

El saco de Roma

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Alfonso de Valdés nació en Cuenca hacia 1490.¹ Aunque nada sabemos de su formación universitaria, es conocido que cursó estudios (en la corte) bajo Pedro Mártir de Algería. Ya para 1522 es escribiente ordinario en la chancillería imperial; en 1524 aparece como registrador y contrarrelator, y para 1526 se le designa como latinista oficial, con un sueldo de 100.000 mds anuales (encargado de la correspondencia latina de Roma e Italia), secretario de Gattinara (posiblemente) y del emperador Carlos V. De 1527 (al menos) data su amistad con Erasmo, a quien éste escribe una carta fechada en dicho año (el 31 de marzo; carta 857, *Opera omnia*).² Luego se sigue, abundante, la relación epistolar entre ambos.³ Se ha destacado su amistad con Transilvano, otro miembro de relieve en el servicio diplomático del emperador Carlos V y que posiblemente tuviera gran influencia en la entrada de Valdés en la chancillería imperial.

Fue considerado iluminado y erasmista (cabeza principal de este movimiento en España). Ocupó un papel destacado en la batalla campal desatada por los ataques erasmistas a frailes (en especial de los de su *Enquiridión*), que concluyeron con la consulta del inquisidor Manrique a los teólogos de Alcalá y Salamanca al respecto en 1527 (juntas de Valladolid).

Ese mismo año tiene lugar el saco de Roma. Asimismo, en ese año se le acusó (por mediación de Juan Alemán y más tarde del nuncio apostólico, Castiglione) de luteranismo (a consecuencia de su *Lactancio* o *Diálogo de las cosas ocurridas en Roma*), aunque saldría libre tras la intervención del arzobispo de Santiago y el inquisidor Manrique. De 1529 data la carta de absolución de Clemente VII para Valdés y todos los miembros de su familia.

En este año la corte abandona España y Valdés recorre Piacenza, Bolonia, Mantua, Innsbruck y Augsburgo (donde asiste a la Dieta). Aquí Valdés ocupó un papel de primer orden con su espíritu conciliador en los diálogos con protestantes (Melanchton). Siguieron viajes por Colonia, Gante, Bruselas, Ratisbona, Nápoles (donde quedaría a cargo de los archivos) y Viena, donde murió, víctima de la peste, el 3 de octubre de 1532 (Caballero, Boehmer).⁴

Los estudiosos han señalado suficientemente las críticas (dentro de un espíritu erasmista) que Alfonso de Valdés dirigió frecuentemente a la iglesia romana, al papado corrupto (y aun en esto distinguiendo entre las críticas a Clemente VII vs. la Iglesia o incluso Roma) y contra la fuerza y potencia política del papado. A Clemente VII le pide repetidas veces que deponga su animosidad bélica y trabaje en aras de la paz. Críticas en este sentido se pueden ver tanto en el *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*.⁵

La redacción del *Diálogo de las cosas ocurridas en Roma*, según Montesinos (Ixii) debe datar de entre primeros de julio y primeros de agosto de 1527. Para lo datos sobre el evento hubo de basarse en las numerosas relaciones sobre el mismo que debieron llegar a la oficina

¹ Tomamos el dato de José F. Montesinos ed., Alfonso de Valdés, *Alfonso de Valdés. I. 'Diálogo de las cosas ocurridas en Roma*, Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1956.

² Desiderius Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, Lugduni [Leyden], P. Vander, 1703.

³ Dorothy Donald y Elena Lázaro, *Alfonso de Valdés y su época*, Cuenca, Diputación Provincial, 1983; Marcel Bataillon, *iErasmo y España*, México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1979.

⁴ Eduard Boehmer, *Lives of the Twin Brothers Juan and Alfonso de Valdés*, London, Trübner, 1882; Fermín Caballero, *Alfonso y Juan de Valdés*, Madrid, Oficina Tipográfica del Hospicio, 1875.

⁵ Rosa Navarro Durán ed., Alfonso de Valdés, *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*, Barcelona, Planeta, 1987.

cancilleresca imperial. Posiblemente el *Diálogo de las cosas ocurridas en Roma* (*Diálogo de Lactancio y un arcediano*) se publicó individualmente en Italia en 1527. Carón y este diálogo fueron impresos posiblemente en 1529. Ambos, según Montesinos, forman una unidad: el primero justifica al emperador la puesta en práctica de acciones políticas que derivan en gran medida de la suposición del saqueo de Roma.

Entre 1530 y 1559 (fecha del primer índice inquisitorial español) los dos diálogos se publican juntos hasta cinco veces (sin lugar ni año). Una sexta edición (sólo del *Diálogo de las cosas ocurridas en Roma*) se publicó en París, en 1586. Al italiano dicho diálogo se tradujo en 1546 (con posteriores ediciones) (Boehmer, *Biblioteca*, I, 107 et ss.): *Dve dialoghi, / l'vno di Mercurio, et Caronte: / nel quale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose, / et di bona dottrina, si racconta quel, che / accadè nella guerra dopò l'anno, / MDXXI. / L'altro di Lattantio, et di vno / archidiacono: / nel quale puntualmente si trattano le cose / auenute in Roma nell'anno / MDXXVII.*⁶

En inglés el diálogo se editó en 1590:

THE SACKE / of ROOME, / Exsequuted by the Emperour Charles / armie euen at the Natiuitie of this Spanish / Kinge Philip, / NOT ABLIE DESCRIBED IN A / Spanish Dialogue, with all the Horrible / accidents of this Sacke, and abhominable sinnes, superstitions and diseases of that Cittie, which prouoked / these iust iudgements / of God, / Translated latelie into the English / tongue, neuer fitter to bee read nor / deeplier considered, then euen / now at this present time. / LONDON / Printed by Abell Ieffes / 1590.

Como tal obedece a un plan para dar a conocer los textos de los reformistas españoles, ya sea en su idioma original, ya sea en traducción inglesa. El texto que aquí editamos parece haberse hecho a partir de la edición francesa de 1586. Wiffen (citado en Boehmer) indica que “for there is the omission respecting the worship of relies at p. H4b, and a small addition at the end of the Dialogue, taken from Cipriano de Valera’s *Dos tratados*” (I, 111). El hecho de que se incluyan una *contaminatio* de los *Dos tratados* de Cipriano de Valera refuerza la hipótesis de que las prensas inglesas (en los últimos años del reinado isabelino) estuvieron ocupadas dando a la estampa obras de reformistas españoles.

El diálogo se tradujo asimismo al alemán en 1609, 1613, 1643 y 1704.

Entre sus obras destacan las numerosas cartas latinas salidas de la chancillería imperial. Entre ellas, mención aparte merece su correspondencia con Erasmo, la relación de la batalla de Pavía (que le fue encargada por el Consejo del Emperador el 24 de febrero de 1525) y la defensa de Erasmo ante los teólogos de Lovaina (1527) por su condena de aquél.

El *Diálogo de las cosas ocurridas en Roma* aborda en dos partes (mediante un diálogo entre Lactancia y un arcediano llegado de Roma) las acusaciones del arcediano contra el emperador por el saqueo de Roma, al que se intenta definir como castigo divino. La segunda parte se detiene por extenso en la explicación providencialista del saqueo.

⁶ Eduard Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*, New York, B. Franklin, 1962.

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of this Spanish / Kinge Philip, / NOT ABLIE DESCRIBED IN A / Spanish Dialogue, with all
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LONDON / Printed by Abell Ieffes / 1590.

[2] The Translator of this Spanish Dialogue / to his honest loving learned friend / A. V. /

Having in some publique imployments / not long since so overtoyled my / selfe, as I found my
liberty of returne / to my former delectable studies and / recreations, a very paradise in re- / spect
of the Hel of envy and mallice / wherein I had beene long and injouris- / lie with many stormes
turmoiled: / among other histories and pleasant / discourses that at idlest times I read for
recreation, this / Spanish Dialogue received from you, so pleased me, as / partlie for that exercise
of that toong, but chieflie for the singu- / lar good liking I had of the matter, and to passe over
some / melancolye conceits (whereinto the ingratitude of some / persons, and to the handes I
had but to well deserved, had / throwne me) I began to translate the same into English, /
following as nigh as I could the verie Spanish letter, saving / in such phrases as in our toong have
neither grace nor / sence.

The treatise surelie is such, as being read of our nation, / could not but worke singular good
effects, even in our / most obstinate moderne perverse papists, seeing it so pal- / pable revealeth
the horrible errors and abuses of that / their corrupted Romane religion, or rather putrifed super- /
stition most unjustlie by them misnamed Catholike or Apo- / stollicall) and that by a couple of
their owne Spanish partie: / notsomuch by scriptures sacred where unto they generally / beare to
small reverence as by evident demonstrations & / such invincible reasons as were able to reduce
very hea- / thens and Paynims to a better sence: and the method and / stile such, as if I could
deliver it in English with that grace it /

[3] hath in the Spanish, were no lesse delectable then profitable / and not unfit for other due
respects to be printed and pub- / lished even in this our time : that as even at the nativitie / of this
aspiring Philip King of Spaine, their cheef champi- / an, Almightye God miraculously stirred up
a little armie of / their owne religion, justlie to chastice the hatefull pride of / that Babilonick
Sea when her treacherie was not growne / to that heighth of hellish wickednesse, it hath since
aspired : / So the memorie thereof revived by the due consideration / of every perticuler accident,
cause, and circumstance, so / wittily discussed and lively represented in this discourse, /
(confirred with the horrible treasons and villanies in this / age, before our eyes committed by that
sea, ever sithence / hatching continually new rebellions of subjects, murthers / of annointed kings
and princes, massacres of christian people, destruction and subversion of kingdomes, &
common- / weales, tending finale to the utter dispeopling & desolati- / on of all christendome,
being mounted even to the heighth / of her impietie, and ripe for ruine) may nowe likewise ani- /
mate & stir up againe some noble spirits of our time before / or at the same death of Philip their
chiefe abbettour, / and maintainer, to attempt and atchieve the like, or a more / glorious godly
honourable enterprise, causing all men of / right sence, no lesse to abhorre these devilish
practices and / practicers, then their damnable wickednesse indeed de- / servesithe which my
traduction now finished, I re- / commend to your correction and disposition: / and so leave you to
your theologicall or / metaphysicall muses, and merci- / full protection of the / Almightye.

[4] The Authors preface to the Reader. / So great is the blindness wherein for the most / part of the world is now drowned, that I marvel / not at the false judgements by the common peo- / ple conceived of this late accident of Rome : for / as they suppose religion to consist onelie in these / externall things : so seeing them so badly hand- / led, they thinke the faith to be utterlie overthrowne, and in truthe / As I cannot but commend, the holy zeale wherewith the common / sorte are thereto mooved, so can I not allowe of their silence, whose / dutie were to reduce them from that error. Seeing them on the one / part, how prejudiciall it should be, first to the glory of God, then / to the salvation of his people: and also to the honour of this most / Christian king and emperour whome God hath given unto us, if / these matters should remaine thus cloaked, I have attempted (ra- / ther led thereunto by simplicitie and hastie love, then by foolish / arrogancie to accomplish with this small service, these three prin- / cipall things whereunto men are bound. I was not ignorant that / the matter was much more high and difficile then the measure of / my forces, and yet I knowe as well that where there is a good inten- / sion, Jesu Christ dooth lighten the understanding, and supplie / with his grace the defect of our forces and knowledge attained by / humaine wit, my thoughts also, I did see represented before mee / the false judgements that superstitions Pharizes are like to con- / ceave of this matter, wherefor let them knowe, that I write not / for them nor to them, but to the true Christians and faithfull lovers / of Christ Jesu aswell did I also see, the perverse contrarities of / the common sorte, the which are so settled on things visible. / As they do almost make aiest of the things invisible. Remembering therefore / that I wrote not to Gentiles but unto Christians, whose perfection / is to withdraw it selfe from things visible, and to love the invisible: /

[5] / I remembred also that I wrote not unto brute people, but unto / Spaniards, whose wits, there is nothing so difficult but they are / able to attaine: and seeing my desires are no others then my words / expresse, I easilie persuade my selfe that I shall attaine of all that / are discreete, and not counterfeit Christians, if anie default be / found in this dialogue, to interpret the same in the best sence: / and impute the blame to my ignorance, and not presume to be- / leeve that mallice hath any parte therein, since in all I sub- / mit myself to the correction and judgement of the / holy church, the which I acknowledge for / the mother of the disciples of / the truth. /

[6] The first part of the Sacke / of Rome. / The Argument / A yong knight of the emperours court named Lattantio, / met in the markeplace of Valedolid with an Arch- / deacon that came from Rome in a souldiers habit, / and entering into S. Frauncis church had communica- / tion concerning matters chaunced at Rome. In the / first part Lattantio shewed the Archdeacon how the / emperour was in no fault for that matter. And in the / second, how God permitted all that was done for the / good of Christendome. /

Lattantio. / God lord is not the Archdea- / con of Vifo, the greatest friend I had / in Rome, a strange matter, it seemes / to be he, though not by his apparell, / it may bee some mother of his: I wil / not passe by without speaking who- / soever he bee. Tell me gentleman, / are you a mother to the Archdeacon / of Vifo: /

Arch. What Segnior Lattantio / have you so soone forgotten mee it appeares fortune quickly / chaungeth mens knowledge. /

Latt. what say you now I see you are the Archdeacon him- / selfe indeede. /

Arch. Yea sir to do you service. /

Latt. who could you know you coming as now you do? you / were wont to weare your garmentes one longer than another, / trailing on the grownd, your cappe after the ecclesiasticall manner /

[7] act your servants and reverend Mule, but now I see you on / foot alone, a short cote, with a thred bare frizado cape, a great / sword and a souldiers hat: besides all this a long beard, and / your haire and head without any figae of crowne, who could / have knowen you: /

Arch. Who sir: Even he that knowes the habit by the man, / and not the man by the habit. /

Latt. Well, if the memorie have erred, it is no reason good: / will should paye for that faule which in me hath verie seldom di- / minished: But tell me as God helpe you sir, how comes this / change: /

Arch. what, have you not heard what hath happened at / Rome lately: /

Latt. Yes, I have heard some thing, but what concernes the / busines of Rome, the change of your garmentes /

Arch. Seen you aske that question it appeares you know / not al, for then you should have knowen that ther is not in Rome / a man that dare passe the streets in habitof an ecclesiastical per- / son. /

Latt. What tell you mee? /

Arch. I tell you that when I came from Rome, the perse- / quition against the clergie was so great, that there was not a / man that durst walke the streetes in habit of a clarke or a frier. /

Latt. O marveilous God how incomprehensible are thy / judgements: But sir I pray you were you within Rome at / that time, when the emperours armie entred /

Arch. Yea for my sinnes I was found or rather lost there, for / of all that enter I had I have nothing left but that you see. /

Latt. Wherefore did you not commit your selfe to the Spa- / nish souldjours, and thereby have saved your goods. /

Arch. My sinnes daunted my wittes, and my unhappie lot was to fall among the Almans, where I thought it no little / gaine to escape twith life out of their handes. /

Latt. Its all true wee heare from thence, and that men report / here. /

Arch. I know not what you heare, nor what you say of it, / but I can asure you it was the most terrible thing that ever / man saw, I know not how you take it here, it seems yes to mee you / make no great accompt of it. But on my soule I know not whe- /

[8] ther God will to dissemble it: and if wee were in some other / place where it were lawful for me to speake I would utter soule / and terrible matters with this mouth. /

Latt. Against whom: /

Arch. Against him that hath done more mischief against the Church of God then ever Turke or pagan durst have done. /

Latt. But sost sir Archdeacon, it may be y you are deceaved / and lay the fault wher it is not: between us any thing may passe, tell me therefore franckly your minde, and I will so endeavour to / open unto you your error, that you shall not blame him that is / not blame worthie. / Arch. I am content to open plainly unto you my mind in this / matter, but not here in the marketplace, let us goe into this / church of S.Frauncis, and there we wil discourse at our leisure. / Latt. Agreed, let it be so. /

Arch. How that we are where we may talke, and none heare / us, I pray you sir whatsoever passeth betweene us, let no other / man be privie of it, for princes are princes, and no wifedome / for men to put themselves in perill where they neede not. /

Latt. Hereof you may be well assured. /

Arch. Let us then see Signior Lattantio, doth it seem un- / to you a matter tolerable that y
Emperour hath done in Rome / that which never infidels had done, and that for his perticuler /
passion, and to revenge himselfe of I wat not what, hath in such / sort sought to distroy the Sea
Apostolique, with the greatest / Agnonunie, and with greater contempt, and greater crueltie / than
ever was heard or seene. I know that Gothes tooke / Rome, but yet they medled not with the
church of S.Peeter, / they medled not with the reliques of the Sainctes, they medled not with the
sacred and holy things. but whereas those halfe / Christians had this respect, now our Christians
(albeit I know / not whether they bee worthie of that name) they have not for- / borne churches,
they have not foreborn monasteries, they have / not foreborn the sacred things, they have
violated all, they have / robbed all, they have profaned all, that I wonder the earth hath / not
opened and swallowed them up, those also that sent them, or consented unto it. What thinke yee
now will the Turkes, the / Moores, the Jewes, and the Lutherans say. Seen the head of a / church
thus handled. O God, that suffrest such a thing. Oh

[9] God that consentest to so great a wickednes: was this the de- / fence that y Apostolike Sea
hoped from him defendor was this / the honor that Spaine hoped for of hir so mightie kings was
this / the glorie was this the good: was this the amplification and / enlargement that all
Christiandome hoped twas it for this that / his great grandfathers get the title of Catholike for this
/ cause did they joine so many kingdomes and seignores unto / the rule of one Lord for this was
hee eleced emperour: for / this did the bishop of Rome helpe him to thrust out the French / out of
Italie: to the end that in one day he should destroy al that / their predecessors with so great
travels, and in such a multitude / of years had foundet: So many and such goodly churches, such /
monasteries, such hospitals, and chappels, where God was / woont to bee served and honoured,
to the now defaced and profa- / ned. So many altars, yea even in the church of the prince of / the
apostles embrued with blond, so many reliques robbed and / with sacrilegious handes profaned
for this cause did their pre- / decessors adjoine so great holinesse to this cittie for this did / they
honor the church with such and so many reliques: for this / did they bestow on them so many
ritch ornamentes of gold and / silver. that in the end hee should come without remorse to rob,
deface and destroy al: Oh soveraigne God, is it possible that so / great a crueltie, so great an
outrage, so abhominable boldnes, so / horrible an accident, and so execrable a wickednesse can
passe / without some most vigorous, most grievous, and most notorious / punishment: I know not
what feeling you have here of it, as if / you have any I mervell how ye can let it passe or
dissemble it. /

Latt. I heare attentively all that you have said, and in truth / albeit I heare the like uttered of that
master by manie, yet mee / thinkes you make it more foule, and blame it more than any o- / ther,
and in all that you have spoken it seems to me you are very / ill enformed, and in my judgements
it is not reason, but passion, for / that you have lost, that causeth you to utter the same which you
/ have spoken, I will not speake passionately as you have done, for / so should we so and
speech without any fruit. But without affect- / tionate speeches, I hope trusting in your discrete
and good judge- / ment, that before you part from me you shall plainlie understand / how much
you have bin deceived in all that you have yet saied, / onely I request you to be attentive, and not
to forbear to replie /

[10] when you see cause, to the end you may not rest in any doubt. /

Arch. Say what you wil, but I wil hold you for a greater O- / rator then Tullius if you be able to
defend this cause. /

Latt. Nay I am content you shal accpmt me the beriest idiot / that is in the whole world if I
defend it not and proove my opini- / on to you with most cleere and evident reasons. And the

first thing / that which happened at Rome. And secondly how ali that happe- / ned ther came to passe by the manifest and just judgement of God, / to correct and chastice that citie, wherein (to the great flander of Christian Religion) raigned al those vices tht the wickednes of man could invent, and with that correction to awake the chri- / stian people, to the end that those evils being remeded we might / open our eyes and live like Christians, seeing wee glorie so much / in that name. /

Arch. A great enterprise you have taken in hand, but how you / wil goe through with it and see not. /

Latt. Concerning the first I must protest unto you, that no one / thing of that which hereafter shall be said is by mee spoken in pre- / judice of the dignitie or person of the Pope: for it is great reason / that his dignitie be reverenced of all men, and touching his alone / person, surely I can speake no ill if I would. Besides that, it is / well knowen that all which hee hath done hath not passed by his / owne meanes, but by meanes of the lewdnesse of some persons y / hee keeps about him. And to the end that we the better understand / one another, seeing this difference is betweene the Pope and the / emperour, I pray you first declare unto me, what office that of / the Popes is, and likewise what is the office of the emperour, / and to what ende or purpose these dignities were first establi- / shed. /

Arch. It seemeth unto me that the office or dutie of the em- / perour is to defend his subjectes and to maintaine them in / great peace and justice favoring the good, and chasticing / the ill. /

Latt. You say well, but what is then that of the Pope. /

Arch. That is more hard to declare, for if wee behold the time / of S.Peter, it is one, and in these dayes another. /

Latt. But when I demaunde of you to what ende these digni- / ties were ordeined, it is ment that you should declare unto mee, / their / [11] intention that did ordain them. /

Arch. Surely it seemes unto mee it was ordeined to thende / this high bishop should take on him the auctoritie to expounde / the holie scriptures, and to the end hee should enstruct the peo- / ple in Christian doctrine, not onely with woords but also with ex- / ample of life, and to the ende hee should with teares and praiers / make supplication continuallie unto God, for his Christian peo- / ple, and to take on him the supream charge and power to ab- / solve such as had sinned and were desirous to convert themselves, / and to pronounce damnation against such as in their wicked lives / remaine obstinate. And to the ende that with continuall carefull / endeavour hee should procure the maintenance of the Christian / people in great peace and concord: and to the end wee should / have here on earth such a one as should truelie and lively repre- / sent unto us the life and holie cusione of Jesus Christ our Rede- / mer, because the hartes of men are much more sllured with / workes then with words. This is as much as I can gather / out of the holie scriptures, if you have anie thing else, say it.

Latt. This shall suffice at this present, and see that you forget / it not, for we shall have need thereof hereafter in his due time.

Arch. No, I will not.

Latt. Then if I shew you plainlie, that because the emper- / rour hath done that, which your selfe have averred to be his du- / tie: And because the Pope hath refused to do that which on his / part ought to have bin done. This distruction of Rome hath fol- / lowed: In whom will you then lay the fault:

Arch. If you could do this which I cannot beleeve, then is it / plaine to be the Popes fault.

Latt. Then I pray you tel me your sele, seeing you say that / the Pope was instituted to the ende hee should imitate Jesus / Christ, what do you think that Jesus Christ would rather main- / taine his people in peace or to stir them up and tormoile them in / warres:

Arch. This is cleere, that the Aucthor of Peace doth not de- / test any thing more then warre.

Latt. Then let us see how shall he bee the Imitator of Christ / Fesu, that stirred up warres and dissolved peace.

Arch. Such an one should be farre off from Imitation of / Christ, but to what and aske you mee this:

[12] Latt. I demaund it for this purpose, that seeing the emperour / defending his subjects, as he is bound: the Pope tooke armies / against him, and dissolved the peace, and raised a new warre in / Christiandome, neither the emperour was in fault for the evils / that succeeded, seeing he did that which was his office and dutie: / Neither can the Pope be excused of the fault, seeing hee did that / he ought not have doone, in breaking the peace and raising a new / warre in Christiandome.

Arch. What peace did the Pope dissolve, or what warre did he raise up in Christiandome.

Latt. He dissolved the peace that the emperour had made / with the French king, and hath stirred up the warre which wee / still have, whereby though the just judgement of God the mis- / cheefe came upon him, which he hath received.

Arch. Oh sir, you make your account well, but where have / you learned that the pope stirred up the warre with the empe- / rour, and that hee dissolved the peace made with the frenche / king.

Latt. Because immediately so soone as the French king was / delivered out of prison, he sent him a writte, wherein he did ab- / solved him of the othewhch he had made unto the emperour, to / the end he should not be bound to accomplish that which hee had / promised, whereby more frelye hee might make warre upon / him.

Arch. But how knowe you this: you speake as though you had bin of the Popes secret councill.

Latt. It is knowne by the manie meanes, but not to loose time / looke upon the beginning of the league that the Pope made / with the Frenche king, and you shall plaielie see, that the Pope / was the advancer of it, and seeing that this is so certain a truth, / that even the Pope himselfe confesseth it: dooth it seeme unto / you now that this was a deed fit for the vickar of Jesus Christ. / You say that his office and dutie is to make peace among such as / are at difference, and he hath sowne warres betweene those that / were in concord: you say his office was to teach the people both / with words and workes, the doctrine of Christ Jesu, and he hath / taught all things cleane contrarie thereunto: you say his dutie / was to pray unto God for his people, and he hath gone about to / worke their destruction: you say that his office was to imitate /

[13] Jesus Christ, and he in all things hath laboured to be contrarie / unto him : Jesu Chrsit was poore and humble, but he to increase / I wot not what segnorie, hath put all Christendome in armes. / Jesus Christ did good against ill, but he ill for good, in making a / league against the emperour, at whose handes he had received / so much good. I saye not this to reprothe the Pope, it is well / knowne it proceeed not of himselfe, and that hee was irritated / thereunto by some bad councill.

Arch. By this meanes should he be wholie in the fault.

Latt. Both they that gave him so bad councill, and himselfe / also that kept about him such mischievous people, for doe you / thinke that before God, a prince shall be excused, by saying the / fault in this councill : No, no : for seeing God hath given him / judgement to make choise of good men to be of his councill, and / to abuse him to the best, if he chuse ill men or retaine them about / him, the fault is his, and if he have no judgement to chuse such / persons let him leave his segnorie.

Arch. You require things that are very harde and difficult.

Latt. And whie hard and difficult, dooth there need so great a / judgement for this matter. Tell me I pray you, what warre is / there so just, that a Vickar of Jesus Christ should take in hande / against Christians, the members of one body, whose head is / Christ and his Vickar.

Arch. The Pope had great reasons to take in hand this / warre against the emperor, one for that he would not first seede / his freendship, and an other for that he held by usurpation the / state of Millan, having despoiled the Duke Frauncis Sforza / thereof, and the Pope seeing this feared another day he would do / as much against him, taking from mhim also his territories of the / church : And therefore with great justice and reason did the / Pope take armes against the emperour, aswell to make him / restore the Dutchie of Millane to the Duke, as also to assure / the state and territories of the church.

Latt. I woonder that a man of so good judgement as you are, / should speak a thing so far from reason as this, let us see whether / the Pope did this as the Vickar of Christ, or as *Julio de Medicis*.

Arch. It is cleere that he did it as Vickar to Christ.

Latt. Then I saye if the emperour would against all right / and reason, despoile the Dukes of Millan of all his state, what /

[14] had the Pope to doe therewith, why would hee intermeddle its / matters where he was not desired, and in such matters as ap- / pertained no wayes to his office: why did he not rather take ex- / ample by Jesus Christ to have doone the contrarie who being / desired, that freendlie sorte he would make partition of an in- / heritance betweene two kinsemen, he would not goe, leaving an / example to his followers not to entermedle in so base matters, / And would you now have his vickar to intrude himselfe with an / armed hand being not requested of them and where learne you that / Jesus Christ appointed his vickar a judge betweene seculer / princes, how much lesse an executioner or brewer of war among / Christians: will you see how unlike he is to be the vicar of Christ / that is a stirrer of wars, behold the frutes that proceed thereof, / and see how contrarie they are, not onely to Christian doctrine, / but even to humane nature: to all other creatures God hath gi- / ven weapons wherewith they might both defend themselves and / offend others: but man alone as a creature descended from heaven, among whom there should be all concord, as a thing that should / heere represent the image of God, he left him unarmed, he meant / not he should make wars, he meant there should be among men / as great love and concord, as there is among the angles of hea- / ven: and yet notwithstanding we are growne to so great blindness, / that more brute then the brute creatures, more beasts then the / beasts themselves, we do murder one another: the beasts do live / in peace, but we much worse then beasts do live in wars, if we will / make searche in all countries how men live, in Christiandome on- / lie which is but a corner of the world, you shall find more warres / then in all the world besides. And yet are we not ashamed to call / our selves Christians, and for the most part ye shall find them the / most inflamers of wars, that ought most to appeale them: the bi- / shop of Rome was bound seeing he would be the vicar of Christ / Jesu, the cardinals were found seeing they would be the pillers / of the church: the bishops were bound being pastors, to give their / lives for their sheepe, even as Christ himself taught when he said / *Bonus pastor ponit animam suam pro omnibus suis*, but much more / the Pope and cardinals, seeing their revenues were given to / these prelates to that ende, that using their pastorall office they / feare least they should loose some little mite of their reputation /

[15] put all Christendome, O gentil charitie, do I give thee money to / defend me, and doost thou therewith gather souldiers together / to murder me, to robbe me, and to destroie me : where

learne / you that Jesus Christ commaunded his followers to make / warres, read all the evangelicall doctrine, read all the aposto- / like epistles, you shall finde nothing but peace, concord, untie, / love and charitie, when Jesus Christ was borne, they entended / no warres, but the very angels soong *Gloria in excelsis Deo, in / terra pax, hominibus bona voluntas*, he gave us peace when he / was borne, and peace when he was crucified, how oftentimes / did he admonish and exhort his followers to this peace and cha- / ritie, and yet not contented with this, he desired of his father, that / his should be one among themselves, even as he and his father / were one, could he require a greater conformitie or unities : And / yet furthermore, he required that those which followed his doc- / trine, should not make themselves different from others in gar- / ments, neither yet in their manner of behaviour, neither yet in / fasting nor in any other externall matters, but onely in woorkes / of charitie, this being the principall figure and meanes to knowe / our faith, would you then have the head thereof to walke so farre / astrae : if seculer princes then make warres it is so marvell, see- / ing the sheepe do but follow the shepheard, if the head make / warres the other members are forced to warre also. Of the / Pope I cannot but marvell, that hould be a mirrour of al Chri- / stian vertues, and a patterne whereupon we should all cast our / eyes, being bound to maintaine all in peace and concorde (yea / though it were with the perrill of his owne life) will not withstan- / ding make warre to gaine and maintaine things which Jesus / Chrsit commaunded to be contemned, and that there should bee / found among Christians any that would give him auyde in an ac- / tion so wicked, so exeerable, and prejudiciall to the honour of Christ, / what blindness is this wee call our selves Christians, and yet / live worse then Turkes, yea worse then brute beasts: if we thinke / that this doctrine of Christ be but a mockerie, whie doe we not / forsake it all together, for so at least should we not doe so great / wrongs, where we have received so great good. But seeing wee / doe knowe it to be most true, and that we doe so much glorie in / the name of Christians, and disdain those that be not : whie doe / we not endeavoure to be Christians indeed : whie doe we live in / force /

[16] lost as if their were neither faith nore love amongst us? / The philosophers and ancient sages being gentils disputed and / contemned riches, and would you have the vickar of Christ / Jesu make warres for that which those blind pagans esteemed / not. What shal those nations say y do know no more of Christ / Jesus then that which they behold in his vickar, but that those / philosophers, who to attaine their ture good which they had pla- / ced in vertue did despise these worldlie things, were much bet- / ter then Jesus Christ, when they see his vickar bring and stir- / ring up warres for these thinges which they contemned. Behold / here the honor done unto him by them that maintain themselves / upon his bloud. Oh bloud of Jesus Christ so evill be thy vic- / kars employed, which by thee gather these masses of money to / murder men, to murder Christians, to distroy cities, to ransacke / villages, to dishonour virgins, to make such numbers of wid- / dows and diphans, and to cause such a multitude of mischiefs, / as warres drue with it: A man might see in Lumbardie, yea in / all Christendome, so great prosperitie, so many and so goodlie / citties, such ftatelie buildinges in the suburbes and countrie, such gardens, such pleasures, and so great pastimes: The la- / borers gathered their graines for their flockes, and manured / their landes. The citizens, gentlemen, and nobilities, every / man in his degree employed freelie their goods, they employed qui- / etly their inheritances, encreased their rents and manie of them dis- / tributed largelie among the poore: But after this accursed wars / began, how manie citties have wee seene destroyed, how manie / houses and places of pleasure dispeopled and razed, how manie / vineyards and orchards spoiled and defaced, how many of the / nobilitie, citizens, and laborers fine into extream povertie, / how manie married women have lost their husbandes, how ma- ny fathers and mothers their deare children, how manie vir- / gins

their virginitie, how manie wives forced in presense of their / husbandes, how many husbandes murdered in presence of their / wives, how many nunns dishonored, and what a slaughter and / decay of men in Christendome and that worse is, what a num- / ber of soules sent to Hell: And doe wee winke at it as a matter / of jest: And yet this vicker of Christ not contented with all this, even at this time when we were in peace commeth to stir us up / a new warre, even at this time I say when we have the enemies/ of /

[17] our faith at our doore, to the ende wee may loose the rest as / we lost the kingdome of Hungarie, and to the end he might tul- / ly accomplish the losse of all the residue that yet remained, Yea / and yet further, his souldiers not contenting themselves to / make warres like others seeke out new kindes of crueltie. For / neither the emperour Nero nor the Syracusan Dyonisius, nor / all the cruel tirants that are hetherto raigned in the world could / invent such cruelties as this armie of the Popes after it brake / the truce made with Don Hugo de Moncada hath put in exe- / cution in the territorie of the Collones where two of these Chri- / stians have taken a virgin of the nobilitie by the legs, and hol- / ding her naked, her head downwards, an other comes with an / halterd, all alive as shee was cleeves her into two peeces: Oh / crueltie, oh impietie, oh most execrable wickednesse, what could / that poore wench have committed, or what had those wives great / with child offended, that in presence of their husbandes had their / bellies ripped open with their cruell swords, and the infantes yet / warm rosied on spits before the eyes of the unhappie mother. Oh / wonderfull God that consentest to these thinges. Oh cares of / men that can endure to heare such a thing, oh supream bishop / that suffrest these things to be done in thy name. What had those / innocent creatures merited : wee speake ill of Herode that cau- / sed the children lately borne to be murdred, and thou consentest to / have them murdered before they were borne: thou mightest have / suffered them at least to have receaved baptisme, though shouldest / not have endeavored to have destroyed both soule and bodie. How / had those poore women merited to die with such torment, to have / their bowels ripped open living, and to see their children groning / upon spits roasting, or those sorrowfull fathers that died with be- / rie grieffe of their unfortunate children and unhappie mothers: / What Jewe, Turke, More, or Infidil il now come to the faith / of Jesus Christ, seeing wee receive such woorkes from his Vic- / kars: which of them wil ever serve or honor him: And those Chri- / stians which understand not the christian doctrine, what have they / to do but to follow their pastor. And if every oone will seeke to fol- / low him, who wil desire to live among Christians: shal we thinke / sir that this is to imitate Jesus Christ: shall we thinke that this / is to teach the Christian people: shal we thinke that this is to in- / terprete the sacred scriptures: shall we thinke that these bee the /

[18] woorkes of Jesus Christ that we thinke that to this ende this dig- / nitie was appointed, that by the same he should destroy the Chri- / stian people.

Arch. I cannot denie it to bee an horrible thing, but this is a / matter so accustomed in Italie to make no accompt of a Pope / that maketh not war, as they hold It for a very great dishonor for / any Pope in his time to lose any little percel of the landes of the / church.

Latt. Not to be tedious I wil omit a number of reasons that / I were able to alledge to confute this, but let us come to the ex- / tremitie: I say, that if the emperour would goe about to take a- / way the church landes, what do you think? were it not better / that the Pope had lost all his temporall dignities, then that Chri- / stendome and the honor of Jesu Christ should suffer that it hath / donce.

Arch. No surely, for thus would you goe about to spoile the / church.

Latt. And why spoile the church, what call you the church:

Arch. The Pope and cardinals.

Latt. And all the rest o the Christians shall they not al well bee the churhc as they.

Arch. They say yes.

Latt. Then the Seignorie and authoritie of the church con- / sisteth rather in men then in government of townes, and there- / fore shall the church be wel established when it shall have many / Christians, and their dispoiled when it shall have few.

Arch. That seemes to mee to be true.

Latt. Now then he that is the cause of the destruction of any / one Christian man, dispoileth more the church of Jesus Christ then he that taketh from the Pope his temporail dignities.

Arch. Let it be so.

Latt. Then tel me now you, what number of Christians have / perished since the Pope began this war, to assure as you say his / estate: I omit the other mischiefs which wars draweth on with it.

Arch. Infinite.

Lat. Now you see that hee that hath bin the cause of this destruction hath more despoiled the church then he that hould have bereaved the Pope of his temporall dignitie: But let us see / if anie man should have caught from Jesus Christ his cloake, /

[19] do you beleeeve that he would have taken armes to have defen- / ded it:

Arch. No surely.

Latt. Why then would you have the Pope to do it, seeing you / say hee was appointed to that ende that the should imitate Jesus / Christ.

Arch. In this maner the Church should never keep any sig- / norie, everie one would pull a peece from it, if they thought the / Pope might not defend it.

Latt. Whether it bee necessarie or profitable to the Church, / for the Popes to have temporal seignories or not, let them look / to that, but surely mee thinkes, they might much better intende / matters spirituall, if they did not so much entangle themselves / with temporall, even in that which you have said, you are much / deceaved. For if the Pope would bee content to imitate Jesus / Christ, and live indeede as his Vickar, hee should not onely not / lose any part of his lands, but rather much more should be given / unto him, and let us see how he holds any thing of that hee hath / but by that meanes.

Arch. You say the trueth, but now there is scarcely any chari- / tie in the world.

Latt. It is your selves with your evill lives that quench the / fire of charitie, and in your selves it lieth to kindle and enflame it, / if you would.

Arch. You would have us enflame charitie by loosing all wee / have.

Latt. And why note if it have bene given you for Gods sake, / why should you not bee content for Gods sake to forgoe it. It is / most certaine that all true Christians should so do, we hold and pos- / sesse our goods temporal with this condicion, that we should bee / alwaies readie to leave them whensoever we shal see it conveni- / ent for the honor and glorie of Christ Jesus, and for the common / good of Christendome: how much more then ought you of the / clergie to do the same, yea, and how much more in dutie then / ought the Vickar of Jesus Christ to do it.

Arch. You are so holy as I neede not meddle with you, suer- / ly we have no neede of such at Rome.

Latt. Nether would I desire to live among such wicked people.

Arch. You meane as there are now there.

[20] Latt. Neither yet as these that were there, for in an infected / flocke there is bad choise to be made.

Arch. What do you then account us as bad as those roy- / sters.

Latt. As bad. Ney I would you were not much worse.

Arch. Wherefore.

Latt. Because you are much more pernicious unto the whole / commonweale by your bad example.

Arch. And I pray you what be they:

Latt. They make not profession to be the ministers of God as / you doe, neither have they living for such as they have, neither is / there any that will seeke or ought to seeke to immitate them, as / they should you. But staie a while, I have not yet doone, for he- / ther to have I handled this matter, calling the Pope Christs Vi- / ckar : now will I handle it, making accoumpt or supposing the / Pope is also a secular prince as the emperour, to the end you / may the more cleerely see the error you were in. And as concer- / ning the first, it is most certaine that the Pope received this dis- / nitie by the favour of the emperour, and having so gotten it, be- hold what gratitude, immediatlie he comfurst himselfe with the king of Fraunce at this entrance into Italie, and left the freend- / ship of the emperour. Yea and some averre that the Pope him- / selfe was the solisitor and causer of his entrance into Italie, and / notwithstanding all this, the emperour having the victorie a- / gainst the French king, was not onely content not to take from / the Pope his territories of Parma and Placentia, as both in ju- / stice and reason he mought then have doone, but ratified the / league that his embassadour made with him, yet the Pope not- / withstanding not contented with this, began to frame a vewe / league in Italie against the emperour after the Frenche king / was prisoner. But that secret practise was discovered, and so / tooke no effect. And yet could not all this so alienate the empe- / rours minde, but that hee sought by all honest and reasonable / meanes to content the Pope, and to procure him to be a meane / in that peace, which was intreatie betweene him and the king of / Fraunce, and that he should not hinder it, but he was never able / to attaine it. Yet in the meane time was this peace concluded / with Fraunce, but so soone as the king was set at libertie, the / Pope bean o procure a new league with him against the em-

[21] perour, having received no occasion in the world at his hands so / to doe, and all this even at that time, when the Turkes with a / puisant armie began to enter by the kingdome of Hungary, doe / you thinke that this was a good parte: The enemies were / come to our gates. and we brew warres within the house. He / requires the emperour that he should not prepare any forces to / resist the Turke, and yet himselfe secretly prepareth to make / warre upon the emperor. Do you thinke that these were monks / of a Christian prince:

Arch. But let us see on the other side why the emperour did / not justice to the Duke of Millan, for if he had comitted no fault, / was it not good reason he should restore his state to him againe.

Latt. Yes surely, and therefore sir, behold the emperor pla- / ced Frauncis Sforza in the state of Millan, whereas he might / have tane it to himselfe, seeing he hath much more right there- / unto then that Duke, and that onely for the peace and ease of Ital- / ly and all Christendome, he was content to bestowe it on such a / man, at whose hands he never had receivd any service. And / afterward the emperour understood by his captaines that the / same Duke had conference, and had taken parte in that league / which the potentates of Italie had made against him. And seeing / therein he had committed treason, it was good reason, that as a / rebell disgraded, he should be deprived of his state.

Arch. And how will you deprive a man unheard:

Latt. And why not : when the fault is evident and manifest, / or by delay might ensue inconvenience, as at that time when the / armie of the emperour was in extreame danger, if it had not / passed it selfe of the cities and villages in the state of Mil- / lane.

Arch. But whie did not the emperour afterwards cause in- / pui-rie to be duely made, to have understood the truthe, and then / to have restored the state unto him, if hee had beene found fault- / lesse.

Latt. And where have you seene a man accused in causes criminall to answer by a procter, especially in matter of treason: / he might have presented himselfe and so have beene tried by or- / der of justice. But that absenting of himselfe did sufficiently / proove he was culpable.

Arch. We feared the captaines of the emperour, whome / [22] he knew to heare him small good will.

Latt. In good faith he feared his owne injustice, for behould / so soone as he was escaped out of the Castell of Millaine, he joi- / ned himselfe with the enemies of the emperour. But what had / the Pope to doe in that matter, if a prince will punish his Vas- / sall, hath he to intermeddle therein: Or if he had to doe therewith- / all, and that it did appertaine unto his office, was it not sufficient / that the emperour had referred all to Don Hugo di Moncada, / offering him all that he could demaund. What man is there in / the world that would not rather enjoy one with peace, then two / with warres: if the Pope so much desired that the Duke Fran- / cis Sforza should be restored to his estate, onely, because neither / the emperour should enjye it himselfe, nor should give it to the / infant Don Hernando his kinsman, why did he not accept that / which Don Hugo di Moncada did offer on the parte of the em- / perour, who was content that the said state should rest in the / power of the Treceros, till such time as the right of the Duke / might be seene, and that if he were not in fault in those matters / he was charged, that then he should be immediately restored,, and / if he were found in fault, and that he ought to be deprived, yet the / emperour promised, that neither he would take it to himselfe, / nor bestowe it on the infant Don Hernando, but on the Duke of / Burboune, who was one of those that by the Pope himselfe was / first set downe for it. But will you that I tell you: the Pope / ment to hold it himselfe, and thought that the armie of the em- / perour being defeated, they should be able not onely to turne him / out of Lumbardie, but also out of Italie, and to take from him / his kingdome of Naples, as they had agreed and made parti- / tion among themselves. And upon this hope the Pope would / not accept of that which by Don Hugo the emperour had offered him.

Arch. It was not for any such matter, but only because he was / in league with others, he would not breake his faith with them.

Latt. This is a gentle excuse, but I pray you why should he / rather observe his faith given to the French king, for the de- / struction of Christendome, then his former othe given to the / emperour for remedie of the same, he should much rather have / broken the latter given to the French king, then the first given / to the emperour. Doe you not knowe, that a vowe made / [23] to the hurte or prejudice of your neighbour, ought not to be ob- / served, how much more then such an oth as tendeth to the hurte / of all Christendome, the dishonour of God, and destruction of / such a multitude of people as have suffered by meanes thereof.

Arch. Surelie in this I must confesse you have very great / reason, but you consider not how the emperours armie mena- / ced to invade the territories of the Pope, and that the Pope as / a good prince seeing you will so call him, is bound to defend then, and you knowe well even the lawe of nature permitteth everye / man to defend his owne.

Latt. If the Pope would have kept the league which he had / made with the emperour, or would have accepted that which / was newly offered unto him, his armie would never have threat- / ned to have entred on the Popes territorie. And yet if all were / as your selfe saie, and that the lawe of nature permitteth every / man to defend his owne : yet tell me, do you judge that princes / have the same authority over their people, that you have over / your mule.

Arch. Wherefore not:

Latt. Because beastes are made for the service of man, but / man onely for the service of God, let us see, were princes made / for the people, or people for the princes sake.

Arch. Surely I beleeve princes were ordeined for the peo- / ples sake.

Latt. Then a good prince without respect of his perticular / interest, is bound to procure the good of his people onely, seeing / for their sake he was ordeined.

Arch. Indeed in reason it ought so to be.

Latt. Well then let us put the case that the emperors ar- / mie woulde have invaded the possessed the territories of the / church, and let us consider whether were better for the inhabi- / tants, that the Pope woulde freely have surrendred to the empe- / rour, or in defence of them to doe as he hath doone.

Arch. Surelye if we shall have regard onely to the profit of / the people, there is no doubt if the Pope had freely given all those territories to the emperour, they should not have suffered / so great damage as they have doone, but shewe me a prince that / will doe this.

Latt. I will shew you even the emperour himselfe, do you /

[24] not know that he might with verie great reason and justice have / lane to himselfe both the Dukedome of Millane and the seig- / norie of Genua, seeing there is not any that have so good right / to them as himselfe. But because he saw it was better for the / good of the people that hee should bestow the one on Frauncis / Sforza, and in the other to establish the Adorni, he did it franck- / ly and liberallie, lesse regarding his owne benefite then the pub- / lique weale, as every good prince ought.

Arch. If al men should do that they ought to do, then both spi- / ritual and temporall, all should be the Popes.

Latt. The Popes, and why;

Arch. Because he would governe them better and more holi- / ly then any other.

Latt. And are you not ashamed to say so: do you not know, / that there are not any territories worse governed then those of / the Church.

Arch. Yes I know it wel, but I thought you had not known it. / good prince in taking armes against the emperour, at whose / handes hee had received so many benefites, breaking the peace and / friendship he held with him.

Arch. The Pope did not take armes against the emperour, / but against that unbrideled armie that committed horrible extor- / tions and other abhominable things in the state of Millane, and / right and reason would, those poore people should be delivered / from that tirannie.

Latt. I mervaile that you should say such a thing, for let us see / if the Pope would have maintained frendship with the empe- / rour, what should his majestie have needed to have kept an ar- / mie in Italie seeing he had so lately given commaundement to / discharge it, but when he understood of the league made against / him, he was then constratned to continue it, if the Pope preten- / ded nothing but the libertie and restitution of the Duke of Millane / and to free that state of the verations of the emperours army, / and to assure the church landes. Why did hee not embrace the / emperours friendship, by the which all might have bin remedi- / ed, seeing the same was also desired at his hands: if the Pope had / desired no more then you speake of, what fault had the kingdome / of Naples committed that then should devide, it among them: /

[25] what had the cities at Genua and Sena committed, that the one / by sea and the other by land should be besieged: he would pretend / to remedy the extorsions and spoils of the armie in Lumbardie, / and yet indeed not onely encreased them there, but gave occasion / to make them far greater through all Italie: yea even through- / out all Christendome. Read the league made

between the Pope, / the k. of France, the Venetians and the Florentines, and there shal / you see even that which the Pope sought, what had the empe- / rour done unto him, why hee should take armes against him:

Arch. Did I not tell you that the Pope did not take armes a- / gainst the emperor, but onely against his unbrideled armie:

Latt. So that this war then was onely against the armie.

Arch. No otherwise.

Lat. Why then if the war were upon the armie, and the armie / have revenged it self, wherfore lay you the fault in the emperor.

Arch. Because the emperor did sustein them, and sent them new / supplie, whewith they might be able to do that they have done.

Latt. Did not your selfe say that the emperours office and dutie / was to defend his subjects and to do justice: If the Pope then / would misuse them, and seeke to possesse his kingdoms and seig- / nories, and to himnder him from doing justice uppon the Duke of / Millan, as he was bound, of force hee was constrained to main- / tein and encrease his army to be able to defend and relieve them, or / els in leaving to do so, he should have left to be a good emperor.

Arch. In this you have reason, but I pray you tell mee, do you / thinke it was wel done of the emperor to fend Don Hugo, and / the colloneses to make that attempt on Rome.

Latt. The emperor never did it.

Arch. What: did not the emperor give commaundement / that Don Hugo and the collonesi together should jointly en- / ter Rome, and apprehend the Pope:

Latt. No, he did it not, but if hee had done it, do you thinke it / had bin ill done:

Arch. Oh my God, And would you take upon you to defend / that too:

Latt. Yea surely, and tel me I pray you if your selfe had a fa- / ther, that had so far lost his wits and sense, that with his owne / hands would goe about to kill and teare his owne children, what / would you do:

[26] Having no other remedie I would either shut him up / or bind his hands till he returned to his wits againe.

Latt. And should you not thinke that for your brothers sake al / so of them.

Latt. Then tell mee, the Pope is hee not a spiritual father of al / Christians; Arch. Yea.

La. Then if he with wars go about to destroy his owne children / do you not thinke it shal be a good and merciful deed aswel towards / him the power to do this harme, you cannot denie me this.

Arc. Wel, but al this while see you not how great damage and dis- / honor done to Jesus Christ to handle in this maner his Vickar:

Latt. Nay, rather there is done unto him great service, by avoi- / ding this ill this ill that his Vickar through the bad councel that he kepes / about him, should not be the cause of the destructeid of such a mul- / titude of people, for whom Jesus Chrsit died aswel as for him, and / believe me even the Pope himselfe, when laying aside his passions / he shal com to a right knowledge of y truth, will be excedingly wel / pleased with it, that hath taken away from him y means wherby / he might otherwise have done so great an harme: if not I pray you / tell me, if your selfe (which God forbid) should be so far out of your / wits, as that with your own teeth you should bite and teare your / owne flesh, and members of your own body, would you not be sin- / gular wel pleased with him, and hold your self much bound unto him / that should hold and stay you till you came to your wits againe.

Arch. This is cleere.

Lat. Then behold how all wee Christians are members of Je- / sus Christ, and have for our head the same Jesus Christ.

Arch. You say truth.

Latt. Then if this his Vickar by the bad councill he hath about / him be the occasion of the perdition and murder of his own proper / members which are the Christians, shall he not bee singularly well / pleased with him, that shall hinder and let him doing so / great an evill:

Arch. Without doubt you say the truth, but every man cannot / attaine this understanding nor can judge a right farther then they / can see, and therefore princes should be wary what they do. /

[27] Latt. Much more are the princes bound unto God then unto / men, and more regard should they have of the judgement of wise / men then of fools. It were a goodly matter that a prince should / leave to do the dutie which he oweth for the service of God, and / welfare of his countrie, for feare of that which the blinde multi- / tude should judge or speake. Let a prince do that he ought, and / let the multitude prate what they will lift: for so they judged of David / because he daunced before the Arke of the Testament. So they / judged of Jesus Christ, because he died uppon the crosse, when / they said he saved others, but could not save himself, even so they / judged of the apostles, because they preached Christ Jesus: even / so they judge in these dates of those which endeavor to become / true Christians indeed, dispising the vanity of this world, and fol- / low the right path of the truth. And who is there that can escape / the false judgements of the common people: Rather wee should / thinke that verie good which of the multitude is condemned for / bad, and contrariwise. But wil you know the truth: Mallice and / craft they call industrie, avarice and ambicioin they cal magna- / nimitie, the slaunderous backbiter a good companion: a vaine / dissembling liar they term a gallant courtier: the subtle deceaver they call a wise man: and contrariwise a good and vertuous / man is called simple. If any man in christian humility make final / accompt of the worldes vanitie, they say he is become a foole: / Such a one as for Gods sake distributes his goods to the poore, / they say is prodigal. And such a one as by practises and deceipts / wil not seek for honor and welth they say he is a man of no valure. / and such a one as for the ove of Christ forgeveth injuries, they / call a coward and a man of smal courage. Finally converting ver- / tues into vices, and vices into vertues, the lewd and wicked they / terme happy and fortunate, and the good vertuous poor and / unhappie. And notwithstanding all this they are not ashamed to / usurpe the names of christians having no signe or marke thereof.

Arch. Surely I am of this minde, that although you say the / trueth, yet your self being young, a seculer person, and a courtier, / you should do better to leave these matters to devines: but this I / say, let all be as you have declared, yet let us see at least whether / it had not bin reason whosoever began this toruble, that the em- / perour should have chastised those which sacked the holy pallace / and the church of S. Peeter.

[28] Latt. Sir it had bin much better that the Pope would not / have broken the league nor his faith that he gave to Don Hugo.

Arch. It was not he that broke it.

Latt. Who then made warres upon the collonesi.

Arch. He made those warres not in the name of the Pope, but / in the name of the colledge.

Latt. Never tell these childish fables, whose were the / captaines : whose were the souldiers: who paid them whose / were the ensignes: to whome ought they obedience : These / are toyes to mocke children. But I woonder who they were / that invented such a vanitie, and also of the cardinals that gave / their consent to have it doone in their name. But it is very well, / seeing God hath well chastized them for it.

Arch. Would you not have the Pope chastize the collonesi / being his owne subjects.

Latt. Noe, seeing he had given his faith not to doe it, and / brake his league so oft as hee tooke armes against them, and hee / knew the emperour ought not to give his consent, seeing the / collonesi were aswell his subjects as the Popes, and he bound / as a good prince to defend his subjects.

Arch. But let us then see for asmuch as after this league was / broken , there was on the one side and the other so much hurte / doone, wherefore did not the Emperor observe the other league / which the Viceroy of Naples made with the Pope, at that time when a great part of that kingdome was lost, and all the rest in / manifest perrill to be gone:

Latt. What would not the emperour observe it. Nay I / tell you truly, that when the capitulations of that truce came / to his hands, albeit the conditions therof were unjust, and against ; the honour and reputation of the emperour, yet did his majestie / presently without regard of that which the Pope had so disho- / nestie doone) in giving the investidure of his kingdomes unto / such as had no manner right unto them (a matter for the verye / children to laugh at) he did ratifie and approve the league / shewing how much he desired the friendship of the Pope, and to / stand in good tearmes with him, seeing he chose rather to accept / such unjust conditions, then to prosecute the just revenge which / he had in his hands. But by the permission of God, who had de- / termined to chastice these injuries, the capitulations stayed so long /

[29] in sending hether, and the ratification in going thether, that before / all was finished, that was done which we heerof passed in Rome, / and surely if you will judge rightly, there was none in fault but / the very Pope himselfe, who when he might have lived in peace, / sought for warre, and that truce hee rather made for necessitie / then mooved by vertue, when he sawe with what determination / the emperours armie went to Rome. But was it not more / reason that you should have observed the league yee made with / Don Hugo, for having so broken the former, what could there be / hoped but that ye would do the like now, if the army should have / returned. But seeing the army would not returne, why did you / not moderate those conditions that yee had put into that truce, / and so both the armie had returned, and Rome remained free.

Arch. Would you that the Pope should have given then money.

Latt. And why not : if he had it to give.

Arch. What if he had to give being no way bound to doe it.

Latt. How was he not bound : wherefore then doe Christ- / ians give unto him the rents and revenues he hath.

Arch. Because he should bestow and spend them in those things / that should be most profitable for the Christian commonweale.

Latt. And what could have bin more profitable then to have / caused that armie to have turned backe againe : This is cleere / that although matters in the end should have falne out even as / the Pope desired, yet that armie going forward there could not / have been escaped many murthers besides such other mischiefes / as warres draweth on with it.

Arch. You say the truth, but why did not the emperour pay / his armie, that it might have bin obedient to his captaines, for / it is well knowne, it was not the fault of the Duke f Burbone, / that the truce was not observed, but the armie would not obey / him, because it was not paid, and this was the emperors fault.

Latt. The emperour paide not his souldiers that he had / there, because he had not wherewithall.

Arch. Then seeing he had not wherewithall to pay his soul- / diers, why would he make warre:

Latt. But why do you the same your selves, and therby enfoce / him to keep an army to defend himself, for the emperor ful gladly / would have lived in peace, if your selves had not made the war.

Arch. Nay somewhat more I can tell you, that if his armie had / [30] not made such extreme vigilance, it should have had enough to / doe to have defended him, for I doe verely beleeve before this / daye hee should not have had left him a foote of grownde in / Italie.

Latt. How so:

Arch. The Pope was then in making another league, much / more terrible then the first, whereunto the king of England also / should have entred, and the Pope promised to excommunicate / the emperour, and all those on his part, and to deprive him of / his kingdomes of Naples and Scicilia, and to continue a new / warre upon him till such time as they had enforced him to restore / unto the French king his sonnes.

Latt. A gentle peece of worke I promise you, but had it not / beene better to have brought to passe that the armie might have / returned then to kindle a new fire.

Arch. Better no doubt: but to conclude, men and men, and / cannot at all times commaund themselves according to the rule / of reason. But I pray you come nearer, albeit in all that you / have sayd, you have the greatest reason in the world, yet in good / faith doe you thinke it well doone, that with those Almans worse / then heretikes, and that with that fromme of Spaniards and / Italians that have neither faith nor lawe. The emperour should / suffer that sacred cittie of Rome to be destroyed, the which (bee / it good or bee it bad) in conclusion it is the head of Christen- / dome, he ought to have had an other manner of regarde there- / unto.

Latt. I have already plainely shewed you, that this was not / doone neither by the commaundement nor by the will of the em- / perour, and further that your selves began to klare the warre, / when there was a truce, and notwithstanding the emperour ra- / tified the peace so soone as it was presented.

Arch. But why should he keepe in Italie such wicked people / as like ravenous Woolves should come to destroie that holye / cittie.

Latt. If you your selves would have bin contented to have / lived in peace, and not have made war upon the emperor when he / did nothing against you, there had been indeed no cause why eh / should have mainteined or sent any such people into Italie would / you have it lawfull for your selves to make warres upon us, and /

[31] not lawfull for us to defend our selves. This were in deed a gen- / tle manner of living.

Arch. Well let it be lawfull for you in Gods name, but yet / not with infidels and heretikes.

Latt. Surely you speake very badlie heerein, for as concer- / ning the Almanes, you cannot be certaine that they are Luthe- / rans, neither is it likely or credible considering they were sent / by king Ferdinando his brother, that dooth persecute the Lu- / therans. But you your selfe have received into your armie Lu- / therans that were fled out of Almanya, and with them have you / made warres upon the emperour. And as concerning the Spa- / niards and Italians, which you call infidels, if your meaning be / to call wicked living infidilitie. Who are then more infidels / then your selves, for where may a man finde more vices, yea or / so many or so publique, or so free of puishment as in your court / of Rome : or who ever committed so great and abhominable / cruelties as that armie of the Pope in the territories of the co- / lonesi : if those of the emperors bee infidels for living so ill, / why are not those of yours infidels that are much worse : If it / be lawfull for you to make warres with people that you your / selves repute infidels, why shall it not be lawfull for us to defend / our selves with a people that we take not to be infidels : what / a

mockerie is this. That which you doe against the emperour, / you do it not against him but against his armie, but that the ar- / mie dooth against you, is not doone by the armie but by the / emperour.

Arch. Well let us say the army did it without commaunde- / ment, without consent, and against the will of the emperour, / And that his majestie was in no faulte, let us then see when it / was doone, why hath hee not punished the offendours and ill / dooers.

Latt. Because he knoweth it to be a thing rather divine then / humane. And because he is accustomed rather to do good for ill, / then ill for good. And a gentill toye it were for him to chastice / and punishe those that venter their lives for him, and in his ser- / vice.

Arch. Well then seeing ye will not chastice and punish them, / yet why would ye be any longer served with such a people as had committed so horrible and abhominable outrage.

[32] Latt. For two respects, first to avoid the mischief they would / have done being disbanded or cashed, and also to resist the flames / that your selves had kindled: for a mockerie had it beene at that / time when the French were marching into Italie for the empe- / rour to cash or dissolve his armie.

Arch. I cannot well tell what to replie, and surely in this you / have verie fullie performed your promise, and in this I must / confesse I was much abused. But now I would desire you to / open unto mee the causes why God hath permitted the evilles / which have bin done in Rome, seeing you say it hath bene for the / great good of Christendome.

Latt. Seeing in the first you rest satisfied I doubt not by Gods / helpe but to leave you much better contented in the second, but / seeing it now late, wee will leave that part for after dinner be- / cause I meane now to deteine you for my guest.

Arch. It shal bee sir as you commaund, for hether we may af- / terwardes returne againe.

The second part. / Lattantio:

To accomplish now that, which I have / promised you, having already halfe done / in performing the first part, ye will not de- / nie me that all the vices and al the deceipts / that the mallice of man was able to in- / vent, was not conjoined together in that / cittie, which with great reason ye name / the holie citie, because it ought so to be. /

Arch. Surely therein you have great reason, and God knoweth / what I alwaies thought of that matter, and what I felt at hart / to see that citie which in reason ought to be even the patterne of / vertues to all the world, to be so full of vices, chafferie, deceipt, / and manifest villeinies: Such sale made of offices, benefices, / bulls, indulgences, and dispensations, so shameleslie, that in / verie trueth it seemed a verie mockerie of the Christian faith, / and that the ministers of the church tooke no other care but on- /

[33] ly to invent means to scrape money. The Pope pawned certaine / apostles, that he had of gold, and afterwards made an impositi- / on to be levied by bulls, proredemptione apostolorum. It / is straunge they were not ashamed to commit thinges so soule / and prejudiciall to their owne dignitie.

Latt. The very same say all they that come thence, and the / same did I my selfe know when I was there: But come you he- / ther; If your sonnes?

Arch. Ah sir speake coureouslie.

Latt. Pardon mee, I remembred not you were a clarke, al- / beit yee have manie charkes that take no shame to have chil- / dren, but this speech I onely use for an example.

Arch. Well then, speake on.

Latt. If your sonnes should happen to have a verie vicious / and band scholemaister, and that you did perceave that by his vi- / cious and bad manners hee did infect them, what would you do:

Arch. I would manie times admonish him that he should a- / mend, but if he would not do it, I would use my authoritie over / him, and chastice him gently, that for feare of ill he should amend, / if he would not for the love of good.

Latt. Then behold heere God is father to us all, and hath / delivered us unto the Pope as unto our scholemaister, to the / end wee should learne of him, and of those that are about him to / live like Christians. But seeing the vices of that court of Rome, / were such and so great, that they infected these children of God, / and that wee did not onely not learn of them the doctrine of Christ, / but rather a manner of life most contrarie, God seeing that net- / ther the prophets, the evangelistes, nor such a number of lear- / ned doctors as have written in times past, reproving vices, and / praising vertues, could move them that lived wickedly to amend / and live like Christians, he sought out new means to draw them / to do their duties. And besides manie other verie good masters / and preachers sent us in times past, hee hath sent even in these / our daies that excellent man Erasmus Roterodamus, who with / much eloquence, prudence, and modestie, in manie of his workes, / discovering the vices and deceipts of the romans court, and in / generall of all the persons ecclesiasticall, a man would have / thought it had bin enough to have mooved all such as in that cal- / ling lived so wickedly to have amended for very shame of those /

[34] thinges were spoken of them. But when this would nothing pro- / vite them, but that their wickednesse rather daily more and more / encreased, God sought a new meane to convert them, and there- / fore permitted that frier Martin Luther to rise up, who should / not onely utterlie shame them, declaring without any respect all / their vices, but should also draw a number of people from the o- / bedience of these prelates, to the end y such as would not be moo- / ved with shame might at least for coveteousnes of their worldly / wealth be reformed, seeing how much yee should loose by the re- / volt of Almanie, or for ambition, seeing how great a seignorie / yee should part withal if Almanie should fall from your obedience / in sort as presently in both.

Arch. But that friar hath not onely spoken evil of us but also / of God in a thousand beresies that he hath written.

Latt. You say the truth, but if your selves had not first amended / that which with great reason he reproved and not irritated him / farther with your excommunications, perhaps hee never would / have broken out into those heresies, which afterwards he wrote, / nether should yee have had in Germanie so great a distruction of / soules and bodies, as since by meanes therof hath happened.

Arch. But stay sir, this could not be remedied without a council / general, and they say it was not fit at that time to cal a councill, for / that it had bin a manifest betraying of all y ecclesiastical persons, / so as if at y time we should have called a general council, we might / have gone al to y hospital, and Pope too with us for company.

Latt. How so:

Arch. The whole states of the empire presented certaine / wrongs, which they said they received of the apostolik sea and of / many persons ecclesiastical, and in every point they required redres,

Latt. And why then did you not redresse them:

Arch. Therabout we went, but they alledged that seeing the / rents of the church were given and appointed for reliefe and suc- / cour of the poore that they should bee spent that way, and not in / warres, nor in vices, nor in pride as at this day for the most part / they are. And then they farther desired that the people and not / the clergie should have the administration of them. And then they / desired that no dispensation should be given for money, alledging / that aswell the poore

were the children of God as the ritch, and / that giving dispensations for money, the poore who in reason /

[35] should be most privedged were most oppressed, and the ritch / contrariwise most privedged.

Latt. And were not you in that as I have often bene and still / am astonished in such sort as I know not what to say, I see on / the one side that Christ praiseth poverty and inviteth us with his / most perfect example thereunto, but on the other side, I see wee / can scarsly get any thing of his ministers but for money, at bap- tisme money, at bishoping money, at mariage money, at holy / diders money, for confession money, for discharge of excom- / munications money, no not extreame unction without money, / they will ring no bels without money, no buriall in the church / without money, no hearing of masse in times of interdiction / without money: So that it seemeth by them, that paradize is / shut up from them that have no money. Then what meaneth / this that the ritch, then to the poore, why doth hee / counsell us to povertie: The ritch man may marrie with his / neerest kin, but the poore not so, albeit he be readie to die for love, other. The ritch may eate flesh in lent, but the poore may not, / albeit fish perhaps be much dearer. The ritch man readily get- / teth large indulgences, but the poore none, because hee wanteth / money to pay for them. And of this manner yee shall finde an in- / finite number of other thinges: and you shall not want of them, / that will alledge manie things to be done for the service of God / as to found churches and monasteries, to say many masses, and / manie trentals, and to buye many tapers to burne upon your / sepulture. Jesus Christ doth counsell mee to dispise and leave / all these worldly thinges to follow him, and thou dost counsel me / to seeke thm. You should do me a verie great pleasure to shew / me the reason they can alledge for it, for as God shall save mee, / I neither know, nor can conceave anie.

Arch. In good faith yee are now climing a good tree, but / heare you: I never brake my braine about these matters that / could yeeled mee no profite.

Latt. Now wel mought you thee I pray God.

Arch. Besides all this they said, that when unto the clergie / these liberties and immunities were first given, which yet they / hold, they were then poore and imparted that they had with others / [36] that were in want more then themselves, but now they are much / more ritch then their founders, and that it seemed neither honest / nor reasonable, that the poorer sort of the people should be burde- / ned with impositions, when the cleargie upon whom they spent / all should be exempted. They said also that they had so many / feasts dayes to observe, that workemen and labourers received / great prejudice thereby, and that by prooffe it was seene, that men / upon those daies did not exercise themselves in such matters as / they ought, but in other matters much worse then upon other / daies, so that I were convenient also to have some moderation / of these holy dayes.

Latt. And what do you thinke that they spake amisse therein.

Arch. And will you defend them to: Doe you not see that / those saints whose feasts you would abolish would be offended, / and thereby some great ill might happen unto us.

Latt. Yea but does not you see that those saints have much / more cause to be offended with the vices and villanies committed / upon those festivall dayes, then if men did onely worke for their / living. Surely if men did truly serve God upon these festivall / dayes, I would with every day festivall, but seeing this is not / doone, I cannot hold it ill, that they were moderated, if a man play the drunkard, or play all day at boules or at dice, or wan- / der about women or other like villanies, we thinke we have not / broken the feast. But if another forced by extreame necessitie / worke to get his meate, resently they say this is an heretike. I / cannot skill of these services, it

grieveth me to see rich men up- / on these dayes to take all their pleasure, and to laye the whole / burthen on the unhappy artificers, labourers, and poore men.

Arch. For all this that you have said we make no great rec- / koning, we rather looke to that we should lose in acquitting anye / of our feast dayes.

Latt. Whie what should you lose.

Arch. Our offerings, which are made much more abundant- / ly on festivall daies then upon other. They said that there / was of the clergie many that lived very badlie, and marrying / not, yet kept they both women and children, even asell and as / openly as if they had wives, whereupon ensued much offence and / flander among the people, wherefore they say it were better for / them to marrie.

[37] Latt. Whie what should you lose.

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Latt. And what cause have you to dislike of that.

Arch. And have we not cause of dislike from freemen to bee / made bondmen.

Latt. I rather thinke of slaves they would make you freemen, / for tell me is there in the world any greater bondage or slaverie / then unto time.

Arch. I thinke not.

Latt. Why then you selves resting in sinne with these your / queanes, do you not see that you are most shamefully the slaves / of sinne. And they discharge you of that slaverie, that seeke to / have you married, whereby you may live honestlye with your / lawfull wives.

Arch. But doe not you see that if clarkes should marry, it / would go ill with them, and that they should lose much of theyr / authoritie.

Latt. And doe not you thinke it much worse, they should be / whoremongers, and thereby lose more of their authoritie, if I / might see clarkes live chastly, and that they would admit none / to that dignitie, but such as were at least 50 yeares of age, as / God save me I would thinke it better, they should not marry. / But among such a number of young priests that take orders ra- / ther for covetousnesse then for the love of God, in whom you see / no signe of Christian modestie, were it not much better for them / to marrie.

Arch. But do you no see, that if clarkes should marry their / children being not capable of inheritance, they should either dye / for want, or must be forced to become theeves, or their fathers / should be compelled to rob the Church of her living, to bestowe / to on their sonnes whereby should growe two great inconveni- / ences, the one that we should encrease a number more of theeves / and secondly that our churches should be dispoiled. /

[38] Latt. Both these inconveniences may easily be remedied, if / that you of the clergie would labour o imitate the povertie of / them, whose successors you pretend your selves to bee, and that / you would not be ashamed to bring up your children in some ho- / nest occupations, whereby they might get their living, and so / should they be also much better brought up and instructed in mat- / ters of faith, whereby should ensue much good to the publique / weale, and so God help me it is a thing me thinks your selves / should desire.

Arch. Desire quod you. God forbid that ever that should come / to passe, for marke sir, whereto we should then come, if I marrie / I must then of necessitie live with my wife, bee the good or bad, / foule or faire, all daies of my life or hir life: whereas now if shee / that I keepe content me

not to night, I can leave hir tomorrow / and take an other. And besides all this, if I list not to keepe a / wench of mine owne, all the prittie wenches in the world are ours / or to speake more frankly and plainely, you keepe and mainteine / them, and we enjoy them.

Latt. But what becomes then of your soules.

Arch. O let that alone, for God is mercifull, I make my prai- / ers and confesse me to God when I lie downe, and when I rise / againe. I take no mans goods, I owe no man any money, I rob / not by the high waies, I murther no man, I fast all those daies / that the Church commandeth, there passeth not a daye that I / heere not masse, and doe you not thinke that all this is enough to make a man a Christian, as for that other matter of women, to / conclude we are men, and God is mercifull.

Latt. You say truth, but surely heerin you are much lesse then / men, and I stand in great doubt, whether God will be so mercifull / as to pardon so many knaveries, if you persevere still in them.

Arch. Well we will leave those matters when we are older.

Latt. You doe well to jest with God, but how are you assured / to live till the morrow.

Arch. Be you not so superstitious, God hath pardon inough / in store, and see what you doe, would you have the constituti- / ons of the Churche broken, that hath continued so manye / yeares:

Latt. And whye not: if so it bee conveient for the publike / weale of Christendome. / Arch./

[39] And shall the church then seeme to have erred so ma- / ny yeares together:

Latt. You are much awrie in your accoumpt, for you shall see /the church according to some one time dooth order things that in / an other time againe it dooth annihilate. Doe you not reade in / the Acts of the Aposiles, that in the Coucell of Jerusalem it / was ordered, that they should eate no blood nor strangled beast.

Arch. Yea I have read it.

Latt. Why therefore doe you not yet observe it:

Arch. I never set my wit on that place.

Latt. Then will I tell you, it was doone to satisfie the super- / stition of the Jewes, albeit the apostels knew it was not necessa- / rie, and therefore afterwards they derogated this constitution, / as a thing superstitious: and yet it is not to be thought for this, / that the councell did erre. Then after the same manner, what / inconveniences should it be, if that which the Church in one time / for urgent respects had to ordered, in an other should be for respects / more urgent abrogated. And therefore me thinkes the same con- / stitution should now also be abrogated, and for truth I know no / reason to the contrarie, but onely that your selfe alledgeth, it / should not be for your owne benefit.

Arch. Well let us leave this now.

Latt. Now therefore do you not thinke that it should be much / better to redresse those thinges which you saye the Almanes did / require, and to amend your lives, and seeing we do honor you so / much as the ministers of God, to be so indeed, and not to conti- / nue in your hardnesse, and so not to be the occasion of great mis- / chiefes as hath thereby happened.

Arch. If the Almans desire redresse in those matters, the / Church may provide remedie when they see good.

Latt. Well you see, that for asmuch as you would not give / eare to the honest reprehensions of Erasmus, neither yet to the / dishonest rebukes of Luther, God sought out an other kinde of / meanes to convert you, and therefore permitted those souldiers / that sacked Rome with Don Hugo, and also that the collonesi / should make that a assault, where of your selfe now complaine: for / seeing that all were now become shamelesse, and the behaviour / and course of

life they all held, he sought to make them doe that / for feare of loosing their lives, which for feare of destroying their /

[40] soules, they would not do. And God, seeing that there was no o- / ther way left to deliver his children from perdition, he hath done / with you even as your selfe said you would have done with the / scholemaister of the children which should infect them with his / vices, and would not amend.

Arch. It may bee as you say, but what had the image com- / mitted: what offences had y reliques done: or the dignities, or y / honest and good people which were also robbed and ill intreated.

Latt. I pray you report me the matter even as it passed, see- / ing you were there present and I will tell you the cause as I / thinke why God permitted everie of those thinges that yee shall / trulie recompt unto me.

Arch. Great reason yee have surely in all this that you have / said, I shal with a verie good will do that you have required: and / heare whatsoever you will say with a much better. You are there- / fore to know that the emperours armie having left their artil- / lerie at Sena, which was but a small quantitie, with the greatest / speed that ever was heard of marched even to Rome, and arri- / ved there the fifth of May.

Latt. But what was the reason for the Pope sent not to require / some communication.

Arch. Nay the good Duke of Burbone sent to desire of the / Pope that he would send some person with whom he might treat / upon his entrance into Rome: But the Pope relying upon his / new league that he had made, and the armie of the leaguers ha- / ving promised to come to his succors hee would not enter into / any manner of communication: And when the armie knew this, / the very next day in the morning they resolved to assault the ci- / tie: And such was our ill fortune, that even at the beginning and / within the towne one with an harquebuze happened to kill the / good Duke of Burbone, whose death was the cause of much ill.

Latt. Surely it even breakes my hart to heare of so unhappy / a death.

Arch. Our sinnes was the cause, for if he had lived there had / not bin so much mischief done.

Latt. Now would to God you had not had those faultes, but / who ever heard that the sinnes of a citie should cause their de- / struction that came to assaile them:

Arch. In this matter it may bee well said, for the dutie of /

[41] Burbone came not to conquer us, but to defende us from his / owne armie, hee came not to sacke us, but to keepe us that wee / should not be sacked. It is wee that had most cause to lament his / death: for himselfe there is no man but rahter doth evny him then / pitie him, for he lost his life with the greatest honor that ever did / man, and by his death attained that, which a number of great cap- / tains were never able to attein, so that the verie memorie of him / wilbe alwaies most honorable: onely one thing greeveth me, that / is, the peril of his soule dying excommunicate.

Latt. And why excommunicate:

Arch. Because hee entred with an armed hand into the territo- / ries of the Church, and sought to assaile the holy citie of Rome.

Latt. Do you know what one decree faith, to wit, that manie / are excommunicate by the Pope, that are not excommunicate by / God, neither doth the Pope entend, that he should be excommu- / nicate that remaineth within the territories of the Church with / intention to defend them, and in althat he can to provide that they / should not receive any damage as this prince did.

Arch. Yee say truth, nevertheless his first motion was vo- / luntarie.

Latt. Of this your selfe before verie wel declared the cause, for / hee was bound to defend the kingdome of Naples, beeing by the / emperor made his liestenant generall for all Italie neither

went / he to possesse the landes of the Church, but to prohibite the Pope / that he should not possesse the landes and territories of the empe- / rour and to bring him to some unitie and concord with his ma- / jestie.

Arch. Well let that be so, but to returne to our purpose. The / emperours armie was so desirous to enter Rome, some to robbe / and spoile, others for the extreame hatred they bare to that court / of Rome, and some both for the one and the other cause, that the / Spaniards and Italians on the one side by feale. And the Al- / manes on the other side by Pickares breaking downe the wall, / entred by the surge, on which side stands (as you know) the / Church of Saint Peeter and the holy pallace.

Latt. Yea and a great manie of verie good houses of cardi- / nals. Of one thing I verie much marvell, that they within ha- / ving artillerie, and those without having none, how it was possi- / ble for them so easily to enter without the slaughter of an hun- / [42] dred onely themselves. But of you how many were slaine?

Arch. Sir you know how uncereine reportes are alwaies in / such like matters. Some say sire thousand men, but in truth / there died not upon the entrie above four thousand, for imediat- / ly they retired themselves into the cittie, and I tell you truth I / should have deemed this a verie great miracle, if afterwarde I / had not seene the same souldiers have done that they did, wherby / I cannot beleeve that God would do so great a miracle for them.

Latt. You are much deceived, for God did not this miracle / for them, but to punish and correct you.

Arch. Therein I beleeve you say the verie truth.

Latt. I woonder after their generall was slaine, that they / were not dismaied (as commonly men are) and so did not leave / the fight.

Arch. So was it surely but the death of this generall infla- / med them more and encreased their desire to enter the citie with / greater furie then before.

Latt. Yee tell mee woonders.

Arch. Surely so it was, and this good duke of Burbone was / so beleaved of all, that uverie man desired himselfe to die or to re- / venge the death of him.

Latt. And therefore it was he me thinks that was cause of all / that crueltie.

Arch. It is most likely to be so.

Lat. Oh might God how marvelous art thou in al they works, / and in each perticular how wonderfully discoverest thou thy power, / thou determinest that this good Duke should bee killed, to the / end that with the more rigor thy justice should bee executed: but / let us see where was the Pope all this while:

Arch. Even in his owne pallace, and so carlesse, that it was / a woonder hee was not taken, but seeing in how bad tearmes / matters stood, hee retired himselfe to the castle of Saint An- / gelo with 13 cardinals and other bishops and principall per- / sons which staid with him. And presently the ennemies entred / and spoiled, and sacked all that was in the pallace, and the like / did they in all the cardinals bouses, and all other howses, that / were within the burge, not sparing anie, no not the church / of the prince of the apostles. This day they had there e- / nough to doo without entring into Rome whither our /

[43] people, hotsing up the draw bridge, had retired and fortified / themselves.

Latt. But the people of Rome, and the rest of you that were / escaped when you saw this present daunger why did you not ac- / cord with the emperour and what had you to do with the Popes / warre.

Arch. Surely verie little, but what would you have us to do: / have yee not heard the old proverbe that the lawes are as please / the prince. The poore Romane people seeing their manifest de- / struction, would have sent ambassadors to the army of the em- / perour to have agreed with him, and to have avoided the sacke, / but the Pope by no meanes would consent unto it.

Latt. But herein tell the truth, for this was a straunge inhu- / manitie, had it not bin better for the poore people to have taken / any accord for their safetie, then to have suffered that they have / done.

Arch. You say truth, but who would have thought that mat- / ters should have falne out as they did. The captains of the em- / perour presently determined to assault the cittie, and the verie / same night fighting with their enemies they entred, and the sack / continued more then eight daies, in which time they had no re- / gard of nation, qualitie, or kinde men.

Lat. O my God, and were not the captaines able to remedie / so great an evill:

Arch. Surely the captaines did what they could, but all was / in vaine, the souldiers being so flesht in these robberies as they / wer: you should behold troops of souldiers passing the streets / with cries, one carried prisoners, an other plate, an other hows- / hold stuffe. But the sighes, groanes, and outcries of women, / and children in all places were so pitteous, that my bones yet / take to make report of them.

Latt. Yea and mine also to heare you tell of it: but they car- / ed some respect to bishops and cardinals:

Arch. In truth no more then if they had bin soldiers as them- / selves, and the like to the churches and monasteries, all was / fish that came to their nette, there was never seene more cruelty, / lesse humanitie nor feare of God.

Latt. This outrage mee thinkes should bee done by the Al- / manes.

[44] In good faith our Spaniards were not idle, but plaide / their parte aswell as any, and then the Italian pages for they / were the first that set to their hand.

Latt. But you your selves what did you all that while.

Arch. We had good leysure to pare our nailes.

Latt. But in good south.

Arch. What would you we should have done, some fled, some / were tane and raunsomed, and all of us sped unluckely.

Latt. But you that were ransomed, did they then suffer you to / live in peace.

Arch. No as God save me, we were even in as great perrill / as before, till such time as we had nothing left that they could / spoile us of.

Latt. But whereof then did you eate.

Arch. The mercy of God never failed, when we had no par- / tridges we eate hennes.

Latt. And upon fasting dayes.

Arch. What talke ye of fasting daies, thinke you souldiers / make any difference betweene fasting dayes and soundaies. O / cursed generation, for to tell you the truthe me thought it was a / most wicked thing that they should have so small regard of the commaundements of the Churche.

Latt. Doe not you your selves contemne the commande- / ments of God, and doe you marvell that the souldiers regarde / not the precepts of the Church. But which thinke you to be the / greater fault, simple forication, or to eate flesh in the holy time / of Lent.

Arch. This is a gentle question, the one is a naturall and hu- / mane matter, and the other a great abomination, to eate flesh / in the holy Lent, O Jesus speake not of such a thing.

Latt. Now as God helpe me, you have a gallant judgement, / and do you not know that a man may better eate flesh in Lent or / on any other fasting day, then commit a single fornication.

Arch. And why so:

Latt. Because it should be more wholesome for the body, and / lesse hurtfull for the soule.

Arch. And how so,

Latt. Is it not cleere that flesh is more wholesome then fish.

Arch. Yes /

[45] Latt. Then is it not more wholesome for the bodie to eate / flesh then fishe: and concerning the soule, is it not a greater of- / fence to breake the commaundements that God himselfe hath / given then these of the Church:

Arch. Yes that is true.

Latt. Then is the sinne greater to commit fornication, which / is prohibited *Iure Divine*, then to eate flesh in Lent, which was / onely a constitution humane.

Arch. I am content to confesse that you have reason in this / also, so as you would shew me the reason why we thinke it com- / monly a greater offence to sinne against constitutions humane, / then against the divine.

Latt. We will enter no further into this, least we want time / for the rest, but let us prosecute our purpose,

Arch. Let it be so, let us leave this for some other time, and / tell me now what was the reason that the just should suffer for / sinners. It is likely that in Rome there was many good men, / that neither were partakers of the vices, nor in fault for the wars / and yet suffred joyntly with the bad.

Latt. The bad received punishment for their wickednes, and / the good verations in this world to attaine the greater glory in / the next.

Arch. At least they should have had some respect unto the / Spaniards and Almaines, and other nations that were vassals / and servants to the emperour, but they sacking the Spanish / Church of S. James, and the house of Don Pedro de Salamanca / embassadour of Don Ferdinando king of Hungarie, and the house / of Don Antonio de Salamanca that now is bishop of Gurcense. / They left neither house, church, nor man, that was in Rome / unsackt or ransomed, even the secretary Perez himselfe, who / was resident at Rome in the behalfe of the emperour.

Latt. Even in this alone yee might know it was a manifest / judgement of God, and no humane action, neither executed by the / will or commaundement of the emperor, seeing they tooke no / regard, no not of his owne subjects and servants.

Arch. You say trueth, but is it not a horrible thing, that Chri- / stians should sell and raunsome Christians as those souldiers did?

Latt. Yes surely, it is a horrible thing indeed, but it is so com- / mon a matter among men of warre, as we have no cause to mar- /

[46] well at any thing they did there where they were woont not onely / to sell and raunsome men, but even their soules also.

Arch. What their soules, and how soe:

Latt. That will I tell you, but in your eare.

Arch. Why, there is no body heere.

Latt. I care not for that, come hither.

Arch. Even so: now I understand you.

Latt. And doe you not thinke I have reason.

Arch. Yes surely and that very great, and now doe I knowe / that God hath suffered this even to the end that we should have / knowledge of our error. But now to tell you of the other cardi- / nals that were in Rome, and could not together with the Pope / escape into the Castell of

S. Angelo: how they were tane, and / ransomed, and their persons full ill favouredly handled, being / drawne by the streetes of Rome bare legged, among those Al- / manes, that it was the greatest misery in the world to see them, / especially when men remembered the pompe wherein they were / woont to go to the pallace, and of the multitude of servants that / attended them when they passed by the castell.

Latt. Surely this was indeed a horrible thing, but yet you are / to consider that this was their owne seeking, seeing they consen- / ted the Pope should make warres upon the emperour, and then / breaking the truce made with Don Hugo, suffered the same in / the name of the colledge to be violated, and the most horrible ab- / hominations to be committed that ever were heard of. And how / could you thinke but God would chastice you for it.

Ar. But alas what could they do, if the Pope would have it so:

Latt. After they had doone all their diligence to perswade / him, if they could not prevaile, or have doone him any good, they / might have gotten them out of Rome, and not have beene par- / takers of so great wickednesse, seeing the gates stood open, know / yee not, that *agentes and consentientes par ipena puniuntur?* and / aswell perhaps their owne sinnes on the other side deserved it, if / not aske M. Pasquine.

Arch. No no, I neede not aske him, I know that aswell as / maister Pasquine.

Latt. If you know that, ye need not marvell at that you sawe, / but onely that God of his infinit bountie should so long dissemble / and beare with him. /

[47] Arch. But what say you of the mockerie they made of theme / An Almaine clothing himselfe like a cardinall went riding about / Rome in his pontificalibus and a bottle of wine on the pum- / all of his saddle. And then a Spaniard in the same manner with / a curtezan behind him, was it possible in the worlde to make a / greater mockery.

Latt. But let us considfe whether it were not a greater shame / and mackerie of the dignitie of a cardinall, having taken his hat, / to doe the workes of a soulder or worse: or for a souldier to / take a cardinals hat to counterset the cardinall, though the one / and the other be naught, yet can ye not deny me, but that the first / is the worse, yea and more prejudiciall to the sea apostolike.

Arch. It is true, but for conclusion, the cardinals are men, / and cannot leave to doe like men, but this other is to abandon all / reverence and obedience to such as it is due, without which no / commonweale can stand.

Latt. And with that would we be well contented, that the car- / dinals were men, and did not many times shew themselves worse / then men. But tell me I praye you the apostles were they not / men too:

Arch. Yes, but they were upholden by the holy Ghost.

Latt. And let us see the holy Ghost that is now, is it not the / very same that was then.

Arch. Yes.

Latt. And if they would desire it should it be denied them.

Arch. Noe.

Latt. Why doe they not then request it:

Arch. Because they have not doone it.

Latt. Theirs then is the fault, as you may see, and from hens- / forth they may know how great an abomination it is, that they / being the pillers of the Church, have doone woorkes much worse / then souldiers, and yet you thinke it a more abominable mat- / ter for souldiers to weare their habits. But why doe you tell / me nothing of the bishops.

Arch. Why would you have me tell you of them, they were / handled even as others, I will tell you that I saw among many / honourable persons that they had taken and carried to the mar- / ket

place to be sold, the Almaines led a bishop of their owne na- / tions which stood upon election to have been cardinall. /

[48] Latt. What, to be sold.

Arch. And what marvell, eya even with a bough in his for- / head, as they do when they sell beatles, and when they could find / none to buye them, they plaid for them at dice, what thinke you / of this geere:

Latt. Verie ill: and yet I tell you this is not without a mi- / sterye. Tell mee which esteeme you more a soule, or a bo- / die.

Arch. A soule without comparison.

Latt. But howe many soules then have you sold in this / world.

Arch. Why how is it possible to sell soules:

Latt. Have you not read in the apocalips that they counted / the soules among their other marchaundise. He that selleth a / bishoprick, hee that selleth a benefice with cure of soules, doth / not hee sell the soules of his subjectes:

Arch. Surely you say most true, these thinges I never liked / of, neither of giving benefices to pencion with condition of re- / demption at so much in the hundred, which is nothing else but to / goe about to deceave God Almightye.

Latt. In good faith was this their trick to deceave, and in this / maner: how many soules have you seene playd at dice:

Arch. Infinite.

Latt. Now do you see, or hereby you may see and know your / error, and need not mervell that those soldiers that have accosto- / med to live by robberie should sell priestes, seeing your selves / sold benefices, neither yet if they sold bishops seeing your selves / sold bishopricks, and the one is so much more grievous then the / other as the soule is more pretious then the bodie: but rather / you should allow wel of then seeing they sould never a cardinal.

Arch. Was it not enough that they did raunsome them, and / made composition for their houses and all they had in Rome, / that nothing remained free.

Latt. Your selves will not remember those purses of ours that / you have emptied with your compositions, and therefore merveile / you not if they also forget yours. Have yee not read in the apo- / calips. Restore unto her even as she hath rendred unto you, du- / ble their dublinges according to their woorkes, even in the pot / they have mingled for you mipe them duple, even so much as they /

[49] have glorified and delighted themselves, so much give them in / tormentes and sorrow, because God is strong that hath judged / her. What thinke you, are not these the verie judgements of / God:

Arch. My verie flesh doth tremble in hearing of it: But I / pray you tell mee, wherefore or to what purpose serveth the losse / and spoile of so much money, as it is said the sacke of Rome a- / mounted unto by ransomes and compositions above 15 millions / of ducades.

Latt. What call you this spoile and losse: in good faith I count / it rather gaine.

Arch. And why gaine:

Latt. Because for these manie yeares all the money of Chri- / stendome went to Rome, where it was consumed and lost, but / now it is diverted and found elsewhere.

Arch. And which way:

Latt. The money it gat by pleas, by gatboiles, by brables, / by benefices, by pensions, by spoiles, by first fruites, by buls, / by indulgences, by confessionaries, by compositions, by dispen- / sations, by excommunications, by curses, by fulminations, by a- / gravations and redagravations,

by cannonizations, and such like / exactions, the souldiers have taken as husbandmen and labo- / rers to sowe round about the world.

Arch. Oh blacke laborers that served to destroy Rome in / such fort. as it will not turne to bee Rome againe these 500 yeares.

Latt. O would to God that were so.

Arch. What:

Latt. That Rome would not turne againe to those vices it / had, nor that therein should raine no more so small charitie, and / love and feare of God.

Arch. But what had the sacred pallace merited, and those / chambers and painted haules, that was the most lamentable / sight in the world to see them made stables for horses and all / thinges in them utterly defaced.

Latt. In deed sir you say well, and great reason it were that / the whole cittie suffering sacke and spoile, that place should be / preserved, from whence all the ill councill proceeded.

Arch. But then the prince of the apostles church and all /

[50] the other temples, churches and monasteries of Rome, who / is able to recount how they were handled and raunsacked, so as / there remained in them neither gold nor silver, nor other thing / of valiew, but all was by those souldiers robbed and spoiled, / and is it possible that God can like that his owne churches should / be so handled and ransacked, and thinges to his honor dedicated, / so robbed:

Latt. Surely sir this is a thing indeed so foule and wicked, / as it cannot be but condemned of any. Neverthelesse if yee looke / well into it, yee shall finde even in these thinges that have bin de- / dicated to the service of God so much superstition, and the people / therein so much abused, that I mervell not if God have permit- / ted this and much more to the end ther may be in those matters / some moderation. The marchant thinkes after hee hath gotten / together an infinite quantitie of money, that all the ill he hath / done or shall doo shall be forgiven him. If he build a church or a / monasterie, or give a lampe or a challice to a church: and in / this also do they deceave, that they seeme to give that for Gods / sake, which is rather for the most part given for a certaine pride, / or for a certaine worldly vaine glory, as is manifest by the armes / that commonly every one putteth on the things they give, and put- / ting their trust in these thinges they thinke that now they neede / no longer live like Christians, and albeit this bee an extreame / errour, yet are they not ashamed to admit it, so as thereby they / make there profit by it, not considering in the meane time the in- / jurie they do to Christian religion.

Arch. And why an injurie:

Lattan. Do you not thinke it an injurie, yea and a verie great / injurie, that we being Christians and instructed from God him- / selfe should be ignorant of that knowledge, which manie hea- / thens onely by the light of naturall reason had attained of God. / For they had attained to this knowledge, that it was no true / service of God to offer him any corruptible thing. They had at- / teined, that unto a bodillesse substance such as God is, we ought / not to offer anie bodilie thing for a principall offer, nor as a / thing that should bee verie gratefull unto him. They said that / such knew not what thing God was, that supposed hee tooke / pleasure in the possession of such thinges which many wise and /

[51] good men thought a commendation is themselves to esteeme li- / tle as jewels and ritches: And yet wee Christians are so blind / as wee thinke our God is greatly served with these corrupt and / corporall matters.

Arch. By this meanes you would have men do no service to / God, neither in building of churches nor in offering challeces, / and such other ornaments.

Latt. I say he doth better and more true service to God which / fitteth his soule with such vertues as God commaundeth to the / end he may come and dwell I him, then he that buildeth a church, / yea though it were made of gold, and as great as that of To- / do for God to dwell in, when in the meane time by vices hee ma- / keth God a stranger to his owne soule, albeit his intention therein / were the best even in the world: and I say that it is a verie great / error to thinke that wee please God by offring gold or silver / when it is done with an intention to be praised for it, or for any o- / ther vaine respect. And I say that God is better served if in steed / of that wee give unto churches which are but dead tem- / ples, wee did bestwo the same on the poore to relieve their / necessities, seeing we knowe they are the living temples of / God.

Arch. By this reason wee should have neither churches nor / any other ornaments to serve God.

Latt. What should wee have no churches: Yes surely I / thike wee should have manie more churches, for having many / good Christians moe: of these any two or three being joined to- / gether in his name should bee a church, yea and besides that, / although the lewde would not build churches or monasteries, thinke you that there would want good men to doo it: But let / us behold this universall world, is it any thing else then a beau- / tifull church, wherein God dwelleth: What is the sunne but / a lampe lighted to shine unto the ministers of the church: / What is the moone: What bee the starres, but candles / which burne in this church of God. Would you your selfe de- / sire another church: Doth not the aposile saie, the temple of / God is holy, which you your selves are, would you have other / candles to lighten this church, you have the spirit, you have un- / derstanding, you have reason, and do you not thinke that these be / good candels:

[53] Arch. Yes but yet no man sees them.

Latt. And you, have you seene God: Behold brother seeing / God is indeed invisible he wil be principally honored with things / invisible, God will not be paid or contented with gold nor with / silver, neither standeth in any need of these like things, seeing hee / is Lord of all, he seeketh nothing but harts. Will you see this, / seeing God is omnipotent, If he would, could he not in a mo- / ment make an hundred thousand temples more sumptuous and / more ritche then the temple of Solomon:

Arch. Yes that is cleere.

Latt. I pray you what service should you do him then, in gi- / ving that he hath already, and not yeelding that unto him which / he requireth. Let us see if God delight in temples, if God de- / light in gold, if God delight in silver, why dooth he not take all, since all is his.

Arch. Marry sir, because he would have us of our owne good / wils, to offer it, to the ende we might that way have meane to / merrit:

Latt. What merrit is it to give unto God that he least esteemeth, when ye will not render that he requireth.

Arch. Now I perceave you would not have us reteine the / churches we have, nor that they should take ornaments.

Latt. I say I would not have these things doone for vaine / glorie, neither would I that to honour a church of stones, wee / should leave to honor the church of God which is our soule, I / would not, that to build an altar, we should forbear to succour a / poore bodie, or to repaire tables or dead images, we should leave / the poore naked, which be the lively images of Jesus Christ, nei- / ther would I that we should lay so great a foundation on those / things which we are not in any dutye bound to doe, neither yet / that we should give men to understand, that the Lord is served / and pleased with the possession of these things, that every wise- / man contemneth and holdeth a

praise in himselfe, not to esteeme. / Tell me, whye did Jesus Chrsit contemne all the ritches and / wealth of this world:

Arch. Because we should likewise by his example valew it / as nothing.

Latt. Why then do we seeke o present unto him these things, / as matters very pretious and gratefull, seeing himselfe we know /

[53] contemned them, and would also that we should contemne them, / and not rather take care to present our mindes and soules pure / and cleere from all vices and sinnes, this being the most pretious / and acceptable offering that we can present. /

Arch. I muse who should teach you so many arguments be- / ing yet so young.

Latt. Then behold sir it hath pleased God therefore to suffer / these churches to be thus robbed, that we might evidently know / that he esteemeth as nothing all such things as may be robbed, / neither yet dooth he esteeme any thing corruptible, to the end / that heereafter we may rather present unto him living then dead / temples, And that we should offer up unto him hartes and wils / before gold and silver, and that we serve him with such things as / he commaundeth, rather then with such vanitie.

Arch. Yea tell me a thing that I never heard of, but see- / ing it is so, tell mee howe and wherewith we ought to serve / him.

Latt. Even as you will, but what will you saye, that the / very temples where God was woont to be served and honoured, / were become stables for horssees, what a thing was it to see the / verye Church of Saint Peter, both on the one side and the o- / ther, all full of horses, even to thinke of it, it breakes my / harte.

Latt. Certainelye, it was a thing that no good man could / like of, and yet many times we see, that necessitie causeth things / that by the lawe is prohibited, and in time of warre these and / farre woorse matters are commonly doone, whereof they are in / fault that are the cause of the warre.

Arch. This is a gentle excuse.

Latt. And why not, and doe you not also thinke that hee that / draweth a greater and woorse filthinesse then that, into a place / more holy then that, dooth hee not commit a greater abhomi- / nation.

Arch. This is cleere.

Latt. Then tell mee if you have read the holy Scripture, / have yee not founde in it, that God dwelleth not in temples /

[54] builded with the handes of men, and that every man is that tem- / ple wherein God dwelleth.

Arch. Yes sometimes.

Latt. Then tell me which should be the greater ill and ab- / homination to make a stable of those temples of stone, where the / apostle saith God dwelleth not, or to make it of our soules, / which are the true temples of God.

Arch. This is cleere, that of our soules were the woorse, but / how can that be.

Latt. Demaunde you howe, whye what call you a sta- / ble?

Arch. A place where beasts rest.

Latt. But what call you beasts?

Arch. Brute beasts without reason.

Latt. And are not vices brute and voide of reason.

Arch. Yes without doubt, and much woorse then brute / beasts.

Latt. Thus is it manifest, that it is farre greater abhomi- / nation to bring vices that are much woorse then brute beasts, / into the soule which is the true temple where God dwelleth, / then to bring borses into a churhc of stone.

Arch. Surely I thinke that true.

Latt. Heereby may you now knowe, how blinde your under- / standing was in Rome, that meeting daily by the streetes, men / that manifestly had their soules the stables of vices, of that you / made no accoumpt, and because you sawe in case of necessitie, / horssees in the Church of Saint Peter, you thought it an horrible / abomination, and broke your hart to thinke on it, And yet your / harte was never broken, to see such multitude of soules full of / such filthie and abhominable sinnes, and God by whome they / were made and redeemed, banished out of them, surely your reli- / gion is a gentle religion.

Arch. You have great reason, but yet consider I praye / you, that which Saint Paule spake, that God dwelleth not in / temples made with handes of men, was to be understood of / that time, wherein he spake it, for since and now in our temples / the sacrament abideth.

Latt. You say truth, but have not you confessed unto me that / vices are woorse then beasts. / [55] Arch. Yea and so I say still.

Latt. Why then he that bringeth into the church a heard of / vices that are worse then beasts, is hee not worse then he that / bringeth into the church a troope of horssees.

Arch. It seemes so to me, but these beasts are invisible.

Latt. What : will you say that God cannot see mens vices.

Arch. Yes God can see them, but men cannot, but these hors- / ses we may all see.

Latt. By this reason ye would make it a lesse abomination / to offend God then men, and then yee would excuse the offence / committed in appearing before God, so burdened with wicked- / nesse, because men see it not, you aggravate greatly the putting / of horses into the church, in that time of necessittie, because they / are visible unto men. But marke sir I pray you, God is not of- / fended with the bad favors wherewith men are offended. The / soule wherein vices are rooted, that is it wherewith God is / offended, and therefore hee requireth that this soule bee most / cleere of vices and sinnes, and many times he hath so commaun- / ded us. And therefore yee take all things the wrong way: ye take / great care to keepe neate and cleane the materiall temples, and / the true temple of God which is your soules, you keepe it so full / of vices and abhominable sinnes, that they neither see God, nor / know what thing he is.

Arch. Now as God save me you have the greatest reason in / the world, but if you had seene the souldiers how they carried / along the streetes, the poore nunnes taken out of their mona- / steries, and other virgins taken out of their fathers houses you / would have had the greatest compassion in the world.

Latt. This is a matter so common among souldiers and / men of warre, that albeit in mine opinion, it be indeed much more / greevous then all the rest joyned together, we make scarslie any / accoumpt of it, as if it were not worse to defile a virgin, which / is the living temple, where Jesus Christ dwelleth, then a church / of stone or wood, wherefore the fault heereof must not onely bee / laid to the charge of those souldiers, but much more unto you, / who began and raised this warre, and were the cause that they / have done that they did: verelye if the warre were cause of no / other ill then this, even for this alone you ought to leave it.

Arch. The registers and records of the apostolike cham- /

[56] ber, of the buls and supplications, and those of the notaries and / processe are all destroyed and defaced.

Lattan. Those I thinke surely God did permit, that toge- / ther with vice wee should give over all futes and pleas for mat- / ters ecclesiasticall, for seeing these benefices are exequuted by / clarks, and the first and chiefe charter of a clarke should be chari- / ty, how doth he hold charity that goeth to fute with his neighbor.

Arch. And why not.

Latt. Because that charitie is of that nature, that if it met / with any of these suites, it ould rather loose the benefice then / stand in controversie with his neighbor.

Arch. This were verie perfection.

Lattan. And so should all the clergie bee men of such per- / fection.

Arch. All men cannot atteine to this perfection, but I pray / you whereupon should so manie auditors, proctors, advocates, / registers, and other officers feed, if there were no futes and pleas.

Lat. Let them be tailors, waterbearers and cowkeepers, / and not defrawd us utterly of all Christian charitie.

Arch. And this is a gentle charitie of yours that so honorable / prsons should take so base occupations, but I pray you what / should we do with the futes already commenced.

Latt. Let the benefice be bestowed on the most worthy of them / that are in fute for it, or taken from them both, and given to a / more worthie, and that could deserve it better.

Arch. By this meanes we should have no justice.

Latt. Yes much more justice, for benefices should be besto- / wed on such persons, as should do that they were ordeined for.

Arch. And now do they not their duties.

Latt. No surely, for these benefices are the goods of the poore, / and while you wast them in brables among proctors and doc- / tors, the poore die for want.

Arch. Ye have manie indeed that spend their livings that way / and some much woorse, as your selfe I know can be a good wit- / nes. But whom would you have to be the judge of the sufficien- / cy or insufficiency of clarkes to give or take from them their be- / nefices.

Latt. Everie bishop in his owne dioces, so as they would / better examine and know the persons. / [57] Arch. Well, but yee have many bishops that have not lear- / ning enough, nor knowledge to do this.

Latt. And therein is there another sinne committed, for such / should not be admitted to be bishops, but other persons ther to / deputed that were able.

Arch. Will yee have me tell you the truth, even that way too / all would goe by favour.

Latt. Thinke not so there are a number of wise bishops and / men of good conference, and others would follow their example. / And in trueth I thinke this would bee the best remedie till there / be some other more perfect reformation in the Church.

Arch. And for pleas that are uppon seculer matters, what / would you have done.

Latt. If I were a prince I would either devide it betweene / them, or give it all to the woorthiest and honestest.

Arch. Do you not see that hereby you would pervert and o- / verthrow all justice.

Lattan. Will you have me tell you my minde plainely, God / created all thinges for the use and service of man, but the admi- / nistration thereof rather to one man then an other, because they / should bestow them where most neede was, and it is good rea- / son that such as have impart with such as want. And it is / good justice, that hee have the administration of most, that / best knowes how to use them, and contrarie manifest inju- / stice.

Arch. By this meanes you would goe about to make a new / world.

Latt. No, but I would establish the good, and remoove the / quite out of it.

Arch. So long might I live till you had gone through with / such an enterprise.

Latt. God sende the emperour Charles life, and then shall / you see whether he will goes through withal.

Arch. But tarrie, for yet have yee not heard all. Nevre / since the emperours armie entred Rome, till the time that / I departed, which was the twelith of June, there was not a / masse said in Rome, nor all that time heard we a bell ring, nor / a clocke.

Latt. The bad became little better by hearing of masse when / [58] they did it without devotion or reverence, and the good would / doo that in spirite, which they could not doo with their bo- / dy, but how chaunceth the priests and friers would saie no / masse.

Arch. By God, and that is a gentle question. Did not I tell / you at the beginning there was not a priest or frier in Rome / that durst shew himselfe in other garmentes then such of a sol- / diers as I were.

Latt. And why so.

Arch. Because the almanes so soone as they said a frier, or / a priest in the streetes they would give the woord and trie out, a / Pope, a Pope, kill, kill.

Latt. As God shall helpe me I do now remember, that when / I was in Rome, there were manie prophesies that foretold of / this persequution of the clergy, and that it should be even in this / emperours time.

Arch. That is indeed most true.

Latt. And why then would you not amend?

Arch. Why: who would then have beleevd that it should / have proved true?

Latt. That would any man that had well considered the state / of all thinges at Rome.

Archd. But besides all this, there was such an extreme / stinke in all the churches, that no man could endure to tarrie in / them.

Latt. A stinke and whereof:

Arch. The souldiers had opened many sepultures hoping / to have found treasure in them, but after they were opened they / found nothing but the dead carkasses.

Latt. Was it not much that you suffered of that persume in / telling of the money that yee exacted for burying of the dead.

Arch. Now you are disposed to jest.

Latt. No in good faith but I tell you truth, that seeing you of / the clergie were not ashamed to take tribute of the dead, a thing / that even among the gentils was held most soulede, as little should / you have lothed to have entred to have prayed to God for them.

Arch. Well you thought yee had done, but there remaineth / yet woorse matter for you to resolve, for I have kept the woorst, / and most arievious for the last. /

[59] Latt. Well tell it me.

Arch. They left no reliques unsackt, and spared not to take / the gold and silver with their sacreligious handes, wherewith / those reliques were covered, that it was the most horrible abho- / mination in the world to see these raskals to enter those places, / whereunto bishops, yea cardinals, yea the Popes themselves / scarsly durst enter: And to take those heads and armes of the a- / postles and of the happie saintes, I cannot imagin what good / could grow unto Christendome by such an abhominable boldnes / and contempt.

Latt. Surely it was in deede a soule action, but I pray you / tell me after they had taken the gold and silver, what did they / with the bones:

Arch. The Almanes threw them downe, some in the church / yard, some in the holy field, others drew them to the howses of / the Prince of Orenge and other captaines, and the Spaniards / as the people most religious drew thema ll to the house of John / de Urbina.

Latt. What, so dispoiled:

Arch. See what you doubt, I my selfe saw one basketfull in / the house of the same John de Urbina.

Latt. And do you take this for the most hainous:

Arch. This is cleere.

Latt. But come hether, is not one bodie living woorth an hun- / dred dead:

Arch. Yes.

Latt. Then much more grievous was the death of those 4 / thousand men which you speak of, then y sake of these reliques.

Arch. And why so:

Latt. Because the reliques are dead bodies, and the men / were living, and your selfe have already acknowledged, that one / such is woorth an hundred of the other.

Arch. You say true, but these were the bodies of holie men, / and so were not the other.

Latt. So much the woorse, for the soules of these saints feele / not bad handling of their bodies, they being now in blisse: but / these wicked ones dying in sinne goe to hell, and so perish both / soule and bodie.

Archb: It is as you say, but neverthelesse it is an horrible /

[60] thing that in our dayes we should see such a bolde and outragious / action.

Latt. Surely so it is, and yet is it not without cause, that / God hath suffered it, for the deceipts were great that they used / with these reliques to beguile the simple people, and to get their / money from them, for yee have many reliques that they will / shew you in two or three severall places, as it you goe to Dura in / Almanie, they will there shew you the head of Saint Anne, the / mother of our Ladye, and the very same they will shew you also / at Lyons in Fraunce, So that manifest it is that one or both / had two mothers, or Saint Anne two heads. And one or bothe / these being counterfeit, is it not a great wickednesse thus to de- / ceive the people, and to worship a dead carkasse that perhaps / was of some theese hanged. But tell me which thinke you to be / the greatest inconvenience, either that we should want the body / of Saint Anne, or that under pretence of that relique, they / should make you worship the carkasse of some common wo- / man.

Arch. Surely I had rather there should neither be that re- / lique nor any other, then that they should make me worship a / sinner instead of a saint.

Latt. Nay would you not rather that these bodies of Saint / Anne, at Dura and Lyons, were put in a sepulture and never / shewed, then that so many people should be abused by them:

Arch. Yes surely.

Latt. And of this sort, yee had an infinite number of reliques / in the world, and little should be our losse, if we had none of them / at all, and would to God the inconveniences were so remedied. / The foreskin of our saviour cut off in circumcision, I have seene / in Rome and in Burgos, and the very same they will shew you / also at our Ladies Church in Antwerpe. Likewise the head of / Saint John Baptist, yee may see both in Rome and at Amians / in Fraunce. But the apostles if we will court them, albeit there / were indeed but twelve, and one of them not to be found, and an / other in the Indians, yet shall we find above 24. of them in our / part of the world. The nailes of the crosse Eusebius writes / were three, and one of them Saint Hellen the mother of the / emperour Constantine threw into the Adriatique Sea to assuage /

[61] a tempest, an other she caused to be cast into an helmet for her / sonne, and of the third she caused a bridle to be made for her / horse, and yet have you in Rome one, and an other in Millaine, / and an other in Coloine, and an other in Paris, and an other in / Lyons, and I wot not how many elsewhere, thou for the crosse, / if all the peeces which they shew thereof through

Christendome, / were gathered together, yee should have wood enough to lade a / charects. And of the teeth that Christ changed when he was a / child, even in Fraunce alone ye have at least five hundred. Then / of the milke of our Lady, of the heyre of Marie Magdalen, and / the teeth of Saint Christopher, there are reliques innumerable. / And then even of the uncertaintie of these things, it is a great / shame to see and heare what themselves give out to the people. / My selfe last day in a very auncient abbey was shewed a table of / their reliques, and there amonst other things it named a peece / of the River of Cedron. I demaunded whether it were of the / water or of the stones of the river, they would mee I must not / just at their reliques, an other was of the earth, whereupon the / angel did appeare to the shepherds, but I durst not aske them / what they ment thereby. If I should tell you of a number of / their rediculous and impious things which they will tell they / have. As of the wing of Saint Gabriell, of the penitence of Ma- / ry Magdalen, the breath of the mule and ore, of the shadow of / the staffe of Saint James, of the doublet of the Trinitie: a num- / ber of other things like to these. It were enough to make us burst / with laughing. Onely I will tell you, how within these fewe / dayes in a collegiall church they shewed me a ribbe of the hole / saviour, whether they have anye other saviour then Jesus / Christe, or whether he left any ribbe heere behind them, let them / looke.

Arch. These things indeed, as you say, are rather to be laught / at then lamented.

Latt. You have reason, and therefore I come to the other / things which be uncertaine, yea and if they were certaine, yet are / they stumbling blocks, to make a man commit idolatrie, for they / cause us to hold them in so great reverence, as even in Aquis- / grane, albeit they have no other relique but a paire of olde bree- / ches, which they say were S. Josephs, which they shew not but / every five yeeres once, there goeth thether an infinit number of /

[62] people to behold them, as a thing divine and of these matters we / make so great accoumpt, as if in one church on the one side there / stande in a shrine of gold the flippers of saint Christopher, and / on the other side the holy sacrament, the people will rather / choose to go say their prayers before y flippers of S. Christopher / then before the sacrament, and this being so great a wickednesse, / they doe not onely, not reprove it, but most willingly admit and / allow it, in respect of the great profit they gather by it, and the / fine devises they have invented for it. Let us see then which were / the greater inconvenience, either to have no reliques at all in the / world, or to have men thus abused by them:

Arch. I cannot tell, neither would I trouble my head with / these profound matters.

Latt. And how profound, which thinke you of greatest vawle, / either the soule of some simple bodie, or the body of a saint.

Arch. This is out of question, that a soule is much better then / a body.

Latt. Why then what reason have you (in seeking to honor the / body of some saints, as they say, which perhaps notwithstanding / is the boddy of some theese) to put in perrill so many soules:

Arch. You say the trueth, and therefore may they very well / thereof admonish the ignorant and simple sort.

Latt. Very well, and yet even these that should admonish / are many times themselves ignorant, And yet besides all this, / why should you put any one soule in danger without necessitie. / Let us see if you would in this towne goe to our ladies church / of Prado, and knew not the waye, would you not thinke it a ve- / rye great inhumanity, if any man would direct you through the / river with greate daunger to drowne you therein, when you / might more safelye and more quickelye have gone over by the / bridge.

Arch. Yes surely.

Latt. And wherefore then do you seeke after reliques:

Arch. Because many times they stir me to devotion.

Latt. And devotion to what end desire you:

Arch. To salve my soule.

Latt. Seeing then you may save your soule without perill / of damning it, woulde you not rather choose the more safe / waye. /

[63] Arch. Yes, and our confessors also say it is a shame for us wit- / tingly to put our selves in danger to sinne.

Latt. They say therein the very truth.

Arch. But yet what way have you of greater safetie:

Latt. The same which Christ himselfe taught, to love God a- / bove all things, and to put in him our whole trust.

Arch. You say the truth. But because I cannot do that, I go / about to doe this other.

Latt. This is a great heresie to say you cannot do it, desire / at least of God grace to doe it. But if you will say you do request / it, and that God will not doe it, you make God a liar, who saith, / Aske and you shall have, And farther what a blindnesse is this, / does you thinke to goe to heaven without fulfilling of the com- / maundments of God: albeit you have an arme of a saint, / or the peece of the crosse, or the whole crosse in your house, you may be an enemye to the crosse, and doe you thinke to save your / selfe by the crosse:

Arch. Surely I was deceived.

Latt. Then behold the common sort have so much more just / cause to complaine on them that lead them into these and such o- / ther like superstitions, to put them in danger of their soules, then / you of him that should guide you through the river with danger / to drowne you, as the soule is more worthie then the bodie.

Arch. Well but yet the common sort are more easilye by / things visible indeed and directed to the invisible.

Latt. You say truly, and therefore hath Jesus Christ left us / his holye sacrament of the altar, and having this, I knowe not / wherefore we have need of any other.

Arch. And the true reliques indeed, would you not have them / kept and garnished with gold and silver.

Latt. No surely.

Arch. Wherefore.

Latt. Not to give occasion of such another spoile, as this of / Rome, nor yet to make men thinke, that the saints are pleased / to possesse these things, that those which are good men do glory / to contenme.

Arch. You say well, but doe you not see yet that the saints / may be offended with us for taking away the golde and silver, / wherein their bones be inclosed, and being so offended, bay doe / [64] us some hurt:

Latt. No, rather I thinke they would be verie well please to / see those thinges taken and employed on the poore, who many / times perill for famin not having what to eate.

Arch. That understand not I unlesse you explaine your mea- / ning better.

Latt. I wil shew you plainly, that saint which whilst hee li- / ved in this world, and had need of these goods, did neverthelesse / leave them and impart them to the poore for the love of Christ / Jesus, do you not beleve that much more he would be please, to / have the same done now after his death when he hath no cause at / all to use them:

Arch. Yes surely I think so, for wee that be no saintes, yet / when we die, and cannot carrie our goods with us, wee are well / pleased to give them to the poore, and to devide them among / churches and monasteries.

Lattan. Why then tell mee wherefore should you think a / saint should bee greeved to have that done with his goods / now hee is dead, which himselfe would have done if he were / alive.

Arch. No surely I thinke a saint would be verie wel plea- / sed to see that done with his goods now he is dead, which himself / would have done if he were alive.

Latt. Then you see plainly, that the saintes who whle they / lived were so wel pleased to distribute their owne goods among / the poore would now much more bee pleased to helpe the poore / with that silver and gold which good people have presented unto / them after they were dead.

Arch. So God save me this reason is verie good, and I be- / leeve you say herein also the verie truth, and yet surely the com- / com sort would be offended.

Lattan. No on my faith I dare assure you there would bee / no offence taken, if it were provided that such superstitious / people as regarded more their bellye, then the glorie of / Christ Jesus shoulde not goe aboute to provoke them to of- / fence.

Arch. Surely for this matter I hold my selfe fullie satis- / fied.

Lattan. Thus you see Jesus Christ hath suffred that / [65] in Rome so greate a sacke and spoile should bee committed / on reliques, to remedie the deceptes that were committed by / them.

Archde. Well, this I confesse, so as you will also de- / clare unto mee touching the small reverence used towards / the images, what the reason should bee that God would suffer / that.

Latt. That I will tell you, neither will I denie that it was / verie ill done, but God hath permitted it not without verie great / cause, for you may see among the common people, yea, and e- / ven among many of the principall persons also, that they did so / mucche repose themselves upon images, and thinges visible, / that they had no care at all of the invisible. In my countrey / a verie good man, a devine, going a visitation of a bishop- / ricke in the behalfe of the bishoppe, founde in one church an / image of our Ladie, which they saide did manie miracles, and / was set over against an altar of the sacrament (in compari- / son whereof all images in the worlde are lesse then nothing) / And yet thereunto might you see them kneeling and knocking of / their breastes before that image of our Ladie. The good man / when hee saw so great an ignominie, as was thereby done to / our saviour Jesus Christ, conceived so great a griefe as hee / tooke away that image and brake it into peeces. The people / so much were mooved with this act, that they would have kil- / led him, but God delivered him out of their handes. The / clergie of that church beeing offended for their rentes, that / thereby they had lost, travelled with the people to complaine to / the bishop, thinking he would presently send to burne the poore / visitor. The bishoppe (like a wise man) understanding the / matter how it passed, reprooved the visitor of the contempt hee / bad committed in breaking the image into peeces, but commen- / ded much his act in remooving it from that place, so that seeing / there was so fewe such good visitors in Christendome, that / would be agreeed with the dishonour done to GOD, and to / take away such superstitions, God permitted these souldiers to / commit that spoile you speake of, to the ende that leaving all su- / perstition wee should in such sorte honor images, as wee do not / dishonor Jesus Christ.

Archd. Surely this is a most godlie consideration and far- /

[66] ther I promise you, there is great need of remedie in this mat- / ter especially in Italie.

Latt. Nay, even here also aswell as there: And if you will / looke well into this matter, you shall see the verie same deceipts / in images that were in reliques.

Archde. I knowe you saye truly, but I could tell you / of another matter, that even in thinking of it my fleshe trem- / bleth.

Latt. Tell it mee, and be not afraid.

Arch. Can you imagine a greater wickednesse, then to / breake open the pire of the altar, and to let faule on the / ground the holie sacrament: Is it possible any good can come / of this: Oh Christian eares that can endure to heare it.

Latt. Good God and have you seene this too:

Arch. No, but surely all men say it was so.

Latt. That which I have heard was that a souldier tooke / the pire of God and left the sacrament upon the altar, and / did not throw it down on the ground as you say, but howsoever, / it was a mervellous boldnesse, and woorthie of great correcti- / on: but in truth it is no new matter, but a thing that happeneth / many times amonge souldiers, and the fault is theirs which / choose rather to live in warre then in peace. But if it had never / bin heard of before do you think this to be the greatest abhomi- / tion that could be done: think you that it were not much woorse / to throw it into a dunghill:

Arch. How into a dunghill.

Lattan. I will tell you, but first tell mee which stinketh / woorst before God, a deade dogge that lieth upon a dounge / hill, or a soule that obstinatlye continueth in his sinnes.

Arch. A soule, for Saint Augustine faith, Quod tollera- / bilis fetet, Canis putridus hominibus, quam anima pec- / catrix Deo.

Latt. Then you will not denie me that a sinful soule is a soule / filthie dunghill.

Arch. No surely.

Lattan. Seeing then a priest that rising in the morning / from his queane (that I saye no woorse) of course goeth / to say masse. A prieste, I saye, that holdes his bene- / fice by symmonye, and carrieth in his hart mortall rancor /

[67] against his neighbor, that by right or wrong will heape uprit- / ches, becoming obstinate in these and other vices, yea in much / more woorse then these goe everie daye to receive the sa- / crament, do you not thinke that to let it fall in such an one, / is muche woorse then to let it fall into a stinkinge dounge- / bull:

Arch. You talke to mee in anew language, I kow not what / to answere you.

Lattan. I mervell not though truth seeme to you a new lan- / guage: But behold now how this is the cause that God hath suf- / fered these things to be done, that clarkes seeing how great ab- / homination it is to handle in this sort the bodie of Christ might / thereby knowe and remember that themselves have handled / it muche woorse, that departing form their wicked manner / of livinge, they might cense their soules from vices, and / beautifye it with vertues, that Christe might come to dwell / in them, and not to keepe him as they doe, bannished from / them:

Arch. Now as God save me you have verie well satisfied me / in all my doubttes, and I was even now mervelling to see how / blinded all men were in these externall thinges without having / regard to the internall.

Lattan. You have verie great reason to mervell, for in verie / truth it is a great pittie to see the false opinions wherein the com- / mon sorte are drowned, and howe backward wee are to be- / come Christians, and howe contrarie our woorkers are to the / doctrine of Jesus Christ, and howe wee are burthened with / superstitions, and in mine opinion all proceede from a pestife- / rous avarice and pestilent ambition which at this time raigneth / much more among Christians, then in

any other time: to what / purpose do you thinke, do they perswade the people that an i- / mage of woode goeth to recover prisoners, and returnes all / sweating, but onelie to allore the simple sort to make offerings / to that image, to make thereof their owne profit, neither have / they anie feare of GOD in this sorte to abuse and deceave the / people, as though our Ladie had no other meane to redeeme / prisoners, but to take with her a wooden image. And al- / beit, this bee a most ridiculous thinge, yet do the common / people by reason of their authoritie beleve it, and in this manner /

[68] they make man also beleve, that if they cause so many malles to / be said, with so many candles, at the second sorrow that you shall / recover that you have lost, O wretched sinner, knowest thou not / that in this superstition this cannot but bee a worke of the divell, / And were it not better thou shouldest loose all that thou hast in / the world, then that thou shouldest introduce into a thing so holy, / a thing so wicked. Even of like accoumpt are these names, which / you carry about your necks to escape death by fire, by water, and / the handes of enemyes, enchantments and charmes made as the / common people call them for men and beasts, I cannot imagine / how we came into so great a blindness, that wee are falne into a / manner of gentillitie. He that will seeke to honour a saint, / should travaile to follow his holy vertue, but now in lie we there- / of, wee chase buls uon his daye, besides many other abuses / which are committed, we say and hold it a great devotion, to kill / foure buls upon S.Bartholmewes day, and if we kill them not, / we are afraide that he will spoile our vines, what greater gen- / tilitye can you wish then this: what is it lesse to hould devotion / in killing foure buls on his daye, then to sacrifice foure buls / unto S.Bartholmew? I doe not thinke it til, that the people for / recreation should assemble, chase, and kill buls on that day, but / I thinke surelye that it is a wicked thing, to thinke that by such / acts we please God or his saints: for in truth betweene killing / of buls with such intent, and sacrificing of fuls, I know no dif- / ference. Will you see another heathenish custome, as plaine as / this, Behold how we have devided among our saints even the / very same offices that the gods of Paynims had instead of Mars / we have S.James and S.George. In lieu of Neptune, S.Elmas. / In lieu of Bacchus, S.Martine. Instead of Abolus, S.Barbola. / In lieu of Venus, Magdelena. The charge of Esculapius we / have parted among many, S.Cosme, and S.Daman have charge / of common disceases, S.Roque and S.Sebastian of the pesti- / lence, S.Lucie of the eyes, S.Polonya in the teeth, S.Aquida of / the Dugges, and of the other side S.Antony and S.Aloy of / Beasts, S.Simon and Judas of false witnesses, and S.Blas of those / that neese, I knowe not to what end these inventions serve, and / this distribution of offices, but to make us appeare altogether / Paynims, and to abandon the love and trust which in Christ alone / we ought to repose, tormoiling our selves in seeking such helpe /

[69] of others as he alone is able to give us, and thereof it also com- / meth, that some thinke because they recite a heape of psalmes, / or a flocke of rosarys: others because they weare the habit of a / merced. Others because they eate no flesh on wensdayes: others / because they are cloathed in blew or yellow, that thereby they / want nothing of perfect Christians, reteining neverthesse their / envie still, their ranckor, their avarice, and their ambition, and o- / ther vices, as entirely as if they had never heard what it is to be / a Christian.

Arch. And whence proceeds this as you thinke.

Latt. Naye enter me not into this laborinth, more perrilous / I thinke then that of Creta, let that alone for an other daye, and / tell me if in your opinion I have accomplished as much as at the / beginning I promised.

Arch. I say you have performed it so fully, that I hould all / well employed that I have lost in Rome, and all the troubles and / travailes I have susteined in this journey, seeing I have thereby /

gained such a day as this, wherein me thinkes I have shaken off / from my selfe a pestiferous cloude of abhominable blindnesse and / recovered the fight of the eyes of my understanding, which I / had lost ever since I was borne.

Latt. Seeing then you knowe this, give thanks unto God, / and endeavour your selfe not to bee ungratefull for the same, and / considering you remaine satisfied of all doone there, it were reason you did also recount unto me that which passed at Rome un- / till your departure.

Arch. That shall I doe with a verye good will: you are to / understand, that after the armie entred into Rome, they placed / a garde on the castell, that none should passe out nor in, and / the Pope knowing the evident perrill he stood in, and the small / regarde those souldiers had of him, he determined to take some / composition with the emperours captaines, and therefore sent / to parle with John Bartlemew de Gateuera, Regent of Na- / ples, and gave him certaine conditions, whereupon he was cen- / tented to render himselfe, to the end that on his parte he might / offer them to the captaines of the armie: and although that in / going too and fro to procure this agreement, he were shot through / the arme out of the castell with an harquebuze, yet before the / end of the five dayes after, the armie entred Rome, the capitulation /

[70] was concluded and signed on either part. Nevertheless in this / meane time the Pope receiving news how an armie of the legars / came to aide him he would not have that agreement executed.

Latt. Now surely, this me thinks was one of the most wicked / things of all, ye have yet told me, had not poore Rome already / suffered enough for his sake, but that he must endeavour utterlye / to destroye it. If the armie of the legars should come, it was to / succour him, it was cleere, they must fight with our army, and / thereby great slaughter must ensue on either side, if then ours did / vanquish, the Pope and his partie should fall into greater perill, but / if these did conquere them, then must Rome be new sacked, why / then had it not beene better to have taken any accord, rather then / having before seene so great mischiefe, to be yet the cause of ma- / ny more murders of people, and of a new destruction.

Arch. Surely you have great reason, and much lesse inconve- / niences had it been to have accepted any conclusion, then the da- / mage that must have ensued by the succour of the leagers. But / so soone as the emperours armie knew of this, they presentlye / marched out of the towne into the field, with resolution to fight. / But the legars durst not come out of the island, where they had / remained certaine dayes, and the castel still hade out, hoping on / that succour, or at least that some discord might fall out in the / emperours armie the generall being dead. But they ceased / not all this while to make their pines and trenches to winne the / castell, yea albeit the Prince of Orange that then remained the / cheefe commaunder, were also hurt with a shot. Then came Car- / dinall Collona, with the Lords Vespasian and Ascaino Col- / lonna, and they did remedie some parte of the evils that were / committed. There came also the Viceroy of Naples, and Don / Hugo di Moncada, and the Marquesse of Guasto, and the Lord / of Alorcan, and many other commaunders and knights, with / the souldiers of the kingdome of Naples. And although in the / meane time there ceased not shooting from the castell, yet in the / end the Pope understanding that the legars armye returned, / and that there was no hope to bee succoured from them, hee / accorded for to render by the castell into the emperour his / hands, with these conditions, that all the people within the ca- / stell should goe freelye whither they woulde, not taking anye / thing that was within the castell. And for ransome of theyr /

[71] persons and goods, the Pope promised to give 14 hundred thou- / sand ducats to pay the souldiers.

Latt. And how so, was it not inoughe that they had robbed / before:

Arch. Yes sure it was enough, but that mought not be recko- / ned any part of their paye. And for securitie hereof, the Pope / gave them in pledge that good creature John Marte Gibber- / to, Bishop of Verona, with three other bishops, and Jacob Sa- / limato, with other two merchants of Florence. And besides all / this, consented to elave in the emperours pwer, till such time / as they might knowe what his majestie would commaund) the / castell Angelo and Ostia, and Civita Vechia, with the haven: / and promised Iso to deliver the citties of Parma and Placentia / and Modena, And his holinesse with the 13 cardinals that were / in the castell, went to the kingdom of Naples, even from thence / to go see the emperour.

Latt. Surely this was a good meane to doe some good in / Christendome.

Arch. So was it, but to tell you the trueth, albeit they desired / it should bee so reported (because they thought it ill to hold the / Pope and colledge of cardinals against their will) they sayd it / was their desire, but in conclusion they were gentill prisoners. /

Latt. What say you then, that himselfe desired not to goe to / Naples?

Arch. Yes but all this was but to make a vertue of necessitie, / for seeing he sought to stay so many dayes in hope of succour from / the legars, do you not thinke, that if he mought have been at his / owne choise, he would not have beene rather in the armye of the / legars, then where he now is.

Latt. I cannot deny unto you, but it is very likely, but what / can you tell if afterwards he changed his minde.

Arch. Now certainly I cannot tell, but I beleeve it not, nei- / ther doe I thinke it well, that the head of the Church should be / handled in this manner.

Latt. Let us see then, is not a man that may avoyde mischief / bound to doe it.

Arch. Who doubts that:

Latt. Should not hee bee blame worthie, that should give an- / other cause to doe ill. /

[72] Arch. He should be in the same fault, for Qui causamdam- / ni dat, damnum dedisse videtur:

Latt. You say verie well, then behold, the Pope either is there / with his will, or against his will: if with his will, then is all well / that you complaine of, but if against his will, then tell me wher- / fore would hee bee with the armie of the leagers.

Arch. Why that's plaine to revenge himselfe of the insolency / and hurtes he had received.

Latt. Let us then see what would have falne out.

Arch. What could have ensued but much discord, wars, mur- / ders, and damage through Christendome.

Latt. Then to avoid these so apparent mischiefs, do you not / thinke it better that hee should bee in the power of the emperor / then elsewhere, albeit hee should bee there against his will, accor- / ding to that we talked of before touching the sunne that kept / his father tied: and if the emperour would have let him goe / where himselfe liste, should not the evilles have beene justlye / imputed to the emperor that would have ensued, seeing hee / gave the cause thereof.

Arch. I confesse this too, but what will all both great and small / say, but that the emperour holdes the Pope and cardinals pri- / soners.

Latt. This will ignorant persons say, whose judgement it is / impossible to satisfie, whereas the wise and prudent knowing it / to bee for the good of Christendome, that the Pope should re- / maine in the power of the emperour, will hold it, and account / it verie wel done, and wil highly praise, the vertue and wisdom / of his majestie, yea then all Christendome may thinke them- / selves perpetuallie bounden for it.

Arch. As for mee I could bee well content that he should bee / wheresoever yee would have him, so as they would give me the / possession of my benefices, but I cannot tell whether you consi- / der how they stand excommunicate.

Latt. And why so:

Arch. Because they have apprehended and hold against his / will the chiefe pastor of the church.

Latt. Behold sir hee standes excommunicate that with a wic- / ked meaning wil not obey the Church. But hee that for the com- / mon weale of all Christendome deteineth the people, and wil not /

[73] let him lose, onely to avoid the evils which would follow uppon / his delivery. Beleeve mee hee doth not onely stand not excom- / municate, but also meriteth much at Gods handes for it.

Archd. Surely this is a thing verie likely and reasonable, / but I know not whether our cannonists would graunt you this.

Latt. That cannonist that will not graunt this, shall shew / himselfe void of judgement.

Arch. I beleeve so too, but at one thing I was verie greatly / displeased, that the Pope should presently give pardon to all the / soldiers of all whatsoever they had done.

Latt. And why are you agreeved at that:

Arch. Because they remaine all ritche and pardoned, and wee / bewailing our tosses and sorrowes.

Latt. Do you thinke that pardon of valiew? as much did hee / to the Collonesi, hee pardoned them first but after destroyed / them. A gentle kind of pardon.

Archd. I cannot tell what I may beleeve, but that their / soules were absolved, and their purses damned.

Latt. Why then did you not stand against it:

Arch. Yes, even thereabout wee went to leave our skinne / with our goods, thinges stood then in these tearmes, that you / would pardon all past for that that was to come, if you had seene / the Pope as I saw him.

Latt. Where:

Arch. In the castle.

Latt. And why went you thether:

Arch. Ther were certaine benefices falne in my cuntry by / the death of an neighbour of mine, and I went to demaund them. /

Latt. An extraordinarie boldnesse was this surely: Were you / not ashamed in such a time to importune him with futes?

Arch. No surelie, for a shamefast man the devill will / soone chase out of the pallace, and manie more were there to / begge them aswell as I, and sure I had as leeve prevent as bee / prevented.

Latt. Well, I tell you againe, that most terrible is the ava- / rice of the clergie.

Arch. A wonderous matter I promise you: and wherefore do / you suppose, do wee of the clergie come to Rome:

Latt. I thought it had beene for devotion. /

[74] Arch. Yes it is, nowe surelye I was never in my life lesse / devoute.

Latt. Nor yet lesse a Christian.

Arch. Well sir, even as it please you so let it be.

Latt. On my word, if I had beene Pope you should not have / benefices onely for early rising, seeing that after so notable a per- / sequition, you had not left your covetousnesse.

Arch. Yea even for this is God very good, that he would not / give us you, but Clement the 7. who gave it me presently with / a very good will, although I went in the habit of a souldier as / you see me.

Latt. Nowe I promise you this was even an immesurable / clemencie, but tell me how found you him.

Arch. I found both him and all the rest of the cardinals and / others about him, so sad and sorrowfull, that even in beholding / of them, the teares burst out of mine eyes, he that had seene him / goe in his triumphe with so many cardinals, bishops, protoro- / taries a foote, and himselfe caried in a feat borne by men, bestow- / ing upon us all his holy blessings, that he seemed even a thing di- / vine: and now to see him solitarye, sad, afflicted, comfortlesse, / committed to a castle, and that above all, is in the power and / handes of his enemies, and besides all this, to see the bishops / and other persons ecclesiasticall that came to visite him to be all / in souldiers apparell, and that even in Rome the head of the / Church should not have a man that durst go in the habit of an ec- / clestasticall person: I know not what hart can bee so indurate, / that hearing these things, should not bee persed with compassion.

Latt. Immeasurable God how profound are thy judgements: / with how great clemencye dost thou suffer us: with howe great / goodnes dost thou call us: with how great patience dost thou tar- / rie us: whilst that we with the continuation of our sinnes do pro- / voke against our selves even the rigor of thy justice, and conse- / quentlie both in the one and in the other dost shewe us thy mercie / and insist goodnes, for all o Lord we yeeld thee infinit thanks kno- / wing that thou dost it not, but for our great good: for he that had / seen y majesty of that roman court, such and so great cardinals / and bishops, such and so many cannons, protonotaries, abbets, / deacons, and archdeacons, so many chamerleins, som ordinary, som extraordinary so many auditions, some of y chamber, and others /

[75] of the chaunceries so manie secretaries, so many scribes / some of bulles, some of whittes, so manie abreviations, so many / advotates, doctors, and proctors, and a thousand other kind of / officers as were in that court, and to have seene them all come / with that triumph and pompe to that pallace, who would have / said wee should have had such and so sudden a change as this I / have now heard oft. Now do I know that with the rigor of pain / he doth recompence the delay of punishment.

Arch. Seeing also that in truth the cardinals were faine to / dismisse their families because they ahd nothing left to buy bread / for them to feede uppon.

Latt. Yet one thing doth comfort mee that at least so long as / they continue in this estate they shall the more livelye represent / those they should.

Arch. Who is that:

Latt. Jesus Christ and his apostles.

Arch. You say truth, but in this case I had rather represent / Pope Julio with his triumphes, but tell mee I pray you how / did the emperour take these injuries that in Rome his armie / had committed against the Church:

Latt. I will tell you: immediatly after the certaine newes / came of the evils that happened at Rome, the emperour shew- / ing his compassion, caused the feasts that were made for the birth / of his sonne Don Philip to cease.

Arch. And do you thinke that it greeved him.

Latt. And what doe you thinke:

Arch. Now surely I cannot tell, for on the one side I see things / that should displease him, and on the other things that should / content him, and therefore doe I demaunde that question of / you.

Latt. And I will tell you, the emperour is surely even in- / deed a very good Christian, and dooth so hold all his actions and / accidents recommended and committed to the hands of God, as / he

taketh all chaunces in the best part, and therefore it comes, / that wee never see him either in prosperitie overmuch to re- / joyce, or in adversitie to bee agreeved, So that by his utter / apparance, it is not possible for anye man to judge, but sure- / lye I thinke, that in this, as in all other thinges hee will / not leave for to conforme himselfe to that which shall please / [76] almightie God.

Arch. But in good faith sir, what thinke you now, his ma- / jestie will doe in a matter of so great importance as this, now in / truthe he had need of very good counsell, for it at this time he doe / reforme the Church (seeing now all men know what need there / is besides the service which he should doe unto God, he shall at- / taine even in the worlde the greatest fame and glorye that ever / prince attained. And men will say even to the ende of the world, / that Jesus Christ framed the Church, and the emperor Charles / which restored it, and if he doe not this, albeit all fell out against / his will, and that he had or have the best meaning in the world, / it will not be possible to excuse him, but that there will fall into / mens mindes a very hard conceipt of him, neither doe I knowe / what will be sayd of him after he is dead, nor what accoumt he / can give unto God, for having omitted and not knowne how to / have used so notable and great an opportunitie as now he hath to / doe unto God, so notable a service, and so incomparable a good / unto the universall commonweale of Christendome.

Latt. The emperour as I told and tell you, is indeed a very / true Christian, and very prudent, and hath about him persons / very wise in his counsell, I hope he will provide for all to the / glorye of God, and good of Christendome. But seeing you aske / me this question, I will not forbear to tell you my opinion, and / that is as touching the first. The emperor should.

Porter. What nowe my masters, the Church was made to / praye in, and not prate in. Yee may goe foorth and please you / for I will shut the doore.

Latt. Well father we will away by and by.

Porter. And you will not out I will lock you in.

Arch. That were a gentill peece of curtesie, but I thinke / that Saint Frauncis hath given you noe such commaunde- / ment.

Porter. What care I for Saint Frauncis commaunde- / ments.

Latt. I beleeve you will father, let us goe wee shall have / some other time to finish thar is left.

Arch. I would bee wouderfull glad to heare out that you / began, but seeing it is thus, let us goe a Gods name, upon / condition that we returne hether againe tomorrow morning. / Latt. / [77] friar turne us out againe.

Arch. You say well sir, let it be even so, but in the meane / time, reade I pray you this prayer in manner of a new pater / noster, made by our Spaniards in couples that they song even / under the window of our high bishop.

Padre nuestro in quanto Papa,
Soy: Clemeynte sin que os quadre
Mas Rennego yo de el padre,
Que al hijo quita la Capa.

FINIS