The Papacy
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Quietism—Zouaves, Pontifical

Philippe Levillain, *Université de Paris X*
GENERAL EDITOR

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TRAVELS OF POPES, 536–1809.

List of papal journeys outside Rome or the Papal States before Paul VI:

536	Agapitus I	Constantinople
547	Vigilius	Constantinople
633–4	Martin I	Constantinople
710	Constantine I	Constantinople
754	Stephen II	France (Ponthion, Saint-Denis)
799	Leo III	Germany (Paderborn)
804	Leo III	Germany and France (Rheims)
816	Stephen IV	Rheims
833	Gregory IV	France (Colmar area)
878	John VIII	France (Troyes)
1012	Benedict VIII	Germany
1019	Benedict VIII	Germany and Strasbourg
1040	Benedict IX	Marseilles
1049–54	Leo IX	Germany and France (several times)
1095	Urban II	Marseilles and Clermont (First Crusade)
1106	Paschal II	Germany and France
1118–19	Gelasius II	Provence, Mâcon, Cluny
1119–20	Callistus II	Dauphiné, heims, Autun, Toulouse, Cluny
1129–32	Innocent II	France
1147	Eugene III	Dijon, Rheims, Langres
1164	Alexander III	France
1195	Clement III	Montpellier
1244	Innocent IV	Lyon (ecumenical council), Cluny
1274	Gregory X	France: (Valence, Vienne); Switzerland: (Lausanne)
1309	Clement V	installed in Avignon (until 1377); new installation in the reigns of the "Avignon" or "Clementist" popes of the Great Schism, from 1379
1417	Martin V	Constance
1533	Clement VII	Nice, Villefranche, Marseilles
1533	Paul III	Nice
1782	Pius VI	Austria: Vienna
1804	Pius VII	Paris
1809	Pius VII	France (enforced exile)

See also TRAVELS OF JOHN PAUL II, TRAVELS OF PAUL VI.

TREASURY, PAPAL. See **Finances, Papal.**

TRENT, COUNCIL OF. A widespread myth tends to attribute to the council of Trent (1545–1563) everything that constituted Catholicism up to the time of VATICAN II, including doctrine, institutions, liturgy, and morality. That is to give it too much credit. The council of Trent was certainly a decisive moment in the formation of modern Catholicism, but modern Catholicism has acquired many other accretions, both before and after Trent, that owe nothing to the council; examples are priestly celibacy and the cult of the Virgin Mary.

This makes it all the more necessary to ask what this council, paradoxical in many aspects, really was. First conceived in 1520, it met 25 years later, was suspended several times, and did not conclude until 1563. It was never officially "received" by the French Church. Intended to restore Christian unity, it deepened and hardened the division between Catholicism and the Protestant Churches. Yet this machinery conceived to challenge the papacy strongly reinforced the authority of Rome.

The Struggle for the Council. The early history of the council of Trent began in 1518, when Luther called for a council against the abuses of the Roman Curia. The scholar of Wittenberg amplified this appeal with incomparable brilliance two years later in his treatise "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation," in which he drew up a complete plan of Christian reform to be put into practice by a council, in spite of the pope. His call was heeded. In 1523, the Imperial diet brought together the princes and free cities of Germany, both Catholic and Protestant. With ever-growing intensity, it demanded "a free council [i.e. independent of the pope], to meet on German soil." Moreover, Emperor Charles V rallied to the cause. For him and his ministers, a council was the only way to re-create a union between the Empire and

Christianity, not only by condemning Luther's errors but also by forcing the pope and the clergy to carry out reforms "at the head and in the members" and thereby to cripple the Protestant revolt. From 1529, the emperor used every method at his disposal to break the resistance of the pope, who would have nothing to do with such a council.

In fact, it was in Rome that the most stubborn opposition to the council plan was found. The popes had not forgotten the movement that arose in the 15th century, reinforced by the Great Schism, to assert the superiority of a council over the pope. The restored papacy energetically fought against the danger of the Church being changed into a sort of parliamentary monarchy. PIUS II, with his bull *Exsecrabilis*, which was confirmed by LEO X in 1513, threatened to excommunicate any Christian who would dare call for a council. CLEMENT VII was persuaded that any reform of the Church would be at his expense. The Curia upheld him in this conviction. It succeeded in suppressing the timid reforms decided on by the fifth Lateran council but was less certain of any future success after Luther's brilliant outburst.

The council had another opponent in the king of France, Francis I. He was only too happy to see the empire split by religious controversy, but he had no desire to see Charles V rise above it and increase his strength and prestige. This was to be a constant in the history of the council of Trent: the more the Habsburgs were for it, the more the French king would be against it, and vice versa. As for the opinion of the faithful—if one may use such an expression—it swung between excited expectation and disappointment, with an underlying skepticism that can be readily understood if one considers the legacy of Lateran V.

With the accession of Pope PAUL III, in 1534, the field was changed. The new pontiff was a resigned supporter of the council, and in 1534 he announced its convocation, meanwhile embarking on the work of preparation. The most famous of these preparatory moves was the *Consilium de emendanda Ecclesia* (Advice on the Reform of the Church), which was worked on by a commission of reform cardinals and prelates (Contarini, Carafa, Sadolet, etc.) who met from 1536 to 1538. After the convocation, ten years of laborious negotiations followed before the council began. One of the major difficulties was to decide on a site. The pope wanted the council to be held, if not in Rome, at least in Italy (Mantua and, later, Vicenza were possibilities) so that he could keep an eye on it. The imperials insisted that the council take place in a city in Germany. The solution that was finally decided on was Trent: a city in the empire, German-speaking but situated on the Italian side of the Alps. Another problem was to bring the king of France to the council. In the end, Charles V's armies had to march triumphantly to the outskirts of Paris, in 1544, before Francis I hastily signed the treaty of Crépy-en-Laonnois and promised to send bishops to the forthcoming council.

The council finally opened in Trent on 13 December 1545. Since 1520, half of Germany, the whole of Scandinavia, and parts of Switzerland and central Europe had gone over to Protestantism. Meanwhile, from Geneva Calvin was beginning to win over France and the Netherlands, while England had broken with Rome.

The Working of the Council. A "general and ecumenical" council, Trent never swarmed with participants. When it opened, it included 4 archbishops, 21 bishops, and 5 generals of orders. The most heavily attended sessions (in 1563) numbered scarcely more than 200 fathers. Under PIUS IV (in 1562–3), the total assembly was made up of 9 cardinals, 39 patriarchs and archbishops, 236 bishops, and 17 abbots or generals of orders, although they never attended all at the same time. In comparison, the Catholic episcopate of the time probably had about 700 members. Moreover, the attending prelates were a very uneven representation of Christianity, even that part that had remained loyal to Rome. Catholic Germany, England, and Poland were represented only patchily and by unusual personalities (the Englishman Reginald Pole, or Stanislas Hosius of Poland). France sent 4 prelates to the first sessions, around 20 to the last ones (led by the cardinal of Lorraine), but none during the period 1551–2. The Spanish formed a small group. The great majority of the council was Italian, but the Italian bishops were split into several factions, with the tightly held group of the pope's flock pitted against the subjects of the king of Spain (from the kingdom of Naples and the Milanese), along with a few independents (in particular the Venetians).

It was chiefly on account of the Italian bishops, who came from the Curia or were provisioned by it, that from the 16th century onward critical minds raised the question of the freedom of the council fathers vis-à-vis the papacy. It is true that, in all the thorny discussions, the papal legates made great efforts to back up the camp of the papalists and the supporters of the Holy See. Nonetheless, recent research has shown that the fact of being provisioned by Rome did prevent certain bishops from voting with the opposition.

Below the bishops operated the theologians, brought in as experts. They played an indispensable role, since the prelates—most of whom were graduates in canon law—usually had only a weak grounding in theology. Almost all these theologians belonged to the religious orders; the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians, along with a few Jesuits (e.g., Alphonsus Salmeron and Diego Laynez), who would play their first leading role in the life of the Church. The theologians prepared the documents that were studied, discussed, and amended by the prelates sitting in committees, or "congregations."

After that, they were submitted for the general approval of the fathers at solemn "sessions" (over 18 years, the council of Trent held 25 sessions, including some that were purely formal).

In the hall or in the wings, the princes' ambassadors worked as in a beehive. Their job was not only to keep their masters informed about the doings of the council but also to influence its workings in the direction of state interests. Thus, formal receptions, set speeches, peremptory orders, and secret negotiations all loomed large in the actions of the council. The laity, in the sense of the sovereigns, were far from absent from these activities.

In the midst of all this, an essential place was given to the legates whom the pope appointed to preside over the council. Five days from Rome by courier, their task was to apply papal directives and see to it that the work of the council progressed without in any way encroaching on Rome's authority. It was a delicate and exhausting task, in which such prelates as Cervini (the future Pope MARCELLUS II), del Monte (later JULIUS III) and Morone, to cite only the most outstanding, showed exceptional talent.

Finally, special mention should be made of the work of the council secretariat. An excellent team of notaries and clerks, led from start to finish by the same person, Angelo Massarelli, carefully recorded all the conciliar discussions, both in the congregations and in the public sessions. At the same time, Massarelli kept a day-by-day history of the council, a mine of information for modern historians and theologians.

On the material level, the council came up against not a few problems. Trent, was a small, cramped town, poorly connected to the outside world and with no intellectual infrastructure. The presence of the prelates and their attendants caused a skyrocketing of the price of lodging and provisions. Many complained of the "bad air" (although, despite false rumors, the plague was less prevalent there than elsewhere). As soon as they were able, the fathers ran off to more pleasant sojourns in Venice or Verona, whence the legates had to recall them with great difficulty (at least, those who voted with the papalists). Moving the council to Bologna, in 1547, may have angered the emperor, but it gladdened the hearts of many prelates and theologians, once again in a large city with wealthy monasteries and a complete university.

Twists and Turns. The turbulent history of the council was linked with the events of general history and to conflicts between the powers, in particular in Germany and Italy. The following discussion can only indicate the high points.

In the spring of 1547, when the council was progressing at full speed (crucial questions had been decided on, such as the respective authority of Holy Scripture and tradition, and justification; that of the Eucharist was being broached), the legates suddenly put to the vote the question of moving from Trent to Bologna. The sudden death of one bishop, attributed to a contagious disease, had created panic. But there were suspicions of a maneuver on the part of Roman interests intent on torpedoing a council that was succeeding too well. Although the pope approved the transfer, the emperor took it very badly. Just when he was winning a decisive victory over the Protestants at Muhlberg, this decision ruined his plans. He ordered all the bishops under his sway to stay in Trent, with the result that the council that had been moved to Bologna limped along until it was suspended in September 1548.

In 1550, JULIUS III resolved to reopen the council in Trent. The Holy Roman emperor, Charles V, then at the height of his power in Germany, urged him to do so and vowed to send representatives of the Protestant princes. The king of France, Henry II, seeing the transfer as a move on the part of his rival, precipitously boycotted the council, even threatening to hold a national council at the same time. In Trent, work went on no less assiduously, in particular on the sacraments. For the first—and only—time, Protestant delegates arrived from Würtemberg, Saxony, and several imperial cities, notably Strasbourg. But the council only listened to their confessions of faith and juridical protestations; there was no dialogue. Soon war resumed in Germany, inflamed by France. In the spring of 1552, when the Protestant forces of Maurice of Saxony took Augsburg and invaded the Tyrol, the panicked council decided once again to disperse.

During PAUL IV's pontificate, it was easy to believe that the pope had determined to reform the Church on his own authority, without the council. But the results were so controversial, even in Rome, that his successor, PIUS IV, was elected (1559) only on condition that he bring the council to a satisfactory conclusion. He might not have had the strength to undertake the task, still less complete it, without the energy of his young cardinal nephew, Charles Borromeo. By this time, the situation of the Catholic Church had gone from bad to worse. Under the powerful surge of Calvinism, Scotland had yielded; the loss of England was confirmed; France and the Low Countries were severely threatened; heresy had even reached Spain. The kings were perturbed. One of the clauses in the treaty of Chateau-Cambrésis, concluded in 1559 between Philip II of Spain and Henry II of France, provided for the two rulers to combine their efforts toward reconvening the council.

But would a new council be called, as many—and not only the Protestants—hoped, or would the old council inaugurated in 1545 continue? With Spain behind him, the pope decided for the second option, and the council reopened in Trent on 18 January 1562. However, not until the failure of the colloquy of Poissy (summer 1561) and the unleashing of civil war in France (April 1562)