

## CHAPTER FIFTY-SEVEN

### COUNTER-REFORMATION

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What's in a name?<sup>1</sup> Few would disagree that the early modern period witnessed a 'refashioning' of the Catholic Church, generally set to begin in the 1540s, the decade which saw the papal bull establishing the Society of Jesus (1540), and the convening of the Council of Trent (1545–1563).<sup>2</sup> Its end date is under dispute: Tridentine reforms in the German bishopric of Speyer, for instance, are said to have taken hold only in the opening decades of the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Few would also disagree that these changes were, at least in part, a time-lagged response to the Reformation. Yet their nature, origin, and extent—as well as how to label them—are all under dispute. The following brief discussion of this historiographical debate will capture some of the contradictions within a movement that was responsible both for the Gregorian Calendar Reform (1582) and the condemnation of Galileo (1633).<sup>4</sup> Such a survey will also allow us to place our brief overview of the intellectual climate of the Counter-Reformation within

the wider framework of new religious orders, increased missionary activity, and episcopal reform—topics that will otherwise not be discussed here.<sup>5</sup>

The label 'Counter-Reformation' (*Gegenreformation*) has been traced back to the preface of a 1776 edition of the *Augsburg Confession*. Its subsequent adoption by Leopold von Ranke reflected the historian's Lutheran faith, rather than his famous claim to study 'wie es eigentlich gewesen [war]'.<sup>6</sup> As a label, the Counter-Reformation implies a phenomenon that was both reactive and authoritarian, a response only to the Reformation. It brings to mind the Inquisition and the Index, rather than the mysticism of a St Teresa of Avila or the martyrdom of a missionary such as Edmund Campion, let alone the everyday practices of the faithful; Catholicism, thus conceived, was a faith imposed, not lived. Catholic historians have generally preferred the labels 'Catholic Reform' or 'Catholic Reformation', endowing it with a weight and status equal to its Protestant counterpart. These labels usefully emphasise shared roots in the reform movements of the late mediaeval period, yet also underscore the institutional nature of the Church. The Council of Trent was regarded foremost as a vehicle for episcopal reform, and Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, was held up as its standard-bearer. This way, Catholic historiography continued to make lay believers

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<sup>1</sup> This is a reference to the title of the opening chapter of John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That. Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000). The author would like to thank Euan Cameron, Hester Schadee, Clare Copeland, and Tom Hamilton for their comments and suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> For a history of the Council of Trent, see John W. O'Malley, *Trent. What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

<sup>3</sup> Marc Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages. Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560–1720* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).

<sup>4</sup> Richard J. Blackwell, *Galileo, Bellarmine, and the Bible* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991); see also Ann M. Blair, 'Science and Religion', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity. Reform and Expansion 1500–1660*, ed. by Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 425–443.

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<sup>5</sup> For the Society of Jesus, see the contribution by Haskell.

<sup>6</sup> O'Malley, *Trent and All That*, p. 20.

into pawns.<sup>7</sup> As late as 1999, one survey of the Catholic Reformation still excused ‘dwelling on the role in history of “great men”’ on account of the institutional and ‘heavily authoritarian’ nature of the subject.<sup>8</sup>

Other historians, however, have pointed towards the failure of this imposition and towards the agency of the laity. This is exemplified in Jean Delumeau’s now-classic story of the domestication of the Fires of St John, when clergy presided over an originally pagan tradition to ensure that at the end of the celebrations the ashes of the Fires did not fall victim to practices of popular piety.<sup>9</sup> This question of syncretism—of old beliefs in new bottles—remains open-ended for historians of Catholicism in the Old World and the New, where attempts at persuasion also gave way for clerical frustration and, finally, the Peruvian Extirpation.<sup>10</sup> To what extent did Catholicism domesticate popular beliefs, rather than eradicate them?

With such questions in mind, historians know better than to take the image of the Church Militant at face value, as they have studied, for instance, the endless struggle of Mathias Hovius, Archbishop of Mechlin, to impose his will on his reluctant flock.<sup>11</sup> New labels have pointed historians in other directions as well. ‘Catholic Renewal’ reminds us of the missions to the New World and to China; compared to the newly global reach of the Catholic Church, the Protestant Reformation, confined to the

northern half of Europe, was a parochial affair.<sup>12</sup> Salutary though such a reminder is, the concept of ‘renewal’ is hard to reconcile with the rhetoric of the Church as a bulwark against novelty. Historians have also realised that the success of the Counter-Reformation in France and the Low Countries depended on the active involvement of the laity.<sup>13</sup> Even the re-Catholicisation of Bohemia after the Battle of White Mountain (1620), long seen as a brutal affair, was more the product of persuasion than of force.<sup>14</sup> For some, therefore, the very framework has come crashing down—John O’Malley’s preferred ‘Early Modern Catholicism’ is perhaps too elusive a label to be of any descriptive value.<sup>15</sup> Certainly, it is difficult to study variations in time and space without postulating a Platonic idea against which the successes and failures of the Counter-Reformation can be measured. Catholicism in Italy in general, and Borromeo’s reformed archbishopric in particular, are too easily used as yardsticks with which the ‘shortcomings’ of reform elsewhere are judged.<sup>16</sup> Simple dichotomies between Tridentine ideals and popular beliefs have outlived their sell-by date. The refashioning of Catholicism, it is now recognised, involved many different actors and stakeholders (not least the laity), as well as compromise.

This brief overview has offered two instructive caveats. The first is a new emphasis on the

<sup>7</sup> For example, see John Bossy, ‘The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe’, *Past and Present*, 47 (1970), 51–70, reprinted in *The Counter-Reformation. The Essential Readings*, ed. by David M. Luebke (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 85–104.

<sup>8</sup> Michael Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. x.

<sup>9</sup> Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation*, ed. by John Bossy (London: Burns and Oates, 1977), pp. 177–179; for further reflection on this story, see Euan Cameron, ‘For Reasoned Faith or Embattled Creed? Religion for the People in Early Modern Europe’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 8 (1998), 165–187, esp. p. 178.

<sup>10</sup> Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation 1640–1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

<sup>11</sup> Craig Harline and Eddy Put, *A Bishop’s Tale. Mathias Hovius among His Flock in Seventeenth-Century Flanders* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

<sup>12</sup> Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 187–216.

<sup>13</sup> Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross. Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Judith Pollman, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>14</sup> Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia. Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>15</sup> O’Malley, *Trent and All That*; see also the historiographical survey in Simon Ditchfield, ‘Of Dancing Cardinals and Mestizo Madonnas: Reconfiguring the History of Roman Catholicism in the Early Modern Period’, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 8 (2004), 386–408.

<sup>16</sup> On this point, see John M. Frymire, ‘German Catholics, Catholic Sermons, and Roman Catholicism in Reformation Germany. Reconfiguring Catholicism in the Holy Roman Empire’, in Thomas F. Mayer (ed.), *Reforming Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 163–196.

laity, and hence the importance of the vernacular for the Counter-Reformation (in the form, for instance, of the much translated and reprinted catechism of Peter Canisius), which challenges the supremacy of Latin within a Church that, to the horror of Protestants, had sought to ban prayer in any other language.<sup>17</sup> Second, it suggests that traditional views on the course of Latin scholarship from humanism to the Reformation—passing from Lorenzo Valla via Erasmus to Philipp Melancthon—are too simplistic. If the top-down organisation of early modern Catholicism must be substantially qualified, then we must also reject depictions of the Counter-Reformation as solely an attempt to stifle intellectual life. Our survey of the attempts to reform and standardise the liturgy will show that the Tridentine Church shared Erasmus' concern for the priest who refused to abandon his erroneous *mumpsimus* (which for two decades he had used to say Mass) for the correct *sumpsimus*.<sup>18</sup> The Jesuit colleges of Catholic Europe (and beyond) brought a classical education to more students than any movement in history. While we should not ignore the impact of censorship, this essay will also argue that the Counter-Reformation, with the types of knowledge and skills it valued, provided a framework and a positive impulse to certain modes of humanist scholarship. This framework was strict, but as the Church struggled to reconcile the preservation of tradition both with new, higher uniform standards of practice (including higher standards of Latin) and with

its own rhetoric, it left ample scope for discussion and disagreement.

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The Council of Trent (1545–1563) has lent its name to the refashioning of 'Tridentine' Catholicism. It appeared to move swiftly to repudiate Protestant teaching. In its fourth session (8 April 1546), the first to examine matters of doctrine, it restated the role of Apostolic traditions against the Protestant doctrine of *sola scriptura*, affirming its attachment to the 'vetus et vulgata editio' ('old and Vulgate [Latin] edition') of the Bible.<sup>19</sup> Trent's reaffirmation of tradition was an insistence on oral transmission—'received by the apostles from the mouth of Christ himself'—and emphasised the central role of the priest in explaining and interpreting Scripture, to the exclusion of the laity.<sup>20</sup> In an age of print, Trent preferred 'an underlying anthropological vision that emphasized instead vital relationships within a community'.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, it was tradition that was invoked to justify retaining the Latin Vulgate: 'tested in the church by long use over so many centuries [it] should be kept as the authentic text in public readings, debates, sermons and explanations.'<sup>22</sup> The Catholic Church, as the keeper of Apostolic traditions, also acted as the guarantor of Scripture—a guarantee, however self-referential, that Protestants lacked.

Yet these Tridentine decrees, which rank amongst its most important, hide issues of tension, dissension, and indecision. A simple *et* ('in written books *and* in unwritten traditions') concealed a heated debate about their precise relationship, during which one bishop even levelled accusations of impiety against another. The Council sidestepped the question as to whether tradition required

<sup>17</sup> Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg, *I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue: Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 50–51. On the importance of print for (vernacular) preaching, see the recent work by John M. Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils. Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2010), and Emily Michelson, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

<sup>18</sup> R. A. B. Mynors and D. F. S. Thomson (eds.), *The Correspondence of Erasmus. Letters 446–593* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 46. (Letter 456; Lines 80–83); for the influence of this story on the Reformation in England, see Peter Marshall, 'Mumpsimus and Sumpsimus: The Intellectual Origins of a Henrician Bon Mot', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 52 (2001), 512–520.

<sup>19</sup> Norman Tanner (ed. and transl.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Sheed and Ward, 1990), II, p. 664.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 663.

<sup>21</sup> Dominique Julia, 'Reading and the Counter-Reformation', in Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (eds.), *A History of Reading in the West* (Oxford: Polity, 1999), pp. 238–268, at p. 238.

<sup>22</sup> Tanner, *Decrees*, II, p. 664.

scriptural foundations of any sort.<sup>23</sup> Its decisions on the Vulgate were in fact ephemeral. Trent was also silent on translations into the vernacular and on lay Bible reading. Translations had flourished in Italy and Germany but had been banned in Spain, France, and (pre-Reformation) England, and delegates had divided along geographical lines.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, while the Council did lay down which parts of Scripture were canonical and specified that only the Vulgate could be used for public purposes, it did not specify *what* it held the Vulgate to be. It also did not identify Jerome as its translator (a matter questioned by Valla). The phrase ‘vetus et vulgata editio’ muddied the waters still further, since the Vulgate could be regarded as, in part, a recension of an earlier Latin translation of the Bible, the ‘vetus latina’.<sup>25</sup> What is more, the Council did not prohibit a return to the original Greek and Hebrew for scholarly purposes and, rather ambiguously, expressed a desire for the Vulgate to be printed ‘emendatissime’, without specifying how this return *ad fontes* should take place.<sup>26</sup>

Like many of its counterparts, this particular Tridentine decree left considerable scope for interpretation, and hence discussion and *intra*-confessional polemic. Andreas de Vega, in his almost contemporary account of Trent, argued that the Council ‘nec eam tanquam e coelo delapsam adorari voluit. Interpretem illius, quisquis ille fuerit, sciebat non fuisse prophetam’ (‘did not wish the Vulgate to be worshipped as if it had fallen from Heaven. It knew that this translator, whoever he may

have been, was no prophet’).<sup>27</sup> Sixtus of Siena, in his widely read *Bibliotheca sancta*, admitted that it still contained some blemishes (‘nonnullas . . . mendas’) and barbarisms, along with ‘multa parum accommodata versa, et minus Latine expressa, obscure et ambigue interpretata’ (‘many verses, which are insufficiently appropriate, expressed in less than good Latin and obscurely and ambiguously interpreted’).<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, with explicit reference to the Tridentine decree, Sixtus defended the use of the Vulgate, which had been used by the Church Fathers in the full knowledge of its corruptions. None of these issues, he argued, were significant and replacing it would offend the faithful. Rather, the Fathers venerated ‘illam simplicitatem antiqui interpretis, qui non sermonis ornatum, sed historiae veritatem quaesivit’ (‘the simplicity of the ancient translator, who strove not for ornate language but for the truth of history’).<sup>29</sup> And in this, Sixtus claimed, they followed in the footsteps of the Apostles, who used the Greek Septuagint with full knowledge of *its* faults as a translation, ‘eam tamen non contempserunt, sed ubique eam praedicaverunt, et ex ea prima nostrae fidei fundamenta iecerunt’ (‘yet they did not look down on it but preached it everywhere and from it laid the first foundations of our faith’).<sup>30</sup>

Sixtus, a convert from Judaism, regularly consulted the original biblical languages, demonstrating that a return to these was by no means impossible after Trent, although Rome had frowned on the most notable of these projects—the Antwerp polyglot Bible sponsored by Philip II of Spain.<sup>31</sup> Some, such as the Dominican neo-Scholastic theologian Domingo Bañez, thought the issue of the reliability of the Vulgate was irrelevant, because

<sup>23</sup> Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, transl. by Ernest Graf, 2 vols. (London: T. Nelson, 1957–1961), II, pp. 86–87; on the Council of Trent, see also Alain Tallon, *La France et le Concile de Trente (1518–1563)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1997), and O’Malley, *Trent*.

<sup>24</sup> F. J. Crehan, ‘The Bible in the Roman Catholic Church from Trent to the Present Day’, in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. by Stanley L. Greenslade a.o., 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963–1970), III (1963), pp. 199–237, esp. p. 202.

<sup>25</sup> A. Allgeier, ‘Haec vetus et vulgata editio’, *Biblica*, 29 (1948), 353–390; E. F. Sutcliffe, ‘The Name “Vulgate”’, *Biblica*, 29 (1948), 345–352.

<sup>26</sup> Tanner, *Decrees*, II, p. 665.

<sup>27</sup> Andreas Vega, *Tridentini decreti de iustificatione expositio, et defensio libris XV. distincta* (Venice, 1548), p. 476.

<sup>28</sup> Sixtus of Siena, *Bibliotheca sancta*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt, 1575), p. 732.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 733.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses. The History of the House of Plantin-Moretus*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam and New York: Vangendt and Co and Abner Schram, 1969–1972), I, p. 64.

the texts were 'in corde Ecclesiae' ('in the heart of the Church') first, and in printed books second.<sup>32</sup> Others, however, opposed any return *ad fontes*. The Franciscan friar Nicolas Ramos argued explicitly against Vega and Sixtus that Trent had not meant a return to the original languages at all: 'Quis non videat, si quid illi dant, et nos concedamus, Rabinos, et Iudizantes, quasi ex uno concessio, multos in nos machinatos esse dolos?' ('who cannot see that, if they grant this and we would concede, the Rabbis and Judaisers, as if out of one concession, will devise many tricks against us?').<sup>33</sup> Ramos alleged wilful corruption of the Greek and Hebrew versions on the part of Jews and heretics, and went so far as to argue that the original texts should be emended from the Vulgate.<sup>34</sup> The English Catholic exile and Bible translator, Gregory Martin, laid a similar charge of intentional corruption (and mistranslation) at the feet of English heretics—'Heretikes (gentle Reader) be alwaies like Heretikes'.<sup>35</sup>

These opposing attitudes laid bare the two tensions that pulled the Counter-Reformation in different directions; the genuine desire for reform clashed with the feeling that, pressed by enemies, its necessity could not readily be admitted. The title page of Martin's project, the Douai-Reims Bible 'translated [...] out of the *Authenticall Latin*' but 'diligently conferred with' Greek and Hebrew, makes these tensions crystal clear.<sup>36</sup> The Papal Bull 'Aeternus ille caelestium', which prefaced the official Sixtine Vulgate (1 March 1590), expressed the same

rhetorical ambiguities. The enemy the bull invoked was the devil, who, working through his agents, sought to call everything into doubt and bring back the scriptural chaos witnessed by Jerome.<sup>37</sup> Sixtus V bemoaned both unskilled sons of the Church, who had greater respect for the customs of Jewish rabbis than the Church Fathers, as well as the heretics for emending the Vulgate on their own accord.<sup>38</sup> Catholic self-perception, however, demanded that the danger of corruption was both real and not real, and Sixtus hastened to add that nothing damaging to the faith had been found. A commission was formed to make recommendations, but Sixtus, cloaked in full Apostolic authority, sitting 'in eiusdem Petri Cathedra' ('in the chair of the very same Peter'), was to decide on their inclusion.<sup>39</sup> The end product was not an improvement but a return to an original pristine state, 'qualis primum ab ipsius interpretis manu, styloque prodierat' ('such as it first came forth out of the hand and pen of the translator himself').<sup>40</sup> Like Trent, he based the authenticity of the Vulgate on its continued use in the Church. Unlike Trent, however, Sixtus unambiguously identified Jerome as its translator.<sup>41</sup>

The Sixtine Vulgate was meant to be canonical. 'Aeternus ille caelestium' prohibited the printing of any other version; not even glosses with textual variations were allowed.<sup>42</sup> Its rhetoric is in many ways emblematic of the entire Tridentine project. The revision of the Vulgate was both indispensable and, strictly speaking, unnecessary. Thus, early modern Catholicism was both threatened and secure. As it invoked and codified tradition, it could neither admit reform nor avoid it. The Church was both changing and unchanging. As a result, textual emendation was both a threat and an integral part of the Tridentine project.

<sup>32</sup> Domingo Bañes, *Scholastica commentaria in universam primam partem angelici doctoris D. Thomae, in duos tomos divisa*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1602), I, p. 80.

<sup>33</sup> Nicolas Ramos, *Assertio veteris vulgatae editionis iuxta decretum sacrosancti oecumenici et generalis Concilii Tridentini, sessione quarta* (Salamanca, 1576), fol. 3r.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 52v.

<sup>35</sup> Gregory Martin, *A Discoverie of the Manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the Heretikes of Our Daies* (Rheims, 1582), sig. a3r.

<sup>36</sup> Gregory Martin (transl.), *The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated into English out of the Authenticall Latin, Diligently Conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and Other Editions in Divers Languages* (Douai, 1579); see also Alexandra Walsham, 'Unclasping the Book? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Vernacular Bible', *Journal of British Studies*, 42 (2003), 141–166.

<sup>37</sup> The bull is re-printed in Paul Maria Baumgarten, *Die Vulgata Sixtina von 1590 und ihre Einführungsbulle* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1911), pp. 40–65, esp. p. 42.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 49–53.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

The fate of the Sixtine Vulgate is equally instructive. The pope's particularly belligerent rhetoric underscored internal threats to his authority; the Spanish ambassador in Rome reported objections to Sixtus' authority to alter the Vulgate.<sup>43</sup> Yet, the text was hardly revolutionary; it kept close to the 1547 Louvain edition, and Sixtus largely contented himself with adopting the more classical variants of individual words (*numquam* for *nunquam*; *nunciate* for *nuntiate*).<sup>44</sup> After his death the Vulgate was quickly withdrawn. There were concerns that its flaws would actually advantage the heretics. The Spanish ambassador had already worried about its 'novedades', even before Sixtus' death.<sup>45</sup> Other motives may have played a role as well. Robert Bellarmine, the prime mover behind the new recension, later wrote that by salvaging the pope's reputation he had returned Sixtus 'bona pro malis' ('good for evil'); the pope had attempted to place one of the Jesuit's writings onto the Index.<sup>46</sup> When the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate (1592) appeared, it related the fiction that Sixtus had recalled the work before his death. It also backed away from some of his prohibitions, thus variant readings were very sparingly ('minime') allowed once more.<sup>47</sup> The emergence of the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate shows that power in the ecclesiastical hierarchy was more diffused than the traditional narrative allowed, and was based on implicit assent. It was vulnerable to pressures from below and, as we shall see, from the periphery. Certainly, the debate on the Vulgate

did not end in 1592. The Douai-Reims translation was not the last Bible translation to be printed, even as the papacy moved to restrict lay vernacular Bible reading ever further.<sup>48</sup> The Dominican friar Thomas Malvenda attempted a new Latin translation from the Hebrew, although he did not make it past Ezekiel 16.<sup>49</sup> In this way dogmas gradually crystallised, but they could, with sufficient mental acrobatics (as befell the injunctions of Sixtus' 'Aeternus ille caelestium'), also be ignored or bent.<sup>50</sup>

If tradition was invoked for the gradual codification of Scripture, tradition itself was also increasingly cast in stone. Theologians after Trent defined traditions, in the words of the Dominican friar Melchior Cano, as going from ear to ear, as 'vivae vocis oracula', or to cite Bellarmine, as 'the unwritten word of God'.<sup>51</sup> This allowed for considerable, but dwindling, scope for debate as the unwritten word was gradually written down. While placing an undeniable emphasis on the importance of (especially episcopal) preaching and instruction (a subject to which we shall return), Trent envisioned the production of standard texts for teaching and liturgy. Unable to complete this work, the last (twenty-fifth) session of the Council passed the issues of catechism, breviary and missal on to the papacy.<sup>52</sup> The fifty years following Trent witnessed the publication of a range of official devotional and liturgical texts: the *Catechismus ad parochos* (1566), the *Breviarium romanum* (1568), the *Missale romanum* (1570), the *Martyrologium romanum* (1584), the *Pontificale romanum* (1595–1596), the *Caerimoniale episcoporum* (1600), and the *Rituale romanum* (1614), all of

<sup>43</sup> Xavier-Marie Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin et la Bible Sixto-Clementine* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1911), pp. 189–190 (Appendix 25, dated 7 May, 1590).

<sup>44</sup> See the list compiled in Henri Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate* (Rome–Paris: Desclée et Compagnie and J. Gabalda, 1922), pp. 184–185.

<sup>45</sup> Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin et la Bible*, p. 190.

<sup>46</sup> Xavier-Marie Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin avant son cardinalat, 1542–1598. Correspondance et documents* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1911), pp. 442–466, at p. 458.

<sup>47</sup> See the 'Praefatio ad Lectorem' composed by Bellarmine, *Biblia sacra Vulgatae editionis tribus tomis distincta* (Rome, 1592), sig. \*4rv. On Latin Bible editions in the early modern period, see also Jean-Pierre Delville, 'L'évolution des vulgates et la composition de nouvelles versions latines de la Bible au XVI siècle', in *Biblia: Les Bibles en latin au temps des Réformes*, ed. by Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud (Paris: PUPS, 2008), pp. 71–106.

<sup>48</sup> Implementation of these papal injunctions, rescinded in 1757, varied widely; Julia, 'Reading and the Counter-Reformation', pp. 243–250. Authorized Czech and Polish translations appeared in 1715 and 1599 respectively: Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, pp. 220–222.

<sup>49</sup> Thomas Malvenda, *Commentaria in sacram scripturam*, 5 vols. (Lyon, 1650).

<sup>50</sup> See, for instance, the discussions on the validity of this bull by the Jesuits Adam Tanner and Jacob Gretser in Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin et la Bible*, pp. 155–158 (Appendix 12) and pp. 187–188 (Appendix 24).

<sup>51</sup> Melchior Cano, *De locis theologis* (Salamanca, 1562), pp. 4–5; Blackwell, *Galileo, Bellarmine, and the Bible*, p. 37.

<sup>52</sup> Tanner, *Decrees*, II, p. 797.

which sought to revise and standardise Catholic teaching and liturgy.<sup>53</sup> All were intended for use by the clergy, for use in the liturgy, and for instruction of the laity. (This included the *Catechismus*, organised in part around the Creed and aimed, as the title suggests, at priests, although vernacular editions also appeared).<sup>54</sup> This project—and Catholic tradition with it—was, directly and indirectly, the product of *historia sacra*. It was representative, as we shall see, of a wider attempt to achieve a synthesis of knowledge, both approved and prohibited, of which history and historical writing formed a part. As the liturgical calendar was dominated by the feasts of the saints, the importance of *historia sacra* was especially evident in the breviary (studied by Simon Ditchfield) and the martyrology.<sup>55</sup>

The reform of the Roman breviary followed a path very similar to the one charted for the Vulgate (which formed part of this project of codification as well). Indeed, as the cumulative product of (mediaeval) *traditions* rather than of Scripture, its Latinity, which Catholicism could neither fully reject nor fully embrace, was more susceptible to change and criticism. Tensions between the reform and the affirmation of tradition were therefore even more in evidence. Already in 1525, Zacharias Ferreri, the Bishop of Guardia Alfiera, published with full papal backing a collection of hymns written in classical iambic and sapphic verse, as the start of a project to reform the breviary. Ferreri, however, drew ire for celebrating Bacchus' departure and

Venus' anguish during Lent.<sup>56</sup> Concerns other than Latinity motivated the breviary compiled by Francesco de Quiñones (published in 1535), but his reforms were equally radical. Quiñones sought to restore the ordinary (ferial) Office, which had been displaced by an explosion of special Offices of saints in the Late Middle Ages (by 1558 the breviary in use in Venice had only six days that were feast-free).<sup>57</sup> Freeing up the calendar meant that priests using this breviary could recite all one hundred and fifty Psalms every week and almost the entire Bible every year.<sup>58</sup> As expected, Quiñones cast his work as a return to patristic *fontes*, and was, equally unsurprisingly, attacked (by the Sorbonne) for innovation. Nevertheless, its popularity can be attested both by an overwhelming number of editions (110+) and repeated (and repeatedly ignored) papal retractions (in 1556 and 1558).<sup>59</sup>

The *Breviarium romanum*, promulgated by Pius V in 1568, was a much less radical revision. Quiñones was not completely disowned, as the commission included eighty-seven of his hagiographical readings in revised form.<sup>60</sup> Restoration was again its aim. One committee member, Guglielmo Sirleto, observed that the pope should be 'careful not to give the impression that the breviary represented innovation in any way'.<sup>61</sup> In its attempt at (universal) standardisation, however, the breviary far exceeded Quiñones' reforms. Pius abolished all other breviaries, except those that had already been approved by the papacy or could show two hundred years of uninterrupted use.<sup>62</sup> Employing carrot and stick, Pius also offered indulgences to the male and female religious who recited parts of the

<sup>53</sup> Sodi, Manlio, and Achille Maria Triacca (eds.), *Monumenta liturgica Concilii Tridentini*, 6 vols. (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1997–2005).

<sup>54</sup> An Italian translation appeared in 1566; French, German, and Polish translations followed in 1568. The first English translation appeared in 1687; no Spanish edition appeared until 1777: Gerhard Bellinger, *Bibliographie des Catechismus Romanus ex decreto Concilii Tridentini ad parochos, 1566–1978* (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1983).

<sup>55</sup> Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy. Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>56</sup> Pierre Batiffol, *Histoire du bréviaire romain* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1893), p. 218.

<sup>57</sup> Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, pp. 31–32.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26; Suitbert Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1895), p. 432.

<sup>61</sup> Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, p. 34.

<sup>62</sup> Sodi, Manlio, and Achille Maria Triacca (eds.), *Breviarium romanum, editio princeps (1568)* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1999) *Monumenta liturgica Concilii Tridentini*, 4.

breviary.<sup>63</sup> To preserve the text from corruption, Pius threatened publishers who printed without a papal licence with excommunication. The bull ended with a standard warning: 'Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se noverit incursum' ('But if anyone should dare to attack it, he should know that he will incur the wrath of the all powerful God and his blessed apostles Peter and Paul').<sup>64</sup>

The fate of the Pian breviary was similar to that of the Vulgate later on; Pius' successors did not feel that his warnings applied to them. In 1602, Clement VIII invoked the negligence of printers (a common trope) and others *since* 1568 to justify his revision.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, the saints Joachim and Anne, Mary's apocryphal parents, had been removed from the breviary by Pius but reinserted by his successor, Gregory XIII.<sup>66</sup> Urban VIII shifted attention to the Latinity of the breviary, especially its hymns. Urban, who in his youth had composed love poetry so as not to be held as 'stolido ò rustico', was a poet of some renown; the reformed breviary included six hymns of his own hand.<sup>67</sup> The four Jesuits commissioned to correct the hymns, rewritten in classical metre, have been both condemned (by non-Jesuits) for innovation and praised (especially by Jesuits) for establishing 'la Vulgate du Bréviaire'.<sup>68</sup>

The *Martyrologium* followed the same meandering path of the Vulgate and breviary, as the first Tridentine version was promulgated by Gregory XIII and then quickly revised twice under Sixtus V—'cuius culpa acciderit, libentius silentio praeterimus' ('whose fault this was we prefer to pass over in silence').<sup>69</sup> Its anti-

quity was even more insisted upon, and its origins were traced back to Pope Clement in the first century AD.<sup>70</sup> As the *Martyrologium* was read every morning during the Office of Prime, it further embodied the link between history and liturgy. Gregory's prohibition of the inclusion of local saints into the martyrology (information of which had to be sent to Rome) highlights the impetus towards standardisation and central control.<sup>71</sup> The martyrology also links liturgical reform to two great products of Counter-Reformation scholarship. First, changes to the liturgical calendar were part of the Gregorian calendar reform, as the pope had originally planned for the new *Martyrologium* to be introduced with the new calendar.<sup>72</sup> Second, the Sixtine revision was overseen by Cesare Baronio, who used its preface to advertise his forthcoming *Annales Ecclesiastici*, a hugely ambitious overview of Church history that came to define Tridentine scholarship.<sup>73</sup>

Catholics shared their interest in Church history with Protestants, but their contrasting conceptions of history were shaped by their different ecclesiology.<sup>74</sup> Baronio's twelve-volume *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1588–1607) was a response to the Magdeburg *Centuries*, which used Protestant dogma as its touchstone to chart the history of the ('true') Church before the advent of the Reformation. The *Annales*, by contrast, identified the Church with the institutional hierarchy of the Catholic Church. Its aim was to demonstrate the

visible monarchy of the Catholic Church, instituted by Christ our Lord, founded upon Peter, and preserved inviolately, guarded religiously, never broken or interrupted but perpetually

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>65</sup> *Breviarium Romanum ex decreto Sacros. Concilii Trid. restitutum*, Pii V. Pont. Max. iussu editum, et Clementis VIII, auctoritate recognitum (Venice, 1623), sig. +4r.

<sup>66</sup> Batiffol, *Histoire du bréviaire romain*, p. 250.

<sup>67</sup> Jolanta Wiendlocha, *Die Jugendgedichte Papst Urbans VIII (1623–1644)* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2005), p. 281.

<sup>68</sup> Batiffol, *Histoire du bréviaire romain*, p. 265.

<sup>69</sup> *Sacrum martyrologium romanum ad novam kalendarii rationem, et Ecclesiasticae historiae veritatem restitutum* (Cologne, 1590), p. xviii.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., pp. i, xvi.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., sig. +3r.

<sup>72</sup> Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers*, pp. 467–468.

<sup>73</sup> *Sacrum martyrologium romanum*, sigs. +2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> See Irena Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation (1378–1615)* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2003), esp. chapter 6, pp. 325–392. On Baronio, see Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, 'Cesare Baronio and the Roman Catholic Vision of the Early Church', in Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (eds.), *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 52–71.

continued through his true and legitimate successors, indisputably the Roman pontiffs, always known and observed to be the one visible head of this mystical body of Christ, the Church, to which other members give obedience.<sup>75</sup>

For Catholicism, Church history was institutional history and its motto was *semper eadem*, ever the same.<sup>76</sup> Baronio's purpose was not simply polemical, however; in recounting the deeds of early Christian saints and martyrs, the *Annales* also sought to edify and inspire. In a letter to the Huguenot scholar and his later critic Isaac Casaubon, Baronio depicted the Catholic Church as a treasure trove, a depository of the writings, deeds, and miracles of Church Fathers and saints.<sup>77</sup> And although this attempt was unsuccessful, Caspar Scioppius (or Schoppe), the later Catholic polemicist, did convert upon reading the *Annales*.<sup>78</sup>

Baronio's project lent itself both to imitation and extension. For example, Thomas Malvenda began a history of the Dominican Order, divided like the *Annales* into centuries. Malvenda, like many others, argued that history offered models for imitation: 'est quidem Historia magistra vitae, et lux veritatis, ut dixit eloquentiae parens, sed nulla melius informat mores, et ad heroicas virtutes assequendas extimulat, sacra, et Ecclesiastica' ('certainly history is, as the father of eloquence [Cicero] said, the teacher of life and light of truth but no teacher better shapes morals and stimulates the pursuit of heroic [*i.e.* saintly] virtues than sacred and Ecclesiastical history').<sup>79</sup> The past

was also held to sanctify the present.<sup>80</sup> Thus, the German Jesuit Matthäus Rader declared in the preface to his *Bavaria sancta* that:

as you survey the whole of Bavaria, you will hardly find any place, where you cannot discern the vestiges of sanctity and religion; towns, cities, forums, villages, hamlets, fields, forests, mountains, valleys, [all] breathe and demonstrate the Catholic and original religion in Bavaria.<sup>81</sup>

In other words, the past had hallowed the present, creating a sacred landscape that made the whole of Bavaria 'unum quoddam commune gentis templum' ('one certain public temple of the people').<sup>82</sup> Accordingly, across Europe local *Baronii*, such as Pietro Maria Campi of Piacenza, set out to preserve and codify local traditions and beliefs.<sup>83</sup> The Flemish humanist Justus Lipsius, in his accounts of the miracles at Halle and Scherpenheuvel, similarly celebrated the divine favour showered on the *local* Church where the miracles had taken place.<sup>84</sup> Such celebrations of local traditions and saints highlighted both the success of the Tridentine project and the difficulties it faced in reconciling the particular with the Church's universal claims.

Hagiography, a form of sacred history with clear mediaeval roots, witnessed the same tensions between authenticity and Latinity. The Jesuit Heribert Rosweyde criticised contemporaries (especially the Carthusian friar Laurentius Surius) for attempts to classicise mediaeval

<sup>75</sup> Cesare Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 12 vols. (Rome, 1588–1607), I, p. 5: 'catholicae Ecclesiae visibilem Monarchiam a Christo Domino institutam, super Petrum fundatam, ac per eius legitimos, verosque successores, Romanos nimirum Pontifices, inviolate conservatam, religiose custoditam, neque umquam interruptam, vel intermissam, sed perpetuo continuatam, semperque huius mystici corporis Christi, quod est Ecclesia, unum caput visibile, cui pareant membra cetera, esse cognitum et observatum.'

<sup>76</sup> Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, p. 283.

<sup>77</sup> Grafton and Weinberg, *"I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue"*, pp. 172–173.

<sup>78</sup> Ingrid De Smet, *Menippean Satire and the Republic of Letters, 1581–1655* (Geneva: Droz, 1996), p. 153.

<sup>79</sup> Thomas Malvenda, *Annalium sacri ordinis praedicatorum centuria prima* (Naples, 1627), sig. +3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> For the importance of the concept of sanctity to the early modern period, see the overview provided by Simon Ditchfield, 'Thinking with Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World', *Critical Inquiry*, 35 (2009), 552–584.

<sup>81</sup> Matthäus Rader, *Bavaria sancta* (Munich, 1615), fol. 4<sup>v</sup>: 'ut omnes Boicae terrae partes circumspicias, nullum fere locum invenies, ubi non illustria sanctitatis religionisque vestigia deprehendas; urbes, oppida, fora, pagi, vici, agri, silvae, montes, valles, Catholicam et priscam religionem in Bavaria spirant et ostendunt.'

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, esp. pp. 291–327.

<sup>84</sup> Justus Lipsius, *Diva Virgo Hallensis* (Antwerp, 1604); Justus Lipsius, *Diva Sicheimensis, sive, Aspricollis* (Antwerp, 1606). On Lipsius' Marian devotions see Jeanine de Landtsheer, 'Justus Lipsius's Treatises on the Holy Virgin', *Intersections. Yearbook for Early Modern Studies*, 3 (2003), 65–88.

saints' lives: 'Ars veritatem perdidit, et quoniam styli gratia quaeritur, negligitur virtutum' ('Art has destroyed truth and although the grace of style is sought, that of virtues is neglected').<sup>85</sup> The saints did not need eloquence in their defence: 'malunt se nosci, quam vestem conspicere' ('they prefer rather that they are known, than that their vestments are admired').<sup>86</sup> When Rosweyde informed Bellarmine of his project to publish original saints' lives (in what was, a generation later, to become the *Acta sanctorum*), the future saint worried that this return to mediaeval *fontes* would inspire 'risum potius quam aedificationem' ('laughter rather than edification').<sup>87</sup> Catholicism's struggle to square tradition and reform, as well as mediaeval and Renaissance Latin, is in evidence here, as elsewhere.

A second work of synthesis was offered by Antonio Possevino's *Bibliotheca selecta* (1593). As its full name—*Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum in historia, in disciplinis, in salute omnium procuranda*—suggests, it was particularly aimed at students. Like Baronio's *Annales*, it was in part a response to a major work of Protestant scholarship, in this case Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis*.<sup>88</sup> In this work, Possevino offered a bibliographical overview, providing an introduction and judgements, both positive and negative, of individual books

or authors (pagans included).<sup>89</sup> The *Bibliotheca* has rightly been called a project of 'cultural hegemony' and a positive mirror to the Index, instructing readers on the construction of a Catholic library.<sup>90</sup> While Possevino told Catholics what they should read, the Index warned them about what to avoid.

Such a link between a body of authorised knowledge and the Index was already present in the minds of those assembled at Trent—their decree had handed both the Index and the liturgy over for papal consideration in the same passage.<sup>91</sup> The Roman Index was hardly an incentive for the creative development of (Neo-Latin) literature.<sup>92</sup> Indeed, to a modern audience the Index presents rather a list of must-reads of the early modern period, including such prominent *litterati* as François Rabelais, Michel de Montaigne, and Jean Bodin.<sup>93</sup> Its precise influence on and importance for Catholic scholarship, however, are difficult to estimate. As we previously saw, even Bellarmine, a future censor, made it onto the Index, however briefly.<sup>94</sup> Certainly, few authors would have dedicated their book to the censor for setting their book free, as the naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi did (making it a 'liber liber').<sup>95</sup> On the whole, the Index seems to have been more successful in restraining Catholic publishing than in preventing access to forbidden books published elsewhere.

<sup>85</sup> Heribertus Rosweyde, *Fasti Sanctorum* (Antwerp, 1607), p. 11.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Ch. De Smedt, 'Les fondateurs du Bollandisme', in *Mélanges Godefroid Kurth*, ed. by the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Liège, 2 vols. (Liège–Paris: Vaillant-Carmanne and Honore Champion, 1908), I, 295–303, esp. pp. 297–298 (dated 7 March 1608). On the origins of the *Acta Sanctorum*, see Jan Machielsen, 'Heretical Saints and Textual Discernment. The Polemical Origins of the *Acta Sanctorum* (1643–1940)', in *Angels of Light? Sanctity and the Discernment of Spirits in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Clare Copeland and Jan Machielsen (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 103–142, and Jan Marco Sawilla, *Antiquarianismus. Hagiographie und Historie im 17. Jahrhundert. Zum Werk der Bollandisten; Ein wissenschaftshistorischer Versuch* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2009).

<sup>88</sup> Luigi Balsamo, 'How to Doctor a Bibliography. Antonio Possevino's Practice', in Gigliola Fragnito (ed.), *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 50–78.

<sup>89</sup> See, for instance, Possevino's criticism of Seneca in Antonio Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1593), I, pp. 114–116.

<sup>90</sup> Albano Biondi, 'La Bibliotheca Selecta di Antonio Possevino. Un progetto di egemonia culturale', in *La 'Ratio Studiorum'. Modelli culturali e pratiche educative dei Gesuiti in Italia tra Cinque e Seicento*, ed. by Gian Paolo Brizzi (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1981), pp. 43–75, esp. p. 44.

<sup>91</sup> Tanner, *Decrees*, II, p. 797.

<sup>92</sup> Jozef IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1990–1998), I, p. 60.

<sup>93</sup> Jesús Martínez de Bujanda a.o. (eds.), *Index des livres interdits*, 11 vols. (Sherbrooke, QC and Geneva: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance and Droz, 1984–2002), IX (1994), containing the Clementine indices of 1593 and 1596, is of particular importance.

<sup>94</sup> Blackwell, *Galileo, Bellarmine, and the Bible*, p. 30.

<sup>95</sup> Ian Maclean, *The Learned Book in the Age of Confessions, 1560–1630* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), p. 134.

Interest in *historia* also impelled Catholics towards a concordance between Christian and pagan sources, as evidenced by their defence of early Christian forgeries that sought to provide just such a synthesis. Thus, Baronio had specifically embraced the Hermetic corpus in the *Apparatus* of his *Annales*,<sup>96</sup> while Bellarmine invoked the testimony of the Sibyls as evidence for Christ's divinity.<sup>97</sup> Lipsius, in his Seneca edition dedicated to Paul V, credited Jerome's claim that the Stoic philosopher had corresponded with the Apostle Paul, much to the derision of Joseph Scaliger, his Huguenot successor in Leiden.<sup>98</sup> Protestant scepticism of these early Christian forgeries was, however, equally motivated by confessional affiliation. Hence, when Scaliger questioned the authenticity of the Dionysian corpus, a set of writings ascribed to Paul's convert in Athens, Dionysius the Areopagite, he did so in part because the corpus, a sixth-century forgery, defended monasticism.<sup>99</sup>

Scaliger's challenge drew a number of different Catholic responses. In a vituperative pamphlet, the Flemish-Spanish Jesuit Martin Delrio sought to obfuscate the late emergence of the Dionysian corpus, while Bellarmine (who also took the texts to be genuine) simply admitted that the work had languished in the shadows for six centuries.<sup>100</sup> Both responses illustrate a conception of history that is very different from our own. Delrio provided a chronological list of authors and saints who had accepted the authenticity of the corpus, the list continued to the Jesuit's own time (in fact, it ended with the his own name). Miracles further corroborated

Dionysian authorship.<sup>101</sup> The unchanging nature of the Church meant that later events and the faith of later authors could bear witness to earlier events lost in the mists of time, and as such testify to the veracity and timelessness of Catholic tradition. Yet, as the disagreement between Delrio and Bellarmine shows, this insistence on Catholic uniformity, past and present, was rhetorical and an ideal, not a reality. Indeed, the belief that miracles had not ceased furnished both opportunities and further problems. The possibility of new miracles and revelations presented an implicit challenge to authority. It is not surprising that the Church in this period of consolidation and codification also grew increasingly concerned about (especially female) mystics, who were either demonically deceived or divinely inspired; at least one visionary, the later canonised Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, reportedly spoke in Latin while in rapture, despite not knowing the language.<sup>102</sup>

Furthermore, if God's will could be discerned in past and present alike, it could be witnessed in pagan history as well. Thus, Matthäus Rader informed Archduke Maximilian of Bavaria that in Quintus Curtius Rufus' *Historia Alexandri Magni* 'observanda quoque [...] admiranda supremi numinis providentia, aequitas, iustitia' ('the wonderful providence, equity and justice of the supreme God are also to be observed')—as indeed, it was in the (re)arrangement of all kingdoms.<sup>103</sup> All history is contemporary history, and Curtius gave Rader a platform from which to proffer political advice. Writing in 1627, in the midst of the Thirty Years' War, the Jesuit addressed the devout Maximilian with the latter's newly acquired title of Elector of

<sup>96</sup> Baronio, I, pp. 13–15.

<sup>97</sup> Robert Bellarmine, *De controversiis christianae fidei, adversus huius temporis haereticos*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1608), I, cols 293–294.

<sup>98</sup> Seneca, *Opera, quae extant omnia*, ed. by Justus Lipsius (Antwerp, 1605), p. xxv; *Scaligerana, Thuana, Peroniana, Pithoeana et Colomesiana*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1740), II, p. 568. Lipsius recognised that the surviving correspondence was a forgery but suggested that the original letters were lost.

<sup>99</sup> Joseph Scaliger, *Opus de emendatione temporum* (Leiden, 1598), pp. 503–504.

<sup>100</sup> Martin Delrio, *Vindiciae Areopagiticae* (Antwerp, 1607); Robert Bellarmine, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis liber unus* (Cologne, 1612), p. 66.

<sup>101</sup> Delrio, *Vindiciae Areopagiticae*, p. 118.

<sup>102</sup> On the difficulties surrounding discernment of spirits, see Moshe Sluhovskiy, *Believe Not Every Spirit. Possession, Mysticism, and Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007), and Copeland and Machielsen (eds.), *Angels of Light? Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi (1566–1607) was canonised in 1669. On her raptured Latinity*, see Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Cong. Riti, Processus 767, fol. 183. I am grateful to Clare Copeland for this reference.

<sup>103</sup> Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Ad Q. Curtii Rufi, de Alexandro Magno historiam ... commentarii*, ed. by Matthäus Rader (Cologne, 1628), sig. (?)<sup>r</sup>.

the Holy Roman Empire. Just as Catholic victory in Germany was turning into hubris, Rader warned Maximilian that Alexander the Great had remained blessed only as long as he kept within the bounds of philosophy and modesty.<sup>104</sup> If both past and present were platforms of divine justice, then history was a reminder that God's hand could be seen in contemporary events.

Divine favour was also invoked to account for the greatness and contemporary relevance of ancient (pagan) Rome. In 1584 students of the Jesuit *Collegio Romano* debated (in orations written by their teacher Francesco Benci) whether Old Rome (whose inhabitants were descended from Esau) was to be preferred to the New. The opponents of Ancient Rome argued that Peter and Paul made better founding twins than Romulus and Remus; Rome had been 'post homicidium condita, post fratricidium possessa, post raptum virginum aucta' ('founded after murder, seized after fratricide and increased after the abduction of virgins').<sup>105</sup> The orations, however, finally concluded that divine providence acted 'ut veterem praepararet ad novam, cui quasi domicilium comparabatur' ('so as to prepare the old for the new, for which it was provided as if it were a dwelling').<sup>106</sup> The same *concordia discors* between pagan and Christian Rome was re-enacted across Catholic Europe. In the dedicatory epistle of his *Admiranda, sive, De magnitudine Romana libri quattuor* (Antwerp, 1598), a work praising the greatness of ancient Rome, Justus Lipsius also declared that anyone whose reading of history was 'altior et attentior' would discern the workings of divine providence.<sup>107</sup> Lipsius called his reader to rejoice: 'Gaude igitur non maior, sed melior iam Roma; non cultior, sed sanctior; et diu sedes et habitaculum sacri huius imperii [...] esto' ('Rejoice therefore, o Rome, [that you are] now not greater but better; not more

cultivated but holier; and long may you remain the seat and residence of this sacred Empire').<sup>108</sup> Reading Lipsius' pieties on the relative merits of pagan and Christian Rome, however, the English theologian Thomas Stapleton 'sui itidem muneris esse existimavit' ('considered that it was likewise part of his own duty').<sup>109</sup> More likely, given the title of his tract, the *Vere admiranda, seu, De magnitudine Romanae Ecclesiae* (Antwerp, 1599), he believed he could do better. The theologian cast the Catholic Church as the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies, instead.

The same ambiguities permeated rhetorical practice, which was as much indebted to Christian and pagan traditions as the study of history was, and just as important in shaping Catholic liturgy and preaching. As we have seen, while it sought to put received tradition into writing, Trent also emphasised the importance of oral transmission. Hence, theoreticians stressed the importance of Latin rhetorical training, even for vernacular preaching. Yet, the boundary between pagan and Christian teaching on the subject was frequently blurred. Sacred speech fitted within the *genera* of rhetoric defined by Cicero and Quintilian and borrowed by Augustine.<sup>110</sup> Thus, a Catholic theorist such as Alfonso García Matamoros could criticise Erasmus for deviating from classical models in his *Ecclesiastes*,<sup>111</sup> and Diego Valadés, in his popular *Rhetorica Christiana ad concionandi, et orandi usum accommodata*, specifically acknowledged the usefulness of pagan rhetoric. Valadés, who was born in Mexico as the son of one of the first Spanish conquistadors, invoked the well-known analogy between Deuteronomy's prescription [Deut. 21:10–14] for how an Israelite

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., sig. (?)<sup>3v</sup>.

<sup>105</sup> Francesco Benci, *Orationes et carmina, cum disputatione de stylo et scriptione*, 2nd ed. (Ingolstadt, 1595), p. 19.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>107</sup> Justus Lipsius, sig. \*2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., sig. \*2[=6]<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>109</sup> Stapleton, *Vere admiranda*, sig. \*3<sup>v</sup>. The work, written shortly before Stapleton's death, appeared posthumously.

<sup>110</sup> Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 57–58.

<sup>111</sup> John W. O'Malley, 'Content and Rhetorical Forms in Sixteenth-Century Treatises on Preaching' in id., *Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century. Preaching, Rhetoric, Spirituality, and Reform* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), pp. 238–252, esp. p. 250.

could make a female captive his wife and a Christian's use of pagan literature—by cutting her hair and paring her nails.<sup>112</sup>

If we come across anything in them that is of use, we convert it to our doctrine. If there is anything superfluous, on idols, on love, on the care of worldly things, these we shave off [...] these we cut, the way we do with nails, with the sharpest knife.<sup>113</sup>

The metaphors of the *mulier captiva* (captive woman), associated with Jerome, and the *spoliatio Aegyptiorum* (Jewish plunder taken from Egypt), associated with Augustine, were common tropes that had also been employed by Erasmus, as Kathy Eden has shown.<sup>114</sup> Valadés adopted a third metaphor, from Basil of Caesarea, which was equally common but more favourable to pagan sources: like the honeybee, which explores flowers not just for their smell or colour but also for their substance, readers should keep an eye out for utility while enjoying pagan books.<sup>115</sup>

The most impressive Christian spoil of all was, of course, the Latin language. With his *De lingua Latina oratio*, Pompeo Ugonio, Professor of Eloquence at the Sapienza, aimed to excite an audience of Roman youths 'ad veteris eloquentiae gloriam, quae propria, ac nativa est nostrae civitatis' ('to the glory of ancient eloquence, which was proper and native to our city').<sup>116</sup> Ugonio cast Latin as a language sanctified by Jesus' name at his birth (recorded by the census) and at his crucifixion (written on

the cross).<sup>117</sup> Moreover, Latin was praised as the language in which Rome had gained its empire and in which the masses had been converted to Christianity. Yet, the tension between Christian and pagan Rome is in evidence here too, and Ugonio resolved it by casting the Church Fathers as the culmination of the Ancients:

We should imitate the ancient princes of the Christian *res publica*, in whose writings we not only discern the customary, intact, plain Latin diction, but also a singular eloquence and all the adornment and light of the greatest orators. Who does not [acknowledge] in Jerome the abundant style of Cicero? In Cyprian the candour of Caesar? In Augustine the milky richness of Livy? [...] Regard them most noble citizens. Follow in their footsteps. Compose yourselves according to their example.<sup>118</sup>

This ambiguous attitude towards the pagans was even more pronounced outside the fields of history and oratory, both of which served clear Christian purposes. Depictions of the pagan gods were expelled from the Vatican by Pius V but continued to flourish in Renaissance palaces across Rome.<sup>119</sup> The study of pagan poetry, an important part of (Jesuit) education, was justified on the grounds of acquiring a Latin style. The German Jesuit Jacobus Pontanus opened his edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* citing the now familiar passages of Jerome on the *mulier captiva* and Augustine on the *spoliatio Aegyptiorum*.<sup>120</sup> The Jesuit had censored the sexual activities of shape shifting gods and goddesses but apologised for citing the expurgated lines in his notes: 'aetate et iudicio grandioribus edere,

<sup>112</sup> Diego Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana ad concionandi, et orandi usum accommodata* (Perugia, 1579), p. 22.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*: 'Si quid in eis utile reperimus, ad nostrum dogma convertimus. Si quid superfluum, de idolis, de amore, de cura saecularium rerum, haec radimus, [...] haec in unguium morem ferro acutissimo secamus.'

<sup>114</sup> Kathy Eden, *Friends Hold All Things in Common. Tradition, Intellectual Property, and the Adages of Erasmus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 8–19.

<sup>115</sup> Valadés, p. 23; on the bee metaphor, see Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 105.

<sup>116</sup> Pompeo Ugonio, *De lingua Latina oratio* (Rome, 1586), p. 3; on Ugonio, see F. J. McGinness, 'The Collegio Romano, the University of Rome, and the Decline and Rise of Rhetoric in the Late Cinquecento', *Roma moderna e contemporanea*, 3 (1995), 601–624.

<sup>117</sup> Ugonio, *De lingua Latina oratio*, p. 16.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17: 'Imitemur veteres illos Christianae Reipublicae principes, quorum in scriptis, non modo incorruptam Latini purique sermonis consuetudinem cernimus, verum etiam singularem eloquentiam, omniaque clarissimorum oratorum ornamenta, et lumina admiramur. Nam quis non in Hieronymo copiam Cicero-nis? non in Cypriano candorem Caesaris? Non in Augustino Livii lacteam ubertatem agnoscit? [...] Hos spectate Cives nobilissimi. Horum vestigiis insistite. Ad haec vos exempla componite.'

<sup>119</sup> Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods. The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, transl. by Barbara Sessions (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953), p. 264.

<sup>120</sup> Jacobus Pontanus, *Metamorphoseon: Antwerp 1618* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1976), sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

qui Ovidiana ut sunt legere nullo edicto Praetorio prohibentur. Nihil tamen impurum citare me credas velim' ('I am writing these commentaries for older and more mature students whom no magisterial edict prohibits from reading Ovid's original words. But I would not have you think that I am stirring up anything immoral').<sup>121</sup>

One last textbook, in which Catholic interests and their attitudes towards pagan antiquity come together, is the guidance for sculptors and painters issued by Federico Borromeo, cousin and eventual successor of Carlo as archbishop of Milan. In his *De pictura sacra* (1624), Borromeo insisted that 'pictores sculptoresve sacri doceantur, quomodo [...] Sanctorumque imagines exprimere possint, salva historiarum fide' ('sacred painters and sculptors should be taught [...] how to create images of the saints that are consistent with historical truth').<sup>122</sup> He interpreted Trent's ordinance against corruption in painting as a requirement for truthfulness, meaning, for instance, that saint Christopher should not be painted on church doors because he was too tall to walk through them.<sup>123</sup> Like orators, he maintained that painters should stir their own minds before attempting to stir those of others.<sup>124</sup> Also, like those teachers of rhetoric examined above, Borromeo attached great importance to pagan authors: 'Decori tamen huius praecepta ita necessaria sunt, ut si Artifices ea plane agnoscerent et custodirent, labor hic etiam noster videri supervacaneus posset' ('their teachings on *decorum* are so essential that if artists clearly understood and followed them my task [in writing this book] might be thought superfluous').<sup>125</sup> Nevertheless, the archbishop condemned the mingling of sacred and profane in painting, criticising in particular Michelangelo's depiction of Charon's boat

in the Sistine Chapel's *Last Judgement*.<sup>126</sup> Pagan antiquity thus remained instinctively, but uncomfortably, part of Catholicism's Roman heritage.

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Taking the Tridentine decrees of the fourth session as our starting point, we have seen how the Catholic Church, having defended tradition, sought to codify it. The publication history of the Roman Vulgate, breviary, and martyrology shows that this project was marred by difficulties. The Church did not avoid reform, but as the repository of uninterrupted Apostolic traditions, it could not readily acknowledge its need. These contradictions, inherent in the Tridentine project, therefore left scope for discussion and disagreement. Although the Catholic Church after Trent used the Index to control information, attempts to standardise the liturgy and raise clerical standards also gave a positive impulse to scholarship, especially in the fields of history and rhetoric, subjects that had similarly defined *Quattrocento* humanism. This was undeniably a changed world; stronger confessional identities did not permit the freedom to question mediaeval forgeries, which Lorenzo Valla had enjoyed at the papal court a century earlier. But comparisons of this sort can be deceptive, because a changing environment also led to a change in attitudes. Ultimately, we should acknowledge that those working to further the Tridentine project, while they argued about its meaning, purpose, and direction, did not want this freedom, either.

#### FURTHER READING

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid., sig. A1<sup>v</sup>. cf. Ann Moss, *Latin Commentaries on Ovid from the Renaissance* (Signal Mountain: Summittown Company, 1998), p. 166.

<sup>122</sup> Federico Borromeo, *De pictura sacra / Sacred Painting*, ed. and transl. by Kenneth S. Rothwell Jr. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 2–3.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., pp. 10–11, 128–129.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., pp. 46–47.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., pp. 6–7.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., pp. 16–17.

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