and a heretic. He was accordingly interrogated by the Inquisition this same year, imprisoned in 1531, but declared to be innocent at the end of 1533 or the beginning of 1534. Marcel Bataillon calls him an "apôtre de l'illumination érasmissant" (*Erasmus et l'Espagne* [Paris, 1937] 229), but José Goñi Gaztambide, "El impresor Miguel de Eguía procesado por la Inquisición," *Hispania Sacra* 1 (1948) 35-88, defends his orthodoxy. When Juan de Vergara was tried for being an Alumbrado in 1532, a cleric Diego Hernández came forward as a witness, but his scandalous life created a deep mistrust for what he said. He claimed that Manuel Miona, Iñigo's confessor in Alcalá, was a heretic, and he presented the inquisitors with a list of alleged Alumbrados and Lutherans. The first list contained the names of Miona and Miguel de Eguía; the second had seventy names, among whom were some real heretics, such as Juan Valdés, and true Catholics, for example, Fray Pedro Ortiz (n. 9), Miona and Miguel de Eguía (n. 19), Diego de Eguía (n. 32), Magister Ortiz (n. 35) (Serranoy Sanz, "Juan de Vergara," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 5 [1901] 909-991).

¹⁷³ He always wavered in his vocation.

¹⁷⁴ He left in 1542.

¹⁷⁵ "Ha redimido, no sé qué regreso." He probably wanted, like Salmerón, an income for the companions who were soon going to Paris to study.

¹⁷⁶ He is recalling the scene where Francis' father disinherited him before the bishop of Assisi.

have him come so that his uncle might speak with him. As a consequence I went Monday morning to the place, ten [Italian] miles from here,¹⁷⁷ where the canon had gone and was staying in the house of the lord of that land.¹⁷⁸ . . . When we returned from there together, we discovered that his uncle had gone off to Pavia in order to visit a woman who he had been told was a saint. We expect him back here within four days. May God grant him the grace to be more willing to make the Exercises, although he has already indicated that he cannot make them here but perhaps in Rome. In this matter we have confidence in your tact and ability to negotiate.¹⁷⁹ He is determined to leave the world, that is, his business affairs and to withdraw somewhere in order to serve God.¹⁸⁰ I believe that he intends this in the manner of the archdeacon, the uncle of Caravajal¹⁸¹ and not in the manner of Barrera,¹⁸² who he says withdrew to Monte Citorio in Rome¹⁸³ but did not persevere.

At the end of his letter, Favre made the following observation:

We believe that all the uncle wanted from the canon for the present was a promise from him that he would go to Paris at the end of the months that he still has to remain here, saying that this would calm his father.

The storm was fortunately dissipated, and on January 27, the vicar-general of Parma, Marcello de Martinis, drew up an official notice to the effect that the honorable Señor Johannes Hieronymus Doménech, cleric and canon of Valencia, residing at the time in Parma, had appeared before him and had sworn on the holy Gospel that he had decided, without having been persuaded to do so or having been deceived by anyone, to remain in this city in order to spend his life in the company of the Señores Petrus Faber and Jacobus Laynez as long as it pleased him. He had been, and still was, convinced that this was for the honor of almighty God and the salvation of his soul, and he had nothing besides this in mind. Consequently, no one should slander the step he had taken and say that he had been overcome and deceived by human persuasion; for he had the necessary age, knowledge, understanding, and moral judgment for determining what Christ wished and desired of him. In witness of this, he, the vicar-general, had signed this document and ordered his seal to be affixed to it: "Given in Parma, in the episcopal palace, January 27, 1540. Marcellus, *vicarius*. Christophorus de Turre, *notarius*."¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁷ Sissa.

¹⁷⁸ Francesco de' Terzi.

¹⁷⁹ "Aquí esperamos vuestras agibilidades y los espíritus de negociación."

¹⁸⁰ The *will, which he drew up on January 22, 1541, when he was sick in his house in Rome, states that, since the soul is more precious than the body, he commends himself especially to almighty God, to the most blessed Virgin Mary and all the saints, and that he wishes to be buried in the church of Santa María di Monserrato in Rome. He leaves ten *scudi* to be divided equally among the hospital for the incurables, the house for penitent women founded by Ignatius, and the foundling home. He also provides for his servant Luca and names his brother Pedro as heir of the remainder.

¹⁸¹ Francisco de Salazar?

¹⁸² One of the three main persecutors of 1538.

¹⁸³ Perhaps as a pensioner or chaplain for the Franciscan tertiaries, also called *Perugine* or *Bizochere*, who had a poor little monastery on Monte Citorio. It was named Santa Croce and was the only monastery there. See the city plans of Bufalini of 1551 and Du Perac of 1577 and also those in Armellini 379; Adinolfi, *Roma nella età di mezzo* 2 (Roma, 1882) 383; U. Gnoli, *Topografia di Roma* (Roma, 1939).

¹⁸⁴ *Fabri Mon.* 441.

CHAPTER VII

THE CALL TO COMBAT (MARCH, 1540)

1. DOM PEDRO MASCARENHAS¹

While Xavier was in Rome at Iñigo's side carrying on the correspondence with his absent companions as secretary of the Society, things were developing which were to call him to the front. The intermediary for this was Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, the ambassador of the Portuguese king, Dom João III, at the papal court.

Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, lord of Palma, had been born in 1483.² He was a posthumous son of Fernão Martins Mascarenhas, captain of the royal light cavalry, *alcaide-mór* of Montemór-o-Novo and Alcacer do Sal, commander of Mertola and Almodovar, and lord of Laura, and of Dona Violante Henriques. He had found service in the court as a page of Queen Leonor too monotonous and, in keeping with a family tradition, had gone off to Africa to fight with his three brothers against the Moors.³ In 1520, King Manuel appointed him

¹ The literature on Dom Pedro Mascarenhas is widely scattered, and he has no biography. Brief observations may be found in Tellez II 493-496, Couto 7, 1, 12, and Joaquim de Vasconcellos, *Francisco de Hollanda, Da Pintura Antigua* (Porto, 1918) 45-48. The main sources are the documents of the family archives (*Arquivo da Casa dos Condes de Sabugal, Obidos e Palma* in Lisbon) and also the letters and documents in Torre do Tombo (*Corpo Chronologico, Gavetas, Chancellaria de D. João III: Doações e Privilegios*) and *codex 49-9-36* in the Ajuda library in Lisbon. A series of documents is also contained in the *Relações de Pero de Alcáçova Carneiro*, edited by E. de Campos de Andrada (Lisboa, 1937). For the genealogy, see in particular the manuscript of Andrade Leitão, **Famílias de Portugal XII 305-376 (Ajuda 49-12-37)*, especially on Dom Pedro 359.—After his stay in Rome he always remained a warm friend of the Society of Jesus, as the MHSI indicates in many places (see, for example, *Litt. Quadr.* II 444-445). From 1541 to 1543 he conducted the negotiations for the establishment of the frontier near Moura (*Notícia sobre a contenda de Moura* [Lisboa, 1889] and his manuscript letters in TdT *Gavetas*). In 1547 and 1549 he was in Morocco, where he negotiated with Bû Hasûn, the king of Belez, on the surrender of Arzila (Luiz de Sousa, *Annaes de Elrei D. João Terceiro* [Lisboa, 1844] 422-424; Bernardo Rodrigues, *Anais de Arzila II* [Lisboa, 1919] 447-456; David Lopes, *História de Arzila* [Coimbra, 1924] 425-437, and *Ajuda 49-9-36 f. 293-349*). From 1552 to 1554 he was the *mordomo-mór* (chief steward) for Prince John, who died however at the beginning of 1554 (Archives Mascarenhas, n. 720). In the same year he founded the primogeniture of Palma in favor of his adopted nephew Don João Mascarenhas, the hero of Diu (Archives of the Misericórdia, Alcacer do Sal), and sailed as viceroy to India, where he died in 1555 (Couto 7, 1, 12; Souza, *Oriente Conquistado* 1, 1, 1, 8 and 18; *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental V* [Nova Goa, 1865], nn. 143-144 153).

² On January 4, 1555, he *wrote from Goa about his trip to India: "On the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul [June 29, 1554], I celebrated my birthday; *naquele dia çerey 71*" (TdT CC 1-94-74).

³ David Lopes, *História de Arzila* 183-185; Damiam de Goes, *Chronica do Dom Emanuel* 4, 23; Caetano de Sousa, *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real XII*, 1 (Lisboa, 1738) 384; Tellez II 493.

commander of the fleet that guarded the straits of Ceuta;⁴ and in 1521 he had his galleys accompany Princess Beatrice, the bride of the duke of Savoy, to her new home and country.⁵ In this same year he became a royal counselor,⁶ and in the following year John III conferred upon him the honor of equerry of the royal stud⁷ and sent him with a message to the French king.⁸ In 1528 he received as a Knight of Christ the sinecure of Chorente near Braga,⁹ and in 1529 the important post of ambassador to the imperial court.¹⁰ As such, he accompanied Charles V on his trip from Brussels to the Reichstag of Regensburg, and from there to Vienna, Bologna, and Spain. His loyal services won for him the esteem and affection of the emperor and of Pope Clement VII.¹² In 1535 the infante Dom Luis secretly left the royal court without the knowledge of his brother, the Portuguese king, in order to attack Tunis with Charles V. John III later gave him a fleet with a number of select fidalgos, among whom was Dom Pedro.¹³ When the latter sailed for Tunis, he was accompanied by his namesake, his cousin and father-in-law, who had served many years in India, the father of his second wife, Dona Elena (his first, Dona Felipa Henriques, had died in 1530).¹⁴ Returning from Tunis, however, the elder Dom Pedro and his ship disappeared without leaving a trace.¹⁵

As a genuine fidalgo of the old school, Dom Pedro had felt obliged to represent his king worthily at the imperial court, and had consequently not been sparing of his money.¹⁶ After he had gone to Belgium, John III sent him a nobleman with five thousand gold doubloons for his expenses. He refused the money, however, and when its bearer declared that he did not dare to take it back to the king, he replied: "Then, Senhor, take it for yourself!"¹⁷ And when Charles V wanted to make him the tutor of the crown prince Felipe, he told him: "Senhor, in my country people of my condition are not accustomed to change their lords."¹⁸

⁴ Lopes, *História de Arzila* 183.

⁵ Manuel de Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa* II (Lisboa, 1679) 546-550.

⁶ Archives Mascarenhas, n. 661.

⁷ Sousa, *Hist. Genealogica* III 498.

⁸ Gaspar Alvarez de Lousada, **Torre do Tombo* II 197v (Lisbon, Bibl. Nac., *Fundo Geral* 1106).

⁹ TdT *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 14, 196v.

¹⁰ Alcáçova Carneiro gives the instruction in his *Relações*. He should follow the emperor wherever possible (see his letter of January 17, 1532, in Luis de Matos, *Les Portugais en France* [Coimbra, 1952] 228).

¹¹ A day by day account of the travels of Charles V are given in Foronda 349-413.

¹² See the brief of Clement VII to John III of January 22, 1534 (Archives Mascarenhas, n. 686).

¹³ Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa* II 600, and the *report on the fleet in Evora, Bibl. Publica, *codex 103-2-20*, ff. 116-122.

¹⁴ TdT *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 39, 133.

¹⁵ See the *Evora report, ff. 121v-122, and TdT *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 21, 88v. On his activities in India from 1511 to 1527, where he was the viceroy in 1526 and 1527, see Correa III 79-226; Barros 4, 2, 1-6 and Couto 4, 1, 1-4, 4, 1.

¹⁶ The infante Dom Luis *wrote to him on March 23, 1555: "After your departure people here began to grumble that you have a more abundant table and a more lavish manner of dress than is good as an example. I make little of such talk about those who are absent. But it seems to me that I shall lose nothing in writing this to you so that you may be on your guard about it as you would be about something towards which you had a natural tendency" (Evora, Bibl. Publica, *codex 108-2-1*, f. 298v).

¹⁷ Jeronymo de Belem, O.F.M., *Chronica Serafica da Santa Provincia dos Algarves* IV (Lisboa, 1758) 400.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* and Tellez II 494.

All of Europe spoke of the banquet which he gave for the emperor on the occasion of the birth of Prince Manuel on December 21, 1531. His tutor, André de Rezende, has given an account of it in elegant Latin hexameters in a little work published in Bologna in 1533.¹⁸

After describing the city of Brussels, the Portuguese choirs, the illumination at night, and the brilliant fireworks, among which was a pyramid portraying the Trojan War, Resende comes to the banquet itself. Precious cinnamon sticks from Ceylon were used as fuel instead of wood. The banquet hall was brilliantly adorned with statues of Hercules and Justice and her accompanying goddesses. Fifty young Portuguese of prominent families, among whom was Damião de Goes, waited upon the guests; and instead of ordinary water they offered them fragrant rosewater for washing their hands.

One dish followed another. Partridges, suckling pigs, kids, haunches of venison, boars' heads, gazelles, rabbits, hares, ducks, geese, wild hens, hazel grouse, turtle doves, ring doves, herons, peacocks, pheasants, and a swan with gilded wings were all brought in. The wine flowed in endless abundance. There were Portuguese wines from Lisbon and Alcacer do Sal; Spanish wines from Andalusia, Taragona, and the Balearic Islands; Italian wines from Prosecco near Trieste, from Cerveteri and Albano near Rome, from Gaeta and Falerno, from Naples and its environs, from Rocca di Mondragone, Monte Massico, Carrinola and Sorrento, and from Taranto and Messina. There were others from Raetia and Greece; from the Greek islands of Crete, Chios, and Thassos, and from Smyrna; a heavy wine from Hungary, and light table wines from France and the Rhine Valley.

The guests were already tired from eating when two cakes were set before the emperor and the queen of Hungary. When the first cake was cut open, a parrot came out and complained, to the laughter of all the guests, that it had been confined too long. It was then petted by His Majesty and given something to eat. A green colleague came out of the second cake. It praised the queen for her beauty and asked her for a kiss. At the end of the meal a cart was brought into the hall with a Cupid seated upon it shooting arrows. Before him marched nymphs, gods and men, wild animals and sea monsters. The dessert consisted of Portuguese dainties: candied quince, honeyed apples, cloves from the Moluccas, hazel nuts, marzipan, figs filled with almonds, date honey, dates from Libya, sweetmeats from Madeira, sweets made from rose leaves, candied pears and lemons, liquorice, and candied peppers.

The common people were not forgotten. Four huge barrels dispensed wine to the throng that had gathered in front of the gate, and coins were thrown out of a window to the people below. A tourney was held with tilting at a ring.

¹⁸ L. And. Resendii *Genethliacon Principis Lusitani, ut in Gallia Belgica celebratum est a uiro clariss. D. Petro Mascaregna regio legato Mense Decembri MDXXXII*. Colophon: *Ioannes Baptista Phacelus Bononiensis Bononiae 1533 ian.* A copy of this rare work is to be found in the National Library in Lisbon (*Res. 157v*). The year 1532 is erroneously given in the title for 1531 since in the imperial chancery the year began with Christmas. The prince was born on November 1, 1531. In a letter dated from Brussels on January 4, 1531, Mascarenhas thanks the secretary Ant. Carneiro for the news of the birth and speaks of the festivities which the emperor and he celebrated on this occasion (*TdT CC 146-42*). Here 1531 is the equivalent of 1532, since in the Spanish Netherlands the year began with Easter until 1575. On the banquet see also Tellez II 494. There were forty-four courses at the banquet for the coronation of the Roman emperor in Aachen on January 11, 1531 (*Foronda 350*).

The victors received gold and silver gifts and purple garments, and even the defeated received awards. The celebrations continued the following day with the same royal pomp. Satyrs introduced a choir at the dinner, and dancing *sileni* shouted songs in honor of Bacchus. A Portuguese comedy, *Jubileu de Amores*, was staged by the court dramatist, Gil Vicente, and generally approved,²⁰ even if its biting criticisms of the pope and of the Curia prompted Aleander, the papal legate, to write to Rome that he felt at the time as if he had been placed next to Luther in Saxony or in the midst of the outrages of the *Sacco di Roma*.²¹

But in spite of all this, Dom Pedro was a deeply pious and dedicated Catholic. Shortly before this banquet he had written to his king an account of the victory of the Catholic Swiss cantons over their heretical neighbors, during the course of which six thousand of the enemy fell on the field of battle; and he had gone on to say: "They have shown us how the heretics must be punished."²² On his trip from Brussels to Regensburg, he had seen with his own eyes the results of the schism in German lands. To protect his life in his own realm, the emperor had needed a guard of eight hundred cavalymen. The people who were living in Catholic villages had lost almost all hope for the preservation of the old Church. In Mainz, at the request of the king, Mascarenhas had ordered the electors to intervene in the Reichstag for the true faith. In Protestant territories splendid monasteries which had formerly contained eighty to a hundred religious had been abandoned, or their numbers had been reduced to five or six old people. Their interiors looked as if they had been taken over by the Turks; and if a few persons came to Mass, the travelers had thanked God for this as if they were offering the Holy Sacrifice in the mosque of Morocco.²³

In Cologne Dom Pedro had been given four heads of the Eleven Thousand Virgins by the Carmelites for the chapel of St. Peter which he had founded in the monastery of San Antonio in Alcácer do Sal.²⁴ In addition to these the "noble, honorable, highly respected Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, ambassador and representative of our gracious lord's most illustrious, all-powerful, and royal Majesty of Portugal and the Lusitanias to our gracious lord, His all-powerful, imperial Roman Majesty, Charles V, at the diet of the Holy Roman Empire at Regensburg," as is declared in a parchment written in Latin and German dated July 12, 1532, had received from the Dominican nuns in Nuremberg two precious reliquaries. One of these was a head containing bones of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, a piece of the holy cross, bones of the virgin St. Catherine, of the Ten Thousand Knights, of St. Barbara, and of St. Martin. The other was a round pax containing a blessed *Agnus Dei* and bones of the abbot St. Antony, the martyr St. George, St. Catherine, the landgravine St. Elizabeth, the holy apostle James, Pope St. Clement, St. Maurice, St. Ursula, and St. Helena.²⁵ The Portuguese ambassador had been warmly recommended by the emperor to Clement VII, who came to esteem him in Bologna. Cardinal Santiquattro, otherwise

²⁰ According to Rezende. He gives "sestertia centum flavo numerata metallo" as the ambassador's expenditures for the banquet.

²¹ On this, see Carolina Michaélis de Vasconcelos, *Notas Vicentinas I. Gil Vicente em Bruxelas ou o Jubileu de amor* (Coimbra, 1912).

²² Letter of November 12, 1531 (TdT *Gavetas* 15-2-23).

²³ Mascarenhas to the king, Regensburg, March 10, 1532 (TdT CC 1-48-67), and Matos, *Les Portugais en France* 227-229).

²⁴ See the brief of Clement VII, dated "1532 5 Kal. Martii," instead of February 25, 1533, in Jeronymo de Belem, *Chronica* IV 397; see also Archives Mascarenhas, n. 684.

²⁵ Archives Mascarenhas, n. 679.

known as Pucci, became his close friend. Upon his departure he had given him at Genoa a silver pax adorned with gold and precious stones containing a relic of the true cross. It was a part of a relic which had once belonged to Matthias, the king of Hungary.²⁶

2. THE CARES OF THE AMBASSADOR (1539-1540)²⁷

Since August, 1538,²⁸ Dom Pedro Mascarenhas had been residing in Rome as ambassador of his king at the papal court, where he represented him no less worthily than he had earlier at the imperial court at Brussels.²⁹ Nevertheless, he was in poor health.³⁰ Although one of his eyes had been saved in Germany by his friend Bishop Solis, a skilled surgeon,³¹ he was still constantly hindered in his work at Rome by trouble with his sight.³² Besides this, he found it impossible to adapt himself to the feverish climate of the Eternal City³³ and even less to that of the Roman court.

He was distressed by his quarrels, disputes, and bargainings with the verbose,³⁴ but cautious and suspicious,³⁵ Paul III, who stubbornly defended his own personal interests³⁶ and those of his cardinals, and who, it seemed, had to be brought around to every concession by force and bribes.³⁷ Dom Pedro's old friend Santiquattro, the grand penitentiary, stood faithfully by his side as protector of Portugal.³⁸ The ambassador's predecessor had written to the king in November, 1537, that if there was a monastery or something similar available, he should give the cardinal a pension from it and send him at times sugarcane or spices for his kitchen and knickknacks from India, with which the cardinal would feel quite honored. He was a Florentine and these people had a devilish

²⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 685.

²⁷ The main source for Dom Pedro's stay in Rome is his *original correspondence, which also contains the minutes of the king's letters to him (Lisbon, *Ajuda* 49-9-36). This has been for the most part edited in vols. III, IV, and XI of the *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez*, which complements the collection with further documents of the Torre do Tombo, especially papal briefs and bulls. Short summaries of the contents of the principal texts are given by the visconde de Santarém in his *Quadro Elementar* XI (Lisboa, 1869) 208-350.

²⁸ CDP XI 417.

²⁹ According to Jeronymo de Belem, *Chronica* IV 400. Dom Pedro's very instructive **Memoria des despesas, que se faziam na casa Imperial de Roma com os embaixadores que de Portugal alli hiam* (Archives Mascarenhas, n. 1307) goes into detail with respect to the furnishings of the house, the servants, assistants, stables, and so forth. It also summarizes the expenses: house and furnishings 10,000 *scudi*, stables 16,500, liveries 1,940, solemn entry 15,000, for a total of 43,440. There were further annual expenses of 22,392 *scudi*, and 6,000 more for beds, couriers, spies, and banquets. The Roman *scudo* equaled two *cruzados*. In March, 1540, he had already exhausted his personal funds (CDP IV 265 302).

³⁰ CDP XI 417; IV 39 80 127 151 184-185 189 217 219 231 265.

³¹ *Ibid.* IV. 13. As a token of gratitude he requested the habit of Christ for Solis' nephew.

³² *Ibid.* 13 64 69 80.

³³ *Ibid.* XI 417; IV 80 189.

³⁴ *Ibid.* IV 146.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 295.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 149.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 38 8111-13 52-53 111 228.

³⁸ *Ibid.* III 460-466.

temperament and were no less concerned about their own personal interests than other men. He should pay the cardinal's chamberlains and his cousin from the revenues which his father, King Manuel, had given them.³⁹ John III understood what he meant.

More difficult was the all-powerful Cardinal Ghinucci, to whom the pope had committed the revision of briefs and the handling of extraordinary affairs. As a friend of the New Christians, that is, of those who had been compelled by King Manuel in 1497 to turn from Judaism to Christianity, he had always been opposed to the Portuguese Inquisition; and nothing that Mascarenhas asked him in the name of his king appeared good to him. As a consequence, at the beginning of 1539 Dom Pedro asked the pope that Ghinucci's colleague, Cardinal Simonetta, might be given the task of reviewing his petitions, and the request was granted. Simonetta had been of great assistance in obtaining the bull which officially introduced the Inquisition into Portugal in 1536,⁴⁰ and he now offered his services for anything that might be needed. As a good judge of men, Mascarenhas wrote on February 27, 1539, to his king as follows:

These men are Italians, accustomed to receiving favors for their services, and they do not expect fair words but money or something with a cash value. I have made more friends for myself here with china from India and marmalade from Portugal than I brought with me than I would have been able to obtain through any number of letters from the empress and other prominent individuals. I have already spent more than seven hundred *cruzados* for gifts of this kind, and I have received favors more cheaply through them than in any other way. Coin of this type brings in large interest at this court.⁴¹

Following Mascarenhas' advice the king sent him five hundred *cruzados* for the cardinal. Simonetta at first refused them, but not very seriously; he then gratefully received the gift in secret. And yet Simonetta was one of the oldest and most learned of the cardinals and was regarded as one of the strictest in the administration of justice. "But this is the custom here, and no one takes offense at it," the ambassador noted in a letter of June 20; and he added that he hoped that he would thus gradually win over Ghinucci "according to the custom of the land," at least to the extent that the cardinal would not hurt him, for he had great influence. The ambassador further noted that he had already begun to make him a bit more amenable through Lopo Furtado and the Madama.⁴²

The main business upon which John III had sent Mascarenhas to Rome was to persuade the pope to hand over to him the double tithes which Paul III had imposed upon the clergy of Portugal through his nuncio Capodiferro⁴³ for the

³⁹ *Ibid.* 410-411.

⁴⁰ Through the bull *Cum ad nihil* of May 23, 1536, edited in CDP III 302-307. Brodrick is therefore wrong in maintaining that the principal task of Mascarenhas in Rome was to obtain the *de jure* recognition of the Portuguese Inquisition (75), and that John III had founded the Inquisition without the approval of Rome (87). On the beginnings of the Inquisition in Portugal, see Fortunato de Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal* III, 2, 184-263, who repeats the errors in A. Herculano, *História da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal* (Lisboa, 1854-1859).

⁴¹ CDP IV 1-13.

⁴² *Ibid.* 52-53.

⁴³ On Girolamo Ricenati Capodiferro, nuncio in Portugal from 1536 to 1539, see F. de Almeida, *Hist. da Igr.* III, 2, 700 and 253 ff.

defense of India, where the powerful sultan of Cambay⁴⁴ had asked the Grand Turk for help. The fortress of Diu and the whole of India with all the Christians living there, among whom were fifty thousand recently converted from paganism in Cape Comorin,⁴⁵ were thus imperiled.⁴⁶ After fluctuating for a long time,⁴⁷ Paul III finally declared that he was ready to leave to the king the first two double tithes valued at some seventy to eighty thousand *cruzados* (the equivalent of from thirty-five to forty thousand *scudi*), since a victory of the Turks in India could strengthen their power and therefore be disastrous for Christianity in the West as well; but he made this concession only on the condition that the papal nuncio would later collect two more double tithes for the pope.⁴⁸ After completing this, his primary task, Mascarenhas could now take up his second commission—negotiations with respect to the Inquisition, as he informed his king on June 21.⁴⁹

On the following day Dom Pedro wrote another letter to the king and enclosed in it a medallion with a bust of the pope. This portrayed the Holy Father's head sunken within his choir mantle, his lurking, penetrating eyes, full beard, aquiline nose, and energetic expression;⁵⁰ and he observed:

This is true to life, and I am sending it to you so that you may see the make-up of this prince with whom you are dealing and the confidence which he instills so that you may understand the many reasons I have for wanting Your Highness to entrust me with some other office, no matter how hard it may be, and free me from this one here in which I cannot serve without pain of soul and body.⁵¹

After sundown on August 23, 1539, a courier arrived in Rome from Genoa and delivered to Mascarenhas a packet of letters sealed with the royal seal,⁵² including six for Dom Pedro himself from his lord.⁵³ In the first the king held out the prospect of his return to Portugal when the business in Rome was finished.⁵⁴ In the second he declared that a second double tithe on his country would be unbearable; Mascarenhas might therefore ask for the tithe this year for India, while the pope could have that of 1540 for himself.⁵⁵ The third and fourth letters dealt with negotiations on the Inquisition. The king demanded the immediate recall of the nuncio, who had been bribed by the New Christians. He had illegally reserved to himself the trial of Dr. Aires Vaz, who had been imprisoned by the Inquisition, and had thus grossly insulted his brothers, the cardinal infante Dom Affonso and Dom Henrique, the grand inquisitor.⁵⁶ The fifth letter contained a series of individual requests: favors for monasteries and

⁴⁴ Sultan Bahâdur, who met his death on February 14, 1537, near Diu.

⁴⁵ The number was exaggerated; see Schurhammer, "Die Bekehrung der Paraver" 220-229.

⁴⁶ See his instruction of December 29, 1537, in CDP III 412-420.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 460-470; IV 54-63.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* IV 64.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 67-68.

⁵⁰ See the two contemporary medallions in Dorez I, p. XI, and the *Enciclopedia Catolica* 9 (1952) 737.

⁵¹ CDP IV 81.

⁵² *Ibid.* 109-111.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 109-110.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 105-106.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 97-102.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 91-97.

churches, marriage dispensations for the Negroes in the kingdom of Manicongo, and the reform of both Dominicans and Augustinians in Portugal.⁵⁷ The sixth letter contained a new commission for the ambassador which would have to be completed before his return.⁵⁸ It ran as follows:

To Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, friend, I, the king, send you my best greetings.⁵⁹ As you know, my main aim in the conquest of India and in all the other territories which I have captured and continue to hold in the midst of so many dangers, labors, and expenses has always been, as it was that of my deceased lord and father, the increase of our holy Catholic faith; and I am most ready to suffer anything for it.

I therefore constantly strive to have good and learned men in positions of authority, and their principal duty is to preach the faith of our Lord to the new converts and to give them all the other instructions they may need. And, thanks to our Lord,⁶⁰ this has been carried out with such great success, and the fruit is so abundant that it is obvious that the work is pleasing to our Lord; for without His special grace so great a harvest would not be possible. I am therefore bound not only to continue this work with all diligence but also to increase the number of laborers in accord with the increase in the toils.

I have just recently been informed in a letter from Master Diogo de Gouvea that certain learned clerics of exemplary life have left Paris. These men have taken a vow of poverty in the service of God and live only upon the alms of the faithful, and they preach and produce great fruit wherever they go.⁶¹ I have been further informed by a letter which they wrote to the same Master Diogo, and which he forwarded to me (I am enclosing a copy of it for you),⁶² that they were at the papal court on November 23, and that, as the letter indicates, the pope reserved to himself the right to issue the orders as to how they should serve him. According to their letter, it is their intention to convert the heathen; and they say that if it pleases our Holy Father, to whom they have surrendered themselves, and without whose command they are unwilling to do anything, they would go to India. Therefore it seems to me that since they are men of such character and intent, they would be of very great service to our Lord there and would produce great fruit for the faith by strengthening and supporting those who have already accepted it, and by bringing others to it as well.

I therefore earnestly urge you, upon the receipt of this letter, to make an effort to find out what kind of men they are and where they are staying, and to learn what you can about their lives, morals, education, and plans. If they possess the qualities already mentioned, speak with them if they are at hand; and if they are absent, write to them and urge them to come to me; for surely if they intend to spread and increase the faith and to serve God through their preaching and the example of their lives, nowhere can they do this better or more completely satisfy their desires than in my conquered

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 102-103.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 104-105, corrected in DI I 752-754.

⁵⁹ The introduction is abbreviated in the minutes. We have expanded it, following the usual introductory formulae found in the extant original letters of the king to persons of ambassadorial rank, as we find them, for example, in J. D. M. Ford, *Letters of John III* (Cambridge, 1931). They read as follows: "Dom N., amigo. Eu, elRey, vos envio muyto saudar."

⁶⁰ The CDP has: "á fee e graça de Nosso Senhor."

⁶¹ The entire letter has been edited by Costa 319-323, portions of it with a commentary are in DI I 748-751. It was written on February 17, 1538, and speaks of sixty thousand baptisms among the Balamares (Malabares). After he had recommended Favre and his companions to the king, Gouvea continued: "Se estes homens se podessem aver por irem à India, seria hum bem inextimavel."

⁶² The copy is still today found among the original letters of Mascarenhas. It is Favre's letter to Gouvea of November 23, 1538 (MI *Epp.* I 132-134), which we have given above, pp. 440-441. Rodrigues states erroneously that the king had also sent Gouvea's letter to Mascarenhas (*Hist.* I, 1, 223).

territories, where they will always be received in such a manner that they will have every possible assistance and support for their greater service of God.

If the permission or command of the Holy Father is required for this, ask him in my name to grant or order it, and inform him about this. It will certainly redound much to his great virtue and to his holy zeal if he is willing to grant this favor.

When you have decided with them whether they should come by land or sea, as seems best to you and preferable to them, give them all their provisions and generously furnish them with all the funds they shall need for the journey; and it will be agreeable to me if someone comes with them to guide and accompany them so that they may arrive here as quickly as they can. Take special care of this, and I shall be grateful to you for this service.

Written in Lisbon, August 4, 1539.

The King.⁶³

With his usual energy Mascarenhas immediately undertook the execution of the two most urgent commissions—the double tithes and the Inquisition. It was not a favorable time for business since everything remained at a standstill in Rome during the hot months of July and August, and all who could fled from the malaria-infected city to the neighboring mountains.⁶⁴ As quickly as he could he had the letters and documents for his lawyers and theologians translated into Latin and the letter about the nuncio translated into Italian for the pope, since the latter understood the ambassador's Portuguese only with the greatest difficulty, and Dom Pedro was not able to carry on a Latin conversation. In a stormy audience with the pope on August 25 in the presence of the latter's grandson, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and his secretary, Marcello Cervini, during which he declared that every nuncio to Portugal would be bribed within six months by the New Christians, Mascarenhas obtained from His Holiness the assurance that he was ready to recall Capodiferro.⁶⁵

The following day Paul III set out for Frascati and Tivoli for a vacation in a cooler climate.⁶⁶ He did not return to Rome until September 5. On the tenth he set out again with his secretary and Cardinals Farnese, Jacovazzi, and Contarini for Loreto. In the meantime Mascarenhas had not been idle. Through a rapid courier the nuncio had anticipated the king by a week with his own representation of the case of Aires Vaz. The minutes of his trial were translated into Latin and submitted by the pope to Cardinals Ghinucci and del Monte⁶⁷ and to Mascarenhas so that they might study both sides of the question. For three hours the ambassador's lawyers and the two cardinals fought over them, the former defending the king and the latter the nuncio. When Dom Pedro failed

⁶³ We have given the full form of the conclusion "written, etc.," as we did for the introduction. Mascarenhas says that the letter was written on August 4 (CDP IV 109). The king was staying at the time in Lisbon, where he, for example, received the letter of Mascarenhas on July 9 (*ibid.* 50 81).

⁶⁴ CDP III 416; IV 56.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* IV 110-123. The audience is described by Herculano, *Hist. da Inquisição* II 254-263, from the data found in Mascarenhas.

⁶⁶ Where Paul III orally ratified the Five Chapters, and therefore the Society of Jesus, on September 3, as we have reported above, p. 467.

⁶⁷ Gian Maria Ciochi del Monte, born in Rome in 1487, studied jurisprudence in Perugia and Siena, became chamberlain of Julius II, archbishop of Siponto in 1511, and distinguished himself under Clement VII and Paul III in the service of Rome and of the Church. He became a cardinal in 1536, opened the Council of Trent in 1545, and governed the Church as Julius III from 1550 to 1555. As pope he promoted the interests of the Society of Jesus and obtained the reunification of England with Rome.

to obtain his request for an audience with the pope before he left Rome, he quickly decided to confront the pope on the evening of September 9, the eve of his departure for Loreto, as he was leaving the congregation for his evening meal. He complained to the pope that his courier had already been waiting for ten days for an answer on the recall of the nuncio. When the pope replied that he must be patient and wait until he had returned from Loreto on October 10, since he would be constantly on the move and was taking no chancellery officials with him, Mascarenhas told him that he too had taken a vow to make a pilgrimage to Loreto in order to be cured of his malady. They could therefore solve the pressing problems on their way there together.

In the meantime Paul III and his councilors had found a solution to the problem of the Inquisition. Although he would recall the nuncio, he would also publish a new bull on the Inquisition which would clarify the earlier bull of 1535 and would protect the New Christians with specific guarantees. On September 10 Mascarenhas and his lawyers debated the meaning of this new bull with Ghinucci and del Monte in the former's house. The cardinals insisted upon two things: (1) The New Christians could appeal from the sentence of the Inquisition to the pope, that is, to his nuncio; and (2) the name of the accuser was to be given to the accused. Their opponents retorted that this would impede the execution of the first bull, for (1) the guilty would always go unpunished; and (2) the accusers would be exposed to the cruel vengeance of the powerful New Christians.⁶⁸

On September 11 Dom Pedro followed the pope to Viterbo by means of the post. He was accompanied by Santiquattro, who had offered his help; and the two now refused to let go. While they were still in Viterbo, they discussed the question of the double tithes and of the Inquisition with the other cardinals. As they traveled on their way to Montefiascone on the twelfth, to Orvieto on the thirteenth, and on their further journey on the fourteenth, they took up the matter with the pope himself. They discussed it again on the fifteenth at the time of the midday rest, and again on the seventeenth in Perugia. By this time the pope had yielded in the matter of the tithes and had ordered Cervini to draw up the brief recalling Capodiferro.⁶⁹ He had also suggested Girolamo Veralli, the former legate in Venice, as his successor⁷⁰ when a courier arrived from the nuncio in Portugal on September 18 with the news that the latter himself, with the approval of the king, had come to an agreement with the clergy on the matter of the double tithes. With this, the previous negotiations of the ambassador were rendered meaningless, and the pope now postponed the recall of Capodiferro until he had himself received his tithes in accordance with the new agreement.⁷¹

Mascarenhas and Santiquattro had daily arguments with the pope and del Monte in Perugia, during which the two parties became very frank, and at times downright rude, with each other, since Paul III did not want under any circumstances to have Dom Henrique, the brother of the king, as grand inquisitor and insisted upon the New Christians' right of appeal and the naming of their accusers.⁷²

⁶⁸ CDP IV 110-134.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 134-141 158-159.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 159.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 154-158 189-190.

⁷² *Ibid.* 172-176.

Finally in Ancona, on October 1, the pope declared that he was ready to order the immediate recall of his nuncio and that he would be content with the payment of thirty thousand *cruzados* in the coming December and February, while the king should retain a tithe in 1539 and 1540 respectively. In exchange for this he reserved the right to publish the new bull on the Inquisition immediately after his return to Rome.⁷³ The treaty was signed the following day in Jesi, and the brief for the nuncio's recall was written the next day at Matelica as the party continued on its return. The pope and the ambassador were again back in Rome on October 10, and two days later the long-controverted bull on the Inquisition was drawn up.⁷⁴ "The pope describes it as a clarification of the earlier bull," Mascarenhas wrote a month later to his king, "but I call it an obstacle that nullifies the holy work of the Inquisition."⁷⁵

Dom Pedro had followed the Holy Father to Loreto despite his attacks of fever. At the time of the composition of his letter, he had not as yet fully recovered, and he longed more than ever to return to Portugal. He had repeatedly asked this of John III and had already received permission to return. It was only the danger which threatened India that had detained this true servant of his king in the Eternal City.⁷⁶ The affairs with which he had been entrusted were at times a torment to him. When, for example, John III wanted him to have the commanders of the three knightly orders placed under a secular judge, he asked his theologians and confessors about it. They replied that as a Knight of Christ he would commit a mortal sin if he undertook this task.⁷⁷ He had therefore asked his lord to permit his return not only because of his poor health but also because of his honor and conscience.⁷⁸ In Perugia he had repeated his request and added: "Do not employ me in the matter of the Inquisition. I do not understand it, and I am not made for it. My health also does not permit it. Everything sooner or later comes to an end, even my strength and my hope in Your Highness."⁷⁹ And Santiquattro had written as follows to John III from Matelica on October 4:

Sir, it seems that Your Majesty can now order your ambassador, Dom Pietro, without prejudice to your affairs to return to Portugal. . . . Only the business connected with the Inquisition cannot be soon completed, and his presence at the court in Rome is not necessary for this. I therefore entreat Your Majesty to deign to recall him by the first courier. He will depart with the favor of His Holiness, our lord, and of the whole court, and treasured by all. I do not speak of myself, for from the time of our first meeting in Bologna, we entered into such a hearty friendship with one another that not even death could take the remembrance of it away from us. He has never been in good health in Rome, and at present he is somewhat indisposed with a fever. I hope, however, that it is only a cold and that it will be over in a couple of days. Only one thing has distressed me in Dom Pietro, and this is that I always see him sad, and that he takes no joy in anything except in the service of Your Majesty. But even this has not been enough to cheer him up because of the many difficulties connected with the nature of his work and the character of this court. Since I have learned that he loves his second wife more dearly than his first, I attribute everything to this one fact that it seems

⁷³ *Ibid.* 190-191 195-197.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 206.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 217-218.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 38.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 39.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 38.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 151.

to him, and rightly so, that he is so far from her who lives only in his memory. I therefore have all the more compassion for him. I thank God that he has freed me from a love for a wife and children, which I see so strong in others. And I thus feel all the more encouraged to ask Your Majesty for the recall of Dom Pietro.⁸⁰

The request was heard. On January 6, 1540, a courier came from Portugal with letters from the king dated December 10 for Santiquattro and the ambassador. He was highly indignant over the pope's delay in the matter of the Inquisition but accepted the compromise on the question of the double tithes and enclosed two drafts of fifteen thousand *cruzados* each. He also gave his approval for Mascarenhas' return to Portugal.⁸¹ A month later the nuncio, who had been recalled from Portugal, arrived in Rome with the news that he had not as yet published the new bull with respect to the Inquisition.⁸² On February 27 Paul III had a brief drawn up in which he spoke of the capture of the cities of Diu and Aden by the Turks, the recapture of Diu by the Portuguese, and of the strong auxiliary fleet which the "brave and pious hero, King John," as his ambassador had informed him, would shortly send there. The pope then conferred a plenary indulgence upon all of the king's subjects who prayed for the successful outcome of the war and upon all the soldiers who sailed with his fleet. To confessors he also gave extensive faculties for absolving from cases even reserved by the bull *In cena Domini*.⁸³

This brought to a kind of conclusion the two main problems with which Mascarenhas had had to contend in Rome. A further commission of his lord, the one dealing with the Parisian masters, was also to be completed at about this same time.

3. THE SENDING OF XAVIER (MARCH 14, 1540)⁸⁴

During his trip to Loreto, Mascarenhas had not found time to take up more than the two most urgent questions, those of the double tithes and of the Inquisition. Sick with fever he had accompanied the pope to Loreto, and sick with fever he had returned with him to Rome. During the following weeks his poor health had prevented him from taking up his work again. On November 12, when he wrote his first short letter to the king, he was not as yet fully recovered.⁸⁵ In addition to this, Cardinal Simonetta had died on November 1 after an illness of several months. He had managed most of the ambassador's affairs, and Mascarenhas had therefore to look about for another cardinal to take care of them.⁸⁶ As soon as he could, however, he took up his king's commission with respect to the Parisian priests. He made the necessary inquiries; and when he discovered that they possessed all the traits sought by his lord, he informed them of his king's desires.

To this they replied that, since they had placed themselves by a vow at the complete disposal of the pope, they had no wishes of their own. They were ready

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 188-189.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 262-264.

⁸² *Ibid.* 275-276.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 255-257.

⁸⁴ See the accounts in Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 328-340, and Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 217-231.

⁸⁵ CDP IV 219.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 228.

to go wherever the Vicar of Christ might send them, and they would do so even if this were farther than India. Dom Pedro therefore made an appointment with His Holiness, informed him about his lord's letter and the priests' reply and asked him in the name of his king to send two pairs of them. He also added that the more they were, the greater would be the favor conferred on him because of the many places where they could be employed in the service of God.⁸⁷

Mascarenhas found Paul III in the best of moods. On November 28 the pope had sent his grandson, Alessandro Farnese, and the latter's secretary, Cervini, as legates to the emperor and to Francis I in France, where the two monarchs wanted to meet each other in order to conclude a lasting peace. The pope asked his legates to obtain four things from them: (1) the subjugation of the rebellious heretics in Germany, (2) the holding of a general council, (3) the punishment of the excommunicated English king, and (4) a common campaign against the Turks in order to rid the Christian West once and for all of this nightmare. In April, the pope hoped, the emperor would come to Italy in order to begin the great offensive against the traditional enemy of Christendom.⁸⁸

His Holiness was, therefore, in complete sympathy with the intentions of John III and his pious request, and he spoke in terms of highest praise of the priests in question: They were learned and virtuous and achieved much good through their preaching and holy practices; it seemed to him that they were properly endowed for the instruction of those people who had recently been converted to the faith; but, he added, they should undertake such a long and perilous journey of their own free will. The ambassador might therefore ask them about this, and if they agreed, he would be willing to order them to make the journey.

Mascarenhas had little trouble with the priests in the Palazzo Frangipani. They would be very happy to carry out the wishes of the king.⁸⁹ But their number had shrunk. Of the ten Parisian masters, Favre and Laynez were in Parma, Bobadilla in the kingdom of Naples, and Broët in Siena. Of the remaining six who were still in Rome,⁹⁰ Rodrigues had just returned from Siena sick with fever; Jay had been promised to Bishop Solis for Bagnorea;⁹¹ and Vauchop had obtained Codure and Salmerón from the pope for an important mission to Ireland, where Henry VIII was endeavoring to force the land into schism.⁹² There could be no question about sending many of the others to India. Codacio was indispensable in Rome as procurator; Don Diego de Eguía had shortly to travel to Paris with the young students of the order as their superior; and neither of them had the necessary health for a tropical climate and the hard work of the missions. Others were not ready to go because they had to finish their studies: Rojas, Antonio de Strada, Carvajal, Ferrão, Isbrando, and Cassini. The same was true of the absent companions: Araoz in Spain, Doménech in Parma,

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 291.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 224-227. At the end of February, 1540, there was still a great hope, and even a conviction, in Rome that an enduring peace would soon be concluded between Francis I and the emperor. The letters which came in March from the court of the emperor were the first to cast any doubts upon it (Capasso II 6-24).

⁸⁹ CDP IV 291-292.

⁹⁰ See below their document of March 4, pp. 550-551.

⁹¹ He departed from Rome on March 17 (Polanco, *Chron.* I 84; *Ep. Broëti* 265).

⁹² *Ep. Broëti* 418-432.

and Francisco de Strada and Paradisi in Brescia, where the latter had also recently been sent.⁹³

Iñigo, whom Mascarenhas had chosen as his confessor,⁹⁴ could therefore offer only two of the companions to Dom Pedro; and when the latter urged him to give him six, he replied with a smile:⁹⁵ "Jesus, Señor Ambassador, and what will Your Lordship leave for the rest of the world?"⁹⁶

When Paul III was informed by Dom Pedro about the outcome of his efforts, he commissioned two of the priests to go to India as his legates, leaving their choice up to Ignatius and his companions.⁹⁷ This fell upon Rodrigues and Bobadilla,⁹⁸ for both of whom Mascarenhas had expressed a desire: Rodrigues was the only Portuguese among the Parisian masters, and the ambassador had already become acquainted with Bobadilla through his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans.⁹⁹

A courier was immediately sent to the south to recall the latter. Master Simon rejoiced at the news of his mission.¹⁰⁰ He had always wanted to preach the Gospel in pagan lands.¹⁰¹ Since he was still suffering from a recurring fever,¹⁰² Dom Pedro decided to send him to Portugal by sea with his servants and all his excess baggage. He could recover his health at his own estate in Palma¹⁰³ until he was summoned by the king. With him was to sail an Italian secular priest¹⁰⁴ who shortly before this had joined the companions in the Palazzo Frangipani.¹⁰⁵

The newcomer came from the diocese of Camerino in the March of Ancona.¹⁰⁶ Modest and unassuming as he was, he declared that he had no family name. As a consequence, he was simply called Messer Paulo.¹⁰⁷ The thought of going to India at first terrified him since he did not know the speech of that land

⁹³ *Fabri Mon.* 28-29.

⁹⁴ MX II 134-136; Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 2, 16.

⁹⁵ "Con rostro sereno e amoroso" (Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 2, 16).

⁹⁶ According to Ribadeneyra, *De actis* (FN II 381). Mascarenhas at first asked the pope for four or more (CDP IV 291); Polanco wrote in 1551 that the king had requested two (MI *Epp.* III 329). Because of this Rodrigues had doubts about Ribadeneyra's statement (*Hist.* I, 1, 225, n. 3). Actually, the king wanted them all, and Mascarenhas as many as he could obtain.

⁹⁷ CDP IV 292.

⁹⁸ "Non sine prudenti reliquorum Patrum deliberatione, nec sine multis precationibus" (Orlandinus 2, 87).

⁹⁹ Bobadilla 618.

¹⁰⁰ When Rodrigues had difficulties in obeying Ignatius in 1553, the latter wrote to him: "Lembrai-vos que com tal boa vontade, pello que eu vos disse, sem ter eu alguma autoridade sobre vossa pessoa, fostes com quartans a Portugal, e depois sarastes" (MI *Epp.* V 191).

¹⁰¹ "Había tenido muy encendidos deseos de adelantar entre infieles el nombre de Jesucristo," Polanco wrote in 1548 (FN I 228); see Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 274-280.

¹⁰² "De lá [Siena] veo quartanayro; e por esta causa de sua imdesposyça, de que, Deos seya louvado, ja está mylhor, o mandey por maar" (CDP IV 292).

¹⁰³ Mascarenhas only says: "que o levasem a mynha casa" (*ibid.*). Cros makes of this: "Il sera logé dans ma maison, à Lisbonne" (*Vie* I 156). He meant by this his house in Palma (EX I 33; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 232).

¹⁰⁴ CDP IV 292.

¹⁰⁵ The exact date of his entrance is unknown. He labored quietly and without show in the College of St. Paul until his death in 1560, "poor in spirit and a friend of the poor, a man of another world," as Melchior Nunes wrote of him. On him see Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 338-347; DI I 42*-43*; Valignano 417-418.

¹⁰⁶ See his vote.

¹⁰⁷ DI I 437. Cros incorrectly calls him Paul del Valle (*Doc.* I 424), others mistakenly call him Paulo Camerte, Paulo Camerino; see also Tacchi Venturi I, 1, 338.

and had no particular talent for languages.¹⁰⁸ He finally decided to go, however, and told Ignatius: "If those pagans do what I tell them, they will go to heaven."¹⁰⁹ He drew up a statement in his own language which strengthened his resolve.¹¹⁰ It read as follows:

I, Paul, son of Baptista, a cleric of the diocese of Camerino, say and affirm that all my hope is in our Lord Jesus Christ in the service of His Divine Majesty in perpetual chastity and poverty; and in like manner it is my firm resolve and intent out of love and reverence for Him to serve Don Master Simon Rodrico and his comrade,¹¹¹ who, at the bidding of His Holiness, our lord, at the request of the lord ambassador of the Catholic king of Portugal are going to India. And so I am going with them, not as a companion,¹¹² but in order to serve them in their needs, freely and out of a love for God our Lord, and at the same time I trust in the Divine Majesty that the priests, Master Simon and his companion, will give me such commands in India that I too can produce some fruit among those poor people, who have not as yet come to a knowledge of God our Lord. Since all this is true, and also because I believe that I can in this way serve God our Lord better, in the interest of truth and as evidence of my resolve, I have composed this present document and have signed it with my own hand. Rome, this fourth day of March, 1540.

I, Paul, named above, have signed this and confirm what is written above with my own hand in witness thereof.

On the same day the six Parisian masters still in Rome, before going their separate ways, signed a document written in Latin by Codure with respect to the composition of the Constitutions:¹¹³

Since, as we piously believe, through the disposition of our almighty and gracious God, it behooves us to be separated in various parts of the world, and these at great distances from each other, and since this is being done at the order of the supreme pontiff, the ruler of the whole Church, and since we realize that many things can happen to us who are joined in a single body which can pertain to the advantage of the whole Society, that is, with respect to the drawing up of constitutions and other matters of whatever kind, it seemed good to all of us who were in Rome when we made this decision, and who in witness of this truth have signed our names with our own hands, that all matters of this kind should be left to the judgment and vote of the majority of those who are of our company living in Italy and who can be convoked by those who are in Rome or from whom votes can be sought by means of letters. And thus when the votes of the majority of those, as we have said, who are then dwelling in Italy and also the votes of those who will then be in Rome have been read,

¹⁰⁸ Even at the time of his death he had not succeeded in mastering Portuguese (Seb. Gonçalves, S.J., *Historia da Companhia na India* 8, 11).

¹⁰⁹ This was told by the conde da Castanheira, Antonio de Ataide, to Father Luis Gonçalves da Camara (*ibid.*).

¹¹⁰ The *original is in ARSI: *Ital.* 57, 226 ed. DI I 1-2. The *address, written in Ignatius' strong hand, was cut out and saved as a relic. It was once in an Austrian monastery (probably a Jesuit college) and in 1937 was in the possession of a Russian schismatical bishop who had emigrated to Germany. It read as follows: "1540 de paulo testimonio de su yda a portugal," beneath which is written in another hand: "chyrographum b. Ignatii Loyolae."

¹¹¹ From this Tacchi Venturi wrongly concludes that Bobadilla was not as yet appointed (I, 1, 340, n. 1).

¹¹² The Society did not receive the right to accept spiritual and temporal coadjutors in addition to the professed until after the publication of the brief *Exponi nobis* of June 5, 1546 (MI *Const.* I 170-171).

¹¹³ EX I 21-23; photograph in MI *Const.* I, p. LXI.

they can make decisions as if the whole Society were present; for thus it was determined and approved by all in the Lord. March 4, 1540.

Ynigo Johannes Coduri Simon Roderici
Alphonsus Salmeron Claudius Jaius Franciscus

Because of Guidiccioni's opposition, the companions had to continue waiting for the bull which was to ratify their newly founded Society. As soon as this written confirmation was obtained, they would have to elect a general of the order. On March 5 Rodrigues therefore gave to Xavier as the secretary his sealed vote.¹¹⁴ He then took his departure from his confreres that same day and set out with Messer Paulo and the servants of the ambassador for Civitavecchia¹¹⁵ in order to embark from there for Portugal. On the same day Codure also wrote out his own vote for the coming election of a general,¹¹⁶ for he was about to go with Salmerón to Ireland.¹¹⁷

It was now also time for the departure of the ambassador. On March 8 he thanked the king for his permission to return. It was conditioned on completion of Mascarenhas' commissions in Rome. John III had followed his advice with respect to the Inquisition and had promised to send a specialist. The question with respect to the league against the Turks and help for India was fairly far advanced, and the pope had declared that he wanted to postpone his final decision until Dom Pedro had personally taken up the matter with his lord in Lisbon. All the other business which he had found unfinished at the time of his arrival had been practically settled. Mascarenhas therefore added that he too would set out for Portugal after the departure of this courier.¹¹⁸

On the following day, March 9, the ambassador handed over sixteen documents to his attorney, Pietro Antonio Casulano. Most of these were concerned with the monastery of Lorvão, whose suit he had to conduct.¹¹⁹ He also wrote a long second letter to the king about his most recent audience with Paul III. The latter had listened calmly to the complaints which John III had made with respect to his attitude in the matter of the Inquisition. He had given his warm approval to the request that in the future accused New Christians should be allowed to retain their possessions, and he promised that he would draw up a brief according to which the new bull should neither be published nor altered until the present negotiations with respect to it should have been concluded with the king.¹²⁰

The brief was drawn up on March 10,¹²¹ and on the same day Mascarenhas wrote another long letter to his lord, a kind of final résumé of his labors in

¹¹⁴ Text in *Ep. Broëti* 519-520.

¹¹⁵ EX I 33; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 231-232.

¹¹⁶ Text in *Ep. Broëti* 418-419.

¹¹⁷ Codure and a secular priest, Francesco Marsupino of Arezzo, a doctor of civil and canon law, were originally destined to go to Ireland as legates, as the first draft of the faculties indicates (*ibid.* 421). But Salmerón took the latter's place, and since the departure was delayed, Broët replaced the gravely ill Codure, who died on August 29, 1541 (*ibid.* 23-31; *Ep. Salmeronis* I 2). The appointment came suddenly (*MI Epp.* I 155). On March 22 Bobadilla had already written: "Dos compañeros nuestros se parten para Hibernia" (Bobadilla 22). But in reality they did not leave Rome until September 10, 1541.

¹¹⁸ (CDP IV 265-266..

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* 292 and the *receipt of Pietro Antonio (TdT *Gavetas 10-11-1*).

¹²⁰ CDP IV 267-279.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* 284-285.

Rome.¹²² He first enumerated the seven bulls and two briefs which the courier was taking with him and which dealt with the double tithes, Dom Duarte, the cardinal infante, Dom Affonso, the bishop of Lamego, the faculties of Frey Bras de Braga, the India indulgence, the transfer of the College of Saint Thomas to Coimbra, and the university privileges of the monastic school of Costa.¹²³ He then gave an account of the status of the still unfinished business. This had to do with the university that had been moved to Coimbra in 1537, the transfer of the episcopal see of Silves and the appointment of a bishop for this diocese, the ratification of the election of Sarzedas as abbot, the jurisdiction of the monastery in Vila do Conde and that of the *capellão-mor* of clerics with minor orders, the suit against the rebellious abbess of Lorvão, the marriage dispensation for the Negroes of the diocese of São Thomé, the change of benefices in forty patronal churches, and so forth. He had obtained the alternative for Silves, and the petition was in the hands of the datary, Guidiccioni, waiting for his signature. With respect to Lorvão, the ambassador had had numerous discussions with the pope in the presence of Cardinals Santiquattro and Capodiferro. He advised the king to come to an understanding with the abbess; otherwise the suit would be transferred to Rome. The ratification of the union of the churches formerly subject to Santa Catarina with the university of Coimbra, which had been approved by the nuncio, would cost fifteen hundred *cruzados*. Because the matter was being processed, he had promised a good measure of wine to the person in charge of back petitions, since he was a Frenchman, so that he would remove the pertinent document from the file and keep it secretly for two or three months until the king had given his opinion on the matter.¹²⁴

He then mentioned his commission with respect to the Parisian masters and described the efforts he had made in this regard and their success. He had been able to obtain only two. Of the six that were still in Rome, the pope was sending two to Ireland, which lay beyond Scotland. He had sent one of the two priests, a Portuguese, who was not inferior to anyone in the Society in knowledge and virtue, along with an Italian cleric by sea to Portugal. He was taking the other, a Castilian, with himself overland. He would give further information about these priests and their manner of life to his lord by word of mouth in Lisbon.¹²⁵

The courier was to have departed that same day, but Mascarenhas had to detain him for twenty-four hours. The pope, who was always concerned about technicalities, had reached an agreement with Santiquattro, Ghinucci, and del Monte with respect to the form of the brief on the Inquisition, and it had already been signed when he examined it once again with Ghinucci and the two former nuncios to Portugal, Sinigaglia and Capodiferro. He made an addition to it that the king must give his answer within four months from the time that the brief was dated. When Mascarenhas protested that he would be on the road for a long time with the document, His Holiness replied that the trip would take at the most two or two and one-half months, and that the king as a consequence would have enough time.¹²⁶

On this same day, March 10, a courier arrived from the imperial court in Flanders. He had been sent by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to report that ac-

¹²² *Ibid.* 285-295.

¹²³ *Ibid.* 285-287.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* 287-297; cf. 303-305, n. 1.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* 292.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* 295-296.

ording to news from Constantinople the Grand Turk wanted to conclude a six-month truce with the Christians of Europe so that he could hurl all his forces against the Portuguese in India.¹²⁷

On the following day, March 11, Dom Pedro had his final audience with Paul III. The latter gave him his blessing for his return home,¹²⁸ and on this same day Mascarenhas wrote the following to his king:

Even if the truce with the Turk is not effected, the latter will only give up his desire for India when he lacks the strength to secure it. My lord, I am leaving here on the fifteenth of this month since His Holiness has already given me my leave¹²⁹ and I have nothing more to do with respect to those things with which I was commissioned by Your Highness. I shall hasten to come to Your Highness as quickly as the journey permits.

On March 12 Mascarenhas handed to his agent, Pedro Doménech, all the documents pertaining to the still unfinished business¹³⁰ and made the final preparations for his departure. Everything was ready; there was only one thing missing. The ambassador had for some days been waiting impatiently for the Castilian.¹³¹ He was afraid that a courier from the king might come at any moment with new orders, and he would have to again postpone his return to Portugal, as he had already done before.¹³²

On March 13 the minutes with the faculties for Broët and Salmerón, who were going to Ireland, were drawn up by Ghinucci and Blossius.¹³³ Finally, on the fourteenth, the long-awaited Bobadilla arrived in Rome,¹³⁴ but in a wretched state. The cruel Maltese fever which had seized him on his way to Ischia had returned,¹³⁵ and the house physician declared that a trip for him to Portugal in such a condition was unthinkable. Iñigo and the rest of the companions were also of the same opinion.¹³⁶ Another would have to take his place, for Mascarenhas could not wait; and he said that he could not set out on his journey without the second promised companion.

Apart from Bobadilla there was only one of the Parisian masters who had not as yet been promised—the secretary of the Society, Francis Xavier. Iñigo

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* 297.

¹²⁸ The ambassador's letter of March 11 was obviously begun on the afternoon of March 10 since he writes that he had not seen the pope again after he had given his answer with respect to the brief on the Inquisition because he had to deal with the courier. On the following day he would speak with him and remind him of his promise to send a good nuncio (*ibid.* 296). At the end of the same letter he states, however, that the pope has already given him the permission for his departure (*ibid.* 298). This conclusion was thus written after his final audience.

¹²⁹ "Por Sua Santidade me ter já dado licença" (*ibid.* 298); "já espedido do papa" (*ibid.* 301).

¹³⁰ See the list *ibid.* 303-305, n. 1.

¹³¹ Bobadilla 22.

¹³² "Cum orator properaret discessum ex Urbe" (*ibid.* 618). His fear was not unfounded, for on March 31 a courier from Lisbon reached him in Bologna with an order to remain (CDP IV 300-305).

¹³³ *Ep. Broëti* 421-423. The date of the minutes was later changed to February 1, 1541.

¹³⁴ "Hagora llegué aquí habrá ocho días," Bobadilla wrote on March 22 (Bobadilla 22).

¹³⁵ "Dios Nuestro Señor permitió que entrasse en Roma con fiebre" (*ibid.* 22); "reversus est Romam nondum sanus ex illa gravi infirmitate" (*ibid.* 618). Instead of this Ribadeneyra erroneously has: "Por la pobreza y trabajo del camino llegó enfermo de una pierna" (FN II 381).

¹³⁶ Bobadilla 22.

was at this time sick in bed. He summoned the secretary and said to him: "Master Francis, you already know that at the bidding of His Holiness two of ours must go to India, and that Master Bobadilla was chosen as one of these. He cannot travel because of his illness, and the ambassador cannot wait until he is well. *Esta es vuestra empresa!* (This is a task for you!)" To this Xavier replied with great joy and readiness: "*Pues, sus! Hème aquí!* (Good enough! I am ready)."¹³⁷

Time was pressing. The briefs for the two priests who were to go as the pope's ambassadors to India were not yet finished. Mascarenhas asked Pedro Doménech to see that they were completed, and Vauchop undertook to urge Ghinucci to finish them quickly.¹³⁸ Master Francis hastily repaired some old pants and a worn cassock,¹³⁹ received the pope's¹⁴⁰ blessing in the Vatican,¹⁴¹ said farewell to his friends, including Madonna Faustina Jancolina, who promised him that she would receive the sacraments frequently,¹⁴² and wrote out three statements in a firm hand on the day of his departure.¹⁴³

In the first he gave his approval to all the constitutions, rules, and ordinances which his confreres who remained behind would draw up:

Jesus. I, Francis, state the following: If His Holiness will approve of our way of life, then I shall agree to all that the Society will determine with respect to our constitutions, rules, and way of life, those members of the Society being present in Rome who can be conveniently summoned and brought together. And since His Holiness is sending many of us to different lands outside of Italy, and we cannot therefore all come together,

¹³⁷ According to Ribadeneyra in his first draft (FN II 381). In his Latin *Vita* of 1572, and still more in his Spanish *Vida* of 1585, he lets the otherwise taciturn Ignatius repeat himself and stress his words, so that he says to Xavier: "Bien sabeys, hermano Maestro Francisco, que dos de nosotros han de pasar á la India por órden de Su Santidad; y que Bouadilla que para esta empresa estaua señalado, no puede partir por su enfermedad, ni tampoco el Embaxador, por la priessa que á él le dan, le puede esperar. Dios se quiere servir en esto de vos, esta es vuestra empresa, á vos toca esta misión." To this Xavier replies: "Hème aquí, Padre, aparejado estoy" (*Vida* 2, 16). The lost Portuguese draft of Teixeira, completed in 1579, probably followed the Latin *Vita*; the extant text of the Spanish translation, drawn up in Spain around 1590, follows Ribadeneyra's Spanish *Vida* word for word. The term *empresa* is also used by John III for his Indian undertakings (*impresa da India*) in his letter of August 4, 1539, to Mascarenhas (DI I 572-753) and by the infante Dom Luis in his letter of March 23, 1555, to Mascarenhas: "I hope that your arrival in that region will be greatly directed to the service of our Lord, as the zeal with which you have entered into these undertakings (*empresa*) deserves" (Evora, Bibl. Publica, *codex 108-2-1*, f. 298). Xavier received his Indian mission on the day before his departure, "lo supo solamente el día antes" (Layne 130), and Polanco adds: "con grande alegría se ofreció para partir luego, y así lo hizo" (FN I 232).

¹³⁸ MX II 135.

¹³⁹ "Y así luego aqual día o el siguiente, rememando ciertos calçones viejos y no sé qué sotanilla, se partió" (according to Ribadeneyra in FN II 381).

¹⁴⁰ According to Teixeira. In Goa he knew Mascarenhas' secretary, Rodrigo Anes Lucas, who had accompanied Xavier from Rome to Lisbon and had given him an account of him (MX II 832). Tursellinus 1, 9 and Orlandinus 2, 88 follow him.

¹⁴¹ The registers of the petitions preserved in the Vatican Archives show that the pope was in the Vatican on March 14, 1540 (as he was for the whole month), and not in the palace of St. Mark (see, for example, vol. 2365, 285 and 2366, 35). Towards the end of May or the beginning of June, Paul III was accustomed to move from the Vatican to the palace of St. Mark (C. Bricarelli, S.J., "Il Palazzo di Venezia in Roma da Paolo II a Pio VII," *Roma* 8 [1930] 104).

¹⁴² We conclude this from EX I 31.

¹⁴³ EX I 23-27.

I hereby promise to approve of everything that those who can come together shall have agreed upon, whether they be two or three or any number whatever. And I therefore, with this document signed with my own hand, expressly promise to agree to all that they shall decide upon.

Written in Rome, in the year 1540, on the fifteenth of March.

Francisco.

The second document was his vote for the coming election of a general:

I, Francis, also declare and affirm, being in no way persuaded by man, that it is my opinion that the one who is to be elected as the leader of our Society whom we must all obey, should be, it seems to me, speaking in accordance with my own conscience, our old and true father, Don Ignatio, who brought us all together with no little effort and who will also, not without effort, be able to preserve, rule and make us advance from good to better, since he knows each one of us best. And after his death, and in this I am speaking from my heart as if I had to die on this account, it should be I say, Padre Micer Pedro Faber; and God is my witness that I am not saying anything in this except what I think. And as a witness of its truth, I sign this with my own hand.

Written in Rome, in the year 1540, the fifteenth of March.

Francisco.

He then added his vows in advance:

I, Francis, also now promise for the time when the Society will have been united and will have chosen a leader, perpetual obedience, poverty, and chastity. And I beg of you, Laynez, my dearest father in Christ, for the service of God, our Lord, that in my absence you bring in my stead this my resolve along with the three vows of religion to the leader whom you will have elected. For I now promise for that day to keep them. And as a witness of the truth of this, I add my signature with my own hand.

Written in Rome, in the year 1540, on the fifteenth of March.

Francisco.

He closed and sealed the document and wrote on the envelope: "This is Francis' letter for those of the Society."

Then came the hour of departure. There was no time for a letter of recommendation to the lord of the castle of Loyola¹⁴⁴ and the usual instructions which Iñigo gave to his confreres at their departure. He promised to send both of them later to Bologna.¹⁴⁵ When Xavier took his leave from him in his poor, torn cassock, Ignatius opened it up to see if he had the necessary clothing for his journey. When he discovered that his companion was wearing only a shirt, he said to him: "So, Francis, so?" and he ordered the necessary clothing to be given to him.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ "Por la mucha priessa, y estremada, que de repente nos dan, á los unos para inviar á las Yndias, y á los otros para Ybernia y para otra parte de Italia, no tengo lugar para poderme alargar como quisiera," wrote Ignatius on March 20, 1540, in his letter of recommendation for Xavier to the lord of Loyola (*MI Epp.* I 155). The original of the letter is in Medina del Campo. Alcázar (I, p. LXXIII) and, following him, the *Cartas de S. Ignacio* (I 84) erroneously give the date of the letter as "March 16."

¹⁴⁵ In his letter from Bologna of March 31, Xavier alludes to the later instructions where he speaks of the *hijuelas* (EX I 29-30; see also 64, where mention is made of the Masses for Guidiccioni). The instructions which Ignatius gave the priests going to Ireland also mention both points (*MI Epp.* I 174-179).

Xavier then took his departure from his confreres in the Palazzo Frangipani—his young friend Angelo Pradisi had already left for home to obtain the consent of his parents for his journey to Paris and their support during his years of study there¹⁴⁷—and went with his breviary¹⁴⁸ and a few writings¹⁴⁹ to the house of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas. Shortly afterwards he rode out with him and his attendants through the Porta del Popolo and over the Ponte Molle into the campagna, which was now in spring bloom. A new future lay before him. It was the fifteenth of March in the year 1540.¹⁵⁰ A cheerful gleam brightened his face. A still, long-desired, and earnest wish was at last fulfilled!¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ The rector of the College of Messina, Antonio Natale, on August 11, 1691, *wrote to the general that he had an old manuscript of Father Baldassare Siracusa, S.J., who died a saintly death in 1613, which stated: "Il P. Filippo Cassino, che fu uno delli primi Padri, che ricevè il nostro B. P. Ignazio nella Compagnia... mi disse, che il nostro B. P. Ignazio prima di mandare il B. P. Francesco Saverio all'Indie, gli aprì la veste in su'l petto, per vedere, se gli mancava cosa alcuna del vestito, e gli trovò la semplice camicia in su le carni. Il che vedendo il nostro B. P. Ignazio, tutto stupito, disse: 'Assi, Francesco, assi?'" (ARSI: *Sicula* 185 I 137). Alberti, who printed the report, adds: "e senza più ordinò che fosse bastevolmente provveduto d'ogni necessario riparo" (*Del-l'Istoria della Compagnia di Giesù: La Sicilia* [Palermo, 1702] 505-506).

¹⁴⁷ *Fabri Monumenta* 28.

¹⁴⁸ Tursellinus 1, 9.

¹⁴⁹ His letters show that he had a copy of the Exercises (against Brodrick 276). According to Cros, Xavier took with him from Rome the book of Marcus Marulus, *Opus de religiose vivendi institutione* (Apud Sanctam Coloniam, 1531), which he used in India for spiritual reading (*Doc.* I 351). This is certainly possible despite Tursellinus' silence, but no proof has been brought forward for the allegation. The claim that Ignatius gave the crucifix to Xavier in front of the picture of the Madonna of Cappellette (which was not even in existence at the time) and sent him to the Indies with the words: "Ite, incendite mundum!" is a pure fiction (Concezio Carocci, S.J., *Il Pellegrino guidato alla visita delle Immagini più insigni della B. V. Maria in Roma, ovvero Discorsi Familiari sopra le medesime, detti i Sabati nella Chiesa del Gesù* III [Roma, 1729] 91). Oliverio Manare testified in 1606 during the process for the canonization of Ignatius conducted in Brussels: "Quando mittebat aliquos de Societate aliquo ad excolendam Dei vineam, solebat eis dicere: 'Itote, omnia accendite et inflammate!' Quae ex ipsius ore et communi confratrum traditione deponens audivit et accepit" (*MI Scripta* II 888). Manare did not come to Rome until 1552, and his testimony does not prove anything for Xavier.

¹⁵⁰ Bartoli (*Asia* 1, 11), Astráin (I 466), Brou (I 79) and others place the departure on March 16; Tacchi Venturi (II, 1, 336), Rodrigues (*Hist.* I, 1, 230), Brodrick (78) place it on March 15. This latter date is to be retained. Mascarenhas wrote on the eleventh that he would depart on the fifteenth (CDP IV 298). On March 15, he wrote his last letter to the king (*ibid.* 301). On March 31, sixteen days had already passed since his departure from Rome (*ibid.* 300). On the evening of March 20 the travelers reached Loreto, 165 miles from the Eternal City (EX I 30); and the ambassador had to travel slowly because of his poor health (CDP IV 300).

¹⁵¹ "Se partió con tal semblante, que en fin bien se vía que Dios le llamava para lo que havemos visto," writes Ribadeneyra (FN II 381); Polanco says: "Quod quidem nuncium ipsi, multum diuque gentilium conversionem sitienti, laetissimum accidit" (*Chron.* I 87).

BOOK V

AT THE COURT OF THE KING OF PORTUGAL
1540—1541

*O principal intento na impresa da India
foy sempre o acrecentamento de nossa
santa fe catholica.*

**“My main purpose in taking India was always
the increase of our holy Catholic faith.”**

*John III to Dom Pedro Mascarenhas,
Lisbon, August 4, 1539*

CHAPTER I

FROM ROME TO LISBON (MARCH 15—END OF JUNE, 1540)

1. FROM ROME TO BOLOGNA (MARCH, 1540)

The spring of 1540 was hot and dry,¹ and the sun was smiling down from a deep blue sky as the small company rode northwards on the Via Flaminia, which Xavier had already traversed on his first trip to Rome. They traveled first over the lonely campagna through Cività Castellana to the Tiber, then on its other side through Otricoli, Narni, Terni, and the pass of Strettura to Spoleto and Foligno at the foot of the Apennines, and then over the mountains to Tolentino and Loreto.

Dom Pedro Mascarenhas had sent his baggage and servants ahead by sea to Portugal with Rodrigues and Misser Paulo and was taking only his most needed attendants with him:² his chaplain;³ his secretary, Rodrigo Anes Lucas;⁴ a young Spanish nobleman, Felipe de Aguilar;⁵ his groom;⁶ and a number of

¹ An extraordinary drought prevailed throughout Italy during the winter of 1539 and in the spring and part of the summer of 1540. No rain fell from November until the beginning of May (Corradi 772-773 3033-3034 3761-3762).

² CDP IV 302.

³ EX I 30.

⁴ In 1554, at the request of the king, Rodrigo Anes Lucas accompanied Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, who had been appointed viceroy, to India. He was appointed the executor of Mascarenhas' will and drew it up in 1555, two days before his death (Archives Mascarenhas, n. 730). Three of Lucas' *letters, dated December 17, 22, and 23, 1555, are still extant. The first is to his wife, Beatriz Correa (CC 1-97-31); the second is probably to the secretary of state, Alcáçova Carneiro (CC 1-97-38); the third is to the infante Dom Luis (CC 1-97-40). In 1567 he was in Alcácer do Sal (Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 237-238). In 1571, already old and sickly, he was employed as secretary of state in India (*Arquivo Portuguez Oriental* V, 2, 803-804; cf. 764 797 802 808 824).

⁵ Seb. Gonçalves 1, 5.

⁶ EX I 39. José M. March, S.J. (*Razón y Fe* 126 [1942] 516-517), and Guido Battelli (*Osservatore Romano*, Feb. 4, 1958) maintain that the famous painter Francisco de Hollanda also traveled in Mascarenhas' retinue from Rome to Lisbon. This seems unlikely to us since he was still in Naples in February, 1540, as the only dated drawing in his sketchbook indicates. According to E. Tormo he remained in Italy until 1540 or, at the latest, until the end of 1541 (*Os desenhos das antigualhas que viu Francisco d'Ollanda, pintor português* [Madrid, 1940] 17); according to Joaquim de Vasconcellos he traveled to Lisbon in 1545 (*Francisco de Hollanda. Vier Gespräche über die Malerei* [Wien, 1899] 37-38) or remained in Italy until 1547 (*Francisco de Hollanda. Da Pintura Antigua* [Porto, 1918] 26). From his *Da Fabrica que fallece a cidade de Lisboa* (Porto, 1879) and his sketchbook, we can reconstruct his journey to Rome (1537-1538) and from Rome to Lisbon (1540 or 1541). He traveled to Rome by way of Santarém, Montargil, Barcos d'Alcovete, Ventas de Caparra, Valladolid, Montserrat, Barcelona, Salses, Narbonne, Vaucluse, Saint-Maximin, Fréjus, Nice, Genoa, and Tuscany. From Rome he first visited Naples, where he drew the crater of Vesuvius in February, 1540 (sketchbook, plate 53), and Barletta in Apulia. He then traveled by way of Orvieto, Narni, Spoleto, Loreto,

servants. Because of his health, which had been weakened by a Roman fever, the ambassador had to travel slowly;⁷ but he was attention itself toward Xavier. Master Francis consoled himself for this concern with the thought that he would have to suffer the more for it in India, and that he would offer up his life as a sacrifice for his crucified Lord.⁸ He immediately made himself the servant of all. When they stopped at an inn, he was the first to take care of the horses and give them their fodder. He was humble in his dealings with others and charmed them with his amiability. He spoke constantly of God, with whom his heart was constantly united; and his virtue and cheerful, radiant disposition soon won the hearts of all,⁹ so that the chaplain told the ambassador that he was ready to accompany him to India.¹⁰

Another of his traveling companions soon also came to feel the irresistible charm of Father Master Francis. This was his Spanish countryman Felipe de Aguilar.¹¹ The young man had originally come from Spain to Portugal with his father in 1525 in the company of Queen Catherine, the sister of Charles V.¹² As a son of Francisco Velázquez,¹³ he came from a prominent family. Like the other attendants of the young queen, he had immediately obtained Portuguese citizenship;¹⁴ and as *moçofidalgo*, or page, he had received a monthly salary of a thousand *reis* and a daily allotment of an *alqueire* (thirteen liters) of barley.¹⁵ Rich and high spirited, he had then been struck with a wanderlust. After traveling through France, Germany, and Italy, he had finally come to Rome, where he had attached himself to Dom Pedro in order to return with him to Portugal. Far from his parents and acquaintances, he had enjoyed life to the full; but now he no longer experienced his former zest, and his soul was empty and without peace. When Master Francis learned of his condition, he sought his company. As they rode along side by side he spoke to him of indifferent matters. His cheerful, amiable manner soon won the young hidalgo; and when Francis saw that the right moment had come, he suggested that he might make a general confession. Don Felipe gladly accepted the suggestion, and they stopped off at a church along the way. After the young nobleman had freed his soul of its heavy burden through a frank confession of his sins, he felt his heart so pierced

Ancona, Pesaro, Ferrara, and Padua to Venice, where he made a detailed sketch of the *loggetta*, which was finished in 1540. He then traveled back to Lisbon by way of Milan, Pavia, Moncalieri, and the Mount Cenis pass (see his sketch of the "Ramasse," plate 49), Nîmes, Toulouse, Bayonne, Fuerterrabía, and San Sebastián (cf. *Os desenhos* 8-20). Thus neither the time nor the route agree with those of Mascarenhas.

⁷ CDP IV 300 302.

⁸ EX I 30.

⁹ Teixeira, from the oral communication of the secretary, whom he met in India (MX II 832-833).

¹⁰ EX I 30.

¹¹ Our source is Seb. Gonçalves (1, 5). He obtained this from the provincial Francisco Vieira, to whom Dom Francisco de Lima, the captain in charge of the northern fleet of India, described in 1610 the conversion of his uncle Aguilar, as he had often heard of it from him. Vieira was provincial from 1609 to 1615; Lima came to India in 1607 as captain of the ship "Sam Francisco" (Figueiredo Falcão 186).

¹² Seb. Gonçalves 1, 5 and Luis de Sousa, *Annaes de Dom João Terceiro* (Lisboa, 1844) 133.

¹³ Lousada I 88v (according to the **Livro dos Confessados da Casa d'El Rey do anno 1539, 1540 e 1541*, f. 52). His father is still mentioned in 1545 as having a household of ten persons at the court of the queen (CC 2-240-62, 5v).

¹⁴ Sousa, *Annaes* 133.

¹⁵ *Lousada I 88v.

by the fear of God at Xavier's words that he later admitted that he had then for the first time realized what it meant to be a Christian.¹⁶

After six days of riding they reached Loreto. It was the evening before Palm Sunday. The next morning, March 21, Xavier heard the confessions of the ambassador and of a number of his followers and celebrated Mass for them in the miraculous chapel of our Lady, the Santa Casa; and all, in accordance with the wish of Dom Pedro, received Holy Communion at it.¹⁷

Holy Week had begun when Mascarenhas and his retinue began their further journey, first over the hills to Ancona and then along the coast. The road was flanked on the left by the foothills of the Apennines. On the right were the glassy, bright blue waters of the Adriatic Sea dotted with the white sails of fishing boats. On their way, they passed by a number of old, walled Roman cities: Senigallia; Fano, with its triumphal arch of Augustus; Pésaro, with its palace of the duke of Rovere; and Rimini, where the arch of Augustus marked the end of the Via Flaminia. Here the company abandoned the coast, crossed the Roman bridge, and followed the Via Aemilia, which led straight through the whole of northern Italy in a northwesterly direction along the northern slope of the Apennines. On the right of the road, which connected Rimini with Piacenza and then continued on to Turin, was the broad plain of the Po. One proud, prosperous city appeared after another with its palaces and churches; and each one was only two or three hours distance from another: Cesena, Forlímpópoli, Forlì, Faenza, famous for its maiolica, Castel Bolognese, Imola, and Castel San Pietro. Then, on the evening of Holy Saturday, the cavalcade rode through the Porta Maggiore into Bologna.¹⁸

2. EASTER IN BOLOGNA (MARCH 27—APRIL 1, 1540)

In Bologna the party rested for four days in order to spend there the Easter holidays. On Easter Sunday, March 28, Dom Pedro again confessed to Master Francis and received Holy Communion from him together with other persons in his retinue.¹⁹ On the same day he received a packet of letters which a courier had brought from Rome.²⁰ Pedro Doménech informed him about the state of affairs, and especially about what had been done on the India briefs for Xavier and Rodrigues. He also told him that Dr. Vauchop was furthering the matter with Ghinucci.²¹ In a letter dated Palm Sunday, 1540, Ignatius gave his former

¹⁶ Seb. Gonçalves 1, 5. He died on October 3, 1595, in the parish of Santa Catarina in Lisbon as *mestre-sala* ("chamberlain") of the king (*Registro da Freguesia da Sé*, ed. Prestage e P. d'Azevedo 2 [Coimbra, 1927] 88).

¹⁷ EX I 30. Xavier writes: "Lo confessé y comulgúe con muchos de su cassa, y el buen Embaxador hizo que simul con él se comulgassen todos los de su cassa." The apparent contradiction may perhaps be solved by the fact that some went to confession to the chaplain and received Communion from him. At any rate the place suggests that Aguilar's conversion took place before Loreto.

¹⁸ Xavier wrote to Ignatius that he received his letter at Bologna on Easter in a packet for the ambassador (EX I 29). It took six days to go the 186 miles from Rome to Loreto. It also took six days to go the 165 miles from there to Bologna, almost entirely over level land. Dom Pedro mentions Holy Week with its ceremonies as an added reason for the delay to that of his own poor health (CDP IV 300).

¹⁹ EX I 30: "El Embaxador... y otros devotos de su cassa."

²⁰ *Ibid.* 29; MX II 134.

²¹ MX II 135.

penitent his last spiritual advice. He urged him to receive the sacraments frequently and promised him that he would always remember him in his prayers.²² The packet also contained two letters for Xavier. In the first Iñigo gave him his instructions for the journey. He had not been able to do this in Rome because of a lack of time and his own poor health. Among other things, he asked him to write frequently and to send information which was not meant for publication on a separate sheet (*hijuela*)²³ so that the main letter could be shown to friends of the Society.²⁴ He should also send him from time to time the number of Masses he had celebrated for Guidiccioni.²⁵ He told him, moreover, to visit Cardinal Ivrea in Bologna and ask him to use his influence to help bring about the written ratification of the order without delay.²⁶ The second document was a letter of recommendation from Iñigo to his nephew Beltrán,²⁷ the lord of Loyola.²⁸ It ran as follows:

IHS

May our Lord always favor and assist us!

Because of the great and extreme urgency which has suddenly compelled us to send some to India and others to Ireland and to other places in Italy, I cannot express myself to the extent that I would like. Mtro. Franciscus Xabier, a Nabarrese and the son of the lord of Xabier, one of our Society, is the bearer of this letter. He is going at the command of the pope and the request of the king of Portugal with two others, who are traveling by sea, to the king himself. Mtro. Francis will be fully informed about this and will tell you everything in my name, just as if I were there in person. You should know that this ambassador of the king of Portugal with whom Mtro. Francis is traveling is in the highest degree a true friend of ours, and that we are greatly indebted to him, and that he will grant us help in what pertains to the service of God our Lord in our dealings with his king and with all that he can. I therefore beg you for the service of God our Lord that you receive him with all the honor and cheerfulness that you can; and if Araoz is there, he should consider this letter as if it were addressed to him. In everything, therefore, let Mtro. Francis be given the same confidence as would be afforded to me personally. I commend myself earnestly to the mistress of the house and the whole family. May our Lord always favor and assist us!

Rome, March 20, 1540.

Poor in virtue,

Ynigo.²⁹

Master Francis immediately carried out the commission with respect to Cardinal Ivrea,³⁰ who was living in the town hall, the Palazzo Communale, as

²² *Ibid.* 134-135.

²³ Brodrick errs in his belief that the Jesuits were the first to give the word this meaning (79).

²⁴ EX I 30; see the instructions for Broët and Salmerón in 1541 and for Favre in 1542 (MI *Epp.* I 174-179 236-238).

²⁵ Cf. MI *Epp.* I 177 and EX I 64 87 176.

²⁶ EX I 30.

²⁷ He was not Iñigo's brother, as Brou maintains (*I* 87).

²⁸ MI *Epp.* I 155-156; XII 695.

²⁹ Ignatius signed the letter, which had been entirely written by his own hand, with his usual *Ynigo*, not *Inigo*, as is given by the editors.

³⁰ Bonifacio Ferreri, born in Vercelli, was bishop of his native city from 1509 to 1511. He was bishop of Ivrea from 1497 to 1509 and from 1511 to 1518, became a cardinal in 1517, and legate of Bologna on December 12, 1539. There he founded a college for poor students and died in 1543 (Van Gulik 17 230 351; Cardella IV 21-23). He lived in Bologna in the Palazzo Comunale (*Alberti, *Historia* 20).

papal legate for the territory of Bologna. The gracious old lord received his visitor with the greatest kindness and was more than willing to help the Parisian masters in any way he could. As Xavier was taking his leave, he began to embrace him. But his visitor knelt down and kissed his hands in the name of the whole Society. From the words of the cardinal he gathered that he was highly pleased with their way of acting.³¹

Xavier was glad to see Don Girolamo Casalino, the pastor of Santa Lucia, again; and he stayed with him. He was also delighted to see Donna Violante Gozzadino and his other spiritual sons and daughters. His confessional was soon besieged by his former penitents; and, as a consequence, he was not lacking in work during the four Easter days.³²

When the courier returned to Rome, among the letters which he took with him were two for Ignatius, both dated March 31. The first was from Xavier and was addressed "To my brothers in Christ our Lord, Micer Ignatio and Micer Pedro Codatio in Rome in the tower of Meranguela in the house of Micer Antonio Frerepan." In it he mentioned the great consolation which he had received from Iñigo's letter, his audience with the cardinal legate, and the course of the journey thus far. He added that the chaplain of the ambassador earnestly recommended himself to the prayers of all and had promised to go with him to India. He then brought his letter to a close as follows:

Please remember me to Madonna Faustina Ancolina and tell her that I have said a Mass for her and my Vincentio, that I shall say another for her tomorrow, and that she should be assured that I shall never forget her, even when I shall be in India. And for my part, Micer Pedro, my dearest brother, remind her of the promise she gave me to go to confession and Communion, and that she should let me know whether she has done this, and how often; and if she wishes to do a favor for her and my Vincentio, tell her in my name that she should forgive those who killed her son, for Vincentio is praying much for them in heaven. Here in Bologna I am more busy with hearing confessions than I was at San Luigi. I recommend myself earnestly to all; for, in truth, if I do not write their names, it is not because I have forgotten them.

From Bologna, the last day of March.

Your brother and servant in Christ,

Franciscus.³³

In his letter Dom Pedro thanked Ignatius for his spiritual advice and prayers, and then went on to say:

May our Lord reward you for your counsel with respect to my confessions. I tell you in all truth that even if my faults in this matter as in other things should make me negligent, still P. Mtre. Francisquo would be sufficient to give me all that warmth in spiritual matters that my coldness required. If I do anything good, Your Reverence has him to thank for it. . . . I leave to Mtre. Francisco the account of my journey, for he is less busy about the things of the world than I am and is never idle in spiritual things. I regard him as a saintly man. May our Lord preserve him in His holy service. Here in Bologna a courier of the king, my lord, has reached me, who has caused me great concern because of the assignment that he brought with him. I dealt with him at once and sent him back. I shall continue my journey with the help of our Lord as long as I do not encounter anything to prevent it. And may Your Reverence, for the love of our Lord, do me this kindness of always remembering me in your sacrifices.

³¹ EX I 30.

³² MX II 117-118; EX I 31.

³³ EX I 29-30.

May our Lord reward you both temporally and spiritually as will be more to His holy service and your own consolation. May our Lord be ever with us all!

From Bologna, the last day of March, 1540.

Your spiritual son,

Dom Pedro Mascarenhas.

The letter itself was addressed as follows: "To the very virtuous and devout Padre, Padre Mtre. Inhego, whom may our Lord make holy! I ask Your Reverence to give my heartfelt greetings to Senhor Doutor Ortiz."³⁴

The courier of the Portuguese king, whom Dom Pedro mentions in his letter to Ignatius, had come to Bologna on this same day, March 31. What the ambassador had feared as he was hastening his departure from Rome, had occurred. Among the letters which the messenger handed to him was one from the king, dated the thirteenth of the month, in which he withdrew his permission for his ambassador's return until further notice and ordered him to remain in Rome. His brother Cardinal Affonso was seriously ill and thought had to be taken of his possible demise. Under these circumstances it was necessary that his ambassador should stay in Rome. Dom Pedro was therefore to remain in the Eternal City until further notice. If there was an improvement in the cardinal's condition, he would be recalled at once. In the meantime Dom Pedro should tell no one of the reason why he prolonged his stay or of the command which he had received from his king.

The letter caused Dom Pedro no slight embarrassment, and he struggled within himself for a long time as to whether he should return or continue his journey. The king's request and his own longing to serve him in every possible way supported the first alternative. But there were also compelling reasons for the second. How could he return without informing the pope of his reason for doing so? And if the Holy Father should ask for a return of the brief on the Inquisition, about which he had spoken to him, this would entail a further delay in obtaining an answer from his lord. But then, if he sent the brief by a courier to Portugal, what could he say to the pope? He had moreover already sent his servants and furniture off by sea and taken leave of Paul III, and he had exhausted both his health and wealth during his stay in Rome. The king knew nothing of all this, since he had not yet received Dom Pedro's letters of March 12 and 15, and he had given his command on the assumption that his ambassador was still in Rome. Furthermore, the sole reason for the letter had been the cardinal's illness, but he had in the meantime taken a turn for the better. For on the courier's return journey, Cardinal Dom Affonso had detained him in Evora on March 15 for half a day so that he might sign a packet of letters in his presence. He had by that time so far recovered that he wanted to return the following day to Lisbon with his brother the infante Dom Duarte, and the latter had written the same to the ambassador. This meant that the reason for the king's command had ceased to exist. Dom Pedro therefore decided to continue his journey as long as he did not receive a contrary command from his king, and he sent the courier back with this reply.³⁵

They started out again on April 1.³⁶ Two hours before dawn the spiritual

³⁴ MX II 134-136.

³⁵ CDP IV 300-305.

³⁶ We conclude this from Dom Pedro's letter to Ignatius of March 31, in which he says that he had already dealt with the courier and will follow him, and from his letter from Modena of April 2 (*ibid.* 300).

sons and daughters of Father Master Francis were already in front of Santa Lucia waiting for the doors of the church to be opened. They all wanted to see and speak with him once more before he left them forever and to obtain his parting advice on their spiritual lives. When the church was opened at dawn, they all streamed in; and Xavier did what he could to console them and heard their confessions. He then celebrated Mass with many tears and gave them Holy Communion. After his thanksgiving he said goodbye to all those in the church with his usual spiritual gaiety, and he humbly recommended himself to their prayers. When he told them that he did not think that they would see each other again in this life, they all began to weep. The men embraced him warmly, and the women kissed his hands. His departure was thus like that of St. Paul from the Christians in Miletus. A number of his admirers would have gladly followed him wherever he went. So great was their love and admiration for him that he felt compelled to allow a few of them to accompany him a distance of some Italian miles. All looked upon him as a saint and earnestly desired to see him return again some day. This was particularly true of Don Girolamo and Donna Violante Gozzadino.³⁷

3. MODENA AND PARMA (APRIL 1-4, 1540)

The good weather which had accompanied the travelers from Rome continued to hold up as they advanced upon their way.³⁸ The mountains were receding on their left, and one river after the other followed on their right. A short distance beyond Bologna, they crossed a brick bridge of many arches spanning the Reno;³⁹ and eight miles farther on, they crossed another over the Samoggia.⁴⁰ Beyond the small Bolognese fort of Castelfranco⁴¹ there was a ferry over the Panaro, which formed the boundary between Romagna and Lombardy.⁴² Here began the territory of Duke Ercole of Ferrara. In the evening they reached the densely populated episcopal city of Modena. The ambassador tarried for a day in order to take care of a courier who had come from Lisbon. He gave him a long letter for the king inscribed: "Modena, April 2." In it he set forth his reasons for having decided, in spite of everything, to continue his

³⁷ Xavier's departure is described in two accounts given by Francesco Palmio, S.J., who used Don Girolamo Casalino and Donna Violante Gozzadino as his sources. The first is contained in the *Historia* of 1569 (ARSI: Ven. 112, 198-v) and the second in the somewhat shortened *Informatione* of 1579 (*ibid.*, Ven. 105, 74-76v, ed. in MX II 117-118).

³⁸ On May 30, 1540, Bembo wrote from Padua about the continued heat during the winter, spring, and part of the summer. On April 5 the people in Modena walked in a procession asking for divine help. A light rain then fell (Corradi 3033-3034). In May the chronicler Rainieri complained that it had not rained for a long time in Bologna, and that as a consequence the people in the city held a procession for rain on April 24, and also on May 2, 6, and 9 (*ibid.* 3761-3762). Only a very little rain fell in Bologna from March until August. The result was that the city experienced a great heat and an extraordinary drought (Salv. Muzzi, *Annali della Città di Bologna* 6 [Bologna, 1844] 484-485).

³⁹ Alberti 336v; Keyssler 984-985; *Venturino I 17.

⁴⁰ Alberti 340.

⁴¹ Built by Bologna in 1224 (Alberti 338v).

⁴² The bridge, which was built in the time of the Templars, had in 1540 long since been destroyed (Alberti 354v); in 1572 Venturino had to cross the river in a boat (II 179v). Only under Ercole III was a new bridge built (Artaria, *Nuovissima Guida in Italia* [Firenze, 1834] 239).

journey. In case the king so wished, he was always ready to return. As he wrote in his letter,

I will not travel at a very great speed because of my poor health and also because I want to delay and see if I shall receive a letter from Your Highness ordering me to return to the pope. Wherever it reaches me, I shall, if Your Highness orders me, be able to execute your command, whether I be far or near, for from here on it is all one and the same to me. I am traveling my lord, by way of Lyons. From there I am going to Fuenterrabía, since that road is better at this time of the year. I have told this courier that if he encounters another of Your Highness' messengers on his way to me, he should tell him to take this route. . . . I ask Your Highness not to look upon me as being overbold for continuing my journey. If I am mistaken in this, our Lord knows that it is not due to ill will on my part, but only because I believe that in this way I am serving Your Highness better than if I returned. . . . And our Lord knows that my conscience does not reproach me in any way, except perhaps for my too great attachment to Your Highness in whatever concerns your service.⁴⁸

From Modena the party rode on past the fortified castle of Rubiera, built by Duke Alfonso d'Este in 1523 and protected by the Secchia River⁴⁴ to Reggio. They then crossed the Enza,⁴⁵ keeping the blue slopes of the Apennines on their left and the wide fertile plain on their right. On the evening of April 3, after a ride of thirty-three miles, they caught sight of Parma.⁴⁶ Here a great disappointment was awaiting Master Francis. In the hospital of San Cosma e Damiano next to the cathedral, he met his old companions Laynez and Jerónimo Doménech,⁴⁷ but not Favre, whom he would have been particularly glad to see. On the evening of April 1, Strada had arrived from Brescia, sixty-nine miles away, to inform them that Angelo Paradisi was deathly ill, and that he desired to see one of the two priests. The day before Favre had therefore set out immediately with Strada to visit their sick confrere.⁴⁸ For a moment Xavier was undecided as to whether or not he should hasten after him. He would have liked to see his former fellow student in Sainte-Barbe and to bid him a last farewell before sailing for India. But both the companions⁴⁹ and the ambassador thought it would be better for him to remain with the party and make the sacrifice.⁵⁰

Xavier's arrival was a great surprise to Laynez and Doménech, for they had

⁴⁸ CDP IV 300-305.

⁴⁴ Only ruins of the old brick bridge still remained (Alberti 357-358 364-v). "Si passa il fiume Secchia in barca, quando vi è acqua, ma nell'inverno è molto pericoloso," wrote Boccolari in 1783 (60).

⁴⁵ In 1571 *Venturino crossed the river on a very wide stone bridge (I 19v).

⁴⁶ Because Mascarenhas had dealt with the courier for Portugal on April 2, had given him a long letter to the king dated on the same day, and probably had also given him other letters as well, for example, to the infante Dom Duarte, he could not have reached Parma before April 3. Favre's observation on April 16 should be explained by this: "Maestre Francisco llegó aquí el día que yo era partido para Bressa, que serán mañana quinze días" (*Fabri Mon.* 29). This must mean on the day when he had already departed, not on the day when he would depart. Similarly, Favre says in his letter of April 7: "Habrà mañana ocho días que Francisco Estrada, á más andar, llegó en Parma." But Strada came on April 1; and the day after, that is, on April 2, he went with Favre to Brescia and arrived there "on Saturday," that is, on April 3 (*ibid.* 25).

⁴⁷ Doménech did not begin his pilgrimage to Rome until May (*Lainii Mon.* I 8).

⁴⁸ *Fabri Mon.* 25.

⁴⁹ By this only Laynez and Doménech can be meant.

⁵⁰ According to Favre's letter of April 16, which also shows how hard the sacrifice was for him (*Fabri Mon.* 28-30).

not heard in Parma of his new assignment or of his departure from Rome.⁵¹ Laynez had such a great longing to work for the conversion of infidels that he would have been most happy to go with Francis to India. Still, his zeal had found Italy to be a fruitful field of labor. He introduced his companion to a number of individuals who were helping him. Among those whom Laynez and Favre had won over for their work was a native of Sissa, Giovanni Battista Pezzana, a priest in his forties, who was the confessor of the nuns of San Alessandro.⁵² Another was Don Paolo d'Achille of Fontanellato, a tutor and steward in the house of a prominent woman of the city. He had joined the priests a month earlier, on February 2, at the age of twenty-seven. He had completed his Latin, and a part of his philosophical, studies.⁵³ These two men were now zealously helping Laynez give the Exercises.⁵⁴ The joy of the companions' encounter, however was brief. The party had to be upon its way. The next day Francis said farewell forever to his friends in Parma and rode out with the cavalcade through the gate of the city.

4. TWO ADVENTURES (APRIL, 1540)

Two hours beyond Parma the travelers reached the Taro River, the most dangerous spot between Rome and Turin.⁵⁵ Its waters were high because of the snow melting in the Apennines.⁵⁶ The bridge which pious hermits had built

⁵¹ Favre still addressed his letter from Brescia of April 7 to Codaccio and Xavier (*ibid.* 28).

⁵² On February 1, 1552, Polanco wrote to Xavier: "Ay otros algunos sacerdotes, que V. R. conosco por ventura algunos, como Maestro Poncio [Cogordan] y Don Baptista Pezano" (MI *Epp.* IV 131).

⁵³ On him see Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 228-229 360-361, and his necrology in ARSI: *Sicula* 190, 12-32v; one of his letters is in *Fabri Mon.* 31.

⁵⁴ *Lainii Mon.* I 5 8-9. We do not know if Xavier met other disciples in Parma on his way through that city, as for example, Elpidio Ugoletti. The two Palmios, Francesco, of whom we spoke on page 374, and Benedetto (on him see Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 231-234 362-365), do not seem to have been personally acquainted with Xavier, as may be concluded from their writings.

⁵⁵ *Venturino, who traveled from Piacenza to Parma at the end of March, 1572, wrote about the rivers between Fiorenzuola and Borgo San Donnino: "Venerdì li 21 prima si era passata Fiorenzola, et di lì per il Gratarola, Longena [Ongina] et Stirone, piccioli fiumi, ma pericolosi l'inverno per la crescita delle nevi et piogge" (II 179-v). This is true more or less of all the rivers on the Via Aemilia between Bologna and Alessandria, but none was so feared as the Taro because of its rushing torrent and frequent floods (Oehlmann IV 298). Dry in summer and a raging river from autumn till spring, it was for a long time during the Middle Ages a dangerous obstacle to travelers (A. J. Du Pays, *Itinéraire de l'Italie* [Paris, 1859] 252). A crossing was very difficult and dangerous all winter long (John Murray, *Handbook for travellers in Northern Italy* [London, 1869] 456). Andreas Schottus, S. J., wrote of it, and only of it: "Postremo ad Tarum amnem pervenitur, multis alveis effluentem; quod si aquis auctus est, non tuto trajicitur" (*Itinerarium Italiae* [Amstelodami, 1655] 152). He was right in this, for at times the waters rose 15½ feet in six hours (E. Massa, *Parma e Provincia. Nuovissima Guida* [Parma, 1913] 275). There were accordingly houses at the ford so that travelers could find shelter when the waters were high (*ibid.*). In the tenth century St. Ulrich had to wait two, and in 1049 Pope Leo IX seven full, days before daring to cross (Oehlmann IV 298). In 1170 two pious hermits built a bridge over the stream, which was maintained from 1269 by the monks of Fontevivo, but in 1345 it was destroyed and replaced by a dangerous ferry. This continued in use until 1821, when the present bridge, 1,960 feet long, was completed. It spans the river bed with twenty arches (Murray 456; Massa 275-276).

during the early Middle Ages had not long withstood the torrent,⁵⁷ and one arm of the river had to be crossed by a ferry.⁵⁸ The ambassador's groom, who had wished to become a monk in Rome but had given up the idea, attempted to cross the stream on his horse against the advice of the rest of the company. The animal soon lost its footing and before the eyes of all was carried with its rider by the rampant waters nearly half a mile downstream—the distance from the Palazzo Frangipani to San Luigi de' Francesi in Rome. The ambassador and his retinue had to look on helplessly, praying that the man might be freed from his peril. Their request was heard, and horse and rider, as if by a miracle, succeeded in reaching the bank. Deathly pale, the groom returned to the party as if from another world and spoke earnestly of the pains of hell as if he had experienced them. He then went on to say that if a man does not prepare himself for death during his life, he will not have time to think about God in his final hour. He confessed to Master Francis that when the flood was carrying him off and all seemed lost, he had been most troubled by the thought that he had lived so long without preparing himself for death; and he deeply regretted the fact that he had not continued in the resolve with which God had inspired him in Rome. His words had a good influence upon the entire company.⁵⁹

Three hours beyond the Taro River was Borgo San Donnino. The mountains on the left were here still farther away from the Via Aemilia, which passed straight across a fruitful plain and numerous small streams to the large episcopal city of Piacenza. This lay close to the south bank of the Po, thirty-seven miles from Parma.⁶⁰ From here they traveled on for some five more days⁶¹ without further incident to Turin, one hundred and twenty-four miles away.

Near Castel San Giovanni, four hours beyond Piacenza, they again encountered mountains. They skirted these for three more hours till they reached Stradella, a poor village, where the Apennines came down almost to the Po. The party then continued riding along the foot of the mountains in a southwesterly direction to Voghera. Three hours later they crossed the Scrivia River near Tortona and reached Alessandria on the other side of the plain of Marengo.⁶²

⁵⁶ On March 21, 1572, *Venturino found the Taro deep and rushing (II 179v); the dry, hot weather encouraged the melting of snow in 1540.

⁵⁷ 1170-1345.

⁵⁸ On March 21, 1572, *Venturino described his crossing over the Taro as follows: "Si era passata Fiorenzola . . . et al Borgo San Donnino, et per il Daro per barca con qualche pericolo, passandosi [he was coming from Piacenza] prima un ramo senza barca, si profondo, che arrivava alle selle, che appena ci rendemmo sicuri con la guida de' cavallari" (II 179v).

⁵⁹ EX I 39-40. Xavier does not mention the site; in his report about the trip he only says: "Viniendo por Italia . . . passando una ribera muy grande." We believe that he means the Taro from what he says.

⁶⁰ Alberti wrote that according to Pliny the Via Aemilia went this far, but that according to Strabo it went still further; and, as a matter of fact, traces of it have been found even in Asti (375-376 383v).

⁶¹ Cardinal Alessandrino and his retinue traveling on horseback completed the distance from Bologna to Turin on our route, a distance of 220 miles, in nine days (*Venturino I 17-29).

⁶² The Via Aemilia went past the following sites, or stations: Bologna, Anzola, Samoggia, Castelfranco, Modena, Marzaglia, Rubiera, Bagno, San Maurizio, Reggio, San Ilario, Parma (Taro River), Castel Guelfo, Borgo San Donnino (today Fidenza), Alseno, Fiorenzuola, Fontanabreda, Cadeo, Pontenure, Borghetto, San Lazzaro, Piacenza, Castel San Giovanni, Stradella, Broni, Casteggio, Montebello, Voghera, Pontecurone, Tortona, San Giuliano, Marengo, Alessandria (Giuseppe Vallardi, *Itinerario d'Italia* [Milano, 1832] 31 172, with a map). From Alessandria on there were two possible routes to Turin:

They then ascended the valley of the Tánaro between fertile hills to the important city of Asti, famous for its wines. The number of inhabitants of this old episcopal city had, however, been reduced to half because of the recent war between Francis I and the emperor. There were now only four thousand families living in this last imperial stronghold.⁶³ Beyond Asti lay Piedmont, which belonged to the duchy of Savoy, but which had been a bone of contention for years between the emperor and the French king. Here the speech of the inhabitants already had a strong French accent.⁶⁴ A day's ride brought the travelers from Asti, past the stronghold of Moncalieri, where the snow-covered peaks of the Alps first appeared in the West, to a wooden bridge leading over the Po⁶⁵ to Turin. This old, prominent, and populous city had been occupied by the French since 1536.⁶⁶

Near Rivoli, a town dominated by a castle⁶⁷ seven miles to the west of Turin, they left the plain of the Po. The countryside began to change. The vine-covered hills gave place to the wild and majestic Alps. To the right and left one rocky peak after another soared into the sky, and white fields of snow shut off the distant horizon. Down in the valley below, the Dora rushed over a broad bed strewn with boulders between poplar trees and alder bushes. On either side of the stream were bright green meadows, dark green fields of clover, clusters of apple and pear trees, and small vineyards. Here and there old towns and villages could be seen on the floor of the valley, and castles and church towers on the steep slopes at its sides. To the west, beyond the grey village of Bussoleno with its slate-covered roofs, the valley was blocked off by high lofty peaks. An hour and a half from there they came to Susa, thirty-three miles from Turin. This was a medieval episcopal city in a picturesque setting with a white triumphal arch of Augustus standing in a verdant meadow.

Here the travelers left the Dora Valley and passed over a hill on the right into a smaller, peaceful valley, down which the Cenischia rushed between meadows, poplar trees, low willows, and orchards flanked on both sides by towering peaks of rock. An hour beyond Susa they passed through the genial village of Venaus, where the light grey houses were adorned with verandas, and where there was a church painted with ancient frescoes. A half hour farther on they could see on the left, on a green slope rising up from the road, the old Benedictine monastery of Novalesa with the chapel of St. Eldrad. His cave was still shown to visitors. Like St. Virila of Leyre, St. Eldrad had listened to a small bird singing of the happiness of heaven, and three hundred years slipped by before he awoke from his reverie and returned to his convent.⁶⁸ A short distance beyond the monastery

the southern route, which was shorter and the usual one employed (*Lainii Mon.* VI 50) and chosen, for example, by Barreiro in 1546 and Cardinal Alessandrino in 1571 (*Venturino I 26v-29), led straight through the hilly country of Monferrato by way of Asti; and the northern route by way of Casale along the Po, which was longer and impeded by river crossings and floods. Laynez, who had been poorly advised to take this route in 1561, had to ride in water up to his saddle (*Lainii Mon.* VI 50). The southern route led to Turin by way of Solero, Felizzano, Annone, Asti, Gambetta, Dusino, Villanova, Poirino, Trufarello, and Moncalieri.

⁶³ According to Barreiros, who traveled through here in 1546 (219-v).

⁶⁴ *Venturino I 28.

⁶⁵ Barreiros 209v.

⁶⁶ Alberti 456-v.

⁶⁷ Barreiros 208v. The places before Susa were Rivoli, Avigliana, Sant'Ambrogio, Sant'Antonino, San Giorio, Bussoleno, Susa.

⁶⁸ A thirteenth-century fresco in the chapel of St. Eldrad represents the vision.

was the village of Novalesa. Here there were numerous inns with stables on the ground floor and rooms for transients above.⁶⁹

Here began the ascent to the Mount Cenis pass, more than 6,500 feet high. The trip over it on a mule path that went up in continuous zigzags from Novalesa over a boulder-strewn grassy slope required as a rule five hours.⁷⁰ The path itself was so steep that many travelers had themselves carried up on sedan chairs.⁷¹ At some distance to its right a mountain torrent rushed down tumultuously over the rocks. In a little more than an hour they came to Ferrera, a group of houses with a church⁷² halfway up the heights and visible from far and wide. Above and beyond it towered the rocky walls and snow-covered peaks of the mountains. From Ferrera the party continued its winding ascent up the steep slope that was here and there covered with larch trees.

In a little less than an hour they reached the plateau of San Nicola. To their rear on the right the Cenischia rushed down in a long, white shimmering, waterfall over a dark cliff. Here began the "Devil's Pass,"⁷³ the most dangerous portion of the road.⁷⁴ They had to traverse a narrow path hewn into the rock of the sheer cliffs with a terrifying drop on the right.⁷⁵ The steep slopes above on the left were still covered with deep snow,⁷⁶ and the brook could be heard

In 1925 I was shown the cave. Floating legends place the scene of the vision in Germany near Heisterbach; the prior of La Oliva (Navarre) told me that the legend is first found in Galicia (northwest Spain).

⁶⁹ Before the Napoleonic highway was built (1803-1810), which just beyond Susa turns to the left and, passing by Giaglione and Bard, intersects the old road on the plateau of San Nicola, all the traffic went past Novalesa, which once had forty-two inns and allegedly about nine thousand mules for transporting goods over the Mount Cenis pass (Gustavo Strafforello, *La Patria. Geografia della Italia: Torino* [Torino, 1907] 668).

⁷⁰ Keyssler 161. On the Mount Cenis pass and its history, see Oehlmann III 187-230; IV 285-287, and Ottone Brentari, *Itinerario-Profilo del Moncenisio* (Milano, 1905), with a map.

⁷¹ Keyssler 161-165, who describes in great detail the crossing of the pass before the construction of the Napoleonic highway. A mule was brought from Novalesa to Lanslebourg for the sick general Borgia, who crossed the pass on March 25, 1572 (Borgia V 687-689). The porters were called *marroni*. When Cardinal Aldobrandini crossed the pass in 1600 with eighty to ninety persons, some had themselves carried over it, but others rode (*Borghi 180).

⁷² The site is already mentioned in 726 (Strafforello 663-664).

⁷³ "Einer von diesen Orten heisst *le Pas de Diable*. Ubrigens ist oftmals der Weg kaum einen Fuss breit, und auf den Seiten zeigen sich grosse *Praecipitia* oder Abgründe" (Keyssler 165).

⁷⁴ Near the fifth shelter the old way crosses the Napoleonic highway, which follows the Cenischia to the waterfalls and then climbs the heights in many switchbacks. The old route, on the other hand, turns to the left high up on the rocky walls and thus overcomes the obstacle.

⁷⁵ *Venturino writes that coming from Tavernettes to Lanslebourg: "Si fecero due leghe di discesa, tra le quali un passo di ritorta tanto proclisse, si stretto e difficile, che fu gran sorte che nessuno vi pericolasse, e gran laude sarebbe del Duca di Savoia accomodarlo, o di vestirlo, s'è possibile, come ne' loro passi simili fanno li Svizzeri. Alla fine o poco meno si trovò Terinto [an error read: Ferrera], villa brutta di 50 case, sopra le quali essendovi una gran croce di legno dicono che li comincia il territorio di Susa e d'Italia, e finisce quello di Savoia" (II 175v). Keyssler writes in a similar fashion: "Nachdem unsere Gesellschaft hier [*La Grande Croix*] Tragsessel genommen und über etliche sehr gefährliche Orter gebracht worden war, kamen wir in eine kleine, mit hohen Klippen umgebene Ebene, *la Plaine de S. Nicola* genannt" (164).

⁷⁶ *Venturino found the Mount Cenis pass still covered with deep snow on March 14, 1572 (II 175v), and Polanco found the same eleven days later (Borgia V 687). In May snow still frequently lies on the old road between the fifth shelter and La Gran Croce, as I was

roaring far down below. The path was particularly dangerous because of the avalanches which from time to time came hurtling down into the valley, sweeping all before them and burying everything in a white shroud.⁷⁷ After traveling for an hour over this difficult path, they again reached the floor of the valley above the waterfall near La Gran Croce. Here there was an inn with a chapel called *Notre-Dame des Neiges* because of the snow which only disappeared during the months of June, July, and August. It was also called *Chapelle des Transis*, from the fact that those who had perished in avalanches were usually buried here.⁷⁸ The great wooden cross standing nearby, which gave the site its name, marked the boundary between Piedmont and Savoy.⁷⁹

The rest of the pass caused no further difficulties. From Gran Croce they traveled for half an hour across a deserted plateau dominated by wild, rocky peaks to a hospice founded by Louis the Pious, the son of Charlemagne, and then along the shore of a tranquil lake with a cluster of houses known as *Les Tavernettes*⁸⁰ for an hour to the summit of the pass. A little beyond this there was a second group of houses called La Ramasse,⁸¹ where the descent began. The path went steeply down in zigzags over the rocky slope covered with grass and firs. In La Ramasse travelers could obtain sedan chairs and toboggans which in scarcely a quarter of an hour sped down to Lanslebourg, the first village of Savoy, nearly two miles away.⁸²

In Lanslebourg⁸³ miles began to be measured according to French miles,

assured by the natives there in 1925. The pass is usually free of snow only from June to August (Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 583).

⁷⁷ Because of the great danger of avalanches, which Keyssler also mentions (163), the old road was abandoned (John Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland and the Alps of Savoy and Piedmont* [London, 1854] 376-377). The twenty-four shelters on the way between Susa and Lanslebourg also indicate the danger.

⁷⁸ Possot, who passed through here in 1532, calls it *Notre-Dame des Neiges*; others the *Chapelle des Transis* (Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 583; cf. Keyssler 164).

⁷⁹ *Venturino II 175v; Keyssler 164.

⁸⁰ Possot found ten to twelve houses and an inn here in 1572 (Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 584); *Venturino found six houses and a postal station in 1572 (II 175v).

⁸¹ Already mentioned by Possot in 1532 (Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 582); *Venturino saw three houses here in 1572 (II 175).

⁸² The Napoleonic highway goes in long switchbacks down to Lanslebourg; the old way, here named *La Ramasse*, zigzags straight down. The distance could be covered in seven to eight (Keyssler 162), ten (Murray, *Switzerland* [1854] 376), or twenty minutes (Brentari, *Moncenisio* 16-17) on a toboggan.

⁸³ Our main source for the trip from Lanslebourg to Lyons is Estienne-Bonnerot, Route 211 (Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne—Turin), 210 (Chambéry—Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne) and 209 (Lyons—Chambéry), but we have clarified Estienne's route of 1553 from other sources: the travel reports, for example, of Le Saige of 1523, Possot of 1532, the *Voyage* of 1553; and works such as those of Max Bruchet, *La Savoie d'après les anciens voyageurs* (Annecy, 1908), and Marquis de Lannoy de Bissy, "L'histoire des routes de Savoie," *Mémoires et Documents, publiés par la Société Savoisienne d'Histoire et d'Archéologie* 66 (1929) 159-216. For further written data we are indebted to the kindness of Marquis de Bissey, who sketched an accurate map for us of the roads traveled at that time. Albertus Stadensis already gives our route in 1151. It is the most detailed and accurate account from the Middle Ages (Oehlmann IV 287). Further reports are given by Navagero in 1528 (57v-60v), Fontana in 1539 (33v-34v), Cesare Poma in 1556 (*Bolletino Storico per la Provincia di Novara* 11 [1917] 97-98 120), Polanco in 1561 (*Polanci Complementa* II 841-842; cf. *Lainii Mon.* VI 37 49), *Venturino in 1572 (II 168-175v), *Borghi in 1601 (179v-235), and Keyssler in 1729 (158-166). In 1670 the new royal road was built from Lyons to Turin, which changed the route considerably. Estienne names the following places along Route 211: Lanslebourg, Termignon, Sollières-Sardières, Bramans, Modane, Saint-André, Saint-Julien, and Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne.

which were three times the length of the Italian; and the hours began to be counted from midnight to noon, and not as before from one to twenty-four.⁸⁴ The road from here, 4,592 feet above sea level, led down to Lyons in some seven days,⁸⁵ the first two of which were not without danger.⁸⁶ The rough road led through dark forests of fir in which bears,⁸⁷ wolves,⁸⁸ wild boars, and lynxes still roamed.⁸⁹ It passed along high precipices or beneath towering walls of rock from which boulders frequently came loose and crashed down upon the road.⁹⁰ The weather too was raw. The snows of the previous winter could be seen everywhere upon the mountains. The inns were poor and offered black, peasant bread to travelers to eat, and sacks filled with straw or withered chestnut leaves as beds on which to sleep.⁹¹ The narrow valley left hardly any room for the Arc, whose frothy, milk-green waters spilled over the boulders in a wild turmoil. Only rarely on the steep slopes was there to be seen a small meadow or field that had been wrestled from the mountain with endless effort and shored up with stones collected for this purpose.⁹² From time to time a small grey village appeared to the right or left of the stream. The houses had great projecting roofs, verandas, and wooden bridges without railings crossing over to the opposite bank. Several times during the course of the day the road passed over one or other of these.⁹³

Dom Pedro and his party left Lanslebourg on such a bridge and, after riding on for another four and one-half miles, they reached Termignon.⁹⁴ From here the old road led⁹⁵ up and down past the villages of Sollières and Sardières to Aussois

⁸⁴ According to Possot in 1532 (Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 585).

⁸⁵ Pomo made the trip in five days; the ailing Laynez with Polanco, Cardinal Alessandrino, and the latter's retinue made it in seven. Cardinal Aldobrandini took four days to go on horseback from Lanslebourg to Chambéry, "because he had much baggage," as *Borghi observes (180v 181v).

⁸⁶ "Queste due giornate [from Modane to Lanslebourg] si son passate sopra Archi 4 o 5 ponti di legno, et in alcuni luoghi la via è si stretta, et il precipitio si vicino, che si carre à manifestissimo pericolo. Tuttavia la mano del Signore sostenne tutti" (*Venturino II 175).

⁸⁷ The visit of King Henry II to Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne in 1548 shows how numerous the bears were at this time. Hundreds of young boys covered with bear skins accompanied the guest to his dwelling, and they imitated this beast so realistically that the horses of the king's retinue shied and threw their riders (J. P. Giegler, *Manuel du Voyageur en Italie* [Milan, 1820] 33).

⁸⁸ Even in the nineteenth century a wolf in the forest of Verney dragged off a pet dog of the English traveler Horace Walpole before his very eyes (Murray, *Switzerland* [1854] 376).

⁸⁹ Du Pays, *Itinéraire de l'Italie* (Paris, 1859) 14.

⁹⁰ Keyssler 161; Giegler, *Manuel* 1820, 33; Vallardi, *Itinéraire* (1828) 182.

⁹¹ Laynez found it so in 1561 (*Lainii Mon.* VI 49).

⁹² Keyssler 159-160; *Briefe auf einer Reise nach Rom* (Riga, 1784) 12; Vallardi, *Itinéraire* (1828) 183.

⁹³ *Venturino II 175; Keyssler 160.

⁹⁴ All travelers came through Termignon, where there were three hundred homes in 1572 (*Venturino II 175).

⁹⁵ The four most dangerous spots along the road were "la Montagne de S. Michel, la Côte de S. André, les bois de Bramant et la Montagne de Trémignon" (Vallardi, *Itinéraire* [1828] 182). Artaria distinguished two roads leading from Modane to Termignon: "L'ancien chemin traversait la forêt de Bramant, et côtoyant d'affreux abîmes, montait et descendait sans cesse, pendant l'espace de cinq heures de marche. On citait plusieurs exemples d'individus qui y avaient péri. En suivant la nouvelle route, qui longe le cours de l'Arc, et passe par Vernay, on n'a pas à craindre des accidens" (*Nouveau Guide du Voyageur en Italie* [Milan, 1829] 43). The old way led from Termignon past Sollières, Sardières, and Aussois to Avriex. Navagero took this route in 1528, but writes "Ollez" instead of

and Avrieux, where, according to tradition, the emperor Charles the Bald, after being poisoned by his Jewish physician, Sedecias, had died in 877.⁹⁶ From there the road passed over the "Devil's Bridge" high above a deep, dark gorge through which were rushing the white, foaming waters of a brook, and came five hours later to Villarodin and Modane.⁹⁷ A new road crossed the Arc near Sardières, passing by Le Verney and Bramans⁹⁸ and a waterfall on the other side of the "Devil's Bridge," steep up to Villarodin,⁹⁹ and from there to Modane. Mount Termignon and the forest of Bramans had caused the death of more than one traveler, and both were feared.¹⁰⁰

The crossing of the Mont Cenis pass almost claimed a victim from the ambassador's retinue. Dom Pedro's secretary had quarreled with an innkeeper and in his anger had broken out into violent cursing. Xavier heard him from where he was sitting and exclaimed: "What is this, Señor? You should be giving these people an example, and are swearing in this way?" The overwrought man replied angrily, and Xavier kept silent. Shortly afterwards the secretary, without the priest's knowing it, broke away from the company and rode on ahead. Two or three hours later Master Francis, contrary to his usual custom, asked for a better horse in order to overtake his friend. When he caught up with him, he found him in a better mood. He reproached him for his swearing and made him repent his behavior. He then gave himself up to prayer and let the other go on alone. At a dangerous spot in the road the secretary's horse stumbled over a stone and fell down the steep slope. Both horse and rider remained stuck fast in a snow bank, since the latter could not free himself from his stirrups. When Xavier finally came to the spot where the horse had tripped, he looked down and saw the secretary posed helplessly over the edge of a gorge. He climbed down carefully, for any misstep could have plunged him to death, freed the horse and rider at the risk of his own life, and thanked God with tears that he had restrained his avenging hand, for it was a miracle that the man had not been smashed to bits in the abyss. From then on the secretary remained deeply grateful to the one who had saved his life.¹⁰¹

"Aussois" (60v), and Fontana took it in 1539, where it becomes "Ossese" (34v). This is why we believe that Xavier also traveled along this road in 1540, which was still used even after the construction of the new one, especially in times of flood.

⁹⁶ A. Joanne, *Itinéraire Général de la France: Bourgogne, Franche Comté-Savoie* (Paris, 1863) 407.

⁹⁷ One who wished to avoid the "Devil's Bridge" could ride along the river to Bourget and from there cross over to Modane on the opposite side. Navagero did this in 1528 (60v).

⁹⁸ In 1553 Estienne gave only the new route by way of Bramans; it joined the old road near the "Devil's Bridge."

⁹⁹ *Veturino II 175.

¹⁰⁰ Artaria, *Nouveau Guide* (1829) 43.

¹⁰¹ We have two accounts of this adventure, both of which go back to the secretary, Rodrigo Anes Lucas, himself. José Leite, S.J., gives the text of a letter in the third chapter of his **Supplemento aos Annaes* (Porto, Biblioteca Municipal: Ms 534), composed about the middle of the eighteenth century, which Francisco de Monclaro, S.J., later an Indian missionary, wrote on September 3, 1567, from Alcácer do Sal. Until the suppression of the Society it was in the archives of the Jesuits in Evora. In this letter, Monclaro, who was at the time giving a mission in Evora, wrote that he had visited the secretary there, who told him how he had accompanied Xavier from Rome to Lisbon and what a holy example the latter had given to all. He then added the account of Xavier's rescue of the secretary as he had heard it from his lips (Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 237-239). Manuel Teixeira, S.J., describes the incident independently of this in his life of

5. PAST LYONS TO LOYOLA (APRIL-JUNE, 1540)

A short distance beyond Modane the road passed over a wooden bridge near Fourneaux¹⁰² to Saint-André¹⁰³ on the right bank of the Arc. It then continued on for six hours along steep slopes covered with thick fir forests, and dangerous because of falling rocks,¹⁰⁴ past Saint-Michel¹⁰⁵ and Saint-Julien¹⁰⁶ and then over a broader bridge¹⁰⁷ to Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne,¹⁰⁸ the most important site in the valley, with an episcopal see and two thousand homes.¹⁰⁹ The town, which was completely surrounded by lofty mountains, marked the end of the perilous portion of the road. Here and there in the partially open valley were a few small fields, while on the right and left the horizon was shut off by towering mountains, where chamois and marmots found their homes.

An hour beyond Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne they again crossed the Arc on a stone bridge near Pont d'Amafrey¹¹⁰ and then continued riding steadily along

Xavier, which he completed in 1580. He gives the account of it which he had heard in India from the same Rodrigo Anes Lucas when he was secretary of state there (MX II 832-833). The two reports supplement each other. Teixeira is brief; he simply says that the secretary had personally experienced Xavier's charity, "según me lo contaba, porque cayendo una vez de la cabalgadura encima de un montón de nieve, que estaba en una ladera muy agra, el P. Francisco fué el primero que en este peligro le favoreció, y desde entonces le quedó el secretario muy aficionado." For the first edition of his life of Xavier of 1594 (I, 9) Tursellinus had only Teixeira's text, but in his second edition of 1596, for which he had an excerpt from Monclaro's letter, probably from Lucena, he made two incidents out of one, attributing Teixeira's to the secretary and Monclaro's to Mascarenhas' quartermaster (*prodromus*). Subsequent authors such as Lucena and Seb. Gonçalves follow him in this. Tursellinus distorts even further his source: the ambassador blamed the quartermaster for taking little care about the inns. The latter then grumbled about this. The next day he rode on ahead as usual in order to secure lodgings. Xavier, who ordinarily went on foot, rode after him and caught up with him as the quartermaster's horse shied and buried its rider beneath it. Tursellinus also elaborates Teixeira's account: The secretary encountered a large heap of snow; the rock was steep and slippery; and down below raged a wild brook. The danger frightened the others and they stopped; Xavier came up, jumped off of his horse, and pulled him away close to death (I, 9). According to Lucena, the horse fell from the crag with its rider and was crushed, leaving its rider half dead. Xavier foresaw it all. He ran up, found the man unconscious, took him in his arms and held him until he again came to, set him on his own horse, and accompanied him on foot (I, 9). The site is not identified, but between Rome and Lisbon there were only two places where Xavier would have encountered snow and a precipice together: the "Devil's Pass" on Mont Cenis and the road from Termignon to the "Devil's Bridge."

¹⁰² Already mentioned in 1151 by Albertus Stadensis in the log of his travels (Oehlmann IV 287).

¹⁰³ Mentioned by Fontana in 1539 (34v) and Estienne in 1553 (Route 211).

¹⁰⁴ Keyssler 160; Vallardi, *Itinéraire* (1828) 182.

¹⁰⁵ Already mentioned in 1151 (Oehlmann IV 287).

¹⁰⁶ Estienne in 1553 (Route 211).

¹⁰⁷ Pont de Villard-Clément.

¹⁰⁸ Mentioned by Navagero in 1528 (60), Fontana in 1539 (34v), Estienne in 1553 (Route 211). The highway passed outside the town (from a communication of de Bissy); Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne was the usual stopping place on this route (Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 577).

¹⁰⁹ *Venturino II 174.

¹¹⁰ Already in 1532 Possot mentions the stone bridge of Pont d'Amafrey (Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 575). Estienne gives the following route to Chambéry: Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne, Hermillon, Pont d'Amafrey, Le Pont-Renard, La Chambre, La Chapelle, Argentine, Aiguebelle, Chamoux, Montmelian, Chambéry (Route 210). According to de Bissy, it would seem that at the beginning of the sixteenth century the direct route led from La Chambre past Hermillon to Saint-Michel, going continuously along the right bank of the Arc (from a written communication).

its right bank northwards past La Chambre, where there was a castle and Franciscan monastery,¹¹¹ La Chapelle, Epierre,¹¹² and Argentine, with its blacksmiths' shops,¹¹³ to Aiguebelle, twenty miles away from Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne, where there was the ancestral castle of the duke of Savoy.¹¹⁴ Here on the wooded heights oak and chestnut trees were already mingled with the dark firs.

From here, not far from the confluence of the Arc and the Isère, the "Roman Road"¹¹⁵ led straight west across the plain past Maltaverne with the black castle of Chamoux¹¹⁶ and Coise.¹¹⁷ From the latter the travelers could see the neighboring castle of Rubeau¹¹⁸ and beyond it, to the northeast, the lofty snow-covered peak of Mont Blanc and, to the northwest, the wild rocky mountains of Upper Savoy, the home of Favre and Jay. From here they came to an open valley through which the Isère flowed down a broad, rocky bed. Crossing it over a long wooden bridge,¹¹⁹ they reached the strongly fortified city of Montmélian with its dominating castle. Lying at a distance of five hours from Aiguebelle, this stronghold had once been the main outpost of Savoy against the French.¹²⁰

The company continued on its way, going past the fort of Chignin and the priory of Saint-Jeoire.¹²¹ After three hours the travelers reached Chambéry, the capital of the duchy picturesquely tucked into the pocket of a valley between high mountains. At this time the holy shroud of Christ, which had been brought to Chambéry in 1452, was no longer venerated in the "Holy Chapel" of the duke's palace.¹²² In 1535 the heretical citizens of Bern, stirred up by Francis I, had attacked Savoy. After the capture of Geneva, the duke had fled to Turin, taking with him his wife Beatrice and their children and the sacred relic. In 1536, after the French assault, he had moved on to Vercelli and Milan.¹²³ The duchess, whom Dom Pedro had accompanied as a princess from Portugal to Savoy in 1521, had been dead for two years, and her husband was now living in exile¹²⁴ far from his kingdom. All along the route from Asti to Modane and Aiguebelle, which the

¹¹¹ Mentioned by Le Saige in 1523 (Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 573). It is also mentioned by Albertus Stadensis in 1151 (Oehlmann IV 287 and Fontana in 1539 (34).

¹¹² Already named in 1151.

¹¹³ Mentioned by Possot in 1532 (Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 572).

¹¹⁴ Albertus Stadensis mentions the place in 1151, Fontana in 1539, and Estienne in 1553.

¹¹⁵ Still today called the *Voie Romaine*; it was the usual route until 1854, when the new highway was built (Murray, *Switzerland* [1854] 375).

¹¹⁶ Mentioned by Possot in 1532 (Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 570).

¹¹⁷ Communication of de Bissy.

¹¹⁸ Mentioned by Possot in 1532 (Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 569).

¹¹⁹ Christian Herold, *Die vornehmsten Europäischen Reisen* (Hamburg, 1749) 380.

¹²⁰ In 1523 Le Saige described the fortress as being impregnable (Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 568).

¹²¹ Communication of de Bissy. Our confrere George de Guitton drew our attention to the fact that the old Roman road split near Myans, two miles before Chambéry, in order to go around the marshes which still lay to the east of the city in the sixteenth century. The main route on the south led directly to Chambéry, and this route was probably taken by Xavier and his companions. The northern route led roundabout past Barby and Leisse at the foot of the hills on which the castle of La Batie had been standing since the thirteenth century, and from there it went past Chambéry-le-Vieux to Chambéry.

¹²² The Holy Shroud, which was brought to Turin in 1578, is often mentioned by travelers, for example, by Le Saige in 1523, Arfagart in 1533 (Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 567), Polanco in 1561, who venerated it with Laynez (*Lainii Mon.* VI 37), and *Venturino, who venerated it with Borgia in 1572 (II 169-171v).

¹²³ *Osservatore Romano*, Aug. 30, 1939, p. 4.

¹²⁴ *Enciclopedia Italiana* IX 51.

French had plundered in 1536,¹²⁵ the travelers had been able to see traces of the havoc that had been caused by the hordes of soldiers.

Soon beyond Chambéry began the steep ascent of the Col Saint-Michel.¹²⁶ The route lay over a narrow, stony path; and an hour of zigzagging up the heights brought one to the top. Here, as on the Mount Cenis pass, travelers as a rule had themselves carried up in chairs.¹²⁷ From the top of the pass could be seen a brilliant panorama. Behind lay Chambéry deep down in the pocket of the valley and Lake Bourget to the north of it. To the south was a tall, tree-covered massif with the Grande Chartreuse of Grenoble. To the west, at no great distance, was the deep blue lake of Aiguebellette¹²⁸ and, farther on, the fertile hills of the Rhone Valley. The road then led across the level countryside to the left of the lake past the villages of Aiguebellette and Lépin through green meadows and forests, and then down to the foot of the mountain. Eight hours after leaving Chambéry the travelers reached Pont-de-Beauvoisin on the Guier River, a tributary of the Rhone, marking the boundary between Savoy and France.¹²⁹ Here Dom Pedro and his retinue left the Alps behind them. Riding on for two or three days¹³⁰ through the rolling hill country by way of Saint-André-la-Gaz to La Tour-du-Pin, then westwards through the valley of Bourbre with its low surrounding hills to La Verpillière, and then through the broad valley of the Rhone, they reached the large industrial and commercial city of Lyons.¹³¹

¹²⁵ A. Perrin, *Histoire de Savoie* (Chambéry, 1900) 255.

¹²⁶ In 1553 Estienne gives the route from Chambéry to Lyons, which in the sixteenth century went by way of Aiguebelette, since the old Roman road that went by way of Les Echelles had become almost impassable: Chambéry, Cognin, Saint-Michel, Aiguebelette, Lépin, Le Pont-de-Beauvoisin, La Tour-du-Pin, Cessieu, Bourgoin, La Verpillière, Pouilleux, Saint-Laurent-de-Mure, Bron, Lyons (Route 209). It was taken, for example, by de Beatis in 1517-1518, Le Saige in 1523 (Estienne-Bonnerot, *ibid.*), Navagero in 1528 (59-v), Possot in 1532 (Estienne-Bonnerot Route 209), Fontana in 1539 (34), Estienne in 1553, Poma in 1556 (98 120), Polanco with Laynez in 1561 (*Polanci Compl.* II 842), and *Venturino in 1572 (II 168-169). This was the usual route in the sixteenth century; only in 1670, after the new highway had been built by the duke and the road past Les Echelles had again become passable, did the majority of travelers chose this route (Antoine Baton, *Les deux vallées du Buiers* [Les Echelles, 1922] 58-60). The *route des abbayes*, which went in a wide circuit north past Culoz, Saint-Rambert, and Ambérieu to Lyons, does not come into question.

¹²⁷ *Venturino II 168v-169. In 1921-1922 Marquis de Bissy published a thorough study of the route with ten maps (Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 564).

¹²⁸ The pass is therefore also called *La Gabelette*.

¹²⁹ Estienne-Bonnerot, n. 562.

¹³⁰ The distance is about sixty-two miles. In 1556 Poma covered the stretch in two days. His return took the same number. Laynez in 1561, and Venturino in 1572, made it in three.

¹³¹ Tursellinus wrote in 1594 that on the way Mascarenhas had sent a courier with letters for King John III filled with praise of Xavier (1, 9), and Lucena follows him (1, 8). José Leite, S.J., in his *Supplement*, composed about the middle of the eighteenth century, gives, without mentioning his source, the text of the ambassador's letter. According to him, this was dated from Lyons. In it he tells the king that he is hoping for a greater boon from him for bringing along such a man than for all the other services which he had already done for his lord or still hoped to do. But Leite may have himself composed the letter in accordance with a convention of the time (Rodrigues, *Hist* I, 1, 239).—Did Mascarenhas visit the French king on this trip? On June 1, 1540, the Spanish ambassador, Luis Sarmiento, wrote from Lisbon to Cobos: "Much is written here about the peace between His Majesty and the king of France. For days the king has received no letter from either of his ambassadors. Dom Pedro de Mascarenhas, who was in Rome, should have arrived here many days ago. I have been told that he has been ordered to go wherever the French king happens to be, even if he has to go

From Lyons the road¹³² usually taken went down the Rhone Valley through the ancient Roman cities of Vienne and Valence to papal Avignon.¹³³ From there it continued by way of Nîmes to Montpellier, then along the seacoast to Narbonne,¹³⁴ and then past Carcassonne, Toulouse, and Auch¹³⁵ to Bayonne, where it met the road from Paris to Spain.

Beyond Bayonne the road continued on past Saint-Jean-de-Luz, following the seacoast to Hendaye, where travelers had to cross the Bidasoa, which separated France from Spain,¹³⁶ on a ferry. On the other side was Irun, the first Spanish

more than a hundred leagues out of his way. If this happens, it will become known; and if he comes this way, then I think it is the idea of the lord infante Dom Luis. When Dom Pedro was on his way to Rome, I know that he had him go expressly to where the French king was staying. Dom Pedro is a man whom the lord infante trusts from his heart, and the lord infante is now playing the politician" (*Sarmiento 26v-27). Francis I was staying at the time in Fontainebleau near Paris. Mascarenhas does not seem to have looked him up since Sarmiento does not mention it again and we could not find any reference to such a visit either in the Archives Mascarenhas or in the instructions and letters which King John III gave on April 24 to Mascarenhas' successor in Rome, Christovão de Sousa (CDP IV 305-343), or in those which he gave on November 24 to Dom Francisco Noronha, the new ambassador to France (Alcáçova Carneiro 31-50). Pedro Doménech traveled on November 3, 1543, from Rome to Lisbon and wrote from Lyons on December 2 to Rome that he must look up the French king, who was one hundred miles away (CDP V 171-172).

¹³² In 1546 Diogo d'Azevedo Coutinho wrote from Rome to Pedro de Alcáçova Carneiro that he would travel in March, 1547, with two doctors to Lisbon by way of Lyons and Bordeaux, for the direct road from Lyons would lead to Spain by way of Bordeaux (CDP VI 86). In 1667 Baltasar Loiola Mandes, S.J., went by way of Turin, Beziers, Toulouse, and Bordeaux, in order to reach Lisbon from there (Roma, Fondo Gesù: *Indipetae* 26 [757] ff. 200 202 204). The route to Avignon, which Fontana also followed in 1539, is given in Estienne 1553: Lyons, Saint-Symphorien-d'Ozon, Vienne (Route 214), Auberives, Le-Péage-du-Roussillon, Saint-Rambert, Saint-Vallier, Ponsas, Tain, Port-le-Rochebrune, Valence (Route 221), Livron, Loriol, Derbières, Montélimar (Route 222), Château-neuf-du-Rhône, Donzère, Pierrelatte, Lapalud, Notre-Dame-du-Plan, Mondragon, Mornas, Caderousse, La Traille, Avignon (Route 223). Near Pont-Saint-Esprit one could also pass on directly to Nîmes (Route 231).

¹³³ In 1546 Simão da Veiga died in Avignon on his way from Rome to the Portuguese king. Simon Rodrigues traveled in 1551 from Rome by way of Avignon, Guipúzcoa (*Ep. Mixtae* II 569-573), and Burgos to Portugal (*MI Epp.* III 632), and in 1550 from there by way of Burgos, Bayonne, and Toulouse to Rome (Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 2, 57).

¹³⁴ According to Estienne, the "usual way" from Avignon led past Nîmes, Pont-de-Lunel, Montpellier, Gigan, Bouzigues, Loupian, Saint-Thibéry, and Béziers to Narbonne (Routes 232-233). This route was also followed by Barreiro in 1546 (167-171v), whereas the "old pilgrim road," which the anonymous Portuguese author also traveled in 1532 (Bourdon 68), led from Béziers directly to Carcassonne (Fontana 20).

¹³⁵ From Narbonne the road went to Estienne by way of Lézignon and Moux to Carcassonne and from there past Villepinte, Castelnaudary., Avignoret, and Villeneuve to Toulouse (Route 235). From here the "old pilgrim road" led past l'Isle-Jourdain, Gimont, Auch, Montesquiou, Maubourguet, Morlass, and Pau to Orthez, and then to Roncesvalles (Fontana 20). Another road led the travelers along the Gave from Orthez to Bayonne. In 1532 the anonymous Portuguese author traveled from Bayonne to Auch, up the Adour Valley past Dax, Montfort-en-Chalosse, Mugron, and Saint-Sever to Grenadesur-Adour, and then past Vic-Fergensac to Auch (Bourdon 65). The Spanish procurators traveled from Burgos to Rome past Bayonne and Toulouse in 1573 (ARSI: *Hisp.* 118, 159).

¹³⁶ *Venturino II 111v. The main source for the other routes to Lisbon is the traveler's guide printed by Pero Juan Villuga in 1546, *Repertorio de todos los caminos de España: hasta agora nunca visto en el qual allaran qualquier viaje que quieran andar muy prouechoso para todos caminantes* (Medina del Campo, 1546). A new facsimile edition of this guide appeared in 1902. Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, *Los caminos en la historia de España* (Madrid, 1951), gives maps with his travel routes.

settlement, and to the right of it, at the foot of a steep promontory, was the fortified town of Fuenterrabía, rising up over the sea and the mouth of the river.

Here Master Francis breathed in his native air and again heard his Basque mother tongue. Old memories came to mind. Up there in the fortress, the last of the patriots, among whom were his brothers, had kept the flag of Navarre flying as long as they could possibly oppose the superior forces of the enemy. Beyond the green mountains to the left lay the valley of Baztán, the land of his mother. His brother Juan had come from there to Fuenterrabía after the fall of Maya in 1522, and his other brother Miguel as well after his adventurous flight from the castle of Pamplona. Beyond the valley of Baztán was Pamplona and its cathedral, where he had been elected by the canons in 1536 as a member of the cathedral chapter. There too was Obanos, where his brother Juan lived, and Beire, the home of his sister Anna, and the castle of Xavier, where his brother Miguel was living. He had left it fifteen years before, when he rode past Roncesvalles to France for his higher studies at Paris. He was never to see either his home or his family again. He had made this sacrifice for Christ and for the good of souls.¹³⁷

From Fuenterrabía the road went straight through the mountainous country of Guipúzcoa, Iñigo's native province. Here the travelers could see white farmsteads with broad front gables adorned with wooden verandas in the midst of green meadows and fruit, oak, chestnut, and walnut trees. The men here wore close-fitting, red Basque caps, and the married women black, pointed coifs, bound at the back of the neck and turned over towards the forehead. Girls and young women, on the other hand, wore their hair cut short and left only a few locks

¹³⁷ In 1572 Ribadeneyra wrote about Xavier's trip: "Quo in itinere, cum non procul a patria transiret, eiusque consanguinei atque necessarii minime devii essent, ut eos salutandi gratia paululum de via declinaret adduci non potuit" (*Vita* 4, 7). In the Spanish edition of 1583 he already says about it: "En esta jornada, passando muy cerca de su tierra, ni el amor de la patria, ni los ruegos de sus parientes y amigos, no pudieron acabar con él que por verlos torciesse un poco el camino" (*Vida* 4, 7). Tursellinus adds in 1594: "Eius mater, propinqui ac necessarii minime devii erant. Instabant comites, urgebat ipse Legatus, ut eos ex itinere salutaret. Xaverius tamen nullo modo flecti potuit, ut ad suos salutandos paulisper diverteret" (*Vita* 1, 9). In his second edition he fixes the place more exactly: "Pyrenaeo saltu superato, in Pompelonis fines ventum erat." Lucena (1, 8) and Bartoli follow him in saying that Xavier's mother and brother stormed him with earnest requests to turn aside "a few steps" from the road, but he replied that he would see them again in heaven (*Asia* 1, 14). This heroic act was praised and embellished again and again by biographers, preachers, and writers (see, for example, J. M. S. Daurignac, *Histoire de Saint François de Xavier* 1 [Paris, 1857] 107-112); but others reject it on the grounds that it completely lacks any historical foundation despite an apparent local tradition that Xavier had blessed his ancestral home from the *Peñas del Adiós*, where Escalada erroneously took a boundary stone of the *cañada* as a confirmation of the legend (*Guía histórico-artística del Castillo de Javier y sus contornos* [Pamplona, 1919] 12-13), and that he had preached in the cathedral of Pamplona on this same trip (*La Avalancha*, Pamplona, 1922, 71). Xavier's mother died in 1529. Pamplona was 37, and the castle of Xavier over 62, miles from Fuenterrabía. A trip there would have meant a detour of a hundred miles. Xavier, moreover, had a letter of recommendation for the lord of the castle of Loyola; he therefore could not let the ambassador travel on further by himself. Xavier's relatives in Navarre knew nothing of his trip through this area. Mascarenhas, moreover, who had not permitted Xavier to go to Brescia to visit Favre, would not have wished to be separated from him or to wait for his return from the castle of Xavier, for he was in a hurry to reach Lisbon with him. Brodrick's supposition that Xavier may have visited his relatives anyway (82) is therefore ruled out.

hanging round about the edges. Here men and boys played their native pelota¹³⁸ and worked the stony ground with a long, two-pronged fork, the *laya*. Oxen were yoked in pairs and carried a sheepskin decorated with tassels upon their heads as they drew the traditional, clumsy, two-wheeled carts. Everywhere clear streams and brooks rushed down from the green mountains and provided power for the mills and forges in the valleys. Here cider was drunk instead of wine; and every farmer was an hidalgo, and all were free.

The route continued through luxurious meadows and dark green fields of clover with blooming lilacs and wild roses, through freshly sprouting fields of wheat and rye and others covered with brilliant yellow and white flowers and bright red poppies, and through dark brown plowed fields with apple and pear trees. On the right was the long, high, and treeless Jaizquibel Ridge, and on the left a wildly confused mass of tall, green, mountain pyramids. To the right of where the Jaizquibel fell off steeply to the sea lay Rentería and the deeply cut inlet of Pasajes, from where Basque whalers sailed to Iceland and Terranova (Newfoundland).¹³⁹ Here also was San Sebastián¹⁴⁰ on the Bay of Biscay eleven miles beyond Fuenterrabía. From here the road led up into the mountains.

After a ride of seven hours,¹⁴¹ there appeared before the travelers the grey pyramid of Izarraitz rising up to a height of more than 3,280 feet. Its lower green slopes were interspersed with white homesteads. At its foot, in the valley of the Urola, lay the town of Azpeitia; and to the left of this, almost entirely hidden behind a grove of fruit trees,¹⁴² was a Basque manor. It was built like a huge cube forty-two and one-half feet high, wide, and deep. The twenty-one-foot-high, almost windowless lower portion had on the left a small Gothic door made of large grey blocks of stone. The upper section of the manor, made of red bricks, had two rows of low windows, broad ornamental stripes, and elegant corner towers. The roof was flat. The coat of arms over the doorway portrayed

¹³⁸ See the descriptions in Navagero 1528 (43-48: character, language, dress, pelota, cider) and *Venturino 1572 (II 110-115v: men's and women's dress, language, white houses) and the sketches of wearing apparel by Francisco de Hollanda of 1540 or 1541 (*Os desenhos das antigualhas*, ed. E. Tormo [Madrid, 1940] 42v) and Hogenberg in 1544 (Braun and Hogenberg, *Beschreibung der vornehmsten Städte der Welt* [Köln, 1574]: Bilbao).

¹³⁹ Navagero describes the hunting of whales in 1528 (46v-48); cf. Carreras y Candi, *Geografía General del País Vasco-Navarro* (Barcelona, 1914) 652-653.

¹⁴⁰ From Fuenterrabía there were two possible roads, the *camino viejo* over the pass of Gainchurizqueta to Rentería, Pasajes, Herrera, and San Sebastián (given by Villuga), and the *camino real*, somewhat longer by way of Oyarzun and Astigarraga, from where one could turn off to San Sebastián or go directly to Hernani and Tolosa. Charles V traveled from Tolosa by way of San Sebastián and Fuenterrabía to Bayonne in 1539 (Foronda 477); in 1528 Navagero has Rentería lying to the left of the road leading from Hernani to Fuenterrabía (45-v); in 1572 Venturino went from Hernani by way of Herrera and Oyarzun to Bayonne (II 111v). The *Itinerario de los Caminos Reales* drawn up by Jacob Cuelvis in 1600 gives the route: Irun, Fuenterrabía, San Sebastián, Tolosa, Villafranca (Foulché Delbosc, n. 53); Ann of Austria took the same road in 1615 (*ibid.*, n. 62), Peyron in 1778 (*ibid.*, n. 177).

¹⁴¹ Two roads led from San Sebastián to Loyola: one went by way of Usurbil, Aguinaga, and Orío and along the sea by way of Zarauz, Guetaria, and Zumaya to the mouth of the Urola (Villuga), and then up this past Cestona; the other followed the Oría to Tolosa and then went westward across the mountains to Albiztur, Vidania, and Azpeitia and then on to Vergara (the present road was constructed in 1830-1833). In 1446, for example, Rosmital took the Hernani-Tolosa-Vergara route (Foulché Delbosc, n. 11) and Peyron in 1778 (*ibid.*, n. 177).

¹⁴² See the description of Pedro de Tablares, S.J., of July, 1551, who visited the castle during this year (*Cartas de San Ignacio* II 570-571).

two wolves standing upright on their hind legs looking hungrily at a caldron hanging from a chain. This was the ancestral palace of Loyola, Iñigo's home.¹⁴³

The travelers received a hearty welcome from Don Beltrán, the lord of the castle, Iñigo's nephew, to whom Xavier presented his letter of recommendation. Everything here reminded Master Francis of his father in Christ, the stables on the ground floor, where his horse had once been quartered, the steps up which he had been carried sorely wounded after the fall in Pamplona, the sick room in the upper floor with its brilliant view out upon the green mountains and the grey rocky walls of the majestic Izarraitz, the silk canopied bed, where Iñigo had lain ill and had read the *Flos Sanctorum* and *The Life of Christ* by Ludolph the Carthusian, and where the blessed Virgin had appeared to him and turned his heart to God. Below was the chapel with its altar screen of the Annunciation, a gift of Queen Isabella to her lady-in-waiting, Magdalena de Araoz, at the time of her marriage in 1498,¹⁴⁴ when Iñigo was seven years old. Here he had frequently prayed before setting out for Montserrat and the Holy Land. In the neighboring town was the parish church dedicated to St. Sebastian. The lords of Loyola were its patrons and Don Andrés de Loyola its rector with seven beneficed assistants to help him in carrying out the duties of his office. Here too was the broken stone font where Iñigo had been baptized.¹⁴⁵ In front of the city gate was the hospital dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene,¹⁴⁶ to which he had come over the mountains from Paris five years before,¹⁴⁷ bare-footed, his shoes at his belt, and leading his small brown horse with his few possessions.¹⁴⁸

Here, as a poor man of Christ, he had humbly asked for admittance among the poor.¹⁴⁹ Here, too, he had led a strict penitential life, wearing a haircloth and an iron chain next to his bare skin,¹⁵⁰ disciplining himself to blood,¹⁵¹ and begging for the poor from door to door in the village, his feet shod in hempen sandals, and his back covered with a torn, rough cassock.¹⁵² Every day in the chapel of the hospital he instructed children and adults in Christian doctrine.¹⁵³

¹⁴³ See Rafael Pérez, S.J., *La Santa Casa de Loyola* (Bilbao, 1891) and Leturia, *El Gentilhombre* 138-139.

¹⁴⁴ See the testimony of an eyewitness on the sweat which flowed from the picture in 1512 (Polanco, *Chron.* I 545-546). The inscription and the coat of arms of Ladrón de Guevara do not prove that the picture was not a gift of Queen Isabella, as Dudon (608) thinks; see Leturia, *El Gentilhombre* 42.

¹⁴⁵ The bishop of Pamplona discovered during his visit on August 29, 1540, that the baptismal font was old and broken (Azpeitia, Parish Archives: *Libro de Visitas, pleitos y cuentas, 1499-1589*: visita 1540; Pérez Arregui 31-33).

¹⁴⁶ The main source on the visit of St. Ignatius to Azpeitia in 1535 is the process in Azpeitia of 1595 (MI *Scripta* II 167-259). Pérez Arregui gives the best description.

¹⁴⁷ Ignatius came from San Sebastián by way of Lasarte, the *ventas* of Zárate and Iturrioz, Etumeta, and Errarizaga on a seldom traveled road (MI *Scripta* II 190 204 207 213 229 241; Ignatius 482; Pérez Arregui 112-119, with maps).

¹⁴⁸ MI *Scripta* II 190 204 211; Pérez Arregui 120-121.

¹⁴⁹ MI *Scripta* II 183 244-245; see also 190 195 198 201 204 207 210-211 219 225 227 235 238 241.

¹⁵⁰ On his penitential garb and hairshirt see MI *Scripta* II 183-184; on his penances in general, *ibid.* 195 198 201 208 211 213 216 219-220 222 225 227 230 233 239 241; Pérez Arregui 125-126.

¹⁵¹ MI *Scripta* II 970-971; Pérez Arregui 125-126.

¹⁵² MI *Scripta* II 211 233; cf. 184 191 195 197-199 201 204 208 211 213 216 220 222 225 227 229-230 232-233 235 239 241 245; Pérez Arregui 121-124.

¹⁵³ MI *Scripta* II 202 205 208 213-214 233; cf. 184 191 199 211 217 220 222 225 228 230 236 239 242 245; Ignatius 484; Pérez Arregui 121-124.

People came from great distances to hear him preach before the church doors;¹⁶⁴ and his words were so effective¹⁶⁵ that they threw their cards into the Urola and did not play again for three years.¹⁶⁶ Many wept at what he had to say,¹⁶⁷ and many were converted by his explanation of the Commandments, especially of the Second and Sixth.¹⁶⁸ The horse which he had brought with him from Paris, and which he had given to the hospital when he left, was still being used for carrying firewood.¹⁶⁹ Known as "the saint's horse,"¹⁶⁰ it was allowed to graze freely where it would, even though it once strayed into a field of oats,¹⁶¹ Iñigo had spent only one night in the castle, and he had done this at the earnest request of his sister-in-law, Magdalena.¹⁶² Although he had been sent a bed from the castle,¹⁶³ he slept as a rule, unless he was quite sick,¹⁶⁴ upon the floor.¹⁶⁵ He had revised the ringing of the *Angelus* for the dying in the evening,¹⁶⁶ and had suggested that the sexton of the parish church and the *seroras*¹⁶⁷ in the ten auxiliary chapels¹⁶⁸ should give nine strokes to the bells in groups of three at noon, so that the faithful might say an Our Father and Hail Mary for those who were living in serious sin, and a second Our Father and Hail Mary for themselves, so that God might help them never again to fall into such a sin.¹⁶⁹ This was a practice which was still retained five years later at the time of Xavier's visit. Still too in effect were the regulations which he had given for the poor, and which had been read aloud in Basque so that they might be understood by all.¹⁷⁰ So too were the other reforms he had introduced for the clergy and people. Among these was the custom that only married women should wear the black, pointed coif,¹⁷¹ and that the sacraments should be frequently received. In this Don Beltrán gave a splendid example to all, since he approached the Lord's table every Sunday and feast day.¹⁷² For Xavier, the stay at the castle of Loyola was like a pilgrimage to a sacred shrine, and he set out from there with Dom Pedro renewed in strength.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 184-185 191 202-205 213-214 217 225 228 236 242 245; cf. 195-196 198-199 208 211 220 222-223 230 239; Ignatius 484; Pérez Arregui 130-134.

¹⁶⁵ *MI Scripta* II 217.

¹⁶⁶ *MI Scripta* II 185 191 208 220 226; cf. 199 212 214 217 228 230 236 243 245; Ignatius 484; *MI Epp.* I 162.

¹⁶⁷ *MI Scripta* I 205-206.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 184-186 191 205 208 214 220-221 230 239; cf. 198-199 202-203 211-212 217 225-226 233-234 236 242-243 245; Pérez Arregui 134-143.

¹⁶⁹ *MI Scripta* II 211.

¹⁶⁰ *Rosefius 24.

¹⁶¹ *Litt. Quadr.* I 494. In 1552 it was still at the hospital.

¹⁶² *MI Scripta* II 188 239.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 225 245.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 183-184 187.

¹⁶⁵ 208 213 216 225 235 239; 245 ("deziendo que le bastaba por cama un pelejo").

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 203.

¹⁶⁷ A kind of religious woman who took the place of a sexton (*Leturia*, *El Gentilhombre* 34-35).

¹⁶⁸ In the report of a visitation of 1540 the ten chapels are mentioned; on this see *Leturia*, *El Gentilhombre* 28-29.

¹⁶⁹ See the will of Martín García de Loyola of 1538 (Polanco, *Chron.* I 511-512) and *MI Scripta* II 188-189 193 196 199-200 202-203 209 215 217-218 226 234 237 240 246; *Epp.* I 163. Ignatius also speaks of the *Angelus* in the morning, which he introduced.

¹⁷⁰ The text of the regulations on poverty is in *MI Scripta* I 539-543; cf. 536-538; *II* 196-197 218; Ignatius 484.

¹⁷¹ *MI Scripta* II 209; Ignatius 484; *MI Epp.* I 148.

¹⁷² *Epp. Mixtae* I 46; *MI Epp.* I 165-166.

6. THROUGH THE PLATEAU OF CASTILE (JUNE, 1540)

Dom Pedro rode with his company from Loyola to the small town of Azcoitia, and from there over the mountains to Vergara in the valley of the Deva.¹⁷³ This was Araoz' native land,¹⁷⁴ and it was here that Iñigo's sister Magdalena had married Juan López de Gallaztegui, the lord of Ozaeta.¹⁷⁵ From Vergara the party had to ride a day's journey up the valley by way of Salinas and the low pass of Arlabán to Vitoria, the capital of the Basque province of Alava, lying in the center of a fruitful plateau with countless white hamlets, poplars, and clusters of trees,¹⁷⁶ and surrounded by mountains.

¹⁷³ There were three possible roads from Azpeitia to Vergara: the northern, by way of Elgoibar; the southern, by way of Villareal; and the so-called "church road," which went directly by way of the *venta* of Elosua. It is still the usual route taken today. Mascarenhas could have taken this last road, and Don Beltrán would certainly have given him an escort as far as Vergara. The route past Vergara and Salinas was the shortest and easiest route from Loyola to Vitoria. It is therefore improbable that Xavier traveled over the pass of San Adrián and through Alsásua, as Cros assumes (*Doc.* I 162).

¹⁷⁴ Did Xavier meet his confrere Araoz in Loyola or Vergara? On July 23, Xavier wrote to Ignatius from Lisbon about his trip (EI I 38-40); Araoz wrote on July 4 from Vergara (*Ep. Mixtae* I 45-48). On October 4 Ignatius wrote to Beltrán and referred to this letter of Araoz (*MI Epp.* I 165-167), but in none of these letters is there the slightest allusion to Xavier's visit to Loyola. Still this visit certainly took place, for he delivered Iñigo's letter of recommendation. Today it is in the Jesuit residence of Medina del Campo. On the Parisian copy of the letter there is the following note: "Esta carta non habet inscriptionem: inventa est in domo loyolaea a P. Rectore collegii Bilbai" (*MI Epp.* I 155-156). If Xavier, despite the letter of recommendation, did not visit Loyola, he must have had a compelling reason for failing to do so and would have informed Ignatius about it. The silence of the sources proves nothing, since all of the ambassador's letters after his departure from Bologna, a number of Xavier's, and at least one of Araoz' to Ignatius have been lost (see EX I 50-51 69). Araoz was detained in Vergara the entire latter half of April by the spring *junta* of the province, which was usually held thirteen days after Easter (*Ep. Mixtae* I 46; cf. Pablo Gorosábel, *Noticia de las cosas memorables de Guipúzcoa* 3 [Tolosa, 1900] 167-168). He preached in San Sebastián on May 2 and in the chapel of N. Sra. de Elosiaga near Loyola on the third. On July 4 he wrote that he had preached everywhere in Guipúzcoa "en toda la marisma, y todos los pueblos desta provincia, aunque los más resido en Oñate, en Vergara, en Azcoytia y Azpeitia" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 47). Three weeks before his departure from Lisbon, Xavier wrote to Rome that he could not get rid of the thought that Antonio de Araoz, "nuestro charíssimo hermano," should come to him in India with half a dozen "clérigos" (EX I 88-89). Did he meet him in Loyola or Vergara? Did Araoz write about his visit in the lost letter which he mentions in his letter of July 4 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 45)? Ignatius may have thanked Beltrán in the lost covering letter to the bull on the sacraments which he sent with a long letter to the citizens of Azpeitia in August or September (*MI Epp.* I 161-166).

¹⁷⁵ At the time he was living in the *Torre de Ozaeta* in Vergara. When Ignatius sent Araoz to Spain in 1539, he gave him a letter for Beltrán and a second for his sister and her husband, the lord of Ozaeta; and in his letter to Beltrán of October 4, 1540, he wrote that he was waiting for an answer from the lord of Ozaeta (*MI Epp.* I 150-151 167). On him see also *Ep. Mixtae* II 641-647; Borgia III 129; Polanco, *Chron.* II 310-311 431; I 547 (family tree).

¹⁷⁶ The road led from Vergara up the valley of Deva past Mondragon, Arechavaleta, Escoriaza, Salinas, and by way of the pass of Arlabán to Ullibarri-Gamboa near Zadorra in the province of Alava. In the sixteenth century it was one of the three main highways of Guipúzcoa (Serapio Múgica, "Provincia de Guipúzcoa 507," in Carreras y Candi, *Geografía General del Pais Vasco-Navarro*). In 1528 Navagero described the surroundings of Vitoria as follows: "A great number of houses, hamlets, and villages can be seen all around about on the mountains. In Vitoria they say that there are as many of these as there are days in the year, 366; others say that there are more. It is certainly a beautiful country" (42).

Six hours beyond Vitoria they reached the Basque frontier after crossing the Zadorra on a stone bridge and fording the Aya¹⁷⁷ at Miranda, a small town surrounded by walls, through which the Ebro flowed. The river, which was here spanned by a magnificent stone bridge of five arches,¹⁷⁸ marked the limits of the Basque country.¹⁷⁹ The wild blue jagged rocks of Mount Obarenes now appeared on the horizon before the travelers. The fresh green of the meadows and the dark brown of the ploughed fields they had passed were replaced by a dull green and grey limestone countryside. The comfortable, white manors of the Basque provinces gave way to poor, yellowish brown villages drawn tightly around their respective churches. Beyond the ancient Premonstratensian monastery of Bugedo the riders encountered the rocky gorges of Pancorbo—two narrow valleys enclosed by sharply pointed, grey rock walls, through which the narrow, dark green Oroncillo made its tortuous way. Near the stream was a village, and above it was an old castle which, according to tradition, had been built by the Moors. After the Christians gained possession of it, every attempt of the Moors to enter into the Basque country at this point had been repulsed on these rocky slopes.

Beyond Pancorbo the travelers left the mountains. Here began Old Castile proper. They passed through fertile, rolling hills, extensively tilled, with apple trees and rows of poplars along the roads and streams. Here and there could be seen a brown village with a church, green fields of rye, and white flocks of sheep that grazed on the treeless, but intermittently green, limestone mountains, to which only the flowering yellow broom gave some life. Beyond the small town of Briviesca and the monastery of Rodilla they came to a solitary plateau that formed the divide between the Ebro and the Duero. Then, fifty miles beyond Mirando del Ebro, Burgos came into view,¹⁸⁰ an old, proud episcopal city with a magnificent Gothic cathedral, the former capital of Old Castile and the home of the Cid, the champion of the Christians against the Moors. The city was also known for its wealthy, enterprising merchants, who were to be found all over Europe, and its three elaborate monasteries in the vicinity: the Carthusian monastery of Miraflores, the royal Cistercian monastery of Las Huelgas, and the monastery of San Pedro de Cardena, which contained the tombs of the Cid and of his son-in-law, Ramiro Sánchez, king of Navarre.¹⁸¹ In the convent of the Augustinian hermits, where the saintly Fray Tomás de Villanueva was living at the time,¹⁸² Xavier venerated, as so many others had before him,¹⁸³ the *Santísimo*

¹⁷⁷ Navagero 41-v.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 41v; Venturino II 108v.

¹⁷⁹ The *Camino Real de la Posta*, which our travelers also followed, led from Vitoria to Salamanca (Venturino II 109v-110). Villuga gives the following names as far as Miranda del Ebro: Venta Cibay, La Puebla de Arganzón, Ventas d'Estalvillo, Miranda del Ebro.

¹⁸⁰ Villuga gives the names: Miranda del Ebro, Orón, then (after the Monasterio de Bujedo) Ameyugo, Pancorbo, Zuñeda, Grisaleña, Briviesca, Prádanos, Castillo de Peones, Monasterio de Rodilla, Quintanapalla, Rubena, Bilnuna, Burgos.

¹⁸¹ Cf. the descriptions of Burgos in Navagero, who spent over three months there in 1527-1528 (37-37av and *Venturino 1572 (II 106-107v).

¹⁸² José Zameza, S.J., "Recuerdos Burgaleses," *El Castellano*, Burgos, Dec. 2, 1924.

¹⁸³ The *Santoral Burgense*, which was composed in 1640 by the Mercedarian Frey Melchior Prieto, who was born in Burgos in 1578, stated that it was a solid tradition that the saintly founders of the four orders, John of Matha, Francis of Assisi, Dominic, and Peter Nolasco, had often visited the Holy Chapel and its crucifix. He then added the names of other visitors: the saintly king Don Fernando, Sts. Vincent Ferrer, Bernardine of Siena, Roch, Bridget, Ignatius of Loyola, before he founded the Society,

Cristo, an ancient miraculous crucifix like that in the castle of Xavier. This crucifix, which had movable limbs and was renowned throughout the whole of Spain, stood in the monastery chapel and was illuminated by numerous lamps. According to tradition it had been made by Nicodemus, the disciple of Christ, and had come miraculously from Beirut over the sea.¹⁸⁴ In the church of St. Nicholas, not far from the cathedral, the travelers admired the elaborate Gothic tombs of the Malvenda and Polanco families, members of which Xavier had known as a student in Paris.

Beyond Burgos was the dry, monotonous, and almost treeless plateau of Castile, which the travelers had to traverse for 142 miles to Salamanca, hot during the day but cold at night. From time to time they saw grey green or white limestone hills. The brown villages which they passed had houses made of sun-dried bricks (*adobes*) because of the climate. This gave them a desolate appearance and made it difficult to distinguish them at a distance from the brown background. At times, too, they came upon a solitary *venta* on the white, shadeless, dusty road, where everything was lacking, and over which a person had to travel with *bota* and *alforja*, that is, with a wine-filled leathern bottle and a double knapsack with provisions if he did not want to perish from hunger and thirst.¹⁸⁵ Occasionally they passed by a row of poplars growing along a

"San Francisco Xavier, passando de Roma para Portugal," and others. Prieto is cited by Fray Pedro Laviano, O.S.A., in his *Historia y Milagros del Santísimo Cristo de Burgos, reimpresa en Burgos por el Original que se imprimió en Madred el año de 1740, 96-97*. On the famous Puerto del Claustro of the cathedral, to the left of which begins the outer frieze of the pediment, may be seen a monk's head with a cowl. L. Louis-Lande has written the following about this: "Sur la porte se voit sculptée une tête de moine, celle de François Xavier, paraît-il. On construisait en ce moment le portail de l'église; le saint homme était présent et suivait des yeux le travail, quand l'un des ouvriers se hâta d'esquisser sa figure sur un bloc de pierre qui se trouvait là, et le transporta tout aussitôt à la place qu'il occupe encore maintenant, au-dessus de l'imposte de l'arc, à droite. La légende est-elle authentique? Je le croirais volontiers" ("Trois mois de voyage dans le pays basque," *Revue des Deux Mondes* 1 [1877] 806). The legend does not refer to Francis Xavier, but rather to Francis of Assisi; cf. Florez, *España Sagrada* 27 (Madrid, 1772) 523, and R. Amador de los Ríos, "Burgos," in *España, sus monumentos* (Barcelona, 1888) 528. The portal goes back to the beginning of the fourteenth century.

¹⁸⁴ In 1528 Navagero wrote that every Friday all of Burgos went to honor the crucifix at the Augustinians (37a). The history of the crucifix, now preserved in the cathedral, is given by Florenz, *España Sagrada* XXVII 495-507 and Loviano (40-65), who also gives a description of the crucifix and of the Holy Chapel (68-72 82; 23 113-114). See also A. Vaca de Santiago, *Libro de los milagros del sancto Crucifixo que está en el monasterio de San Agustín de la ciudad de Burgos* (Burgos, 1604).

¹⁸⁵ In general the complaints about the Spanish *ventas* are from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1560 Philip II tried to remedy this by allowing them to provide travelers with food and drink. In 1572 Venturino could therefore say about his trip from Salamanca to Burgos that for the most part "ne si è alloggiato male per essere il camino reale della posta" (II 109v-110). But in 1593 G. G. Confalonieri again complained bitterly about the Spanish *ventas*, where most of the time a traveler had to take care of his needs in a stable or field, and had to buy wood, food, and drink elsewhere (Arturo Farinelli, *Viajes por España y Portugal* 1 [Roma, 1942] 329). In his traveler's guide, which was based upon an account of a trip in 1617, Martin Zeiller therefore advised travelers to obtain provisions before reaching Miranda del Ebro and continuing on their way (*Hispaniae et Lusitaniae Itinerarium* [Amstelodami, 1656] 132 134); and in 1616 the count of Gondomar complained about those authorities who made it impossible for Spaniards to have inns where a caballero could find shelter, "cosa que la desacredita mucho con las demás naciones, y dicen que es menester caminar en España con bota y alforja, y dormir en el suelo como por los desiertos de Armenia; y verse esto bien desde Burgos a Madrid" (Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, *Los Caminos en la historia de España* [Madrid, 1951] 87-88).

sluggish stream, a peasant plowing his field with his horses, a sun-bronzed, solitary traveler with a grave and dignified mien,¹⁸⁶ his brightly striped double knapsack thrown over his shoulders, or a woman with dark hair and flashing eyes riding sidesaddle on her mule. Here and there they could see a cistern, a yellowish green field of rye, or a green field of wheat with poppies that gave some color to the melancholy solitude; and still, despite its steppelike appearance, this was a fertile land, the breadbasket of Spain.

From Burgos the highway led for thirty-eight miles down the course of the Arlanzón, first on the left, but shortly beyond Quintanilleja on the right, bank of the river. At Quintana del Puente the road crossed again over to the left bank on a bridge of fifteen arches. Not far from here the Arlanzón joined the Pisuerga. Near the town of Torquemada the road then crossed this second stream¹⁸⁷ on a similar bridge of twenty-one arches. Here the trees almost completely disappeared, and the natives consequently had to use straw, vine branches, or dried dung for fuel.¹⁸⁸

The company then rode for some thirty-one miles with the Pisuerga on their left. Passing by Magaz, a brown village on a hill dominated by a castle,¹⁸⁹ and Dueñas,¹⁹⁰ a poorly built town on the slope of a mountain with adobe houses that from a distance resembled those of a city in the desert, they reached Cabezón.¹⁹¹ Here too the houses were built on the approaches of a mountain. After crossing the river on a stone bridge, Dom Pedro and his retinue reached Valladolid two hours later.¹⁹² This was the favorite residence of the kings of Castile, a thriving city with imposing houses and a university¹⁹³ in the midst of a fruitful plain. Bobadilla had studied rhetoric and logic here. Later he had also studied and taught theology here for four years under Master Astudillo in the College of St. Gregory. But the court was not at Valladolid at this time. The emperor was living in Flanders; and the prince, Don Felipe, was with the administration in Madrid.¹⁹⁴

Beyond Valladolid they came upon a deserted, sandy plain here and there overgrown with pines, and with low, gleaming-white limestone hills in the distance. After riding for two hours they crossed the Duero over a bridge of five arches, and two hours later the dirty green, sluggish Adaja at Valdestillas over another.¹⁹⁵ At times they saw a golden field of rye with red poppies and blue

¹⁸⁶ Navagero, who traveled from Valladolid through Guipúzcoa, passing by Vitoria, to Bayonne in 1528, noticed the difference of character between the Castilians and Basques. Of the latter he wrote: "La gente di questo paese tutto [Alava and Guipúzcoa] è molto allegra e totalmente opposito a la Spagnola, che non pensa se non in gravità" (48).

¹⁸⁷ *Venturino II 105v.

¹⁸⁸ A. Germond de Lavigne, *Itinéraire Général de l'Espagne et du Portugal* (Paris, 1880) 25.

¹⁸⁹ Zeiller, *Hispaniae Itinerarium* 142-143.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 143. In 1572 it had five hundred homes (*Venturino II 105v).

¹⁹¹ A place of two hundred homes.

¹⁹² Villuga gives the following names from Burgos to Valladolid: Quintanilleja, Celada, Villanueva, Venta de Villamanco, Venta del Moral, Quintana del Puente, Torquemada, Magaz, Venta del Rebollar, Dueñas, Las Ventas, Cabezón, Valladolid.

¹⁹³ See the description in Navagero 34v-36 and *Venturino II 103v-105.

¹⁹⁴ Antonio Franco writes that Xavier had come with the ambassador, "qui non sine causa per Vallisoletum tunc Hispanicae aulae sedem, iter suum direxerat" (*Synopsis Annalium* 2). For the emperor, see Foronda 482-490; for the prince see José M. March, *S.J., Niñez y juventud de Felipe II* 1 (Madrid, 1941) 73 240-244; cf. Borgia II 623-625.

¹⁹⁵ A town of two hundred homes (*Venturino II 104).

cornflowers, or a bright green vineyard, or a few cows, horses, or mules grazing, or a flock of black sheep that brought some life to the monotony of the sandy, almost treeless plain.

Finally Medina del Campo came into view.¹⁹⁶ Twenty years before it had been burned to the ground during the revolt of the *comuneros*, but it had since been to a large extent rebuilt.¹⁹⁷ In this city, some twenty-five miles from Valladolid, was the massive turreted Castillo de la Mota, where Isabel the Catholic had died in 1504. The surrounding land was here somewhat more friendly and fertile. The vineyards and wheat fields were more frequent. Now and then there appeared in the distance on the right and left a dark pine forest, a grove of stone pines, or a brown-toned village dominated by its church.¹⁹⁸ From Fresno el Viejo¹⁹⁹ the road passed over a stream (a series of puddles between white mounds of sand) to Cantalapiedra,²⁰⁰ where groups of holm oaks were scattered among the pines and poplars. After a good day's ride from here, the party reached Salamanca,²⁰¹ fifty miles from Valladolid.

¹⁹⁶ Villuga names the following stations: Valladolid, Puente de Duero, Valdestillas, Ventosa [de la Cuesta], Rodilana, Medina del Campo.

¹⁹⁷ Navagero 36.

¹⁹⁸ Villuga gives the following route: Medina del Campo, La Galosa, Las Ventas del Campo, Carpio, Fresno de los Ajos, Mollorido, Pedroso [de la Armuña], Pitiegua, Ventas de Velasco, Moriscos, Salamanca.

¹⁹⁹ A village of twenty homes (*Venturino II 104v). Various roads led from here to Salamanca. In addition to the route already mentioned past El Pedroso, Villuga gives another by way of Cantalapiedra and Cantalpino (Route Evora—Burgos) and a third by way of Cantalapiedra, Aldea Villoria, Aldea[lengua], and from there directly to Alba de Tormes south of Salamanca (Route Lisbon—Burgos). In 1543 Princess Maria traveled from Salamanca past Villoria, [Rio]lobos, Cantalpino, Villaflores, and Cantalapiedra to Carpio (Sousa, *Provas da Historia Genealogica* III 148); in 1572 *Venturino past Cabrerizes, Aldealengua, Aldearrubia, and Cantalapiedra (II 102v-103).

²⁰⁰ In 1572 Venturino lived here in the house of the *corregidor* (II 103).

²⁰¹ In case the travelers had not already chosen the southern route to Portugal in Cantalapiedra, they must have decided in Salamanca upon the northern route, by way of Ciudad Rodrigo, or upon the southern route. Villuga gives two roads for the latter, both of which went past Alba de Tormes to Aldeia Gallega, where the Tagus had to be crossed by those going on to Lisbon. Upon the arrival of Mascarenhas' letter of April 2 from Modena, which the king received about the twentieth, for the courier needed about twenty days to travel from Lisbon to Rome, the king had immediately sent, on April 27, Christovão de Sousa as ambassador to Rome along with the mail, three horses, and the courier. They arrived there on May 30 (CDP IV 305; XI 441). Sousa could thus have met Mascarenhas on his way in France if the latter had not made a detour to the French court, and Dom Pedro would have been free to choose the road he wished in Salamanca, since he was no longer obliged to meet the king's courier. Three "traditions" seems to support the southern route. In 1645 Tellez wrote that Xavier had come to Lisbon on April 17, 1540, where he healed Rodrigues, and that both had been so edifying that a rumor spread among the people that they had miraculously crossed the Tagus dry-shod (*Chronica* I 38 42). The same miracle was ascribed to Queen St. Elizabeth during her pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Iria in Santarém. The rumor probably had its origins in the fact that Rodrigues had to cross the Tagus when he first arrived in Lisbon on April 17, and Xavier had to cross it on his return from Palma (Chaves 167-168). A ship was usually taken from Palma down the Sado River to Setúbal. Horses were then used to go overland to Almada, and from there one crossed the Tagus over to Lisbon. A local tradition, which is repeated in the Portuguese yearbook for 1709 composed by João da Rocha, says that Xavier came to Setúbal on the Sado River and landed at the old jetty, the *Penedo*. The author is right in stating that this happened when Xavier arrived from Palma, but wrong when he says that he had done so on his trip from Rome to Lisbon (ARSI: *Lus.* 54, 197; cf. Oscar Paxeco, "Há que restituir a S. Francisco Xavier como Padroeiro de Setúbal o Padroado que lhe pertence," *O Distrito de*

This old and renowned university city conjured up many memories in the mind of Master Francis. Iñigo had studied here before leaving for Paris. He had been arrested here by the Dominicans with his disciple Calisto and detained in the episcopal prison. They had been bound by the same chain and had been criminally interrogated; but finally, after twenty-two days, they had been released and had even been given permission to give spiritual instructions on the condition that they did not specify what was a venial, and what a mortal, sin before they had studied for four more years. When a woman had visited Iñigo in prison and expressed her grief at seeing him confined despite his innocence, he had told her: "Does this seem to you to be so very bad? Let me tell you that in all of Salamanca there are not so many chains and fetters that I would not wish to bear still more for the love of God."²⁰² Here also in the University of Salamanca, Xavier's cousin, Dr. Martín de Azpilcueta, had taught canon law from 1524 to 1538;²⁰³ and he had finally occupied the *cathedra prima*, which no one as a rule relinquished without securing a rich diocese.²⁰⁴ He had given his lectures in the great aula of the university before overflowing crowds of from eight hundred to a thousand hearers. Even the emperor Charles V, at whose request he had accepted the invitation of John III of going to Coimbra in 1538,²⁰⁵ had once attended one of his lectures.²⁰⁶

A short distance beyond Salamanca the travelers saw far off on the left the tall, pale blue ridge of the Peña de Francia, which for the next two days shut off the horizon. The rolling countryside was covered with fields of rye, pastures, forests of holm oaks, into which thousands of pigs were driven each year from the neighboring province of Estremadura to feed on the acorns, and enclosed meadows, where bulls were raised for the arenas. As they continued west through the sparsely inhabited land, the country became more mountainous, and great grey blocks of stone appeared on the slopes that were now overgrown with white flowering bushes. Then at last, fifty miles beyond Salamanca, there appeared

Setúbal, April 14, 1952, pp. 6 and 5; Chaves 160 163 168-169 and AHSI 22 [1953] 60-61). Dr. Adrián Sánchez Serrano, a parish priest of Zahinos (Badajoz), sent us an historical *study in which he states that in 1928 he had seen an inscription in the chapel of the former Franciscan monastery de la Luz in the desolate Jarales Mountains which commemorated "el paso y misa de S. Francisco Xavier" (later destroyed by the Communists in the Civil War). He suggests that the saint probably came to Portugal from Valladolid by way of Mérida, Barcarota, Jerez de los Caballeros, Oliva de Jerez, Zahinos, Villanueva del Fresno, the Luz monastery, and Cheles. This route, which is beyond the pale of any yet known, and which would involve a lengthy detour is out of the question, whatever may have been contained in the inscription which he saw. This perhaps referred to another Francis. There is, however, an inexplicable tradition favoring the northern route if Xavier did not travel on it to Lisbon. In 1720 Franco wrote in his *Annus gloriosus Societatis Jesu in Lusitania*, which was printed in Vienna (391 723; cf. Chaves 168), that when Rodrigues and Xavier were in Lisbon, a rumor had spread among the people that they had sailed down the Tagus from Tancos to Lisbon on their outspread mantles supported by their staffs. We shall later speak of other traditions which also assume the northern route. Franco (*Synopsis* 722) and Rodrigues (*Hist.* I, 1, 240) therefore concede that Mascarenhas chose the northern route past Ciudad Rodrigo.

²⁰² Ignatius 452-462.

²⁰³ Olóriz 40-58.

²⁰⁴ Arigita, *Dr. Navarro* 137.

²⁰⁵ Olóriz 364-366 356-360. On May 2, 1540, his brother and namesake, Dr. Martín de Azpilcueta senior, had died in Pamplona and had named him as the executor of his will. The doctor had therefore traveled from Coimbra to Navarre, and had then returned from there with his nephew Juan de Azpilcueta and his nieces Anna and María (*ibid.* 61-62).

²⁰⁶ Arigita, *Dr. Navarro* 115-116.

on the height in front of them the old grey walls and towers of a city and its cathedral that dominated the whole region—Ciudad Rodrigo, the Spanish outpost facing Portugal.²⁰⁷

7. THROUGH BEIRA AND ESTREMADURA (JUNE, 1540)

A day's ride from Ciudad Rodrigo brought Dom Pedro and his retinue by way of El Bodón, Fuenteguinaldo, and La Albergaria de Argañón to the Portuguese frontier, twenty-three miles away. Continuing on from there for five hours, they reached the two frontier fortresses of Alfaiates and Sabugal,²⁰⁸ after passing

²⁰⁷ Villuga gives the route: Salamanca, Tejares, Caçadilla, La Sagrada, Las Ventas, Ciudad Rodrigo.

²⁰⁸ Villuga gives as the only route from Salamanca to Lisbon: Ciudad Rodrigo, La Albergaria de Argañón, La Venta, Sabugal, Sant'Estevão, Vale de Lobo, Ponte de Capinha, Atalaia, Tinalhas, Freixial, Sarsedas, La Vendra, Corçiçada, Venta de João Dias, Amendoa, Venta de la Languera, Sardoal, Rio de Moinho, Punhete, Tancos, Golegão, Azinhaga, Santarém, Cartaxo, Azambuja, Villa Nova da Rainha, Castanheira, Povos, Villafranca [de Xira], Alhandra, Alverca, Povoas, S. João da Talha, Sacavém, Lisboa. In 1717 Franco still believed in the Setúbal tradition already mentioned. At the beginning of June, 1540, perhaps after a short rest at Palma, "which lay not far from the road," Xavier and Mascarenhas came by way of Setúbal to Lisbon. According to Rodrigues, whom he healed there, this took three months. Franco also leaves open the possibility that Rodrigues came from Palma with Xavier, but he here refers to another "tradition" preserved in the *chronicle of Father Alvaro Lobo, S.J., (*Imagem de Lisboa* 60-61 63), which he favored in his later works (*Annus gloriosus* 1720, 391, 722-723; *Synopsis* 1726, 2-3; *Anno Santo* 1732, 374 723). This tradition maintained that Rodrigues came from Rome to Barcelona, made a pilgrimage to Montserrat, where God revealed to him during Mass that Xavier would come with the ambassador instead of Bobadilla and the road he would take. Rodrigues then returned to Barcelona, had his companion Paul continue on alone, and went himself by foot from there to Almeida in twenty-five days, where Xavier arrived on May 12 and healed him. From here the two went on foot with Mascarenhas by way of Trancoso and Fataunços to Lisbon. In Trancoso the wealthy pastor of Santa Maria received the travelers hospitably and from the castle pointed out to Xavier the broad plain on which the Portuguese had fought the Castilians on several occasions. He then observed with a smile: "You must know, Father, that no one does any spading in this field without striking the bones of your countrymen, for the Castilians are only comfortable in Portugal when they are dead." At this Xavier quickly retorted: "As far as the dead are concerned, let them be as they will. As far as I am concerned, I can only say, that I shall always, whether living or dead, seek to serve the Portuguese, and especially those of this city," something which he later did in Malacca, where he defended the lives and possessions of the various merchants who had been born in Trancoso. Fataunços was only half a mile from Vouzela, but Rodrigues wanted to follow the example of Xavier and did not go to visit his mother. On May 30 the travelers arrived in Lisbon. Thus far the "tradition." For the date of the arrival in Lisbon, Franco depends upon a paper in the Coimbra Archives which states: "Inde profecti ambo Ulyssiponem, quam sunt ingressi eiusdem [mensis Maii] trigesima die," and Xavier's letter of July 3, 1540, in which he notes that a month had already passed by since his arrival. For the rest he cites three sources: the *chronicle of his confrere and predecessor, Alvaro Lobo, who had died in 1608; Manuel d'Escobar, who had been born in Celorico da Beira in 1587; and Pedro de Novaes, who had been born in 1554. The latter assured him that he had heard all of this from his uncle Simon Rodrigues (*Synopsis* 3). All our sources contradict this fantastic report. Rodrigues came from Palma to Lisbon on April 17, and Xavier at the end of June, as is indicated by his letter of July 23 (not 3) (EX I 33 35-40). The route past Fataunços lay completely off the way to Lisbon, and Mascarenhas, who had written to the king that he would strive to come to Lisbon as soon as possible (CDP IV 298), had no reason to choose this detour of over eighty-one miles. Franco read in the Ms. of Alvaro Lobo that Rodrigues had not

through a lonely mountainous country with its green slopes strewn with granite boulders. Here golden broom, purple thistle, blood-red foxglove, white daisies, and violet rosemary were abloom in the midst of bright ferns, ancient chestnuts and holm oaks. Here also bare, grey stone walls shored up plots of ground that had been laboriously cleared of boulders for the growing of rye. In place of the brown adobe dwellings of the Castilian plateau, they now encountered low white-washed, and, for the most part, single-storied houses. The suntanned peasants here still had a strong admixture of Germanic blood, revealed as it was by their blond hair and grey or blue eyes.

The road then led southwest for sixty-two miles through the mountainous country of Beira Baixa, passing first on the right the high, pale-blue chain of the Estrella reaching to a height of more than 6,560 feet, then its foothills, the Serra da Gardunha, 3,280 feet high and covered with chestnut forests, and, finally, the Serra de Alvelo by way of Capinha, Atalaia, and Sarzedas to Cortiçada.²⁰⁹ The countryside was here more friendly and fruitful, even though mighty blocks of grey granite still rose occasionally out of the ground and the coffee-colored hills were at times covered only with brownish green heather and bright green ferns. Lofty cork oaks with dark green, lancet-shaped leaves and partially stripped, rust-brown trunks, silvery olives, and bright green vineyards interspersed with dark green, broad-leaved fig trees now appeared more frequently upon the sunburned slopes on both sides of the white highway along which the dust-covered travelers were riding.

Beyond Corticada began the province of Estremadura. After traveling for four hours from here, the company reached Rio de Moinhos on the Tagus River and then Punhete,²¹⁰ a village perched upon an olive-covered slope at the confluence of the Zézere and the Tagus, where the latter passed out of its narrow gorge. From here they rode on past the picturesque and fabled fortress of Almourol,²¹¹ which belonged to the Knights Templar and was seated on a rocky island in the middle of the stream, and came in an hour to Tancos,²¹² where the Tagus turned sharply to the south-southwest and flowed into the broad, fruitful

visited his mother when he came to Portugal (*Imagem* 118). Rodrigues' strong views on visiting relatives are well known (*Ep. Broëti* 552-553). Immediately before his return to Portugal in September, 1573, he wrote to General Mercurian from Madrid that he hoped to be in Coimbra before the end of the month. The Spanish province was in need of reform so that members of the Society would not stay in their place of origin or in the homes of their relatives, or go to the court without good reason, as Borgia has already ordained (*ibid.* 761-762). Tellez wrote of the same trip in 1645 that when Rodrigues came at the invitation of the bishop to Vizeu, "passando com dous companheiros seus, por junto da villa de Bouzela, aonde nacéra e aonde ainda tinha huma irmã e muitos parentes, nunca os companheiros puderam acabar com elle, que entrasse na villa, . . . como verdadeiro companheiro do grande Padre Sam Francisco Xavier, que tam notavel exemplo nos deixou neste particular, vindo de Roma pera Portugal" (I 591-592). The legend could have arisen in Lobo from a similar, but earlier, text in which the two companions of Rodrigues would have been Xavier and Mascarenhas and the trip would have been erroneously ascribed to the year 1540 (cf. also Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 240-242). Lucena, who was born in Trancoso in 1550, knows nothing of these fantasies.

²⁰⁹ Today Proença a Nova.

²¹⁰ Today Constancia.

²¹¹ The legend of the castle of Almourol is already contained in the *Chronica do famoso e muyto esforçado cavaleyro Palmeyrim de Inglaterra*, drawn up by Francisco de Moraes, the son of the chief treasurer Sebastião de Moraes, a contemporary of Xavier. A second edition of this had already been printed in Lisbon in 1542.

²¹² The routes here came together and then ran west along the Estrella Mountains.

plain of the Ribatejo. Here the broom had already ceased flowering and the sun beat mercilessly down upon the parched fields. Here too could be seen both Nordic peasants with blond moustaches and blue eyes and olive-skinned peasants of the south with black hair and dark brown eyes.

Don Pedro and his company continued to ride southwards along a road that had vines and olive, fig, orange, and pine trees growing on the hills on the right and the slowly flowing Tagus on the left. On the other side of its metallic blue waters were broad green plains with luxurious meadows that afforded pasturage for sheep, horses, and mules. These were tended by herdsmen mounted on horseback, whose roof-shaped, straw cabins could be seen here and there in the distance.

White towns and villages appeared along the road with ever increasing frequency, all filled with recollections for Dom Pedro Mascarenhas—Golegão with a beautiful church built by the King Manuel in a mixed Moorish-Gothic style,²¹³ Azinhaga,²¹⁴ and Santarém proudly enthroned on a mountain. The latter had formerly been one of the main strongholds of the Moors, but it had been captured from them by the Christians four hundred years before, after numerous bloody battles.²¹⁵ It too had been severely damaged in the terrible earthquake of 1531 which had grievously afflicted Lisbon and the whole of the Ribatejo.²¹⁶ Opposite it, on the other side of the river, in the midst of a wide green plain could be seen Almeirim, the favorite winter resort of the Portuguese kings.²¹⁷ Next, on their right, they came to Cartaxo,²¹⁸ famed for its wines, and Azambuja, two miles from the Tagus, with a pine forest planted in 1296 by King Dinis,²¹⁹ and Villa Nova da Rainha, rich in wine and olives.²²⁰ On the other side of the river was Salvaterra dos Magos with a royal hunting grounds and the beautiful palace of the infante Dom Luis, the brother of the king and special friend of Dom Pedro.²²¹ In 1536 the foolhardy fidalgo Diogo Botelho had come this far in a sailboat which he had built himself. He had sailed this craft, which was only sixteen and one-half feet long and less than ten feet wide, from India around the Cape of Good Hope and then straight across the sea in order to bring to John III the first news of the erection of the fortress of Diu. Since then people from all over Europe had come to admire the boat, which was now drawn up on land near Sacavém.²²²

As the party rode on, they could see on their right the rich estates of the nobility with vines and olives climbing up the hills behind them. On their left was the Tagus alive with the white and russet sails of fishing boats. As they

²¹³ Pinho Leal III 298.

²¹⁴ At one time it also had a magnificent church (*ibid.* I 294).

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* VIII 466-472. In 1544 the **Anonymus Lusitanus* ff. 504v-506v wrote that it was "a very strong and prominent fortress, completely surrounded by walls."

²¹⁶ On the earthquake, see Pinho Leal VIII 367 505.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.* I 148-149.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.* II 130.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.* I 285-286.

²²⁰ *Ibid.* XI 878-879.

²²¹ *Ibid.* VIII 363-364.

²²² Castanheda 8, 103, pp. 371-373, gives the main account of the trip, Barros 4, 6, 14, pp. 83-84, gives the report on his arrival in Salvaterra. This states that the ship was later brought to Sacavém, where it was burned. Couto 5, 1, 2, pp. 12-13, notes that it had been in Sacavém for many years before it rotted away, and that a large part of Europe had gone to see it. Correa, in opposition to Barros and Couto, says that Botelho had looked for the king in Evora (III 668-670).

continued on their way, they passed town after town two or three miles distant from each other. Castanheira was first,²²³ where the parish church and hospital had been destroyed in the earthquake of 1531, and where three years before Dom Antonio de Ataide, the count of Castanheira, who was highly influential with the king and a loyal friend of Dom Pedro, had built a palace for himself.²²⁴ Here also was his father's final resting place²²⁵ in the monastery of the Capuchos,²²⁶ San Antonio.²²⁷ Half an hour from here, and almost entirely concealed in a forest of olive, fruit, and shade trees was Povos. Another half an hour farther on was Villa Franca de Xira with its silvery salt works and green meadows, on which whole herds of cattle and horses grazed. Less than an hour from here was Alhandra, the home of Affonso de Albuquerque, who had founded the colonial empire of Portugal in India by capturing Goa, Malacca, and Ormuz thirty years before. It was also the home of his son Braz de Albuquerque,²²⁸ who as the captain of a ship had accompanied Dom Pedro and the princess Beatrice in 1521 on her bridal journey to Savoy.²²⁹ A short distance beyond Alhandra, near Alverca, the river broadened out into a great, dark blue inlet of the sea. The estates on the hills covered with olive groves and vineyards now increased in number. Village followed village—Povoa with its salt works, Santa Iria, São João de Talha, and Sacavém with its brilliantly painted fishing boats. From the heights above Sacavém²³⁰ there soon appeared a sea of houses ascending the steep hills from the Tagus. Above this large city was an old grey castle and below it a forest of masts in the blue river. The travelers had finally attained their goal after a journey of over three months.²³¹ It was the end of June²³² when Dom Pedro and his retinue, all in good spirits and in the best of health, finally arrived in Lisbon, the capital of Portugal.

²²³ Pinho Leal II 159-160; Lino de Macedo, *Antiguidades do moderno concelho de Villa Franca de Xira* (Villa Franca de Xira, 1893) 231-351.

²²⁴ On the site of the hospital which was destroyed by the earthquake (Macedo 234-237).

²²⁵ Alvaro de Ataide had a son Pedro from his first marriage with Leonor de Noronha, and another, Antonio de Ataide, the first count of Castanheira, from his second marriage with Violante de Tavora (Braamcamp Freire I 419-421).

²²⁶ Franciscan Recollects.

²²⁷ Pinho Leal VII 644-646.

²²⁸ *Ibid.* I 130-131.

²²⁹ Faria y Sousa, *Europa* II 547.

²³⁰ The old road led from Sacavém by way of Portella to Lisbon (*O Archeologo Português* 20 [1915] 98).

²³¹ EX I 38.

²³² Two texts provided the occasion for giving a false date to Xavier's arrival in Lisbon: a Bible printed in Lyons in 1532 which was preserved in Goa and in which the owner had written: "A quinze de Novembro de mil e quinhentos e trinta e seys, partimos de Paris, pera começar nossa vida in Domino. A dezasete d'Abril de mil e quinhentos e quarenta cheguey a Lisboa" (Baltasar Tellez, S.J., *Historia Geral de Etiopia* [Coimbra, 1660] 105); and the copy of one of Xavier's letter from Lisbon which was kept in the archives of the order in Rome. The date on this is not clear and it has a note which was written on it after it had been received: "de 3 de Julio." In 1614 Seb. Gonçalves wrote in Goa that the Bible belonged to Simon Rodrigues, who had given it to Antonio de Quadros in 1555 to take with him to India (1, 6). But in his *Memoriale* on the origin of the Society in Portugal, Francisco d'Araujo, who has born in 1539, entered the Society in Coimbra in 1555, and died in Lisbon in 1625, ascribed the Bible to Xavier. His mistake was followed by Tellez, who in 1645 stated in his *Chronica* that the arrival of the saint was on April 17, 1540. In 1648, Alexandre de Rhodes, S.J., traveled overland from India to Europe with this Bible. He went from Smyrna to Genoa, where he arrived on May 11, 1649, and from there by way of Milan and Loreto to Rome, where he arrived on June 27 (ARSI: *Japsin.* 69, 295-v). In Milan he showed the "Bible

A month later Master Francis wrote to Iñigo and Bobadilla:

Many and continuous were the benefits which Christ our Lord conferred upon us on our journey from Rome to Portugal. We were more than three months on the road before we came to Lisbon; and on this long journey the lord ambassador and his whole retinue, from first to last, enjoyed continuous good health despite all the many difficulties; and for this we must give great praise and thanks to Christ our Lord. For in addition to His ordinary assistance, He held His hand over us in a special manner to save us from all dangers, and He helped the lord ambassador to keep his whole retinue in such good fashion that it seemed more like a religious order than a company of seculars. He went to confession and received Communion frequently; and his people imitated him in this and, following his example, did the same; and they did this with such zeal that when we arrived at an inn which afforded no opportunity for hearing his men's confessions, we were compelled to ride out into the fields and dismount, and then I would hear them.²³³

of St. Francis Xavier," as he called it, to Queen Maria Anna of Austria. One of her attendants, Dom Jerónimo Mascarenhas, gave a report on it a year later in the conviction that he had been the first to find the exact date of Xavier's arrival in Lisbon (*Viage de la Serenissima Reyna Doña María Ana de Austria* [Madrid, 1650] 104). In his report he wrote *chegamos* instead of the original *cheguey* in the entry indicating the owner of the Bib'e. This gave rise to the opinion that Xavier had arrived with Rodrigues. In 1660 Tellez corrected his earlier mistake and pointed out that the Bible belonged to Rodrigues and that the entry had been written in his hand; and he placed the date of Xavier's arrival in the beginning of June, 1540, since he had written on July 3 that he had already been in Lisbon for a month (*Historia de Etiopia* 107-107). Bartoli did the same in 1653 (*Asia* 1, 15). In 1661 Possinus also dated Xavier's letter on July 3, so that Franco in 1717 also placed his arrival in the beginning of June (*Imagem de Lisboa* 62). In 1726 he wrote that he had arrived on May 30 (*Synopsis* 3). But since Delplace wrote in 1887 that the letter was dated on July 13 (*Selectae Indiarum Epistolae* [Florentiae], p. XIV), the *Monumenta Xaveriana* stated in 1900 that his arrival was on June 17 or 18 (I 213). In the same year Cros wrote that it was on June 17 (*Vie* I 164). In 1910 Brou maintained that it was on June 15 (I 87). But in 1931 Rodrigues pointed out that the letter was dated July 23 and that Xavier must have therefore arrived at the end of June and not before the twenty-third (*Hist.* I, 1, 232; cf. 241), as we have proved even more thoroughly in the EX (I 36-38). The day cannot be determined any more exactly (contrary to D. Mauricio, who places it on the twenty-third in *Brotéria* 55 [1952] 458, and Chaves, who states that it was June 28 in the *Revista de Guimarães* 63 [1953] 159, perhaps as a result of a misprint).

²³³ EX I 38-39.

CHAPTER II

AT THE COURT IN LISBON (JUNE—SEPTEMBER, 1540)

1. THE CAPITAL ON THE TAGUS (JUNE, 1540)¹

At the time of Xavier's arrival, Lisbon, with its sea of houses rising up the steep hills on the north bank of the Tagus and its turreted walls, numbered more than sixty thousand inhabitants.² About a tenth of these were Negro slaves, both men and women.³ They were to be found in almost every house, performing all the menial tasks.⁴ The city itself was the heart of the vast Portuguese empire, stretching out west to the newly discovered world as far as the primitive, still unexplored forests of the Amazon River, and east to the distant Spice Islands, or Moluccas. As a consequence, representatives of every race and color could be seen here in their gaudy garments.

¹ Various descriptions of Lisbon in Xavier's time are given by the **Anonymus Lusitanus* in 1544, the *Summario* of Christovão Rodrigues de Oliveira in 1551 (written in 1551, printed between 1554 and 1560), the **Estatística de Lisboa*, written by João Brandão in 1552 and published by A. Braamcamp Friere and Gomes de Brito in 1923 under the title *Tratado da majestade, grandeza e abastança de Lisboa na segunda metade do seculo XVI* (we cite the original manuscript of the Bibl. Nacional, Lisboa: *Fundo Geral* 679, since we could not obtain the printed edition), and the *Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio (Hispaniae Illustratae scriptores varii* II 879-889), written by Damião de Goes in 1554. A good panorama, approximately that of Xavier's time, is contained in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* by Braun und Hogenberg (Col. Agr., 1572; the edition of 1597 has some later changes). Old Lisbon is treated in detail by Julio de Castilho, *Lisboa Antiga: O Bairro Alto* (Lisboa, 1902-1904²); *Bairros Orientaes* (Coimbra, 1884-1890; the second edition, Lisboa, 1934-1944, was not available); *A Ribeira de Lisboa* (Lisboa, 1893, the second edition of 1940-1944 was also not at our disposal).

² The estimates vary. In 1528, according to an exact *census conducted at the order of John III by the clerk Henrique da Mota, the city had 14,014 homes. Counting the entire area, there were 18,048. (TdT *Livraria* 1650, 252) In 1539, according to the **Tombo dos moradores*, which was drawn up from the parish lists, the city of Lisbon had 12,160 *moradores* (Muge, Bibliotheca Cadaval: *codex* 942, 128-v). The **Anonymus Lusitanus* states in 1544 that the city had thirty thousand *vizinhos*, although some give a higher and others a lower figure. But probably there were more, for some houses had five, six and seven *moradores*. Two spectators counted the participants at the same Holy Thursday procession. One gave the number as 45,000 and the other as 43,000 (186-v). The *Summario* of 1551 gives 18,000 *vizinhos*, which would equal about 100,000 individuals, not including the court and foreign merchants (46v). The **Estatística* of 1552 has only 62,500 persons. In 1554 Goes wrote that Lisbon had over 20,000 houses (*Olisiponis Descriptio* 885). In 1569 the plague claimed the lives of 50,000 people in the city alone (Pinho Leal IV 380).

³ According to the *Summario* of 1551, 9,950 of the 100,000 inhabitants were slaves (46v).

⁴ According to Clenardus. He was exaggerating when he wrote from Evora in 1535 that he believed that there were more slaves than free Portuguese in Lisbon (Clénard I 54). In 1552 according to the **Estatística*, a thousand Negro women were employed as street cleaners, another thousand in hauling and selling water, and four hundred as street vendors (100v-101).

Lisbon had quickly recovered from the earthquake of 1531, which had destroyed fifteen hundred houses⁵ in the city alone. Within her walls lived rich merchants,⁶ and all the treasures of the East and West were brought here: brazil-wood from Brazil; sugarcane from there and the Azores; ivory, ebony, cotton, gold, and Negro slaves (from ten to twelve thousand every year)⁷ from Guinea, São Thomé, and Sofala; precious carpets from Persia; bright cotton wares, gold and silver ornaments, pearls and precious stones, pepper, and ginger from India; cinnamon from Ceylon; nutmeg and cloves from the Moluccas; silk goods and porcelain from distant China. The 130,000 to 140,000 hundred-weights of pepper which the three to five India ships brought back every summer were alone worth more than a million *cruzados*.⁸ And each year some fifteen hundred ships sailed into the harbor in order to transport these wares to all the ports of Europe.⁹

In 1429, after long and fruitless attempts, the Portuguese had finally succeeded in sailing around Cape Bojador in West Africa. In the following years their caravels had pushed ever farther south along the coast. In 1443 they reached Cape Verde; in 1460, Sierra Leone and Malagueta¹⁰ on the coast of Guinea; in 1470, Mina on the Gold Coast and the islands of Fernando Po, São Thomé, and Principe; in 1482, the Congo; and, in 1486, Benin on the Slave Coast.¹¹ Since then Negro slaves from all of these kingdoms had been coming continuously to Lisbon. In 1486, 1488, 1514, and 1540 embassies came from Benin. These had given rise to the persuasion that the mysterious Prester John should be sought in the interior of Africa rather than in Central Asia.¹² In 1484, 1489, 1492, 1506, 1513, and 1515, embassies came from the kingdom of the Congo, where the black king Affonso, a true apostle, had won his people over to the faith.¹³ In 1494 Pero de Covilham, after a long search, had finally discovered Prester John in Abyssinia.¹⁴ In 1514 an ambassador of Queen Helena by the name of Matthew had arrived from there in Lisbon; in 1527 another by the name of Zagâ Za Ab had come from her successor, King David, and had remained in Lisbon until 1539; in 1498 Vasco da Gama had discovered the sea route to India; in 1513 an ambassador of the Zamorin of Calicut had sailed to Lisbon, where he had been baptized and given the name of Dom Manuel

⁵ Pinho Leal VIII 367. The king's palaces of Estaos, Ribeira, and Alcaçova, for example, suffered greatly (cf. Bibl. Nac. Lisboa: *Fundo Geral 7638*, 215-v, and Pereira de Sousa, "O terremoto de 26 de Janeiro de 1531," *Boletim da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*, N. S. 2 [1930] 311 to 330). ⁶ **Anonymus Lus.* 185.

⁷ Damião de Goes, "Hispania (1541)," *Hispaniae Illustratae I* 1172; in 1552 there were sixty to seventy slave traders in Lisbon (**Estatistica* 98v; see Cerejeira 185-186).

⁸ Goes, *Hispania* 1172; **Estatistica* 21-v; **Anonymus Lus.* 185; Cerejeira 185-186.

⁹ **Estatistica* 49v-50.

¹⁰ The present day Liberia.

¹¹ Barros, *Asia* 1, 1, 4 to 1, 3, 2; A. Fontouro da Costa, *As portas da Índia em 1484* (Lisboa, 1936) 3-29.

¹² G. Schurhammer, "Die Rätsel der Benin-Altertümer," *Die katholischen Missionen* 56 (1928) 28-30; Barros, *Asia* 1, 3, 4.

¹³ Cf. J. Cuvelier, *L'ancien royaume de Congo* (Bruxelles, 1946); the documents in Ant. Brásio, *Monumenta Missionaria Africana: Africa Occidental I* (Lisboa, 1952); Paiva Manso, *Historia do Congo* (Lisboa, 1877); and Streit XV 702, under "Kongo." Dom Manuel, the brother of Affonso, king of the Congo, probably came to Lisbon while Xavier was still there as his brother's ambassador.

¹⁴ Ficalho, *Viagens de Pedro da Covilham* (Lisboa, 1898) 174-175; cf. also King Manuel's letter to the pope of May 10, 1521 (CDP XI 257-259).

¹⁵ Ficalho 171-203; Barros, *Asia* 2, 7, 6; 3, 1, 4-5; 3, 3, 10; 3, 4, 3.

¹⁶ Ficalho 271-313; Barros, *Asia* 4, 1, 4; Couto 4, 1, 4-5, and 10.

da Cruz;¹⁷ and since 1529 Ra'is Sharaf, the former *vezier* of Ormuz, had been living in Portugal as a political exile.¹⁸

The Rossio, which was alive with colorful activities on Tuesday,¹⁹ the market day, was the main square of Lisbon. On the north it was bounded by the royal palace of Estaos, a solemn and imposing structure flanked by two heavy square towers.²⁰ On the east was the Dominican monastery,²¹ which had recently been reformed by Frey Jeronimo Padilla.²² Here were to be found the miraculous picture of Nossa Senhora da Escada²³ and a confraternity for Negro slaves and freedmen.²⁴ Here too was the large and ornate hospital of All Saints with its arcaded front fitted out with booths for merchants. At its center was a three-apsed church. The complex, to which eight chaplains were assigned, had been begun by King John II and brought to completion and richly endowed by King Manuel. It was an infirmary, a hospital for incurables, an insane asylum, a foundling home, and a hospice for pilgrims and beggars all in one.²⁵ Its four inner courts were planted with orange trees. From a height to the west of the Rossio, a Carmelite monastery looked down upon the square. Within the choir of its church was the elaborate Gothic tomb of its founder, the saintly Nuno Alvares Pereira, who had defeated the Castilians in the memorable battle of Aljubarrota in 1385.²⁶

¹⁷ Correa, *Lendas* II 331 556-558 564 895; Schurhammer, "Letters of D. João da Cruz in the National Archives of Lisbon," *Kerala Society Papers* 6 (Trivandrum, 1930) 304-307; João da Cruz, *a Chetti, not a Nair*, *ibid.* 10 (1932) 276.

¹⁸ Barros, *Asia* 4, 3, 10-12; Ford I 326; Schurhammer, *Quellen*, nn. 124 592 997 1470 1583 1585 1889 2392.

¹⁹ **Estatistica* 37-39; *Summario* 48v-49.

²⁰ A report on the trip of the Japanese ambassadors who came to Lisbon in 1584 states that one side of the Rossio was bordered "regio quodam sumptuosissimo palatio, hortisque eiusdem amoenissimis, cuius amplitudinem, artificiumque describendi non est locus...; inter septem praecipua Olyssipponensia opera numeratur" (E. de Sande, S.J., *De Missione legatorum iaponensium* [In Macaensi portu, 1590] 168). On the palace see also Castilho, *Bairros Orientaes* IV 113-124; VI 204-231. It was destroyed by the earthquake of 1755.

²¹ Cacegas I 360-369.

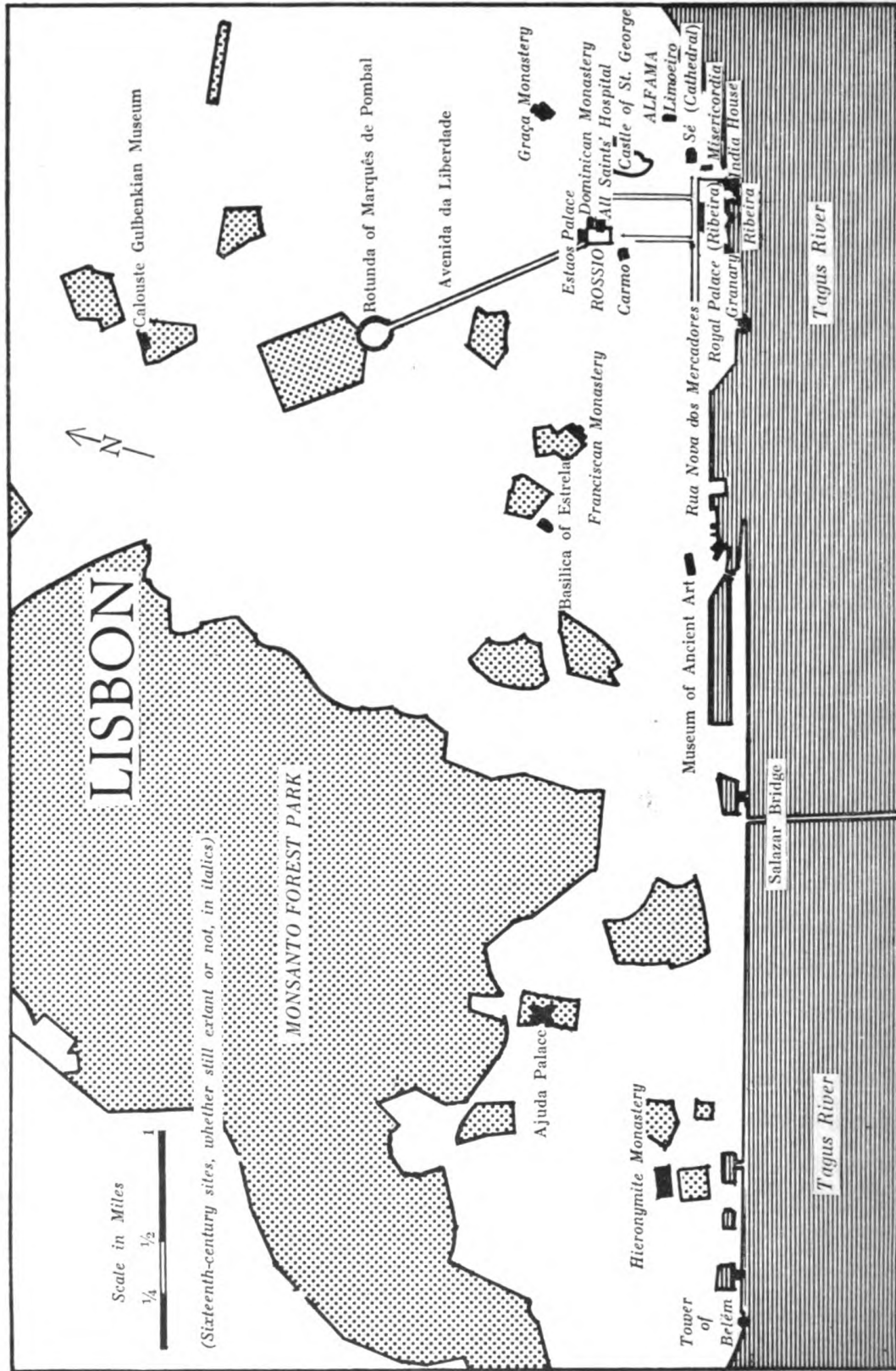
²² **Anonymus Lus.* 195v-196v.

²³ The devout and saintly Frey Fernando de Cadaval, who died in 1555, was sacristan of the church at this time. On him and the church, see Cacegas I 369-377.

²⁴ *Summario* 28v; TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 17, 44v; 22, 100-v.

²⁵ On the well-known hospital see the contemporary descriptions: in 1539 Ruy Diaz de Isla, *Tractado contra el mal serpentino, quo vulgarmente en España es llamado bubas, que fue ordenado en el Ospital de Todos los Santos de Lisboa* (Sevilla, 1539), where the author was a doctor for over ten years; in 1544 the **Anonymus Lus.* 190-v; in 1551 *Summario* 23v-26; in 1552 **Estatistica* 57-64; and in 1554 Goes, *Olisip.* 886. More recent works are: Alfredo Luiz Lopes, *O Hospital de Todos os Santos* (Lisboa, 1890); Victor Ribeiro, *A Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa* (Lisboa, 1902) 96-94; Mário Carmona, *O Hospital Real de Todos-os-Santos da Cidade de Lisboa* (Lisboa, 1954); and Avila e Bolama, *A Nova Carta Chorographica de Portugal* 3 (Lisboa, 1914) 208-242. From 1530 to 1564 the *lojos*, that is, the canons of the monastery of St. Eloy, were in charge of the hospital. Mendes Pinto mentions the arcaded front filled with shops (*Peregrinaçam*, c. 108). In 1601 and 1750 the hospital was destroyed by fire.

²⁶ On the church, in ruins since the earthquake of 1755, and monastery, see Frey Joseph Pereira de Santa Anna, *Chronica dos Carmelitas da antiga e regular observancia nestes reinos de Portugal* 1 (Lisboa, 1745) 474-475 572-769; Castilho, *Bairros Orientaes* I 371-380; Ig. de Vilhena Barbosa, *Monumentos de Portugal* (Lisboa, 1886) 365-382; G. A. de Matos Sequeira, *O Carmo e a Trindade* (Lisboa, 1939-1941); and also the brief statements of contemporaries, the **Anonymus Lus.* 197 and *Summario* 29. The tomb of the founder was in the choir until 1548; on this see also **Lousada* II 313-v.



South of the Rossio was the business section of the city. The broad, straight, brick-paved Rua Nova dos Mercadores, the main street of the city, crossed it from east to west. This was where the wealthiest merchants lived, and where the precious wares from the East and West were auctioned off.²⁷ Beyond this street was the Ribeira with its fish and grain markets,²⁸ its docks and forest of masts, for there were usually some two hundred ships anchored in the river or drawn up upon the strand.²⁹ To the north of the Ribeira was the royal palace of the same name,³⁰ which had been badly damaged by the earthquake of 1531. To the east of it was the granary,³¹ and to the west the India House,³² where pepper and cloves, African ivory, and all the treasures of the lands across the seas were stored. It was here that João de Barros, its forty-four-year-old superintendent and royal chronicler, wrote his *Decadas da Asia*³³ after the toils of the day. Behind the India House was the armory, the wealthiest in the world, and the arsenal, where ships were built, repaired and equipped for Brazil, Africa, and India.³⁴ On June 27, at the very time that Xavier entered the city in the company of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, the first of the six India ships which had set out from Cochin in January, 1540, the São João, arrived in Lisbon.³⁵

To the east of the Ribeira were the Alfama and, above it, on the steep heights of a fortified hill, the ruined castle of St. George and the palace of Alcáçova.³⁶ The Alfama itself was an impenetrable maze of streets, alleys, dead ends, steps and stairs, spanned by arches and filled with tall dark houses and wineshops. This was the quarter of the fishermen and sailors.³⁷ Here too was to be found the new and elaborate church of the Confraternity of the Misericórdia, which had been founded by the Trinitarian Frey Miguel de Contreiras in 1498 for works of Christian charity, and which had in a short time spread throughout Portugal and its overseas possessions.³⁸ Its manuelesque fa-

²⁷ Cf. *Summario* 49, the **Estatistica* 40-41, and Goes, *Olisip.* 886-887. King Manuel's book of hours contains a picture of them, published in HCPB I 4 and 24. In 1521 when Ant. de Britto and Diogo Pereira came to Gaur, the capital of Bengal, they found that the streets there were all paved with bricks like the Rua Nova in Lisbon (TdT: *Col. S. Vicente* XI, 61).

²⁸ *Summario* 49v; **Estatistica* 33v-34 47v 99-100v; Castilho, *A Ribeira* 193-204.

²⁹ **Anonymus Lus.* 186v; **Estatistica* 49-50.

³⁰ Castilho, *A Ribeira* 240-252 266-426; *Bairros Orientaes* IV 119; VII 343. The palace burned down during the earthquake of 1755.

³¹ Goes, *Olisip.* 887.

³² **Estatistica* 81 85-v; Goes, *Olisip.* 887; Castilho, *A Ribeira* 257-260; Damiã Peres, *Regimento das Casas da India e Mina* (Coimbra, 1947). The India House was completely destroyed along with its valuable archives by the earthquake of 1755.

³³ Barros, *Asia* Prologo.

³⁴ *Summario* 49v; **Estatistica* 83v-85; Goes, *Olisip.* 888; Castilho, *A Ribeira* 260-263. Destroyed by fire in 1884 .

³⁵ **Sarmiento* 79; Figueiredo Falcão 159.

³⁶ In 1544 the **Anonymus Lus.* wrote about the buildings of the palace of Alcáçova: "Agora ao presente por não serem abitados estão muy danificados, em algumas partes deribados" (184). In 1540 the roof was repaired (TdT: *CC* 2-232-117). In 1549 the palace chapel was still in such a state of ruins that rain fell into it as upon the street, as Goes wrote to the king on February 15 (TdT *CC* 1-82-53). During the earthquake of 1531, the walls had collapsed in many places (Bibl. Nac. Lisboa: *Fundo Geral* 7638); cf. also Castilho, *Bairros Orientaes* III 82-147; IV 118.

³⁷ **Anonymus Lus.* 189; Castilho, *A Ribeira* 136-139.

³⁸ Costa Goodolphim, *As Misericordias* (Lisboa, 1897); Victor Ribeiro, *A Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa* (Lisboa, 1902); **Estatistica* 52-54v; **Anonymus Lus.* 189-v; *Summario* 16v to 17v. On August 24, 1540, the king issued an order that the Misericórdia

cade was the most beautiful in the city, and in the tympanum over the main door could be seen a relief of the Mother of Mercy spreading her mantle over Pope Alexander VI, Frey Miguel, King Manuel, and Queen Leonor as a sign of her protection.³⁹ East of this was the severe Gothic cathedral with its two tall towers.⁴⁰ Within it was the simple tomb of the cardinal infante Dom Affonso, the brother of the king, who had died on April 21, while Xavier was on his way to Lisbon.⁴¹ Not far from here were the Aljube, the episcopal prison, the town hall with the Limoeiro, the city jail,⁴² and Santo Eloy, the monastery of the blue-robed canons of Sts. George and John the Evangelist.⁴³ In its cloister was the sepulcher of Dom Pedro, the Congolese ambassador who had died two years before.⁴⁴ In the monastery there were a number of Negro students from the Congo and four young Malabars, who had come from India in 1538, studying for the priesthood.⁴⁵

On a height behind the fortified hill in the former Moorish quarter of the city, the Mouraria, was the great Graça monastery of the Augustinian hermits.⁴⁶ It had recently been reformed by the Spanish commissaries Frey Francisco de Villafranca and Frey Luis de Montoya.⁴⁷ The Franciscan monastery, San Francisco da Cidade, with a hundred in the community was located on another

in Lisbon should name twenty-four persons who could beg from door to door in his name for the poor and imprisoned, since he wanted the alms of the confraternity to increase and not decrease; and they should have the same rights as the alms collectors for the prisoners (*Revista de Historia* 8 [1910] 326). In 1540 the *provedor* of the Misericórdia in Lisbon was Alvaro da Costa; in 1541 it was Duarte da Costa (Bibl. Nac. Lisboa: *Fundo Geral* 170; Cardoso IV 26).

³⁹ Costa Goodolphim 21. The façade of the present Conceição Velha is that of the church of the Misericórdia destroyed in 1755.

⁴⁰ Castilho, *Bairros Orientaes* III 168-180. The towers collapsed in 1755. Cf. also the **Anonymus Lus.* 187-188.

⁴¹ **Anonymus Lus.* 188.

⁴² In 1552 the **Estatistica* of 1552 distinguishes eleven prisons: the *tronco* of the market inspector; the *cadea* (Limoeiro) with six divisions, three for men—the city prison, the court-prison, and another for those who had been degraded (*degradados*)—and three for women; two prisons of the Inquisition (one for common prisoners and one for those condemned for life); the prison of the mint; and the Aljube, that is, the episcopal prison for clerics (78v-79).

⁴³ Francisco de Santa Maria, *O Ceo aberto na terra. Historia das sagradas Congregações dos Conegos Seculares de S. Jorge em Alga de Venesa e de S. João Evangelista em Portugal* (Lisboa, 1697) 423-454; **Anonymus Lus.* 199v-200; *Summario* 29v-30.

⁴⁴ Francisco de Santa Maria 268.

⁴⁵ In the dedication of his *Grammatica da lingua portuguesa* to the infante Felipe, Barros states that they now had a divine example of God's work among the heathens "na conversam de cinquente e sete mil almas na terra do Malabár [the conversion of the Paravas is meant]: onde sam Thomae com tanto trabalho e martirio passou desta vida á celestial gloria. Com zelo de aprender a qual lingua, quatro dos principaes deste povo veeram este anno. . . . Aos quaes elrey vosso padre, como zelador da fae, mandou recolher na casa de santo Eloy desta cidade, pera ahi aprenderem com os outros Etiopas de Congo, de que ia temos bispos e theólogos." Felipe died on April 29, 1539. The four Indians came to Lisbon in August, 1538 (Figueiredo Falcão 158). They are probably to be identified with Matthew Dias, who returned to India in 1549 (Silva Rego IV 477), Vicente de Nazareth, Jorge Carvalho, and Thomé da Cruz, who translated the catechism into Tamil at the king's request. It appeared in Lisbon at the beginning of 1554 (Américo Cortez Pinto, *Da famosa Arte de Imprimissão* [Lisboa, 1948] 358-359); cf. the financial accounts of Santo Eloy for 1539-1543 in Brásio II 67-69.

⁴⁶ *Summario* 28; Frey Antonio da Purificação, *Chronica de antiquissima Provincia de Portugal da Ordem dos Eremitas de S. Agostinho* (Lisboa, 1642-1656).

⁴⁷ Frey Joseph de San Antonio, *Flos Sanctorum Augustiniano* I 705-708.

height west of the Rossio.⁴⁸ Also west of the square, an hour's distance from the city, was the ornate and still unfinished Hieronymite monastery of Belém,⁴⁹ erected in a mixed manuelesque style. It had been founded by King Manuel in fulfillment of a vow of thanksgiving for the successful return of the fleet of Vasco da Gama, which had sailed from here in 1497 to find the seaway to India. The founder's tomb was in the vestibule of the church; and not far away, in the center of the river, was the white watchtower, built in the same style, that controlled the entrance to the harbor of Lisbon.⁵⁰

2. A HAPPY REUNION (END OF JUNE, 1540)⁵¹

Opposite the Carmo, the church and monastery of the Carmelites, lay the palace of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, where the travelers dismounted on their arrival in Lisbon.⁵² Xavier paid his first visit in the city to his confrere Simon Rodrigues and Misser Paulo,⁵³ who were living in a house which the king had rented for

⁴⁸ *Summario* 30; **Estatística* 51; Frey Manoel da Esperança, *Historia Serafica da Ordem dos Frades Menores de S. Francisco na Provincia de Portugal* 1 (Lisboa, 1656) 185-213. The monastery, which was destroyed in 1755, is today the national library.

⁴⁹ **Anonymus Lus.* 199v-200; *Summario da Prefaçam Funebre, que o doutor Antonio Pinheiro pregador del Rey N. S. fez por seu mandado no dia da Tresladação dos ossos dos muito altos e muito poderosos principes el Rey dom Manuel seu pay, e a Rainha dona Maria sua mãy* (Lisboa, 1551) 22; Frey Joam Soares, *Libro de la verdad de la fe* (Lisboa, 1543) dedication; Goes, *Chronica do Rei Dom Emanuel* 1, 53; 4, 75; Manoel de Sampaio Ribeiro, "Do sitio do Restelo e de suas igrejas de Santa Maria de Belem," *Academia Portuguesa da História: Anais* II 2 (1949) 263-377; Cesar da Silva, *Mosteiro dos Jeronymos* (Lisboa, 1903²).

⁵⁰ Also called Torre de São Vicente, cf. *Summario* 31-v; Reinaldo dos Santos, *A Torre de Belem* (Lisboa, 1922).

⁵¹ The sources for the beginning of the Society of Jesus in Lisbon from 1540 to 1541 are the letters of Xavier and Rodrigues (EX I 32-91; *Ep. Broëti* 520-527), of the king (Ford I 357-366), of the Spanish ambassador, Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza (Simancas: *Secretaria do Estado* 168); the report of **Anonymus Lusitanus* of 1544; the biographical statements of Manoel Godinho and Miguel de Sousa of 1561 (**Resposta Nadal* II 23-25; IV 179-180v, in part edited in *Ep. Nadal* I 556, 4 and 510, 3); the descriptions in Polanco (*Chronicon* I 87-88 94-95; FN I 228-241), in the **Historia de la fundation del collegio de S. Anton hecha en março de 1574* (ARSI: *Lus.* 77, 1-4), in the **Breve Memorial da Origem desta Provincia da Companhia de Jesu de Portugal e Provincias dela*, to be used with some care, composed by Francisco de Araujo, S.J., about 1603 (Coimbra, Library of the University: *Ms.* 140); the **Chronica da Companhia de Jesus na Provincia de Portugal* of Alvaro Lobo, S.J., who died in 1608, the *Chronica* of B. Tellez, S.J., of 1645 (I 17-18 38-59 564-572); and also the data in Franco (*Imagem de Lisboa* 60-66 130-159; *Imagem de Coimbra* I 761-768; *Annus gloriosus* 391-392 722-723; *Ano Santo* 374 723; *Synopsis* 2-5); and the **Supplemento* to Tellez' chronicle by José Leite, S.J., who died in 1751 (Porto, Bibl. Municipal: *Ms.* 534, c. 3-5). Rodrigues gives the best recent account, *Hist.* I, 1, 230-235 240-280.

⁵² Franco, who erroneously states that Rodrigues came to Lisbon with Xavier, wrote about their arrival: "Posteaquam urbem tenuerunt, triduum quieti indulgent in ipsius Legati aedibus Carmelitarum Coenobio vicinis, in quorum templo ad aram operatus esse Xaverius constanti memoria perhibetur" (*Synopsis* 3). In 1554 Dona Elena, the wife of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, was living "em humas casas, que entam eram suas, defronte da porta principal do Carmo, a que chamam as casas do arco" (Tellez II 96). In 1586 she had the will of her deceased husband of 1554 changed. Her heir Dom Nuno Mascarenhas should receive her residence in Lisbon instead of her house in Alcacer do Sal "ao baixo do Marques junto ao Mosteiro do Carmo" (Alcacer do Sal, Misericordia: *will of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas).

⁵³ EX I 40.

them opposite the hospital of All Saints not far from the palace of Estaos.⁵⁴ Master Simon was sick in bed with a fever and was expecting a new assault the day that Xavier arrived, His joy at seeing him again was so great that Francis could write a month later that the fever which had afflicted Rodrigues so long had disappeared at that moment and had not returned again.⁵⁵

Rodrigues and Misser Paulo had sailed from Civitavecchia to Lisbon without incident; and at the beginning of April, when their ship anchored an hour's distance from the capital, a legate from the king, who had been so ordered by his lord, had come on board the ship to greet them and take them away. Since Rodrigues was still afflicted with a fever and indisposed from the long sea journey, he had excused himself and had gone with Misser Paulo to the ambassador's country home in Palma, south of the Tagus, to regain his strength. Dona Elena, the wife of Dom Pedro, had given them a warm welcome and medical care, but eight or ten days later a courier had come from the court with a note from the king ordering Rodrigues to come at once, whether he was sick or well; for, if he was still sick, he would be able to obtain better care in Lisbon. On the evening of April 17 the two had therefore entered the capital, where the king had lodged them the first night with the bishop and had then received them in a private audience on the following day. He had offered them the house in which Xavier found them as a dwelling and had provided them with a servant to take care of their rooms. He had also ordered one of his physicians to attend to the sick priest and to get all the medicines that might be needed from the palace pharmacy. Through his chief steward he had told Rodrigues that they would receive all their food from the palace kitchen, and that a servant would come twice a day in order to learn what they wanted for their noon and evening meals. In short, he had been taking care of his guests in such a truly royal fashion that Master Simon had experienced a considerable amount of difficulty in resisting him and had only with the greatest effort obtained permission from his generous benefactor to beg for his daily food from door to door.

Shortly after Rodrigues' arrival the brother of the king, the cardinal infante Dom Affonso, had died⁵⁶ as edifying a death as the life he had lived. He had not considered it beneath his dignity to bring Holy Communion to the sick in their own homes. Master Simon praised the fine spirit which flourished throughout the country because of the zeal and good example of the royal family. An archbishop⁵⁷ imitated the cardinal infante in hearing personally the confessions of his flock. The bishops and the king had appointed teachers to instruct the

⁵⁴ At the end of June, after Xavier's arrival, Rodrigues wrote: "Mandóme dar [el Rey] una casa cerca de su palacio" (EX I 33); and in a later letter he stated: "Quanto al modo de estar el Rey los mandó proveer de casa y todo lo necessario" (*ibid.* 52). but the *Historia of 1574 says of Rodrigues: "Luego en viniendo de Roma con Micer Pablo Italiano lo mandó Su Alteza aposentar en el hospital que se llama del rey, que es uno de los más nobles del mundo. De ay a pocos días le alquiló allí cerca unas casas de las que estavan deputadas para el aposentamiento real, en las cuales posava el Padre en este tiempo [end of 1541]" (ARSI: *Lus.* 77, 1). Godinho, who was at this time visiting the priests, says: "Posavan en unas casas en el Rosio, . . . como el rey posava en los Estaos, y ellos tan cerca" (*Ep. Nadal* I 556, n. 4).

⁵⁵ EX I 40.

⁵⁶ He died on April 21, 1540 (Alcáçova Carneiro 13-14).

⁵⁷ The infante Dom Henrique, archbishop of Braga, is probably meant, for the diocese of Lisbon was at that time without a bishop, and the archbishop of Funchal, Dom Martinho de Portugal, had fallen into disfavor with the king.

rich and poor, both young and old, in the faith; and they threatened to punish parents who did not send their children to school. There was, consequently, no lack of work for the zealous priests, whether this consisted in assisting people of high rank or in helping a number of poor fallen women who had been converted. Rodrigues had given the Exercises to one of the most prominent persons in the city with great success; and on June 16 one of his penitents had, after the example of King David, danced and sung spiritual songs, to the great admiration of the people, in the solemn procession on Corpus Christi, in which the king also took part.⁵⁸

3. THE AUDIENCE (END OF JUNE, 1540)

Three or four days after Xavier's arrival, the king summoned him and Rodrigues.⁵⁹ He and the queen were living at this time in the palace of Estaos,⁶⁰ which had been rebuilt after the earthquake of 1531.⁶¹ They received their visitors in one of their private chambers with great kindness.⁶² Dom João III, who was now thirty-eight years old,⁶³ was of medium height like his brothers and strongly built, with broad hips and a short neck. He had a fresh, cheerful countenance, slightly flushed cheeks, and a full dark beard.⁶⁴ In contrast to his father's splendid manner of dress, he wore the simple, black, traditional Portuguese garb.⁶⁵ He had an awe-inspiring mien and was slow and deliberate in his manner of speaking and acting. He was calm and self-possessed, and

⁵⁸ EX I 33-35; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 231-235.

⁵⁹ EX I 41.

⁶⁰ *Ep. Nadal* I 556, 4: **Parlata di D. Giouvan III, re di Portogallo, ai Padri S. Francesco Xaverio e Simone Rodrigues nel primo loro arrivo in Lisbona, e risposta dai mesimi al re* (ARSI: *Epp. Ext.* 46, 232-v).

⁶¹ During the earthquake of 1531 the greater portion of the palace collapsed (Bibl. Nac. Lisboa: *Fundo Geral* 7638). In 1571 Francisco de Hollanda wrote to King Sebastian in his treatise **Da Fabrica que falece ha Cidade de Lysboa*: "Vossa Alteza não tem casas em Lysboa dinas de sua pessoa, por onde hora mora na Ribeira, hora nos Estaos, hora em casas velhas que não são lugares de Rey" (*Ajuda Lisboa: codex* 51-3-9). But Hollanda, who was crazy about the Renaissance, regarded all Gothic architecture as pure barbarism.

⁶² EX I 41.

⁶³ Despite the prejudiced accounts of Alexandre Herculano, who has in other respects contributed much to Portuguese history, and of the liberal school, new research has again justified John III; cf. Fort. de Almeida, *Historia de Portugal* II 301-371; Llanos y Torriglia 26-50; Alfredo Pimenta, *D. João III* (Pôrto, 1936); Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, LXVIII-XCI; I, 2, 587-601. See the eulogies of contemporaries in the older authors: João de Barros and Ant. de Castilho (J.F. Monteiro de Campos Coelho Souza, *Panegyricos do Grande Joao de Barros* [Lisboa, 1791]); Diogo de Teive (*Jacobi Tevii Opuscula aliquot in laudem Joannis Tertii* [Salmanticae, 1558]); Manuel Alvarez, Petrus Sylvius, and Michael Vanegas (Bibl. Nac. Lisboa: *Fundo Geral* 3308, 88-107 363-379); and André de Rezende (*In obitum D. Ioannis III. Lusitaniae Regis Conquestio* [Olisipone, 1557]); Tel'ez II 247-287; and, especially for the historical events, the *Chronica* of Francisco d'Andrada (Lisboa, 1613); the *Annaes* of Frey Luis de Sousa (Lisboa, 1844); and Sousa, *Historia Genealogica* III 479-543. See also the letters of the king in CDP II-VII XI; Ford I; *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. I (Nova-Goa, 1877); J. Freire de Andrade, *Vida de D. João de Castro* (Lisboa, 1835) 397-514; and Mario Brandão, *Documentos de D. João III* (Coimbra, 1937-1941).

⁶⁴ Andrada, *Chronica* 1, 6; 4, 128. The best pictures are those of Antonio Moro, of 1552, in the Misericordia and of Christovão Lopes in the museum of the Janellas Verdes in Lisbon (in color in HCPB III 6).

⁶⁵ Andrada 1, 4.

his blue green eyes reflected a native kindness that immediately won the hearts of his visitors.⁶⁶ The queen, Dona Catarina,⁶⁷ a year younger than Xavier, was the sister of the emperor Charles V. She was a true granddaughter of Isabella the Catholic—tall, strong, majestic, and full of dignity. Her fair, well-shaped face resembled that of her father, Philip of Austria.⁶⁸

The audience lasted for a full hour, and the king and queen asked about the companions in detail. They wished to know how they had become acquainted with each other, how they had banded together, what their first plans had been, and how they were faring in the persecution at Rome. They were glad to hear that the truth had come out, and that the companions would not give in until the accusations made against them had been juridically proven false. The king also expressed the hope that the decision would be in their favor. The conversation turned also to spiritual matters, and the king and queen expressed their joy at the great profit with which the priests had already labored in Lisbon. At the end of the audience they had their daughter, the infanta Maria, and their son, Prince João, brought into the room, where they introduced them to their guests.⁶⁹

Maria, the infanta, who was as pretty as a picture and strong and healthy like her mother, was thirteen years old.⁷⁰ Her quiet little brother, who was

⁶⁶ A valuable *report of the chronicler of the order, Alvaro Lobo, S. J., on John III, which was drawn up about 1600, states: "El aspecto significava de tal manera la realidad de su persona, que ordinariamente dizian los cavalleros de su corte, que, vestido en un gabán de un lavrador, aunque estuviera en un exercito de cien mil hombres, seria luego concocido por Rey; y daqui nacia que muchas personas aun de los principales de su corte veniendo a hablarle a la vista de tan grande magestad se les olvidava lo que querian dezir. Pero esta magestad mesclava con tanta benignidad y blandura para con los suyos que reverenciandola por una parte tanto como hemos dicho, por otra le amavan como a padre, y ni aun los proprios enemigos le podian dexar de amar, y todos le llamavan padre de la patria" (ARSI: *Lus.* 106, 424v). Pedro de Mariz gives many examples of his kindness, *Dialogos de varia historia* 2 (Lisboa, 1758) 71-75. The slowness of the king was as proverbial as his kindness. Already in 1530-1531 the old duke of Bragança complains about it (Ford II 87 94-96 99); the instructions for the nuncio of 1542 state: "Nelle cose di grande importanza . . . non si permetta mai per spettar la risposta del re, perchè è lunghissimo" (CDP V 150); and in 1552 the nuncio Zambeccari wrote how energetically the king had an English fanatic punished; it was surprising, "veder un Re tanto flematico et tardo in tutte le sue attioni in quel tempo mostrarsi se fervente" (Archiv. Vat. *Lettere di Principi* 19, 55v).

⁶⁷ On the queen, see Sousa, *Historia Genealogica* III 521-529; Francisco da Fonseca Benavides, *Rainhas de Portugal* 2 (Lisboa, 1876) 2 ff.; and, especially, Felix de Llanos y Torriglia, *Contribución al estudio de la reina de Portugal, Doña Catalina de Austria* (Madrid, 1923). Sousa gives her court list for 1542-1572 (*Provas* VI 624-628), and also her will of 1574 (*ibid* I II 23-54). See also Rahner, *Briefwechsel*, pp. XIX 54-61 576-577.

⁶⁸ On her iconography, see the *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira* VI 283-284 and Llanos 80-81. Llanos gives her picture by Antonio Moro in the Prado Museum in Madrid; her portrait in the Misericordia in Lisbon is given in color in the *História de Portugal* of Damião Peres 4 (Barcelos, 1932) 238. In 1571 *Venturino still praised her fresh appearance and tall, attractive figure (II 47v). The instructions for the nuncio of 1542 describe her as a "donna religiosa molto, santa e temente Dio" (CDP V 152).

⁶⁹ EX I 35 41.

⁷⁰ On January 16 *Sarmiento wrote to Cobos the number of the queen's children who had already died and noted that the doctors thought that the malady with which she was afflicted was of such a kind that none of her children could live for more than six years. He then added: "Only the Señora Infanta, their first child, was born quite differently; she arrived very healthy and is the most beautiful girl (*moça*) in the world, and Señora Dona María de Velasco [the first lady-in-waiting] says that she is the most beautiful [princess] that she has ever seen; and she has seen not a few. I call her *moça*, even if she is in age only a *mochacha*. She is more of a woman than her mother,

only three, was, on the other hand, so weak and sickly that his parents, as they informed the priests,⁷¹ feared that he might follow his brothers and sisters, all of whom with the exception of Maria had died at an early age.⁷² Affonso, their first child, had been born in 1526 in Almeirim and had died in his cradle. Isabel and Brites, who had been born in 1529 and 1530 respectively, had lived only a short time. Manuel, who had been born in 1531, had lived for only six and a half years; Philip, born in 1533, for only six; and Dinis, born in 1535, for only a year and a half. All of these had been carried away by the same deadly illness; and Antonio, who had been born in March, 1539, had died in January the following year of chicken pox.⁷³

The pious king, full of zeal for the honor of God, had decreed that the noble pages of the court, the *maços fidalgos*, should receive the sacraments once a week. He earnestly asked the two priests to take care of them and to hear their confessions every Friday; for, as he observed, if they came to know and love God in their youth, they would give a good example as adults; and if they were such as they should be as adults, they would set an example for the common people; for if the nobility would be reformed, then so would be the majority of his subjects.⁷⁴

A great many individuals had come to the palace of Estaos in order to see, as they said, "the saintly priests from Rome";⁷⁵ and Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, who spoke with the king after the audience, told his protégés that his lord had avowed to him that he would be very happy to have the whole Society come to Lisbon, even if this should cost him a part of his empire.⁷⁶ Once when Dom João was standing at a window with the *marquês da Villa Real*, Dom Pedro de

and her parents never let her from their side; they are completely in love with her, and with good reason" (11v). On July 25 he repeated what he had noted earlier: "Es la más linda cosa que nunca se vió, y tan muger como su madre" (77). See the description of her given by Ludwig Pfandl: "Goldhaar, rundliches Kindergesicht, milchig zarte Hautfarbe der Rotblonden, schwarze, schön geschnittene Augen, schmale, leicht geschwungene Brauen, feine, regelmässige Züge, hohe, breit gewölbte Stirn" (*Philipp II* [München, 1938] 74), and her picture (*ibid.* 81). ⁷¹ Ex I 41.

⁷² On June 1, 1539, *Sarmiento wrote of him: "The prince had diarrhea and fever; he is so weak that it is thought that he does not have much hold on life. The diarrhea and fever have left him, but he eats nothing. This is why they have not dared for the past six months to wean him, and he is kept at the breast, even though it is said that this is bad for a child who suffers from the disease which has carried off all the king's children. He is the cleverest child ever seen. He already speaks a few words now and then. . . . But he is so delicate that his parents and everyone else cannot help but fear for his life" (26v). On January 16, 1540, he wrote: "The prince, who is about three years old, does not speak, though he hears, which is a sign that he is not mute. He is so sickly and weak that there is little hope that he will live" (71).

⁷³ On January 21, 1540, *Sarmiento wrote again: "On the sixteenth of this month I wrote to Your Excellency about how little hope all here have for the lives of the children of Their Highnesses, the king and queen of Portugal, doctors as well as others. Yesterday, St. Sebastian's day, God took the infante Dom Antonio to heaven. He died of the disease from which all his brothers died except the last prince, who died from chicken pox" (73). Antonio died of epilepsy (Alcáçova Carneiro 13).

⁷⁴ EX I 41-42.

⁷⁵ According to a later account of Miguel de Sousa, who was at that time staying at the court as a *moço fidalgo* (Franco, *Imagem de Lisboa* 62; *Synopsis* 3). According to the **Parlata di D Giouan III*, the king received the priests "alla presenza di molti signori e fidalghi della sua corte" (ARSI: *Epp. Est.* 46, 232); Araujo (c. 4) makes a similar observation, but this can only mean that they were in the palace and not at a regular audience.

⁷⁶ EX I 36 42; cf. *Ep. Broëti* 521.

Meneses, and saw the two priests passing by, he asked him: "What do you think of those people?" In reply, the marquês spoke highly of their virtue. The king then said: "As far as I am concerned, they seem to be apostles."⁷⁷

4. APOSTOLATE IN THE COURT (JUNE-SEPTEMBER, 1540)

Xavier moved into the house near the palace of Estaos occupied by Rodrigues and Misser Paulo.⁷⁸ Out of regard for Dom Pedro, who lived in the neighborhood, he preferred to celebrate Mass to the left of the transept in the church of the Carmo at the altar of Our Lady of the Incarnation, over which was hung a picture which Nuno Alvares Pereira had commissioned to be painted.⁷⁹ Despite all the offers of the king, the priests begged their daily food from door to door. This astonished and edified the people,⁸⁰ who simply called them "the apostles," since they had heard that their Society had been founded by twelve priests in Rome who lived an apostolic life like the disciples of the Lord.⁸¹ It was even

⁷⁷ According to Tellez I 43. According to Franco, Miguel de Sousa declared that when the priests had left the palace after the audience, the king said: "São varões Apostolicos, são varões Apostolicos" (*Imagem de Lisboa* 62).

⁷⁸ All the earlier authors (Teixeira, Tursellinus, Lucena, Araujo, Orlandinus, Tellez, Bartoli, Franco, and so forth) say that Xavier and Rodrigues refused the support which the king had offered, and that they took up their residence in All Saints' Hospital (Cf. Rodrigues *Hist.* I, 1, 234, 2). Francisco de Santa Maria asserts that the superintendent of the hospital at this time, Father Luis da Conceição, received them with the great affection and respect that they deserved (*O Ceo aberto* I 917), an observation which is repeated by Franco (*Synopsis* 3; *Ano Santo* 723). Polanco says of Rodrigues: "Quem Rex hospitio excipi jubet," which only means that he had assigned him a place in which to live (*Chron.* I 86-87). As we have seen above, Rodrigues says that on the first night the king had put him up with a bishop and had then offered him a house near the palace. Until this was ready, he and Misser Paulo moved, perhaps for "a few days," into All Saints' Hospital, as the *Historia* of 1574 declares (ARSI: *Lus.* 77, 1); but at the time of Xavier's arrival he was already living in a rented house, where Xavier joined him (*Ep. Nadal* I 556, 4). *Araujo (c. 6) says that this house lay across from the hospital.—It is not certain that Luis da Conceição was *provedor* in 1540. On May 12, 1544, the *directors of the hospital wrote to the king that because of their statutes the *loyos* changed the officials of their order every three years and let no one remain in office for a longer time. At the end of May they had to elect a new *provedor* and *almoxarife* in their chapter. They therefore asked that the *provedor*, Luis da Conceição, and the *almoxarife*, Diogo de Santa Maria, might be left in office, since they had become familiar with the administration and a change would be harmful (TdT: *CC* 1-74-96). According to this, Luis da Conceição would not have taken over his office until May, 1541.

⁷⁹ The chapel was dedicated to the Holy Cross in 1542. Frey Joseph Pereira de Santa Anna, who describes it in detail, asserts that the glorious Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, had said Mass at its altar many times with special devotion (*Chronica* I 654). Franco had already reported this nineteen years previously, following a "persistent tradition," but he does not mention the altar (*Synopsis* 3).

⁸⁰ EX I 34 51-52; MI *Scripta* I 463.

⁸¹ The *Anonymus Lus.* wrote in 1544: "Em ho ano de mil e quinhentos e trinta [sic] anos vierão a este Reyno de Portugal dous homens, que em sua maneira e traje e apelido parecião homens de samta vida, os quaes vierão a esta cidade de Lisboa, domde el Rey dom João ho terceiro com sua corte estava. E trazião huma regra e modo de viver comfirmado pelo papa imitando a vida dos Apostolos. E nã posuhião nenhuma cousa e comem aquilo que Ihes poem diamte e siguem a Christo. . . Dizem que hum homem homrado natural de Biscaya . . . detriminou de tomar ista vida apostoliga, que aprovada polo papa se ajumtarão doze" (202v-203). Teixeira, who entered the Society in Lisbon in 1551, wrote in a similar fashion: "Y como en Lisboa no se tenia aún más

rumored about that they had come dry-shod across the Tagus, and that they had sailed down from Tancos to Lisbon on their outspread mantles, supporting themselves on their staffs.⁸² Still, since the priests lost much time with their daily round of begging and their apostolic labors were making ever greater demands upon them and the king was again determined to help them, they finally took the food sent by the court cook and restricted their begging to two days a week. Following a suggestion of the royal confessor, Frey João Soares, they gave what they collected to the hospital.⁸³

Their first concern was for the *mocos fidalgos*, the young pages in the court, who numbered more than a hundred.⁸⁴ The first appointment which sons of the nobility received was that of a page in the royal court. There they were taught good manners and given lessons in the catechism, in reading and writing, in Latin, riding, fencing, dancing, and other arts. When they reached the required age, they could advance to the rank of an *escudeiro* and of a *fidalgo cavalleiro*. John III complied to the full with the wishes of his subjects in this regard despite the serious financial burdens these entailed. The number of those enrolled on the court lists and, consequently, in his pay was not small, even though only a portion of these were actually in active service at court. The king accepted some candidates because of their father's merits, others because they were poor and abandoned, and others because of their family's insistence. In 1465 the Cortes of Guarda had fixed the minimum age of the *moços fidalgos* at twelve years, that of *moços da camara* (court grooms) at fourteen, and of *escudeiros* at twenty. João was a loving father to his pages and took care of them as if they were his own children.⁸⁵ He invited them to his table, joked with them, and even shared his fruit with them.⁸⁶ He was particularly concerned about their being reared as good Christians and being well instructed in their faith. The year before the priests arrived from Rome, he had ordered a *Christian Instruction* to be printed expressly for the pages and the other nobles of the court. This was published in Lisbon and bore over the title the following motto:

noticia de la Compañía, que haber oydo dezir que entonces en Roma se habían lebandado doze sacerdotes de aquellos, y ber à estos dos hazer estas obras de virtud, semejantes á las de los apóstoles, les començó el pueblo à llamar los apóstoles" (834).

⁸² Tellez I 42; Franco, *Annus gloriosus* 391; see above, p. 587, n. 2.

⁸³ EX I 34 52 64 ("yl Re nos prové muy noblemente").

⁸⁴ EX I 35 62. The *Livro dos moradores de D. João III* (Sousa, *Provas* II 786-844, 576-624) contains among other names those of 70 *cavalleiros do conselho*; 1297 other *cavalleiros*, 509 *moços fidalgos*, including Miguel de Sousa, the son of Ayres de Sousa, and his brother Manuel (II 835); 911 *moços da camara*, including Manuel Godinho (VI 585). A list of *moços fidalgos* of 1556 for the school in question contains 110 names (II 382-384). This obviously means the so-called *moços fidalgos da regra*, that is, those who actually served at court; Franco is therefore wrong in restricting their number to forty (*Imagem de Coimbra* I 701). Lousada constantly quotes the **Livro dos Confessados de todos os moradores da casa d'El Rey D. João III do anno 1539, 40 e 41*. Though this work is no longer extant, it can be reconstructed from Lousada's frequent references to it. From him also can be put together the list of *moços fidalgos* who were at court at this time. We find among them, for example, Dom Alvaro, son of Dom João de Castro, Dom Antonio, son of the count of Castanheira, Dom Antonio de Ataides, Filipe de Aguilár, son of Francisco Velázquez, Miguel de Sousa and his brother Manuel, sons of Ayres de Sousa, Dom Gonçalo da Silveira, son of the count of Sortelha, all with a monthly pension of one thousand *reis* and a daily ration of one or one and one-half *alqueires* of barley for their horses.

⁸⁵ Castilho, *Bairros Orientaes* VII 376-377 384-395.

⁸⁶ **Tratado de las yslas de los Malucos*, written about 1543 (Sevilla, Archivo de Indias: 1-2-1/13, n. 29) 23.

"Fear God and honor the king!"⁸⁷ Every Friday, therefore, at the king's request, Rodrigues and Xavier heard the confessions of these boys (Misser Paulo had first to learn Portuguese).⁸⁸ In this way they sowed many a good seed which was later to spring up and produce fruit. Among the pages was, for example, the fourteen-year-old Miguel de Sousa, the posthumous son of Aires de Sousa, the former commander of Santa Maria de Alcáçova and Alcanede. Even as a child he had been destined for the priesthood, and from the very beginning he showed a great affection for the priests.⁸⁹

On Saturdays Rodrigues and Xavier also heard the confessions of the court grooms.⁹⁰ Several of these, such as Lancarote de Seixas,⁹¹ Antonio Cardoso,⁹² and Manuel Godinho,⁹³ seemed to have received a call to a more perfect life. The

⁸⁷ *Insino / Christão approua- / do Pella San- / cta Inqui- / siçam. / Com Priuilegio Real*. The printing was completed on September 23, 1539. In the dedication of his book, *Libro de la verdad de la fe*, printed in 1543, Fr. João Soares glorifies the king for introducing the Inquisition into Portugal; for his continuous struggle against the Moors and Turks in India, "where a short time before twelve thousand Turks under Suleiman Baxaa, the conqueror of Rhodus [near Diu], were defeated"; for his constant warfare upon the Moors in Africa; "for the Christian instruction which you order to be given to the sons of the distinguished members of the realm for the betterment of their conduct and the reception of the sacraments, and for having them taught writing, Latin, fencing and riding"; for the reform of the Thomar monastery and the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, and of the Augustinians, Dominicans, and Carmelites; for founding monasteries; for continuing the construction of the Belém monastery; for establishing the University of Coimbra and its colleges; for the repair of the Roman aqueduct in Evora; and for other public works.

⁸⁸ EX I 62; *Ep. Broëti* 522.

⁸⁹ Miguel de Sousa, who was born in Santarém in 1526, entered the Society in Coimbra in 1545. He had known and esteemed the Society since 1540. After completing his theological studies, he was prefect of studies and rector in Coimbra, and then *praepositus* of the professed house in 1582. He was as pious in death as he had been in life. On him see Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 761-768; *Annus gloriosus* 67-70; **Responsa Nadal IV* 179-180v (partially in *Ep. Nadal* I 510, 3); **Andrade Leitão VIII* 848 and the **catalogues of the province (ARSI: Lus. 43)*; see also Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 446.

⁹⁰ *Ep. Broëti* 522. The chamberlains received approximately 406 *reis* a month and three-quarters of an *alqueire* of barley for their horses each day (Sousa, *Provas* VI 587).

⁹¹ **Rodrigues* wrote from Lisbon in May, 1542, that there were five priests in the house, the companions who had come from Paris, those who had been sent from Rome, "y tres criados del Rey de buena parte y de Dios cierto de mucha edificación; el uno dellos bien rico y este es my pariente y está firmissimo en las cosas del servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor" (ARSI: *Epp.* NN, 78, 19). He meant the *moços da camara*, Manuel Godinho, Antonio Cardoso, and Lancarote de Seixas (Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 297). In June Rodrigues traveled with Seixas and eleven other companions to Coimbra, where they arrived on the thirteenth of the month and found provisional lodgings in the monastery of Santa Cruz belonging to the Augustinian canons. When the others moved into their new college on July 2, Seixas remained and took the canonical garb. Soon after this he regretted the step and was received again, but he was dismissed after another relapse (*ibid.* 308-309).

⁹² Sancta Cruz wrote from Lisbon in August, 1542, that he had met twelve confreres in Coimbra, and among them were "dos portugueses, pajes de cámara del Rey, los quales Su Alteza queria mucho. An hecho los exercicios, y determinaron de quedar en la Compañía. Llámase el uno Cardoso, y el otro Godino, y otro portuges, que no le sé el nombre [Seixas]" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 106). Cardoso also did not persevere. He studied grammar in 1543 (*ibid.* 143) and had already experienced difficulties because of his health in 1548 (*Ep. Broëti* 583 589 810). He was dismissed in 1552 (*Ep. Mixtae* II 842; ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 1).

⁹³ Manuel Godinho, who should not be confused with his relative of the same name, matriculated in Paris in 1527 and returned to Portugal as a *magister artium* in 1538 with a letter from Dr. Diogo de Gouvea (Matos 61; Costa 324). He entered the Society in Lisbon in the spring of 1542 after being moved by one of Frey João Soares' sermons.

two latter were particular favorites of the pious king. Godinho, who had been born in Viana do Alemtejo, was twenty-one years old. He had studied Latin for two or three years as a boy,⁹⁴ and in 1533 he had received minor orders in Evora;⁹⁵ but he had forgotten almost everything that he had learned when he came to court, and at the time of the priests's arrival in Lisbon his spiritual life had become limited to attendance at Mass and sermons and a few oral prayers. Under their influence he began to receive the sacraments more frequently, to read spiritual books, and to find a relish in spiritual things. Although he was still half a child of the world, he preferred to spend his evenings with the priests in their house on the Rossio Square whenever his duties as a valet and secretary in the Royal Treasury made such visits possible,⁹⁶

Rodrigues and Xavier also extended their activity⁹⁷ to the *escudeiros* and *cavalleiros*⁹⁸ and to the ladies of the court, advocating in a special way a frequent reception of the sacraments. So many individuals in high positions chose them as their spiritual directors that they did not have time to fulfill all the requests. They wrote to Rome that even if all their confreres there should come to Lisbon, they would not be able to take proper care of all the work.⁹⁹ At the beginning of October, Rodrigues reported that they were hearing the confessions of many of the nobility. The king also spoke to them about the affairs of his soul; and his brothers, the infantes, did the same.¹⁰⁰ Three of these were still alive and residing in Lisbon when the priests came from Rome to Portugal. Dom Luis, the eldest, was only a month older than Xavier, Dom Henrique was six years younger, and Dom Duarte nine. All three were well educated, truly pious, plain and simple in their manners, and full of zeal for the increase of their faith.¹⁰¹

The infante Dom Luis was medium sized but strongly built. He had blond hair, a full beard, and a royal bearing. He was pleasant and versatile in his dealings with others, a perfect cavalier, skilled in all the arts of chivalry, the best contender in the tourneys, an ardent hunter, a friend of music and of books, and, as a pupil of Pedro Nunes, he was also a good mathematician. Though he was surrounded by a princely household, which was only inferior to that of

He then continued his studies, first in secular dress in Coimbra, where among those whom he won over for the order was the protomartyr of South Africa, Dom Gonçalo da Silveira. He was ordained in 1546 and became rector in Coimbra. He was professed in 1562 and died in Lisbon in 1569, where he was caring for the victims of the plague. On him see **Responsa Nadal* II 23-25 (partially in *Ep Nadal* I 556, 4); Franco, *Imagem de Lisboa* 136-145; Tellez I 88-92 and ARSI: *Lus.* 77, 1v. A letter which he wrote about Xavier's body is in MX II 139-140.

⁹⁴ **Responsa Nadal* II 23.

⁹⁵ Franco, following the original text of the testimonial of his reception of minor orders in Coimbra, in which his parents were also named: Pero Lopes de Gaya and Mecia Godinha (*Imagem de Lisboa* 144).

⁹⁶ **Responsa Nadal* II 23-24.

⁹⁷ *Ep. Broëti* 522.

⁹⁸ John III had an extensive following at court. The **list of courtiers who spent the winter of 1545 with him in Almeirim* contains the names of 4,460 persons. This number also includes the queen's court and the infantes', and their numerous servants (TdT: CC 2-240-62).

⁹⁹ EX I 52.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid* 61-62.

¹⁰¹ In 1540-1541 Clenardus wrote about Dom Henrique and his brothers: "Natales, genus, divitiae, nihil capessendis disciplinis obfuerunt; sed tam modesta illis omnibus Regis Emanuelis liberis est purpura, ut vel plebeios morum comitate superent" (Clénard I 227).

the king, he still retained a kindly interest in his servants. He was a generous benefactor of religious orders and a protector of the poor, widows, and orphans. He had thought of marrying, but after a series of negotiations to this effect had fallen through, he had remained single. When his brother the king refused to assist him in his dream of conquering pagan lands for Christ, he had secretly fled from the court in 1535 in order to join the emperor in his expedition against Tunis. This had forced John III to send the count of Castanheira after him in order to give him his belated consent.¹⁰²

The king's second brother, the infante Dom Henrique, was of a different temperament. Like Dom Luis, he was of medium height, but naturally shy and withdrawn. A lover of truth and candor, he was also sparing of his words. Conscientious and strict with himself, he was still just and kind towards others. When he was fourteen years old he had decided upon entering the priesthood. In 1535 he had become the administrator, and in 1539 the archbishop, of Braga and grand inquisitor of Portugal. He was a good Latin scholar and in 1535 had summoned Master Clenardus from Salamanca and had studied Greek and Hebrew under him until 1538. He was proficient in philosophy, theology, and Sacred Scripture, and also in mathematics. He led an exemplary life, regularly celebrating Mass with great devotion and applying the greater portion of his large income to the needs of the poor.¹⁰³

Dom Duarte, the youngest of the three infantes, had been married since 1537 to the pious daughter of the duke of Bragança, and she had already borne him

¹⁰² The infante Dom Luis, who was born in 1506, died in 1555. He bitterly repented an error of his youth for the rest of his life (in 1531 he had an illegitimate son, Dom Antonio, by Violante Gomes, called "a Pelicana"). He later made the Exercises under Diego Mirón, S.J., and wanted to enter the Jesuits and the Capuchins, for whom he built a monastery in Salvaterra near his palace. Since he could not do both, he lived from that time on as a friar, wore a hairshirt beneath his clothes, and remained the warmest friend of the Society of Jesus in Portugal until his death. In his will of November 13, 1541, he provided that four thousand Masses should be said for the repose of his soul immediately after his death, and that these were to be offered in the most zealous monasteries in the land. He also provided for the ransoming of the fifty most abandoned Christian slaves and gave dowries to forty poor orphan girls. P. J. Perpignan, S.J., delivered his eulogy (*Opera* [Romae, 1749] 57-72). On him see José Miguel João de Portugal, *Vida do Infante D. Luis* (Lisboa, 1735); see also Goes, *Chronica do Rei D. Manuel*, I, 101; Tellez I 127-129; II 85-88; Barbosa Machado III 44-48; Sousa, *Hist. Gen.* III 357-368; Frey Antonio da Piedade, *Espelho de Penitentes e Chronica da Provincia de Sancta Maria da Arrabida* I (Lisboa, 1728) 127-129 204-212; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 2, 609-610. Documents: his *court lists for 1536-1552 (Bibl. Nac. Lisboa: *Pombal* 648); court list for 1547 (TdT: CC 1-79-3); court list for 1555 (Sousa, *Provas* II 511-513; 632 persons!); the *Mirror for Princes*, written for him by his teacher Lourenço de Cáceres, who died in 1531 (*ibid.* 491-511); his will (*ibid.* 513-521); and his exchange of letters with the count of Castanheira (Ford II 1-49).

¹⁰³ The infante Dom Henrique was born in 1512. In 1540 he became archbishop of Evora, in 1545 a cardinal, in 1564 archbishop of Lisbon, and in 1574 archbishop of Evora again. He was regent from 1562 to 1568, and king of Portugal from 1578 until his death in 1580. Contrary to Tellez, Franco, and others, according to whom the infante was opposed to the Society until 1550, Rodrigues points out that this great benefactor of the order, the founder of the College and University of Evora was a warm friend of the Society from the beginning, like his brother Dom Luis (*Hist.* I, 1, 259, n. 3; I, 2, 607-609). On him see the *Chronica do Cardeal Rei D. Henrique, e vida de Miguel de Moura* (Lisboa, 1840); Goes, *Chronica do Rey D. Emmanuel* 4, 27; Sousa, *Hist. Gen.* III 625-666; Barbosa Machado II 400-405; Tellez II 373-416 I 48-49 172-175 511-519; Franco, *Imagem de Evora* 24-72; Queiroz Velloso, *O reinado do Cardeal D. Henrique* (Lisboa, 1946). Documents: court list (Sousa, *Provas* VI 632-634); his will of 1574 (*ibid.* III 434-441; on his iconography see *Ilustração Portuguesa*, April 7, 1923, pp. 427-428).

two daughters. He and his teacher, André de Rezende, the former tutor of Dom Pedro in Brussels, used to read Latin classics and the works of Aristotle together at an open window of his residence on the Rossio Square. Under the direction of his confessor, the strict Hieronymite monk Frey Miguel, he had made great progress in the spiritual life. Every day he attended Mass with devotion, and he frequently received the sacraments.¹⁰⁴

The sister of the three infantes, the nineteen-year-old infanta Dona Maria, had managed her own household since 1537 and was surrounded by a royal court of men and women of the most prominent families in the land. Her court was interested in Latin, music, and painting, but especially in exercises of piety, since she was not inferior to her brothers in the gifts of mind and heart. She was only two months old when her father died, and not quite two years old when her mother, Dona Leonor, the very young, third wife of King Manuel, had to leave her. Eight years later, for pitiless reasons of state, at the request of her brother, the emperor Charles V, Dona Leonor married the widowed French king. The princess had therefore been educated since 1524 by Queen Catarina, her mother's sister.¹⁰⁵

Among the many friends and benefactors of the companions at court were in particular the three Augustinian hermits who preached regularly in the royal chapel: Frey João Soares, the confessor of the king, Frey Francisco de Villafranca, the confessor of the queen, and Frey Luis de Montoya, the prior of the Graça monastery. Besides these, there were Ambrosio Pereira, the coadjutor of the archbishop of Lisbon; Pero Carvalho, the superintendent of the royal buildings; and the all-powerful *vedor da fazenda*, the count of Castanheira, Dom Antonio de Aataide.

Frey João Soares de Albergaria,¹⁰⁶ who had been born of distinguished

¹⁰⁴ His tutor, André de Rezende, wrote his life, *Vida do Infante Dom Duarte* (Lisboa, 1789). Documents: his marriage contract (Sousa, *Provas* II 599-605); his court list (*ibid.* 614-618; his will (*ibid.* 608-614).

¹⁰⁵ On the infanta Maria, see Fr. Miguel Pacheco, *Vida de la Serenissima Infanta Doña Maria, hija del Rey D. Manoel, Fundadora de la insigne Capilla mayor del conuento de N. Señora de la Luz, y de su Hospital, y otras muchas casas dedicadas al culto divino* (Lisboa, 1675); Barbosa Machado III 406-409; Goes, *Chronica do Rei D. Emanuel* 4, 36; further literature in Almeida, *Hist. de Portugal* II 300. The *Historia da Literatura Portuguesa Ilustrada* I (Lisboa, 1929) 312 gives her portrait by Gregorio Lopes from about 1540. Under the renowned Luiza Sigéa, who arrived in Portugal in 1541, she learned Greek and Latin, and under Frey João Soares philosophy and theology. She never married. After her death in 1577, she was buried in the monastery of Madre de Deus. In 1597 her remains were transferred to Nossa Senhora da Luz near Lisbon.

¹⁰⁶ When Rodrigues took up his residence in San Antão at the beginning of 1542, Soares moved in with him and preached there. He also instructed the *moços fidalgos* at times in Christian doctrine (Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 287-299). In the same year the king also appointed him the tutor of the infante Dom João. In 1543 he dedicated his *Libro de la verdad de la fe* to John III and his *Livro dos remedios contra hos sete peccados mortays* to the queen. He was named bishop of Coimbra in 1545. He always remained a friend of the Jesuits, for whom he gave a brilliant testimony in 1555 (Evora, *Bibl. Publica: codex 108-2-1*, 304v-306v). Between 1561 and 1564 he took part in the Council of Trent and energetically worked for reform. He then spent over a year in the Holy Land and subsequently went to Italy, where he received important information on the many secret Jews of his diocese. He then returned to Portugal and introduced the Inquisition into his see. In 1570 he had the Jesuit letters of the *Cartas de Japão* printed at his own expense and distributed without charge so that he might make the labors of "the fathers of this holy Society" known for the good of souls. In addition to the Misericórdia, he built the beautiful chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in the cathedral. After his death in 1572 he was placed in a simple grave outside this

parents in São Miguel de Urro in the diocese of Porto, had entered his order in Salamanca and had attained a doctorate there in theology in 1529.¹⁰⁷ He had then returned to Portugal, where he had first preached in Braga, then in Coimbra,¹⁰⁸ and finally at the court in Lisbon. Dom João III had made him his confessor, preacher, and almoner;¹⁰⁹ and in 1538 he had appointed him tutor of Prince Filipe. But the latter had since died, in April, 1539, at the age of six.¹¹⁰ At Frey João's suggestion the king had summoned his two Spanish confreres to Portugal in order to reform the order there,¹¹¹ while he himself, through a papal dispensation, lived in the palace instead of in his monastery.¹¹² Because of his influence with the king and the Council of the Inquisition, to which he had belonged since 1539,¹¹³ he was particularly hated by the New Christians, who painted his picture in Rome in the darkest colors.¹¹⁴ Handsome, endowed with excellent spiritual gifts, a distinguished preacher, and of an open, fiery temperament,¹¹⁵ he became a close friend of Rodrigues and Xavier soon after their arrival.¹¹⁶

His two fellow religious, who had been sent by the general of the Augustinians at the king's request to Portugal in 1535, were Castilians but entirely different from each other in temperament. After they had made a thorough reform of their order in Portugal, they were detained there by John III, and as vicars-general ruled in common the Augustinian province in that country. They lived in the monastery of Graça¹¹⁷ but preached regularly at the court and heard the confessions of the nobility. They were thus quite influential and, along with Soares, enjoyed the full confidence of the king.¹¹⁸ Frey Francisco de Villa-

chapel as he had requested. The New Christians hated and persecuted him. The instructions for the nuncio in 1542 describe him as a "frate di poche lettere, ma di grande audacia, et ambiziosissimo, eretichissimo" (CDP C 136). He was slandered at the Council and defended in 1563 by Laynez (*Lainii Mon VII 208-209*; Fort. de Almeida, *Hist. da Igr. III, 2, 615-616*). He was praised by Martín de Azpilcueta, the renowned Dr. Navarrus, in 1547. The doctor heard him "copiose, acriter, ac magno cum fructu de more concionantem, et frequentissimi auditorii animos in caelestia rapientem" and then praised his spirit, his learning, his generosity to the poor, his mildness, which readily pardoned those who insulted him, and his love for the Mother of God (*Relectio c. Accepta* [Coimbra, 1547], dedication). His life is contained in chapter 35 of the **Relação dos Bispos de Coimbra* (TdT, Col. S. Vicente XV, 148v-150); Barbosa Machado II 697-699; see also Almeida, *Hist. Igr. III 2, 26 465 615-616 757-760*; Rodrigues, *Hist. I, 1, 258*; *Ep. Mixtae I 194* (opinion of Aroz); Tellez I 80-81 134.

¹⁰⁷ Barbosa Machado II 697.

¹⁰⁸ TdT, Col. S. Vicente XV, 148v.

¹⁰⁹ Barbosa Machado II 697.

¹¹⁰ Barros, *Grammatica (Compilação 207)*.

¹¹¹ Frey Joseph de S. Antonio, *Flos Sanctorum Augustiniano 1* (Lisboa, 1721) 705.

¹¹² CDP V 136

¹¹³ Barbosa Machado II 697.

¹¹⁴ CDP V 136; see also Rodrigues, *Hist. I, 1, 258, n. 1*.

¹¹⁵ Among the merits of the bishop of Coimbra, Dr. Navarrus mentions his "mira comitas," heightened "cum corporis, et naturae, tum animi et gratiae dotibus, quibus intra ardes, et extra lucet," and, especially, "Ingenium istud ad omnia versatile, capax, auctum, acre, ac promptum. Animus candidus, praesens, et ardens. Iudicium exactum fidei memoria comitatum. Charitas non ficta," etc. (*Relectio c. Accepta* [Coimbra, 1547] dedication).

¹¹⁶ EX I 35 42 61; Tellez I 80-81. In 1545 Aroz described him as one "de muy zelosos deseos y pios ejercicios, y de mucho talento en predicar, de la Compañía notablemente afectado y defensor" (*Ep. Mixtae I 194*).

¹¹⁷ Frey Joseph de S. Antonio I 705-706.

¹¹⁸ CDP V 136.

franca,¹¹⁹ who had been born in 1494, was a descendant of an important family in Toledo. At the age of fifteen he had entered the monastery in Salamanca, and by the time he was twenty-two he had shown an extraordinary gift for preaching. As a consequence, he soon filled the most famous pulpits in Spain. In Lisbon the queen had chosen him for her confessor, and his fiery sermons in the royal chapel and in the Graça church¹²⁰ always drew great crowds. He prepared his sermons well through study and prayer and fearlessly flayed the vices of the time. He was short and had a rather unattractive, sad, and melancholy exterior, and a harsh and choleric disposition. His sharp reproofs were more feared by his subjects than the severest penances. Even though he could at times enliven the recreations of his confreres with a joke, he always maintained his dignity. He ruled his province with unrelenting strictness and set an example for all at home. He was the first in fasting, in penance, in silence, in going to choir, and in taking the discipline; and he only left his monastery when he was called to court or when his office as superior or some apostolic labor compelled him to do so.

In many ways his confrere was his exact opposite. Frey Luis de Montoya,¹²¹

¹¹⁹ He directed the Portuguese province of the order until his death, that is, for nineteen years and eight months, and died with a reputation for sanctity in the Graça monastery in 1555, after having declined the archdiocese of Braga and other dioceses. The queen kept him as her confessor until her death and said that she was grateful to God that He had given her such a saintly director for her soul. For his life see Frey Joseph de S. Antonio I 703-716, who names and uses the older authors: Cardoso, Calvo, Acevedo, Román, Herrera, Elssius, Antonio da Purificação, and Duarte Pacheco. On his relations with the Society of Jesus, see EX I 35 42; in 1543 he preached and gave lectures on Sacred Scripture in the Jesuit church (Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 299-300).

¹²⁰ On December 19, 1540, *Fernão Cardoso wrote from Lisbon to Dom Henrique de Meneses at Almeirim on his preaching: "Quando ao [doutor] senés mestiço V. M. saberá que logo ao domingo seguinte andou Villafranca tam bravo sobre o Evangelho 'Cum audisset Ioannes in vinculis opera Christi,' e tam infunado, que de tocar com as azas nas nuvens o perdiamos de vistas. Parece que com a Corte não podia dar senão com os cotos de não ter prassa pera jugar de ambas as mãos, mas agora que tem mais largo não pergafiado, senão com direito na mão, não lhe escapa hum pardal na grimpada do Carmo que não derribe. Com a mudança da Corte [a Almeirim] descarregarão-no da par do masto, e corta agora mais oras por legoa. Portanto, Senhor, vinde logo se lhe quereis ver matar ralés d'altenaria, porque alevantou dez palmos des que partistes, porque ainda que lá tenhais tudo, se Villafranca non habeo, nihil sum" (Evora, *Bibl. Publ., codex 103-2-20*, 45).

¹²¹ In 1542 Montoya went with twenty young members of his order to Coimbra in order to found a college there, which he directed until 1552. In 1545, when many complained about the public penances of the young students of the Society and asked him for his opinion, he replied: "Spiritualis homo a nemine iudicatur." In 1551 he traveled to the general chapter at Bologna and also visited Rome, where he met Ignatius and made a general confession to him. After his return, he wrote to him: "Como allá á V. M. dixé, la más preciosa reliquia y el negocio para mí más provechoso que de allá truxe, fué aver visto á V. M. y averle recebido por mi Padre, y tomado su sancta vendición para ser yo desde estonces para toda mi vida jamás, aunque indigno, uno y el menor hermano de la sancta Compañía de Jesús, á los quales yo siempre amé mucho y agora más amo" (*Ep. Mixtae* II 672). After he had returned to Lisbon in 1553 he recruited students for the school opened by the Jesuits. Between 1554 and 1564 he built the elegant church of the Graça monastery. He refused the diocese of Viseu when it was offered to him and died in 1569 with a reputation for sanctity while serving the victims of the plague. Some four years before he had published his last work, *Obras delos que amam a Dios*. On him see Fr. Hieronymo Román, *Historia de la vida del muy religioso varón Fray Luys de Montoya* (Lisboa, 1588); Fr. Duarte Pacheco, *Epítome da vida apostolica, e milagres de S. Thomas de Villa Nova... com hum tratado da vida do veneravel P. Frey Luis de Montoya* [by Frey Aleixo de Meneses] (Lisboa, 1629); San-

who had been born in 1497 in Belmonte (Cuenca), was sweet, mild, and favored with mystical graces. In 1514 he too had taken the religious garb in Salamanca. In 1521, after finishing his studies, he had become novice master, and in 1525 the first superior of the newly founded house in Medina del Campo, where he had remained for ten years. In 1534 he had published his meditations on the passion of Christ, which he dedicated to the Mother of God.¹²² He had also been prior and novice master in the monastery of Graça, and his presence did much to mitigate the harshness of his companion. From the very outset this pious and humble religious showed a heartfelt affection for the two priests who had come from Rome.¹²³

Rodrigues and Xavier soon found another well-disposed friend in Ambrosio Pereira,¹²⁴ the coadjutor of the archbishop of Lisbon, a canon regular of St. Augustine,¹²⁵ and a doctor of theology. He had been the titular bishop of Russiona since 1519,¹²⁶ and he too enjoyed the full confidence of the king. Since Dom Afonso, the cardinal bishop of Lisbon, had died in April, the government of the archdiocese was in his hands at the time of Xavier's arrival. In September, however, the pope appointed a successor to the deceased cardinal in the person of the then bishop of Lamego, a relative of the king, Dom Fernando de Meneses Coutinho de Vasconcellos.

Pero Carvalho,¹²⁷ the superintendent of the royal buildings, also showed himself to be a great friend of the priests from the very beginning.¹²⁸ Under King Manuel he had been named a *fidalgo* of his house because of his faithful service

tiago Vela V 589 to 597; see also *Ep. Mixtae* II 672-673; IV 48-49; *Fabri Mon.* 348-349; Polanco, *Chron.* III 395; Tellez I 189-190.

¹²² *Meditaciones de la Passi3n para las siete horas can3nicas* (Medina del Campo, 1534).

¹²³ *Ep. Mixtae* II 672.

¹²⁴ He is also called Ambrosio Brand3o Pereira. He was born in Villa da Feira (diocese of P3rto). In 1523 he consecrated the Carmo monastery and in 1527 the cemetery of the chapel of S3o Roque for the victims of the plague in Lisbon (Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 285-290). In 1538-1539 he visited the archdiocese of Funchal at the request of its archbishop, Dom Martinho de Portugal (Sousa, *Hist. Gen.* X 891). In 1541 he surrendered to the Jesuits his monastery of San Ant3o de Benespera and San Ant3o in Lisbon in exchange for the monastery of Santa Maria de Carquere (Lamego), which belonged to the Augustinian canons, and which he received in 1549 (Tellez I 80-85; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 285-290; I, 2, 466-467; Van Gulik III 306). He renounced this in 1555 (Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 2, 466). In 1556 he laid the cornerstone of the Graça church in Lisbon (Pinho Leal IV 241). He died in 1559 in the monastery of Grij3, where he had received his habit. On him see Nicolau de Santa Maria, *Chronica da Ordem dos Conegos Regrantes do Patriarcha S. Agostinho* (Lisboa, 1668) 323 501 ff., whom we follow. On the contradictory statements of the other authors, see Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 285, n. 2; on his relations with Xavier and Rodrigues see EX 135 43 49.

¹²⁵ According to Nicolau de Santa Maria and Cardoso I 74-75.

¹²⁶ Today Rusk3i, north of the Hellespont.

¹²⁷ Pero Carvalho, as the name (without *de*) is written in contemporary documents, was the son of Gonçalo Pires Carvalho. He received the right of primogeniture to Patalim through his wife Maria de Britto. She bore him six children: Jo3o, who married Maria de Castro and received from his father an income of two *contos*, that is, of 2,000,000 *reis*; Ruy de Britto, who became a Dominican; Johana; Jeronima; Mecia; and Catarina (*Manso de Lima VIII 85). He belonged to a circle of friends which included Lucas Giraldi, Dom Jo3o de Castro, and Ruy Lourenço de Tavora (TdT S. *Lour.* 4, 68 389; 5, 119). In 1551 he became a counselor and, as *provedor mor das obras*, directed the translation of King Manuel's remains to the new Bel3m church (Sousa, *Provas* II 312 314). In 1553 the king sent him to greet Francisco de Borgia on his arrival in Portugal (Polanco, *Chron.* III 354).

as keeper of the royal wardrobe,¹²⁹ and since 1532 he had been a commander of the Order of Christ.¹³⁰ At the beginning of October, Rodrigues wrote to Rome that letters for them should be addressed to him or to Frey Soares, since both were well known and would have the mail forwarded to them.¹³¹

The *vedor da fazenda*, the count of Castanheira, Dom Antonio de Ataide,¹³² was also a patron of the priests.¹³³ At the time of Xavier's arrival in Lisbon, his eldest son was serving as a *moço fidalgo* at the court.¹³⁴ Only two years older than the king, Dom Antonio had grown up with him at court, and John III had preserved a great attachment for his boyhood friend. "He is the right eye of the king," the nuncio had written to Rome in 1539;¹³⁵ and this was true. Through the favor of the king, which he richly deserved for his selfless and tireless devotion,¹³⁶ he had risen rapidly. In 1526 he had become lord of Cas-

¹²⁸ In 1545 Xavier wrote to Rodrigues: "A carta que screvo aos compañeros de Roma lereis a Pedro Carvalho, noso grande amigo, e dir-lh'eis de minha parte que, porque o tenho em conta dos Irmãos de Roma e Portugal, que por iso não lhe screvo mays do que screvo a elles" (Ex I 280). Favre also sent greetings to him in 1546 (*Fabri Mon.* 381).

¹²⁹ Sousa, *Provas* III 54-55.

¹³⁰ The **Livro dos Cavalleiros de Christo* by Bernardo Pimenta de Avellar gives two Pedro Carvalhos, both of whom were dubbed knights in the year 1532, one on August 17, the other on November 11 (TdT: *Livraria: Noticias de Evora* III 219).

¹³¹ EX I 61.

¹³² Dom Antonio de Ataide, a grandson of Dom Alvaro Gonçalves de Ataide, the first count of Atougua, married Anna de Tavora and had eight children: Antonio, who later married Maria de Vilhena, Vasco da Gama's granddaughter; Jerónimo; Jorge, the subsequent bishop of Viseu; Violante; Maria, who married Vasco da Gama's grandson; Antonia; Joana; and Madalena (**Andrade Leitão* II 719). The pious Christian spirit of the family is shown by his mother Violante's will of 1550, his own of 1563, and his wife's of 1590, and also by his letters to his son Jorge, written between 1557 and 1563. After the earthquake of 1531 he built the church and hospital in Castanheira, and after the death of John III he moved back to his estate near the Capuchin monastery of San Antonio, where he died in 1563. Like the infante Dom Luis, Pero Carvalho, the secretary Pero d'Alcáçova Carneiro, and Lucas Girdali, he was a friend of Dom João de Castro (TdT, *S. Lour.* V 119). On him see his autobiography written in 1557, *Copia d'hum papel, em que Dom Antonio d'Attayde, primeiro Conde da Costanheira, deu razão de si a seus filhos e descendentes* [Madrid, 1598], partially reprinted in HCPB III 123-124; Braamcamp Freire, *Brazões de Cintra* I 419-421; III 395-396; Sousa, *Hist. Gen.* XII 71-72 75; XI 551; Barbosa Machado I 205-206; Frey Martinho do Amor de Deos, *Escola de Penitencia. Chronica da Santa Provincia de S. Antonio* 1 (Lisboa, 1740) 120-135; Lino de Macedo, *Antiguidades* 234-240 260-297 302-349; Pinho Leal II 160-163; Tellez I 53-55; II 185; Schurhammer, "Die Palha-Bibliothek und ihre Schätze," *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft* V 365-371. Documents: Ford gives the letters which the count received from the king and others; a *volume of various items in the Ajuda library, Lisbon, containing the count's autobiography and a biography of his son Jorge, written by his nephew (51-8-9, ff. 260-282); and the **Livro terceiro do Sr. Bispo D. Jorge de Ataide* (London, Br. Museum: *Add. Mss.* 20 957) with the will of the count's mother and his letters to Dom Jorge (74-133).

¹³³ Gonçalo da Silveira, whose grandfather had been the childhood companion of John III along with Ataide, wrote about the count to Ignatius in 1555: "Ya sabe que es el privado muy antigo de nuestro buen Rey, y tiene gran valía, ó toda, en este reyno: es él bonissimo y devotissimo siempre, y nuestro lo fué ya de primero" (*Litt. Quadr.* III 543-544). In 1545 Araoz wrote: "Es muy afectado á la Compañía" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 194).

¹³⁴ *Lousada I 20v.

¹³⁵ The *nuncio in Portugal to Cardinal A. Farnese (Arch. Vat. *Lettere di Principi* XII 141).

¹³⁶ In his autobiography the count states that although he was always in debt, he had nevertheless renounced Azambuja in favor of Rolim, a rich acquisition for his son in favor of the son of a widow, and Salvaterra, which had been offered to him by the infante Dom Luis; and he advised his children that they should consider a good name as more important than great wealth. See also Tellez I 54.

tanheira, Povos, and Cheleiros, in 1527 a Knight of Christ, in 1529 a counselor, in 1530 *vedor da fazenda*; and in 1532 John III had raised him to the rank of count.¹³⁷ The king himself was the godfather of his first child, Antonio, and Jorge Joãos de Barros, the superintendent of the India house, was the godfather of his third son, Jorge.¹³⁸ When Rodrigues and Xavier came to Lisbon, he was by far the most powerful and influential man at court.¹³⁹

But the two priests carried on their activities also outside of the royal circle and give the Spiritual Exercises to many of their penitents. The first to make them under Rodrigues' direction was a wealthy merchant, Benedetto Uguccioni,¹⁴⁰ who was highly esteemed by John III. He came from an old patrician family of Florence and was related to the Medici pope, Leo X. He had himself been born in Burgos,¹⁴¹ where his father, Giovanni Battista, had been a leading citizen.¹⁴² He was unmarried, pious, and skilled in the sacred sciences. Devoted to prayer and works of charity, he had made the Spiritual Exercises¹⁴³ to great advantage. Since then he had been a zealous benefactor of the priests.¹⁴⁴ Through one of his penitents Xavier was also introduced to a rich and powerful Florentine

¹³⁷ Braamcamp Freire, *Brazões* III 395.

¹³⁸ **Life of Bishop Dom Jorge* (Lisboa, Ajuda: 51-8-9, 260-v).

¹³⁹ *Litt. Quadr.* III 544-545; the instruction of 1542 states: "Appresso il re nelle cose grandi possono assai l'infante D. Luigi, per autorità, che si ha presa quasi violentamente, et il conte di Castagnera, per amor, che il re gli porta grande" (CDP V 137).

¹⁴⁰ In 1552 he signed an original letter "Benedito Uguchoni" (*Ep. Mixtae* II 877). He traveled between Lisbon and Burgos as a merchant. In 1546 he was a member of the Confraternity of the Sufferings of Christ in Lisbon, which sent orphan girls to India for marriage (TdT, *S. Lour.* IV 422-v). In 1551 he signed a contract with Lucas Giralddi as a member of the Italian colony for the completion of their church of Loreto in Lisbon (Peragallo 82). In 1550 he had a beautiful home with a chapel and a library in Burgos (Polanco, *Chron.* II 111). He was highly regarded by the cardinal and archbishop of Burgos, Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla (1551-1566), whom he accompanied on his pastoral visits in 1559. He was later canon of the cathedral there. He received the Jesuits in Burgos with paternal charity and collected alms for the purchase of their first residence. In 1558 he gave them his house near the city in Bellimar for a college. Until his death sometime after 1568, he continued to give them alms. These amounted to some 15,000 or 16,000 ducats, even though he had lost a large share of his great fortune. His nephew wrote his life in 1579 and sent it to General Mercurian; this is the source for the life which Pedro de Guzmán, S.J., incorporated into his **Historia de la Compañía de Jesús de la Castilla la Vieja* in 1600 (ARSI: *Castel.* 35, 241v 347-350v). The other authors such as Ribadeneyra, Valdivia, and Sacchinus follow him.

¹⁴¹ Po'anco, *Chron.* II 111.

¹⁴² *Guzmán 347. In 1512 the ambassador Francesco Guicciardini requested the house of his countryman G. B. Uguccioni in Burgos as a residence (*Opere Minori* [Napoli, 1837] 3).

¹⁴³ Polanco, *Chron.* II 111.

¹⁴⁴ *Guzmán 347v; cf. EX I 34.

¹⁴⁵ EX I 61. We already find a Lorenzo Giralddi (Portugues: Giralddes) living in Lisbon in the fifteenth century; Lucas is named after 1503. In 1515 Giovanni da Empoli left a number of valuable articles with him before he departed for India, and in 1533 he received the privileges given to German merchants from the king (TdT, *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 45, 51v). In 1541 *Sarmiento called him "a very rich Florentine merchant" (188). His correspondence with Dom João de Castro reveals his close friendship both with him and with his friends. These included the bishop of Pôrto, Dom Balthasar Limpo, Dr. Rodrigo Pinheiro, the secretary of the Treasury Fernandalvares d'Andrade, and others (Q 2045 2051 2085 2931 2976; Elaine Sanceau, *D. João de Castro* [Pôrto, 1946] 61-63 267-278). He was not married; in 1550 he had his two children legitimized (Christovam Ayres, *Testamento de D. João de Castro* [Lisboa, 1901] 5). In 1551 he gave three thousand *cruzados*, "the equivalent of twelve hundred *milreis*," for the completion of the church of Loreto in Lisbon. He was ennobled by the king in 1557, and in 1561 he bought the

wholesaler and banker, Lucas Giralaldi.¹⁴⁵ His home was close to the Sé (the cathedral) on the Largo do Correio at the end of the Rua direita da Sé,¹⁴⁶ and since the beginning of the century he had been sending his ships to the Levant, Brazil, and India.¹⁴⁷ He was also in regular correspondence with the Roman bank of Tommaso Cavalcanti and Giovanni Giralaldi.¹⁴⁸

Others also came to confess to the priests and to speak with them about the affairs of their souls. Among these was a young New Christian, Affonso de Castro, the son of a wealthy goldsmith in the parish of São Gião. He worked in his father's shop and at the priests' advice began to go to confession and receive Holy Communion once a week.¹⁴⁹ Another was a Portuguese by the name of Manuel Fernandes, who had been born of prominent parents in Tangiers in North Africa, where he had studied Latin and received minor orders. After the death of his father he had come to Lisbon so that he might, as he said, become a preacher despite the devil. He discussed this with the priests since their holy lives made a great impression upon him.¹⁵⁰

By the end of July Xavier could write¹⁵¹ that he was giving the Spiritual Exercises at the time to two licentiates in theology, one of whom was a renowned preacher¹⁵² and the other the tutor of the infante Dom Henrique.¹⁵³ At the

colony Ilheus in Brazil for 4,825 *cruzados*. He died in 1565. On him see Peragallo 29-80-91 156; Ayres 4-5; *Manso de Lima XI 521-523.

¹⁴⁶ Prestage I, p. XXV; *Manso de Lima XI 521.

¹⁴⁷ As early as 1503 a ship belonging to Girolamo Sernigi had sailed to India with Giovanni di Empoli "di intesa con Luca Giralaldi, cointeressato coi Gualterotti e Frescobaldi" (Peragallo 156). In 1542 Lucas Giralaldi lost two ships loaded with sugar on the Barbary Coast (CDP V 156). During Xavier's stay in the East, the following ships are recorded as having carried the wares of this great Lisbon merchant to India: *S. Mateus* in 1542, 1545 and 1547; *Espirito Santo* in 1544 and 1546 (half of the cargo belonged to him in this year); *Santa Maria do Rosario* in 1547 and 1551; and *Santa Maria de Loreto* in 1553 (Quirino da Fonseca, *Os Portugueses no mar* [Lisboa, 1926] 305-306 316 319 330; Q 2051).

¹⁴⁸ EX I 61; CDP V 165. In 1549 and 1550 Ignatius sent his India letters to Xavier through the bank of Lucas Giralaldi (MI *Epp.* II 571 654).

¹⁴⁹ Bartoli, *Asia* 6, 16; Cardoso I 8; *Nuovi Avisi dell'Indie di Portogallo* (Venezia, 1562) 29v. Castro will be frequently mentioned later on. In 1547 he went to Goa. After his ordination in 1549 he went from there to the Moluccas, where he worked in Ternate, Moro, and Amboina. He died as a martyr on the island of Hiri near Ternate in 1558. The main sources on him are Xavier's letters (EX), those of his confreres (DI and Q 4380 6002 6006 6039 6044 6080), the two letters of Fr. Francisco Vieira of February 13 and 18, 1558, and a letter of Balt. Dias in *Nuovi Avisi* 1562, 27-35). These were used by Bartoli, *Asia* 6, 12-16. See also a *third letter of Vieira dated March 9, 1559 (Lisboa, Ajuda: 49-4-49, 270v, used by Valignano 365-366), and Seb. Gonçalves 8, 5.

¹⁵⁰ Manuel Fernandes entered the Society in 1542 and began his studies in Coimbra that same year. He was ordained a subdeacon and deacon there in June, 1546, and soon afterwards a priest. He was so successful as a popular missionary in the Alemtejo after 1550 that Fr. Luis de Granada and Fr. Bartolomeu dos Martyres said that the Holy Spirit spoke through him. He died as a martyr to his calling in Evora in 1555. On him see Franco, *Imagem de Lisboa* 145-159; Tellez I 528-539. Tellez writes that he knew Xavier and Rodrigues in Lisbon, and Franco states: "Ulyssipone Divum Xaverium novit; cum eo, ac Simone Rodericio communicavit animi propensiones. Tantorum hominum exemplis motus vocantem Deum sequens Societati nomen dedit anno 1542" (*Annus gloriosus* 100).

¹⁵¹ EX I 48.

¹⁵² Villafranca or, perhaps, Montoya.

¹⁵³ Rodrigues wrote on October 8 that Xavier had given the Exercises to a preacher and a *cavalleiro* (Ex I 62). The latter was probably the "maestro de un hermano, del Rey, del infante Don Enrique," of whom Xavier speaks. André de Rezende, who was a licentiate in theology, hardly comes into question, for he was the tutor of the infante

beginning of October Rodrigues declared that they had both drawn great profit from them. He further stated that one had to thank God when one saw how the people of this land were inflamed with love for Him. He also mentioned the fact that he had himself given the Exercises to a duke, by whom he meant the thirty-nine-year-old duke of Aveiro, Dom João de Lancastre.¹⁵⁴ He too had derived great fruit from them. Rodrigues frequently heard his confession, and Dom João had become a second Iñigo López to them. Rodrigues had also given the Spiritual Exercises with good effects to a distinguished countess and to the son of a count.¹⁵⁵

5. BETWEEN HOPE AND FEAR (JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1540)

Xavier, as the son of the former president of the Royal Council of Navarre, did not feel out of place at court. The impression which he received on his arrival in Portugal was the best imaginable. At the end of July he wrote to his confreres in Rome:

Here there are many good people who desire to serve our Lord.... The king told a bishop, who loves us very much,¹⁵⁶ and his confessor¹⁵⁷ that we should preach.

Dom Duarte at this time. This does not of course prove that he did not give lessons to Dom Henrique in Lisbon, as he had done earlier in Evora. After 1534 Rezende lived exempt outside his monastery. The strict visitor of the Dominicans, Frey Jerónimo de Padilla, therefore forced him in 1540, through a papal brief, to remove his habit. But this did not prevent Dom Henrique from calling him to Evora a month after the death of the infante Dom Duarte in November, 1540, to be a teacher in the Latin school which he had founded. After his death in 1573 he was buried in the Dominican monastery there. Although he studied with Xavier and Rodrigues in Paris from 1527 to 1529 and was the teacher of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas in Brussels, Rezende is not known to have had any closer relation with the Jesuits. All the available material on him is published by Braamcamp Freire in vols. 7-10 of the *Arquivo Historico Portuguez* (1909-1916). Does this refer to Jorge Coelho, who was the tutor and secretary of the infante Dom Henrique at this time? According to Clénard's testimony, Coelho, the best known Latin teacher of the time, was unsurpassed in Latin prose and well versed in Latin poetry. He was a cleric and doctor of canon law at the University of Salamanca. His father had gone to India as a captain with Vasco da Gama in 1497. In 1540 he published a poem in six hundred hexameters, *De Patientia Christiana*, in which he also glorified the victory at Diu. He dedicated this work to the infante Dom Henrique. He died as a canon of Evora in 1563. His letter to Goes dated August 26, 1540, was probably written after he had made the Exercises. On him see Barbosa Machado II 802; Allen XI 206; Lemos 59-63; E. Pereira, *Portugal* II 1064; Clénard I 228.

¹⁵⁴ Dom João de Lancastre, duke of Aveiro, was a nephew of the king. He was born in 1501 and served at the court after 1513. His elaborate household rivaled that of the duke of Bragança. Brave, ambitious, of a lively character, a friend of the sciences and fine arts, amiable, generous, and pious, he was always Rodrigues' chief protector. In 1540 he had an illegitimate nine-year-old son, and in 1547 he married the daughter of the marquês of Villa Real. He died in 1571. In 1546 Francisco Henriques wrote to Ignatius from Coimbra that the duke of Aveiro, "teniendo grande afición á la Compañía desdel principio que aquy vinieron los Padres," wanted to send his son to the Jesuit college (*Litt. Quadr.* I 24); and in 1554 the duke himself wrote concerning Rodrigues: "Conversei-o estreitamente desde os primeiros dias que veo até que se foy" (*MI Scripta* I 672, where the signature is *Ho Duque* and not *Rodrigues*. See Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 2, 162). On the duke see Sousa, *Hist. Gen.* XI 41-65; Braamcamp Freire, *Brazões* III 400-401.

¹⁵⁵ EX I 61-62.

¹⁵⁶ Probably Ambrosio Pereira.

¹⁵⁷ Fr. João Soares.

We deferred doing this for some days so that we might begin with the lowest tasks.¹⁵⁸ We did not express a desire to preach, though all our acquaintances wanted nothing else. His Highness sent for us one day, and after we had spoken at length, he told us that he would be glad if we preached. We then offered to do this with great alacrity, both in order to obey him and because we hoped in Christ our Lord that he would help us to produce some fruit in souls. We shall begin this next Sunday, a week from today, and we are sure that we shall do some good since the inhabitants of this city are so favorably disposed towards us.¹⁵⁸

Three days later he added: "The people here are much inclined to all good and pious works."¹⁵⁹ A month earlier Rodrigues had written in a similar fashion to Ignatius: "The crowds for confession are great, and I am not surprised at this, for the people of this country are much inclined to the service of God and so devout that they believe that if they kiss our garments, they are kissing the relics of the saints."¹⁶⁰ At the end of October Xavier put together his own impressions: "Here God our Lord gives us, thanks to your prayers, the grace to serve Him, for the fruit which we obtain here surpasses our ability, knowledge, and comprehension. The confessions are so many, and made by persons of rank, that we do not have the time to accommodate all."¹⁶¹

But the gaze of the priests was still directed towards India. When Xavier arrived in Lisbon, the annual flotilla had already sailed, having weighed anchor at Belém on March 25.¹⁶² It was therefore necessary to wait until the following year. Rodrigues Coutinho, the captain of the *São João*, had come from Cochin at the end of June with his ship and had reported that all was at peace in India;

¹⁵⁸ Is the hearing of confessions and the giving of the Exercises all that is meant by this? All other authors wrongly assert that Xavier lived with Rodrigues in All Saints' Hospital for as long as they were together. Teixeira (833-834), and after him Tursellinus (1, 10), Lucena (1, 9), and Tellez (I 41-42) give their daily order there: Immediately after rising they meditated, recited their Office, celebrated Mass in the hospital, and then cared for the physical and spiritual needs of the sick. They heard the confessions of the people in the hospital and of many from the city. Lucena adds that they also visited the prison and preached in the squares. In 1616 the witness Antonio de Pina Coelho, who had been born in Cochin in 1570, declared that he had heard that Xavier called the children for catechism with a little bell in Portugal as had been done in Goa and Cochin (MX II 467). Tellez wrote in 1645 that he had taught catechism to children everywhere in Lisbon (I 42). *Araujo (died in 1623) states that the lessons were given on the steps of All Saints' Hospital (c. 4), and the *Resumo Historio da origem da Ermida de S. Roque* (Lisboa, 1869) states that they were held in the chapel of S. Roque above the Carmelite monastery (6). Victor Ribeiro concludes: "Entraram em Lisboa em 30 de maio de 1540, indo hospedar-se no Hospital de Todos os Santos, onde se empregavam no serviço dos enfermos. D'alli sahiam, sendo o logar predilecto de sus missões o largo e ermida de S. Roque. Prégavam na capella e no largo, em um pulpito, dabaixo das oliveira. Alli conquistaram os seus primeiros adeptos" (*A Santa Casa da Misericordia de Lisboa* [Lisboa, 1902] 185). But the passage which he quotes from Tellez I 95 only states that the Jesuits favored San Roque as the site for a professed house in 1553. Rodrigues and Xavier do not mention in their letters care for the sick, sermons, or lessons in Christian doctrine outside the court and the prison of the Inquisition; and they repeatedly state that they did not have as much time even for these lessons as they would like. The possibility that at the beginning of their stay and during their free hours they also visited the sick and instructed the children in the faith should not on this account be excluded. But the king had provided for the regular instruction of youths even before their arrival.

¹⁵⁹ EX I 40 43-44 48.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 35.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* 67.

¹⁶² Figueiredo Falcão 159.

and a Portuguese spy had returned from Cairo and reported that the Turks, although they had occupied Aden, did not intend to send a fleet to India in 1541.¹⁶³ Men who had been there for many years were able to describe the prospects of the Indian mission to Xavier and Rodrigues in glowing terms. They told them that the inhabitants were very well disposed to accept Christianity; and they assured them that if the priests were as free from every appearance of greed in India as they were in Portugal, they would undoubtedly convert two or three pagan kingdoms to Christ within a few years, for they would see that these men sought nothing but the salvation of their souls.¹⁶⁴

These hopes were further increased by the news of the brilliant victory which the Portuguese had gained in the siege of Diu under their heroic captain, Antonio da Silveira, over the united forces of the Turks under Suleiman Pascha and the troops of Mahmûd, the sultan of Cambay. The small but heroic band had withstood all the attacks of the powerful forces of the Moors and Turks for two months and had finally, at the beginning of November, 1538, compelled the Turkish fleet to withdraw. Damião de Goes had described the epic contest in classical Latin in a work which he dedicated to Cardinal Bembo. This had appeared in Louvain in September, 1539, and it had already come out in an Italian translation in Venice in November of the same year. The renown of the Portuguese arms had thus been spread throughout all Europe.¹⁶⁵ On August 26, 1540, the humanist Jorge Coelho, the secretary of the infante Dom Henrique, had written to the author from Lisbon and congratulated him on his masterpiece. All who got their hands on the work would, he said, read it with the greatest delight. The king himself had been much interested in the work; and the infante Dom Henrique, as he read it, had been repeatedly overcome with joy that the heroic deeds of the Portuguese were remembered so far away.¹⁶⁶

Coelho wrote his letter to de Goes at a time when all of Lisbon was in a festive, joyous mood. Two days before, three more ships of the India fleet had arrived, and with them was the hero of Diu, Antonio da Silveira. The *marquês da Villa Real*, the *condes da Vimioso*, *Vidigueira*, *Sortelha*, and *Redondo*, and all the *fidalgos* and lords of the court had gone out to meet him on the shore. He had been brought by them to the king, who was waiting for him at the queen's house with the infantes, and received with great honor. The Christian princes of Europe had later congratulated him through their ambassadors at the court, and Francis I of France had had his picture painted so that it could be hung in his hall of heroes.¹⁶⁷

But from the beginning the priests had experienced a certain amount of anxiety in their hopes of a great harvest in India. A few days after Xavier's arrival Rodrigues had thus written to Rome:

We have already introduced here the practice of frequent confession and Communion. We find the people excellently disposed. All, however, regret the fact that we must go to India, some because of their own, others because of the common, good, thinking that we could produce more fruit here. Nevertheless the reason for our coming here remains unchanged (*stat firmum fundamentum*). We have been sent by

¹⁶³ *Sarmiento 79; Figueiredo Falcão 159.

¹⁶⁴ EX I 42-43.

¹⁶⁵ *Commentarii rerum gestarum in India citra Gangem a Lusitanis anno 1538* (Lovanii, 1539).

¹⁶⁶ Lemos 62-63.

¹⁶⁷ Couto, *Asia* 5, 6, 7; Figueiredo Falcão 158; *Sarmiento 33.

His Holiness to raise the name of the Lord among kings (*coram regibus*) and to proclaim Him to those who do not know Him. The king's preacher has already told us that we should not go and that we should remain here, and that His Highness would write to the pope and ask him to give his consent to this.... A certain person has told the king that he should make us bishops and send us to India. The king told him that we would not accept this. We are very grateful for this, that his esteem for us is in accord with our own resolve, for we do not seek bishoprics or anything in this world except injuries, insults, and persecutions in the service of God our Lord.¹⁶⁸

One of those who used all his eloquence on the king to keep the priests at court was their friend Benedetto Ugucioni, who had come to regard them so highly that he did not wish to be separated from them.¹⁶⁹ At the end of July, a month after Rodrigues' letter, Xavier also wrote as follows:

Many of our acquaintances here are striving to prevent our departure for India, for it seems to them that we would gain more fruit here by hearing confessions, engaging in private conversations, giving the Spiritual Exercises, dispensing the sacraments, promoting frequent confession and Communion, and preaching than if we were in India.¹⁷⁰

And he added in a second letter:

Our friend the bishop¹⁷¹ has told us that the king is not entirely determined upon sending us to India, since it seems to him that we would serve our Lord here no less than there. Two bishops¹⁷² insist that we go. They are of the opinion that we should in no wise remain here, since they believe that if we go to India we shall convert some of the kings there.¹⁷³

6. LETTERS TO ROME (JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1540)

The first letter which Xavier wrote to Rome after his arrival in Lisbon was that of July 23, addressed to Ignatius and Bobadilla.¹⁷⁴ In it he gave an account of his trip, the recovery of Rodrigues at their first meeting, their introduction to the king, their first labors, and the obstacles that threatened their sailing to India. He wrote that anyone who saw the king's zeal for the honor of God and his

¹⁶⁸ EX I 35-36.

¹⁶⁹ "El mismo fue él que trató con el Rey de Portugal que mirase, si seria demás servicio de Dios que tales Padres quedassen en su corte, que no el passar a la India, pues eran bastantes con su exemplo y doctrina a reformarla" (*Guzmán in ARSI: *Castel.* 35, 347v).

¹⁷⁰ EX I 42.

¹⁷¹ Ambrosio Pereira.

¹⁷² According to Tellez (I 48) and Franco (*Synopsis* 4), one of the two bishops was the infante Dom Henrique, who according to them, wanted to get rid of the priests as being suspect in the faith. But Rodrigues contradicts this and writes on October 8 that the king, the queen, and the brothers of the king wanted him to stay because of their great love for him (EX I 63; see also Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 259, n. 3). They were probably Diogo Ortiz de Bilhegas, bishop of San Thomé and dean of the royal chapel, who received the diocese of Ceuta through a bull of September 24, 1540 (Almeida, *Hist. da Igreja* III, 2, 1054-1055), and the Carmelite Balthasar Limpo, bishop of Pôrto, court preacher, and confessor of the queen (*Ibid.* 872-873; CDP V 135).

¹⁷³ EX I 49.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 36-44.

readiness to undertake all kinds of good and pious works would be astounded and sincerely grateful to God our Lord. Everyone in the Society, whether in Rome or in Lisbon, owed him the greatest thanks for his extraordinary kindness towards them. Whatever the future might bring, it seemed to him that for the present they could render no greater service to his lordship than that they should look for some clerics who would be willing to go to India with them to labor for God and the salvation of souls. If they should bring a dozen with them, they would certainly produce much fruit in that country. Some had already shown themselves ready for such an enterprise. A cleric, an old acquaintance from Paris, had promised to accompany them; and they believed that he would keep his word, for he had already given many proofs of his constancy.¹⁷⁵ A second, a subdeacon, who would soon be ordained a priest, was likewise willing to go with them;¹⁷⁶ and another former acquaintance of theirs, Dr. Lopo Serrão, who had studied medicine in Paris, also wished to sail to India with them. As a missionary doctor he wanted to employ his knowledge of medicine as a help in procuring the salvation of souls and thus gain a reward for himself in heaven.¹⁷⁷

In an accompanying letter of July 26, addressed to Ignatius and Codacio, he mentioned a few confidential matters. If the brief of the confirmation of the Society (he meant the bull) was published, they might send him a copy of it. The king and their other friends would like to see it, and they might also send a copy of the decision of the *governatore*. The king also wanted to see the Exercises; they might therefore send him a copy of the corrected text, for he was a great friend of the Society and deserved every consideration because of his love for it. Up to the present he had received two short letters from Rome, one of May 1 and the other of June 8. The lord ambassador would be glad to receive a letter from Ignatius. He could be sure that Dom Pedro would carefully preserve those which he had received on his journey from Rome. If Ignatius could not write himself, he should send one of Strada's letters in which he mentioned the ambassador so that he could show it to him. (Xavier had thus not forgotten the precious circular letters of his young confrere which he had received from him when he was the secretary of the Society!) It might perhaps be good to send Strada for his studies to the University of Coimbra, for he and others would not be lacking assistance during their time of studies there. Because of their zeal for good and pious works, the people would certainly found a college of the order in Coimbra within the near future. Ignatius might therefore write in detail how he wished the lives of the students in such a college to be regulated so that they might make more progress in spirit than in learning. He and Rodrigues could make definite suggestions to the king about the founding of such a house. The foundation of a college and of other houses of the Society would present no difficulty. They would easily find benefactors if there were people to fill them. If they had to stay in Portugal, they would found several establishments there; and people would sooner be found for these than for India.

¹⁷⁵ His name is not known. It is not Medeiros, as MX I 217 maintains, since he was not as yet a cleric (EX I 68).

¹⁷⁶ His name is also unknown.

¹⁷⁷ He came from the diocese of Evora and is mentioned in March, 1534, as a student of medicine in Paris; he matriculated in October of the same year (Matos 74 84). Although he did not go to India, he remained on good terms with the priests. Favre sent greetings to him in 1546 (*Fabri Mon.* 365 381).

¹⁷⁸ EX I 44-50.

But if they sailed to India and the Lord God granted them still some years of life, they would with His help found some houses among the Indians and the Negroes. If the brief of ratification had not yet been drawn up, a provision for the founding of such houses among the infidels might be inserted into it. He concluded his letter with the following request:

But whether we remain here or go to India, for the love and service of God our Lord, write us how we should proceed in the reception of companions, and do this at great length since you know our poor talent; for if you do not help us, the increase in the service of God will suffer because of our lack of knowledge as to how we should act.

And Dr. Serrão added:

I am a doctor of medicine [by the name of Mestre Lopo] Serrão. I made the Exercises under Mestre Pedro Faber in Paris. Although I drew little profit from them, I am now here with the brothers making an election on going to India, if this is the will of God. For the love of our Lord, pray to God for me that He may make me a good physician in both spiritual and temporal affairs insofar as the latter assist me in what are spiritual.

Serrão, Doctor.

In a subsequent letter Xavier and Rodrigues wrote that because of their many labors they had restricted their begging tours to two days a week. The king was greatly pleased with the affairs of the Society, especially with respect to the colleges, but he wished that they would accept a regular income. Moreover, he had written to his ambassador in Rome that he should take care of their affairs and handle them as though they were his own. In case letters from the French king or the emperor were necessary for the brief of ratification, he would gladly obtain them. Xavier then lamented the fact that they had no persecutors in Portugal.

He consoled himself, however, with the thought that he would find a substitute for them in India; for it seemed to him that if the cross was absent for long, one was not serving as a faithful soldier.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 51-53. The king wrote to the pope and the ambassadors (*ibid.* 67); the letters to Francis I and the emperor were no longer necessary (Polanco, *Chron.* I 88).

CHAPTER III

THE HOLY INQUISITION (JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1540)¹

1. OLD AND NEW CHRISTIANS

Hate and contempt had separated Jews and Christians in Portugal for centuries, as they had in neighboring Spain. The former, crowded together in their ghettos, closely allied with each other, and comprising a state within a state with its own religion, language, laws, and administration,² made up no small portion of the populace.³ Through their thrift, energy, intelligence, and not infrequent lack of scruples, they had in the course of time obtained a powerful hold upon the Christians. Finance, commerce, medicine, and, to a large extent, the handicrafts were under their control.⁴ In 1478 a fifth of the revenues in

¹ Bernardino Llorca, S.J., *La Inquisición en España* (Barcelona, 1946²) gives a good summary of the Spanish Inquisition with a critical chapter on earlier authors such as Llorente and Lea. Antonio Baião, *A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brazil* (Lisboa, 1921) 5-102, which first appeared in *Arquivo Historico Portuguez* 4 (1906)—10 (1916), with a critical bibliography, gives a good summary of the Inquisition in Portugal. The main accounts of the Portuguese Inquisition for our period are A. Herculano, *Historia da Igreja em Portugal* III, 2, 145-303; IV, 3, 377-442, and Alfredo Pimenta, *D. João III* (Pôrto, 1936) 159-223. The first account is too emotional, but it is very valuable because of its rich and still partially unpublished material. It takes the side of the New Christians. The second account takes the side of the pope and the nuncios, and the third takes that of the king, of whom it states, and we believe with reason: "Estudando atentamente os documentos, fica-nos a impressão de que verdadeiramente sincero [na luta para a Inquisição era] só o Rei de Portugal" (214). Most of the sources for the beginnings of the Portuguese Inquisition are published in *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez* I-IV and in Baião, who gives the text of the **Livro das denúncias* of 1537-1571 (103-288) and an appendix containing important documents (1-81). H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden von der Verbannung der Juden aus Spanien and Portugal bis zur dauernden Ansiedelung der Marranen in Holland, 1618* (Leipzig, 1866), gives the history of the Jews. This work has never been surpassed. J. Lucio d'Azevedo, *Historia dos Christãos Novos Portugueses* (Lisboa, 1921) gives the history of the New Christians.

² Herculano I 108-129; Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* II 272-284; Azevedo 7-16 46-53. When Ruy Gomes Pinheiro told the nuncio in 1545 that this hatred was not so bad, he was speaking more of the upper classes of the people (CDP V 485-486).

³ "Esta nação em meus reynos he huma muy grande parte de meus vasalos, muyto mais proveitosos que todolos outros do povo pera meu serviço per todas as vias de negoção... mais ricos que todolos outros," the king wrote in December, 1539 (CDP IV 232). The exact number of New Christians in Xavier's time is not known. Azevedo estimated the number of Portuguese Jews before the Spanish migrations at 75,000 (43); the consultant for the Inquisition of 1624 gave the same estimate: 20,000 families with an average of three to four persons per family; those remaining after the expulsion are estimated at from 5,000 to 6,000, and at the most 10,000, families (*ibid.*, 471). In 1542 the representative of the New Christians wrote to their procurator in Rome: "One cannot condemn 60,000 souls because of four fools who deserved to be punished as heretics" (CDP IV 159); the four fools he referred to were the adherents to the false Messias Luis Dias.

⁴ Herculano I 108-109); Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* II 289-294; Azevedo 17-19; Graetz 253.

Portugal accrued to them,⁵ and peasants, nobles, and even the kings themselves were in their debt. By 1482 the Cortes had already complained about their wealth and ostentation:

We see the Jews becoming *cavalleiros*; we see them riding around on richly caparisoned horses and mules, in fine robes and cowls and silk jackets, with gilded swords and elaborate headgear, so that it is impossible to recognize their race. They thus visit the churches together with the Christians and abuse the Blessed Sacrament and commit great crimes against the Catholic faith. And worst of all is the fact that they wear no insignia, for they become the leaseholders of public taxes in order to oppress the Christians, and thus from slaves become lords. And if the farmers work in the field, the Jews remain alone as tailors, shoemakers, and other craftsmen in their houses and violate their wives and daughters.⁶

Since no relief had been forthcoming, the Cortes increased its demands eight years later. It unanimously asked the king to exclude the Jews from the collection of taxes and to free the people from their oppression. Nowhere, it declared, were the Jews so favored as in Portugal; they had reduced the people to slavery by their cleverness in obtaining leases for the collection of public taxes, by their management of prominent houses, and through usury and craftiness.⁷

The situation worsened for the Jews in 1478, when Sixtus IV permitted the rulers of Spain to erect the Inquisition in their lands, and again in 1492, when they were banished from their realm. Thousands upon thousands of exiles found their way to Portugal.⁸ Some of these were sent off to North Africa, where they settled among the Moors;⁹ over twelve hundred, mostly minors, were sent with colonists to the island of São Thomé, where they were decimated by the extraordinarily feverish climate, so that in 1532 only fifty to seventy of them were still alive.¹⁰ The remainder stayed on in Portugal, contrary to their earlier agreement, and were therefore condemned to slavery by John II.

Although King Manuel gave the Jews their freedom after mounting the throne in 1495, still, when he sought the hand of the Spanish princess Isabella two years later, she and her parents demanded in the marriage contract that the Jews be driven out of Portugal before her departure from Spain. The request was granted. Before the Jews left the country, their children under fourteen years of age were taken from them so that they might be baptized and educated as Christians. This frequently induced their parents to adopt the faith at least externally so that they might be able to remain with them. The remainder, twenty thousand in number, were sent for embarkation to Lisbon, but only a few reached Africa. At the last moment it was decided that they should be kept in the country and be made Christians whether they liked it or not. In 1497 all of

⁵ Azevedo 45.

⁶ Herculano I 122-124.

⁷ *Ibid.* 125-127.

⁸ The number is uncertain, even among their contemporaries: more than 93,000 according to Bernaldez, who gives detailed data, over 120,000 according to Zacuto, over 20,000 families according to Goes, while Samuel Usque and Manuel Aboab mention only 600 families (Azevedo 20-21; Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* II 297-298). Almeida considers Herculano's estimate of 265,000 and another of 93,000 as extremely exaggerated (*ibid.* 298, n. 1).

⁹ Azevedo 23-24; Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* II 298-301; Herculano I 135-137.

¹⁰ According to Diogo de Gouvea in 1532 (Costa 314); see also Azevedo 24-25; Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* II 301.

them were baptized, some of their own free will, others against their will, many being dragged by their hair to the churches;¹¹ and they were assured that they would not be troubled about their religion during the next twenty years, during which time they should become acquainted with their new faith.¹²

Although an edict freed them from their ghettos, the hatred of the Old Christians for the New Christians, as the baptized Jews were called, and the anger of the people who had been oppressed by them broke out nine years later in a bloody massacre.¹³

2. THE MASSACRE AT LISBON (1506)¹⁴

In 1506 a plague was raging in Lisbon, and a continued drought added the threat of a poor harvest and famine. Public prayers were ordered, and on April¹⁵ a procession to obtain the divine assistance went from St. Stephen's church to that of the Dominicans, where a crucifix in the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament was venerated. Some who were present believed that they saw a miraculous glow come from it. Great numbers went to see the phenomenon; and on the following Sunday, April 19, when the church was filled with worshipers, a New Christian expressed aloud his doubts about the supernatural character of the glow. The throng in the church immediately became enraged. It fell upon him and dragged him by the hair out of the church into the Rossio Square, where he and his brother,¹⁶ who had hastened up to assist him, were killed and burned.¹⁶

A Dominican preacher inflamed the crowd still more with a sermon against the New Christians; and two of his fellow religious, a Spaniard and a Portuguese,¹⁷ went with a raised crucifix through the city shouting: "Heresy! Heresy!"¹⁸ They were followed by a mob which grew to some five hundred persons from the lower strata of society and from German, Dutch, and French sailors belonging to ships anchored in the river.¹⁹ A wild slaughter began on the streets. About five hundred New Christians fell as victims to the wrath of the fanatical mob, their bodies being burned on the Ribeira and Rossio squares.²⁰

¹¹ According to an eyewitness, Dom Fernando Coutinho, who later became bishop of Silves (Herculano I 155).

¹² Herculano I 139-158; Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* III, 2, 104-110.

¹³ Azevedo 57-60; see also 454-458 460-464; Graetz 248-249; Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* III, 2, 110-114.

¹⁴ The main account of the massacre is Goes' *Chronica do Rei Dom Emanuel* 1, 102, which Osorius follows. See also the shorter accounts of the contemporaries: Samuel Usque, Bernaldez (see also Pimenta 171-173), Salomon Ibn-Verga and a German eyewitness (in Graetz 249-252), and Diogo das Covas (Baião 159). See also CDP V 485 and the descriptions in Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* III, 2, 114-115; Azevedo 59-62 and Herculano I 171-181.

¹⁵ Graetz 250.

¹⁶ Herculano I 171-174; Goes c. 102.

¹⁷ Frey Bernardo de Aragón and Frey João Mocho (Herculano I 175).

¹⁸ According to Goes, c. 102. The German eyewitness wrote: "I saw three monks walking in the city, each with a cross yelling: 'Mercy! Mercy!' Whoever wishes to defend his Christian faith and the cross, come to us; we will fight the Jews and kill them all!" (Graetz 251). According to Diogo das Covas, the Dominicans rose up with the shout: "Viva a Fee de Christo!" and broke into houses to murder and plunder (Baião 159). According to Herculano the cry was: "Queimaeos!" (I 175).

¹⁹ Goes, c. 102; Graetz 250. According to Ruy Gomes Pinheiro, most, in fact almost all, were foreigners, since the city had been deserted by the natives because of the plague (CDP IV 485).

²⁰ According to Goes, c. 102. Three hundred were burned on the Rossio Square that day (Herculano I 175-176).

Still worse was the madness of the following Monday. The mob rose to fifteen hundred persons²¹ and, stirred up by the two monks, moved on to acts of plunder, murder, and desecration. They poured into the homes of the New Christians and into the churches where they had sought refuge and tore them, men, women, and children, from the altars and the statues of the saints in order to kill and burn them.²² João Rodrigues Mascarenhas, a New Christian who had leased the right to collect customs, was one of those who were specifically sought out and slain.²³

On the third day the pogrom spread to the environs of the city, where many had fled. Only on Tuesday evening did the *regedor* and the mayor of the city succeed in reestablishing order after more than two, or, according to other accounts, four thousand, unfortunate persons had been slaughtered.²⁴

When he learned what had happened, the king, who was at the time living in the city of Aviz, ordered the guilty to be punished severely. Many were hanged; the two friars were degraded and burned; and their confreres were banished from Lisbon. Many officials were deposed; the city was deprived of its autonomy and ordered to pay a heavy fine.²⁵ The New Christians were put on the same level with the Old Christians. They were permitted to emigrate and were assured of the protection of the king; and in 1512 the period during which they were not to be molested because of their religious attitudes was extended to 1538.²⁶

3. THE STRUGGLE OVER THE INQUISITION (1521-1540)²⁷

King Manuel died in 1521, and the following year his successor, John III, ratified the privileges granted to the New Christians by his father. In 1524, however, on the basis of information received from various sources, he ordered an investigation of their lives to be made by Dr. Jorge Temudo. This indicated that many of the New Christians had become so only exteriorly and had secretly retained their Jewish beliefs.²⁸ Detailed information to this effect was given by a certain Henrique Nunes with the nickname of "Firme-fé." He had insinuated himself as a spy into the activities of New Christian families and had delated many of them to the king. He had then been murdered as a traitor to his nation in this same year of 1524. The perpetrators of the deed, two New Christians in

²¹ Graetz speaks in an exaggerated manner of "nah an 10,000 Mördern" (250-251).

²² According to Goes, c. 102. The German eyewitness gives further details (Graetz 251-252).

²³ The German and Hebrew eyewitnesses mention him (Graetz 248-249 251-252).

²⁴ Goes has "over 1,900" (c. 102), which Almeida considers excessive (*Hist. Igr.* III, 2, 115). The contemporary Samuel Usque said that over 4,000 were killed (Pimenta 172-173); the New Christians gave this same figure in their report for Paul III in 1536 **Informatioe sopra la conversione delli nuovi christiani di Portogallo, et di molti accidenti sequiti contra di loro in diversi tempi* (Bibl. Vat. *Urb. lat.* 818, 100v-101). The nuncio Lippomani relied upon this figure in 1545 and Ruy Gomes Pinheiro made no protest against it (CDP IV 485).

²⁵ Goes, c. 102-103; Herculano I 179-181.

²⁶ Herculano I 183-184; Azevedo 61.

²⁷ The main sources for this section are edited in the *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez* II-IV. The main descriptions are Herculano I 203-332; II 7-331; Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* III, 2, 184-263; Azevedo 63-97 and Pimenta 174-194.

²⁸ Herculano I 222-229.

minor orders, were discovered and, after their hands had been chopped off, were hanged as assassins.²⁹

In addition to this, in 1525 the Cortes again made sharp complaints against the representatives of the Jews.³⁰ According to these accusations, they had obtained control of the revenues of great estates, had secured a monopoly on the sale of grain, and had raised the price of wheat during a time of famine. They were the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries throughout almost all the land; and they abused their positions to poison and kill the Old Christians, as had been admitted by a physician of Campo-Mayor on the scaffold at Llerena in Spain after he had been condemned to be burned to death by the Inquisition.³¹ The New Christians should therefore be forbidden to engage in pharmacy, and the sons of Old Christians should be allowed to study medicine in order to obviate this danger.

The king had not at the time acceded to these requests, for in November of this same year a remarkable personage had appeared at the court in Almeirim who had turned the interests of John III in a different direction and had raised great hopes among the New Christians.³² The newcomer, who spoke only Hebrew, called himself David Rëubeni³³ and claimed that he was the brother and ambassador of the powerful Jewish king of Chaibar in Inner Arabia, who had 300,000 chosen warriors poised to drive the Turks from the Red Sea and the Holy Land and was now seeking firearms and artillery for them from the pope and the Christian princes of Europe.

Though the pretended political mission of this adventurer fell through, still his appearance effected an important conversion. Diogo Pires,³⁴ a secretary in the Supreme Court, who had been born of New Christian parents about the year 1501, decided to become his pupil. He circumcised himself, fled to Turkey in 1526, where he studied the Cabala, visited the Holy Land as an inspired visionary under the name of Salomo Molcho, and heralded himself as the prophet of the coming Messiah in the Jewish community of Salonica. In 1529 he published a selection of his sermons,³⁵ in which he maintained that the Messianic Age and the triumph of Israel over its enemies would come at the end of the year 5300, which, according to Christian reckoning, would be at the end of 1540. Pires entered the Eternal City at the beginning of 1530, when one of the notable prophecies of the imminent approach of the Messiah had already been fulfilled through the fall and sack of Rome in 1527. In a dream he foresaw the flooding of Rome and a great earthquake in Portugal. He won the confidence of Pope Clement VII, who granted him a letter of protection. He proclaimed to great

²⁹ *Ibid.* 229-237; Azevedo 64-65; Graetz 254-256 and LIV; CDP IV 241; V 331.

³⁰ Herculano I 219-220.

³¹ See the documents in Azevedo 464-469 473-474. Frey Paulo da Trindade, O.F.M., wrote in 1638 in his **Conquista spiritual do Oriente* (Bibl. Vat. Vat. lat. 7746, 508) that a New Christian physician who had returned to Judaism had killed his confrere Luis Velloso with a purge in Chaul because he feared that he was a visitor of the Holy Office. He then fled to Ormuz and had written from there that he had got sixty or seventy important persons in India out of his way with his cures, including the guardian Velloso.

³² Herculano I 246-247; Graetz XXXVIII-XXXIX.

³³ Graetz 257-287 and XXXVI-LIII gives a detailed report on David; see also the *Jewish Encyclopedia* 10 (1907) 388-389; Herculano I 246-247; Azevedo 68-69 98.

³⁴ On Diogo Pires see Graetz 264-285 and XXXVI-LIII; see also CDP II 324, Baião 108 and the *Jewish Encyclopedia* 8 (1907) 651.

³⁵ *Derashot*, that is, *Sefer ha-Mejo'ar*.

crowds in the synagogue in Rome that after the inundation of the city the Messias-King would receive the Holy Spirit, the dead would rise, and Israel would triumph. The flood came soon after, on October 8, 1530, and the earthquake on January 26, 1531.

But in the meantime the condition of the New Christians in Portugal had again worsened. David Rëubeni had left the country, but the Messianic hopes which he had aroused by his coming had addled the heads of many in different places. In 1528 a band of youths from Campo-Mayor on Spanish soil attacked the prison of the Inquisition in Badajoz and freed the Jewish women detained there. In Gouvea a statue of the Mother of God was smashed to bits. This exasperated the Old Christians, especially since the Jews had earlier hanged here a statue of the Blessed Virgin on the city gallows.³⁶ At the beginning of May, 1531, the king therefore wrote to his ambassador in Rome, Braz Neto, that he should secretly obtain information on the powers granted by the pope to the Inquisition in Castile and elsewhere, and he should then obtain the same for Portugal.³⁷ Neto, however, encountered unexpected difficulties with Clement VII and the cardinals. The main cause was, as he wrote to his lord in June, 1531, a certain Diogo Pires, who publicly preached to the Jews in Rome with the approval of the pope, and who was honored by them as a saint and was on familiar terms with His Holiness and the cardinals. He feared, moreover, that the New Christians were sending him money to be used as bribes.³⁸ Pires, however, was accused by enemies among his own people this same year and had to leave Rome. At the beginning of 1532 he went with David Rëubeni to the emperor at Regensburg in order to win him over to the Jewish cause. But instead of being converted to the cause, Charles V imprisoned the two visionaries. He later had Pires burned to death at Mantua as an apostate and had confined David in the prison of the Inquisition at Llerena, where he still was in 1555.³⁹

In the meantime Neto had obtained from Clement VII the appointment of the mild Frey Diogo da Silva as inquisitor in Portugal (December 17, 1531).⁴⁰ The New Christians in Portugal had also sent to Rome a thoroughly experienced procurator to replace Pires, who was to frustrate the plans of the Portuguese king for eight long years with his double dealings. This was the Knight of Christ Duarte de Paz.⁴¹ Through his own efforts and the assistance of funds generously contributed by his clients, he succeeded in effecting a change at Rome. In October, 1532, the pope revoked the powers he had given to the inquisitors; and on April 7, 1533, he proclaimed a general pardon for the New Christians of Portugal since they had to an extent been forcibly baptized or had become Christians through

³⁶ Herculano I 244-249.

³⁷ CDP II 319.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 324.

³⁹ Graetz 27-285 and XL. The rumor that God had miraculously rescued Pires from the flames was still circulated among the New Christians of Portugal in 1553 (Baião 108).

⁴⁰ CDP II 335-338

⁴¹ On Duarte de Paz see Herculano I 306-307 314-325; II 62-64 98-9-9 168-170 188 288-296; Azevedo 73-80 446-447; Pimenta 179-184; Graetz 287-294 and CDP II-VIII, for example, on his influence in Rome III 249-250. Finally deserted by the New Christians, he wrote against them out of revenge (CDP IV 200-204). He was sentenced to death in Rome and imprisoned in Ferrara in 1540. He next became an overt Jew in Turkey under the name of David Bueno, as John III wrote in 1545 (*ibid.* V 335-336). He then had the impudence, after he had betrayed his king for years, to offer his services to him again this same year and again in 1552 (*ibid.* VII 196; Azevedo 446-447).

fear and had not received sufficient instruction in the faith.⁴² To this the Portuguese king replied in protest that only a few of the Jews who had been compelled to receive baptism thirty-five years before were still alive; the rest had remained in the country of their own free will; during all this time they had received the sacraments; they had been as a rule baptized as children and were therefore obliged to live as Christians and to acquire a knowledge of their faith.⁴³

Since the appointment of an inquisitor instigated a mass flight of the New Christians, John III in July, 1532, forbade them to emigrate or to sell their property; and in June, 1535, he extended this prohibition for another three years.⁴⁴ The New Christians, however, in April of this same year, 1535, came to a secret agreement with the papal nuncio, Fra Marco della Rovere, in which they promised to pay him 300,000 ducats if he persuaded the new pope, Paul III, to refuse permission for the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal.⁴⁵ But since Duarte de Paz had offered the prospect of a higher sum than his clients were ready to pay, the negotiations fell through.⁴⁶ Although the pope had issued a brief in July, 1535, according to which the New Christians could freely elect their procurator in Rome,⁴⁷ and in October had granted a new general pardon, still, at the insistence of John III and also of the victorious emperor, he introduced the Inquisition into Portugal on May 23, 1536, by means of the bull *Cum ad nil magis*, but with the following restrictions: No one was to be punished for crimes committed before the last general pardon; the possessions of the accused should not be confiscated for ten years; and the New Christians should not on the whole be considered as "powerful persons," from whom the names of witnesses should be kept secret.⁴⁸

On the basis of this bull, the tribunal for the Inquisition was immediately set up; and in August the grand inquisitor, Diogo da Silva, published a list of proscribed Jewish, Mohammedan, Lutheran, and other heretical teachings and practices, and ordered all to report transgressions.⁴⁹ The representatives of the New Christians had recourse to the king through the infante Dom Luis, who was inclined to be lenient. They asked him to extend the pardon for another year. In the meantime they would see to it that their fellow believers did not leave the country and that they gave up their forbidden Jewish practices. When the king did not agree to this,⁵⁰ they had their procurator in Rome tell the pope that even though they wanted to live as Catholic Christians, still, if the tyranny continued, there was a danger that they would all return again to Judaism.⁵¹

The threat proved to be successful, and in February, 1537, Paul III sent a new nuncio, Girolamo Riconati Capodiferro, to Portugal with an order to investigate all trials for the faith. If it seemed good to him, he should reserve

⁴² CDP II 430-440.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 93-111; see also 11-28 and II 452-459.

⁴⁴ Herculano I 289-291; Azevedo 76 86.

⁴⁵ CDP III 290-924, note.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 290-297; Azevedo 86-87.

⁴⁷ CDP III 220-222.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 302-307. On the basis of this bull, until the promulgation of the new bull of Inquisition of 1547, the names of the witnesses were given to the accused (CDP V 335).

⁴⁹ Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* III, 2, 239-242; Herculano II 188-194.

⁵⁰ Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* III, 2, 251; Herculano II 197-199.

⁵¹ Herculano II 199-203.

them to himself. He should also obtain from the king freedom for the Jews to emigrate. If necessary, he should even suspend the Inquisition entirely. All this, in effect, deprived the bull of the Inquisition of its main force.⁵²

One morning in February, 1539, posters filled with blasphemies were found on the cathedral and other churches in Lisbon. These also declared that Christ was not the true Messiah, who was still to come. This created a great deal of excitement among the people. Many expiatory processions of both the secular and religious clergy were staged, and even children passed in procession through the streets begging God to bring the perpetrators of the deed to light. There was fear that there might be another Jewish pogrom such as had occurred in 1506. Many of the New Christians fled precipitously to the Moors in Africa; and the king deposited ten thousand, and the nuncio five thousand, *cruzados* with Lucas Giraldi as a reward for anyone who revealed the culprits. In the meantime a new placard on the cathedral mockingly named an Englishman as the author. A New Christian, Manuel da Costa, however, turned out to be responsible for the deed. He admitted his guilt to the judges of the Inquisition and was turned over by them as an obstinate heretic to the secular court. When he was tortured by the latter, he came to realize that his crazy dream that God would not allow him to experience any pain was a delusion of the devil. He repented and, after having both of his hands chopped off, suffered death by fire as a Christian.⁵³

The king then appointed his brother, the infante Dom Henrique, grand inquisitor, and asked the pope for a free Inquisition without interference from Rome and the recall of the nuncio who had been bribed by the New Christians. Through the energetic intervention of his ambassador, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, he succeeded in obtaining both of these from Paul III until the matters under discussion were finally settled.

Such was the state of affairs when Xavier arrived with the ambassador in Lisbon at the end of 1540. But soon afterwards the New Christians, surprisingly enough, obtained a new and powerful patron in the capital of Christendom. This was no less a person than the private secretary and former Roman ambassador of John III, Dom Miguel da Silva, bishop of Viseu, who drew from his benefices an income of from six to seven million *reis*, and who had always openly befriended the persecuted race. On July 22, 1540, without the knowledge and permission of the king, he had secretly sailed from Portugal with some sixty or seventy thousand *cruzados* in order, as he said, to obtain at Rome the red hat. On the thirtieth of the month the Spanish ambassador Sarmiento, at the request of John III, wrote this to the emperor; and he added that it had been learned that this same bishop was also responsible for the fact that the pope had promised the abbey of Alcobaça, which had become vacant through the death of the cardinal infante Dom Affonso, not to the infante Dom Henrique, as the king desired, but to his own grandson, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.⁵⁴ Sarmiento had written five days earlier about this same matter to the Spanish secretary of state Cobos as follows:

⁵² *Ibid.* 205-313; see his instructions in CDP III 348-361.

⁵³ On Manuel da Costa see the king's letter of March 19, 1539 (CDP IV 18-20) and the **Informazione sommaria* of 1564 (Bibl. Vat. *Urb. lat.* 852 II, 425-432v), which Graetz published from the Berlin copy with notes (LIV-LXI), and Herculano II 228-231; Baião 118.

⁵⁴ *Sarmiento 45; see also Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* III, 2, 908-931.

Through the death of the cardinal a good many benefices have been vacated in this realm. Among these is the abbey of Alcovaça, which is said to produce revenues of from three or four *cuentos* [three or four million *reis*], of which the monks who live there receive a half. It is a royal patronage, and as such the king gave it to the lord infante Dom Henrique and asked His Holiness for the usual ratification. His Holiness replied that, instead of for him, he wanted it for his cardinal grandson, for everything that became vacant through the death of the cardinal was at his own disposal. . . . The people here are raging mad about this and about many other things which His Holiness has done, for example, the favors which he has shown to the New Christians of this realm, so that the Inquisition is already forgotten.⁵⁵

Even though the fiery Spaniard would have liked to have seen crimes against the faith more vigorously prosecuted, as they were in his own country, the Inquisition in Portugal still went on its own tranquil way; and in this same summer Rodrigues and Xavier had to take over the spiritual care of the prisoners of the Holy Office at the repeated request of the grand inquisitor, the infante Dom Henrique.⁵⁶

4. THE WORK OF THE INQUISITION ⁵⁷

The General Council was the highest tribunal and ultimate court of appeals of the Inquisition.⁵⁸ It was made up of four doctors whom the grand inquisitor had appointed in 1539.⁵⁹ These were the Augustinian hermit Frey Alonso João Soares, the king's confessor,⁶⁰ Dr. Ruy Gomes Pinheiro of the Supreme Court,⁶¹ Dr. Ruy Lopes de Carvalho, a canon of Evora,⁶² and Dr. João de Mello e Castro.

⁵⁵ *Sarmiento 77. On August 19 he wrote to Cobos that the king was certainly aware of the fact that the New Christians had given six thousand ducats to the bishop of Viseu so that he would intercede for them in Rome (43).

⁵⁶ EX I 67; see also 62.

⁵⁷ We cite the numbers of the oldest preserved *Regimento* of the Portuguese Inquisition, which dates from 1552. It was published by Baião (appendix 31-37) with the rules for the prison and other documents: the *Collegio da doutrina da fee* of the same year (*ibid.* 60-61), an explanatory supplement to the *Regimento* of 1564 (61-64), and three documents from 1540 (57-59). Llorca 168-245 gives a description of the usual practice of the Spanish Inquisition; similar descriptions of the Portuguese practice are found in Baião 14-34 65-82; Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* III, 2, 273-285 296-298; Azevedo 132-148; Azevedo-Baião, *O Archivo da Torre do Tombo* (Lisboa, 1950) 67-70, and Miguel da la Pinta Llorente, O.S.A., "Orígenes y organización del Santo Oficio en Portugal," *Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos* 54 (1948) 83-93. The published trials of Teive and Costa, for example, and the many unpublished trials of the Torre do Tombo from the years 1537-1541 also indicate that before 1552 the Spanish model was closely followed.

⁵⁸ On the General Council see Baião 29-51 and the *Regimento* of 1570 (*ibid.*, appendix 9-14).

⁵⁹ Their oath of office in Baião, appendix 8-9.

⁶⁰ Baião 48-49.

⁶¹ Also called Rodrigo Pinheiro. On him see Baião 49; Barbosa Machado III 640-642; Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* III, 2, 958-959; 873-874; Braamcamp Freire, *Brazões* II 175. Born in Barcellos in 1482 as the son of the bishop of Funchal, he was a doctor of both civil and canon law, one of the best educated men of his time and the trusted friend of Dom João de Castro, the later viceroy of India. In 1540 he became bishop of Angra and in 1552 bishop of Pôrto, where he rendered the greatest services in the founding of the college of the Society of Jesus in 1560. He died in 1572.

⁶² Also called Rodrigo de Carvalho. On him see Baião 46-47; Barbosa Machado III 650; Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* III, 2, 855-856. He was born in Lamego and was a doctor of both civil and canon law. From 1522 to 1525 he was an agent of the cardinal infante

Mello was the chief inquisitor and had the lion's share of work in the court. He had been born in Villa Viçosa, had obtained a doctorate in canon law at Salamanca, and had become an ecclesiastical judge of the cardinal infante Dom Affonso in Evora and a canon of Cabo Verde. Since 1536 he had been a member of the General Council of the Inquisition and the representative of the grand inquisitor; and Dom Henrique, who esteemed him highly, had confirmed him in his office.⁶⁸

The Portuguese Inquisition was modeled upon that of Spain. Its court was competent for all transgressions against the faith: the observance of Jewish or Mohammedan customs, the holding of Lutheran or other heresies, and the practice of magic, witchcraft, and bigamy. An edict of the inquisitor ordered all the faithful to report those who were guilty of such deviations. If information came from more than one source about an individual, he was arrested and detained for investigation. The three introductory hearings had to take place within the first two weeks after one's arrest. At this time vital statistics of the accused were recorded: year and place of birth; parents and relatives; whether he was an Old or New Christian; his previous life; whether he had had, or had expressed, any doubts about the faith; whether he had observed Jewish or heretical customs, and so forth. A prisoner was advised to admit his guilt publicly so that he might profit by the kindness and indulgence of the court.

If the accused, as was usually the case, denied his guilt, the prosecutor would read his bill of accusation (*libello*) in the presence of the prisoner so that he could answer it. A copy of the same was given to the accused so that he could draw up a bill of defense (*defesa*) with the procurator, his attorney, whom he could choose for himself. In his bill of defense, his lawyer usually represented the accused as an excellent Christian, who regularly attended Mass, received the sacraments, made pilgrimages, and so forth. Both parties were then given a period of time in which to prove their case through the hearing of witnesses, and the accused had to submit a list of persons who would testify on his behalf. All the evidence obtained by the prosecutor, including the first denunciations, had to be again presented to the parties concerned for ratification.

When all the hearings had been completed, the incriminating statements were put together and, as the bull of 1536 prescribed, presented with the names

Dom Affonso in Rome. When he returned he became an agent of the Supreme Court of Appeals. After 1537 he was a member of the General Council of the Inquisition. In 1540 he founded the College of St. Peter for twelve poor clerical students in Coimbra. He became bishop of Miranda in 1555 and died in 1559.

⁶⁸ On João de Mello see Baião 45 46; Barbosa Machado II 641-642; Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* II, 2, 888-889 and 804. He became bishop of Silves in 1549, where he held a synod and published the constitutions of the diocese in 1554. In 1555 he attended the Council of Trent, where he was admired for his great knowledge of literature. He was named vicar-general of the archdiocese of Evora by the cardinal infante Dom Henrique and in 1564 became his successor as archbishop of Evora. He reformed the constitutions of the diocese and died in 1574. In addition to his ecclesiastical offices he also held the highest positions in the civil courts. The answer which he gave in 1546 to the problem of the four representatives of the New Christians reveals his knowledge of the law (CDP VI 111-125). His basic position with regard to the New Christians was that the king should favor and protect the good and treat the others with compassion and strive for nothing more than the salvation of their souls; he should discourage the flight of the New Christians by punishing the leaders who were everywhere stirring up the people and driving them to their ruin (*ibid.* 125).

of the witnesses⁶⁴ to the prisoner. On the following day these were also set before his procurator so that he and his client might be able to draw up their reply (*contradicta*), that is, the reasons why they rejected the legality of the action or the reliability of the opposing witnesses. If necessary, new hearings would be held on the qualifications of the accusers.

When all these means for determining the truth had been exhausted, and no definite proof had been obtained with respect to the guilt or innocence of the accused, the Inquisition could then have recourse to torture, as was customary in all the other courts of Europe at this time. Two kinds of torture were employed by the Portuguese Inquisition: strappado (*polé*) and the rack (*pótro*). In the former, the prisoner was hung up by the hands and suddenly let down almost to the ground. In the latter, he was tied fast to a kind of bench and his wrists and ankles were squeezed by screws. Torture, however, was used only in exceptional cases,⁶⁵ and then only in the presence of the bishop or his representative, the inquisitor, and a physician; and as a rule it could not be repeated.

When all the investigations had been completed, the sentence was passed. This was signed by the chief inquisitor, by the other inquisitors, and by the deputies and read to the accused, who could then appeal it to the grand inquisitor or to the General Council.

If the innocence of the accused was proved, he was acquitted. If his offense had been slight, he received absolution and a small penance. If he had been induced to admit his guilt and had been found to be more or less suspect in the faith, he had to make a retraction before the inquisitors or at the annual auto-da-fé. He was also given a rather severe sentence, for example, a shorter or longer, or even a perpetual, confinement in a monastery, where he would be instructed in the faith;⁶⁶ or he would have spiritual works to perform and would have to wear the *sambenito*, a kind of yellow dalmatic with a large red St. Andrew's cross on its front and back.⁶⁷ If the culprit proved to be amenable, his penalty, even that of "perpetual imprisonment," was as a rule mitigated after a time; his custody was extended to the grounds of the monastery or to a quarter of the city in Lisbon, then to his own residence; and then finally it was

⁶⁴ After 1547 the names of the witnesses and accusers were kept secret, as in the Spanish Inquisition, in order to protect them from the revenge of the New Christians.

⁶⁵ On the tortures usually employed in the Inquisition see Llorca for the Spanish (213-226), and Azevedo for the Portuguese, courts (139-141). The water torture, customary in Spain, was not used in Portugal; neither Inquisition made use of fire. The tortures are described in a complaint of the New Christians in 1544 (Herculano III 182). Their statements, exaggerated in other instances, are true here for they are describing an exceptional case, the excesses of a local authority. In the processes for the years 1539 to 1541 which we studied, we found torture mentioned only once: strappado. In this case the woman denied her guilt although her husband admitted it.

⁶⁶ This was done, for example, for the women in the convent of Odivellas or of Santa Clara in Lisbon and for the men in Belém. In 1537 the Escolas Geraes, the university buildings east of the cathedral, were abandoned. In 1542 these were converted into a prison under the name of the *collegio da doutrina da fee*. This was the *carcere dos penitenciados*, which was always kept separate from the *carcere dos culpados*, or *carcere secreto*, as Goes indicates: "Com hos culpados na Inquisiçam se usou sempre de muita clemencia, e pera hos penitenciados ordenou [o infante Dom Henrique] hum collegio onde foram has Scholas geraes, e alli sam doctrinados em ha Fé, e consolados com pregações, e hos pobres mantidos com esmollas quomo sam hos do outro carcere" (*Chronica do Rei Dom Emanuel* 3, 27). See also the regulations for the College of the Faith of 1552, where it is stressed that the warden should treat his prisoners with great love. (Baião, appendix 60-61).

⁶⁷ *Regimento* 1552, n. 63. Pictures in Llorca, plates 8-9.

entirely remitted.⁶⁸ Those who were obdurate, however, were handed over to the secular arm, which condemned the guilty to death by fire; but these were first strangled if they declared after their condemnation that they wanted to die as Christians.

5. PRISONERS OF THE INQUISITION (JULY-AUGUST, 1540)⁶⁹

The Estaos palace had originally (1537-1538) been given to the Inquisition; but when this building was renovated for the king's use, the Holy Office was deprived of its own place of business. João de Mello therefore received accusations in his home and also held some of the hearings there.⁷⁰ In the meantime the prisoners who were being investigated were usually kept in the Aljube, the episcopal prison near the cathedral;⁷¹ but they were also detained at times in the Limoeiro,⁷² the court prison.⁷³ In the summer of 1540, when Xavier and Rodrigues were given the spiritual care of the prisoners of the court, the Inquisition already had its own place of detention⁷⁴ entrusted to the care of a warden (*alcaide*), Diogo Ribeiro.⁷⁵

⁶⁸ See also Azevedo 145; *Almeida, Hist. Igr.* III, 2, 297; IV, 3, 378; *Regimento* 1552, n. 64. The usual formula for the sentence to "life imprisonment" read: "ficando reservado a comutação da dita penitencia quando parecer serviço de Nosso Senhor e sua salvação (see, for example, the condemnation on September 2, 1541, in case n. 8499, that of Catarina Fernandes).

⁶⁹ For the following sections our main sources are the unpublished trials of the Inquisition. The Torre do Tombo has preserved more than 36,000 of these, of which we studied 113 of the earliest, especially 2580 and 2581 (Jorge Fernandes, 1540-1541), 3223 (Johanna Lopes, 1539-1545), 3709 3734 16905 (Luis Dias, 1539-1541), 3929 3930 (Luis Pinto and Catarina Gonçalves a Pinta, 1537-1539), 4286 (Catarina Gonçalves a Pinta, 1537-1542), 5246 (Henrique Dias, 1541), 5322 (Jorge Mendes, 1539-1540), 8499 (Catarina Fernandes, 1541-1543), 13310 (João Gomes, 1539-1540), and 15670 (Isabel Nunes and daughters, 1540). Unfortunately we could not find the records of the trials of the two prisoners who were burned in 1540, the French cleric and Diogo de Montenegro, or that of Miguel de Sousa.

⁷⁰ Baião 89.

⁷¹ On July 3, 1539, the king ordered Johanna de Tavora, a New Christian detained in the court prison, to be handed over to João de Mello. The latter then told the civil judge that he should have her brought to the Aljube by the police: "honde ao presente estavam os mais presos da Inquisição" (case 3217).

⁷² In 1540 the Inquisition interrogated witnesses here in the city jail (case 3223, 111).

⁷³ Among those imprisoned in the court prison were, for example, Johanna de Tavora (case 3217), Montenegro (case 3223, 25v; 16905, 51; 4286, 107v), and Catarina Gonçalves (case 4286, 108v).

⁷⁴ The transfer of the prisoners to this new investigatory prison apparently took place at the end of 1539. Montenegro was detained first in the court prison, then in 1539 in the Aljube, and finally in the "prison of the Inquisition." In November, 1539, we still find Johanna Lopes (case 3223, 4) and Jorge Mendes (case 5322, 16) in the Aljube. In December, 1539, Braz Affonso and his wife (case 3734, 1-2) and Miguel de Sousa (case 13310, 12v) and, in January, 1540, Luis Dias (case 3734, 3) were already in the "prison (*cadea*) of the Inquisition." This was in the house where they used to hold their meetings, for on July 16, 1540, the jailer Ribeiro was also heard "in the house where the business of the Inquisition is usually conducted." He spoke of Montenegro as "being imprisoned in this jail" (case 3223, 122 126).—According to Julio de Castilho, who cites for this an article by Silva Tullio in the *Revista Universal Lisbonense* I (1844) 393, one of the *casas da Santa Inquisição* (Baião 109) mentioned on July 19, 1540, was the Trinity monastery. Baião considers this possible (89). Perhaps the monastery of São Vicente de Fora near Escolas Geraes should also be considered. About 1543 Francisco Gil wrote to the king that it was not considered to be a prison of the Inquisition, and he added: "E posto que ja estivera hy feito carcere e casa do

The prisoners, about seventy in number,⁷⁶ were well treated.⁷⁷ They could bring their beds with them and obtain food from their relatives. The Misericórdia, generous individuals, and even the Inquisition helped the poor.⁷⁸ There were as a rule several lodged together in a large room,⁷⁹ the men being separated from the women.⁸⁰ Solitary confinement was employed only on a temporary basis and in exceptional cases, for example, during the hearings.⁸¹ The sick were cared for in the hospital of All Saints.⁸² In the instructions which he received on October 14, 1540, the warden was urged to at least fetter the prisoners' feet, excepting those who were old or seriously ill;⁸³ but he was not to put anyone in irons without special permission.⁸⁴ In his oath of office Ribeiro promised that he would not allow the prisoners to speak with any outsiders except their procurators, or to write or receive letters without the permission of the inquisitor.⁸⁵ Almost all in this prison were New Christians of Jewish descent. Even though they all, with but few exceptions, declared themselves to be good Christians, many were still in their hearts adherents to the religion of their ancestors. In the minds of others the old and the new faiths were still more or less confused.

There was, for example, the case of Luis Dias.⁸⁶ He was thirty-five years

Santo Officio nesse sytio de São Vicente de fora, que bem de fora hé he mao, V. A. ... não ouvera de querer que estivesse lá" (Baião, appendix 68). At this time the Inquisition still had no fixed site, as Frey Jorge de Santiago, O. P., wrote to John III (*ibid.* 67).

⁷⁶ Baião, appendix 58-59. His father, Duarte Ribeiro, assisted the jailor (*alcaide*) as guard (*guarda*) (TdT *Liv. 977, 9).

⁷⁷ In May, 1541, after the auto-da-fé of September 26, 1540, in which twenty-three made abjurations and two were handed over to the civil authorities, there were still fifty prisoners (*Ep. Broëti* 522).

⁷⁸ In 1546 João de Mello spoke out against the erroneous and exaggerated complaints of the New Christians in the investigatory prison: "são muy bem providos e vesytados e se lhe faz muy bom tratamento, e não trazem nunca ferros, muy deferemte do que se faz em outros delytos graves e deferemtes deste, e se lhe daa todo ho necessario e aos pobres a custa da Imquisyção" (CDP VI 119).

⁷⁹ *Regimento* 1552, n. 98; see also cases 4286, 87; 169-05, 35 51; 13310, 9-v and CDP V 486; VI 119.

⁸⁰ According to Mello 1546 (CDP VI 118-119) and Ruy Gomes Pinheiro 1545 (*ibid.* V 486).

⁸¹ *Regimento* 1552, n. 99.

⁸² CDP VI 118-119; V 486.

⁸³ The seriously ill João Gomes was sent to All Saints' Hospital for care on November 3, 1540 (case 13310); in July, 1541, Henrique Dias (case 5246, 1) and Ines Rodrigues (case 4578) were there; see also the *Regimento* for 1552, n. 115.

⁸⁴ Baião, appendix 58-59.

⁸⁵ *Regimento* 1552, n. 102. But in 1546 Mello declared that the prisoners never wore irons (CDP VI 119).

⁸⁶ Baião, appendix 58-59; case 3734, 57v-58; see also Mello 1546 (CDP VI 118-119). When the nuncio Lippomani told Ruy Gomes Pinheiro in 1545 that the New Christians had complained that the prisons were "serrados e muito apertados," the latter answered that, on the contrary, they were "todos juntos huns com os outros em tres ou quatro caceres, pour estarem mais á sua vontade, e que estavam a granel nos caceres, e que falavão com quem quiirão" (*ibid.* V 486).

⁸⁷ At the auto-da-fé of October 23, 1541, Luis Dias and his follower Gonçalo Eannes Bandarra were handed over to the civil authority and sentenced to death by fire (TdT *Liv. 959; Bibl. Nac. Lisboa: *Fundo Geral* 165, 29; 167, 8); another of Dias' followers, the licentiate Gil Vaz Bugalho, suffered the same fate in 1551; on his relations with Dias, see Azevedo 448-449, who has a detailed treatment of both of these followers in *A Evolução do Sebastianismo* (Lisboa, 1947²). On Dias see cases 3709 3734 16905 and 5246, the infante Dom Henrique's letter, and the letter from a representative of the New Christians of 1542 (CDP V 34 159). The case and final sentence are not preserved.

old and a tailor by trade.⁸⁷ He had come from Vianna do Alemtejo, where he had been baptized as a child. When he was twenty, he had left his parents' home and had gone to Montemór-o-Novo, where he had taken a wife. For many years, however, he had been living in Setúbal, south of Lisbon. He owned a shop there on the Rua Direita near the Porta Nova, where he sold spices, cloves, saffron, cinnamon, pepper, and similar wares. His father, Henrique Vaz, owned a wineshop in Lisbon near the Porta do Mar.⁸⁸ His wife, Isabel Fernandes, and his two sons Manuel and Henrique,⁸⁹ who were fourteen and fifteen respectively, came at times from Setúbal to visit him in the prison.⁹⁰

Dias had been accused in 1538 of observing Jewish rites and of claiming to be the Messiah. This was the first time that he had come into conflict with the Inquisition. He had been imprisoned in the Aljube at Lisbon⁹¹ but had come out largely unscathed. In December of this same year, however, he had been sentenced to make an abjuration and to four months of imprisonment. After serving his sentence he had been again set free.⁹²

In December, 1539, he had again been confined, and this time in the prison of the Inquisition;⁹³ and the charges laid against him were serious. According to these, he had claimed to be a great expert in the law of Moses and had repeatedly declared that he spoke with God and knew deep secrets, and that God had sent him as the Prophet and Messiah.⁹⁴ His alleged miracles and prophecies had led many astray, including even physicians and learned individuals.⁹⁵ As a consequence, many New Christians had made pilgrimages from Lisbon to Setúbal to see the one they deemed to be the Messiah.⁹⁶ He had also persuaded many to circumcise themselves.⁹⁷ In September, 1538, at the time of the Feast of the Tabernacles, he had fasted in the Aljube; and he had blessed his son in a Jewish manner.⁹⁸ Among those named as his followers were the medical officer of Setúbal, the licentiate Francisco Mendes, and, in Lisbon, Mestre Gabriel, the cashier João Lopes, Luis Lopes, "of the ancient miracle," and the tailor Francisco Mendes.⁹⁹

Dias denied everything at his hearing. His enemies, especially Diogo de Montenegro, wanted to destroy him and had therefore brought false accusations

⁸⁷ The records of his trial call him a tailor, the two letters of 1542 a cobbler.

⁸⁸ Case 3734, 3-5 7 40.

⁸⁹ Case 16905, 59v 63.

⁹⁰ Cases 3734, 10v-11 16v 19-v 54-58v; 16905, 28 35.

⁹¹ Case 16905, 3-v.

⁹² *Ibid.* 15 23.

⁹³ Case 3734, 1.

⁹⁴ Case 16905, 3v-5v (*Libello*, January, 1540).

⁹⁵ According to the infante Dom Henrique (CDP V 34). The New Christian's letter states that only four fools had believed in the false Messiah, among whom was Francisco Mendes (*ibid.* 159). On his prophecies see case 5245. 1v.

⁹⁶ Testimony of Dr. Francisco Filelfo (case 3734, 25v) of December 15, 1539, and of his son Henrique (case 5246, 1v).

⁹⁷ Case 16905, 3v. Forty were said to have been circumcised, but in opposition to this is the New Christian's letter of 1542 which states that up until that time only Francisco Mendes had confessed that he had circumcised his son (CDP V 159). A number of those for whom Mestre Gabriel had performed this rite are mentioned in case 2581, 67-v 68v-70).

⁹⁸ *Artigos cumulativos* of July 19, 1540 (case 16905, 28); see Mello's letter on this, dated October 25, 1540 (case 3734, 27v-28).

⁹⁹ Case 3734, 4-5, see 5246, 1-2v.

against him. He did not know the persons named in their bill.¹⁰⁰ In his bill of defense Dias' lawyer declared that his client had always lived as a good Catholic with his wife and children, had gone to Mass and listened to the sermon every Sunday and feast day, had gone to confession and received Holy Communion every year during Lent, had had Masses offered in the church of Nossa Senhora dos Remedios in Setúbal, and had made pilgrimages there and to other shrines. Both before and after his imprisonment he had always said that the Catholic faith was the true faith and that Christ was the true Messiah and our true Redeemer.¹⁰¹

The prosecution was able to prove without any question of doubt that Dias was, for example, very well acquainted with João Lopes.¹⁰² On the other hand, his fellow prisoners, such as Luis Cayado and the old confectioner Ruy Dias, declared, in opposition to other witnesses, that the accused had blessed his son with the sign of the cross.¹⁰³ All of the witnesses whom João de Mello ordered to be interrogated at Setúbal at the prisoner's request regarded him as a good Christian. These witnesses included the former parish priest of São Gão and his Old Christian neighbors, among whom were *cavalleiros* and *escudeiros*. One or other of the witnesses, however, added that he had heard it whispered about that Luis Dias observed Jewish rites; and others did not know whether the people who came to his house at night were Old or New Christians.¹⁰⁴

Another prisoner was Jorge Fernandes,¹⁰⁵ who was also a tailor by profession. He had been born in Abrantes and had become a Christian there of his own free will in 1496, a year before the Jews were compelled to accept baptism. He had lived with his wife in Lisbon for about thirty years, first on the Rua da Tinturaria, then on the Rua do Chancudo, and finally on the Rua da Jubetaria in the parish of Magdalene.¹⁰⁶ Shortly before New Year's, 1540, he had been brought to the prison of the Inquisition on the charge that he had relapsed into Judaism four years before, had observed Jewish rites on the Rua do Chancudo and elsewhere, had spoken much about Sacred Scripture, had declared that the true Messiah was yet to come, and had showed himself to be very proficient in the Old Testament, in the law of Moses, and in its ceremonies. He had a Hebrew book containing a calendar. He used to read it and praise it in the presence of others, saying that he had never seen a better book. He also had been on intimate terms with Mestre Gabriel, a New Christian physician, who preached the law of Moses to the New Christians from house to house, had circumcised many and caused great harm, and had escaped imprisonment through flight.¹⁰⁷ Further-

¹⁰⁰ Hearing on January 10, 1540 (case 3734, 4-5v).

¹⁰¹ *Defesa* of July 3, 1540 (case 16905, 22v-23).

¹⁰² *Artigos cumulativos* (*ibid.* 27v-28), proved through an examination of witnesses (case 3734, 8-21); see Mello's letter (*ibid.* 27v).

¹⁰³ Case 3734, 57-58.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 36-51.

¹⁰⁵ On Jorge Fernandes see cases 2580 and 2581; see also 3223, 78.

¹⁰⁶ Hearing on January 2, 1540 (case 2580, 6).

¹⁰⁷ On Mestre Gabriel see the **Memorias para a historia da Inquisição em Portugal* (Bibl. Nac. Lisboa: *Fundo Geral* 165, 29-31), where it is shown that he is not the Mestre Gabriel who came to Portugal in 1476 with Princess Johanna, the *Excelente Senhora*. He was a New Christian physician and went from door to door in Lisbon preaching the law of Moses to the New Christians, circumcising many of them, and righting many wrongs (CDP V 34). He held meetings in Miguel Lopes' house, which had been converted into a synagogue; and Lopes' Old Christian servant Violante solemnly became a Jewess by having her nails cut (*ibid.* and **Memorias*). On his secret meetings see

more, he had often attended secret meetings in the houses of the New Christians and had collected alms from them for their oppressed fellow believers, which were never given to Old Christians.¹⁰⁸

At his hearing Fernandes denied that he had never been in the house of Mestre Gabriel,¹⁰⁹ and his lawyer declared that the testimony of the tramp Diogo de Montenegro was worthless because he was in the habit of accusing New Christians. At any rate, evidence of this sort was not sufficient to stretch anyone upon the rack.¹¹⁰ Three days later, on June 10, Fernandes was condemned. He received only a mild sentence: he was ordered to abjure his errors and to pay ten *crúzados* for good works and the costs of the trial.¹¹¹ He made, however, an appeal to the grand inquisitor, and was still waiting for an answer.¹¹²

The old, half-blind João Gomes was also a tailor by trade.¹¹³ He had been living for eight or nine years on the Rua do Chancudo in the parish of São Gião. Before his arrest he had been supported through the generosity of other New Christians who gave him alms, food, clothes, and shoes.¹¹⁴ He had been imprisoned once before but had been then set free.¹¹⁵ Since December, 1539, he had again been detained in the prison of the Inquisition. Miguel de Sousa, a member of the same parish was also in prison. He had admitted that seven or eight months before his arrest he had looked up Gomes in the Rua do Chancudo in order to ask him about the Jewish feast days. Gomes had given them to him first in Hebrew and then in Portuguese so that he might understand them. He had then added: "My son, on such days you must fast, and on such others you must do this and that."¹¹⁶

At his hearing Gomes denied that any New Christians had ever come to him to ask him about Jewish feast and fast days. The little Hebrew that he had know he had forgotten. He did not know when the feasts and fasts of the Jews, such as the feast of the Tabernacles, the feast of the Unleavened Bread, and the Great Fast, occurred. The Jew had already been in captivity for more than a thousand years because of their idolatry.¹¹⁷ He was no scholar, and he had only spoken to Mestre Gabriel on the street. He did not have anything to accuse himself of in confession except that he wished that God, who had permitted so many rich and wealthy persons to die, would also call him, for he longed for death and cursed his life. When he was asked if anyone had visited him after his acquittal, he replied: "No one. On the contrary, they fled from me as if I were the devil."¹¹⁸ Although the prosecutor's bill of accusation¹¹⁹ was supported solely by the testimony given by Miguel de Sousa, on July 16 João

cases 3223, 74v; 5246, 9v; 3734, 4; 13310 conclusion; on those who were circumcised and led astray by him, see case 2581, 67-70. In August, 1540, he fled to Aveiro in order to go from there to Flanders (*ibid.* 61). He was burned in effigy at the auto-da-fé of October 23, 1541 (**Memorias*, f. 31). A sentence calls him a lawyer (*ibid.* 29 and TdT **Livr.* 959).

¹⁰⁸ *Libello* of February 23, 1540 (case 2580, 2-v).

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 6v.

¹¹⁰ *Contradicta* of June 7, 1540 (*ibid.* 43v-45).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 47v.

¹¹² *Ibid.* 49.

¹¹³ On him see case 13310.

¹¹⁴ Trial of September 20, 1539 (case 13310, 9-v).

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* 12.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* 12v.

¹¹⁷ Orthodox Jews considered the prayer of the Cabalists, who addressed themselves to the angels and to the *sefirot*, as being blasphemous and idolatrous (Graetz 240).

¹¹⁸ Hearing of January 10, 1540 (*ibid.* 2).

de Mello ordered Gomes to make a public abjuration as being strongly suspect in the faith. He also condemned him to two years in prison and ordered him to pay the costs of the trial.

But Gomes appealed his sentence to the infante Dom Henrique,¹²⁰ and his case was still in process when Xavier and Rodrigues took over the spiritual care of the prisoners.

Miguel de Sousa,¹²¹ who was in prison with Gomes had not only accused the latter, but he had brought charges against Luis Dias, Diogo de Montenegro, and Mestre Gabriel. He had told the judge of the Inquisition that they had reverted into Judaism; and he had done this, he said, in order to ease his conscience and to confess the errors and sins which he had committed against the Catholic faith. He had been before this in the Aljube with the three just mentioned, and Gomes had argued in his own defense that de Sousa's testimony should be rejected since he was a stupid fellow, whom even the street urchins ridiculed. When he was drunk, which was often, he was completely irresponsible; and even before his imprisonment he had been out of his mind.¹²²

Another type of prisoner was the sixty-one-year-old Jorge Mendes,¹²³ a glove-maker and official of the Royal Chancellery, living on the street of the glove-makers¹²⁴ in the parish of São Gião in Lisbon. He had been born there of Jewish parents, had left his parents' home when he was twelve or thirteen years old, and had, without the permission of his father, become a Christian in Santarém. He had then returned to Lisbon, where he had married, and had earned a miserable subsistence through his trade and the manufacture of dyes. For many years now, because of his age and poor health, he had only been cutting the goods and had left the sewing to others.¹²⁵

Once before he had been arrested by the Inquisition and had become acquainted with Montenegro in the court prison. When they were set free, they had together begged the money needed to pay for the costs of the trial. On this occasion they had got into a fight over a certain alms which each claimed for himself. Since then Montenegro had been his enemy.¹²⁶

In February, 1539, Mendes had again been delated to the ecclesiastical court¹²⁷ and imprisoned in the Aljube.¹²⁸ A month later Montenegro was heard as a witness in his regard. According to his testimony, since October, 1535, Mendes had regularly led the prayers at the secret meetings of the New Christians and had for a long time been on good terms with Rabbi Abraham Zacuto, the Jewish court astrologer of King Manuel,¹²⁹ before he fled to Africa. He had also read

¹¹⁹ *Libello* of June 7, 1540 (*ibid.* 2).

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* 13v.

¹²¹ The records of the trial of Miguel de Souse seem to be lost. Data on him are preserved in cases 13310, 6v-7 and conclusion; 16905, 52 and 3734, 23v.

¹²² Case 13310, 6v-7.

¹²³ On him see case 5322.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* 8lv.

¹²⁵ Hearing of May 17 and *defesa* of July 1, 1539 (*ibid.* 6v-7 10).

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* 7v.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* 75.

¹²⁸ Case 3223, 57.

¹²⁹ Abraham ben Samuel Zacuto, born in Salamanca about 1450, taught there and in Zaragoza. In 1492 he was driven from Spain and became the court astrologer of kings John II and Manuel. He helped Vasco da Gama prepare for his first voyage to India and gave him a better astrolabe. But in 1497, a year after the publication of his *Almanach perpetuum*, he had to flee to Tunis, where he wrote his *Book of Genealo-*

the rabbi's prognostic, in which it was said, among other things, that in the forty-eight years between 5252 and 5300 from the creation of the world, that is, from the year of the expulsion of the Jews from Castile in 1492 to 1540, the law would become one, as had already happened in Portugal, when all the Jews in this country had been made Christians "as it were by the sword."¹⁸⁰

The prosecutor pressed other charges against Mendes in June, 1539. He had observed Jewish rites since 1535, had celebrated the Sabbath, and had never permitted his Old Christian workers to butcher animals but had himself slaughtered sheep and lambs according to Jewish custom. He had been an intimate friend of the Jew Isaac Benzemero, and in 1538 he had helped the Jew Abraham Benzemero,¹⁸¹ who was on trial, to flee with an imprisoned woman. He had taught his wife and children Jewish rites and had prayed with them in Hebrew. On Ash Wednesday, 1539, he had spoken contemptuously of Holy Week. When a priest came by with the Blessed Sacrament, he had fled into a side alley to the great scandal of the people. He had also visited the homes of New Christians where prayers were said in Hebrew and books were copied out.¹⁸²

In reply to this the accused pointed out that ever since his baptism he had lived as a good Christian with his wife and children, that he had attended Mass on all Sundays and feast days, and even at times on weekdays, that he always worked on Saturdays and ate meat from the public markets in the city. He could not read or write, did not know Hebrew, and had no Hebrew books. He and his wife, his two daughters, and his son always went to confession and received Holy Communion in his parish church of São Gião. On Ash Wednesday he had not been in the place named in the accusation, and it had always been his custom to accompany the Blessed Sacrament when it was taken to the sick. He had not known that Abraham Benzemero was a Jew since he did not wear the insignia of the Jews (a red star on the right shoulder¹⁸³); and he had only spoken with him because he had bought gum from him for making ink, and Abraham had in turn ordered a blouse for his daughter and a pair of hunting gloves for the sheriff of Morocco from him but had quarreled with him about the price. On this occasion he had also granted him lodgings for one night because he was afraid of being arrested. After this Abraham had sent him a

gies. According to one source he died in Turkey in 1510 (*Jüdisches Lexikon* 4, 2 [1930] 1523-1524), but according to others in Damascus in 1535 (HCPB I 60).

¹⁸⁰ Testimony of March 15, 1539 (case 5322, 81v).

¹⁸¹ Abraham Benzemero (Ben Zamiro) was an influential person in Portuguese North Africa. Between 1523 and 1528 he negotiated a peace treaty between the Portuguese and the sheriff of Morocco (Figanier 58 126 128 136 322 326). In 1524 he was living in Safim as a judge of the Jews (TdT *Chancellaria de D João III: Doações* 4, 35). Despite the general ban on Jews, he received permission to go to Lisbon with two Jewish servants whenever he wished (*ibid.* 36v). In 1527 John III granted him a salary of ten *mitreis* (*ibid.* 30, 137) and gave him the privileges of a *cavalleiro* (*ibid.* 2, 84). In 1528, through a contract with the king, he took over all the payments in the Portuguese fortresses of North Africa (Figanier 277); and in 1533, by virtue of this contract, he received in Lisbon as compensation (Ford I 118) the lacquer which came from India each year. In 1534 he had to leave Portugal again as fast as he could (*ibid.* 170). In 1537 he became the chief rabbi of Safim (*Doações* 24, 166v). In 1540 he died as an interpreter in Azamor, and his heirs entered into negotiations with the king in Lisbon (TdT: CC 1-68-55 and 2-233-102).

¹⁸² *Libello* (case 5322, 2-5v).

¹⁸³ By virtue of a royal decree, this mark of identification was prescribed for the Jews who came from abroad, for example, from North Africa, to Portugal (Castilho, *Ribeira* 155); they were therefore called *Judios de senhal*.

letter commending three individuals to him who had been imprisoned on his account: a woman, Fernão Rodrigues, and a sailor; and he had promised to pay his expenses.¹³⁴

When the names of the witnesses were shown to Mendes after his transfer to the prison of the Inquisition,¹³⁵ he declared that Montenegro was his enemy. Once, when they were both in the Aljube, he had refused to let Montenegro come into his cell. The latter had then sworn by his beard that he would have to pay for it. Montenegro was a liar, a magician, and an infamous person.¹³⁶ Eleven of the remaining witnesses were glovemakers, and they had incited others to speak against him. They were all hostile to him because he had employees in his shop. They had, moreover, on this account petitioned the city council to forbid the use of hired help, since each one should personally attend to his own shop.¹³⁷ Diogo, Manuel, and Nogueira had been employed by him. Both of them had deceived him and stolen from him; and they had repeatedly said that if there was ever a massacre in Lisbon, they would start with him, and that they would destroy his property, even if they had to go to hell for it.¹³⁸ The confectioner Ruy Dias was a fickle individual, who said one thing one day and another the next, and the last four or five years he had not been altogether sane.¹³⁹ The oil merchant Diogo Fernandes was, moreover, his enemy because he had once tried to give him bad oil instead of good, and he had told him that he would not be cheated like the people whom he had cheated with false weights.¹⁴⁰

Among the imprisoned women was Caterina Gonçalves a Pinta.¹⁴¹ In January, 1537, she and her elderly husband, the shoemaker Luis Pinto, had been imprisoned by the Inquisition in Evora.¹⁴² They had then been transferred¹⁴³ to the court prison in Lisbon, which was swarming with vermin,¹⁴⁴ and where, as a rule, the worst criminals were detained.¹⁴⁵ At the time of the massacre of the Jews in Lisbon, Catarina and her husband had become Christians of their own free will, but after a few years they had relapsed again into Judaism. When the evening star appeared on Friday they had been accustomed to light a lamp, put on their holiday clothes, and celebrate the Sabbath. They had worked on Sundays instead of going to church and had avoided eating pork.¹⁴⁶ Since they both resolutely refused to admit any guilt, Mello ordered them to be handed over to the secular arm; but the General Council, to which they appealed, decided that instead of this they should be tortured by being given "five strong jolts" on the strappado.¹⁴⁷ Fear of this unnerved the man. He admitted that they

¹³⁴ *Defesa* of July 1, 1539 (case 5322, 10-11v).

¹³⁵ The *contradicta* of April 29, 1540, gives the names of seventeen witnesses for the opposition (*ibid.* 34-37).

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* 36v.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 35v.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* 34.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* 36v.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 35.

¹⁴¹ On her see cases 3939 3930 4286.

¹⁴² Case 3930.

¹⁴³ Case 4286, 3 and 79.

¹⁴⁴ Lianor Dias complained on January 8, 1539, that she was being devoured by "piolhos e bichos" in the court prison (case 2725, 22v).

¹⁴⁵ Case of Johanna de Tavora 3217.

¹⁴⁶ Cases 32929 4286, 4v-5.

¹⁴⁷ "Cinquo tratos de polé bem expertos," as the usual formula read (cases 3929 4286, 112v).

celebrated the Sabbath, that he had not believed that the Messiah had as yet come, and that he had doubted about the incarnation of Christ; and he begged for pardon with many tears. On August 20, 1537, he was condemned to wear the *sambenito* and to join the procession of the canons at the main Mass in the cathedral of Evora on the three following Sundays. He was to walk about the cloister with them bareheaded and barefooted and with a lighted candle in his hand. The life imprisonment demanded by the law was remitted in his case "because of his many years." A year later he was also permitted to put aside the *sambenito* on the condition that every Saturday for a year he made a pilgrimage to the church of Nossa Senhora do Espinheiro, an hour's distance from Evora. In January, 1539, when she learned of his reprieve, his wife, who was still detained in the court prison,¹⁴⁸ made an appeal through her procurator to the nuncio, Capodiferro; but he approved the condemnation of the General Council and ordered the inquisitor to proceed to torture.¹⁴⁹ But Catarina would not confess anything, even under torture, during which, as she later maintained, one of her hands was broken.¹⁵⁰ In July, 1540, when she was given the names of her accusers, her husband and Montenegro, she replied that her husband was her enemy. He had often fought with her since they both had had adulterous children. Although he knew that she had suffered much from hunger during her four years of imprisonment, he had done nothing for her. She had therefore been sustained by the alms of the Misericordia and of other Christians. Her husband was an alcoholic and frequently drunk, and he had accused her of heresy out of spite. Montenegro, on the other hand, was an immoral person, a soothsayer, and a false accuser; and this could be proved by the witnesses she had named.¹⁵¹

Her fellow sufferer, Joana Lopes,¹⁵² the wife of Diogo de Madril Cortesão also came from Evora. In 1537 she had been delated to the Inquisition in Evora for having mourned for the dead in a Jewish fashion, and in August of that same year, she had been compelled to make an abjuration.¹⁵³ After the death of her husband she had gone to Lisbon, where she lived in the parish of São Gião on the Rua do Chancudo.¹⁵⁴ In February, 1539, when Manuel da Costa had posted his blasphemous placards on the cathedral and other churches, she had taken his side and had said in her house that Christ was not God but the adulterous son of a scholar. He had fashioned little birds out of clay and made them fly.¹⁵⁵ When those who were present protested at this, she added that God had not forgiven Christ this sin.¹⁵⁶

The matter came to the attention of João de Mello. At the hearing of witnesses which he ordered to be held in the Aljube during this same month of February, Montenegro said that Mestre Gabriel and ten or twelve other persons assembled behind her house in the home of Filipe Gomes¹⁵⁷ in order to recite the *Kaddish* for the coming of the Messiah, for which ten persons always had

¹⁴⁸ Case 3929.

¹⁴⁹ 4286, 75-v.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 87 76v.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* 87-v.

¹⁵² Case 3223.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* 1 5v-6 60.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 141.

¹⁵⁵ A tale from the Talmud.

¹⁵⁶ Case 3223, 2-3.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 57.

to be present. They also assembled there for other prayers. She was a Jewess herself and observed the Sabbath and the Jewish ceremonies.¹⁵⁸

Other accusations were added to these. In May, 1539, she told a visitor who she thought was a New Christian: "Son, have you heard about that man who has appeared in Italy?" meaning by this Diogo Pires, alias Salomo Molcho. When her guest replied that he had not, she continued: "Son, we find in our books that what must come will come in the year forty;¹⁵⁹ and for the attack which they made in Castile,¹⁶⁰ they will pay a hundred for one dead," implying by this that the man in Italy was the holy Prophet of the Jews, or the Messiah. She had further said that the Old Christians were wretched individuals since they went to kill fish and the New Christians ate them; they raised sheep and wethers and chickens, and the New Christians ate them as well. In addition to this the New Christians held their meetings in her house, during which they prayed in Hebrew according to Jewish custom.¹⁶¹

At the time of Xavier's arrival, Joana Lopes was in the prison of the Inquisition and had already through her procurator protested against the reliability and admissibility of the testimony of her accusers. Montenegro was an immoral, infamous heretic. Frey Bras, a *cavalleiro* from Aviz, had reproached her for being a "fat Jewess." But he was almost always drunk and then talked nonsense. Francisco Pinto, a mulatto, had been her sister's slave; and because she had sold two of his brothers, he wanted to harm her, the accused. Tomás Pimentel was his best friend, and Pedro Gomes de Abreu had been imprisoned because he had forged a royal alvará.¹⁶² Witnesses were therefore being heard in July and August to determine the truth of these separate claims.¹⁶³

Another prisoner was Isabel Nunes,¹⁶⁴ who had been in the prison of the Inquisition with her two daughters, Gracia and Lianor, since March, 1540.¹⁶⁵ Isabel was the wife of Diogo Nunes Adjabele,¹⁶⁶ living on the Rua das fangas da farinha in the parish of São Gião.¹⁶⁷ Gracia was the wife of the tailor Antonio Mendes.¹⁶⁸ Lianor was still single but of a marriageable age.¹⁶⁹ They had already, in January, 1538, been delated to the Inquisition, which was at that time holding its meetings in the Estaos palace. The widow Antonia Cardoso declared that Isabel had told her that a person who lived according to the law of Moses would want for nothing; and she and other New Christians had spoken in a foreign language¹⁷⁰ with a Jewess whom Manuel de Britto had brought from Tunis.¹⁷¹ At that time Mello considered the affair too trivial to be pursued.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 74-75.

¹⁵⁹ This holds, for example, for Salomo Molcho's *Derashot*, which was printed in Salonica in 1529 (Graetz 267).

¹⁶⁰ The "raid" (*cavalgada*) probably refers to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and their persecution by the Inquisition there.

¹⁶¹ *Artigos cumulativos*, submitted on January 21, 1540 (case 3223, 12v-13v).

¹⁶² *Contradicta* of April, 1540 (*ibid.* 23-26v).

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 36-37.

¹⁶⁴ On Isabel Nunes see case 15670 and Baião 106.

¹⁶⁵ Imprisonment on March 25, 1540 (case 15670).

¹⁶⁶ *Libello* of April 12, 1540 (*ibid.*).

¹⁶⁷ Abjuration of September 26, 1540 (*ibid.*).

¹⁶⁸ Trial of April 3, 1540 (*ibid.*).

¹⁶⁹ Request of July 27, 1541 (*ibid.*).

¹⁷⁰ Baião 106.

¹⁷¹ Probably from the Tunisian expedition of Charles V in 1535, when many Jews were brought to Europe in captivity (Graetz 296).

But now more grievous charges were presented. Four years before, the mother and her two daughters had reverted to Judaism. They had kept the feast of the Tabernacles in 1538, had celebrated the Jewish Easter in 1539 with a great banquet, and they did not begin to work on Saturdays until the stars had risen. When the constable Aires Botelho and the notary Jorge Coelho had searched their house on Holy Thursday, 1540, they had found flour for unleavened bread in a closed chest.¹⁷² On July 2 they received their sentence. They were to make an abjuration since they were strongly suspected of heresy, and they were to be imprisoned for four years in the monastery of the Cistercian nuns of Odivellas and its environs, where they should be instructed in the faith. They should also pay for the costs of the trial. Their procurator made an appeal to the infante Dom Henrique, but he, on August 14, augmented the sentence, ordering them to be kept in "close confinement."¹⁷³

Among the prisoners was the diabolical figure Diogo de Montenegro.¹⁷⁴ He was an old, hardened sinner,¹⁷⁵ a completely immoral person who had lost every trace of shame,¹⁷⁶ a tramp,¹⁷⁷ a beggar,¹⁷⁸ a magician,¹⁷⁹ a palmist,¹⁸⁰ a necromancer,¹⁸¹ a soothsayer,¹⁸² and a liar.¹⁸³ He claimed that he could make himself invisible and could create spells which would make a woman fall in love.¹⁸⁴ He was also ready to perform abortions.¹⁸⁵

He had been imprisoned as a heretic by the Spanish Inquisition¹⁸⁶ but had escaped to Africa and had gone from there to Lisbon.¹⁸⁷ There he had been accused of magic and heresy in 1534¹⁸⁸ and had been confined in the court prison.¹⁸ After asking for pardon he had been again set free.¹⁹⁰ Before his arrest he had begged from door to door at the homes of the New Christians in Lisbon. When people refused to give him an alms, he had threatened to delate them to the Inquisitors for matters about which they had never even dreamed, so that even if they were eventually declared innocent, they would have used up their wealth in prison. After he was confined in the court prison, he had sent

¹⁷² *Libello* of April 12, 1540 (case 15670).

¹⁷³ Dom Henrique's sentence had: "not in Odivellas but in a *carcere bem estreito*," but the request of July 27, 1541, shows that the monastery of Odivellas was still designated as a "prison."

¹⁷⁴ The records of Montenegro's trial are apparently lost, but we can obtain a good understanding of his character from a number of others, for instance, from 2580 3223 3709 3734 4286 5322 8499 13310 16905, and also the data in Baião 114 117-118, *Sarmiento 37, and EX I 62.

¹⁷⁵ He is described as "bem velho" in 1540 (case 3223, 26).

¹⁷⁶ Cases 3223, 26; 4286, 87 107v-108v give details on this which we omit for the sake of decency.

¹⁷⁷ Case 3223, 24v states that "he moved from country to country like a gypsy"; cf. 16905 51.

¹⁷⁸ Cases 16905, 51-v; 5322, 7v 268v.

¹⁷⁹ Cases 3223, 24v 78 124; 5322, 36v.

¹⁸⁰ Case 4286, 87v 106v.

¹⁸¹ Case 3223, 24v.

¹⁸² *Ibid.* 24v; 4286, 87v.

¹⁸³ Cases 3223, 24v; 5322, 56v.

¹⁸⁴ Case 3223, 26.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 126v-127; 4286, 107v.

¹⁸⁶ Case 3223, 25.

¹⁸⁷ Confession of August 13, 1540 (cases 5322 3709).

¹⁸⁸ Case 3223, 118 25.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 25v; 4286, 107v.

¹⁹⁰ Case 3223, 25 78.

his wife to the houses of both New and Old Christians to make this same threat so that they would have alms and food brought to him. He had sworn that if they failed to do so he would have them jailed, and he had threatened the same fate to those who did not give him as much as he desired.¹⁹¹

He had been accused again¹⁹² and imprisoned by the Inquisition in the Aljube.¹⁹³ Since a royal alvará spared the lives of those who denounced others guilty of crimes against the faith,¹⁴ he had brought accusations against a series of New Christians. Among these were Joana Lopes,¹⁹⁶ Jorge Mendes,¹⁹⁶ Catarina Gonçalves a Pinta,¹⁹⁷ Luis Dias,¹⁹⁸ Gonçalo Fernandes,¹⁹⁹ the old confectioner Ruy Dias and his wife, and a certain Meneses.²⁰⁰ When Xavier and Rodrigues undertook the spiritual care of the prisoners, Montenegro and the other accused had already been brought from the Aljube to the prison of the Inquisition.²⁰¹ There he had won the confidence of the warden, Diogo Ribeiro. Though the latter placed no great confidence in what his prisoner had to say because of his instability, he still regarded him as a respectable individual in other matters. One day Montenegro had read his palm and had prophesied that he would have a long and tranquil life.²⁰² He also told him about many signs and things that would happen. He knew these from the text of the Old Testament and not because he was a soothsayer or a prophet. He had told the warden's brother, who had committed adultery and had sought help from him, that he would perform an abortion but that he must first speak with the king about weighty matters, and that he hoped that he would soon be free.²⁰³ On the other hand, Ribeiro had also heard from three of Montenegro's fellow prisoners that he denounced New Christians but secretly warned them so that they could flee before being arrested.²⁰⁴

6. NEARING THE END (SEPTEMBER, 1540)

At the bidding of the grand inquisitor, the infante Dom Henrique, Xavier and Rodrigues went every day to visit the prisoners of the Inquisition in order to hear their confessions and to instruct them in the faith. "We visit them daily," Xavier wrote to Rome before his departure for Almeirim on October 22, "and help them recognize the favor which our Lord is granting them by keeping them there; and we daily preach to all of them. From the first week of the Exercises they draw no little fruit. Many of these people tell us that God has granted them a great grace in permitting them to see many things that are necessary for the salvation of their souls."²⁰⁵

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.* 25v; 16905, 51-v.

¹⁹² For heresy (case 5322, 220) by Ruy Dias (4286, 87v).

¹⁹³ Case 3223, 74v.

¹⁹⁴ Cases 4286, 87v; 3232, 25; 2580, 44.

¹⁹⁵ Case 3223, 74v-75.

¹⁹⁶ Case 5322, 7v 36v 81v-82v

¹⁹⁷ Case 4286, 110.

¹⁹⁸ Cases 3734, 6; 3709.

¹⁹⁹ Case 4286, 107.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 107v.

²⁰¹ April, 1540 (case 3223 26).

²⁰² Case 4286, 106-v.

²⁰³ Case 3223, 126-127.

²⁰⁴ Cases 5322, 200; 4286, 87v.

²⁰⁵ EX I 67; shorter in Rodrigues *ibid.* 62.

A dread event, which cast its dark shadow before it, strengthened the impression made by the sermons and admonitions of the two priests. This was the solemn auto-da-fé, modeled after that of the Spanish Inquisition, which was to be held for the first time in Lisbon.²⁰⁶ It was scheduled for September 26, the eighteenth Sunday after the feast of the Blessed Trinity. A series of trials had to be completed before this date, but by the beginning of September, it was already critically near.

Miguel de Sousa had testified against four of his fellow worshipers but had then refused to ratify his testimony. On September 6, however, he declared before the notary of the Inquisition that he had heard many preachers say that the Lord extended the lives of sinners in order to give them time to return to Him. If a person had an upright heart and was sorry for his sins, and even if he were truly contrite for only a moment before his death and asked the Lord God to pardon his sins, then God would be ready to receive him with open arms and to forgive him. He, Miguel de Sousa, had reflected upon this at that time and had reached the conclusion that he would be rendering a greater service to the Lord God if he did not ratify his former testimony against four individuals: Diogo de Montenegro, João Gomes, Luis Dias of Setúbal, and Mestre Gabriel, so that they might be freed from the accusations that had been brought against them. He had refused to ratify his earlier testimony since it had seemed to him at the time that if he did not free them, some would be put to death and would thus have no time to return to God. Accordingly, he had not ratified his earlier statements. But he now saw that by so doing he had sinned against our Lord Jesus Christ, and he therefore with great sorrow and contrition asked for forgiveness. He now reaffirmed what he had said in his first testimony two and one-half years before about Luis Dias and the other three, and he ratified it for the sake of truth.²⁰⁷

De Sousa's own trial, however, could not be brought to a conclusion before the end of the month;²⁰⁸ neither could that of Luis Dias, since there was still a series of witnesses to be heard;²⁰⁹ nor that of Catarina Gonçalves a Pinta, for on September 12, her lawyer had argued that Mello was without jurisdiction in her regard, since the nuncio had not remanded the process to him but to

²⁰⁶ Bibl. Nac. Lisboa: *Fundo Geral* 167, 6; TdT *Liv. 959.

²⁰⁷ Case 13310 conclusion. The confession may well have been due to the sermons of Xavier and his companion.

²⁰⁸ Did he abjure at the auto-da-fé on September 26, 1540? On October 12, we still find him in the investigatory prison of the Inquisition, where he was questioned about Luis Dias (case 3734, 23v); but on December 9, Dias states in his *contradicta* that Sousa had been his great enemy and had quarreled with him in the Aljube, that he had been a Jew all his life and had never been baptized, and that he had therefore been sentenced by the Holy Inquisition to life imprisonment and the wearing of the *sambenito* (case 16905, 52).

²⁰⁹ Witnesses for him were heard from September 14 to 22, 1540, and against him from October 6 to 12, and on November 25. Dias continued to deny his guilt until July 6, 1541, when his son Henrique gave a complete confession in All Saints' Hospital and named all the accomplices (case 5246, 1-2v). This sealed his father's fate. The son was sentenced to make an abjuration, to undergo life imprisonment, and to wear the *sambenito*, but as usual, he was soon pardoned (*ibid.* 3v). The false Messias, however, was handed over to the civil court at the auto-da-fé of October 23, 1541, and then burned (Graetz LVI-LVII) with his followers, the licentiate Francisco Mendes, physician of the cardinal infante Dom Afonso (*ibid.*), and Gonçalo Eannes Bandarra (Bibl. Nac. Lisboa: *Fundo Geral* 167, 8).

the deputies.²¹⁰ Miguel de Sousa's confession, however, had important consequences for João Gomes, who had made an appeal on August 2 from the sentence he had received from João de Mello to the infante Dom Henrique: the infante confirmed his condemnation.²¹¹ On August 23 Jorge Fernandes' sentence had also been reaffirmed by the grand inquisitor, to whom his procurator had appealed.²¹² But since Fernandes' wife had sent the infante a written petition, and his lawyer in setting forth reasons for the appeal had indicated that his client considered the public abjuration a greater penalty than if he had to pay a thousand *crusados*, since it would ruin his reputation, and that this would happen because of the testimony of a man such as Montenegro, Fernandes was permitted to make his abjuration privately before the inquisitor on September 11 so that he did not have to appear at the *auto-da-fé*.²¹³

The long delayed trial of Joana Lopes also came to a conclusion soon afterwards. On September 17 her lawyer submitted a written defense in which he pointed out that the mourning for the dead was not a Jewish but a Castilian custom. His client was a good Christian and had a great devotion to the Blessed Virgin. She had often visited the latter's churches and had gained indulgences with great devotion. She had confessed and received Holy Communion, and those who had borne witness against her were suspect.²¹⁴ Nevertheless her condemnation was soon signed by the infante Dom Henrique, by the inquisitors, and by the deputies João de Mello, Ruy Gomes Pinheiro, Ruy de Carvalho, Didacus Gonçalves, Frey Hieronymo de Padilla, Mestre Olmedo, and Jorge Temudo. It stipulated that, since she was highly suspected of being heretical, she should, after making an abjuration, be confined for eight years in the monastery of Odivellas and pay the costs of her trial.²¹⁵

Diogo de Montenegro now saw that he too was in serious danger. On August 15 he had already feigned repentance. He confessed what he had done and accused himself of being a miserable sinner, which he was, and as he had already admitted to João de Mello. He had hitherto maintained that the prophets had

²¹⁰ The prisoner was again heard on September 20, six days before the *auto-da-fé*; and in November the grand inquisitor was urging the conclusion of her case. But her defender used Montenegro's retraction before his death to create new difficulties. Her sentence did not ensue until October 12, 1541. She should be handed over to the civil authorities as a confirmed heretic. Only then did she give in, admit her guilt, and ask for a reconciliation. Her sentence was therefore changed to an abjuration, the *sambenito*, and life imprisonment. She made her abjuration at the *auto-da-fé* on October 23, 1541. In the following May she submitted a request. She was in the custody of the College of Faith, very poor, and without means of subsistence, and therefore asked to be allowed to perform her penance in her home in Evora. On June 9, 1542, her request was granted, since she knew all the prayers: the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo*, and *Salve Regina*, and the rest of the catechism, seemed to be very well disposed, was very poor, and had a husband who was very old and a son who had lost an arm (case 4286).

²¹¹ Case 13310.

²¹² Case 2580, 49v-51v.

²¹³ On February 25, 1541, he was imprisoned in the castle of Coimbra, where he served his sentence, then in Lisbon, where he was questioned on March 22 and 24 in the home of the infante Dom Henrique about Mestre Gabriel (case 2581, 51-70). On April 1, 1542, he was again in the investigatory prison of the Inquisition for corresponding with persons who were suspect in the faith. On the twenty-second of the month he was given a light fine for this: five *cruzados* for the prisoners of the Holy Office (case 2580, conclusion).

²¹⁴ Case 3223, 131-135.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* 140.

said that from this year 40 to the year 48 great and terrible things would happen in the world which would show that the Lord God is Himself the avenger of great wrongs, curses, and abominations and that this years 40, in which they now were, was in the end of time; for the prophet Daniel had revealed this when he said: "But thou, Daniel, must keep these words secret and the book sealed until the appointed time. Many will wander this way and that, and wickedness will keep increasing."²¹⁶ He had taken this literally and not as it was understood by the doctors of Holy Mother the Church. It had been modified and corrected by the most wise and learned of men and cleansed of the error to which he had clung. He accused himself of being a wretched sinner and said that he had done this as a man who had not as yet received the waters of baptism and had done it with an evil and diabolical intent. The enemy of the human race had blinded him and kept him so until this hour, when God had brought him to the state of grace and had enlightened him so that he wished to be baptized.

In the meantime the auto-da-fé was fast approaching, and the infante Dom Henrique was anxious to bring Montenegro's trial to a close. On the morning of September 20 he therefore again sent the notary Diogo Travassos to the prisoner, bidding him to speak out if he still had anything else to say, for the grand inquisitor wanted to bring the matter to an end. Montenegro replied that he had nothing further to add to his former confession except that he remembered that when he was coming from Safim to Portugal there had been a great storm on the sea and Diego Preto from Moguer in Castile had told him that he wanted to baptize him since he was a Jew and would not thus die as a Jew. He had then taken a little water and sprinkled it upon his head with the words: "I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit," and he had thus made him a Christian. He said this because he had not remembered it until now and had not mentioned it before. He said nothing more and did not wish to speak further; he only asked for mercy, and this might be written down by the notary.²¹⁷

On August 25 a sentence of condemnation was passed upon Jorge Mendes, the glovemaker, despite all the efforts made to refute the testimony of his principal accuser, Montenegro; and it was signed by the infante Dom Henrique and by the inquisitors and deputies. Since he had apostatized from the faith as a New Christian, had become a Jew again, and had associated with known Jews, the enemies of the Christian faith, he had incurred a major excommunication as a stubborn and unrepentant heretic. His possessions would be confiscated and, as prescribed by the bull, would be handed over to his Catholic heirs. He himself was moreover cut off from the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical, and handed over to the secular, court, which was earnestly entreated to moderate its sentence and not to condemn him to death and shed his blood. The condemned had also to pay the costs of the trial.

On September 10 the prisoner was informed of his sentence. On the following day he submitted a written protest to the infante. He requested a copy of the bull of Inquisition of 1536, according to which he had the right to appeal to the General Council. It was given to his lawyer; and on September 16 the latter lodged a protest against the promoter in the name of his client to the effect

²¹⁶ Daniel 12: 4.

²¹⁷ Cases 3709 5322.

that Mendes had not been summoned to the reading of the final condemnation. Since there was here a defect in form, Dom Henrique suspended the sentence. When Mendes heard about Montenegro's confession of September 20, he gained new hope. On the twenty-second he asked to look at the protocol so that he might be able to show that his adversary's testimony was unreliable. A copy of the two confessions was given to him on the following day at the request of the grand inquisitor, and on the twenty-fourth his lawyer made a final attempt to save him. The confession showed that Montenegro had not until then been a Christian but an infidel. His testimony as a consequence was worthless. When he declared on September 20 that he now remembered he had been baptized, this showed that he was not a Christian at heart.

But the attempt failed. The condemnation of August 25 was ratified, and on the morning of September 25, the day before the auto-da-fé, the prisoner was informed to this effect by the notary Travassos so that he might, during the short time that remained to him, make a public confession and put his soul in order. If he remained hardened to the end, he would certainly die by fire on the following day. This had its effect. At noon Mendes asked for the notary. He begged for mercy and wanted to confess his sins and errors, and he asked for penance and absolution. The lord doctors of the Inquisition, Ruy Gomes Pinheiro, Diogo Gonçalves, Ruy Lopes de Carvalho, and Mestre Olmedo, therefore came that evening and had the prisoner brought before them. They advised him in God's name to confess his sins publicly and in all sincerity. Mendes admitted that during the past six years he had occasionally observed the Sabbath, as he had been persuaded to do by some known Jews who visited his house. He had also occasionally told his wife to prepare their food for the Sabbath on Friday. Though he had been a Jew during the past six years, he had still gone to confession and received Holy Communion, and during this time he had had doubts about the Blessed Sacrament. He had intended to observe the feast of the Unleavened Bread, but had not actually done so through fear of his wife. He also knew about the feast of the Tabernacles, and he asked for pardon.

After he had made this confession, the infante Dom Henrique absolved him from his excommunication and commuted his sentence to a public abjuration and life imprisonment.²¹⁸ As a consequence of this, only two remained to be handed over the following day to the secular arm: Montenegro and a French cleric who had on a previous occasion been imprisoned at Llerena by the Inquisition. He had been pardoned but had lapsed again.²¹⁹ It was customary to have a priest assist each of those condemned to death the night before his execution in order to prepare him for his last hour,²²⁰ and Xavier and Rodrigues were entrusted with this task by the infante.²²¹

²¹⁸ Case 5322.

²¹⁹ *Sarmiento 37.

²²⁰ Llorca 242; *Regimento* 1552, n. 57.

²²¹ EX I 62. Both priests thus probably shared in this labor, Rodrigues assisting the Portuguese Montenegro, and Xavier the French cleric, since he spoke French well. According to Llorca, the confessors of the condemned used to spend the night before the auto-da-fé with them (243); according to Pinta Llorente, the notary left a religious with each of the condemned the night before their execution, when he visited them for the last time and their hands had already been bound⁹⁰.

7. THE AUTO-DA-FÉ (SEPTEMBER 26, 1540) ²²²

On the day appointed, September 26, ²²³ the eighteenth Sunday after the feast of the Blessed Trinity, the first auto-da-fé of the Portuguese Inquisition was held, ²²⁴ and it was also the most solemn *auto* that had been held in Portugal up to this time. ²²⁵ A huge throng from the city and its environs assembled to see the rare spectacle. ²²⁶ The king, prelates, and almost all the nobles of the city were present. ²²⁷ Between six and seven in the morning the inquisitors and the clergy, accompanied by many *fidalgos* and other distinguished persons, walked behind a cross that was carried from the Misericórdia to the neighboring Ribeira Square, ²²⁸ where the scaffold had been erected. ²²⁹ Only with difficulty could they

²²² We could find no extensive contemporary report on the auto-da-fé of September 26, 1540. The contemporaries Rodrigues (EX I 62), *Sarmiento (37), Alvaro Dias, Filippa Rodrigues, and Antonia Lopes (Baião 114 117-118) and cases 5322; 15670; 13310; 16905, 49 51v; 8499, 6v 31; and 3223, 141 (at the end of which is included a printed *carta de sentença* of September 25, 1540) all give brief details. Further data are found in five handwritten summaries of the events: Bibl. Nac. Lisboa: *Fundo Geral* 167, 6 (*Collecção dos Autos da fé, tomo 2: Lisboa*); 165, 15 (*Memorias para a historia da Inquisição em Portugal*); 197, 1 (*Listas e lembranças dos Autos da fé*); TdT: *Livr. 959 (Autos da fé da cidade de Lisboa)*; and Ajuda 49-4-12 (*Inquisição de Lisboa: Autos da fé*). See also the provisions of the *Regimento* of 1552, n. 58 59 63; the general descriptions of the autos-da-fé in Llorca (239-245), Azevedo (143 to 146), Pinta Llorente (91-93), and Heinrich Schäfer, *Geschichte von Portugal* 3 (Hamburg, 1850) 345-348, following Pedro Monteiro, O.P., *Noticia Geral das Santas Inquisições deste Reino, e suas conquistas (Collecção dos documentos e memorias da Academia Real da Historia Portugueza* 3 [Lisboa, 1723]); and the descriptions of the earliest autos-da-fé of 1541 to 1544 in the five manuscripts mentioned above, especially that of Thomar of 1543 (Baião 64-65). João de Mello gives a detailed account of the auto-da-fé of October 13, 1544, in a letter to the king, in which he wrote: "Não se enovou nenhuma cousa na ordem delle da que Vosa Alteza al principio ouve por bem que se tivese" (TdT *Gavetas* 2-2-40, in Azevedo 450-452), *Sarmiento 188 gives an account on the auto-da-fé of 1541. The description in Oliveira Martins, *Historia de Portugal* 2 (Lisboa, 1913^a) 35-41, is an historically impossible, worthless product of his imagination.

²²³ The date is certain. *Sarmiento wrote on October 3, 1540: "Eight days ago an auto-da-fé was held here." (37). Our date is expressly given by the original protocol of the abjurations of Jorge Mendes (case 5322), Joana Lopes (case 13310), and Isabel Nunes and her daughters, where the notary adds the following to the date, given in Arabic numerals: "Aos XXVI de Setembro de 1540 annos fizerão as sobreditas esta abjuração" (case 15670). The five manuscripts on the autos-da-fé of 1540 to 1767 mentioned above all give the wrong date of September 20, 1540, and they are followed by all the later authors. *Fundo Geral* 197 and Ajuda 49-4-12 add that the auto-da-fé was on a Sunday; but September 20, 1540, was a Monday.

²²⁴ TdT **Livr. 959*.

²²⁵ *Sarmiento 37.

²²⁶ The **Anonymus Lus.* was obviously referring to our auto-da-fé when he wrote in 1543: "Many people who are skilled in such matters estimated that there were over 100,000 people present at an *execução de huma queima que se fez em a Ribeira* of this city when they burned the heretics. Besides those from the land, there were many present who live on the sea and return to their ships at night. In summer and winter more than two hundred large and small ships are anchored in the harbor of the city or drawn up upon the shore" (186-v).

²²⁷ TdT **Livr. 959*. The other manuscripts say that they all seemed to be *fidalgos*. According to Castilho, the king and his court watched the auto-da-fé from the windows of the palace of the Ribeira (*Ribeira* 290).

²²⁸ This is the way Mello described the auto-da-fé of 1544 (Azevedo 451); see also Llorca 242.

²²⁹ In the abjuration of Jorge Mendes it is stated that this took place "no cadafalso da Ribeira" (case 5322). On February 3, 1541, Catarina Fernandes was accused because

make their way through the densely packed crowd.²³⁰ The prisoners attended by the city police and the servants of the Holy Office followed.²³¹ The first of these were the twenty-three who had been condemned to make a public retraction,²³² nine men and fourteen women.²³³ All held burning candles in their hands.²³⁴ Among them were João Gomes, Jorge Mendes, Isabel Nunes and her two daughters, and the old Joana Lopes. Next came the two who had been condemned to death, the French cleric and Diogo de Montenegro, accompanied by their two confessors,²³⁵ Xavier and Rodrigues. The latter had earlier clothed a dozen of the condemned with a linen *sambenito*.²³⁶ Those who were to be reconciled had theirs painted with a red St. Andrew's cross, those of the two to be executed with burning flames.²³⁷

On the platform was a table with a crucifix, missal, and burning candles.²³⁸ In the center and on the right and left were tiers of seats. One side was reserved for the inquisitors under the presidency of João de Mello,²³⁹ the other for the secular judges and the twenty-five prisoners and their attendants.²⁴⁰ When all were present, the *Veni Creator* was sung, followed by the oration to the Holy Spirit; then all sat down.²⁴¹ Frey Francisco de Villafranca preached the customary sermon with his usual stirring eloquence.²⁴²

she had appeared indignant at the *auto*, "que se fez na Ribeira, em que queimaram o Montengro" (Baião 114). *Fundo Geral* 165 (see also 197 and Ajuda 494-12) determines the place more exactly: "On the Ribeira, which at that time was where the Treasury and the Customs Office now stand, in front of the king's palace and the *Terreiro do trigo*," thus on the present *Terreiro do Paço*.

²²⁰ Mello wrote of the *auto-da-fé* of 1544: "Chegamos ao cadafalso honde a entrada foi menos trabalhosa que os annos pasados" (Azevedo 451).

²³¹ Azevedo 451; see 143-144; Pinta Llorente 91, Llorca 243. Ed. Freire de Oliveira cites the **Novo Regimento para o governo da administração da mesa do estandarte do martyr S. Jorge, fundado nas cartas, alvarás e lembranças do antigo regimento, que se queimou no incendio immediato ao terremoto do 1. de novembre de 1755*, where the following is recorded: "When the first *auto-da-fé* was held on September 20, 1540, . . . the Confraternity of our Holy Martyrs was immediately asked to assist in it by leading the condemned under their cross, and they continued to do this until the last *auto* of September 20, 1767. This justifies the age of the old compromise of the confraternity, which burned in the fire after the earthquake of 1755" (*Elementos para a Historia do Municipio de Lisboa 1* [Lisboa, 1885] 442). Mello's letter seems to contradict this. He wrote concerning the *auto-da-fé* of 1544: "Não tardou muito que os penitentes não chegasem, e vinham com elles os corregedores e alcaides de cidade, e diante vinha hum crucifixo muito devoto, que mandei fazer, o quall está ne mesa do nosso despacho" (Azevedo 451).

²³² *Sarmiento (37) says "22 o 23"; Mss. 167 and 197 and TdT *Livr.* 9-59 have 23.

²³³ Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* III, 2, 380-381.

²³⁴ Pinta Llorente 91; Llorca 243.

²³⁵ "Abrían la marcha los menos culpables y la cerraban los que debían ser relajados, a cada uno de los cuales acompañaban, a ambos lados, los dos confesores que habían pasado la noche con ellos" (Llorca 243; similarly Schäfer 347). Rodrigues wrote: "Dos quemaran, con los cuales nos mandó el Ifante inquisidor mayor que fuésemos, y fuymos asta la morte" (EX I 62).

²³⁶ "Um día de los pasados vestí una dozena dellos com sanbenito, y dos quemaron," wrote Rodrigues (EX I 62); he does not say whether or not Xavier placed the *sambenito* on the others.

²³⁷ Azevedo 143-144; pictures in Llorca, plates 8-9.

²³⁸ Pinta Llorente 91. The abjuration was made upon the Gospels.

²³⁹ Mss. 167 197, TdT *Livr.* 959, and that of Ajuda state that Mello presided.

²⁴⁰ Pinta Llorente 91; Llorca 241-242.

²⁴¹ Mello, in Azevedo 451.

²⁴² According to our five manuscripts; see also Rodrigo Mendez Silva, *Población*

The notary Travassos then began to read the sentences²⁴³ in the presence of two other notaries, Jorge Coelho and Francisco de Moura, and the secretary Francisco Gil. This was followed by the formula of retraction, which the condemned repeated on their knees word for word after the notary.²⁴⁴ The penalties ranged from two years to life imprisonment. João Gomes was sentenced to two years in prison,²⁴⁵ Isabel Nunes and her daughters to four,²⁴⁶ Joana Lopes to eight.²⁴⁸ Jorge Mendes, since he had not confessed until after his sentence had been passed, was condemned to life imprisonment.²⁴⁸ Gomes admitted that he had observed the fasts and feasts of the Jews and had instructed others;²⁴⁹ Mendes, that he had celebrated the Sabbath on several occasions, had doubted the presence of Christ when he received Holy Communion, and had been a Jew for the last four or five years;²⁵⁰ Isabel Nunes, that she had cele-

general de España (Madrid, 1675^a) 115; Frey Joseph de S. Antonio, O.S.A.E., *Flos Sanctorum Augustiniano* 1 (Lisboa, 1721) 714.

²⁴³ Mello 1544 (Azevedo 451; see 144-145); Llorca 244; Pinta Llorente 91; Schäfer 347.

²⁴⁴ Case 5322.

²⁴⁵ Case 13310, conclusion. On November 13, because he was seriously ill, he was entrusted to the care of Gonçalo Fernandes, the chief orderly of All Saints' Hospital. This took place at the request of João de Mello in the presence of Paulo Falção, the warden of the Inquisition (*ibid.*).

²⁴⁶ Case 15670. On June 27, 1541, they presented a petition to the effect that during their eight months of imprisonment and course of liberation, they had used up most of their possessions. They were now doing penance in the monastery of Odivellas and for a good year had repented of their sins with much contrition and devotion. Being without any income, they were no longer able to support themselves, burdened as they were with so many expenses, since they were three hours away from Lisbon. They were women, one of them being of a marriageable age, and they asked that they might be allowed to return to their home. The reply was written upon the request: "Not as yet" (*ibid.*).

²⁴⁷ Case 3223, 141-142. On May 28, 1542, she presented a petition. She was a widow and very poor. She had already spent a year in the convent of Odivellas and had nothing to eat and was very ill. She had spent two years in prison before and was now truly repentant and steadfast in the truth, as the abbess and nuns could testify. She therefore requested that she be permitted to fulfill her term at home. Travassos visited her on July 2 and discovered that she was not as yet sufficiently instructed. On December 20 she was therefore sent to the College of the Faith in Lisbon, where three days later she successfully passed the examination. In view of her good behavior, Dom Henrique gave her the Alcáçova quarter of the city as her place of confinement, from the Porta do Sol to the Porta d'Alfofa, which she could only leave on Sundays and feast days in order to attend the lessons in Christian doctrine at the College of the Faith and the sermons in St. Eloy. But in December, 1543, she was again imprisoned in the College of the Faith on the charge of having persuaded an accused woman to conceal her Jewish errors in court. She claimed to be innocent of the charge, but on June 27, 1544, she was sentenced by Mello. By posting bail of one hundred *cruzados* she could return to the city quarter, but she must attend Mass in the College of the Faith and the sermons in Nossa Senhora da Graça. On March 27 she obtained a pardon by giving an alms of thirty *cruzados* for pious purposes. On July 9 the sum was reduced to twenty *cruzados* because of the penances she had performed and her poverty (*ibid.*).

²⁴⁸ Case 5322. On July 20, 1542, Dom Martinho de Portugal, the "archbishop of Funchal and primate of India and of all discovered and still-to-be-discovered lands," who had once betrayed his king in Rome in the matter of the New Christians in order to gain the favor of Paul III and a cardinal's hat, informed João de Mello that Jorge Mendes, who was sentenced to life imprisonment, had delivered to him a brief from Paul III, in virtue of which he ordered witnesses to be interrogated with respect to the life of the imprisoned man since his abjuration (*ibid.*).

²⁴⁹ Case 13310, conclusion.

²⁵⁰ Case 5322.

brated the Sabbath and the Jewish Passover with her daughters,²⁵¹ In other respects their formulas of retraction agreed with that of Joana Lopes, which ran as follows:

I, Joana Lopes, a New Christian, living in Lisbon on the Rua do Chancudo, in the parish of São Gião, swear before you, Lord Inquisitors, by the sign of the cross and this holy Gospel, that I of my own free will profess the holy Catholic faith as our Holy Mother, the Church of Rome, keeps and professes it. And I reject and renounce each and every heresy, and in particular those for which I was denounced and imprisoned, namely, that our Lord Jesus Christ is not God and has not yet come and that our Redeemer was born in sin and falsely bore the name of Lord; and that I doubted the coming of the Messiah by asking whether people had heard about the man in Italy and said that the Old Christians were unfortunate since their surprise attack in Castile would cost them a hundred for one. You discovered these heresies in me and have condemned me as being seriously suspect in the faith. And I confess with my own mouth and with a true and sincere heart the holy Catholic faith which our Holy Mother, the Church of Rome, holds, teaches, and proclaims. And I will cling to it and follow it and persevere in it and never turn aside from it. And I swear that I will be subject and obedient to our Holy Father, Pope Paul III, our lord, who now rules and guides the Church of God, and after him to his successors; and I will never turn aside from this obedience because of any request or heresy; and I will always persevere in union with our Holy Mother, the Church; and I will stand up for the defense of the Holy Catholic Faith and will persecute all those who are opposed to it; and I will reveal and manifest them and refuse to join them. Should I at any time go and act against this, something which I pray that God may prevent, I will suffer the punishment due to those who relapse; and I promise that I will not oppose the penalty which will be given to me for this, but rather that I will accept it to the best of my ability.

And I ask you, Lords of the Holy Inquisition, who are here present, that you give me a signed testimonial of this my abjuration which I here make so that it may have a juridical status, and I ask those here present to be witnesses of this and to sign it here with me. Having taken place in Lisbon, this day, the twenty-sixth of September.

The first notary signed it as follows: "Diogo Travassos, notary of the Holy Inquisition, signs it. In the year after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1540," It was then signed by the notaries Jorge Coelho and Francisco de Moura and the secretary Francisco Gil.²⁵²

When the recantations of the twenty-three had been completed, João de Mello imparted to all of them together a solemn absolution. The sentences of the French cleric and Diogo de Montenegro were then read.²⁵³ As obstinate heretics, they were handed over to the secular arm and were in turn received by the judges present.

The twenty-three prisoners who had been reconciled with the Church were taken back to the prison of the Inquisition in order to exchange the linen *sambenitos* they were wearing for others made of simple cloth and to be sent off to the different monasteries in which they would serve their terms of imprisonment.²⁵⁴ In the meantime, Montenegro and his companion were con-

²⁵¹ Case 15670.

²⁵² Case 3223, 141-142.

²⁵³ Mello 1544 (Azevedo 451); Schäfer 348. The two eyewitnesses, Sarmiento and Rodrigues (contrary to Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* IV, 3, 381), declared that two were handed over to the civil authority.

²⁵⁴ *Regimento* 1552, n. 63.

demned by the secular court to be burned to death.²⁵⁵ At the request of the grand inquisitor, Xavier and Rodrigues stood by the two until their last moment.²⁵⁶ Faced with death, Montenegro confessed his guilt and, full of repentance, declared that everything which he had said against the New Christians who had been condemned because of him was false. He had made these statements because he had been given hopes and promises of being set free. He had therefore spoken of things which had never occurred and of which he had no knowledge. Since he was now about to die, he retracted what he had said to unburden his conscience.²⁵⁷

A Negro put out one of his eyes and was immediately arrested by the servants of the court for his deed.²⁵⁸ It was later said that Montenegro had not died as a good Christian²⁵⁹ and that he had refused to look upon the crucifix which was held up in front of him.²⁶⁰ The inquisitors declared that he was burned at the king's command²⁶¹ as a great heretic and enemy of the holy faith,²⁶² but many New Christians said that he was innocent and had been condemned through false witnesses.²⁶³ Sarmiento, the Spanish ambassador wrote as follows a week later to the cardinal archbishop of Toledo:

Eight days ago there was held here an *auto* of the Inquisition in its most solemn form. It is said that one of this kind has never before been held in this kingdom. Twenty-two or twenty-three persons were reconciled and two were burned. These were a French cleric who had previously been imprisoned in Llerena²⁶⁴ and reconciled, and

²⁵⁵ Pinta Llorente 91-92; Azevedo 146; Schäfer 348.

²⁵⁶ EX I 62. Llorca stresses the fact that at the Spanish autos-da-fé only those who were sentenced to death were handed over to the civil authority. At the close of the auto-da-fé these were taken to another place outside the city gate, the so-called *quemadero*, and burned (244-245). This was apparently also the case in Portugal (Pinta Llorente 92; Schäfer 348). Were the two who were handed over to the civil authority in 1540 burned immediately after the close of the auto-da-fé on the Ribeira? There are a few indications that they were. The **Anonymus Lusitanus* of 1543 states that there had been a hundred thousand spectators at a *queima* where heretics were burned (186-v); in 1541 Alvaro Dias spoke of the *auto* "em que queimaron o Montenegro" (Baião 114); and Antonia Lopes expressed himself similarly in this same year (*ibid.* 118).

²⁵⁷ The defender of Catarina Gonçalves had the following to say about Montenegro in 1541: "Sendo confessado e muy conrito dixе, que tudo que dixerá quanto a Rea e hos mais condenados por elle, er falso" (case 4286, 116). The expression *confessado* here probably means only that he acknowledged what he had done, and not that he had gone to confession. His repentance was also probably feigned. At any rate this seems to have been the opinion of the inquisitors.

²⁵⁸ Filippa Rodrigues, Catarina Fernandes' neighbor, declared on March 14, 1541: "Quando foi o auto da Inquisição contavam as vizinhas, como um negro vasara um olho ao Montenegro, e Catharina Fernandes respondeu, que assim visse ella o negro arrastado" (Baião 117).

²⁵⁹ The mulatta Antonia Lopes told Maria Rodrigues at this time: "Montenegro não quis morrer bom christão" (Baião 118).

²⁶⁰ When Catarina Fernandes' neighbors at this time said of Montenegro, "que elle não queria olhar para a cruz," she replied, "que Deus sabia onde cada um iria ter" (Baião 117).

²⁶¹ Case 8499, 6v.

²⁶² In the condemnation of Catarina Fernandes, the inquisitors declared, and she had to repeat it in her abjuration at the auto-da-fé of October 23, 1541, that she had erred through "levar paixão de justiçaem os grandes herejes, imigos da nosa santa fee, como forão Montenegro e Manoell da Costa, que semeou cartas de heresias nesta cidade," since she had said that they were not guilty (case 8499).

²⁶³ *Ibid.* 6v.

²⁶⁴ The records of the trials by the Inquisition of the accused from Llerena are

a Jew who was born in this land. As far as this matter is concerned, the evil is so great that if His Holiness did not raise so many obstacles in favor of these New Christians with his briefs to the king and the lord infante, the grand inquisitor, they would, zealous Catholic Christians that they are, have executed a great number of them. What has taken place is a great boon, for it will at least to some extent intimidate those in error, even if only a few were executed in comparison to what should have happened here where this evil is so great. May God forgive those who stand in the way! ²⁶⁵

unfortunately lost (Llorca, *Die spanische Inquisition und die "Alumbrados"* [Berlin, 1934] 46).

²⁶⁵ *Sarmiento 37.

CHAPTER IV

PALMA AND ALMEIRIM (OCTOBER, 1540—FEBRUARY, 1541)

1. RODRIGUES' LETTER (OCTOBER 8, 1540)¹

Twelve days after the auto-da-fé Rodrigues wrote about it to Rome and sent his letter through a courier of the Bank of Giraldi. He also added other news since his last letter.² Both he and Xavier were surprised that they had received no mail from Rome for such a long time. They were worried about this, especially since they had received news from other quarters that Lope Hurtado, the chief steward of the Madama and a penitent of Iñigo, had been imprisoned.³ All in Lisbon were well, though Master Francis was surprised at the great heat. Even Misser Paulo, despite his robust health, felt its impact. The community had received an increase in the person of Manuel de Santa Clara,⁴ a priest

¹ EX I 59-65.

² "Escribimos mui largo" (*ibid.* 60-61); the letter is lost.

³ *Sarmiento reported to Cobos on July 27: "The people write from Rome to the king and to many others here about what has happened between the Madama, the daughter of His Majesty, and Señor Octavio; and the king and queen have told me many things about it which I do not believe, even though Lope Hurtado has also written to me that he and his wife would come if his name is not cleared" (78). On August 19, he thanked Cobos for his answer: "I kiss the hands of Your Lordship a thousand times, especially for the great favor which you have shown towards me in writing to me in detail about what has happened to Lope Hurtado and his wife. In this Your Lordship has done what you have always been accustomed to do, that is, to perform favors for your servants and to defend their honor, as you did in the case of Lope Hurtado, whose honor was sharply attacked. According to what has been written from Rome, this was really necessary. I have told Their Highnesses, the king and queen, and everyone else what Your Lordship wrote to me. All were very happy to hear it. No accusation should have been raised against such an excellent *cavallero* as Lope Hurtado, and such things as were advanced against him should not be believed. But malicious gossip such as this circulates in Italy, and about many other things, as Your Lordship knows better than I" (45). Margaret, the daughter of Charles V and the wife of Paul III's grandson, refused to have marital relations with her husband. The Farnese attributed this to the influence of her majordomo, Lope Hurtado, and his wife, Margarita de Rojas. In June, 1540, Fra Pallavicini, a protégé of Vittoria Colonna, was accused of advising the Madama to use magic and conjurations. Under torture he testified against Hurtado but later recanted. Under pressure from the Farnese, the emperor had to recall Hurtado in October, and in the same month Margaret ceased to resist. On this see Capasso II 56-74; Vatican Archives: *Lettere di Principi*, Vol. 14A, 164v-166 255 266v 279v; and Vatican Library: *Vat. Lat. 6160*, 151v-171v. On Ignatius as a confessor in the house of the Madama, see *MI Epp.* I 290, 316-317.

⁴ On him see EX 62 79; *Ep. Broëti* 522 554-554-555; *MI Epp.* XII 380. He was a guest of the Jesuits in Rome when Rodrigues was still there. The "miracles" which Rodrigues mentions were juridically established. But on May 15, 1541, Rodrigues wrote that he had dismissed Santa Clara since he did not seem to him to be suited for the Society. The man suffered from hallucinations and had fantastic plans. He claimed to have revelations with respect to the reform of the Church, as Rodrigues wrote to Rome in 1547, so that even Frey João Soares, his patron, began to have doubts about him.

learned in canon law⁵ and highly respected in Portugal because of a miracle which had allegedly been worked by him, and which caused him to be much discussed.⁶ He had been a guest at Rome with the companions in the Palazzo Frangipani and had gone from there to Bologna.⁷ He was now ready to go with them to India, and the king had expressed the wish that they should take him along.⁸ They still begged from door to door twice a week for the poor, but the king took care of them with princely generosity. He even gave them books, although they had little time to read them, since there was no lack of work either at the court or in the prison of the Inquisition.⁹ Besides this, two Jews who had come from Africa wished to become Christians, and the king had asked the priests to instruct them. One of these men was very learned and had an excellent knowledge of Hebrew and Chaldean.¹⁰

Rodrigues asked for a book from Rome entitled *Fratre Cherubino* or *Seraphino*, on Christian marriage,¹¹ which Master Paschasius had seen in Siena. It was written in Italian, and a bishop and others had earnestly asked for it. A relative of Fra Bernardino Ochino had a copy, and his sister would know something about it. The owner had lent it to Master Paschasius so that he might translate the first part of it into Latin. They should also send the India brief for him and Xavier and news about Favre and Laynez and the two confreres appointed for Ireland, and let them know if Angelo¹² had died or not. They should also tell the students of the order in Paris to write, and they should send them their address.¹³

The letter had been written in great haste since the courier was expected at any moment.¹⁴ Rodrigues therefore brought it to a close with greetings for all, especially for his "brother" (*hermano*) Iñigo López, who had done him such good services in Rome and in Portugal with his "holy purges."¹⁵ He also sent special greetings to Francisco Zapata and added that they had said fifty-five more Masses for Guidiccioni in addition to those which they had previously reported. He signed the letter: "In the name of both, your brother in Christ, Simon Rodriguez." After he had quickly folded the letter, he wrote the address

⁵ EX I 79.

⁶ MX I 228; *Ep. Broëti* 554.

⁷ *Ep. Broëti* 554.

⁸ EX I 62.

⁹ *Ibid.* 64 61-62.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 62. Were they those who had come for the inheritance of Abraham Benze-
mero (see above, p. 639, n. 131)?

¹¹ *Libro di Fra Cherubino. Incommincia una opera brieve della vita spirituale del divoto frate Cherubino del ordine de frati minori observanti la quale lui dirizo a Jacopo de Borgiani fiorentino. La Regola che manda el padre frate Cherubino della vita matrimoniale a Jacopo de Borgianni.* In conclusion: *Impresso in Firenze a di. XXVIII di Giugno MCCCCLXXXIIII Per ser Lorenzo de Morgiani et Ianni da Maganza.* The work went through many editions (see L. Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum* II 97-99).

¹² Angelo Paradisi, who was lying deathly sick in Brescia when Xavier traveled through Parma.

¹³ At the end of April, 1540, Diego de Egúfa had traveled from Rome to Paris as superior with Ferrão, Rojas, Carvajal, and Isbrando. Cáceres joined them after their arrival (see above, p. 497). On November 30, they were joined by Jerónimo Doménech and a candidate from Parma, Magister Gregori, and two days later by Don Paolo d'Achille and a certain Antonio, also from Parma. They all, together with Angelo Paradisi, who had also come to Paris, found temporary lodgings in the Collège de Trésoriers (*Ep. Mixtae* I 54-55).

¹⁴ EX I 61 64.

¹⁵ *Ep. Broëti* 522.

on it: "To our dearest confreres in Christ, Messer Ignatio and Messer Pietro Codacio in the Tower of Maramgulo. Messer Ioavanne Boscho knows these priests. For the bearer, a *julio*, I repeat, a *julio*." He had already sealed the letter when he received two letters from Rome. He therefore made a further addition to it. "After I sealed this letter, I received two dated on July 25, but I have had no time to read them since the courier is anxious to leave."

2. A VISIT TO PALMA (OCTOBER, 1540)

Xavier was no longer residing in Lisbon when Rodrigues wrote his letter. On July 22 Sarmiento had already informed the emperor that the royal pair had decided to go to Almeirim to spend the winter there at their country home so that the court might break up and all might look out for themselves as best they could, for there was grave danger of a famine. During the preceding year the land had been afflicted with a severe drought which had caused the wheat to wither in the fields before it had matured. The people had been compelled to get along with the small amount of grain that was imported by sea. There was fear that the same, or even worse, would happen this year.¹⁶ Three days later Sarmiento had referred to the problem again:

The whole country here is desolate. There is a great deal of hunger and destitution, following as it does upon that of last year. The only bread that is baked or eaten here is that which is made from the grain that has been imported from across the sea, a very poor relief for places far from the coast. . . . This has caused countless individuals of the realm to come to Lisbon. The king and queen say that they have decided to go to Almeirim, and preparations are being made there to receive them with only a very few companions, and they hope to remain there during the year. They are afraid that a pestilence may break out here because of the wretched food which the people have had to eat and which they still are eating. Already there are many here who are sick.¹⁷

"Not a single grain of wheat was harvested this year," he had observed on July 30, "and since this has happened after the hunger of last year, there is fear of great suffering."¹⁸ On August 19 he had written to Cobos: "I must refer again and again to the great scarcity of wheat. All that is eaten here is that which comes by sea from Flanders and France. Since there is such a great want in Malaga, as Your Lordship says, could you not possibly help us with hardtack by sea from Flanders?"¹⁹ A month later, on September 16,²⁰ he again returned to the same subject.

At the beginning of October, as Sarmiento noted on the third of the month,²¹ the rains finally came. The decision to break up the court was therefore canceled and the departure for Almeirim set for the end of the month.²²

Dom Pedro Mascarenhas had in the meantime left the capital and withdrawn to his country estate in Palma in order to recover from the fatigues of his journey

¹⁶ *Sarmiento 93.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 77.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 45.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 43.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 21.

²¹ *Ibid.* 37.

²² EX I 62.

and the Roman fever, and in the beginning of October Xavier had gone there for a parting visit before setting out for Almeirim. "Master Francis is at present fifteen leagues from here visiting Dom Pedro," Rodrigues wrote on October 8, "for we are leaving Lisbon with the court. He will return here within five or six days."²³

The usual road from Lisbon to Palma led from the south bank of the Tagus for three or four hours through flat country covered with vines, olive, pine, and cork trees past Palmella. This was a proud castle of the Knights of St. James perched on a steep height. Using this as their base, they had, after long and severe battles with the Moors, conquered the south of Portugal. From Palmella the road passed on to Setúbal,²⁴ a town east of the Arrabida Mountains picturesquely situated between dark-green orange groves and the blue Sado River. From there it went eastwards for five to six hours through rolling, monotonous country interspersed with heather, salt beds, swamps, cork, pine, and fir trees and occasional vineyards over the lonely Aguas de Moura to the country estate of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas²⁵ on a slight elevation not far from the north bank of the small and sluggish Rio de São Martinho.

It was an ideal spot for regaining one's health. The solitude and peace of its rural setting replaced the noise and bustle of the capital. A few whitewashed buildings made up the village—a lonely castle, the "Torre de Palma,"²⁶ a one-storied dwelling of the caretaker next to it, a parish house, and a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist. In front of this, on the north,²⁷ there was a stone cross; and behind it, to the south, near two palm trees a well with columns supporting a pyramid-shaped roof.²⁸

Palma²⁹ was a privileged³⁰ estate, with an abundance of game—stags, wild

²³ *Ibid.* 64.

²⁴ J. B. de Castro, *Mappa de Portugal* III (Lisboa, 1763): *Roteiro Terrestre*, gives five routes from Lisbon to Setúbal: by way of Moita, Alhos Vedros, Barreiro, Coima, Seixal, and Cacilhas, pp. 33-34. In 1544 Araoz visited Palma on the way from Lisbon to Evora (*Ep. Mixtae* I 169). Philip II traveled from Lisbon to Setúbal by way of Barreiro in 1582 (Gachard 161).

²⁵ Castro 34.

²⁶ On January 21, 1549, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas sent a letter to the king: "Desta Torre de Palma" (TdT: CC 1-82-26). "Herdades da Torre de Palma" are already mentioned in 1502 (Archives Mascarenhas, n. 295).

²⁷ In 1554 Dom Pedro founded the primogeniture of Palma in the district of Alcacer do Sal. In addition to other properties, it included the "quinta de Palma cum tudo seu asentamento de cazas, pomar e vinhas e cazaes e cruzeiro e sua coutada" (Alcacer do Sol, Archives of the Misericórdia).

²⁸ Still extant. The two palms found there today, which are much like those in the Horta del Rey in Almeirim, give the impression of being very old.

²⁹ The primogeniture, founded in 1554, included Palma proper and the "paús ('marshy meadows') de Catta-que-farás, a erdade que se chama de João Ramos, que parte com o ditto paús, e Mouta do Gatto." It also bordered on the lands which belonged to the *ouvidor*, "pella madre de Agoa," the estate known as "da Venda," half of the estate of Alberge, the estate of Eamnes "na Ribeira do Sadão." It also included houses with their rents, dwellings, and stables in the *villa* and also half of an estate named Cao in the district of Croxe, and two *moios* (forty-six bushels) of grain from the other half (Alcacer do Sal: Archives of the Misericórdia). The names Quinta do Ouvidor, Fonte de João Ramos, Moita do Gatto, Venda, Vale de Cao, and Alberge still today recall these properties.

³⁰ The area was always *coutada* (set aside for privileged hunting), as Dom João Mascarenhas proved in 1572 with a letter of the infante Dom Pedro of 1446, and recognized as such (Archives Mascarenhas, nn. 1506 and 1508).

boars, rabbits, and partridges.³¹ It stretched out for a good hour down the river to the "property of the *ouvidor*" and upstream as far as the estate of Venda on the road to the parish of São Martinho, an hour and a half away. It extended for some two hours on the northwest to the Rio Cão, and to the southwest to the environs of Alberge. This was a sparsely settled, rolling countryside with forests of cork oaks, the main source of revenue for the area, rising up from the grey limestone and grey-green moorland, where purple heather, yellow broom, and golden starflowers bloomed and furnished a sparse pasture for the brown sheep. There were also vineyards, olive groves, and cultivated fields on which the vassals grew wheat, barley, millet, beans, and vegetables.³² In the valley to the southwest were the far-stretching swamps of Paúl von Cataquefaras, where cattle grazed.³³

Three hours south of Palma the ancient Roman city of Alcacer do Sal³⁴ lay along the Rio Sado. Here in the valley Dom Pedro had other properties.³⁵ The city, which was famed for its saltworks, had a Moorish fortress which had not been captured until 1217 and a parish church built by King Manuel.³⁶ In 1524 Dona Violante Henriques, the widow of the mayor of Alcacer do Sal and mother of Dom Pedro, had built here the church of St. Anthony as a place of burial for her family. She had then erected next to it a monastery of the Franciscans of Strict Observance. In 1526 the provincial, Frey Antonio de Lisboa, who had earlier lectured on the *Commentary on the Sentences* of Peter Lombard at the University of Oxford, had taken possession of the house and entrusted its care to a native of the city, Frey Christovão Tambaranhe, its first guardian. Dom Pedro, who had received a house near the castle from the king in 1527,³⁷ had endowed the church with many precious relics, among which were the four heads of Sts. Responsa and her companions, which he had received from the Carmelites of Cologne. These saints had been among the Eleven Thousand Virgins. In 1532 Dom Pedro had obtained from Clement VII the indulgences of the churches of Rome for all those who on the feast of their translation, that

³¹ J. B. de Castro, *Mappa de Portugal* I (Lisboa, 1762) 440.

³² The marriage contract of Dona Francisca Henriques of 1524 mentions "lavradias, baldias, matos, defesas, montadas, pacigos, olivae e zambujae," in the region of Palma and Venda, and also tilled and fallow lands, woods, preserves, oak forests, meadows, and wild and cultivated olive trees (Archives Mascarenhas, n. 296); see also Pinho Leal VI 428-429)

³³ In 1502 the court declared that the Paúl de Cataquefarás between the estates of Torre de Palma, Cobiça, João Gonçalves Castelhana, and Cataquefarás had borne the names "Paúl de Palma e de Cobiça e Paúl de Cataquefarás e Paúl do Castelhana" according to the testimony of twenty-five or thirty witnesses. There was however only one *paúl* ("marsh," "morass"), and it was always considered a no-man's land into which the surrounding farmers and anyone else who so desired drove their cattle (Archives Mascarenhas, n. 295). In 1524 the Paúl de Cataquefarás was named as the dowry of Dona Francisca Henriques in addition to the estate of Venda (*ibid.*, n. 296). Her husband, the count of Feira, Dom Manuel Pereira, sold both properties to Dom Pedro Mascarenhas. In 1554, two years after her husband's death, Dona Francisca requested that the lands be returned to her on the grounds that she had only signed the sales contract through fear of her husband; but the court decided against her (*ibid.*, n. 1505). We do not know when the sale took place.

³⁴ Pinho Leal 56-61. In 1535 there were 546 families (*moradores*) in the city and 1,012 families in the general area. There was also a parish church (London, British Museum: *Add. Mss.* 20 959, 124).

³⁵ The estate of Eamnes.

³⁶ Goes, *Chronica do Rei D. Emanuel* 4, 75.

³⁷ TdT, *Chanc. D. João: Doações* 30, 147-v.

of the Good Shepherd, the second Sunday after Easter, would, after having made a good confession, kneel there and recite three Our Fathers and Hail Marys for the general intentions of the Church and the repose of the soul of his mother and of his other ancestors and relatives. He had this brief confirmed by Paul III on March 7, 1540, before setting out from Rome; and he had also obtained a plenary indulgence, applicable to the Poor Souls, for all the priests who celebrated Mass in the church.³⁸

Three leagues west of Alcacer do Sal there was a broad inlet, five leagues long, surrounded by saltworks. Near its narrow outlet into the sea lay Setúbal, where Dom Pedro owned a house and garden near Fonte Nova in a suburb west of the city on the way to Azeitão.³⁹

Master Francis was warmly received by Dom Pedro and his wife Dona Elena on his parting visit.⁴⁰ In the middle of October he was again back in Lisbon so that he might go at the end of the month with the king and his court to Almeirim. But the departure of the royal family for their winter residence was delayed for about a month by an unforeseen event.

3. THE DEATH OF THE INFANTE DOM DUARTE (OCTOBER 20, 1540)⁴¹

Between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning⁴² of Wednesday, October 20, the vigil of the feast of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, the twenty-five-year-old infante Dom Duarte, the brother of the king, died in the flower of his years from a burning, contagious fever after being sick for eleven days in his residence above the fountain of the Rossio. And his death was as pious as his life had been.

Frey Miguel de Valenca, his confessor,⁴³ and Frey André de Rezende, his private tutor, who lived near the infante on the Rossio Square,⁴⁴ and who had

³⁸ Fr. Fernando da Soledade, *Historia Serafica da Ordem dos Frades Menores de S. Francisco na Provincia de Portugal* IV (Lisboa, 1709) 250-253; Fr. Jeronymo de Belem, *Chronica Serafica da Santa Provincia dos Algarves* IV (Lisboa, 1758) 386-398; see also *Archives Mascarenhas*, nn. 684 685 679.

³⁹ Sales contract of June 22, 1530 (*Archives Mascarenhas*, n. 1798). Xavier may have gone downstream as far as Setúbal on his return trip from Alcacer do Sal, which would explain the local legend with respect to his disembarkment (see above, p. 586, n. 201).

⁴⁰ Dona Elena, Dom Pedro's second wife, was the daughter of the Pedro Mascarenhas who had served in India from 1511 to 1527 and had been captain of Malacca and, after his return, of Azamor. During his return trip from Tunis in 1535 he and his ship had disappeared without a trace. Dona Elena was still living in 1586 (Alcacer do Sal: *Archives of the Misericordia*). Araoz wrote as follows about his own visit to Palma in 1544: "Pasamos por casa de Don Pedro Mascarenhas, de quien fuimos com mucha charidad rescuidos" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 169).

⁴¹ The main source for the following is André de Rezende, *Vida do Infante Dom Duarte* (Lisboa, 1789). Rezende was an eyewitness but did not write this life until towards the end of his own (the last date in the text is 1565); Goes used his manuscript (*Chronica do Rei D. Emanuel* 3, 78); also see Alcáçova Carneiro 22 and CDP IIV 359.

⁴² Rezende 58. According to Alcáçova Carneiro, he died at about one in the afternoon.

⁴³ He is named in this way in Dom Duarte's will (Sousa, *Provas* II 613). Rezende describes him as being "known for his virtue and piety" (56). The instructions for the nuncio Lippomani of 1542, which are otherwise so spiteful when referring to the enemies of the New Christians, say of him: "Dell'ordine di S. Jeronimo vi è un frate valentiniano, che si chiama fra Michele, tenuto di vita ottima, et è liberissimo, e che va liberamente con chi confessa, che è rara cosa fra frati; tanto che, per non voler assolvere il re una volta, non fù alla confessione, e così entrò in luogo suo il sopradetto fra Giovanni Soarez" (CDP V 136-137).

⁴⁴ Next to the infante's house (Rezende 46).

studied with Xavier and Rodrigues at the Dominican monastery in Paris, were able to narrate many edifying details about the life of the deceased. In his early youth Dom Duarte had been filled with zest for the pleasures of life and had been passionately fond of the chase, but after his marriage in 1536 he had settled down and dedicated himself entirely to his family and scholarly pursuits. He never drank wine, was temperate in his eating, and fasted much. He was gentle and kind towards all, and a loving father to his servants.⁴⁵ A faithful son of the Church, he never permitted anyone to speak disparagingly of the pope, not even when Charles V was fighting with Clement VII.⁴⁶ He went frequently to confession; and if he was ever bothered by a scruple, he sought the advice of his confessor or teacher. He had a great devotion to the passion of Christ and appeared to be entranced at Mass, which he attended every day. Every night before retiring he recited the Office of the Passion, kneeling on the floor with outstretched arms before his crucifix. He ended this prayer with an act of contrition, and at times disciplined himself. He wore a rough hairshirt for a long time over his bare body in such great secrecy that it was only noticed a few days before his death. But outwardly, in dress and manner, he was a perfect nobleman, cheerful and gracious towards all.⁴⁷

Death did not find him unprepared. He had frequently repeated the words of the Psalm: "O Lord, make me know my end!"⁴⁸ He had seen it coming and had predicted the time to the king and to his other brothers and to his confidants. When he fell ill eleven days before his death, he confessed his sins, and on the second and eighth day of his sickness he received Holy Communion. On October 18, in the presence of Rezende, he told those who were near him that he should be given the Last Anointing, for he would die after two days. He received the sacrament with great contrition and answered all the prayers himself. When he was being bled and suffering from the wound, he looked at the crucifix and said: "Lord, I offer this wound to you, since you suffered so many pains and shed so much blood for me." When Dr. Ximenes, the former physician of the cardinal infante Dom Affonso, kissed his hand in tears, he said to him: "Doctor, weep not! God will soon give you another lord who can grant you greater favors than my lord the cardinal granted you, or I can grant." When his wife bade him take heart and told him the the whole house was praying for his recovery, he replied: "Senhora, do not ask this of our Lord, but that which is more to His service and to the good of my soul."

When death was already close at hand and the sick prince wanted to rise because of his sufferings, those who were present asked him not to do so; and when Frey Miguel asked him: "Will you not refrain from this for the love of God?" he replied: "For the love of my God I will not only refrain from doing so, which is nothing, but I shall gladly die many times over." On the evening before his death, as he was lying quietly upon his bed, he suddenly said with a cheerful countenance to his confessor: "O Father, where and when can I repay you for all the love that you have shown me? I recommend my lady infanta, my children, and my whole household to you." Some time after this he said: "Good, forward! Let us go!" And when Frey Miguel asked him where he wished to go, he replied: "Where? To heaven in order to see God." Shortly before he

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 45-48. On his enthusiasm for hunting, arms, music, and poetry, see *ibid.* 20-22.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 47-50.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 50-52.

⁴⁸ Ps. 38: 5.

expired he gazed straight ahead with a happy countenance and said twice: "O my Lady, you are most welcome!" His confessor asked him with whom he was speaking, and he replied: "With the Mother of God." When the friar asked him if the sight of her had caused him joy, he replied that never in his life had he experienced such great joy and consolation.

When the hour of his departure came, Dom Duarte pressed the crucifix to himself and took the candle of the dying in his hand. When Rezende suggested to him that he offer up the prayer of St. Stephen, he said in a clear voice: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" When Frey Miguel intoned the Our Father, he recited it in a loud voice, and all replied: "Amen!" He thus passed quietly to the Lord and lay there peacefully; his soul had already entered into everlasting life.⁴⁹ Under his pillow was found a little book, in which he had been accustomed to write down his sins for confession. On the first page he had written: "O man, do you dare to live in everlasting fire?"⁵⁰

Four days before his death the infante had his will written out by Frey Miguel. It began as follows: "In the name of the Most Holy and Blessed Trinity, recognizing the fact that every good Christian must pass his life in patience and be ready with his account for the coming his Lord to whom heaven and earth belong, ..." In it he expressed the wish that his body be buried in the monastery of Belém, and that the brethren of the Misericordia should carry it there without pomp, as they would that of a poor man. Later, when the remains of his deceased father, King Manuel, were transferred to the new church which was still being built, his bones should also be brought there and placed beneath the floor without ceremony; and on his tombstone there should be carved only the words: "The Infante Dom Duarte." In the churches and monasteries as many Masses as possible should be offered on the day of his burial and on the following days until five thousand had been said. Further, in the monastery of Belém there should be read a Low Mass each day, and each year there should be a Solemn High Mass with Vespers and *Responsoria* over his tomb, and for thirty days from the time of his death a High Mass. He appointed as the executor of his will his brother the infante Dom Luis. If he were prevented from carrying out this task, it should be taken over by Dom Henrique or his brother-in-law, the duke of Bragança. The will also contained legacies for the infante's physicians and servants. He gave his falcons to his hunters and an annual income of twenty *milreis* to his chaplains.⁵¹

His interment took place the evening of his death, simple and unassuming as he had wished. It was already dark and an immense throng had filled the Rossio Square when the brethren of the Misericordia came with their coffin. The prince's body, clad in the cloak of the Order of Christ, was placed in it; and when the coffin was raised up in front of the portal of All Saints' Hospital, in the light of the numerous torches and candles a snow-white dove was seen rising from it into the air. No one knew from where it had come, but in the sight of all it went straight up into the sky until it disappeared from view.⁵² The funeral procession started from the home of the infante. It was led by the brethren of the Misericordia with cross and banners. These were followed in order by the priests and servants of the royal chapel, those of the parish church

⁴⁹ Rezende 52-58.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 60.

⁵¹ Sousa, *Provas II* 608-614. The original is in TdT: *Gavetas* 16-2-10.

⁵² Rezende 59.

of Santa Justa, the secular and religious clergy, the *marquês da Villa Real* and all the counts, *fidalgos*, and other members of the nobility who were in the city, and a large crowd, sad and weeping, that had assembled for the procession. Much grief was shown at all the windows and in all the houses before which the procession passed. On the far side of St. Catherine's gate, the coffin was placed on a mule completely draped in black velvet. The brethren of the *Misericórdia* mounted on horseback, all with burning torches in their hands, and the personnel of the royal chapel accompanied it to Belém, where the remains of the prince were buried next to those of his father in the atrium of the old church.⁵³ There on the following day his Solemn Funeral Mass was sung.⁵⁴

Two days later, on October 22, the king sent a rapid courier to his ambassador in Rome with the news of Dom Duarte's death. "The infante, my brother, died from an unrelenting fever on the eleventh day after receiving all the sacraments of the Church with full consciousness of his approaching death and greatly resigned to the will of our Lord after he had made his testament. Inform the Holy Father and Cardinal Santiquattro of this." To the pope he wrote: "It has pleased our Lord to take the infante Duarte, my brother, to Himself. May He grant him eternal glory. Though I have good reason for being grieved and afflicted at this because of the great love which I had for him and the great merit of his person, still I am most grateful to our Lord since this was His will."⁵⁵

The messenger also took along with him a letter from Xavier to Codacio and Iñigo, which had been written rapidly because of the courier's haste.⁵⁶ In it he spoke of the many confessions heard at court and of the consoling work among the prisoners of the Inquisition. The king had already sent letters to the pope and his ambassador in which he recommended to them the affairs of the Society as if they were his own. "If it were not for the death of the infante Dom Duarte," Xavier observed, "His Highness would write once again to His Holiness and to Cardinal Santiquattro and to all the other persons there who can help you through their intercession. The king has gone into such retirement that no one speaks to him of business. The death of his brother, the infante, has affected him deeply. If a few days had passed, we would have asked him to write to all the individuals whom you have suggested to us."

The small group of companions had in the meantime increased in number. "We are already six," Xavier continued, "all acquaintances from Paris except Don Paulo and Manuel de Santa Clara. May it please our Lord to give us the grace to proclaim His name among the people who do not know Him!"

The sixth companion mentioned in the letter was Master Gonçalo Medeiros.⁵⁷ He had been born of a noble family in Mesanfrio in the province of Traz-os-

⁵³ *Ibid.* 59; Alcáçova Carneiro 22.

⁵⁴ *Sarmiento 31.

⁵⁵ CDP IV 358-360.

⁵⁶ EX I 66-69.

⁵⁷ On Medeiros see Tellez I 45-47 564-572; Franco, *Imagem de Lisboa* 130-136; and the obituary in *Litt. Quadr.* I 568-569. He was the first to enter the Society in Portugal. In 1542, at the conclusion of his studies, he was sent to Coimbra, where he is mentioned as a student of theology in 1547, and was ordained. He returned from there to Lisbon, where he died in the College of San Antão in 1552. Besides being well versed in St. Thomas and the *Summa* of Cajetan, he was humble, mild, kind towards all, and a man of prayer. Treasured by the whole court, and especially by the king and queen, he spent each day six hours in the confessional.

Montes in northern Portugal and had matriculated in Paris as the holder of a royal burse⁵⁸ in 1526 along with Sebastian Rodrigues, the brother of Master Simon. He had studied philosophy under Master Cop in the Collège de Sainte Barbe⁵⁹ and then theology with the Dominicans.⁶⁰ While he was at the university, he once heard a preacher say: "Only dead birds come to the table of the king, plucked, and broiled, So too must anyone who would please God mortify himself." The words made a deep impression upon the young student. He began to wear a hairshirt, to discipline himself, and to fast. At times he spent a whole day without food. Despite all his penitential exercises, he still suffered severely from impure temptations and was almost at the point of despair. One day when he was complaining with tears to God about his trials, he believed that he suddenly saw an angel in front of him who said: "Have confidence, you will be saved!" This brought him peace,⁶¹ and when Rodrigues and Xavier, his old fellow students came to Lisbon, where his brother Francis was a secretary in the India House,⁶² he joined them⁶³ and was ready to go with them to India. Since he was not yet a priest, Xavier asked that permission be obtained in Rome for him to receive all the holy orders on three feast days before his departure. Further, the privilege of reciting the new short breviary of Quinones with only three lessons instead of the older office might be obtained for six priests.⁶⁴ They should also send the India brief to him and Rodrigues as soon as possible since the time for their departure was drawing near. He also asked for news about the students who had been sent to Paris and about those who were still to be sent there, and he wanted to know what they could do for them in Portugal.⁶⁵ He also asked about sending Strada or some of the other companions to a house of studies of the Society in Coimbra, for there was no lack of benefactors for pious works in Lisbon.

Rodrigues had intended to add a note to the letter, but the courier arrived in the meantime and he only had time to sign for the two of them: "Your confrere, in the name of both, Master Simon."⁶⁶

4. ALMEIRIM (NOVEMBER, 1540 - FEBRUARY, 1541)

Another unexpected difficulty that same month again delayed the departure of the king for Almeirim. On October 3 Sarmiento wrote to Cobos that news had come from France that Francis I had canceled his prohibition on sailing to Malagueta in West Africa and to Brazil and had given all his subjects permission to trade there and to equip ships for such a purpose. This revived the old dispute over the freedom of the seas and over those territories which Portugal

⁵⁸ Matos 55.

⁵⁹ Costa 218-219.

⁶⁰ We conclude this from his great fondness for St. Thomas, part of whose *Summa* he memorized (Tellez I 46-47). Even in 1542, before his trip to Coimbra, he was called "muy docto" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 107).

⁶¹ Franco, *Imagem de Lisboa* 130-131; Tellez I 45-46.

⁶² Tellez I 45.

⁶³ "Con los quales [M. Francisco y M. Symon] en Paris avia tenido mucha amistad y conocimiento (**Historia de la fundación de S. Antón* 1v).

⁶⁴ It was approved by Paul III and printed in Rome in 1536, but was later withdrawn.

⁶⁵ See Polanco, *Chron.* I 85-86. They wanted to know if they could be summoned from Paris to Coimbra in case a college were founded.

⁶⁶ EX I 68.

regarded as her monopoly. John III immediately ordered a fleet to be readied to carry stones, lime, and construction gangs so that a fortress might be built to protect the threatened coast of Africa.⁶⁷ Three days later Sarmiento added that the French had an eye on the spices of the Malagueta coast. The Portuguese king therefore had the fleet strengthened. He wanted to send two large, and five or six smaller, ships and five hundred men so that they might spend the winter there and sail on in March to the Azores in order to wait for the ships from India.⁶⁸ On November 15 Sarmiento was able to inform Cobos that the Malagueta fleet had set sail some days before and that the infante Dom Luis had told him that some pirate ships had already set out from France.⁶⁹ On the twenty-fourth he had to send him some more bad news. The Portuguese fleet had been dispersed by a severe storm. It had, moreover, been so sorely stricken that it had been forced to throw its cargo overboard and had reached the Canary Islands only with difficulty. There it had encountered the French sailing vessels. The king had therefore been compelled to send out more ships so that the combined forces might be able to withstand the foe.⁷⁰

At this same time John III sent Dom Francisco de Noronha as his new legate to Paris with letters for Francis I, Queen Leonor, the *connétable*, the cardinals of Lorraine, Tournon, and Paris, and to Ruy Pereira, his former ambassador. He also gave specific instructions to Noronha,⁷¹ ordering him to lodge a vigorous protest against the decree of the king of August 2, 1540, canceling the earlier order of December 22, 1539, which forbade sailing to Malagueta and Brazil. The Portuguese had discovered the coasts of Malagueta and Brazil a good many years before. They owned these territories, and the only others who had ever sailed there were French pirates.⁷² The French king had previously promised that he would severely punish such freebooters, and it was simply astounding that the same king should now give explicit permission for such raids.⁷³ Noronha traveled with his commission as rapidly as he could, covering twenty leagues a day with the post so as to reach his destination as soon as possible.⁷⁴

On the same day the king and queen with their children, relatives, and court set out on their long delayed trip to their winter residence at Almeirim.⁷⁵ As a rule it took three or four days to cover the fifty miles that separated it from Lisbon.⁷⁶ On November 26 the king was in Villafranca de Xira, where he remitted sixty bushels of grain to a poor widow who was indebted to him.⁷⁷ An attack of chills and fevers, however, which fortunately soon passed, delayed his journey, and it was only on the afternoon of December 1 that he arrived

⁶⁷ *Sarmiento 35.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 33.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 31.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 84.

⁷¹ Alcáçova Carneiro 31-50.

⁷² *Ibid.* 35.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 33.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 34.

⁷⁵ *Sarmiento 87 31.

⁷⁶ On September 30, 1551, the king set out from Almeirim, spent the night in Car-taxo, passed by Azambuja and Villafranca de Xira, and arrived the next day at Sacavém in time for his noon meal. From there he sailed downstream to Lisbon (Sousa, *Provas II* 315). On February 12, 1552, he left Almeirim, spent the night in Villafranca, and arrived the next day in Lisbon by way of Sacavém (E. Freire de Oliveira, *Elementos para a historia do muicípio de Lisboa I* [Lisboa, 1885] 563-564).

⁷⁷ TdT: CC 1-68-89.

at Santarém. Here he crossed the Tagus. He then continued along the road for another hour through the flat, green countryside. Then, after crossing the old bridge made out of bricks and hewn stones over the Alpiarça River,⁷⁸ he arrived in the evening at Almeirim.⁷⁹

Almeirim,⁸⁰ which had been founded in 1411 by King John I, had about 450 people when the court was not there.⁸¹ Its principal building was the royal palace. This had been built by John I, "large and elegant, with large halls, rooms, quarters, verandas, and inner courts with orange and other trees," and had been considerably enlarged by King Manuel⁸² and strengthened with a fort.⁸³ It was a majestic brick building,⁸⁴ surpassing all the other palaces of the king in its splendor and number of rooms.⁸⁵ It had parlors opening up on the palace square and garden,⁸⁶ and a large chapel in the upper story dedicated to the

⁷⁸ The *registry of deeds of 1535 mentions the large bridge over the Alpiarça at Almeirim (London, British Museum: *Add. Mss.* 20 959, 109). In his *Memoria em a qual se mostra o estado da Real Valla de Alpiarça e sitios adjacentes*, composed in 1801, the architect Henrique Guilherme de Oliveira speaks of the "large, old bridge of Almeirim, constructed of bricks and hewn stones and still well preserved, an indication of the care with which John I and Manuel built it. It has many arches whose fine bricks have withstood the elements." Only the brick parapets were completely destroyed because of the barbarity of private individuals who took the bricks for their own usage (Ajuda 49-1123, 10v-11).

⁷⁹ See Sarmiento's letters of November 22, 24, and December 2, and Cobos' letter of December 19 (*Sarmiento 39 87 85 80).

⁸⁰ Our friend José Augusto Frazão de Vasconcelos placed at our disposal his excerpts from books and manuscripts on Almeirim. For 1632 there is a report prepared by the chief huntsman for the king with an interesting map showing the king's palace, the residence of the priests of the Society of Jesus and those of the fidalgos and court officials. It also shows the pine and the oak forests of the Augustinians of Santarém (Ajuda 51-6-5, 24a-26). The report of H. G. De Oliveira drawn up in 1801 includes another map (*ibid.* 49-11-23, 21a). See also Pinho Leal I 148-150.

⁸¹ According to the *registry of deeds of 1535, the *villa* of Almeirim had a parish of 102 families (*moradores*); if the eight country-houses in the area are included, 110 families (London, British Museum: *Adds. Mss.* 20 959, 109). A list of privileged persons drawn up at the request of the king in 1537 gives only 85 *moradores* for Almeirim, among whom were a cleric, three *cavalleiros*, six *escudeiros*, a forester (*monteiro*), and so forth, a total of fifteen privileged individuals in all (TdT: *Gavetas* 15-2315).

⁸² John II declared on May 21, 1483: "Dom João, my great-grandfather, built our *villa* and palace of Almeirim. He and King Duarte, my grandfather, and my father fortunately wanted the palace to be kept in good condition and the *villa* to be well populated so that when they went there their officials and courtiers would find lodgings" (TdT: *Chanc. D. João II*, 26, 73v; see also *Correio da Estremadura*, July 28, 1923). The *Livro de D. Affonso V dos foros etc. em Santarem e seu termo* describes the palace before it was redecorated by King Manuel: "hum grande e nobre asentamento de paaços, . . . edificios com grandes salas, camaras, rretretes, varandas e outras muytas casas nos sobrados e terreas e dos paaços com crastas dentro bem poboradas de larangeiras e outras arvores e arredor dos paaços hum grande cercoyto de casas" (*O Archeologo Português* 17 [1912] 294-295). See also Pinho Leal I 148.

⁸³ Luis Cardoso, *Diccionario geographico de Portugal* I (Lisboa, 1747) 341; Mariz I 529.

⁸⁴ Cardoso had already written in 1747 that if it were not repaired, the palace would soon fall to pieces. In 1801 Oliveira complained that the bricks of the bridge would probably soon be carried off by private individuals for their own use, "como tem sido o belo tijolo do Palacio Real de Almeirim, que causa pena arruinar-se e destruir-se este tão belo como majestoso edificio" (Ajuda 49-11-23, 11). In 1889 the last stone disappeared (*Guia de Portugal* II 365). The *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira* II 81 gives a photograph of the ruins.

⁸⁵ Ignacio da Piedade e Vasconcellos, *Historia de Santarem Edificada* 2 (Lisboa, 1740) 341.

⁸⁶ Description in 1543 (Alcáçova Carneiro 263-265) and 1551 (*ibid.* 462); see also the text of the *Relações* in the Academia das Ciências *Gav.* 3-4-7, f. 549.

Mother of God.⁸⁷ The queen lived with her court in her own house,⁸⁸ and the brothers of the king, the infantes, Dom Luis and Dom Henrique,⁸⁹ their sister, the infanta Dona Maria,⁹⁰ and Dona Isabel, the widow of the deceased Dom Duarte, also lived apart from the king's court, all with their own retinues.⁹¹

The site had limited facilities for the entertainment of guests. Just as Sintra with its Moorish castle, shady forest, and high elevation was the favorite summer residence of the kings, so Almeirim had been the favorite winter residence of the court since the time of King Manuel; and the leading families of the country had therefore built their villas here.⁹² But these were uninhabited for the greater part of the year. According to Sarmiento there were only fifty to sixty small houses in a miserable condition available; all the others had fallen into ruins. The lack of living quarters was therefore great.⁹³ The king had a cottage near the residence of the infanta Dona Maria⁹⁴ with a door to the large garden of the palace⁹⁵ set aside for Rodrigues, Xavier, Misser Paulo, and Medeiros. The priests celebrated Mass in the small chapel of St. Roch lying at one end of the village.⁹⁶ In 1527 John III had built a hospital and church here and had founded a confraternity at the court for their upkeep dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, St. Sebastian, and St. Roch. The king and queen, the infantes, the duke of Bragança, the counts, *fidalgos*, *cavalleiros*, *escudeiros*, and other members of the court were all enrolled in it. The poor employees of the court, the *cavalleiros*, the widows of those who had died in the African forts, and all who came to the court at Almeirim on business were to receive medicine, nursing care, and spiritual assistance in the hospital in case of sickness. A chaplain was

⁸⁷ *O Archeologo Português* 17 (1912) 295; Alcáçova Carneiro 462; CDP VII 373; see also the decision concerning the tithes of 1432 (TdT: *Gavetas 1-1-16*) and *Gavetas 19-9-4*. In 1551 the nuncio granted a woman an indulgence for visiting the three altars of the "new church of São João of Almeirim" (TdT: *CC 1-86-61*).

⁸⁸ Alcáçova Carneiro 263 418 462.

⁸⁹ In 1543 the two infantes lived at the country seat (*casal*) of Martinho Affonso de Mello (*ibid.* 263). In 1545 there were 451 persons in the household of the infante Dom Luis in Almeirim (TdT: *CC 2-240-62*, 6v-7).

⁹⁰ In 1545 there were 228 persons in her court in Almeirim (*ibid.* 7v).

⁹¹ In 1545 her court in Almeirim comprised 189 persons (*ibid.* 8); in March, 1541, she gave birth to her son Duarte there (Rezende 61).

⁹² Pinho Leal I 148; see the map of 1632 with the names of the owners (Ajuda 41-6-5, 24a).

⁹³ *Sarmiento 31; cf. 39 87.

⁹⁴ Tellez I 47. In 1551-1552 the king had the cottage enlarged and a church built next to it since the house had been too small and uncomfortable (*Litt. Quadr.* I 571; Polanco, *Chron.* II 377). In 1553 the infanta Dona Maria gave them her adjoining house for further expansion (*Litt. Quadr.* II 442 461; Polanco, *Chron.* III 407; IV 553). The priests' house was next to the palace on the southwest side.

⁹⁵ According to Araoz in 1544 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 164). The map of 1632 has the woods, "Pinhais de Almeirim," come up to the king's palace and the house of the Jesuits. Ignacio da Piedade describes the spacious garden of the palace as he saw it in 1747, with its labyrinth of paths, springs, and high box hedges, planted in squares in such a way that they did not let the light of the sun pass through, and its silvan solitude (*Historia de Santarem II 341*). Little more than the name remains of this once renowned *Horta del Rey*, whose fruit and shade trees and vegetable gardens were still praised by Luis Cardoso in the eighteenth century.

⁹⁶ Tellez I 47. It lay a little to the southwest of the village not far from the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Calvario near the ancient well of St. Roch, which according to legend was built in a single night by Moorish women under the influence of a magical spell.

obliged to celebrate Mass there each day, hear confessions, and administer the sacraments; and the physician was required to take care of the poor sick even outside the hospital.⁹⁷

An hour and a half south of Almeirim in the quiet solitude at the foot of a hill lay the small monastery of Nossa Senhora da Serra,⁹⁸ where a number of Dominicans under a prior had the care of a miraculous picture of our Lady which shepherds had found long before on a mountain.⁹⁹ King Manuel had replaced the little old chapel that had been built for it with a small but ornate church and monastery.¹⁰⁰ In 1501 he had handed both of these over to the Dominicans,¹⁰¹ and he was represented in the painting over the high altar with his wife, Queen Maria, and their children. Ever since John III as a thirteen-year-old prince had first visited the monastery with his father, he had had a special affection for it. He had a simple house built near it, and if he and his brothers and courtiers were hunting in the neighboring woods and got caught in a rain, they would stop at the monastery. There they would receive a hearty welcome from the religious and find a fireplace where they could warm themselves.

Almeirim was an ideal place to spend the winter. Beyond the fields, vineyards,¹⁰² and olive groves, the ever green, sunny heather stretched out between the Rio Alpiarça and the mountains, between the swamps of Muge in the southwest and those of Alpiarça in the northwest. Here there were forests of cork oaks, pines, and firs, where heath-roses and lilies almost as tall as a man and other flowers bloomed, and where, because of the sandy soil, there was no mud and muck even in rainy weather.¹⁰³ Throughout the whole of December the skies were clear and bright. It was only on the twenty-ninth that the first rains fell, as the secretary Pero d'Alcáçova Carneiro wrote to his father Antonio in Lisbon.¹⁰⁴

The area was a royal hunting preserve;¹⁰⁵ and hunting and fishing comprised the chief recreation of the court. The men went out on horseback with the hounds to kill wild boars and stags with spears; or they hunted hares and rabbits or, with or without falcons, partridges and other birds that swarmed

⁹⁷ Pinho Leal I 149. The text of the *compromisso* of the confraternity of 1527, which was ratified in 1560, is preserved in the *Memorias da Villa de Almeirim* (Evora, Bibl. Publica 109-1-5, n. 10) and in Simancas, Estado Portugal: *Libros Inconnexos 2786*.

⁹⁸ On the monastery, now in ruins, see Cacegas 3, 6, 16-17 (in the third edition III 482-490).

⁹⁹ The statue was three spans (twenty-seven inches) high (Ignacio da Piedade, *Historia de Santarem* II 358).

¹⁰⁰ "Bonito aunque pequeno," Philipp II wrote in 1582 (Gachard 166).

¹⁰¹ Cacegas III 484-485 has the text of the deed of gift. In 1512 the monastery received a yearly grant of spices from King Manuel (TdT: CC 2-35-55); in 1524 it received a similar gift of 550 gallons of wine from the king's vineyards in Santarém (CC 2-122-56); and in 1529 John III made a further donation of four *moios* (ninety-two bushels) of wheat each year from the harvest of the *paúl* of Muge (CC 2-4-73).

¹⁰² Already mentioned in 1487 in the *Livro 11 da Estremadura*, f. 159v, of the Torre do Tombe (*Correio da Estremadura*, Sept. 22, 1923).

¹⁰³ See the thorough report of the chief hunter of 1632 (Ajuda 51-6-5, 25-26). In 1560 the *Comedia Eufrosina* of Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos praised the charm of the fields and the peerless, sunny heath when the birds came; Luis Mendes de Vasconcelos extolled the ever verdant land, which was never muddy even in rainy weather (*Do sitio de Lisboa* [Lisboa, 1608] 207). See Castilho, *Lisboa Antiga: Bairros Orientais 7* (1890) 335-337.

¹⁰⁴ TdT: CC 1-68-111.

¹⁰⁵ In 1499 two fidalgos were banished to Arzila for a year because they killed a wild boar in the royal preserve of Almeirim (TdT: CC 2-2-112).

through the heather and swamps, especially when they were migrating from north to south.¹⁰⁶ Besides the hunting, there was fishing in the Alpiarça River, which was rich in bullheads, barbel, and salmon.¹⁰⁷ Dom Duarte had been such an ardent hunter that to bag a wild boar or a stag he had frequently slept overnight on the ground out in the open.¹⁰⁸ His brothers had also been keenly interested from their youth in the noble sport of hunting boars and thoroughly enjoyed their stays at Almeirim.¹⁰⁹ "Anyone who directs his gaze at the green heather, cannot look at paper and ink," the infante Dom Luis had once written from Almeirim to the count of Castanheira.¹¹⁰

A strong sense of duty kept the king most of the time at home. As soon as the period of mourning at the court came to an end in December,¹¹¹ he patiently listened in the mornings to the many visitors who brought their complaints and requests to him. In the afternoons he held meetings with his council until late at night. He would then leave everything and go to the chapel for a long meditation before taking his evening meal or even a drink of water.¹¹²

On October 8 Rodrigues had written that he and Xavier had decided to preach when the king went to Almeirim at the end of the month.¹¹³ But the confessions of the courtiers and of those who had business at the court made such great demands upon them that they did not carry out their intention. Besides, even though Frey Francisco de Villafranca had stayed in Lisbon,¹¹⁴ there was no lack of court preachers.

After he had returned to Lisbon, Xavier wrote the following to his confreres in Rome:

I am letting you know from here that this court has undergone a great reform, so much so, in fact, that it is more like a religious house than a court. So many go to confession and receive Communion every week that God must be given praise and thanks on this account. We are so busy hearing confessions that even if we were twice as many we would still have more penitents than we could handle. We are occupied the whole day and part of the night solely with the people at court and

¹⁰⁶ See the report of the chief hunter of 1632 (Ajuda 51-6-5, 25-26) and J. B. de Castro, *Mappa de Portugal* I (1762) 438-441. On the day that Philipp II came to Almeirim in 1582, four wild boars and a stag were slain (Gachard 166).

¹⁰⁷ Luis Cardoso, *Diccionario Geografico de Portugal* I 341.

¹⁰⁸ Rezende 21.

¹⁰⁹ See the *Mirror of Princes*, which the tutor of the infante Dom Luis, who died in 1531, wrote for him in Almeirim (Sousa, *Prova* II 507 491).

¹¹⁰ Ford II 21-22.

¹¹¹ *Sarmiento wrote to Cobos that he had not visited the king, the queen, and the king's brothers to extend his sympathy to them after the death of the infante Dom Duarte until January 2, 1541 (83).

¹¹² **Oratio de laudibus regis Joannis tertii habita a P. Michaele Vanegas die 2 Octobris 1559* (Lisboa, Bibl. Nac.: *Fundo Geral* 3308, 368-369). In 1542 Martin de Azpilcueta had already described the king's life as penitential: "An non est poenitentia durissima regem, quo regio munere Deo placeat, populo sibi commisso cognoscendo, audiendo, iudicando, consolando et illi tanquam patrem filio et pastorem ovi consulendo duodeviginti horas quotidie impendere, nullum tempus luxui, nullum venationi, nullum vanis exercitiis, nullum spectaculis nisi quae pia ob pietatem exhibentur impartiri, aequo animo adversa ferre, sereno vultu turbulentos quosque audire subditos ac lenire?" (*In tres de poenitentia distinctiones posteriores commentarii* [Conimbrice, 1542], dedication to John III).

¹¹³ EX I 62.

¹¹⁴ *Letter of Fernão Carneiro to Dom Henrique de Meneses, Lisbon, December 19, 1540 (Evora, Bibl. Publica: 103-2-20, 44v).

without the care of others. Those who came to Almeirim on business during our stay there were amazed to see how many received Communion every Sunday and feast day. And when they saw the good example of those at court, they began to imitate them. If there had been more of us, there would have been no one who came on business who would not have first sought to settle his affairs with God before he settled them with the king. Because of the many confessions, we found no time for preaching; and we felt that we would serve our Lord more if we spent our time in hearing confessions rather than in preaching. Since there are many preachers at this court, we have not taken up this work.¹¹⁶

Manuel Godinho was one of the priests' penitents. He had followed the court to Almeirim and there made his first general confession to Xavier.¹¹⁶

From the windows of their house the priests could see beyond the garden of the palace and the green plain the walls and towers of Santarém rising up on the heights above the Tagus River¹¹⁷ an hour and a half away from Almeirim. Santarém, which Affonso Henriques and his courageous troops had wrested from the Moors in 1147, and the suburbs below it contained more than nine thousand inhabitants,¹¹⁸ and Xavier went there on several occasions to teach the children their catechism.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ EX I 82.

¹¹⁶ When Nadal asked him when he had made his first general confession, he replied in writing: "La primera vez en el siglo con el P. M. Francisco" (**Responsa Nadal II 24v*). The **Historia de la fundación del collegio de Sto. Antón de Lisboa* (1574), in its description of the priests' move from the Rossio to the monastery of Santo Antão on January 5, 1542, has the following: "Era en aquellos dias muy devoto de los padres Manuel Godino por causa de una confesión general que avia hecho en Almería con el padre Maestro Francisco" (ARSI: *Lus.* 77, 1v). The **Historia da fundação do Collegio de Jesus de Coimbra* (Evora, Bibl. Publica: 109-2-13, n. 16) states that Godinho had been won for the Society by a sermon of Frey João Soares [on March 5, 1542], by a general confession made to Xavier, and also by the conversations, which he had with him and others in Almeirim. In his note on the founding of the College of Coimbra, Antonio Franco gives the added information that this general confession was made while Godinho was staying in the palace of Almeirim (*ibid.* 109-2-13, n. 15).

¹¹⁷ Pinho Leal VIII 445-593 (and index 591-593).

¹¹⁸ In 1537 Santarém (the upper city of Marvilla and the lower city of Ribeira) had 2,300 families (*moradores*), among which there were 75 clerics, 20 fidalgos, 59 *cavalleiros*, 56 *escudeiros*, 51 *espingardeiros*, and 57 *besteiros*, for a total of 453 privileged persons, and 480 widows and unmarried women (TdT: *Gavetas 15-23-15*).

¹¹⁹ Francisco Dias de Carvalho, whom we encounter in Cranganore in 1581 (TdT: *Gavetas 13-7-21*), declared as a witness in Damão in 1615 that when he came to Goa in September, 1555 (read: 1553), all the people were waiting for the arrival of Xavier's body. In the following April, 1556 (read: March, 1554), he and a large number of distinguished men went to Bhatkal to remove the body. When the coffin was opened two years later [1556] for an official examination of the body, he had been present and had recognized that it was the same priest whom he had seen in Santarém. The body was so beautiful that he cried out: "He is alive! He is alive!" A priest who was present rebuked him and told him to keep quiet (Bibl. Vaticana: *Ottob. lat.* 467, 931v-932, summary of the process of canonization). He added that as a child he and some other boys had attended Xavier's catechism classes in Santarém (**Confalonarius 101v*). He was the forty-third witness in the process in Goa and not the first in the process in Lisbon, as the **Relatio Rotae Uditorum* of July 16, 1619, erroneously declares (Bibl. Vaticana *Barb. lat.* 2774, 14). According to his own account he was eighty years old in 1615 (he testified on July 10), and would therefore not have been more than five or six years old in 1540; but people in those days did not have a very accurate knowledge of their age. Antonio de Quadros, who was born in 1529 and entered the Society in 1544, and Miguel de Sousa, who was born in 1526 and entered the Society in 1545, were also from Santarém.

In Almeirim the priests received the welcome news that the efforts of their friends and benefactors, Duke Ercole and his brother, the cardinal of Ferrara,¹²⁰ the city fathers of Parma,¹²¹ the cardinal legate of Bologna,¹²² the archbishop of Siena,¹²³ Cardinal Contarini,¹²⁴ and King John III,¹²⁵ and the many Masses offered by the companions for the "conversion" of Cardinal Guidiccioni had finally prevailed. In recent months the stubborn and inflexible prince of the Church had experienced a slow change of heart and had come up with a compromise. The new order could be approved, but the number of its professed should be restricted to sixty until the new foundation had proved itself.¹²⁶ On September 27 the long desired written confirmation of the Society of Jesus was given in the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*. It contained some slight, non-essential changes in the text of the Five Chapters and authorized the companions to draw up a constitution. The fifth section was shortened by the omission of the references to church music and corporal austerities, as Ghinucci had desired all along, fearing that they would be attacked as novelties.¹²⁷ Ignatius sent this good news with a copy of the bull to Almeirim. The king therefore had no further need to write to the emperor or Francis I.¹²⁸

¹²⁰ Bobadilla 22; *MI Epp.* I 569.

¹²¹ Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 198-200. To the claim of the Society's adversaries that its ratification had been secured through the intercession of women, like Constanza, the daughter of Paul III, and the Madama, the wife of his grandson Ottavio, Ignatius replied in 1556 that this was not true (*MI Epp.* XII 277).

¹²² EX I 30.

¹²³ *MI Epp.* I 159-160.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* XII 324-326.

¹²⁵ EX I 53 67-68.

¹²⁶ Polanco, *Chron.* I 80; *MI Epp.* XII 277; see Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 288-297; Böhmer 258-261.

¹²⁷ Text in *MI Const.* I 24-32; with the parallel text of the Five Chapters beside it in Tacchi Venturi I, 2, 180-192.

¹²⁸ "No fué menester," Polanco adds to the excerpt from Rodrigues' letter. Tellez I 44-45 and Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 289 are thus wrong in having the king write the letters (see EX I 53). When did Xavier and his companions learn about the written approbation of the Society and receive a copy of the bull? Ignatius' letter to the lord of Loyola of October 4, (*MI Epp.* I 165-167), Xavier's letter of October 22 (EX I 67-68), and Laynez' letter to Ignatius (*Lainii Mon.* I 12-13) do not show as yet any knowledge of the bull. The king's letter to the pope of October 22 is also silent about it (CDP IV 359-360). There was no lack of couriers going from Rome to Portugal at the end of September or the beginning of October, since thirteen bulls were issued for Portugal on September 24, 1540, another on the thirtieth, a brief on October 1, and another on the tenth (*ibid.* 344-358; XI 447-455). Apparently Ignatius did not receive the bull of September 27, 1540, until a month or two later, since the letters with news and copies of the bull were not sent from Rome until the end of November or December. Laynez did not write from Piacenza to acknowledge his receipt of the news until December 2 (*Lainii Mon.* I 13), and Favre did not write from Worms until the twenty-seventh (*Fabri. Mon.* 44). Ignatius did not write to Pier Contarini about the bull and enclose a copy of it until December 18, 1540 (*MI Epp.* XII 324-326). Xavier and his companions therefore did not receive the news and the bull until December in Almeirim. There is a gap in the diplomatic correspondence between Portugal and Rome between October 22, 1540, and April, 1541; and the letters which the companions in Almeirim wrote to, and received from, Rome in the winter of 1540-1541 are no longer extant. But since they asked Ignatius for a number of things—a copy of the governor's decision, another of the Exercises, the India briefs, instructions on the reception of candidates, faculties for the ordination of Medeiros and for the use of the new breviary, Frate Cherubini's book, and the bull of ratification—it is certain that he complied with their wishes as far as possible, especially since Xavier does not mention these matters again in his

Another important decision was also made while the priests were staying in Almeirim. This dealt with the question as to whether they should go to India or remain in Portugal.

In their first letters from Portugal, Rodrigues and Xavier had already noted the possibility that they might be detained at court. On October 8 Rodrigues had again touched upon this point in a letter to Ignatius and had asked him for his opinion:

Master Francis and I are somewhat concerned that we may be prevented from going to India. It seems to us that the king does not wish this, since he says that we are much needed at his court. We had him questioned about this but were unable to learn anything. May God our Lord bring all about for his greater service, for he knows our will and our desire is to be where we can give greater glory to His name. Send us your decision in this regard. The king is acting in this way because he is very much attached to us, as are the queen and the king's brothers. But we are seeking the favor of that supreme Lord who has shown us so frequently that it is His will that we serve Him as He desires and not as we wish. We are told that we shall produce great fruit beyond the sea, and we are therefore anxious that no one should prevent us from going there.¹²⁹

Two weeks later Xavier had noted that the time for their departure was approaching. He had therefore asked that the requested faculties and India briefs should be sent as soon as possible,¹³⁰ and he had stormed heaven that God might direct the hearts of those who had to make the decision.¹³¹

Finally, after long and anxious waiting, the reply came. After receiving Rodrigues' letter of October 8, Ignatius had gone to Paul III. Since the pope had designated the two priests for India, it was up to him to decide what should be done; and he had declared that he left it all up to the Portuguese king. The two priests could therefore comply with the desires of the prince without scruples about breaking their vow of obedience to the Holy Father. But if the king wished to know his own opinion, Ignatius had added, it was as follows: Xavier should sail for India, but Rodrigues should remain in Portugal in order to reap the harvest there and to attract recruits necessary for the order by the founding of a college in Coimbra and in this way provide for the Indies.¹³² The king accepted this proposal: Xavier should go to India while Rodrigues should remain in Portugal.¹³³

But a new threat now arose from another side, and from where it had not been anticipated. It came from the renowned professor of canon law at the University of Coimbra, Dr. Martín de Azpilcueta, Xavier's cousin.

letter of March, 1541, and he received the permission requested for the use of the new breviary before sailing for India (see EX I 69 144).

¹²⁹ EX I 63.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* 68.

¹³¹ Teixeira 835.

¹³² Polanco, *Chron* I 94.

¹³³ According to Franco, Ignatius wrote to Dom Pedro Mascarenhas that if the king wanted to know his opinion, he should communicate it to him; and as soon as Dom Pedro had read the letter to the king, he immediately agreed with it (*Synopsis* 45). All this appears doubtful to us since Ignatius still did not know from Rodrigues' letter of October 8 that Mascarenhas was in Palma and no longer at the court, and the old sources have nothing to say on this.

5. DOCTOR NAVARRO (JUNE, 1540 - APRIL, 1541)¹³⁴

When Xavier, in the fall of 1525, was riding from the castle of Xavier to Paris by way of Roncesvalles, his cousin, Dr. Martín de Azpilcueta, had already completed his year of novitiate there among the canon regulars of St. Augustine and had been for nearly a year with his pupil, the prior of the monastery, Don Francisco de Navarra, at the University of Salamanca.¹³⁵ Since that time the two cousins had not entirely lost contact with each other,¹³⁶ though they had gone their separate ways. Since the days of Montmartre Master Francis, under Iñigo's direction, had chosen the apostolate as his ideal, imitating in this his poor and crucified King. His cousin in the meantime had gained one success after another. Since the University of Salamanca did not recognize foreign doctorates, he had earned another degree there. In 1532 he had obtained, after a number of years of assistant teaching,¹³⁷ the Chair of the Decretals,¹³⁸ and in 1537 the Chair of Canon Law¹³⁹ by a majority of more than five hundred votes.¹⁴⁰ Everyone, including prelates and university professors, flocked to his lectures. Since the auditorium had soon become filled, he had finally been compelled to hold his conferences in the great aula of the university, where some eight hundred, and at times, for special lectures, more than a thousand enthusiastic listeners hung upon his words;¹⁴¹ and soon the reputation of Doctor Navarro, as he was called,¹⁴² had spread throughout the whole of Europe.

The fame of the renowned professor of Salamanca had also reached Lisbon; and John III, who was eager to enhance the reputation of his new University of Coimbra, had addressed himself to his sister, the empress Isabel, and the emperor in order to secure him for Portugal; and he had gained what he wished. Charles V and his wife had obtained an order from Azpilcueta's superior, the prior of Roncesvalles, that he should go to Coimbra; and, after making dire threats, they had finally persuaded the stubbornly resisting university to grant

¹³⁴ For the following see the biographies of Dr. Navarrus by Olóriz 47-68 and Arigita 135-174 217-226; EX I 53-59 70-73; Mario Brandão, *Documentos de D. João III* (Coimbra, 1937-1939); and *Alguns documentos respeitantes à Universidade de Coimbra na época de D. João III* (Coimbra, 1937).

¹³⁵ Azpilcueta, *In tres de poenitentia distinctiones* (Coimbra, 1542), dedication to Don Francisco de Navarra; Olóriz 31 40; Arigita 105-108.

¹³⁶ In 1614 Martín de Azpilcueta, lord of the palace of Munarizqueta, who had inherited his palace in Barasoáin through his father Miguel II and his grandfather Miguel I, the brother of Dr. Navarrus, declared in the process at Pamplona that the doctor had told the king that Xavier had often written to him from Paris to Toulouse and from Rome to Salamanca (MX II 672). The statement is inaccurate since the doctor was in Toulouse from 1511 to 1521 and in 1523, in Salamanca from 1524 to November, 1538, and in Coimbra from 1538 to 1554. Xavier was in Paris from 1525 to 1536 and in Rome from 1538 to 1540. It may very well be, however, that they occasionally wrote to each other.

¹³⁷ In 1525 he was the substitute (*suplente*) for Dr. Tapia and held the *cátedra del decreto*. In 1528 he received the *catedrilla de cursatorias de cánones*, and in 1529 he was the substitute for the *cátedra prima de cánones* of Dr. Villasandino, who died in 1532 (Olóriz 40-41 360 366).

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* 45 362 366.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* 366 364 (in contrast to 46 and Arigita 117).

¹⁴⁰ Azpilcueta, *Tractado de alabanza y murmuración* (Valladolid, 1572), conclusio 6, n. 29; see Arigita 118; Olóriz.

¹⁴¹ Azpilcueta, *In tres de poenitentia distinctiones*, dedication to his former students; *ibid.*, *Commentaria in septem distinctiones de poenitentia* (Romae, 1581), praefatio and distinctio VII, cap. IV, n. 46; see Arigita 114-116; Olóriz 45-46.

¹⁴² John III calls him this in 1543 in a letter to his ambassador in Rome (CDP V 178).

their famous doctor a two years' leave of absence at the end of 1538.¹⁴³ Azpilcueta had become the first lecturer at the University of Salamanca to exchange his chair for that of another university,¹⁴⁴ for a doctor of Salamanca did not as a rule relinquish his post except to receive a rich diocese.¹⁴⁵

John III had known how he could reward the talent of his new guest. He had endowed him with the first Chair of Canon Law in the University of Coimbra¹⁴⁶ and an annual income of a thousand *cruzados*, a salary that was not received at this time by any other teacher in the whole of Europe.¹⁴⁷ Just as he had in Spain, so here also in Portugal, Dr. Navarro attracted a large and learned audience about his chair¹⁴⁸ when he began to expound passages taken from the *Decretum* of Gratian and the *Decretales* according to their theological implications¹⁴⁹ in his clear and practical, but nonetheless learned, literary, and pious, manner.¹⁵⁰

In the summer of 1540 Azpilcueta had to interrupt his lectures for a few weeks. His elder brother, Dr. Martín Mayor de Azpilcueta, had died on May 2 after naming him as executor of his will.¹⁵¹ He had therefore gone to Navarre¹⁵² and had returned in the summer to Coimbra¹⁵³ with the two orphaned daughters of the deceased and his nephew Juan de Azpilcueta, the son of his brother Juan.¹⁵⁴ On June 24 he had asked the king for permission to give in addition to his usual one-and-one-half-hour lecture in the morning a second lecture in the

¹⁴³ Azpilcueta, *In tres de poenitentia distinctiones*, dedication to John III; Olóriz 48-56 350-360 366; Arigita 135-141.

¹⁴⁴ Azpilcueta, *In tres de poenitentia distinctiones*.

¹⁴⁵ Azpilcueta, *De finibus humanorum actuum* (Venetiis, 1571), "Epistola apologetica ad Illūm, Ducem Albuquerqueensem"; Arigita 628.

¹⁴⁶ A letter of the king to the rector of the University of Coimbra of December 7, 1538 (Brandão, *Documentos de D. João III* I 126-127).

¹⁴⁷ Azpilcueta, *In tres de poenitentia distinctiones*, dedication to John III.

¹⁴⁸ Azpilcueta, *Relectio c. Novit. non minus sublimis, quam celebris de Iudiciis, pronuntiata coram frequentissimo, eruditissimo, ac maxime illustri auditorio in inclyta Lusitaniae Conimbrica* (Coimbra, 1548). This is made up of the lectures which he held in 1538 when he arrived in Coimbra, as he indicates in his dedication to the crown prince Dom João: "Haec relectio prima est, quam primo, quo huc appulimus anno, de suggesto pronuntiandam abhinc decennio conceperamus"; see Arigita 182-183.

¹⁴⁹ Azpilcueta speaks of the "praelectio ordinaria primae functionis in tres quos mihi Academia haec suo de more delegaret titulos" (*In tres de poenitentia distinctiones*, foreword to his former students). The lectures were on the *Decretalia* of Gregory IX: liber 2, titulus 1 (*De iudiciis*), caput 13, "Novit ille," which he printed in 1548; and liber 1, titulus 3 (*De Rescriptis*), capita 5, "Si quando," and 24, "Cum contingat," which he printed in 1543; see Arigita 180-183; Olóriz 167-170.

¹⁵⁰ See Azpilcueta, *In tres de poenitentia distinctiones*, foreword to his former students, and Arigita 113-116.

¹⁵¹ Cros, *Doc.* I 480; Olóriz 61-62.

¹⁵² Azpilcueta, *Commentarius in cap. Inter verba* (Romae, 1584), conclusio VI, n. 36; Arigita 213.

¹⁵³ Olóriz 62.

¹⁵⁴ The king's regulations for the Faculty of Law of October 13, 1539, contain the following provisions: "Ordeno que d'aquí por diante aja na dita Universidade as lições de Canones seguintes, a saber, huma lição de prima, a qual leraa o Doctor Navarro pela manhã aas horas acostumadas, que são no inverno das sete e mea atee as nove, e no verã das seis e mea atee as oito." Another professor was appointed for the afternoon lectures: "Os quaes lentes assi de prima como de vespera lerão sete mezes primeiros nas *Decretales* e dous mezes logo seguintes no *Sexto*, e o decimo mez nas *Crementinas* os titulos que pelo Rector e Conselheiros forem ordenados" (Brandão, *Documentos de D. João III* I 208-214).

afternoon for three years on problems from the *Decretum* and the *Decretales* and to compose a *Memoriale* which might serve his successor as a text.¹⁵⁶

The doctor had begun these special lectures in July,¹⁵⁶ when he learned from a Navarrese merchant in Lisbon,¹⁵⁷ Francisco de Mutiloa,¹⁵⁸ that his cousin, Master Francisco de Xabier, had arrived at the Portuguese court.

Azpilcueta had heard a great deal about the Parisian masters whom his cousin had joined and about the novelties which they had introduced into their Society, which were a cause of concern to many.¹⁵⁹ He had therefore been anxious for him to come to Coimbra so that he might speak with him about the new foundation and its institute. He had written at once to Lisbon; and when he did not receive an immediate reply, he had sent a second letter. Xavier answered him on September 28, thanking him for the great love shown in his two letters, and then continued:

I should be very glad to give an account of my affairs, especially of our manner of living, if we should have the opportunity of meeting each other, since no one could inform you better about them than I. May it please our Lord God to add to the many favors which I have received from His Divine Majesty that we may see each other in this life before my companion and I sail for India. I would then be able to give Your Grace a complete account of those matters about which you have asked me in your letters, since an answer cannot conveniently be given in writing without going into excessive detail. As to what Your Grace has observed in your letter, that, as commonly happens, our way of life is the object of much discussion, the opinion of men, Excellent Doctor, is of little importance, especially of those who pass judgment on something before they understand it.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ Dr. Navarro's letter to the king of April 2, 1542 (Brandão, *Alguns documentos* 27-29).

¹⁵⁶ Azpilcueta wrote on April 2, 1542: "Por San Johan [June 24] habrá dos años que otrecí a Dios y a V. A. de leer una litión extraordinaria en la materia spiritual hora fuesse Decreto hora Decretales por el spatio de tres años y dexar un Memorial. . . . Los dos años acabarsean, si antes yo no me acabaré, por Julio" (*ibid.* 27). The special lectures were on the *Decretum* of Gratian, pars II, causa XXXIII, quaestio III, *De poenitentia distinctio* 1-7, and pars III (*De consecratione*), distinctio I, caput 70 *Quando autem* (Azpilcueta, *In tres de poenitentia distinctiones*, foreword to his former students).

¹⁵⁷ According to his grandnephew Martín de Azpilcueta in 1614 (M II 672).

¹⁵⁸ We conclude that he is meant from EX I 72.

¹⁵⁹ EX I 58. In the dedication of his *Relectio cap. Ita quorundam de Iudaeis* (Coimbra, 1550) to Simon Rodrigues, Azpilcueta states that he is dedicating the work to him for various reasons and among them: "Postremo, quod meum erga vos amorem, observantiam, et pietatem, vel hoc munusculo testatam esse omnibus eo magis percipio, quo pluribus olim videri potui frigidius istud vestrum vivendi institutum ab initio probare. . . . Consentiebam enim plurimorum de vestro isto instituto praeiudiciis." In 1548, for example, he was opposed to the vows taken by scholastics which bound them but not the order (*Ep. Mixtae I* 537-542). On his later love for the Society of Jesus, see Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 427-428; 2, 615-618. He urged John III to hand over the University of Coimbra to them (*Ep. Mixtae IV* 487). He gave a glowing testimony to it in 1549 (Bartoli, *Vita di S. Ignazio* 3, 2), and in 1554 he called it the best armada that had ever been equipped against the devil (*Ep. Mixtae IV* 486-487). Ignatius, as a consequence, called him the father and lord (*señor*) of the Society (MI *Epp.* VI 201-202). Azpilcueta spoke with enthusiasm of the holy life and death of his cousin, "aquei grande siervo de Dios el maestro Francisco de Azpilcueta y Xabier" (*Manual de Confessores*, 23, 12; *Manuale Confessorum*, 24, 10); and when he was ninety-two years old he recommended him to his relatives as a model (*Miscellanea de oratione*, in *Opera omnia* III [Col. Agr., 1616] 534); see Arigita 223-226.

¹⁶⁰ EX I 57-59.

Xavier sent the letter through Braz Gomes, a young student from Santarém who wished to study canon law in Coimbra under the famous professor, and whom he recommended to the doctor.¹⁶¹

Azpilcueta had placed his two nieces, Anna and Maria, as postulants in the convent of the Cistercian nuns of Cellas near Coimbra.¹⁶² His nineteen-year-old nephew, Juan, attended his lectures as a student.¹⁶³ But in addition to his teaching and the writing of his *Memoriale*,¹⁶⁴ the doctor had other cares. From 1526, as an Augustinian canon of Roncesvalles, he had held the benefice of San Justo de Villar in Spain, and from 1528 also that of Nossa Senhora de Leomil in Portugal, which belonged to his monastery; but for a long time they had been alienated from him and had passed over into other hands. After making considerable efforts, he had succeeded in regaining the first possession. To regain the second he had been compelled to introduce a long and costly suit in Rome,¹⁶⁵ even though he had received help from the king who wrote on his behalf on August 3 to his ambassador in Rome and to Dr. João Machado, who held the benefice at this time, offering to give him an equivalent benefice for the one under dispute.¹⁶⁶ In addition to these cares, the long years of teaching in Toulouse, Cahors, Salamanca, and Coimbra, entailing one, two, three, four, and at times even five hours of lecturing each day, had sapped the doctor's strength. Although he was only forty-eight years old, he was already beginning to feel his age; and his thin, haggard face with its large, hooked nose and his bald head made him look older than he really was.¹⁶⁷ He was therefore glad when the king on October 25 granted him an annual increase of twenty *milreis* as long as he delivered two lectures a day so that he might pay an assistant to help him with his work.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* 58. On July 11, 1543, the rector of the University of Coimbra, Frey Bernardo da Cruz, wrote to the king about the solemn act "que nunca em Paris se fez auto mais honrrado," in which fifteen bachelors in canon law were assigned their ratings in the final examination. Until the ninth they were "de grande sufficiencia." The seventh place was obtained by "hum Bras Gomez, creio que natural de Santarem, mancebo segun dizem bem docto e virtuoso e de quem se esperava muito, mas nom lhe succedeo bem na lição" (TdT: CC 1-73-117).

¹⁶² Azpilcueta, *Addicion de la repeticion del cap. Quando de consecratione* (Coimbra, 1551), "Carta del mismo autor para sus sobrinas muy amada en Iesu Christo, Anna de Azpilcueta y María de Azpilcueta monjas del illustre monasterio de sancta Maria de Celas"; Cros, *Doc.* I 480-485 488.

¹⁶³ Juan de Azpilcueta entered the Society in 1545, went to Brazil as one of the founders of the Jesuit mission there in 1549, and died in Bahia after an apostolic life in 1557 (Franco, *Ano Santo* 26-27).

¹⁶⁴ On April 2, 1542, he informed the king that he had already written over a hundred pages of the *Memoriale* (Brandão, *Alguns documentos* 27).

¹⁶⁵ María Luis Larramendi de Olarra—José Olarra, *Miscelánea de noticias romanas acerca de Don Martín Azpilcueta, Doctor Navarro* (Madrid, 1953) 22-32.

¹⁶⁶ CDP IV 319-320 343.

¹⁶⁷ Already in 1542 he wrote in the foreword for his former students: "Quis item neget corpusculo huic iam senili et per viginti et amplius annorum laborem quotidie unam, duas, tres, quatuor et nonnunquam quinque horas praelegendo macie, quae mortem referat, confecto et capiti iam omnino cano convenire potius, ut quiescerem et laboribus antea exantlatis niterer et fruerer?" (*In tres de poenitentia distinctiones*). In 1545 he spoke in a similar manner about the last quarter of his life (*Commento en romance . . . sobre el capitulo Quando de consecratione*, foreword to the reader). In 1547 he wrote of his impending death in his swan song (*Relectio sive iterata praelectio non modo tenebrosi sed et tenebricosi c. Accepta*, dedication). In 1548 he calls himself a *senex*, while Buchanan addresses him in the same work as *venerande senex* (*Relectio c. Novit. non minus sublimis, quam celebris de Iudiciis*, foreword and poem).

¹⁶⁸ Brandão, *Documentos de D. João III* I 260-261.

The doctor answered Xavier's letter on the same day and took this occasion to speak of the many labors with which he was burdened because of his extra lectures. He also mentioned his longing to see his cousin with him at Coimbra and asked him to extend his greetings to the prior of Roncesvalles, from whom he had repeatedly received letters in Coimbra.¹⁶⁹

Xavier sent a reply to the doctor on November 4, thanking him for his letter. Nothing except actually seeing his cousin, as he had longed to do for many days, could have brought him greater joy and consolation. If his extra lectures brought him new work, then he should gain strength from the thought that he could thus atone for his past faults without entrusting this to his heirs. For many had to suffer in the next world because they had relied too much upon the executors of their will; and it was a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God, especially when one has to give an account of one's way of acting. God would give him the necessary strength, and they would share in the consolations of the afterlife if they endured the sufferings of this; and he concluded:

I shall write to the lord prior of Roncesvalles, as Your Grace has requested, through Señor Francisco de Mutiloa when he leaves for Navarre in twenty days. I shall put off the other matters until we meet, which will be when we least think of it; for the deep love which you have shown for me in your letters obliges me to obey you in this regard. I shall not mention my own affection for you. The Lord, who alone penetrates into the innermost being of us both, knows how dear you are to me. Farewell, Noble Doctor, and keep me as ever in your love.

From Lisbon, November 4, 1540.

Your humble servant in the Lord,

Franciscus de Xavier.¹⁷⁰

Francisco de Mutiloa¹⁷¹ was one of Xavier's cousins. He was the lord of the palace of Subiza, a village near Pamplona, which Dr. Juan de Jassu, the lord of Xavier, had bought in 1499.¹⁷² He had been born in the palace of Mutiloa¹⁷³ like the merchant Juan de Mutiloa, who had married Xavier's cousin María, the daughter of uncle Pedro de Jassu, the market judge of Pamplona.¹⁷⁴ On Novem-

¹⁶⁹ Azpilcueta, *In tres de poenitentia distinctiones*, dedication to Don Francisco de Navarra.

¹⁷⁰ EX I 71-72.

¹⁷¹ Francisco, alias Francés de Mutiloa, lord of the palace of Subiza is named as a deputy of the Cortes from 1522 to 1535 (Arigita, *Don Francisco de Navarra* 497-515). In 1501 he bought the local mill. The long dispute with the farmers of Subiza, which lay next to the palace, was arbitrated in 1559 by Doctor Navarrus in favor of the lord of the castle (*Muy Ilustre Señor. Ne scribam vanum, duc virgo pia manum. Por Don Joaquín de Rada, Dueño del Palacio de Armeria de el Lugar de Subiza, contra los vecinos, así nobles, como plebeos de el referido Lugar de Subiza, y habitantes de el* [Pamplona]. En la Oficina de Joseph Miguel de Ezquerro, Impresor de los Reales Tribunales de Navarra), pp. 3-6. A copy of this decision, which was printed in eighty-three pages between 1768 and 1783, but which escaped the notice of Pérez Goyena, is to be found in the Archives of the Ayuntamiento of Elizondo in an envelope entitled *Tres libros*. King Jean d'Albret and his wife owed the merchant Francisco de Mutiloa and other citizens of Pamplona, for example, the Cruzat and Miguel d'Espinal, Xavier's relatives, rather large sums (Simancas: *Patronato Real* 13-65). At the time of the march upon Maya in 1522, he contributed 100 Navarrese ducats (each ducat being the equivalent of 40 *tarjas*), amounting to 32,000 *maravedis*, for the loans which the viceroy wrote out for the citizens of Pamplona. In 1530 he was still owed 14,000 (Royal Archives of Pamplona: *Papeles sueltos*, Ser. 2, nn. 20-21).

¹⁷² See above, p. 9.

¹⁷³ Decision of 1546 (Royal Archives of Pamplona: *Papeles sueltos*, cajón 17-4).

¹⁷⁴ Cros, *Doc. I* 164-165, *II 166. In 1566 Pedro, the son of Juan de Mutiloa, erected the beautiful tomb in the parish church of San Cernin in Pamplona. It is still there

ber 24 he left Lisbon for his native country with Xavier's last greetings,¹⁷⁵ and on the same day the latter also left with the court for Almeirim.

While Xavier was in Almeirim, Dr. Navarrus made one last attempt to get his cousin to come to Coimbra, since Xavier had not been able to leave the court because of his many labors there. He wrote to the king and bitterly complained that his cousin had not visited him in Coimbra, which was so near the court. He asked the king to send Master Francis to him so that he might stay with him and manage his house. In return for this favor he offered to give two extra lectures and said that when he was finished with his teaching they would both go to India together.¹⁷⁶

But the die had been cast, and the doctor's proposal was not accepted. Nevertheless the king wanted to show him his favor and to keep him permanently in Portugal. On December 29, therefore, contrary to every precedent, he appointed him to the first Chair of Canon Law for life. He also gave him the right to retire after twenty years of teaching, including his seven years in Salamanca, and thus at the end of 1551, with his full annual income of one thousand *cruzados*; and he would only have to give his two substitutes forty-eight *cruzados* of this, that is, twenty-four to each.¹⁷⁷ Xavier wrote a farewell letter to the doctor, in which he observed that because of his age and poor health he was not strong enough for the hardships of the apostolate in India. He asked him to bear their separation with patience, and he consoled him with the thought that they would meet again in heaven.¹⁷⁸

today (Juan Albizu, *San Cernin. Reseña histórico-artística de la iglesia parroquial de San Saturnino de Pamplona* [Pamplona, 1930] 133-136).

¹⁷⁵ EX I 72.

¹⁷⁶ Martín de Azpilcueta, the grandnephew of the doctor said in 1615: "Escribió el dicho Dr. Navarro una carta al rey Don Joan, quexándose mucho que el dicho P. Xavier no le fuesse á ver á Coymbra, haviéndole escrito muchas vezes de París á Tolossa, y de Roma á Salamanca; y que era gran falta no verle estando tan cerca; y que suplicaba á su Alteza le mandasse al dicho Padre Francisco Xavier para que fuesse á Coymbra á ser guardián de su cassa y gobernarlos á todos della; y que le offrezía á su Alteza, que, si alcançaba lo dicho, que leería el dicho Dr. Navarro dos liciones extraordinarias, una de materia espiritual, y otra de la facultad; y que después, en jubilando, los dos juntos, tío y sobrino, se yrían á las Indias. Y con todo lo dicho no quiso el dicho Padre Xavier yr á Coymbra. Y que todo lo sobre dicho lo save por haberlo leydo en cartas y papeles del Doctor Navarro y Azpilcueta, tío deste que depone, el qual es heredero y successor de la cassa natiba y principal del dicho Doctor Martín Azpilcueta Navarro; y que esto es verdad" (MX II 672-673).

¹⁷⁷ Brandão, *Documentos de D. João III* I 267-269; Olóriz, p. XXXVI; Azpilcueta, *In tres de poenitentia distinciones*, dedication to John III. On January 15, 1552, the year Xavier died, the king accordingly granted him his pension (TtdT: *Chanc. D. João III: Privilegios 1*, 67v).

¹⁷⁸ In his most famous work, the *Manual de Confessores*, whose first edition (the edition of 1549 published by Azpilcueta is simply the work of a Franciscan improved in a few places) appeared ten days after Xavier's death (the *Imprimatur* was given on December 2, 1552), Dr. Navarrus speaks of the works of mercy, of the great needs of the pagan world, and, in later editions, published after 1557, of the saintly life and death of Francis Xavier, "cognatus noster et amicissimus," as he describes him in the Latin edition, and also of the great harvest which was calling workers to the newly discovered lands, especially to the Far East. He then concludes: "donde ya yo tambien (a mi pensar) oviera acabado esta mi peregrinación, si él (quando se partió de Lisbona) no me dexara por le parecer viejo, y flaco paralos trabajos que el llevaba concebidos, escribiéndome que quedasse ya la vista para los cielos. Amen" (23, 12), "scribens, ut absentiam patienter ferrem in terris, praesentiam sperans in coelis," as the revised Latin edition, the *Manuale Confessorum*, which was first published in 1573, reads (24, 10). See Arigita 223-224; Olóriz 369-370.

CHAPTER V

PRESTE JOAM (OCTOBER, 1540)¹

1. THE DIPLOMATIC MISSION OF DOM RODRIGO DE LIMA (1520)²

On October 8, 1540, Rodrigues wrote to Rome: "The king is taking generous care of us, even with books which we have but seldom read, since we have no time for this."³ But two weeks later a work appeared in Lisbon which must have been of great interest to him and Xavier despite all their activities. It was a quarto volume of 272 pages, printed in large Gothic type. The title page in red and black showed a bearded rider wearing a feathered hat and carrying a scepter. On the cinch of the horse's saddle was a globe, the insignia of King Manuel. In front of this mounted figure were two others with sword and halberd, and behind was a knight in armor with a globe on his helmet, crosses of Christ on the breastplate of his horse, and a banner with the five shields of the Portuguese coat of arms in his hand.⁴ The title ran as follows: *Preste Joam of India*.⁵

¹ Our main source for the following is Alvarez' report, since we want to show what Xavier could have known about the Preste when he sailed from Portugal. We have used the edition of 1889 since that of 1943 has modernized the orthography. Alvarez' account has been discussed and supplemented by Ficalho 135-1313, Kammerer II 295-339, and Coulbeaux II 65-89, all of whom deal also with the period before and after the embassy of Dom Rodrigo de Lima. The collections of sources in Beccari and Graça Barreto are also important. Streit XV contains the best bibliography on the documents that will be cited. An English version of Alvarez' narrative along with numerous notes and maps has been published by C.F. Beckingham and G.W.B. Huntingford in *The Prester John of the Indies* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1961).

² Alvarez, cc. 1-67, gives a full account of the embassy up to its arrival at the court of the Preste. Ficalho 225-252 gives the best commentary and determination of the route; see also Kammerer II 297-315, Coulbeaux II 72-75, and Graça Barreto, nn. 153-163. Augusto Reis Machado's edition of Alvarez contains a sketch of the route: *Verdadeira Informação das terras do Preste João das Índias pelo Padre Francisco Alvares* (Lisboa, 1943), p. XXVIII, but it does not show the crossing over the Wanchet River; the map in Kammerer II 304, plate 131, contains some errors.

³ EX I 64.

⁴ On the entrance of a house in the background is an escutcheon with a ship—the coat of arms of the city Lisbon. Silva concludes from this that the rider is King Manuel and not Dom Rodrigo de Lima, and that this is also implied by the sphere (IX 248); but there is still the possibility that the editor wanted to depict the arrival of the ambassador at the court of the Preste or his return to Lisbon.

⁵ On Preste Joam, whose empire was misplaced by men of the Middle Ages, including Marco Polo, in Central Asia, and the meaning of his name, see Constantin Marinescu, "Le Prêtre Jean, son pays. Explication de son nom," *Académie Roumaine. Bulletin de la Section Historique* 10 (1923) 25-40, and Renato Lefevre, "Riflessi etiopici nella cultura europea del Medioevo e del Rinascimento," *Annali Lateranensi* 8 (1944) 9-89; see also Ficalho 1-33; Kammerer I 273-277 and Gustav Oppert, *Der Priester Johannes in Sage und Geschichte* (Berlin, 1870). The Portuguese expression *Preste Joam* goes back to the Italian *Prete Gian*, and cannot be translated simply as "Priest John." In his Latin letter to Clement VII of May 28, 1532, John III wrote: "Inventum est iter, quod

*Reliable information about the lands of Preste Joam as seen and described by Padre Francisco Alvarez, chaplain of our lord the King. Now recently printed by order of the aforementioned Ruler in the house of Luis Rodriguez, publisher to His Highness.*⁶

In 1509 Queen Helena of Abyssinia had sent the merchant Matthew,⁷ an excellent linguist to Portugal. He had reached Lisbon by way of India in 1514 and had delivered a letter from the queen and a relic of the true cross to King Manuel.⁸ The King had sent an embassy the following year with a written reply

ad (vulgo Pretegyam nuncupatum) Aethiopiae Regem potentissimum ducit" (CDP II 393). In 1540 Goes spoke of "Preciosus Ioannes, quam vulgo Presbyterum Ioannem vocant," and explained the name according to the statements of Zagà Za Ab from the Ethiopian title of the *negus*, *Ioannes Belul*, that is, *Ioannes Preciosus*. This was erroneously made into *Presbyter Ioannes* (Fides 1311); but Polanco speaks of the *negus*, "Quem alii Pretejoannem, alii pretiosum Joannem vocant" (*Chronicon* IV 573-574)). The Italian *Gian* (Venetian *Zan*) is the old Ethiopian *Zàn* ("Elephant"), a title of the *negus*, as Almeida had already determined (Beccari V 3-6). As far as the oldest translations of Alvarez are concerned, the Italian edition of 1550 has *Prete Gianni*, the Spanish of 1557 *Preste Juan*, the French of 1558 *Prete-Ian*, and the German of 1566 *Priester Johan*.

⁶ *Ho Preste Joam das Indians. Verdadera informaçam das terras do Preste Joam, segundo vio e escreueo ho padre Francisco Alvarez capellã del Rey nosso senhor. Agora nouamente impresso por mandado do dito senhor em casa de Luis Rodriguez tiureiro de sua alteza.* At the end he has: "Acabouse no anno da encarnaçam de nosso senhor Jesu christo a hos vinte dous dias de Outubro de mile quinhentos e quarenta annos." Alvarez' original manuscript, in five books, on Abyssinia has been lost (Ficalho 57; described in *Hispania Illustrata II* 1285-1286); his manuscript diary of his trip is also lost. The Vatican Library has three Italian manuscripts (ed. R. Almagià, *Contributi alla storia della conoscenza dell'Etiopia* [Padova, 1941]), all of which are missing the nine chapters of the appendix (return trip and replies to the questions of the archbishop of Braga): Ms. 1004, the only one which has the five chapters on the trip from India to Massaua, served as the basis for the other two; the abbreviated Ms. 2202, dated October 6, 1540, and Ms. 2789, sent by Lodovico Beccadelli, the secretary of Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, on November 3, 1542, "three years later than promised" to his friend, the Parisian humanist Pierre Danès, from Predalbino, near Bologna. This manuscript is even shorter than the second and is somewhat disorganized, as he admits, but it has a few emendations and notes from the data furnished by the learned Abyssinian monk TASFÀ Seion of the monastery of Dabra Libânos and his confreres in Rome. This manuscript was used by Aurelio degli Anzi, *Il Genio Vagante* 3 (Parma, 1692) 89-96. Ramusio (204-274v) published a fourth Italian text in 1550 from two abbreviated copies, one in Portuguese and the other in Italian; he is the only one to include the author's foreword and his plan of the church of Lalibela. Streit XV, n. 1035, gives further data.

⁷ Matthew is always described by the Portuguese as an *Armeno*, which in the idiom of that time can mean *Armenian* or also *Chaldean* (Aramean). On him and his journey as ambassador, see the documents in Graça Barreto, nn. 27 (Helena's letter) 28-29 33-34 37-39 42-43 45-47 53 54 (confession) 55-61 63 66-73 76 80-82 84-88 102 106-109 111 113 115-117 120 122-124 132-134 135 (letter) 136-137 138 (Arabic letter) 141-142 144 147 (Arabic letter) 148-149 150 (letter) 151-152 158-159 217; see also Streit XV 660 684, and the accounts of Ficalho 191-203, Kammerer I 247-256, and Coulbeaux II 60-68 72-73. (On the meaning of "*Armeno*" in early Portuguese documents, see most recently Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "Armenian Bishops in Malabar?" *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português* 4 [1972] 141-148, and Roberto Gulbenkian, "Jacome Abuna, an Armenian Bishop in Malabar [1503-1550]," *ibid.* 149-176. Schurhammer is of the opinion that Europeans did not distinguish between Armenians and Chaldeans but called all who came from Upper Mesopotamia "Armenians." Gulbenkian, on the other hand, argues with good reason that at times Europeans did make a distinction between Nestorians and Chaldeans, and that Jacome Abuna, bishop of India, actually was an Armenian, as he identified himself in a letter "written on his behalf to King John III of Portugal" [p. 176].—Translator.)

⁸ Goes came to know Matthew at the court in Lisbon between 1513 and 1515 and saw the relic of the true cross kept by his brother Fructuosus. He translated Matthew's *Confessio* and Queen Helena's letter into Latin. In 1533 the translation and the letters of the second embassy were published without his knowledge in Antwerp under the

and rich gifts in order to establish diplomatic relations with this newly discovered Christian empire in central Africa. The embassy was led by Duarte Galvão, and it included among its members Francisco Alvarez, as chaplain, and Matthew. But Galvão had died in 1517 on the island of Qamaran in the Red Sea,⁹ and it was not until 1520 that the new governor of India, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, succeeded in landing the embassy, now under the direction of Dom Rodrigo de Lima, on the shore near the island of Massaua, which had been captured from the Moors. There the *barnagais*,¹⁰ the Abyssinian governor of the coastal province, met them with two hundred cavalymen and two thousand infantrymen and placed thirty camels at their disposal for carrying their luggage.¹¹

Alvarez described with remarkable insight their experiences on their way to Preste Joam. On April 30, 1520, the company, comprised of Matthew and thirteen Portuguese, set out from Arkiko near Massaua. They first crossed over plains burning with heat and then went inland up a dry river bed between high mountains. Then, passing through a trackless jungle filled with elephants, lions, tigers,¹² leopards, wolves, wild boars, gazelles, and a colorful variety of birds, they made a steep ascent into the high mountains. On May 5, the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, they came to the small monastery of Dise,¹³ which was only a mile distant¹⁴ from its large parent monastery of Bizan.¹⁵ There, soon after their arrival, Matthew died and was buried.¹⁶ They were warmly received by the Abyssinian monks¹⁷ and obtained their first impressions as to their manner of life. The crosses which the dark brown natives wore about their necks, and which the priests carried in their hands, showed that they were in a Christian land.¹⁸ Dom Rodrigo and his companions were detained here for a month, since the Preste had to be informed of their arrival and oxen and

title of *Legatio David Aethiopiae Regis, ad Sanctissimum D. N. Clementem Papam VII. una cum obedientia, eidem sanctis. D. N. praestita. Eiusdem David Regis Legatio, ad Emanuelem Portugalliae Regem. Item alia legatio eiusdem David Aethiopiae Regis, ad Ioannem, Portugalliae Regem. De Regno Aethiopiae, ac populo, deue moribus eiusdem populi, nonnulla* (see also *Fides* 1292).

⁹ On the embassy of Duarte Galvão, see the documents in Graça Barreto, nn. 74 88-99 91-93 95-144 (n. 103 contains the list of gifts); on the fate of the embassy after his death until a successor was named, see nn. 144-152, especially Alvarez' important letter of 1518 (n. 144) (see also Streit XV 677), and the accounts in Ficalho 205-228 and Kammerer II 256-259.

¹⁰ Bâhr-Nagâsh ("Ruler of the Sea").

¹¹ Alvarez, cc. 11-15. His account is supplemented by the *Carta das nouas que vieram a el Rey nosso Senhor do descobrimento do preste Johã. Impressa por mandado de su alteza* (Lisboa, 1521). This work gives a thorough description of the trip from India; the first contact with the Christians of Arkiko, the Bâhr-Nagâsh, and the monks of Bizan; and the appointment and dispatch of Dom Rodrigo de Lima. The same work appeared in a facsimile copy with an English translation in London in 1938 under the title of *The Discovery of Abyssinia*. Kammerer III 541-555 gives a French translation of it. On the embassy of Dom Rodrigo see also the documents in Graça Barreto, nn. 153-163.

¹² Alvarez always designates hyenas in this way; there are no tigers in Abyssinia.

¹³ Alvarez, cc. 6-9. The monastery of St. Michael of Iseo is meant.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 13. Bizan lies 7,129 feet above sea level.

¹⁵ He died on May 23, 1520, at the estate of Jangargara between Dise and Bizan and was buried in Bizan (*ibid.*, c. 9).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, c. 9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, cc. 11-15.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, appendix, c. 9.

porters had to be procured as replacements for the camels and mules so that they could continue their journey.¹⁹

On June 15 the embassy set out from Dise and crossed the mountains through forests of wild olives and other trees, where there were large bands of monkeys. After four days they reached Barua,²⁰ the capital of the province lying in the midst of countless Christian villages that dotted the green fields and meadows of the cool, fertile highlands,²¹ The rainy season had begun, and though it was not customary to travel at such a time,²² the Portuguese nevertheless continued on their way, leaving behind the *barnagais*, who was on the point of marching against the Nubians some five- or six-days' march away.²³ Equipped with beasts of burden and a guide, they set out and traveled for eleven days straight south over the densely populated, high plateau with its well-tilled fields of grain, numerous herds of cattle, and wildlife of every sort. Here Alvarez counted more than a hundred and fifty large villages.²⁴

On July 29 the party had some difficulty in crossing a tributary of the Nile that had been swollen by the rains.²⁵ Here they entered the territory of the *tigrimahom*,²⁶ who had sent five or six hundred men to carry their luggage. There was now a change in scenery. On all sides there were isolated mountain peaks with sheer rock walls rising to great heights. On the tops of these natural fortresses were numerous churches of our Lady and of other saints. For twenty days they continued their journey through a well-populated land with small villages perched upon the hills on either side of the road. On their way they passed Abafacem,²⁷ which was not far from Aquaxumo,²⁸ the cradle of Christianity in Abyssinia, with its beautiful old church and the palace of the legendary queen Candace.²⁹ They then passed high-lying Abacinete³⁰ and the monastery of the Paraclete³¹ to Belete, where they encountered caravans of three or four hundred beasts carrying salt in the form of bricks, which the Abyssinians used for money, from the plains to the mountains, and from there into the lands of the Moors and pagans living along the shores of the Nile as far as Manicongo.³²

Three days later they left the high plateau and descended into the hot, dry lowland to Manadeley, a great Moorish city within the territorial domain of the Preste. This was the main market of the country; and merchants from all the countries of the East, from Greece, Turkey, Tunis, Fes, Morocco, Cairo, Ormuz,

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, cc. 9-10 16.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, cc. 16-18. Debârwâ lies at an altitude of 6,292 feet.

²¹ *Ibid.*, cc. 19-26.

²² In the highlands the monsoon lasts from June 15 to September 15 (*ibid.*, c. 31).

²³ *Ibid.*, c. 30.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, cc. 18 31.

²⁵ The Mareb.

²⁶ The *makuannen* of Tigre ("governor" of Tigre).

²⁷ Yeha, whose church according to tradition was built by Abbà Afse, one of the so-called "Nine Saints of Rum" (Alvarez, c. 34; Ficalho 237-238).

²⁸ Aksum.

²⁹ Candace was the queen whose chamberlain was baptized by Philip near Gaza (Acts 8:26-40). The ruins are actually the remains of a temple from the sixth or fifth century before Christ with south Arabian inscriptions.

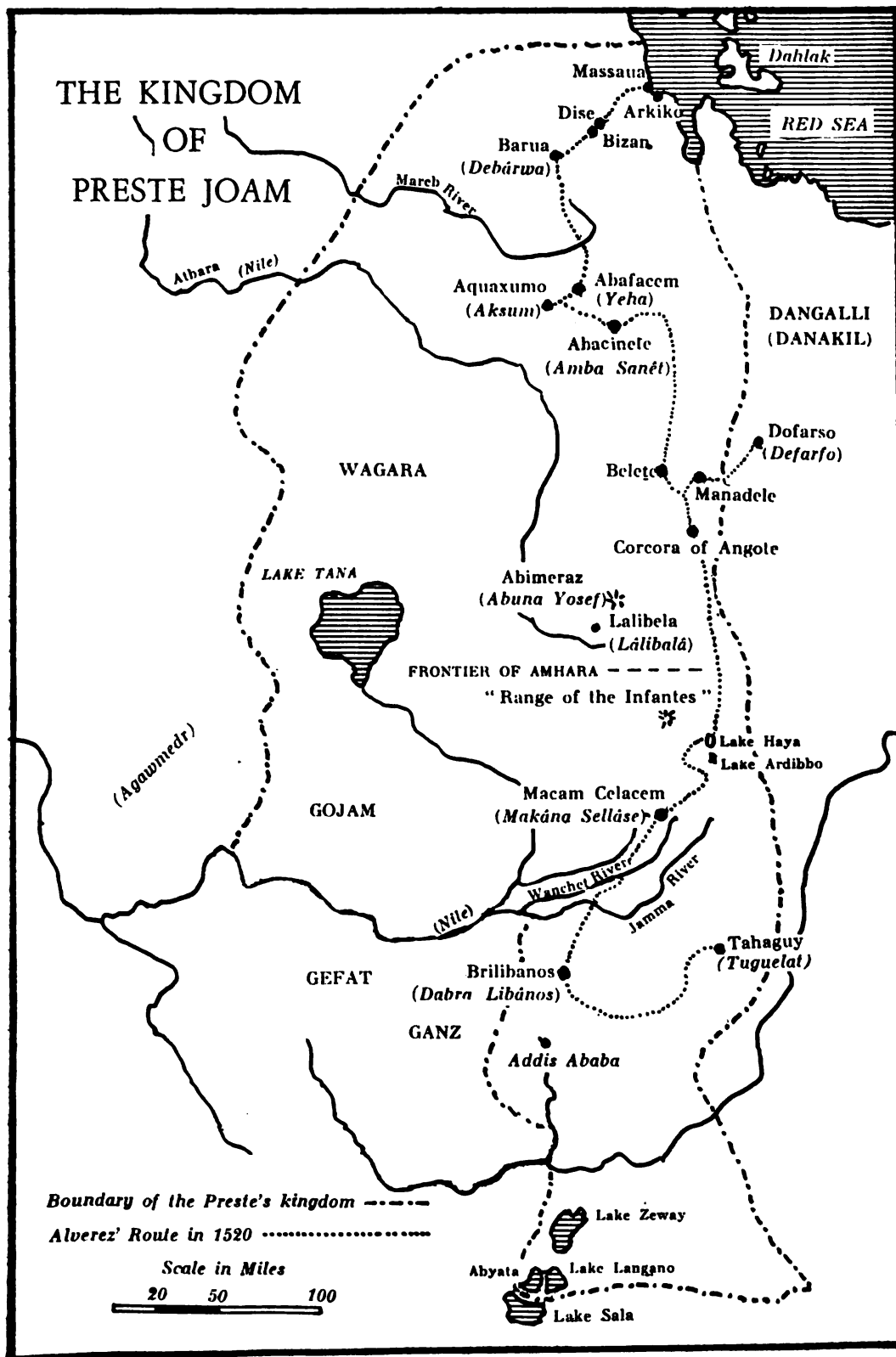
³⁰ Ambâ Sanêt in the region of Haramât (Alvarez, c. 41).

³¹ *Ibid.*, c. 43.

³² *Ibid.*, c. 44. The salt comes from the salt plain, especially from the salt sea of Alalbed, in northern Danâkil (Ficalho 240).

³³ Alvarez, c. 46.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 47.



Generated on 2019-11-01 16:28 GMT / http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015005659191
Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives / http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#cc-by-nc-nd-4.0

and the Indies here exchanged their wares for the products of the highlands.³³ In Manadeley the party's luggage was again placed on mules and camels,³⁴ and they traveled for two long days along the foot of the mountain range between high, dense, thorn thickets, ever on the alert, for they were passing through the territory of the Mohammedan Dobas. Among these enemies of the cross, no one received a wife until he had slain twelve Christians.³⁵

On September 3 they reached Corcora in the kingdom of Angote. Here they again left their camels and made another difficult ascent to the high plateau with its Christian inhabitants. They continued their journey across a green countryside where there were numerous villages, each with its own church shaded by lofty trees, and through fruitful valleys between lofty peaks with fields of millet and beans, and groves of bananas, lemons, and oranges. Here too were herds of cattle and great numbers of secular and religious clergy.³⁶

In the middle of September they crossed the frontier of the province of Amhara. On the other side of the large Moorish market of Acel they had a marvelous panoramic view from the heights of a mountain.³⁷ In front of him to the west, Alvarez saw the "Range of the Infantes,"³⁸ where the kings of Abyssinia usually kept their brothers and sons in prison. This rose straight up from the high plateau; and beyond it other mountains towered up one over the other in an endless expanse. Here Alvarez learned from his Abyssinian companions that one could travel for a month through these mountains, always in the territory of the Preste, in the direction of the Nile. The road then passed for fifteen days through mountain ranges and wildernesses inhabited by evil black men until it came into the country of the white Moors from Tunis, whose merchants carried woolen goods to Cairo and even to Abyssinia.³⁹

Leaving this mountain, the travelers, passing through broad valleys and along a wild mountain chain, reached the great church of the Trinity of Macam Celacem on September 26.⁴⁰ They then crossed a plateau, where there were large herds of cattle and sheep, to the church of St. George, which contained the tomb of the Preste's grandfather, and then to the deep gorges⁴¹ of the Anecheta⁴² and Gemaa,⁴³ tributaries of the distant Nile. On October 2 and 3 they traversed their perilously dropping slopes, crawling at times on hands and knees, and in constant danger of their lives.⁴⁴ Beyond these gorges was the province of Shoa with its renowned monastery of Brilibanos.⁴⁵ They next rode southward through windswept plains and poor villages until on October 10, five and one-half months after their departure from Arkiko, they saw in the distance the white tents of the Preste's camp,⁴⁶ for he was accustomed to move from place to place with his following of fifty thousand men and one hundred thousand mules, and had no fixed place of residence.⁴⁷

³³ *Ibid.*, c. 48.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, cc. 50-57.

³⁷ Ambá Sel.

³⁸ Ambá Geshen.

³⁹ Alvarez, cc. 62.

⁴⁰ Makána Selláse ("Trinity Town") (*ibid.*, c. 63).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, c. 64.

⁴² The Wanchet River.

⁴³ The Jamma River, called the Adabay before it joins the Wanchet.

⁴⁴ Alvarez, cc. 65-90.

⁴⁵ Dabra Libános.

⁴⁶ Alvarez, cc. 65-67.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, c. 87, and appendix, c. 9.

2. WITH PRESTE JOAM (1520-1521) ⁴⁸

Ten days later the *negus*, as the Preste was called in his own country, granted his foreign visitors their first audience.⁴⁹ It was an extraordinary event at his court, for a Christian embassy had never before come to Abyssinia. Over twenty thousand men had assembled to see the foreign visitors. Canons⁵⁰ and other priests in high hats, distinguished lords in elaborate robes standing behind four ceremonial horses decorated with tufts of feathers and diadems, and other distinguished personages with white loincloths and bare breasts formed lines to the right and left of ambassador and his companions as they rode through twenty red and white arches in the train of a hundred marshals, who walked before them cracking whips. The Portuguese dismounted from their horses and mules at an arrow's distance from a red reception tent and, following the custom of the land, touched the ground with their right hands. Sixty court officials wearing silk garments, gold necklaces, and lion pelts thrown over their right shoulders met them and accompanied them to the tent, guarded in front by four lions tethered with thick iron chains. Here they were received by four high officials, including one of the two *betudeti*,⁵¹ or chief justices (the other had gone off on a campaign against the Moors). The *cabeata*,⁵² the king's confessor and attendant at his throne, came out of the tent and in accordance with the usual protocol asked the visitors three times where they had come from and for what reason. After each response he withdrew into the curtained interior of the tent to give the answers to the unseen *negus*. He next set the gifts before his lord piece by piece in the same manner and brought them back out again. The chief justice then described in a loud voice each of the gifts which the governor of India had sent to the Preste and asked those present to thank God for bringing the Christians together. The crowds responded with loud and prolonged shouts of approval. The audience then came to a close without the Portuguese ever seeing the king.

This was followed by other, private audiences carried out with strict regard for courtly etiquette. They were always held at night and the *negus* remained constantly concealed behind a curtain while the *cabeata* acted as an intermediary, transmitting the questions and answers. The king wanted to know who had taught the Moors how to make arquebuses and cannons, whether the Portuguese were afraid of the Moors, and if the king of Portugal was prepared to send him weapons. He let the ambassador know that he wanted "the Franks," as European Christians were called in Abyssinia, to build fortresses in Massaua, Suakin, and Zeila and furnish them with churches and captains so that they might keep the Moors in check and free the road to Jerusalem.⁵³

On November 19, a month after the arrival of the embassy, there was another ceremonial audience,⁷⁴ also held at night. After they had waited for three hours

⁴⁸ On the following see Alvarez, cc. 69-84; Ficalho 252-262; Kammerer II 315-324; Coulbeaux II 75-85. On King David before 1537, see the Ethiopian chronicle in C. Conti Rossini, "Storia di Lebna Dengel, re d'Etiopia, sino alle prime lotte contra Ahmad ben Ibráhm," *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei* 3 (1894) 616-640, and the accounts in Kammerer I 363-365 and Coulbeaux II 56-117.

⁴⁹ Alvarez, c. 69.

⁵⁰ Dabtarás, called *Debeteras* in Alvarez.

⁵¹ Beht Wadad.

⁵² Akábe Saát.

⁵³ Alvarez, cc. 74-79.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 82.

in front of the door of the outer enclosure, the ambassador and his eight companions were led through the door of the inner enclosure into the reception hall. There, after they had passed through a first and second curtain, they found themselves before a tribune veiled by a third costly curtain. When they passed through this curtain, they saw in the light of glowing candles the Preste seated like some divinity upon a throne raised on a platform approached by twelve steps. He had a tall gold and silver crown upon his head, a silver cross in his hand, and was dressed in a long silk garment with wide sleeves and a rich brocaded mantle. A precious apron was spread over his knees, and a blue taffeta scarf concealed his mouth and beard, but from time to time this was lowered so that his whole face could be seen. A page with a second silver cross stood at his right, and two others, one on each side, stood beside the throne with drawn swords. Four other richly attired pages holding lighted candles were also drawn up on both sides of the platform.

The Preste was twenty-three years old.⁵⁵ He was of medium height and brown in color and had a round face, large eyes, and aquiline nose. His incipient beard and distinguished features gave him a majestic appearance. The ambassador and his companions stood at the distance of a lance in front of the Preste, and the old *cabeata* again served as an intermediary, delivering the questions and answers. Dom Rodrigo presented to the king the letter he had brought with him and the instructions of the governor Lopes de Sequeira⁵⁶ translated into the language of the country. After he had read them slowly, the Preste thanked God he had allowed a Christian embassy to come to his court, something which none of his predecessors had ever seen; and he declared that he wanted the king of Portugal to build fortresses in Massaua, Suakin, and Zeila, since otherwise the *Rumes* would fortify these places, a move which would be fatal for him and for the Portuguese. The ambassador immediately accepted this proposal and noted that from these fortresses they could conquer Jidda and Mecca and all the other cities as far as Cairo, and in this way prevent the *Rumes* and Turks⁵⁷ from sailing to Zebid.⁵⁸

The old *negus* had died in 1508. David, his successor, was only eleven years old at the time, and his grandmother Helena had been obliged to take over the direction of the government for him.⁵⁹ When he was hardly twenty years old, the young prince had marched at the head of his troops against the Moors on the plain and had completely destroyed them. During the battle a monk had engaged their leader, Mafude,⁶⁰ in single combat and had slain and decapitated him. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese embassy, his head was still kept at the court as a trophy.⁶¹ After the defeat of his country's hereditary

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, c. 82. He was eleven years old according to his own account when his father died in 1508 (*ibid.*, appendix, c. 7); according to Alvarez he was twelve (c. 113). He was seventeen years old when he met Mahfûz in Fatagar, six years before his death; but Mahfûz died in 1517, three years before Alvarez' arrival (*ibid.*).

⁵⁶ Text in Graça Barreto, nn. 154-155; see also *Alguns documentos* 441-445.

⁵⁷ The inhabitants of the Byzantine empire were originally called *Rumes* to distinguish them from the Turks in Asia Minor; but after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Portuguese called the Turks *Rumes* to distinguish them from the other Mohammedans, who were called *Mouros* (Moors) (see also Dalgado II 264-266).

⁵⁸ In Yemen.

⁵⁹ Alvarez, appendix, c. 7.

⁶⁰ Mahfûz.

⁶¹ Alvarez, c. 113; see also Kammerer I 364, II 273; Coulbeaux II 69-70; Beccari V 253-254.

enemy,⁶¹ the young prince had been able to devote his attention to religious questions, in which he had a great interest. He had Alvarez come to him repeatedly at night and asked him many questions about the meaning of the different vestments worn by Latin priests, about the primacy of Peter, the number of the prophets and of the books of Sacred Scripture, about the councils, the lives of Sts. Jerome, Dominic, and Francis of Assisi, about the exact date of the death of St. Barlaam, which was not included in the Ethiopian legends of the saints, and about many other things.⁶² He also gave him the tent of Emir Mafude as a place in which he might celebrate Mass. This had been a gift of the sherif of Mecca and had been captured in the battle with the Moors three years before.⁶³ The Preste had a great esteem for the Latin rites,⁶⁴ and, unlike his predecessors, he had only one wife.⁶⁵ His great dream was to destroy the Moors and Turks with the help of the Portuguese and free the Holy Sepulcher.⁶⁷

When the Preste left for the north on November 25, the Portuguese had to accompany him.⁶⁸ As they were on their way, he attended the Mass of the Europeans on Christmas⁶⁹ and showed them the church of St. George, which had been beautifully painted by the Venetian Nicolò Brancaleone. It contained the tomb of his grandfather.⁷⁰ They were also present when King David rode upon his horse into Macam Celacem with his face unveiled (he showed himself thus to his people only three times a year), a golden crown upon his head, and a silver cross in his hand. There he was received by over twenty thousand clerics and monks with rich ceremonial umbrellas and countless crosses.⁷¹ On the feast of the Epiphany they attended the solemn renewal of baptism which was held each year⁷² and a ceremony during which the *abima* of Macam Celacem ordained 2,357 priests and shortly afterwards a similar number of deacons.⁷³ They were also present for the consecration of the church to which the Preste had had the bones of his father transferred.⁷⁴

Alvarez also spoke with the old *abima*⁷⁵ Marcos, the spiritual head of the Abyssinian church. He was already more than 120 years old and had been in the country for 50 of these. He had a distinguished appearance and a snow-white beard. According to an ancient tradition his successor had to come from Alexandria. But the attempt to obtain one from there a few years before had failed.

⁶² David thus informed John III in 1524 (Alvarez, appendix, c. 8).

⁶³ Alvarez, cc. 77 81 83-84 90; see also Ficalho 255-257.

⁶⁴ Alvarez, c. 78.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, c. 84.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, c. 48. He later, however, followed the example of his predecessors and had several wives (Beccari V 61-62 269; VIII 335).

⁶⁷ Alvarez, c. 75.

⁶⁸ They set out on November 25, 1520, on the same route that Alvarez had taken (*ibid.*, c. 85).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, c. 89.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, c. 91.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, c. 93.

⁷² *Ibid.*, c. 95.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, cc. 96-97.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 99.

⁷⁵ The printed text always gives *Abima* instead of *Abuna*. The incorrect form passed from the edition of 1540 into the old translations. It is therefore found in Correa III 67 and in Ignatius in 1555 (*MI Epp.* VIII 688). But the Italian translators, who were not dependent upon the Portuguese edition, and who could get information from the Abyssinian monks in Rome, have correctly written *Abuna*. Ignatius had received a copy of the 1540 edition from Lisbon in 1553 (*Ep. Mixtae* III 399).

The Preste had sent two thousand ounces of gold to Cairo for this purpose. The sultan of Egypt, who was at war with the Turks, had taken the gold but had not sent anyone in return for it. King David's grandfather and great-grandfather had wanted an *abima* to come from Rome, and the old Marcos confessed to Alvarez that he asked God for only one favor, that he might let him live to see the arrival of an *abima* from there. He was the hundredth and, according to a prophecy, the next *abima* would be sent from Rome; the Franks would come across the sea from the end of the world and together with the Abyssinians would destroy Jidda, Tor, and Mecca and throw its stone into the sea and reduce it to a wilderness; and the Franks would become the rulers of the great city of Cairo.⁷⁶

3. THE LAND AND PEOPLE OF THE PRESTE (1520-1526)

There were many other things which could be read in Alvarez' book. He described the rich flora and fauna in the Preste's empire;⁷⁷ the dress and customs of the dark-skinned natives, where most of the men wore only a loincloth and a sheepskin over their shoulders;⁷⁸ its married secular priests and celibate monks dressed in yellow garments;⁷⁹ its countless villages⁸⁰ with their straw-roofed round clay huts;⁸¹ its churches with their stone bells, rich trappings, and paintings of the Mother of God and of the saints, among whom the dragon-slayer, St. George, mounted on horseback, was particularly revered. Alvarez also wrote of the monasteries perched on steep rocks or lying in deep gorges in the stillness of the forests, where travelers were warmly welcomed.⁸² Among these were the rich monastery of Bizan in the north, which had jurisdiction over three thousand monks;⁸³ the powerful monastery of Brilibanos in the south,⁸⁴ the seat of the *ichee*,⁸⁵ the general abbot of all the Abyssinian monks; the idyllic monastery of the Paraclete with its beautifully painted church;⁸⁶ the monastery of Iconoamelaca, where the monks and nuns⁸⁷ lived in caves. He also described the temple cave of Imbra Christus with its two hundred canons and the tomb of King Abraham, who had been converted by St. Frumentius in the fourth century, and the parchment chronicle of the church containing his life.⁸⁸ He also wrote about the ten

⁷⁶ Alvarez, c. 98; cf. c. 96.

⁷⁷ Alvarez, appendix, c. 9 and passim, for example, cc. 7 11 17 23 32-33 (locust plague) 57.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, appendix, c. 9 and passim, for example, cc. 8 20-22 30 35.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, appendix, c. 9 and passim, for example, cc. 8 51 57 64 93 96-97.

⁸⁰ Near Debârwâ Alvarez saw more than fifty large villages (c. 19), and from the heights of Temei "mais de cem aldeas grandes; e me parece que no mundo nam he terra tam pouoada" (c. 31). In Angot he saw "countless" villages (c. 50) and near Ingabelu more than a hundred (c. 55).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, appendix, c. 9.

⁸² *Ibid.*, cc. 11 76, and appendix, c. 9.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, cc. 13-15.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 66 (Dabra Libânos).

⁸⁵ Echagê.

⁸⁶ Alvarez, c. 43.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, c. 51. This refers to the double monastery of Atronsa Mâryâm in Amhara with the tomb of Ikuno Amlak, the founder of the Salomonic dynasty, who ruled from 1268 to 1283; see also Beccari II 501; III 16-17; Kammerer III 18.

⁸⁸ Alvarez, c. 52. This refers to the church of Imbra Christus, twelve miles northeast of Lâlibalâ. See also Coulbeaux I 154; Kammer I 253, plate 71. Abraham ruled from A.D. 328 to 354.

churches of Lalibela, hewn from single rocks,⁸⁹ and the more than thirty great obelisks, enigmatic inscriptions, rock thrones, palaces, and churches of the ancient royal city of Aquaxuma. This had once been the residence of the queen of Saba, who visited Solomon and bore him a son who became the founder of the imperial dynasty. Queen Candace had later ruled here, and it was her eunuch who had brought the true faith to Abyssinia after he had been baptized by Philip near Gaza some ten years after the death of Christ.⁹⁰

Alvarez also wrote of the customs of the Abyssinian church, describing in detail their Masses, at which the priests danced and sang to the ringing of bells; their processions and feasts; their observance of both the Sabbath and Sunday; their choir prayers, which they recited while standing;⁹¹ their rigorous fasts,⁹² their circumcision of boys and girls before baptism;⁹³ their annual renewal of baptism on the feast of the Epiphany,⁹⁴ and so forth. He also gave an account of the "Franks" at court, among whom were a number of Italians, two Catalans, a Basque, a German, and a Greek. Among them was the painter Nicolò Brancalone, who had been painting the churches of the land for forty years,⁹⁵ and especially his countryman Pedro de Covilham, who told Alvarez about his adventurous journeys and how he had finally succeeded in finding the long-sought Preste in 1492.⁹⁶

Alvarez also gave a detailed account of the system of government, the officials, the courts, the Preste's ceremonial and his way of travel, always with his four chained lions. He also described the Preste's treasures, his power,⁹⁷ and his provinces which Alvarez had not himself seen. He also wrote of the neighboring countries. In the east and south there were the Moorish kingdoms of Dangalli (the land of the *Dobas*); Adel, always in a religious war with the Preste; and Adea, whose queen had been restored by David to her throne. To the southwest were the pagan lands of Ganze, Gamu, and Gorage. In the west there were Damute, a gold-producing land, from which the best slaves of the Moors came, and the territory of the Gefates, who, it was said, had formerly been Jews. To the northwest was the kingdom of Goyame with its great lakes, the source of the Nile, and where there were Jews living in the mountains. In this direction also was the kingdom of Bagamidri with its rich silver veins.⁹⁸ It was the largest district within the lands of the *negus*. To the north was the country of the Nubians, where there were still fortresses with 150 old churches containing crucifixes and pictures of our Lady and of other saints. Its inhabitants had formerly been Christians, but for a long time they had been without priests

⁸⁹ Alvarez describes the churches in detail (cc. 53-54) and adds: "A estas obras nam foy outro Portugues senam eu, que fuy là duas vezes pellas ver" (c. 54). The plans sketched by Alvarez are in Remusio 228-232; Kammerer I, plates 66-70, has pictures; see also II 311-314.

⁹⁰ Alvarez, cc. 36-40, gives a detailed description of Aksum and the monasteries in the area. The main work on Aksum, *Deutsche Aksum Expedition*, was published in Berlin in 1913 in five volumes; see also Kammerer II 305-309, plates 43-48.

⁹¹ Alvarez, cc. 11-14.

⁹² *Ibid.*, cc. 14 109-111, and appendix, c. 9.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, c. 96.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 95.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, cc. 72 84 91.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, c. 103; cf. Ficalho 35-134 171-191 319-320; Kammerer II 10-17.

⁹⁷ Alvarez, cc. 120-127.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, cc. 129-136 briefly describes Danâkil, Adal, Hadyâ, Ganz, Gamu, Gurâgê, Dâmot, Gâfât, Gojam, Bâgamedr.

or instruction in the faith. During Alvarez' stay in Abyssinia they sent ambassadors to the Preste in order to obtain priests and monks from him, but they were referred to the patriarch of Alexandria because the Moors ruled their land.⁹⁹

Nubia was under the domination of the Mohammedans of Egypt, and in recent times conditions in the latter country had worsened for the Christians. The Preste had failed to obtain a successor for the *abima* from Alexandria since the sultan, who was at war with the Turks, had seized the money sent for this purpose.¹⁰⁰ Three years before Alvarez' arrival King David had sent a precious gift to the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem with sixty kettledrummers to accompany it, but on their return they had been forced to flee from the Turks who were marching against Egypt.¹⁰¹ In 1517 the Mamelukes in Cairo had been overthrown by the Turks, who were now ruling there and in Zebid in southern Arabia opposite Abyssinia.¹⁰² While Alvarez was staying in Barua, the annual pilgrimage consisting of a caravan of some 350 monks and nuns had set out from there in order to celebrate Easter in Jerusalem, but only fifteen of these had returned. The rest had fallen into the hands of the Moors, who had slain the old and sold the young into slavery. Since then the official pilgrimages to the Holy Land had been suspended.¹⁰³

Alvarez also described how he and his companions had been detained for six years in Abyssinia, since they had no means of sailing away; how he had wandered through the land from north to south and had spent eight months in Aquaxumo;¹⁰⁴ how the Preste sent a letter of thanks to the governor of India and to King Manuel in 1521;¹⁰⁵ and how, when he learned of the king's death in 1524, he had sent another letter to King John III and two to the pope. All of these were written in three languages—Abyssinian, Arabic, and Portuguese.¹⁰⁶ Alvarez also wrote that King David had appointed the monk Zagazabo (Zagâ Za Ab)¹⁰⁷ as his ambassador so that he might accompany the Portuguese to Portugal¹⁰⁸ and had asked Alvarez to present to the Holy Father his two letters of submission and a gold cross.¹⁰⁹ He also described how Dom Rodrigo de Lima

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, c. 137; cf. c. 30.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, c. 97.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, c. 127.

¹⁰² Kammerer II 237-243.

¹⁰³ Alvarez describes the pilgrims' road (c. 128). It went from Debârwâ along the coast by way of Suakin to Aidhab, then northwest to Rifa (Kuft), and from there down the Nile to Cairo. See the more precise details given by an Abyssinian pilgrim of the year 1522 in Graça Barreto, nn. 178 188, and Kammerer I 297-300.

¹⁰⁴ Alvarez, cc. 35-36. On the embassy after the meeting with King David, see also Graça Barreto, nn. 164-166 170-171 176-177 179-186 190 193-201 204-211.

¹⁰⁵ Alvarez, cc. 104-105.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, cc. 105 112 114.

¹⁰⁷ Zagâ Za Ab had been in Europe before this (Alvarez, c. 115); in Venice, where he stayed for some time, he learned to play the organ (Bibl. Vat. *Ottob. lat.* 2789, 111v). He therefore knew one European language in 1524, when he was appointed ambassador. He died in 1539, shortly after his arrival in Cochín, without ever seeing Abyssinia again (Correa IV 107-108). On him see the documents in Graça Barreto, nn. 211 220 229 232 234 237-238 244 248 251 283 and Q 80 148 166 529 869 4567 4980 (see also Streit XV 666 693); and the accounts in Ficalho 306-310 322-326 and Kammerer II 327-334; III 32-34. The *Bullarium Patronatus* III 285 288 also has two Arabic letters.

¹⁰⁸ Alvarez, c. 115.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, cc. 114-115, and appendix, c. 9.

and his companions set out from Massaua for India in 1526 and reached Portugal in 1527 and gave to John III the letters of King David.¹¹⁰

4. THE LETTERS OF KING DAVID (1521-1524)

In his book Alvarez gave the text of the letters of the Preste to the governor of India, to King Manuel, and to John III. He wrote as follows to the governor, Lopes de Sequeira:

I have heard of you that you are under the king and that you accomplish all the things that are entrusted to you, and that you do not fear the strength of the numerous Moors, ... armed as you are with the faith, ... and armed with the truth of the Gospel; and thus you lean upon the shaft of the banner of the cross. ... Thanks be to God ... that you have come to us ... with your present and peace, which you have preserved with such great effort, coming in your ships over the sea with the help of the great winds and experiencing various fortunes on sea and land in order to slay the Moors and pagans after making such great journeys. And those ships of yours are guided and directed wherever you wish, which is a marvelous achievement. And we are amazed that you have gone for two years across the sea in time of war and with such great toil, without resting either day or night. ... As St. Paul says, ... "Neither sickness nor suffering, nor hunger or thirst, nor sword or dagger, nor toil, nor any other thing is there that can separate us from our faith in Jesus Christ."

He then asked for God's blessing upon him and his soldiers, for they were martyrs who died for His holy name. He asked him for craftsmen who worked with gold and silver and could make swords, armor, and helmets; and he urged him to build fortresses in Massaua and Zeila at once, even before his return to India, in order to cut off supplies for the Moors in Aden and the whole of Arabia and in many other areas. He then added the prayer that was offered up for him and his soldiers as brothers in the faith in all the churches of Abyssinia. He then brought his letter to a close as follows:

When you come to destroy the Moors and pagans, who do not believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, I will send you help for the war and many people, supplies, and gold, not only to Maçua, but also to Zeila and Adel and to all the lands of the infidels, so that you may destroy the foul and heretical sons of Mafamede. With the help of our ho'y queen Mary, our Lady, I have destroyed them, and we will destroy them. You will come by sea and we will go by land in the strength of the most Blessed Trinity after we have prudently joined our forces!¹¹¹

In his letter to King Manuel, King David listed his various titles. He was "Emperor of Upper Ethiopia and of great lands, kingdoms, and dominions; King of Shoa, Cafate, Fatiguar, Angote, Baruu, Baliganje, Adea and Vangue; King of Goyame, Amara, Bagamidri, Dambea, and Vague; Ruler over Tigrimahom and Sabaim, from where the Queen of Saba came, and over Barnagais; and Lord as far as Egypt."¹¹² He then thanked King Manuel for his embassy, the first

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, appendix, cc. 1-6. On the ambassador's return, see also Graça Barreto, nn. 212-216.

¹¹¹ Alvarez, appendix, c. 2; also in Graça Barreto, n. 165; Beckingham-Huntingford II 476 481.

¹¹² Shoa, Gáfât, Fatagar, Angot, Dawârua, Bâli, Ganz, Hadyâ Wâj (near Lake Zu-

that had ever come to his country from a Christian prince. Previously all his neighbors had been pagans and Moors, foul sons of Mohammed and slaves who knew not God, and others who prayed to wood, fire, and serpents. He added that he was sending him the *licacanate*¹¹³ Zagazabo to explain his wishes, and Father Alvarez to the pope to render him obedience in his name; and he brought his letter to a close with the words: "We are united, one heart in the love of Jesus Christ, who is the head of the world."¹¹⁴

He wrote to John III in the name of God the Father, the almighty Creator of heaven and earth, and of the Son of God, and of the Holy Spirit, the living God: "I, Incense of the Virgin,¹¹⁵ King of Ethiopia, son of Nahu, son of the King by the hand of Mary, son of the King of the Seed of Jacob, of those who were born of the house of David and Solomon, who were Kings in Jerusalem." He spoke of the joy which he had experienced when he heard of the might of King Manuel and of how he had destroyed the rule of the Moors, the sons of Mohammed, and of how happy he was when he saw the embassy which had come in order to unite them both in a mutual alliance "so that we might together wipe out the wretched Moors, Jews, and pagans from our kingdoms." He also wrote that he and the great ones of his court and all the priests and monks had wept when they heard of King Manuel's death, and of how he had received the embassy with honor, the first which the Christian kings of Portugal had sent to him. The king should continue to send him embassies; for if the Moors, foul and wicked as they were, banded together, so should the Christians, as brothers, do so all the more. He therefore did not wish to receive any more ambassadors from the kings of Egypt and other kings who had earlier sent him embassies, since they only did so in order to trade with him and get rich at his expense. They loved his money more than him. He did not annihilate them lest they destroy the holy house of Jerusalem and the churches in Egypt and Syria. He grieved over the fact that he could not do this and that he did not have a Christian king on his side to help and console him. He was also pained by the fact that the kings of the Franks, who were Christians, were always fighting with each other. If he had a Christian king as a neighbor, he would not be separated from him for an hour. He then continued:

Lord King, Brother, always send me your embassy and write to me, for seeing your letters, it seems to me that I behold your face. The love that exists between those who are far from each other is much greater than that which exists between those who are near because of the longing which they have, as is the case with me, who do not see your treasures and always wish you well within my heart, as our Lord says in the Gospel: "Where your treasure is, there is your heart." Such is my heart for you, who are my treasure; and make me your treasure and unite your heart with mine! . . . See to it, my lord, that you do not become weary with fighting against the Moors and pagans, for with the help of the Lord God you will destroy them. Do not say that you have less strength than your father, for you have much, and God will help you. I have men, gold, and supplies as abundant as the sands of the sea

wây), Gojam, Amhara, Bâgamedr, Dambyâ, Wâg, Tigre Makuannen, Sabai (two days' journey from Aksum) and Bâhr-Nagâsh.

¹¹³ *Lika kâhnât* ("archpriest").

¹¹⁴ Alvarez, appendix, c. 7; also in *Bull. Patronatus* I 292.

¹¹⁵ King David's baptismal name was *Lebna Dengel* ("Incense of the Virgin").

and the stars of heaven. United together we shall destroy all the kingdoms of the Moors!¹¹⁶

King David had reason for saying that he had no need of people, gold, or food. "In two days he can gather 100,000 soldiers for war," Alvarez wrote of the Preste;¹¹⁷ and Pedro de Covilham had told him that a league from his house, near the pass through the gorges of Gemaa and Anecheta, there was one of the king's treasure caves with enough gold in it to buy the whole world.¹¹⁸ But despite all this, the Preste's undeveloped country had to depend entirely upon Moslem merchants, who were in complete control of trade and industry. The king lacked craftsmen of every kind and officials to educate his people. He needed in particular modern weapons for his soldiers. Swords and breastplates were rare even among the aristocrats. Most of his men were merely equipped with bows, arrows, and lances. At his court Alvarez found only fourteen arquebuses and not a single cannon.¹¹⁹ In his letter to the governor of India, King David had therefore asked for men who could make swords, armor, and helmets. In his letter to John III he repeated this request:

Hear, my lord Brother, another word: I ask you to send me craftsmen who can paint pictures of the saints and print books and make swords and weapons of all sorts for battle, and stonemasons and carpenters, and men who can prepare medicines, and physicians and surgeons to heal the sick, and craftsmen who can beat out gold and work it, and goldsmiths and silversmiths, and men who can extract gold, silver, and also copper from their veins, and men who can make sheet lead and earthenware, and masters of all the crafts necessary for an empire, and masters in the making of arquebuses! Help me in this which I beg of you, as a brother helps a brother, and God will help you! ... Peace be with you! And I embrace you with a holy embrace, and so I embrace the men of your holy Council of the Kingdom of Portugal, and the archbishops and bishops, and priests and deacons, men and women. May the grace of God and the blessing of our Lady, the Mother of God, be with you and with all! Amen.¹²⁰

5. ISLAM'S REPLY (1527-1540)

When Alvarez' book appeared in Lisbon at the end of October, 1540, its author was no longer alive. He had reached Portugal in 1527, and at that time war was raging in France and Italy. In May of this year the imperial troops had stormed Rome and forced the pope to flee.¹²¹ It was not until June, 1532, that John III had sent Dom Martinho de Portugal as his ambassador to the papal court with instructions to present Alvarez to the pope. He in turn was to give the Holy Father a detailed account about Preste Joam and urgently entreat him

¹¹⁶ Alvarez, appendix, c. 8; also in *Bull. Patronatus* I 295; Beckingham-Huntingford II 504.

¹¹⁷ Alvarez, c. 126.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, c. 127.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, appendix, c. 9.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, appendix, c. 8; Beckingham-Huntingford II 505-506.

¹²¹ In his book, which was completed before May 20, 1532 (CDP II 353), and in which the last date given is July 30, 1529, Alvarez reports that John III put off his trip to Rome because of the war in France (appendix, c. 9). On him after his return, see Graça Barreto, nn. 218-220 227-228 230 232 257-259, and Ficalho 228-306.

to thank this mighty leader, who after so long a time had been finally found, for his letter in a most solemn manner, if possible with a "golden bull." He was also to ask the pope to write to the old "patriarch" and to the other dignitaries of the empire. The pope should then send him back at once to Portugal with these letters so that the king might send the Preste the craftsmen he had requested with the next fleet, since this would contribute to the spread of the faith and the destruction of the Mohammedans.¹²² In addition to this, the Portuguese king had also written a personal letter to the pope to this same effect.¹²³ On January 29, 1533, Dom Martinho delivered the letter of John III and copies of the letters from King David to the Portuguese kings to Clement VII in a solemn audience in the presence of the emperor in Bologna. Alvarez gave him the golden cross of the *negus* and his two letters of submission.¹²⁴ But the pope died in September, 1534, and his successor, Paul III, did not believe the stories about Preste Joam. At least this is what Dom Martinho wrote from Rome in September, 1535.¹²⁵ Actually, the ambassador, who was also betraying his king in the matter of the Inquisition, had shoved Alvarez aside, consigned him to oblivion, and left him to die in Rome¹²⁶ while he furthered his own ambitious plans at the Roman court. Despite his own illegitimate birth, he wanted to obtain if possible his own appointment as cardinal legate to the Preste and then, after receiving the honor, to remain in Portugal on some pretext or other.¹²⁷

Zagâ Za Ab, the Zagazabo in Alvarez' book, had been detained in Lisbon, where Diogo Ortiz de Vilhegas, the bishop of San Thomé, and Dr. Pedro Margalho, lecturer in theology at the University of Lisbon, held several disputations with him on the teachings of the Abyssinians. In 1534 the ambassador wrote a treatise on these teachings for Damião de Goes, which the latter published in a Latin translation at Louvain in September, 1540, along with the letters of Queen Helena and King David.¹²⁸

While Alvarez in Rome and Zagâ Za Ab in Lisbon were vainly urging their return, and John III could not force himself to take the decisive step, the Moslems had not remained idle. The embassy of the Portuguese king to the Preste had shown them the threat which would arise from a union of these powerful Christian rulers, and this had to be prevented at any cost. Dom Rodrigo had therefore hardly left the country when Ahmed Granhe, the twenty-one-year-

¹²² See the instructions for Dom Martinho, dated May 20, 1532, in Alcáçova Carneiro 83-89 and, from these in CDP II 349-355. Graça Barreto, n. 218, gives a text which differs in some places (from the lost original?).

¹²³ CDP II 392-394.

¹²⁴ Goes, *Fides* 1293-1301, with the Latin text of the *negus'* two letters to the pope; and from here also in Graça Barreto, nn. 191-192 220, and Ramusio 275-280.

¹²⁵ CDP III 242.

¹²⁶ He died in Rome (*ibid.* VI 69 and *Bibl. Vat. Ottob. lat.* 2789, 112) before his book was printed in 1540, since the editor does not refer to him as still living, and probably before the arrival of Bermudez in Rome in 1536, since he too makes no mention of meeting him. On March 17, 1535, Dom Henrique de Meneses wrote to the king from Rome that it was a shame that Alvarez had been put off for so long, and inexcusable that those people (the Abyssinians) had not been given the support they had requested, and he concluded: "Pol amor de Deos, senhor, que o mande vosa alteza hyr de qua, que se quer hyr ja sem licença, que he muito velho, e chora, e nom quer morrer qua sem fazer nynhum seruyço a Deos nem a vosa alteza" (CDP III 216).

¹²⁷ Cardinal Santiquattro (Antonio Pucci) wrote this to the king on December 17, 1535 (*ibid.* 280); cf. Ficalho 297-303.

¹²⁸ Goes, *Fides* 1302-1312; the *confessio* of Zagâ Za Ab is given from this source in *Bull. Patronatus* I 306-316.

old son-in-law of Mahfûz, the emir of Harar, who had died in 1517 fighting against the Preste, presented himself as a champion of the faith to the *imam* of the fanatical tribe of Adel and in 1527 called for a holy war against the Christians. Supported by his fellow Moslems in Arabia and by the Turks in Zebid, he had since then marched every year into Abyssinia at the end of the rainy season. All the courage of the Christian troops armed with lances, bows and arrows, and a few swords proved to be of little avail against the arquebuses and cannons of the Moors and Turks. In 1528 Granhe had completely defeated the army of the Preste, and in a second victory in 1530 he had slain nearly all of the nobility. Shoa, Angot, Amhara, and Tigre were overrun. Churches, monasteries, and villages were plundered and burned, including even Dabra Libânos and the holy city of Aksum. The women were carried off into slavery and the men slain or forced to accept Islam. Many prominent individuals deserted the Preste and went over to the side of the enemy. The waves of Islam were bound to close over the last Christian island in Africa, and this was to disappear from the face of the earth.¹²⁹

In his extreme need King David was driven from place to place like a wild animal, and he was no longer sure of his own subjects. In 1535 he sent the physician João Bermudez, who had been in the embassy of Dom Rodrigo in 1526 and had remained in the country, with letters to the pope and to John III in order to make one last desperate attempt to obtain help from his Christian brothers. Bermudez arrived in Rome with this request in 1536¹³⁰ and reached Portugal in the spring of 1537.¹³¹ The king was now at last aroused. Bermudez' report opened his eyes to the seriousness of the danger, especially when news came from Rome in the fall that the Grand Turk was equipping a fleet in Suez in order to lay siege to the Portuguese fortress of Diu in alliance with the mighty

¹²⁹ The main source for the campaign of Granhe from 1527 to 1537 is the chronicle of a comrade in arms entitled *Futûh al-Habasha* ("The Conquest of Abyssinia"), edited by R. Basset, *Histoire de la conquête de l'Abyssinie (XVI^e siècle), par Chihâb eddin Ahmed. Texte arabe avec une traduction française et des notes* (Paris, 1897-1901). This is supplemented by the Ethiopian sources: the above-mentioned chronicle of Lebna Dengel (ed. Conti Rossini, 1894); F. Béguinot, *La Cronaca Abbreviata d'Abissinia, nuova versione dall'etiopico e commento* (Roma, 1901); C. Conti Rossini, "L'autobiografia di Pâwlos monaco abissino del secolo XVI," *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei* 27 (1918) 279-296; and E. Cerulli, *Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia* (Roma, 1931). More recent accounts are given in Ficalho 317-319; Kammerer III 11-36; Coulbeaux II 97-105 113-119; and Luca dei Sabelli, *Storia di Abissinia* 2 (Roma, 1935) 55-111. In 1541 Dom João de Castro attributed the defection of many prominent individuals to the excessive severity of Lebna Dengel (*Roteiro atee Soez* [Paris, 1833] 67-68). Alvarez gives a few proofs of this (cc. 118-119).

¹³⁰ On Bermudez see the documents in Graça Barreto, nn. 148-150 231 235-236 239 241-244 247 252-254; Q 195 367 666 2039-2040 2356 2459 6001; and his autobiography, *Breve Relação da embaixada que o patriarcha D. João Bermudez trouxe do imperador da Ethiopia chamado vulgarmente Preste João* (Lisboa, 1875), which must be read with great care. See also the accounts in Ficalho 315-322; Kammerer III 37-62; Coulbeaux II 104-112; and, especially, M. Chaîne, S.J., "Le Patriarche Jean Bermudez d'Éthiopie (1540-1570)," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 4 (1909) 321-329; Francisco Rodriguez, "Mestre João Bermudes," *Revista de Historia* 8 (1919) 119-137; S. Euringer, "Der Pseudopatriarch Johannes Bermudes," *Theologie und Glaube* 17 (1925) 226-256. Streit XV, n. 1796 (see also 656 671), gives further data. Bermudez returned to Abyssinia with Dom Christovão da Gama but had a falling out there with David's successor Claudius. He left the country in 1556 and went to India. From there he went to the island of St. Helena and finally, in 1559, to Lisbon, where he published his autobiography in 1565 and died in 1570.

¹³¹ Q 195.

sultan of Cambay¹³² and to wrest all of India from the Portuguese. A further report came from Venice four months later¹³³ to the effect that he was fitting out eighty ships for this purpose. All of India was therefore at stake, as John III wrote in his instructions to his ambassador Dom Pedro Mascarenhas at the end of 1537.¹³⁴

On April 6, 1538, an experienced soldier, Dom Garcia de Noronha, set sail as viceroy at the king's request with fifteen ships¹³⁵ and more than two thousand soldiers, including more than eight hundred *fidalgos* and *cavalleiros* in order to defend India¹³⁶ and to give strong support to Preste Joam.¹³⁷ Stricken with a sudden illness, Bermudez was not able to sail with Zagâ Za Ab on the India fleet until the following year, 1539.¹³⁸ He took with him a letter of the cardinal infante to the Preste in which he referred to circumcision, the celebration of the Sabbath, and annual rebaptism as abuses.¹³⁹ He also brought along an order from the king to build a fortress at the entrance of the Red Sea¹⁴⁰ and, after obtaining information, to support the two ambassadors and the Preste with all the strength that the threatened condition of India would allow.¹⁴¹

In the letters which John III sent to the viceroy with the fleet in March, 1540, he had again insisted that he should help the Preste at any cost. He should send the ambassador back to him and have him take with him everything that King David had requested, especially craftsmen of every sort, including those skilled in making weapons and artillery.¹⁴² In this same year King John had also requested a number of briefs from Rome. Among these was one for Xavier and Rodrigues in which the pope recommended the two nuncios to King David.¹⁴³

¹³² CDP III 396-397.

¹³³ Q 209.

¹³⁴ CDP III 414-415.

¹³⁵ According to Figueiredo Falcão fifteen ships set sail (158); according to Correa ten of these reached their destination, an eleventh turned back, and a twelfth spent the winter in Ormuz (IV 9-10).

¹³⁶ Correa IV 10-11.

¹³⁷ Bermudez 6-7; Correa IV 139-140.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* 7-8. Zagâ Za Ab sailed with the same fleet on the *Rainha* under Captain Simão Sodré (Correa IV 107-108).

¹³⁹ Beccari X 5-18.

¹⁴⁰ Sousa, *Annaes* 403.

¹⁴¹ On March 19, 1539, five days before the departure of the India fleet, John III described the seriousness of the danger to his ambassador in Rome, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas (CDP IV 14-17). In a letter to Dom João de Castro on the twenty-second, he affirmed his zeal for the spread of the faith (Q 368). According to Bermudez the king ordered the viceroy Noronha to first get the assurance of the Preste that he had sent Bermudez as his ambassador and that he had requested military help (7-9).

¹⁴² Correa IV 142.

¹⁴³ The minutes of the brief are dated October 4, 1540 (MX II 127).

CHAPTER VI

THE INDIA FLEET (JANUARY—MARCH, 1541)

1. THE BATTLE OVER THE SPICE TRADE (OCTOBER, 1540—JANUARY, 1541)

India was the source of a good many worries to John III. Next to the defense and spread of the faith, the pepper and spice trade had been the main reason why his predecessors had exerted themselves so strenuously to find a sea route to India. But in addition to great profits, the trade with India also brought great losses. Solely for the fleet which he sent there in 1538, he had to borrow a million pieces of gold;¹ and of the six ships which sailed from Cochin at the beginning of 1540, only five had returned at the end of the year; the sixth, under the command of Pero Lopes de Sousa, the brother of Martim Affonso de Sousa, the largest part of whose cargo belonged to the king, had disappeared.² In addition to this there were the losses inflicted by the French pirates, the heavy expenses in North Africa, where his fortresses were in constant battle with the Moors, and in India, where the growing strength of the Turks demanded ever greater efforts. All these cares had burdened the king with heavy debts. In Flanders alone, where he had his agency for the sale of spices, these amounted to 900,000 ducats, and this debt increased at an extraordinary rate because of the high rate of interest. At the beginning of October, 1540, John III had therefore found it necessary to close a contract with a consortium of merchants, mostly from Burgos. According to the terms of this contract, he handed over to them the spices coming from India during the next three years. It was the largest contract that had been closed in Portugal up to this time, and it involved a sum of 1,800,000 ducats, as Sarmiento wrote to Cobos on October 11.³

Rivalry with Spain had also contributed to John III's financial distress. In 1493 Alexander VI had divided the newly discovered world between Spain and Portugal through his bull of demarcation, according to which Spain received the West and Portugal received the East and Brazil. In the Treaty of Tordesillas signed the following year, the two countries had settled upon an exact dividing line 370 leagues west of Cape Verde.⁴ But the question as to whether the fabulous and highly desired Spice Islands, or Moluccas, lay to the east or the west of this line had been left undecided. Ever since the Portuguese Magalhães in the service of Spain had discovered the southwest passage in 1519-1521 and had thus shown the Spaniards the way to the Moluccas, there had been no rest in the dispute between the two rivals until 1529, when John III had persuaded the

¹ Ford I 353.

² *Sarmiento to Cobos on October 6, 1540, and May 11, 1541 (33 123).

³ *Ibid.* 32.

⁴ Q 7-9.

emperor to acknowledge his claims by paying him 350,000 ducats.⁵ News of this had not reached the distant Spice Islands until 1531, and it was not until 1536 that the last Spaniards had returned from there to their native land.⁶

But in the meantime a new rival had risen up for Portugal. The French also wanted a share in this highly profitable trade. In 1529, the very same year in which the emperor relinquished his claims to the Moluccas, the rich and powerful French merchant Jean Ango⁷ sent two vessels to Sumatra, the alleged Taprobane of Ptolemy; and while Xavier and Rodrigues were studying in Paris, a report on the expedition had appeared there in print in 1531.⁸ Although the death of the two leaders, Jean and Raoul Parmentier, had nullified the success of the venture, French pirate ships had been cruising since then between Africa and Brazil, and the battle over the freedom of the seas and trade had persisted.⁹ In the summer of 1540 John III had received a strictly confidential letter from Seville which must have caused him grave concern. The writer, a relative of Magalhães who had lived in exile for seven years,¹⁰ had stayed at the French court from March, 1538, to January, 1539, and had been offered there a number of brilliant opportunities because of his knowledge of sailing and of the sea. He wrote that the Frenchman Jacques Cartier had twice sailed in the service of Francis I to "the stockfish country"¹¹ in the upper reaches of North America to find the northwest passage to the Spice Islands. And on his second voyage he had also sailed up a river eight hundred leagues long¹² and had discovered that it was impossible to reach the South Seas in this way. Ango, whom he had visited in Dieppe, was a deadly enemy of Portugal and had sworn to him that if his people met a rich Portuguese ship, they would seize its cargo and sink the vessel and its passengers. The vice-admiral and others were moreover trying to persuade the French king to build a fortress on St. Lawrence Island¹³ in order to carry on trade from there with Taprobane¹⁴ and the other countries of the East. Although Francis I had resisted up to the present, everyone in France, the letter concluded, that is, those with influence, sighed for India and its spices and directed their gaze in that direction.¹⁵ John III had therefore

⁵ Q 122.

⁶ See Q 194.

⁷ On Ango see Eugène Guénin, *Ango et ses pilotes* (Paris, 1901), and Fernando Palha, *A carta de marca de João Ango* (Lisboa, 1882).

⁸ *Description Nouvelle des Merveilles de ce monde, et de la dignité de l'homme, composée en rithme françoise en maniere de exhortation, par Ian parmentier, faisant sa dernière navigation, avec Raoul son frere, en lisle Taprobane, autrement dicte Samatra.* Colophon: *Imprime a Paris, en la rue de Sorbonne. Le Septieme iour de Janvier. Lan de grace Mil. D. XXXI.* See also Q 134.

⁹ See M. E. Gomes de Calvalho, *D. João III e os Francezes* (Lisboa, 1909), and HCPB III 59-94.

¹⁰ João Fernandes Lagarto.

¹¹ The Portuguese called Newfoundland *Terra Nova* or *Terra dos Bacalhos*. The edition of Ptolemy printed in Basel in 1540 has the inscription "Terra nova siue de Bacalhos" near Newfoundland, and south of this: "Per hoc fretum iter patet ad Molucas." See also Armando Cortesão, *Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses dos séculos XV e XVI* (Lisboa, 1935) I 274; II 46 62 79-80 118 142 155 203 225 249; and Armando Cortesão e Avelino Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* 5 (Lisboa, 1960) 157-169.

¹² This refers to the St. Lawrence River.

¹³ Madagascar.

¹⁴ The same as Sumatra.

¹⁵ Q 626.

written to his ambassador, Ruy Fernandes, that he should tell the French king that France should not attempt to make any new discoveries in lands already discovered by Portugal. The Portuguese had found these lands with great difficulty, had received bulls guaranteeing their rights, and were in peaceful possession of them. They had moreover discovered the land of Preste Joam and hoped in union with him to destroy the sect of Mohammed and to spread the true faith.¹⁶ At the end of October the king had sent his new ambassador with new and sharper instructions to the French court.

But John III's main source of worry was the danger threatening India from the Turks, before whose might the whole of Europe was trembling at this time. The heroic resistance of the Portuguese in their defense of the fortress of Diu had, it is true, forced the Turkish fleet under Suleiman Pasha to sail away at the end of 1538,¹⁷ as the India ships reported in Lisbon in the fall of 1539.¹⁸ But the enemy could sail again at any time to India from Aden, which had fallen into the hands of the *Rumes*;¹⁹ and in the fall of 1540 the ships coming from India carried the news that the Turks were expected there in April or August.²⁰ There were other reports, however, that were reassuring. A Genoese²¹ named Duarte Catanho,²² who had gone to India as a spy of the Grand Turk in 1538 and had there offered his services to the Portuguese, had been sent by them to Portugal.²³ In March, 1540,²⁴ he had gone to Constantinople and Cairo as a spy in the service of John III.²⁵ In June a Portuguese had come from Egypt and had reported that the Turks were not arming themselves against India.²⁶ In November a long letter came from Catanho in Procida, near Naples, confirming this. Catanho had gone to Cairo in August. He reported that there were forty galleys and six galleons at Sues, but all were unseaworthy and in need of repair. The reason why the Turks wanted India was that the Portuguese

¹⁶ Q 639.

¹⁷ In Lisbon Xavier could read Damião de Goes' report on the first siege of Diu, which appeared under the title *Commentarii rerum gestarum in India citra Gangem a Lusitanis anno 1538* in Lyons. The classical work of his comrade in arms, Lopo de Sousa Coutinho, *Livro primeyro do cerco de Diu*, appeared in Coimbra in 1556 (new edition, Lisboa, 1890). See also Barros 4, 10, 1-21; Castanheda 8, cc. 184-197; Correa III 837-860 867-897, IV 19-70; Couto 5, 3, 1-10 4, 1-13 5, 1-5; Kammerer III 70-80 (further bibliography given here) and Q, index: Diu.

¹⁸ In addition to the oral reports of Martim Affonso de Sousa and of others who had returned from India, the king received further news from the letters which they brought with them, for example, Q 339 and 344.

¹⁹ Q 345 401 427.

²⁰ Q 436 449 454 456-457.

²¹ According to *Sarmiento 185; Correa always calls him a Venetian (III 839-840).

²² On Catanho (his Italian name was Cattaneo), see Ant. da Silva Rego, "Duarte Catanho, espião e embaixador (1538-1542)," *Academia Portuguesa da História: Anais* 2, 4 (1953) 119-140; Correa III 839-841, IV 14-19; Q 496 537 582 593 701 710 717 728 834 866 901 916 964 966 1244 1256 1640 1796 1901 1956 1967 2051; and TdT: CC 2-234-67. In 1537 he was in Ormuz (Q 834), in 1538 in India, in 1539 in Portugal, in 1540 in Constantinople and Cairo, and in 1541 in Almeirim. From there he went to the sultan of Turkey at the request of John III. In 1544 he returned to Portugal and was sent back to Constantinople in 1545 in order to negotiate a contract with the sultan. When he returned to Lisbon in January, 1546, he was imprisoned; but in March, Lucas Giraldo wrote that his guilt was not certain (Q 2051).

²³ *Sarmiento 185; Correa III 839-841 845 853 855, IV 16.

²⁴ CDP IV 299-300.

²⁵ *Sarmiento 185.

²⁶ Q 553.

had so greatly restricted trade with Egypt that Alexandria was already completely, and Cairo half, ruined. The country lacked drugs and spices, especially since hardly anything was coming from India overland. Two caravans of over two thousand camels which had set out from Basra had recently been attacked and plundered by the Beduins. He did not believe, however, that the Turks would sail to India in 1541 since the sultan was at odds with the Venetians who had refused to hand over the fortified towns of Napoli di Romania and Malvasia, as they had promised in the peace treaty. He was therefore fitting out a large fleet of four hundred vessels to send to Valona, and he had ordered the pasha of Cairo to deliver 40,000 hundred-weights of sea biscuits to Constantinople in February, 1541, for this purpose.²⁷

At the beginning of 1541 Misser Catanho had himself gone to Almeirim and given oral assurances of this. The Grand Turk was only thinking at the time about bringing the greatest fleet ever seen together in his capital and an army of 700,000 men; he was not thinking about sailing to India.²⁸ Soon after this, at the end of January, a Jew²⁹ named Manasse³⁰ also came to Almeirim. He had traveled overland from India to Constantinople. At the beginning of November he had set out from there,³¹ and on January 8 from Rome.³² A Portuguese who had been captured by the Turks at Diu also came to Almeirim. He had escaped from their fleet and had set out from Istanbul at the end of November. Both of these visitors confirmed Catanho's contention that the sultan would not send a fleet to India in 1541.³³

2. THE NEW GOVERNOR OF INDIA (JANUARY-MARCH, 1541)

Manasse, who had been sent by the governor of the Indies, brought letters from him³⁴ with some other important news. Dom Garcia de Noronha, the viceroy, had died on April 3, 1540; and since Martim Affonso de Sousa, the first substitute, was living in Portugal, the second, Dom Estevão da Gama, the son

²⁷ Q 582; cf. 593.

²⁸ *Sarmiento 185.

²⁹ Alcáçova Carneiro 405.

³⁰ Couto 5, 7, 1.

³¹ *Sarmiento 185.

³² CDP XI 459.

³³ *Sarmiento 185. On July 30, 1540, Christovão de Sousa wrote to the king from Rome that Henrique de Macedo, who had been ransomed for two thousand *cruzados* and was expected any day in Venice, could probably bring news about the Turkish preparations against India; he had also sent a man to Cairo and Suez and would wait for his return until September 15 (CDP XI 446). On January 30, 1541, John III thanked the count of Castanheira for sending on the spy from Suez. He had given an excellent report of what was taking place, and a large part of this had already been confirmed (Ford I 358).

³⁴ According to the count of Vimioso at the end of January, 1541 (Q 747), and Diogo de Misquitta on February 13, 1541 (Q 901). When did Manasse leave India? According to Couto (5, 7, 1), he set out from Goa for Ormuz before the monsoon, that is, in May, on a fast *caturo* (a sailboat with oars). Under the most favorable conditions the trip took fifteen days (Q 4870), and to go from there to Basra took twenty (Q 3524). From Basra travelers could reach Damascus by going straight across the desert in twenty-five days (António Baião, *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por terra* [Coimbra, 1923] 169). Through the trip which he made in 1528, Antonio Tenreiro showed that news could travel overland from India to Portugal in three months (Correa III 316-318).

of the great Vasco da Gama, had succeeded him in office.³⁵ In the beginning of 1541 he had decided to sail to Suez with 150 ships and five thousand men in order to burn the Turkish galleys there³⁶ and to help the Preste who was being harassed by the Moors.³⁷ This raised the question as to who should be governor of India. Should Dom Estevão be left in office, should Martim Affonso de Sousa take his place, or should the defender of Diu, Antonio da Silveira, become the successor of Dom Garcia de Noronha? Many favored the latter. In the same month, January, that he had learned of the death of the viceroy, John III had invited the celebrated hero to come to Almeirim; but his prodigality and the brilliant banquets which he gave for the courtiers distressed the king, and he was no longer mentioned for the post.³⁸ Dom Estevão received the support of his brother, Dom Francisco da Gama, the count of Vidigueira, and his father-in-law, Dom Francisco de Portugal, the old count of Vimioso. It would be an insult to him and to his relatives if his successor was sent out before the expiration of his own three-year term of office.³⁹ Sousa's cause was taken up by his cousin, the powerful *vedor da fazenda*, Dom Antonio de Ataide, the count of Castanheira.⁴⁰ On January 22 John III therefore assembled his Council—his two brothers, the infantes Dom Luis and Dom Henrique, Dom Thedosio, the duke of Bragança, Dom Pedro de Meneses, the marquês of Villa Real, Drs. Christovão Esteves, Luis Annes, Pero Vaz, and João Monteiro, and Gaspar de Carvalho of the Supreme Court of Appeals. In their presence he had the secretary, Pedro de Alcáçova Carneiro, read the reasons brought forward by the count of Vidigueira on behalf of his brother; but all his councillors gave the king convincing reasons why he could, and should, appoint Martim Affonso de Sousa as governor.⁴¹ The count of Vimioso made one final attempt on behalf of Dom Estevão: he wrote to the count of Castanheira in Lisbon that he might persuade his lord to delay the sailing of a successor for at least a year, but without success.⁴²

Martim Affonso de Sousa⁴³ had a knightly bearing. He was tall;⁴⁴ and his

³⁵ Alcáçova Carneiro 405-406.

³⁶ According to the report of the count of Vimioso (Q 747).

³⁷ Correa IV 136-140.

³⁸ Couto 5, 6, 7.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Alcáçova Carneiro 406-407, and Q 747.

⁴⁰ Couto 5, 6, 7.

⁴¹ Alcáçova Carneiro 406-407.

⁴² The communication of the count of Vimioso is undated. According to the context it was written ten months after Dom Estevão da Gama took his office in April, 1540, and consequently in January, 1541, a few days after the appointment of M. A. de Sousa on the twenty-second of this month. Since it was written on a Saturday, it is probably to be dated January 29 (Q 747).

⁴³ On M. A. de Sousa, see his autobiography, the *Brevissima, e summaria relação que fez de sua Vida e obras o grande Martim Affonso de Sousa*, written in 1557 and published in *Arquivo Bibliographico* (Coimbra, 1877) 89-90 105-108 139-148 168-172, and the concise but significant summary in HCPB III 102-115. For his genealogy see *Andrade Leitão XIX 773-784, and Sousa, *Hist. Gen.* XII, 2, 1101-1109; IX 643. On his term as governor in India from 1541 to 1545, see Correa IV 212-438; Couto 5, 8, 1-6, 1, 1, and Castanheda 9, 31. See also Q, index: Sousa, Martim Affonso. De Sousa was lord of the *villa* of Alcoentre, where he built an elaborate palace for himself after returning from India (1546). In 1565 he repurchased for 5,400 *cruzados* the seigniorship of Prado, which had been sold in 1525. He died in 1571 and was buried in the family crypt which he had endowed in the Franciscan church of São Francisco in Lisbon. His house stood not far from there between the Rua da Cordoaria Velha and the Calçadinha de São Francisco (Braamcamp Freire, *Brasões* I 225-226). His wife bore him eight children: Pero Lopes, Lopo Rodrigues, Pero Affonso, Rodrigo Affonso, Gonçalo Rodrigues, Ines Pimen-

well-defined features, sharp eyes, and flowing, black beard gave him an energetic appearance.⁴⁵ He had been educated in the classics, had a good knowledge of Latin, and was versed in history and seamanship.⁴⁶ He had a winning personality and had been trained from his youth in the use of arms. Fearless in battle and cool in danger, he was self-possessed, ambitious, and resourceful. He was a man of high ideals, intelligent, and experienced in wordly affairs, a keen discernor of men, and one who with a sharp glance saw through the wiles and weaknesses of his opponents and with the charm of his personality inspired his officers and men and carried them along with him.⁴⁷

He had been born in 1500 in Villa Viçosa, where his father was the tutor of the duke Dom Jayme and high *alcaide-mor* of Bragança. Even as a boy he had shown a preference for a military career. When the "Great Captain," Gonzalo Fernández de Cordoba, wanted to give him his gold necklace on a visit, he had refused it but had then accepted instead his sword, which he always took with him and wore on ceremonial occasions.⁴⁸ When he was sixteen he had exchanged the duke's palace for that of King Manuel, where he and his cousin, Dom Antonio de Ataide, grew up as pages and inseparable companions of the crown prince, Dom João, the future king. In 1521 King Manuel, and in the following year his own father, had died; and 1523 he had accompanied the widowed queen Leonor to Castile. There that same year he had married a woman of a distinguished family, Dona Anna Pimentel, the daughter of Arias Maldonado, the *regedor* of Salamanca. A month later he had joined the imperial army under the command of the *condestable* Iñigo Fernández de Velasco and had fought against Xavier's brothers at Fuenterrabía until the fortress surrendered in March, 1524. Early in 1525, at the invitation of John III, he had returned to Portugal and to the service of his king in the company of Queen Catarina. There his noble benefactor conferred upon him the habit of the Order of Christ and named him a counselor in 1530.⁴⁹

In the same year John III had sent the former companion of his youth as a captain in command of five ships to Brazil in order to explore its coast and interior, and especially its legendary "Silver River," the Río de la Plata, in the south, and to drive out the French, who wanted to build a fortress in Pernambuco, and to found colonies.⁵⁰ Dom Martim Affonso assisted by his brother Pero Lopes had carried out this task to the complete satisfaction of his lord. After driving out the French and founding the two colonies of São Vicente and Piratininga,⁵¹ he had returned to Lisbon in August, 1533, after a three-year's absence;⁵²

tel, Beatriz Pimentel, and Catarina. He also had an illegitimate child, Tristão, in India. For his coat of arms see HCPB III 108. His father was Lopo de Sousa. His aunt Violante de Tavora, his father's sister, was the mother of the count of Castanheira.

⁴⁴ Couto 5, 10, 11.

⁴⁵ Picture in Correa IV 232 and HCPB III 113 and XVI.

⁴⁶ Ficalho, *Orta* 69-70.

⁴⁷ Couto 5, 10, 11; Ficalho, *Orta* 68-70 81-82.

⁴⁸ Couto 5, 10, 11.

⁴⁹ Autobiography 89-90 105-107; HCPB III 102-106.

⁵⁰ HCPB III 100-101.

⁵¹ Today São Paulo.

⁵² On the Brazil expedition see HCPB III 97-164 and his brother's journal: *Diario da Navegação de Pero Lopes de Sousa 1530-1532*, published with an excellent commentary and many additional maps by Eugenio de Castro (Rio de Janeiro, 1927, 2 vols.), and the short notice in his autobiography 107.

but it was only to set sail again for the East some seven months later as admiral of the Indian Ocean with a fleet of five ships.

Five years full of brilliant warfare ensued, during which he became the terror of the Moors, the savior of the Hindu princes allied with the Portuguese, and the idol of his officers and men.⁵³ He had hardly arrived in Goa when he sailed out against the sultan Bahâdur, the king of Cambay. He took the fortress of Damão by storm and by devastating its coast forced the prince, who was at war with the Mogul, to hand over to the Portuguese the rich province of Bassein.⁵⁴ The following year, when the forces of the Mogul were again threatening him, Bahâdur even allowed the Portuguese to build a fortress in Diu.⁵⁵ Martim Affonso then foolhardily went with the sultan against his enemies in the interior.⁵⁶ During the following years he fought against the powerful *zamorim* of Calicut and prevented him from reaching the coronation stone of Repelim, which would have made him the chief lord of Malabar. He then destroyed Repelim and carried off the coronation stone.⁵⁷ In repeated sea battles he successfully besieged the Malabar Moors allied with the *zamorim*,⁵⁸ and at the beginning of 1538 he destroyed their fleet near Vêdâlai. In this way he freed both the newly converted pearl fishers of the Fishery Coast, who were being tyrannized by them, and Bhuvaneka Bâhu, the ruler of Ceylon, from their mortal enemies.⁵⁹ When he heard of the approach of the Turks, who were allied with the sultan of Cambay and wanted to drive the Portuguese out of the newly built fortress of Diu and deprive them of their control of the Indian Ocean, he sailed from Cochin to Goa that same year in order to engage them in battle. Only after the Turkish retreat at the beginning of 1539 did he return to Portugal.⁶⁰ No one had left such a reputation behind in India since the days of the great Affonso de Albuquerque, the conqueror of Goa, Ormuz, and Malacca. And Dom Joam de Castro wrote to the king from there at the end of 1539: "Martim Affonso is a man very well qualified to rule India, for he has many traits that are necessary for ruling this country. Your Highness should think about conferring honors and favors upon him, for he has certainly deserved them!"⁶¹

⁵³ On his stay in India from 1533 to 1539, see his autobiography 107-108 139-146, Ficalho, *Orta* 81-138, HCPB III 106-108, the Indian chroniclers, our registers, especially Q 959-1519, and our *Ceylon*, index: Sousa.

⁵⁴ Barros 4, 4, 27; Correa III 578-587; Castanheda 8, 81-84; Couto 4, 9, 1-2; autobiography 105-108 139; Q 2036 172.

⁵⁵ Barros 4, 6, 12; Correa III 587-626; Castanheda 8, 94-102; Couto 4, 9, 3-9; autobiography 139-142; Q 171 179.

⁵⁶ Barros 4, 6, 12; Correa III 651 658; Castanheda 8, 120; Couto 4, 9, 10; Lopo de Sousa Coutinho, *Historia do cerco de Diu* (Lisboa, 1890) 63-64; Garcia da Orta, *Coloquios dos Simples e Drogas 2* (Lisboa, 1895) 15-16 140; autobiography 140-141 and Q 180-181 183.

⁵⁷ Barros 4, 7, 19-21; Correa III 711-718 753 762-770 772-777; Castanheda 8, 126 141-145; Couto 5, 1, 1 and 4; 5, 2, 3; Garcia da Orta I 205; autobiography 142-143; Q 850.

⁵⁸ Barros 4, 7, 21-22; 8, 12; Correa III 818-828 833-837; Castanheda 8, 146-147 173; Couto 5, 1, 6; 5, 2, 4; Zinadim, *Historia dos Portugueses no Malabar* (Lisboa, 1898) 64; autobiography 143-145; Q 226 1282 4789.

⁵⁹ Schurhammer, "Die Bekehrung der Paraver" 216-219; Barros 4, 8, 13-14; Correa III 818-837; Castanheda 8, 173-176; Couto 5, 2, 4-5; Zinadim 63-64; Garcia da Orta I 205; EX I 150; autobiography 144; Q 245 313 324 479 566 850 1282 4789.

⁶⁰ Barros 4, 8, 14; Correa III 8904-897; IV 69; Couto 5, 5, 5; autobiography 145-146; Q 335 392 401 714.

⁶¹ Q 447.

3. THE COUNT OF CASTANHEIRA (JANUARY-MARCH, 1541)

The fleet with the governor was supposed to sail to India in March. Since the beginning of the year there had consequently been a great deal of activity in the Royal Chancellery in Almeirim and in the India House in Lisbon, for the royal *alvarás* had to be drawn up and copied out in the Chancellery and registered in the India House.⁶² The king had originally wanted to send ten ships because of the danger from the Turks.⁶³ But Dom Antonio de Ataíde, the count of Castanheira, who had equipped the India fleet as *vedor da fazenda* and had therefore returned with it to Lisbon,⁶⁴ had written from there on February 4 to him in Almeirim that since Dom Estevão had sailed to the Red Sea with so many men to burn the Turkish galleys, there must already be enough soldiers in India. The number of men to sail could therefore be reduced so that they could be comfortably accommodated on five ships. The present financial situation and other great and unavoidable expenses were such that His Highness was in conscience bound to limit the outlay for India as far as possible. The number of ships would therefore be restricted to five. There would only be one of the king's; the others would be privately owned.⁶⁵

Beginning at the end of December, the long expected rains poured down in torrents.⁶⁶ During this time the chancellery officials in Almeirim transcribed document after document on parchment so that, if necessary, they could verify alleged statements or produce authentic copies of briefs which might be lost later. The royal *alvarás*, which were entered here, gave, usually as a reward for long years of service, the right to an office. This was at times available immediately after one's arrival in India, but frequently the post could not be occupied for a number of years, since many others were often already waiting for it. Only in exceptional cases did a term of office exceed three years in India.⁶⁷

On January 10 the chamberlain Antonio Rodrigues received a position as a factor in Diu,⁶⁸ on the eleventh Mestre Fernando that of a surgeon in Ormuz, and the licentiate Francisco Rodrigues that of a district physician in Goa;⁶⁹ on the twelfth the *fidalgo* Diogo Cabral that of a captain of the Pegu ship, Joane Mendes de Vasconcellos that of a captain on the voyage from India to Mozambique, and the *fidalgo* Duarte de Miranda that of a captain of the clove ship to Maluco;⁷⁰ on the fifteenth the *fidalgo cavalleiro* Luis de Calataud that of a captain and factor on a voyage to Ceylon, the *fidalgo cavalleiro* Cid de Sousa Falcão that of a captain of two voyages to Mozambique;⁷¹ on the twentieth

⁶² Q XXXVI. Alvará: "royal decree," "concession."

⁶³ Correa IV 212-214, who ascribes the decrease of the fleet to the siege of Gué and the information of the Jew Manasse.

⁶⁴ The communication of the count of Vimioso presumes this (Q 747).

⁶⁵ Ford II 165-166; Correa IV 212-214.

⁶⁶ *Sarmiento wrote from Almeirim on February 8, 1541: "Aqui haze muy grandissimas aguas" (185).

⁶⁷ Q XXXVI-XXXVII.

⁶⁸ Q 641.

⁶⁹ Q 645-646.

⁷⁰ Q 648-650.

⁷¹ Q 653-654. King Affonso V (1438-1481) introduced different grades into the service at court. One who began his service as *moço fidalgo* rose to *fidalgo escudeiro*, and, if he was knighted during a war, to *fidalgo cavalleiro*; one who began as a *moço da camara* rose to *escudeiro fidalgo* and eventually to *cavalleiro fidalgo* (Rafael Bluteau,

Payo Rodrigues d'Araujo that of a captain⁷² of Cochin, Francisco d'Ayora that of a captain of a voyage to Ceylon, and the *fidalgo cavalleiro* Manuel Rodrigues Coutinho that of a factor and *alcaide-mor* of Ceylon;⁷³ on the twenty-second Francisco d'Azevedo that of a captain on two voyages to the Moluccas;⁷⁴ on the twenty-third Mestre João that of a surgeon in Ormuz;⁷⁵ on the twenty-sixth Ruy Vaz Pereira and the *fidalgo cavalleiro* Dom Pedro da Silva that of a captain of Malacca,⁷⁶ the *fidalgo cavalleiro* Francisco Pereira de Miranda that of a captain of Chaul;⁷⁷ on the twenty-eighth Antonio Cardoso that of India secretary;⁷⁸ on the thirty-first Cosme de Paiva that of a factor of the Coromandel and Fishery coasts;⁷⁹ on February 6 Mestre Luis that of a surgeon in Diu;⁸⁰ on the eighth Pero Maldonado, *escudeiro* of the royal house, that of a secretary of the warehouse and supplies of Diu for four years;⁸¹ on the tenth Rodrigo Alvarez Vogado, *cavalleiro* of the royal house, that of a captain of a voyage to the Maldive Islands;⁸² on the fifteenth the *fidalgo cavalleiro* Antonio de Sousa that of a captain of Chaul;⁸³ on the nineteenth Gaspar d'Azevedo, *cavalleiro fidalgo* of the royal house, that of a factor of Ceylon.⁸⁴ On the twentieth Diogo Cabral received a commission to search for the legendary island of gold,⁸⁵ which was rumored to be in the vicinity of Sumatra.⁸⁶ On March 13, when the Chancellery had already returned to Lisbon, the *fidalgo cavalleiro* Francisco Mendes de Vasconcellos received as a reward for his help in the siege of Diu the position of a captain on a voyage to Pegu,⁸⁷ and the *fidalgo cavalleiro* Lançarote Pereira d'Abreu obtained the right to become a captain of one of the caravels that guarded the coast between Sofala and Melinde;⁸⁸ on the fifteenth a licentiate by the name of Antonio Rodrigues de Gamboa received the position of a judge in Cochin;⁸⁹ on the eighteenth the *fidalgo cavalleiro* Fernão de Lima that of a

Vocabulario portuguez e latino 5 [Lisboa, 1716] 579). In 1572 the titles were changed under King Sebastian (*ibid* 4 [Coimbra, 1713] 107). The monthly *moradias* ("pay") under John III amounted to 400-7,250 *reis* for a *cavalleiro*, 400-5,500 for an *escudeiro fidalgo*, 800-1,000 for a *moço fidalgo*, and 406 for a *moço da camara* (Sousa, *Provas* II 786-844; VI 576-624; see also the pay scale under Manuel, *ibid.* II 352-373). Dom Pero de Sousa, for example, was entered in the court register in 1553 as a *moço fidalgo* with an income of 1,000 *reis*, as an *escudeiro* with 1,600 in 1555, and as a *fidalgo cavalleiro* with 2,000 in 1551. In each position he also received an *alqueire* of barley for his horse (Ford I 392).

⁷² In Portuguese the same word *capitão* is used for the captain of a ship and the commander of a fortress.

⁷³ Q 656-657 662. We retain the Arabic loanword *alcaide* ("castellan," "attendant," "inspector").

⁷⁴ Q 664.

⁷⁵ Q 670.

⁷⁶ Q 674 676.

⁷⁷ Q 675. The date "16.1" in Q 655 should be "26.1."

⁷⁸ Q 679; cf. 680.

⁷⁹ Q 682.

⁸⁰ Q 694.

⁸¹ Q 699.

⁸² Q 707 (instead of "Malucofahrt" read: "Maldivenfahrt").

⁸³ Q 718.

⁸⁴ Q 727.

⁸⁵ Q 707.

⁸⁶ Q 586.

⁸⁷ Q 759.

⁸⁸ Q 760.

⁸⁹ Q 763.

captain of Chale;⁹⁰ on the twenty-third Dom João Mascarenhas, the nephew of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, that of a captain of Diu, the *fidalgo cavalleiro* Francisco Ferreira that of a captain of Cananor;⁹¹ on the twenty-fourth the chamberlain Francisco Palha, who was living in India, received the position of a factor in Maluco,⁹² and the chamberlain Fabião da Motta received that of a treasurer of the royal revenues in Goa, as the deceased viceroy had requested,⁹³ and so on and on.

All those who wanted to sail to India had to report to the India House, and the count of Castanheira had already had the flags raised there and at the warehouses to indicate that the departure was pending.⁹⁴ He had also posted a notice on the gate giving February 20 as the last date for registration. On February 5 the king wrote to him that he should not accept more people than could be comfortably accommodated on the five ships, and that the rest should be put off until the following year, even if they came with royal *alvarás* granting them permission to sail with pay and pension.⁹⁵ Two days before this he had ordered the *vedor* to make Francisco de Sousa the captain of a ship and to obtain João Rebello's ship for the voyage, since time was running short and he wanted to make a decision about the vessels and the persons to be accommodated on each of them.⁹⁶ A month later, on March 2, he wrote to the count from Thomar, which he was passing through on his way from Almeirim,⁹⁷ that Francisco de Sousa, who was sailing to India as the captain of Fernão Gomes' ship, and the *fidalgo cavalleiro* Dom Alvaro d'Ataide, who was sailing there and back as captain of Duarte Tristão's ship, should be given their salary, and that a part, of this should be paid in advance as usual. Ataide should bring his brother Dom Estevão da Gama back with him, but Ruy Lourenço de Tavora or Dom Joam de Castro should return to Portugal as captain of the second ship.⁹⁸ On March 16, however, these orders were changed: Ataide should sail as captain of Duarte Tristão's *São Pedro* and receive a salary of two hundred *milreis*, but he should then remain in India.⁹⁹

On February 19 the king informed the *vedor* that he should pay four thousand *cruzados* to Duarte Catanho, who was going on a secret mission to the Grand Turk. He was to receive two thousand of these as a reward for the information which he had brought back with him and the other two thousand for the expenses of his new trip. Two thousand more should be deposited in the bank of Lucas Giraldi for him against his return.¹⁰⁰ Five days before this he had also written to the count about the India missionaries:

⁹⁰ Q 769.

⁹¹ Q 773-774.

⁹² Q 775.

⁹³ Q 776.

⁹⁴ Ford I 203.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 360.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 359-360.

⁹⁷ On February 23, 1541, the king was still in Almeirim (Q 738); from February 26 to March 3, he was apparently in Thomar, since the decrees of the Chancellery are dated from there (Q 739-740 742-744 750). On March 4 the king was back in Almeirim (Q 751). The distance is thirty-one miles, a day's ride.

⁹⁸ Ford I 364-365.

⁹⁹ Q 764.

⁹⁹ Q 764.

¹⁰⁰ Ford I 362. See the secret instructions (Q 710) 717), according to which he should obtain from the sultan a treaty of peace for India for from fifteen to twenty-nine years and an exchange of wheat for pepper.

Count, friend! I, the King, send you, whom I love very much, my heartiest greetings. Master Francis and Misser Paulo, clerics of the order of St. Peter,¹⁰¹ are going to India this year, as you know. I highly recommend that you give them a ship and lodgings as seems good to you, for themselves and for Pedro Maldonado,¹⁰² an *escudeiro* of my house,¹⁰³ who is going with them to look after their needs, and for two servants whom they are taking with them. Also give the priests mentioned above two sets of clothing, one for the sea and another for the land after their arrival in India, and whatever books they request which you think they will need. Furnish them also with medicines and other provisions that are essential for their voyage. I shall approve everything that is done according to your direction and arrangement, and I ask you to carry this out exactly as if it were done under my explicit orders.

Pero Amrriques executed this in Almeirim on February 14, 1541. As long as they have not embarked and are still on land, give them everything for their support that seems good to you.

Fernam d'Alvarez had this written.

The King.¹⁰⁴

About this time Xavier had returned from Almeirim to Lisbon with Misser Paulo in order to prepare for the voyage to India.¹⁰⁵ When the royal officials offered him their services and asked him to draw up a list of things which he and his companion would need for the voyage, he thanked them for their kindness but said that he had no need of anything except that they should recommend him and his companions to God in their prayers. When the count of Castanheira informed him on his first visit that the king had appointed a groom to take care of all their needs, Xavier asked him for the love of God not to give him any of the things which the king had requested since he had no need of anything. When the *vedor* urged him to take at least one servant with him, since he would lose the esteem and authority of the people he was to instruct if they saw him washing his clothes on the ship's deck with the other passengers and cooking his food in the ship's kitchen, Master Francis replied:

¹⁰¹ An expression for "clerk regular." At the end of a roster of the count of Castanheira from this time, **Rol das pessoas despachadas e que tem licença d'El-Rey noso senhor pera irem aa India este anno de 1541*, is written: "Os dous clerigos da ordem de São Pedro com hum reposteiro de Sua Alteza que vay com elles" (Q 683).

¹⁰² Pedro Maldonado had sailed for India with Xavier and had taken over his position as clerk in Diu when the fortress was besieged for the second time in 1546. On August 10 the enemy blew up the bastion of São João. "Pedro Maldonado huma espimgardada pelo pescoso de que he mal desposto" is mentioned in the list of survivors in the "Roll dos homens que avoarão e são vivos" (Ant. Baião, *História quinhentista (inédita) do Segundo Cêrco de Dio* [Coimbra, 1925] 227). He escaped with his life, and on April 14, 1547, in virtue of his office he signed the list of artillery captured by the governor when he relieved the fortress at the end of 1546 (*ibid.* 338). He was knighted for his courage and on March 7, 1550, received the position of a scribe on the voyage to Pegu (Q 4440). On November 20, 1559, he wrote to the queen from Goa about his services. He had, for example, helped build the walls when Dieu was besieged (TdT: CC 1-103-132). He should not be confused with the Pedro Maldonado who was a *moço fidalgo* of the infante Dom Luls and the son of João Maldonado (*Andrade Leitão XIII 1207).

¹⁰³ In the list mentioned above (Q 683), he is called a *reposteiro* (superintendent of the royal storeroom).

¹⁰⁴ Ford I 361-362; DI I 34.

¹⁰⁵ According to *Araujo, Xavier took his leave from the king in Almeirim and also from Master Simon Rodrigues in order to go to Lisbon and to prepare for his trip to India (c. 5), but his observations are often wrong.

Sir Count, the attempt to procure esteem and authority through the means suggested by Your Lordship has brought the Church of God and its ministers to the state in which they are now in. The way for a man to gain esteem and authority for himself is to wash his own clothes and to take care of his own cooking without thinking about getting help from anyone else, and at the same time to labor for the salvation of his neighbor.¹⁰⁶

The count did not know how to answer this, and he experienced some difficulty in persuading the priest to accept for himself and his companions a warm cloak of rough material for the trip around the Cape of Good Hope and a number of books worth about a hundred *cruzados*¹⁰⁷ to take with him to India. Later the *vedor* used to say that he had experienced no less trouble in convincing Father Francis that he should accept something¹⁰⁸ than he had had in satisfying others.¹⁰⁹ The king gave orders that the priests should sail in the governor's ship, and he earnestly exhorted him to take care of them as best he could. Martim Affonso de Sousa told them that they should sit at his table during the voyage, and he took it upon himself to procure everything they needed for the trip to India.

While the work of fitting out the India fleet progressed feverishly, the thunder clouds gathering in North Africa were growing darker and more ominous. The ever more urgent appeals for help from there forced everything else, even the equipping of the India fleet, into the background, for the sheriff of Sus was besieging Gué.

4. THE SIEGE OF GUÉ (NOVEMBER, 1540 - MARCH, 1541)¹¹¹

In 1415 the Portuguese seized Ceuta, a seaport of the sultan of Fes on the north coast of Africa opposite Gibraltar.¹¹² In 1458 they captured Alcacer Ce-

¹⁰⁶ MX II 837.

¹⁰⁷ Rodrigues wrote this on May 15, 1541 (*Ep Broëti* 522).

¹⁰⁸ With *otros religiosos* (Teixeira 837), *aliis hominibus* (Maffei, *Hist. Ind.* 309).

¹⁰⁹ The main account on the incident is given by Teixeira (836-837), who entered the Society in Lisbon in 1551, where the story was already known to his confreres. In 1550 the count of Castanheira had related it to Fr. Luis Gonçalves da Camara, and Fr. Francisco Henriques had immediately written about it to the companions in Coimbra, as Seb. Gonçalves reports (1, 6). Teixeira's account is already somewhat changed by Maffei in his *Historia Indica*, which first appeared in 1588 (*Opera omnia* I [Bergomi, 1747] 309). It is given in a much shorter form by Tursellinus in 1594 (1, 12). Lucena follows Maffei and Tursellinus and gives a rather rhetorical expansion of their texts (1, 10). Seb. Gonçalves follows Lucena.

¹¹⁰ Ex I 80; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 263.

¹¹¹ The sources for the following have been assembled in the monumental work *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc. 1^e série. Dynastie Saadienne (1530-1660)* (Paris, 1905 ff.), begun by H. de Castries. The nineteen volumes which appeared before 1953 are arranged according to national archives. The third volume on Portugal (1948), edited by Robert Ricard, contains the years 1535-1541. The *Chronique de Santa-Cruz du Cap de Gué (Agadir)*, edited by Pierre de Cenival with a translation and notes (Paris, 1934), contains the report of a comrade in arms. R. Ricard gives a French translation and commentary of the older account in the *Annaes* of Fr. Luiz de Sousa and of Francisco de Andrade in *Les Portugais et l'Afrique du Nord de 1521 à 1557, par Luiz de Sousa* (Lisbonne, 1940), and "Les Portugais et l'Afrique du Nord sur le Signe de Jean III (1521-1557) d'après la Chronique de Francisco de Andrade," *Hespéris* 24 (1937) 259-345. Joaquim Figanier, *História de Santa Cruz do Cabo de Gué (Agadir) 1505-1541* (Lisboa, 1945), gives the best recent account and a number of unprinted sources. The captain himself, Dom

guér,¹¹³ and in 1471 Arzila¹¹⁴ and Tangiers.¹¹⁵ In 1505 they built the fortress of Santa Cruz do Cabo de Gué in the extreme southwest within the territory of the sherif of Sus.¹¹⁶ North of this, in the domain of the sherif of Morocco, they took Safim in 1508 and Azamor in 1513.¹¹⁷ In 1509-1510 they built a fortress in Masagão between these two cities¹¹⁸ and held on to it despite heavy sacrifices of men and money in constant warfare with the Moors.

In 1538 John III concluded an eleven-year truce¹¹⁹ with the sultan of Fes,¹²⁰ but in the south the strength of the sherif of Morocco¹²¹ and of his brother, the sherif of Sus,¹²² was growing. In 1537 the king referred to the danger which threatened Portugal and Spain from this quarter in the instructions which he gave to the count of Castanheira for his mission to the emperor Charles V.¹²³ In June, 1540, Dom Guterre de Monroy, the captain of Gué, still thought that conditions were safe and requested a five or six months' vacation in Portugal.¹²⁴ On August 11 John III wrote to the captain of Azamor and to Dom Guterre informing them that they should renew their truces for another eight or nine months, the former with the sherif of Morocco with respect to Azamor, Mazagão, and Safim; the latter with the sherif of Sus for Gué.¹²⁵ But the two brothers refused to do so, and in September Gué was invested by the enemy.¹²⁶

Although Dom Guterre had informed the king of what was happening, he had represented it as harmless and had only asked for food and ammunition.¹²⁷ Not until the situation became serious in the middle of November did he write also for some men.¹²⁸ John III discussed the matter with military experts who had been in the fort and knew the conditions there. They assured him that there could only be talk about a major threat if the siege lasted for a long time. The Moors could not take the fort; the most they could do would be to wound or

Guterre de Monroy, wrote a detailed report of the siege and capture of the fortress while he was imprisoned in Tarudante shortly after its fall on April 2, 1541 (in Sousa, *Annaes* 327-332). This report is supplemented by a shorter letter from the same place, dated April 20 (in Figanier 346-348), and the report of an anonymous eyewitness (*ibid.* 356-357). John III informed his ambassador in Rome about it in April, 1541 (CDP IV 362-367), and *Sarmiento informed Cobos about it on April 1 (168).

¹¹² On Ceuta see the *História de Ceuta* (Lisboa, 1918), written by Jeronimo de Mascarenhas in 1648, and Affonso de Dornellas, *Elementos para a Historia de Ceuta* (Lisboa, 1923).

¹¹³ Almeida, *Hist. de Portugal* II 104-106.

¹¹⁴ On Arzila see the *Anais de Arzila*, written by Bernardo Rodrigues, who was born there about 1500, and whose father had helped conquer the city (Lisboa, 1915-1919, 2 vols., with an appendix of documents), and David Lopes, *História de Arzila durante o dominio português* (Coimbra, 1924).

¹¹⁵ Almeida, *Hist. de Portugal* II 113-116.

¹¹⁶ Figanier 30-31.

¹¹⁷ Almeida, *Hist. de Portugal* II 258-261.

¹¹⁸ On Mazagão see J. Goulven, *La Place de Mazagan sous la domination portugaise (1502-1769)* (Paris, 1917).

¹¹⁹ Mulei Hamete (Ahmed ben Mohammed).

¹²⁰ Figanier 189.

¹²¹ Ahmede Aláreje (Ahmed al-A*radj) 1524-1544.

¹²² Mohamede Xequé (Mohammad Schaikh) 1524-1549.

¹²³ Ford I 351-356.

¹²⁴ Figanier 338-339 191-192.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* 340-341.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* 191-102 296.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* 192 296.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* 195; Sousa, *Annaes* 328.

kill a few people by shooting their guns down from the heights of the neighboring mountain. Nevertheless the king sent Manuel da Camara at the end of November with a large supply of food and ammunition, a few pieces of artillery, and a hundred men, twice as many as of his advisers had deemed necessary.¹²⁹

A month later urgent letters came from the captain asking for more help. Many of his men had fallen in battle; the walls of the city were weak; he had underestimated the enemy; the sheriff was better equipped than had been suspected; he had many pieces of artillery, and the Moors were bringing their trenches and bastions ever closer to the city; they were being shot at from the mountain in their rear; and five more heavy cannons, larger than any that had as yet been used, were being drawn up against them.¹³⁰

The king then ordered the Malagueta fleet, which a storm had badly damaged and driven to Galicia, to sail to Lisbon so that it could be sent from there to Gué; but five times a headwind drove it back to its port of departure. Other ships were therefore sent from Lisbon with food, ammunition, and men.¹³¹ On January 30 the count of Castanheira received an order to disarm the Malagueta fleet, which had in the meantime finally arrived at the mouth of the Tagus, since Gué had no need of more men.¹³²

In February, however, new cries for help reached Lisbon, each more urgent than the last.¹³³ Twenty thousand men were needed to oppose the far superior forces of the Moors, Dom Guterre wrote; and if help did not come immediately, the fortress would be lost.¹³⁴ The situation was all the more serious in that Gué could not even obtain help from the other North African fortresses, since the sheriff of Morocco had marched on Azamor with a large force.¹³⁵ There, as in Safim, the Portuguese were suffering greatly from hunger; and both places were urgently pleading for assistance.¹³⁶

Only then was the extent of the danger realized in Lisbon. A feverish activity set in. On February 23 the king wrote to the count of Castanheira from Almeirim

¹²⁹ According to the king, in CDP IV 363-364; cf. *Sarmiento 178 168; Chronique 92-95; Figanier 192-196 296-208; Sousa, *Annaes* 327-328.

¹³⁰ CDP IV 363-364; Sousa, *Annaes* 327-328; Figanier 196-197.

¹³¹ CDP IV 364; *Sarmiento 178; Sousa, *Annaes* 328; Figanier 197. *Sarmiento had already written on January 2 that the king had ordered the Malagueta fleet to be brought to Lisbon (157).

¹³² Ford I 357-358.

¹³³ *Sarmiento wrote to the cardinal archbishop of Toledo, Juan de Tavera, on March 8: "Three months ago I wrote to Your Most Reverend Lordship that His Serenity, the King, had received news that the sheriff with a large army was stationed over Cabo de Guer. . . . It is said that the cape is below a mountain which is now in the possession of the Moors, and from which they have caused great harm. . . . The king at once sent a caballero with what seemed to be sufficient troops to its assistance. He reached his destination. More ships set out later with supplies, and these also arrived. But they still send daily requests for more help, for they say that they are in extreme danger at the cape because of its poor location, as I have mentioned above" (178). Sarmiento then expressed his own opinion that the situation was desperate and could hardly be relieved. Dom Guterre, for his part, noted that after the arrival of Camara he had sent a caravel with Alpoem, then two individuals from the city, and then four ships, one after the other, to ask for help (Sousa, *Annaes* 328; cf. Figanier 198).

¹³⁴ CDP IV 364.

¹³⁵ According to Seb. de Vargas, who wrote to the king from Fes on December 9, 1540 (Ricard 300).

¹³⁶ See Figanier 295, n. 20, and the *letters of the inhabitants of the city, dated November 12, and of Captain Dom Rodrigo de Castro, dated December 13, 1540 (TdT: CC 1-68-79 and 1-68-102).

that he had ordered his colleague, the count of Penela, Dom João de Vasconcellos, to send immediately a three months' supply of grain, biscuits, wine, oil, meat, vegetables, and other necessary provisions for the people in Gué, and oats for sixty horses. He was also sending one hundred riflemen with powder, bullets, ammunition, and other materials that Dom Guterre had requested. The count should therefore confer with his colleague and see that everything was dispatched without delay. Since Lisbon was now well stocked with wheat, he should make sure that the bakeries kept two thousand hundred-weights of biscuits ready for all contingencies.¹³⁷

When it was reported soon after this that the sherif of Morocco was marching on Mazagão,¹³⁸ the king informed his *vedor* on March 7 that because of the distress into which Mazagão and Gué had fallen, he would return to Lisbon on the ninth in order to direct the relief effort from there in person. At the same time he ordered him to raise troops in Andalusia and Algarve. The count should immediately requisition all the ships, even those of foreigners, in Lisbon, Setúbal, Cezimbra, and Alcacer do Sal and draw up a complete list of them along with their tonnages. He also wrote to the count of Penela that he should send biscuits, powder, ammunition, and everything else that was needed to Mazagão. Both counts should immediately equip the ships needed for this, and they should also keep the galleon *Trinidad*, which had just come from Flanders, and six caravels of fifty to sixty tons ready for any contingency.¹³⁹ At the same time the king sent Dom Fernando de Loronha to Seville in order to enlist two thousand men in Andalusia. He requested permission for this from the Spanish government and had the Spanish ambassador Sarmiento write to Madrid on this account.¹⁴⁰ Antonio Correa was sent with a galleon and three caravels to Mazagão, and Fernão Peres d'Andrade with three *naus* and four caravels¹⁴¹ with men, food, and ammunition to Gué.¹⁴² Other *naus* also set sail, but the sea and strong south wind, which had been blowing since the beginning of January, forced more than one ship to turn around,¹⁴³ and made it seem doubtful that help would reach the threatened fortresses in time.¹⁴⁴

The situation was extremely grave. The ships which sailed to Gué took a sealed letter from the king, dated March 18, stating that if Dom Guterre fell in battle, his son should succeed him as captain of the fortress.¹⁴⁵ About this

¹³⁷ Ford I 363-364.

¹³⁸ *Sarmiento 187.

¹³⁹ Ford I 365-367; *Sarmiento 178.

¹⁴⁰ *Sarmiento 178. The permission was granted by the cardinal archbishop of Toledo, who was ruling for Charles V (*ibid.* 205).

¹⁴¹ In 1538 the fleet of the viceroy of India consisted of the following ships: (1) sailing vessels: seventeen galleons of 70 to 300 tons, thirteen *naus* (large sailing ships), whose tonnage is not usually given, but there were four of 150 to 180 tons; a *taforea* (cargo ship) of 400 tons (the ships sailing to India usually were of 600 or more tons); three *navios* of 70 to 140 tons; and four caravels of 50 to 80 tons; (2) sailing vessels with oars: eight galleys with 23 to 27 benches for rowers, seventeen galliots with 16 to 20, thirty-nine brigantines with 14 to 19, thirty-four *fustas* (rowboats) with 15 to 18, and thirteen *catur*s with 15 to 16 (*TdT: Col. S. Lour. 4, 247-250*). Pieris-Fitzler, *Ceylon and Portugal* (Leipzig, 1927) 340-364, gives a good description of the types of ships at that time; see also Nogueira de Brito, *Caravelas, naus e galés de Portugal (Enciclopedia pela imagem, Porto [no year])*.

¹⁴² Sousa, *Annaes* 321; Figanier 199.

¹⁴³ CDP IV 364.

¹⁴⁴ *Sarmiento 178; Ricard 330.

¹⁴⁵ Figanier 343.

same time John III informed the bishop of Coimbra and other Church dignitaries of the plight of the fortresses in North Africa. He also told them what he had done and what he was doing to help them so that they might assist him with men and money if it became necessary.¹⁴⁶ He wrote to his ambassador in Rome that the siege of Gué and Azamor had already cost him 150,000 *cruzados*, since he had been forced to obtain soldiers for their relief in Portugal and Castile, and that this was nothing in comparison with the expense that a land expedition and the final defeat of the enemy would entail. He had therefore to avoid all other expenditures, no matter how profitable those might be. The time had come when the pope, instead of demanding money from him, would have to assist him with his own money. He might tell this to the Holy Father and Santiquattro and describe to them the great danger that would accrue to Portugal and Castile and the whole of Christendom if the assault of the sherifs on Fes was successful. This was why he had assisted the king of Fes in his struggle with them. Those in Rome could know from old historical works how great the strength of Morocco had once been and how the conquest of Spain had proceeded from there.¹⁴⁷

Meanwhile troops continued to be enrolled. On March 19 Captain Mendes wrote from Andalusia that he had recruited five hundred men in two days, all of them old soldiers. He was now going to Dom Fernando de Loronha in Puerto de Santa Maria, where the rest of the men were.¹⁴⁸ On the twenty-eighth Francisco Botelho reported from there that six ships were anchored in the harbor ready to carry the troops and enough rations for two months. Fernão de Castro was in San Lucar with three hundred soldiers, and Manuel Mendes had already enlisted five hundred men in Seville. Two men had also arrived from Gué, and Dom Fernando was sending the news they had brought.¹⁴⁹ Dr. Rodrigo Machado wrote on the same day from Tavira in Algarve that Francisco da Cunha had set out for Mazagão on the twenty-first with a hundred crossbow- and riflemen in a *navio* and two *caravels*, and he had arrived there safely with Luis de Loureiro on the twenty-third. Later, Antonio Leite with seventy horsemen had also come up, but he had immediately sailed on to Azamor. Three other ships with 150 men were still detained by the wind. The vanguard of the sherif of Morocco was only a league and a half away from Mazagão, but no news had come from Gué.¹⁵⁰ In a letter sent from Coimbra on March 20, the more than eighty-year-old bishop Dom Jorge de Almeida, the brother of the former viceroy of India, Dom Francisco de Almeida, replied that he had been greatly saddened by the needs of the fortresses in Africa, and that he was ready at the first sign from the king to place at his disposal the income from his diocese, his vassals, his possessions, and his servants, and, if necessary, he would even sell his tableware and eat from wooden trenchers, for the older he became, the more ready he was to serve his lord.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 344-345.

¹⁴⁷ CDP XI 462-463.

¹⁴⁸ TdT: CC 1-69-70; Ricard 333.

¹⁴⁹ TdT: CC 1-69-81.

¹⁵⁰ TdT: CC 1-69-80; Ricard 338.

¹⁵¹ Figanier 344-345.

CHAPTER VII

THE HOUR OF DEPARTURE (MARCH—APRIL, 1541)

1. THE DEPARTING AUDIENCE (MARCH, 1541)

In the face of the danger which was threatening Gué and the neighboring fortresses in North Africa, preparations for the India fleet had to take a second place, especially since the winds were blowing from the south. Nevertheless its departure could not be put off any longer, since otherwise there was the danger that the ships would be forced to return or would have to spend the winter in Mozambique. The week before Laetare Sunday was therefore fixed as the last possible time for sailing,¹ and the king had Xavier and his companion summoned for a departing audience. He gave him four briefs which had in the meantime finally come from Rome.² The first two, dated July 27 and August 2, 1540, appointed Xavier and Rodrigues as papal nuncios and gave them a series of faculties for their office; the two others, of October 4 of the same year, recommended them to King David of Ethiopia and the other princes of the East.³ The spread of the faith was a matter of great concern to the pious king, who

¹ EX I 79.

² *Araujo (c. 5) and Rodrigues (*Hist.* I, 1, 266) erroneously place the departure audience in Almeirim, but Xavier explicitly states: "El-Rey nosso senhor me mandou chamar em Lixboa e me entregou de sua mão as provisões de nuncio appostolico pera estas partes da India" (EX II 455).

³ On the four briefs see I. Wicki, S.J., "Der hl. Franz Xaver als Nuntius Apostolicus," *Studia Missionalia* 3 (1947) 107-130, where he gives the texts and a critical explanation of them; see also MX II 119-128 and EX II 540, nn. 6-7; 544, n. 50. J. A. Eguren, S.J., in *Misiones Extranjeras* 1 (1949) 101-124 and P. Leturia in *AHSI* 22 (1953) 522 540-542 discuss the briefs from the viewpoint of canon law. The originals, which were still in the archives of the monastery in Goa in 1700 (Souza, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 12), are lost; Seb. Gonçalves gives three of these in a Portuguese translation. These, and the original minutes in the Vatican Archives (badly corroded by the ink), have preserved the substance of the text. Contrary to Valignano and other authors, Rodrigues is of the opinion that the briefs had not been requested by the king. Mascarenhas had already spoken of them on March 31, when John III still did not know the names of the two priests who had been chosen, that is, Rodrigues and Xavier (*Hist.* I, 1, 267, n. 3). But the king could have requested the briefs without knowing their names. Xavier wrote: "Diz o P. M. Francisco, que o papa Paulo 3º., a requerimento d'El-Rey nosso senhor, o mandou a estas partes... e pera fazer este officio mais perfeitamente o fes o sancto papa Paulo 3º. nuncio appostolico. As quaes provisões de nuncio appostolico mandou a El-Rey nosso senhor pera que, se Sua Alteza disse fosse contente de me dar seus poderes spirituaes tam compridos nestas partes, que fosse por seu aprazimento e contentamento, e doutra maneira não, pois a requerimento de Sua Alteza me mandou a estas partes da India" (EX II 545-455).—MX II 128-133 gives three recensions of a fifth brief, which Cros has dated July 27, 1540, and published with some errors (*Vie* I 484-486 188-189). The date "Romae, VI cal. augusti 1540," which is added to the text without any commentary, is a pure invention! The brief should be ascribed to the year 1549; see EX II 542, n. 27.

had a sincere compassion upon the spiritual needs of the pagans. He asked Xavier for the love of Christ to keep him fully informed about the readiness of those lands to receive the Gospel⁴ and about the fruit of their toil.⁵ In order to train laborers for that distant vineyard, he was going to found a college of the Society in Coimbra in the spring; and he told Xavier that he might write to Rome and ask that one of his confreres be sent to assist in its foundation.⁶

After he had returned home Xavier was able to read the briefs more carefully. In the first, which began *Cum sicut charissimus*,⁷ Paul III said that his beloved son John, the illustrious king of Portugal and Algarve, had recently told him that on a number of islands in the Red, Persian, and Oceanic seas and in the provinces and cities of India on both sides of the Ganges River and on both sides of the so-called Cape of Good Hope, which were under his domain, the faith in Christ, unknown there before the time of his father Manuel, had recently been received by many through the gift of divine grace, and that the rest of those living in those regions were trying to make them renounce it.

Since it was now a duty of his pastoral office to strengthen the flock in their pious purpose, especially those who were still of a tender age, and to defend them from the teeth of ravenous wolves, and to zealously assist in the preservation, spread, and increase of the faith, he was naming two priests, of whose virtue, wisdom, and knowledge he was confident, as his apostolic nuncios for all those places he had named. They should therefore go as soon as possible to those islands, provinces, and cities and strengthen the said young flock in the faith and bring the rest to a knowledge and acceptance of it through the preaching of the Gospel, the expounding of the sacred sciences, and the exercise of pious works.⁸ He was therefore giving them extensive faculties to preach and explain the Gospel and the rest of Sacred Scripture, to proscribe heretical and scandalous books and writings, to hear confessions, and to grant absolution for all, even the papally reserved, cases (except those in the bull *In Coena Domini*), to commute vows to other pious works (except those of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, to the tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul in Rome and to Santiago de Compostella, of entering a religious order, and of perpetual chastity), to distribute Holy Communion and dispense the other sacraments, and to grant a plenary indulgence once in a lifetime (even if⁹ it were *in articulo mortis*) to all those who confessed within eight days after learning of these faculties, and they could also grant these same faculties to other qualified and appropriate persons.

Codure had received similar faculties on November 5, 1540, for himself and his confreres mentioned in the bull of ratification, including Xavier. At the same time he had also received permission for them to celebrate Mass and distribute Holy Communion in the afternoon if otherwise prevented from doing so. The

⁴ EX I 81. Teixeira gives a rhetorical expansion of the account (836); Tursellinus, in his usual fashion, gives an imaginary conversation between the king and Xavier (1, 12).

⁵ *Ep. Broëti* 522-523.

⁶ EX I 79 143.

⁷ The original minutes are in the Vatican Archives *Arm. 41, t. 18, 132-133v*, ed. MX II 119-122). There are three copies: one of the papal notary Julien Janvier before 1549 (ARSI: *Inst. 194, 14-v 126a*), one by the papal archivist *Confalonierius of 1624 (69), and one of 1747 in the *copy of Seb. Gonçalves (Lisboa Bibl. Ajuda 49-4-51, 2); all have the wrong date "August, 1540." Seb. Gonçalves 1, 7, gives a Portuguese translation. Text in Wicki 118-123.

⁸ This order also explains Xavier's many trips.

⁹ The Latin text has *etiam si*; the Portuguese translation is *ainda que*; MX erroneously has *et si*, which changes the entire meaning.

pope had also blessed forty-five rosaries for him so that if one of the beads were added to another rosary, the one who owned it and recited it would receive each time the indulgence of the stations and that of the Seven Churches of Rome, and whoever recited thirty-three *Ave Marias* on it in honor of the thirty-three years of Christ's life would free one soul from purgatory.¹⁰

The second brief, which began with the words *Hodie pro parte*,¹¹ added further privileges to those granted in the first. In the places under their jurisdiction the two nuncios could name apostolic notaries, legitimize individuals so that they could inherit, receive secular offices and honors, be ordained, and receive an ecclesiastical benefice; they could dispense from impediments to marriage because of consanguinity up to the fourth degree (except in the case of forced abduction) and from spiritual impediments to marriage (except that existing between godchild and godparent) even after a marriage had been contracted, and they could legitimize children of such marriages.

Where there were no bishops, or where a bishop asked them to do so,¹² they could also absolve clerics who were guilty of manslaughter or mutilation from their guilt and excommunication and from other censures and penalties (except the irregularity arising from willful murder or bigamy) so that they could receive sacred orders and exercise their office. They could also absolve heretics and schismatics, except in the case of those who had relapsed, from excommunication, suspension, interdict, and other ecclesiastical censures after they had made a public abjuration. When the rights of others were not impeded, they could authorize the foundation and endowment of monasteries, churches, hospitals for the poor, and other pious establishments, and their restoration if they were in ruins; and they could reform monasteries, houses, hospitals, and other pious institutions which had no superiors, if this were necessary.

The third brief, *Cum nos nuper*,¹³ recommended Xavier and Rodrigues as papal nuncios "to our beloved son in Christ, David, the illustrious king of Ethiopia." It mentioned the faculties that had been given to them and asked him to support them in the exercise of their office. For this he would receive God's richest reward and the blessing of His vicar on earth.

The fourth brief, *Cum nuper ad*,¹⁴ was a similar letter of recommendation "to all the princes and lords of the islands of the Red, Persian, and Oceanic seas and of the provinces and cities on the near and far sides of the Ganges and the far side of the so-called Cape of Good Hope and their neighboring lands."

¹⁰ *Ep. Broëti* 419-420 according to the original in Rome; Fondo Gesù: *Miscel. 1*, fasc. 1. On July 2, 1541, Ignatius sent four of these blessed beads to a recluse in San Juan in Salamanca (*MI Epp.* 1, 172-173).

¹¹ Original minutes in the Vatican Archives *Arm. 41, t. 18*, 183-v, ed. MX II 122-125; Seb. Gonçalves 1, 8 gives a Portuguese translation of them. Text in Wicki 123-127.

¹² Note his subjection to the bishop. Xavier was not a nuncio in the modern sense of the word.

¹³ Original minutes in the Vatican Archives *Arm. 41, t. 18*, 62-v, ed. MX II 127-128. Text in Wicki 127-128. Seb. Gonçalves does not give the document.

¹⁴ Original minutes in the Vatican Archives *Arm. 41, t. 18*, 63-v, ed. MX II 125-126; Portuguese translation in Seb. Gonçalves 1, 9. Text in Wicki 129-130.

2. LETTERS TO ROME (MARCH 18, 1541)

On March 18 Xavier wrote his departing letters to his confreres in Rome. Rodrigues, who was to remain in Portugal with Medeiros and Santa Clara, had also returned to Lisbon from Almeirim;¹⁵ and an Italian, a young man twenty-two years old by the name of Bernardino Excalceato, had joined the companions and shown an interest in entering the Society.¹⁶ Xavier and Misser Paulo were destined for India, and they had been joined by a young Portuguese by the name of Francisco Mansilhas. He was a good-natured youth who had studied with Diego de Cáceres in Paris but had not as yet passed beyond the first level of Latin.¹⁷ But no great learning was needed in India, and any priest could find something to do there, as Xavier had been assured.¹⁸ The latter therefore hoped that he could be ordained in India, for Misser Paulo could give him some

¹⁵ *Araujo (c. 5) and Leite incorrectly state that Xavier took his leave from Rodrigues in Almeirim (Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 268).

¹⁶ The *catalogues of the Portuguese province (ARSI: *Lus.* 43) give the main dates of his life. He was born in 1518 in Frugarolo southeast of Alessandria. He entered the Society in Lisbon in 1542 (262), was procurator of India and Brazil (53), later studied Latin and moral theology and was ordained a priest in 1563 (262 206). He first worked in Evora, but then, after 1572, "very old and sick," in Santo Antão in Lisbon as a confessor (330 448v), where we still meet him in January, 1575 (479v). He died this same year on the estate Val de Rosal opposite Lisbon. The count of Castanheira used to say that the way in which the priest took care of the embarkation of the missionaries for India was edifying to the others (Franco, *Ano Santo* 164). He was called Descalco in Portugal and received the name Bernardino dos Reis from Rodrigues when he was received into the Society on the feast of the Epiphany, 1542 (Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 288). *Fernão Guerreiro, the well-known historian of the Society, declared in 1616, when he was ninety years old and testifying at the second process held in Lisbon for the canonization of Xavier, that when Fr. Bernardino dos Reis was his confessor, he had told him: "Patrem Xaverium ab eo deductum in navim, quando in Indiam vela fecit, et magnam sibi cum illo intercessisse familiaritatem, et varia ipsi testi narrasse de sanctitate dicti Patris, cuius rei ipse testis non bene recordabatur" (Roma, Biblioteca Innocenziana: *Processus remiss. Ulyssip. II*, 50-v).

¹⁷ Seb. Gonçalves states that prior to Xavier's arrival in Lisbon "Com o exemplo dos Padres [Rodrigues and Misser Paulo] se tinha convertido hum mancebo português, a quem o P. João de Lucena chama Francisco Mancias, porém todos os mais lhe chamão Francisco Manzilhas" (1, 6). But he is not mentioned in the letters from Lisbon until March 18, 1541, and the historians of the province always say that Medeiros was the first to enter the Society in Portugal. He worked on the Fishery Coast from 1544 to 1547. Although he did not know enough Latin to celebrate Mass or to recitate the breviary, he was ordained a priest at the beginning of 1545 (DI I 138). He was dismissed from the Society by Xavier at the beginning of 1548, as his companion Francisco Pérez expressly states in his recently discovered *Informação* (AHSI 34 [1965] 54-55; see also Bartoli, *Asia* 7, 38; Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 46; cf. Valignano 100*, contrary to Brodrick 250-253); but he remained on good terms with the order, and in 1557 he was a witness at the process for the canonization of Xavier in Cochin (MX II 316-321). He died there a pious death in 1565, as *Jerónimo Rodrigues wrote from Cochin on January 20, 1566 (Lisboa, Ac. de Ciências 3-9-11, 231v-232v; used by Bartoli and Souza).

¹⁸ On February 14, 1554, *Diego Mirón wrote to the general that in a memorial which he had written for Brother André Fernandes, who was going to Portugal at the beginning of 1553, Misser Paulo had said that it was very important that he persuade Ignatius to send much help to India. This was more necessary than anyone who had not been there could believe. He, moreover, was speaking from experience: "Porque en Portugal dezian antes que yo me partiesse pera acá, que qualquiera Padre bastava pera la India." The commercial transactions in Goa were as large as those in Lisbon and Rome, and the people there more selfish and proud than in Rome. In brief, he should ask him that the people sent should be "para mucho" (ARSI: *Hist. Soc.* 171, 396v).

further instructions on the long journey. Diogo Fernandes, a relative of Master Simon, had also decided to sail with the priests.¹⁹

The main letter was addressed to Ignatius and Codure.²⁰ Letters had come from Rome telling Xavier and Rodrigues that their confreres there were in good health and toiling earnestly in the vineyard of the Lord.²¹ Xavier told Ignatius and the other companions that the king wanted to found a college and a house for the Society in Portugal. For this reason three of them were remaining behind—Master Simon, Master Gonçalo Maneiros, and Manuel de Santa Clara. There were prospects of other candidates, and the founding of these houses was very dear to the king. Every time they visited him he had begun to speak of them. In the spring he wanted to build a college near the University of Coimbra and a house, probably, in Evora. The king would likely write to His Holiness so that he would send one or more of the Society to help Simon with these foundations.²² Xavier then continued:

Since the king is much attached to our Company and wants it to grow as if he were one of us, and all this for the love and honor of God, he has obliged us on God's account to be his everlasting servants. It seems to us that if we did not recognize our obligation to such a generous will, which manifests itself in such great works, and to those who distinguish themselves so much in the service of God our Lord, then we would be failing wretchedly in God's sight. We therefore feel so indebted in our prayers and unworthy sacrifices that we believe we should fall into a sin of ingratitude, if we should ever, as long as we live, forget His Highness.

Xavier had high hopes for the future. A ripe and plenteous harvest was beckoning him from the Far East. He therefore informed his confreres in Rome:

Misser Paulo and another, a Portuguese,²³ and I are sailing this week²⁴ for the Indies. Considering the ready disposition there is in those lands for the conversion of souls, according to what we are told by all those who have spent many years there, we hope in God our Lord that we shall gain much fruit.

The king is sending us with many proofs of his favor, and he had highly recommended us to the viceroy²⁵ who is going to India this year. We are sailing in his ship, and he is showing us great love, so much so that he has not let us worry at all about our embarkation. He himself wants to do everything for us. He has assumed the responsibility of taking care of the things we shall need at sea and has provided, and even ordered, that we should eat at his table. I mention these details only so that you may know that with his favor we can produce much fruit among those pagan kings because of the great regard in which a viceroy is held in those regions.

¹⁹ Lancillotto wrote to Rodrigues from Goa in 1545: "Aqui sta un giovane che si chiama Diego Fernando, vostro parente, quale venne con Maestro Francesco de Portogallo. Lui sempre se è exercitato ne lo hospitale como in casa; adesso è despensiero de casa" (DI I 35; cf. EX I 245 280). The list of missionaries sailing for India in 1603 erroneously gives his name as Diogo Rodrigues (Camara Manoel, *Missões dos Jesuitas no Oriente* [Lisboa, 1894] 129). Franco errs in calling him a priest (*Synopsis* 467). He did not enter the order.

²⁰ EX I 73-83.

²¹ *Ibid.* 78.

²² *Ibid.* 79.

²³ Mansilhas.

²⁴ Xavier wished to say "this coming week"; Rodrigues mistook the expression to mean "tomorrow," since Xavier wrote on a Friday (*Hist.* I, 1, 270, n. 2).

²⁵ Martim Affonso de Sousa; but he was only a governor, not a viceroy.

The viceroy who is going to India this year lived there for many years. He is an excellent man and enjoys the reputation of being such throughout the court, and he is highly esteemed by all in the Indies. He told me the other day that in India, on an island²⁶ where there are only pagans without any mixture of Moors or Jews, we shall certainly reap much fruit; and he foresees no difficulty in making Christians of the king of that island²⁷ and his subjects.

I believe that God our Lord, because of the great faith of a number of people who have some regard for us, and because of the need which the nations who do not know God and worship demons have of our slight and weak services, that we cannot doubt that, having placed all our hopes in God, we shall serve our Lord and help our neighbors, bringing them to a true knowledge of the faith.

He asked his confreres for the love and service of God to send him on the ships which would be sailing for India in the March of the following year a detailed set of instructions on the procedure he should follow in dealing with infidels. Although experience would teach him partially how he should act, he still hoped that His Divine Majesty would show him the way through his companions, as He had already done in the past. He then repeated his request:

We beg and beseech you, Fathers, again and again in the Lord,²⁸ through our most intimate friendship in Christ Jesus, to advise us in writing on the means you think we should follow there so as to serve our Lord God better, since we greatly desire that the will of Christ our Lord be made known to us through you. We ask you to add a special remembrance in your prayers over and above the usual one. The long sea voyage and our new dealings with the pagans combined with our slight knowledge demand much more help than usual.²⁹

He added that he would send them a detailed report from India on the first ships sailing from there. The king had made a personal request to this same effect:

When I took my leave from the king, he told me that for the love of our Lord I should write to him in great detail how these poor souls are disposed towards conversion. The misery in which they find themselves is a cause of great pain to him, and he greatly desires that their Creator and Redeemer should not be constantly offended by His creatures who were made to His image and likeness and redeemed at so great a price. The zeal of His Highness for the honor of Christ our Lord and the salvation of his neighbor is so great that we must give infinite praise and thanks to God at seeing a king who thinks so well and piously upon the things of God. And this is so true that I would not be able to believe all that I have seen in him if I had not myself been witness of it. May it please our Lord God to increase the days of his life by many years since he spends them so well and is so useful and good to his people.³⁰

Xavier then described the fruit which their efforts had produced in Almeirim, where the court resembled a religious house, and where many received the sacraments once a week while he and Rodrigues were staying there. He then brought his letter to a close:

²⁶ Ceylon.

²⁷ This refers to the king of Kôttê near Colombo, Bhuvaneka Bâhu, the supreme ruler of Ceylon, who gave Martim Affonso de Sousa a noble reception in Ceylon after his victory at Vêdâlai in 1538 and richly rewarded him (Correa III 831-832; Couto 5, 2, 5).

²⁸ 1 Thess. 4: 1.

²⁹ EX I 81.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 81-82.

We have nothing more to write to you from here except that we are ready to sail. We conclude with the request that our Lord Christ may give us the favor of seeing each other and of being physically united with each other again in the other life; for I do not know if we shall ever see each other again in this life, not only because of the great distance from Rome to India, but also because of the great harvest which waits for us there without our having to go elsewhere to look for it. Whoever goes first to the other life and does not find his brother there whom he loves in the Lord should ask Christ our Lord to unite us all there in His glory.

From Lisbon, on the eighteenth of March in the year 1541.

For all your dear ones in the Lord,

Francisco de Xabier.³¹

The second letter, addressed to Jay and Laynez, was written only for his companions and was therefore of a confidential nature.³²

On August 19, 1540, Codacio had received a small garden with a partially built house upon it as a perpetual inheritance, and on November 18 the parish benefice of Santa Maria della Strata.³³ At the beginning of February, 1541,³⁴ the companions therefore moved from the Palazzo Frangipani and took up their residence not far away from there in a small, dilapidated house across from the small church.³⁵ They had rented this from Camillo Astalli for thirty *scudi* a year.³⁶ It was too small, however, and they would have to build. Ignatius had therefore asked Rodrigues and Xavier to obtain an alms for this purpose from the king. To this Xavier replied:

I am writing to Pedro Codatio with respect to the alms from the king for the building of the house.³⁷ I see no great inclination for it this summer because of the preparations for the great war which I see are being made as a defense against the Moors who, according to the reports received here, are advancing in great strength.³⁸

It would be a great help if some of the cardinals who are friends of the king would write to him about this and tell him how well the alms given for the construction of this house will be used. I believe that Cardinal Carpi³⁹ is a friend of the king, since he is a great friend of Dom Pedro.⁴⁰ His letters would be useful, and those of Santi-quattro,⁴¹ and those also of other cardinals who you discover are friends of His Highness. If they do not want to write to the king, then they should at least write to Dom Pedro so that he may speak to the king about it and take upon himself the

³¹ EX I 82.

³² *Ibid.* 83-89. The letter was a private communication (*hijueta*) and did not as a consequence have a formal introduction.

³³ Tacchi Venturi, *Le case* 28 30; cf. Pirri in AHSI 10 (1941) 183.

³⁴ Tacchi Venturi concludes this from the fact that February 1 is always designated as the date for the beginning of a lease in the seven extant receipts for annual rentals (*Le case* 19-20). This is confirmed by Favre's letter from Regensburg of February 26, 1541, which was addressed to the Palazzo Frangipani, and another of March 12, which was addressed to the new residence: "... , frontero [a] Santa Maria de la Strada apresso Santo Marco, in Roma" (*Fabri Mon.* 76 80). It usually took sixteen to twenty days for his letters to go from Regensburg to Rome (and therefore the same time for those which he received from Rome) (*ibid.* 80 92 95 100 113). Perhaps because he still did not know the new address, Xavier simply wrote "en Roma" on both letters of March 18. On May 26 Rodrigues still wrote to the old address (*Ep. Broëti* 526).

³⁵ Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 3, 1.

³⁶ Tacchi Venturi, *Le case* 19.

³⁷ The letter is not extant.

³⁸ This refers to the battles in North Africa.

³⁹ Rodolfo Pio de Carpi.

⁴⁰ Dom Pedro Mascarenhas.

⁴¹ Antonio Pucci, who was called Cardinal Santiquattro after his titular church.

burden of doing this good work. If the ambassador there⁴³ is greatly devoted to the Company, it would be useful if he would write to the king, informing him of the need of his assistance.

Do not forget to write to Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, since I cannot describe the great happiness and consolation which he receives from your letters. I assure you he loves you greatly in the Lord. He is careful to save all of your letters and reads them frequently with much joy and consolation of spirit. And since I see how devoted he is to you, I am obliged to be entirely his all the days of my life.⁴³

It seems to us here, if there is nothing better to be done, that it would be good for you to write to the king and thank him for the college and house which he wants to build for the Company. Compliments are common here, and I know that the king would be pleased to receive a letter from you after having heard what Dom Pedro has said of you. You could say in your letter that we had written to you about the college and house which he wants to build in the name of the Company, since this would help to hasten its actual construction; and I know that many would read your letter here.⁴⁴

Master Franciscus then introduced his new recruits for India to his companions in Rome in his cheerful, joyous manner:

With respect of Francisco Mansilla, I want you to know that he has not received any orders. There is a bishop in India;⁴⁵ we hope in God that he may be ordained there. This good man has a larger share of much zeal, goodness, and great simplicity than he has of letters. If Don Paulo⁴⁶ does not impart to him some of his own great learning, he will not have much if our Lord God does not assist us. We will see what can be done there in India about his ordination. He is very anxious that, if by chance they are not willing to ordain him there, you send him a dispensation according to which he may be ordained outside the ordinary times on three feast days on the title of voluntary poverty and more than enough simplicity (*sufficientissimae simplicitatis*).⁴⁷ May his great goodness and holy simplicity supply for his lack of learning. If he had associated as much with Bobadilla⁴⁸ as he did with Cáceres,⁴⁹ it could be that he would have gained more from the former than he did from the latter; and we would not now be finding ourselves in these straights, for he would have opened the sails of Scripture as he spewed forth his knowledge.⁵⁰ Mansilla and Misser Paulo are very anxious to receive from His Holiness the favor of freeing a soul from Purgatory every time they say Mass.⁵¹

⁴³ Christovão de Sousa.

⁴⁴ Mascarenhas was certainly staying in Lisbon again at this time, both because of the political situation and because of the departure of the fleet for India. Xavier wrote to Ignatius in particular, although he did not address the letter to him.

⁴⁵ EX I 85-86.

⁴⁶ Frey Juan de Albuquerque, O.F.M.

⁴⁷ Misser Paulo.

⁴⁸ Xavier was referring to the canon law which required the vow of poverty as a title for ordination for members of religious orders, and for others a *sufficiens beneficium*, a *patrimonium*, or an appropriate *pensio*.

⁴⁹ Bobadilla liked to boast of his knowledge and accomplishments, as a glance at his autobiography will indicate (see Bobadilla 613-615 622-623 and XII).

⁵⁰ Diego de Cáceres, who matriculated at the University of Paris in 1534 and studied there until 1541 (Villoslada 395; EX I 18).

⁵¹ Xavier addressed his letter to Laynez, who had written to him on January 22, 1540: "Con haver estendido las velas de la escritura en las liciones me dilato en el moral" (EX I 87).

⁵² This refers to an altar privilege which cardinals, for example, have according to canon law (*Codex iuris canonici Pii X*, can. 239, 1, 10).

We have said 250 Masses on our part for Cardinal Guidati6n⁵² since our departure from Rome. With the favor of God our Lord we shall finish those that remain in India. As far as I am concerned, it seems to me that I am bound to celebrate Mass for the Most Reverend Monsignor as long as I live because of the great consolation I experience in doing so.

Xavier then turned his thoughts to his friends and the candidates whom he had left behind in Rome:

Now that our rule⁵³ has been confirmed, we would like very much to know if those persons to whom we owe much love because of the great concern which they have shown for our affairs and their desire to see them crowned with success have entered the Society or are considering doing so. I fear there are some among them who want to find peace without entering, but that they will not find it before they do. I do not say this for Francisco Zapata alone,⁵⁴ for I do not wish to exclude the *Señor Licenciado*,⁵⁵ who, I fear, will not find consolation as long as he is frequenting palaces. I am convinced that Señor Dr. Ynigo López will no longer find happiness in his medicine if he stays entirely away, for he would then not be able to help Father Ynigo's stomach and Bobadilla's *merachya*.⁵⁶ I do not know what I should say about Diego Zapata⁵⁷ and those who are like him⁵⁸ except that the world cannot approve of them and will forsake them, and that they will then have difficulty in finding anyone who wants them.

Xavier also hoped that assistants for the India mission would come from Rome:

I do not know why it is, but since the king decided that one of us should remain here and the others should sail, I keep thinking of our dearest brother Antonio de Arauz.⁵⁹ It seems to me that he should come to visit us in India with half a dozen clerics. And if he comes with a few companions, even if they are not greatly gifted with knowledge, still, if they have a great longing to dedicate their days to the service of our Lord and are free from every appearance of greed, it seems to us that great fruit would be gained by their coming. Even if you do not send us any this year, that is, this coming March, but only after two years, when you will have received our reply from India, nothing, we believe, will be lost by this if you send a considerable number two years from now. Consider what seems good to you in this regard, for I want you to know that I believe that there will be a great harvest in India from what we

⁵² Guidiccioni, who finally gave up his opposition to a written confirmation of the Society.

⁵³ He is referring here to the Five Chapters which were taken up in the bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* and confirmed by it on September 27, 1540 (see also EX I 176).

⁵⁴ On him see above p. 500. He did not go to Ireland with Salmer6n and Broët until September 10, 1541 (Polanco, *Chron.* I 96-97).

⁵⁵ This probably refers to Caballar, the chaplain of Dr. Ortiz; see above, p. 499.

⁵⁶ The word, which is not to be found in a dictionary, is probably the Arabic *marāqqiyya*. It is a medical term designating a kind of melancholy during which the afflicted person has impossible and absurd notions (EX II 653). As in many other things, Bobadilla had his own views about medicine. He wrote in his autobiography that he rarely consulted a doctor, since he could only know him from the outside, "ipse vero intellectu et sensu cognoscit et sentit suas infirmitates. Ideo solet dicere quod subiectum medicinae est corpus humanum, praeter bobadillianum; et ipse sibi est medicus" (Bobadilla 631).

⁵⁷ On him see above, p. 500.

⁵⁸ For example, Dr. Carri6n, Francisco de Salazar, and Antonio Zapata (see above pp. 499-500).

⁵⁹ He was a Basque like Xavier and greatly resembled him in his ardent temperament.

hear from all those who have spent many years there. From there in India we shall write to you at great length when we have gained experience of that country. The favor of the viceroy will help us a great deal, for he is highly regarded there by those kings who are at peace with the king of Portugal.

Xavier also hoped to receive spiritual favors and long letters from Rome. He therefore concluded his letter as follows:

If you think you can help us there with a few spiritual favors so that we may serve our Lord better, then take care, if it seems good to you, to send them to us, at least such as will enable those who join our Society there to be ordained outside the usual times, without a patrimony and without a benefice but with a vow of voluntary poverty, and the power to legitimize.⁶⁰ When you write to India, write to us about everything, since this will be possible only once a year; and write in such great detail that we shall have to read the letter for eight days. We shall do the same.

From Lisbon, the eighteenth of March, in the year 1541.

For all your dearest brothers here in Christ,

Francisco de Xabier.⁶¹

3. THE FALL OF GUÉ (MARCH 12, 1541)

The weeks during which the Indian fleet was accustomed to embark were drifting by, and the five ships were still lying at anchor in the Tagus. The headwind kept blowing, and the news from Africa kept growing worse from day to day. On March 30 the king therefore wrote to Cobos that, according to the reports which he had received, he would have to assist two other places besides Gué because the sherif of Morocco was going to invest them. Because of the shortness of time, he had to have help from all sides. He had to enlist two thousand more soldiers. He therefore hoped that he would give him permission to recruit these men with the same good will that he had for the first thousand,⁶² and he wrote to Sarmiento at Almeirim that he should support his request with Cobos, and with the cardinal archbishop of Toledo.⁶³

But it was too late. The swift courier had not as yet left Almeirim with the King's two letters and those of Sarmiento when the news reached Lisbon that Gué had fallen. The report of the disaster had a devastating effect upon the people. This was the first fortress in North Africa since the capture of Ceuta in 1415 to fall into the hands of the Moors. All of Portugal went into mourning, and the king took the disaster deeply to heart.⁶⁴ He sent a detailed report to his ambassador in Rome about the siege and fall of the fortress, explaining how he had tried in every way to send help, but how, because of his sins, God had permitted headwinds to blow for two and a half months which had repeatedly driven the Malagueta fleet back to Galicia, and how only three of the sixteen ships which had sailed from Lisbon had arrived before its fall, and three after. He also wrote that the enemy had destroyed its walls by an uninterrupted bombardment of twenty days, and that on the last day the sur-

⁶⁰ As a nuncio Xavier already had this authority for himself.

⁶¹ EX I 86-89.

⁶² *Sarmiento 117 145.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 118.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 173.

vivors had defended themselves from morning to evening without any other defense except their swords against the vast superiority of the Moors until all had fallen. Only fifty or sixty men, and these of the lower class, had saved themselves by diving into the sea and swimming to two anchored ships, which brought the sad news to Lisbon. He concluded:

Do not give the emperor any details about this. But it would be good for him to know the great strength of these sherifs. Twenty-seven years ago they started out as poor *escudeiros* and now everyone says that there could be ten thousand horsemen in their forces, all with breastplates and steel helmets or coats of mail, . . . and others with spears and leathern shields, and infantrymen without number, because they can get as many as they wish. Among them are many Turks and renegades, who direct everything. They approached the walls and laid out their positions so well that no one could have done it better. The other sherif, of Morocco, has each year a greater force of armed soldiers than he; and it is said that the two are among the richest men in the world, for camels come to them laden with gold from Timbuktu, bringing great amounts of it to them; and they are on good terms with the Turks. And they have made such progress because of the grave fault of the Christians who sent them so many weapons and makers of artillery and all other kinds of craftsmen.⁶⁵

On April 1 Sarmiento wrote from Almeirim to Cobos:

Your Lordship already knows from my letters how many days the sherif of Morocco held the Cape of Gué under siege through his brother. . . . The king sent a knight by the name of Manuel de la Camara, who has an income of two *contos* [2,000,000 *reis*], with 450 men and a large amount of ammunition and supplies and some artillery. . . . There were also with him a few knights. They later received further help from Madeira in the form of 250 men; and at different times other people also reached the fortress, so that it is said that at the end there were 1,200 Christian soldiers there and eighty pieces of heavy artillery and all that was needed for them. But the Moors made an earthen rampart, and it is said that they had as much artillery and were as well equipped and had as many weapons as the army of His Majesty, very different from that which the Moors usually have. They fought so bravely that they reached the Christians by force of arms, though the Christians defended themselves valiantly until the end. And having done much damage to the Moors, it is said that when these forced their way in, there were still six hundred Christians alive, who were slain and almost all the knights who were there. The governor and a part of those who had survived, it is said, withdrew into a castle that was there to save their lives if they could. It is not known whether the enemy forced their way into it through treachery or strength, since all were lost and nothing more in particular is known up to this time. Besides the soldiers, many Christians who were living there, men, women, and children also perished. It was a great disaster also because of the loss of a great amount of artillery, ammunitions, and weapons, . . . and because of the reputation which the sherif has gained through it. . . . The most serene king is in Lisbon arranging everything that seems necessary to him at this time. The queen will leave from here three days from now. I would have gone immediately to Lisbon when this bad news came, but His Highness would not let me go until he went; so I am traveling with Her Highness, who is not very well. Her children, however, are well. The infanta Dona Isabel, the wife of the infante Don Duarte, who is in heaven, has given birth to a son, whom they have named after his father. . . . There is so much grief here and so much bitterness over the loss of that place which I mentioned above that I cannot describe it. There is not a man in the whole of Portugal who is not going to offer his services to the king.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ CDP IV 362-367.

⁶⁶ *Sarmiento 168v-169.

A letter which Dom Affonso de Ataide⁶⁷ wrote to the old bishop of Coimbra from Lisbon on April 7 reveals the spirit with which the people took up the battle for Gué in Portugal. His eldest son, one of the last to fall, had died a hero's death on the day that the city was taken. Although he had been seriously wounded, he and a companion with prodigious efforts covered the retreat of the last survivors from the completely demolished fortress into the city.⁶⁸ The bishop had sent his father a letter of condolence, which the latter answered as follows:

Today, Thursday morning, the seventh day of the current month of April, 1541, a courier gave me Your Lordship's letter on the death of my son Martin Gonçalves, whom God in his goodness, as we believe, has with Him in His glory. He told his mother and his servants and friends when he left that he hoped to win this grace through his martyrdom for His name and the defense and spread of the faith. Since he is among the blessed who have died for our Lord, may He be praised for having received his blood at such a tender age as a propitiation for my sins and for His service and that of his king and lord and to the honor of his country. I therefore ask [the Lord] through the merits of His passion and death, and in honor of His five wounds, to help me to overcome my sins, which were the cause of his sufferings and of that special martyrdom which was his share more than that of many of his companions because of the losses which he inflicted upon the enemy where the battle raged most fiercely.⁶⁹

4. THE LAST FAREWELL (APRIL 7, 1541)⁷⁰

Now that Gué had fallen, there was nothing more to detain the India fleet. Like a battle in North Africa, a voyage to India was also regarded as a crusade

⁶⁷ Dom Affonso de Ataide, the third lord of Atouguia and *alcaide-mor* of Coimbra, was the son of the second count of Atouguia, Dom Martinho de Ataide, and Dona Brites da Silva. He and his wife, Maria de Magalhaens, had nine children. His first, Martim Gonçalves de Ataide, was badly wounded in a duel with Dom Simão da Silveira. Vexed over this, he went to Gué; his brother Luis died as viceroy of India in 1581; his brothers Alvaro Gonçalves and João also served in India; another, Vasco, died in the battle of Alcacer Quibir in 1578 (Sousa, *Hist. Gen. XII*, 1, 18-22).

⁶⁸ On his death see Figanier 209-212 348 356-357; *Chronique* 102.

⁶⁹ Figanier 345-346.

⁷⁰ Seb. Gonçalves wrote in 1614 that Xavier had visited the renowned shrine of Nossa Senhora de Nazareth before his departure, as Vasco da Gama had before he sailed for India: "Antes que o B. Padre se embarcasse para a India foi em pergrinação a N. Sra. da Nasaré para a tomar por advogada e patrona na viagem. Socedeo estando elle comprindo com sua devaçam, que dous fidalgos fossem a desafio... ficiou aos primeiros golpes o menos venturoso tam ferido que vasando-se em sangue acudirão os circunstantes a buscar confessors... Acodio o B. Padre ao ferido...; pergunta-lhe se perdoara ao agravante fasendo-lhe Deus mercê da vida? Respondeo que sy. Voltou-se emtam o bom padre a Deus Nosso Senhor e affectuosamente lhe pedio ouvesse por bem de conceder a vida e saude áquelle pobre homem para que se não perdesse. Ouvio Deus a oraçam de seu servo Francisco, concedeo-lhe despacho de sua petiçam, sarou o ferido no corpo e alma perdoando a quem o tinha agravado, e dando as devidas graças ao mesmo Senhor as deu tambem a seu bemfeitor por cuja intercessam alcançou tam asinalada mercê" (1, 6). In 1620 Jorge d'Almeida, S.J., repeated this same anecdote with a different date in his sermon on the feast of the saint in São Roque. The two fidalgos were related by marriage. As they fought over an inheritance, one of them was mortally wounded by a sword. Xavier rushed up and asked if he would forgive his adversary if the Virgin healed him. The wounded man said that he would and was healed at that same moment so that no trace of the wound was left. The priest then added: "Està este milagre iustificado e aprovado com muitas testemunhas, nos

against the Moors and Turks. The king had therefore asked Rome for a brief for the fleet that was to sail in 1540. This was sent on February 27 of this same year, but it did not arrive in Lisbon until after the ships had departed⁷¹ and was therefore not used until 1541 for the ships sailing that year. In the brief the pope spoke of the obligation which he had as the shepherd of his flock to help his threatened lambs. King John of Portugal, he continued, had informed him through his ambassador that the Turkish tyrant, not content with threatening the greater part of Europe, had, like a hungry wolf eager for Christian blood, sailed to India and besieged Diu and conquered Aden, and that he, the king, was fitting out a fleet to sail against him. The Holy Father therefore granted to all the faithful of his realm who went to confession within eight days after they had learned about the brief and fasted on the following Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday and received Holy Communion on Sunday and prayed for the successful outcome of the war, and to all the soldiers of the fleet after they had gone to confession, a plenary indulgence. He also gave faculties to all confessors to absolve from all cases, even those contained in the bull *In Coena Domini*, and to commute all vows (except those of making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, of entering into a religious order, and of perpetual chastity) to other pious works.⁷²

The days before the departure of the India fleet were, therefore, like those of a mission. People streamed to the confessionals, received the sacraments,

livros de nossa Senhora de Nazareth" (Diogo Marques Salgueiro, *Relaçam das festas que a religiam da Companhia de Iesu fez em a Cidade de Lisboa, na Beatificaçam do Beato P. Francisco de Xauier* [Lisboa, 1621] 82v). Manuel de Brito Alao describes the miracles of the Virgin which were represented in the choir of the shrine: "O primeiro do arco da mão esquerda he Simão de Sá de Refoyos, tendo neste sitio humas palavras com hum homem, lhe deu huma ferida perigosa, de que estava morrendo, e pedinho-lhe o Padre S. Francisco Xavier (que naquelle tempo se achou nesta Casa, indo para se embarcar para a India) perdoasse ao que o ferira... o não quiz fazer, e instando o Santo o fissesse, que Nossa Senhora lhe daria saude, ao que o ferido respondeo, que se a tivesse lhe perdoaria: e o Santo tirando á Senhora o manto, e pondolho, como vedes, sobre a ferida, sarou milagrosamente" (*Antiquidade da sagrada imagem de Nossa Senhora da Nazareth* [Lisboa, 1628] 56v). The author, who was over eighty-two years old in 1637 (Silva V 381), had already been the administrator of the church in 1608 (Muge, Bibl. Cadaval: Ms. 849, 10v). When the church was rebuilt between 1680 and 1691, the paintings were destroyed. In 1841 José de Almeida Salazar wrote in his **Memorial da Real Casa de N. Sra da Nazareth* that neither the picture nor any other document on the miracle performed by Xavier were extant (Archives of the Shrine: Ms. 115 II, ff. 1 62).—Cros gives an inaccurate translation of Seb. Gonçalves (*Vie* I 189-190). Brou erroneously ascribes the church to Belém (I 105). Rodrigues is dubious about the incident, but is inclined to accept the opinion that Xavier set out on the pilgrimage from Almeirim (*Hist.* I, 1, 261-262). We regard the matter as being quite doubtful. Although a pilgrimage from Almeirim to Nazareth could have been made in two days (thirty-seven miles), the two priests were so busy that they never found time for preaching, and there is no mention of the miracle before 1614. On February 17, 1551, Pedro Doménech wrote to Ignatius from Almeirim that he had made a pilgrimage to Nazareth with his orphan boys and had gone from there with them to Coimbra. On the way his young companions had cured a sick woman in Montemór-o-Velho. Not far from there as they continued on their way they met two *cavalleiros* who wanted to kill each other. One of the boys, who was eight or nine years old, went up to them said: "Brothers, do not fight any more!" The two immediately separated and went off to eat (*Ep. Mixtae* II 509-510). This could perhaps be the origin of the legend about Xavier.

⁷¹ In 1540 the ships set sail on March 25 (Figueiredo Falcão 159), and the brief was not sent from Rome until the eleventh or twelfth of the month (CDP IV 287 295). It could not have arrived before March 29 or 30 since couriers needed approximately eighteen to twenty days to travel from Rome to Lisbon (EX I 57-58).

⁷² CDP IV 255-257.

and had Masses offered *pro navigantibus*; ⁷³ and those sailing to India made out their wills, for the voyage was long and dangerous, and many travelers did not return from there.

On April 3 the queen had left Almeirim and the king had ridden out to meet her and had brought her to Lisbon.⁷⁴ The day for the departure of the fleet had now arrived. Five mighty, three-masted *naus* ⁷⁵ with high forecastles and quarterdecks and the large red cross of Christ on their white sails ⁷⁶ lay anchored off Belém.⁷⁷ In the monastery church of the Hieronymites ⁷⁸ a High Mass was sung ⁷⁹ and a sermon preached to the assembled throng.⁸⁰ Xavier and his com-

⁷³ Each week King Manuel had a High Mass of the Angels celebrated for the voyagers in six monasteries, for example, in São Domingos de Bemfica, near Lisbon, with a second oration of the Blessed Virgin and a third *Pro navigantibus*; see J.J. d'Ascensão Valdez, "El Rey D. Manuel e os Navegadores," *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* 16 (1897) 699-703.

⁷⁴ *Sarmiento 173. The royal couple could therefore have come to Lisbon on March 6. Later authors mention traditions according to which Xavier had a great devotion to the miraculous image of Nossa Senhora do Bom Despacho in the monastery church of S. Antão o Velho in Lisbon. A room in which he is supposed to have stayed was pointed out in the monastery (Cardoso II 425; Franco, *Imagem de Lisboa* (68), and a small chapel in the garden where he was accustomed to pray. The chapel is of a later date and the monastery was not given to the Society until after Xavier's departure. It was not until January 5, 1542, that the companions moved here (see Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 274 287; Chaves 169-170).

⁷⁵ EX I 120 125; the names of the ships and their captains are given in Correa IV 211; Couto 5, 2, 1; Figueiredo Falcão 159.

⁷⁶ See the contemporary picture of the five ships in the **Memoria das Armadas 1497-1560*, f. 31v, in the Academia das Ciências in Lisbon. Its author set sail for India in 1549.

⁷⁷ "E pois sendo a armada de todo prestes se fez á vela no rio de Lisboa, barlaventeando com fermosura de bandeiras e estendartes, e em todalas velas cruces de Christus, fazendo salva com muyta artelharria, se forão a Belem," Correa wrote about the departure of Vasco da Gamas in 1502 (I 270). See the descriptions of the departures of Cabral in 1500 (Barros 1, 5, 1 and HCPB II 36-39), of Vasco da Gama in 1502 (Correa I 270), of the fleet in 1543 (TdT: CC 1-73-64), of the missionaries in 1551 (*Ep. Mixtae* II 553-555) and 1555 (*Litt. Quadr.* IV 356-361).

⁷⁸ King Manuel built the Belém monastery on the site of the chapel of Our Lady of Restello, where Vasco da Gama had attended Mass before sailing for India.

⁷⁹ See the descriptions in Correa, Barros, and *Ep. Mixtae*. In the garden of the palace of the marquês de Fronteira in Bemfica, four miles northwest of Lisbon, is a chapel where Xavier, according to a family tradition, said his last Mass before departing for India, and where he is supposed to have left his cap (Chaves 171-172). The statement about the Mass is first found in Fréd. Rouvier, S.J., *Les Saints, Confesseurs, et Martyrs, de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Lille, 1893) 81; it is repeated in Gabriel Pereira, *Pelos suburbios e visinhanças de Lisboa* (Lisboa, 1910) 48; Avila e Bolama, *A Nova Carta Chorographica de Portugal* 3 (Lisboa, 1914) 366; and José Cassiano Neves, *Jardins e palácio dos Marquesses de Fronteira* (Lisboa, 1941) 51-52. Avila e Bolama notes that the church of St. Francis Xavier in Cuncolim (Goa-Salsete), where Xavier [*sic!*] died as a martyr (a confusion with the five martyrs of Cuncolim), belonged to the marquês de Fronteira. Neves finds some support for the tradition in Xavier's relations with the family of Mascarenhas, but adds that some look upon this as pure fantasy. Chaves mentions a hypothesis that the Mass was celebrated in the neighboring Dominican church. But Dom Manuel, the brother of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas and progenitor of the later marquês de Fronteira, had been since 1538, at the time of Xavier's departure, the captain of Arzila in Africa. The palace was not built until 1671-1678, and the chapel, which was still in the process of being built in 1678, bore over its entrance the same inscription as its predecessor: "Dicatum charitati coeli januae MDLXXXIII." Alexis Collotes de Jantillet, who gave a detailed description of the palace and garden in 1678, knew of no tradition about Xavier (*Horae subsecivae* [Ulyssipone, 1679] 110-111). The "caps of St. Francis" which are found in Portugal are those that were placed on

panions then took their leave from the count of Castanheira⁸¹ and their other friends who had come out from Lisbon⁸² and boarded a sloop which took them to the admiral's ship. Rodrigues accompanied them.⁸³ It was very difficult for Xavier to separate himself from him, and before he left—most likely forever—he revealed, at Simon's request, a long-kept secret.

When Master Simon lay sick with a fever in the Palazzo Frangipani in Rome, Xavier had slept on a mat on the floor beside his bed so that he could give him his medicine at midnight. Suddenly the sick man had seen his confrere start up with loud cries. He seemed to be pushing someone away with all his strength, and he woke up bleeding profusely from his mouth and nose. Rodrigues asked him what it meant, but was told that it meant nothing. Now, before they parted, Rodrigues asked him again what had happened. Xavier then, after making him promise not to reveal it to anyone during his lifetime, told him:

You must know, Brother Master Simon, that God has granted me the great grace of preserving my virginity. That night I dreamt that we were making a journey and that a young woman came into an inn and tried to touch my breast. To fend her off I shoved her away from me with my arms with so much force that I must have burst a vein, and this is why I bled and woke up.⁸⁴

Xavier's body in Goa after his canonization. Xavier celebrated his last Mass in the monastery church of Belém on the day of his departure, as Chaves rightly assumes.

⁸⁰ Cros speaks of a tradition in Lisbon according to which Xavier delivered his farewell sermon from a portable pulpit which the monks of the monastery had placed at his disposal and which Queen Catarina had brought to her palace of Bemposta in Lisbon, which she built after her return from England (1693) (*Vie* I 190-191). She died in 1705. In the nineteenth century the marquesa of Abrantes had a Xavier-pulpit (probably the same) in her tribune in the church of Santos-o-Velho in Lisbon. When she died in 1868, Cristiano José Vicente inherited it. Antonio Mario Almeida Brandão bought it from him in 1918 and placed it in his private chapel in Beiriz (Rodrigues, *Hist.* I, 1, 270, n. 2). Christoval de Berlanga, S.J., without giving any further details, speaks of miracles which Xavier worked "con el pulpito en que avia predicado" (*El Apostol de las Indias y Nuevas Gentes, San Francisco Xavier* [Valencia, 1698] 95). He is probably referring to the one in Lisbon.

⁸¹ He must have been there as *vedor da fazenda*. In 1555 he sent the Jesuits in Belém instructions for sailing (*Ep. Mixtae* II 534). In 1555 it is expressly stated that they took their leave from him in Belém (*Litt. Quadr.* IV 360).

⁸² The greater part of Lisbon came to Belém for Cabral's departure in 1500 (Barros 1, 5, 1). As we have seen above, Bernardino dos Reis accompanied Xavier there.

⁸³ According to Tursellinus 6, 6; Lucena 1, 10; in 1551 the Jesuits also said farewell to their companions on board the ship (*Ep. Mixtae* II 534-535).

⁸⁴ In 1596 Francisco Vázquez, S.J., wrote down what he had heard from Simon Rodrigues some twenty-three or twenty-four years before. The occasion had been a visit by Rodrigues to Montilla, where Vasquez was rector. He first described their experiences in the Palazzo Frangipani, as we have described them above on page 434. He then added that when Xavier and Rodrigues traveled from Rome to Lisbon with Mascarenhas [*sic*], Master Simon had asked his companion why he had shed so much blood at that time. After he promised Xavier that he would say nothing about it, he had received the answer given in the text (*MI Scripta* I 570-571). In 1577 Rodrigues himself gave a somewhat different account in his *Commentarium*, that is, some four years after his visit in Montilla. Xavier had first put off his question, "sed post dies aliquot, dum rem eandem ex ipso patre quidam [Rodrigues] sciscitaretur, respondit, somniasse tunc ad impuram se corporis voluptatem trahi, et propter vehementem, quem ad resistendum adhibuerat conatum, tandem experrectum, copiam illam ingentem sanguinis effudisse" (Rodrigues 502; the time as given in the Portuguese text is still more vague "dahi a certo tempo"). In 1594 (4, 8) and in 1596 (6, 6) Tursellinus erroneously placed the dream in Lisbon. He has Xavier refuse to answer any questions there, but then finally, just before sailing he has him reveal the secret in a secluded corner of

Xavier also revealed another secret to him as he was leaving:

Do you still remember that night in the hospital in Rome when I woke you up with the loud cry: "More, more, more!" You often asked me to tell you what it meant, and I always said that it meant nothing. But now you should know what it was. I then saw (whether in a dream or when I was awake, I do not know, God knows) the very grave hardships, toils, and sufferings from hunger, thirst, cold, journeys, shipwrecks, betrayals, slanders, and dangers that were being offered to me for the love and service of the Lord; and the same Lord granted me at that time the grace that I was not content but asked for more and more with those words which you heard. I hope in the Divine Goodness, that it will indeed give me on this voyage what was offered me there, and also the desire that was granted to me.

These were his last words, and Rodrigues got into the sloop and sailed back to land.⁸⁵ When the wind set in, the admiral's ship gave the signal, a cannon's blast, for the others to set out.⁸⁶ The large sails with the cross of Christ upon them swelled out as they caught the wind, and the five ships glided slowly down the stream and out into the open sea as the crowd on the shore, the monastery, and the white tower of Belém disappeared from view. It was April 7, 1541.⁸⁷ On that day, thirty-five years before, Xavier had made his entrance into the world in his father's castle.

Rodrigues remained sadly behind. A week later he wrote to his confreres in Rome:

My brother Master Franciscus departed from here with two companions on April 7 of the present year, 1541, highly favored by the king and very generously supplied for the voyage, and more so than he had wished because the king, whom we obey here, wanted it so. And certainly, if we have anyone here who shows us great affection and kindness in the things of God our Lord, it is he and the queen... He would have

the ship: "Nunc demum, inquit, tempus est enunciandi, quod toties ex me, Simon, frustra es sciscitatus: quippe hoc ultimum (ut arbitror) sum te in hac vita visurus. Scito igitur illa nocte impuram speciem per somnium mihi oblatam; summaque vi repellere conanti tantam illam copiam sanguinis erupisse." But Lancicius observes on this: "Scribit Tursellinus S. Xaverium ad quandam speciem huiusmodi in somnis oblatam, ita repente exhorruisse, ut prae impetu resistentis animi, multum e naribus sanguinem effuderit, et evigilaverit cum ingenti strepitu etiam corporis a non honesto somnio abhorrentis. Porro hoc loco notanda est tanquam certissima, historia lecta a me Romae, tunc dum essem adiutor P. Nicolai Orlandini in colligenda ex scriptis Archiviorum Societatis materia pro Historia Societatis, in somno illo S. Xaverii nullam fuisse ei repraesentatam speciem faedam, nec illum passum esse tunc ullam illusionem, vel tentationem nocturnam, — quidquid scriptum sit a P. Rodericio [Alonso Rodrigues S.J., *Ejercicio de perfección* 2, 3, 16: "Del Padre San Francisco Javier leemos en su Vida, que en una tentación o ilusión que tuvo durmiendo, hizo tanta fuerza para resistirla, que con la fuerza echó tres o cuatro bocanadas de sangre"], qui scripta Romani et Lusitani Archivi nunquam vidit,—sed hoc solum ei dormienti repraesentatum fuisse, quod *faemina aliqua (non impudica) videretur tangere pectus eius velle et manum intra vestem pectori adiunctam inserere*. Et hoc solo somnio, adeo solum illum contactum repraesentatum abhorruisse, ut statim evigilaverit, et magnam sanguinis copiam e naribus effuderit. Hoc se ab eo audivisse hic primum, cum e Lusitania discessurus esset in Indias, scripsit P. Simon Rodericus, et ego in eius Originali scripto, Romam misso hoc legi" (*Opuscula spiritualia* 1 [Antverpiae, 1650] 296-297).

⁸⁵ Lucena 1, 10.

⁸⁶ João de Castro wrote about his departure in 1538: "Tirou a capitania hum tiro e se fez á vella, e todos fizemos o mesmo" (*Roteiro de Lisboa a Goa* [Lisboa, 1882] 20).

⁸⁷ EX I 91 119; *Ep. Broëti* 521 524; Figueiredo Falcão 159; Couto 5, 8, 1, contrary to *Araujo, who does not have Xavier depart until April 8 (c. 5).

done even more for us than what I have mentioned if it had not been for the difficulties caused by the war with the Moors, who captured one of his fortresses. And since it was thought that he might go there in person, and this has not as yet been fully determined,⁸⁸ there was nothing else that could be done except to recommend him to God our Lord in our prayers. . . . I am staying here with three others, one of whom is Medeiros, who has made great progress. But another, Manuel de Santa Clara, I sent away since he did not seem to me to be suited for our Company.⁸⁹ . . . The king provided Master Francis with books worth about a hundred *cruzados* to take with him to India and earnestly asked him to write about the fruit that is gained there. Since I am a sinner, I am always disappointed in my desires, being unworthy of so great a good as Master Francis; and I am much aggrieved at being separated from him.⁹⁰

In later years Rodrigues was always able to relate much about the great sanctity, the great abnegation in all his activities, the glowing enthusiasm, the spirit of prayer, the zeal for souls, and the perfect obedience of his saintly confrere, Father Master Francis.⁹¹

⁸⁸ On April 24, 1541, *Sarmiento wrote: "The lord infante Don Luis was firmly resolved to go there. . . . But it appears that this will not take place. . . . The king was extremely sad and felt most keenly the loss of Cape Gué" (145).

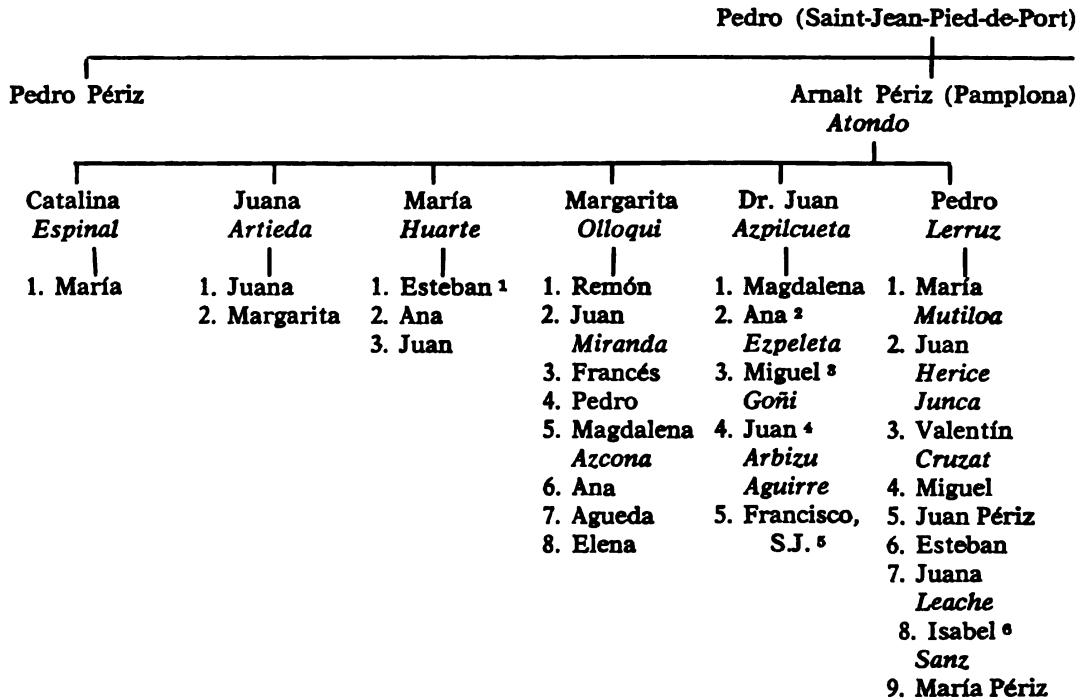
⁸⁹ Because of his fantastic visions.

⁹⁰ *Ep. Broëti* 521-523.

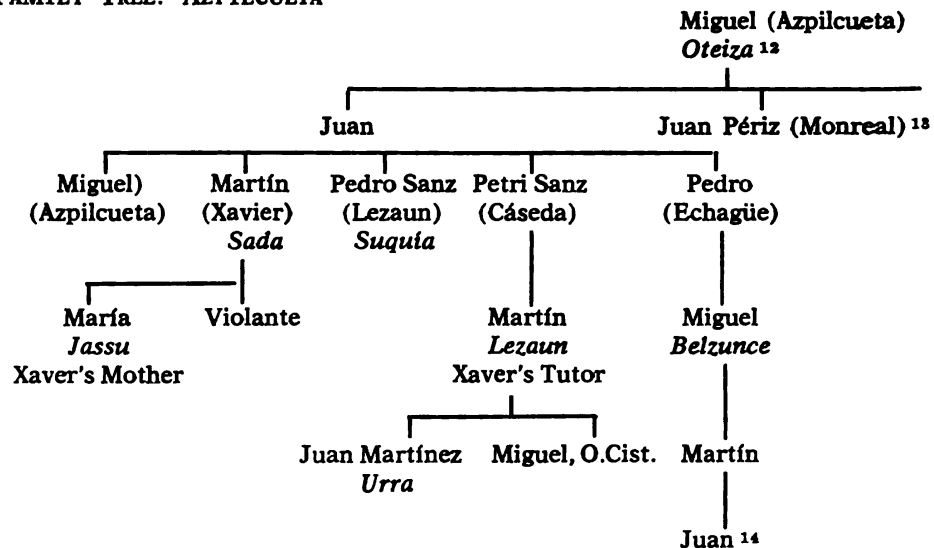
⁹¹ In 1615 Nicolás de Almazán, S.J., the second witness in Xavier's cause, *Rom. in specie*, declared that in the forty-four years that he had been in the Society he had heard many things about Xavier from members of the order and others, and especially from Simon Rodrigues, who went with him to Portugal; and they had spoken about his great holiness, his great mortification in every situation, his glowing zeal, his spirit of prayer, his zeal for souls, and his perfect obedience to superiors (Roma, Bibl. Innocenziana: *minutes of the meetings of the three auditors, Sacratius, Coccinus, and Pamphilius, ff. 109 305).

APPENDIX I

PATERNAL FAMILY TREE: JASSU

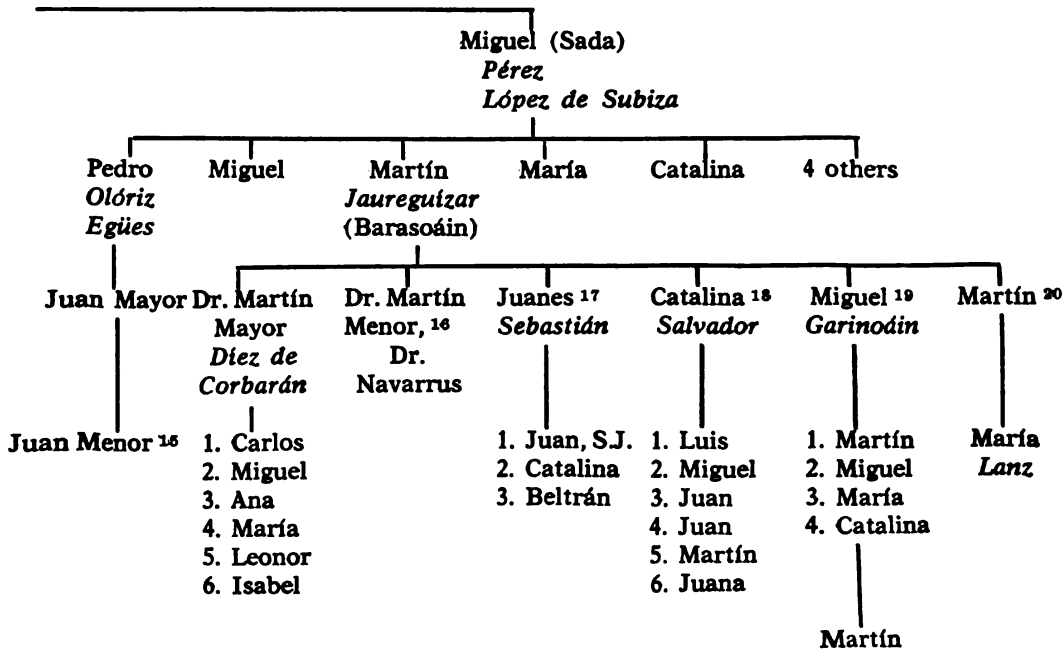
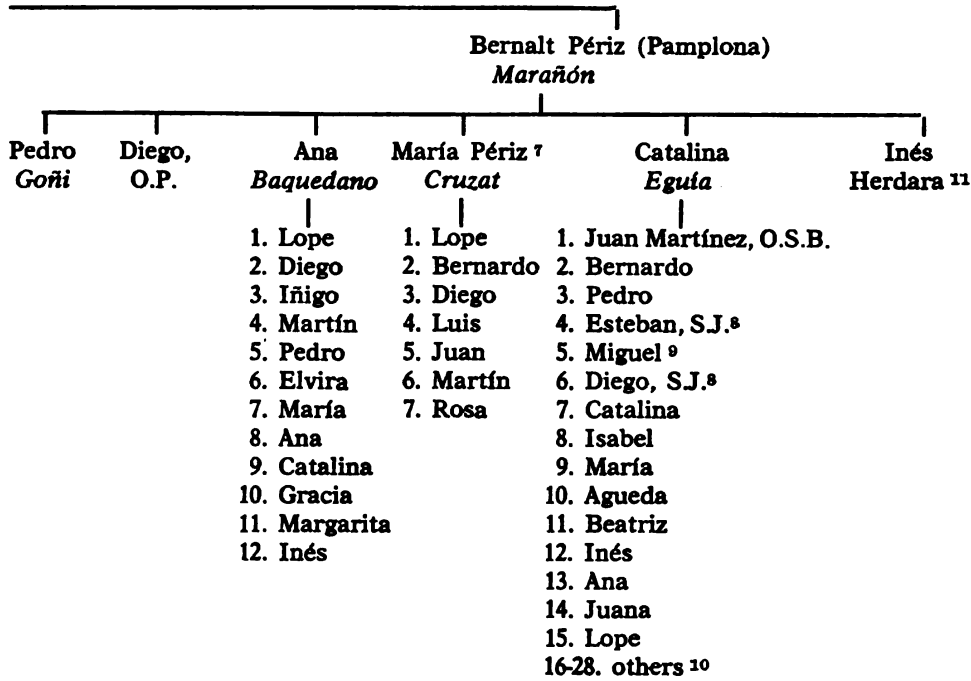


MATERNAL FAMILY TREE: AZPILCUETA



Explanation: Italics indicate marriage to the person named. Names in parentheses give place of residence. In general we follow Cros, *Doc.* I-II, and *Vie* I-II, partially supplemented by Escalada until 1931 (*Doc.*, pp. III-XLVI), and MX II 1009-1017.

FAMILY TREES



¹ Esteban de Huarte, lord of the palace of Zuasti, was a witness in Xavier's suit for a patent of nobility in 1536 (MX II 67). In 1931 Don Joaquín de Juanmartiñena was the representative of the house in Zuasti.

² Ana's children were Miguel and Francisca, her grandchildren Leo, Jerónimo (the well-known missionary to the Mogul), Bernardo, and Isabel. Her descendants, the counts of Ezpeleta de Veire, are today represented by the marqués del Amparo and the marqués de Vessolla, Elio Gaztelu.

³ Miguel married a Goñi; in 1557 his daughter Ana married Jerónimo de Garro, the viscount of Zolina; in 1708 her sixth descendant, María Isabel, married Antonio Idiáquez, the second duke of Granada de Ega; in 1841 Isabel's great-great-granddaughter María married José Antonio Azlor-Aragón, the brother of the duke of Villahermosa. In 1955 her grandson Don José Antonio Azlor-Aragón, hurtado de Zaldívar, Idiáquez y Javier, duke of Luna, seventeenth duke of Villahermosa, seventh duke of Granada de Ega, who was born in 1873, was the representative of the paternal line of the house (see MX II 1109-1117; Fernández de Béthencourt III 541 556-560 598-605). In 1581 Miguel's granddaughter Catalina married Francés de Ayanz, lord of Guendalain. The present representatives of this house are the counts of Guendulain (see Argamasilla de La Cerda I 228-229).

⁴ Juan's granddaughter Jerónima married Antonio de Galdeano in 1602. The representative of this house is the count of Peñaflores in San Sebastián (see Escalada, pp. XXXV-XXXVII).

⁵ St. Francis Xavier.

⁶ The estate of Xavier's uncle Pedro passed over to his son Valentín. In 1562 it passed on from him to Ana, the granddaughter of his sister Isabel, who married Xavier's nephew Francisco (the son of his brother Juan) in 1583. Her daughter Jerónima married Antonio Galdeano. In 1639 their son inherited the remaining properties of the offspring of Xavier's uncle, since Pedro de Jassu, the son of Ana's stepbrother, had no legitimate children. The representatives of the house today are the counts of Peñaflores (see Cros, *Vie II* 452 459-460 469).

⁷ She is wrongly designated as Xavier's sister by Cros and others. The inscription on her picture is also wrong (Cros, *Doc. I* 91; see Schurhammer, "Jugendprobleme" 112-113).

⁸ Esteban and Diego were with Xavier in Rome.

⁹ The well-known printer in Alcalá.

¹⁰ A contemporary painting in St. Michael's Church in Estella portrays Nicolás de Eguía and his wife with twenty-five grown children. The **Inteligencia del arbol y noticia de Mayorazgo del Eguía* refers to this picture and states that according to the usually accepted tradition there had been twenty-eight children (Archives Granada 85, 2b). In 1644 Eguía y Beaumont claimed that there had been thirty (**Historia de Estella*, c. 17, Ms. in the library of Azcona, Tafalla). In 1518 fourteen of these were still living (**Cros, Doc. *II* 68).

¹¹ The lord of Andéraz is a descendant of her (Escalada, p. VI).

¹² Miguel married André María Oteiza (Olóriz 473); see also Ramírez Dávalos, who wrote that Xavier's mother was "del linaje de Don Aznar de Oteiza de Aragón" (56).

¹³ He is probably the Juan *el Chico* who took part in the *pro forma* sale of Dr. Juan in 1477.

¹⁴ He was born in 1487, served as a page in the castle of Xavier from 1500-1509, and was a witness in 1580 as the parish priest of Echagüe (Cros, *Doc. *II* 104; *Vie I* 22).

¹⁵ In 1536 he was lord of the palace of Sada and a witness at Xavier's suit for a patent of nobility (MX II 71-74).

¹⁶ The renowned professor of canon law, who was born in Barasoáin in 1492 and died in Rome in 1586. The family tree is to be found in **El origen y decendencia del doctor Martín de Azpilcueta Navarro* (Olóriz 472-474).

¹⁷ Juanes married María Sebastián, whose cousin was the lord of Iriberry. He died in 1523, leaving behind three children: Juan, later a Jesuit missionary in Brazil; Catalina; and the posthumous Beltrán, who is also at times erroneously described as a Jesuit and missionary to Brazil (Cros, *Doc. *II* 113, according to the testimony of Don Juan de Leoz in 1567 and the will of the widow of 1531). Arigita, who gives the correct names of the children of the father and grandfather of Dr. Navarrus and those of his brother Miguel from their wills of 1479, 1507, and 1546, is mistaken in the data which he gives on his brother and sister Juanes and Catalina. He names as the children of Juanes: Juan, S.J., Beltrán, S.J., Martín, María, and Juanes Menor (*El Doctor Navarro* 18).

¹⁸ According to the wills of Miguel Salvador and Catalina de Azpilcueta of 1541 (Cros, *Doc.* *II 114), as opposed to Arigita, who has Catalina marry Beltrán de Lanz and gives them the following children: Martín Salvador, Pedro, Miguel, and Juan (*El Doctor Navarro* 19).

¹⁹ The estate of Dr. Navarrus passed on to Miguel, the son of his brother Miguel, and from him to his son Martín, who appeared as a witness in 1614 in the process of Xavier's canonization (MX II 670-675).

²⁰ In the document founding his primogeniture of 1563 Dr. Navarrus states that the family chapel in the parish church should be dedicated to San Martín, since his father, his (maternal) grandfather (Martín de Jaureguizar), he himself, two of his brothers, and an uncle, the prothonotary Martín de Jaureguizar, had the name of Martín (Olóriz 477; Cros, *Doc.* I 500).

APPENDIX II

SPECIAL TERMS USED IN NAVARRE

A precise translation of many of the terms found in the original documents is impossible. We are therefore giving a list of the most important of these. In determining their meaning we have used such standard works as the *Diccionaria de la lengua castellana por la Real Academia Española* (6 folio vols., Madrid, 1726-1739) and Eugen Haberkern—Joseph Friedrich Wallach, *Hilfswörterbuch für Historiker* (Berlin, 1935), and the following special works on Navarre: Yanguas, *Diccionario de Antigüedades del Reino de Navarra* (4 vols., Pamplona, 1840-1843), and José María Iribarren, *Vocabulario Navarro* (Pamplona, 1952).

- Abadía*: parish house.
Agotes: inhabitants of Baztán (Baztán), a kind of outlawed caste.
Alcabala: sales tax.
Alcaide: steward of a castle, commander of a fortress.
Alcalde: mayor, judge.
Alcalde de la Corte Mayor: judge of the Royal Court.
Alcalde mayor de la Corte Mayor: chief alcalde of the Royal Court.
- Baile*: judge in a lower court, provincial governor, caretaker.
Basilica: chapel.
Batzarre: meeting of a town council.
Borda: mountain estate.
Borro: one-year-old lamb; older, castrated lamb.
Buena villa: a region bound in fealty to the emperor alone with a seat in the Cortes.
Buruzagui: village mayor, administrator of property or estate.
- Cabaña*: large herd of over three hundred animals.
Cabo de linaje: firstborn male descendant of the main branch of a noble house.
- Calumnia*: fine because of slander, abuse, and other offenses, payable to the Treasury.
Calumnia forera: fine (as above) according to the *fuero*.
Camara de comptos: Revenue Office, Chamber of Accounts, Finance Office.
Cambradiner: treasurer.
Camerlengo: majordomo.
Cañada: obligatory path for sheep and cattle.
Carnereamiento: fine or confiscation of cattle because of an encroachment on pasture rights.
Casa fuerte: fortified house.
Casero: farmer, peasant.
Cena: supper, one of the services required of subjects when their lord visited them.
Chapitel del Rey: royal scale.
Callazo: serf.
Cocharros: measures.
Condestable: constable, royal standard bearer.
Consejo Real: Royal Council, Supreme Court of Appeals:
Contador mayor: chief paymaster.
Contradicta: protest, counterclaim, juridical challenge to the moral character of the witnesses for the opposition.

Corte Mayor: Royal Court, Supreme Court.

Costiero: field warden.

Cuarteles: property taxes, compensations.

Dula: communal herd of large cattle.

Endrecera: boundary, landmark.

Escudero: squire, hidalgo, nobleman in the service of a lady.

Hidalgo: free man, in opposition to a subject; nobleman.

Hombre de armas: fully equipped knight with two mounted companions.

Homicidio: fine for manslaughter or homicide.

Imposiciones: imposts, sales taxes.

Infanzón: freeman, not a serf.

Infanzón hidalgo: peasant owing direct fealty to the emperor and having the privileges of the lower nobility.

Infanzón labrador: free peasant, in former times a serf (*villano*) or foreigner (*franco*), from whom the next of kin inherited only a portion of his estate.

Justicia: a justice, one who executed the decisions of the *alcalde* and arrested and imprisoned delinquents.

Lanza: a lance, consisting of a fully accoutered knight and two mounted companions.

Maestre de finanzas: chief revenue officer.

Maestre hostel: steward of a household, *majordomo*.

Mariscal: royal marshal.

Medio homicidio: a fine for wounding, bloodshed, or adultery.

Merindad: province; there were six *merindades* in Navarre.

Merino: highest official in a *merindad*.

Merino mayor: superintendent, governor.

Mesnadero: caballero paid by the king

and obliged to serve him at fixed times.

Montero mayor: master of the hunt.

Mosén: title of nobility similar to *Don*.

Oidor de Comptos: clerk of the Treasury; there were four *oidores* in the Department of Finance.

Opilarinzada: tax, consisting of a cake (*opil*) and a measure (*arinzada*) of wine.

Palacio: palace, privileged seat of nobility, house of the lord of a village having a right to service from the people.

Palacio de Cabo de Armeria: privileged castle with the coat of arms of the main branch of the family.

Peaje: customs.

Pecha: tax, duty.

Pendamiento: confiscation of livestock on proscribed lands.

Portillo: pass, passport.

Ricoshombres: imperial magnates.

Sixantenas: fines for wounding and fighting, originally amounted to sixty *sueños*, *dineros*, and *meajas*.

Tablas: customs, imposts.

Tributador: tenant.

Valle: valley. We use this translation, although the name in Navarre designated a regional district which was not always a valley. It is probably derived from *baile* (*baillo*).

Valle (for baile): field warden.

Vecindad: citizenship, pasture rights.

Vecindad forana: citizenship acquired by foreign nobles through the acquisition of land.

Vecino: citizen. The number of *vecinos* multiplied by 4 or 5 gives the approximate population of a site. Residents without the right of citizenship were called *moradores habitantes*.

Villanos: subjects, also called *labradores pecheros* and *collazos*.

APPENDIX III
COINS AND MEASURES

Yanguas, *Diccionario de Antigüedades del Reino de Navarra*, II 333-408 708-716, gives a detailed account of the history of money in Navarre. This is a necessary supplement to such general works as Angelo Martini, *Manuale de Metrologia* (Torino, 1883); Edoardo Martinori, *La Moneta, Vocabolario generale* (Roma, 1915); Friedrich Schrötter, *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde* (Berlin, 1930); and Felipe Mateu y Llopis, *Glosario Hispánico de Numismática* (Barcelona, 1946). These authors were unacquainted with Yanguas and, as a consequence, hardly mention Navarre.

There was a constant depreciation in the value of money. Between 1383 and 1840 it decreased to one-sixth of its original value, as Yanguas shows with a number of examples (363, n. 1). After the annexation of Navarre to Castile in 1512, a number of Navarrese coins continued to be used as tokens of value (*ibid.* 385-387). Of the older coins, the Castilian gold *morabetinus* (*maravedí alfonsino*) was worth seven to ten *sueldos sanchetes* in the thirteenth century (*ibid.* 335 388-389). In Navarre accounts were first reckoned in *sanchetes* (one *libra* to twenty *sueldos febles*, one *sueldo feble* to twelve *dineros*), but after 1291 according to *carlines* of the same value (*ibid.* 356-358 364-366). The following is a list of Navarrese coins mentioned in our sources with the number of *maravedís* they contained and their equivalent in *pesetas* (Espasa XXI 283) and *lire* (Martini 446-447).¹

	MARAVEDÍS	PESETAS (1868)	LIRE (1883)
GOLD: Dublón (2 ducados) ²	800	—	—
Ducado castellano	400	5.12	5.50
Ducado viejo ³	376	—	—
Ducado nuevo (navarro) ⁴	320	—	—
Peso	288	3.76	—
Florín aragonés (gulden) ⁵	270	—	—
Florín navarro (gulden) ⁶	90	—	—
Libra carlina (pound) ⁷	60	0.78	0.80

¹ See, however, the two articles "Münzwert" and "Wertberechnung" in Schrötter 444-445 and 739-740, which show that these calculations are often extremely difficult.

² After 1512 a *ducado castellano* was the equivalent of 11 *reales sencillos*, or 396 *maravedís* (Yanguas, II 386). In 1520 Martín Cruzat received 200 ducats, worth 48 *tarjas* (thus the ducat amounted to 384 *maravedís*); in 1523 he received 200 more (paid in 100 doubloons), amounting to 80,000 *maravedís*. The ducat was thus worth 400 *maravedís* (Arigita, *Don F. de Navarra* 442).

³ After 1512 the *ducado viejo* was worth 10 *reales sencillos* and 17 *maravedís* (Yanguas 387), that is, 376 *maravedís*. In 1502 45 *ducados viejos*, or 270 Navarrese pounds, were equal to 5,400 *sueldos*, which means that one ducat was worth 120 *sueldos* or 360 *maravedís* (*ibid.* 405).

⁴ After 1512 the new ducat, also called simply *ducado navarro*, was worth 8 *reales sencillos* and 32 *maravedís navarros*, that is, 320 *maravedís* (*ibid.* 386-387). In 1522 Francés de Mutiloa loaned the viceroy "32,000 *maravedís*, that is, 100 *ducados navarros* at 40 *tarjas* each" (Royal Archives of Pamplona: *Papeles sueltos*, ser. 2, 20).

⁵ In 1524 the Aragon florin was fixed at 270 Castilian *maravedís*.

⁶ In 1509 the Navarrese florin had already become a fictitious currency corresponding to 90 Navarrese *maravedís* or 30 *sueldos febles* (Yanguas 385-386). In 1499 Xavier's father bought Subiza and other properties for 16,000 *sueldos jacqueses*, equal to 1,000 Navarrese florins, so that the *sueldos jacqueses* were nearly the equivalent of the Navarrese *sueldos fuertes* (Fita 179; Cros, *Doc.* *II 125-126). The same *sueldos fuertes* were meant in 1514 when Sangüesa had to buy its part of *El Real* for 32,000 *sueldos*, "equal to 2,000 Aragon florins" (Sangüesa, Municipal Archives: *Libro* 5, 45v). In Navarre, as in Aragon, the earlier florin had a conventional value which was at times specified in contracts in *sueldos* (Yanguas 359).

⁷ "The *libra carlina*, used down to the present as a fictitious currency in the courts

SILVER:	Real sencillo, castellano ⁸	36	0.47	0.50
	Real navarro ⁹	24	—	—
	Tarja	8	0.10	0.11
	Gros	6	0.07	0.08
	Sueldo fuerte (blanco) ¹⁰	6	—	—
	Sueldo feble (prieto) ¹¹	3	—	—
	Maravedí ¹²	1	0.01	0.01
COPPER:	Cornado	1/2	0.006	—
	Dinero	1/4	—	0.003
	Meaja	1/8	—	—

Yanguas indicates the devaluation of the *libra*: In 1539 a silver *marco* corresponded to ten *libras*, in 1432 to fifteen, in 1481 to twenty-eight, and in 1513 to forty (*ibid.* 350). An edict of Charles V of 1524 gives the relative value of different currencies. The following is for Navarre (*ibid.* 352-353):

Ducado castellano: 6 libras, 5 sueldos carlines (375 maravedís castellanos)
 Ducado navarros: 5 libras, 2 sueldos
 Florín aragonés: 4 libras, 10 sueldos (270 maravedís castellanos)
 Real de plata de Castilla (sencillo): 11 sueldos, 4 dineros
 Libra de Navarra: 10 groses
 Gros: 2 sueldos

Prices reveal the actual value of money, and Yanguas gives many of these for the years from 1206 to 1451 (774-773). They also show its devaluation. The following are a few examples: In 1206 four hundred wethers cost 1,600 *sueldos sanchetes*. In 1312, six eggs cost a *dinero* and a hen six *dineros*, but in 1392 two *sueldos*, six *dineros*. In 1340 a *cahiz* (about 3.18 bushels) of wheat cost six *sueldos*, four *dineros*, in 1298 a *robo* (0.8 bushel) cost two, but in 1392 eight, *sueldos*. In 1377 a cow sold for seven pounds twelve *dineros*, a wether in 1392 for twenty-four *sueldos*, and a pound of cheese in the same year for one *sueldo*. In 1379 a dozen arrows cost eighteen, and in 1387 a pair of shoes four, *sueldos*. In 1410 the daily wages of a royal cabinetmaker and gardener amounted to eight *sueldos* each.

Yanguas does not have any examples from Xavier's time. In 1520 Xaxier's mother stated that it would take three hundred gold florins to rebuild the manor in Azpilcueta. The horse which Isabel de Echauz brought with her in 1499 as a dowry was worth the same sum. In 1520 the community herd of Sangüesa, consisting of sixty animals (horses, asses, and mules), was valued at three hundred *ducados viejos*, a sheep with white wool at two florins, a holm oak at one *ducado viejo*, a *cántaro* (11.6 quarts) of honey and ten pounds of wax together at five florins (*Orbayceta 37, 3v; 33, 49).

of Navarre" (*ibid.* 386), amounted to 10 groses, that is to 20 *sueldos febles*. As a captain, Xavier's brother Juan received an annual income until his death of 625 pounds, or 37,500 *maravedís* (Cros, *Doc.* I 395).

⁸ The old Castilian silver *real*, also called *real flojo*.

⁹ Garrués paid the lord of Xavier 24 *groses* in 1518, the equivalent of 4 *reales navarros* in 1536 (Archives Granada 65, 8 and 16).

¹⁰ In the contract which Xavier's mother closed with the Roncalese in 1525 it was determined that the toll on the flocks should be paid in *sueldos carlines y fuertes*. One of these equalled 2 *sueldos febles*. They were also called *blancas*.

¹¹ Where nothing is said to the contrary, *sueldos febles* were usually meant (Yanguas 357). In 1518 aunt Juana bequeathed to each of her nephews and nieces 20 *sols febles*.

¹² In 1516 the workmen who tore down the castle of Xavier were paid in *maravedís*. In the sixteenth century the *maravedí*, which had been coined successively in gold, silver, and copper, was used only in reckoning accounts.

The following list of currencies may be useful for the sake of comparison. The values are those given by Martini (Italian lire in 1883) and Avenal (French francs in 1913). In the sixteenth century the pound was a fictitious currency in France, as in Navarre, and was divided into twenty *sols* and sixty *deniers* in both countries.

FRANCE UNDER FRANCIS I (1515-1547):	LIRE (1883)	FRANCS (1913)
GOLD: Ecu au soleil (40 sols) ¹³	11.14	8.00
Livre tournois (20 sols) ¹⁴	3.56	3.92
Livre parisis (20 sols)	4.45	—
SILVER: Sol tournois (4 liards)	0.17	0.20
Sol parisis (4 liards)	0.22	—
COPPER: Liard tournois (3 deniers)	0.04	0.04
Liard parisis (3 deniers)	0.05	—
Double tournois (2 deniers)	—	0.03
Denier tournois	0.01	0.01
ITALY (ROME) UNDER PAUL III (1534-1549):	LIRE (1883)	
GOLD: Zecchino ¹⁵	12.17	
Scudo (10 giulii), ducato ¹⁶	7.50	
SILVER: Lira (20 soldi)	1.50	
Giulio (10 soldi)	0.75	
Carlino (7.5 soldi)	0.56	
Grosso (5 soldi)	0.38	
COPPER: Soldo (4 quattrini)	0.07	
Sesino (2 quattrini)	0.03	
Quattrino (3 denari)	0.01	
Denaro	0.006	
PORTUGAL UNDER JOHN III (1521-1557):	LIRE (1883)	MILREIS (1874) ¹⁷
Conto de reis (1,000 milreis)	8,490.00	—
Milreis (1,000 reis)	8.49	—
GOLD: Cruzado (400 reis) ¹⁸	3.39	15.00

¹³ The exchange value of the French *écu au soleil* was fixed for Navarre in 1524 by Charles V at 5 *libras*, 17 *sueldos* (*febles*), and 4 *dineros* (Yanguas 352).

¹⁴ Avenal I 62 383.

¹⁵ Martini mentions a *zecchino* worth 12.17 lire in Rome under Paul III (608). The Venetian *zecchino*, coined from 1284 on and patterned after the Florentine florin of 12.18 *lire* (*ibid.* 208), was the equivalent of 11.95 nineteenth-century lire (*ibid.* 818-819). It maintained its value unchanged until the fall of the republic. Francis I fixed its exchange rate in France at 46 *sols* and a few *deniers* (Martinori 123-124).

¹⁶ In 1533 Clement VII had a gold *scudo* coined with a value of 10 *giulii*. This replaced the earlier *ducato di carlini* and was also known as a *ducato di moneta* (Martinori 127-128).

¹⁷ According to A. C. Teixeira de Aragão, *Descrição Geral e Historia das Moedas cunhadas em Nome dos Reis, Regentes e Governadores de Portugal I* (Lisboa, 1874) 260-261.

¹⁸ In a *memorial on the expenses of a Portuguese ambassador in Rome, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas wrote: "The Roman *scudi* are worth 2 *cruzados* each." The monthly support of a nobleman in service cost the ambassador in Rome 30 *scudi*, that of a page 8-10, and that of a lackey 3. A good riding horse cost 200 *scudi* and the livery of a page 40. (Archives Mascarenhas, n. 1307). In 1551 Lucas Giraldo gave "3,000 *cruzados*, which are worth a good 1,200 *milreis*," as the cost of the construction of the national church of the Italians in Lisbon (*ibid.* 115-118).

SILVER: Tostão (100 reis)	—	4.00
Real (40 reis) ¹⁹ , double vintem	0.33	3.00
Vintem (20 reis)	—	1.50
Maravedí (27 reis) ²⁰	0.22	—
COPPER: Real (6 ceitis) ²¹	0.008	—
Ceitol	0.001	—

MEASURES IN NAVARRE

Weights and measures in Navarre were different from those in neighboring countries, and even in Navarre itself they differed from place to place, as Yanguas (II 708-714) shows. Thus, for example, 100 *cahices* in Sangüesa amounted to 103 *cahices* and 2 *cuartales* in Pamplona; 200 *cahices* of wheat in Saragossa were equal to 320 in Navarre. The royal measure was probably that of Pamplona.

1. *Dry measures.* The measures that usually appear in our documents are the *cafiz*²² and the *robo*²³. The Navarrese *cafiz* (4 *robos*) contained about 3.18 bushels, the *robo* (4 *cuarteles*) about 0.8 bushel.²⁴ The *cuartal* contained four *almudes*. A *carga* of wheat had 6, a *carga* of barley or oats 8, *robos*. The measures were different in Castile and in Aragon. In the former the *cahiz* (12 *fanegas*) contained 666, and in the latter (8 *fanegas*) 179, liters.

2. *Square measures.* A *cafizada* was an area sufficient for sowing a *cafiz*: 4 *robadas* equalled 36 are, or about one German *Morgen* (acre).²⁵ A *robada* was the area sufficient for sowing a *robo*: 1,071 square yards, or about 9 are, although the area in some places rose to as much as 1,511 square yards.²⁶ A hectare therefore contained 11 *robadas* and 2 *almutadas*. The *peonada*, a day's work for a laborer, amounted to half a *robada* in the valley of Baztán. In the mountains of Navarre it usually amounted to 441 square yards, or 3.7 are; in other places it amounted to 404, and in Arbizu to only 357, square yards.²⁷

¹⁹ John III coined the silver *real* at a value of 40 *reis* (Joaquim de Santa Rosa de Viterbo, *Elucidario das palavras, termos, e frases, que em Portugal antiquamente se usarão* 2 [Lisbon, 1799] 267-268).

²⁰ King Manuel reduced the *maravedí* to 27 *reis* (*ibid.* 115-118).

²¹ In 1546 the Portuguese ambassador in Rome complained that the correspondent of Lucas Giraldi wanted to give him only 500 or 530 *reis* per ducat, "que he a mor crueldade que nunca se viu." Better terms could be obtained in Flanders. He suggested that a fixed value should be established in Lisbon "para nom andar cada dia fazemdo novos preços" (CDP VI 62). The usual stipend at this time for a priest with an obligation to say a Mass on a particular day was 33 *reis*. The ordinary stipend was from 25 to 30 *reis* (Peragallo 83).

²² The Spanish *cahiz* like the German *Malter* varied from province to province. In Castile it amounted to 18.9 bushels, and in Aragon it came to 5.1 bushels. In Germany the Frankfurt *Malter* contained 3.25 bushels, the Bavarian 4.26, the Cologne 4, and the Prussian 18.7. The Bavarian *Muth* was the equivalent of 25.2 bushels (Martini 322 722 212-213 144 165 75 375).

²³ The same is true of the *robo*, that is, the *fanega* and the German *Scheffel*. The Castilian *fanega* contained 1.56 bushels and the Aragon 0.62. The Prussian *Scheffel* contained 1.56 bushels and the Bavarian 6.3 (*ibid.* 322 722 75 375).

²⁴ More precisely, 28 13 liters (Iribarren, *Vocabulario* 451).

²⁵ The German *Morgen* ("acre," "a day's work"), varied according to regions: the Frankfurt *Morgen* amounted to 20 ares in the fields and 32 in the woods. The Prussian *Morgen* amounted to 25 ares, the Cologne to 31, the Bavarian to 34, and the Baden to 36 (Martini 212-213 74 163 375 144).

²⁶ Iribarren, *Vocabulario* 390.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 450.

3. *Liquid measures* (for wine). During Xavier's time the following measures were used in Navarre: *nietro* (16 *carapitos*), *coca* (15 *carapitos*), *carga* (12 *carapitos*) and *carapito*, also called *cuarta*, and probably identical with *arinzada* (3½ *gailletas* or 4 *cuarterones*).²⁸ We have not been able to determine the exact contents of a *nietro*; we presume that it must have corresponded approximately with the *nietro* of Aragon (16 *cántaros*), which contained 167.53 quarts. The Aragon *cántaro* contained 10.48, the later Navarrese 12.44, quarts.

APPENDIX IV

EVENING PRAYER IN PARIS

The Latin text of the hymn quoted on p. 97 reads as follows:

Christe, qui lux es et dies, noctis tenebras detegis,
 Lucisque lumen crederis, Lumen beatum praedicans!
 Precamur sancte domine, defende nos in hac nocte!
 Sit nobis in te requies, quietam noctem tribue!
 Ne gravis somnus irruat, nec hostis nos surripiat,
 Nec caro illi consentiens nos tibi reos statuatur!
 Oculi somnum capiant, cor ad te semper vigilet!
 Dextera tua protegat famulos qui te diligunt!
 Defensor noster adspice, insidiantes reprime,
 Guberna tuos famulos, quos sanguine mercatus es!
 Memento nostri domine in gravi isto corpore,
 Qui es defensor anime, adesto nobis domine!

APPENDIX V

SPORTS IN PARIS

For p. 106, see the description of the sports of the students on the Ile de Seine in Eustathius of Knobelsdorf in his account of the Seine:

Dividitur medius, undoque fit insula dorso,
 Insula perpetuis lusibus apta iocis.
 Vix similes videas usquam concurrere turmas,
 Cum favet aestivo blandior aura die.
 Confluit huc, iuvenum quicquid promovet orbe pedem.
 Aut gladiis simulacra dent tristissima belli,
 Aut pedibus palmam, curriculoque petunt.
 Exercent agili pars fortia membra palaestra,
 Pars manibus gaudent conseruisse manus.
 Hi ludunt, alii pertingunt aethera saltu,
 Pars iacet in viridi gramine propter aquas.
 Herculeisque teres torquetur viribus hasta,
 Truditur immensa vel gravitate lapis.
 Quilibet hic aliquo certamine vincere tentat.

Eustathius à Knobelsdorf, *Lutetiae Parisiorum Descriptio* (Parisiis, 1543) 7-8.

²⁸ Yanguas II 709-710.

APPENDIX VI
FROM BOURBON'S "NUGAE"

The Latin text of the poem (as far as it has been translated on pp. 182-183) is as follows:

Christus, humani generis misertus
Perditum tamen reparavit orbem
Et sua nostras veniens fugavit
Luce tenebras....
Antehac caeci, ducibusque caecis,
Viximus, duri tamen et superbi,
Numinis laesi magis ut magisque
Cresceret ira.
Nil tenebamus nisi syllogismos
Arte contortos, variosque nodos,
Frigidas nugas, mera verba, fumos,
Stercora, floccos....
Tanta nullius memoratur aevi
Servitus, quanta sumus usque pressi,
Hoc mali invexit lupa purpurata
Lerna malorum.
Totius reges proceresque mundi
Subditos fecit sibi, poculoque
Stravit erroris, triplice refulgens
Hydra tiara....
Noster hic o quam procul est ab illis
Ante FRANCISCVS bene natus omneis,
Rege quo sensim rediere terris
Omnia laeta.
Publice doctos alit allicitque,
Et scholam primus statuit trilinguem
Quo nihil certe, nihil instituto
Pulchrius extat....

Nicolai Borbonii Vandoperani Nugae (Parisiis, 1533) 88-89v.

ABBREVIATIONS

AHSI	<i>Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu</i>	FN	<i>Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola</i>
Archives Granada	Archives of the Duque de Granada de Ega, Madrid	Gavetas	Gavetas (Torre do Tombo, Lisbon)
Archives Navarre	General Archives of the Kingdom of Navarre, Pamplona	HCPB	<i>Historia da Colonização Portuguesa do Brazil</i>
ARSI	<i>Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu</i>	MHSI	<i>Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu</i>
ASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , edited by the Bollandists	MI	<i>Monumenta Ignatiana</i>
CC	<i>Corpo Chronologico</i> (Torre do Tombo, Lisbon)	MX	<i>Monumenta Xaveriana</i>
CDP	<i>Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez</i>	Q	Schurhammer, <i>Die zeitgenössischen Quellen</i>
DI	<i>Documenta Indica</i>	TdT	Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
EX	<i>Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii, Romae, 1944-1945</i>	*	Manuscript

LIST OF ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS

- Aldacer do Sal*, Archives of the Misericordia 515 575 631.
- Aoiz* (Navarre), Notarial Archives 21.
- Azpeitia* (Guipúzcoa), Parish Archives 558-559.
- Bologna*, Archiepiscopal Archives 358-362.
 — Archives of the Spanish College 373.
 — State Archives 362.
 — University Library 359-360 363 540.
- Brussels*, Royal Library 11.
- Cáteda* (Navarre), Parish Archives 16.
- Coimbra*, University Library: *Araujo* 569 575 579 592 678 684 687 698.
- Comacchio*, Episcopal Archives 301.
- Echagüe* (Navarre), Parish Archives 19.
- Elizondo* (Navarre), Baztán Valley Archives 15 650.
- Evora*, Public Library 516 532 585-587 640 642-643.
- Gandía*, Monastery of the Poor Clares 162.
- Javier* (Navarre), Apostolic School 16.
- Lezaun* (Navarre), Municipal Archives 17-18.
 — Parish Archives 18.
- Lisbon*, Archives Mascarenhas (Arquivo dos Condes de Sabugal, Obidos e Palma) 515 516 518-519 537 631-633 707.
 — National Archives (Arquivo da Torre do Tombo) 515-519 529 537 570 572-573 583 to 585, 588-590 608-627 631-632 635 638-639 641 643 648 677 681-683.
 — Library of the Academy of Science 687 696.
 — Library of the Ajuda Palace 515 519 577 582 588-589 591 623-624 638-641 672 677 685.
 — National Library 516 538 570-574 577 581 584 588-590 609 611 619-620 623-624 642: Rodrigues, *Commentarium*, Portuguese text (*Fundo Geral* 4212), 71 194 202 265 267 269 271-273 276-281 292 295 299 301-303 311 316 328 336 341 344 350 353 373 377-378 415.
- London*, British Museum 589 632 638-639.
- Loreto*, Archives of the Santa Casa 324.
- Louvain*, University Library: *Confalonierius* (destroyed by fire) 321 643 685.
- Madrid*, Archives of the Duke of Granada de Ega 1 7-8 21-28 31-32 38-40 44 to 50 52 57 60-62 66-67 144-145 147 164 290 702 705.
 — National Archives (Archivo Histórico Nacional) 24-25 27 31- 430-431.
 — Archives of the Toledo Province of the Society of Jesus 133 430 477 567 570 572-575 623 626.
- Montserrat*, Monastery Archives 502.
- Muge* (Portugal), Archives of the House of Cadaval 570 695.
- Munich*, Archives of the Upper German Province of the Society of Jesus 249-250.
- Nazareth* (Portugal), Archives of the Shrine 695.
- Olite* (Navarre), Municipal Archives 7.
- Padua*, Episcopal Archives 335-337.
 — Seminary Library 304.
- Pamplona*, Cathedral Archives 66 147 227 259-260.
 — Royal Archives (Archivo General del Reino de Navarra) 8 15 21-25 27 35-39 42 to 43 45-57 59 62-63 164 650 705 707.
- Paris*, National Library 113 216 224 236 238 284; *Acta Rectoria* 73-74 98-99 127-128 137 139 147 155 173 177 181 227-229 231 233 236 244 249 252 257 to 258.
 — Library of Sainte-Geneviève 216.
 — Residence of the Society of Jesus (Rue de Grenelle 42) 103 249.
- Parma*, State Archives 506.
- Porto*, City Library 551 554 575.
- Rome*, Archivo de los RR. Establecimientos Españoles en Roma 309-312 403 407 480.
 — Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus 9 61 135 162 193 196 207 228 241-242 245-252 257-258 266 286-287 289 to 290 295 298 312 322-323 327-328 332 339-340 345-346 348-349 351 356 358 361-373 385 391-392 398-399 402-403 406 411 418 429-432 439 474 478 486-489 493-500 503-506 508-510 528 534 543 545 555 569 575-580 582 590 594 637 642-

- 643 685 687; *Rosefius* 195-196 241-242
251 266-267 350 427 431 469 558.
- Fondo Gesù (Borgo S. Spirito 5) 101-102 358 364-365 370 391-392 491 509 to 511 554 575 582-583 642 686.
 - State Archives 481.
 - Vatican Archives 51 156 413 448 509 511-512 532 578 589 628 684-686.
 - Biblioteca Innocenziana (Piazza Navona) 687 699.
 - Library of the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus 144 370 479 512.
 - National Library: *Cesena* 316-318 320 324 373 412-413 416 419 451.
 - Vatican Library 72 216-222 286 317-318 320 343 374 412 481 548 to 549 600-601 604 628 643 653 662 665; *Fine* 329 323-324 342-343 353 371 to 373 427; *Venturino* 374-375 381-383 386-387 543-553 557 560 562-563 578.
- Sangüesa* (Navarre), Municipal Archives 24 38 43 705.
- San Sebastián*, Archive of the Counts of Peñafiorida 17 44.
- Seville*, India Archives 581.
- Simancas*, General Archives 37-38 41-44 45 56 61-62 65 650; *Sarmiento* 554 573 575 578-579 590 593-594 604-605 617 622-624 628 630 636-638 640 642 668 670-671 675 679-682 693-694 696 699.
- Tafalla* (Navarre), Notarial Archives 19 64.
— Library of Azcona 18 54 67 289-290 702.
- Toulouse*, Archives of the Toulouse Province of the Society of Jesus: *Cros*, *Doc*, II 1 3-10 13 16-24 30 33 35-39 42-44 49 51-59 62-66 144-145 147-148 223 289 to 290 700 702 705.
- Ustarroz* (Navarre), Archives of Roncal Valley: *Ejecutorial* 23 25 48 63 67 165.
- Venice*, Archives of the City Hospital 293-294.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

LIST OF MORE IMPORTANT BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS

- [A] *Anonymous Report on St. Ignatius* in *MI Scripta* I 559-61.
- **Acta Rectoria Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: *Mss. latins* 9951-9953).
- Acta Sanctorum*. 43 vols., Venetiis, 1734-70.
- Aguilera, S.J., Emmanuele. *Provinciae Siculae Societatis Iesu ortus et res gestae*. 2 vols. Panormi, 1737-40.
- *[Aibar] *Suit of the Lord of Xavier against the Aibar Valley*, 1551-58 (Archives Granada 60, 20).
- Aicardo, S.J., José Manuel. *Comentario a las Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús*. 6 vols. Madrid, 1919-32.
- Albèri, E. *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senato durante il secolo decimo sesto*. 15 vols. Firenze, 1839-55.
- Alberti, O.P., Leandro. *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia*. Venetia, 1577.
- *[Alberti] *Historia di Bologna di F. Leandro degli Alberti Bolognese dell'Ordine de' Frati Predicatori* (1540) (Bologna. Bibl. dell'Università: Ms. 98).
- Alcáçova Carneiro, Pero de. *Relações de . . . , Conde de Idanha (1515-1568)*, revistas e anotadas por Ernesto de Campos de Andrada. Lisboa, 1937.
- Alcázar, S.J., Bartholomé. *Chrono-Historia de la Compañía de Jesús, en la Provincia de Toledo*. 2 vols. Madrid, 1710.
- Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das navegações e conquistas portuguesas*. Lisboa, 1892.
- Allen, P. S. *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*. 11 vols. Oxford, 1906-47 (letters cited by number).
- Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, hg. durch die historische Commission bei der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 56 vols. Leipzig, 1875-1912.
- Almagià, Roberto. *Carte geografiche a stampa*. Città del Vaticano, 1948 (Monumenta Cartographica II).
- Almeida, Fortunato de. *História da Igreja em Portugal*. 4 vols. in 8. Coimbra, 1910-24. — *História de Portugal*. 6 vols. Coimbra, 1922-29.
- Alpharanus, Tiberius. *De Basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura*, ed. Michele Cerrati. Roma, 1914 (Studi e Testi 26).
- Altadill, Julio. *Provincia de Navarra*. 2 vols. Barcelona [1914] (Geografía General del País Vasco-Navarro, dirigida por Francisco Carreras y Candi).
- Alvarado, Fernando de. *Guía del Viajero en Pamplona*. Madrid, 1904.
- Alvarez, Francisco. *Verdadeira Informação das terras do Preste João das Indias*. Nova edição (conforme a de 1540). Lisboa, 1889.
- Amayden, Teodoro. *La Storia delle Famiglie Romane*, con note ed aggiunte del Comm. C. A. Bertini. 2 vols. Roma [1915].
- Andrada, Francisco d'. *Chronica do muito alto e muito poderoso Rey Dom João o III deste nome*. 4 vols. Coimbra, 1796.
- *Andrade Leitão, Belchior de. *Familias de Portugal* (1717). 55 vols. (Lisboa, Ajuda: 49-12-26 to 49-13-7).
- *[Anonymus Lusitanus] Fragment of a description and history of Portugal written in Portuguese, in the Archives of the Toledo Province of the Society of Jesus: *Codex* 100, n. 3, ff. 169-264.
- Antonio da Purificação, Fr. *Chronica da antiquissima Provincia de Portugal da Ordem dos Eremitas de S. Agostinho*. 2 vols. Lisboa, 1642-56.
- *Araujo, S.J., Francisco de. *Breve Memorial da Origem desta Provincia da Companhia de Jesu de Portugal e Provincias dela* (Coimbra, Bibl. Univ. Ms. 140).

- Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*. Romae, 1932 ff.
- Argamasilla de la Cerda y Bayona, J. *Nobiliario y Armeria General de Navarra*. 5 vols. Madrid, 1899-1906.
- Argentré, Ch. Du Plessis d'. *Collectio iudiciorum de novis erroribus*. 3 vols. Paris, 1724-56.
- Arigita y Lasa, Mariano. *El Doctor Navarro Don Martín de Azpilcueta*. Pamplona, 1895.
- *Don Francisco de Navarra*. Pamplona, 1899.
- Armellini, Mariano. *Le chiese di Roma*. Nuova edizione con aggiunte a cura di Carlo Cecchelli. 2 vols. Roma, 1942.
- Artaria. *Nouveau Guide du Voyageur en Italie*. Milan, 1829.
- [Ashby] *La Campagna Romana al tempo di Paolo III. Mappa della Campagna Romana del 1547 di Eufrosino della Volpaia*, con introduzione di Thomas Ashby. Roma, 1914 (Le piante maggiori di Roma, Appendice 2).
- Astráin, S.J., Antonio. *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*. 7 vols. Madrid 1902-25 (Vol. I, 2nd ed., 1912).
- Atkinson, Geoffroy. *La Littérature géographique française de la Renaissance*. 2 vols. Paris, 1927-36.
- Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle, O.P., and E. Chatelain. 5 vols. Paris, 1894-1942.
- Liber Procuratoris Nationis Anglicanae (Alemanniae) 1323-1492*. Vols. 1-3.
- Liber Procuratoris Nationis Picardiae 1476-84*. Vol. 4.
- Liber Procuratoris Nationis Gallicanae 1443-56*. Vol. 5.
- Auger, see Tournier.
- Avenel, Vicomte G. d'. *Histoire économique de la propriété, des salaires, des denrées et de tous les prix en général 1200-1800*. 6 vols. Paris, 1909-14^a.
- Azevedo, João Lúcio de. *Historia dos Cristãos Novos Portugueses*. Lisboa, 1922.
- Azpilcueta, Martinus ab. *In tres de poenitentia distinctiones posteriores commentarii*. Coimbra, 1542.
- *Relectio siue iterata praelectio non modo tenebrosi: sed et tenebricosi c. Accepta de restit. spoliat. composita*. Coimbra, 1547.
- *Manual de Confessores*. Salamanca, 1557.
- *Enchiridion sive Manuale Confessariorum*. Romae, 1573.
- *Opera*. Coloniae Agrippinae, 1616. 3 vols.
- Baião, Antonio. *Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil. Subsídios para a sua historia*. Lisboa, 1921.
- Barbarano de Mironi, O.F.M.Cap., Francesco. *Historia Ecclesiastica della Città, Territorio, e' Diocese di Vicenza*. 6 vols. Vicenza, 1649-62.
- Barbosa Machado, Diogo. *Biblioteca Lusitana*. 4 vols. Lisboa, 1930-35^a.
- Barreiros, Gaspar. *Chorographia de alguns lugares que stam em hum caminho, que fez... ó anno de M.D XXXXVI, começando na cidade de Badajoz em Castella, até á de Milam em Italia*. Coimbra, 1561.
- Barros, João de. *Compilação de varias obras do insigne Portuguez Joam de Barros, dirigidas pelo mesmo autor ao Principe D. Felipe. Impressas em lisboa pelos annos de 1539, e 1540*. Lisboa, 1785.
- *Da Asia Decada 1-4*. 9 vols. Lisboa, 1777-78^a.
- Bartoli, S.J., Daniello. *Opere*. 80 vols. Napoli, 1853-61. The following are cited:
Vita e Istituto di S. Ignazio. 5 vols. 1856 (*Opere* 18-22).
L'Asia. 8 vols. 1856-57 (*Opere* 27-34).
L'Italia. 4 vols. 1860-61 (*Opere* 68-71).
Degli uomini e de' fatti della Compagnia di Gesù. Opera postuma. 2 vols., 1861 (*Opere* 76-77).
- Baster Chroniken*, hg. von Aug. Bernouilli. Leipzig, 1872 ff.
- Bataillon, Marcel. *Erasme et l'Espagne*. Paris, 1937.
- Battistella, Antonio. *Il S. Officio e la riforma religiosa in Bologna*. Bologna, 1905.
- Beccari, S.J., Camillo. *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti*. Romae, 1903-1917. 15 vols.
- Beckingham, C. F.—Huntingford, G. W. B. *The Prester John of the Indies*. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1961.
- Benrath, Karl. *Bernardino Ochino von Siena*. Leipzig, 1875.
- Bermudez, João. *Breve Relação da embaixada que o patriarcha D. João Bermudez trouxe do imperador da Ethiopia chamado vulgarmente Preste João*. Lisboa, 1875.
- Berty, A. *Topographie historique du Vieux Paris*. 6 vols. Paris, 1866-97 (Histoire Générale de Paris). *Région du Louvre, 1866-68* (Berty-Légrand); *Région du Bourg Saint-Ger-*

- main, 1876; *Région du Faubourg Saint-Germain*, 1882; *Région Occidentale de l'Université*, 1887; *Région Centrale de l'Université*, 1897 (Berty-Tisserand).
Biographie Nationale de Belgique. 28 vols. Bruxelles, 1866-1944.
 Biondo da Forlì. *Roma restaurata, et Italia illustrata*, tradotto in buona lingua volgare per Lucio Fauno. Venetia, 1543.
 Blaeu, Joa. et Corn.. *Theatrum orbis terrarum*. Pars Tertia. Amsterdami, 1640.
 [Bobadilla] *Bobadillae Monumenta*. Matriti, 1913 (MHSI).
 Bocculari, Domenico. *Nuova Geografia dell'Europa*. Genova, 1783.
 Böhmer, Heinrich. *Studien zur Geschichte der Gesellschaft Jesu*. Vol. I [Loyola]. Bonn, 1914 (This edition is to be preferred to the later).
 Boero, S.J., José. *Vida del Siervo de Dios P. Alonso Salmerón*, trad. por el P. Ig. Torres. Barcelona, 1887.
 Boissonnade, P. *Histoire de la réunion de la Navarre à la Castille*. Paris, 1893.
 Bonnard, Fourier. *Histoire du Couvent royal de la Trinité du Mont Pincio*. Rome, 1933.
 Bordenave, Nic. de. *Histoire de Béarn et Navarre*. Paris, 1873.
 *Borgni. *Diario del Viaggio fatto dal Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini nell'andare Legato a Firenze per la celebrazione dello sposalitio della Regina di Francia e dopoi in Francia per la pace (1600-1601)*. In Biblioteca Vaticana. *Vat. lat. 8510*, ff. 113-436.
 [Borgia] *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia*. 5 vols. Matriti, 1894-1911 (MHSI).
 Bourdon, Léon. "La France du Midi vue par un Clerc portugais en 1532-1534." *Annales du Midi* 62 (1950) 59-74.
 Bourrilly, V. L. - Weiss, N. "Jean du Bellay. Les Protestants et la Sorbonne (1529-1535)." *Extrait du Bulletin de l'histoire du Protestantisme français 1903-04*. Paris, 1904.
 Braamcamp Freire, Anselmo. *Brasões da Sala de Sintra*. 3 vols. Coimbra, 1921-30.
 Brandão, João. *Tratado da majestade, grandeza e abastança de Lisboa na 2a. metade do seculo XVI (Estatistica de Lisboa de 1552)*, ed. A. Braamcamp Freire e Gomes de Brito. Lisboa, 1923. See *Estatistica*.
 Brandão, Mário. *A Inquisição e os Professores do Colégio das Artes*. Vol. I. Coimbra, 1948.
 — *O Colégio das Artes*. 2 vols. Coimbra, 1924-33.
 — *O processo de Teive*. See Teive.
 — *O processo de Costa*. See Costa.
 — *Alguns documentos respeitantes à Universidade de Coimbra na época de D. João III*. Coimbra, 1937.
 — *Documentos de D. João III*. 3 vols. Coimbra, 1937-39.
 Brásio, Antonio. *Monumenta Missionaria Africana. Africa Occidentale*. 4 vols. Lisboa, 1952-54.
 Braunsberger, S.J., Otto. *Beati Petri Canisii Societatis Jesu Epistulae et Acta*. 8 vols. Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1896-1923.
 Briquet, C. M. *Les Filigranes*. 4 vols. Paris, 1907.
 Brodrick, S.J., James. *Saint Francis Xavier*. London, 1952.
 Brou, S.J., Alexandre. *Saint François Xavier*. 2 vols. Paris, 1922.
 Buchanan. see Henriques, *Buchanan na Inquisição*.
 Bulaeus, Caesar Egas. *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*. 6 vols. Paris, 1665-73.
Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum in Ecclesiis Africae, Asiae atque Oceaniae. 3 vols. and 2 vols. of appendices. Olisipone, 1868-79.
 Cacegas, O.P., Fr. Luis. *Historia de S. Domingos particular do Reino e Conquistas de Portugal*, reformada e amplificada por Fr. Luis de Sousa, 6 vols. Lisboa, 1866.
 Calindri, Serafino. *Dizionario corografico, georgico, orittologico, storico della Italia*. Montagna e Collina del Territorio Bolognese. 6 vols. Bologna, 1781-83.
 Callegari, Adolfo. *Monselice*. Milano, 1926 (Le Cento Città d'Italia 110).
 Calvinus, Johannes. *Opera omnia*. Vol. X, 2. Brunswigae, 1872 (Corpus Reformatorum Vol. 38, 2).
 [Camara] *Memoriale seu Diarium Patris Ludovici Gonzalez de Camara (1555-1574)*. In FN I 527-752 (cited by numbers).
 Capasso, Carlo. *Paolo III*. 2 vols. Messina, 1923-24.
 Capefigue, M. *François 1er et la Renaissance 1515-1547*. 4 vols. Bruxelles, 1845.
 Cardauns, Ludwig. "Paul III., Karl V. und Franz I. in den Jahren 1535 und 1536." *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 11 (Rom, 1908) 147-244.
 Cardella, Lorenzo. *Memorie storiche de' Cardinali*. 9 vols. Roma, 1792-97.
 Cardoso, Jorge. *Agiologio Lusitano dos Santos, e Varoens illustres em virtude do reino de Portugal, e suas Conquistas*. 4 vols. Lisboa, 1652-1744.

- *[Cartas de Maya] 55 original letters of the defenders of Maya and their assistants, captured in the fall of the fortress in 1522 (Royal Archives, Pamplona, without signature).
- Cartas de San Ignacio de Loyola*, 6 vols. Madrid, 1874-89.
- Cartellieri, Walther. *Die römischen Alpenstraßen über den Brenner, Reschen-Scheideck und Plöckenpaß mit ihren Nebenlinien*. Leipzig, 1926 (Philologus, Supplementband 18, Heft 1).
- **Cartularios de Leire* (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional. Codices 213b-218b. Copies of the *Becerro antiguo*).
- Castanheda, Fernão Lopes de. *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*, 3rd ed. 4 vols. Coimbra, 1924-33.
- Castilho, Julio de. *Lisboa Antiga, Bairros Orientaes*. 7 vols. Coimbra, 1884-90.
— *A Ribeira de Lisboa*. Lisboa, 1893.
- Castro, João Bautista de. *Mappa de Portugal*. 3 vols. Lisboa, 1762-63.
- Cedillo, Conde de. *El Cardenal Cisneros, Gobernador del Reino*. 3 vols. Madrid, 1921.
- Cereceda, S.J., Feliciano. *Diego Laínez en la Europa religiosa de su tiempo*. 2 vols. Madrid, 1945-46.
- Cerejeira, M. Gonçalves. *O Renascimento em Portugal. Clenardo e a Sociedade Portuguesa do seu tempo*. Coimbra, 1949^a.
- *[Cesena] *Diarii di Biagio da Cesena*. Vol. 2 (Rome, Bibl. Nazionale, Fondo Gesuitico 270).
- Chapotin, O.P., M.D. *Le Collège de Dormans-Beauvais*. Paris, 1870.
- Charrière, E.. *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*. Vol. I. Paris, 1848.
- Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle, O.P., and E. Chatelain. 4 vols. Paris, 1889-97.
- Chaves, Luís. "S. Francisco Xavier nas tradições da Cidade de Lisboa." *Revista de Guimarães* 63 (1953) 158-77.
- Chronique de Santa-Cruz du Cap de Gué (Agadir)*. Texte portugais du XVI^e siècle traduit et annoté par Pierre de Cenival. Paris, 1934.
- Cicogna, Emm. Ant. *Delle iscrizioni Veneziane raccolte ed illustrate*. 6 vols. Venezia, 1824-65.
- Clair, S.J., Charles. *La Vie de Saint Ignace de Loyola d'après Pierre Ribadeneira*. Paris, 1891.
- Clementi, Filippo. *Il Carnevale Romano nelle cronache contemporanee*. 2 vols. Roma, 1938-39.
- Clénard, Nicolas. *Correspondance de . . .*, publiée par Alphonse Roersch. 5 vols. Bruxelles, 1940-41.
- Cognolato, Gaetano. *Saggio di Memorie della Terra di Monselica*. Padova, 1794.
- Colonna, Vittoria. *Carteggio*, pubbl. da E. Ferrero e G. Müller. Torino, 1892.
- Concilium Tridentinum. Diariorum, Actorum, Epistularum, Tractatum nova Collectio*. Edidit Societas Goerresiana. Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1901 ff.
- *[Confalonierius] *De Sancti Francisci Xaverii Societatis Jesu in India, atque Japonia Apostolatu libri octo*, auctore Johanne Baptista Confalonerio (1631). (The codex was destroyed by fire along with the library of the University of Louvain in 1940.)
- Conrad, Ludwig. *Vier rheinische Palaestina-Pilgerschriften*. Wiesbaden, 1882.
- [Constitutiones] *Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*. 3 vols. Roma, 1934-38 (MI).
- **Copia della satisfazione [que] fece Isidoro a tutti li scolari insieme congregati fuori delle due classi di figliolini* (1549) (ARSI: Rom. 127 I 5-6v).
- Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez*, publicado por Luiz Augusto Rebello da Silva, etc. 14 vols. Lisboa, 1862-1910.
- Corradi, Alfonso. *Annali delle epidemie occorse in Italia dalle prime memorie fino al 1850*. Bologna, 1865-95 (Memorie della Società Medico-Chirurgica di Bologna VI, 3-10).
- Correa, Gaspar. *Lendas da Índia*. 4 vols. Lisboa, 1858-64.
- [Correa-Yanguas] *Historia de la conquista del Reino de Navarra por el Duque de Alba . . . en el año de 1512*, escrita por Luis Correa, é ilustrada con notas por Don José Yanguas y Miranda. Pamplona, 1843.
- Corrozet, Gilles. *Les Antiquitez, Histoires et singularitez de Paris*. Paris, 1550.
- Cortêsão, Armando—Teixeira da Mota, Avelino. *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*. 6 vols. Lisboa, 1960.
- [Costa] *O processo na Inquisição de Mestre João da Costa*, publicado por Mário Brandão. Coimbra, 1944.
- Coulbeaux, J. B. *Histoire politique et religieuse d'Abyssinie*. 3 vols. Paris, 1929.
- Couto, Diogo de. *Da Asia Decada 4-12*. 15 vols. Lisboa, 1778-88.

- Coyecque, Ernest. *Recueil d'Actes notariés relatifs à l'Histoire de Paris et de ses environs au XVI^e siècle*. 2 vols. Paris, 1905-25 (Histoire Générale de Paris).
- Crévier, J. B. L. *Histoire de l'Université de Paris jusqu'en 1600*. 7 vols. Paris, 1761.
- Cronique du Roy François*. See Picotté.
- Cros, S.J., Joseph Marie. *Saint François de Xavier. Sa vie et ses lettres*. 2 vols. Toulouse-Paris, 1900.
- *Saint François de Xavier. Son pays, sa famille, sa vie. Documents Nouveaux*. 1^{re} Série. Paris, 1903^a.
- **Saint François de Xavier. Son pays, sa famille, sa vie. Documents Nouveaux*. 2^e Série (Archives of the Toulouse Province of the Society of Jesus).
- Da Mosto, Andrea. *I Dogi di Venezia*. Venezia, 1939.
- Daru, P. *Histoire de Venise*. Vol. 4. Paris, 1821.
- Delisle, Léopold. "Notice sur un registre des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris pendant les années 1505-1533." *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* 36 (Paris, 1899) 315-408.
- Dengel, Philipp. *Palast und Basilika San Marco in Rom*. Rom, 1913.
- De Vocht, Henry. *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia*. Vol. 4. Louvain, 1934.
- Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, ed. A. Baudrillart, etc. Paris, 1912 ff. (in process).
- Dittrich, Franz. *Regesten und Briefe des Kardinals Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542)*. Braunschweig, 1881.
- *Kardinal Contarini (1483-1542)*. Braunschweig, 1885.
- Documenta Indica*, ed. Iosephus Wicki, S.J. 12 vols. Romae, 1948-71.
- Dorez, Léon. *La Cour du pape Paul III d'après les registres de la trésorerie secrète*. 2 vols. Paris, 1932.
- Doumergue, E. *Jean Calvin. Les hommes et les choses de son temps*. Vol. I: *La jeunesse de Calvin*. Lausanne, 1899.
- Driart, Pierre. "Chronique Parisienne (1522-1535)." *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris* 22 (1895) 67-178.
- Drummond, Robert Blackley. *Erasmus, his Life and Character as Shown in his Correspondence and Works*. 2 vols. London, 1873.
- [Du Bellay] *Mémoires de Martin et Guillaume du Bellay*, publ. par V.L. Bourrilly et F. Vindry. 4 vols. Paris, 1908-19.
- Dudon, S.J., Paul. *Saint Ignace de Loyola*. Paris, 1934.
- Dufour, Th. "Calviniana." *Mélanges M. Emile Picot* 2 (Paris, 1913) 51-66.
- Egger, Hermann. *Römische Veduten*. 2 vols. Wien, 1932^a.
- *Eguía y Beaumont, Francisco de. *Estella Cautiva. Historia de la ciudad de Estella (1644)* (Tafalla, Library of Azcona).
- **Ejecutorial en el pleito del Valle de Roncal, contra el Vizconde de Zolina, Señor de Javier, sobre el paso de los ganados de los terminos de derecho, lugar y goce en ellos y endereceras llamadas Ballulada y Baldarto* (Ustarroz, Archivo de la Junta General del Noble Valle de Roncal, Sección VIII, legajo 2).
- Epistolae Mixtae ex variis Europae locis ab anno 1537 ad 1556 scriptae*. 5 vols. Matriti, 1898-1901 (MHSI).
- Epistolae P. Alphonsi Salmeronis*. 2 vols. Matriti, 1906-07 (MHSI).
- Epistolae P. Hieronymi Nadal*. 4 vols. Matriti, 1898-1905 (MHSI).
- Epistolae PP. Paschasii Broëti, Claudii Jaji, Joannis Codurii et Simonis Roderici*. Matriti, 1903 (MHSI).
- Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta*. Nova editio, ed. G. Schurhammer, S.J., et I. Wicki, S.J., 2 vols. Romae, 1944-45 (MHSI).
- Erasmus, Desiderius. *Colloquia*. Amstelaedami, 1754.
- *Epistolae*. See Allen.
- Escalada, S.J., Francisco. *Documentos Históricos del Castillo de Javier y sus mayoraos*. Pamplona, 1931.
- **Estatística de Lisboa*. 1552 (Lisboa, Bibl. Nac. *Fundo Geral* 679).
- [Estienne-Bonnerot] *La Guides Chemins de France de 1553 par Charles Estienne*, ed. par Jean Bonnerot. Vol. I: *Texte commenté*. Paris, 1936.
- Estornés Lasa, B. *El Valle del Roncal*. Zaragoza, 1927.
- [Espasa] *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana*. 95 vols. Barcelona-Bilbao, Espasa-Calpe, 1908-65.

- [Faber] *Memoriale Fabri*. In FN I 26-49.
- Fabricius, Georg. *Roma [et Itinerum liber unus]*. Basileae, 1551.
- Fabriczy, Cornelio de. "Il Codice dell'Anonimo Gaddiano (Cod. magliabechiano XVII, 17) nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze." *Archivio storico italiano* 5, 12 (1895) 15-94 275-334.
- Fabri Monumenta. Beati Petri Fabri Epistolae, Memoriale et Processus*. Matriti, 1914 (MHSI).
- *Faranda, S.J., Nicolò. *Vita Patris Hieronymi Dominech Societatis Jesu* (Rome, Fondo Gesù: *Manuscripta* 2b, n. 27. ff. 71-74v).
- Farinelli, Arturo. *Viajes por España y Portugal desde la Edad media hasta el siglo XX. Nuevas y antiguas divagaciones bibliográficas*. 3 vols. Roma, 1942-44.
- Félibien, Michel-Lobineau, G.A. *Histoire de la Ville de Paris*. 5 vols. Paris, 1725.
- Feret, Paul. *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et ses docteurs les plus célèbres. Epoque moderne*. 7 vols. Paris, 1900-10.
- Fernández Pérez, G. *Historia de la iglesia y obispado de Pamplona*. 3 vols. Madrid, 1820.
- [Ficalho] Ficalho, Conde de. *Viagens de Pedro da Covilhan*. Lisboa, 1898.
- [Ficalho, Orta] Ficalho, Conde de. *Garcia da Orta e o seu tempo*. Lisboa, 1886.
- Fichard, Joa. *Italia*, hg. von J. K. Fichard. Frankfurt a. M., 1815. (*Frankfurtisches Archiv für ältere deutsche Literatur und Geschichte*).
- Figaniér, Joaquim. *História de Santa Cruz do Cabo de Gué (Agadir) 1505-1541*. Lisboa, 1945.
- Figueiredo Falcão, Luiz de. *Livro em que se contém toda a fazenda*. Lisboa, 1859.
- *[Fine] *Cornelii de Fine Ephemerides Historicae ab anno 1536 ad annum 1543*. Vol. 2. (Biblioteca Vaticana: *Ottob. lat. 1514*).
- *[Firmanus] *Caeremoniale Joannis Francisci Firmani Maceratensis, Capellae Smi. D. N. Papae Caerimoniarum clerici et aliorum Diariorum tomus XIII* (Biblioteca Vaticana: *Barb. lat. 2800*).
- Fita, S.J., Fidel. "El Doctor D. Juan de Jaso." *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 23 (1893) 67-421.
- Fonseca, S.J., Francisco da. *Evora Gloriosa. Epilogo dos quatro tomos da Evora Illustrada, que compóz o R.P. Manoel Fialho da Companhia de Jesu*. Roma, 1728.
- [Fontana] *Itinerario overo viaggio da Venetia a Roma con tutte le Città... fino a santo Jacobo in Galitia... como dall'Autore è stato cercato e veduto*. Vinegia, 1550.
- Fontana, Bartolomeo. "Documenti dell'Archivio Vaticano e dell'Estense circa il soggiorno di Calvino a Ferrara." *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 8 (1885) 101-39.
- "Documenti... sull'imprigionamento di Renata di Francia," *ibid.* 9 (1886) 163-227.
- *Renata di Francia* 3 vols. Roma, 1889-99.
- Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola*, ed. D. Fernández Zapico, S.J., et C. de Dalmases, S.J. 2 vols. Romae, 1943-51 (MHSI).
- Forcella, Vincenzo. *Iscrizioni delle chiese et d'altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*. 14 vols. Roma, 1869-85.
- [Ford I] *Letters of John III King of Portugal 1521-1557*, ed. by J. M. D. Ford. Harvard Univ. Press. Cambridge, Mass., 1931.
- [Ford II] *Letters of the Court of John III King of Portugal*, ed. by J. D. M. Ford and L. G. Moffat. *Ibid.*, 1933.
- Foronda y Aguilar, Manuel de. *Estancias y viajes del Emperador Carlos V*. Madrid, 1914.
- Foulché Delbosc, R. "Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et Portugal." *Revue Hispanique* 3 (1896) 1-349 (cited by numbers).
- Fouqueray, S.J., Henry. *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France*. 5 vols. Paris, 1910-25.
- Francisco de Santa Maria. *O Ceo aberto na terra. Historia das sagradas Congregações dos Conegos Seculares de S. Jorge em Alga de Venesa, e de S. João Evangelista em Portugal*. Lisboa, 1697.
- Franco, S.J., Antonio. *Ano Santo da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal*. Porto, 1931.
- *Annus Gloriosus Societatis Jesu in Lusitania*. Viennae Austriae, 1720.
- *Synopsis Annalium Societatis Jesu in Lusitania*. Augustae-Vindelicorum et Graecii, 1726.
- *Imagem da Virtude em o Noviciado de Evora*. Lisboa, 1714.
- *Imagem da Virtude em o Noviciado de Lisboa*. Coimbra, 1717.
- *Imagem da Virtude em o Noviciado de Coimbra*. 2 vols. Evora-Coimbra, 1719.

- Franklin, Alfred. *La Vie Privée d'autrefois. Ecoles et Collèges*. Paris, 1892.
- Freire de Oliveira, Eduardo. *Elementos para a historia do municipio de Lisboa*. 17 vols. Lisboa, 1885-1911.
- Frutaz, Amato Pietro. *Le piante di Roma*. 3 vols. Roma, 1962.
- Gachhard, M. *Lettres de Philippe II à ses filles écrites pendant son voyage en Portugal (1581 à 1583)*, publiées par . . . Paris, 1884.
- Gaullieur, Ernest. *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*. Paris, 1874.
- Giustiniano, Marino. "Relazione del clarissimo . . . tornato ambasciatore dal Christianesimo l'anno 1535." In Albèri, Serie 1, vol. 1 (Firenze, 1859) 145-96.
- *Giustiniano, Marino, to Paolo Contarini, Paris, Jan. 26, 1535 (Biblioteca Vaticana. Mss. Vat. lat. 3922, ff. 163-65v).
- Gloria, Andrea. *Il Territorio Padovano*. 3 vols. Padova, 1847.
- Godet, Marcel. *La Congrégation de Montaigu (1490-1580)*. Paris, 1912.
- Goes, Damião de. "Hispania (1541)." *Hispaniae illustratae* I 1160-75.
 — *Urbis Olisiponis situs et figura (1554)*. *Ibid.* II 878-89.
 — *Fides, Religio, Moresque Aethiopum*. *Ibid.* 1288-1512.
 — *Chronica do felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel*. 4 vols. (Lisboa, 1566-67; we use the new edition, Coimbra, 1926).
- Gonçalves, S.J., Sebastião. *Historia da Companhia des Jesus no Oriente*, ed. J. Wicki, S.J. 3 vols. Coimbra, 1957-62.
- Gonzaga, O.F.M., Franciscus. *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae*. Romae, 1587.
- Goodolphim, José Cipriano da Costa. *As Misericordias*. Lisboa, 1897.
- [Goulet, Robert.] *Compendium recenter editum de multiplici Parisiensis Universitatis magnificentia, dignitate et excellentia, eius fundatione mirificoque suorum supposito- rum ac officiorum et collegiorum nomine. Preterea supplementum de duabus artibus et Heptadogma pro erigendo recenter gymnasio*. Paris, 1517.
- Gozzadini, Giovanni. *Memorie storiche intorno alla vita di Armaciotto de' Ramazzotti*. Firenze, 1835.
- [Graça Barreto, Ioannes A. da. *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum, Appendix III. Documenta Historiam Ecclesiae Habessinorum illustrantia*] *Pars II Documenta ab exordio negotiorum pro Lusitanorum ingressu in Habessiniam adusque pro Romani Patriarchatus restauratione tentamina sub Ioanne V Portugalliae amplectens* [Olisipone, ca. 1885]. Only 276 pages (1486-1555 [420 numbers]) were printed.
- Graetz, H. *Geschichte der Juden von der Verbannung der Juden aus Spanien und Portugal bis zur dauernden Ansiedelung der Marranen in Holland (1618)*. Leipzig, 1866 (Geschichte der Juden. Vol. 9).
- Grente. *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises. Le Seizième Siècle*, publié sous la direction de Georges . . . Paris, 1951.
- Guazzo, Marco. *Historie di M. . . di tutti i fatti degni di memoria nel mondo successi dal MDXXVIII sino a l'anno MDXLIX*. Vinetia, 1549^a.
- Guglielmotti, O.P., Alberto. *Storia della Marina Pontificia*. 10 vols. Roma, 1886-95.
- Guia de Portugal*. 2 vols. Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional, 1924-27.
- Guidicini, Giuseppe di Gio. Battista. *Cose notabili della città di Bologna*. 5 vols. Bologna, 1868-73.
- Gulbenkian, Roberto. "Jacome Abuna, an Armenian Bishop in Malabar (1503-1550)." *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português* 4 (1972) 149-176.
- Gutiérrez, S.J., C. *Españoles en Trento*. Valladolid, 1951.
- *Guzmán, S.J., Pedro de. *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús de la Provincia de Castilla la Vieja (1600)* (ARSI: Castel. 35).
- Haag, Eugène and Émile. *La France Protestante*. 6 vols. Paris 1877-88^a.
- Hammer, Joseph von. *Die Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*. 10 vols. Pest, 1828-35.
- Heimbucher, Max. *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche*. 2 vols. Paderborn, 1933-34^a.
- Henriques, Guilherme J.C. "Buchanan na Inquisição." *Arquivo histórico português* 4 (1906) 241-81.
 — *Ineditos Goësianos*. Vol. II: *O processo na Inquisição, documentos avulsos, notas*. Lisboa, 1898.
- Herculano, Alexandre. *Historia da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*. Oitava edição definitiva por David Lopes. 3 vols. Lisboa, no year.
- Herman, S.J., J.B. *La Pédagogie des Jésuites au XVI^e siècle. Ses sources, ses caractéristiques*. Louvain, 1914.

- Herminjard, A. L. *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française*. 9 vols. Genève, 1866-97.
- Hedio, Caspar. *Ein Außerleßne Chronick*. Straßburg, 1539.
- Hispaniae illustratae seu rerum urbiumque Hispaniae, Lusitaniae, Aethiopiae et Indiae scriptores varii*. 4 vols. Francofurti, 1603-08.
- Histoire Générale de Paris. Collection de documents originaux*. Paris, 1866 ff. See Berty, Coyecque, Raunié, Tuetey.
- História da Colonização Portuguesa do Brazil*. 3 vols. Porto, 1921-24.
- **Historia de la fundación del collegio de Santo Antón de Lisboa hecha en Março de 1574* (ARSI. Lus. 77, 14r).
- [Hollanda] *Francisco de Hollanda. Vier Gespräche über die Malerei geführt zu Rom 1538*, hg. von Joaquim de Vasconcellos. Wien, 1899.
- Homenaje a San Francisco Javier en el IV Centenario de su viaje a la India 1541-1941*. Valladolid, 1942 (Universidad de Valladolid).
- Hunt, R. N. Carew. *Calvin*. London, 1933.
- Huonder, S.J., Anton. *Ignatius von Loyola. Beiträge zu seinem Charakterbild*, hg. von Balthasar Wilhelm, S.J. Köln, 1932.
- Ignacio da Piedade e Vasconcellos. *Historia de Santarem edificada*. 2 vols. Lisboa, 1740.
- [Ignatius] *Acta Patris Ignatii ut primum scripsit P. Ludovicus Gonzales excipiens ex ore ipsius Patris (1553-55)*. In FN I 354-507.
- "Instruzione piena delle cose di Portogallo data a Monsignor coadjutore di Bergamo [Giovanni Ricci], nunzio apostolico di Portogallo, per ordine di Papa Paolo III [1542]." *Corpo Diplomatico Portuquez V 130-52*.
- Inventar 1605*. See Schurhammer, *Inbentario*.
- Iturralde y Suit, Juan. *Obras*. 5 vols. Pamplona, 1912-17.
- Jeronymo de Belem, O.F.M., *Chronica Serafica da Santa Provincia dos Algarves*. 4 vols. Lisboa, 1750-58.
- Joseph de San Antonio, Fr. *Flos Sanctorum Augustiniano*. 4 vols. Lisboa, 1721-36.
- Jourdain, Carolus. *Index chronologicus chartarum pertinentium ad historiam Universitatis Parisiensis*. Paris, 1862.
- *Histoire de l'Université de Paris au XVII^e et XVIII^e siècle*. Paris, 1862-66.
- Journal (Le) d'un bourgeois de Paris (1515-1536)*. Nouvelle édition par V. L. Bourrilly. Paris, 1910.
- Kammerer, Albert. *La Mer Rouge. l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'antiquité. Essai d'histoire et de géographie historique*. Le Caire, 1929-52. 3 vols. in 7.
- I. *Les Pays de la mer Erythrée jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge* (1929).
- II. *Les guerres du poivre, les Portugais dans la mer rouge et en Abyssinie au XVI^e siècle* (1935).
- [III.] *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* (1947-52).
- Kampschulte, F. W. *Johann Calvin, seine Kirche und sein Staat in Genf*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1869-1899.
- Keyssler, Johann Georg. *Neueste Reisen durch Deutschland, Böhmen, Ungarn, die Schweiz Italien und Lothringen*. New édition. Hannover, 1751.
- Lafréry, Ant. *Le Sette Chiese di Roma*. Roma, 1575 (engraving).
- Lainii Monumenta. Epistolae et Acta Patris Jacobi Lainii*. 8 vols. Matriti, 1912-17 (MHSI).
- Lanciani, Rodolfo. *Storia degli scavi di Roma*. 4 vols. Roma, 1902-13.
- [Lancicius] *Dictamina S. P. Ignatii, Mirabilia de S. Ignatio collecta a Patre Lancicio*. In MI, *Scripta de S. Ignatio I 476-506 525-36*.
- Lancicius, S.J., Nicolaus. *Opuscula Spiritualia*. 2 vols. Antverpiae, 1650.
- Lanz, Karl. *Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V*. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1844-46.
- L'Appennino Bolognese*, ed. Club Alpino Italiano. Sezione di Bologna. Bologna, 1881.
- Larrañaga, S.J., Victoriano. *Obras completas de San Ignacio de Loyola*. Vol. I. Madrid, 1947.
- La S. I. Catedral de Pamplona. Descripción de la misma y relación de sus valores artísticos e históricos*. Pamplona, 1930.
- Launoy, Jean de. *Regii Navarrae Gymnasii Parisiensis Historia*. 2 vols. Paris, 1677.
- [Layne] *Epistola Patris Laynez de P. Ignatio*. Bologna, June 16, 1547. In FN 70-145.
- Lebeuf, Jean. *Histoire de la ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris*. 6 vols. Paris, 1883-95.
- Le Collège de France. Livre Jubilaire*. Paris, 1932.

- Le Cose Maravigliose della Città di Roma*. Vinegia, 1542.
- Lefranc, Abel. *Histoire du Collège de France*. Paris, 1893.
- Lemos, Maximiano. "Damião de Goes." *Revista de Historia* 9 (1920) 1-19 208-26; 10 (1921) 41-66.
- Leoni, Luigi. *Il Beato Pietro Fabro e il suo apostolato in Parma nel 1539-40*. Parma, 1910.
- Lesourd, Paul. *La Butte Sacrée. Montmartre*. Paris, 1937.
- Leturia, S.J., Pedro. *El Gentilhombre Íñigo López de Loyola en su patria y en su siglo*. Barcelona, 1949^a (also in English).
- Litta, Pompeo. *Famiglie celebri italiane*. Milano, 1819-60.
- Litterae Quadrimestres ex universis praeter Indiam et Brasiliam locis in quibus aliqui de Societate versabantur Romam missae*. 7 vols. Matriri-Romae, 1894-1932 (MHSI).
- Llanos y Torriglia, Félix de. *Contribución al estudio de la reina de Portugal, hermana de Carlos V, Doña Catalina de Austria*. Discurso. Madrid, 1923.
- *Llopis, José. *Crónica del Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Gandía* (original composed between 1780 and 1814, in the monastery of the Poor Clares in Gandía).
- Llorca, S.J., Bernardino. *La Inquisición en España*. Barcelona, 1946^a.
- Lopes, David. *História de Arzila*. Coimbra, 1924.
- **L'Origine et fondatione dell'Colleggio di Parma* (ARSI: *Mediol.* 91, 274-81v).
- *Lousada, Gaspar Alvarez de. *Torre do Tombo*. 3 vols. (Lisbon, Bibl. Nacional. *Fundo Geral 1105-1107*).
- Lucena, S.J., Joam de. *Historia da Vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier*. Bisboa, 1600.
- Macedo, Lino de. *Antiguidades do moderno concelho de Villa Franca de Xira*. Villa Franca de Xira, 1893.
- Madoz, Pascual. *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España*. 16 vols. Madrid, 1845-50.
- Madrado, Pedro de. *España, sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza é historia*. Navarra y Logroño. 3 vols. Barcelona, 1886.
- Maffei, S.J., Ioannes Petrus. *De vita et moribus Ignatii Loyolae*. Romae, 1585.
- Magini, Gio. Antonio. *Italia*. Bononiae, 1620.
- Malvasia, Bonaventura. *Compendio storico della Ven. Basilica di SS. Dodici Apostoli di Roma*. Roma. 1665.
- [Manare] *Responsa P. Manarei ad quaedam Lancicii Postulata*. In *MI Scripta de S. Ignatio* I 506-24.
- Manrique, Rodrigo. "Letter to Luis Vives. Paris, Dec. 9, 1553." In *De Vocht* 454-41.
- *Manso de Lima, Jacinto Leitão. *Familias de Portugal*. 45 vols. (Lisboa, Bibl. Nacional). Between 1925 and 1930 the letters A to Huet were printed in offset in 12 vols. We cite these.
- Mantese, Giovanni. "Una pagina di vita religiosa nel Cinquecento vicentino." *Regnum Dei* 5 (1947) 13-38.
- March, S.J., José M. *Niñez y juventud de Felipe II*. *Documentos inéditos* (1527-1547). 2 vols. Madrid, 1941-42.
- Mariz, Pedro de. *Dialogos de varia historia, em que se referem as vidas dos Senhores Reis de Portugal*. 2 vols. Lisboa, 1758.
- Martinori, Edoardo. *Le vie maestre d'Italia. Via Cassia e sue deviazioni*. Roma, 1930.
- Masini, Paolo. *Bologna perlustrata*. Vol. I: Bologna, 1666.
- Matos, Luis de. *Les Portugais à l'Université de Paris entre 1500 et 1550*. Coimbra, 1950.
- Maurocenus, Andreas. *Historia Veneta ab anno MDXXI usque ad annum MDCXV*. Venetiis, 1623.
- Memorial de varias cartas e cousas de edificação dos da Companhia de Jesus*, ed. José Pinto. Porto, 1942.
- *Mendivil. Archives Navarre. *Procesos*, not. Mendivil 1524-74, n. 3 (1527) (Sentenciados).
- Michel, S.J., L. [Michel Lanusse]. *Vie de S François Xavier*. Paris-Tournai [1908].
- Michieli, Pietro. *Cenni storici della chiesa suburbana di S. Vito di Bassano e di Fra Antonio Eremita*. Bassano, 1895.
- Mistrorigo, Federico. "IV Centenario della prima Messa di S. Francesco Saverio a Vicenza." *L'Avvenire d'Italia* (Oct. 23, 1937) 4.
- Montaigne, Michel de. *Journal du voyage en Italie en 1580 et 1581*, ed. Alexandre D'Ancona. Città di Castello, 1895.
- Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*. 105 vols. Matriri-Romae 1894-1972. Polanco, *Vita Ignatii* 6, *Mon. Ignatiana* 25, *Mon. Xav.* 2, *Ep. Xaverii* 2, *Fabri Mon.* 1, *Lainii Mon.* 8, *Ep. Salmeronis* 2, *Ep. Broëti* 1, *Bobadillae Mon.* 1, *Borgia* 5, *Polanci Complementa* 2, *Ep. Nadal* 4, *Ribadeneira* 2, *Mon. Paedagogica* 1, *Ep. Mixtae* 5, *Litterae Quadrimestres*

- 7, *Documenta Indica* 12, *Mon. Floridae* 3, *Mon. Peruana* 5, *Mon. Mexicana* 4, *Mon. Brasiliae* 5, *Mon. Novae Franciae* 1, *Mon. Antiquae Hungariae* 1.
- Monumenta Ignatiana*. 26 vols. Matriti-Romae 1903-1969 (MHSI). Series Prima: *Epistolae*. 12 vols. Matriti, 1903-11. Series Secunda: *Exercitia Spiritualia*. *Ibid.*, 1919. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Romae, 1969; *Directoria*, new ed., Romae, 1955. Series Tertia: *Constitutiones*. 3 vols. Romae, 1934-38; *Regulae*. *Ibid.*, 1948. Series Quarta: *Scripta de S. Ignatio*. 2 vols. Matriti, 1904-18; *Fontes Narrativi*. 4 vols. Romae, 1943-65.
- Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu quae primam Rationem Studiorum anno 1586 editam praecessere*. Matriti, 1901 (MHSI).
- Monumenta Xaveriana*. 2 vols. Matriti, 1899-1912 (MHSI).
- Moreno Escribano, S.J., Julian. *Archivo Heraldico S. I.* Vol. I: *Javier*. Sevilla, 1969.
- Moret, S.J., J. de—Alesón, S.J., F. de. *Anales del reino de Navarra. Investigaciones históricas de las antigüedades del reino de Navarra*. 12 vols. Tolosa, 1890-92.
- Moroni, Gaetano. *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*. 109 vols. Venezia, 1840-79.
- Müller, Karl. "Calvins Bekehrung." *Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*. Phil. hist. Klasse 1905 (Göttingen, 1905) 188-205.
- Murray, John. *A Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*. London, 1869¹¹.
- [Nadal] Various Texts of Nadal in FN II.
- [Nadal I-IV] see *Epistolae P. H. Nadal*.
- Natalis, S.J., Hieronymus. *Scholia in Constitutiones et Declarationes S. P. Ignatii*. Prati in Etruria, 1883.
- Navagero, Andrea. *Il Viaggio fatto in Spagna et in Francia*. Vinegia, 1563.
- Nicolao de Santa Maria. *Chronica da Ordem dos Conegos Regrantes do Patriarcha S. Agostinho*. 2 vols. Lisboa, 1668.
- Nieremberg. See *Varones Ilustres*.
- Nouvelle Biographie Universelle*, publiée par Firmin Didot Frères. 46 vols. Paris, 1862-70.
- Oehlmann, E. "Die Alpenpässe im Mittelalter." *Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte*, 3 (1878) 165-289; 4 (1879) 163-324.
- *Ollacarizqueta. Archives Navarre. *Procesos*, not. Pedro de Ollacarizqueta 1537, n. 18, fas. 1 (Sentenciado).
- Olóriz, Hermilio de. *Nueva biografía del Doctor Navarro D. Martín de Azpilcueta*. Pamplona, 1918.
- *Orbayceta. Archives Navarre. *Procesos*, not. Juan de Orbayceta 1503-24, nn. 33 35 37 41 (Pendientes).
- Orlandinus, S.J., Nicolaus. *Historiae Societatis Iesu pars prima*. Romae, 1615.
- Orreaga, Miguel de. *Amayur...! Los últimos nabarros*. Pamplona, 1923.
- Pagès, Léon. *Lettres de Saint François-Xavier de la Compagnie de Jésus*. 2 vols. Paris, 1855.
- *Palmio, S.J., Francesco. *Historia del principio e progresso del Collegio della Compagnia di Gesù fondato nella magnifica città di Bologna in Santa Lucia* (ARSI: Ven. 112, 196-206).
- *Informazione del principio et origine et di tutte le cose notabili del Collegio della Compagnia di Gesù di Bologna* (*ibid.*, Ven. 105, 74-123v; partly ed. in MX II 114-18).
- *Breve informazione del Collegio di Bologna fatta l'anno 1580* (*ibid.*, Ven. 112, 124-29; partly ed. in Tacchi Venturi II, 1, 245-50).
- Paruta, Paolo. *Historia Vinetiana*. Vinetia, 1645.
- Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr von. *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*. 16 vols. in 19. Freiburg i. Br., 1891-1933 (also in English).
- Paulsen, Friedrich—Lehmann, F. *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart*. Leipzig, 1919^s.
- Peña, S.J., Juan Antonio de la. *Antigüedad y calidad de la novilísima casa de Xauier (1620)*. In MX II 9-31.
- Peraga'lo, Prospero. *Cenni intorno alla Colonia Italiana in Portogallo nei secoli XIV, XV e XVI*. Nuova edizione. Genova, 1908.
- Pereira de Santa Anna, Fr. José. *Chronicas dos Carmelitas de antiga, e regular observancia nestes Reynos de Portugal, Algarves, e seus Dominios*. 2 vols. Lisboa, 1745-51.
- Pérez Arregui, S.J., Juan María. *San Ignacio en Azpeitia*. Madrid, 1921.
- Pérez, S.J., Francisco. See Wicki.
- [Petavius] Letter of Father Denis Petau, S.J., to Father Étienne Charlet, S.J., Paris, July 28,

- 1635, with an excerpt from the lost register of the university from Sainte-Geneviève (ARSI: *Francia* 33 I 160). There is a Latin translation in *Acta Sanctorum*, Julii VII, *De sancto Ignatio Loyola*, nn. 168-72, pp. 441-42.
- [Picotté, Seb.] *Cronique du Roy François Premier de ce nom*, publiée par Georges Guifrey. Paris, 1869.
- Piganiol de la Force, J. A. *Description de la ville de Paris et de ses environs*. 8 vols. Paris, 1742.
- Pimenta, Alfredo. *D. João III*. Porto, 1936.
- Pinard de la Boullaye, S.J., H. *Les Etapes de rédaction des Exercices de S. Ignace*. Paris, 1945.
- Pinho Leal. *Portugal antigo e moderno. Dicionario geographico... historico de todas as cidades, villas e freguezias de Portugal*. 12 vols. Lisboa, 1875-90.
- Pinta Llorente, O.S.A., Miguel de la. "Orígenes y organización del Santo Oficio en Portugal." *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 54 (1948) 73-102.
- [Piva, Vittorio] *Il tempio della Salute, eretto per voto della Repubblica XXVI. X. MDCXXX*. Venezia, 1930.
- Piva, Vittorio. *Il Seminario di Venezia*. Venezia, 1918.
- Pochat-Baron, F. *Le Bienheureux Père Le Fèvre ou Pierre Favre*. Paris, 1931.
- Polanci Complementa. Epistolae et Commentaria P. Joannis Alphonsi de Polanco e Societate Jesu addenda caeteris ejusdem scriptis dispersis in his Monumentis, quibus accedunt nonnulla coaeva, aliorum auctorum, illis conjunctissima*. 2 vols. Matriti, 1916-17 (MHSI).
- [Polanco] *De Vita P. Ignatii et de Societate Jesu initiis*. In FN II 506-97.
- [Polanco, Chronicon] Polanco, S.J., Joannes Alphonsus de. *Vita Ignatii Loiolae et rerum Societatis Jesu Historia*. 6 vols. Matriti, 1894-98 (MHSI).
- Poli, Angelo. "La prima Messa di S. Francesco Saverio a Vicenza." *Le Missioni Illustrate* 27 (1930) 372-75.
- Poma, Cesare. "Da Biella a Parigi nel 1556." *Bollettino Storico per la Provincia di Novara* 11 (1917) 93-101 119-27.
- Ponnelle, Louis—Bordet, Louis. *Saint Philippe Neri et la Société romaine de son temps, 1515-1595*. Paris, 1929.
- Pradera, Victor. *Fernando el Católico y los falsarios de la Historia*. Madrid, 1925^a.
- [Prat, S.J., J. M.] *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Père Broet et des origines de la Compagnie de Jésus en France*. Le Puy, 1885.
- Prat, S.J., J. M. *Le Père Claude Le Jay*. Lyon, 1874.
- Prestage, Edgar. *Registo da Freguesia da Sé desde 1563 até 1610*. Publ. por... e Pedro d'Azevedo. 2 vols. Coimbra, 1924-27 (Registos Parochiaes de Lisboa).
- [Quetta] H. Quaresima. "Das Tagebuch des Anton Quetta." *Forschungen und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte Tirols und Vorarlbergs* 11 (1914) 139-43 203-26.
- Quicherat, J. *Histoire de Sainte-Barbe*. 3 vols. Paris, 1860-64.
- Rabelais, François. *Oeuvres*. Édition critique par Abel Lefranc. 5 vols. Paris, 1912-31.
- Rahner, S.J., Hugo. "Die Vision des hl. Ignatius in der Kapelle von La Storta. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Psychologie der ignatianischen Mystik." *Zeitschrift für Ascese und Mystik* 10 (1935) 17-35 124-39 202-20 265-82.
- *Ignatius von Loyola. Briefwechsel mit Frauen*. Freiburg I. B., 1956 (also in English).
- Rainieri, Jacopo. *Diario Bolognese di...*, a cura di O. Guerrini e C. Ricci. Bologna, 1887 (Dei Monumenti Istorici pertinenti alle Provincie delle Romagne).
- Ramírez Dávalos de la Piscina, Diego. *Crónica de los muy excelentes Reyes de Navarra, compuesta en 1534 y publicada por Francisco Escalada, S.J.* Pamplona, 1935.
- [Ramusio, G. B.] *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi*. Venetia, 1550.
- Raunié, Émile. *Épitaphier du vieux Paris*. 4 vols. Paris, 1890-1919 (Histoire Générale de Paris).
- Recondo, S.J., José María. "Nuevos documentos sobre el Castillo de Javier." *Príncipe de Viana* 12 (1951) 273-85.
- *El castillo de Javier. Siglos, documentos, y piedras*. Pamplona [1969].
- *Francés de Xavier*. Pamplona, 1970.
- Regimento da Santa Inquisiçam (1552)*. In Baião 31-57.
- Regulae Societatis Jesu (1540-1556)*, ed. D. Fernández Zapico, S.J. Romae, 1948 (MI).
- **Relación de lo que los testigos que se tomaron en Nabarra dixeron sobre la venida del Rey Don Juan a Nabarra (Simancas. Patronato Real 13, 15)*.
- Renaudet, A. *Études érasmiennes (1521-1529)*. Paris, 1939.

- **Repertorio Catastico et Registro de stabeli Possessiononi... del hospedal delli incurabili di Venetia (1540)* (Venice, Archives of the Ospedale Civile).
- **Responsa Nadal (1561)* (Roma, Fondo Gesù Ms. 77, 4 vols.).
- Rezende, André de. *Vida do Infante Dom Duarte*. Lisboa, 1789.
- [Ribadeneira] *De Actis P. N. Ignatii, Dicta et Facta S. Ignatii*. In FN II 317-94 465-99.
- [Ribadeneira I-II] Ribadeneira. *Patris Petri de Ribadeneira Confessiones, Epistolae aliaque scripta inedita*. 2 vols. Matriti, 1920-23 (MHSI).
- Ribadeneira, S.J., Petrus. *Vita Ignatii Loiolae, Societatis Iesu fundatoris*. Neapoli, 1572.
- *Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Religión de la Compañía de Jesús, por el padre Pedro de Ribadeneira*. Madrid, 1583.
- *Ribadeneira, S.J., Pedro de. *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús de las Provincias de España y parte de las del Piru y nueva España y Philipinas* (ARSI. Hisp. 94).
- Ribeiro, Victor. *A Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa (Subsídios para a sua historia) 1498 a 1898*. Lisboa, 1902 (Historia e Memórias da Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa).
- Ricard, Robert. *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*. Paris, 1948 (Archives et Bibliothèques de Portugal).
- Ricci, Corrado. *Guida di Bologna*. Bologna, 1907.
- Rivière, S.J., Ernest. *Corrections et Additions à la Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus. Supplément au "De Backer-Sommervogel."* Toulouse, 1911-30.
- Roche, Marquis de—Dumoulin, Maurice. *Guide pratique à travers le Vieux Paris*. Paris [1935]p.
- Rodocanachi, Emanuel. "Renée de France en Italie." In Gustav Guenard, *Conférences de la Société d'Etudes Italienne* (Paris, 1895) 57-88.
- [Rodrigues] *Commentarium de origine et progressu Societatis Jesu (1577)*. In *Epistolae PP. Paschasii Broëti* 451-517 (MHSI).
- Rodrigues, S.J., Francisco. *História da Companhia de Jesus da Assistência de Portugal*. 4 vols. in 7. Pôrto, 1931-50.
- Röhrich, Reinhold—Meisner, Heinrich. *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande*. Berlin, 1880.
- Romanin, Samuele. *Storia documentata di Venezia*. 10 vols. Venezia 1853-61.
- Rose, Stewart. *St. Ignatius Loyola and the Early Jesuits*. London, 1891.
- *Rosefus, S.J., Gregorius. *Promptuarium dictionum et factorum quorundam Societatis Jesu* (ARSI. Vitae 15).
- Rossi, Gida. *Bologna nella storia, nell'arte e nel costume*. 3 vols. Bologna, 1924-28.
- Rot, Matthaeus. "Itinerarium Romanicum anno domini 1554," hg. von Gmelin, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 52 (1880) 237-66.
- Ruano Prieto, Fernando. *Anexión del Reino de Navarra en tiempo del Rey Católico*. Madrid, 1899.
- Sacchinus, S.J., Franciscus. *Historiae Societatis Iesu pars secunda* (Antverpiae, 1620), *tertia* (Romae, 1649), *quarta* (Romae, 1652), *quinta* (Romae, 1661).
- Saint-Victor, J. B. de. *Tableau historique et pittoresque de Paris*. 5 vols. Louvain, 1830.
- Salvatore da Sasso, O.F.M.Cap. "Chi ha fondato il primo convento dei Minori Cappuccini a Ferrara?" *L'Italia Franciscana* 4 (1929) 342-55.
- Sande, S.J., Duarte de. *De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam curiam, rebusque in Europa, ac toto itinere animadversis Dialogus ex Ephemeride ipsorum Legatorum collectus, et in sermone latinum versus ab Eduardo de Sande*. In Macaensi portu, 1590.
- Sandoval, Fr. Frudencio de. *Historia de la vida y hechos del emperador Carlos V*. 9 vols. Madrid, 1846-47.
- Santa Maria, Ramón de. *La fiesta de la Concepción, en la antigua R. Iglesia de Santiago y San Ildefonso de los Españoles en Roma, el año 1715*. Roma, 1908.
- Santarem, Visconde de. *Quadro elementar das relações políticas e diplomaticas de Portugal*. 15 vols. Paris, 1842-54.
- Santiago Vela, O.S.A., Gregorio. *Ensayo de una Bibliotheca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de San Agustín*. 7 vols. Madrid, 1913-31.
- Sanuto, Marino. *I Diarii di . . . , 1496-1533*, ed. F. Stefani, etc. 58 vols. Venezia, 1879-1903.
- *[Sarmiento] *Letters of the Spanish Ambassador in Portugal, Luis de Sarmiento de Mendoza, to Francisco de los Cobos, etc., 1540-41* (Simancas. *Secretaría de Estado* 168).
- Scaduto, S.J., Mario. *L'Epoca di Giacomo Lainez. Il Governo (1556-1565)*. Roma, 1964 (Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia III).

- Schäfer, Heinrich. *Geschichte von Portugal*. Vol. 3. Hamburg, 1850 (Geschichte der europäischen Staaten, hg. von Heeren und Ukert).
- Schottus, S.J., Andreas. *Itinerarium Italiae*. Amstelodami, 1655.
- Schröteler, S.J., Joseph. *Die Erziehung in den Jesuiteninternaten des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Freiburg i. Br., 1940.
- Schurhammer, S.J., Georg. "Die Reise des hl. Franz Xavier durch die Schweiz." *Schweizerische Rundschau* 17 (1916/17) 16-33.
- *Der heilige Franz Xaver, der Apostel von Indien und Japan*. Freiburg i. Br., 1925.
- "Baskische Studenten zur Zeit des hl. Franz Xaver in Paris." *Revue Internationale des Etudes Basques* 18 (1927) 636-45 (GS III 449-53).
- "Die Muttersprache des hl. Franz Xaver." *Ibid* 20 (1929) 246-55 (GS III 339-46).
- *Die zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarländer zur Zeit des hl. Franz Xaver (1538-1552)*. 6080 registers and 30 plates. Leipzig 1932. Reprinted with additions to 1962. Rome, 1962 (GS I).
- "Die Bekehrung der Paraver (1535-1537)." *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 4 (1935) 201-33 (GS II 215-54).
- "Leben und Briefe Antonio Crimali's von P. Valmerana." *Ibid*. 5 (1956) 251-67 (GS II 289-315).
- "Die Anfänge des römischen Archivs der Gesellschaft Jesu (1538-1548)." *Ibid*. 12 (1945) 89-118 (GS III 467-88).
- "Jugendprobleme des hl. Franz Xaver." *Studia Missionalia* 2 (1946) 75-129 (GS III 409-48).
- "San Francisco Javier y Navarra." *Principe de Viana* 8 (1947) 469-77 (GS IV 245-50).
- "Inventario de los vienes que quedaron en Xavierr." *Ibid*. 11 (1950) 309-28 (GS III 393-407).
- *Gesammelte Studien*. 4 vols. in 5. Roma-Lisboa, 1962-65.
- *Francisco Javier: su vida y su tiempo I*, trad. por Félix de Areitio Ariznabarreta, S.J. 2 vols. Bilbao, 1969.
- "Armenian Bishops in Malabar?" *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português* 4 (1972) 141-148.
- Schurhammer, S.J., Georg—Voretzsch, E. A. *Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bâhu und Franz Xaviers 1539-1552*. Leipzig, 1928.
- Schweitzer, Vinzenz, "Kardinal Bartolomeo Guidiccioni (1469-1549)." *Römische Quartalschrift* 20 (1906) 27-53 142-61 189-204.
- Sedgwick, Henry Dwight. *Ignatius Loyola*. London, 1924.
- Siderander, Petrus. Letter to Bédrot, Paris, May 28, 1533. In Herminjard III 54-61.
- Silva, Innocencio Francisco da. *Diccionario bibliographico* (vols. 10-22 by P. V. Brito Aranha). 22 vols. Lisboa, 1858-1923. Vol. 23: Martinho da Fonseca, *Aditamentos*. Coimbra, 1927.
- Silva Rego, António da. *Documentação para a história das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, Índia*. 12 vols. have been published. Lisboa, 1947-69.
- Simeoni. See Sorbelli.
- Smith, Preserved. *A key to the Colloquies of Erasmus*. Cambridge, Mass., 1927 (Harvard Theological Studies 13).
- Sommervogel, S.J., Carlos. *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. 11 vols. Paris, 1890-1952 (Vols. 10-11 by Pierre Bliard, S.J.).
- Sorbelli, Albano—Simeoni, Luigi. *Storia della università di Bologna*. 2 vols. Bologna, 1940 (Vol. 1 by Sorbelli; Vol. 2 by Simeoni).
- Sousa, Antonio Caetano de. *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real*. 12 vols. Lisboa, 1755-38.
- *Provas da Historia Genealogica*. 6 vols. Lisboa, 1739-48 (New editions of both works, Coimbra, 1946 ff.).
- Sousa, Fr. Luiz de. *Annaes de Elrey Dom João Terceiro*, publicados por A. Herculano, Lisboa, 1844.
- Souza, S.J., Francisco de. *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa*. 2 vols. Bombaim, 1881-86^a.
- Streit, O.M.I., Robert—Dindinger, O.M.I., Johannes. *Bibliotheca Missionum*. Münster i. W.-Aachen-Freiburg i. Br., 1916 ff. (27 vols. published by 1970).
- Sturm, Johannes. Letter to Bucer, Paris, Aug. 23, 1533. In Herminjard III 72-75.
- Summario em que brevemente se contem algumas cousas (assi ecclesiasticas como seculares) que ha na cidade de Lisboa* [por Christovão Rodrigues de Oliveira, 1551]. Lisboa [between 1554 and 1560].

- Tacchi Venturi, S.J., Pietro. *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*. 2 vols. in 4. Roma, 1950-51 (Vol. I 3 and II, 1 2, 2nd editions).
- *Le Case abitate in Roma da S. Ignazio di Loiola secondo un inedito documento del tempo*. Roma, 1899.
- Tani, A. D. *Le Chiese di Roma. Chiese Stazionali*. Torino, 1922.
- Targe, Maxime. *Professeurs et régents de Collège dans l'ancienne Université de Paris*. Paris, 1902.
- Tavernier, H. "Le P. Claude Jay, sa patrie et sa famille." *Revue Savoisiennne* 35 (1894) 79-94.
- [Teive] *O processo na Inquisição de M. Diogo de Teive*. Publicado por Mário Brandão. Coimbra, 1943.
- Teixeira, S.J., Manuel. *Vida del Bienaventurado Padre Francisco Xavier*. In MX II 815-918.
- Tellez, S.J., Balthazar. *Chronica da Companhia de Iesu, na Provincia de Portugal*. 2 vols. Lisboa, 1645-47.
- Thurot, Charles. *De l'organisation de l'enseignement dans l'Université de Paris au Moyen Age*. Paris, 1850.
- Tomassetti, Giuseppe. *La Campagna Romana*. 3 vols. Roma, 1910-13.
- [Torre, S.J., Joannes Josephus de la] *Constitutiones Societatis Jesu latinae et hispanicae cum earum Declarationibus* [ed. . . .]. Matriti, 1892.
- Tournier, S.J., Ferdinand. "Saint François Xavier d'après un manuscrit inédit du P. Auger." *Etudes* 109 (1906) 657-69.
- [Truschet] *Paris vers 1551. Plan de Paris sous le Règne de Henri II par Olivier Truschet et Germain Hoyau*, reproduit d'après l'exemplaire unique de la Bibliothèque de Bâle. Paris, 1908.
- Tuetey, Alexandre. *Registres du Bureau de la Ville. Recueil des Délibérations de l'ancienne Municipalité Parisienne*. Vol. 2 (1527-39). Paris, 1886 (Histoire Générale de Paris).
- [Turselino-Guzman] *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier*, escrita en Latin por el P. Horatio Turselino, y traduzida en Romance por el P. Pedro de Guzman. Van añadidas muchas cosas. Pamplona, 1620.
- Tursellinus, S.J., Horatius. *De Vita Francisci Xaverii*. Romae, 1594.
- *De Vita Francisci Xaverii*. Romae, 1596 (Where not otherwise noted, we cite this edition, which is followed by all later authors).
- Uriarte, S.J., J. Eugenio de. *Catálogo razonado de Obras anónimas y seudónimas de autores de la Compañía de Jesús pertenecientes á la antigua Asistencia Española (1540-1773)*. 5 vols. Madrid, 1904-16.
- [Uriarte—Lecina] *Biblioteca de escritores de la Compañía de Jesús pertenecientes a la antigua Asistencia de España desde sus origiens hasta el año de 1773*, por los Padres José de Uriarte y Mariano Lecina de la misma Compañía. 2 vols. Madrid, 1925-30.
- Vallardi, Joseph. *Itinéraire d'Italie*. Milan, 1828¹⁸.
- Van Gulik, Gulielmus—Eubel, Conradus. *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*. Vol. III: Monasterii. 1910.
- Varones Ilustres de la Compañía de Jesús*. 9 vols. Bilbao, 1887-92.
- Vasconcellos. See Hollanda.
- *[Venturino] *Del Viaggio fatto dall Illmo. e Revmo. Card. Alessandrino, Legato Apostolico, alli Serenis. Rè di Francia, Spagna, Portogallo. Con le annotazioni delle cose più principali delle Città, Terre e Luoghi*, descritto da M. Gio. Batt. Venturino da Fabriano (1571-72) (Vol. 1. Biblioteca Vaticana: Barberini lat. 5216; Vol. 2. Barberini lat. 5250).
- Veny Ballester, Antonio. *San Cayetano de Thiene*. Barcelona, 1950.
- Verdizzotti, Francesco. *De Fatti Veneti dall'anno 1504 sino al 1570*. Vol. 2. Venetia, 1686.
- Versoris, Nicolas. "Livre de raison de M. . . . avocat au Parlement de Paris, 1519-1530, par G. Fagniez." *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris* 12 (1886) 99-222.
- Villoslada, S.J., Ricardo G. *La Universidad de Paris durante los estudios de Francisco de Vitoria, O.P. (1507-1522)*. Romae, 1938.
- San Francisco Javier en la Universidad de Paris. See *Homenaje* 21-46.
- Villuga, Juan. *Repertorio de todos los caminos da España, hasta agora nunca visto en el qual allaran qualquier viaje que quieran andar muy provechoso pera todos los caminantes*. Medina del Campo, 1546.
- Wendel, François. *Calvin. Sources et évolution de sa pensée religieuse*. Paris, 1950.
- Wicki, S.J., Josef. "Das neuentdeckte Xaveriusleben des P. Francisco Pérez, S.J. (1579)." *AHSI* 34 (1965) 36-78.

- Yanguas y Miranda, José. *Diccionario de Antigüedades del Reino de Navarra*. 4 vols. Pamplona, 1840-43.
- Yeo, Margaret. *St. Francis Xavier, Apostle of the East*. London, 1931.
- Yepes, O.S.B., Fr. Antonio de. *Coronica General de la Orden de San Benito*. 7 vols. Yrache-Valladolid, 1609-21.
- Zugasti, S.J., Juan Antonio. *La familia de Atondo y la genealogía de S. Francisco de Javier*. Pamplona, 1920.

INDEX

- Abd-ar-Rahman 39 42
 Ablitas, lady of, 47
 Abyssinia 685-96 595-6 715; see also: David,
 Preste Joam
 Achille, S.J., Paolo d', 5 6 7 656
 Acosta, S.J., Iacobus, 278
 Adam, Johannes, 247 441
 Aden 547 593 662 670 695
 Aeneas Sylvius 261
 Aezcoa, valley of, 4 27 52
 Affonso, Dom, cardinal infante, 542 552 564
 598 600 629-31 661 695; letter to the Preste
 695
 Affonso, k. of Congo, 594
 Affonso V, k. of Portugal, 704
 Agnelis, Felipe de, 324
 Agotes 20
 Agramontese 5-6 19 26 47-9 64 303
 Agricola, George, 161 166
 Aguilar, marqués de (Juan Fernández Man-
 rique de Lara), 438 440 449 487 499
 Aguinaga, Martín de, 325
 Aguirre, Lucía de (Xavier's sister-in-law), 21
 Ahmed Granhe 694-5
 Aibar 27
 Aibar, Pedro de, 55
 Ailly, Pierre d', 144 152
 Aimery, Jacques, 146
 Alamandis, O.S.A., Laurentius, 203
 Alava 22 582
 Alba, duque de (Dom Fadrique de Toledo),
 42 43 303
 Albert the Great, O.P., St., 88 250 255 258
 Albi 71
 Albigenes 20 168
 Albret, Henri (Enrique) d', k. of Navarre,
 9 50 58-9 66 118-9 119 134 184-5 194
 —Jean d', k. of Navarre, 8 26 39-43 47-8 50
 73 677
 —Jeanne d', 118
 —territory of the d', 77
 Albuquerque, duke of (Dom Gabriel de la
 Cueva), 674
 —Affonso de, 591
 —Braz de, 591 703
 —O.F.M., Juan de (bishop of Goa), 720
 Alcácer Ceguér 708
 —do Sal 536 539 573 659 711
 —Quibir 724
 Alcáçova Carneiro, Pedro de, 559 573 612
 668 701
 Alcalá: Ignatius 140 168-9 172 186 204-5 239
 303 496, Egúfa 303 496 534, Dr. Navarrus
 24, Ortiz 139, Bobadilla 207, Laynez 172
 204-5, Salmerón 172 204-5 496, Enzinas 250,
 Olave 239, Nadal 241
 Alciati, Andreas, 161
 Alcobaça 629-30
 Aldobrandini, Pietro, cardinal, 572
 Aldrovandi, Ginevra, 384
 Aleander, Hieronymus, 539
 Alesgle, Helies, 117 137 138
 Alessandrini, Giovanni di Lorenzo degli ("il
 Bianco"), 189 401-2 511
 —Lorenzo degli, 189 262402
 Alessandrino, cardinal (Michele Bonelli,
 O.P.), 572
 Alexander of Hales, O.F.M., 250 261
 —VI, pope, 117 320 598 697
 Alexandria 687 690 700
 Alfonso the Battler, k. of Navarre, 13 30
 39 48
 Ali Tschelebi 347
 Aljubarrota 595
 Almada 116
 Almain, Jacques, 130
 Almazán 204 206 243 246 495
 —S.J., Nicolás de, 729
 Almeida, Dom Francisco de, 713
 —Dom Jorge de, bishop of Coimbra, 712 724
 —O.F.M., Roque de, 161 349
 Almeirim: description 666-9, garden 667,
 court 657 660 665; chancellery 704-707;
 Nossa Senhora da Serra 668; *varia* 590
 626 669 704 706-7 710 713 716; Xavier and
 Rodrigues 664-78 706-7
 Alodia, St., 29-30 36-38
 Alphonsus Zammorensis 250
 Alsasua 40
 Altieri, Baldassare, 381
 Alumbrados: in Llerena 242, Toledo 415 534;
 suspected as being Alumbrados: Ignatius
 186 242 340 364 420 449, Miguel de Egúfa;
 see Francisca Hernández
 Alvarado, Fernando de, 45
 Alvares Pereira, Bl., Nuno, 595 604
 Alvares Vogado, Rodrigo, 705
 Alvarez, Francisco, 679-94
 —S.J., Manuel, 601
 Alvarotti, Giulio, 249
 Amador, see Elduayen
 Amboina 68

- Amboise 78 226 235
 Ambrose. St. 33 255 258 261 300
 Amerbach, Bonifatius, 170 288
 America 116 252; see Brasil, West Indies, North America
 Amezcoa, Lope de, 27
 Amiens 262 267
 Amparo, marqués del, 732
 Ancona 319-20 338 546
 Andalusia 47 240 711-12
 Andéraz, lord of, 732
 Andrade, Fernandalvares d', 614
 Andreas, S.J., Laurentius, 366
 Andreas Phoebus, prince, 9
 Angelus, Johann, 159
 Ango, Jean, 698
 Anguiano, Juan Martínez de, 325
 Ann, St., 36
 Anselm of Canterbury, O.S.B., St., 258
 Ansoáin-Andurra 4 6 9 10
 Anthony the Hermit, St., 539
 Antonio, S.J., of Parma, 656
 —hermit in Bassano, 361-2 372
 Antwerp 140 158
 Añues, deserted site 29; palace of, 26; family of, 73
 —Martín de, 25
 —Miguel de, canon, 27 2
 —Miguel de, lord of Belver, 25-26 31 47 56 58-9 73
 Aoiz, Miguel de, 69
 Aoz (Agos near Puente la Reina) 154
 Arabia 252 626 291 695
 Aragon, Catherine of, 334
 Aragón, O.P., Bernardo de, 624
 Aragon River 9 13 18 28 33 38 54 64 67 69 74
 Aragona, Giovanna de, 495 523-4
 Aragonés, Don Juan, 32
 Aragons 36 42 60
 Aralar, Mount, 36 38
 Aranda, Michel d', 122 182
 Aránzazu 484
 Araoz, S.J., Antonio de, 448-9 467 481 488 494, departure from Ignatius 495, in Spain 520-22 548 562 581-2 (1539-1541), in Portugal 613 660 (1544-1545); requested by Xavier 721, wrote to Ignatius in Basque 481; academic title 448
 —Isabel de, 448
 —Magdalena de, 448 495 522 580-1
 Araujo, S.J., Francisco de, 190
 Arberoa 9
 Arbizu, Juana de (sister-in-law of Xavier), 21 154
 Aretino, Girolamo, 473
 Arias, Antonio, 240 309-11 316 337 339-40 343-4 348 363-5
 Ariosto 70
 Aristotle 113-4 120
 Arizcun 20
 Arnold, bishop of Amiens, 179
 Arraztoa 20
 Arteta, S.J., Valentín de, 14 17
 Artiaga, Juan de, 244 440
 Artieda, Alonso de, 14 19
 —Juan de (Xavier's uncle), 25
 Arze, Jerónimo de, 425 499
 Arzila 536 668 709 727
 Astalli, Camillo, 719
 Astudillo, O.P., Diego de, 207
 —Francisco de, 239
 Ataide, Dom Affonso de, 724
 —Dom Alvaro de, 706
 —Antonio de, conde de Castanheira, 613 137 550 591 605 608 669 700-2 704-6 709-10 716 727; Xavier's mission 706-7
 —Antonio de, his son, 605 613-14
 —Jorge de, the latter's brother, 613
 —Dom Luis de, viceroy of India, 724
 —Martim Gonçalves de, 724
 Atienza 48 50 58
 Atondo, family, 5 72 73; coat of arms, 157 25 73
 —Arnalt de, 5-7 34 71
 —Guilherma de (Xavier's grandmother), 8 10 34 36 71 157
 —Juan de (Xavier's uncle), 5 6
 —Pedro de, parish priest of Cemboráin, 25 11 271
 Auger, S.J., Edmond, 172 187 254
 —Étienne, 172 254
 Augustinian Canons: in Coimbra 606, Grijó 612, Kreuzlingen 291-2, Lisbon (S. Antão) 612, Nra. Sra. de Villa Beltrán 501, Pamplona (cathedral chapter) 72 156-7 270-2, Paris (Ste-Geneviève 85, St-Victor 86), Roncesvalles 67 (see Dr. Navarro), S. Antão de Benespera 612, Steyn 125 (see Erasmus)
 —Hermits: in Bologna 376, Burgos 584, Lisbon (Graça) 543 598 606 610, Paris (Grands-Augustins) 89, Rome (S. Agostino) 419-21 501, Santarém 666
 Augustine. St., 121 152 168 246 255 260 300
 Aurea, St., 230
 Auriato 39
 Aveiro, duke of, see Dom João de Lancastre
 Avignon 577
 Ayanz, Francés de, 64
 —Francés de, conde de Guenduláin, 732
 Ayas Pasha 357 369
 Ayesa, Martín de, 65
 —Sancho López de, 55-6
 Ayora, Francisco de, 705
 Azamor 709-12
 Azcoitia 582
 Azedo, Rodrigo de, 22
 Azevedo, Francisco d', 705
 —Gaspar d', 675
 —Coutinho, Diogo de, 577
 Azlor-Aragón, hurtado de Zaldívar, Idiáquez y Javier, Dom José Antonio, 732
 Aznar, Eudon, 10
 Aznárez, Juana, see Sada, Juana de
 Azores 594 665
 Azpeitia 243 495 501 580-2

- Azpilcueta 4 7 10 20 22 44 49 51 57 64 68-70 154
 —family, 7 20, in Azpilcueta 20-23, Barasoáin 23, Barindano 23, Baquedano 22-3, Cáseda 20, Echagüe 21 25, Irure 22, Lezaun 20-22, Mexico 22, Monreal 3, Sada 3 20 23, Santa Fé (Michoacán) 22, Xavier 20, Zurucuáin 20 22; coat of arms 14-15; family tree 730-3
 —(Barasoáin), Catalina de, 730-3
 —(Echagüe), Juan de (distant cousin of Xavier), 23 21 47 700 730-3
 —(Obanos), Juan de (Xavier's brother), 21 11 51 55 59-61 63 66 67-8 73 154 156 174 239 245-6 271 578 730-3; married Arbizu 21 154, Aguirre 21; Xavier's letter 245-6
 —S.J. (Barasoáin), Juan de, nephew of Dr. Navarro 587 674 730-3
 —(Sada), Juan Mayor de, 24
 —(Sada), Juan Menor de, lord of Sada (Xavier's distant cousin), 24 31 53 271 730-3
 —(Azpilcueta), Juan Ibañes de, 3 7 20 22
 —(Monreal), Juan Pérez de, *el Chico*, 3-5 7 20 53 730-3
 —(Barasoáin), Juanes de, brother of Dr. Navarro, 674 431 730-3
 —(Xavier), María de (Xavier's mother), 19-20 7 11 22 32 47 50-51 53-6 63-6 67 73 153 157 174; descendant from Oteiza 63 730-33; signature 32 458
 —(Barasoáin), María de (Dr. Navarro's niece), 587 676
 —(Xavier), Martín de (Xavier's grandfather), 7 14 24 28 45 51 57 157
 —(Barasoáin), María de (Dr. Navarro's father), 24
 —(Barasoáin), Dr. Martín Mayor de, Dr. Navarro's brother, 23 64 574 587
 —(Barasoáin), Dr. Martín Menor de (Dr. Navarro): life 24-5, family tree 731-2; in Toulouse, Cahors 155 676, Albi 71; Navarre's fight for freedom 42 66; in Roncesvalles 69 673; exchange of letters with Xavier 155 672; in Salamanca 70 74 155 587 673 674 (1524-1538), Coimbra 610 673-80 (1538-1554); attempt to retain Xavier 673-8; love for the Society of Jesus 675; praise of Xavier 675 678; informed Tursellinus
 —(Barasoáin), Martín de, Dr. Navarro's brother, 721
 —(Barasoáin), Martín de, Dr. Navarro's grandnephew, 155 674 678 731-2
 —(Echagüe), Martín de, 22
 —(Lezaun), Martín de (Xavier's tutor), 23-4 71-2 730
 —Miguel de (chaplain at the castle of Xavier), 10 32
 —(Azpilcueta), Miguel de (Xavier's grand-uncle), 22 730-3
 —(Barasoáin), Miguel de, Dr. Navarro's brother, 730-733
 —(Sada), Miguel de (Xavier's great-grand-uncle), 22 730
 —(Echagüe), Pedro de (Xavier's grand-uncle), 22 730
 —(Lezaun), Pedro Sanz (Xavier's grand-uncle), 22 730
 —Cáseda), Petri Sanz (Xavier's granduncle),
 —(Xavier), Violante de (Xavier's aunt), 11 21-3 45 47 57 67 74
 Bacon, O.F.M., Roger, 250-1
 Badajoz 627
 —Catalina de, 450 523
 Badia, O.P., Tommaso, 466 420 466-8
 Bagnorea (Bagnoregio) 516 548
 Bagües, Juan de, 32 56
 Bahádur, sultan, 542 703
 Bahía 117
 Balzano, Bernardino, 383
 Bandarra, Gonçalo Eannes, 634
 Bandini, Francesco, archbishop of Siena, 453 511 670
 Baquedano 22, family 7 71
 —Fernando de, 8
 —Juan Ramirez de, 48
 —Lope de, 7
 Barasoáin 21, 23 32; palace of Dr. Navarro, 70 673
 Barbara, St., 72 539
 Barbarano de Mironi, O.F.M.Cap., Francesco, 358-9 361
 Barberán, Valentín, 320
 Barcelona 158 175 348; Araoz' visit 521
 Bárdenas 37 42
 Barlaam and Josaphat, Sts., 687
 Barrera 412 427-8 437 535
 Barros, João de, 597-8 601 614
 Barthélemy, Mag. Jacques, 247-8 134 194 247 441
 Barzaeus, S.J., Gaspar, 219
 Basel 122 125 264; Reformation, iconoclasm 284-7, creed 285, university and professors 284-5, inns 285-6; Xavier's passage 284-8; see Erasmus
 Basil, St., 255
 Basques: Spaniards 348, Spaniards and Basques 456, Basques, Navarrese, and Gascons 63; character 584; culture 578; Basques in Navarre 31-2 (language boundaries), Guipúzcoa 578, Alava 582, Paris 138 140 156 188 238-9, Venice 302-4 305, Rome 324-5 447-8, Lisbon 674-5, Coimbra 672 674-5, Abyssinia 688; speech in Navarre 4 19-20 26 31-2 40 51, Guipúzcoa 577 582; Xavier's native tongue 31-2, Ignatius' and Araoz' 481-2
 Basra 700
 Bassano 295-6 348 354 360-3 373
 Bassein 703
 Baynton, Andrew, 226 228
 Bayonne, 78
 Baztán, Miguel de, see Larregui
 —valley of, 19-20 31 43-4 61 578
 Béarn 3 8 40 43 47-8 50 58 71 73
 Beatrice, duchess of Savoy, 537 575 591

- Beatus Rhenanus 170 261
 Beauchets, O.S.B., Pierre, 151
 Beaumont, lord of, 134
 —Gracián de, 43
 —Juan de, 73
 —Don Luis de, 826 44 62
 Beaumontese 5-6 8 14 26 40-3 47 49 64-8 71
 73 303
 Beccadelli, Lodovico, 680
 Beda, Noël: life, 102 121, appearance 85,
 character 170, principal of Montaigu 88,
 retained direction 139, taught philosophy
 there 109; syndic of the theological
 faculty 119 121 (1520-1533), condemnation
 of Luther 119 (1521), conflict with Eras-
 mus 127-135 153 159 168 209 248 (1522-1531),
 leading opponent of heresy 125-6 184 199,
 against the royal professors 200-1, banish-
 ed 185 191-2 194 200 (1533-1534), imprisoned
 in the episcopal jail because of a letter
 to the pope 202 225 228 (1534-1535), then,
 after a public apology, in Mont-St-Michel
 263. Erasmus on him 127, Buchanan 153,
 N. Bourbon 182, Rabelais 183, Cop 296
 Bede, Venerable, O.S.B., St., 255 258 261
 Beglerbeg, see Mustafa
 Beire 70-1 21 243 578
 Belez (Vélez de la Gomera, Morocco) 536
 Bellini, S.J. (Isbrando), Isidoro, 509 497 548
 656
 Belver 26
 Bembo, Pietro, cardinal, 344 565 618
 Bemfica 726
 Benassa 38
 Benedictus (Benoft), O.P., Johannes, 249-50
 194 208 246-50 256 441
 Benedictines: in Burgos 583, Leyre 13 29
 39, Marmoutiers 91, Monte Cassino 415
 509, Mont-St-Michel 75 263, Montserrat
 552, Novalesa 570, Paris: St-Germain-des-
 Prés) 89, St-Magloire 230, N.-D.-des-Champs
 98; colleges: Marmoutiers 91, Mont-St-Mi-
 chel 78, Beauvais 149, Parma 525-6, Sois-
 sons 150.—*Cluniacs*: in Paris: Hôtel de
 Cluny 88, St-Martin-des-Champs 94 100 23.
 —*Benedictine nuns*: in Paris (Montmar-
 tre) 89 212-3, Siena 453 511-2
 Benoft, Dr. Jean (Collège de Navarre), 249
 Bentivoglio, family, 383-4
 Benzemero, Abraham, 639 656
 —Isaac, 639
 Bermudez, João, 694-6
 Bern 113, people of, 203 225 263 575, ter-
 ritory of, 289
 Bernard of Clairvaux, O.Cist., St., 13 71
 123 178-9 212 255 260
 Bernardino Realino, S.J., St., 206
 —da Siena, O.F.M., St., 370
 Bernard-Maitre, S.J., Henri, 101 126 164 192
 254
 Bernuccio, Orlando, 529
 Berquin, Louis de, 121-3 129 131-2 134 185 193
 Béthuen, Eberhard de, 103
 Beza, Theodore, 166-7 169 197
 Bhuvaneka Bâhu 703 718
 Biel, Gabriel, 120 207 411
 Bigüez, valley of, 31 37 43 68
 Biota 45
 Bissy, marquis de Lannoy de, 511 574-5
 Black Forest 288
 Blanche, daughter of St. Louis, 88
 —daughter of Philip the Tall, 95
 Blarer, Ambrose, 194-5 199 202 252 294
 Blaye 77
 Blois 78 123 226
 Bobadilla, S.J., Nicolás: *life* 206-8, in Valla-
 dolid 207 586, Alcalá 207 242; in *Paris*:
 taught in the Collège de Calvi 208 256,
 disciple of Ignatius 171 190 208, Xavier's
 pupil 269 147, study of theology 171 269,
 professors 203 248-50 257, attended the
 disputations and sermons of Picart 254-7,
 Montmartre 214. In *Italy*: permission
 for ordination 337, ordination 343, fa-
 culties 347, in Verona 347 363, Vicenza 365
 (sermon), 366 (first Mass), Bologna 369
 378-9 381 383 429, Ferrara 388 390 395-6;
 correspondence with Ercole II 429 432
 436-7 462, to Rome 10. In Rome: faculties
 420, preaching 425-6, decision 437, consulta-
 tions 457-60, sickness 460 495, document
 from hospital 494-5, lectures 495 605. In
 the Kingdom of Naples 462 495 519 522-4.
 Appointed for India 549 552, returned ill
 to Rome, Xavier therefore sent instead
 553-4. Later in Germany 248, Naples 524.
 —*Varia*: writings 169 207, signature 458-0;
 character: rustic, good-natured 207, no
 hypocrite 207, boasting 720 320, stubborn
 460, teased 490 603 720-1; his book 257-9
 277-8, lectures from it in Vicenza 365, Bo-
 logna 381, Ferrara 396, Rome 495 500
 Bochet, Jean, 253
 Boethius 178
 Bohemus, Petrus, 349
 Böhmer, Heinrich, 77 106 131 136 143 162
 178 187 195 213 289 305 311 317 319-21 362
 370 371-2 410 418 420 427 431-2 440
 Boleyn, Anne, 182 185
 Bologna: description 374-8; doctorate of
 Xavier's father 6 (1470); Mascarenhas 540
 (1533); festival because of the league 358
 (1537); Xavier's apostolate 367 373-390
 (1537-1538); embassy of the Preste 694;
 testimony 382 429 (1538), journey through
 561-5 (1540)
 Bolognini, Lodovico de, 375-6
 Bonaventura, O.F.M., St., 244 250 255 261
 Bordeaux 77, 142; college 95-97 163
 Borrell, S.J., Juan Pablo, 489
 Bosch, Juan, 500 657
 Botelho, Aires, 643
 —Diogo, 590
 —Francisco, 712
 Botteus, Heinrich, 128

- Bourbon, Charles de (duque de Vendôme), 124 232 265-8
 —François de (conde de Saint-Pol), 119 232
 —Nicolas, 182-3 199 202
 Bozate 20
 Bradine, Lucrezia de, 501 515
 Bragança, D. Jayme de, 702
 —D. Teodosio (duke of Bragança), 662 667 701
 Brancaleone, Nicolò, 687 689
 Brandão, S.J., Aires, 105
 —S.J., Antonio, 204 403
 —Pereira, Ambrosio, 612 616 619
 Brasil: bull of demarcation 697, trade 594, French rivalry 102 117 664-5 697-8, founding of colonies through M. A. de Sousa 702, Jesuits 676, Giraldi buys Ilheus 614-5
 Bravo, S.J., João, 222
 Brescia 500 519 566
 Breton 152
 Briçonnet, Guillaume, bishop of Meaux, 89 118 121-3 125 139 170
 Britto, Antonio de, 597
 Briviesca, O.Cist., Martín de, 29
 Brodrick, S.J., James, 105 108 145 147 153 204 216 246 320 365 439 492 562 578 716
 Broët, S.J., Paschase: life 261-2, signature 448, character 261-2. In Paris: 261-2 269; journey to Venice 279 to Rome 310 338 347; in Verona 348, 372, Vicenza 356, Siena 189 369 401-3 429. In Rome 420 453 489 (took offense at Ignatius) 496 (preaching). Back to Siena 459 494 496 510-3 517 522 546 656 (1539-1540). Mission to Ireland 500 551 553 721. In Faenza 403 (1547), Bologna 396 (1551), Paris 279 316 (died 1562)
 Bruges 140 158
 Bruno, O.Carth., St., 90-1 112 208 253 272-3
 Brussels 537-8
 Bucer (Butzer), Martin, 170 184 192 194-5 199 202 204 235 264 283 381
 Buchanan, George, 164-6 101-2 107 153 248 676
 Budé, Guillaume, 159 166 184 235 266
 Bû-Hasûn (Bu Haçune) 536
 Bullinger, Henry, 194 199 202 225 227
 Burgos 39-44 67-8 138-614
 Burguete 69 174
 Burgui 42
 Buridanus, Johannes, 89 152
 Bustan Pasha 357
 Caballar, Lic. Diego, 499 515 721
 Cabral, Diogo, 704-5
 Cáceres, Diego de, 240 249 253 371 441 451-2 460 494 497 656 716 720; signature 457
 Cadamosto, Luigi da, 252
 Caesarius of Arles, St., 124
 Cairo 682 684 686 688 690 699-700
 Cajetan, Saint (Gaetano da Thiene), 298-300 306 347 367 442
 Cajetanus, cardinal (Gaetanus, Tommaso de Vio, O.P.) 249 287; *Summa* 663
 Calahorra 59 64
 Calataud, Luis de, 704
 Calendar, see Time, reckoning of
 Calicut 91 116-7 703
 Calisto, see Sa, Calisto de
 Calvin, John (Jean): life, appearance, bibliography 166-7. In Paris 148 162 167 (1531-1532) 194, date of "conversion" 194-5, helped with Cop's speech 195, flight 197-8 (1533); in Ferrara 396, Geneva 286 (1536); guest of de la Forge 235. *De Clementia* 167, *Christianae Religionis Institutio* 261 264 286. Jay's opinion of 261
 Calvinists: in Geneva 203 286, Ferrara, see Renata
 Camara, see Gonçalves da Camara
 —Manuel da, 710 723
 Cambay 542 696 703
 Camilla, Suor, 383
 Campeggi, Lorenzo, cardinal, 432 498
 —Tommaso 248
 Campo Maior 705
 Cananor 705
 Canary Islands 665
 Cantor, Peter, 180
 Cão, Pedro, 116
 Caparros, Charles de, 239 281
 Cape of Good Hope 116 708
 Cape Comorin 542
 Cape Verde 697
 Capito, Wolfgang Fabricius, 287
 Capodiferro, Girolamo Ricenati, nuncio, 541 544-7 552 628 641
 Caprara, Romea, 374 383
 Capuchins: in Bologna 380, Ferrara 394, Montepulciano 513, Siena 512-3, Vicenza 366; see also: Ochino
 Capuchos, see Franciscans
 Carafa, Gian Pietro, cardinal, 298-301 310 334 332 417 420 431 445 453 459
 —Gian Vincenzo, cardinal, 419-20 428 445
 Carcastillo 37 54
 Cardona, Aldonza de, 522
 Cardoso, Antonio, India secretary, 705
 —S.J., Antonio, 606
 —Fernão, 611
 Caritat 73
 Carlos, príncipe de Viana, 5 19 39
 Carmelites 131, in Cologne 539, Lisbon 595 605, Paris 86 96 100 229, Parma 526
 Carneiro, Antonio, 102 538 668
 Caroli, Pierre, 122 132 170 234
 Carpi, Alberto Pio, conde de, 134 209 251
 —Rodolfo Pio de, cardinal, 305 331 333 389 432 480 710
 Carriez, lord of, 228
 Carrión, Dr., 499 721
 Carthusians: in Basel 287, Florence 400, Grenoble 90, Miraflores (Burgos) 583, Paris 89-97 132 203 241 272, Reposoir 112, Val de Cristo (Segorbe) 138 301; C. and

- Erasmus 129; see also: Sutor, Ludolph of Saxony
- Cartier, Jacques, 698
- Carvajal, S.J., 508 497 522 534-5 548 656
- O.F.M., Luis de, 251
- Carvalho, Dr. Gaspar de, 701
- Jorge, Malabar, 598
- Pero, 612
- Casales de Lerda 28 38 44
- Casali, Andrea, 385
- Francesco, 383
- Casalino, Girolamo, 374 376-9 382-3 386 390 563 565
- Isabetta, 377 383
- Cáseda 20 22 26 28 37 48 54 59 63
- Juan Périz de, 32
- Miguel de, 27
- Cassini, S.J., Gian Filippo, 407-8 548 556
- Gian Nicolò, 508
- Vincenzo, 508
- Castanheira 591 613
- count of, see Ataide, D. Antonio de
- Castello, Ottaviano del, 394-5 429
- Castilho, Antonio de, 601
- Castilla, Pedro de, 422 437
- Castro, S.J., Affonso de, 615
- Alexander de, 261
- Alvaro de, 605
- S.J., Cristóbal de, 435
- Fernão de, 712
- D. João de, viceroy of India, 605 696 703 706; his friends 612 614 630
- O.Carth., Juan de, 137 140-1 155 194 208 238 301
- Luis de, 349
- Pedro de, 47
- Dom Rodrigo de, 710
- Casulano, Pietro Antonio, 551
- Catalina, queen of Navarre, 8 39 50 627
- Catanho, Duarte, 699-700 706
- Catarina, queen of Portugal, sister of Charles V: description 601-2; confessor 611 618; journey to Portugal 560 702 (1525), in Almeirim 667 723 726; her love for the Society of Jesus 672 728; *varia* 609 727
- Caterino, O.P., Ambrogio, 453 511 523
- Cathay 171 252
- Catherine of Alexandria, St., 149 539
- of Siena, St., 8
- Cavalcanti, Tommaso, 615
- Cavallero, Juan, 4
- Cayado, Luis, 636
- Cazador, Diego (Jaime), 180 240 300 451 521
- Celaya, Juan de, 101-10 113-4 130 145
- Celedonius, St., 30 36
- Cemboráin 4 25
- Martín de, 27
- Miguel de, 45
- Sancho de, 27
- Cenomanus (Le Mans) O.F.M., Richardus, 251 256
- Cervini, Alessandro, 517
- Marcello (Pope Marcellus II), 468 470 498-9 516-7 545 548
- Cesarinis, Alessandro de, cardinal, 333
- Ceuta 708 722
- Ceylon 91 538 594 703 705 718; voyage to Ceylon 704-5
- Cezimbra 711
- Chabot, Philippe (seigneur de Brion), 232
- Chale (Cháliyam) 706
- Charles the Great (Charlemagne), 20 90 99
- duc d'Angoulême, 232
- II, the Bad, k. of Navarre, 90
- Charles III, duc d'Alençon, 118
- III, the Noble, k. of Navarre, 39 72
- IV, the Fair, k. of France and (as Charles I, the Bald) of Navarre, 90 95
- V, emperor: *life*: in *Spain* (1517-1520), assumes rule 45 59-50, negotiates for return of Navarre 58 (1517), seeks help of D. Pedro de Navarra 58 (1518), elected emperor in Aix-la-Chapelle, petition of Xavier's mother 51 (1519), departure, revolt of *comuneros* 58 (1520). In *Germany*: Latomus, *Epistola* 160 (1521). In *Spain* (1522-159) Miranda's letter 62 (1522), general pardon 66 (1523), surrender of Fuenterrabía 66-7 (1524); *1st war with Francis I*: victory at Pavia 117 (1525), treaty of Madrid, Turks in Hungary 118 (1526); *2nd war*: sack of Rome 118 (1527), peace of Cambrai 119, Turks before Vienna 143 (1529). In *Italy and Germany* (1529-33): concern for Moluccas 698 (1529), coronation at Bologna 384 (1530), coronation banquet at Aix-la-Chapelle 538, Mascarenhas' banquet in Brussels 538-9 (1531), trip to Vienna and Italy 537 539, penalty for Jewish dreamer 627 (1532). In *Spain*: voyage to Tunis 537 608 642 (1535). In *Italy, France, Spain* (1535-1539), *3rd war with Francis I*: defeat in Provence and Piccardy 264-8 (1536), truce of Nice 389 419 430 (1538). *War with Turks*: in Hungary 388 419 430 (1538), in the Adriatic 344-7 356-8, league with the pope and Venice 357-8 369 (1537) 389 419 438-9. Marriage of the Madama 435, Jesuits requested for West Indies 440, Dr. Navarro lent to Coimbra 587 673 (1538), journey through Spain 580 (1539). In *Germany* (1548-1558), in Flanders 585, mission of A. Farnese 548, conference on religion 138 (1540).—*Varia*: visits lecture of Dr. Navarro in Salamanca 587, answer of D. Pedro de Mascarenhas 536
- Châtillon, Odet de, cardinal, 232
- Chaul 626 711
- Childebert, French king, 89
- China 594; Cathay 117 252
- Chioggia 311-3
- Chrysostom, John, St., 168 255-8 329
- Cicero 103 144 152
- Clovis, k. of Merovingians, 86

- Cid (Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar) 583
 Ciga (Cigua) 61
 Ciruelo, Pedro Sánchez, 144 207
 Cisneros, O.F.M., Francisco Ximenes de, cardinal, 47-50 135 175 204
 Cistercians: Iranzu 22, La Oliva 569, Leyre 13 29 39 63 175, Paris 86; Cistercian nuns: Cellas (Coimbra) 675, Las Huelgas (Burgos) 583, Lorrão 551-2
 Civitavecchia 339 551 600
 Clement of Alexandria, 255
 Clement I, St., pope, 539
 —V, St., pope, 210 337
 —VII, pope, 118 124 200-2 384 466 506 537 539 627 659 694
 Clénard, Nicolaus, 161 607 616
 Clichtovaeus, Jodocus, 124-5 109 122 132-3 145 170 244; father's assistance 255
 Cobos (Covos), Francisco de los, 576 602 629 655 657 664-6 669 697 709 722
 Cochin 617 703 705
 Codacio, Giangiacomo, 505 533
 —S.J., Pietro, 505-6 487 510 518 531-4 548 620 657 663 719
 Codure, S.J., Jean: *life* 263. In Paris 212 263, licentiate 269, *magister artium* 147, theology, document from hospital 269; to Venice 277 and Rome 317-8 377; in Venice: ordination 343, faculties 347; in Treviso 348 360, Vicenza 360 366, Padua 369 372 388 418-9; to Rome 418-9. In *Rome*: faculties 420-1, judgment on 436, deliberations 457-8 460, prudence in direction of women, letter to France 522, document on the Constitutions 550-1. In *Velletri* 462 473 494, Tivoli 494; designated for Ireland 548; obtained favors for the Society 714, confessor of the Madama 435 494, Xavier's letter to him 717; death 551.—*Description* 263 494, signature 457
 Coelho, Gaspar, 105
 —Jorge, humanist, 616 618
 —Jorge, notary, 643 651 652
 Cogordan, S.J., Ponce, 567
 Coimbra: Dr. Navarro 24 672-8; the University of Lisbon moved here 631 552 606 (1537), and Dr. Navarrus urged that it be given to the Jesuits 675; John III wishes to found a college for them there 620 664 672 714 717 720; its College of Arts 95-6 164
 Collibus, Ludovicus de, 473
 Cologne 120 161 539
 Colombo 718
 Colonna, Ascanio, 462 495 523-4
 —Giulia, 502 504-5
 —Vespasiano, 118
 —Vittoria, 394-5 397 462 500 523-4 655
 Columbus, Christopher, 8 252
 Comester, Petrus, 152
 Compagnia dei Soldatelli di Gesù 370
 Compagnia del buon Gesù 370
 Compagnia del nome di Gesù, see Society of Jesus
 Compagnia di Gesù, confraternity (Parma), 526
 Conceição, Luis da, 604
 Conchus, Arnold, 312-3 316
 Congo 594, Manicongo 543 682
 Constantine the Great 323 328-30
 Constantinople (Istanbul) 91 252 438 553 699-700; fall of, 686 (1453)
 Constance 291-3
 Contarini, Alessandro, 356-7
 —Alvise, 368
 —Gasparo, cardinal, 413 295 299 304 334 436 446 465-70 473 498-9 544 671 680
 —Luigi, 657
 —Pier, 304 299-300 306-7 334 354 356 371 413 436-7 671
 Conti, Jacomo de', 383
 Conversini, Benedetto, 423 428 432 436-7 445 446-9
 Cop, Guillaume, 159 167
 —Michel, 167
 —Nicolas, 137 148 159 163 167 170-1; rector 192-4, speech 194-6, flight 197-9 202 264
 Cordier, Mathurin, 104 95 107 162 234
 Cordovil 106
 Corfu 345-7 356-8 369 438
 Cornibus (Cornet, Cornu), O.F.M., Petrus de, 250-1 124 134 184 194 197-8 200 208 210 246-7 256 441
 Coromandel Coast 701
 Coronel, Antonius, 130
 Correa, Antonio, 711
 —Beatrice, 559
 Cortes ("Granja" near Xavier) 19
 Cortese, Gregorio, cardinal, 334
 Cosci, Francesco, 402 429
 Costa, João da, 97 101 142 197 239
 —Manuel da, 629 641 653
 Courault, O.S.A., Elías, 202
 Coutinho, Dom Fernando, 624
 —Rodrigues, 617
 —Dom João, count of Redondo, 618
 Couturier (Petrus Sutor) 126
 Covilham, Pedro de, 689 693
 Crispoldo Gaetani, Tullio, 363
 Croce, Bernardino della, 339
 Crockaert (Bruxellensis), O.P., Petrus, 130
 Cromwell, Oliver, 228
 Cruyllas, Francisca, 501
 Cruz, O.P., Bernardo da, 676
 —Dom Manuel da, Malabar, 594
 Cruzat, family crypt, 72
 —Catalina, 25
 —Fermin, 175
 —Juan, canon, 272
 —Juan, husband of Cat. Périz de Jassu, 25
 —María, wife of Val. de Jassu, 154
 —Martín, canon, 272
 Cunha, Francisco da, 712
 Cupis, Giov. Domenico de (Cardinal Trani), 331 339 424-5 432 462 590 498; house 424

- Cyprian, St., 161 300
 Cypriano, S.J., Alonso, 507
 Cyril of Alexandria, St., 125 255
- Dabra Libânos 680 684 688 695
 Dagobert, k. of Merovingians, 89 99
 Daillon, Lucas, 124
 Damão (fortress) 703
 Damascus 700
 Danès, Pierre, 160 122 162 169 194 200 202 680
 Daniel, François, 194 198
 Datus, Augustinus, 103
 David, k. of Abyssinia: description 685-6, early life 686, grandmother Helena 594 686, father, grandfather, great-grandfather 686-7, wealth, power 692-3, severity 694-5. Sends gift to Jerusalem 690, receives Portuguese embassy 685-7, travels north 686-7, his letters 691-4; sends Zagâ Za Ab to Portugal, Alvarez to Rome 594-5 690-1; pressed by Granhe, sends Bermudez to ask for help 694. Briefs for Xavier and Rodrigues 696 713-4 714-5
 Despauterius, Johannes, 103 165
 Dévai, Matthias, 261
 Días, Bartholomæus, 116
 —Henrique, 633-5 646
 —Luis, 632-8 644-6
 —Matthew (Malabar), 598
 —Ruy, 636 640 644
 —de Carvalho, Francisco, 670
 Dieppe 671 698
 Dionysius (Denis) (of Paris), St., 89 90 99 213 215 253 258
 Diu 542 547 590 606 608 695 699-701 703-6 725
 Dolet, Martin, 104 106 165
 Dolz, Gaspar, 130
 Doménech, Jerónimo, uncle of Juan Jerónimo, 386-509-531-5
 —S.J., Juan Jerónimo: life 386-7. In Parma 528 530-5 (vocation 531-2 (1539-1540)); Rome: vows 327 (1540); Paris 656 (1540-1542); trip to Rome 312 (1543); in Bologna 374 389-90 (1546)
 —Pedro, father of Juan Jerónimo, 368 535
 —S.J., Pedro, 501 553-4 561 608 725
 Dominic, O.P., St., 382-3 687; habit 8
 Dominicans: in Paris 78 80 87-8 98 100 131 163 171 208 229 237 241 247-9 256 301, Bologna 375-7, Monselice 351, Montepulciano 518, Rome 334 470 501, Venice 304-5, Salamanca 587, Sangüesa 36, Pamplona 8 43 71, Lisbon 543 595 624-5, Almeirim 668, Evora 616.—Dominican nuns: Nuremberg 539; tertiaries 377 8
 Donamaría, Miguel de, 43
 Donatus, Thomas, 104
 Doria, Andrea, 119 346 357 438
 Dormans, Guillaume de, 90 150
 —Jean de, 90 149
 —Miles de, 150
 Dotti, Gasparo de, 304-5 371 436; letter 355
 Driedo (Johann Neys) 261
- Drouetus, O.P., George, 249
 Dryander (Enzinas), James, 158
 Duarte, infante Dom (brother of John III): life and death 608-9 660-3 564 566 669; widow 667 724, tutor 608 615
 —Dom (son of John III), 552
 Du Bellay, Guillaume, 194 228 264-5
 —Jean, cardinal, 184 194 202-3 228 232 264 266 268
 —Louis, 203
 —Martin, 265
 —René, 203
 Du Bourg, Jean, 227
 Duchemin, Nicolas, 167
 Dudon, S.J., Paul, 136 143 145 206 210 255 270 308-9 359 363 371-2 580
 Dugast, Robert, 82 102 108
 Dumont, Thierry, 254
 Duns Scotus, O.F.M., Bl., 109 120 250 256 258
 Duodo, Francesco, 351
 Duprat, Antoine, 132-3 137 143 251 263
 Durandus, O.S.B., William, 163 249
 Dürer, Albrecht, 299
- Echagüe 22-3 21 47 70-1
 Echaz, vizconde de, 57
 —Isabel de, 57
 Echavarri, Nicolás de, 303
 Egües, Don Pedro de, 4-5
 Egufa 71 303; family tree 730-3
 —S.J., Diego de: life 302-4. In Alcalá 496-7 534 (1526-1527), Rome 450 523 (1536) 450 494 (1538-1540); dispensed from breviary 450-1 484 (1539), renunciation of property 497, confessor of Ferrão 450-1; to Paris 497 548 656 (1540). E. and Catalina de Badajoz 450 523, Araoz 522, Rojas 447, Strada 518-9
 —S.J., Esteban de: life 302-4. In Rome 450 523 (1536), 450 494 497 (1538-1540), Estella 497 (1540-1543). E. and Cat. de Badajoz 450 523, Strada 518-9, Araoz 522
 —Juan de, 303
 —Miguel de, 156 169 303 496 534 731-2
 —Nicolás de, 303
 —Pablo de, 56
 —Pedro de, 303
 Egypt 252 690 691 699
 Eldrad, O.S.B., St., 569
 Elduayen, Amador de, 138-9 141 238
 Eleutherius, St., 94 213
 Eleven Thousand Virgins 539 659
 Eligius, St., 230
 Elizabeth, St., landgravine of Thüringen, 539
 Elizondo 19 61
 El Real 9 29 44-5 64 67-8 174
 Emeterius, St., 30 36
 Enriquez de Cabrera, D. Luis, 61
 Enzinas, Fernando de, 113 258
 Epiphanius, St., 255
 Equisoáin, D. García de, 10 32

- Erasmus (of Rotterdam), Desiderius: *life*, bibliography 124-6. In Paris: in Collège de Montaigu 102 127 129-30 135 (1495), private teacher, accusations 134-6 (1496). In Basel: conflict with Sutor, Beda, and the Sorbonne 125-36 159 168-9 (1522-1531), followers in Paris 150 169 227; writings against Luther 131 209 287 (1524), memorial to the council of Basel 287 (1525); condemnation of his *Colloquia* 130 (1526), of 100 sentences by the Sorbonne 133 134 168-169, by *junta* of Valladolid 135-6 (1527); iconoclasm in Basel 287 (1529). In Freiburg im Breisgau: against the "Evangelicals" 287 (1529), on unity 288 (1533), letter to Goes 349, prohibition of French Parliament 198 (1533), letter of Paul III 288 (1535). In Basel: death 288, Xavier at the tomb of 286 (1536).—*Writings: Adagio* 126, *Enchiridion militis christiani* 126 168-9, *Moriae Encomium* 126 255, *Colloquia* 126-7 153 165 183 244 261, paraphrases on the New Testament 128 168 261, on the New Testament 126-9 125-8 195 255, edition of St. Augustine 168, *Elenchus* 168, *Ecclesiastes* 288, editions of the Fathers 255, other works 127 131 134-5 209 287-8.—*Persons: E. and B. Amerbach* 288, J. Barthélemy 248, N. Beda 85 127-35 170 199-200 209-10, Berquin 132 134, N. Bourbon 182, Buchanan 153, Calvin 167, Luis de Carvajal 251, Clichtovaeus 131, G. Cop 122 167, N. Cop 195, Corbinus 134 251, Danès 160, Mig. de Eguía 169, Farel 122, Francis I 128 131-2 159, Goes 349, Diogo de Gouvea 134-5 171, Marcial de Gouvea 236, Ignatius of Loyola 169 244, Jay 261, B. Latomus 160 243, Marguerite d'Angoulême 118 132, Miona 168, Oecolampadius 288, Ortiz 139, Paul III 288, count of Carpi 134 209, Pirckheimer 287, Quercus 124 127-8 133, Rabelais 183, Roussel 170, Salmerón 255, Sutor 126-7 131-3, Toussaint 160 169, Vives 102.—*Varia: criticism of Church* 126 128, ridicule of mendicant orders 127-8 134-5; ready to write *Retractationes* 287-8; his books as textbooks 131, proscribed 131-2 198; flattered princes 128; success 126 128; Erasmus laid the egg, Luther hatched it 135 254
- Ercole I, duke of Ferrara, 314 373
—II, duke of Ferrara, 112 134 332 373 395-7 427 429 432 462 466 472-3 565 671
- Erro, Iñigo d', 4
- Escalada, S.J., Francisco de, 16 74 578
- Escampadero 174
- Escobar, Francisco de, 242
- Esgoarrabaque 50
- Esparros, see Foix, André de
- Esparza 6
—Juan de, 25
—Ramón de, 43
- Espinal, family crypt, 72
- Miguel de, 40 72 677
- Este, Ippolito d', cardinal, 473 492 671
- Esteban, Magister, 451
- Estella 7 68-9 71 156 302-3 493 701
- Esteves, Dr. Chistovão, 701
- Estouteville, cardinal of, 103
- Eugenius III, pope, 212
- Eugubinus (Augustinus Stenchnus) 258
- Eulogius, St., 13
- Eusebio, Magister, 197
- Evora: aqueduct 606, Inquisition 640-1, house of the Society of Jesus 717 720
- Exercises: *in general: bibliography* 216-7, name 217 515 519, manuscripts 215 244 253 416 556 619.—*Origin: in Manresa* 217, Paris 217, Rome 517.—*Contents: in general* 216-24, first week 219 514 694, three methods of prayer 218-9, election 455-6 621, rules 516-7, on thinking with the Church 244, meditation on death 416-7; in accord with Ludolph of Saxony 181 220-1, Erasmus 131 244, Luther 119 219.—*Practice: duration of thirty or forty days* 415, visits 216 520, austerity 203 205 222-3 260.—*Effects: 138-9* 216 223 238 262 514 519-20 528-9, on Xavier: won over through them 217, his life's book 223, reconstructed from his citations 216-24; judgment on 521, against 237-8 242-4 304 371-2 422, for 415-6 (Ortiz) 534 (Jer. Doménech, uncle), official approval in Paris 244-5, Venice 304-5, Rome 436-7.—*Retreat masters: Ignatius: in Paris: Peralta, Castro, Amador* 136-9 141, Martial, Valla, Moscoso 236-8, Favre 202-3, Laynez, Salmerón 208, Bobadilla, Rodrigues 208, Xavier 209 216-24, a religious 237; Venice: Hozes 302, Eguía 303, Pier Contarini, Dotti 304, Zornoza? 305, Rome: Iñigo López 413, Tolomei 458-9 499, G. Contarini 414, Strada 417, Araoz 449, Ferrão 450, Codacio 505, Isbrando 509, three together 425-6; Monte Cassino: Ortiz. *Favre: talent for* 254; in Paris: Jay 260, Broët 262, Codure 263, Serrão 253 621, Helyar 253; Parma: Doménech 535, others 527-32. *Laynez* 527-32. *Salmerón: talent for* 253. *Rodrigues: in Siena* 511-12, Lisbon: Ugucioni 614, duke of Aveiro 616, others 601 606-7 614-16. *Xavier in Lisbon* 615 645. *Broët: in Siena* 511-12. *Strada: in Montepulciano* 513-20. *Mirón: Infante D. Luis* 608. *Jer. Doménech* 528. *Secular priests* 527-8. Undetermined 447 462-3 507-8 532-3.—*Exercitants: prescribed for those entering the Society* 441; educated (the rule); uneducated: the first week 218 514 644; women 527-30, religious 511, prisoners of the Inquisition 644. John III wishes to see the book of Exercises 620
- Ezcarbate, valley of, 9
- Ezpeleta, family, 7, in Beire 70
- (Beire), Diego de (Xavier's brother-in-law), 7 21 70

- (Peña), Francés de, 48 64
 —(Beire), S.J., Jerónimo de (Xavier's grand-nephew), 71 732
 —(Xavier), Juan de, 27
 —(Yesa), Pero de, 27
 —de Veire, count of, 730-3
 Ezquiroz, Pedro de, 68
- Falces, marquis de, 47 49
 Faranda, S.J., Nicolò, 374 381 386 530-2
 Farel, Guillaume, 121-2 170 286
 Faria, Simão de, 106
 Farnese, Alessandro, cardinal, 495 336 468 470 516-7 544 548 613 629-30
 —Costanza, 671
 —Ottavio, 435 445 655 671
 Fataunços 588-9
 Favre (Faber), S.J., Pierre (Petrus): *life* 110-2, name 103, home 111 555. In *Paris*: residence 108 149, opinion about fellow students 105, friendship with Xavier 106, registration 136, philosophy 106 113-4 143, baccalaureate 106 137, licentiate 106 146-7 237, master of arts 269, theology 112 270; helped Ignatius 141 237, won over by him 154-5 177; visit home 187 202-3; Exercises 203 216, ordination 203, Montmartre 214-5, Nadal 242. After Ignatius' departure head of companions 247, apostolate 253-4, wins three companions 259-63, friends 253-4, retreat master 253 620-1; character 253, testimony of Liévin 371; his professors 441. In *Italy*: journey to Venice 277 279, in Venice 305-6, Rome: permission for pilgrimage 309 337, faculties 337, Vicenza 348 352 354 361-2, Bassano 362, to Rome 369. In *Rome*: faculties 420-1, disputations before pope 411, lectures 411 426, sermons in S. Lorenzo in Damaso 425 496, practically the confessor of his companions 457; against Fra Agostino 419, decision 436; letter to Gouvea 440-1, deliberations 459, *hebdomadarius* 510. In *Parma*: 374 383 461 494 508 522 525-35 548 566 656. Rule of life 529-30, to Brescia 566. In *Germany* 139, *Barcelona* 188. *Varia*: appearance 110-1; character 111, power of attraction 253, penance 203, signature 458, notebook 112, manuscript of Exercises 253, missal 277-8, knowledge of Greek 114. F. and Xavier 107 112 566-7, selects Xavier for general 440; F. and Ortiz 139 499, Caballar 499, Auger 254, P. Carvalho 612, C. de Badajoz 523.
 —O.Carth., Mamert, 112
 Feldkirch 294
 Felices, St., 28
 Feltré, O.F.M., Bernardino da, 370
 Ferdinand of Aragon 20
 —k. of Bohemia and Hungary, 128
 —the Catholic, k. of Aragon, 8 42-7 303 324
 Féret, Guillaume, 225
 Fernandes, S.J., André, 716
 —Catarina, 649 653
 —Diogo, 717
 —Jorge, 633 636-7 646
 —S.J., Manuel, 615
 —Ruy, 699
 —Lagarto, João, 698
 Fernández de Córdoba, Gonzalo, 702
 —Manrique de Lara, Juan, see Aguilar, marqués de
 —de Velasco, D. Iñigo, 61 66-7 730-3
 Fernando, Mestre, 704
 Fernel, Jean, 144 107 115-6 165
 Ferrão, S.J., Bartolomeo, 450 494 548; vows 497
 Ferrara 369 372-3 429 462 495; Jesuits 393-7; territory of, 314; duke of, see Ercole
 Ferreira, Francisco, 706
 Ferreri, Bonifacio (Cardinal Ivrea), 562-3
 Fes 115 682
 —sultan of (Ahmed ben Mohammed), 708-9 712
 Fiacrius, St., 171
 Filipe, son of John III, 598 603 610
 Filonardi, Ennio (Cardinal Sant'Angelo), 333 461 525
 Finé (Finaeus), Orontius, 160 252
 Firmin, St., 36
 Fisher, Robert, 135
 Fishery Coast 705
 Fleuris, lord of, 234
 Florence 387 399-400
 Foix, André de, lord of Esparros, 58 60
 —D. Pedro de, cardinal infante, 6 8
 Fonseca, Alvaro da, 142
 Fontenay, Guy de, 103 153
 Fortezza, S.J., Francesco, 366
 —Giuseppe, 361 366
 Fortuño, k. of Navarre, 29 39
 Frago, Jerónimo, 239 156 191 194 236 248 251 272
 Francis I, k. of France: *Wars with Charles V*: 1st: defeat at Pavia 118 (1525), treaty of Madrid 117-8, return 123, Holy League 118 (1526), marriage of Marguerite with Henri d'Albret, treaty with England 118 (1527); 2nd: in Italy 118-9 (1527-1528), marriage of Ercole with Renata (1528), peace of Cambrai 119 (1529); marriage of k. with Leonor 182 (1530), alliance with German Protestants 182 201-2 (1532-1534), England 182 (1532), Turks 201 252 265 338 344 (1535); 3rd: capture of Savoy and Piedmont, war in Provence and Piccardy 264-8 575-6 (1536), truce of Nice 389 430 (1538).—F. and *Clement VII*: Holy League 118 (1526), freed him after sack of Rome 118 (1527), discussions at Lyons, marries son to pope's niece, deceives him 200-2 (1533); *Paul III*: meeting at Nice 389 430 (1538), mission of A. Farnese 548 (1540).—F. and *Portugal*: trade rivalries; Gouvea, Portugal's agent, 101-2 137-8 171-2; voyage of Verazzano 117 (1522-7), Northwest Pas-

- sage 117 (1524), encounters in Portugal and Brasil 117 (1526-7), mission of Alesgle 117-8 133 (1528), Parmentier's voyage to Sumatra 698 (1529); expulsion of French from Brasil 702 (1531), voyage of Cartier 698 (1534-1536), removal of prohibition against sailing to Brasil (1539), Portugal's protest 664-5, letter of Fernandes Lagarto 698-9 (1540), embassy of La Garde for a loan 137 143 (1529-30); has portrait of defender of Diu painted 619; alleged letter of John III 620-1 671-2.—F. and the *Protestants in Germany* (see above), in *France*: protects the innovators: 123 (1526) 132 (1527) 184-5 192-4 (1533) 201-2 (1534) 264-5 (1535); persecutes them: executions 123-4 (1523-6), procession of expiation for destruction of a statue of the Virgin 133-4 (1528), reaction to Cop's speech 198-200 (153), against placards 225-7; procession of expiation and speech 227-34, executions 226-8 234-5 (1534-5), pardon, invitation to Melancthon 263-4 (1535), Calvin's open letter (1536).—F. and the *humanists*: Erasmus 128 132-3 159; founds a trilingual school 159-62 183 (1530), supports Collège de Montaigu 130.—*Varia*: moral character 118; first wife 118, second, see Leonor; mother, Louise, 118 182; sister, see Marguerite; children 118 143 182 200 213 265; see also Charles V
- Francis of Assisi, St., 351 583 687
 —Borgia, S.J., St., 260 447-8 451 570 575 612
 —Phoebus, k. of Navarre, 39
- Francis Xavier (Francisco de Jassu y Xavier), S.J., St.: *life*: family tree 730-3, coat of arms 157 15 75; ancestors: Sada 13-14, Azpilcueta 14 20, Jassu 3-5; father 3-11 45-6 74, mother 6-7 19-20 153, brothers 11 21 154, sisters: Magdalena 11 21 172-5, Ana 11 21 24; cousins 22-27, tutor 22. *Youth*: birth 12, baptism 12 32, name 12 156, spoke Basque and Spanish 31-32, French 278; castle of Xavier 12-20, personnel 26-28, environment 28-31, life 36-39, Xavier's room 46, education 31-6 57, signature 32 458, played pelota 32, confession and Communion 57, tonsure 74 155; capture of Navarre 40-45, death of father 46, destruction of castle 48-9, pursuit of shepherds 54-5, war of his brothers 46; visit to relatives 70-73, in Burguete 69, departure 76, traditions 46.—In *Paris* 77-273 (1525-1536): *Latin student* 103-7 (1525-1526): arrival 77-82, portionist, Sainte-Barbe 81-5, college life 95-101, sports 106-223, dangers 103-7. *Philosopher* 108-47 (1526-1530): room 108 149. Peña 106-10 Favre 110-2, Ignatius 136-43; bachelor 136-7, licentiate 145-7, master of arts 146-7 156. *Regent* 148-215 (1530-1534): Collège de Beauvais 148-153, death of his mother 153-4, plans 155, patent of nobility 155-8 270-1, servant, lack of funds 158, Magdalena's prophecy 175, death 172-5; royal professors 158-62; studied Greek? 103 162; Ignatius helped 157-9, warned 169-72, advice on theology 171-2, Xavier ridiculed 172, "What does it profit?" 175-8 181, conversion 185-7, Carthusians 171 189 247, comrades 189-90 202-8, deliberations 209-12, Montmartre 212-5 347, Exercises 216-24 556. *Theologian* 171-2 247-72 (1534-1536): professors 247-51, Le Picart; Xavier hastens after his nephew 234 246; acquaintances 239-40 253-4; slandered at home 243-245; letter to brother Juan 245-6; Ignatius' departure 243-5; Xavier's companions 253-63, his pupils Bobadilla and Salmerón 269-70; decision in patent for nobility, election as canon refused 158 270-2; departure 269-73.—In *Italy* 275-556 (1537-1540): journey to *Venice* 277-96, in hospital for incurables, in *Venice* 305-9; journey to *Rome* 310-40 (in *Ravenna* 317-9, *Ancona* 319-20, *Loreto* 320, *Rome*: 323, disputation before pope 336, permission to be ordained 337, vision of the cross 339 728, carries Indian in his dream 339); in *Venice*: ordination 343, *Monsetice* 348-56, *Vicenza* 358-71 (first Mass 366, vision of St. Jerome 368); *Bologna* 369 373-90: hospital 376, S. Lucia and S. Petro 379, Spanish college 389; opposition to Lutherans 381 389 429; illness 388, testimonial 382 428. In *Rome* 407-556 (1538-1540): illness 418 426 460 491-2, faculties 420-21; evil dream 434-5 727-8. Pilgrimage given up, obedience to pope 439-40, answer to Gouvea 440-1, famine 445-6, companions 446-52; consultations 453-62, clarification on obedience 457-8, Five Chapters 462-4, oral confirmation 466-8, struggle over the bull 468-74 (3,000 Masses 472); as porter 481, received alms 488, scandal of a penitent 492, F. de' Jancolini 501-5; catechism in S. Lorenzo in Damaso, confessions in S. Luigi 496, vows of Ferrão 497-8. *Friends*: López 413, Ortiz 334-5 414-6 499, Cervini 498-9, Neri 501, Caballar, Bosch 499, Zapata 501, P. Doménech 501, J. Doménech 530, *confreres*: Strada 417, Araoz 448-9 481, Cáceres 451, Codacio 505, Paradisi 507, Cassini 508, Isbrando 508-9. *Secretary* of the Society 510-56: Strada's letters 517-9, commissions 522 530, Doménech's vocation 530-5. John III wants Jesuits for India 542-53, Xavier's mission 554, his vote 555-6, departure 556-6. *Journey to Lisbon* 559-92 (1540): conversion of Aguilar 560-1, Loreto 561, Bologna 561-5 (Cardinal Ivrea, 562-3, departure 564-5), Modena and Parma 585-7, rescue of groom 558 and secretary 460-1, does not visit home 578, at Loyola 579-81, Burgos 583-4, looking back 592. In *Lisbon* 593-654 (1540): arrival 591, cure of Rodrigues 600, dwelling 603-4, audience 601-4,

- name of "apostle" 604, apostolate at court 604-14, outside 614-6, in the prison of the Inquisition 630-644 648 650 663, care of sick and instruction of youth? 617, Mass in Carmo 599 604-5. Praises piety of Portuguese 616-8 and of royal family 672; concern for India 618-19, and hopes 618-9 712 721; book on the Preste 679-96; friends 607-16, letters to Rome 618-21 655-7. Visit in Palma 657-60, letter to Rome 663-4. In *Almeirim* 664-78 707 (1540-1541): work at court 669-70, teaching in Santarém 670, appointed for India 672, correspondence with Dr. Navarro 673-8. In *Lisbon* 706-29 1541): alvará for Xavier 706-8, the count of Castanheira 707, concern of king 716-22, departing audience 713-4 718, India briefs 695-6 713-6, letters to Rome 716-22, *Mansilhas* 716-7 720, departure 727-8.—*Description*: exterior 67, character 721-2 720 (fiery) 67 278 318 720-2 (amiable, cheerful), scholarly talents 32 146-7 336 439; *virtues*: love for poverty 318 554-5 (vows 210-1 214 343 555, in Monselice 353, Bologna 378-9, Lisbon 60), chastity 67 100-7 727 (vows, see poverty, temptation 434-5 727-8), obedience (vows, see poverty and 457-8 729), abnegation 222-3 493 728-9 (in speech) 385-6. *Love of God*: prayer 385-6 728-9, Mass 366-7 377 385-6, breviary 178 556, spiritual reading 554, spiritual conversation 385-6, ecstasy 386, sufferings of Christ 386, love of the cross 560 621, vision of the cross 339 728; Mary 35 277 319-21 379 604, Jerome 368, Dominic 326-7, Ignatius 223 485-6 491-2, Favre 553, Society of Jesus 443. *Love of neighbor*: servant of all 106 278 560, humility 718, zeal, longing for mission to the pagans 211 252-3 339 387 617-9 621 729, *vir desideriorum* 386; gratitude to benefactors 720-1, king 716-9.—*Letters and writings* 245-6 554-5 616-21 663-4 669-70 675-8 716-22.—*Opinions of contemporaries*: Ignatius 439 (wishes to hand over the direction of the Society to him), Favre 439 (second vote to him for general), F. Palmio 374, Laynez 379, Doménech 386-7, Gozzadina 384, vicar-general of Bologna 429, Cervini 499, Philip Neri 501, Mascarenhas 563-4.—*Legends*: Ancona 319, Bassano 362, Bemfica 726, Burgos 583-4, Faenza 403, Florence 400, Jarales Mountains 587, Xavier 45-6 578, Lisbon 726, Monselice 351-2, Mont Cenis pass 573, Pamplona 578 149 161-2, Nossa Senhora de Nazareth 724-5, on trips to Sangüesa 31, St-Nicolas-du-Port 283, Ravenna 303-4, Venice 308, Rome 507-8 488, Portugal 564-6 605; confused with Broët 403, Rodrigues 223, Francis of Assisi 351 582-4 587, Francesco Marín 489; false opinions on Xavier 106 162 439
- Franciscans 131 135 500 512: *of Strict Observance*: Jerusalem 186, Lisbon 598, Paris 80 88 100 120 131 171 195 197-8 208-1 229 241 247-8 250-1, Sangüesa 36, Toledo 414-5, Torrelaguna 415; *Recollects* (Capuchos): Castanheira 591; Salvaterra 608; *Conventuals*: Monselice 351, Rome 502-3 505; see also Capuchins, Poor Clares
- François, dauphin, 232
 Frangipani 433-4 504-5
 Frascati 431 544
 Frazão de Vasconcelos, J. A., 666
 Freiburg im Breisgau 160 287-8
 Fresneda, Francisco de, 48
 Frumentius, St., 688
 Fuenterrabía 61 63 66-7 71 578 701
 Furtado, Lopo, see Hurtado, Lope
- Gabriel, Mestre, 635-7 641 645-6
 Gaeta 522-3
 Gaguin, O. Trin., Robert, 91
 Galdeano, Antonio de, 732
 Gallicier, Martial, 236
 Gallipienzo 28 58
 Galvão, Duarte 679
 Gama, D. Christovão da, 695
 —D. Estevão da, 700-1 704 706
 —D. Francisco da, count of Vidigueira, 618 701
 —Vasco da, 116 599 616 618 701 724 726
 Gamboa, D. Ximeno, 29 32 51
 Gandía 11 21 95 172
 Ganges 116 714 715
 Garay, Dr. Pedro de, 243
 García, Juan, 4
 —Lorenzo 240 371 417 420 423-4 451-2
 Garde (Roncal Valley) 42
 Garinoáin 23
 Garra, Johan, 56
 Garralda, Juan de, 28
 Garris 9
 Garro 7
 —Jerónimo de, 7 432
 —Juan de, 7
 —León de, 64 175
 Garrués 6 9 10 21
 Garzonio, Gasparo, 408 523
 —Quirino, 407-9 423-5 451-2
 Gaur (Bengal) 597
 Gauyuarri, Pedro, 47
 Gazolaz 6 9
 Gélica, Juan, 102 110 114-5 163-4 171 238 255
 Geneva 111 122 167 260 280 437 575; Reformation 203 286
 Geneviève, St., 85 230 245 253 268
 Gentilly 94
 George, St., 39 539; tomb in Monselice 351-2, cult in Abyssinia 688
 Georgius Bruxellensis 113
 Germanus, St., 89 229
 Germany: Reformation 119-20 170 539; in Württemberg 182 201-2, Constance 291-2, Lindau 293-4, Strasbourg 283-4; Schmal-kaldic League 182 201 225 263; German pilgrims to Santiago 9, to Jerusalem 294

- 296, Crusader 39; soldiers in Navarre 42
58 70, in Vatican 329; students in Paris
80 106-7 161 165 227, Bologna 375 381,
marines in Lisbon 623-4
- Gerson, Jean de, 92 120 129 146 184; Geron-
cito 176
- Gesner, Konrad von, 225-7
- Ghinnucci, Girolamo, cardinal, 468-9 414 438
469-71 473 541 552-4 561 671
- Giberti, Gian Matteo, 304
- Giglio, family, 383
- Giraldi (Giraldes), Giovanni, 614
—Lucas, 615 613 629 655 599 706
- Giustiniano, Marino, 73 228-34
- Glareanus, Henricus, 124
- Goa 70 706
- Goclenius, Konrad, 288
- Godhino, S.J., Manuel, 600 605 606 670
- Goes, Damião de, 285 344 538 618 680 699;
with Ignatius and Rodrigues 360, *Fides*
699
- Gold Island (legendary) 705
- Gomes, Braz, 676
—Fernão, 706
—João, 634 637-8 645-6 650-1
—Pinheiro, Ruy, bishop of Angra, 630 622
624 634 646 648
- Gómez, Luis, 413
- Gonçalves, S.J., Sebastião, 381 560 708 714-6
724-5
—a Pinta, Catarina, 633 640-1 644 646 653
—da Camara, S.J., Luis, 257 550 708
- Góngora, lord of, 43
—Carlos de, 64
—Pedro de, 270
- Goffi, family 7, genealogy 74
—(knight) 38
—Catalina de, 7
—(Los Arcos), Isabel de, 7
—(Tirapu), Isabel de (Xavier's sister-in-law),
7 21 154
—Juan de, 77
—León de, 156
—María de, 27
—Martín de, 66
—Miguel de, 73
—Dr. Remiro de, 73 7 50 54 66 73 154-6 272
—Gaztambide, José, 236
- Gonzaga, Ippolita, 529
- González, S.J., Gil, 218
- Goro (on Po Delta) 311-5
- Gorriti, Pedro de, 56
- Gosse, Jasper, 107
- Gou, S.J., Antonio, 447
- Goulet, Robert, 103 113
- Gouvea 627
—André de, 162-3 96 101 106 120 137 162-3
170-1 192 197; rector 192 256
—Dr. Diogo de (senior) *life* 101-2; character
115-6 143. *Principal of Sainte-Barbe* 101-2
159 241, promoted Latin studies 82 103
162, avoided Greek 162 171, Erasmus 134-5,
Reformers 162 171. *Agent of Portugal*
102 117. Trip to Portugal 101 (1512) 101
(1516) 102 104 115 (1526-1527, obtains founda-
tion for fifty scholarships) 17 137 (1528-
1529), 137-8 (for Alesgle), intends to give
Ignatius the "*salle*" 137-1 142-3, fifth trip
to Portugal (1529-1531) 132-45 (for La Gar-
de). Seeks to obtain Jesuits for the In-
dies: letter to king 413 543, to Favre 440-1.
Varia 105 194
—Diogo de (junior), 101
—Marcial de, 101
- Gozzadina, Violante, 374 383-6 563 565; her
children 384-5
- Gradenigo, Giusto, 346 352
- Gralla, Guiomar, 522
- Granada, 8 324
- Granada de Ega, duke of, 3 732
- Granvelle, Nicolás Pierrenot de, 225-6
- Gratian 261; decree of, 675
- Gregori, S.J. (of Parma), 656
- Gregorius Ariminensis, O.E.S.A., 152
- Gregory I, the Great, St., pope, 258 260
—IX, pope, 180; *Decretalia*, 675
- Grey, Thomas, 135
- Grimani, Marco, 419 438
—Marina, 306
—Marino, cardinal, 334
- Gringaut, Crespín, 151-2
- Gritti, Andrea, 299 341-2 344
- Grynaeus, Simon, 251 182; his *Novus Orbis*
251
- Gué (Agadir), Santa Cruz do Cabo de: be-
sieged 708-12, fall 722-3; Xavier 719, Ro-
drigues 729
- Guenduláin, lord of, 31 33; counts of, 732
- Guerreiro, S.J., Fernão, 716
- Guicciardini, Francesco, 614
- Guidacerius, Agathius, 160 200
- Guidiccioni, Bartolomeo, 470- 552; against
bull of confirmation 470-73, 3,000 Masses
vowed 472-4 563 656 671 721; converted 671
- Guillardus, bishop of Cambrai, 180
- Guindano, Marcelo, 18 46 74
- Guindano, Martín, 66
- Guinea 594
- Guipúzcoa 59 138 140 479 578; Guipuzcoans
43
- Guise 267
—duc de, 267
- Guitton, S.J., George de, 110 574
- Gúrpide, Juan de, 271
- Gutierre de Monroy, Dom, 709-11
- Guzmán, O.P., Gabriel, 270 301
- Haiton, the Armenian, 252
- Hangest, Jérôme de, 124 130 261
- Hecho, valley of, 9
- Heinrich, Julius, duke of Brunswick, 285
- Heisterbach, monk of, 570
- Helena, queen of Abyssinia, 694
- Helena, St., 539
- Helyar, John, 253
- Hemard, Charles of, bishop of Mâcon, 344

- Henri, duke of Orléans, 200 232
 Henrique, Dom, cardinal infante: life 598, archbishop of Braga 600, grand inquisitor 542 546 629 631-2 634 638 643 646-8 651 654; his love for Rodrigues and Xavier 672, assigns to them the care of the prisoners of the Inquisition 630; in Almeirim 667 701. Executor of will 662, patriot 618, his tutor 615
 Henriques, Felipa, 537
 —Francisca, 659
 —S.J., Francisco, 616 708
 —S.J., Henrique, 178
 —S.J., Leão, 253
 Henry II, k. of France, 144
 —IV, k. of France, 118
 —VIII, k. of England: friend of the nuncio Ghinucci 468 (1522-1528), dedication of Erasmus 139 (1523), suit for divorce, help for this from Francis I 118 139 182 201-3 232 (1527-1534); apostasy, marries Boleyn 185 (1533); death of Queen Catherine 334 (1536), apostasy of Ireland 499, papal ex-communication 548 (1539)
 Henry the Wayfarer 116
 Hercolano, Jacopo, 327
 Hernández, Diego, 534
 —Francisca, 139 415 534
 —S.J., Martín, 278
 Herrera, Miguel, 50
 Hieronymus Aemiliani (Girolamo Miani), St., 299-300 306
 Higa 3 19
 Hilary of Poitiers, St., 255 258
 Hirigaray, Nicolás (Dr. Mongelos), 238-9
 Hollanda (Olanda), Francisco de, 320 601; travels 559-60
 Honoratus, bishop of Amiens, St., 229
 Hozes, Antonio de, 239
 Hozes, S.J., Diego, 301-6 309 316 337, in Treviso 348 361, Padua 369 373; death 388, Ignatius' vision 416-7
 Hualde, Juan de, 7 28 271
 Hualde (Pacheco), Pedro de, 28
 Huarte 44
 Huarte, Esteban de (Xavier's cousin), 24 46 71 271 732
 Huarte, Francisco de, 63
 Hubert, Magister, 123
 Huesca 13 36 38-9
 Hugo of St. Victor 86 123 261
 Humbert II, prince of Dauphiné, 88
 Hungary, 118 388, King Matthias 540, M. Dévai 261
 Hurtado, Lope, 655
 —de Mendoza, Diego, 737
 Ibargoiti, valley of, 3-4 10 37 52
 Ibiricu 9-10 21 64 174
 Idocin 4-6 9-10 21 44 51-4 174
 Ignatius of Antioch, St., 255
 Ignatius of Loyola, St.; bibliography 136. *Life before Paris*: 140 186 484, birth 140 579-81; name: Inigo (written Ynigo) 245 458 551 562, from 1532 also Ignatius 244; Basque native speech 482, home 579-80; wounded 59 140, converted 140 185 484 580 through the reading of the *Flos Sanctorum* 176 185-6 580 and Ludolph of Saxony 175-81 186 580; his extracts from it 175 (1521). Pilgrimage by way of Aranzazu 484 to Montserrat 186 484. In *Manresa* 186 485-6: mystical graces 485-6, vision by the Cardoner 486, book of Exercises 216-7, *Following of Christ* 176 482-4 (1522). *Pilgrimage to the Holy Land* 186 211 484-8 (1523). *Student in Barcelona* 186 235; three disciples 186: L. de Cáceres 240, Calisto, Artiaga 244 (1524-1525); in *Alcalá* 140 168-9 186 204-5 239 496-7 534: trial 186 436 (1526-1527); in Salamanca 140 586-7 (1527).—In *Paris*: arrival, *Latin studies* 140 (1528); first trip to Flanders (Vives) 141, gives Exercises to Peralta, Castro, and Amador 141, visits sick friend in Rouen 141, storm over the three exercitants 136-9; begins *philosophy* at Saint-Barbe 141-2 235, "*salle*" 142-3; goes with students to the Carthusians for Communion 142 155 171 189 205 238 242 247 (1529); second trip to Flanders 140 158 (1530); Favre won over 154-5 202-3; plague 191, third trip to Flanders and to London 140 158 (1531); baccalaureate, 236 (1532), licentiate, begins *theology* 185-6 237, testimonial 269; completes book of Exercises 216-7 244; Xavier won over 157-8 169 171-2 185-8, Rodrigues 189-90 208, Laynez, Salmerón 172 186-7 204-6, Bobadilla 206-8 (1533); Exercises, deliberations, Montmartre 202-15, Xavier's Exercises 216-24 (1534); master of arts 147 243, zeal, success in theology 235-7, recommends University of Paris 105 170-1, warns about the royal professors 171 208, about Greek without theology 169; spirit of prayer 237, apostolate 235-44, friends and acquaintances 235-44, revered as a saint 238, suspected 242-3, his book of Exercises approved 243-4; sickness 243, trip home, Xavier's letter of recommendation 245-6. Plan for the founding of a Society 211 370 454 (1535). Ignatius and Erasmus 168-9 244, and Calvin 162 167 197.—In *Spain*: Azpeitia 211 301, Obanos 271, Val de Cristo 301 (1535).—In *Italy*: Bologna 389, *Venice*: with A. Lippomani 299-308, wrote to Paris 269 301 309, break with Carafa 302, gives Exercises to P. Contarini and Dotti 304, wins Hozes and the Eugla 301-3, Zornoza 305, persecuted 302 304 370-2 436-7 (1536). Arrival of companions 295-6 300, their trip to Rome 309-10 333; ordinations 342-3; letter to Verdolay 348, *separation* 348, in Padua with Goes 349-50, Vicenza 352-71 (Landívar's

- letter 363-5, visit to Bassano 354 361-2), a *second separation* 369 (name, "Society of Jesus," 369-71 411 460-2), opinion in Venice 371-2, trip to Rome with Favre and Laynez 371-3 410, vision at La Storta 410.—In *Rome*: in the *vigna* of Garzonio 407-27 (1537-1538); gives Exercises to I. López, Tolomei, G. Contarini, and to Ortiz at Monte Cassino 411-17 (vision of Hozes 416-7), wins over Strada 417, summons companions 389, their arrival 407 417. Persecuted because of Fra Agostino 421-25 427-37 (Landívar 423, Garcia 423-5 451-2; Cupis won over 425); preaching 425-6; in the house near *Ponte Sisto* 427-33 (1538); with Paul III in Frascati 430-31; in the Palazzo Frangipani 433-556 711 (1538-1541); decision of the *governatore* 436-7; renunciation of pilgrimage to the Holy Land 439-40, first Mass 441-2 (Christmas, 1538). Wins over Araoz 449, deliberations 453-62, Five Chapters 462-5, oral approval of the Society 466-8, battle over the bull of ratification 468-474 (3,000 Masses vowed 472); new companions 505-9, friends and acquaintances 498-501, penitents: Mascarenhas 500 549 561-4, Lope Hurtado 500 655; Xavier's mission 553-4 562 672; bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* 671-2 (1540); in the house near *S. Maria della Strada* 719 (1541); confessor of the Madama 435. Ignatius and Luis de Montoya 611-2, wants to hand over direction of the order to Xavier 439.—*Description* 475-93: exterior 140 475-77, dress 477-9, health 243 360-3 450-1 479 484 491 554 581, food 472 491, speech 481-3, address, title 448 481-2, speaks of earlier life 186 486-7, jokes 206 490, sayings: "Itote" 556, "How displeased I am" 482. *Prayer* 482-6: in choir 461-482, long prayers in the order 493, breviary 483, dispensed from 450-1, rosary 478 464, Eucharist 501, Mass 484-5; Trinity 472, Christ 486-7, Mary 484 495, mystical graces 462 465; gift of tears 360 484-5, spiritual diary 483-4. *Virtues*: love of Christ 219-23, 486-89, love of enemies 422 425 437, confidence in God 487-8, mastery of self 218 492-3, indifference 472 207 210; humility 221 486-7, ecclesiastical honors 487; chastity 484 210 214 343, neatness 488-90. Care for his followers 489-93: order of the house 489, table 489-90, recreation 490, paternal care for all 491, especially the sick 491-2, for their progress 491-2, prudence with women 491-2. *Apostolate* 375-6; perseverance 480. *Means*: Exercises, see above, preaching 361 425 481-2, Christian doctrine 482-3, letters 480. Legends 362-3 416-7. See also Society of Jesus, Exercises, Francis Xavier.
- Illiars, Milo d', 203
- India: discovery of sea passage 116 297 599 615; line of demarcation 117 697; Portuguese in India 116, capture of Goa, Malacca, Ormuz 591. Trade with India 594 597, Giraldi 615, spice trade taken from the Turks 116 297 699-700. Trade rivalries 102 117 697-700 (see also Francis I), gifts 540-41, ships, India House, Barros' *Decadas* 597, Grynaeus and Finé 251-2. Joseph the Indian 252, ambassador of the Zamorim, *vesir* of Ormuz 595, Malabar students in Lisbon 598, Indians in Abyssinia 684, New Christians in India 625-6; conversion of the Paravas 440-542-3, Gouvea 440-1 543 and John III ask for Jesuits for India 542-3, Xavier and Rodrigues appointed 547-56. Negotiations with the pope for help for India 541-2 545-7 551-2, briefs 547 725, *alvarás* for India 704-7, equipping of the India fleet 704-8 713. Land route 700.—*Jesuits*: deliberations 454 ("Indians or heretics"), Favre's reply 440-1, Laynez' longing for India 492 (see also Francis Xavier).—*Governors*: Albuquerque 591 703, Lopes de Sequeira 681 691, Estevão da Gama 700-1, M. A. de Sousa 700-1; *viceroy*s: D. Garcia de Noronha 696 700, D. Pedro Mascarenhas 576-8; others: Pedro Mascarenhas 536, R. Anes Lucas 559, D. Francisco de Lima 560, Dias de Carvalho 670, A. de Castro, S.J., 615. Bold voyage of Diogo Botelho 590-1; Dr. Navarro 678. See also Diu, John III, Turks
- Iñigo, see Ignatius
- Iñigo Arista, k. of Navarre, 39 45
- Inquisition: in *Italy*: Bologna 381-2, Ferrara 396, Rome 421-2 437.—In *Spain*: bibliography 622 630, introduction 623 (1478), example for the Portuguese 627 630-1 645, courts in Toledo 186 415, Llerena 242 626-7 653-4, Badajoz 627. Assembly summoned by grand inquisitor at Valladolid 135 (1527). *Trials*: Francisca Hernández 414-5, Miguel de Egüfa 534, Montenegro 643-4, Ignatius 186 431 (slandered 302 370 422); torture 632, *quemadero* 653.—In *Portugal*: sources, bibliography 622 630. History: antecedents 623-5, struggle for its introduction 625-30, bull 541 605 628 631 647-8 (1536), negotiations in Rome 628-30 542-7 551-3 (1536-1540), inquisitor Diogo da Silva 627, grand inquisitor D. Henrique 629. *Autos-da-fé*: bibliography 649: first 649-54 (1540), others 634 636 648 (1541) 660-1 (1543) 649 (1544) 634 (1551). *Trials* before Xavier's sailing 633-48, later. Buchanan, Costa, Teive 101 165 169 232, Marcial de Gouvea 236, Goes 285 349-50. *Witnesses*: Simon Rodrigues 349, Diogo de Gouvea 101-2. In Evora 641-2, Coimbra 610 646.—*Location*: place for court: Estaos 633 642, Trindade,

- S. Vicente de Fora 633. Inquisitorial *prisons*: Aljube 633 635 638 644, Limoeiro 633, court prison 633 636-40 643-4, own 632-53, number of prisoners, treatment 634; places of imprisonment: Odivellas 632 643 645 651, Santa Clara, Belém 632, *Escholas Geraes* (College of the Faith) 632 646 651; instead of these: monastery 632 643, quarter of the city 632 651, own home 632 646. *Personnel*: grand inquisitor 629 637 648 645-6, General Council 630 641 646, inquisitors, deputies 630-1 646-50 653-4, prosecutor 631 636-9 647, procurator (defender) 631 636-7 641 647, notary 645 648 653, secretary 651-2, warden 633, 644, jailer 633, porter 651, police 643, chaplains (Xavier and Rodrigues) 630 644 648 650 663, preacher at auto-da-fé 650.—*Administration* 630-3: torture 632 640, costs of trial 637-8 643 647, public penance 641 645, *sambenito* 641 645 650 652, private abjuration 646, mildness 632 634; *sentences*: "for life" 632-3 641 645-6 648 651, others 635-6 641 643 646 651; mitigation 632-3 646; burned in effigy 627.—*In Paris*: Ignatius and the inquisitors 139 242, Ory 141 249 436, Liévin 235 244 249-50 371, Laurentius 371
- Iparraquirre, S.J., Ignacio, 136 216
 Irache 303
 Iranzu 22
 Irati 19
 Ireland 499-500 548 551 555 562 656 721
 Irenaeus, St., 255
 Irigoyen, Juan Lorenzo de, 272
 Isaba 48
 Isabel, queen of Portugal, 623
 —wife of the infant D. Duarte, 608 661 667 723
 Isabella, empress, 673
 —the Catholic, queen of Castile 8 11 172 580 586 602
 —sister of St. Louis, 95
 Isbrando, see Bellini
 Ischia 523-4
 Isidore of Seville, St., 181 261
 Ivo, St., 150
 Ivrea, cardinal, see Ferreri
 Izaga (mountain) 19
- Jaca, Arnalt, Francés and Juan de, 156
 —Bernal de, 12
 Jacobo (Jacobus Hispanus), S.J., 261
 Jacobus de Valentia 261
 Jacovazzi, Cristoforo de, cardinal, 333 342
 Jacques, Christovão, 117
 Jacquillon, Charles, 151
 Jaime, Fray, 522
 James, St., apostle, 539
 Jancolini, Faustina de', 554 563
 Janus Bey 346 357
 Jaquin, Pierre, 208
 Jassu (Jasso 157, Yaso 66) 5
 —family: coat of arms 5 10 15 73 157; in Jassu, St-Jean-Pied-de-Port, Pamplona 5, Lower Navarre 20, Idocin 4, Tafalla 6, Mexico 20; family tree 730-1
 —(Estella), Ana Périz de, 7
 —(Pamplona), Arnalt Périz de (Xavier's grandfather), 4 6 28 34 72 157 303
 —(Pamplona), Bernardo Périz de (Xavier's granduncle), 5 7 72
 —(Pamplona), Catalina de (Xavier's aunt), 5
 —O.P., (Pamplona), Diego de, 72
 —(Pamplona), Esteban, son of Pedro, 25 50 53 60 63 66 71
 —(Pamplona), Inés de, 731
 —(Pamplona), Isabel de, daughter of Pedro 25 64 71 73 730-3
 —(Xavier), Dr. Juan de (Xavier's father): before Xavier's birth 6-11, in Bologna 375-6 379 (1470), *pro forma* sale 4-5 (1477), marriage 7 (c. 1483), lends money to the king 51 (1489), Guilherma's will 8 (1490), coronation of the king 72 (1494), president of the council 7 (1495), bought Subiza, etc., 9 64 (1499), writes royal chronicle 38-9 (c. 1500), death of his father-in-law Martín 7 (1502), suit at Sangüesa 55 (1503), at Idocin 51-4 (1503-1515), constitutions for church 33-4 (1504). Xavier's birth 11 (1506), purchase of half of the palace of Arraztoa 20 (1511). Capture of Navarre: in Burgos, Béarn, Pamplona; loses place as president 38-42 (1512), petition for orphan 27 (1513), loses right of pasturage on *El Real* 44 (1513-1514), death 46 (1515). *Varia* 21 29 31 50 175
 —(Pamplona), Juan de, son of Pedro, 21 28 50 59-60 66 71
 —(Pamplona), Juan Périz de, son of Pedro, 25
 —(Olaz Menor), Juana de (Xavier's aunt), 5 25 50 73
 —(Pamplona), Juana de, daughter of Pedro 25
 —(Olloqui), Margarita de (Xavier's aunt), 5 25 42-3 50; children 73
 —(Huarte), María de (Xavier's aunt), 5 25
 —(Pamplona), María de, daughter of Pedro, 25-6 234 677
 —(Pamplona), María Périz de, daughter of Pedro, 25 730
 —(Pamplona), María Périz de, daughter of Bernalt Périz, 25 730-3
 —Martín de, 65
 —(Pamplona), Miguel de, son of Pedro, 25
 —(Los Arcos), Pedro de, 7 730-33
 —(Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port), Pedro 5
 —(Pamplona), Pedro de (Xavier's uncle), 23-4 5 8 40 43 45 50 52 234 677 730-33
 —(Pamplona), Valentín de, son of Pedro, 24 43 48 50 53 59-61 63 67 71 154 174 730-3
 —Echeberri (Jassu), Esteban, lord of the house, 5

- y Xavier (Beire), Ana (Xavier's sister), 711 21 70-71 243 730-3
- y Xavier (Xavier), Francisco de, see Francis Xavier
- y Xavier (Gandía), Magdalena (Xavier's sister), 11 21 34 172-5*
- Jaureguizar, family, 7 20
- Martín de, 66
- Javier, see Xavier
- Jay (Jaius), S.J., Claude: life 259-61, in La Roche: notebook 259-60, Paris: 212, Exercises 260, master of arts 147, testimonial 269, trip to Venice 279 and Rome 309-10 338; in Venice: faculties 347, Bassano 348 (letter 354-5, to Codure 360) 360-2 373, Vicenza 358, Ferrara 369 393-7 420 462 (Ercole II 395-6 472), to Rome 390-1; in Rome: faculties 420, preaching 425 496, opinion 436, deliberations 458-60 495, Constitutions 551. In Bagnorea 516 542, Brescia 499-500 (1540), Germany 248 (1540-1545), Venice 301 (1547), Ferrara 395-6 (1547-1548).—Exterior 259, character 259 496, signature 458, manuscript 260-1; Xavier writes to him 719
- Jeanne d'Arc, St., 78 283
- Jeanne de Bourgogne 89
- Jerome, St., 36 135 142 168 255 258 261 300 331 359 366-8 (appears to Xavier) 687
- Jerusalem 91 210-11 685 690 692
- Jews: in *Portugal* 622-6, number 622-3, complaints of the Cortes, Spanish emigrants, expelled 623, forced conversion 623-4 (1497), massacre in Lisbon 624-5 640 (1506); forbidden in Portugal 639, tolerated in Portuguese North Africa and India 638-9 700; two converted 656. *Occupations*: craftsmen 623, merchants, physicians, pharmacists 623 626, tax-collectors 623 626, court astrologer 638, interpreter 639, traveler from India 700, agent, Jewish judge 639, *cavalleiro* 639, magician, necromancer 634, dreamer, deceiver 626-7. *Varia*: Jewish insignia 639, 647-8, Cabbala 626 637, teaching on angels, 637, prognostic 639. See also: Inquisition.—*Outside Portugal*: in Spain: banishment 623 (1492), Navarre ("not of Jewish origin" 20), Paris 164 229 252-3 (Xavier), Rome 626-7, Siena 401, Salonica 626-7, North Africa 623 638-9, Tunis 638-42, Abyssinia 692, Island of São Thomé 632, Arabia? 626, India 626 700 ("none in Ceylon" 718). Erasmus for mission to Jews 200; converts: Catholic 160, Lutheran 201.
- Jidda 686 688
- Jiménez, S.J., Diego, 279
- Joanna, wife of Charles IV, of France, 90
- wife of Philippe IV, of France, 86 88 92
- daughter of Philip III, of Navarre, 95
- João, Mestre, 705
- prince, son of John III of Portugal, 536 602-3 610 674
- John I, k. of Portugal, 660
- II, k. of Portugal, 116 595 623 638 666
- III, k. of Portugal: bibliography 601, *opinions* 601 (Soares) 670 (Venegas and Dr. Navarro) 619-20 (Xavier). *Family*: queen and children 602-3, brothers and sisters: Luis 607 642, Henrique 608, Duarte 608-9 663 669, Affonso 600, Maria 609, Isabel 673, Beatrice 537 575. *Court* 607, *moços fidalgos* 603 605, grooms 606, *escudeiros* and *cavalleiros* 607, court confessor, Soares 609-10, court preachers 669 (Soares, Villafranca, Montoya 609), *vedor*, Ant. de Ataíde 613-4, superintendent of buildings, Pedro Carvalho 612, physician Seb. Rodrigues 190, secretary of state, Ant. Carneiro 102, Pedro de Alcáçova Carneiro 668.—*Description*: exterior, character (majestic, kind, slow) 601-2, piety 603 669; zeal for religion 603 612-20, schools 601, missions to the pagans 542-3 557 696 713-4; sense of duty 669, Christian resignation 663, finances 697-8. Winter stay in Almeirim 657 665 667 700-10. *Service to learning*: schools in Portugal 601, scholarships at Paris 115-6 (1526), Dominicans in Paris 248-50, removal of University of Lisbon to Coimbra 552 606 (1537), invitation to Dr. Navarro 673-678, university in Costa 552, schools for pagans 606; service to religion: reform of orders 542 595 598 606 610, of the court 600 603 605-7 669, mission to pagans in India 541-3 557 598 718 729 and Congo 543 594 598.—*Inquisition*: bibliography 622, Jews 626, New Christians 625-630; negotiations 622 with Clement VII 626-7, inquisitor named 627 (1531), bull of foundation 541 628 (1536), with Paul III 628-30 542 544-6 551-3; names D. Henrique as grand inquisitor 629 (1539), auto-da-fé (1540).—*Jesuits*: asked for India 542-3, arrival of Rodrigues 599-600 and Xavier 591; audience: mentions his concern for the pagans 601-3, calls them "apostles" 604, speaks about his spiritual life 607, wishes to see the book of Exercises and opinion 620, recommends the Society to his ambassadors in Rome 621 663 671, ready to recommend them to Francis I and Charles V 621 671, a great benefactor 620-1 671 717 728, generous concern 656 728, wishes to detain them 619 671-2, gives them a residence in Almeirim 667, wishes to found a college in Coimbra, a house in Evora 717, destines Xavier for India, Xavier's departing audience and India briefs 713-6.—*France*: see France I.—*Spain*: struggle for Molucca 697-8.—*North Africa*: fall of Gué 708-12 722-4.—*Abyssinia*: letters of king David 689-93 (1521 1524), brought by Alvarez 693 (1527), delays of the king 692-5, Alvarez sent to pope 693-4 (1532), his death 694 (c. 1534),

- arrival of Bermudez 694-5 (1557), king orders help for the Preste 696 (1537-1540), Alvarez' book 679-81 1540.—*India*: first siege of Diu 542 547 590 606 618 696 699-701 703-7 (1538), negotiations with Paul III for league against the Turks and help for India 541-2 544-6 551-2; brief for India war 546-7 696 724-6, reports on preparations of Turks 699-700 (1540), Catanhos' mission for peace with Turks 706 (1541). Appointment of M. A. de Sousa as governor of India 700-1; *alvarás* for India 704-6, for Xavier 706.—*Varia*: king and Mascarenhas, M. A. de Sousa 704, Ant. de Ataíde 613
- John Damascene, St., 255 258
 Josa, Isabel de, 521
 Joseph, the Indian, 252
 Juan II, k. of Aragon and Navarre, 3 5-6 19 39
 Juanmartifena, D. Joaquín de, 732
 Juliana, Miguel de, 65
 Julius II, pope, 40 43 320 384
 —III, pope, 335
- Karlstadt, Andreas Rudolf, 286
 Khair ed-Din, Barbarossa, 339 345 352 438
 Knobelsdorf, Eustathius of, 106
 Kótté 718
- La Baume, Pierre, de, 203
 La Cousture, Petrus de, 136
 Ladrón, Dom, 13
 —de Cegama, Iñigo, 156
 La Forest, Jeane de, 252 344-5
 La Forge, Étienne de, 235
 La Garde, Pierre de, 133 143
 Lancastre, D. João de, duke of Aveiro, 616
 Lancillotto, S.J., Nicolò, 717
 Landericus, St., 229
 Landívar, Miguel de, 188 189 309 337 339-40 343-4 348; accuser in Rome 424-6; letter 363-5
 Lange, Johann, 169
 La Oliva 37
 La Palice (Jacques de Chabannes), lord of, 42
 La Roche 111-2 260
 Larrasoña, Lorenzo de, 156
 Larraya, Carlos de, 156
 Larregui, Miguel de, 27 54
 Lasa, Miguel de, 20
 La Salde, Antoniotto de, 325
 La Storta 406; Ignatius' vision 410 440
 Latomus (Masson), Bartholomæus, 160 164 166 170 191 198 208 225
 —Dr. Jacobus, 255
 La Tour, de, 124
 Laurentius (Laurency), O.P., Thomas, 250 194 247-51 371 441
 Lautrec, Odet de Foix, vicomte de, 118-9
 Lawrence Justinian, St., 300
 Lax, Gaspar, 109 130
- Layne, S.J., Diego: *life* 203-5, father 203 469. In *Alcalá*: master's diploma 204. In *Paris*: arrival 187, Xavier's ridicule 172, "salle" 142, Roussel 202, finances 246, hospital document 269, theological studies 237 254 269, Exercises 190 205; Montmartre 212 213 215. To *Venice* 291, Venice 305, to Rome 329 323; Xavier's dream 339, permission for ordination 337. In *Venice*: ordination 343, faculties 347, Vicenza 348-9 352 360 362 366. To Rome 369 373 410, on the La Storta vision 410 (1537). In *Rome*: lectures 411 426, disputations before the pope 411, preaching 425, Fra Agostino 419-20, deliberations 458 460-1 (colleges at universities), on Ignatius' mystical graces 485-6. In *Parma*: 525-35 372 383 461 494 518-9 521-2 548 566-7, his catechism 526, letters 525-8 (1539-1540). In *Viterbo* 402 (1551), at the *Council of Trent* 204 255 (1551), provincial 296 (1552), trip to France 568 571-2 575 (1561).—*Description*: exterior 203-4 278, poor health 203-4 362 410 529, character 204, 254, writing 254 457, talent 204 254, knowledge of Fathers 256, poverty 529, chastity 205, abnegation 205 278 529, benevolence 205, desire for missions 211 492-3. Laynez and Salmerón 205-6 254, Ignatius 205 237, Xavier 239 339 555 719, Nadal 242, A. Lippomani 301, Arias 364
- Lazaro, Giovanni de, 351
 Leache, Martín de, 25 730
 —O.Cist., Miguel de, 29
 Lebna Dengel, see David
 Lecaun 22
 Le Clerc, Nicolás, 193 202 225 228
 Le Comte, Jean, 121
 Ledesma, S.J., Diego, 279
 Le Duc, Guillaume, 86
 Lefèvre d'Étaples (Faber Stapulensis), Jacques, 121 113-4 118 122-4 127 131-2 144-5 163 169-70 193 198 200 244; father's expenses 255
 Leguin 25
 Leite, Antonio, 712
 Lemaistre, Jean, 82
 Lenormant, Geoffroy, 82
 Leo I, the Great, St., pope, 300
 —IX, St., pope, 567
 —X, pope, 252 320
 Leomil 676
 Leonor, wife of Charles II, the Noble, k. of Navarre, 72
 —sister of Charles V, queen of Portugal and France, 182 270 598 609 665 702; Ignatius' letter to her confessor 301
 —vicereine of Navarre, 3 5 6 8 39
 Le Picart, François, 184-5 101 191-2 194-6 199 202 210 228 247 251 257-8 264
 Lerga, Martín de, 10 32
 Leroux 147
 Lerruz, Graciana de (Xavier's aunt), 24

- Leturia, S.J., Pedro, 136 140 176 210 347 442
484 490 581 713
- Levant 615
- Le Veneur, Jean, cardinal, 232
- Lévêque, O.S.B., Guillaume, 213
- Leyre 28-9 13 19 36 38-9 63 73 175
- Leyva, Antonio de, 384
- Lezaun 22 20-22 32 71
- Liédena 19 31
- Liévin, O.P., Valentin, 235 244 249
- Lima, Fernão de, 705
- D. Francisco de, 560
- D. Rodrigo de, 679-91
- Limpo, O.Carm., Balthasar, bishop of Pôrto, 614 619
- Linacre, Thomas, 165
- Lindau 292-3
- Lippomani, Andrea, 299
- Luigi, nuncio in Portugal, 381 625
- Lisbon: *description* 591 593-4, coat of arms 679, prisons 598.—*Churches and monasteries*: Belém 599 632 662-3 726 (Nossa Senhora do Restello), Carmo 595 599 604 612, Graça 598 610-12 651, cathedral (Sé) 629 641, Madalena 636, Misericórdia 597-609, S. Clara 632, S. Antão o Velho 726, S. Eloy 598 651, S. Estevão 624, Santos-o-Velho 727, S. Domingos 595 624, S. Francisco 598 701, S. Gião (Julião) 615 638-9 642, S. Roque 611.—*Royal palaces* 601: Alcáçova 597, Bemposta 727, Estaos 594 599-604 612 642-3, Ribeira 597 649.—*Prisons*: Aljube 598 635 638 641 644, court prison 598 638 641 644, Limoeiro 598 633; see also: Inquisition.—*Other buildings*: All Saints' Hospital 595 634 645, India House 597 704-6, university (Escolas Geraes) 632 694, house of the Infante D. Duarte 609, D. Pedro Mascarenhas 599, Lucas Giraldi 615, Jesuits 599-600, Miguel Lopes (synagogue) 636.—*Squares*: Ribeira 597 624 649 653, Rossio 595 599 609 624 660 662.—*Varia*: murder of Jews 623-5, autos-da-fé 649-53, earthquakes 597 601 (1531) 596-7 (1755), Corpus Christi procession 601, burial of D. Duarte 662-3, arrival of Rodrigues 600, Xavier 592
- Lizarazu, Bachelor, 42
- Lizet, Pierre, 197 200 266
- Llerena 242; Inquisition 625-8 647-8 653-4
- Lobo, S.J., Alvaro, 602
- Lodosa, lord of, see Mendoza
- Logroño 60
- Loiani, Ascanio, 383
- Livia, 383
- Loiola Mandes, S.J., Baltasar, 577
- Longueville, lord of, 134
- Lope, Magister, 47
- Arnia, 45
- Lopes, Christovão, 601
- Gregorio, 609
- Joana, 633 642-4 646 652
- de Carvalho, Ruy, 630 646 648
- de Sequeira, Diogo, 681 686 691
- de Sousa, Pero, 697 702
- López, Iñigo, 411 491 499 518-9 522 616 656 721
- de Ayessa, Sancho, 55
- de Gallaztegui, Juan, lord of Ozaeta, 582
- Loreto 283-4 320-1 339 507 517 545 561
- Loronha, D. Fernando de, 711-2
- Lorraine, Jean, cardinal of, 133 232
- Lorvão 552
- Los Arcos 7
- Louise of Savoy 118 122 182
- Loureiro, Luis de, 712
- Louvain 120 124 161
- Loyola, castle of, 579-81 140
- Andrés de, 580
- Beltrán de, 211 370 437 469 495 498 555 580-1; Ignatius' letter 562 580
- S.J., Ignatius of, see Ignatius
- Magdalena de, 582
- Martín García de, 427 448 469 486 498; death 495
- Millán (Aemilian) de, 170 495 522
- Lucas, Rodrigo Anes, 559 554 573-4
- Lucrifago, Camillo, 351
- Ludolph of Saxony, O.Carth., 152 175-8 250
- Louis I, the Pious, 571
- IX, k. of France, St., 87-9 92 95 231
- X, Hutin (the Quarreler), k. of France and Navarre 95
- XII, k. of France, 40 42 43 119 131
- Lower Abaurrea 4
- Luis, Infante Dom, 607 537 554 559 577 590 613 628 632 665 729; in Almeirim 667-9; friend of the Jesuits 701
- Mestre, 705
- Lumbier 19 25 31 40 43 46 58-9 74
- Pedro de, 47
- Luna, duke of, 732
- Lutfi Pasha 345 357
- Luther, Dr. Martin: apostasy 119 (1517), trial, condemnation by Sorbonne 119 261, Luther's answer 119 (allusion to in Exercises? 219) and Melancthon's 119-20 (1521), their writings condemned by Parlement 121 (1523); works forbidden 121, used 195; refutations 124-5 131 287; see also: Berquin, Erasmus
- Lutherans: in France (Paris): name 162 171. *Propaganda* through press 121 168 171 193-4 226-8, placards 225-6, preaching, circle 194-6 202, schools 233-4; followers among merchants 216 233 234, in the Latin Quarter 121-3 171 185 192 227 234-5 263, in the colleges: Lemoine 170, Reims 123 171, Sainte-Barbe 162-7 234, Tournai 234 263, Beauvais 182-3 199, Fortet 194; in the faculties of law 123, medicine 198, theology 192 (see Roussel, Caroli, Aranda), and philosophy 167-8 192 208-9 (see N. Bourbon, Pauvant, Cop, Saunier); among the royal professors 169-71 192 202 208 (see Sturm, Latomus, Danès), religious 202 234, at the

- court of the king 132 193-4 202 226 234-5, and his sister 123 132 182 184 193 202 23 (see also: Marot, Roussel); outside Paris: Meaux 121 123, Rouen 171, Bourges 167, Oloron 122 451, Amiens 262. Furthered by the humanists 121 162 169 171 (see also Erasmus), the avant-garde (see Briçonnet, Lefèvre d'Étaples), and their patrons such as Rabelais 183 264 (see also Francis I, Marguerite).—*Opposition*: Council of Sens 133, university 132-3 199-200 208-9, Theological Faculty (Sorbonne) 119-225 130 168 171 198; writings against 124-6 133-4; Parlement 121-4 171 197-201 226-7, king 134 289-90 225-35, Society of Jesus: Ignatius 235-245, Xavier 162 171-2, Laynez 204, Salmerón 255, Jay 261, Rodrigues 286 348-9.—*Principal events*: condemnation of Luther by the Sorbonne 119 (1521), of Lutheran writings by Parlement 121 (1523-1524), of the circle of Meaux 122-3 (1525), death sentences 123-4 (1526-1527); king for the innovators 132 (1527), Council of Sens, sacrilege 133 (1528), Berquin's death 134 (1529), royal professors, triumph of humanism, sacrilege, persecution 169-71 (1530), condemnation of Luther's works 171 (1531), Marguerite for the innovators, strife, Cop's speech and flight 184-5 193-9, king against Lutherans 199 (1533), triumph of the Catholics 199-200, king for the innovators 201-2 (1534), placards and reaction, persecution, separation of humanists and Lutherans 225-34 263-4 (1534-1535), general pardon, invitation to Melanchthon 263-4 (1535-1536).—In *Germany*: Reformation 170 226, in Strasbourg 283, Constance 291, Lindau 294, Tübingen 252, Württemberg 201; Council of Trent 204.—In *Italy*: Lutherans in Bologna 381 389 429, Parma 461 527-7, Modena 381, Padua 340, Rome 419-23 437, Chiavenna 419, Naples 504; retrospect 381 469, Sadoletto's attempt at union 349; attacked by Jesuits 369 381-2 389 420 429 462 464 525-7 (accused of being Lutherans 420-5 436-7); see also: Mainardi, Ochino.—In *Spain*: Alumbrados and Lutherans 534; in *Scotland* 124; see also Calvinists, Zwinglians Luxe, lord of, 22 Lyons 566 576-7
- Macchiavelli, Angelo, 374 398
Macedo, Henrique de, 700
Machado, Dr. João, 670
—Dr. Rodrigo, 712
Madagascar (St. Lawrence Island) 698
Madama, see Margaret of Austria
Madeira 723
Madrid, S.J., Lic., Cristóbal de, 499
Madrigalejo 47
Magalhães, Fernão de, 698
Magistri (Lemaistre), Martinus, 152
Magloire (Maglorius), O.S.B., St., 230
Magnavacca (Porto Garibaldi) 311-320
Mahmūd, sultan of Cambay, 618
Milan 118-9; duchy of, 264
Mainardi, O.S.A., Fra Agostino (de Piemonte), 419-20 466
Mainz 539
Major, Johannes, 109 113-5 120 130 130 163-6 170 183 248 258
Malabar 703; students from 598; see also: Joseph the Indian
Malacca 252 588 703 705
Malagueta (Liberia) 594 665; fleet 710 722
Maldivé Islands 705
Maldonado, Arias, 702
—Pedro (Xavier's companion), 705-7
—Pedro, son of João, 707
Malipiero, Maria, 306
Maluco (Ternate) 704-706
Malvasia 700
Malvenda, family, 584
—Pedro, 243
Manasse 700 704
Manderston, William, 165
Manicongo, see Congo
Manresa 175-6 186 484
Manrique, Alonso, 135
—Rodrigo, 192 195 198
Mansilhas, S.J., Francisco, 720
Mantua 627
Manuel, k. of Portugal: builds All Saints' Hospital 595, Misericórdia 597-8, Belém 599 726 in Lisbon, churches in Golegão 590, bridge, palace, convent in Almeirim 666-8; manuelesque style 590 597-9. M. and India 116 252 594 726, Africa 594, Abyssinia 594 679-80 689-91, Jews, New Christians 623-25 638, Mascarenhas 536-7, M. A. de Sousa 702. Death 690 702, translation of body 662; his book of hours '97; *varia* 541 612
—prince, son of John III, 538
—Dom, brother of the king of the Congo, 594
Marcellus of Paris, St., 230 245 268
Marcilla 47
Marcos, abima, 687-8
Marcourt, Antoine, 225
Marescotti, Ercole, 384
Margalho, Dr. Pedro, 694
Margaret of Austria (Madama) 435 446 449 469 494 655 671
Margarita, Suor, 377
Marguerite d'Angoulême 118 122-3 132 169 182 184-5 192-4 202 225 234 397; *Miroir* 193-4 228
Maria, Infanta Dona, sister of John III, 609 667
—princess, daughter of John III, 586 602
—Anna of Austria, queen of Spain, 592
Marie, Jean, 269
Marillac, Gabriel de, 201
Marín, S.J., Francisco, 489

- Marot, Clément, 170 182 193 234 396
 Marseilles 200 266 268
 Marsupino, Francesco, 551
 Martial, Dr., see Mazurier
 Martialis, St., 30 36
 Martin, St., 230 539
 Martínez de Anguiano, Juan, 325
 —de Lesaca, Juan, 157 28 53 65 271
 —Miguel, 27-8 56 68
 —del Mercado, Juan, 4
 Martinis, Marcello de, 526 535
 Martins, S.J., Ruy, 190
 Marulus, Marcus, 556
 Mascarenhas, Elena, 537 599-600
 —Fernão Martins, 536
 —Jeronimo, 592
 —D. João, nephew of D. Pedro, 536 706
 —João Rodrigues, see Rodrigues
 —Leonor, 500
 —D. Manuel, brother of D. Pedro, 726
 —D. Nuno, 599
 —Pedro, father-in-law of D. Pedro, 537 666
 —D. Pedro, viceroy: *life* 536-40. Ambassador at the *imperial court*: banquet in Brussels 538-9 (1531), journey through Germany 539-40 (1531), in Bologna 538 540 (1533); ambassador in *Rome*: instructions 690 (1538), business 539-53 469, for the Jesuits 542-3 547-56, at the lectures of Bobadilla 495, penitent of Ignatius 500 549 (1539-1540). Journey to Lisbon with Xavier 559-92: Loreto 561, Bologna 561-5 (letter to Ignatius 563-4), Modena 565-6 (letter to king), Parma 566-7, receives letters from Ignatius on way 620. In *Lisbon* 599 603-4, *Palma* 657-60 672.—*Character* 537, little Latin 544, despite his teacher Rezende 538; zeal in service of his king 546-7 566, poor health 540 545-7 566, piety 538-9 561 563-4 592 659, relics 539-40 659; possessions in *Palma* 658, *Alcácer do Sal* 659, *Setúbal* 660, *Lisbon* 599; his *Memorial* 540. Opinion on the Italians 540-1, Paul III 540 542, Xavier 563; respect for Ignatius 563-4 620 719-20; friend of the Society 562, Carpi 719, *Santiquattro* 547; Xavier on him 592 719
 Massaua 681 685-6 691
 Matthew, Abyssinian ambassador, 594 680-1
 Matthias, k. of Hungary, 540
 Mauleón, Carlos de, 64
 —Victor de, 61
 Mauritius, St., 539
 Maximilian, emperor, 160
 Maya 20 41 58 60-3 66 578 677
 Mazagão 709-12
 Mazurier, Dr. Martial, 122 109 194 236-8
 Meaux 122-3 158 170 267 272 279 281
 Mecca 686
 Medeiros, S.J., Gonçalo de, 663 172 620 667 716-7
 Medericus (Merry), St., 229
 Medici, Alessandro de', 387 435
 —Catherine de', 200
 —Cosimo I de', 371 387
 —Lorenzino de,, 387
 Medina, Juan de, 207
 —del Campo, 586
 Meigret, O.P., Aimé, 132
 Melanchthon, Philipp, 119-21 162 192 198 225 263 349
 Melinde 705
 Mello, Francisco de, bishop of India, 440
 —e Castro, João de, 630 634-7 641 636 649-52
 Mendes, Jorge, 633 638-40 644 647-52
 —Manuel 712
 —de Vasconcellos, Francisco, 705
 —Joane, 704
 Mendoza, Juan de, 64 68
 Meneses, D. Pedro de, marquês de Villa Real, 603 618 663 701
 —Coutinho de Vasconcellos, D. Fernando de, 612
 Mercier, Jean, 170
 Mercurian, S.J., Eberhard, 101
 Merlin, Jacques, 109 123
 Merovingians 89
 Messina, College of, 75
 Metz 282
 Mexico 20 440
 Miani, Girolamo, see Hieronymus Aemiliani
 Michelangelo Buonarroti 329 (*Pietà*) 329 (*Last Judgment*) 376 (angel in *Bologna*)
 Milagro 71
 Milon, Barthélemy, 227
 Mina (Gold Coast) 594
 Miona, S.J., Manuel, 239-40 168 242 270 301 534
 Miramamolín (emir) 39
 Miranda, conde de, see Zúñiga
 —Duarte de, 704
 Mirandola, countess of, see Gonzaga
 Mirón, S.J., Diego, 249 716
 Misericordia 597-99 634 641 635
 Misquitta, Diogo de, 700
 Moçambique 704 713
 Mocho, O.P., João, 624
 Modena 397 565-6
 Moedano, Juan, 324
 Molcho, Salomo, see Pires, Diogo
 Moluccas 87 252 593-4; voyages 704-5; conflict 697-8
 Monclaro, S.J., Francisco de, 573
 Mongelos, Dr., see Hirigaray
 —Maria de, 303
 Monreal 3 5 7 20 43 52 57
 Monroy, D. Gutierre de, 709-11
 Monselice 347-56
 —O.P., Sebastiano de, 351
 Montargis 199
 Mont Cenis 570-1 573
 Monte, Gian Maria Ciocchi, cardinal del (Julius III), 544-5
 Monte Cassino 415-7 508
 Montefiascone 405 545
 Monteiro, Ursula, 174

- Montenegro, Diogo de, 633 635-50 652-3
 Montepulciano 513-20 533
 Montholon, François de, 201 266
 Montmorency, Anne de, 199 232 265
 Montoya, O.E.S.A., Luis de, 611-12 598
 Montpellier 451
 Montserrat 484 522 588
 Moors: name 687. In *Spain*: wars 583, Navas de Tolosa 20 29 39, Clavijo 23, fall of Granada 8 (1492); *Navarre*: wars 13 19 30 38-9, martyrs, legends 38, coats of arms recalled Moorish battles 13 23 39, Crusader 38-9, last Moors in Belver 26, ivory box 30, "free from Moorish blood" 20. In *Portugal*: wars 590 670, reminders of 598 666, legends 668. In *North Africa*: 536 708-12 Jews among them 623-4 639. In *Abyssinia* 681-5 689-90 694. In *India* 618 718; see also: Morocco, Tunis, Fes, Gué
 Moraes, Sebastião de, 589
 Morin, Jean, assistant chief of police, 198 226 266
 Moro, Antonio, 601-2
 Morocco 682 712; sherif Ahmed al-A'radj 638 709-12 722
 Morone, Giovanni, cardinal, 381
 Moscoso, Alvaro de, 165 194 236 238 251
 Motta, Fabião da, 706
 Mötteli, Martin, 290
 Muccia 322 326
 Mudarra, Francisco de, 421 427-9 437
 Münster, Sebastian, 285
 Münzer, Hieronymus, 72 79
 Mürglin, Anna, 294
 Murillo 42
 Murellius, Johannes, 114
 Musso, O.F.M.Conv., Cornelio, 335-6
 Mustafa Pasha 357
 Mutiloa, family, 72 234
 —Carlos de, 234 246
 —Francisco de, 677 234 675
 —Juan de, 25 234 677
 —Pedro de, 50 677
 Myconius, Oswald, 285-6 199 201-2 227
 Mys, Berthyn, 151
- Nadal, S.J., Jerónimo, 241 95 97 169 210-11 237 240-2 (reply to Ignatius) 248 279 336 347 361 461 493 500 509
 Nájera 59
 —duke of (Antonio Manrique de Lara), 49 51 58 50-61 140
 Napoli di Romania 700
 Nassau, Henry, count of, 265-8
 Nasso, Simone de, 346 357
 Natale, S.J., Antonio, 556
 Navagero, Andrea, 32 79
 Navarra, family, 7
 —D. Francisco de, 7 21 24 66 155 673 676
 —D. Pedro de, count of Mortagne, 90
 —D. Pedro I de (died 1471), 6
 —D. Pedro II de (died 1522), 7 40 47 58 63 66-7
- D. Pedro III de, his son, 7 63 66-8
 Navarre: kings 38-9, Romans 3 13, Moorish wars 13 38-9, wars with Aragon 29, civil war 5-7 19 26; conquered by Alba 42 (1512), invasion of the marshal 47-8 (1516), last fight for freedom 58-67 (1521-1524).—*Inhabitants*: language limits 31-2, Agotes 20, Moors 25, Jews 4. Cortes 9 26; rafts 9. In *Paris* 86 90-1 93-5, students 156 188 239. Xavier's relatives in Navarre 7 22-7 69 72 730-3
 Navarrus, Dr., see Azpilcueta, Dr. Martín Junior de
 Navas, Juan de, 45
 Navas de Tolosa 20 29 39
 Naveros, Jorge de, 207
 Nazareth, Nossa Senhora de, 724-5
 —Vicente de, Malabar, 598
 Naples 523-6
 Nérac 118 122 193
 Neto, Braz, 627
 Neuchâtel 122 225
 Newfoundland (Terranova) 698
 Nevers, lord of, 266
 Nigri, Agostino de, 351
 Nigusanti, Vincenzo, 342-3
 Nicodemus, St., 584
 Nicholas, cardinal legate, 92
 —of Lyra, O.F.M., 250 258; large glosses 88 152
 —of Myra, St., 283
 —of Tolentino, O.E.S.A., St., 326
 Nice 206 419 430
 Nile 116 684; sources of, 690
 Noáin 6 60 64
 Nogarola, Isotta di, 529
 Nominalists 109 113 119-20 411
 Noronha, D. Francisco de, 665
 —D. Garcia de, 696 700-1
 North America 117; northwest passage 698
 Notin, Jean, 152
 Notre-Dame-de-Cléry 78 234 246
 Nubia, Christians and churches 689; war 682
 Nunes, Isabel, 642 650-1
 —(Firme-fé) Henrique, 625
 Nunilo, St., 29-30 36-8
 Nuremberg 539
- Obanos 154 245 271 578
 Ochandiano, S.J., Iñigo de, 449
 Ochino, O.Cap., Bernardino, 380 393-4 397 496 512-3 656
 Ochoa de Liédena, Juan, 65
 Ockham (Occam), O.F.M., William of, 120 109 152
 Odivella 632 643 646 651
 Odo of Cluny, O.S.B., St., 125
 Oecolampadius, Johann, 286 122 125 285-7
 Olanda, see Hollanda
 Olast 39
 Olave, S.J., Martín de, 239 202
 Olaz, Nuestra Señora de, 484

- Menor 25 50
 Olcoz, Francisco, 24
 Olite 6 21 42 70
 Olloqui 25 43 64; family 73
 —Francés de, 43 59-61 68 73
 —Juan de, 43 48 50 59-61 66 73
 —Remón de, 43
 Olmedo, Juan de, 620-2
 Oloron 451
 Ophir 116
 Opportuna, O.S.B., St., 229
 Orbaiceta, Johanot de, 70
 Orbara, Lic., Juan de, 48 61 272
 Ordoiz 13
 Oreguer, family, 7
 —Espaniol de, 8
 Origen 258
 Origny, Nicola d', 146
 Orléans 78 226
 Ormuz 252 682 703; *vesir* 595
 Orsini, Alessandro, 357
 Ortiz, Blas, 139
 —O.F.M., Francisco, 139 416-7
 —Dr. Pedro, 139-40 324, trial of Hernández 414-5, Exercises 114-7, friend of the Society 334-6 347 411 425 428 442 516 521-2, of D. Pedro Mascarenhas 560; his chaplain 500, his house 427
 —Pedro (Sangüesa), 11 26 56
 —de Vilhegas, Diogo, bishop of S. Thomé, 190 619 694
 Orvieto 545
 Ory, O.P., Matthaëus, 249-50 194 208 235 244 248-51 256 436
 Osorio, Jerónimo, 241; letter to Gouvea 440
 —S.J., Juan, 175
 Oteiza de Aragón, D. Aznar, 63 730 732
 Otricoli 323 424
 Ottofredi, Ottofredo de', 383
 Oxford 79 109 659
 Ozta, O.Cist., Benito de, 12 175
- Pacheco 27, 609
 Padilla O.P., Jerónimo, 595 616 646
 Padua 299-301 353; Jesuits 389 418-9 (Xavier 373), Goes 349-50, Arias 363-4
 Paiva, Cosme de, 705
 Palha, Francisco, 706
 Palladius, Blossius, 553
 Pallavicini, Fra, 655
 Palma, description 657-60, Rodrigues 549 600, Xavier 630-3 (legends 587-8)
 Palmio, S.J., Benedetto, 508 567
 —S.J., Francesco, 374 377-80 382-9
 Pamplona 3 5 8 21 28 39-43 48 58-9 71-2 77 156 270-272. Cathedral 71-2 39 272: Santa Marfa de Real 72, cloister 49 72; cathedral chapter 154-5; Xavier asks for 155-8, receives, and declines a position as canon 270-1 578; legends about Xavier's letter 272 and preaching in the cathedral 578. Parish churches 72, Dominican 8 25 43 72; citadel 43 49 60 62 140; houses of Xavier's father 9 49 51 64 68 154, uncle 24 64 71, and Cruzat 666
 Paradis (Paolo Canossa) 160 169
 Paradisi, S.J., Angelo dei, 507 509 517 556 566 656
 Paravas 440 598 703
 Paris: *description*: Latin Quarter 78-9 85-91, Cité 91, Ville 93-94. *Churches and monasteries*: Bernardines (Cistercians) 86, Billettes, Blancs Manteaux, Celestines 94, Dominicans (Jacobins) 78 87 247-50, Franciscans (Cordeliers) 88 250-1, Frères de la Ste-Croix 94, Grands-Augustins 89 133, Carthusians 78 89-190 208, Mathurins (Trinitarians) 91 100 146-7 193 208 243 269, Montmartre (convent 89 212-3, martyrs' chapel 213-4 247 263), Notre-Dame 87 91-2 121 123 146 200 202 215 227 230 233 235 251 (bells 268, relics 229), Notre-Dame-des-Champs 78 90 215 237, Petit-St-Antoine 94 134, St-Benoît 91 101 264, St-Eloy 230, St-Étienne-des-Grés 87 242, St-Étienne-du-Mont 85, St-Eustache 200 251, St-Germain-des-Prés 89 121 213 229, St-Germain-l'Auxerrois 94 202 229, St-Gervais 92, St-Hilaire 87, St-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas 78, St-Jacques-la-Bouche-rie 78 94 229, St-Jean 92 227, St-Jean-de-Latran 87 149 St-Julien-le-Pauvre 87 149, St-Magloire 94 230, St-Marceau 86, St-Martin-des-Champs 94 100 143 226 230, St-Paul 123, St-Symphorien 79 84 87, St-Victor 86 140 183 230, St-Yves 91 114, Ste-Catherine-du-Val-des Écoliers 94 228 250, Ste-Chapelle 92 226 269 (relics 231-2), Ste-Genève 85-6 99 105 123 145-7, 230, Temple 94 228.—*Secular buildings*: Bastille 94 265, episcopal palace 92 257 267 (chapel 203, prison 202 228 263), Châtelet 101-2 227 234 (Petit 92, Grand 94), Hôtel de Cluny 88, Conciergerie 92 227, Grand-Décret 87, Les Halles 212 227 234, Louvre 89 94 184 201-2 226 229 231, Tour Nesle 89 265, Palais 92, Parlement 92 99 101 121 123 131 135 150 198-9 201, town hall 92 191 267 268, Sts-Innocents 94 227 229 236, Pig Market 124 227, hospital of St-Jacques 94 140 138, city hospital 92 269, Tour Bichat 149, Tournelles 94 265, Tuileries 191.—*Squares*: Grenelle (cemetery for victims of the plague) 191, Grève 92, Maubert 87 96 123 169 227. *City wall* 78 265-6.—*Faubourgs*: St-Jacques 78 89 91 203 242, St-Honoré 266, St-Marcel 86 237, St-Germain 89.—*Varia*: population, size 84, Ile de Notre-Dame (St-Louis) 92 98 266, Pré-aux-Clercs 89 98, springs of St. Dionysius 215 247, gypsum caves (Montmartre) 237.—*Surroundings*: 94-5, St-Denis 89 94 99, Chaillot 198.—*Principal events*: return of the king from imprisonment 118 (1527), expiatory procession 134, marriage of Ercole with Renata 119 (1528), festivities after the freeing of Vienna 143 (1529), founding of the trilingual school

- 160-2 171 (1530), entrance of Leonor 182, poor vintage 159 (1531), inflation 158 (1531-1532), banishment of Beda and Le Picart 185, their return 199 (1535), return of the king, marriage of the prince 201, placards 225-7 (1534), great expiatory procession 228-34, persecution of the Lutherans 234, procession to stop rains 245 (1535), preparations for war 265-9; see also Lutherans, Francis I, Society of Jesus, Ignatius, Francis Xavier.
- Paris, *University of*: *in general* 79-81, the most famous in Christendom 74 91-2, a student republic 79, number of students 79 100, their age 80, classes 81, expenses 158 (burses 81 115 150, pension 81, tuition 81 99, dress 79 95-6 100-1 147 148-50 209 (cockade 100-1 147 148 153), faculties 79 (seven *compagnies* 370), libraries 15 152 198, enrollment 80 136-7, calendar, feasts 98-99 (Lendit 99), ordinary days 98 141 209, school plays 98-9 126-7 151 192, *Minervalia* 99, sermons 8, moral hazards 14-7, transgressions 15-7 208-9 student fights 104-6, punishments ("salle") 105 139 142-3, imprisonment 92; games 98 105-6 (Pré-aux-Clercs 89 98, island of the Seine 98), walks 98; privileges 79 105 167 197, benefices 81 149; dignitaries, officials 100-1. Rector four times a year 80, rector's book (*Acta Rectoria, Liber Jurandorum, Register*) 80 199, seal 199 (great 80 147, small 80 269), rector's procession 100-1, speech, 194-6, dress 101. General assemblies 80 90-2 193 197 209 228, processions 134 199-200 227 230-1. Reform statutes of Estouteville 80 96 103 (1452).—*Arts Faculty*: 80-1 87 101. Four nations 79-80: French 79-80 97 (calendar) 149, German 107. Members (masters of arts) 147 158, assemblies 80 87 149, election of rector 80 87 149 192, banquet 149, disputations 98 114 136 208, religious exercises 96-8 208-9, education 104-5, reform desired 168 (1530), carried out 208-9 (1534) 79 (1539). *Latin studies*: 80 103-4, entrance examination 103 108 (not in Greek 80 103), Latin speaking prescribed 97 209, school Latin 255, Latin professors 103-5 164-7. *Philosophy*: program 80-81 148: 1st year: summulists 113, 2nd: logicians 113-7 258-9, 3rd: physicists 144, 144, mathematics 115-6 144. *Professors* 108-10 148 163 166, *jurati* 80 136, baccalaureate 80-81 137, licentiate 81 145-6, master's degree 80 146-7, *incipientes* 80 147, expenses for master's degree 146 158. *Regents* 81 96 104 148-9 (income 149). Influence of humanists 125-36 158-71 200-1 209 235 254-5, Lutherans 121-5 169-171 182-5 190-202 208-9 225-8 233-4 246; see also: Nominalists, sophists.—*Three higher faculties* (members all doctors 80): *Theological Faculty*: 80-1 86 88 91 101 198. Members: doctors (*magistri nostri*) 80 101 210 441, assemblies 80 91 130, professors 247-51, lectures 80 247-8: Dominicans 89 237 247-50, Franciscans 89 250, Sorbonne, Collège de Navarre 251. Course of studies 81 248. Degrees: baccalaureate, licentiate 248, doctorate ceremonies 248 257 364. Disputations 256-7, lectures on Scripture 168 251, study of Scripture and the Fathers 124 163 169 209 254-9 261; positive 254-5 and scholastic theology 120-21 126 170 248 255 (*Book of Sentences* 248, *Summa* of St. Thomas 248-9), combination of both 244 248 254-6. Testimonial on a year and one-half of studies 269. Reforms 168 251. University sermons 98 101, others 210-11 251 (accusations of Erasmus 210-11, Nadal 210). Syndic, see Beda. Faculty bulwark of faith 209.—*Medical Faculty* 80-81 170-71. *Canon Law Faculty* 80-81 87 101 198.—*Opinions*: Ignatius 170-71 (introduced everywhere the *modus parisiensis* 95 249); humanists and Reformers: Buchanan 165, Erasmus 210, André Gouvea 162, Luther 119 255, Melancthon 119 120, Rabelais 183, Vives 114.—*Main events*: Reform of Estouteville 80 (1452), condemnation of Luther 119-21 261 (1521), controversy over Erasmus 125-36 (1521-1529), proscription of French Bible, condemnation of the writings of Berquin 123 (1522), writings against the Lutherans 124-5 (1523-1527), condemnation of the circle of Meaux 121-3 (1525), execution of the beadle of the German nation 107, condemnation of the *Colloquia* 131 261 (1526), of a hundred sentences from Erasmus' writings 137 135 261 (1527), proscription of the *Colloquia* 133-6 (1528), Berquin's execution 134 (1529), royal professors independent of university 160-2 167-8, lectures on Scripture obligatory for licentiate 168 (1530), study of Aristotle intensified, translation of Scripture forbidden 168, condemnation of Lutheran writings 171 (1531), of the *Miroir* 193-4, Cop's sermon as rector and flight 193-9 (1533), suit against the royal professors 200-2, university thanks the king 225 (1534), expiatory procession, king warns university 225-34 (1535), reform commission encourages study of Scripture 251, negotiations for obtaining Melancthon 263 (1536), Jesuit students in Paris 497 656 664 (1540)
- Paris, *colleges of the university*: about fifty in number 79, eighteen with full rights 80, others 80 151; college life 94-107, daily order 96-98 141: Beauvais (Dormans-Beauvais) 148-53 87 90 95-6 105 110 113 158 162 182 199 201, Boncourt 84 86, Bons-Enfants 84 86 95 104, Bourgogne 88-9 95 104, Calvi 88 208 256 262, Cambrai 82

- 123 161 194 200, Cardinal Lemoine 86 113
121-2 124 163-4 170 266, Chanac (St-Michel)
78 95 104 122, Chollets 82-3 91 122 119,
Coqueret 82 87 109-10 113, Fortet 84 194,
Jesuits 87 93, Laon 226, Liseux 78 87 104
110 160-1 205 238-9 263, Lombard 160, Mans
81 84 95 105 239, La Marche 86 104 166-7
208, Marmoutiers 91 95 97 110, Montaigu
82-85 95-6 102-4 108-10 121 125 127-31 135
139-41 153 160 165 167 182 185 202, Mont-
St-Michel 78, Navarre 86 88 95 104 124
132 149 160 162 184 192 197 200 247 251 257,
Plessis 91 110 128 149, Reims 82 84 87 104
120, Sainte-Barbe 79 81-5 (description) 95
(rules) 102 (number of residents) 103-4
108 119 127 131 145 148-9 156 161-7 (human-
ism) 169-70 191-2 198-9 205 208 234 239 241
247 260, Sorbonne 89 91 120-2 124 126 130-3
138 165 169 182 185 193 208-10 247-8 251
256-7 (disputations) 261 491 (games), Tour-
nai 86 234 263, Tours 95, Trésoriers 656.
Paris, *printers and binders*: twenty-four
university booksellers 101, Aufray 152,
Ant. Augereau 193 228 251-2, Josse Bade
132, Claude Chevallon 169 250, Simon de
Colines 87 125 134 161 236, Louis Cyaneus
161 167, Robert Estienne 87, Ulrich Gering
88, Jean Petit 251, François Regnault 91
114
Parisani, Ascanio, 438
Parma 473, *anziani* 473 671; Faber, Laynez
525-35, Xavier 566-7
Parmentier, Jean and Raoul, 698
Pascual, Inés, 522
—Matheo, 423
Paul III, pope (1534-1549): *life*: bishop of
Parma 473 (1509), Velletri-Ostia 342 (1524-
1534), Easter celebration in Rome 331-3
(1537), to Nice and return 419 430-1, mar-
riage of Ottavio 435 (1538), trip to Loreto
468-70 (1539), business with Mascarenhas
540-553 (1539-1540).—*Description*: exterior
336 542, character 540, daughter Constanza,
grandson Ottavio 671, nepotism 498-9 629-
30, love of display 430-1 435 (Ottavio's
wedding) 446 (carnival 1538). *Promoter
of science and art*: disputations and poets
334, University of Rome 411, Erasmus 288,
Michelangelo's Last Judgment 329, beau-
tification of Corso 502, festive buildings
339; alms 383 335-6 338-40 431 441 446.—
Reform of the college of cardinals
through appointment of: Alessandro Far-
nese 498 (1534), Ghinucci 469, Simonetta
432, Schomberg 335, Du Bellay 264 (1535),
Carafa 310, Sadoleto 333, Pole 499, del
Monte 544, Filonardi 333, Jacovazzi 333,
Carpi 331 (1536), Guidiccioni 421, Cervini
471 (1539), Badia 466, Cortese 334, Morone
381; *Reform of the Church*: commission
for reform 466 (1537), council 334 432-3
548; excommunication of Henry VIII,
legation of A. Farnese 548 (1539). *Society
of Jesus*: audiences 334-8 348 (1537), com-
missioned lectures 411, ordered decision
in suit 430-1, had two 411 432, then four,
dispute at his table 434, "Italy a good
Jerusalem" 439-40, commissioned teaching
of Christian doctrine 447 (1538), retained
companions in Rome 453, confirmed them
orally 467-8, granted them reluctantly to
others 453 461-2 (1539), Rodrigues to John
III and Xavier for India 548-9 554 672;
bull of ratification 671 (1540), love for
the Society of Jesus 464.—*Negotiations
over the Portuguese Inquisition* 628-30
540-7 551-3 652 (1535-1542), bull of founding
628 (1536).—*Turkish war* 338-9 342 344-7
357-8 (league) 388 394 419 437-9 547 553
(1537-1540), negotiations with Mascarenhas
over the Turkish tithes and help for
India 540-6 551-2 (1539-1540).—*Varia*: brief
for Mascarenhas 660, voyages to India
546-7 725, briefs for Xavier and Rodrigues
713-6; pope and Preste 693-4; Codacio 506,
Veralli 342
Paul IV, see Carafa, Gian Pietro
Paulo, S.J., Misser, 551 599 606 655 707 716
720
Pauvant, Jacques, 123
Pavia 99 117 535
Paviot, Matthaëus, 190 241
Paxentius, St., 230
Paz, Duarte de (David Bueno), 627-8
Pedro, Dom, ambassador of Congo, 598
Pedro Sánchez, k. of Navarre, 39
Pegu, voyage to, 704-6
Peña 28 37 54
—Juan de la, Xavier's teacher, 106-10 114
136 141 147 188 235 258 269 309
—S.J., Juan Antonio de la, 158
Peñaflorida, count of, 21 730-3
Peralta 58; family, 7
—D. Antonio de, 49
—Pedro de, 138-9 141 237-8 244
—Pierres de, 7 303
—Diogo, 597
Pereira, Francisco, 705
—D. Manuel, count of Feira, 659
—Ruy, 665
—d'Abreu, Lançarote, 705
—de Miranda, Francisco, 705
Peres d'Andrade, Fernão, 711
Pérez de Priente, Martín, 27 54-5
—de Veraiz, Francisco, 73
Perissin, Claude, 112
Pernambuco 702
Péronne 268
Perotti, Nicolas, 103
Perpignan, S.J., Pierre Jean, 608
Persia, 252 594; see also Sophi
Perugia 545-6
Pesaro, Girolamo, 345-7
Petavius, S.J., Denis, 145-6 183 239
Peter Canisius, S.J., St., 261 371

- Peter Lombard 109 112 248 255 260; tomb of, 86
 Peter Martyr, O.P., St., 36
 Peter the Venerable, O.S.B., St., 212
 Petillas 42
 Petit, O.P., Guillaume, confessor of Francis I, 159 193-4 202
 Petrarch 70
 Petrus Hispanus 109 113
 Pezzana, S.J., Giov. Battista, 528 567
 Philip II, Augustus, k. of France, 266
 —III, the Bold, k. of France, 88
 —IV, the Fair, k. of France, 86 92
 —V, the Tall (in Navarre Philip II), k. of France and Navarre, 88 90 95
 —VI, k. of France, 88
 —III, the Noble, k. of Navarre, 88 95
 —I, of Austria, k. of Spain, 602
 —II, k. of Spain, 500 668
 —landgrave of Hess, 201
 —Magister (chancellor), 179
 —Neri, St., 501 509
 —St., apostle, 230
 Piccolomini, Giovanni, cardinal (Senensis) 332
 Pighius, Albertus, 261
 Pimentel, Ana, 702
 Pina Coelho, Antonio de, 617
 Pinheiro, Antonio, 76 108 190 241
 —O.P., João, 238
 —Dr. Rodrigo, 614
 Piratininga (São Paulo) 702
 Pirckheimer, Willibald, 287
 Pires, Diogo (Salomo Molcho), 626-7 642
 Plata, Rio de la, 116
 Poille, Henri, 228
 Polanco, family, 584
 —S.J., Juan Alonso de: *life*: in Paris 239 (1538), Bologna 380 (1546), secretary 510 (1547), journey to France 570 576 (1561); *author* 190 211-2 245 347 369-72 386 410 416-7 420-2 425-7 449 454 461 470 556
 Pole, Reginald, cardinal, 449 334
 Polo, Marco, 252
 Polycarp, St., 255
 Poncher, Étienne, 159 212
 Poor Clares: in Albi 71, Bologna 381, Gandía 11 21 172-5, Longchamp 94
 Portugal, D. Francisco de, count of Vimoso, 618 700
 —D. Martinho de, bishop of Funchal, 576 625 665
 Postel, Guillaume, 163-4 252
 Pozuelo 21
 Prato, Federico del, 473
 Preste Joam: bibliography 679-80, name 679-80, Marco Polo 679, "king of the Indies" 134, discovery 594 699, embassies 116 594-5 680-1 690-5, Alvarez' account 480-92. Court ceremonial 685-6, "Franks" at court 689, manner of rule 689, constantly on the move 685 689-90, ecclesiastically under Alexandria 687 690; see also David Pseudo-Dionysius 255
 Pucci, Antonio, cardinal (Santiquattro) 332 337 539-40 552 663 694 712 719
 Quadros, S.J., Antonio de, 670
 Quercus (Du Chesne), Guillaume, 124 127 129 133
 Quiñones, breviary of, 451 664 671
 Quiroga, Gaspar de, cardinal, 476-7
 Rabardeus, S.J., Michel, 262
 Rabelais, François, 85 105 131 183 194 251 264
 Rada 23
 Rahner, S.J., Hugo, 410 353 358 372
 Rainieri, Jacopo, 358 380 382 387 389-90 565
 Ra'is Sharaf 595
 Ramazzotto, Armaciotto, 398
 Ramírez, see Remírez
 Ramiro Sánchez, k. of Navarre, 583
 Ramus, Pierre, 158
 Ravenna 317-9 325
 Raymond of Toulouse, count, 20
 Rebello, João, 706
 Red Sea, 74
 Redondo, count of, see Coutinho, João
 Regensburg 537 539
 Reis, S.J., Bernardino dos (Excalceato, Descalço), 716 727
 Remírez, Juan, 46
 —Sancho, 46 60-1 271
 Remón, Don, 29 56
 —Gracieta, 27
 —Petri, 56
 Renata, daughter of Louis XII, 119 394-7
 Repelim (Eddapalli) 703
 Reposoir 112
 Responsa, St., 659
 Rëubeni, David, 626-7
 Rezende, O.P., André de, 538 609 615 660-2
 Rhabanus Maurus, O.S.B., Bl., 261
 Rhodes, S.J., Alexandre de, 591
 Ribadeneyra, S.J., Pedro de, 143 204-6 237-8 312 339 352-3 363 372 386-7 416-7 421-2 448 467 530 553-4 578; manuscript of his Spanish life of Ignatius 416; transcribes the Five Chapters and Exercises 466-7
 Ribeiro, João, 108 110 113-4 116
 Ribera (southern Navarre) 13 22 42
 —S.J., Francisco de, 435
 —S.J., Juan Baptista de, 237
 Richard of St. Victor 86
 Ridolfi, Niccolò, 436
 Rinaldi, S.J., Filippo, 218
 Robert de Courçon 180
 Robertval, lord of, 234
 Rocaforte 38
 Roch, St., 171
 Rodi, Filippo, 433
 Rodrigues, Antonio, 704
 —S.J., Francisco, 277 372 410 426 440 592 599 713 725 727
 —Lic. Francisco, 704
 —S.J., Jerónimo, 716

- Sebastião (brother of Simon Rodrigues, S.J.), 190 241 281 664
- S.J., Simon: *life* 189-90. In *Paris*: philosophy 256, theology 256 269, conversion 187 189-90, Exercises 208, Montmartre 211 215 ("founding of the Society of Jesus" 215), master of arts 269. Journey to Venice 277 281 285-6 (St-Nicolas-du-Port). In *Italy*: *Venice* 300-1 305-6 309, trip to Rome 319-23 326 (Po Delta 314-5, Ravenna 317 325, Ancona 319-20, Loreto 320-1, Tolentino, Muccia? 326, Rome 323-5 337 340). *Venice*: ordination 343, *Bassano* 348 354 360-2, *Vicenza* 367-8, *Bassano* 372, *Ferrara* 366 393-7 (first Mass 372), *Padua* 388 417-8 (Goes 349 388). In *Rome*: arrival 418, faculties 420, preaching 426, sickness 434-5, opinion 436, letter of Gouvea 440. In *Siena* 189 402-4 459 494 510-3 518 519. Back to Rome: 513, acquaintance 500 508-9, mission to India 549-50, document with respect to Constitutions, vote 550-1. *Journey to Lisbon* 551 600 (legends 598-9 604). In *Lisbon*: arrival 591-2, dwelling 599-600 603-4, work 600-1, healed at Xavier's coming 599-601, audience 601-3; apostolate at court 603-13, outside 613-17, in the prison of the Inquisition 630 644 649 650. Exercises to: Ugucioni 614, duke of Aveiro 616, others 616. Praises piety of the Portuguese 601 617, hopes for India 616-8 672; must remain 672. In *Almeirim* 667 669, four India briefs 696 713-6, back to *Lisbon* 716, Xavier's departure 707 727-9. Later: Witness at a trial of the Inquisition 285 349 (1545), Rodrigues and Dr. Navarro 675 (1550), trip to Rome 402 and back 577 (1551), Ignatius' letter 549 (1553), passes through Montilla 435 (1572), to Portugal 589 (1573).
- Description*: exterior 190, character 190, signature 458, poor health 190 (sick in Paris 208, Meaux 223, Venice 309, Bassano 354 361-2, Vicenza 367-8, Rome 433, Siena 519 548, Lisbon 599-600); knew French 278. Love of the cross 619, poverty 600 604-5 656, chastity 190, obedience 549, longing for India 549. Opinions on Favre 253, Xavier 729. His account 77, Bible 277 591-2, letters 503 618 655-7 664 669 672. Legends 362 587-9 604-5
- Coutinho, Manuel, 705
- d'Araujo, Payo, 705
- de Gamboa, Lic. Antonio, 705
- de Villarinho, Payo, 269
- Mascarenhas, João, 625
- de Figueroa, Juan, 186 436
- de la Fuente del Sancho, Pedro, 389
- Rogerus, Servatius, 135
- Rojas, S.J., Francisco de, 447-8 304 498 519 522 656
- Margarita de, 500 655
- Roland 20 79
- Rome: *churches and monasteries*: S. Celso 426, S. Giacomo degli Incurabili 501, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli 323-4, S. Giacomo delle Moratte 504, S. Giovanni in Laterano 330-1, S. Lorenzo in Damaso 425 496, S. Luigi de' Francesi 324 408 425 496 563 568, S. Marcello 434 503, S. Paolo fuori le Mura 330, S. Pietro 326-33 505, S. Salvatore in Lauro 425, S. Sebastiano 330, S. Croce in Gerusalemme 330-1, S. Croce in Monte Citorio 535, S. Agostino 419, S. Maria d'Aracoeli 431 433 497, S. Maria della Strada 485 505, S. Maria di Monserrato 425, S. Maria in Fonte Olei 451, S. Maria Maggiore 330 431 442, 484, S. Maria Rotonda (Pantheon) 335 430, S. Maria sopra Minerva 335 501 505, S. Angelo in Pescaria 425 496, S. Antonio dei Portoghesi 329, S. Lucia 425, S. Prassede 331, S. Prisca 331, SS. Apostoli 501-3 505, Santissimo Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum 504-5, Sto. Spirito in Sassia 494, S. Stefano del Trullo 502-3, Seven Churches 326-31, Spoglia Christo 504, Tre Fontane 501, Trinità dei Monti 407 408.—*Palaces*: Cancellaria 496, Colonna 503, Delfini 433, Frangipani 433-5 504, Jancolini 502 504, San Marco 429-30 433 468, Sapienza 324 411 426 501, Vatican 329-32.—*Other structures*: Castel Sant'Angelo 333-6 430 446, Capitolio 433 435 497, Colosseum 332, Merangolo tower 433-4 518 525, Roman College 95, Ponte Molle 430 323 406, S. Angelo 441, Sisto 426-7, Porta del Popolo 323 406 430 556, villa of Santa Balbina 491; *vigna* of Garzonio 407-9 423 452.—*Squares*: Piazza Colonna 502, della Pietra 502, Margana 433, Navona 324 420 435 503, S. Eustachio 501, S. Pietro 327 331-3; *streets*: Banchi 449, Corso 502, ghetto 496.—*Varia*: description 326-8, *rioni* 486-7, number of inhabitants 326. Jews 496 627. Erasmus on Roman pilgrims 128, Rabelais 183.—*Principal events*: sack of Vatican 118 (1526), sack of Rome 118 298 321-2 321-411 496 539 626 693 (1527), flood 326 627 (1530), Holy Week, Easter 330-3 (1537), return of the pope 430-1, marriage of the Madama 435 (1538), famine 445-6 (1538-1539), carnival 446 (1539)
- Roncal, valley of, 19 21 31-2 37 42 48 56 69 174-5
- Roncalese 30-2 42 48 57 64 68-9 154
- Roncesvalles 21 24 35 39 58 67 70 77 155; benefices 666-7
- Francisco de, 70
- Johanot de, 69
- Roser, Isabel, 437 500-1 521-2
- Rossignoli, S.J., Bernardino, 218
- Rouen 137 141 143 171
- Rouillard, Perette, 213
- Rousseau, Jean, 240
- Roussel (Ruffus), Gérard, 121-2 132 169-70 182 184-5 192 195 202 236 264 452

- Rovere, Marco della, bishop of Sinigaglia, 552 628
- Royal professors 160-1 167-71 200-2 207-8; and Xavier 171, Bobadilla 208, Ignatius 171 208 Calvin 162 194
- Roygnac, lord of, 234
- Rozas, Rodrigo de, 304
- Rudino, S.J., Pantaleone, 383 385
- Rum, Nine Saints of, 682
- Rusticus, St., 213
- Sa, Calisto de, 244 587
- Sá de Refoyos, Simão de, 725
- Sabaiza, Miguel Périz de, 4
- Sabalza, Alonso de, 64
- Sabinus, St., 351
- Saxony, elector of, 264
- Sacrobosco, Johannes a, 144
- Sada 13 20 23, coat of arms 13
—Adam de, 13
—Alfonsico de, 14
—Gil Martínez de, 14
—Juana Aznárez de, 14 28 57 157
—María de, 57
—Martín Aznárez I de, 13
—Martín Aznárez (alias Ruyz) II de, 14
—Rodrigo Aznárez de, 14 31
- Sadoletto, Giacomo, cardinal, 333-4 349 466
- Safim 639 647 709-10
- Sagüés 6
- Salamanca 24 139-40 155 186 586-7 702
- Salazar, licentiate, 47 50
—Francisco de, 500 515 535 721; uncle of Carvajal? 508
—valley of, 19
- Salinas 4
—Dr. Bernardino de, 238
—Martín de, 264
—Miguel de, 53
- Salmerón, S.J., Alonso: *life* 205-6, in Alcalá 242, friend of Laynez 204-6 254 496; in *Paris*: arrival 187, Xavier's ridicule 172, Exercises 205, witness of the "salle" 142, philosophy 206 (master of arts under Xavier 147 269), theology 254-6 269, for positive and scholastic theology 254-5, Greek 206 254 521, hospital document 269. In *Italy*: Venice 305 355 (minor orders 343), Monselice 348-56 (permission to preach 355), Vicenza 358, ordination 372, in Siena 369 401-2 429-30 453; *Rome*: faculties 420, lectures 496, preaching 425-6 496, two benefices? 506 533-4, deliberations 457 459, document of Constitutions 550; appointed for Ireland 548 551 553, journey there 261 721 (1541). *Later*: in Bologna 389, Trent 205 (1546), Venice 301 (1547), Naples 524, Trent 244 (1551). *Description* 189 205-6, character 206, signature 457, knowledge of the Fathers 255, talent for the Exercises 253, wrote *Variae Persecutiones* 142; S. and Erasmus 255, Dotti 355, Nadal 241, Arias 364; confused with Rodrigues 189, Alonso Sánchez 489
- Salonica 626
- Salvaterra dos Magos 590 608 613
- Sanabello, Francesco, 351
- Sánchez, S.J., Alonso, 489
- Sancho Abarca, k. of Navarre, 39
- Sancho Ramírez, k. of Navarre, 39
- Sangüesa: *description* 30, site 3, boundaries 68-9. *Buildings*: S. María 13 26 30 38 56, S. Salvador 30, monastery 36, royal palace 13 29-30 36 48; houses: of Añues 26 31, Ortiz 11 26 30, Sebastián 9, Paris 31 46, of Xavier 44; Latin school 31 46, bridge 30 43 48. Suits of the lord of Xavier with the city: over tax on herds 9 55 156 (1503), *El Real* 44-5 174 (1514-1515 1526-1527), Escampadero 54-7 64-5 68 154-5 157 174 (1519-1527), encroachment on the territory of the castle 64-5 (1521-1522); with Sarramiana over altar in S. Salvador 21 (1538-1542). —*Principal events*: moved from Rocaforte to the river 13 (1122), victory near San Adrián 37 (fourteenth century), birth of Prince D. Henrique 9 (1503), surrender 40-4 (1512) buys half of *El Real* 44-5 (1515), rebellion and fines 47-9 (1516), battle at Yesa bridge 60 (1521), fines 63 (1523), plague 67 (1524). *Varia*: Santiago pilgrims, rafts 9, Cortes 9, Corpus Christi procession 36, Na. Sra. del Socorro 29, inventory of Martín Brun 26; see also Añues
- Sanjoán, Domingo de, 27
- San Justo del Villar 155 676
- San Lucar 712
- San Miguel in Excelsis 35-36
- San Pedro de Yanguas 59
- Sanseverino, Antonio, cardinal, 332
- Sansovino, Andrea, 320
- Sant, Pedro de, 4
- Santa-Clara, Manuel de, 655-6 663 716-7 729
- Santa Constanza 9-10 64
- Santa Croce, cardinal, see Cervini, Marcello
- Santarém 590 666 670; Xavier 670
- Santiago de Compostela 9 77
- Santiquattro, cardinal, see Pucci
- Santos, Manuel dos, 241
- Sanuto, Marino, 298
- Sanz, Dr. Martín, 25
—Petri, 42
—de Lumbier, Martín, 72
- São Paulo (Brasil) 702
- São Thomé, island of, 116 594 623, diocese 552; city in India 68 105
- São Vicente 702
- Sarmiento, Pedro, cardinal, 449
- Sarramiana, Martín de, 21
- Sarzana, Antonio de, 408
- Saunier, Antoine, 123 121
—Matthieu, 123
- Savelli, Jacopo, 334
- Savoy 111 259 265 271-6

- Schomberg (Schönberg), O.P., Nicholas, cardinal, 335
- Scotland 109 120 124 164-5
- Scripture: *editions*: Vulgate defended 126-7 167 169 201; Erasmus: New Testament (Latin and Greek) 125-8 195, paraphrases 128-32 134-5 168 255; Greek-Hebrew 200-1 (Sebastian Münster); polyglot of Alcalá 135.—*Translations* 167-9 192 200-1, French of Lefèvre d'Étaples 123 127 200, book of pericopes of Meaux 122, Luther's Bible 294.—*Scriptural studies in Paris*: read at table in the colleges 96, discouraged 168 251, encouraged 168 251 (1530) 251 (1536), lectures 248 251, of the royal professors 200-1, mystical sense 201 242; in *Salamanca* 139-40 334, *Basel* 252 285-6, in *Society of Jesus* 249 369; Bobadilla 256-9 (lectures 365 381 396 495 500), Laynez, Fabre 411 525-7, Jay 261; Rodrigues' Bible 277, Nadal 242.—*Study of Scripture and the Fathers in Paris*: neglected 163 168 207, revived through editions of the Fathers of Lefèvre d'Étaples 2243, Clichtovaeus 124 170 255, Erasmus 168 244, others 255; studied by Laynez 254, Salmerón 254-6, Bobadilla 257-9
- Sebastian, St. 230
- k. of Portugal, 601 705
- Seixas, S.J., Lançarote de, 606
- Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, 167 178-9 258
- Sens, Council of, 133 244
- Sernigi, Girolamo, 615
- Serrão, Lope, 172 253 620
- Setúbal 588 635 658 660 711
- Seville 698 711-2
- Sforza, Francesco, duke of Milan, 264
- Guido Ascanio, 523-4
- Ships, types of, 711-2
- Siderander, Petrus, 85 158 166 184
- Siena 401-3 429-30 453 455 510-3 522
- Sigéa, Luzia, 609
- Sigolloto, Bartolomeo, 351
- Silva, O.F.M., Diogo da, 627-8
- D. Miguel da, bishop of Viseu, 629
- D. Pedro da, 705
- Silveira, Antonio da, 618 724
- D. Diogo da, count of Sortelha, 605 618
- S.J., D. Gonçalo da, 605 613
- João da, 143
- D. Simão da, 724
- Simancas 58
- Simonetta, Giacomo, cardinal, 432 469 498 541
- Sinai 91
- Sinigaglia, nuncio, see Rovere, Marco della Sintra 667
- Siracusa, S.J., Baldassare, 556
- Sirleto, Guglielmo, cardinal, 299
- Sissa 529 533 535
- Sixtus IV, pope, 623
- Soares de Albergaria, O.E.S.A., João, bishop of Coimbra, 609-10 605-6 613 616 630 670
- Society of Jesus: *antecedents*: In *Spain*: Ignatius at Manresa 211, the Cardoner River 461 486 (1522), guidance of the Holy Spirit 211, first disciples in Barcelona 186 244 (1524-1525), plan for the founding of a "Compañía" 211 370 (1535). In *Paris*: Ignatius wins six disciples: Favre 154-5, Xavier 185-8 209 216-24 (both through the Exercises), Rodrigues 189-90, Laynez 203-5, Salmerón 194-5, Bobadilla 206-8; deliberations, plan 260-1.—*Montmartre*: vows 212-15, (1534), according to Bobadilla and Rodrigues "the founding of the Society of Jesus" 215; vows: pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1537 or 1538 and, on return, apostolate according to the wishes of the pope 210-12. After Ignatius' departure, Favre the head of the group 247, wins Jay 259-61, Broët 261-2, Codure 263; means for preservation 243; founding of a Society not yet proposed.—In *Italy*: trip to Venice 277-96 (1536-1537), *Venice*: work in hospital 304-10, new companions: Hozes, Eguía 301-3, Arias, Landívar 309; *trip to Rome* 310-40: papal audience, permission granted for pilgrimage 334-7, departure of Arias and Landívar 339-40; *ordinations in Venice* 341-3. War of Turks prevents pilgrimage 344-7; labors in territory of Venice 347-8 354-5. Venice finally breaks with Turks, consequent meeting of companions in Vicenza 356-8, deliberations: labors in Italian cities until sailing of pilgrims in 1538; name "Society of Jesus" 370-1. Ignatius' vision at La Storta on way to Rome 410-1 (1537). In *Rome* (monthly superior 475): in the *vigna of Garzonio* 407-27 (1537-1538); Ignatius calls all to Rome 388, wins Strada 417, labors 420-1 424-6 446-7, persecution 419-37 (accusation: Ignatius was founding an order without papal permission 422). In the house near *Ponte Sisto* 427-33 (1538): testimonials from Ferrara, Bologna, Siena 429-301. In the *Palazzo Frangipani* 433-556 719 (1538-1541): judgment 436-7 (1538). Turkish war prevents sailing to Holy Land; companions therefore place selves at the disposal of pope 439-40 (November, 1538). Work in Rome 445-7; new companions 446-52.—*The founding of the order*: deliberations 453-61 (conclusion: a lasting society 454-6, with a vow of obedience 455-9, called "Society of Jesus" 461), the Five Chapters 462-5, oral confirmation by Paul III 466-8 (Sept. 1539), battle over the written confirmation 468-74 (Ghinucci 468-70, Guidiccioni 470-4, 3,000 Masses vowed 472) 555 562 656 671. New companions in Rome 506-9, Parma 510-35 567, Lisbon 655-6 662 664. Bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* 671-2 720 500 (Sept. 27, 1540).—*Constitution*: Name "Society of Jesus" 369-71 410-1 460-1, military 370, "So-

- ciety of the Name of Jesus" 443; Parisian masters 470, *preti pellegrini* 440 510, *preti riformati* 504, "apostles" 604-5, *clerigos de S. Pedro* 706, *Iniguistas* 242. Ignatius writes the Five Chapters 462-3, to write the Constitutions with the companions in Rome 550-1. *Reception, dismissal* 460 465, three experiments 459: service in hospital 509 533, pilgrimage 417 459 508 518 533, Exercises 459-500; vow of obedience upon entrance 458. *Members*: professed (four years of theology 447) limited to sixty 671 (until 1546), other helpers 549-50 (grades 462), coadjutors 550 (from 1546), scholastics 240 463-4, in Paris 497 510 656 (1540); women Jesuits 501. *Purpose*: labor among the Moors, Turks, pagans, and Lutherans 212 459 462-3, defense of Church, of positive and scholastic theology 244. *Means*: spiritual conversation 414 450, teaching Christian doctrine 459-60 462-4, preaching 210 459-63, Exercises 463, spiritual care of the sick 210 464, works of charity 463. *Faculties* 337-8 47-8 420-1, privileges 714-5. *Vows*: poverty 210-11 454-6 459-60 464, colleges with an income 460-1 464 (benefice of Salmerón 496, Codacio 505), chastity 210 454-5 462 (prudence in visiting women 492), obedience 457-9 463, fourth vow of obedience to the pope 211-2 459 462-4 469-70. *No prayers in choir*, etc., 460-2 464-5 469 479-80 671; objections of Ghinucci 469-70, Guidiccioni 473, Dr. Navarro 675. *Rule*: general for life 460, with authority 462-4 (Xavier's vote 554-5, Favre's 439, Codure's and Rodrigues' 550-1); Ignatius wishes to give to Xavier the direction of the order 439. *Consilium* (general congregation) 463 550-1 554-5; secretary to the general (Xavier) 510-35, correspondence 510.—*Opinions on*: 466-8 548 671-2, Dr. Navarro 676-7, John III 543-4 603, Diogo de Gouvea 543. João Soares 609-10, *Anonymus Lusitanus* 604
- Sodré, Simão, 696
Sofala 116 594 705
Solis, Francisco, bishop of Bagnorea, 516 519 540 548
Sophi, k. of Persia, 91 143 358
Sophists 109 113 120 163 165 195-6
Sorbonne, Robert, 88
Sorianus, S.J., Hieronymus, 449
Sortelha, count of, see Silveira, D. Diogo da
Sos 28 44
Sotés and Aoz, lord of, 154
Sousa, Antonio de, 705
—Christovão de, 700 720
—Francisco de, 706
—Lopo de, 702
—Martim Affonso de, 701-3 697 708 718
—S.J., Miguel de, 605-6 603 670
—Miguel de, 633 638 645
—D. Pero de, 705
- Falcão, Cid de, 704
St. Gall 292
St. Helena, island of, 695
St. Lawrence current 698
St. Lawrence Island (Madagascar) 698
St-André, Pierre de, 62
St-Denis 99 215
St-Germain-en-Laye 118
St-Jean-de-Maurienne 574
St-Jean-Pied-de-Port 59 19 48 58 77
St-Nicolas-du-Port 279 282-3
St-Palais 9
St-Pol, lord of, see Bourbon, François de
Standonck, Jan, 86 129-30
Stella, O.P., Tommaso, 501
Strada (Estrada), S.J., Antonio de, 451 454 494 516-8 548
—S.J., Francisco de, 417 450 485 498-9, in Siena 459 494 510, Montepulciano 513-520, Brescia 515 519 549 566; must write 620, studies in Coimbra 620 664
Strasbourg 122-3 161 283-4
Strebaeus (Estrebay), Jacques Louis, 164 107
Sturm, Johann 158 161 166 170 184 192 201 225-6 235 264 413
Suakin 685-6
Subiza 10 21 64 174 677
—Diego de, 27
—Juan de, 27
Sues 696 699-700
Suleiman (Soliman, "Grand Turk") 201 252 265 338 344-7 357 369 438 553 695
—Pasha 606 618 699
Sulpicius Severus 125
Sulpitius Verulanus, Johannes, 103
Sumatra 698 705
Sus, sherif of (Mohammed Scheich), 709
Sutor (Couturier), O.Carth., Petrus, 126 128 131-3 182-3
Switzerland: routes through 287-9, politico-religious divisions 289, journey of Xavier and companions through 284-93; students in Paris 170, lansquenettes in French service 265 285, in Vatican 315; see also Basel, Geneva, Zwingli
Sylvius, S.J., Petrus, 601
Symmachus, St., 258
Szegedin, Gregory, 261
- Tacchi Venturi, S.J., Pietro, 143 178 303-4 334-5 337 347 354 372-3 394 408 410 412 424 426 431 529-30 556 560-1 719
Tafalla 3 6 21 60 303
Tancos 587 589 605
Tangiers 709
Taprobane (Sumatra) 698
Taro 567-8
Tartaret, Petrus, 120 163 250
Tartars 91 252
Tartas, Jean de, 87
Tarudante 709

- Tavera, Juan de, cardinal archbishop of Toledo, 710-1 722
 Tavira 713
 Tavora, Anna de, 612
 —Ruy Lourenço de, 612 706
 —Violante de, 591 702
 Teive, Diogo de, 101 142 162 169 238
 Teixeira, S.J., Manuel, 68 171 352-3 380 554
 560 573 604 617 708 717
 Tempête, Pierre, 85 139
 Temudo, Jorge, 646
 Tenreiro, Antonio, 700
 Ten Thousand Knights, Sts., 539
 Terra dos Bacalhaos 698
 Terranova (Newfoundland) 579 698
 Tertullian 261
 Terzi, Francesco de', 529 535
 Devil's bridge (Navarre) 19 (Savoy) 573 574
 Devil's pass (Mont Cenis) 570 574
 Theobald I, k. of Navarre, 13 39
 —II, k. of Navarre, 39
 Theophylactus 242 255 258
 Thodeschini, Giovanni de, 351
 Thomar 606 649 706
 Thomas, St., apostle, 598
 Thomas Aquinas, O.P., St. (Dr. Angelicus) 88 109 112 207 244 255 258 261; *Summa* 248-9 456 663-5
 Thomas of Canterbury, St., 86 213
 Thônes 11
 Timbuktu 723
 Time, reckoning of: beginning of year: Easter (France) 243 252 262 538, March 25 (Florence) 43, Christmas 538; beginning of day about 6 A.M. (Rome) 480; counting of hours (1-24 in Italy) 572
 Tirapu, lord of, 7 154
 Titian 298 336 342
 Tivoli 467 473 496 544
 Toledo 139 206 243
 —Leonora de, 437
 Tolentino 321 325
 Tolomei, Giovanni Paolo, 429
 —Lattanzio, 413 453 458 468-70 499 511
 Tomasa, Suor, 383
 —Francesco de, 299
 Tor 688 (Arabia), 29 (Navarre)
 Tordesillas 17 697
 Toulouse 20 24 66 155-6
 Tournon, François de, cardinal, 232 268
 Toussaint, Jacques, 160 122 169 182 198 202
 Trancoso 588-9
 Trani, cardinal, see Cupis
 Travel: day's journey on foot (31 36 miles) 279 289 311 321, on foot and horseback (12-13 leagues) 279, on horseback 78 295 665-6, with the post (20 leagues) 666 724, in sailboat with oars 311
 Trent, Council of, 160 204 304 334
 Treviso 348 360-1
 Tristão, Duarte, 706
 Tschudi, George, 292
 —Valentine, 109
 Tudela 5 13 37 39 55 73
 Tunis 345 537 642 683-4
 Turin 265 569 575
 Turks: called Rumes 686, glossary 91. In *Constantinople* 91 686 (captured 1453), *Hungary* 118 388 438, before Vienna 143, in *Paris* 252, in the *Holy Land* 336 626 687 691-2, in *Egypt* 688 690 (captured 1517), *Arabia* (Zebid) 626 686 690 695 (Aden) 618 699, *Abyssinia* 682 695, on the Red Sea (Sues) 686 699-700 704, *Morocco* 723. In *India*: lose spice trade 116 699-700, before Diu 542 547 606 618 695 699 703 (1538), threaten Portuguese 618 697-700 706. In *Mediterranean*: pirates 320 339; war (1537-1540) 338-40 344-8 357-8 369 419 (Holy League) 430-1 437-40; *negotiations* at Rome for tithes against the Turks and help for India 541-2 546-8 551-3.—Alliance with France 201 252 265 338 345; embassy of La Forest 252 344-5 (1535); dealings with Portugal 706. Mission among the Turks 210 (Erasmus) 254 (Xavier) 211-2 463 (Society of Jesus).
 Tursellinus, S.J., Horatius, 24 67 73 171 178 223 336 352-354 435 574 574 578 604 617 715 728
 Ubaldis, Ubaldo de, 502
 —Vincenzo de, 501-3 563
 Ubila, O.S.B., Martín de, 522
 Ugoletti, S.J., Elpidio, 567
 Uguccioni, Benedetto, 614 619
 —Giovanni Battista, 614
 Ujué 28 35 39
 Ulrich, St., 557
 —von Württemberg, Ulrich, 182, 201
 Unaya, Martín, 3-5
 Unciti, valley of, 4
 Undués de Lerda 19 28 44 69; "Xavier house" 71
 Urdax 61 272
 Ursua, lord of, 20
 Ursula, St., 539
 Urtarroz, Martín de, 156 239 272
 Urzainqui 56
 —D. Sancho de, 69
 Usque, Samuel, 624
 Val de Cristo 138 301
 Valdés, captain, 42
 —Juan de, 524 534
 Valdorba, valley of, 21
 Valença, Frey Miguel de, 660-2
 Valencia 155
 Valentine, St., 31
 Valier, Agostino, cardinal, 300
 Valla, George, 122 236 238
 —Petrus de, 109 122 124
 Valladolid 41 63 135 207 586
 Vallières, Jean, 123
 Valona 345-6 358
 Vanegas, S.J., Hieronymus, 278
 —S.J., Michael, 601

- Van Heemskerck, Martin, 323 327-9
 Vannuzio, Francesco, 338-9 451 505
 Vargas, Sebastião de, 710
 Varthema, Ludovico de, 252
 Vasconcellos, D. João de, count of Penela, 711
 Vatable, François, 122 160 169 200 202 266
 Vauchop, Robert, 247 165 194 248 441 499 548 554 561
 Vayo, Bertol del, 67
 Vaz, Aires, 542 544
 —Miguel, 440
 —Dr. Pero, 701
 —Bugalho, Gil, 634
 —Pereira, Ruy, 705
 Vázquez, S.J., Francisco, 435 727
 Vear, P. Fray, 243 245
 Veard, Martinus de, 245
 Védalai 703 708
 Velasco, María de, 600
 Velázquez, Francisco, 560 605
 Velletri 462 473 494
 Velliard, Pierre, 111-2 253 260
 Velloso, O.F.M., Luis, 626
 Vendôme, duke of, see Bourbon, Charles
 Venice: *description* 297-8: Trinità 299-301, S. Giovanni e Paolo 301 305, hospital for the incurables 298 304-9, Corpus Christi procession 341-2, harbor for pilgrimages to Holy Land 210 294-6.—Holy League 40 (1511) 118 (1526), abandons 119 (1528); Ignatius and companions 297-310 341-4 347-8; Landívar's letter 363-5, trial of Ignatius 360-2. *Turkish war*: Venice neutral 344-7, enters League 356-8 369, league renewed 389, progress of the war 419 437-40 700 (1537-1540)
 Veralli, Girolamo, 342 304 343 347 355-6 358 372
 Veramendi, Miguel de, 56 65 156 271
 Verazzano, Giovanni di, 117
 Verbato, Francesco, 351
 Verdolay, Juan de, 348
 Vergara 582
 —Pedro de, 32
 Verona 348-9 360 363 372
 Versor, Johannes, 120
 Vespucci, Amerigo, 252
 Vessolla, marqués de (Elio Gaztelu), 732
 Vessonis, Philippe, 496
 Via Aemilia 561-9
 Via Cassia 391-406
 Via Flaminia 321-3
 Viana, prince of, see Carlos, príncipe de Viana
 Vicente, Gil, 539
 Vicenza 348-9 352-6 358-73 436
 Vidigueira, count of, see Gama, D. Francisco da
 Vieira, S.J., Francisco, 560
 Vienna, 143; college 95
 Villafranca, O.E.S.A., Francisco de, 610-11 598 650 669
 Villahermosa, count of, 732
 Villanueva, S.J., Francisco de, 497
 —O.E.S.A., Tomás, 583
 Villa Real, marqués de, see Meneses, D. Pedro de
 Villasayas, captain, 47-8
 Villedieu, Alexander of, 103 165
 Villeneuve-St-George 234
 Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Philippe de, 370
 Vimioso, count of, see Portugal, D. Francisco de
 Vincennes 95
 Vincent Ferrer, O.P., St., 8 447
 Virgil 103 153 290
 Virila, O.S.B., St., 30 36 38
 Vischer, Christian, 284
 Visquiet, O.F.M., Damian, 174
 Viterbo 402 405-6
 Vitoria 66 582
 —O.P., Francisco de, 133
 —S.J., Juan Alonso de, 489
 Vitturi, Giovanni, 345
 Vives, Luis, 102 109 140 144 192 254 521
 Volkmar, Melchior, 167
 Vör, Ulrich, 290
 Voragine, Jacobus de, 176
 Vouzela 190 588
 Weinfeldten 289-91
 Weissenburg, Wolfgang, 285-6
 West Indies 440-1 453
 William, St., 149
 —of Auvergne, 125 179
 Wolsey, Thomas, cardinal, 109 128
 Xavier, castle: *name*: Chavier 49, Chamer 269, Chavyères 278, Echabiar 61, Etxaberrri 13, Exabierr 13, Jabier 66, Javier 272; Saverio 379, Savierr 13, Seviere 378, Xabier 65 156 337, Xabiere 269, Xabierre 66, Xaberio 382, Xavier 387, Xaviere 21, Xaviero 382, Xebier 517-8; coat of arms 14 157. *Description* 14-19. *History* 12-3, destruction 49 51 64 69 154, new castle 10 17-8. *Varia* 3 7 10 153-4 174-5. *Villa* 13 56, destroyed 19 (1456), today 46. *Church* (Santa María de Exavierr) 10 19 25 33 35, parish house 10 28 (Constitutions 33-36); *estate* 9: *Adoratio* 30 69, Escampadero 54-7 64-5 68 154 174, Castellar 13 28 54, Farrandillo 19 28 45 55, Peña del Adiós 74 578, salt works 14 28 54, San Felices 28 69, Santa Cruz 28 54, flock of the parish priest 54, holm-oak hill 69, Ugasti 19 28 54-5 154, Valdarto 54-5 154, Vallulada 54, *vinya* (old, large, of the parish priest) 27, Torre de Adam 54
 —Alonso de, 14
 —Ana de (Xavier's niece), 7 21
 —Francisco de, see Francis Xavier
 —Jerónimo, see Ezpeleta
 —Juan de (Xavier's nephew), 234 239
 —Martín de, 14
 —Miguel de (Xavier's brother): *life*, chil-

- dren 21, family tree 730 732, birth 11 (c. 1495), suit over *El Real* 45 (1514), father's death 46 (1515), conspiracy 47 49-50 (1516), executor of will 50 (1518), exacts tax on flocks 54-5 (c. 1518), suit with Idocin 41 53-4, meeting in Pamplona 64 (1520), suit with Sangüesa 55-7 (1520-1521), fight for freedom 59-63, imprisonment, escape 61-63 (1521-1522), Fuenterrabía 63-7 (1522-1524), rebuilding 68-70 (1524-1525), Xavier's departure 73-4 (1525), suits, lack of funds 21 174-5 239 246 (1525-1532), marriage 7 21 154 (c. 1527), Xavier's suit for patent of nobility 156-7 271 (1531-1536), Madalena's letter 175 (c. 1532), sale of inherited property 21 (1536), death 21 246 (1542)
 —Miguel de (Xavier's nephew), 21
 Ximenes, Juan, 4
- Yesa 9 19 27 29 31 38 46 56 59 63; bridge 12 29 37-9 54 59 64
 —Pero Enego de, 32
 Yerri, valley of, 21
- Zabalceta 4 10
 Zabalza, Francisco de, 4
 Zacuto, Abraham, 638
 Zagá Za Ab 594 690 692 694-6, *Confessio* 694
- Zamorim 594
 Zani, family, 379 383
 Zannetti, Agostino, 379 429
 Zapata, Antonio, 500 721
 —Diego de, 500 721
 —Don Francisco de, son of the count of Barraja, 500 721
 Zaragoza, 3 42
 Zariquiegui 6
 Zebid 686 690 695
 Zeila 691
 Zerbini, Giulia, 528
 Zilioli, Girolamo, 361 436
 Zizur Mayor 9-10 21 64 174
 Zolina, viscount of, 732
 Zornoza, Martín de, 305 356
 Zoroquiáin 4 10
 Zuasti 730-3
 Zuñiga y Avellaneda, D. Francisco, count of Miranda, 61-3
 Zurucuáin 20
 Zwingli, Ulrich, 122 284-6 288; Zwinglians and Oecolampadians: Reformation in Basel 284-8, Bern 122 289, Zürich 289, western Switzerland 122, fight near chapel 539; disputations of the Parisian masters in Basel 285, Weinfeldten 289-91, see also Oecolampadius, Grynaeus, Farel

