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**‘The Standard-bearer of the Roman Church’:
Lorenzo da Brindisi (1559-1619) and Capuchin Missions
in the Holy Roman Empire**

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St Edmund Hall

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This thesis examines the missionary work of the Italian Capuchin Lorenzo da Brindisi. Renowned in his own day as a preacher, Bible scholar, missionary, chaplain, and diplomat, as well as vicar general of his Order, Lorenzo led the first organised, papally-commissioned Capuchin mission among the non-Catholics of Bohemia in the Holy Roman Empire from 1599 to 1602, and returned there, again under papal mandate, from 1606 to 1613. This thesis examines Lorenzo’s evangelistic and polemical activities in Central Europe in order to shed light on some of the ways the Capuchins laboured in religiously divided territories to confirm Catholics in their faith and to win over heretics.

The introduction explains, principally, the thesis’s purpose and the historiographical background. Chapter one provides a brief biographical sketch of Lorenzo’s life followed by details of his afterlife. Chapter two examines his leading role in establishing the Capuchins’ new Commissariate of Bohemia-Austria-Styria in 1600, and specifically its first three friaries in Prague, Vienna, and Graz. Chapter three treats his preaching against heresy. Chapter four focuses on how Lorenzo, while in Prague, involved himself directly in theological disputations with two different Lutheran preachers. The first dispute, with Polykarp Leyser, took place in July 1607, and dealt with good works and justification. The second, with a Lutheran whose name is not known for certain, and which occurred in August 1610, concerned Catholic veneration of the Virgin Mary. Chapter five analyses the *Lutheranismi hypotyposis*, Lorenzo’s literary refutation of Lutheranism following additional contact with Polykarp Leyser in 1607. The conclusion considers briefly the effectiveness of Lorenzo’s apostolate and closes with a review of the thesis as a whole.

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Two areas of early modern Catholic history that are in need of more sustained study are Catholic missions to Protestants, and the Capuchin Order. Both subjects come together in the person of the highly influential, though now rather obscure, Italian Capuchin Lorenzo da Brindisi, Roman Catholicism’s ‘Apostolic Doctor’. Renowned in his own day as a preacher, Bible scholar, missionary, chaplain, and diplomat, as well as vicar general of his Order, Lorenzo led the first organised, papally-commissioned Capuchin mission among the non-Catholics of Bohemia in the Holy Roman Empire from 1599 to 1602, and returned there, again under papal mandate, from 1606 to 1613. This thesis examines Lorenzo’s evangelistic and polemical activities in Central Europe in order to shed light on some of the ways the Capuchins – second only to the Jesuits in this kind of work – laboured in religiously divided territories to confirm Catholics in their faith and to win over heretics.

The introductory chapter begins by explaining the historiographical background of both the Capuchin Order and Lorenzo. It identifies briefly the purpose of the thesis and its themes. It continues with a description of the primary sources relevant to the study – among them Lorenzo’s *Commentariolum de rebus Austriae et Bohemiae* (1612), his memoir of his activities in the Reich. It concludes with a statement on the thesis’s limitations, and establishes how it fits with recent literature examining the re-catholicisation of parts of Europe that had been lost to heresy.

To better understand Lorenzo himself, what qualified him to lead the Capuchin mission to Bohemia, and his place in the Roman Catholic tradition, chapter one provides a brief biographical sketch of his life followed by details of his afterlife. Treated here as part of his biography are his early years; his entrance into the Capuchin Order; his profound knowledge of the Bible and the biblical languages; the origins of his career as a preacher; the many offices he held in the Capuchin Order, especially that of vicar general (1602-05); his apostolate among the Jews of Italy; his noteworthy work as a chaplain at the Battle of Székesfehérvár (1601); his role in the religious crisis of Donauwörth (1606-07); his diplomatic missions to King Philip III of Spain, first on behalf of the Catholic League (1609-10) and then the Neapolitan nobility (1618-19); his double appointment as apostolic nuncio and Spanish ambassador to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria (1610-13); his Eucharistic spirituality; his devotion to the Virgin Mary; contemporary perceptions of him as a thaumaturge; and his death in Lisbon in July 1619, during his second embassy to King Philip. As for his afterlife, the topics discussed are his burial at the Clarisse convent church of the Anunciada in Villafranca del Bierzo, Spain; his eventual beatification (1783) and

canonization (1881); the publication of his *opera* (1928-1956); and his proclamation as a doctor of the Church (1959).

Treatment of Lorenzo's missionary work in the Reich begins in chapter two. Its focus is the leading role he played in establishing, in 1600, the first three friaries of the Capuchins' new Commissariate of Bohemia-Austria-Styria, erected in Prague, Vienna, and Graz, designed as permanent bases from which the Capuchins could contribute to the re-catholicisation of those cities and their respective regions of the Reich. The chapter starts by explaining the historical context of the mission, which came in the wake of Gregory XIII's 1574 decision to permit Capuchin expansion beyond Italy, as well as its origins, which dated to 1597, when the archbishop of Prague, Zbyněk Berka, petitioned the Capuchin vicar general and the Roman authorities to dispatch the Capuchins to Prague to help reinvigorate Catholicism in Bohemia. At the command of Pope Clement VIII in May 1599, a mission of twelve friars was assembled under the leadership of Lorenzo, who was appointed the mission's commissary general, and who came to it with a working knowledge of German. They departed from Italy that summer, and, after an enforced sojourn in Vienna for much of that autumn due to an outbreak of the plague in Prague, which compelled Emperor Rudolf II and his court to withdraw to Pilsen, they arrived at the capital in November. From January to May 1600, Lorenzo and Archbishop Berka negotiated the location of the Capuchins' first friary in the city, finally settling on a site in the Hradany district. The process was prolonged because of the time it took to receive permission from the emperor, who was still in Pilsen, to build at that location. The friary's foundations were laid in May 1600, and all work was completed by June 1602. At the request of Archduke Matthias, Lorenzo, after the foundation ceremony in Prague, moved to Vienna to supervise the establishment of that city's first Capuchin friary. He occupied himself with this task over the course of June 1600. The following month, the foundations were laid at the chosen site outside the city center, near the Benedictine church of St Ulrich. Construction was completed by November 1603. And from Vienna Lorenzo moved to Graz in Styria, where Archduke Ferdinand II likewise desired a Capuchin friary. After Lorenzo had searched the city for a fitting location, he decided on a site at the foot of the Schloßberg, near the Paulustor. The foundation ceremony took place in August 1600, and the construction was completed by 1602. After significant growth and expansion, this one commissariate established by Lorenzo eventually became three separate Capuchin provinces: Styria (1619) and Bohemia-Moravia and Austria-Hungary (1673).

Chapter three examines what was arguably the most important component to Lorenzo's apostolate in the Reich: preaching against heresy. What is known about his preaching activities is discussed first. He preached routinely against heresy, in Italian, from the new Capuchin church of St Mary of the Angels in Prague, and preached directly to heretics in the city. For several months in 1611, while serving as papal nuncio and Spanish ambassador to Maximilian of Bavaria, he also undertook an evangelistic expedition among both Protestants and Catholics in various regions of the Reich, including Saxony, the Palatinate, some of the free and imperial cities, and Salzburg. Considered next is the manner in which Lorenzo preached, and the rhetorical strategies he employed while doing

so. The evidence indicates that he preached with fervor, exaggerated emotional displays, and theatricality, establishing his place in the preaching tradition generally associated with Italy, and particularly with the Capuchins and the Jesuits. Subsequently, the focus is the content of his polemical sermons. The themes he treated and the tactics he used while preaching can be gleaned from his sermon plans in the 'Codex vindobonensis', dating from his time in the Reich, and published in his *Opera omnia* between 1954 and 1956, and the 'Quaresimale del Padre Brindes', a codex believed to contain records of sermons given by Lorenzo in Prague during Lent 1607. He preached on many polemical themes, foremost among them justification, the nature of the Church, Scripture, the Eucharist, and the Church's prescribed fasting. While preaching, he belittled his theological enemies and accused them of being innovators and in league with Satan. The theological arguments in his discourses were based very heavily on Scripture. To a lesser extent, he also called upon the witness of the Fathers.

Chapter four focuses on how Lorenzo, while in Prague, involved himself directly in theological disputations with Protestant preachers. It begins with an analysis of his clash, in July 1607, with the Lutheran preacher Polykarp Leyser the Elder, *Erster Hofprediger* to Elector Duke Christian II of Saxony. Despite laws in Bohemia prohibiting the public preaching of Lutherans, during Christian's short visit to Prague to see Rudolf II early that month, Leyser preached twice, publicly, from a window facing into a courtyard at the Rosenberg Palace in Prague Castle, where the elector's retinue was lodging. The first sermon, given on Sunday 8 July, was about good works, which Leyser taught were not necessary for salvation. The second, preached on Wednesday 11 July, argued for *sola fide*. Lorenzo heard about Leyser's preaching immediately after his first sermon, and wanted to respond with a sermon of his own without delay. He was, however, advised against it by the papal nuncio. But after Leyser had preached the second time, the nuncio authorised him and the city's other Catholic preachers to refute the Lutheran's teaching from their pulpits. Lorenzo responded with an Italian sermon the very next day, Thursday 12 July. He did not leave a written record, although he did relate in the *Commentariolum* and elsewhere that he had based it on Acts 13:10, part of the account of St Paul's encounter with the sorcerer and false prophet Elymas. And apparently having heard that Leyser had preached solely from Luther's German Bible, despite the Protestant insistence on the importance of studying Scripture in its original languages, Lorenzo accused him of being ignorant of the biblical languages in order to discredit him. For theatrical effect, he took the Bibles in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek that he had with him in the pulpit, and hurled them into the midst of the congregation, urging those present to take them to Leyser to see for themselves that he could not read them. But Leyser left Prague the following morning with Christian II in preparation for the elector's brother's wedding ceremony in Saxony. He had not at that point made any kind of reply to Lorenzo, which further convinced Lorenzo that his opponent had left the capital confounded because of his sermon. However, Lorenzo's conjecture about Leyser and the biblical languages was wrong: an examination of Leyser's commentaries on Genesis reveals that he could undoubtedly read them. Even so, Lorenzo's tactic succeeded in presenting what was a real threat to Catholicism in Prague as no threat at all. This chapter also examines what is known of a second theological dispute involving

Lorenzo in August 1610, at which point, due to Rudolf II's issuing of the Letter of Majesty in 1609, Lutherans could preach publicly in Bohemia. During the summer of 1610, Christian II of Saxony was again in Prague in an effort to help negotiate an agreement between the emperor and Archduke Matthias, who had been engaged in a fierce power struggle. One of Christian's preachers, possibly Paul Jenisch, Leyser's successor as *Erster Hofprediger*, preached against Catholic veneration of the Virgin Mary, alleging that Catholics worshipped her as true God. He is said to have based this argument on the *Psalterium majus Beatae Mariae Virginis*, which was then attributed to St Bonaventure, but is now believed to be spurious, and which consists of 150 psalms dedicated to the Virgin that were recited to her just as King David's psalter was recited to God. After hearing of this attack on the Church's Marian spirituality, Lorenzo responded to the preacher, bringing with him to the pulpit the writings of Bonaventure, thereby presenting himself as ready to defend Bonaventure's teachings and Catholic devotion to Mary. Based on these writings, he argued that Bonaventure did not advocate worshipping the Virgin, who was a creature, not the Creator. And as for the *Psalterium*, he asserted that while being praised and invoked therein, Mary was never addressed with titles befitting only to God, and that the principal invocation was for her intercession. Believing himself to have overthrown the preacher's argument, Lorenzo suggested belittlingly that either he was exceedingly ignorant or a diabolically-inspired deceiver seeking to persecute Catholicism.

Chapter five examines Lorenzo's *Lutheranismi hypotyposis*, his literary attempt to refute Lutheranism. It begins by explaining the book's origins in 1607 as a result of additional contact that year with Polykarp Leyser. After his return to Saxony, Leyser published his *Zwo christliche Predigten*, a booklet containing the two sermons he had given in Prague and a polemical preface addressed to both the German-speaking Jesuit preacher Andreas Neubauer, who had preached against Leyser on the Sunday following his departure from the city, and Lorenzo. Leyser spent the majority of his time in the preface refuting the arguments Neubauer had made in his sermon. He only commented briefly, though mockingly, on what he knew of Lorenzo's sermon and his stunt with the Bibles. He challenged Neubauer and Lorenzo to prove the teaching in his sermons wrong based solely on Scripture. He then sent them copies of the booklet, which arrived in Prague in September 1607. Lorenzo decided to respond in writing, an endeavor that had the full support of Prague's Catholic authorities, and for which a papal dispensation was granted in December that authorised the book to be examined and published in Prague extraordinarily, without having to secure the permission of the Capuchin Order. Lorenzo originally planned to direct the book against Leyser alone; in time, however, the *Lutheranismi hypotyposis*, or 'the express image of Lutheranism', became a work refuting not only Leyser but also Martin Luther and the Lutheran Church and its doctrine. Lorenzo laboured on it until 1610, at which point he was readying it for publication. However, it was then that he learned of Leyser's death earlier that year, which caused him to abandon the project. It was not until the early twentieth century that the text was published by the Capuchin Order in three parts: the *Hypotyposis Martini Lutheri*, the *Hypotyposis Ecclesiae et doctrinae lutheranae*, and the *Hypotyposis Polycarpi Laiseri*. The remainder of chapter five in this thesis serves as an analysis of the strategies Lorenzo employed in the *Lutheranismi hypotyposis* to refute

Lutheranism. As in his sermons and sermon plans, he made repeated appeals to Scripture. He cited the Fathers quite frequently, more so than in his homiletic material. He continued to resort to ‘verbal violence’, which was more intense here while he was engaged in direct theological controversy. And he made use of a new tactic, quoting Luther’s own writings against him – texts he was able to consult in Prague – in order to demonstrate from the reformer’s own pen that he was a diabolically-inspired heresiarch. He also cited the writings of other influential Lutheran theologians whom he saw as strategic witnesses to the ‘poor’ doctrinal state of Lutheranism and the ‘depravity’ of Lutherans.

The conclusion begins with a brief consideration of the effectiveness of Lorenzo’s mission in the Reich. Contemporary sources suggest that he may have been responsible for winning some heretics over to the Roman Church through his preaching, his verbal disputation with Polykarp Leyser, and his supposed miraculous activity while serving as a chaplain at the Battle of Székesfehérvár; but these documents are problematic, and it is really beyond the scope of the historian to measure the veracity of spiritual conversion. The conclusion closes with a review of the entire thesis and a reflection on what has been learned through it about Lorenzo da Brindisi, the Capuchin Order, and early modern Catholic missions in Central Europe.

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Andrew J.G. Drenas

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Abbreviations

Archives and Libraries

AGC	Archivio Generale dei Cappuccini, Rome
AGSim	Archivo General de Simancas
APCL	Archivio Provinciale dei Cappuccini lombardi, Milan
APCV	Archivio Provinciale dei Cappuccini veneti, Mestre
ASPG	Archivio Storico della Provincia di Genova dei Frati Minori Cappuccini, Genoa
ASFir	Archivio di Stato di Firenze
ASGen	Archivio di Stato di Genova
ASMan	Archivio di Stato di Mantova
ASMod	Archivio di Stato di Modena
ASTor	Archivio di Stato di Torino
ASVat	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
ASVen	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
CDEG	Cancelleria Ducale Estense, Ambasciatori Germania, ASMod
CR	Congregazione dei Riti, ASVat
FB	Fondo Borghese, ASVat
Gonz.	Archivio Gonzaga, ASMan
KPK	Kapucínská provin ní knihovna (Capuchin Provincial Library), Prague
LMA	Lettere Ministri Austria, ASTor
LMV	Archivio Segreto, Lettere Ministri Vienna, ASGen
Med.	Mediceo del Principato, ASFir
NA	Národní archiv (National Archive), Prague
PI	Provinzarchiv Innsbruck der Kapuziner Österreich-Südtirol
PW	Provinzarchiv Wien der Kapuziner Österreich-Südtirol
SDAG	Senato, Dispacci degli Amasciatori, Germania, ASVen
Urb.lat.	Urbinates latini, BAV

Manuscript Sources

Annales	PW, Meinrad of Munich, ‘Annales Patrum Capucinatorum Provinciae Boemo-Austriacae B’
APAlb	ASVat, CR, Processus 377 (Albenga)
APBass	ASVat, CR, Processus 375 (Bassano)
APBrind	ASVat, CR, Processus 378 (Brindisi)

APGen	ASVat, CR, Processus 376 (Genoa)
APMil	ASVat, CR, Processus 370 (Milan)
APNap	ASVat, CR, Processus 379 (Naples)
APVen	ASVat, CR, Processus 380 (Venice)
APVic	ASVat, CR, Processus 374 (Vicenza)
Comm.	APCL, 'Commentario Manoscritto Originale Fatto per Ubbidienza dal Venerabile Servo di Dio il P. Lorenzo [Rossi] da Brindisi, Predicator Cappuccino della Provincia Veneta; Esprovinciale di Toscana, di Venezia, di Genova; Esdiffinitore; ed Esgenerale di tutto l'Ordine', A 338
CV	PW, Lorenzo da Brindisi, 'S. Laurentii a Brundusio Sermones de Tempore: Ms. Originale Auctoris'
IPMun	PI, 'Copia examinis de vita et miraculis patris Laurentii Brundusini Capuccini beata memoria cuius originale iam dudum est transmissum Romam', Fasc. X, N. 8
IPVen	APCV, 'Copia del processo formato in Venetia della vita, virtù et miracoli del Servo di Dio P. Lorenzo da Brindesi Predicatore Capuccino', A P.6 4/c
LC	PW, 'Exordium et propagatio Fratrum Minorum sancti Francisci cognomento Capucinatorum in Regno Bohemiae ac Provincijs Austriae, Moraviae, et Styriae'
LSP	KPK, Lucianus a Praga, 'Liber seu protocollum totius Provinciae Boemo-Austriacae Styricae Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capucinatorum', Rkp. 390
Q1	ASPG, Fondo Storico Provinciale, 'Cause di canonizzazione', Causa di canonizzazione di San Lorenzo da Brindisi, 'Quinterno in cui sono descritte le gratie e miracoli operati da Dio per meriti del padre Lorenzo da Brindesi predicatore Capuccino', Bb. I 1
Q2	ASPG, Fondo Storico Provinciale, 'Cause di canonizzazione', Causa di canonizzazione di San Lorenzo da Brindisi, 'Quinterno che racchiude in se descritte molte giuridiche testificazioni de gratie e miracoli operati da Dio per meriti del suo servo il padre fra Lorenzo da Brindesi predicatore Capuccino', Bb. I 2
QM	APCL, 'Quaresimale del Padre Brindesi', A 52
Tabula	AGC, 'Tabula Capitulorum Generalium fratrum minorum Sancti Patris Francisci Capucinatorum ab anno 1529 usque ad annum 1625', AG 1

Published Material

ADCBC	<i>Acta et decreta causarum beatificationis et canonizationis O.F.M. Cap.: ex regestis manuscriptis SS. Rituum Congregationis ab anno 1592 ad annum 1964</i> , ed. Silvinus a Nadro (Romae, 1964)
AOFMC	<i>Analecta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capucinatorum</i>
AOMC	<i>Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capucinatorum</i>
Arturo	Arturo da Carmignano di Brenta, <i>San Lorenzo da Brindisi, Dottore della Chiesa Universale (1559-1619)</i> (4 vols., Padova, 1960-63)

- CEH Ioannes XXIII, 'Celsitudo ex humilitate', *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 51 (1959), pp. 456-461.
- CF *Collectanea franciscana*
- HEDL *Hypotyposis ecclesiae et doctrinae lutheranae (Opera omnia, vol. 2.2)*
- HML *Hypotyposis Martini Lutheri (Opera omnia, vol. 2.1)*
- HPL *Hypotyposis Polycarpi Laiserii (Opera omnia, vol. 2.3)*
- IPVill 'Los procesos de 1630 y 1677 para la beatificación de San Lorenzo de Brindis', ed. L.M. Núñez, *Archivo ibero-americano*, 12 (1919), pp. 316-352.
- LH *Lutheranismi hypotyposis (Opera omnia, vols. 2.1-2.3)*
- LW M. Luther, *Luther's Works*, ed. J. Pelikan et al. (56 vols., St Louis, 1955-1986)
- Opera omnia* Lorenzo da Brindisi, *S. Laurentii a Brundusio opera omnia a Patribus Minoribus Capuccinis Provinciae Venetae e textu originali nunc primum in lucem edita notisque illustrata* (10 vols., Patavii, 1928-1956).
- QQ *Quadragesimale quartum (Opera omnia, vol. 10.1)*
- SDT *Sermones de tempore (Opera omnia, vol. 10.2)*
- WA M. Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (73 vols., Weimar, 1883-)
- ZCP P. Leyser, *Zwo christliche Predigten: Eine, von den guten Wercken: wie dieselben gut Evangelisch/ nach Christi Lehr/ sollen gepflantzt und getrieben werden. Die Andere/ von dem Artickel: wie der sündige Mensch für Gott gerecht und ewig selig werde. Zu Prag gehalten, als die Röm. Keys. May. Rudolphus II. Unser aller gnedigster Herr/ von dem Churfürsten zu Sachsen und Burggraffen zu Magdenburg/ etc. Christiano II. unterthenigst besucht ward. Jetzo aber in offenen Druck publicirt/ von wegen des unnützen Geschreyes und Gespeyes/ welches zween Münch/ ein Lojolitischer und ein Capuciner/ darwider erreget. Durch Polycarpum Leisern D.* (Leipzig, 1607).

Introduction

On 19 March 1959, Pope John XXIII issued the Apostolic Letter *Celsitudo ex humilitate*, in which he proclaimed the Roman Church's thirtieth *doctor Ecclesiae*. He highlighted how this individual, as a young man, had joined the Capuchin reform of the Franciscan Order in the Veneto, and very soon outstripped his confreres in zeal and diligence for the Order's practices. He became a preacher – a 'tireless herald of Christ' (*indefatigatus...Christi praeco*) as John described him – who traveled throughout Europe, and even on foot through the Alps, in order to instruct the people in 'the true faith'. He laboured as a diplomat at the courts of some of the continent's great Catholic princes, where he encouraged Catholic rulers to unite their power against their enemies. As a military chaplain, while Christian forces were engaging the Turks in Hungary, he intrepidly made his way onto the battlefield bearing the cross, thereby, according to John, inspiring the Christian soldiers to victory. Being a missionary, he laboured among Protestants and Jews as, John said, 'the standard-bearer of the Roman Church' (*Romanae Ecclesiae signifer*), supposedly leading many to abandon their 'false opinions'. In the role of administrator, he supervised numerous provinces of his Order in Italy, watched over the Capuchins in various regions of the Holy Roman Empire, and became general of the Order himself. He was also an ardent devotee of the Virgin Mary and teacher of Marian doctrine. In his *Mariale*, John observed, while teaching the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption of the Virgin, he anticipated the dogmatization of these beliefs by Pius IX and Pius XII in,

respectively, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Finally, he was beatified by Pius VI in 1783 and canonised by Leo XIII in 1881.¹

One might expect that a historical figure with credentials like these would be well-known not only to Roman Catholics but also to Reformation historians. The startling reality, however, is that Lorenzo da Brindisi (1559-1619), whom John XXIII proclaimed *doctor Ecclesiae* in 1959, and who left behind such an impressive legacy, is barely known today. The reason why Lorenzo – arguably the most prominent of all early modern Capuchins – should remain so obscure is perhaps related to the fact that his Order as a whole remains understudied by historians, even though it was, according to H. Outram Evennett, that twentieth-century godfather of early modern Catholic studies, ‘second only to the Society of Jesus in the final range and success of its counter-reformation apostolate’.² As Elisabeth Gleason explains in her short study of the Capuchins in *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation*:

...A lay historian reading and reflecting about the Capuchins cannot but be struck by the fact that despite the rich collections of primary and secondary sources there is very little interpretive work that comes up to the highest standards of modern historical scholarship. The Capuchins began as an Italian order, and their origins and early history must be studied in the context of sixteenth-century Italian religious history. But since the unification of Italy in the nineteenth century, the split between so-called lay culture and Catholic scholarship has relegated the study of religious orders definitely to the latter...The history of Catholic orders has remained a family affair, as it were, cultivated within the various institutes established by the orders and staffed by their members. Learned and thoughtful articles reach a limited readership since they are too frequently published in periodicals that are in the nature of house organs. It is as if a whole side of religious life barely existed...³

¹ *CEH*, pp. 457-59.

² H.O. Evennett, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation: The Birkbeck Lectures in Ecclesiastical History Given in the University of Cambridge in May 1951* (Cambridge, UK, 1968), p. 14.

³ Elisabeth Gleason, ‘The Capuchin Order in the Sixteenth Century’, in R.L. De Molen (ed.), *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation: In Honor of John C. Olin on His Seventy-fifth Birthday* (New York, 1994), p. 48.

Thus, as has been the case with other orders of the Church, the problem for Capuchin history is not a lack of primary sources, as there are so many, but rather that much of what secondary literature there is on the Capuchins has been largely produced in-house, with a great deal of it not meeting modern standards of critical scholarship. Much of it is dated too. Indeed, Cuthbert of Brighton's *The Capuchins: A Contribution to the History of the Counter-Reformation* (1928) still remains the major English study of the Order during the early modern period despite being now almost ninety years old.⁴

Similar concerns apply to the literature dealing specifically with Lorenzo.⁵ Over the past four centuries, studies of his life and work have been written almost exclusively by Capuchins, and particularly by Italian Capuchins – predictably, perhaps, given not only the Order's Italian origins, but also Lorenzo's birth and career in Italy, as well as the fact that the vast majority of his own manuscripts are still preserved in the peninsula today. Well into the twentieth century, that literature was essentially hagiographical in nature, looking to celebrate Lorenzo and his 'heroic sanctity'. Bonaventura da Coccaglio's *Vita, virtù, e miracoli del Beato Lorenzo da Brindisi, Generale dell'Ordine de' Cappuccini*,⁶ published in 1783, the year of Lorenzo's beatification, and Anthony of Tasson's *Life of Saint Lawrence of Brindisi: Apostle and Diplomat* (1911)⁷ are two outstanding examples

⁴ Fr. Cuthbert, *The Capuchins: A Contribution to the History of the Counter-Reformation* (2 vols., London, 1928). There is also an Italian translation of this work, for which a friar named Arsenio da S. Agata Feltria was responsible: Fr. Cuthbert, *I Cappuccini: un contributo alla storia della controriforma* (Faenza, 1930).

⁵ There are two particular bibliographies that are worth consulting to see what has been written on Lorenzo from the Sixteenth to the end of the twentieth century: Felix a Mareto, *Bibliographia laurentiana, opera complectens an. 1611-1961 edita de Sancto Laurentio a Brindisi, Doctore Apostolico* (Romae, 1962); Giorgio Basso, 'Bibliographia laurentiana. Opere su S. Lorenzo da Brindisi scritte dal 1961 al 1999', *Laurentianum* (fasc. 1-2, 2000), pp. 207-221.

⁶ Bonaventura da Coccaglio, *Vita, virtù, e miracoli del Beato Lorenzo da Brindisi, Generale dell'Ordine de' Cappuccini, cavata da processi esibiti alla Sagra Congregazione de' Riti* (Venezia, 1783). This biography also appeared as Bonaventura da Coccaglio, *Ristretto storico della vita, virtù e miracoli del B. Lorenzo da Brindisi, Generale dell'Ordine de' Cappuccini* (Roma, 1783).

⁷ A. Brennan, *Life of Saint Lawrence of Brindisi: Apostle and Diplomat* (London, 1911).

of this. In the twentieth century, however, some Capuchins began to study Lorenzo more critically, especially in the 1950s and 1960s after his manuscripts were finally published and his proclamation as a doctor of the Church in 1959. Capuchin scholarship during this period reached its culmination with Arturo da Carmignano di Brenta's *San Lorenzo da Brindisi, Dottore della Chiesa Universale (1559-1619)*, published between 1960 and 1963.⁸ This three-volume biography of Lorenzo, which is complemented by a two-part fourth volume containing over 1,200 *documenti* relating to Lorenzo's career and afterlife – all drawn from archives and libraries throughout Europe – is the most authoritative and critical *vita* of this Capuchin to date. It is a *sine qua non* for scholars wanting to learn more about him. However, like Cuthbert's *The Capuchins*, Arturo's biography is now seriously dated. But the desire among the Capuchins for more critical scholarship on Lorenzo has continued to more recent times. It is visible, for example, with Paolino Zilio's 'I manoscritti di s. Lorenzo da Brindisi: primo approccio', a superlative article that was published in 2000 in the Capuchin journal *Laurentianum* and analyzes Lorenzo's manuscripts, their current locations, and what can be gleaned from them.⁹

The Capuchins are certainly to be praised for their efforts. Nonetheless, the time has come for scholars outside their Order, and even outside the Catholic Church, to take an interest in Lorenzo. His life and career can teach us a great deal about early modern preaching, biblical studies, spirituality, military chaplaincy, missions, and international diplomacy; how the Capuchin Order itself was governed; and issues related to early modern

⁸ For full bibliographic details, see p. 6 above. The English rendition of this large work is nothing more than a brief and hagiographical summary of the contents of Arturo's Italian *capolavoro*. For this English text translated by the Capuchin Paul Barrett, see Arturo da Carmignano, *St. Lawrence of Brindisi* (Westminster, MD, 1963).

⁹ Paolino Zilio, 'I manoscritti di s. Lorenzo da Brindisi: primo approccio', *Laurentianum* (fasc. 1-2, 2000), pp. 23-90.

Catholic sanctity. A study of Lorenzo is especially valuable for an appreciation of the Capuchins' contributions to rolling back some of the gains that had been made by the Protestants in Europe after the Reformation. Indeed, from 1599 to 1602, Lorenzo oversaw the first papally-commissioned Capuchin mission among the non-Catholics of Bohemia in the Holy Roman Empire. He returned there, and again under papal mandate, from 1606 to 1613. Thus, for a significant portion of his career – nearly a quarter of his more than forty years within the Capuchin Order – Lorenzo laboured in the Reich both to confirm Catholics in their faith and to convert heretics, those to whom he referred as ‘the chief enemies of the cross of Christ and the Catholic Religion’ (*nemici capitali della croce di Christo e della Religion catholica*).¹⁰

The goal of this thesis is to consider how Lorenzo went about the task of promoting Catholicism in Central Europe, and particularly in Prague. But first, in an effort to better understand who Lorenzo was, what qualified him to lead the Capuchin mission to Bohemia, and where he stands in the Roman Catholic tradition, chapter one will provide a brief biographical sketch of his life followed by details of his afterlife. The analysis of Lorenzo's mission begins in chapter two. Here we shall see how he supervised the establishment of the Capuchins' new Commissariate of Bohemia-Austria-Styria, and specifically the foundation of its first three friaries in Prague, Vienna, and Graz. These houses served as bases for a lasting Capuchin presence in this area of the Reich where the friars were needed to assist the Church in its struggle against heresy. In chapter three, the focus will be on how Lorenzo preached against heresy, which he did routinely at the Capuchins' new friary

¹⁰ Comm, f. 2v. When I refer to ‘heresy’ or ‘heretics’, I am speaking from the perspective of Lorenzo and his fellow Catholics about Christians in the Reich who were outside the Roman Catholic Church. In the Bohemian context, the terms refer not only to Protestants but also to Hussites.

church in Prague and also during an evangelistic expedition that he undertook throughout the Reich over the course of 1611. His goal while preaching was both to refute heresy and to strengthen his fellow Catholics in their beliefs. Chapter four will examine Lorenzo's direct engagement, while in Prague, in theological disputations with two different Lutheran preachers. During the first clash, which took place in July 1607, he took on the teaching of Elector Duke Christian II of Saxony's *Erster Hofprediger*, Polykarp Leyser the Elder, who preached against the necessity of good works, and in favour of *sola fide*, at Prague Castle, despite laws forbidding Protestants to preach in Bohemia. For the second disputation, in August 1610, Lorenzo defended Catholic veneration of the Virgin Mary against another of Duke Christian's preachers, whose name is not known for sure, but who accused Catholics of worshipping Mary as God. In his sermons responding to both preachers, Lorenzo attacked their doctrines and sought to humiliate them personally. Lastly, in chapter five, we shall see how Lorenzo turned to writing in his efforts to combat heresy. His *Lutheranismi hypotyposis*, which he first began to write in autumn 1607, after Polykarp Leyser published the two sermons he had given in Prague, became his literary refutation not only of Leyser but also of Martin Luther and of Lutheranism as a whole. Lorenzo intended to publish this work, but abandoned putting the finishing touches on it in 1610 after learning of Leyser's death.

This study of Lorenzo's missionary and polemical activities is based on his own writings and other contemporary sources. The sources that are germane solely to single chapters will be introduced at the beginning of those chapters. Some sources are, however, pertinent to the entire thesis, and should therefore be introduced here. First among them is Lorenzo's *Commentariolum de rebus Austriae et Bohemiae*, his brief memoir of his

activities while in the Reich – a document of the utmost importance for this study. Despite the Latin title later assigned to it, this document was penned in Italian, albeit an awkward Italian that is reminiscent of Latin given its frequent lack of standardised word order. It appears to have been completed in July 1612, while Lorenzo was in Munich serving as apostolic nuncio and Spanish ambassador to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria (r. 1598-1651). It was written at the orders of Michelangelo da Rimini, the Capuchin procurator general in Rome, who wanted Lorenzo to record some of his experiences in the Reich so that they could be used for the compilation of the Order's chronicles for Bohemia-Austria. At Michelangelo's request, Lorenzo wrote the *Commentariolum* in imitation of Julius Caesar's *Comentarii*, that is, the *De bello gallico* and *De bello civili*. This is evident in its year-by-year chronology, as in the *De bello gallico*; simple and straightforward prose; and the fact that Lorenzo narrated his experiences in the third person, just as Caesar had famously done.¹¹ The *Commentariolum* manuscript remains extant. It is presently preserved at the Archivio Provinciale Cappuccini Lombardi in Milan under the *segnatura* 'A 338', although it has been published numerous times since the nineteenth century.¹²

¹¹ These details concerning the origins of the *Commentariolum* were described by Lorenzo in the letter of 9 July 1612 he wrote to Michelangelo da Rimini and appended to the *Commentariolum* when it was sent from Munich to Rome. An extract from this letter can be found transcribed in the codex containing the *Commentariolum* autograph at the APCL: Comm., f. 16r. Arturo identified Michelangelo as the procurator to whom the letter was addressed: Arturo, vol. 4.1, p. 58, doc. 44. For information on the *De bello gallico*, see Christina S. Kraus, 'Bellum Gallicum', in M. Griffin (ed.), *A Companion to Julius Caesar* (Chichester, 2009), 159-174. For an English translation of the *De bello gallico*, see *Seven Commentaries on The Gallic War* (Oxford, 2008), translated by Carolyn Hammond. For her own observations on Caesar's style, see pp. xxix-xxxvi. For the *De bello civili*, see Kurt Raaflaub, 'Bellum Civile', in *A Companion to Julius Caesar*, 175-191. For an English translation of the *De bello civili*, see *The Civil War* (Oxford, 2008), translated by John Carter. For his notes on Caesar's style, see pp. xxi-xxx.

¹² A photographic copy of the manuscript can be found in Mestre: APCV, Fondo S. Lorenzo da Brindisi, 'S. Laurentius Brundusinus O. M. Cap. Commentariolum de rebus Austriae et Bohemiae'. It was first published in 1882 by Bonaventura da Sorrento: 'Commentario manoscritto originale fatta [sic] per ubbidienza dal Venerabile Servo di Dio il P. Lorenzo [Rossi] da Brindisi Predicatore Cappuccino della Provincia Veneta, Es-provinciale di Toscana, di Venezia, di Genova, Esdiffinitore ed Esgenerale di tutto l'Ordine', *L'eco di S. Francesco d'Assisi* 10 (1882), pp. 403-411. In the early twentieth century, it was republished with annotations by Edouard d'Alençon: 'De rebus Austriae et Bohemiae commentariolum',

Besides the *Commentariolum*, other sources of note for this study are the many eyewitness testimonies given by Lorenzo's fellow Capuchins, surviving family members, friends, and coreligionists in the 1620s, and up to 1630, for the informative and apostolic processes carried out during the early stages of his beatification process.¹³ These investigations were conducted throughout Italy, in Naples, Brindisi, Genoa, Albenga, Milan, Venice, Vicenza, Verona, and Bassano. There were also processes in Munich and Villafranca del Bierzo, Spain, Lorenzo's final resting place. The vast majority of these sources, which shed valuable light on Lorenzo and his apostolate in the Reich, can be accessed in the 'Fondo Congregazione dei Riti' at the Archivio Segreto Vaticano. These testimonies may be valuable, but they do need to be treated with caution. Those who had been called to provide information during these investigations understood that they were testifying to the character and activities of a man who might well soon be a saint; many witnesses, presumably, resorted to pious exaggerations and omitted negative details about Lorenzo in order to present him in the most positive light possible. Additionally, helpful information can also be gleaned from the correspondence of the papal nuncios in Prague preserved in the 'Fondo Borghese' at the same archive.

AOMC 25 (1909), pp. 79-86, 136-141, 187-190, 210-14, 246-49, 295-300, 351-355; 26 (1910), pp. 55-60, 83-93, 117-122, 154-57, 185-89, 246-48. Edouard's treatment of the document begins under the heading 'De S. Laurentio a Brundusio documenta inedita' in 25:79. The pagination for some of the archival materials drawn from the ASVat and used by Edouard in some of the annotations has shifted somewhat since he worked with them more than a century ago. One can verify the present pagination of these texts based on the same sources included in vol. 1 of Arturo's *documenti*. Edouard's version of the *Commentariolum* was reprinted without its notes in Hieronymus a Fellette, *Testimoniorum elenchus de S. Laurentii a Brundusio Activitate Apostolica atque Operibus* (Venetiis, 1937), pp. 33-47, and reprinted with the annotations in 1956 in *Opera omnia* 10.2:353-415. Arturo also included the *Commentariolum* among his *documenti*: Arturo, vol. 4.1, pp. 92-99, doc. 90.

¹³ An 'informative process' was an initial investigation into the life, virtues, and miracles of a candidate for beatification, conducted under the authority of a local bishop or ordinary. An 'apostolic process' was essentially a repeat of the informative process, though now carried out under papal authority, with the purpose of verifying the information that had been gathered previously in the informative process. See C. Ashdowne, 'Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi and the Politics of Canonization in Early Modern Italy' (University of Oxford, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, 2010), pp. 39-40.

When considered in his sixteenth and seventeenth-century context, Lorenzo's historical significance becomes obvious. He was the Capuchin Order's towering figure. Recent surveys of early modern Catholicism, such as Ron Hsia's *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*, Michael Mullett's *The Catholic Reformation*, and Robert Bireley's *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700*, all highlight the activities usually associated with the Capuchins; and Lorenzo played a leading role in most of them: preaching, evangelistic work, military chaplaincy, and international diplomacy.¹⁴ He was also one of the Order's significant general and provincial rulers, and remains its major thinker and sole *doctor Ecclesiae*. Indeed, he is emblematic of the early modern Capuchin Order.

As a missionary to non-Catholics in Europe, Lorenzo is comparable to other historical figures of the age both within and outside his Order. The Capuchin Fidelis of Sigmaringen, the protomartyr of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, also served as a missionary in religiously hostile territory. He was clubbed to death by heretics in 1622 during a preaching tour in the Grisons.¹⁵ Lorenzo and Fidelis might have shared intrepid spirits and a passion for preaching against heresy, but the former did not share the latter's fate as a martyr. Among his contemporary Capuchins, Lorenzo can also be compared to Pacifico da San Gervasio († 1575), who supervised the first Capuchin mission, consisting of ten friars, to Paris in religiously divided France in 1574. Both men were important Italian leaders in their Order, with Pacifico having served as provincial of Milan and commissary general in Crete and Puglia before his journey to Paris. But more significantly for this

¹⁴ R. Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*, 2nd edn (New York, 2005), pp. 28-31; M. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (New York, 1999), pp. 104-06; R. Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700* (Washington D.C., 1999), pp. 26, 28-29. It is interesting to note that of these three studies, only Hsia's mentions Lorenzo by name, albeit in passing, while speaking of the roles early modern Capuchins played as diplomats during the Thirty Years War. See Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, p. 30.

¹⁵ Cuthbert, *The Capuchins*, vol. 2, p. 321.

study, both laid the foundations of Capuchin provinces that proved strategic in the Church's struggle against heresy, although Pacifico did not live long enough after the Capuchins' arrival in France to have the same kind of impact on the development of the Order there that Lorenzo would have in Central Europe.¹⁶

Outside the Capuchin Order, Lorenzo as a missionary is particularly comparable to François de Sales and Peter Canisius. De Sales, the so-called 'Gentleman Saint', and bishop of Geneva, may be most well-known for his writings on the devout life; but he was also the Catholic missionary who, while still a young priest from 1594 to 1598, led the charge to reconvert the Chablais, the largely Huguenot province of the Duchy of Savoy neighboring Geneva. Among the tactics De Sales employed were preaching – though this did not prove very effective as many Protestants had decided to shun him – and writing pamphlets attacking Reformed teaching. Toward the end of the mission, he would also rely greatly on the assistance of two Capuchins, Chérubin de Maurienne and Esprit de Beaume.¹⁷ As a missionary, Lorenzo too would rely on the strategies of preaching and writing against heresy, although under quite a different set of circumstances in a very different location – and with by no means as charitable a spirit as his francophone counterpart. As for Canisius, of particular importance in his attempts to combat Protestantism and strengthen the cause of Catholicism in the Reich over the course of the sixteenth century were his catechisms and the leading role he played in founding directly or indirectly eighteen Jesuit colleges in strategic locations such as Ingolstadt, Innsbruck,

¹⁶ Cuthbert, *The Capuchins*, vol. 1, pp. 201-03; Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini*, vol. 5, p. 710.

¹⁷ R. Kleinman, *Saint François de Sales and the Protestants* (Geneve, 1962), pp. 59-62; J. Fehleison, *Boundaries of Faith: Catholics and Protestants in the Diocese of Geneva* (Kirksville, MO, 2010), pp. 53-64.

Cologne, Munich, Prague, and Vienna.¹⁸ Due to the extent of his missionary endeavors in Central Europe, Pope Leo XIII in 1897 later named him the ‘Second Apostle of Germany’.¹⁹ And according to the Capuchin editors of Lorenzo’s *Opera omnia*, Hartmann Grisar, a Jesuit scholar contemporary with Leo, judged Lorenzo to have been a ‘Second Canisius’ (*alter Canisius*).²⁰ That is a cogent observation. Lorenzo might not have been an influential catechist like Canisius, but both were definitely responsible for the foundation of strategic houses and institutions in the Reich for their respective Orders – with both having labored in the imperial capitals of Prague and Vienna – that would continue their work of promoting Catholicism there long after they were gone. They, therefore, both contributed greatly in changing the religious landscape of the Holy Roman Empire.

A study of Lorenzo, and especially one about his evangelistic work among the Reich’s non-Catholics, invites us to consider where this activity sits with the consistently debated question of what to call Roman Catholicism during the early modern period. The two most common names by which it has been known are of course ‘Counter-Reformation’ (*Gegenreformation*) and ‘Catholic Reformation’, with the former conjuring up images of a Catholicism that was reactionary, repressive, and doctrinally rigid, dominated by the papacy, the Jesuits, and the Inquisition; the latter, a creative and more positive Church geared toward spiritual renewal through devotion and education as well as reform – reform

¹⁸ For more on Canisius as a catechist, see Eugen Paul, ‘Petrus Canisius als Katechet und Pädagoge’, in J. Oswald and P. Rummel (eds.), *Petrus Canisius – Reformator der Kirche: Festschrift zum 400. Todestag des zweiten Apostels Deutschlands* (Augsburg, 1996), pp. 194-201; J.W. O’Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), pp. 123-26. For more on Canisius’s role in the establishment of these eighteen colleges in the Reich, see Rainer A. Müller, ‘Schul- und Bildungsorganisation im 16. Jahrhundert Die Canisianische Kollegienpolitik’, in R. Berndt (ed.), *Petrus Canisius SJ (1521-1597): Humanist und Europäer* (Berlin, 2000), pp. 259-274; O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, pp. 272-76.

¹⁹ Luce Giard, ‘Le rôle secondaire de Petrus Canisius dans l’élaboration de la Ratio studiorum’, in *Petrus Canisius: Humanist und Europäer*, p. 95.

²⁰ *LH* 1, p. xi, n. 25. Unfortunately, the editors provide no information as to where in Grisar’s works he had said this.

efforts that had in fact begun during the Late Middle Ages before the Protestant revolt. John O'Malley reminds us of this dichotomy in *Trent and All That*, in which he argues persuasively for the usefulness of these names being included within the broader term 'Early Modern Catholicism'.²¹ Massimo Firpo likewise brings this historiographical debate to the fore in the *premissa* of his *La presa di potere dell'Inquisizione romana, 1550-1553*. There he contends, contrary to O'Malley, who, he states, was proposing to eliminate 'Counter-Reformation' and 'Catholic Reformation' from historiographical parlance, that these terms remain significant for our understanding not only of the Roman Church's reaction to the new heresies and schisms in Europe but also of the divisions in the church hierarchy itself over how to best confront the pressing issues of the age.²² Whatever the fate of these different terms should be, it seems safe to say that, based on his attitude and activities while stationed in the Reich, Lorenzo sits more easily with 'Counter-Reformation' than with 'Catholic Reformation'. This doctrinally intransigent friar did not go to Central Europe to promote mysticism, episcopal residency, and Baroque artwork – all of which we might associate with 'Catholic Reformation'; rather, by means of his adamant preaching, disputations, and other activities, he went to fight heresy with vehemence and to prevent its spreading any further.

²¹ J.W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA, 2000).

²² M. Firpo, *La presa di potere dell'Inquisizione romana, 1550-1553* (Bari, 2014), pp. v-x. Regarding O'Malley's supposed desire to do away with 'Counter-Reformation' and 'Catholic Reformation', Firpo, on p. v, describes it as the former's 'proposta di eliminare quei termini dal linguaggio storiografico'. However, O'Malley himself, in *Trent and All That*, p. 140, says: 'The last thing that seems to be needed is another name for the already long list of those purporting to define "the Catholic side." Yet in writing and lecturing I have found that the other names do not always say what needs to be said, whereas Early Modern Catholicism, or some version of it, does. Despite what a few critics have assumed, since first proposing it I have always insisted that it was not meant to replace the other names but to complement them'.

We might also consider whether the term ‘Tridentine’ is applicable when it comes to Lorenzo. On the one hand, it is appropriate to identify him as a Tridentine figure in the sense that he grew up with, assented to, and defended the doctrines affirmed at the Council of Trent. Moreover, he shared both the council’s uncompromising spirit toward the Protestants and its zeal for reinvigorating Catholicism. However, as O’Malley notes while discussing the value of ‘Tridentine Reform’ and ‘Tridentine Age’ as labels for early modern Catholicism, ‘Tridentine’ could, if used thoughtlessly, attribute too much to the council. Trent had not, he explains, been responsible for the strengthened papacy of the Cinquecento; had nothing to say about missions – obviously of great importance to Roman Catholicism, the first truly global religion, and to its ‘Apostolic Doctor’, Lorenzo; and, with its call for the strict enclosure of nuns, certainly would not have sanctioned the founding of active congregations of religious women that first began to appear in France during the seventeenth century.²³ The same is true for Lorenzo. No one can deny that Trent played a significant role in his theological formation and worldview; yet, we must also keep in mind how hugely important his being a Capuchin was for shaping his identity and influencing the kinds of activities with which he involved himself. As a Capuchin, he may have been a member of one of the age’s ‘new’ religious Orders, but it was one that traced its origins back to the early Duecento – centuries before the Council of Trent – and whose *raison d’être*, according to its members, was to revive the life of authentic apostolic poverty taught and embodied by Francis of Assisi. The primary impulse of Lorenzo’s Order, therefore, was not Tridentine, or even early modern, but medieval. The same can be said for Lorenzo’s labours as a preacher and a missionary, two of the activities most associated

²³ O’Malley, *Trent and All That*, pp. 135-36.

with the Franciscan Order – and the Seraphic Father – from its earliest days. It is for these reasons that we might consider Lorenzo a product of the Middle Ages rather than of the Council of Trent, even though the reality is that he was both simultaneously.

This thesis is a contribution to recent scholarship examining how early modern Catholics sought to recatholicise parts of Europe that had been lost to, or infiltrated by, heresy, and win heretics back to the Church. Among the works in this body of literature is Adam Darlage’s article ‘The Feast of Corpus Christi in Mikulov, Moravia: Strategies of Roman Catholic Counter-Reform (1579-86)’,²⁴ which explains how the Jesuit Michael Cardaneus and the secular priest Christoph Erhard worked toward fortifying Catholicism and combatting heresy by founding the Confraternity of the Body of Christ in Mikulov in 1584 and by relying heavily on Scripture while preaching. The time frame of Darlage’s study predates this one on Lorenzo in Bohemia, although each concentrates on the missionary efforts of specific Catholic individuals working over short periods of time in one of the two confessionally diverse Czech lands. There is also Piotr Stolarski’s *Friars on the Frontier: Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in Southeastern Poland, 1594-1648*.²⁵ This monograph explores how the Dominicans aimed to strengthen Roman Catholicism in Poland by means of activities such as preaching – to be expected of the *Ordo Praedicatorum* – and propagating confraternities of the rosary and the cult of the Order’s medieval missionary to Poland, St Hyacinth, who had been canonised as recently as 1594, only a few years before the Capuchin mission to Bohemia was launched.

²⁴ Adam Darlage, ‘The Feast of Corpus Christi in Mikulov, Moravia: Strategies of Roman Catholic Counter-Reform (1579-86)’, *The Catholic Historical Review* 96/4 (October 2010), pp. 651-677, available online at <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2091/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=4&sid=d0a9577e-e910-4438-8f40-86fb25eddecc%40sessionmgr4005&hid=4114> (accessed 1 November 2014).

²⁵ P. Stolarski, *Friars on the Frontier: Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in Southeastern Poland, 1594-1648* (Burlington, VT, 2010).

Stolarski's study focuses on a longer span of time than this thesis as well as a different location; nevertheless, both consider the evangelistic labours of historiographically neglected mendicant Orders at work in religiously divided Central Europe. Prominent in this literature too is Trevor Johnson's *Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles: The Counter Reformation in the Upper Palatinate*,²⁶ which elucidates how that once leading Protestant territory in the Reich was forcibly recatholicised after its annexation by Maximilian of Bavaria in 1621. Focusing his attention on religious affairs there from that year to 1750, Johnson addresses not only how Maximilian had acted to purge the Upper Palatinate of Protestantism but also how a new Catholic society was shaped in its place through the reintroduction of the Roman clergy, the religious Orders, and traditional forms of piety such as Marian devotion. Obviously, Johnson's study deals with a different locale than that of this thesis. It also surveys a longer period of time, though that should be expected as Johnson intended to analyse a lengthy historical process rather than the activities of a single missionary over a matter of a few years. The same is true with Howard Louthan's *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation*,²⁷ which examines the (sometimes violent and coercive) process by which that kingdom, for centuries a bastion of heresy, became, after Ferdinand II's victory over the Bohemian forces at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, thoroughly Roman Catholic again by the eighteenth century. Louthan's monograph and this thesis, therefore, both concentrate on efforts to restore Catholicism in Bohemia. However, this thesis focuses on the period immediately preceding White Mountain, at which point many of the kingdom's non-

²⁶ T. Johnson, *Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles: The Counter-Reformation in the Upper Palatinate* (Burlington, VT, 2009).

²⁷ H. Louthan, *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (New York, 2009).

Catholics still enjoyed religious liberties. It also serves as a backdrop to the post-White-Mountain work of the Capuchins – particularly Valeriano Magni (1586-1661) – and other Catholic missionaries in Bohemia treated by Louthan.²⁸

This thesis also contributes to our knowledge of the written polemics of early modern Catholic controversialists. In her recently published ‘High Clergy and Printers: Anti-Reformation Polemic in the Kingdom of Poland, 1520-36’, Natalia Nowakowska reminds us of the significant studies published on this subject thus far. After describing how a great deal of this scholarship from the late twentieth century, and into the twenty-first, has endeavoured to outline and quantify the Roman Church’s polemical printing and to examine how we might characterise the level of that printing in the sixteenth century, she explains that another strand of this particular area of research has focused on the question of the literary and theological strategies employed in Catholic anti-Protestant works.²⁹ Chapter five of this thesis, where Lorenzo’s *Lutheranismi hypotyposis* is treated, addresses that same question. It therefore fits nicely with two of the works identified by Nowakowska: David Bagchi’s *Luther’s Earliest Opponents: Catholic Controversialists, 1518-1525*³⁰ and Luc Racaut’s *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion*.³¹ The former expounds in fine detail how early Catholic controversialists such as the Ingolstadt professor Johannes Eck, the humanist

²⁸ For more on Magni, see Howard Louthan, ‘Mediating Confessions in Central Europe: The Ecumenical Activity of Valerian Magni, 1586-1661’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (2004), pp. 681-699. See also the numerous references to Magni in idem, *Converting Bohemia*.

²⁹ Natalia Nowakowska, ‘High Clergy and Printers: Anti-Reformation Polemic in the Kingdom of Poland, 1520-36’, *Historical Research* 87 (February 2014), pp. 43-45, available online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-2281.12037/pdf> (accessed 20 October 2014).

³⁰ D.V.N. Bagchi, *Luther’s Earliest Opponents: Catholic Controversialists, 1518-1525* (Minneapolis, 1991).

³¹ L. Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion* (Burlington, VT, 2002).

Johannes Cochlaeus, the Franciscan Augustinus von Alveld, the Sorbonne theologian Jodocus Clichtoveus, the Dominican papal theologian Sylvester Prierias, and King Henry VIII (before his schism), went about writing against, *inter alia*, Luther's *Ninety-five Theses*, his rejection of the divine right of the papacy, and his criticisms of the Church's sacramentology in *The Babylonian Captivity*. Rucaut's study explores how French polemicists some decades later made use of the press while writing against France's Protestants for a Catholic audience. In an effort to demonise the Huguenots, for example, the polemicists accused them of partaking in secret orgies and consuming the flesh and blood of infants; presented them as a recalcitrant threat to the crown and as overturners of the social order; and compared them to the medieval French heretics the Albigensians. Bagchi's work thus focuses on Catholic controversialists writing from 1518 to 1525, immediately after the beginning of the Protestant Reformation; Racaut concentrates on polemicists at work amid the French wars of religion during the second half of the sixteenth century; and this thesis examines a single Capuchin controversialist engaged in a literary-theological dispute during the early seventeenth century. This thesis and Bagchi's study may therefore deal with very different phases of Reformation history, but they are comparable in that both focus on opponents of Martin Luther and Lutheranism. Indeed, Lorenzo might be seen as a later successor of Eck, Alveld, Henry VIII, and the others.

Lastly, this study sheds additional light on Austrian Habsburg religious policy during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries – and particularly that of Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576-1612). The Catholicism of the Habsburgs at this time is best described as 'aulic Catholicism', the term coined by R.J.W. Evans in his *The Making of the Habsburg*

Monarchy.³² As Elaine Fulton explains in her own work on Habsburg religious affairs in Vienna, this brand of Catholicism was characterized by confessional moderation, insistence on Habsburg control over affairs in the Reich and in their own lands, and thus recurrent opposition particularly to the Holy See – perceived as a meddling foreign power – and those allied to it.³³ As for Rudolf’s policy specifically, as Evans notes, he strove to be noncommittal, politically speaking, when it came to the Catholics and Protestants vying for power around him. However, he grew to have a special repugnance for the papacy that stemmed both from land disputes in Italy and what the emperor saw as papal encroachment on his own imperial authority. For example, in 1586, during the nunciature of Filippo Sega, he found himself vexed both when the church hierarchy overruled his decree authorizing an ecclesiastical visitation of the Church in Bohemia and when Sega published the papal encyclical *In coena Domini* without his consent. What is more, from the start the emperor was not on friendly terms with Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605), the pontiff responsible for dispatching the first Capuchin mission, led by Lorenzo, to Prague in 1599.³⁴ Yet this same Rudolf had been the one, by 1597, to authorize the invitation of the Capuchins to Prague – a very significant step for Catholic renewal in the Kingdom of Bohemia – though that does not mean, as we shall see in chapter two, he treated the friars favorably upon their arrival. And this was same man who, during his power struggle with his brother Archduke Matthias, issued the Letter of Majesty in 1609, which granted religious freedoms to both Lutherans and Calvinists in Bohemia, where, up to that point, only Catholics and Hussites

³² R.J.W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550-1700: An Interpretation* (New York, 1979), p. 59.

³³ Elaine Fulton, “‘Wolves and Weathervanes’: Confessional Moderation at the Habsburg Court of Vienna’, in L. Racaut and A. Ryrie (eds.), *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation* (Aldershot, 2005), p. 152.

³⁴ R.J.W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World: A Study in Intellectual History, 1576-1612* (London, 1997), pp. 86-88.

had been able to practice their religions legally and in public.³⁵ It was within this Rudolfine context – a context of aulic Catholicism and religious ambivalence – that Lorenzo sought to establish his Order in Bohemia.

Given that this study is a doctoral thesis, it does have certain limitations. While it addresses themes pertinent to the early modern Capuchin Order and to Catholic missions to Protestants, it is not, and cannot be, a study of the Order as a whole, nor of all Catholic missions to those outside the Roman Church in Europe. Instead, it is a study of an individual Capuchin, Lorenzo, and the methods he used to combat heresy in the Reich, although every attempt will be made to establish where he fits in among other Capuchins, missions, and Catholics of the age. Moreover, this study cannot provide systematic treatments of his thought on subjects of importance to him personally and to the theological debates of the time, such as justification, the Eucharist, and the Virgin Mary. Nor can it comment on everything that can possibly be known concerning the topics discussed here. Indeed, his polemical preaching and the *Lutheranismi hypotyposis* could easily be the subjects of individual theses, and probably more. The more narrow focus of this study is the tactics and strategies that Lorenzo employed in order to promote Catholicism and wage ‘spiritual war’ on heresy while in Central Europe. It will, therefore, provide additional insight into the process of recatholicisation of parts of Europe that had been lost to heresy and winning heretics back to the Church. It will contribute further to our knowledge and understanding of both the mechanics and the consequences of some of the major social and political transformations brought about by the Counter-Reformation in Central Europe. But

³⁵ For more information on the Letter of Majesty, see Evans, *Rudolf II*, pp. 2, 70; Peter H. Wilson, ‘The Thirty Years War as the Empire’s Constitutional Crisis’, in R.J.W. Evans, M. Schaich, and P.H. Wilson (eds.), *The Holy Roman Empire 1495-1806* (New York, 2011), p. 103; and D. MacCulloch, *The Reformation* (New York, 2004), p. 476.

before treating these matters, we must first say more about the life and afterlife of the not so well-known, yet still highly significant, Lorenzo da Brindisi himself.

1

Lorenzo da Brindisi's Life and Afterlife

Lorenzo's Early Years

Giulio Cesare Russo, the boy who later took the name Lorenzo, was born on 22 July 1559 in Brindisi, an ancient port city in Puglia on the Adriatic.¹ It was perhaps fitting that, as a self-styled warrior of early modern Catholicism, he shared the same name as Julius Caesar, one of the great warriors of antiquity. As a native of the Kingdom of Naples, Giulio Cesare was a subject of King Philip II of Spain. His parents were Guglielmo Russo and Elisabetta Masella. Russo's profession is unknown, though both he and his wife were respected citizens of Brindisi, known as devout Catholics who instructed their son in their faith during his earliest years.² It is certain that he had one younger brother, and possibly other siblings.³ Tragedy struck the family when Giulio Cesare's father died. The exact date and cause of his death are unknown, although Arturo estimates that it might have been toward the end of 1565, when Giulio Cesare was six or seven years old.⁴

¹ That Lorenzo was born on 22 July was reported by the Capuchin Giammaria da Monteforte, Lorenzo's close friend who lived with him in Prague during his second mission and served as his unofficial companion during the last few years of his life. He was with Lorenzo when he died in Lisbon on 22 July 1619, which prompted him to note during his 1624 testimony for the IPMun that 22 July, the day Lorenzo died, was the same day he was born ('l'istesso giorno di Santa Maria Maddalena, nel quale egli nacque, nel quale anco morse'). See IPMun, f. 43. See also the copy of Lorenzo's baptismal record from Brindisi transcribed into the APBrind, f. 36r, which states that he was baptised on 23 July 1559, the day after he was born. For more on Lorenzo's birth, see Arturo, vol. 1, p. 93.

² This is stated in the 1627 testimonies of Donato Pappalardo, Placido Imberverato, and Cesare d'Aloisio given for the APBrind. All three had been familiar with Lorenzo and his family during his early years. See APBrind, ff. 19v, 20r, 21v, 29v, 30r. For more on Lorenzo's parents and questions related to their surnames, citizenship in Brindisi, and social status, see Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 93-94, 491-507.

³ Ibid., pp. 507-08.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 98, 518.

At some point after the death of his father, but while his mother was still alive, Giulio Cesare donned the habit of the Conventual Franciscans, entering their house at the church of S. Paolo Eremita in Brindisi. Arturo suggests that he was then seven or eight years old. We can only speculate as to the motivations behind his decision, but his entry to the Order gave him a humanist education and his first significant exposure to the Franciscan tradition.⁵ His superiors would sometimes have him preach short sermons in the Duomo of Brindisi;⁶ and the practice of having boys preach was, as Corrie Norman notes, ‘something of a spectacle’ in early modern Italian cities, with the illustrious Conventual preacher Cornelio Musso (1511-1574), who was possibly preaching as early as age eleven, serving as an outstanding example.⁷ This was a fitting start for Giulio Cesare, who would one day become a renowned preacher himself. But he would not accomplish that either in Brindisi or among the Conventuals. By the age of fourteen, his mother had already died, leaving him an orphan with no means of support. And, according to Arturo, it seems that at this point Giulio Cesare was beginning to feel disillusionment with the Conventuals, not least because one of his superiors in the Order, Virgilio Iacone, whom he accompanied to Lecce, where Iacone spent time preaching, apparently took advantage of him financially, keeping for himself money that Giulio Cesare had received as alms and desperately needed for a new habit. The boy decided to leave his native city, and

⁵ APBrind, ff. 20r, 21v, 30r; Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 98-101, 103-08, 516-18. See especially p. 100 for Arturo’s suggestions as to why Lorenzo might have entered the friary at this point.

⁶ Lorenzo’s preaching as a boy in the Duomo of Brindisi is reported in the testimonies of his Venetian cousins, Placida and Cristina Rubatto, given for the IPVen in 1624 and 1625: IPVen, ff. 71, 92, 105. These ladies are clear in their 1627 testimonies for the APVen that they had heard of Lorenzo’s early preaching activities through letters sent to Venice from Brindisi by their Puglian relatives and the Conventuals, among whom Lorenzo may have had an uncle, Giorgio Mezosa: APVen, part 2, ff. 71r, 73rv, 77v, 78r. For more on Giorgio Mezosa, see Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 508-09.

⁷ C. Norman, *Humanist Taste and Franciscan Values: Cornelio Musso and Catholic Preaching in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (New York, 1998), p. 15. For more on this subject, including other examples of boy-preachers besides Musso, see Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 101-03, especially n. 34.



Figure 1: Exterior of the present Duomo of Brindisi



Figure 2: The statue of Lorenzo (2006) above the façade of the Duomo of Brindisi

in early 1574, he set sail from Brindisi.⁸ His destination was Venice.

Giulio Cesare had family in the Serenissima. Upon his arrival, rather than moving into a Conventual house in the city, he went to live for almost a year near S. Marco at the home of his almost seventy-year-old paternal uncle, Don Pietro Mezosa, then *maestro dei chierici* of S. Marco, who later became parish priest of the nearby church of S. Giovanni in Bragora. Residing with them were the boy's paternal aunt, Isabetta, her husband Antonio Rubatto, and their daughters Placida, Cristina, and Prudenzia.⁹ Giulio Cesare also enjoyed the close friendship of one of his uncle's young students, whose name, after he joined the Capuchin Order together with Giulio Cesare, was Andrea da Venezia.¹⁰ Those who had spent time with Giulio Cesare on a daily basis in Venice observed that he was aspiring toward a life of sanctity. They described him as an ascetic who engaged in exercises such as sleeping on the ground, living on a diet of vegetables and water (when not fasting), giving himself the discipline, and wearing a hairshirt. He reportedly practised mental prayer, and confessed and communicated every feast day. By now, he was apparently devoted to the Virgin Mary too, and urged others to venerate her and seek her intercession as well. Perhaps there is some truth to these stories, although they may well be pious fictions and exaggerations to be expected from beatification investigations for a potential future saint.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-114, 518-19.

⁹ IPVen, ff. 71, 92; APVen, part 1, ff. 156v, 157r; part 2, ff. 68r, 69r, 70r, 71rv, 74v, 75v, 76v, 78rv; Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 114-17, 509-513. Prudenzia Rubatto died before the IPVen was started: IPVen, f. 94. For the discrepancy between Lorenzo's surname and that of his uncle, see the reference to Arturo in n. 2 above.

¹⁰ Andrea's significant 1625 testimony for the IPVen was recopied into the APVen presumably because he had died before the latter began in 1627. For his testimony, already cited above in n. 9, see APVen, part 1, ff. 156r-161v. He never stated there what his name was before joining the Capuchin Order.

According to Andrea da Venezia in his 1625 testimony for the Venetian informative process, Giulio Cesare arrived in Venice already with the determination to leave the Conventual Order and become a Capuchin. Upon meeting his uncle, he apparently made this desire known to him, and Don Pietro removed his Conventual habit and dressed him in the attire of a secular cleric.¹¹ If what Andrea reported is accurate, it might indicate that Giulio Cesare had already known of the Capuchins in Brindisi, where they were first introduced in 1566,¹² almost a decade before his departure for Venice. In 1627, during the Venetian apostolic process, his cousins Placida and Cristina recalled piously that he had been eager to imitate St Francis and live according to the strictest observance of the Franciscan Rule.¹³ He also seems to have taken an interest in the Capuchin friary and church of S. Maria degli Angeli – the same name as the basilica at the heart of the Franciscan tradition in Assisi – on the Giudecca. According to Andrea, Giulio Cesare and he visited the friars every feast day, and the Venetian provincial, Lorenzo da Bergamo, even permitted both boys to spend the night and participate in the daily routine there.¹⁴ Almost a year after his arrival in Venice, on 19 February 1575, the first Saturday of Lent that year, Giulio Cesare, now fifteen years old, received the habit of a Capuchin from Lorenzo da Bergamo in Verona, the location of one of the Order's friaries for novitiates in the Veneto. The provincial apparently felt strongly enough about the boy to also want to

¹¹ APVen, part 1, ff. 157r, 161rv.

¹² F. Bernardi, *I frati minori cappuccini di Puglia e di Basilicata* (Bari, 1985); Arturo, vol. 1, p. 113, n. 65.

¹³ APVen, part 2, ff. 72r, 78v.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, part 1, f. 157rv. For more on the history of S. Maria degli Angeli, where the Capuchins first took up residence in Venice in 1539, see Davide da Portogruaro, *Storia dei cappuccini veneti* (3 vols., Venezia-Mestre, 1941-1979), vol. 1, pp. 165-182, 257-286. Lorenzo da Bergamo was now in his second term as provincial, which began in 1574. See *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 10-11, 221. The third volume of this series, which I do not interact with in this study, was authored by Arturo.



Figure 3: Exterior of S. Maria degli Angeli, Giudecca, Venice



Figure 4: The cloister of S. Maria degli Angeli

pass his own name on to him: Giulio Cesare Russo therefore became Lorenzo da Brindisi.¹⁵ Upon fulfilling his time in the novitiate at the age of sixteen, the new Capuchin made his solemn profession on 24 March 1576, the Feast of the Annunciation.¹⁶ His lengthy career of service to the Church and ‘spiritual conquest’, which would take him throughout Europe had now officially begun.

Lorenzo da Brindisi, O.F.M. Cap.

Soon after making his profession, Lorenzo began his studies in preparation for ministry in the Capuchin Order. According to the rules of the Order, *neoprofessi* were supposed to wait a period of at least two to three years (the *chiericato*) before undergoing a rigorous examination by their superiors, through which it would be ascertained whether they were ready for such an endeavor. In Lorenzo’s case, it was determined extraordinarily that this would not even be necessary. Presumably his superiors recognised his intellectual gifts, and it could also be that, as Arturo suggests, Lorenzo da Bergamo had a hand in facilitating his immediate promotion to the status of student.¹⁷ Thus, probably after Pentecost 1576, the young Capuchin was sent first to Padua to study logic. The following year, he returned to Venice, where he studied philosophy. It is likely that he began his course in theology, with its emphasis on the Bible, in 1578. By the end of 1581, at the age of twenty-two, his studies were complete.¹⁸

¹⁵ APVen, part 1, ff. 157v, 171r; part 2, f. 72r. For details on Lorenzo’s novitiate, see Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 129-143.

¹⁶ APVen, part 1, ff. 158r; Arturo, vol. 1, p. 144.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 148-151; Davide, *Storia dei cappuccini veneti*, vol. 2, pp. 231-33.

¹⁸ Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 151, 155-161, 174.

During these formative years and beyond, Lorenzo proved to be a devoted student of the Bible. He took up the Franciscans' traditional reverence for Scripture, seen for example in the strong biblical emphasis in the preaching of Anthony of Padua,¹⁹ the exegetical work of the Hebraist Nicholas of Lyre,²⁰ and the Capuchins' emphasis, even from their early days – evident in the opening lines of the first chapter of the *Constitutions* of 1536 – on 'the Gospel' as well as on the necessity of the friars' studying the *studia humanitatis* in order to be knowledgeable about Scripture while preaching.²¹ He also acted in accordance with the Tridentine impulse toward increasing and improving the study and explanation of Scripture by Catholic preachers in the wake of the Reformation,²² after the Protestants had claimed the Bible as their own. Scripture was at the very heart of Lorenzo's worldview and future preaching ministry. In fact, it was Andrea da Venezia's observation – obviously hyperbolic – that Lorenzo never studied any other book besides it; and that he would do so reverently on his knees, weeping and sighing, before an image of the Madonna.²³

¹⁹ For more on Anthony of Padua, see S. Clasen, *St. Anthony, Doctor of the Church* (Chicago, 1973); J.A. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order: from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 65-66, 93, 276-77.

²⁰ For a brief introduction to Nicholas of Lyre, see S. Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven, 1980); Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, pp. 395-96.

²¹ For the *Constitutions* of 1536, see C. Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini: documenti e testimonianze del primo secolo*, (5 vols., Perugia, 1988-1993), vol. 1, pp. 249-464. For relevant mentions of 'the Gospel' in the first chapter, see pp. 256-57. For an English translation of the *Constitutions* of 1536, see J.C. Olin, *The Catholic Reformation: Savonarola to Ignatius Loyola: Reform in the Church, 1495-1540*, 2nd edn (New York, 1992), pp. 149-181. For more on the Capuchins and the Bible during the Cinquecento and the first half of the Seicento, see F. Raurell, *I cappuccini e lo studio della Bibbia* (Roma, 1997), pp. 35-77.

²² For the Council of Trent's call for the study and explanation of Scripture, see session 5, chapter 1, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. N.P. Tanner (2 vols., Washington DC, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 667-670.

²³ APVen, part 1, ff. 159rv: 'Et detto Padre Lorenzo non studiava mai niun' altro libro se non la sacra Bibbia sempre ingenocchiato davanti un' imagine della Beatissima Vergine con lagrime, singulti, et sospiri che pareva che più tosto orasse che studiasse...'

Lorenzo did not study only the Vulgate; he could comprehend Scripture in its original languages of Hebrew, Aramaic – considerable portions of the Old Testament books of Ezra and Daniel were written in that language – and Greek. Nowhere were his skills with these languages more evident than in the *Explanatio in Genesim*, his commentary on the first eleven chapters of Genesis, in which he worked directly with the text’s original Hebrew as well as the Greek translation in the Septuagint and the Aramaic renderings in the Targumim. For this work he also interacted with rabbinic authorities and the Christian Fathers.²⁴ Lorenzo was not, of course, the only early modern Capuchin with such linguistic expertise: the preacher, biblical exegete, and former commissary of France, Mattia Bellintani da Salò (1535-1611), also mastered Hebrew and Greek to better understand the Bible;²⁵ and Séraphin de Rouen († 1631), a great opponent of the Huguenots, knew Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek as well, and possibly even published a treatise on Hebrew.²⁶ Lorenzo was especially well-versed in Hebrew. He and his fellow Capuchins believed that this knowledge was the result of a supernatural gift bestowed upon him by the Virgin Mary during his early years in the Order.²⁷ It is more likely that he had to learn much of Hebrew

²⁴ For more on the *Explanatio* and Lorenzo as an exegete, see Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 300-01, 324-336; Salvatore Garofalo, ‘S. Lorenzo da Brindisi Esegeta’, in *S. Lorenzo da Brindisi: Studi: Conferenze commemorative dell’edizione ‘Opera omnia’: Roma 8-15 maggio 1949* (Padova, 1951), pp. 211-229; Raurell, *I cappuccini e lo studio della Bibbia*, pp. 54-56; Fabio Gambetti, ‘Filosofia ed ermeneutica biblica in s. Lorenzo da Brindisi: le *Dissertationes* della *Explanatio in Genesim*,’ *Laurentianum* (fasc. 1-2, 2000), pp. 151-170. Lorenzo also composed another commentary, an *Expositio in Ezechielem prophetam*, which is now lost. See Raurell, *I cappuccini e lo studio della Bibbia*, p. 55.

²⁵ Cuthbert, *The Capuchins*, vol. 1, pp. 203-07; vol. 2, pp. 353-54, 401-02, 411, 413, 418-19; Raurell, *I cappuccini e lo studio della Bibbia*, p. 58. Upon being elected the Capuchins’ vicar general in 1602, after his first mission in Bohemia, it was the elderly Mattia whom Lorenzo sent to Prague to replace him as preacher at the Capuchins’ new friary. For more details, see Comm., f. 8v; Arturo, vol. 2, p. 205. For Lorenzo’s correspondence with Mattia on this matter, see *ibid.*, vol. 4.1, pp. 19-21, docs. 2, 3.

²⁶ Cuthbert, *The Capuchins*, vol. 2, p. 259; Raurell, *I cappuccini e lo studio della Bibbia*, p. 72.

²⁷ The supposed miraculous origin of Lorenzo’s Hebrew skills was *fama publica* among the Capuchins. See Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 163-64, and especially n. 112. For Lorenzo’s pious explanation of how he learned Hebrew, see the 1626 testimony of his confrere Bernardo da Napoli, who had known him since the time of his generalate, in APNap, ff. 53v-54r.

on his own. As Arturo points out, it is uncertain if, and to what extent, Hebrew and the other biblical languages were taught among the Capuchins in the Veneto;²⁸ and this was long before Paul V issued *Apostolicae servitutis* (1610), which required all the religious orders to study the biblical languages in order to better combat Protestantism.²⁹ But surely Lorenzo's innate linguistic talent, complemented by his academic assiduity in a place like Venice, which had been Europe's most significant centre for Hebrew publishing during the first half of the Cinquecento, and continued to produce Hebrew publications well into the latter half,³⁰ played a major role in his mastering that language. Lorenzo appears to have had a prodigious memory too.³¹ His confreres recalled that he knew large portions of the Bible by heart and could quote Scripture chapter and verse.³² He apparently even remarked more than once that should the Bible ever be lost, he could reproduce its Hebrew books from memory.³³

²⁸ Arturo, vol. 1, p. 163.

²⁹ Raurell, *I cappuccini e lo studio della Bibbia*, pp. 38, 59, 71.

³⁰ P.F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore, 1991), pp. 49-50; idem, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605* (Princeton, 1977), pp. 89-93, 140-45.

³¹ Evidence of this is found in the 1625 testimony of Patrizio da Venezia, one of Lorenzo's fellow novices in Verona, copied from the IPVen into the APVen, presumably because he had died before the latter began. See APVen, part 1, ff. 172v-173r. Patrizio recounted how Lorenzo had attended the sermon of a Dominican friar during his novitiate and had reproduced it in writing afterwards from memory, to the Dominican's astonishment. Patrizio could have of course been guilty of exaggeration here.

³² For instance, Daniele da Venezia, another of Lorenzo's fellow novices in Verona who continued to associate with him afterwards in the Veneto, spoke of this in his 1628 testimony for the APVic. See APVic, part 3, ff. 61v: 'Il Padre Lorenzo Brindesi era di bellissimo ingegno, et di felicissima memoria in tanto che quando lui leggeva la lettione a Tavola doppo lui la repeteva tutto da verbo ad verbum a mente'; ibid., ff. 61v-62r: 'È vero ancora che il detto Padre sapeva alla mente tutta la Biblia et lui medesimo diceva di saperla et quando li era detto che dovesse recitar il tal capo, lo recitava prontamente et era parimente molto studioso, et assiduo al studio delle sacre lettere...' See also Bernardo da Napoli's recollections in APNap, f. 53v: '...Ho conosciuto detto Padre Fra Lorenzo di grandissimo ingegno, e di felicissima memoria, che sapeva quasi tutta la Bibia a mente, non solo in confuso; ma anco distintamente allegava i capi, et i versetti. Havea habiltà grande in pronto di rispondere a dubij della Scrittura'.

³³ Filippo da Soragna, one of Lorenzo's fellow Capuchins whom he first met in Prague during his first mission, reported this in his 1627 testimony for the APNap. See APNap, f. 114r: 'Il detto Padre era d'ingegno veloce, e felicissimo, e lui stesso mi ha detto più volte, che lui non se ricordava che cosa fusse scordarsi; dicendomi dipiù, che lui si confidava quando la scrittura sacra se fusse persa, di farla in lingua hebrea, della qual lingua lui era molto erudito...'

Lorenzo was ordained a priest by Giovanni Trevisan, the patriarch of Venice, on 18 December 1582. The ceremony took place in the Cappella di San Giusto in the patriarch's palace.³⁴ Lorenzo was now twenty-three years old. But even before joining the priesthood, and while still only a deacon – Arturo estimates that he entered the diaconate in January or February 1582 at the age of twenty-two – his superiors charged him with preaching the Lenten discourses that year at the now defunct church of S. Giovanni Novo, a short distance from S. Marco.³⁵ Preaching was normally entrusted to those who had attained the priesthood. During the early modern period, however, it was not unheard of for those who were not yet priests to preach, as was the case with others such as the Capuchin Apostolic Preacher Girolamo da Narni (1563-1632) and the Jesuit Roberto Bellarmino.³⁶ Despite his youth, Lorenzo looked mature.³⁷ He was tall and robust.³⁸ He spoke with great enthusiasm and fervour. He cried during his sermons too, which moved

³⁴ Arturo, vol. 4.1, p. 106, doc. 96.

³⁵ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 174-75, 540. S. Giovanni Novo (also S. Giovanni in Oleo or S. Zanninovo in the Venetian dialect) is presently closed to the public. This was my observation when I tried to visit the church in December 2011, but found it locked and with no opening hours posted anywhere. My suspicion was confirmed in an e-mail dated 6 September 2013 from Paolo Vianelloù of the Venetian patriarchate's Ufficio Beni culturali ecclesiastici reporting that the church had been closed for several years, although it has not been deconsecrated.

³⁶ For Girolamo da Narni, see V. Criscuolo, *Girolamo Mautini da Narni (1563-1632): predicatore apostolico e vicario generale dei cappuccini* (Roma, 1998), pp. 31-33. For Bellarmino, see F. Motta, *Bellarmino: Una teologia politica della Controriforma* (Brescia, 2005), p. 67 ff.; J. Brodrick, *Robert Bellarmine, Saint and Scholar* (Westminster, MD, 1961), pp. 16-26. See also Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 540-41.

³⁷ For Lorenzo's appearance in 1582, see the 1628 testimonies of his confreres in the Veneto, Arsenio da Venezia and the abovementioned Daniele da Venezia. For Arsenio, see APVic, part 3, f. 12v: 'È vero, che non essendo ancora in età di sacerdote tuttavia con l'aspetto suo mostrava età virile, aggiunta tutta la compositione di tutto il suo corpo...'. For Daniele, see ibid., f. 62r: '...Mi ricordo, che in Venetia il detto Padre Brindesi fu fatto predicare in S. Giovanni Novo mentre era ancora solamente Diacono, et a quel tempo haveva aspetto virile, havendo anco la barba'.

³⁸ Numerous informants attested to Lorenzo's height and physique. One of them was Pelegrina Ardizzone of Taggia in Liguria, whom Lorenzo supposedly healed of hydropsy while on his way from Italy to Spain for his last diplomatic mission (1618-19). In her 1627 testimony for the APAlb, she described him as 'vechhio' but 'alto di statura, et haveva bona presenza e di venerando aspetto'. See APAlb, part 3, f. 13r. Another informant was the Capuchin Matthias of Innsbruck, Lorenzo's assistant during his time as apostolic nuncio in Munich (1610-13). In his 1624 deposition for the IPMun, he described Lorenzo as 'grande gagliardo e robusto, come tutti l'hanno veduto'. See IPMun, f. 56. For more on Lorenzo's physical appearance, see Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 193-94.

his audience to tears. The people are said to have admired the serious content of his preaching; and he was ordered to give the Lenten discourses there again the following year.³⁹ In 1628, Arsenio da Venezia, a Capuchin who knew him during his early years in Venice, recalled while testifying for the apostolic process of Vicenza that Lorenzo's first words upon ascending the pulpit in 1582 were: 'As the new preacher at San Giovanni Novo, I have come to explain to you the Divine Word'.⁴⁰ With that statement, Lorenzo's preaching career, which brought him to countless pulpits throughout Italy and beyond, officially began.

Lorenzo went on to hold several important offices within the Capuchin Order. First he served as lector of theology in Venice from most likely 1583 to 1586.⁴¹ It was probably in spring 1586 that he was made guardian and master of the novitiates at the Capuchin friary of Bassano in the Veneto. It is unknown exactly when he ceased to carry out those duties.⁴² Subsequently, in 1589, at only thirty years of age, he was elected vicar provincial of Tuscany, even though he had not yet been in the Order for the required sixteen years before anyone could be named provincial, as had been recently decreed at the Order's

³⁹ APVen, part 1, f. 158v: '...Lui predicò due anni continui la quadragesima in Venetia in San Zuanne novo con grande ammiratione di tutta la città per la gravità de soggetti, che lui predicava...'; APVic, part 3, f. 12v: '...Gli fu commandato, che dovesse far l'offitio di Predicatore, il qual offitio fece con tanto zelo, spirito, fervore, che pareva uscir fuori di se stesso, et piangendo lui, commoveva anco il popolo alle lagrime'.

⁴⁰ APVic, part 3, f. 13r: 'L'ho sentito a far la sua prima predica a S. Giovanni Novo non essendo pur ancora sacerdote, che a ponto mi raccordo le prime parole con le quali diede principio alla sua predica, dicendo Predicator novo in S. Giovanni Novo vengo a spiegarvi la divina parola...'

⁴¹ Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 317-18, 549-553.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 353-54, 358.



Figure 5: Il Santissimo Redentore, Giudecca, Venice

general chapter of 1587. He exercised that important office until 1592.⁴³ Later, from 1594 to 1597, he again served as provincial, this time in his own province, Venice.⁴⁴ During this second provincialate, he was elected a definitor general for the first time in 1596.⁴⁵ After his provincialate ended, Lorenzo was made guardian of the friary at the Redentore in

⁴³ For Arturo's treatment of Lorenzo's provincialate in Tuscany, including why he dated the starting point as 1589 rather than 1590 – as so many others have done – as well as the possible reasons why Lorenzo was chosen for this position, see *ibid.*, pp. 367-378, 384-85, 555-561. See also Basilio da Baggio, 'S. Lorenzo da Brindisi Provinciale di Toscana', *CF* 29 (1959), pp. 431-36. This study was also included in *Comentarii Laurentiani historici: quarto revoluto saeculo ab ortu Sancti Laurentii Brundusini novi Ecclesiae Doctoris* (Romae, 1959), pp. 303-08. It focuses on the documentary evidence for Lorenzo's provincialate in Tuscany. Basilio accepted the 1590 date for Lorenzo's election.

⁴⁴ For the events of Lorenzo's second provincialate, see Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 387-427. Lorenzo's secretary and confessor during this period was Ambrogio da Firenze, an informant in 1625 for the IPVen. He did not testify for the APVen as he had presumably passed away beforehand, though his deposition was copied into it. For his recollections of Lorenzo's Venetian provincialate, see APVen, part 1, ff. 180r-186r. Ambrogio was also one of Lorenzo's companions during his first mission in Bohemia.

⁴⁵ Tabula, f. 26r.

Venice, and acted as such from, probably, 1597 to 1598.⁴⁶ In September 1598, he was elected provincial of the Swiss Confederation, though he never actually served there⁴⁷ – a subject that will be treated in the next chapter. The following year, he was again elected a definitor general,⁴⁸ and he was also appointed commissary general of the Capuchins' first mission to Bohemia. He maintained both these positions until 1602. On 24 May that year, while attending the Order's general chapter in Rome, he was elected vicar general.⁴⁹ Over the following three years he strove to conduct a visitation of the entire Order – always on foot unless he had to travel by water – traversing indefatigably the Swiss Confederation, France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Italy.⁵⁰ During the informative and apostolic processes, his confreres confirmed that in addition to his knowledge of Italian, Latin, and the biblical languages, he could also speak French and Spanish well, though they provide no indication as to when or how he might have learned them.⁵¹ His knowledge of these two languages must have proved especially useful while visiting Spain and the francophone areas of western Europe. And after his term as general had come to an end, he returned to Bohemia in 1606, where, in 1608, he resumed his office as commissary general.⁵² He remained there until 1610, when he was transferred to Munich, a subject discussed below. In 1611, while

⁴⁶ Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 434-35, 569-570. For more on the history of the Redentore and its importance for the Capuchins of the Veneto, see Davide, *Storia dei cappuccini veneti*, vol. 2, pp. 401-468.

⁴⁷ Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 440-41.

⁴⁸ Tabula, f. 59r.

⁴⁹ Ibid., f. 77r.

⁵⁰ For Arturo's lengthy treatment of this subject, see Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 193-309. A partial reproduction appears in 'Il generalato di s. Lorenzo da Brindisi (1602-1605)', *Comentarii Laurentiani historici*, pp. 38-108. Gasparo de' Gasparotti di Cassano, assistant to Filippo da Milano, one of Lorenzo's official companions during his generalate, provided particularly valuable eyewitness insight into Lorenzo's generalate in his 1628 testimony for the APMil. See APMil, ff. 584-610.

⁵¹ See, for example, the testimonies of Ambrogio da Firenze, Filippo da Soragna, and Giambattista da Squillace, one of Lorenzo's companions during his generalate, in APVen, part 1, f. 186r; APNap, ff. 65r, 114r.

⁵² NA, 'Tabula Exhibens Successionem AA. RR. PP. Commissariorum, Vice-Commissariorum Generalium, & Ministrorum Provincialium PP. Capucinatorum Provinciae Bohemiae', RK box 15c. See also Tabula, f. 147r.

resident in Munich, he was appointed commissary general of Bavaria and the Tyrol.⁵³ By 1613, he was back in Italy, where he was elected definitor general for the third time⁵⁴ as well as provincial of Genoa.⁵⁵ Finally, in 1618, the year before his death, he was elected definitor general for a fourth time.⁵⁶ Lorenzo clearly wielded tremendous authority and influence in the Capuchin Order during these formative years of its history.

Throughout his career, Lorenzo engaged in evangelistic work among the Jews, primarily those of Italy. Gregory XIII's bull *Sancta Mater Ecclesia* (1584) charged the church hierarchy in all places to seek the conversion of the Jews through weekly sermons that they would be required to attend.⁵⁷ Lorenzo was well-equipped for such work given his Hebraic knowledge and oratorical skill. In Italy, he preached to the Jews in cities such as Venice, Padua, Verona, Ferrara, and Mantua.⁵⁸ During his first mission in Bohemia, he involved himself in a theological debate with some of the rabbis of Prague.⁵⁹ And from Lent 1592 to spring 1594, during the pontificate of Clement VIII, he preached to the Jews of Rome on Saturday afternoons, after their own *Shabbat* services, possibly for a time in the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, but definitely in the oratory of Santissima Trinità dei

⁵³ Matthias of Innsbruck, for one, referred to Lorenzo holding this office. See IPMun, f. 55. See also Arturo, vol. 3, p. 106. Arturo does acknowledge that Lorenzo began to act as commissary here in 1611, although he does not state when his term ended. Ilarino da Milano claimed in 1949 that Lorenzo carried out this role from 1611 to 1612, but does not provide any evidence: Ilarino da Milano, 'La personalità di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi', in *S. Lorenzo da Brindisi: Studi*, p. 31.

⁵⁴ Tabula, f. 153r.

⁵⁵ For the events of this provincialate, see Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 191-291. Lorenzo's official companion in Genoa, Giovanni da Fossombrone, was an informant for the APGen. For his 1628 testimony, see APGen, part 2, ff. 16r-22v. Raurell lists Giovanni among the Capuchins' notable exegetes during the Seicento: Raurell, *I cappuccini e lo studio della Bibbia*, p. 68.

⁵⁶ Tabula, f. 189r.

⁵⁷ Kenneth Stow, 'The Burning of the Talmud in 1553, in Light of Sixteenth Century Catholic Attitudes toward the Talmud', in idem, *Jewish Life in Early Modern Rome: Challenge, Conversion, and Private Life* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 18; Arturo, vol. 1, p. 279. It should be noted that Arturo mistakenly identified the year of promulgation for *Sancta Mater Ecclesia* as 1585 rather than 1584.

⁵⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 292-95.

⁵⁹ APNap, f. 121.

Pellegrini.⁶⁰ His main tactic, in accordance with what was suggested in *Sancta Mater Ecclesia*, was to read to the Jews straight from the Old Testament in its original Hebrew, forcing them to consider ‘untainted’ proof texts that Jesus of Nazareth was truly the promised Messiah. He did, however, also cite the same passages in Latin and Italian for the sake of clarification;⁶¹ perhaps not all the Jews and Christians in attendance enjoyed his mastery of Biblical Hebrew. The Capuchin is said to have spoken Hebrew so eloquently that on one occasion during his provincialate in Genoa, while he was preaching to the Jews of Casale Monferrato, he reportedly left even rabbis amazed, to whom it seemed he must have been Jewish by birth.⁶² Lorenzo was also known to bring various Hebrew texts with him to the pulpit⁶³ – presumably rabbinic writings as well as the Hebrew Bible. On the one hand, this was purely practical and for the purpose of referencing relevant texts; on the other, Lorenzo’s tacit message to the Jews as he made his way to the rostrum carrying these books was that he too had read them carefully and was prepared to debate them. Moreover, it was Lorenzo’s intention to not speak reproachingly to the Jews while evangelizing them, even though there were times when he lost patience and would call them ‘obstinate’. His custom, however, was to call them ‘fratelli’, ‘brethren’, with the hope that this would help

⁶⁰ For details on the systematic preaching to the Jews of Rome, Lorenzo’s involvement, and the years in which he performed this ministry, see Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 276-286, 295-97, 543-47.

⁶¹ One informant who reported this was Francesco da Valdobbiadene, one of Lorenzo’s fellow Capuchins from the Veneto who testified for the APVic in 1628. He listened to Lorenzo preach to the Jews of Mantua numerous times. See APVic, part 3, ff. 85v-86r: ‘...Nel pulpito li leggeva la scrittura sacra in detta lingua [Hebrew], et quando leggeva il testo nella loro lingua vedevo, che li Hebrei stavano molto attenti; et così li dichiarava la scrittura profondissimamente, et li faceva toccar con mano la venuta del Messia, et le falsità, che loro havevano poste ne loro testi, et andava dichiarando molte menzogne, che loro havevano poste nelli loro Testi, similmente dichiarava essa scrittura sacra in lingua Latina, et volgare a tutto l’ Auditorio si che tutti potevano intender la malitia delli Hebrei...’

⁶² APGen, f. 17r: ‘...Il Padre fece a loro una predica con grandissimo spirito di dottrina e la predica fu per la più parte in lingua hebrea e tutti restorno attoniti e gl’istessi hebrei rabini dissero poi a me habbiamo sentito molti predicatori, mai havemo sentito una simil cosa pare che il Padre sia nato hebreo e parla meglio e più correntemente che non parliamo noi...’

⁶³ APVic, part 3, f. 85v: ‘...Ho visto che il Padre portava in pulpito diversi libri scritti in lingua hebraica...’

make them more receptive to his teaching.⁶⁴ And according to Lorenzo's Christian contemporaries, not only was he well-liked by the Jews who had to attend his sermons, he even made converts,⁶⁵ although just who these converts were – if there were in fact any – remains unexplained. Nonetheless, this early example of Lorenzo's missionary work suggests, therefore, that he worked with a well-defined set of strategies, just as he would do in later years among the heretics in the Holy Roman Empire.

Lorenzo's missionary work in the Reich from 1599 to 1613 serves as the focus for this present study, and therefore need not be addressed in this chapter. Some of his other activities there do merit attention, however. First, after being in Central Europe for nearly two years, Lorenzo served in October 1601 as a chaplain for the Catholic forces combating the Turks in Hungary at the Battle of Székesfehérvár, a single conflict during the Long Turkish War (1593-1606) then raging between the Habsburg monarchy and the Ottoman Empire over control of Eastern Europe.⁶⁶ The Christians had seized Székesfehérvár from the Turks the month before, but in October the Turks returned with an estimated 60-70,000

⁶⁴ APVen, part 1, f. 159r: '...Predicando [Lorenzo] agli Hebrei...mentre io ero suo compagno, non improverandoli, ma chiamandoli fratelli, li inteneriva i cuori...'; f. 185r: '...Qualche volta vedendoli così duri, diceva [Lorenzo] ostinati et certe parole simili, ma poi subito chiamandoli fratelli et volendoli pur dare ad' intendere la verità pareva, che acconsentissero a quello che lui diceva, ma stavano nella loro ostinatione'.

⁶⁵ Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 310-11, 314.

⁶⁶ For a study of the Long Turkish War, see J. Niederkorn, *Die europäischen Mächte und der "Lange Turkenkrieg" Kaiser Rudolfs II (1593-1606)* (Wien, 1993). For Lorenzo's involvement at Székesfehérvár ('Albareale' in Italian; 'Stuhlweissenburg' in German), see Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 133-180, 190-92. Numerous eyewitness testimonies provide valuable insight into Lorenzo's activities in Hungary. First, Lorenzo penned his own account in Comm., ff. 4r-8r. Ambrogio da Firenze was present with him; for his recollections, see APVen, ff. 193r-195v. Girolamo Dentice, the imperial counselor of war to Archduke Matthias, the general of the Christian army, wrote a detailed report of the conflict that was forwarded to Rome by the papal nuncio in Prague. There are two copies: ASVat, FB, I, 651 B, ff. 130r-135v; FB, III, 15A 1, ff. 104r-113v. Neither copy bears a date, although Arturo traced the original letter to 18 October 1601: Arturo, vol. 4.1, p. 171. Filippo Bevilacqua, a cavalry officer at Székesfehérvár, shared what he remembered of Lorenzo in his 1628 testimony in APBass, part 3, ff. 169r-174r. See also Mattia da Padova's 'Origine della povera riforma di Capuccini' (1626), which reports what Beltrame da Udine, another of Lorenzo's Capuchin companions in Hungary, who journeyed with him to Bohemia in 1599, wrote about this event. Arturo includes an extract from this text in Arturo, vol. 4.2, pp. 222-23, doc. 1122.

men, compared to the Christians' roughly 16-17,000.⁶⁷ Lorenzo was not the first Capuchin to serve with Christian military forces: under the leadership of the dynamic Anselmo da Pietromolara († 1584), members of the Order had been present with the papal fleet at Lepanto in 1571.⁶⁸

Lorenzo, the Capuchins' commissary general in Bohemia-Austria, went to Székesfehérvár after receiving orders from Rome that four friars should accompany the imperial army to Hungary.⁶⁹ As a chaplain, Lorenzo tended to the spiritual needs of the Catholic soldiers. He said Mass for them each morning;⁷⁰ he heard confessions;⁷¹ he also preached. On Thursday 11 October, at the request of Archduke Matthias, brother of Emperor Rudolf II and general of the Christian army, Lorenzo gave a sermon based on 2 Chronicles 20:17 - 'Judah and Jerusalem, do not be afraid, tomorrow go forth, and the Lord will be with you' – in which he exhorted the soldiers to fight courageously for their faith.⁷²

Lorenzo, who viewed the world through a biblical lens – we shall see this over and

⁶⁷ Ibid., vol. 2, pp.146-152; Niederkorn, p. 16.

⁶⁸ Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, p. 30. For more on Anselmo da Pietramolara, see Cuthbert, *The Capuchins*, vol. 1, pp. 189-90; Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini*, vol. 5, p. 490.

⁶⁹ Comm., f. 4v: 'Nell'anno 1601 essendo guerra tra l'Imperatore, et il Turco nel Regno d'Ungaria riceve il Comissario due Brevi Apostolici con ordine ch'andassero quattro frati con l'essercito cesareo in Ungaria, due ad istanza del maestro del campo, e due per un colonnello principale favorito di Sua Maesta. Il Comissario havendo pochissimi frati, ne molto atti a tal impresa, risolve d'andarvi in persona con tre frati'. To the great frustration of the papal nuncio in Prague, Filippo Spinelli, Lorenzo initially, in summer 1601, opposed the orders to send friars to the Hungarian front. Presumably it was for the same reasons mentioned above: there were too few friars, and they were not ready for such an undertaking. For more details, see Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 141-46. For Spinelli's letter of 3 September to Rome on this matter, in which he suggested that Lorenzo on this occasion valued his own opinion more than obeying orders ('Ha mostrato in questo di stimar più di quello che deve la propria opinione'), see ASVat, FB, I, 651 B, ff. 9rv.

⁷⁰ Arturo, vol. 4.1, p. 222, doc. 1122.

⁷¹ ASVat, FB, III, 15A 1, f. 109r: 'Discorreva per l'esercito dando le sue benedizioni, et inanimando tutti, e confessando alcuni devoti a cavallo...'

⁷² Comm., f. 6r: 'Il Serenissimo Matthia mando il suo cavallarizzo maggiore al Comissario nostro che di gratia facesse una predica eshortando, et inanimando il campo a combattere valorosamente per la nostra santa fede, e tanto fece la matina medesima, essendo posto tutto il campo cesareo in punto di battaglia. Piglio per thema quel detto: Judea, et Jerusalem nolite timere, cras egrediemini, et Dominus erit vobiscum, narrando l'istoria che si lege nel secondo del Paralipomena al 20 capo, dove sono le sudette parole, e si



Figure 6: Francesco Grandi, sketch of *San Lorenzo da Brindisi alla battaglia di Alba Reale* (1850), Museo Franciscano, Rome (reproduced here with the museum's gracious permission)

again – deemed this verse especially relevant because here too God's chosen people had faced an enormous and dangerous foreign army, yet were promised victory. On another occasion when he was asked to speak to the soldiers, he reminded them, in a true crusading spirit, that what they were doing they did to serve God and his holy faith; and that should anyone die, he would earn a place in heaven as a martyr since they were fighting infidels.⁷³

promette a poco numero di gente nel popolo di Dio vittoria contro un numerosissimo, e potentissimo essercito d'infideli'.

⁷³ ASVat, FB, III, 15A 1, f. 110r: 'Il Signor Duca [of Mercoeur, lieutenant general of the army] mi [Dentice] mise al suo lato dritto, et l'Incamerata all'altro lato, et il Padre Commissario de Cappuccini al lato mio destro, il qual il Signor Duca pregò che parlasse ai soldati. Disse molto brevemente, et sostanziali parole, inanimando tutti, che mirassimo, che questa attione l'indirizzassimo con vera intentione al servizio di Dio, et di sua sante fede, che guadagnassimo il Cielo, come Martiri con efficacissime parole perche era guerra contra Infideli, che certo consolò tutti'.

According to his own account, Lorenzo accompanied the Christian forces into the thick of the battle with only a wooden cross filled with relics in hand. On 12 October, after the Turkish artillery had been battering the Christian camp, he made the sign of the cross in the artillery's direction, which he believed caused it to miraculously no longer harm the Christians. He then went ahead of everyone with the cross, urging them to fight on. By the end of the day, the Christians had seized the Turks' positions and artillery, putting them to flight.⁷⁴ Lorenzo threw himself into the battle with such enthusiasm that he appeared to some witnesses to have been oblivious to the dangers surrounding him on every side; a Turkish soldier is said to have nearly struck his head with a scimitar.⁷⁵ In the end, the Christians won the Battle of Székesfehérvár. Many were convinced that their victory was a miracle, and some attributed it to the charismatic and intrepid Capuchin chaplain and his famous cross.⁷⁶ This all certainly makes for a riveting story, though we must of course

⁷⁴ Comm., ff. 6rv: 'Non si combatte pero quel giorno ma il giorno seguente che venne il Turco ad assalire il nostro campo, e guadagnati alcuni posti batterlo con la sua artiglieria dentro le trincere, per lo che fu necessario ch'i nostri uscissero fuori delle trincere a combattere. E quantunque fusse grandissimo il nostro disavantagio e quanto al numero e quanto al sito, e quanto all'artiglieria, bisognando che pochi dal basso andassero a combattere contro molti che stavano in alto, e d'alto a basso abbattevano i nostri con l'artiglieria. Ad ogni modo opponendo il Comissario il segno della santa croce all'artiglieria non fece danno nissuno a nostri. Et andando con la croce inanzi a tutti facendo animo, usciti i nostri dalle trincere s'avanzorno con la fantaria, e cavalleria sopra le colline dove stavano i Turchi; e senza gran contrasto levorno a Turchi i posti guadagnorno la loro artiglieria, e li posero in fuga. Così la sera al tardi si ritirorno i nostri alle trincere potendo con ogni verita dire che Dio haveva combattuto per noi'. Dentice also provided a description of Lorenzo's cross. See FB, III, 15A 1, f. 109r: 'In questo mezzo il buon Padre nostro Cappuccino andava a cavallo ad una Acchineia con le sue armi che erano una croce di ligno piena di reliquie'.

⁷⁵ APVen, part 1, ff. 194v-195r; APBass, part 3, f. 172r. These two reports may refer to different events.

⁷⁶ Comm., f. 8r: 'Havuta questa rotta i Turchi non hebbero piu ardire di venire ad attaccare zuffa, ma sopragiunta la notte si ritirorno ambi gl'esserciti alle bagaglie, ringratiando i nostri Dio di tal vittoria, et attribuendola alla virtu del segno della santa croce; e fu tal cosa divulgata per tutto, e predicata per opra di Dio...' Lorenzo piously omits himself here, focusing on his cross, whereas Bevilacqua gave Lorenzo all the credit. See APBass, part 3, 173r: '...E fu la Vittoria data a' Christiani da Dio con opinion universale de tutti, che Dio li concedesse tal vittoria per intercession dell'orationi del Padre Brindesi...' Dentice spoke of both Lorenzo and his cross. See FB, III, 15A 1, ff. 106v-107r: 'Volere dire a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima [Spinelli, the papal nuncio in Prague] il merito, e valore di quel devoto Padre, certo mi bisognaria esser molto lungo, ma con tutto ciò non lascierò di dire alcuna particella che vien appresso a' quest'altre fattioni successe che si può ben dire, che le benedittioni della croce, che porta il detto buon Padre, che con le sue orationi fu causa d'ogni nostro bene...'

approach it with some caution. Nevertheless, with his performance in Hungary Lorenzo came to represent, according to Trevor Johnson, a prototype of the ‘living saint’ on the confessional battlefield, the topos into which other figures of the age fit. Among them are the Spanish Discalced Carmelite Domingo a Jesu Maria (1559-1635), who, by waving around his crucifix and an icon of the Virgin Mary, served as an animating force to the victorious Catholic troops at the Battle of the White Mountain (1620); and another Italian Capuchin, Marco d’Aviano (1631-1699), the papal legate to the successful Christian soldiers at the Battle of the Kahlenberg (1683), who, while waving his own crucifix before them, likewise served as a source of encouragement.⁷⁷

Additionally, Lorenzo played a role in the religious crisis in the Imperial, or Free, City of Donauwörth.⁷⁸ At the request of Francesco Gonzaga, Rudolf II’s ambassador in Rome, and at the command of Paul V (r. 1605-1621), Lorenzo, after his generalate, returned to Prague in spring 1606. En route, he passed through Donauwörth, where he learned of an event that, he claimed, greatly vexed him.⁷⁹ Donauwörth, like other imperial cities such as Augsburg, was bi-confessional: both Catholics and Lutherans were supposed to be able to practice their religions legally. Yet the Benedictines of the Holy Cross Monastery, some of the few Catholics remaining in the mostly Protestant Donauwörth, had been forbidden by the city council in May 1605 to march with banners unfurled during religious processions. On 25 April 1606, the feast day of St Mark, they had decided to

⁷⁷ Trevor Johnson, “‘Victoria a Deo missa?’ Living Saints on the Battlefields of the Central European Counter Reformation”, in J. Beyer, et al. (eds.), *Confessional Sanctity (c. 1500-c. 1800)*, pp. 319-335.

⁷⁸ For Lorenzo’s account of what happened, see Comm., ff. 8v, 10r. For Arturo’s treatment of this matter, see Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 328-353. For a valuable study on the religious crisis in Donauwörth, see C. Scott Dixon, ‘Urban Order and Religious Coexistence in the German Imperial City: Augsburg and Donauwörth, 1548-1608’, *Central European History* 40/1 (2007), pp. 1-33. Dixon refers to Lorenzo in this article, though he mistakenly identifies him as a Jesuit rather than a Capuchin. See p. 23.

⁷⁹ Comm., f. 8v.

march with them unfurled anyway. They were met with insults, and soon the procession was broken up violently, and the banners shredded.⁸⁰ The monks told Lorenzo about what had transpired. Upon reaching Prague, he informed the papal nuncio and the emperor's ministers, but no action was taken. As the weeks and months dragged on, however, with no decisive move having been made, Lorenzo railed against the imperial ministers from the pulpit, chiding them for their 'lack of zeal' for Catholicism.⁸¹ But in the end, Donauwörth was placed under the imperial ban, and, on 1 December 1607, the ardently Catholic Duke Maximilian of Bavaria was commissioned by Rudolf II to execute it. On 17 December, Maximilian marched on the city, where he faced no resistance. Under him, the scales that had been tipped against Donauwörth's Catholics were now moved in their favour as they gained control of the city.⁸² Lorenzo later wrote that 'everyone' knew that had he not been in Prague, nothing would have been done to right the wrongs suffered by Donauwörth's Catholics.⁸³ He clearly sometimes saw himself as a kind of an Atlas propping up the cause of Catholicism in the Reich.

Like other Capuchins, such as Giacinto da Casale († 1627) and Père Joseph Leclerc du Tremblay († 1638), both of whom acted as mediators between the conflicting Catholic

⁸⁰ Ibid.; Dixon, 'Urban Order and Religious Coexistence in the German Imperial City', pp. 18-20; P. H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge, MA, 2009), p. 222. For more on the religious situation in the free and imperial Cities, see B.J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 2007), p. 205. For more on this as well as general information about these cities, see J. Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire* (2 vols., Oxford, 2012), vol. 1, pp. 26, 41, 531-540.

⁸¹ Comm., ff. 8v, 10r.

⁸² Dixon, 'Urban Order and Religious Coexistence in the German Imperial City', pp. 23-24; Wilson, *The Thirty Years War*, p. 223; Comm., f. 8v, 10r.

⁸³ Ibid., f. 10r: 'Ma fu cosa notoria a tutti che se non fusse stato a Praga fra Lorenzo da Brindisi il quale non senza gran rossore de ministri di Cesare ne fece piu volte passata in pulpito riprendendo il poco zelo della Religion catholica, non si sarebbe fatto niente, temendo di non irritare con quest'attione gl'heretici, e cagionare guerra nell'imperio. Ma per gratia di Dio si fece il dovere, e non ne segui rumore alcuno, tutto ch'il fatto dispiacesse infinitamente a gl'heretici'.

powers during the Thirty Years War,⁸⁴ Lorenzo too played a significant role in the realm of early modern diplomacy. This was especially true while he was in Central Europe. In July 1609, after the formation of the Protestant Union and the beginning of the first succession crisis in Jülich-Kleve, Maximilian of Bavaria officially formed the Catholic League for the purposes of defense.⁸⁵ Shortly before this, the Catholic authorities who became part of the League concluded that the aid and favor of Spain would be beneficial for their cause. Lorenzo was commissioned to speak personally with King Philip III (r. 1598-1621) about this matter. On 16 June, he departed from Prague, and in early September arrived in Madrid, where he presented the needs of the League to the Catholic Monarch. Negotiations continued until November. But before he would contribute anything financially, Philip wanted Lorenzo to persuade the pope to join the League and contribute something substantial towards it too. Lorenzo set out for Italy for this purpose during the first half of December. By February 1610, he was in Rome, and after having accomplished what he set out to do, was back in Prague that July. In the end, Lorenzo's mission was a success in that Philip did commit himself to supporting the League financially. To Lorenzo, this was a 'work of God' (*opra di Dio*), although the negotiations that had dragged on between Spain, the papacy, and the other Catholic powers – all with Lorenzo in the middle – were over worldly questions of money and who ought to lead the League.⁸⁶ Between his involvement with Donauwörth and the Catholic League, it is evident that Lorenzo had a hand in some of the important affairs preceding the Thirty Years War.

⁸⁴ Cuthbert, *The Capuchins*, vol. 2, pp. 297-312; Hsia, p. 30; Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini*, vol. 5, pp. 621, 638.

⁸⁵ A.D. Anderson, *On the Verge of War: International Relations and the Jülich-Kleve Succession Crises (1609-1614)* (Boston, 1999), pp. 14-15, 22 ff.; Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, vol. 1, pp. 418-427.

⁸⁶ Comm., ff. 12rv; Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 457-648.

In addition to his embassy to King Philip, later in 1610 Lorenzo was also appointed apostolic nuncio and Spanish ambassador to Maximilian of Bavaria. This double appointment, while peculiar – the same man would now be representing two governments, and had already represented one princely alliance that same year – was nevertheless fitting: not only was Lorenzo one of Maximilian’s close confidants, but he was naturally a subject of the king of Spain and spiritually a subject of the Holy See. He received orders from Rome to leave Prague in order to take up residence in Munich, the location of Maximilian’s court. Here, Arturo notes, he functioned as a mediator between the duke and the nuncio and Spanish ambassador in Prague. Lorenzo remained in Munich until April 1613. It was then that he left the Reich for good in order to return to Italy.⁸⁷

But by 1610, Lorenzo, the large and seemingly indomitable Capuchin, was aging. His eyesight had been weak for years; so he used eyeglasses.⁸⁸ More recently, he had been frequently racked with excruciating pain as he suffered from maladies such as kidney stones and gout, which affected his hands, knees, and particularly his feet.⁸⁹ But amid all

⁸⁷ Comm., f. 12v; Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 45-48, 180-81.

⁸⁸ Ambrogio da Firenze first referred to Lorenzo’s eyesight, which was very weak (‘essendo così debole di vista’), in relation to his Venetian provincialate in the 1590s: APVen, part 1, f. 181r. Ambrogio also mentioned that Lorenzo dropped his eyeglasses (‘cascandoli li occhiali’) at Székesfehérvár in 1601: *ibid.*, f. 194v. In his 1628 testimony for the APMil, the Milanese Count Francesco Melzi, who spent time with Lorenzo during his final illness in Lisbon in July 1619, reported that Lorenzo’s eyeglasses were one of the relics he hoped to acquire after the Capuchin’s death, but was not able to as they had already been claimed by someone else: APMil, f. 809. Arturo suggests that Lorenzo was nearsighted (*di vista corta*), although he does not explain exactly why, referring the reader to the above references from Ambrogio da Firenze’s deposition, which really reveal only that Lorenzo’s vision was weak: Arturo, vol. 1, p. 392, n. 13.

⁸⁹ Numerous testimonies speak of Lorenzo’s illnesses. For example, Gasparo de’ Gasparotti reported that Lorenzo suffered from kidney stones (*i dolori renali di pietra*) during his generalate: APMil, f. 603. Giammaria da Monteforte, who served as infirmarian at the Capuchin friary in Prague, spoke of his superior suffering from both kidney stones (*renelle*) and gout (*gotta*): IPMun, f. 6; APMil, f. 779. During his Genoan provincialate, Giovanni da Fossombrone related that Lorenzo suffered from gout in his hands, knees, and feet (‘fusse infermo di podraga alle mani genocchi e piedi’), with this being especially true for his feet (‘haveva la podraga particolarmente alli piedi’): APGen, f. 18v. Lorenzo himself referred to suffering from gout in his left hand and right knee in letters he wrote from Bassano while in the Veneto in January and February 1618: Arturo, vol. 4.1, pp. 74-75, docs. 68, 69.

his physical torments and seemingly never-ending responsibilities, Lorenzo became more and more contemplative. Nowhere was this more evident than with his extremely long and emotional Masses, which he often celebrated privately.⁹⁰ During his generalate, it usually took him around half an hour to celebrate Mass,⁹¹ which was nothing extraordinary. However, during the later years of his life, it was reported that he spent up to eight, twelve, fourteen, and one time even sixteen unbroken hours at the altar.⁹² And this was not the report of a single informant guilty of pious exaggeration, but many eyewitnesses scattered throughout Italy and beyond. Upon completing his Genoan provincialate in 1616, Lorenzo returned to the Veneto, where he remained, in places such as Verona, Venice, Padua, and Bassano, until the beginning of 1618.⁹³ Filippo da Costozza, one of the infirmarians who cared for Lorenzo, provided insight into what Lorenzo's Masses were like during this period in his 1628 deposition for the apostolic process of Vicenza. Lorenzo said Mass every morning. When he was feeling well, he would remain at the altar anywhere from eight to eleven hours. During the times he was afflicted by the gout, Filippo and others would have to carry him there, where, despite the pain, he almost always stood for the duration of the Mass, which could last up to five hours. Some saw this as miraculous. During these Masses, Filippo would hear Lorenzo sigh loudly and say 'O Signore! O Maria!' numerous times. He also cried profusely. With his tears, he would sometimes soak up to three handkerchiefs, which apparently became coveted relics.⁹⁴ Giammaria da Monteforte, another of Lorenzo's

⁹⁰ For Lorenzo and the Mass, a huge part of his spirituality, see *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 412-441.

⁹¹ *APMil*, ff. 601-02.

⁹² *Arturo*, vol. 3, pp. 414-422.

⁹³ For more on this short sojourn in the Veneto, see *ibid.*, pp. 301-325.

⁹⁴ *APVic*, part 3, ff. 81v-82r: 'Per il spatio di un'anno in circa che io l'ho praticato, accompagnato, et servito in infermità, et anco in altro tempo, sempre il Reverendo Padre ha celebrato ogni mattina la santa Messa, et sopra l'Altare voleva l'immagine della santissima Vergine, et frequentemente et posso dir sempre celebrava la Messa ad essa la santissima Vergine, la qual durava nel tempo della grave infermità sino a cinque hore, et in altro tempo, che non era travagliato dal male durava la santa Messa otto, dieci, et quasi

companions in the Veneto, who remained by his side until his death in 1619, recalled in his 1628 testimony for the apostolic process of Milan that on numerous occasions, he saw Lorenzo standing immobile and as if dead at the altar for hours at a time. The only conclusion Giammaria believed he could draw was that his superior was rapt in ecstasy.⁹⁵ While Lorenzo's Eucharistic devotion is certainly remarkable, he was not alone in spending long hours saying Mass. Filippo Neri, whom Lorenzo could have possibly met in Rome, was known to spend up to more than two hours at the altar, where he likewise shed plenty of tears and is said to have experienced ecstasies.⁹⁶ Both men, therefore, practiced a similar kind of Eucharistic spirituality, though Lorenzo clearly eclipsed even the Apostle of Rome in the amount of time spent doing it.

Lorenzo's unusually long Masses became central to his spirituality later in life; but his devotion to the Virgin Mary, another crucial element to his spirituality, always

undeci hore; et questo lo so perche lo servivo alla Messa, et se bene non stavo sempre ivi, io lo lascio, e poi tornavo, et quanto alla devotione sua, alle lacrime, ai sospiri veramente signori era cosa di stupore, perche con affetto di cuore, et con gran divotione si sentiva proferire questo Benedetto Padre quelle parole. o Signore, o Maria con sospiri grandi, che si haveriano sentiti per assai spacio di lontananza, et questo sospiro con voce alta era l'ultimo. Doppo haver più volte detto o Signore, o Maria, si fermava in contemplatione tornando alle medesime parole, et sospiri con devotione mirabile. Et quando lui era infermo della gotta, lo portavano di peso all'Altare in piedi dove si vestiva da sacerdote, et come era finita la Messa di nuovo si riportava alla cella, et questo per il tempo sudetto io l'ho fatto, et portato come di sopra, et a Verona fui agiutato alcune volte dal Padre Fra Francesco da Valdebiadine Capucino. Levava il Padre a mututino, et a quell'hora andava a celebrare la Messa, nella quale con sospiri, et lacrime abondanti bagnava fazzoletti alcuna volta uno, alcuna volta due, et anco tre, et questo lo so, perche io ne havevo, et me ne eran dati da particolari per devotione, a quali poi eran tornati a dare per loro devotione, però senza saputa del Reverendo Padre il qual se ben infermo stava sempre in piedi alla Messa, se ben poche volte, al più due o tre volte si sentò sopra un scanno, ma per poco spatio di tempo di circa un Miserere, et questo nel tempo della sua gravissima infermità'. Filippo did not call Lorenzo's ability to stand during his very long Masses, despite the gout, miraculous, although the abovementioned Francesco da Valdobbiadine, another of the infirmarians in the Veneto who assisted Lorenzo to the altar, did. He considered what Lorenzo did 'un miracolo, et dono soprannaturale'. For Francesco's recollections of these Masses, see APVic, part 3, ff. 79v-80r. For more on Francesco as a celebrated infirmarian who also wrote on how to function as one, see Davide, *Storia dei cappuccini veneti*, vol. 2, pp. 442-44.

⁹⁵ APMil, f. 790: 'Da circa venti volte io viddi, et osservai, che mentre celebrava la santa Messa restò dritto in piedi tutto immobile, come se fosse morto, et io così a gattalone andai guardandolo da ogni parte, e viddi, che era tutto astratto e così restava le hore intiere come morto ne posso far altro giuditio, se non che fosse rapito in estasi'.

⁹⁶ A. Gallonio, *The Life of St Philip Neri*, trans. J. Bertram (Oxford, 2005), pp. 30-32, 79-81, 169.

remained influential for him.⁹⁷ Again, this was evident even during his adolescence, after his arrival in Venice.⁹⁸ Lorenzo believed that the Madonna had acted supernaturally in his life on more than one occasion. We have already seen how he thought that he had received his impressive knowledge of Hebrew through her intercession.⁹⁹ He was also convinced that it was Mary who had healed him of a stomach illness that interrupted his studies in 1580. In response, he began to fast every Saturday in her honour, a custom he maintained for the rest of his life.¹⁰⁰ And he always had to have an image of the Madonna nearby, while praying, celebrating Mass,¹⁰¹ and, as seen above, studying Scripture.¹⁰² He was known to say ‘Ave Maria’ when addressing and responding to others.¹⁰³ After praying, and while concluding some of his letters, he was accustomed to say as a blessing ‘Nos cum prole pia benedicat Virgo Maria’.¹⁰⁴ Following his generalate, he chose Loreto, home of the Virgin’s Santa Casa, as his place of retreat.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, Lorenzo loved to sing

⁹⁷ The Capuchins have written a great deal on Lorenzo and the Virgin; but the best place to start is G. Roschini, *La Mariologia di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi* (Padova, 1951). Roschini was actually a Servite, not a Capuchin. This text is not to be confused with his shorter treatment of this subject, ‘La Mariologia di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi’, in *S. Lorenzo da Brindisi: Studi*, pp. 141-179. For more on Lorenzo’s devotion to, and thought on, Mary, see Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 442-472.

⁹⁸ See p. 31 above.

⁹⁹ See p. 36 above.

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, APVic, part 3, f. 62v; APGen, part 2, f. 17v. See also Arturo, vol.1, pp. 170-73.

¹⁰¹ Giovanni da Fossombrone’s testimony is especially telling of Lorenzo’s constant desire to be around images of the Virgin. See APGen, part 2, ff. 17r: ‘Dico che nella sua cella e nell’altare dove diceva Messe haveva sempre qualche devota immagine della Beata Vergine, et quando entrava la prima volta nella cella preparatoli per il viaggio o celebrava in qualche altro altare dove non haveva celebrato altra volta Messa la prima cosa dava una occhiata se vi vedeva l’immagine della Beata Vergine, e nel vederla si scorgeva nel volto il gusto che sentiva nell cuore. Perciò i frati per consolarlo mettevano sempre nella cella dove haveva da stare o nell’altare dove haveva da celebrare qualche bella immagine della Beata Vergine e se non l’havevano in casa sela facevano imprestare. Avanti detta immagine orava detto fra Lorenzo Brindisi con tanto fervore e divotione che per l’affetto interno era sforzato a prorompere in voce esteriore di giubilo ah, mia Signora repetendo questa parola più volte Beato chi ti vuol bene, Beato chi ti porta nel cuore et simil altri effetti’.

¹⁰² See p. 35 above.

¹⁰³ APVen, part 1, f. 172r.

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, APMil, f. 599; APGen, part 2, f. 17v. See also Arturo, vol. 3, p. 457.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 307-08.

hymns to the Madonna, with Petrarch's 'Vergine bella' being his favorite.¹⁰⁶ And as a preacher, he spoke of her continuously from the pulpit, urging others to be devoted to her.¹⁰⁷ The greatest testament to Lorenzo's Marian preaching and doctrine is the first volume of his *Opera omnia*, the *Mariale*, a collection of eighty-four sermon plans in which he treats themes like the Virgin's role in salvation through the Incarnation and birth of Christ, her universally exalted status, her marriage to God, her divine motherhood, her Immaculate Conception, and her Assumption into heaven. The Capuchin should indeed be ranked among the great Marian thinkers of his age – figures such as François de Sales and the Jesuits Peter Canisius and Roberto Bellarmino – as is evident in Donna Spivey Ellington's study on late medieval and early modern perceptions of the Virgin, which frequently cites Lorenzo's teachings from the *Mariale*.¹⁰⁸ Mary was clearly a powerful and seemingly omnipresent force in Lorenzo's life.

Lorenzo was also perceived as a thaumaturge. As early as his generalate – that is, after his 'miraculous' performance at Székesfehérvár – the Catholic faithful, wherever he might be, thronged him to receive his blessing.¹⁰⁹ Many pursued him, especially during his later years, because they believed he could heal their illnesses. For instance, during his 1616 to 1618 sojourn in the Veneto, while at the friary of the Redentore in Venice, he is said to have restored the sight of a blind boy named Giacomo by touching his eyes and blessing him.¹¹⁰ At some point during Lent 1618, while Lorenzo was in Milan advising the

¹⁰⁶ APVen, part 1, ff. 183v-184r. For the 'Vergine bella' in its original Italian together with an English translation, see F. Petrarch, *The Canzoniere or Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (Bloomington, ID, 1996), pp. 510-17.

¹⁰⁷ Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 462-64.

¹⁰⁸ D. Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C., 2001).

¹⁰⁹ For more details, see Gasparo de' Gasparotti's recollections in APMil, ff. 612-15.

¹¹⁰ For the relevant 1627 testimonies, see APVen, part 2, ff. 12v-18v.

Spanish governor Pedro de Toledo Ossorio, the marquis of Villafranca del Bierzo in Galicia, amid his territorial conflict with the duke of Savoy, it is reported that he healed a noblewoman named Ippolita Litta from puerperal fever after she had had a miscarriage. She had previously prayed to the Virgin, St Francis, and even Carlo Borromeo – Milan’s new great saint – seeking their intercession; but her condition only worsened. She judged that it was only after receiving Lorenzo’s blessing – he placed his hand on her head, prayed for her, and then made the sign of the cross – that she was healed.¹¹¹ But Lorenzo did not always have to have direct physical contact with those who were sick. In the Veneto, Francesco Mattalio of Bassano and his wife Giulia were convinced that Francesco experienced relief from a terrible toothache because he put a small piece of bread that had been blessed by Lorenzo near the source of the pain in his mouth. He never received the Capuchin’s blessing in person.¹¹² In his 1624 testimony for the informative process of Munich, Giammaria da Monteforte remembered something similar happening in Vicenza. He was approached by a nobleman of that city, Francesco Cerato, who desired as a relic something that Lorenzo had touched. The Capuchin gave him one of his superior’s Mass handkerchiefs, which on this occasion contained not only his tears but also a little blood from his nose. Cerato took it home to a daughter suffering from a shoulder injury. After she put it on the spot that troubled her, she was healed, Giammaria claimed.¹¹³

Lorenzo’s contemporaries believed that there were other ways he was at the centre of miraculous and supernatural activities. For one, it was believed that he could cast out demons. Giammaria da Monteforte, who witnessed many of Lorenzo’s ‘exorcisms’, gives

¹¹¹ For the relevant 1629 testimonies, see APMil, ff. 1240-1275. For more details on Lorenzo’s residence in Milan in 1618, see Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 327-348.

¹¹² For the relevant 1628 testimonies, see APBass, part 3, ff. 26v-29v.

¹¹³ IPMun, ff. 34-35.

us a sense of how these rituals were performed while describing in 1624 one episode in particular from their time in Bassano. While Lorenzo was at the friary there, a ‘possessed’ noblewoman from Belluno was brought by her husband to see him. He met them at the door, where the woman began to shake and did not want to get any closer to him. Lorenzo responded forcefully: ‘Ah, Deceiver! Who gave you permission to enter into this creature of God? Come here! Throw yourself on the ground!’ Once she was on the ground, he set his feet on her mouth and neck, presumably to make sure she was silent and to demonstrate that he, like Christ and the apostles in the New Testament, wielded ‘spiritual authority’ over demons. After inveighing against the ‘evil spirit’, he commanded it in the name of the most holy Madonna, mistress of the Angels – he was after all speaking to a ‘fallen angel’ – to depart from the woman. According to Giammaria, she then rose from the ground free of the demon.¹¹⁴ Additionally, people were convinced that Lorenzo could see the future. In 1616, during his Genoan provincialate, he went to bless a woman named Maddalena Pastore of Genoa, who was gravely ill with a fever and was hemorrhaging after having had a miscarriage. He predicted that she would recover. He was also asked to bless her little son, who was only slightly ill, and whose sickness did not cause his family any alarm. Lorenzo asserted that he, however, would soon be in paradise. According to Maddalena

¹¹⁴ IPMun, f. 18: ‘Arrivarono [the *ossessa* from Belluno and her husband] a Bassano, e pregarono li nostri frati, che facessero il Padre Brindesi li desse la Benedittione et egli per sodisfare a gli frati, et a quelli divoti se contentò. Fu condotta alla Porta del monasterio dove era il Padre Brindesi, e subito che lo vidde, cominciò tremare, et non voleva andare da lui, et cominciò dirgli Ach Traditore, che t’ha dato licenza d’entrare in questa creatura di Dio, vieni qua, gettati in Terra. S’inginocchiò. Egli disse, che se gittasse in modo che li potesse calcare su la buocca con i piedi, et così accomodato, li pose i piedi con le sole sopra la buocca et il collo, et gli diceva alcune parole d’ingiurie, et gli comandava che si partisse, da parte della Madonna Santissima ch’era Signora de gl’angioli, et così se levò da Terra, quieta et assai disposta, che pareva risanata, come era veramente, et hebbe la Benedittione dal Padre due volte, e se partì libera’. For examples of Christ and the apostles asserting authority over, and exorcising, demons, see Mark 1:21-28, 5:1-20; Acts 16:16-18.

and her family, both predictions came to pass within the matter of only a few days.¹¹⁵ It was also in Genoa, during one Lent while Lorenzo was preaching in the Duomo, that a patrician boy of the city, Cesare Giustinano, supposedly saw a full-moon-shaped halo, which seemed to him like fire, appear above the Capuchin's head for more than fifteen minutes.¹¹⁶ With stories like these circulating, it is no wonder that Lorenzo's coreligionists felt so attracted to him.

Lorenzo spent his final days as a diplomat.¹¹⁷ In 1618, the Spanish-controlled Kingdom of Naples was governed by Viceroy Pedro Téllez-Girón, the duke of Osuna (1616-1620), who, it was alleged, strove to divide the Neapolitan nobility and the *popolo*, while favouring the latter and opposing the former. Fearing that Osuna might be reconfirmed as viceroy, in September 1618 the Neapolitan nobility elected Lorenzo – again, a native subject of the Spanish Crown and the Kingdom of Naples who had plenty of diplomatic experience – to be their ambassador to present their grievances to King Philip III.¹¹⁸ Lorenzo had actually just departed from Naples, where he had spent the summer, after attending the Capuchin Order's general chapter in Rome that June. He was now en route to Brindisi, where he was hoping to visit the new Capuchiness convent and church

¹¹⁵ For the relevant informative (1625) and apostolic (1627) testimonies, see APGen, part 1, ff. 20r-21v; part 2, ff. 4v, 5r, 9v-10v. For summaries of these depositions, see Q1, ff. 53, 73; Q2, f. 41v.

¹¹⁶ For the relevant informative (1625) and apostolic (1627) testimonies, see APGen, part 1, ff. 18r-20r; part 2, ff. 10v, 11r, 12rv. For summaries of these depositions, see Q1, ff. 53, 73; Q2, f. 41v.

¹¹⁷ For Lorenzo's final diplomatic mission to King Philip III of Spain on behalf of the Neapolitan nobility, see Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 477-664. See also Ilarino da Milano, 'L'ultima missione di san Lorenzo in difesa del Regno di Napoli (1618-1619)', *AOMC* 29 (1959), pp. 273-331, which takes the story up to Lorenzo's first audience with Philip. This article was republished under the same title in *Comentarii Laurentiani historici*, pp. 145-203. The informative and apostolic testimonies of Giammaria da Monteforte are especially valuable here as he was Lorenzo's constant companion during this last phase of his life: IPMun, ff. 36-46; APMil, ff. 744-756, 773-75, 783-87.

¹¹⁸ For a study on Osuna's Neapolitan viceroyship, see Giovanni Muto, 'Dal Lemos all'Osuna: strategie e stili di governo di due viceré', in E. Sánchez García and C. Ruta (eds.), *Cultura della guerra e arti della pace: il III duca di Osuna in Sicilia e a Napoli (1611-1620)* (Napoli, 2012), pp. 169-195. See also Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 494-523.



Figure 7: Exterior of S. Maria degli Angeli, Brindisi

of S. Maria degli Angeli – it shared the name of the *chiesetta* at the Giudecca – that he had constructed, with the aid of Maximilian of Bavaria, over the site of his childhood home.¹¹⁹ At the end of September, in Caserta, he received word that he had to return to Naples, where, shortly thereafter, he was informed of the situation. He accepted this new mission, albeit reluctantly.¹²⁰ Despite Osuna's attempts to prevent Lorenzo from reaching Spain, the Capuchin reached Madrid in early May 1619. There he learned that Philip was away and

¹¹⁹ Ibid, pp. 357, 362-63, 377-382; IPMun, f. 31; APMil, f. 744. For more on the Capuchiness convent and church of S. Maria degli Angeli, see Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 363-377, 815-19. The convent was torn down in 1914 for a school building: *ibid.*, p. 819. The church is presently under the care of the Missionary Sisters of the Incarnation.

¹²⁰ Ibid., pp. 534-38; IPMun, ff. 36-37; APMil, ff. 744-47.

heading toward Lisbon, where his son was about to be crowned king of Portugal.¹²¹ Toward the end of the month, Lorenzo caught up with Philip at Almada, and then accompanied him and his entourage to Belém and finally to Lisbon. He had numerous audiences with the king, at which he urged him to seek justice for his Neapolitan subjects. But no definitive action was taken.¹²² Among those in Philip's retinue was Pedro de Toledo, the marquis of Villafranca del Bierzo and former governor of Milan, who provided Lorenzo with lodging at his own residences on the way to and in Lisbon.¹²³ While in Belém that June, Lorenzo began to develop the symptoms of dysentery; and there were concerns that he might have been poisoned by Osuna's supporters. He did not recover from this new illness. His final weeks were spent at Toledo's residence in Lisbon, where, after receiving the last rites, he died at sunset on 22 July, his sixtieth birthday.¹²⁴

Lorenzo's Afterlife

Those whom Lorenzo left behind at Toledo's palace in Lisbon made it clear that they believed they had been in the presence of a saint. After mourning, they began to lay claim to and take pieces of his belongings – relics – which included his habit, breviary, eyeglasses, discipline, and a jar from which he drank.¹²⁵ The following day, 23 July, he was given an autopsy to ascertain the cause of his death, with the doctors apparently finding

¹²¹ Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 549-556, 634-35; IPMun, ff. 40-41.

¹²² Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 638-642, 661-66. Lorenzo would not see it, but Osuna was finally recalled and left Naples in 1620. For the details, as well as his subsequent fate in Spain, see Muto, 'Dal Lemos all'Osuna', pp. 190-91; Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 686-699.

¹²³ Ibid., pp. 635-36, 638, 661, 666; IPMun, f. 42; APMil, f. 748.

¹²⁴ Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 666-673; IPMun, ff. 42-45; APMil, ff. 750-55, 787. For more on the possibility that Lorenzo was poisoned, see Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 803-814.

¹²⁵ IPMun, f. 45; APMil, ff. 788, 809-10.



Figure 8: Portrait of Lorenzo after his death on 22 July 1619, Convent of the Anunciada, Villafranca del Bierzo, Spain¹²⁶

no evidence of foul play. Toledo then immediately had his body embalmed.¹²⁷ Fearing that someone else might take possession of the Capuchin's body, the marquis, probably during the night of 25 and 26 July, after gaining permission from King Philip and the archbishop of Lisbon, had it shipped north in a lead-covered coffin.¹²⁸ Its destination was the Discalced Clarisse convent of the Anunciada in Villafranca del Bierzo, where his daughter, María de la Trinidad, the convent's foundress, was a nun. Lorenzo's body arrived on 10 August.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ For more on this portrait, painted at the orders of Pedro de Toledo, and subsequently kept in his bedroom, see the 1630 testimonies of his chaplain Antonio Nuñez de Quiroga and neighbours Francisco Ossorio Pimentel and Antonio de Quiroga Sotomayor in *IPVill*, pp. 321, 324, 327. See also Arturo, vol. 3, p. 674.

¹²⁷ *IPMun*, f. 46; *APMil*, f. 756; *APNap*, ff. 151v-153r. This third testimony, from 1628, is that of the Spaniard Juan Ortiz Salazar, captain of the royal galley and friend of Pedro de Toledo. Toledo had him find a surgeon to perform the autopsy, for which he was present and privy to the 'results'.

¹²⁸ Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 676-78.

¹²⁹ *PI*, Fasc. X, N. 3. This document is an Italian translation of a Spanish letter written by María de la Trinidad on 30 October 1619 to an unidentified Capuchin priest looking for information about Lorenzo's

It was accompanied by a letter, dated 25 July, from Toledo to his daughter, in which he mentioned that although it had been Lorenzo's desire to be buried in a friary, he, Toledo, wanted to send 'this relic' to his own land, where he believed it would be to 'everyone's benefit'.¹³⁰ The marquis perhaps expected that the renowned Capuchin's tomb would become a significant pilgrimage site, bringing prestige and money to Villafranca. And in fact it might have been early on, as Arturo suggests;¹³¹ although it now shares in the Capuchin's obscurity.¹³² Initially, Lorenzo was interred in the lower choir of the convent church.¹³³ After his successful canonisation process and proclamation as a doctor of the Church, his relics are preserved near the high altar in the church's presbytery, where they

burial. (I have not been able to find any information about the present whereabouts of the Spanish original.) That his body arrived in Villafranca on 10 August is evident when María related that it came during the evening of the feast of St Lawrence the Martyr. This letter also provides valuable details about the condition and appearance of Lorenzo's body when it arrived. María reported that he was still well-preserved; his habit and cord were cut up, no doubt due to relic hunters; and that they could see the signs of gout in his feet. For more on María, who might have met Lorenzo early in life, see Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 364-65.

¹³⁰ PI, Fasc. X, N. 2: 'Fu [Lorenzo] tanto mio grande amico, et io sono tanto di cotesta Terra, ch' mandando il suo benedetto corpo a quella, a me apporta consolatione, et a tutti ha da esser di grandissimo profitto haver appresso questa Reliquia. Era desiderio suo esser sepolto in convento de' frati, che per questo era a proposito Cavezza d'Alva'. Like the above letter from María de la Trinidad, this one is also an Italian translation of a Spanish original whose present whereabouts are unknown to me.

¹³¹ Arturo, vol. 3, p. 745.

¹³² Not everyone has shared Toledo's gladness that Lorenzo's final resting place is remote Villafranca del Bierzo. On 26 January 1959 – the year of the fourth centenary of Lorenzo's birth and his proclamation as a doctor of the Church – Michelangelo da Barletta, the then Capuchin provincial of Puglia, suggested in a letter to the minister general, Clement of Milwaukee, that Lorenzo's body be removed from this place where it had been buried 'almost without honour' (*quasi senza onore*) and brought to the Capuchins' now defunct church of S. Lorenzo da Brindisi on the Via Sicilia in Rome. See AGC, MB(L), 'S. Laurentius de Brindisi', in 'Invito – feste S. Lorenzo da Brindisi, 1959, *sectio* 3'. For more on this deconsecrated church on the Via Sicilia, see C. Rendina, *Le chiese di Roma: storie, leggende e curiosità degli edifici sacri della Città Eterna, dai templi pagani alle grandi basiliche, dai conventi ai monasteri ai luoghi di culto in periferia* (Roma, 2007), p. 171.

¹³³ This is evident in María de la Trinidad's 1630 deposition for the *IPVill*. See *IPVill*, p. 335. For more on the history of Lorenzo's relics in this church, see Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 745-47.



Figure 9: Exterior of the church of the Anunciada, Villafranca del Bierzo



Figure 10: Statue of Lorenzo with the attributes of a *doctor Ecclesiae* (1996), Plaza Anunciada



Figure 11: Lorenzo's present tomb,
Presbytery of the church of the Anunciada

are kept in an urn with his effigy as he appeared when he died.¹³⁴

Lorenzo's canonisation process may have ultimately been successful; but contrary to what his contemporaries might have expected, it was neither speedy nor easy.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ During my visit to Villafranca in March 2011, Sor María del Carmen, the Clarisse who gave me a tour of the Anunciada, gave me a book she had recently printed called *San Lorenzo de Brindis, Doctor Apostólico: El Santo de Villafranca*. It contains excellent images of Lorenzo's tombs in the church throughout the past four centuries.

¹³⁵ For some of the Congregation of Rites' records relating to Lorenzo's causes for beatification and canonisation, see *ADCBC*, pp. 991-1035. See also Melchor de Pobladora, 'Los procesos de beatificación y canonización del nuevo Doctor de la Iglesia San Lorenzo de Brindis', *CF* 29 (1959), pp. 362-426; Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 715-745. For relevant studies on early modern canonisation procedure, see Ashdowne, 'Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi and the Politics of Canonization in Early Modern Italy'; Simon Ditchfield, 'How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622-45', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992), pp. 379-422; idem, 'Tridentine Worship and the Cult of Saints', in R. Po-chia Hsia (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity* (9 vols., Cambridge, UK, 2007), vol. 6, pp. 201-224, 640-43; idem, 'Thinking with the Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World', *Critical Inquiry* 35/3 (2009), pp. 552-584; idem, "'Coping with the *beati moderni*": Canonization Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent', in T.M. McCoog (ed.), *Ite Inflammate Omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006* (Rome, 2010), 413-439; P. Burke, 'How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint', in idem (ed.), *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge, UK, 1987), pp. 48-62, 243.

Between 1623 and 1630, the first steps to his beatification process were taken. In 1624, postulatory letters, that is, letters written in support of a candidate's sanctity, were sent to Rome. Among those writing in favor of the *causa brundusina* were Duke Maximilian of Bavaria and Emperor Ferdinand II.¹³⁶ The informative and apostolic processes were also conducted. All had progressed well thus far, and motions were put forward in both 1633 and 1636 to open the apostolic processes.¹³⁷ But there was a problem. During this same period in the 1620s and 1630s, the process for canonisation was being overhauled, making it far stricter. Among the reforms instituted was the 1627 decree requiring candidates be dead fifty years before their virtues and miracles could be discussed by the Congregation of Rites. And in 1631, a further decree reduced from fifteen to three the number of the Congregation's meetings at which candidates' causes could be discussed before the pope, which greatly increased competition between causes.¹³⁸ It was such procedural changes that resulted in what Simon Ditchfield referred to as a 'virtual hiatus in canonisation trials during the 1630s'.¹³⁹ The *causa brundusina*, therefore, could not have been introduced at a worse time. In accordance with the so-called 'fifty-year rule', it had to be shelved until 1669. It was not until 1673 that the case was revisited, when it was agreed that the apostolic processes could finally be opened.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Ashdowne, 'Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi and the Politics of Canonization in Early Modern Italy', pp. 174-75. For more on the postulatory letters, see Melchor, 'Los procesos de beatificación y canonización del nuevo Doctor de la Iglesia San Lorenzo de Brindis', pp. 368-69. The extant letters are included among Arturo's *documenti*: Arturo, vol. 4.1, pp. 200-02, docs. 1109-1111.

¹³⁷ *ADCBC*, p. 994.

¹³⁸ Ashdowne, 'Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi and the Politics of Canonization in Early Modern Italy', pp. 45-46, 48.

¹³⁹ Ditchfield, 'How not to be a Counter-Reformation Saint', p. 399.

¹⁴⁰ *ADCBC*, pp. 994-95.

No additional progress was made until the Settecento, over the course of which the *causa brundusina* made its way slowly through the stringent Roman machinery. Proceedings dragged on until 1769, when the Congregation of Rites voted to affirm Lorenzo's heroic virtues.¹⁴¹ It established the first of two required miracles for beatification in early May 1775, with Pius VI (r. 1775-1799) confirming this decision in late June.¹⁴² It was not until 14 January 1783 that Lorenzo met the criteria for beatification, when the Congregation of Rites established his second miracle, with Pius this time giving his approval a mere four days later.¹⁴³ During this period, Pius VI was troubled by the reforms enacted by Emperor Joseph II (r. 1765-1790) in his Austrian dominions that sought to expand the role of the state at the expense of the Church's traditional privileges. He was in fact so concerned that he had made a historic visit to Vienna the previous year to discuss these matters with the emperor in person.¹⁴⁴ One has to wonder if Pius acted so quickly with this second 'miracle' because he saw the beatification of Lorenzo as an opportunity to remind those in Austria – principally the 'wayward' Joseph – about how indebted they and Joseph's Habsburg predecessors were to the Roman Church for men such as Lorenzo, who had served them faithfully at the altar and on the battlefield. On 23 May 1783, Pius VI issued his *Illustrium pietate*, the Brief of Beatification in which he introduced Blessed Lorenzo da Brindisi to the Catholic world. As a *beatus*, his cult had to be limited; so Pius stipulated that it was to be restricted to the Capuchin Order and Villafranca del Bierzo,

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 1000-04.

¹⁴² Ibid., pp. 1005-1010. For the life and pontificate of Gianangelo Braschi, who became Pope Pius VI, see L. von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages, Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources* (40 vols., London, 1891-1953), vols. 39, 40.

¹⁴³ ADCBC, pp. 1010-15.

¹⁴⁴ For details on Joseph's reforms and his relationship with Pius VI, see D. Beales, *Joseph II* (2 vols., New York, 1987-2009), vol. 2; Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 39, pp. 428-481; vol. 40, pp. 65-75.

Lisbon, and Brindisi.¹⁴⁵ The beatification ceremony was celebrated a little over a week later on 1 June at St Peter's.¹⁴⁶

Lorenzo had now been elevated to the altars, but in order for him to be canonised, two more miracles were required. By 1796, the Capuchins believed that both had already taken place, with apostolic investigations having been conducted for each one.¹⁴⁷ But after Pius VI approved the opening of the second investigation in March 1796, all work on this cause came to a halt. That year French forces under the leadership of General Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Italy, and on 20 February 1798, Pius VI, who had condemned and opposed the French Revolution, was deported from Rome at the orders of the Directory in Paris. He died the following year as a prisoner in exile in France.¹⁴⁸ After the fall of Pius VI, Lorenzo's cause received no further attention from the Congregation of Rites until 1873, well into the long and turbulent pontificate of Pius IX. This was presumably because it was not able to compete with those of other candidates then perceived to be more 'attractive' to the Church, among them the Capuchiness mystic and stigmatic Veronica Giuliani (1660-1727) and the recently-deceased Catholic apologist and founder of the Redemptorist Order, Alfonso de' Liguori (1696-1787). Both were beatified by Pius VI's successor, Pius VII; and they were canonised simultaneously by Gregory XVI in 1839.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ See *Bullarii Romani continuatio Summorum Pontificum Clementis XIII., Clementis XIV., Pii VI., Pii VII., Leonis XII., Pii VIII.: constitutiones, litteras in forma brevis epistolas ad principes viros, et alios atque alloquutiones complectens* (19 vols., Romae, 1835-1858), vol. 7, pp. 138-39. This document is also available in *ADCBC*, pp. 1017-19; Arturo, vol. 4.2, pp. 447-48, doc. 1203.

¹⁴⁶ *ADCBC*, p. 1019; Melchor, 'Los procesos de beatificación y canonización del nuevo Doctor de la Iglesia San Lorenzo de Brindis', pp. 422-23.

¹⁴⁷ *ADCBC*, pp. 1020-22.

¹⁴⁸ For more on Pius VI and the French Revolution, see Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 40, pp. 87-395; F. Coppa, *The Modern Papacy since 1789* (London, 1998), pp. 17-32.

¹⁴⁹ For the records of Veronica Giuliani's canonisation process, see *ADCBC*, pp. 1292-1335. For information on her mysticism and claimed supernatural experiences, see Metodio da Nembro, *Misticismo e missione di S. Veronica Giuliani, cappuccina (1660-1727)* (Milano, 1962). For more on Alfonso de'

But in May 1873, at the request of the Capuchin Order, Pius IX granted permission for the validity of the two apostolic processes to be discussed, and it was determined that autumn that they had been carried out properly.¹⁵⁰ It may be that interest in Lorenzo's cause had been rekindled after so many decades because a few years earlier, in 1867, Pius IX beatified Lorenzo's contemporary and fellow Capuchin Benedetto da Urbino († 1625). The common, though inaccurate, belief was that Benedetto had accompanied Lorenzo to the Reich for his first mission, a subject that Pius mentioned in Benedetto's Brief of Beatification. Presumably Benedetto's beatification served as a reminder to not only the Capuchin Order but also to the Congregation of Rites and Pius IX that there was still some unfinished business when it came to Lorenzo.¹⁵¹ Momentum for the *causa brundusina* continued in the Congregation of Rites. Discussion of the two claimed, late eighteenth-century miracles began in 1877. They resumed in August 1878, after Pius had died and Leo XIII (r. 1878-1903) succeeded him.¹⁵² In December the following year, the Congregation established both miracles as genuine. However, unlike Pius VI, Leo does not seem to have had any pressing reason to confirm the Congregation's decision. In fact, he did not give his approbation to the two miracles until September 1881, almost two years later. Even so, Lorenzo had finally met the Church's criteria to be a saint. Shortly thereafter, on 8 December, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, Leo XIII canonised him at St

Liguori, see F.M. Jones, *Alphonsus de Liguori: Saint of Bourbon Naples and Founder of the Redemptorists (1696-1787)* (Liguori, MO, 1999). For some details on Alfonso's extraordinarily speedy canonisation process, see, pp. 485-86.

¹⁵⁰ *ADCBC*, p. 1023.

¹⁵¹ For Benedetto's Brief of Beatification, see *ibid.*, pp. 204-07. For more on the tradition that he had been among Lorenzo's companions, see Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 669-670.

¹⁵² *ADCBC*, pp. 1024-27. For the life and pontificate of Gioacchino Pecci, who became Pope Leo XIII, see E. Soderini, *Il pontificato di Leone XIII* (3 vols., Milano, 1932-33); Raymond H. Schmandt, 'The Life and Work of Leo XIII', in Edward T. Gargan (ed.), *Leo XIII and the Modern World* (New York, 1961) 13-48; Coppa, *The Modern Papacy since 1789*, pp. 117-134.

Peter's.¹⁵³ The Bull of Canonisation, *Infelices mundi clientes*, was issued a week later on 15 December. Here Leo held Lorenzo up as a 'remarkable example of great fortitude' (*praeclarum tantae fortitudinis specimen*) from among the Church's religious as they faced 'persecution' in the modern world.¹⁵⁴ So, Lorenzo could now enjoy a universal cult among Catholics, though it had taken almost 260 years to reach that point. His canonisation process, therefore, was definitely not like that of François de Sales. De Sales's cause was introduced during the same period as Lorenzo's, yet was exempted from having to abide by the 'fifty-year rule', resulting in his being canonised in 1665, a mere forty-three years after his death.¹⁵⁵ Nor was the *causa brundusina* like that of other candidates whose causes moved relatively briskly through the Roman machinery – among them the founder of the Lazarists, Vincent de Paul, who died in 1660, but was canonised in 1737, less than eighty years later.¹⁵⁶ Instead, it was more like those of Peter Canisius and Roberto Bellarmino: their processes, which were concluded, respectively, in 1925 and 1931, likewise required centuries to complete, and actually took even longer than Lorenzo's.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ *ADCBC*, p. 1027. He was canonised together with Chiara da Montefalco, Giovanni Battista de Rossi, and Benoît-Joseph Labre.

¹⁵⁴ For this Bull of Canonisation, see *Leonis XIII. pontificis maximi Acta* (23 vols., Romae, 1878-1905), vol. 2, pp. 428-450. For the reference to Lorenzo as a 'praeclarum specimen', see *ibid.*, p. 429. This document is also available in *ADCBC*, pp. 1027-1035; Arturo, vol. 4.2, pp. 453-460, doc. 1207. For the actions taken against the Church, and the religious, by secular governments during the nineteenth century, see R. Aubert, J. Beckmann, et al., *The Church in the Age of Liberalism* (London, 1981), pp. 255-296; R. Aubert, G. Bandmann, et al., *The Church in the Industrial Age* (London, 1981), pp. 26-45. For the affairs in France that especially preoccupied Leo, see *ibid.*, pp. 96-101; Soderini, *Il pontificato di Leone XIII*, vol. 2, pp. 243-270, 289-320. For an English translation of this text, see E. Soderini, *Leo XIII, Italy, and France* (London, 1935), pp. 123-138, 151-169.

¹⁵⁵ Ashdowne, 'Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi and the Politics of Canonization in Early Modern Italy', p. 251.

¹⁵⁶ For De Paul's canonisation process, see P. Coste, *Le grand saint du grand siècle: Monsieur Vincent* (3 vols., Paris, 1932), vol. 3, pp. 459-494.

¹⁵⁷ For Canisius's and Bellarmino's canonisation processes, see Julius Oswald, 'Petrus Canisius – ein Lebensbild', in J. Oswald and P. Rummel (eds.), *Petrus Canisius – Reformator der Kirche: Festschrift zum 400. Todestag des zweiten Apostels Deutschlands* (Augsburg, 1996), p. 38; Brodrick, *Robert Bellarmine*, p. 423.



Figure 12: Lorenzo's manuscripts,
Archivio Provinciale Cappuccini Veneti, Mestre

Lorenzo's writings remained almost entirely unpublished, however. It was only in 1926 that a small committee of Capuchins under the leadership of Vigilio da Valstagna, the then provincial of Venice, was formed to remedy this situation.¹⁵⁸ And theirs was no small task: at the Archivio Provinciale Cappuccini Veneti in Mestre alone were housed fifteen volumes of Lorenzo's manuscripts, all penned in his difficult handwriting. In 1928, the *Mariale* was published. This was followed by the *Lutheranismi hypotyposis*, Lorenzo's

¹⁵⁸ For more on this committee of editors and the history of the publication of the *Opera*, see Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 750-769. During the late nineteenth century, the Capuchins had published in their journals and magazines only a handful of Lorenzo's writings, such as individual sermons and letters. For more on this specifically, see *ibid.*, pp. 751-53.

sole apologetic work, which was printed in three parts between 1930 and 1933. Next, the editors published the *Explanatio in Genesim* in 1935. From 1936 to 1941 they released his then known Lenten sermon plans in the *Quadragesimale primum*, three-part *Quadragesimale secundum*, and *Quadragesimale tertium*. His Christmas sermon plans followed in 1942 with the printing of the *Adventus*. The next year his Sunday sermon plans appeared in the *Dominicalia*. His sermon plans for saints' feast days were published in the *Sanctorale* in 1944. Appended to this volume are what may be nine of his actual Italian sermons, which most likely date back to his early years as a preacher in Venice.¹⁵⁹ With the rediscovery of an additional collection of Lorenzo's sermon plans in Vienna in 1952, the *Quadragesimale quartum* was published in 1954, followed by the *Sermones de tempore* in 1956.¹⁶⁰ Included in this final volume were two of Lorenzo's *opuscula*: an annotated version of his above-mentioned *Commentariolum* and the *De numeris amorosis*, a mystical work. Thus, between 1928 and 1956, Lorenzo's *Opera omnia* was published in ten volumes of fifteen tomes. Clearly the vast majority of Lorenzo's works are homiletic in nature. Eight out of ten volumes of the *Opera* consist exclusively of sermons or sermon plans, 761 in all, comprising some 6,263 pages.¹⁶¹ This is an indubitable testimony to Lorenzo's vocation and energy as a preacher.

¹⁵⁹ For these sermons, see *appendix prima* in *Sanctorale*, pp. 501-586. As for why they may be actual sermons and ought to be dated to his early years in Venice, see Gustavo Cantini, 'S. Lorenzo da Brindisi, Predicatore', in *S. Lorenzo da Brindisi: Studi*, p. 82.

¹⁶⁰ For more on this rediscovery, see p. 125 below.

¹⁶¹ Among this number of sermons and sermon plans I count each of Lorenzo's Latin *homiliae*, *sermones*, *breves allocutiones*, and *fragmenta* – including those in the appendices found in *Adventus*, *Dominicalia*, and *Sanctorale* – as well as the Italian sermons in *Sanctorale*. Not included in this number are the *silvae* in the appendix of *Adventus* (pp. 495-509, 516-18), which appear to be reflections on the Bible as opposed to material for sermons. Nor do I count the *fragmentum* for *feria secunda post Pascha* in *Adventus* (pp. 552-55), along with the two separate *alia fragmenta* directly proceeding it (p. 556), all of which are also printed among the *folia avulsa* in *appendix secunda* in *Dominicalia* (pp. 706-714), with the first *fragmentum* appearing far more complete here than what is seen in *Adventus*. I also do not include the material in *appendix prima* in *Dominicalia* (pp. 637-704), which, the editors of the *Opera* report on p. viii in this

With the publication of Lorenzo's *Opera*, the Capuchin Order coveted yet another title for their great early modern saint: *doctor Ecclesiae*.¹⁶² According to Prospero Lambertini, this accolade was reserved exclusively for those Catholics who met three conditions: 'eminent teaching' (*eminens doctrina*), 'remarkable sanctity' (*insignis vitae sanctitas*), and official declaration by the Church (*declaratio Ecclesiae*).¹⁶³ Lorenzo's sanctity had already been affirmed. The Capuchins believed that his eminent teaching was obvious in his published *Opera*; now they wanted the Vatican authorities to recognise it, which would result in the required declaration. They initiated this new process in 1949. Toward the end of the following year, the Congregation of Rites voted in favour and then referred it to Pius XII for his approval.¹⁶⁴ But with the discovery of the Vienna manuscript in 1952, it was necessary to first wait for its publication before any final decision could be made.¹⁶⁵ Again, this task was completed by 1956, but Pius never reached a final decision on this matter. On 19 November 1958, a little over a month after his death, Lorenzo's cause was presented to the new pope and former patriarch of Venice, John XXIII (r. 1958-1963). John, who had read Lorenzo's writings and was a scholar of the early modern Church, and

volume's preface, consists of *summaria* of sermon plans printed elsewhere in the *Opera*, and are thus not sermon plans themselves. The number of pages above includes strictly those containing the applicable homiletic material, and not any of the editors' prefaces or any blank pages. There is an English translation of Lorenzo's homiletic works, published recently by the Capuchin Vernon Wagner of Wisconsin: St Lawrence of Brindisi, *Collected Sermons and Homilies of St. Lawrence of Brindisi in Twelve Books* (12 vols., Delhi, 2007) It should also be mentioned that at some point in his career as a Capuchin, Lorenzo penned a treatise on preaching called *Tractatus de modo concionandi, in quo assignantur multae regulae novis praedicatoribus necessariae*. It was missing by the time his beatification process was gaining momentum in the eighteenth century, and it could very well now be permanently lost. For more on this *operetta*, see Arturo, vol. 1, p. 224.

¹⁶² For more on the *doctores Ecclesiae*, the best place to start is B. McGinn, *The Doctors of the Church: Thirty-three Men and Women Who Shaped Christianity*, 2nd edn (New York, 2010). For the records of Lorenzo's process to be proclaimed a *doctor Ecclesiae*, see *ADCBC*, pp. 1035-1042. For Arturo's treatment of this subject, see Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 769-774.

¹⁶³ P. Lambertini, *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione* (4 vols., Bononiae, 1734-38), vol. 4.2, xi, 13, p. 98.

¹⁶⁴ *ADCBC*, pp. 1035-36.

¹⁶⁵ Arturo, vol. 3, p. 773.

responsible for editing the *Atti* of Carlo Borromeo, gave his approval almost immediately. On 28 November, Lorenzo was granted the title *doctor Ecclesiae*, and could now be called ‘the Apostolic Doctor’ (*Doctor Apostolicus*).¹⁶⁶ On 19 March 1959, John XXIII proclaimed him a *doctor Ecclesiae* in the Apostolic Letter *Celsitudo ex humilitate*.¹⁶⁷ Lorenzo was the thirtieth of now thirty-five doctors,¹⁶⁸ which, from the Church’s perspective, puts him in the same category as others such as the Four Latin Doctors, Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas, Catherine of Siena, and Teresa of Avila.

Lorenzo da Brindisi was arguably the most significant figure within the early modern Capuchin Order. He is numbered among the Church’s many saints and few doctors; his lengthy beatification and canonisation processes are illustrative of the stringency of early modern canonisation procedure and the vicissitudes of history that could have an impact on them. But more importantly for this study, Lorenzo’s life reveals that he was at the forefront of so much that the Capuchins were engaged in during early modernity. He was a diligent student of the Bible and formidable linguist who knew Scripture in its original languages. He was an energetic preacher who had been

¹⁶⁶ *ADCBC*, pp. 1036-38. For the life and pontificate of Angelo Roncalli, the man who became Pope John XXIII, see P. Hebblethwaite, *John XXIII: Pope of the Council*, revised edn (London, 1994); Coppa, *The Modern Papacy since 1789*, pp. 210-222. Hebblethwaite does not even mention that John proclaimed Lorenzo a doctor, though he does mention that he toyed with the idea of making Bernardino of Siena one: Hebblethwaite, *John XXIII*, p. 497. For more on John and Borromeo, see Alberto Melloni, ‘History, Pastorate, and Theology: The Impact of Carlo Borromeo upon A.G. Roncalli/Pope John XXIII’, in J.M. Headley and J.B. Tomaro (eds.), *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century* (Washington, 1988), pp. 277-299.

¹⁶⁷ In addition to being printed in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, this document is also available in *ADCBC*, pp. 1038-1042; Arturo, vol. 4.2, pp. 470-74, doc. 1219.

¹⁶⁸ As of 7 October 2012, there are thirty-five *doctores Ecclesiae*. That day, during the opening ceremony of the 2012 Synod of Bishops in St Peter’s Square, Pope Benedict XVI added to their ranks the German Benedictine nun Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179) and the Spanish priest Juan of Avila (ca. 1500-1569). For more details, see Nicola Gori and Marta Lago, ‘Dottori della Chiesa per il mondo di oggi’, *L’Osservatore Romano*, 7 October 2012, p. 8. I was delighted to be present at this ceremony.

extraordinarily charged with the task of proclaiming the Word even before his ordination. He was a seasoned missionary known for his evangelistic work among the Jews. He was an intrepid military chaplain. He was an experienced diplomat. And he held numerous offices within the Capuchin Order, including the highest itself, that of vicar general. Lorenzo da Brindisi embodied biblical erudition, sacred eloquence, missionary skill, and authority: the man entrusted by Rome with leading the Capuchins' first mission in Bohemia and waging war on heresy.

The Foundation of the Commissariate of Bohemia-Austria-Styria

The first way Lorenzo da Brindisi worked toward strengthening the cause of Catholicism in the Holy Roman Empire was by supervising the foundation of the Capuchins' new Commissariate of Bohemia-Austria-Styria. At the heart of this enterprise was establishing the commissariate's first friaries, which were erected in Prague, Vienna, and Graz.¹ With their construction, Lorenzo and his fellow Capuchins were establishing what they and their ecclesiastical and secular patrons intended to be permanent bases from which to contribute to the re-catholicization of these imperial centres and their respective regions of the Reich.

Sources

Several sources provide us with insight into the origins of the Capuchin Commissariate of Bohemia-Austria-Styria. First, there is the collection of letters from 1597 to 1600 written by or addressed to the archbishop of Prague, Zbyněk Berka z Dubé a Lipé (r. 1593-1606), who had lobbied effectively to have the Capuchins sent to Bohemia. This correspondence, almost exclusively in Latin and German, records not only Berka's

¹ For Arturo's thorough treatment of this subject, see Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 447-487; vol. 2, pp. 25-107. There is a very short English study that deals with this theme, though it is dated, biased, and relies heavily on hagiographical sources such as Brennan: Christian Sembri, 'St. Lawrence of Brindisi – First Mission to Central Europe – 1599-1602', *Round Table of Franciscan Research* 14 (1949), pp.131-142.

motivations for wanting to have Capuchins in Prague, but also the bureaucratic processes he had to negotiate in order to obtain first the Roman authorities' permission for the mission, and then Rudolf II's consent for the Capuchins to construct their friary in the city. These letters, originally published in Frantisek Tischer's *Uvedeni Radu Kapucin do ech okolo roku 1600* (1907), are reproduced in Arturo's *documenti*.² Additionally, Lorenzo provided his own brief account of his involvement in the foundation of the new commissariate in the *Commentariolum*, under the years 1599 and 1600.³

Several of the Capuchin Order's chronicles also record valuable information. The one that Arturo considered the most authoritative was the 'Liber capitularis provinciae Boemiae', which he esteemed for its early origins during the first decades of the seventeenth century, general accuracy, and placid tone even while speaking of the friars' adversaries. This manuscript, whose author remains unknown, was preserved at the Capuchins' Provinzarchiv in Vienna during Arturo's time, though it is apparently not there now. Nevertheless, a manuscript transcription, which provides us with its content, entitled 'Exordium et propagatio Fratrum Minorum sancti Francisci cognomento Capucinatorum in Regno Bohemiae ac Provincijs Austriae, Moraviae, et Styriae' is available.⁴ Additionally, there are at the same archive two copies of the late-seventeenth-century 'Annales Patrum Capucinatorum Provinciae Boemo-Austriacae', composed by Meinrad of Munich, who had

² Arturo, vol. 4.1, pp. 113-144. Tischer's *Uvedeni Radu Kapucin do ech okolo roku 1600* (Praze, 1907) has not been available to me, hence my reliance on Arturo. For more on Berka, see Winfried Eberhard, 'Berka von Duba und Leipa, Zbynko (Zbyn k Berka z Dubé a Lipé) (1551-1606)', in E. Gatz and C. Brodkorb (eds.), *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, 1448 bis 1648: ein biographisches Lexikon* (Berlin, 1996), pp. 44-46.

³ Comm., ff. 2rv, 4r.

⁴ For Arturo's observations and notes on the 'Liber capitularis', see Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 22, 83-85. When I visited the PW in January 2013, the archivist, Gottfried Undesser, informed me that there was no text there with that title, despite his efforts to track it down for me.

served as secretary to Emerich Sinelli, the Capuchin bishop of Vienna (r. 1681-85) who had played an active role in the re-catholicization of Lower Austria and Hungary before his episcopate.⁵ Meinrad repeats, sometimes verbatim, much of what can be found in the ‘Liber capitularis’, demonstrating his dependence on the earlier manuscript. Treating specifically the origins of the Capuchin friaries in Styria is Aegidius of Graz’s ‘De origine, fundatione, statu et adjacentibus omnium ac singulorum conventuum Fratrum Minorum Capucinatorum Provinciae Styriae’. This manuscript, completed in 1726, is housed at the Archivio Generale in Rome. And preserved at the Capuchin Provincial Library in Prague is another early eighteenth-century manuscript, Lucian of Prague’s gorgeously illustrated ‘Liber seu protocollum totius Provinciae Boemo-Austriacae Styricae Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capucinatorum’ (1726-36).⁶ Two assets of this text, which also shows probable traces of reliance on the ‘Liber capitularis’, are the author’s inclusion of relevant documents, such as the Berka correspondence, in his narrative, and the familiarity with Prague he enjoyed, which the other chroniclers, given their location, did not. As a result of

⁵ These details for the text’s origins were confirmed for me in an e-mail of 4 November 2013 from the present archivist of the PI, Miriam Trojer. She referred me to the following for this information: Kapuzinerprovinz Österreich-Südtirol, *Totenbuch der Kapuzinerprovinz Österreich-Südtirol* (Brixen/Innsbruck/Wien, 2012), eintrag 1. Mai: Meinrad von München (+1693). The annals in the PW are identified as ‘Annales A’ and ‘Annales B’. My time at the PW was very brief, but based on what I saw, they contain much of the same information and are structured identically. I spent the majority of my time working with ‘Annales B’, as the script is less faint than that in ‘Annales A’. All references made here to the ‘Annales’ will be from ‘Annales B’. For more on Emerich Sinelli (1622-1685), see Johann Weißensteiner, ‘Sinelli, Emerich <OFMCap, Taufname: Johann Anton> (1622-1685)’, in E. Gatz and S.M. Janker, *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, 1648 bis 1803: ein biographisches Lexikon* (Berlin, 1990), pp. 462-63.

⁶ These details were confirmed in an e-mail of 21 October 2013 from the KPK’s present librarian, Vlasta Scheuflerová. This manuscript (‘Rkp. 390’) is partially reproduced digitally online: http://www.loreta.cz/annales_capucinatorum/engine_rkp_390/rozcestnik.html (accessed 27 September 2013).

the political climate after World War II, Arturo could not consult this source in person, although he was able to read some of its content in Tischer.⁷

Inviting the Capuchins to Bohemia⁸

By the late sixteenth century, Roman Catholics in the Kingdom of Bohemia had been a beleaguered minority for nearly 200 years, that is, since the Hussite Revolution. According to Howard Louthan, before the Thirty Years War almost ninety percent of the kingdom's inhabitants were outside the Roman Church. Surrounding the Catholics were Utraquists, the more moderate Hussites who demanded lay communion under both kinds (*sub utraque specie*), and who made up the majority of the region's population; the Bohemian Brethren, descendants of the more radical Hussites known as the Taborites; Lutherans; Calvinists; and Anabaptists.⁹ Of all these groups, only the Utraquists and Catholics were considered legitimate under the terms of the Peace of Kutná Hora of 1485.¹⁰

It was not until the sixteenth century, when the Habsburgs came to power in Bohemia, that serious steps were taken to restore Catholicism's former strength in the kingdom. Two were of particular importance. In 1555, Ferdinand I invited the Jesuits to Prague. Six arrived in the following year, and the college they established, the Klementinum, was soon to rival the famous Charles University, a long-time bastion of

⁷ For more on Arturo's limited access to and observations on this manuscript, see Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 48, 82-84.

⁸ For Bohemia's complex religious history during the early modern period, see, besides Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, James R. Palmitessa, 'The Uprising of 1611: Property, Politics, and Catholic Renewal in the Early Years of Habsburg Rule', *Central European History* 31/4 (1998), pp. 299-328; idem, 'The Reformation in Bohemia and Poland', in R. Hsia (ed.), *A Companion to the Reformation World* (Malden, MA, 2004), pp. 185-204.

⁹ Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, pp. 4-5; Palmitessa, 'The Prague Uprising of 1611', p. 301.

¹⁰ Idem, 'The Reformation in Bohemia and Poland', p. 191.

Utraquism.¹¹ Ferdinand also revived Prague's archiepiscopate. In 1561, he appointed Antonín Brus z Mohelnice (r.1561-1580) to the see, which had been vacant for well over a century. Brus attended the Council of Trent for part of its third, and final, period.¹² It is less known, however, that in 1575 – long before Berka – he tried to secure a Capuchin presence in Bohemia following a major turning point in Capuchin history.

In 1537, amid the dissension then raging between the Observant Franciscans and the adherents of the young Capuchin reform, Pope Paul III had decreed in the Brief *Dudum siquidem* that the Capuchins were to remain confined to Italy. It was not until 1574 that Gregory XIII, in his brief *Ex nostri pastoralis officii*, rescinded his predecessor's edict, making it possible for the Capuchins to expand beyond the Alps.¹³ Without delay, the friars made their way into war-torn France that year. They arrived in staunchly Catholic Spain in 1578. Three years later they were dispatched to the Swiss Confederation, where, as Cuthbert of Brighton observes, 'they were at once thrown into the very vortex of the Protestant struggle with Catholicism'. Despite their initial reluctance to expand into the Reich, where they feared the different customs and climate would prevent them from observing their Rule completely, they entered the Tyrol in 1593 and founded their first friary at Innsbruck. They arrived in Salzburg in 1594. Not too long after, in 1600, they also settled in Maximilian of Bavaria's capital, Munich.¹⁴ So, Brus's petition came in the

¹¹ Palmitessa, 'The Prague Uprising of 1611', p. 302; idem, 'The Reformation in Bohemia and Poland', p. 196; Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, pp. 84-86.

¹² For more on Brus, see Winfried Eberhard, 'Brus von Müglitz, Anton (Antonín Brus z Mohelnice) (1518-1580), in *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, 1448 bis 1648*, pp. 85-88.

¹³ Cuthbert, *The Capuchins*, vol. 1, pp. 114, 201.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 196-218; vol. 2, pp. 284-321. See also Melchiorre da Poblatura, 'Cappuccini', in G. Pelliccia and G. Rocca (eds.), *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione* (10 vols., Roma, 1974-2003), vol. 2, p. 204. For Cuthbert's observation on the Capuchins in the Swiss Confederation, see Cuthbert, *The Capuchins*, vol. 1, p. 214. For the Capuchins' initial reluctance to expand into the Reich, see Arturo, vol. 1, pp. 397-99. For the date of the Capuchins' arrival in Salzburg, over which there has been some confusion, see *ibid.*, pp. 406-07.

immediate wake of Gregory XIII's 1574 sanction of Capuchin expansion beyond Italy, allowing the Order to join the front line in the Church's struggle against heresy beyond the Alps.

In order to acquire Capuchins for Bohemia, Brus wrote to the cardinal-archbishop of Milan, Carlo Borromeo, on 4 September 1575, explaining that even with the Jesuits in Bohemia, it was not possible to remedy the horrible spiritual conditions that had overcome this formerly faithful Catholic kingdom where, he said dramatically, citing 1 Peter 5:8, the devil was now roaming like a roaring lion seeking to destroy souls. Knowing that there were plenty of Capuchins in Milan – in 1575, Borromeo was engaged in sending them to the Valtellina to combat heresy – Brus asked him to send six to Prague.¹⁵ We do not know if or how Borromeo responded, although Arturo suspects that if he did, he must have informed Brus that rather than asking him, he should instead make his request known to the superiors of the Capuchin Order.¹⁶ Either way, Brus failed to obtain a Capuchin presence in Bohemia this early.

Archbishop Berka, on the other hand, was more successful. Almost twenty-two years later, on 10 February 1597, he wrote directly to the Capuchin vicar general, Girolamo da Sorbo. After waxing nostalgic in the introduction over the days of old when Bohemia, as a Catholic land, enjoyed spiritual greatness – a state, he opined, that the kingdom lost with the advent of heresy and war – he expressed his desire to see the land's former piety restored and begin to flourish again. But more workers, he said, would be needed for such an undertaking. For this archbishop too the Jesuits were clearly not enough, and in order to

¹⁵ Ibid., vol. 4.1, pp. 103-04, doc. 92. For Borromeo and the Valtellina, see *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 451-52.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 454-55.

kindle zeal for the Catholic faith further and extirpate heresy, Berka made known to the general that he wanted to invite to Prague the Capuchins, who, he said, are known everywhere for their integrity, innocence of life, and great service to the Church. He requested that six or even five of them be dispatched. He stated that they would be under the protection of Emperor Rudolf II, who, he noted, likewise desired their presence in the imperial capital. The archbishop promised that they would be provided with a fitting place to live, which would include both a church and a garden. Lastly, knowing the Order included friars who were familiar with German, he informed the general he should send those who could preach and converse in that language.¹⁷

On the same day Berka also wrote to Giambattista Fenzoni, the *auditore* of Cardinal Ottavio Paravicini, who had previously served as apostolic nuncio in the Swiss Confederation (1587-1591) and would be entrusted with the protectorship of Germany by Rudolf II in 1605.¹⁸ Evidently, this was a man concerned about the Church's fortunes in German-speaking lands. The archbishop attached a copy of his letter to the vicar general to the one addressed to Fenzoni. He asked him to do what he could to expedite this process, for which he was hoping to gain the support of the cardinals.¹⁹ The archbishop's next letter to Fenzoni, of 21 April that year, makes it clear that he had already received a response from the latter. Here Berka expressed his gladness to have heard of the recent developments

¹⁷ Ibid., vol. 4.1, pp. 113-14, doc. 109.

¹⁸ For more on Paravicini, see Salvador Miranda, 'The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church', <http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1591.htm#Paravicini> (accessed 5 October 2013); L. Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' cardinali della santa Romana Chiesa* (9 tomes, Roma, 1792-97), t. 5, pp. 314-15, available online at http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=OXVU1 (accessed 5 October 2013); K. Eubel, G. van Gulik, et al., *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi sive Summorum Pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series* (9 vols., Monasterii-Patavii, 1898-2002), vol. 3, p. 60, available online at http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=OXVU1 (accessed 5 October 2013). For the dates of Paravicini's term as nuncio in the Swiss Confederation, see *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, 1448 bis 1648*, p. 860.

¹⁹ Arturo, vol. 4.1, pp. 114-15, doc. 110.

in Rome. Both Paravicini and Mariano Pierbenedetti, the cardinal of Camerino, from whom Berka had also received a letter, were favorable to the idea of dispatching some Capuchins to Prague. Furthermore, Girolamo da Sorbo was not in the Eternal City at the time, as he was conducting the visitation of the Order; so the archbishop's request was referred to the mission-minded Pope Clement VIII, from whom, Berka wrote, with the intercession of the two cardinals and Fenzoni, he expected an approbatory response.²⁰

Two weeks later, on 4 May, the archbishop followed up with three more letters, addressed to Fenzoni, Paravicini, and Pierbenedetti. Berka made clear in all three that he was aware that the pope had expressed concern over which church and place of residence in Prague had been designated for the Capuchins. While the archbishop could not yet write anything definite in response, he wanted the prelates to know that the apostolic nuncio in Prague believed there were several very fitting (*percommoda*) options. Berka proposed that perhaps one could be chosen at the nuncio's suggestion, with the assent of the emperor, or that the Capuchins themselves could select a place to their liking after their arrival. He then asked Paravicini and Pierbenedetti to continue to intercede on his behalf with Clement VIII and Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santorio, known as Santaseverina, the protector of the Capuchin Order. Lastly, Berka mentioned to all three men that he had now involved Melchior Klesl (1552-1630), the architect of Catholic renewal in Lower Austria, and the then administrator of Wiener Neustadt who was present in Rome on a diplomatic mission,

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 115-16, doc. 111. For more on Pierbenedetti, see Miranda, 'The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church', <http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1589.htm#Pierbenedetti> (accessed 17 April 2014); Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' cardinali della santa Romana Chiesa*, t. 5, pp. 303-06; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 3, pp. 58, 254; Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 23, pp. 42, 46. That Girolamo da Sorbo was away conducting the visitation of the Order is evident in LSP, f. 6. Clement VIII manifested his zeal for missionary activity by supporting missions among, for example, the Dutch, English, Scots, and Persians. In 1599, he centralised the Church's missionary activities in Rome, where he also established the Scots College in 1600. See Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 24, pp. 1-2, 7, 65-66, 246-49, 266-68.

in this matter. He had written to Klesl a few days earlier providing him with full details of the state of his archdiocese, which, he told the prelates, Klesl would be ready to explain to them.²¹

It was not until the Capuchins' next general chapter, convened in Rome two years later on 28 May 1599 that the question of sending friars to Bohemia was finally resolved. Cardinal Santaseverina, who presided over the meeting, conveyed the pope's command that the friars accept this new mission.²² This is what Lorenzo referred to in the opening lines of the *Commentariolum* when he wrote:

In the year 1599, after the Archbishop of Prague, Zbyněk Berka, had petitioned Clement VIII to have some friars of our Religion in his city, His Holiness, while our General Chapter was being celebrated at the aforesaid time in Rome, commanded the Father General that some friars be dispatched to that place to see if a seat could be founded for our Religion in that city, all full of heretics.²³

In light of this, Giambattista Fenzoni wrote to Archbishop Berka three weeks later, on 19 June, to let him know that a visitor would be departing from Rome that morning to examine the place designated for the Capuchins in Prague. Who the visitor was is not mentioned.²⁴ But, as Arturo notes, plans seem to have changed.²⁵ A few weeks later, on 7 July, Clement VIII's secretary of state Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini wrote to Berka, informing him that the Capuchins who had been selected to go to Prague were already readying themselves

²¹ Arturo, vol. 4.1, pp. 116-18, docs. 112-14. For more on Cardinal Santaseverina, see S. Ricci, *Il sommo inquisitore: Giulio Antonio Santorio tra autobiografia e storia (1532-1602)* (Roma, 2002); Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' cardinali della santa Romana Chiesa*, t. 5, pp. 128-131; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 3, p. 48. For more on Klesl, see Johann Weissensteiner, 'Klesl, Melchior (1552-1630)', in *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, 1448 bis 1648*, pp. 367-370.

²² Arturo, vol. 1, p. 459.

²³ Comm., f. 2r: 'Nell'anno 1599 havendo l'Arcivescovo di Praga Sbigneć Berka fatto istanza a Clemente ottavo per havere de frati della nostra Religione nella sua citta, mentre si celebrava il nostro Capitolo Generale nel sudetto tempo in Roma, fu da Sua Santita comandato al Padre Generale che fussero inviati alcuni frati a quella volta per vedere se in quella citta piena tutta d'heretici poteva fondarsi luoco per la nostra Religione'.

²⁴ Arturo, vol. 4.1, pp. 121-22, doc. 117.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 25.

for their journey (*iam iam se itineri accingunt*), over the course of which they were being entrusted to his, Berka's, care. And there were not a mere five or six of them; rather, there were twelve.²⁶ The Capuchins were clearly drawing on the symbolism of Christ's apostles, whom he commissioned in the New Testament to proclaim the Gospel to a world yet ignorant of it.

The Capuchin superiors at the general chapter elected Lorenzo commissary general of the Bohemian mission.²⁷ Lorenzo must have seemed well-qualified for this post. As he approached the age of forty in summer 1599, he had already completed his first term as definitor general, and was beginning his second; he had served as provincial in two of the Order's most significant Italian provinces; and he had twice been a guardian in the Veneto. The friars preparing for this mission full of challenges and danger needed a leader with extensive administrative experience. Additionally, as Arturo points out, he already had some familiarity with the customs and religio-political conditions beyond the Alps. It had been the Venetian province's responsibility initially to spread the Capuchin reform into the Reich; and during Lorenzo's term as provincial, he had to concern himself with the Capuchins' affairs in both the Tyrol and Salzburg.²⁸ Furthermore, given his preaching ministry to the Jews of Italy, he came to the Bohemian mission with a sense of how to reach out to those outside the Church, knowledge he could rely on for himself and pass on

²⁶ Ibid., vol. 4.1, pp. 122-23, doc. 120. The number twelve had also been significant for Franciscan missions earlier in the Cinquecento. In 1524, twelve Observant friars, the so-called 'Twelve Apostles', arrived in Mexico in order to convert the native peoples. For the context surrounding their mission and the apocalyptic beliefs fueling it, see J.L. Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2nd edn (Berkeley, 1970). For more on context as well as the names of the friars sent to Mexico, see R. Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain: 1523-1572* (Berkeley, 1982), pp. 21-22.

²⁷ LC, f. 1.

²⁸ Arturo, vol. 2, p. 26. His treatment of the Venetian province's involvement in the Tyrol can be seen in *ibid.*, pp. 396-413.

to the friars under his supervision. He also had a profound understanding of the Bible, enabling him to instruct and fortify Prague's Catholics in the 'true' interpretation of Scripture, and also to reason from it with the *sola-Scriptura*-believing heretics in order to lead them away from 'error'. And if need be, he was able to do that in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, as well as Latin.

The polyglot Capuchin brought an additional linguistic talent to the mission: he had a working knowledge of German. As we saw above, Lorenzo was elected provincial of the Swiss Confederation in September 1598, though he never actually served there. Arturo proposes cogently that this was because Lorenzo desired to deepen his knowledge of German before working among German-speaking people. The Capuchin vicar general had in fact recently established a German program in Naples for missionaries preparing to go to the Swiss Confederation and the Reich. It seems, as Arturo suggests, that Lorenzo might have traveled from Northern Italy to Naples for that very purpose toward the end of the year. He remained there studying German for several months until he had to depart for the general chapter in Rome the following May.²⁹ The timing was perfect. During Lorenzo's beatification investigations, some of the friars who had interacted with him in Central Europe remembered specifically that he spoke German.³⁰ But one person who attested to

²⁹ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 440-42. See also *ibid.*, vol. 4.1, p. 208, doc. 228, an extract from Clemente da Napoli's 'Breve notamento de tutti li frati Capucini...di Napoli' preserved at the Capuchin provincial archive in Naples. Here the author, writing during Lorenzo's generalate, recorded the following after speaking of Lorenzo's education in Venice: 'Ultimamente, l'anno 1598, dandosi alla lingua germana, fra spatio di sei mesi, o poco più, la pigliò sì bene, che mandato dal capitolo generale celebrato nell'anno 1599 per commissario generale in Baviera, dove l'imperatore [sic], ricevè luochi et predicò in germano'. Clearly Clemente did not record all the correct details about Lorenzo's mission, though he did have a better sense of his activities in Italy. And Clemente did not state specifically that Lorenzo began to dedicate himself to studying German in Naples in 1598, though it could be he expected that his readers in Naples would have taken it for granted that this is where Lorenzo had done it.

³⁰ Among these friars were, for example, Ambrogio da Firenze, one of the twelve during the first mission, and Adamo da Rovigo, one of Lorenzo's confreres in Munich during his second mission. See APVen, part 1, f. 186r; part 2, f. 212r.

his knowledge of it rather earlier was Filippo Spinelli, the apostolic nuncio in Prague during Lorenzo's first mission. In June 1601, while writing to Cardinal Aldobrandini in Rome, Spinelli reported that by that time the Capuchin had learned enough German to be able to communicate effectively with the heretics.³¹ Lorenzo was probably not a German expert, although he clearly did have the skills to converse with others and preach about spiritual matters, which is exactly what Archbishop Berka had wanted.

According to the 'Liber seu protocollum', Lorenzo's twelve companions were chosen by the new vicar general of the Capuchin Order, Girolamo da Castelferretti.³² Five of them had experience preaching, and three of them were or had been lecturers of theology. They were Francesco da Taranto, who had served as guardian in Taranto in 1596 and was functioning as lecturer of theology in the Venetian province in 1599; Mariano d'Alcamo, who had been provincial of Palermo from 1591 to 1594; Ambrogio da Urbino, who came to the mission having served as lecturer of theology and twice guardian in the Marche, in addition to having experience writing against Lutheranism; Vittorio da Vicoli, who came from the province of Tuscany and had also been a lecturer of theology; and Francesco d'Ascoli Piceno, who had also served as a guardian in the Marche. Joining them was Ambrogio da Firenze, Lorenzo's trusted secretary and confessor during his Venetian provincialate; the young Beltrame da Udine, who would serve with Lorenzo at Székesfehérvár in 1601; Gabriel of Innsbruck, an *alumnus* of the Capuchins' Swiss province who could speak German; and Angel of Neumarkt, another German speaker, who

³¹ ASV, FB, I, 651 A, f. 84r: '...Havendo hormai assai sufficientemente appresa la lingua germana, potrà con speranza d'acquisti grandi, et certissimi, così esser inteso dagli Heretici...' For more on Spinelli, see Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 4, p. 7; Evans, *Rudolf II* (London, 1997), pp. 46, 68-69.

³² For Girolamo da Castelferretti's election as vicar general in May 1599, see Tabula, f. 59. For his role in selecting the twelve, LSP, f. 11.

came from the Tyrol. Lastly, there were three lay brothers: Giulio da Venezia, who was born on the Giudecca and came to the mission trained as a builder, making him qualified to supervise the construction of friaries; Angelo da Fano; and Giulio da Cividale del Friuli.³³ As Cassian von Oberleutasch observes in his 1950 study on Capuchin history in Austria, the twelve came primarily from the provinces of Venice and Ancona, those, respectively, of Lorenzo himself and the vicar general, Girolamo da Castelferretti.³⁴ Besides the new vicar general, then, Lorenzo may also have had some say in their selection. Thus, as a whole, the twelve were bringing to Bohemia not only their Capuchin tradition esteemed by Berka but also administrative experience and skills in preaching, teaching, writing against heresy, and constructing friaries, all of which were crucial for the mission. Berka's preference for friars who spoke German, however, was not fully satisfied.

In light of the decision in July 1599 to send the Capuchins to Bohemia immediately, those selected for the mission were ordered to rendezvous with Lorenzo in Venice.³⁵ The chronicles do not establish the exact date on which the friars departed from there – on foot of course – although Arturo suggests it may have been toward the end of July or beginning of August.³⁶ Following Lorenzo, wielding a walking stick topped by a cross, they made their way in the blistering summer heat first to Innsbruck in the Tyrol, no doubt stopping there briefly at the Capuchin friary. They then set out for Vienna, where they arrived toward the end of August. Their next destination was Prague itself. But Bohemia was suffering

³³ Lists of the twelve are recorded in the chronicles in Vienna and Prague: LC, f. 1; *Annales*, part 1, ff. 2-3; LSP, f. 12. For insightful corrections and clarifications, as well as information about other friars, such as the above-mentioned Benedetto da Urbino, who supposedly traveled north with Lorenzo but actually did not, see Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 26-27, 653-670; 'De rebus Austriae et Bohemiae commentariolum', *AOMC* 26, pp. 154-57.

³⁴ Cassian von Oberleutasch, 'Die Kapuziner in Österreich', *CF* 20 (1950), p. 264.

³⁵ LC, f. 1; *Annales*, part 1, f. 3; LSP, f. 13.

³⁶ Arturo, vol. 2, p. 28.

from an outbreak of the plague. It would in fact be only a matter of days before Rudolf II himself and his court fled the capital in order to settle temporarily in Pilsen. The Capuchins decided to stay in Vienna.³⁷

For most of their time in Vienna, the friars, with the permission of Archduke Matthias, then governor of Lower Austria, lodged at the church of St Ulrich outside the *Innendstadt*. This authorization, the chronicles note, had been acquired through the intercession of Berka's colleague Melchior Klesl, who had been nominated bishop of Vienna the year before, and the Benedictine abbot of St Ulrich's. The month or so they spent there was passed, as the 'Liber capitularis' puts it, 'in magna paupertate, et rerum penuria'. Ten of the Capuchins, including Lorenzo, fell gravely ill, though no one died.³⁸ The 'Liber seu protocollum' identifies their arduous journey and the harsher climate they now faced as the sources of their sickness.³⁹ By early November, as winter was fast approaching, Lorenzo, who had by now recuperated, was anxious for the friars to complete their journey. Several were still ill, and would for now have to be left behind in Vienna. As Arturo states, however, this was the time when Lorenzo would have had an audience with Matthias to thank him for his hospitality and take leave of him. Arturo suspected that it was at that meeting that the archduke asked Lorenzo, possibly at the suggestion of Klesl, for some Capuchins to remain in Vienna to found a new friary. The commissary agreed, as

³⁷ LC f. 1; Annales, part 1, f. 3; LSP, f. 13; Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 27-33. Years later, in 1625, Ambrogio da Firenze reported that they had reached the city on 28 August: APVen, part 1, f. 186v. He did not explain how, after so many years, he was able to remember that date so precisely. For more on Lorenzo's cross-topped *bastone* that he brought to the Reich and used on all his other journeys, see Filippo da Soragna's testimony in APNap, f. 117r.

³⁸ LC, f. 1; Annales, part 1, f. 3; LSP, f. 13; APVen, part 1, f. 186v; Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 33-35.

³⁹ LSP, f. 13.

we shall see, and it seems that four of the friars left behind initially were ultimately intended for that purpose while the others made their way to Prague at a later date.⁴⁰

Lorenzo and four of his confreres set out for Prague after the octave of the Feast of All Saints. They arrived late in the evening on Saturday 13 November.⁴¹ Upon entering the city, they made their way to the archbishop's palace at the Hrad any, where Berka received them warmly.⁴² However, not everyone was happy to see them. In the *Commentariolum*, Lorenzo described how the populace treated them during their earliest days in Prague. He wrote:

But since Religious with such clothing had no longer been seen in that city, wherever they went the crowd of people to look upon this new thing was very great. To the heretics, it appeared that they were seeing monstrous men, therefore they laughed at and mocked our friars without end, and they nicknamed them *Bosacci*, which in that language means 'barefoot'. There was no lack of those who would go behind the friars to pull down their hoods and commit other acts of disrespect. The absence of Emperor Rudolf II emboldened them...⁴³

⁴⁰ Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 36-37. That four of the eight Capuchins initially destined for Prague remained in Vienna due to poor health is evident in Berka's letters of 14 November to Klesl and Ottavio Cavriani, one of Archduke Matthias's ministers, and of 17 November to Rudolf II's secretary Johann Barvitius. All were penned immediately after Lorenzo's arrival in Prague on 13 November. See *ibid.*, vol. 4.1, pp. 127-28, docs. 128-130. These four had arrived in Prague by February 1600, as is apparent in Berka's letters of 28 and 29 February addressed to, respectively, Rudolf II and his minister Paul Sixt Trautson. Berka mentioned to both recipients that eight of the twelve friars were in the capital. See *ibid.*, pp. 133-34, docs. 138, 139. He provided no indication as to when exactly the four arrived, although Arturo believed it would have been before the serious winter weather began: *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 37, n. 44. That four other friars stayed in Vienna long-term, presumably for the eventual foundation of a friary, is apparent in the same February letters.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 4.1, pp. 127-28, docs. 128, 130; LC, f. 1; Annales, part 1, f. 4; LSP, f. 16; APVen, part 1, f. 187r. In Arturo, vol. 4.1, doc. 128, Berka informed Klesl that four (*vir*) Capuchins had arrived in Prague on 13 November. I believe this is a reference to four of the twelve rather than three of the twelve plus Lorenzo. In his later letters, namely the above-cited letters of 28 and 29 February 1600 to Rudolf and Trautson, Berka spoke only of twelve (*zwelf*) Capuchins, eight being in Prague; the other four, Vienna. See Arturo, vol. 4.1, docs. 138, 139. Lorenzo was of course there too, though it does not appear that Berka was accustomed to counting him among the total. Arturo, who writes of Lorenzo arriving in Prague 'con i quattro confratelli più robusti e gagliardi', was apparently of the same opinion: Arturo, vol. 2, p. 37.

⁴² *Ibid.*, vol. 4.1, pp. 128-130, docs. 130, 132; Comm., f. 2r; APVen, f. 187r; LC, f. 1; LSP, ff. 16-17.

⁴³ Comm., f. 2r: 'Ma non essendo piu in quella citta stati veduti Religiosi con tal habito, per dovunque andavano era grandissimo il concorso della gente per vedere tal novita a gl'heretici pareva di vedere huomini mostruosi pero le risate, e le beffe che si facevano de nostri frati erano senza fine, e posero loro nome Bosacci ch'in quella lingua vuol dire discalzi. Non manco chi andasse dietro a frati a tirarli il capuccio e far loro altre insolenze, al che dava loro animo l'absenza dell'Imperatore Rudolfo secondo...' For Lorenzo's mention – an accurate one – of there being no other religious in Prague with such a habit, it was not until 1603 that there was any other kind of Franciscan presence in the city. See Palmitessa, 'The



Figure 13: The present archiepiscopal palace in Prague, Hradany Square

The Capuchins came to Prague wearing coarse, shabby, patched habits with their characteristic pointed hoods. They were barefoot and would have had beards.⁴⁴ These sons of St Francis considered their appearance a testimony of their commitment to Lady Poverty; to people such as Berka, it was evidence of the apostolic lifestyle that made them so renowned among Roman Catholics. But for Prague's heretics, it was clearly a reason for mockery.

The Capuchins had worse troubles to cope with than being mocked, though. According to Ambrogio da Firenze, the friars faced serious violence at the hands of the city's non-Catholics. Every day they went out, he said, they returned home wounded from stones being thrown at them, and with wounds to their heads. This was definitely the case

Prague Uprising of 1611', p. 316. Lorenzo's 'Bosacci' is his attempt to reproduce in Italian the Czech *Bosáci*, meaning 'barefooted men'.

⁴⁴ For the regulations on the friars' habit, footwear (or lack thereof), and beards in the *Constitutions* of 1536, see Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini*, vol. 1, pp. 284-87, 289, 292.

for Lorenzo, whom, Ambrogio recalled, the heretics also threw to the ground many times.⁴⁵ One incident in particular was reported by Ambrogio. As Lorenzo and some of the other friars were returning after visiting the house of the Catholic noblewoman Maria von Pernstein – who is said to have brought the famous Infant of Prague to Bohemia from Spain – where Lorenzo had been invited to ‘enlighten’ a gathering of heretical baronesses about the ‘true faith’, while crossing the Charles Bridge, a gang of five or six non-Catholics came upon the Capuchins and assaulted them. They grabbed Lorenzo by the beard, pulled him to the ground, and began kicking him. They did the same to the others, fleeing only when they saw two of the friars’ armed coreligionists running to the scene.⁴⁶ And the friars in Vienna fared no better. Ambrogio recalled Lorenzo receiving a letter from them just before Lent 1600 in which they reported that during the night the heretics were firing gunshots through their windows. One evening, while they were studying German together, the lay brother Giulio da Venezia was almost shot through the head.⁴⁷ Being in these areas of the

⁴⁵ APVen, part 1, f. 187v: ‘...Ogni giorno, quando si andava fuori, si tornava a casa con molte sassate, et molte volte con le teste rotte, et anco alla persona sua [Lorenzo] più volte dalli Heretici fu rotta la testa, et fu da loro butato a terra’.

⁴⁶ Ibid., ff. 187v-188r: ‘Una volta fra le altre passando il santo per andare dalla Signora Donna Maria di Prenestain, la quale havea fatto andare da lei alcune Baronesse Heretiche, accioche il Padre [Lorenzo] s’illuminasse alla vera fede come faceva continuamente, et con Baroni, et con altri secondo se gli appresentavano l’occasione, fossimo in mezo del ponte incontrati da alcuni Boemi al numero di cinque, o sei, che pigliando il Padre per la barba un di loro lo tirò in terra, et poi cominciò a dargli dei piedi adosso, come fecero degli altri. Un’altro mi prese per il capuccio per fare il simile a me, ma perche ero un poco più gagliardo non puote far niente, solo mi aiutavo con dirli qualche parola, accio volessero lasciar stare il povero Padre. In quel che eravamo in questi frangenti per l’altra parte del ponte comparve un nipote del Nontio Spinelli, che andava con due servitori alle schole de Padri Giesuiti. Uno de servitori cominciò Signore Giovanni Battista ammazzano il Padre, et mettendosi a correre, mettendo mano alle spade i doi servitori, de quali non so’ il nome i Boemi scaporno et cosi uscissimo da quel pericolo’. For Maria Manrique de Lara von Pernstein, wife of the former Bohemian high chancellor and Catholic convert Vratislav Pernstein, and her supposed role in bringing the Infant Jesus (*Jezulátko*) to Prague, see Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, pp. 55, 60-61.

⁴⁷ APVen, part 1, f. 188r: ‘Circa il Carnevale venne al Padre una lettera da Vienna, che quei poveri, che erano restati, erano molto travagliati, et angustiati perche da certe finestre in su le due, o tre hore di notte gli venissero sbarate delle archibuggiate, et una sera fra le altre erano tutti i frati lì a un tavolino di questi tondi, che studiavano todesco, venne un archibuggiata, et se Dio non havesse fatto levar su suibito fra Giulio da Venetia, li passava la testa da banda a banda’.

Reich so full of confessional strife, the Capuchins with their presence sometimes quite literally put their lives on the line.

Initially, the friars in Prague stayed with the archbishop. Shortly after their arrival, Lorenzo was shown the places that Berka thought might be suitable for them. However, it was the commissary's judgment that they were simply not harmonious with the Capuchin Rule. Given this problem and the fact that the winter would prevent the immediate construction of a friary, the archbishop decided to give them provisional lodging until after the emperor's return from Pilsen, when the matter could be resolved. Berka, who, as archbishop of Prague, was grandmaster of the Bohemian Order of the Crusaders with a Red Star, offered the friars residence at that Order's hospital of St Francis near the Charles Bridge.⁴⁸ This is where the Capuchins spent the winter, one characterised by shockingly cold weather, the continuing menace of the plague, and the omnipresent threat of the heretics, especially once the friars began officiating at the hospital's church and the outspoken Lorenzo began to preach.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Arturo, vol. 4.1, p. 128, 130, docs. 130, 132; LSP, f. 18. For the various regulations pertaining to Capuchin friaries that Lorenzo would have kept in mind while examining these places, see Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini*, vol. 1, pp. 343-353. For more on the Bohemian-founded Order of Crusaders with a Red Star, see Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, pp. 221-22.

⁴⁹ Comm., f. 2v: 'Furno i frati posti dall' Arcivescovo in un suo hospitale al piede de ponte di Praga vecchia dove stettero tutta l' invernata. Patirno molti disagi per non essere per anco conosciuti fu grandissimo il patimento del freddo che fu quell' anno rigorosissimo. Non manco pero loro mai la providenza del Signore, massime in guardarli dalla peste che faceva non picciola strage. E trattando i frati liberamente, e conversando con tutti non hebbero mai un minimo male. Entro la peste nell' hospitale e morse di tal male un figliuolo del governatore di esso hospitale che soleva essere quasi sempre con i frati senza alcun danno loro. Si posero i frati a officiare la chiesa di detto hospitale, e fra Lorenzo da Brindisi predicava qui in lingua italiana, e tutto che alle messe, et alle prediche concorresse gran gente, non vi corse pericolo nissuno'.

Founding the Friaries

a) Prague

The quest to find the Capuchins a place to live in Prague resumed early in 1600. On 26 January, Berka wrote to Emperor Rudolf's trusted secretary Johann Barvitijs in Pilsen in order to apprise him of the situation. After explaining that Lorenzo had been dissatisfied with the monasteries originally shown to him, the archbishop related that the friars had now found an acceptable site in the city's Malá Strana, or 'Little Quarter', below Strahov Hill, near Vlašská ulice, the so-called 'Italian Street'.⁵⁰ The Malá Strana, as 'Italian Street' might imply, was home to the city's substantial Italian community. It was made up largely of Lombard architects, masons, and their families, with these builders being employed by the emperor to enlarge and renovate Prague Castle.⁵¹ Lorenzo presumably found this site acceptable because it did meet Capuchin standards of poverty. But the prospects of living in an Italian-speaking community with fellow Catholics likely to be sympathetic to friars who begged for alms – as opposed to a Czech or German-speaking with a population who generally detested them – must have been enticing as well. Berka concluded his letter by asking Barvitijs to intercede before the emperor in the hopes of gaining his approval and aid, so that the Capuchins could acquire this particular site.⁵²

As the middle of February approached, Berka had received no response from Pilsen. He took up the pen again on 12 February, writing with more urgency this time. The

⁵⁰ Arturo, vol. 4.1, p. 131, doc. 135. Berka did not mention that the site was below Strahov Hill in this German letter to Barvitijs, but rather in a Latin one penned a few weeks later on 12 February 1600. See *ibid.*, p. 132, doc. 136.

⁵¹ For more on the Italian community in Prague, see Marilyn S. Clark, 'The Community of Italian Building Masons in Prague, 1535-1720', *Mediterranean Studies* 8 (1999), pp. 165-173.

⁵² Arturo, vol. 4.1, p. 131, doc. 135.

Capuchins, he informed Barvitiu, were now pressing him daily for the site's purchase. Having entered their fourth month in Prague – still with no friary – they were, he said, beginning to lose their patience. In fact, the audacious Lorenzo had threatened the prelate with their departure. Berka was given an ultimatum: he had eight days to provide them with a definitive answer regarding the site, or they would leave. Berka, wanting to prevent scandal after all the work it had taken to get the Capuchins to Prague, and not being entirely sure how to proceed, entreated Barvitiu for guidance and to speak with the emperor so that the issue could be resolved.⁵³ The secretary responded briefly on 18 February. As a Catholic, he was very glad that the Capuchins were in Prague; but the emperor, he said, had much on his mind that would have to be addressed upon his return to the capital. Until then, Barvitiu advised the Capuchins to wait patiently – patience being something their Order professed to have in the face of difficult circumstances.⁵⁴ This was definitely not the response – or the admonishment – that the archbishop and the Capuchins wanted. Nevertheless, as R.J.W. Evans reminds us, Rudolf's court was notorious for delays;⁵⁵ and surely Berka had enough foresight to know, even toward the end of January, that this process of getting the emperor's approval for the friary could become protracted regardless of his or the Capuchins' wishes. Thus began another round of waiting.

As the weeks passed with Rudolf still residing in Pilsen because of the plague, Berka decided to continue petitioning the imperial authorities to act in the matter of the Capuchins. He wrote first to the emperor himself on 28 February. After suggesting to

⁵³ Ibid., p. 132, doc. 136.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 133, doc. 137: 'Multa Caesar praeclara cum meditat, tum statuit, quorum exsecutio in reditu aulae Pragensem differatur. Eum si et ipsi patres patienter expectant, rem sua Religione, quae peculiarem in omnibus duris et asperis patientiam profitetur, dignam praestiterint, quorum precibus nostros commendari labores vehementer opto'.

⁵⁵ Evans, *Rudolf II*, p. 52.

Rudolf that – should the Capuchins be able to settle successfully in Prague – he would enjoy the same great fame as his praiseworthy predecessor Emperor Ferdinand who introduced the Jesuits into Bohemia, he pleaded with him to send some commissioners to the capital who could arrange for the purchase of the desired property.⁵⁶ The next day, 29 February, he wrote to another of Rudolf’s ministers, Paul Sixt Trautson. Having explained the matter at hand, the archbishop alerted Trautson that if construction on the Capuchins’ friary did not begin that Lent, then they would leave.⁵⁷ Apparently this was Lorenzo’s new deadline. A few days later, on 2 March, Berka again wrote to Barvitiu.⁵⁸ He received no response. Apparently the emperor did not find being likened to Ferdinand I enticing enough to make the immediate decision longed for by Berka and the Capuchins.

By the end of that month, the situation had changed. On 29 March, the archbishop wrote to Barvitiu informing him that the Capuchins had now decided against the site in the Malá Strana after learning that the owners estimated it would cost 14,000 *Thaler*, which the friars deemed far too expensive. They therefore turned their attention to the Hrad any, where the noble widow Margaretha Lobkovic, a member of the staunchly Catholic Lobkovic family that played a significant role in Catholic renewal in Bohemia, was willing to offer them a piece of her land, which just happened to be in the same neighbourhood as Barvitiu’s house. Berka was eager to hear the secretary’s opinion on this recent development; but he was especially concerned to know if Rudolf approved. If there were no foreseeable problems, the archbishop wrote, the Capuchins wanted to begin constructing

⁵⁶ Arturo, vol. 4.1, pp. 133-34, doc. 138.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 134-45, doc. 139. For more on Trautson, whom Rudolf would banish from court later that year, see Evans, *Rudolf II*, pp. 71-72.

⁵⁸ Arturo, vol. 4.1, p. 135, doc. 140.

the friary immediately after Easter.⁵⁹ Barvitiu s replied almost two weeks later, on 9 April. He stated that the supreme chancellor, Zden k Vojt ch Lobkovic, had written to him about this issue as well. As for his own feelings on the Capuchins' possible residence near his house, he expressed delight at the idea. But with regard to the emperor's reaction, all he could relate was this: His Majesty would prefer that they build a little farther away, toward Strahov Monastery. A more certain response, Barvitiu s noted, could be expected after the court's return to the capital.⁶⁰ There was no additional clarification, though rumor had it, according to the nuncio Spinelli's letter of 29 May to Rome, that what troubled Rudolf about the Capuchins' desired location was how close it was to his gardens.⁶¹ Maybe Rudolf had in fact been concerned about the fate of his roses and rhododendrons at the Hrad any; but perhaps all this stalling should instead be read as a demonstration of his aulic Catholicism. He, the emperor, the majesty and sovereign in Bohemia, was not going to be rushed for the sake of foreign emissaries of the papacy; rather, he was going to make his decision regarding affairs in his realm when he was good and ready to do so. Berka surely cringed as he read Barvitiu s's letter. No one really knew when the court would return, and now he would have to alert Lorenzo that there would again be additional delay.

Berka sent another agitated letter to Barvitiu s a little over a week later, on 19 April. The Capuchins, he reported, were growing very impatient and continued to threaten to leave despite his requests and exhortations to stay. Hoping that it would spur the emperor

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 136, doc. 141. Berka did not mention Frau Lobkovic's forename in this letter, though he did in his letter of 1 May to Rudolf II, written on the still unresolved matter of the friary. See *ibid.*, p. 139, doc. 145. For more on the Lobkovic family and their involvement in Catholic renewal in Bohemia, see Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, pp. 48, 60, 64-65; Evans, *Rudolf II*, pp. 34, 65.

⁶⁰ Arturo, vol. 4.1, pp. 136-37, doc. 142. For more on Zden k Lobkovic, see Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, p. 55; Evans, *Rudolf II*, pp. 40-41, 68-70, 286-88.

⁶¹ ASV, FB, III, 87 D, f. 38v.

into making an immediate decision, the archbishop reminded Barvitius that if the friars were to in fact depart, it would not only be humiliating for him as archbishop, but also to the imperial court and all of Bohemia. Perhaps he had been using a similar line of argument with the Capuchins, warning them that their departure could somehow hurt the cause of Catholicism in Prague and give the heretics another reason to ridicule Holy Mother Church. For Lorenzo, who would not have been particularly concerned about the reputation of individuals and kingdoms, that might have made a difference to his plans. And as Berka neared the end of his letter to Barvitius, he urged him to bring this matter to Rudolf's attention again so that he, Berka, might know how to proceed.⁶² But silence was again the response from Pilsen.

On 1 May, Berka once more found himself constrained to write to Barvitius. The Capuchins, he stated, who had now been in Prague eight months – it was actually the beginning of their seventh month – were growing weary with the lack of serious action taken to build their friary. Some of them, led presumably by Lorenzo, had presented themselves again before the archbishop that very day, expressing their desire to depart. He, together with Chancellor Lobkovic and the captain of Prague Castle, he said, pleaded with them and barely succeeded in convincing them to wait just a little longer, until a response to this new letter was received. Berka again emphasised the scandal the Capuchins' departure would cause, and asked Barvitius to do all he could to ensure the emperor's long-coveted response was this time a definite approval.⁶³ That same day Berka also wrote to Rudolf himself, reminding him of all that had transpired thus far with the Capuchins, who

⁶² Arturo, vol. 4.1, p. 137, doc. 143.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 138, doc. 144.

wanted to leave. He implored the emperor to give his approval for them to take possession of the site in the Hradany district, which would prevent their departure and the embarrassment and harm to the Catholic religion that would follow.⁶⁴ A week later, on 8 May, these letters were followed by another, with individual copies addressed to Barvitiu and Trautson. The archbishop asked both men to do all they could to help promote the Capuchins' cause and to remind His Majesty of it, lest the Capuchins leave.⁶⁵

The apprehensive Berka and the frustrated Capuchins finally got the response they were longing for. On Thursday, 18 May, the archbishop wrote another letter to Barvitiu, informing him that he had now received a reply from the emperor, who had finally granted permission for the friary to be built at the desired location. Berka reported that upon hearing this, he purchased the site readily, though he did not indicate how much he had to pay. And the Capuchins, he said, were pleased to hear the good news and anxious to begin construction as soon as possible. The archbishop did not provide any detail about when he had received word of Rudolf's decision; all he related to Barvitiu is that it was 'some days before' (*ante aliquos dies accepi*).⁶⁶ Even so, it is evident from a letter of 13 May addressed to Spinelli by his contact in Pilsen, Severo Turinozzi, that the site had been delegated (*esser già stato deputato quello*) to the Capuchins by that date.⁶⁷ The emperor, therefore, made his long-awaited decision at some point within the first two weeks of May.

Without delay, on Tuesday 23 May 1600, the third day of Pentecost, the Capuchins celebrated their Order's customary ceremony of planting a large mission cross at the site

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 139, doc. 145.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 140, doc. 146.

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 140-41, doc. 148.

⁶⁷ ASV, FB, III, 87 D, f. 15v.

of their future friary and church. That morning a great procession made its way there from St Vitus Cathedral. Leading it were of course the Capuchins, who were bearing the cross on their shoulders. Following them were the Prague clergy, the foreign ambassadors in the city, and the barons and chief ministers of the Kingdom of Bohemia. Once the procession reached its destination not far from the Castle, the friars erected the cross, which was then blessed by Berka, who also laid the church's foundation stone. A Mass was said by Spinelli under a pavilion set up especially for this occasion. And watching the entire spectacle was a large crowd of people, many of whom were non-Catholics.⁶⁸ Lorenzo described the scene succinctly in the *Commentariolum*:

After the site for the building of the monastery had been obtained from the Archbishop in a good place secluded from the built-up quarter of the city, but not far from the court, on the second day of Pentecost the cross was planted with a very solemn procession. A crowd of people was present who did not remember such a thing in Prague; and although almost all of the people there were heretics, the chief enemies of the cross of Christ and the Catholic Religion, still no act of disrespect was committed.⁶⁹

Like the great future processions and ceremonies associated with the translation of the relics of St Norbert of Xanten, the founder of the Premonstratensian Order, to Strahov Monastery in 1627,⁷⁰ the founding of the first Capuchin house in Bohemia in 1600 was a momentous event for Catholic renewal in the kingdom as well as the Capuchin Order. With

⁶⁸ This is evident in Berka's letter of 24 May to Barvitius, Spinelli's of 29 May to Rome, and Florentine ambassador Cosma Concino's of 29 May to Florence. See, respectively, Arturo, vol. 4.1, p. 142, doc. 150; ASVat, FB, III, 87 D, ff. 38rv; ASFir, Med., 4356, ff. 245v, 247r. See also LC, ff. 1-2; Annales, part 1, f. 5; LSP, f. 34.

⁶⁹ Comm., f. 2v: 'L'anno seguente 1600, havendosi havuto dall'Arcivescovo il sito per fabricare il monasterio in un buon posto segregato dall'habitato ne pero lontano dalla corte, fu la seconda festa di Penthecoste piantata la croce con processione molto solenne con un concorso di gente che non si ricordava tal cosa a Praga; e se bene poco meno che tutti erano heretici nemici capitali della croce di Christo e della Religion catholica, non fu pero fatta insolenza nissuna'. Lorenzo was mistaken about the ceremony taking place on the 'second' day of Pentecost; Tuesday 23 May was in fact the 'third' day. Besides Lorenzo, the Florentine ambassador Concino also noted that the heretics watched the ceremony without causing a ruckus (*senza alcuno strepito*): ASFir, Med., 4356, f. 245v.

⁷⁰ Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, pp. 34-46.

its rich symbolism and rituals so strange to many of Prague's citizens, it had clearly captured people's attention and aroused their curiosity. As Benjamin Kaplan explains, such public processions often served as flashpoints for religious violence in early modern Europe – precisely what Lorenzo meant when he said 'act of disrespect'. That there were in fact no outbursts on this particular occasion is presumably because the Capuchin procession had not passed through any of the 'religious boundaries' described by Kaplan as being present in divided Christian communities of the time – that is, into a predominantly heretical district of Prague – but remained within 'Catholic space' in the city.⁷¹ The Hrad any was, after all, home to the Catholic emperor, the Catholic archbishop, and Catholic officials such as Barvitijs, as well as the location of the Catholic cathedral. With the non-Catholics' attendance at this event, these, as Lorenzo put it so scornfully, the 'chief enemies of the cross of Christ' – the very cross signified by the one carried and displayed by the Capuchins – were receiving new exposure to the Catholic faith. The missionaries would certainly have hoped that some of them may have left the ceremony seeing Roman Catholicism, with its powerful visuals, as a potentially intriguing alternative to their own religious traditions.

That June, after the ceremony, both Berka and Spinelli related in their correspondence that construction of the friary, intended for twenty-four Capuchins, was progressing. The archbishop expected that the work might even be completed that summer.⁷² The church was eventually finished by 1602 when, on Sunday 16 June, Berka consecrated it and the high altar. The church was dedicated to St Mary of the Angels (*Panny*

⁷¹ Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, pp. 73-86, 144-171.

⁷² Arturo, vol. 4.1, p. 144, doc. 154; ASVat, FB, III, 87 D, f. 73v.



Figure 14: Exterior of St Mary of the Angels and the present Capuchin friary, Loreta Square, Prague



Figure 15: Interior of St Mary of the Angels

Marie And lské),⁷³ just like the church in Venice that had been so important to Lorenzo since his adolescence. He was presumably the inspiration behind its name, though he was not in Prague for its consecration as he had just been elected vicar general. The friary at the Giudecca had been Lorenzo's 'spiritual cradle'; the friary in Prague would serve as a base from which he and his coreligionists could wage 'spiritual war' on heresy, as we shall see. But it has faced threats to its existence even from its earliest days. In the autumn of 1600, after Rudolf II had returned to Prague, the Capuchins found themselves in a precarious situation: the emperor was threatening them with expulsion from Bohemia, apparently at the instigation of his Calvinist *Kammerdiener* Hieronymus Makofsky and the astronomer Tycho Brahe, who was then residing in Prague and had supposedly led Rudolf to believe that the friars were plotting to kill him. But that crisis blew over in 1601, and the Capuchins were permitted to stay.⁷⁴ The friary escaped Joseph II's *Klostersturm* in the eighteenth century, but was not so fortunate during the twentieth, when it was confiscated by both the Nazis, who used it as a barracks and a prison for deserters, and the communists. The friars were able to return only in 1991.⁷⁵

⁷³ NA, RK Inv. No. 6, available online at http://lehre.hki.uni-koeln.de/monasterium/img/CZ-NA-I/RK/NA-RK_16020616_00006_r.jpg (accessed 20 October 2013); LSP, f. 35. The LC contradicts the first document cited here, a memorandum from Berka himself, preserved at the NA in Prague, which attests to the church's consecration on 16 June 1602. The LC claims that the ceremony was on 7 July 1601, with no indication as to why: LC, f. 5. This is clearly one occasion where it is inaccurate.

⁷⁴ For more on this episode, see Comm., ff. 4rv; Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 57, 71-107; Evans, *Rudolf II*, p. 90.

⁷⁵ Pacific Mir Mat jka, *Nicht durch Schwert und ein gespickter Beutel, sondern durch Wehrlosigkeit der Liebe: 400 Jahre Kapuziner in Bohmen und Mahren* (Velehrad-Roma, 1999), p. 74. I was able to access this text at the KPK.

b) Vienna⁷⁶

After the ceremony, Lorenzo left Prague for Vienna. This city, Elaine Fulton states, had been infiltrated by Lutheranism since the 1520s.⁷⁷ By the late sixteenth century, Karl Vocelka writes, many of its citizens – with the exact number being a matter of debate – remained outside the Roman Church.⁷⁸ As in Prague, attempts to restore Catholicism and extirpate heresy in Vienna had been made in the sixteenth century. As he would later do for Prague, Ferdinand I had invited the Jesuits to Vienna in 1551, where they established a college. In 1578, Rudolf II and Matthias's brother, Archduke Ernst, who was the then governor of Lower Austria, ordered that the Lutheran church in Vienna be closed together with the Lutherans' school and bookshop. He also expelled their preacher Josua Opitz from the city.⁷⁹ And a few years after the Capuchins' arrival, Klesl, in 1603, launched the so-called 'Klosteroffensive', which resulted in a significant increase in the number of the city's monasteries – built for members of orders such as the Dominicans, Carmelites, and Barnabites – during the first four decades of the seventeenth century. The Capuchins' second friary in Vienna, constructed within the *Innenstadt* between 1622 and 1632, and home to the Provinzarchiv and famous *Kaisergruft*, was a product of this programme.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ For the Counter-Reformation in Austria, and particularly Lower Austria and Styria, the regions of interest for this study, see Karl Vocelka, 'The Counter-Reformation and Popular Piety in Vienna – A Case Study', in C.S. Dixon, D. Freist, M. Greengrass (eds.), *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe* (Burlington, VT, 2009), pp. 127-137; E. Fulton, *Catholic Belief and Survival in Late Sixteenth-century Vienna: the Case of Georg Eder (1523-87)* (Burlington, VT, 2007); R. Pörtner, *The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe: Styria, 1580-1630* (Oxford, 2001); E. Tomek, *Kirchengeschichte Österreichs* (3 vols., Innsbruck, 1935-1959), vol. 2.

⁷⁷ Fulton, *Catholic Belief and Survival in Late Sixteenth-century Vienna*, p. 23.

⁷⁸ Vocelka, 'The Counter-Reformation and Popular Piety in Vienna – A Case Study', p. 127.

⁷⁹ Fulton, *Catholic Belief and Survival in Late Sixteenth-century Vienna*, pp. 32-34; Vocelka, 'The Counter-Reformation and Popular Piety in Vienna – A Case Study', pp. 129-130.

⁸⁰ F. Czeike, *Wien: Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Donaumetropole* (Koln, 1999), p. 21; Vocelka, 'The Counter-Reformation and Popular Piety in Vienna – A Case Study', p. 130. For more on this second friary in Vienna, see Cassian, 'Die Kapuziner in Österreich', pp. 330-31.

It was within this wider context of Catholic renewal that the Capuchins' first residence in the city was established. There has, however, been some confusion as to when exactly this friary in Vienna was first established. The 'Liber capitularis' and the other chronicles dependent upon it state that the cross was erected and the foundation stone laid on Sunday 30 April 1600, the fourth Sunday after Easter.⁸¹ However, in the *Commentariolum*, Lorenzo recorded that he went to Vienna after the 23 May ceremony in Prague, with the planting of the cross taking place in Vienna at some unspecified time in July.⁸² Confronted with this discrepancy, Cassian von Oberleutasch concluded that since all the other sources available to him identified the date as 30 April, and since Lorenzo was trying to recount these events in 1612, some twelve years after the fact, Lorenzo must have been mistaken.⁸³ That might seem reasonable, but there are other authoritative sources that vindicate Lorenzo's narrative. In his 1625 testimony, Ambrogio da Firenze, who was present with Lorenzo in Prague, related that after construction had begun there, his superior went to Vienna, where a friary was also founded, before he moved to Graz for the same purpose.⁸⁴ That is the order of events presented by Lorenzo in the *Commentariolum*. And while writing to Rome from Pilsen on 29 May, Spinelli reported that after the friary in Prague was founded, Lorenzo departed for Vienna to establish the Capuchin residence

⁸¹ LC, f. 2; Annales, part 1, f. 5; LSP, ff. 30-31.

⁸² Comm., ff. 2v, 4r: 'Piantata la croce a Praga si parti da quivi il commissario, e se n'ando a Vienna d'Austria dove con buona gratia, e favore del Serenissimo Arciduca Matthia hora Imperatore fu pigliato un luoco e nel medesimo anno al mese di Luglio fu piantata la croce et incominciata la fabrica qual fu anco in breve finita dedicata la chiesa a Dio sotto il titolo del Nostro Serafico Padre S. Francesco'.

⁸³ Cassian, 'Die Kapuziner in Österreich', p. 265, n. 263.

⁸⁴ APVen, part 1, ff. 188v-189r: 'Passò [Lorenzo] quell'invernata [in Prague], et subito a primo tempo pigliassimo un sito da fabricare un luogo sù nel Recchin, et dato principio alla fabrica quell'estate si fece quasi che tutta. Fra tanto si andò a Viena, et si fondò anco li quel Monasterio, come si fece pocco doppò a Gratz'.

there.⁸⁵ This was written less than a week after Lorenzo left Prague, by someone whose job it was to be cognisant of affairs in the Reich of interest to the Church. Thus, as Arturo also concluded, it is more likely that Lorenzo's account of Vienna's foundation is accurate and the 'Liber capitularis' in error.⁸⁶ The root of the problem may have been that the author of the 'Liber capitularis' mistakenly copied into his work the date on which Ferenc Forgách, the bishop of Nitra, who presided over the Capuchins' foundation ceremony in Vienna, had been consecrated: 30 April 1600.⁸⁷

By the time Lorenzo departed from Vienna in November 1599, the friars had relocated to a more conveniently-situated lodging within the *Innenstadt*, near the church of St Anne, which was then administered by the Jesuits, who were happy to offer it for the Capuchins' use. The friars remained there during the following unpleasant – and dangerous – winter. At some point not recorded in the chronicles, one of the emperor's advisers, Baron Ernst von Mollart, a supporter of the Capuchins who had been instrumental in securing their housing near St Anne's, secured Rudolf's permission for a friary to be built in Vienna. They did not, however, take up this offer because, as with the site in the Malá Strana in Prague, they deemed the requested price too high.⁸⁸ They therefore turned their attention back to the area of St Ulrich's, outside the city centre. Here, for the site of the friary, their patron Mollart purchased a property for them, besides granting some of his own.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ ASV, FB, III, 87 D, f. 38v: 'Partì poi il Commissario dei medessimi padri [the Capuhins] per la volta di Vienna a stabilire anche in quella Citta il luogo per l'altro monasterio...'

⁸⁶ For Arturo's observations on this question, see Arturo, vol. 2, p. 59, n. 129.

⁸⁷ For more on Forgách, who was made a cardinal in 1607 after being promoted to the archbishopric of Esztergom in Hungary, see Miranda, 'The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church', <http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1607.htm#Forgach> (accessed 16 November 2013); Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' cardinali della santa Romana Chiesa*, t. 6, pp. 134-45; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 4, pp. 10, 322.

⁸⁸ LC, f. 2; Annales, part 1, f. 3; LSP, f. 13; Arturo, vol. 2, p. 58; Evans, *Rudolf II*, pp. 73-74.

⁸⁹ Annales, part 1, f. 5; Cassian, 'Die Kapuziner in Österreich', p. 331.

Additional funding for the enterprise came from other sources, including the *Hofkammer*, at the orders of Archduke Matthias, and some of Vienna's Catholic nobility.⁹⁰

Lorenzo probably spent much of the month of June 1600 preoccupied with these affairs, and ensuring that everything was done in accordance with the Capuchins' Rule. The foundation ceremony was celebrated the following month. As in Prague, the friars bore a cross to the site of their future residence, where they erected it. According to the 'Annales', the foundation stone was blessed and laid by Bishop Forgách.⁹¹ He was presumably invited to preside at the ceremony because, as Arturo reminds us, Klesl's nomination as bishop of Vienna had not yet been approved, nor would it be until 1613.⁹² A large crowd was present for the solemnities, which included Archduke Matthias as well as members of his court and the nobility.⁹³ Neither Lorenzo nor any of the chronicles mention if there was any kind of heretical presence among the onlookers, as there had been in Prague.

By November 1603, construction of the friary and the church had been completed. According to the 'Liber capitularis', Bishop Forgách consecrated the church and its high altar, with the church being dedicated to Sts Francis and Anthony of Padua.⁹⁴ This friary survived for several decades until 1683 when, together with the other buildings in the area, it was burned to the ground in anticipation of the impending Turkish siege that year. It was rebuilt the following year, but closed in 1815 following the Josephine ban on convents

⁹⁰ Arturo, vol. 2, p. 59.

⁹¹ Annales, part 1, f. 5

⁹² Weissensteiner, *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, 1448 bis 1648*, p. 371. For Arturo's observations on Forgách's involvement in the ceremony, see Arturo, vol. 2, p. 60, n. 130.

⁹³ LC, f. 2; Annales, part 1, f. 5; LSP, f. 31.

⁹⁴ LC, f. 2. In the *Commentariolum*, Lorenzo writes only that the church was dedicated to St Francis ('...Sotto il titolo del Nostro Serafico Padre S. Francesco'), with no mention of Anthony of Padua. A later writer added 'di S. Antonio da Padua' above Lorenzo's writing: Comm., f. 4r.

receiving novices. The building was torn down and a printing press was raised in its place. The friary church came into the possession of the Mechitarists.⁹⁵

c) *Graz*

After the ceremony in Vienna, Lorenzo moved to Graz, the capital of Styria in Inner Austria, whose territories included not only Styria but also Carinthia and Carniola. The Capuchins had been invited to Prague by Archbishop Zbyněk Berka, and to Vienna by Archduke Matthias; Lorenzo's invitation to Graz, he wrote in the *Commentariolum*, came from Archduke Ferdinand II (*ad instanza del Serenissimo Arciduca Ferdinando*),⁹⁶ the young, ardently Catholic duke of Inner Austria and cousin of Rudolf II and Matthias, who succeeded his kinsmen as emperor in 1619. Both Ferdinand and the apostolic nuncio in Graz, Girolamo da Porcia, the bishop of Adria, had previously insisted that Rome should send some Capuchins to Styria. Cardinal Aldobrandini, in a letter dated 24 July 1599, informed the archduke and the nuncio that he would discuss the matter with the pope.⁹⁷ That was nearly two months after the general chapter at which Clement VIII had ordered the Capuchins to accept the Bohemian mission, and a little over two weeks after Aldobrandini's letter of 7 July to Berka alerting him of the imminent departure of the twelve. Neither Lorenzo nor the chronicles record exactly when the pontiff agreed to

⁹⁵ Cassian, 'Die Kapuziner in Österreich', pp. 331-32. For Meinrad of Munich's entry on the fate of the friary in the *Annales*, see *Annales*, part 3, f. 126.

⁹⁶ *Comm.*, f. 4r.

⁹⁷ Arturo, vol. 2, p. 63. That Ferdinand sought Clement VIII's permission for Capuchins to be sent to Styria is also evident in Aegidius, 'De origine', ff. 11, 19.

Ferdinand's request; his decision was presumably made known to Lorenzo in writing while he was in Prague or perhaps still in Vienna.

Lutheranism was the religion of the vast majority of the Styrian nobility, and was widely spread among the burghers and common people too. The dukes of Inner Austria had been working toward the revival of Catholicism in their lands for decades before Lorenzo arrived in Graz in late July or early August 1600. Under Ferdinand's father, Archduke Karl II (r. 1564-1590), the Jesuits had been invited to Graz, where, between 1572 and 1573, they established both a college and a school. A permanent nunciature in the city was established in 1580. In that year, Karl also began to issue decrees to prevent the Lutheran estates from constructing new churches and to prohibit the burghers from attending Protestant worship services; though, as Regina Pörtner observes in her study on the Counter-Reformation in Styria, these measures were by and large ineffective.⁹⁸ Upon coming to power, in September 1598 Ferdinand had abolished the Lutheran church ministry in Graz and all his other municipalities, and ordered Protestant preachers and schoolteachers in his capital to leave within eight days.⁹⁹ In July 1599, he was able to secure the German Capuchin Ludwig of Saxony as a preacher in the city.¹⁰⁰ And toward the end of July the following year, the archduke issued a decree demanding that the Protestant officials of Graz's estates, recently ennobled persons, and burghers appear before the authorities, where they were presented with two options: convert to Catholicism or

⁹⁸ Pörtner, *The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe: Styria*, pp. 28-29, 77-78, 84-85.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-21.

¹⁰⁰ Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 62-63.



Figure 16: The Antoniuskirche of the now defunct Capuchin friary, Paulustorgasse, Graz

emigrate, with emigrants being required to pay a tax on their property.¹⁰¹ Although Lorenzo arrived in Graz at this time, he offered no observations on Ferdinand personally in the usually – and frequently unfortunately – terse *Commentariolum*, though he may well have admired the young prince’s spiritual intransigence that was so much like his own, and approved of the ‘progress’ being made in Styria.

After presenting himself to the archduke, Lorenzo searched Graz for a fitting location for the desired Capuchin friary. He opted for a site at the foot of the Schloßberg, near the Paulustor. This was near the place, Aegidius of Graz wrote, that many thousands

¹⁰¹ Pörtner, *The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe: Styria*, p. 127.

of heretical books were burned on 9 August, the day before the Capuchins' foundation ceremony.¹⁰² Lorenzo may have witnessed – and enjoyed – that spectacle, seeing heretical ideas going up in flame. On the following day, the feast of St Lawrence the Martyr, a cross was, as usual, borne to and erected at the building site. Presiding over the ceremony was the nuncio Girolamo da Porcia, who laid and blessed the foundation stone. In attendance was a great crowd of people including Archduke Ferdinand, who was funding the project; his mother Maria of Bavaria; his brothers and sisters; and members of the nobility and populace. Once the solemnities were over, Lorenzo left Vittorio da Vicoli and some other friars there to supervise the construction,¹⁰³ which was completed by 1602. On 6 October that year, Martin Brenner, the bishop of Seckau, who held episcopal jurisdiction over almost all of Styria, and was one of the chief implementers of Ferdinand's counter-reforming measures, consecrated the church's altars.¹⁰⁴ The church itself, Lorenzo noted in the *Commentariolum*, was, at the wishes of Archduke Ferdinand, dedicated to St Anthony of Padua.¹⁰⁵ The Capuchins continued to live at this friary until 1786. It was then shut down under Joseph II and converted into an asylum for the mentally ill.¹⁰⁶ Today this property is part of the Volkskundemuseum Graz.

¹⁰² Aegidius, 'De origine', ff. 11-12, 19.

¹⁰³ LC, f.2; Annales, part 1, ff. 5-6; Aegidius, 'De origine', ff. 19-20; LSP, f. 40.

¹⁰⁴ Aegidius, 'De origine', f. 20. For more on Brenner, see Karl Amon, 'Brenner, Martin (1548-1616)', in *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, 1448 bis 1648*, pp. 81-83.

¹⁰⁵ Comm., f. 4r.

¹⁰⁶ Cassian, 'Die Kapuziner in Österreich', p. 302.

From Commissariate to Provinces

By the end of the seventeenth century, the Commissariate of Bohemia-Austria-Styria had become three separate provinces.¹⁰⁷ According to the records of the Capuchin general chapters, by 1602 the commissariate already had thirty-five members.¹⁰⁸ For the 1605 convention, it was reported to have reached fifty-nine.¹⁰⁹ The number of Capuchin houses was also increasing. By 1608, there were seven within the commissariate: at Ljubljana, Brno, Linz, and Bruck an der Mur as well as Prague, Vienna, and Graz. The trouble with this, Cassian von Oberleutasch notes, is that the great distances between these places made it almost impossible for the required yearly visitation to be carried out. To remedy this problem, Lorenzo, as commissary general, was ordered in 1608 to divide the commissariate in two, resulting in the Commissariate of Bohemia-Austria and the Commissariate of Styria. By 1618, the former numbered 194 Capuchins spread among twelve friaries; and in that year it was made a province of its own. The following year, Styria, which had eleven friaries, also became a distinct province.¹¹⁰ And after some years of further growth, in 1673 the Capuchins divided Bohemia-Austria, which now had thirty-eight friaries, into two new provinces: Bohemia-Moravia, which by itself had 401 members, and Austria-Hungary.¹¹¹ Thus, before the passage of even a century, the single Commissariate of Bohemia-Austria-Styria, whose origins lay with thirteen missionaries

¹⁰⁷ For a helpful diagram illustrating the evolution of the Commissariate of Bohemia-Austria-Styria into the modern provinces descended from it, see Mat jka, *Nicht durch Schwert*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁸ Tabula, f. 94r.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., f. 102r.

¹¹⁰ Cassian, 'Die Kapuziner in Österreich', pp. 268, 272; Mat jka, *Nicht durch Schwert*, pp. 13-14.

¹¹¹ Cassian, 'Die Kapuziner in Österreich', pp. 276-77; Mat jka, *Nicht durch Schwert*, pp. 14-16. A copy of the 1673 *decretum divisionis* is preserved at the NA: *Decretum divisionis totius provinciae Boëmo Austriacae, FF. Capucinatorum in duas, scilicet Boëmicam et Austriacam*, RK box 15c.

and three friaries, developed into three separate provinces consisting of hundreds of Capuchins and scores of houses.

The first method Lorenzo da Brindisi adopted to promote the cause of Catholicism in the Holy Roman Empire was thus by supervising the foundation of the Capuchin Order's new Commissariate of Bohemia-Austria-Styria, and specifically its first friaries in Prague, Vienna, and Graz. The officials at the Capuchin general chapter in May 1599 had elected the highly-qualified and (now) German-speaking Lorenzo commissary general of their first mission to Bohemia, an enterprise approved by Pope Clement VIII himself. This highly significant undertaking came in the wake of Gregory XIII's momentous decision in 1574 to abrogate the decades-long restriction on Capuchin expansion beyond the Alps. Thus, the mission to Bohemia and Austria was launched after the Capuchins had already made their way into France, Spain, the Swiss Confederation, and the Reich, and begun to take their place, with the Jesuits, on the front lines in the Church's war against heresy. Lorenzo and his twelve companions' destinations, where the Catholic authorities had for years been taking steps to restore their religion, remained crucial fronts in this great conflict.

In Prague Lorenzo worked closely with Archbishop Zbyněk Berka, who had been responsible for inviting the Capuchins to the capital, to found their first residence there at the Hradčany in May 1600. This was accomplished successfully despite the delays and frustrations they encountered while awaiting Rudolf II's approval. The great foundation procession and ceremony attracted a large crowd not only of Catholics but also of heretics. This friary, with its church, St Mary of the Angels, is the only one of the three houses established under Lorenzo's direction that still exists in its original form today, thereby

serving as a reminder of the leading role he played in bringing the Capuchin Order to this very divided part of Europe. Lorenzo returned to Vienna in 1600 at the request of Archduke Matthias, quite probably at the suggestion of Melchior Klesl. Over the course of June and July 1600, the site near St Ulrich's was acquired, and the plantation of the cross was celebrated sometime that July. And at the invitation of Archduke Ferdinand II, Lorenzo subsequently went to Graz in Styria, where a site for the friary desired by the prince was obtained beneath the Schloßberg. The foundation solemnities were celebrated that August. With the establishment of this new commissariate, which eventually become three separate provinces, the Capuchins now, even after Lorenzo's departure, had a base from which to continue the work he had initiated.

Preaching

In addition to laying the foundations for the Commissariate of Bohemia-Austria-Styria in 1600, another central, and perhaps the most important, component of Lorenzo da Brindisi's apostolate in the Holy Roman Empire was his preaching against heresy.¹ The extensive preaching that Lorenzo did in solidly Catholic lands was to provide the faithful with more standard spiritual nourishment for their everyday lives and in anticipation of eternity. In the Reich, however, with its myriad heretics, he especially had to stress polemical issues in his sermons not only to fortify theologically those who remained Catholic but also to persuade heretics to abandon their beliefs and return to the Roman Church.

¹ For studies on sermons and preaching relevant to this study, see E. Michelson, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy* (Cambridge, MA, 2013); P. Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric, 1380-1620* (New York, 2011); J.M. Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany* (Boston, 2010); Susan Karant-Nunn, 'Catholic Intensity in Post-Reformation Germany: Preaching on the Passion and Catholic Identity in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in C. Ocker, et al. (eds.), *Politics and Reformations: Studies in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 373-396; Thomas Worcester, 'Catholic Sermons', in L. Taylor (ed.), *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period* (Boston, 2003), pp. 3-33; Corrie Norman, 'The Social History of Preaching: Italy', in *ibid.*, pp. 125-191; L. Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France*, reprint (Buffalo, 2002); F.J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Princeton, 1995); Carlo Delcorno, 'Forme della predicazione cattolica fra Cinque e Seicento', in O. Besomi and C. Caruso (eds.), in *Cultura d'élite e cultura popolare nell'arco alpino fra Cinque e Seicento* (Boston, 1995), pp. 275-302; Roberto Rusconi, 'Predicatori e predicazione (secoli IX-XVIII)', *Storia d'Italia, Annali* 4 (1981), pp. 951-1035; Arsenio d'Ascoli, *La predicazione dei Cappuccini nel cinquecento in Italia* (Loreto, 1956); Cantini, 'S. Lorenzo da Brindisi, Predicatore'; A. Zawart, *The History of Franciscan Preaching and of Franciscan Preachers (1209-1927): A Bio-bibliographical Study* (New York, 1928).

Preaching Activities

Several sources provide insight into how Lorenzo preached against heresy in the Reich. First, there are his recollections in the *Commentariolum*. After describing the foundation of the friary in Prague, he reported that the Capuchins prepared a large room there that would function as a church, where they could celebrate Mass and also preach, which attracted large crowds. Lorenzo then stated the following about himself: ‘Fra Lorenzo would preach with great liberty against the heretics, refuting their heresies; notwithstanding, no injury was ever done to him as many feared might happen’.² Thus, Lorenzo reported that he preached routinely (*predicava*) against heresy early on while in the capital, though he did not spell out exactly how often. Even so, given his passion for preaching, it can be safely assumed that he played an active role not only in preaching during Mass at the church, which of course would have been celebrated regularly, but also on feast days and during Lent and Advent. He was also clear that when he preached, he held nothing back: he said exactly what was on his mind regarding the heretics and their ‘errors’. Given how audacious he could be, this ought not to be surprising. Unfortunately, he did not articulate who heard his sermons at the friary. Obviously Catholics would have been present; but, given the suggestion that while he was preaching against heresy others feared for his safety – surely they were his coreligionists – heretics may well have attended too. Some of those who had attended the plantation of the cross ceremony perhaps wanted,

² Comm., f. 2v: ‘Havendo quivi i frati accomodato una stanza assai capace in forma di chiesa, vi celebravano le messe, e vi si predicava con grandissimo concorso. Predicava fra Lorenzo con liberta grande contro gl’heretici confutando le loro heresie, ne con tutto cio li fu mai fatto nissun oltragio come molti temevano’.

out of curiosity, to listen to what the strangely-dressed foreigner had to say. Others may have been waiting for the opportunity to injure or kill the loud-mouthed friar.

In addition to Lorenzo's own statement about preaching in Prague, we also have that of the Capuchin Filippo da Soragna, guardian of the Capuchins' friary at Nocera de' Pagani, collected in 1627 for the Neapolitan apostolic process. Filippo explained that before becoming a Capuchin, he had resided in Prague while in the service of the nuncio Spinelli. In that capacity, he was in the position to meet Lorenzo and become acquainted with him and his work during his first mission. As for Lorenzo's preaching, Filippo reported the following: 'While I was staying in Prague...I saw that Padre Brindisi at different times would preach against the heretics, refuting them and persuading them with sacred doctrine. And this was public and well-known in this place'.³ Filippo da Soragna's testimony thus provides further evidence that Lorenzo was accustomed to preaching against heresy in Prague, and implies that he preached directly to heretics while seeking to reason with them doctrinally.

Further information can be found in the 1630 deposition of the baron and *capitano* Francesco Visconti in the apostolic process of Milan. Here Visconti described how, while Lorenzo was serving as nuncio in Munich, he accompanied the Capuchin on a preaching expedition throughout the Reich comparable to those of Marco d'Aviano later in the century. Visconti reported that Lorenzo's mission was geared toward both Catholics and

³ APNap, f. 120r: 'Stando io in Praga, come di sopra ho detto, vedeva, che detto Padre Brindisi in diversi tempi predicava contro gl'heretici confutandoli, e convincendoli con la sacra dottrina, e questo era publico, e notorio in detto luogo'. In his rendering of Filippo's testimony among his *documenti*, Arturo mistook the manuscript's 'con la sacra dottrina' for 'con la sacra Scrittura': Arturo, vol. 4.2, p. 263, doc. 1131.

Protestants, and began in early April 1611, continuing for approximately eight months.⁴ It is more likely, as Arturo argues convincingly, that the mission lasted around four months, that is, to the end of July. He also suggests that it would have at times had to be interrupted as Lorenzo needed to return to Munich, presumably to take care of his diplomatic duties, and that it perhaps coincided at least partially with the canonical visitations of the Capuchin friaries in Bavaria and the Tyrol that Lorenzo had to carry out as commissary general that year.⁵ Visconti reported that before the expedition, he was also present at Duke Maximilian of Bavaria's court – he did not explain why – when the Capuchin made known that he wanted to undertake this evangelistic enterprise. Fearing for the friar's safety among the Protestants, Maximilian ordered Visconti to protect and look after him during the journey. The duke presumably selected Visconti specifically for this task because he and Lorenzo both spoke Italian as their mother tongue. Despite Lorenzo's reluctance for an armed guard – he was, Visconti said, longing for martyrdom – Maximilian also insisted that they be accompanied by approximately twenty-five soldiers. Lorenzo was not the sole religious on the mission: he was joined by two fellow Capuchins whose names Visconti could not remember.⁶

Visconti related that over the course of the expedition, they traveled through both Saxony and the Palatinate, where Lorenzo could take on Lutherans and Calvinists. They

⁴ For this April 1611 date of departure from Munich, see APMil, ff. 858, 863-64: Visconti described that he remembered the date specifically because he had made a record of the events at a Mass Lorenzo celebrated on 5 April, just before setting out from the city, at which he saw the Capuchin levitating at the altar rapt in ecstasy. For Visconti's statement that the expedition lasted around eight months, see specifically f. 855. For more on Marco d'Aviano's missions, see Johnson, *Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles*, pp. 262-69; Karant-Nunn, 'Catholic Intensity in Post-Reformation Germany', pp. 388-89.

⁵ For more on Arturo's proposition that the mission most likely took place intermittently over a period of around four months rather than eight, an argument based on Lorenzo's extant letters of the time as well as other documents shedding light on his whereabouts and physical condition, see Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 105-07.

⁶ APMil, ff. 854-55, 865, 870.

also made their way through numerous free and imperial Cities, where Lorenzo could preach not only to Protestants but also to Catholics, among whom he preached against sin and immorality. They also stopped at Catholic Salzburg. Here Lorenzo adamantly denounced clerical concubinage, the sin most associated with the city's notorious archbishop, Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau (r. 1587-1612), who was known to have had a mistress for many years with whom he reputedly fathered over ten children. Lorenzo repeated his condemnation in the presence of Raitenau. According to Visconti, the Capuchin stated his case so strongly, and railed so vehemently against that kind of sin – though not against the archbishop directly, which would not have been prudent even if it had been permitted – that it made the hair on his, Visconti's, head curl.⁷ Visconti also observed that Lorenzo preached on this mission 'with the greatest liberty and zeal against heresies',⁸ offering this observation:

This Padre Brindisi preached with so much fervour, firmness, and efficacy; and he associated and conversed with those listening to him in such a way, that the Catholics among whom we journeyed were confirmed in the truth of the Catholic faith, and they forsook their sins and did penance, while the heretics felt remorse, and a large number converted and abjured heresy, and embraced our holy faith with great feeling, tears, and devotion. And I am an eyewitness of this because I was always present at the sermons given by this Padre Brindisi, and I saw and observed the very great fruit that resulted from it.⁹

⁷ For the above itinerary as described by Visconti, see APMil, ff. 855, 866-67. For Visconti's account of what happened in Salzburg, see ff. 866-67: '...Ne luoghi de Catholici, ove ritrovava peccati pubblici, et scandalosi, li riprendeva pubblicamente nella stessa predica non guardando in faccia de personaggi più grandi; si come avvenne particolarmente in Salisburgh, ove si ritrovava quel Prencipe immerso in vitij, et peccati pubblici, et scandalosi, et esso Padre Brindesi predicando alla presenza dello stesso Prencipe essagerò talmente contro quella sorte di peccato, che mi si arricciavano li capelli in testa, et temevo grandemente che in terra de Catholici non ci fosse fatto quello, che peranco non era succeduto fra li Heretici. Ad ogni modo esso Padre Brindesi non fù mai offeso. Anzi quel Prencipe stesso doppo la predica ci invitò, et esso Padre accettò l'invito, et fossimo tutti bene trattati.' For more on Raitenau, see Franz Ortner, 'Raitenau, Wolf Dietrich von (1559-1617)', in *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, 1448 bis 1648*, pp. 561-65. For the prohibition in the *Constitutions* to preach against specific individuals, and especially members of the clergy, see Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini*, vol. 1, p. 419.

⁸ APMil, f. 866: '...Esso Padre Brindesi predicò in effetto con somma libertà, et zelo contro delle heresie...'

⁹ Ibid., ff. 855-56: '...Esso Padre Brindesi predicò con tanto fervore, sodezza et efficitia, et trattò, et conversò in maniera tale, che gli Catholici, per li quali pasassimo restavano confermati nella verità della Catholica fede, e lasciavano li peccati, et facevano penitenza, et li Heretici stessi si compongavano, et se ne convertirno moltissimi, et abiurarono l'heresia, et abbracciarono la nostra santa fede con grande sentimento,

Visconti's pious account suggests, then, that not only did Lorenzo preach – at times fearlessly – to both Catholics and Protestants over the course of this mission, but that he also interacted and spoke with them on a more personal level. Clearly he did not just preach and then disappear. He was no Marco d'Aviano, who could not speak German, and therefore had to preach to German-speaking people in Italian, though apparently enjoying considerable success, with his listeners possibly getting a sense of what he was saying through his gestures and by other means.¹⁰ Nor was he in need of interpreters as John of Capistrano had been, and Vincent Ferrer probably too, during their preaching missions during the Late Middle Ages.¹¹ Lorenzo knew German and surely made ample use of it as he journeyed through the Reich. The end result of this expedition, according to Visconti, was that Lorenzo bore much fruit, strengthening his fellow Catholics spiritually and convincing those who had been outside the Roman Church to abandon heresy and accept the 'truth' of the Catholic faith.

These testimonies give us a sense of how often, where, and to whom Lorenzo preached, just as they indicate that he pulled no punches while doing so. However, they do not shed a great deal of light on the manner in which he preached or the rhetorical strategies he employed. Other testimonies fill these gaps, demonstrating that he preached in the vivid,

lagrime, et devotione, et io ne sono di ciò testimonio oculato per che sempre mi ritrovai presente alle Prediche fatte da esso Padre Brindesi, et viddi, et osservai il frutto grandissimo, che come sopra ne risultò'.

¹⁰ Johnson, *Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles*, pp. 263-65; Karant-Nunn, 'Catholic Intensity in Post-Reformation Germany', pp. 388-89.

¹¹ H. Martin, *Le métier de prédicateur en France septentrionale a la fin du Moyen Age (1350-1520)* (Paris, 1988), pp. 564-65.

emotive, and theatrical tradition, described by Corrie Norman, that was associated with Italy and particularly with the Capuchins and the Jesuits.¹²

Visconti reported that Lorenzo preached with great fervour; but one witness who provides us with a striking picture of that is the Capuchin Giambattista da Squillace, one of Lorenzo's companions during his generalate. In his 1627 deposition for the apostolic process of Naples, Giambattista related that while his superior was preaching the 1605 Lenten discourses at the church of S. Spirito in Naples, he asked Giambattista to alert him when the time allotted for the sermon was starting to run out. He said that he was told not to pull on Lorenzo's habit, as was customary with other preachers, but rather to squeeze the bare part of Lorenzo's leg with his hand; otherwise he might not be noticed. Giambattista described what happened:

Observing the abovesaid order, I did this. And it happened to me several times that not only when I squeezed his leg did he not notice me; but he did not even notice when I banged one leg against the other, gave him big pinches, and tormented him in other ways. He was so deeply engrossed and so filled with fervour while preaching. And the torments that I was giving him were of such a kind that I felt sorry for him. He never gave any kind of hint that he noticed me.¹³

According to Giambattista, then, Lorenzo could be so rapt in a sermon as to become oblivious to what was going on around him, rather as we have seen in his performance on the battlefield at Székesfehérvár.

¹² Norman, 'The Social History of Preaching: Italy', pp. 142-44, 156-162.

¹³ APNap, f. 65v: 'Io so che nel principio della Predica, che faceva detto Padre Fra Lorenzo, essendo io suo compagno, m'ordinò, che quando fusse finito il termine, o della mettà o fine d'essa predica, non l'accenasse solo col tirarli il mantello, seu habito, come suole farsi ad altri, ma che li ponesse la mano a carne ignuda nella polpa della gamba, e lo stringesse, perche altrimenti forse non l'havrebbe inteso: et io osservando il sopradetto ordine ciò feci, e mi accadette più volte, che non solo con stringere la gamba non m'intendeva; ma neanche con sbattere una gamba con l'altra, con darli pizziconi, e facendoli altri stratij, tanto era astratto, et inferverato nel predicare, et erano di modo li stratij, ch'io gli faceva, ch'io ne havea compassione, et esso non faceva mai atto d'intendermi'.

With Lorenzo's great ardour and energy attested to by Giambattista came plenty of animated movement in the pulpit, especially with his hands, which could be seen by the audience. He worked himself up so much while preaching that he was known to leave the pulpit feeling exhausted and covered in perspiration, as Giambattista remembered (*vedendolo io stanco, e sudato*) after Lorenzo had given another intense sermon in Naples.¹⁴ With so much enthusiasm, the big Capuchin had no problem projecting his voice effectively. He could raise it when occasion demanded, whether in 'righteous indignation', which he certainly felt, for example, while railing against clerical concubinage in Salzburg, or in elation while, say, extolling the Virgin Mary. Lorenzo's confrere Francesco da Valdobbadiene, who accompanied him to Mantua in 1615, where he preached the Lenten discourses in the ducal church of S. Barbara, recalled in his 1628 testimony for the apostolic process of Vicenza that there was one occasion when Lorenzo was so furious while preaching that he seemed like a lion (*pareva un Leone*). That Lent Lorenzo had not been pleased to see Duke Ferdinand Gonzaga and his court's neglect of the customary austerities and regular attendance at Mass and sermons. Francesco related that one day, as Lorenzo was ascending the pulpit, a trumpet sounded to alert the court to the duke's departure from the city. Upon hearing this, all the courtiers in the church got up and left. Clearly livid, Lorenzo immediately began his sermon, warning those remaining of God's judgment on the city. Francesco still remembered in 1628 how this stentorian discourse culminated, with Lorenzo's ire being directed toward the House of Gonzaga: 'He exclaimed with a loud voice: "This house will fall! It will fall! It will fall!"' This sermon, Francesco said, left the

¹⁴ APNap, f. 70r.

audience terrified, and him trembling.¹⁵ We need not doubt that Lorenzo was a man of strong convictions; but a great deal of his intensity and fervour as a preacher was intended to move his listeners toward the piety he hoped to elicit from them.

Of particular importance in Lorenzo's attempts to move his audiences was his gaze. In his 1628 testimony for the apostolic process of Milan, the nobleman Marc'Antonio Monti stated that he had attended two of Lorenzo's sermons in Pavia in 1614 while he, Monti, had been studying law there. This was during Lorenzo's Genoan provincialate, and Pavia was then part of his province. Monti recalled that people arrived at the churches up to seven and eight hours in advance to reserve their places. After offering his own observations on Lorenzo's fervour, he spoke of the Capuchin's 'look', his *sguardo*: 'It seemed that his eyes emitted a certain flame of severity, and pleasantness, which drew us to itself, and terrified us, and radiated something supernatural...'¹⁶ Additionally, Monti noted that Lorenzo 'was so ardent and ablaze in his fervour that people could hardly bear his look'.¹⁷ It was not only his simultaneously stern and sweet *sguardo* that worked on his audiences: the tears that we saw him shedding in the pulpit in Venice remained a prominent

¹⁵ For Francesco's entire statement on this event, see APVic, part 3, ff. 86v-87r. For the specific quotation, and the audience's reaction, see f. 87r: '...Esclamò con gran voce, Cascherà, cascherà, cascherà questa Casa...Di questa predica l'Auditorio resto atterrito, et io restai tremando sentendo questa essageratione contro sua Altezza...' For Arturo's description of Lorenzo's presence in Mantua during Lent 1615, see Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 244-48. A little over a decade after Lorenzo's prediction, Gonzaga rule in Mantua was disrupted during the War of the Mantuan Succession (1628-1631); the Nevers line of the family came to power and held the ducal throne until 1708. See G. Campbell, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Renaissance* (New York, 2003), p. 351; J.E. Morby, *Dynasties of the World: A Chronological and Genealogical Handbook* (New York, 1989), p. 107.

¹⁶ APMil, f. 571: '...Pareva che dagli occhi suoi mandasse certa fiamma di severità, e piacevolezza, che traheva a se, et atterrava, e spirava non so che di sopra humano, che mostrava l'interna santità di lui'. For Monti's other observations on Lorenzo's preaching, see ff. 566-68. That Pavia was then part of the Genoan province, as opposed to that of Milan, is evident in one of Lorenzo's 1613 letters. See Arturo, vol. 4.1, pp. 59-60, doc. 46.

¹⁷ APMil, f. 568: 'Era di modo acceso et infiammato nell'esagerare, che a pena si poteva supportare lo sguardo di lui...'

part of his preaching in the Seicento. Francesco da Valdobbiadine described how his excessive crying proved effective in Mantua on Good Friday 1615:

I found myself in Mantua in the ducal church when he gave the sermon on the Passion on Holy Friday. It began with such an abundance of tears that the audience doubted that he could continue with the sermon; and people were saying this poor father could not finish the sermon this morning. But with the help of the Lord he finished it with that flood of tears. With the sermon having been finished, he took up the most holy Crucifix for veneration, with his eyes ablaze and weeping, which moved everyone to devotion.¹⁸

Again, we need not doubt that Lorenzo had genuine feelings of grief and sorrow that Good Friday as he strove to speak about the sufferings of Christ (and possibly Mary too). However, this exaggerated emotional display in Mantua, and elsewhere for that matter, was undoubtedly also meant to move the faithful to the devotion and piety mentioned by Francesco.

Complementing Lorenzo's fervour and melodrama were theatrical gestures. Giambattista da Squillace recalled one such demonstration from Lorenzo's Naples sermons in 1605. One morning it was brought to his attention that the 'poor daughters' (*povere figliole*) in the city – presumably Capuchinesses – were in great need of alms. While preaching that day, Lorenzo spoke to his audience at length about the nuns, hoping to spur those present to lend them aid. But he did not just sermonise from the pulpit. As Giambattista reported: 'With great fervour, he turned to me – I was present in the pulpit as his companion – telling me to hand him his cloak, which I was holding. After taking it, he threw it from pulpit, saying these words: "I, as General of my poor Religion, can only give

¹⁸ APVic, part 3, f. 87v: 'Et mi son ritrovato in Mantoa nella Chiesa Ducale che lui fece la predica di passione nel Venerdi Santo, la qual cominciò con tanta abondanza di lacrime, che l'Auditorio dubitava, che non potesse seguitar la predica, et diceva questo pover Padre non potria fornir la predica questa mattina, ma con l'agiuto del Signore, la fornì con quell profluvio di lacrime. Fornita la predica portò il santissimo Crocifisso all'adoratione con li occhi si infiamati, et lacramanti che moveva ogn'uno a divotione'. For Lorenzo's emotional preaching during his early years in Venice, see pp. 38-39 above.

away this cloak”¹⁹ Thus, Lorenzo did not just exhort his Neapolitan audience to help the nuns; by tossing his very own cloak amid the people, he left them with a striking impression, thereby demonstrating how they ought to be giving generously to the sisters if he, who lived in poverty, was willing to do so. And Giambattista assured those listening to his testimony that Lorenzo’s stunt was not just for show. A priest of S. Spirito, he said, had tried to return the cloak to Lorenzo, but the latter refused to accept it.²⁰ Lorenzo was indeed a man of principle, but he also had a theatrical flair.

These eyewitness testimonies report Lorenzo’s regular and unreserved preaching against heresy while in Central Europe, and his dynamic, emotional, and histrionic performance in the pulpit. They do not, however, reveal the content of his sermons. In these sources we find no mention of which heretical ideas – *sola Scriptura*, *sola fide*, denial of transubstantiation, communion in both kinds, rejection of clerical celibacy – Lorenzo focused on while in Prague or while traversing the Reich with Visconti and company in 1611. Moreover, they do not explain the strategies Lorenzo used while trying to persuade his audiences. They do not say, for example, if he appealed only to Scripture; or cited patristic, medieval, or even more recent Catholic authorities; or spent time berating the Protestant reformers’ characters. Nevertheless, there are two sources that do shed light on these questions: the ‘Codex vindobonensis’ and the ‘Quaresimale del Padre Brindes’.

¹⁹ APNap, f. 70r: ‘Me ricordo, che predicando qua in Napoli nella Chiesa dello Spirito Santo, come ho detto disopra, gli occorre una mattina raccomandare la gran necessità, nella quale in quel tempo se ritrovavano le povere figliole, e monache di quel luogo, et essagerando al Popolo con molto fervore il bisogno di quelle, con l’istesso fervore si voltò a me, che assisteva suo compagno sopra il Pulpito, dicendomi, li porgesse il suo Mantello, ch’io teneva, il quale preso, lo buttò disopra al Pulpito, dicendo queste parole: Io come Generale della mia povera Religione non posso disporre, se non di questo Mantello, qual dondò per limosina acciò possa servire in qualche particella per il bisogno d’alcuna’.

²⁰ APNap, ff. 70rv.

The Sources for Lorenzo's Polemical Sermons

a) *The 'Codex vindobonensis'*

The CV is a collection of Lorenzo's handwritten, Latin plans for homilies. Its origins are presumably like those penned during his early years in the Veneto. Lorenzo's friend and fellow Capuchin, Andrea da Venezia, described in 1625 how Lorenzo was accustomed to writing them up: 'Padre Lorenzo never studied any other book except the Sacred Bible, always kneeling before an image of the most Blessed Virgin, with tears, sobs, and sighs. It seemed that he was praying rather than studying...While kneeling like that, he used to write the plans (*concetti*), which he would then preach without studying any other book'.²¹ The particular bundle of *concetti* that makes up the CV is housed at the Provinzarchiv in Vienna. It was discovered by Eberhard von Witkowitz, a former prefect of the archive, around January 1952. That was eight years after the ninth and ostensibly final volume of the *Opera omnia*, the *Sanctorale*, was published in 1944.²² At that point in the 1940s, the editors of the *Opera* thought, surely with relief, that their herculean task of deciphering and then publishing the contents of Lorenzo's numerous difficult manuscripts had been completed.²³ However, with the discovery of the CV, they were put to work again. In 1954, its Lenten and Easter homilies were published in what became vol. 10.1 of the *Opera*, the *Quadragesimale quartum*. Two years later, in 1956, the remainder of the codex, which includes homilies intended for saints' feast days, Advent, the

²¹ APVen, part 1, ff. 159rv: 'Et detto Padre Lorenzo non studiava mai niun' altro libro se non la sacra Bibbia sempre ingenocchiato davanti un' imagine della Beatissima Vergine con lagrime, singulti, et sospiri che pareva che più tosto orasse che studiasse...Mentre stava così ingenocchiato scriveva li concetti, che poi predicava senza studiare altro libro...'

²² For this information, see the announcement in 'De inedito contionum codice S. Laurentii Brundusini', *AOFMC* 68 (1952), pp. 43-44. See also the *praefatio* in *QQ*, p. ix. The whole preface extends from pp. ix-xiii.

²³ To see what they had to say on this matter, see *Sanctorale*, p. ix.



Figure 17: The ‘Codex vindobonensis’

Ascension, Pentecost, and other solemnities, was published as vol. 10.2, the *Sermones de tempore*.²⁴ With the appearance of vol. 10.2, the Apostolic Doctor’s *Opera omnia* really did now seem to be complete.

The contents of the CV might have been published, but the original manuscript of course remains important as it provides clues for its origins. Presently, it is preserved in a black leather case with ‘S. Laurentii a Brundusio, Sermones de Tempore, Ms. Originale Auctoris’ inscribed in gold on its spine. The CV itself is bound in black leather. It bears no title of any kind on either its front or back cover, nor its binding; and built into the covering are two clasps. Inside the front cover is found stamped ‘Kapuzinerkonvent in Wien, Fach Nr. 63, Buch Nr.’, with ‘45’ written by hand directly after. The editors of the *Opera omnia*

²⁴ All the content of the *QQ* derives from the CV. With the *SDT*, however, only the material from pp. 1-351 comes from the CV. For the rest of its contents, see p. 71 above.

measured the external dimensions of the CV as 15 cm x 20 cm, and the internal measurements being 14 cm x 18 cm. Also, by their count, it contains 515 unpaginated folios, or 1,030 pages, of which 758 were written on by Lorenzo, with the 272 other pages remaining blank.²⁵

Lorenzo was undoubtedly the author as the penmanship is identical to that of his other extant autographs. All share Lorenzo's particular and frequently difficult script.²⁶ At the bottom of the first page of the first homily, however, intended for the feast day of St Andrew the Apostle, one finds the following additional note: 'Ad usum fr Francisci Mariae de Veldkirchen Capucini'. Franz Maria von Veldkirchen († 1642), once a secular priest, was the first person to enter the Capuchin novitiate in Bohemia-Austria-Styria. On 24 March 1601, in Vienna, he was received into the Order by Lorenzo himself.²⁷ The Capuchins in the 1950s believed that it could thus be deduced that the codex had been handed down to Franz Maria by Lorenzo himself.²⁸ That is quite possible, and Lorenzo might well have wanted to pass an item that was surely dear to him on to someone whom he esteemed with gladness and even a sense of pride. However, both the CV's date of completion and the circumstances of Franz Maria's later career would have determined

²⁵ *QQ*, p. x. The author of the Order-wide announcement of the CV's discovery in the *AOFMC* reported that there were in fact approximately 1,300 pages in the codex: *AOFMC* 68, p. 44. Perhaps he mistranscribed the number.

²⁶ The Capuchins in both the *AOFMC* and the *praefatio* in the *QQ* noted other evidence at the PW pointing toward the Laurentian authorship of the CV. They referred to the archive's old *summarius*, which indicated that not only the codex, but also a cloak and Rosary once in the possession of Lorenzo, were preserved there too. They also spoke of two sheets of paper found inside the CV that identified Lorenzo as the author. The first - apparently older - had written on it: 'Conciones P. Laurentii Brindisi eius propria manu conscriptae, qui vivit in aeternum'. The second, more recent, stated: 'Praedicationes authographicae S. Laurentii a Brund. Ministri Gen. Ord. nostri'. See *AOFMC* 68, p. 44; *QQ*, p. x. I did not notice either of these sheets of paper in the CV when I consulted it in January 2013.

²⁷ For these details on Franz Maria, see NA, 'Catalogus Patrum & Fratrum Capucinatorum Provinciae Boemiae ab Origine ejusdem secundum seriem Annorum, Mensium, & Dierum in ea Indutorum & Professorum Anno 1772 compilatus', RK ms. 36, f. 3; *Annales*, part 1, f. 12.

²⁸ *AOFMC* 68, pp. 43-44; *QQ*, p. x.

when and how he received it, whether from the hands of Lorenzo himself in Vienna in 1601, or by delivery at some later point, perhaps while Lorenzo was in Prague or Munich.

Dating the CV is in fact somewhat problematic. Not only is the codex itself not dated, but, as is the case with Lorenzo's other homiletic remains in the *Opera omnia*, none of the individual sermon plans are dated either. Even so, Capuchin scholars have been of the opinion that it was associated with the general timeframe of Lorenzo's two missions in the Reich. One of these scholars was Arturo, who studied the CV firsthand shortly after its discovery.²⁹ In 1960, before offering any possible dates of origin for the text, he came to the conclusion that it was not composed over the course of a single year, but was rather a text to which Lorenzo returned over the course of successive years to make additions, as he was wont to do with his other manuscripts. Arturo saw this as being especially evident in the CV's Lenten discourses, written in various colours of ink. Furthermore, it seemed to Arturo that the initial material written for each day of the liturgical year on which Lorenzo was expecting to preach might have been penned before his arrival in the Reich, whereas the subsequent material, where, as Arturo notes rightly, Lorenzo's attacks on the Protestants are almost always found, might have been put into writing while he was in Central Europe. Arturo therefore suggests that this latter material could have come into being during Lent 1600, when Lorenzo gave Lenten discourses in Prague, or 1606 or thereafter, upon his return to Bohemia after serving as vicar general. But, given the overall minuteness of Lorenzo's handwriting here, which was characteristic of his earlier writings, Arturo was inclined to opt for a date before 1606.³⁰ Another Capuchin scholar who

²⁹ *AOFMC* 68, p. 44.

³⁰ Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 109-112, and especially p. 110, n.3.

associates the CV with Lorenzo's apostolate in Central Europe is Paolino Zilio. In 2000, Zilio posited that the contents of the CV served as the 'scritti preparatori' for the homilies Lorenzo gave while in Bohemia-Austria between 1599 and 1610.³¹ Apparently, neither Arturo nor Zilio were aware that, as we shall see below, the CV and the 'Quaresimale', which has been dated to 1607, are quite probably related, with the latter presumably deriving to some extent from the former. If that is true, then perhaps we can more confidently narrow the date down even further to Lent 1607 and earlier.

Whatever the reality of the relationship between the CV and the 'Quaresimale', to date the CV, or at least parts of it, to the earlier period of Lorenzo's missions in the Reich makes sense for five reasons. First, the CV was rediscovered at, and had been housed for centuries in Vienna, a place of great importance for the Capuchin provincial organization in the Reich. Second, as mentioned above, the codex apparently ended up in the hands of Franz Maria von Veldkirchen, a Capuchin connected to Lorenzo during this period. Third, Lorenzo spent a great deal of time in these sermons attacking Protestantism, which makes an origin in the Reich more likely than in Italy. The same conclusion is suggested by Lorenzo's reference while seeking to explain the nature of symbolic language in his *alia homilia* for the fourth Sunday of Lent, where he defended Christ's real presence in the Eucharist, to portraits of 'Caesar' – perhaps a reference to Rudolf II – Charlemagne, and Charles V, all rulers associated with the Reich.³² Lastly, Lorenzo at one point in the CV dates himself. In his second sermon intended for the sixth Sunday after Epiphany, while addressing the nature of the Church, he argued that heretics such as the North African

³¹ Zilio, 'I manoscritti di s. Lorenzo da Brindisi', p. 46.

³² *QQ*, pp. 377-78.

Donatists of Late Antiquity and the Calvinists of his own time were in error in that both confined the Church to certain limited areas, thereby denying its universality. After describing how he believed Augustine of Hippo had refuted the Donatists, Lorenzo wrote: ‘Thus, Augustine calls the Donatists, who did not see the Church of God 400 years after Christ, blind. What would he say now about the heretics, who, after 1,600 years, say that it cannot be seen?’³³ Keeping the CV’s imperial context and emphasis on the Protestants in mind, this ‘after 1,600 years’ implies that the codex ought to be dated to after 1600, while Lorenzo was on mission in the Reich.

While the material in the CV may be dated to Lorenzo’s sojourn in the Reich, exactly how much it reflects the sermons he actually gave there is another matter entirely, a point that Emily Michelson makes rightly about printed sermons in general in her *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy*. The texts in the CV bear no dates, no indications as to which city or church they might have been given in, no references to specific individuals in the audiences to which they might have been preached, and no topical details, all of which Michelson identifies as being significant while trying to measure not only the accuracy of a sermon preserved solely in printed form but also whether it had in fact ever been preached in the first place.³⁴ But the CV does not contain verbatim transcripts of sermons; rather, it contains sermon plans in which Lorenzo committed to writing the main points and theological arguments he might have made – and in some circumstances did

³³ *SDT*, p. 176: ‘Ita Augustinus caecos appellat Donatistas, qui Ecclesiam Dei post quadringentos a Christo annos non videbant. Quid nunc de novis haeticis diceret, qui post millesexcentos nec videri quidem posse dicunt?’ The phrase ‘nec videri quidem posse dicunt’ refers to the concept of the ‘invisible Church’ held by some Protestants.

³⁴ Michelson, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy*, pp. 32-33.

actually make, as we shall see – or at least thought he could make while preaching against heresy. Herein lies its particular value.

b) The 'Quaresimale del Padre Brindes'

The source that almost certainly provides us with records of actual, and not potential, sermons that Lorenzo preached in the Reich is the 'Quaresimale del Padre Brindes'. This codex is preserved at the Archivio Provinciale Cappuccini Lombardi in Milan, the same location as the *Commentariolum* manuscript. It can be accessed there under the *segnatura* 'A 52'. This archive also possesses a typed copy of a transcript of the QM completed in Venice in 1961.³⁵

The QM was the object of a significant study, Silvestro da Valsanzibio's 'Un Quaresimale italiano inedito di s. Lorenzo da Brindisi', published in 1954,³⁶ in which he explains that this manuscript, having been in the possession of different people over the years – he does not identify whom – was housed at the Biblioteca del Convento dei Cappuccini della Badia di Brescia until 1805. From that time until 1851, when it was returned to the Capuchins of Brescia, it remained in the possession of a private individual whose identity and reason for possessing it Silvestro likewise does not mention. It was not until 1933 that the QM was moved to Milan, its final destination.³⁷

³⁵ Cargnoni includes, printed among his extensive collection of Capuchin documents, the three final Laurentian sermons in the QM. See Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini*, vol.3.2, pp. 2678-2708. For the transcript, see *ibid.*, p. 2679.

³⁶ Silvestro da Valsanzibio, 'Un quaresimale italiano inedito di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi', *CF* (1954), pp. 136-158.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.

Silvestro describes that in 1954, the codex's cover bore the handwritten title 'Quaresimale del Padre Brindes'.³⁸ It is now bound in brown leather, no title of any kind inscribed on it. Inside, on the title page, is written 'Quadragesimale del Padre fra Lorenzo da Brindesi Predicatore Capuccino del Luogo di Brescia'. Directly beneath is a circular stamp containing the Franciscan coat of arms and the words 'Cappuccini della Badia Brescia', evidence of the QM's former presence there. Below that is the oval stamp of the Archivio Provinciale Cappuccini Lombardi, with the *segnatura* '52' penciled inside. Today, the QM consists of 144 folios, or 288 pages.³⁹ According to Silvestro, externally the codex measures 22 x 17 x 3 cm.⁴⁰ It contains a series of Lenten sermons penned in Italian, with the feast days and their respective Bible verses appearing in Latin at the head of each discourse. All the additional references to Scripture made in the sermons are also in Latin. The sermons run from Ash Wednesday to the Tuesday of Easter week, and they comprise, as Silvestro notes, the manuscript's 'nucleo primitivo', the majority of the manuscript. However, the series lacks Saturday sermons as well as those for the Thursday of the third week of Lent and the Wednesday of the fifth week. Four of the sermons are incomplete. The rest, Silvestro states, are 'substantially complete' (*sostanzialmente complete*), meaning that the compiler recorded the vast majority of their content, thought, and the development of arguments made. Nevertheless, this person made frequent use of terms and expressions like 'etc.', which indicates that more was said originally than what was actually recorded.⁴¹

³⁸ Ibid., p. 136.

³⁹ In 1954, it consisted of 145 folios, or 290 pages, with the numbering being written in with pencil. See *ibid.* The transcript follows that same pagination. The present numbering has, for the most part, been stamped in at the top right corner of each folio.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 136.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 140-41.

Unlike the CV, however, a cursory glance of the QM and the handwriting inside reveals that the codex is definitely not a Laurentian autograph. The editors of the *Opera omnia* recognised this after having examined it themselves before publishing the *Sanctorale* in 1944;⁴² hence their decision not to publish the QM among Lorenzo's works. Silvestro observed that there were at least two hands involved in its composition. The first person, whose identity remains unknown, was responsible for penning the primitive core. With a different kind of ink, he also wrote a few whole and partial sermons of his own on blank folios or sections of folios throughout the codex. The identity of the second individual, who signed off at the end of the codex as 'P. F. Maria', is also shrouded in mystery. Silvestro suspected that he was a Capuchin preacher whose signature was an indication, in accordance with the Order's statutes, that he had received permission to keep the codex for personal use. Making use of some of the remaining blank space in the QM, he jotted down preaching notes as well as sayings of patristic authorities and classical authors. While Silvestro could not determine who these men were, he was confident that, given the dialect of their Italian, they were from the Veneto.⁴³

The QM did not come directly from Lorenzo's own hand; that much is certain. Nevertheless, Silvestro has argued convincingly that the primitive core is a substantial record of sermons Lorenzo preached in Prague during Lent 1607. They were, he posited, set down in writing as Lorenzo spoke, the same as had happened, for example, with many of Bernardino da Siena's sermons during the Quattrocento. For his external proof

⁴² *Sanctorale*, p. ix.

⁴³ Silvestro, 'Un quaresimale italiano inedito di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi', pp. 137-38.

that this material ought to be attributed to Lorenzo, Silvestro first cites the original title, ‘Quaresimale del Padre Brindes’, written by the same person who committed the Lenten sermons to writing. Silvestro also points out that this individual, in order to distinguish the primitive text from the accretions, was wont to identify the former with ‘B’ or ‘Brind’.⁴⁴ As for the internal proof, Silvestro establishes that the preacher in question was a Franciscan who identified himself as a friar and the Poverello as his *Padre*. Silvestro also states correctly that this man was, *inter alia*, very familiar with Greek and Hebrew; a skilled controversialist; a profound exegete; a devotee of the Virgin Mary and the Eucharist; and a supporter of the Immaculate Conception – all of which are characteristic of Lorenzo. But perhaps the most compelling evidence Silvestro presents are the passages taken from both the QM and the *Opera omnia* that demonstrate the common thought, subjects treated, style, biblical and patristic citations, figures of speech, expressions, and examples they share. For this purpose, he drew from the first three *Quadragesimalia* as well as the *Dominicalia*.⁴⁵ He did not draw a comparison between the QM and the *Quadragesimale quartum*, with its particularly relevant contents from the CV, presumably because his article, published in 1954, the same year as the *Quadragesimale quartum*, appeared in print before the latter.

Silvestro deduced that the sermons could be dated to 1607 because the preacher spoke about St Joseph on the Monday after the third Sunday of Lent, the day on which his feast (19 March) happened to fall that year. Earlier in the article, Silvestro established that the earliest possible date of origin for the QM was 1592, the year in which the Capuchin Cristoforo Facciardi (‘il Verucchino’) published in Venice, for the first time, his meditation

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 146-47

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 149-152.

on Christ's crown of thorns, a text cited in the QM. And according to Silvestro, the latest possible date was 1783, the year of Lorenzo's beatification, because on neither the original cover nor the title page is Lorenzo referred to as 'beato' or even 'venerabile' or 'servo di Dio'. Within this timeframe, the feast of St Joseph was celebrated on the Monday after the third Sunday of Lent only in 1607, 1618, 1629, 1691, 1759, 1770, and 1781. The post-1618 dates are not options as Lorenzo had of course already been long since dead. Silvestro ruled out 1618 too because during Lent that year Lorenzo was preoccupied with Pedro de Toledo and diplomatic affairs in Milan, making 1607, when Lorenzo was in Prague, the only possible option.⁴⁶

There are in addition a few instances in the QM where the speaker made statements that lend credence to the idea of his being in Prague. In order to make a spiritual point about good works and their resultant rewards in his sermon for Ash Wednesday, the preacher contrasted the hypothetical earthly treasure that would be required to purchase an earthly kingdom, like that of Naples or Bohemia, with the treasures that God wants to give to those who do good works – treasures that would enable them to buy the kingdom of heaven.⁴⁷ The choice of Naples and Bohemia is telling, especially given the number of other European kingdoms that could have been cited. The former was of course Lorenzo's own *patria*; the latter, his locale in 1607, would have been the obvious kingdom to cite for people in Prague. The preacher also referred to the emperor in his sermon for the Friday after Ash Wednesday. While treating the theme of loving one's enemies, he first asked the audience who, being in His Imperial Majesty's antechamber, would dare to issue a formal

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 137, 153-55.

⁴⁷ QM, f. 3v.

challenge to his enemy in the emperor's presence. The question implies that no one would have the nerve to do so; yet, the speaker continued, God is everywhere, and still people act insolently toward their enemies due to their lack of faith.⁴⁸ Such a reference to the emperor, who in 1607 was still Rudolf II, and his court – literally a few minutes' walk from St Mary of the Angels – would have obviously been especially germane in Prague. Lastly, in the aforementioned sermon for the feast of St Joseph, during which the preacher offered his explanation as to why Joseph was identified in the New Testament as a 'just man', he asserted that had Jan Hus in Prague and Bohemia, Luther in Saxony and Germany, and Calvin in Geneva and France preached 'the truth' and taught 'true justice', they, as Christ said about prophets in their own countries, would have faced rejection. The preacher then went on to add that had Hus actually been a true prophet, he would have denounced the vices of Prague, not those of Rome, and would have exhorted the Bohemians to pursue virtue rather than rebellion and sedition. The same was true, he said, for Luther and Calvin in their own spheres of influence.⁴⁹ On both occasions Hus preceded Luther and Calvin, and for the second statement he received the vast majority of the attention. To have focused so much on Hus and Prague really only made sense in Bohemia, and particularly in Prague.

What is more, Silvestro notes that in 1607 Lorenzo had been elected to preach at St Mary of the Angels in Italian,⁵⁰ the language of the QM. That he had preached in Italian before in the capital is also evident in the *Commentariolum*. Here he mentioned how, shortly after the Capuchins' arrival, he had preached in that language while they were officiating at the church of St Francis connected to Archbishop Berka's hospital.⁵¹ At first,

⁴⁸ QM, f. 12v.

⁴⁹ Ibid., f. 67r.

⁵⁰ Silvestro, 'Un quaresimale italiano inedito di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi', pp. 137, 153-55.

⁵¹ Comm., f. 2v.

it might seem eccentric that there were friars preaching in Italian in Prague, but at that time, not only did Italian remain one of Europe's most widely-known languages but the city's considerable Italian population lived near the Hrad any.⁵² One can imagine, then, that both Prague's Catholic elite and these Italians would have frequented the sermons given by Lorenzo, the leader of the recently-established, papally-mandated mission in the city.

There is therefore no reason to doubt Silvestro's conclusions about either Lorenzo's authorship of the sermons recorded in the QM or their origins during Lent 1607 in Prague. And being of Laurentian origin, this makes them especially authoritative in that they document sermons Lorenzo actually gave as opposed to the *concetti* in the CV, which mostly contain evidence for what he might have said, or at least thought could be said. We must hope that the Capuchin Order will consider, perhaps in light of the fourth centenary of Lorenzo's death in 2019, publishing this homiletic material, thereby making the Apostolic Doctor's *Opera omnia* all the more complete.

The Polemical Content Lorenzo's Sermons

a) Tenets and Themes Treated

Lorenzo argued against heresy and defended Tridentine Catholicism in at least fourteen sermons in the QM and more than forty of his *concetti* in the CV. None of this material is purely polemical; rather the polemics appear as part of his pastoral attempts to clarify for a Catholic audience the meaning of Scripture, the Christian mysteries, and how good Catholics ought to be conducting themselves. Between the QM and the CV, he

⁵² See p. 93 above.

addressed the all-important matter of justification over and over again, arguing emphatically against *sola fide* and imputation while insisting on the necessity of good works for salvation, and their meritoriousness.⁵³ He criticised the heretics' attitudes toward Scripture and emphasised both the validity and the essential nature of Sacred Tradition.⁵⁴ He defended consistently the 'divine authority' of the Roman Church, its bishops and priests, the pope, and general councils.⁵⁵ He also held up the Church's religious orders as its great protectors in the face of heresy.⁵⁶ He insisted on the biblical origins of monasticism.⁵⁷ He defended the Church's teachings on the theological merits of prayer;⁵⁸ the theological merits of fasting, and the Church's authority to command fasts;⁵⁹ and also the intercession of the saints.⁶⁰ He dealt with the sacraments. He insisted vehemently on Christ's real presence in the Eucharist, its sacrificial nature, and that communion in both kinds is not necessary.⁶¹ He affirmed the necessity of Baptism for the salvation and regeneration of the sinner, and that infants ought to be baptised.⁶² He argued also for the validity of Penance and for its essentiality in the lives of Christians.⁶³ He challenged Protestant views on predestination and free will.⁶⁴ He argued in favour of the Catholic understanding of miraculous places.⁶⁵ He even took a few moments to explain what 'true reform' of the

⁵³ QM, ff. 3rv, 5v-6v, 10rv, 15v-16r, 17rv, 33v, 44r, 67r; *QQ*, pp. 86-87, 145-46, 163, 198-99, 286-88, 697-98; *SDT*, pp. 10-11, 23-24, 145-46, 184 ff, 211 ff, 325, 327-28.

⁵⁴ QM, ff. 34v-35r, 37v-38r, 138rv; *QQ*, pp. 326-331, 519, 522-23, 695; *SDT*, pp. 157, 205-06, 239-242, 259-260, 319-20.

⁵⁵ QM, ff. 42v, 44rv; 52r; *QQ*, pp. 212 ff, 312 ff, 555-56; *SDT*, pp. 175 ff, 188, 220 ff, 230 ff, 288 ff.

⁵⁶ QM, ff. 43rv.

⁵⁷ *QQ*, p. 72.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-45; *SDT*, p. 264 ff.

⁵⁹ QM, ff. 2v-3r, 15rv; *QQ*, pp. 8, 15 ff, 72-73.

⁶⁰ QM, f. 33v; *QQ*, pp. 145, 344 ff.

⁶¹ QM, ff. 99r, 113v, 114v; *QQ*, pp. 376 ff, 608 ff, 625 ff; *SDT*, p. 341 ff.

⁶² *QQ*, pp. 428-29; *SDT*, pp. 8 ff, 279-282.

⁶³ *QQ*, pp. 597 ff, 695-97; *SDT*, pp. 145-46.

⁶⁴ QM, f. 33v; *QQ*, pp. 145, 161-64; *SDT*, pp. 157 ff, 215.

⁶⁵ QM, f. 35r.

Church – that is, its ‘purification’, rather than ‘destruction’, which he associated with the Protestants – really looks like.⁶⁶ These issues were at the very heart of the contemporary religious divisions in Europe.

Between the QM and the CV, it is clear that Lorenzo preached on, and was prepared to preach on, a host of theological issues related to the Reformation. Based on what material we have in the QM – not a complete record of Lorenzo’s 1607 Lenten discourses – the subject he emphasised the most was justification, and specifically the necessity of good works as opposed to *sola fide*. Of the fourteen sermons with polemical content in the QM, he spoke about this subject seven times, that is, in half of them. Justification was also the issue he addressed the most in the CV. He treated it in at least twelve of the more than forty polemical *concetti*, meaning it appears substantively in almost a third of them. He undoubtedly focused on this theme to the extent that he did not only to attack strategically *sola fide*, one of the very pillars upon which Protestantism stood, but also because a significant part of his job as a preacher was to spur his listeners on to pursuing ‘meritorious’ good works, especially during a season intended for penance and spiritual renewal, as Lent was. Following justification in the QM are Scripture, the Church, the Eucharist, and fasting, each of which appears twice. That fasting should be numbered among this group of Reformation-related issues – and *sola Scriptura* was of course the other central pillar of Protestantism – is explicable, again, given the fact that the QM consists of Lenten discourses, for which we ought to expect consistent discussion of fasting. After justification, the Church and Scripture were the subjects Lorenzo treated the most in the

⁶⁶ *QQ*, pp. 107-09.

POLEMICAL THEMES ADDRESSED	QM	CV
Justification (good works/ <i>sola fide</i>)	7 times	12 times
The Church	2	8
Scripture	2	6
The Eucharist	2	4
Fasting	2	3
Tradition	1	4
Intercession of saints	1	2
Predestination	1	2
Religious orders	1	0
The 'miraculous'	1	0
Baptism	0	3
Penance	0	3
Free will	0	3
Prayer	0	2
Monasticism	0	1
Nature of reform	0	1

CV, with there being eight *congetti* dealing with the former; six, the latter. The Eucharist was addressed in four of the *congetti*, as was Tradition, a subject about which Lorenzo preached only once in the QM. In the CV, fasting received attention in only three of the *congetti*. As a whole, the theological issues Lorenzo tackled in both the QM and the CV receive more treatment in the latter than in the former. We ought to expect that: the CV encompasses much more of the liturgical year, and its contents explore what could be said on a specific day, and in light of a particular Bible verse, though time constraints and circumstances in the pulpit might not have always allowed for it all. Nevertheless, based on what we are able to glean from both sources, we can at least get a sense of what issues Lorenzo probably emphasised the most while preaching in Prague and elsewhere in the Reich.

Besides the controversial themes addressed by Lorenzo in the QM and the CV, it is also interesting to consider what he did not focus on. For example, with regard to the sacraments, he did preach on the Eucharist and was prepared to defend Catholic teachings on Baptism and Penance; but we do not see him arguing that there were really seven sacraments as opposed to the two claimed by the Protestants. He did not say anything about clerical celibacy. He did not mention the word ‘Purgatory’ even once. The closest he came to it is a very brief allusion to the Eucharist being beneficial spiritually for both the living and ‘the dead’ in his sermon plan for the Thursday of the Lord’s Supper in the CV.⁶⁷ Furthermore, quite surprisingly, he provided no kind of refutation of the Protestants’ criticisms of Catholic veneration of Mary. That is especially striking given how central she was for his own spirituality. However, that these subjects do not appear in these particular

⁶⁷ *QQ*, pp. 635-36.

sources definitely does not mean that he never preached on them while in the Reich; after all, the QM reveals only a part of what Lorenzo preached for a single Lent – a fraction of but one liturgical year – and the CV, again, contains plans for sermons, not actual ones. In fact, although we do not see him addressing Protestant attacks on the Church's Marian cult in these sources, when we turn to the *concetti* in the *Mariale*, we find that he was prepared to tackle such criticisms.⁶⁸ And even more importantly, in the *Commentariolum*, as we shall see in the next chapter, Lorenzo recorded that he did actually preach in defense of Catholic veneration of Mary while in Prague in 1610.

b) 'Verbal Violence'

Lorenzo did not just focus his attention on ideas and themes in his sermons. He also attacked particular groups of Protestants and individual reformers; and he did so, as Carlo Delcorno once put it while describing anti-Protestant preaching among renowned Catholic preachers, with 'una calcolata violenza verbale'.⁶⁹ The Lutherans and the Calvinists were the heretics most often on the Capuchin's mind in both the QM and the CV, as is the case when he dealt with contemporary heresy in his other homiletic works in the *Opera omnia*. He also spoke against the Anabaptists, although he did so only once in each source, presumably because he knew that they were not even remotely the same kind of menace to the Catholic cause in the Reich as the Lutherans and Calvinists. However, he gave no indication as to which Anabaptists he might have meant, or even if he was aware that there were different kinds.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, he did demonstrate that he was aware of some of the

⁶⁸ See, for example, *Mariale*, pp. 251 ff, 331, 561-62.

⁶⁹ Delcorno, 'Forme della predicazione cattolica fra Cinque e Seicento', p. 295.

⁷⁰ QM, ff. 34v-35r; *SDT*, pp. 279-81.

significant theological distinctions that separated these three groups. For example, he recognised that the Anabaptists rejected infant baptism whereas the Calvinists practiced it.⁷¹ And he knew that both Luther and Calvin denied that the Mass was a sacrifice,⁷² though he rightly only associated Calvin and his followers as denying Christ's physical presence in the sacrament.⁷³

Curiously though, Lorenzo did not explicitly mention the Hussites at all in either the QM or the CV. As we saw above, he only alluded to them generally in the QM when he spoke of 'the Bohemians' who had been incited to rebellion by Hus. In the CV, one might think that Lorenzo would have identified them by name in his *alia homilia* for the Fourth Sunday of Lent, where he argued that communion in both kinds is not necessary; but he did not. Instead, what we find is a general remark about the 'haeretici, qui Communionem sub utraque specie omnino requirunt'.⁷⁴ He did not specifically say 'Hussites' here; but, then again, he did not say 'Lutherans' or 'Calvinists' either: presumably all are implied. Hus was never mentioned in the CV, and yet he shows up in the QM; perhaps the same would have been true for his followers if we had additional sermons on record. The only place where the Hussites appear explicitly in the Capuchin's *Opera* is the *Lutheranismi hypotyposis*, where he identified them, together with other heretical movements like the Waldenses and the Lollards, as haters of the Roman Church, the pope, and monks.⁷⁵ Based on what little we can glean from the *Opera*, it could be that Lorenzo's knowledge of Hussite beliefs was minimal. Then again, perhaps Lorenzo, a man

⁷¹ *SDT*, pp. 279-282.

⁷² *QQ*, p. 628.

⁷³ QM, f. 99r; *QQ*, pp. 377-78, 608 ff; *SDT*, pp. 342 ff.

⁷⁴ See *QQ*, pp. 376-384 for the entire sermon plan, and p. 378 for Lorenzo's reference to the 'haeretici'.

⁷⁵ *LH*, vol. 1, p. 307; vol. 2, p. 104.

who always seems to have come equipped for his apostolic work, as we saw with his preparedness to preach to the Jews of Italy and his having come to the Reich able to communicate in German, did in fact know more about Hussite teachings. Maybe these people do not have a prominent place in his sermons and writings because he, while definitely considering them ‘enemies’ of the Catholic faith, did not perceive them as much of a ‘threat’ as the Lutherans and Calvinists – in the same way that Richard Rex observes of Sir Thomas More, who did not write against Lollard beliefs in his works despite the Lollards’ continued presence in England during the early sixteenth century.⁷⁶

Among the individual reformers named in the QM and the CV, Luther and Calvin, as we might expect, are the ones who appear most consistently. Yet, despite Lorenzo’s reputation for being primarily an opponent of Lutheranism, not least because of his dispute with Polykarp Leyser in 1607, Calvin, whose teachings he saw as being even more radical than Luther’s, is the heresiarch upon whom he relentlessly poured the majority of his scorn and vitriol. In the QM, Lorenzo was in the habit of derisively calling him the ‘galante Calvino’, and this while seeking to expose the Frenchman as an ignoramus to his audience.⁷⁷ And on more than one occasion in the CV, Lorenzo felt it useful to comment specifically on what he believed were Calvin’s shoddy exegetical skills. That is apparent, for example, in his *alia homilia* for the Tuesday of the third week of Lent, where he referred to Calvin sardonically as ‘the excellent interpreter Calvin’ (*optimus interpres Calvinus*), after finding fault with his interpretation of Christ’s statement ‘Tell it to the Church’ (*dic Ecclesiae*) in Matthew 18:17, which Calvin, given Christ’s Jewish context, and the fact that

⁷⁶ Richard Rex, ‘Thomas More and the Heretics: Statesman or Fanatic?’, in G. M. Logan (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas More* (New York, 2011), p. 110.

⁷⁷ QM, ff. 10r, 15r, 17r, 31r.

there was not yet an established Church, interpreted as the Jewish religious leaders – ‘dic synagogae’, as Lorenzo put it.⁷⁸ Apart from Calvin and Luther, we have already seen his references to Jan Hus in a single sermon in the QM. He also mentioned Ulrich Zwingli twice, but solely in the CV. Here he identified him, together with Luther and Calvin, as one who had claimed to be sent by God to restore the Church, but who was responsible instead for ‘so great a destruction of souls’ (*tanta pernicie animarum*) and losses for the Catholic religion throughout Christendom.⁷⁹

More generally, there were certain points about the heretics that Lorenzo wanted to drive home for his audience. The first is that they were, as he said over and again in the CV, innovators (*novatores*).⁸⁰ Thus, rather than being God’s chosen agents to restore the Church to its pristine form, they had instead introduced pestilential novelties into Christendom. That is why he labeled them ‘these evangelists of the fifth gospel’ (*questi evangelisti del quinto evangelio*) during his Ash Wednesday sermon in the QM.⁸¹ It is also why, in both sources, he consistently and mockingly attached ‘new’ to his references to them. In the CV, he jeered at the ‘amazing wisdom of these new and most divine theologasters’ (*mirabilis novorum horum ac divinissimorum theologastrum sapientia*), the Anabaptists.⁸² The Protestants are ‘new reformers’ (*novi reformatores*),⁸³ ‘these new apostles’ (*novi isti apostoli*),⁸⁴ ‘new Christs’ (*novi Christi*),⁸⁵ ‘these new theologians’ (*novi*

⁷⁸ *QQ*, p. 313. For an English translation of Calvin’s interpretation, see J. Calvin, *Calvin’s Commentaries*, reprint (22 vols., Grand Rapids, MI, 2005), vol. 16, pp. 55-57.

⁷⁹ *SDT*, pp. 289, 293.

⁸⁰ *QQ*, p. 15 and *passim*, including *SDT*.

⁸¹ QM, f. 3r.

⁸² *SDT*, p. 280.

⁸³ *QQ*, p. 108.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 522.

isti theologi);⁸⁶ and Calvin ‘this new teacher in Israel’ (*novus iste magister in Israel*),⁸⁷ a sarcastic allusion, presumably, to Christ’s dialogue with the Pharisee Nicodemus in John 3:10, who, despite his learning and renown, could not understand Christ’s teachings. As we can see, in these particular Latin references, the ‘novi’ always precede the pejorative ‘isti’, Lorenzo’s very deliberate way of stressing that the heretics represented ‘novelty’ rather than the primitive Church now restored. But in the CV Lorenzo’s favourite term of derision for the Protestants, which also appears at least once in the QM, where it also applies to Hus, is ‘new evangelists’ (*novi evangelistae, nuovi evangelisti*).⁸⁸ And in the QM, the heretics’ churches are not true churches like the ‘true’ Church of Rome, but ‘new churches’ (*nuove chiese*).⁸⁹

Furthermore, Lorenzo echoed Luther’s criticisms of his enemies by insisting that his opponents were in league with the Devil. In the CV, Luther and Calvin, he asserted, were by no means bishops of Christ’s Church but rather the ‘synagogue of Satan’ (*synagogae satanae*)⁹⁰ mentioned in Revelation 2:9 and 3:9. He alleged in the QM that the heretics’ churches were not founded by God but rather the Devil by means of diabolical men.⁹¹ In the CV, they are called ‘evangelists of Satan’ (*evangelistae satanae*)⁹² as well as ‘ministers of Satan transformed into an angel of light’,⁹³ the way Paul described his theological enemies in 2 Corinthians 11:13-15. Lorenzo insisted, as Christ said of the Jews

⁸⁶ *SDT*, p. 215.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁸⁸ *QQ*, p. 16 and *passim*, including *SDT*; QM, f. 67r.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 44r.

⁹⁰ *QQ*, p. 217.

⁹¹ QM, f. 42v: ‘Donque il primo contrasegno della vera Chiesa, è l’esser la piu antica et la prima che dalle mani di Dio fu piantata. Tutte le altre sete fuori della Chatolica sono state piantate da huomini et per cio non sono prime, ne vere, anzi dico dal Diavolo sono state inventate per ministerio d’huomini diabolici’.

⁹² *QQ*, p. 144.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

in John 8:44, that they were ‘sons of the Devil’ (*fili diabolici*), so that it was of their nature to both persecute ‘true religion’ – Catholicism, of course – and lie, just as Satan had always been a liar and the ‘father of lies’.⁹⁴ In the friar’s opinion, they are ‘truly pseudochrists and antichrists’ (*revera pseudochristi et antichristi*).⁹⁵ What is more, he alleged, these ‘new evangelists’, like the false prophets of Baal in 2 Kings, were sent by Satan to deceive souls.⁹⁶

Lorenzo’s attacks on the heretics took other forms, too. In the QM, after stating in his sermon for the first Sunday of Lent that Christ, John the Baptist, and others had founded their Gospel upon fasting and penance, he alleged that the heretics had founded theirs upon concubinage, getting drunk, and more, signified by the ‘etc.’ in the text.⁹⁷ At least twice in the CV, he referred to them as ‘nebulones’, a term meaning ‘villains’ or ‘good-for-nothings’.⁹⁸ Some of the verbs that he attached to the Protestants in the CV are also telling. In at least one sermon, he suggested that they ‘chatter’ or ‘babble’ about how Christians need not keep the feast days established by the Roman Church; the word here is ‘garrunt’.⁹⁹ Another verb he used is ‘nugantur’, which carries with it the idea that the heretics were in the habit of ‘talking nonsense’ and ‘trifling’.¹⁰⁰ The Capuchin did not mince words: to his way of thinking – the same way he wanted his fellow Catholics to think – the heretics were hopelessly out of touch with ‘true Christianity’, diabolical, depraved, and foolish. But he

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 633.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 522.

⁹⁶ *SDT*, p. 289.

⁹⁷ QM, f. 15v: ‘Christo, S. Giovanni, etc.hanno fondato il loro evangelo sopra il digiuno, sopra la penitentia, etc. per cio che hanno digiunato etc. Ma li heretici hanno fondato il loro evangelo sapete sopra che? Sopra il concubinato, sopra le crapule etc. et per cio sono contrarij a Christo’.

⁹⁸ *QQ*, p. 328; *SDT*, p. 191.

⁹⁹ *QQ*, p. 519.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 428 and *passim*, including *SDT*.

may have toned down this rhetoric while among the heretics, who would of course not have been easily wooed to Catholicism through insults and name-calling. To us today, this kind of rhetoric will seem harsh and intolerant; but such was the language of early modern polemicists who believed themselves to be in an apocalyptic, knock-down, drag-out fight over ‘the truth’. And if Lorenzo’s language seems violent, it is not nearly as aggressive, say, as that of Luther and Thomas More, both of whom could resort to utterly nasty invectives and vulgarities that remain notorious.¹⁰¹

c) *Scripture*

Lorenzo’s overarching methodology for refuting Protestant doctrine in the QM and the CV was to rely on Scripture. That should not be too surprising since truth for Tridentine Catholics, as Elaine Fulton reminds us, could be found in equal part in the Bible and Tradition, as defined by the Roman magisterium.¹⁰² However, it appears that Lorenzo was accustomed to using Scripture almost exclusively in his sermons, probably because he believed that the best way to combat heresy was to engage the Protestants on their own claimed turf of ‘Scripture alone’. But he was certainly not the only Catholic to stress the Bible so much in his polemics. As is evident in David Bagchi’s *Luther’s Earliest Opponents*, his emphasis on Scripture, and his habit of refuting Protestant heretics solely upon the authority of the Bible, had been common since the earliest days of the

¹⁰¹ For more on the ‘verbal violence’ of these two figures, see M.U. Edwards, *Luther’s Last Battles: Politics and Polemics, 1531-46*, reprint (Minneapolis, 2005); Rex, ‘Thomas More and the Heretics’, pp. 101-05.

¹⁰² Elaine Fulton, ‘Touching Theology with Unwashed Hands: The Preservation of Authority in Post-Tridentine Catholicism’, in H. Parish, E. Fulton, and P. Webster (eds.), *The Search for Authority in Reformation Europe* (Burlington, VT, 2014), pp. 91, 93, 104.

Reformation. As Bagchi points out, the Dominican controversialist Johannes Dietenberger (ca. 1475-1537) understood the Bible to be the most important of the Church's authorities, and therefore aimed to show that it by no means supported Luther's doctrines; the Franciscan Augustinus von Alveld (ca. 1480–after 1532) published pamphlets against the reformer that were based entirely on arguments from Scripture.¹⁰³ But besides this tactical reason, Lorenzo's reliance on the Bible in the pulpit undoubtedly also stemmed from the Capuchin Order's demand in the *Constitutions* that preachers proclaim the Gospel plainly, and without art, from Sacred Scripture.¹⁰⁴ A read of the QM and CV reveals that Lorenzo took this all very seriously. And he quoted the Bible unceasingly and almost certainly from memory – just as Calvin, for example, had done. This is evident in the CV, where, as the editors of the *Opera omnia* point out quite frequently in their notes, his rendering of certain passages varies, though usually only slightly, from the actual text of the Vulgate.¹⁰⁵

Lorenzo's reliance on Scripture while seeking to refute heresy is evident in his Ash Wednesday material in both the CV and the QM, where he dealt, appropriately, with the question of fasting. It is also worthwhile to compare briefly this sermon plan and sermon as they have much in common, a fact that, as alluded to above, may shed further light on their origins. In both places, the Ash Wednesday discourse is based on Matthew 6:16-21, where Christ gave instructions for fasting. In the CV's first *alia homilia* for Ash Wednesday, Lorenzo stated the following:

¹⁰³ Bagchi, *Luther's Earliest Opponents*, pp. 156, 166-67, 206; E. Iserloh, J. Glazik, and H. Jedin, *Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (New York, 1980), pp. 202-03.

¹⁰⁴ Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini*, vol. 1, pp. 410-11, 417-18.

¹⁰⁵ For Calvin and his quoting of Scripture from memory, see Max Engammare, 'Calvin connaissait-il la Bible?: Les citations de l'Écriture dans ses sermons sur la Genèse', *Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* 141/2 (1995), pp. 163-184. It is worth noting that Lorenzo's Bible preserved at the APCV is not the Clementine Vulgate but the Plantin Bible of 1574 published in Antwerp.

‘Cum ieiunatis, nolite fieri sicut hypocritae tristes’, gloomy. The Lord requires a twofold fasting from us: bodily and spiritual, which is to abstain from vices and sins. ‘Nolite fieri sicut hypocritae; Nolite thesaurizare in terra’. First, indeed, bodily fasting; for from the foundation of the world what God has required of man before all things was abstinence. In today’s Gospel reading, the Lord did not command bodily fasting, but he only regulates and hands down canons and a method for fasting, so that our fasting may be pleasing to God, and useful and salutary to us, worthy of divine recompense. Insane heretics! Physical sarcophaguses who totally deny fasting! If there ought not to be any fasting at all, why does Christ give rules for fasting?¹⁰⁶

Here Lorenzo took on heretics who totally (*omnino*) denied fasting. On one occasion he even addressed them directly, demanding an answer to a question, as if wrangling with them in person. No doubt this was for rhetorical effect. However, he did not clarify which heretics he had in mind. We might wonder if this is, to an extent, a hasty and exaggerated misinterpretation of the Protestants’ rejection of the Church’s program of collective fasting as well as the belief that fasting was somehow meritorious. Lorenzo’s argument, however, acknowledges that while Christ in Matthew 6 was not ‘commanding’ Christians to fast, the fact that Christ gave rules for fasting in Scripture indicated that he did want it to be done.

Lorenzo continued:

Christ did not command fasting. Think about it, what can we deduce from that? The Ninevites were not commanded to fast [Jon. 3:5]; was, therefore, the sinners’ fasting, an act of penance, not pleasing to God? Nor was John commanded to live so rough a life in the desert; did it therefore not please Christ? And what is this that we read about the Apostles: ‘ieiunantibus autem illis et orantibus’ [Acts 13:2], if there ought to be no fasting? What is this that the Lord says: ‘Auferetur ab eis sponsus et tunc ieiunabunt’ [Mark 2:20]? What is this, that the demons are not cast out ‘nisi in oratione et ieiunio’ [Mark 9:28]? But what command was needed for something so necessary for salvation? You see a fire burning in your house, and do you wait for an order to use water to extinguish it? You have learned that you are infected with poison. You have the cure with you, and do you wait for a command from the doctor? An armed enemy attacks you, and do you require a command to take up the arms necessary for your defense? You are worn out with hunger and thirst, and must you be commanded to take the necessary food and drink? O the insane minds of men! O blind hearts! And why did Christ fast, except to urge us by his own example to subdue the desire of the flesh, to chastise the body and bring it into subjection? ‘Exemplum...dedi vobis’ [John 13:15]. ‘Christus passus est pro nobis, vobis relinquens exemplum ut sequamini vestigia eius’ [1 Pet. 2:21].¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ *QQ*, p. 8.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* The editors of the *Opera omnia* note that Acts 13:2 in the Vulgate actually reads ‘Ministrantibus autem illis et ieiunantibus’: *ibid.*, n. 26.

Again we find the sarcastic Lorenzo resorting to a Bible-based refutation, this time barraging his opponents with verses and exemplars that he was confident disproved their alleged notions on fasting. To further demonstrate the ‘validity’ of his argument, he gave several parallel, real-world examples that his audience would have understood.

In the QM, after teaching that bodily and spiritual abstinence were, respectively, the first and second rungs of a ladder extending from earth to heaven, much like Jacob’s ladder in Genesis 28, Lorenzo asserted:

These evangelists of the fifth Gospel go saying that the fasting of the Catholics is a superstitious thing, because God did not command it. Ah, ignorant people, etc.! Tell me a little something, where it is found in Divine Scripture that fasting is superstitious. It is true that Christ does not command us to fast in this Gospel; but if in this Gospel Christ gives the Church the Rules for fasting, how then does he not want it to fast? Tell me, why does the Doctor order a sick person to follow a diet unless he wants him to follow it? Only a madman would not follow it, etc. Christ gives us the Rules: ‘Cum jejunatis’, etc., and how may we not then take care to fast? Ah, miserable people, etc.¹⁰⁸

Here Lorenzo attacked the heretics with greater precision than in the CV, focusing on their criticisms of the Catholics’ ‘superstitious’ prescribed fasting allegedly not commanded by God. He once more employed the rhetorical technique of direct address. And again his rebuttal was scriptural, relying once more on Matthew 6. He coupled that with another real-world example to drive home his point. For Lorenzo, then, the Church with its fasts was in harmony with Christ’s teaching, and the heretics were off the mark. He continued:

Moreover, why does God speak in the prophet Zechariah, chapter 8[:19], of the fast of the fourth month, of the fifth month, etc.? How is it possible that he speaks of such a thing, etc.? Did the Ninevites, then,

¹⁰⁸ QM, f. 3r: ‘Vano dicendo questi evangelisti del quinto evangelio che il digiuno de chatolici è cosa superstitiosa, per che Iddio non l’ha comandato. Ah ignoranti etc. Dittemi un pocco, dove si trova nella divina scrittura che il digiuno sia superstitoso. E’ vero che Christo non ci comanda il digiuno in questo evangelio, ma se Christo in questo evangelio da le Regole a santa chiesa del digiunare, come dunque non vuole che digiuni? Dittemi per qual causa il Medico ordina la dieta all’infermo se non vol che la facci. Non sarebbe tenuto da un pazzo etc. Christo ci da le Regole cum jejunatis etc. et non poi non cura che digiuniamo. Ah miseri etc.’

do badly (Jon. 3:5, 10); that holy woman, Anna the Prophetess, about whom we read that 'Ieiuniis et orationibus serviebat Domino' [Luke 2:37-38]? If it is a superstitious thing, how was it pleasing to God? Therefore, the Apostles, St John the Baptist, who began from the time he was a boy, etc. Oh, what horrible monsters of heresy! St Paul says, while writing Romans 12[:1]: 'Obsecro vos, ut exhibeatis corpora hostiam viventem, sanctam, rationabile obsequium vestrum'. 'Obsequium' in the Hebrew Text means 'cultus', and 'cultus' in Divine Scripture is called 'service of God'. He wants, then, that the service of God be reasonable; and St Paul calls fasting service of God: 'Ut...' ¹⁰⁹

The writer obviously did not, unfortunately, finish copying down everything Lorenzo said. Nevertheless, Lorenzo's point is perfectly clear: the heretics could allege that the Catholics were being superstitious when fasting, but God did not condone or reward 'superstition' in Scripture, nor were those great exemplars of godliness in the Bible – Anna the prophetess, John the Baptist, the apostles – behaving 'superstitiously' with their fasting. The Catholics were right, the heretics were wrong. And as for the similarity between the Ash Wednesday material in the QM and the CV, both begin with teaching on the place of bodily and spiritual fasting; continue with an acknowledgement that Christ did not command fasting, but rather gave rules for it, and did so because he wanted the Church to fast; and conclude with a barrage of different verses and models of godliness from Scripture that further refute the heretics. Structurally, then, the arguments are identical. Both speak to bodily and spiritual fasting; are based on Matthew 6; draw the same conclusions from that verse; and cite identical biblical figures, such as the Ninevites, John the Baptist, and the apostles, in support. Both also contain direct addresses to, and sharp outbursts against, the heretics. Although the insults in each source are different, the strikingly similar material here and in

¹⁰⁹ QM, f. 3r: 'Di piu per qual causa parla Iddio appresso Zacharia profeta all'8 del digiuno del 4 Mese, del quinto Mese, etc.? Come è possibile che parli di cosa, etc.? Donque fecero male Niniviti, quella santa donna Anna Profetessa della quale leggiamo che Jeiunijs et orationibus serviebat Domino? Se è superstitiosa, come fu gratta a Dio? Donque li Apostoli, S. Giovanni Battista, che comincio da fanciullo, etc. Che mostri horribili d'heresie. S. Paolo dice scrivendo a Romani al 12 obsecro vos ut exhibeatis corpora vestra hostiam viventem sanctam rationabile obsequium vestrum. Obsequium nel testo hebreo vol dir cultus, et cultus nella divina scrittura si chiama servitio di Dio. Vole donque che il servitio di Dio sia rationabile. Et S. Paolo chiama il digiuno servitio di Dio, ut...'

other examples from in the QM and the CV is telling.¹¹⁰ This all further corroborates the Laurentian origin of the QM. It may also mean that the CV, with its *concetti*, served as the basis for some of the sermons preached with modifications, and copied down, in the QM. If that is true, we can more confidently narrow the date of origin for the CV to Lent 1607 and earlier.

In addition to questions on fasting, Lorenzo also appealed consistently to Scripture while focusing on the all-important matter of faith and good works, as is evident in his *alia homilia* intended for the Monday of the second week of Lent in the CV. After admitting here, based on Scripture, that faith was without a doubt necessary for salvation, he turned his attention to the question of whether faith alone was sufficient, as the Protestant reformers had taught. Here is his response:

And the necessity of faith is established, but not its sufficiency, because faith is totally necessary for salvation; for 'Without faith it is impossible to please God' [Hebr. 11:6]; and, 'He who does not believe has been judged already because he does not believe in the name of the only-begotten Son of God' [John 3:18]. Still, it is not said that faith alone is sufficient for salvation. Christ never taught this. Nowhere in Divine Letters does it appear that faith alone saves. On the contrary, 'Faith without works is dead' [James 2:20, 26]; and, 'If I have all faith, in such a way that I remove mountains, but do not have love, I am nothing' [1 Cor. 13:2].¹¹¹

Again, for the Capuchin, Scripture established the fact that faith could not be sufficient for salvation. To prove this, he first cited James 2:26, which teaches that 'faith without works is dead'; in other words, since one needed works together with faith in order to be saved, *sola fide* was a false doctrine. He also appealed to 1 Corinthians 13:2, where, he argued, Paul subordinated faith to love. Interestingly, Lorenzo did not refer to 1 Corinthians 13:2

¹¹⁰ For another remarkable example of this, cf. *QQ*, p. 145 and *QM*, f. 34v. Both are based on Christ's encounter with the Canaanite woman in Matt. 15:21-28, and both treat, in the same order, arguments related to predestination, the intercession of the saints, and *sola fide*.

¹¹¹ *QQ*, p. 198.

or even James 2:26 in the QM, though that of course did not mean that he did not use them during his 1607 Lenten sermons, or at any other time. In that source, he approached the subject of faith and works in other scripturally-based ways. In his sermon for the Thursday before the first Sunday of Lent, he argued that what Christ praised in the centurion who entreated him to heal his servant (Matt. 8:5-13) was his living faith (*fede viva*), manifested by good works and piety.¹¹² And in his discourse for the Friday after the second Sunday of Lent, believing the Church to be figured by the vineyard in Christ's parable of the landowner in Matthew 21:33-41, he averred that what God wanted from this vineyard was not the leaves (*foglie*) resulting from *sola fide* but the fruits (*frutti*) of good works.¹¹³ The heretics were, therefore, the ones in error on this matter, not the Catholics.

Lorenzo also used Scripture to refute Protestant attitudes toward Scripture. During his sermon for the second Sunday of Lent in the QM, in which he discussed the Transfiguration, he stated this:

...I am notifying and informing you of a point against the heretics, who want everything to be clear in divine scripture, and do not want us to add anything else to it. Nevertheless, the Holy Spirit, who inspired the evangelists to write does not make mention of the efficient cause [of the Transfiguration], but simply says: 'Et transfiguratus est ante eos' [Matt. 17:2]. This word is passive and looks for the person by whom this action is done, of which point no mention is made; and therefore it remains an obscure passage. In the same way, I might say, seeing a beautiful house, 'This house was made', but without saying by whom. So, when Moses was describing the works of creation, if he had been silent about the efficient cause, it would have been noted as being obscure; if he had said, this world was created, but not by whom. They say that Scripture is understood by Scripture, and that what is lacking in one passage must be taken from another. Come now! The three evangelists and St Peter wrote this story; nevertheless, not one of them explains this cause, as St Matthew, St Mark, and St Peter use the same words. St Luke says: 'Et factum est cum oraret facies eius facta est altera' [Luke 9:29]; and he, like the others, does not say by whom it was done. And yet this miracle is one of the greatest and most important that Christ worked for our redemption. And although this is such a great miracle there is silence about the efficient cause. Therefore, it is necessary to believe that not everything is written in Sacred Scripture'.¹¹⁴

¹¹² QM, f. 6r.

¹¹³ Ibid., f. 44r.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., f. 37v: 'Ma primo noto et avertisco un ponto contra li heretici li quali vogliono che il tutto sia chiaro nella divina scrittura et che non si deve aggongerli cosa alcuna. Nondimeno lo spirito santo che

Lorenzo's stress on the efficient cause of the Transfiguration may seem a little obscure. Even so, his point is clear enough: notwithstanding the significance of this event, Scripture did not establish how it came to happen; not everything that Christians needed to know was therefore recorded in the Bible, despite what the heretics might teach. This particular argument does not appear in any of the *concetti* in the CV. However, Lorenzo did there cite other biblical examples that he thought disproved Protestant opinions on the Bible. In order to refute the idea that Scripture was plain and easy enough for all to understand, in his *homilia* for the Tuesday of the Octave of Easter he cited two of Christ's post-resurrection acts in Luke 24: when he interpreted the Old Testament prophecies about himself for the two disciples on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:27), and when he had to opens the apostles' minds so that they too could understand them (Luke 24:45).¹¹⁵ These examples from the QM and the CV demonstrate the prominent place the Bible had in Lorenzo's polemical preaching and provide insight into how he formulated some of his arguments against heresy.

mosse la mano alli evangelisti a scrivere non fa mentione della causa efficiente ma semplicemente dice et transfiguratus est ante eos il qual verbo è passivo et ricerca uno dal quale sia fatta questa attione del quale ponto se ne fa mentione et per cio resta questo luoco oscuro. Come saria a dire Io vedendo una bellissima casa, dicessi è stata fatta questa casa, ma da chi? Così quando Mose descrisse le opere della creatione se avesse tacciuto la causa efficiente saria stato notato d'oscuro se avesse detto questo Mondo fu creato, ma da chi? Dicono loro la scrittura s'intende per scrittura et quello che manca in un luoco si deve pigliar nell'altro. Orsu questa historia l'hanno scritta 3 evangelisti et S. Pietro nondimeno nessun di loro pone questa causa per che S. Matteo et S. Marco et S. Pietro usano l'istesse parolle. S. Luca dice et factum est cum oraret facies eius facta est altera et egli come gli altri non dice da chi sia stata fatta et pur quest'opera è una delle maggiori et piu importanti che habbia operato Christo per la nostra Redentione. Et con tutto cio che sia opera tale si tacce l'efficiente causa. Donque bisogna credere che non tutto è scritto nella scrittura sacra'.

¹¹⁵ QQ, p. 695.

d) *The Fathers*

Besides relying extensively on Scripture, Lorenzo also called upon the witness of the early Church in the QM and the CV, though to a lesser extent, to establish Tridentine Catholicism's continuity with primitive Christianity. That does not mean he sought to sneak Tradition into his arguments to the neglect of Scripture – far from it. Both Protestants and Catholics recognised that their interpretation of the teachings, practices, and examples of the early Church provided a further significant front in their spiritual war. Protestants – Calvin was perhaps the most outstanding example – and Catholics both saw value in demonstrating support for their particular doctrines in the Fathers.¹¹⁶

In the CV, Lorenzo made frequent references to patristic figures such as Irenaeus, Jerome, Augustine of Hippo, John Chrysostom, and Gregory the Great. However, he appealed to them for polemical purposes in only a third or so of the *concetti*, one of them being his *alia homilia* for the Thursday of the Lord's Supper, where he argued for the antiquity of the Roman Church's belief in the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist. He stated:

From the most ancient times, the Mass in the Church was always considered as a true sacrifice of Christ's Church, as is manifestly evident from the Liturgies of James the apostle, Clement, Basil, and Chrysostom. It is also established from the Canon of the Mass of Pope Gregory, which has now flourished for a thousand years... Calvin says that the Fathers cannot be excused, and that they indeed sinned in the manner of this sacred action, and that they imitated the Jewish rite of sacrificing beyond Christ's ordinance. Did Calvin in fact know Christ's ordinance better than Chrysostom before Gregory; than Basil; than Peter's disciple Clement; than James, the Lord's brother, who was present for Christ's ordinance and institution? Cyril of Jerusalem in his *Cathecesi mystagogica* 4 and 5, and after him Ambrose in his book *De sacramentis* 5 and 6, explain a great part of the liturgy. Moreover, in Christ's Church the priesthood itself; the churches dedicated to God; the altars erected and consecrated from the first times of the Christian religion, from the origins themselves; also the names of sacrifice, host,

¹¹⁶ For a study on Calvin and the Fathers, see A.N.S. Lane, *John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers* (Edinburgh, 1999). For his usage of Bernard specifically, see idem, *Calvin and Bernard of Clairvaux* (Princeton, 1996).

victim, offering, and similar things in all the Holy Fathers from the beginning and in the Sacred Councils, where they discuss this mystery, demonstrate this truth plainly.¹¹⁷

Lorenzo was convinced that antiquity was unmistakably on his side as he wrote this. For him, these early church liturgies;¹¹⁸ the Canon of the Mass;¹¹⁹ the writings of Cyril of Jerusalem and Ambrose of Milan;¹²⁰ and the very existence of the Christian priesthood, churches, altars, and these sacrificially-oriented names for the Eucharist from earliest times all proved the veracity of the Church's teachings and the falseness of the heretics'. It might seem from his comments as if Lorenzo had firsthand familiarity with all these texts, and was perhaps even consulting them while preparing this sermon. That might seem especially true for the writings of Cyril and Ambrose, whose works he named and for which he provided chapter numbers. However, as Anthony Lane notes prudently about Calvin in his study of the reformer's use of the Fathers, Lorenzo might have been borrowing these patristic references from intermediate sources that he did not name; or that he was, as he was wont to do with the Bible, quoting the Fathers from memory.¹²¹

This Eucharistic argument does not appear in the QM, though Lorenzo did make fairly frequent references to the Fathers. However, only one appears in a polemical context,

¹¹⁷ *QQ*, p. 629.

¹¹⁸ The Liturgies of James and Clement, which seemed to lend so much weight to his argument, are now traced not to these two first-century figures associated with the apostles, but to the fourth century. And while scholars still tend to agree that there is some connection between Basil and the liturgy attributed to him, that has not always been the case with the liturgy bearing Chrysostom's name. For English translations of these four Eastern liturgies, see *The Liturgies of SS. Mark, James, Clement, Chrysostom, and Basil, and the Church of Malabar*, trans. J.M. Neale and R.F. Littledale, 7th edn (London, 1869). For studies on them, see P. Bradshaw (ed.), *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers* (Collegeville, MN, 1997); F.L. Cross, E.A. Livingstone (eds.), *Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn (Peabody, MA, 2007), pp. 167, 343, 365-66, 859.

¹¹⁹ For the Roman rite and Gregory the Great's role in its formation, see J. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, reprint (2 vols., Notre Dame, 2012); *Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p. 278.

¹²⁰ For questions as to Cyril of Jerusalem's authorship of the *Mystagogic Catecheses*, see E. Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem* (London, 2000), pp. 24-32.

¹²¹ Lane, *John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers*, pp. 1, 6-8.

while Lorenzo was arguing for the Catholic understanding of miraculous places. During his sermon for the Friday after the first Sunday of Lent, in which he discussed the episode described in John 5:1-9, where Christ healed the sick man at the pool of Bethesda, known for miraculous angelic activity, he asserted the following:

...[The heretics] say that God is everywhere and that he is immutable; and as such, that is, being everywhere, he does not observe a place to give us graces and favours, and being immutable, he does not observe time. And I will say that even though he is immutable, in today's Gospel he observes a place, because he heals a sick man near the pool, and not in a square; and he observes time because he heals him on the day of the Sabbath, which is a holy day, and not other days. But to this, thankfully, St Augustine responds, saying that in his time Africa was full of the bodies of holy Martyrs, and yet no miracles were performed there, as in Nola at the tomb of St Felix or in Milan at the tomb of Sts Gervasius and Protasius. The reason is that just as the living saints were not equal in gifts, as St Paul says – 'Not all are Apostles, are they? Not all are prophets, are they?' [1 Cor. 12:29] – so after death they are unequal in miracles. One will perform miracles, and another will not, etc.'¹²²

Thus, after offering his own thoughts on the heretics' opinions on John 5, Lorenzo appealed to the witness of Augustine to demonstrate that it had been known since Late Antiquity that despite God's immutability, miracles did not take place everywhere in Christendom but at certain saints' shrines only. Unlike his references to Cyril and Ambrose in the CV, Lorenzo did not here identify from which of Augustine's works he drew this information, as was almost always the case with his patristic sources in the QM. It might seem, then, that he did not provide the same level of detail in his sermons that he had committed to writing in his *concetti*. However, in his sermon for the third Sunday of Lent, he did

¹²² QM, f. 35r: 'Dicono...che Iddio è per tutto et che egli è immutabile et come tale, cioe per tutto non osserva luoco per darci gratie et favori, et come immutabile non osserva tempo. Et io diro che con tutto che sia immutabile per l'hodierno evangelo osserva loco per che sana un Infermo vicino alla piscina, et non in una piazza, et nel giorno del sabbato che è festivo, et non in altri giorni. Ma a questo gratiosamente risponde S. Agostino con dire che al tempo suo l'Affrica era piena de corpi de santi Martiri, nè non si faceva ivi miracolo alcuno se bene in Nolla al sepolcro di S. Felice et in Milano al sepolcro de Santi Gervasio et Protasio. La ragione è che si come li santi vivi non furno pari nelli doni come dice S. Paolo nunquid omnes Apostoli? Nunquid omnes prophetae? cosi dopo morte sono dispari nelli miracoli, ne fara questo et non ne fara quello etc'.

reference book two of Jerome's *In Matthaeum* as well as Bede's *In Lucae evangelium expositio*, meaning there were times, however few, when he did.¹²³

Preaching against heresy was at the very heart of Lorenzo da Brindisi's apostolate in the Holy Roman Empire. He preached routinely, frankly, and directly to heretics themselves, whether in Prague or on mission elsewhere in the Reich. In the capital he was able to preach in Italian, but he undoubtedly addressed his audiences in German when the occasion called for it. But Lorenzo's sermons were never just words. His contemporaries bear witness to the fact that, like the Jesuits and other Capuchins from the Italian tradition, he preached dynamically, emotionally, and theatrically, in order to move his audiences. The QM, with its recorded sermons, and the CV, with its sermon plans, shed further light on the content of his sermons. The fourteen polemical sermons in the QM and the more than forty in the CV reveal that he preached on a number of themes, the primary one being justification and the question of good works as opposed to *sola fide*. They also reveal his strategies for preaching against heresy. And like other preachers of the time, Lorenzo resorted to verbal violence. His particular style was belittling and heavily sarcastic, stressing the 'novelty' and 'Satanic' origins of the reform movements, though he was by no means as vicious in his polemic as other figures of the age. In line with other Catholic apologists, and in the spirit of the Capuchin Order, he based his theological arguments almost exclusively on Sacred Scripture. In so doing, he was determined to meet the heretics in the arena of their choice and to prove that they, while claiming the Bible as their own, were in reality starkly opposed to its teachings. Lastly, on some occasions he also deemed

¹²³ Ibid., f. 64v.

it necessary to have recourse to the Fathers, just as his opponents did, to demonstrate the continuity of the Roman Church with the Church of the first Christian centuries.

Theological Disputations

Besides his widespread public preaching against heresy, Lorenzo da Brindisi also took on Protestantism in the Holy Roman Empire by engaging directly in theological disputes with individual Protestant preachers. He seems in fact to have been quite determined to pursue such individuals. This much is evident in the 1626 deposition of the Capuchin Bernardo da Napoli, who, like Filippo da Soragna, testified for the Neapolitan apostolic process. Bernardo, who was then provincial of Naples, and who had known Lorenzo since his generalate (1602-05), offered the following information:

It was well-known that said Padre Brindisi preached to the infidels in those parts of Germany and Hungary, refuting the heresies. And sometimes he would listen to the sermons of the heretics; and then he would mount the pulpit and would refute with great spirit, and memory – which he demonstrated by preaching like this almost without rehearsal – what had been preached falsely by those heretics.¹

By his own testimony, Bernardo, unlike Filippo da Soragna, was not an eyewitness to these encounters; rather, he knew of them as they were common knowledge. Arturo suggests that Bernardo probably learned of them from Filippo,² who, again, had known Lorenzo in Prague during his first mission. That seems likely. It is perfectly clear from Bernardo's deposition that the two friars knew each other, and that Filippo spoke of at least one of his

¹ APNap, f. 55v: 'Io so, che detto P. Brindisi per publica fama ha predicato agl'Infedeli in quelle parti della Germania, et Ungaria, confutando l'heresie, e talvolta ascoltava le prediche degl'heretici; e poi egli montava in pulpito, e confutava quanto da quegl'heretici falsamente era stato predicato con gran spirito, e memoria, che dimostrava predicando così quasi all'impronto'. For the reference to Filippo above, see p. 116.

² Arturo, vol. 1, p. 218, n. 107.

other experiences related to Lorenzo with Bernardo.³ If this is the case, then it could be that what Bernardo reported here are Filippo's recollections of another way Lorenzo challenged Protestantism in Prague. He would attend the heretics' own places of assembly; listen to what they were teaching; and then respond to them impromptu, and presumably in German, from their own pulpits, or perhaps from where he had been sitting or standing while listening. This information is certainly consistent with what is known of Lorenzo's audacity and aggressiveness while dealing with heresy. And one can imagine, with his habit, beard, and bare feet, the impression that he must have left on both the ministers and their congregations as he made his way into these places. If any of the preachers thought that this strange and perhaps hooded figure had come to be instructed in 'the truth' and to abandon his allegiance to the Roman Church and its 'superstitions', they were in for a rude awakening. He had not come to be taught, but to attack their doctrines. So, in cases such as this, Lorenzo was seeking out heresy quite deliberately. But as valuable as Bernardo da Napoli's testimony may be, it does not reflect his own eyewitness experience. Even so, there are two separate instances in Prague for which we have eyewitness testimonies, when Lorenzo directly took on two specific Protestant preachers. Both occasions provide us with insight into how he engaged such figures.

³ APNap, f. 55v, where Bernardo relates, just prior to the above-cited quotation in n. 1, that he heard from Filippo how Lorenzo, while weeping during the celebration of his Masses, used to soak with his tears one, two, or even more handkerchiefs, which then became the sources of miracles. Bernardo refers to Filippo da Soragna as 'da Parma' here. Filippo himself mentions in his own deposition that he was known by both names: *ibid.*, f. 112v.

Polykarp Leyser and the Dispute over Good Works and Justification

Sources

The first of these disputes took place in July 1607, and was over good works and justification. In this case, Lorenzo's opponent was Polykarp Leyser the Elder (1552-1610), the Lutheran *Erster Hofprediger* to Elector Duke Christian II of Saxony (r. 1591-1611). Leyser preached on these themes over the course of two sermons in Prague, and Lorenzo responded with a furious sermon of his own.⁴ Numerous sources shed light on these events. Lorenzo's account can be found in two different locations. The first is his polemical *Lutheranismi hypotyposis* – the focus of the next chapter – which stemmed directly from this initial verbal conflict with Leyser in Prague. Here, in the book's preface in part one, and in an initial draft of the preface among this particular volume's *additamenta*; as well as in the text and appendices of part three, Lorenzo explained, in Latin, both the circumstances that compelled him to respond to Leyser, and exactly how he did so from the pulpit.⁵ The second location is the *Commentariolum*, where, under the year 1608 – a careless error on Lorenzo's part – he described the same set of affairs in Italian.⁶

Leyser presented his side of the story, in German, in the preface to his *Zwo christliche Predigten*, the booklet where, by autumn 1607, he published his two controversial sermons that had sparked the whole debate.⁷ It appears that only three copies of this text are now extant, and they can be found at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh, and the Pitts Theology Library at

⁴ For Arturo's treatment of this initial phase of the conflict, see Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 357-377.

⁵ See *LH*, vol. 1, pp. 1-6, 349-351; vol. 3, pp. 1-5, 327-28.

⁶ Comm., ff. 10rv, 12r.

⁷ For the bibliographic details, see p. 7 above.

Emory University in Georgia.⁸ An abridged Italian rendition of Leyser's two sermons was also published in Augsburg in August 1610, six months after his death. Those responsible for the translation clearly intended for it to be smuggled into Italy: the two 'Christian' sermons of the German title were modified to two 'Catholic' sermons in the Italian; Leyser, as the author, was identified as a Dominican, the 'reverendo padre P. Lisero dell'Ordine di Predicatori Priore et dottore Theologo'; and the polemical preface was omitted. It seems that only one copy of this translation survives, preserved at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, where it makes up the second half of a book printed in 1638. Preceding it is an Italian rendering of a comic play called *Phasma*, which was first printed in its Italian form in 1611, also in Augsburg. *Phasma*, which has been described as an 'invective against non-Lutheran confessions', had originally been composed in Latin by another German Lutheran, the poet and humanist Nikodemus Frischlin (1547-1590).⁹ Given the nature of both Leyser's and Frischlin's works, it seems more than likely that some Lutherans in the Reich during the early decades of the seventeenth century were hoping to make theological inroads into Italy. There is also a modern translation of the *ZCP*. A Capuchin friar, presumably, wrote by hand an Italian translation of the entire text – not just Leyser's two

⁸ See 'Res/4 Hom. 1901-49, 24' in Munich; 'DC.s.1(10)' in Edinburgh; and '1607 LEYS' at Emory University.

⁹ For the Italian translation of Leyser's sermons, see P. Leyser, *Due prediche catoliche una, delle opere buone: l'altra, della giustificazione del huomo con Dio. Predicate nel Imperial Palazzo di Praga. Dal Reverendo Padre P. Lisero dell'Ordine di Predicatori, & dottore Theologo* (Augsburg, 1610). The translation of Frischlin's play is entitled *Comedia piaceuole: della vera, antica, Romana, Catolica & Apostolica Chiesa. Nella quale dagl'interlocutori vengono disputate e spedite tutte controuersie, che hoggidi sono tra i Catolici Romani, Luterani, Zingliani, Caluinisti, Anabattisti, Suenfeldiani, & altri, per conto della religione. Opera all'huomo veramente catolico di gran contento e utile*. The *segnatura* for the book in which these texts can be found is 'Dramm. 757.2'. That these translations have been traced back to Augsburg, where they were published by Sebastian Muller, is evident in the description of each text on the Venetian libraries' online public access catalog: <http://polovea.sebina.it/SebinaOpac/Opac> (accessed 1 June 2013). For more on Frischlin's *Phasma* as well as the above quote on its polemical nature, see D. Price, *The Political Dramaturgy of Nicodemus Frischlin* (London, 1990), p. 89. See also p. 102, where the Italian translation of the play is acknowledged.

sermons – which is broken up between two booklets and can be accessed at the Archivio Provinciale Cappuccini Veneti in Mestre.¹⁰ As this was surely not done for devotional purposes, it seems safe to conclude that it was translated by a friar with an academic interest in Lorenzo’s clash with Leyser.

There were others present in Prague in July 1607 – all of whom were Catholic and hence biased toward Lorenzo and against Leyser – who shared what they remembered about Leyser’s and Lorenzo’s sermons as well as the circumstances leading up to them. One of these people was an unknown German-speaking individual who was present for Leyser’s first sermon, and wrote up a report on its content that can now be found printed among the appendices in the *LH*. Included with this report is a facsimile of the opening paragraphs of the document’s manuscript, the location of which the editors of the *Opera omnia* unfortunately do not reveal.¹¹ Strangely, these same Capuchins entitled it ‘Epistola S. Laurentii de concionibus a Laisero Pragae habitis’. But, again, the report describes only the contents of Leyser’s first sermon, not more than one, as the title suggests. More importantly, the editors attribute the report to Lorenzo, and yet they provide no explanation why. As Arturo proposes, this attribution ought to be rejected for two reasons. First, the handwriting on the manuscript is definitely not Lorenzo’s. Second, as is evident in the document, its author heard the sermon in person, whereas Lorenzo had not.¹² Lorenzo mentioned nowhere in his writings that he was in attendance; surely he would have caused

¹⁰ APCV, Fondo S. Lorenzo da Brindisi, ‘Due prediche di Policarpo Leyser’.

¹¹ The report can be seen in *LH*, vol. 3, pp. 348-350. The facsimile can be seen between pp. 348 and 349. The editors first mention this document on p. ix, but they state neither here nor from pp. 348-350 where the manuscript is preserved.

¹² Arturo, vol. 4.1, p. 232, n. 1.

a ruckus had he been. Instead, he spoke of the first sermon as something he had heard or learned of.¹³

Some of the others reporting their experiences in Prague that July were people who provided evidence during Lorenzo's informative and apostolic investigations. One of them was Lorenzo's younger Capuchin associate Giammaria da Monteforte, who testified for both the informative process of Munich in 1624 and then the Milanese apostolic process in 1628. Giammaria had known Lorenzo since his Venetian provincialate (1594-97), when Lorenzo had received him into the Order, all the way to Lorenzo's dying moments in Lisbon. He was Lorenzo's companion for the last few years of his life and accompanied him to Spain in 1618. In 1607, Giammaria was living with Lorenzo at the Capuchin friary in Prague, where he had been serving as infirmarian; and so his depositions contain particularly valuable firsthand knowledge of not only his superior's sermon against Leyser, for which he was present, but also Lorenzo's activities leading up to it.¹⁴ Another informant was Francesco Castiglione, Rudolf II's young cupbearer. Castiglione, who claimed to have known Lorenzo well while they were both in Prague, was also present for Lorenzo's denunciation of Leyser, and, like Giammaria da Monteforte, reported what he remembered about it in 1628 for the apostolic investigation in Milan.¹⁵ Lastly, there was Msgr. Guglielmo Ruffini, who gave his deposition to the Genoan informative process in 1625 in Savona, a city near Genoa. Ruffini, who was then vicar general of the bishop of Savona, reported that he too had been present in Prague when Leyser was in town – he did

¹³ *LH*, vol. 3, p. 3: 'Concionem habuit...Accepi, obstupui...'; *ibid.*, p. 327: 'Quod cum accepissem, vehementer obstupui admissam in aula caesarea lutheranam publicam concionem...'

¹⁴ For Giammaria da Monteforte's recollections of the conflict with Leyser in the IPMun and APMil, see IPMun, ff. 8-9; APMil, ff. 761-65.

¹⁵ For Castiglione's account of the situation with Leyser, see *ibid.*, ff. 676-78.

not explain, however, what business brought him there – and that he had been one of those in attendance at Lorenzo’s sermon. While Ruffini’s testimony is valuable in that it provides us with some insight into what happened and the impression that Lorenzo left on his audience, it must be approached with caution as there are numerous points where Ruffini was mistaken. For instance, just as Lorenzo had done in the *Commentariolum*, Ruffini identified the year of this dispute as 1608, not 1607. He stated too that the theme debated was the Eucharist as opposed to good works and justification. And there are additional inaccuracies like that. But one must keep in mind that Ruffini was trying to recall details of events that had happened almost eighteen years before 1625, and so such memory slips ought not to be that surprising.¹⁶

Lastly, numerous diplomatic missives sent from Prague over the course of July 1607 also provide details about what had taken place. As we should expect, Rome in particular was kept well-informed. The new apostolic nuncio in Prague, Antonio Caetani, the archbishop of Capua, sent two letters, dated 9 and 16 July, both of which were Mondays, that are particularly valuable as they make manifest what Caetani, as the leading prelate in the city, was doing in response to Leyser’s preaching.¹⁷ The representatives of numerous Catholic states, both in Italy and elsewhere, also alerted their respective governments as to what had been transpiring in the imperial capital. Three relevant *avvisi* were sent from Prague to the duke of Urbino, with the first dated 9 July; the other two, 16

¹⁶ For Ruffini’s testimony, see Q1, f. 91. See also ff. 52-53 and 90-91 for summaries of this same deposition. Another summary can be seen in Q2, f. 41v. For additional errors in Ruffini’s testimony, see p. 250 below.

¹⁷ ASVat, FB, II, 147, ff. 26rv, 47r-48r. For more on Caetani’s recent arrival in Prague, see Arturo, vol. 2, p. 367.

July.¹⁸ Rodrigo Alidosi kept the grand duke of Tuscany informed on 9 and 16 July,¹⁹ just as the Venetian ambassador Francesco Soranzo did for the doge in his letters dated Sunday 8 July, and 16 July.²⁰ Gieronimo Lovencito wrote to the duke of Savoy on 16 July²¹; Manfrino Castiglione penned his reports for the duke of Mantua on 9 and 16 July²²; and Cesare Florio composed letters on those same days addressed to both the duke of Modena²³ as well as the authorities in the Republic of Genoa.²⁴ The letters sent to Genoa assist in further establishing what brought Leyser to Prague, but are unique in that they are, curiously, the only ambassadorial missives that do not mention Leyser's sermons and the controversy to which they gave rise. Beyond Italy, between Saturday 14 July and Sunday 15 July, Wilhelm Bodenius kept both Archduke Albert of Austria, governor of the Habsburg Netherlands, and his secretary Hans Jacob Fleckhamer informed about affairs in Prague.²⁵ Finally, on Saturday 28 July, the Spanish ambassador Don Guillén de San Clemente apprised King Philip III of what had been going on. His letter identifies Lorenzo by name as Leyser's opponent; and reminds the Catholic Monarch that he had not only been the previous general of the Capuchin Order but was also the king's subject as he had been born in Brindisi.²⁶

¹⁸ BAV, Urb.lat., 1075 I, ff. 447r-448r; 1075 II, ff. 466r-468v.

¹⁹ ASFir, Med., 4362, ff. 920r, 934v-935v.

²⁰ ASVen, SDAG, 38, ff. 202rv, 207rv.

²¹ ASTor, LMA, 6, letter of 16 July.

²² ASMan, Gonz., E. II.3, 486, ff. 530rv, 532r-533r.

²³ ASMod, CDEG, 59, letters of 9 and 16 July.

²⁴ ASGen, LMV, 20-2537, ns. 148 and 149.

²⁵ *LH* 3:345-48.

²⁶ AGSim, Estado, Leg. 2493, n. 68.

Leyser's First Sermon

Lorenzo and Leyser's dispute over good works and justification began with Rudolf II and the twenty-three year old Elector Christian II of Saxony. A meeting of the Reichstag was scheduled to take place in Regensburg at the beginning of 1608, and the emperor wanted to make sure that he had Christian's support during its proceedings. Early in 1607, therefore, he invited Christian to visit him in Prague. By May, the elector had accepted the invitation.²⁷ He and his entourage, which, Arturo notes, consisted of some 400 people, finally arrived in the capital from Dresden early in the day on Friday 6 July. Traveling with him was his brother, Duke Johann Georg, who went on to succeed him after his death in 1611, and continued to rule Saxony throughout the Thirty Years War.²⁸ Also accompanying the elector to Prague was his *Erster Hofprediger*, Polykarp Leyser.

Leyser, like his adversary Lorenzo, is another highly significant religious figure of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries who has since receded into the shadows of obscurity.²⁹ In his day, though, he was one of the most distinguished leaders within

²⁷ Arturo, vol. 2, p. 358.

²⁸ For the time of arrival for the elector and his brother, see ASVat, FB, II, 147, f. 26r; BAV, Urb.lat., 1075 I, f. 447v; ASFir, Med., 4362, f. 920r; ASGen, LMV, 20-2537, n. 148; ASMan, Gonz., E. II.3, 486, f. 530r; ASMod, CDEG, 59, letter of 9 July; and AGSim, Estado, Leg. 2493, n. 68. For this approximate number of people traveling with Christian, see Arturo, vol. 2, p. 361. For more on Christian II, see Thomas Nicklas, 'Christian I. (1586-1591) und Christian II. (1591-1611)', in F. Kroll (ed.), *Die Herrscher Sachsens: Markgrafen, Kurfürsten, Könige, 1089-1918* (München, 2004), pp. 133-36. For more on Johann Georg, see Axel Gotthard, 'Johann Georg I. (1611-1656)', in *ibid.*, pp. 137-147. For a brief introduction to him in English, see H. Kamen, *Who's Who in Europe, 1450-1750* (London, 2000), p. 161.

²⁹ I am aware of only one English study on Leyser, which in fact seems to be the most recent treatment of him: Gaylin R. Schmeling, 'Polykarp Leyser (1552-1610): A Theological Bridge between Chemnitz and Gerhard', *Lutheran Synod Quarterly* 50/2-3 (2010), pp. 187-207, available online at <http://www.blts.edu/wp-content/uploads/lsq/50-23.pdf> (accessed 27 June 2013). Otherwise, in German there are W. Sommer, *Die lutherischen Hofprediger in Dresden: Grundzüge ihrer Geschichte und Verkündigung im Kurfürstentum Sachsen* (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 115-133; and Christian Peters, 'Polykarp Leyser d. Ä. in Wittenberg: Eine Bestandsaufnahme', in I. Dingel and G. Wartenberg (eds.), *Die Theologische Fakultät Wittenberg 1502 bis 1602* (Leipzig, 2002), pp. 173-188. Peters's study contains a helpful bibliography of works written about Leyser up to 2002. See p. 173, n. 2.

Lutheran orthodoxy.³⁰ He was born in 1552 in Winnenden in the Duchy of Württemberg. He was the son of Kaspar Leyser, a minister; nephew of Jakob Andreae, the provost of the University of Tübingen who was one of the chief architects of the Formula of Concord; and became stepson of Lukas Osiander, who served as *Hofprediger* in Stuttgart, and was the son of the Nuremberg reformer Andreas Osiander.³¹ After earning his M.A. in theology at Tübingen in 1570, Leyser took up his first pastoral office in 1573 at Gellersdorf in Lower Austria. This position frequently brought him to Vienna to preach, where he gained the acquaintance of Emperor Maximilian II.³² After Leyser had earned his doctorate in theology at Tübingen in 1576 at the age of twenty-four, Elector August of Saxony (r. 1553-1586), Christian II's grandfather, appointed him to the influential position of *Generalsuperintendent* of Wittenberg. He also became assessor of the city's consistory, and a professor of theology at the university, which he took a leading role in reorganizing.³³ Leyser ministered in Braunschweig too, where, in 1587, he was made coadjutor *Stadtsuperintendent*, only to become the *Stadtsuperintendent* in 1589.³⁴ During this period, he had also been involved with the final editing of the Book of Concord of 1580, and, together with his uncle Andreae, had been part of a commission whose purpose was to foster support for the Formula of Concord throughout Electoral Saxony.³⁵ Leyser went on

³⁰ For more on the history of Lutheranism during Leyser's lifetime, see E.W. Gritsch, *A History of Lutheranism*, 2nd edn (Minneapolis, 2010), pp. 83-139.

³¹ Peters, 'Polykarp Leyser d. Ä. in Wittenberg', p. 175. For more on Andreae, see the numerous references in Gritsch, *A History of Lutheranism*, and R. Kolb (ed.), *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture (1550-1675)* (Boston, 2008). For a brief introduction to Andreas Osiander, see *Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p. 1200.

³² Schmeling, 'Polykarp Leyser', p. 189; Sommer, *Die lutherischen Hofprediger in Dresden*, pp. 115-16.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 116; Peters, 'Polykarp Leyser d. Ä. in Wittenberg', p. 177. As Peters notes here, given Leyser's relationship with the influential Andreae, there were concerns that his call to Wittenberg was due to nepotism. Schmeling is convinced that Andreae did in fact have a role in securing the *Generalsuperintendentur* for his nephew: Schmeling, 'Polykarp Leyser', p. 190.

³⁴ Sommer, *Die lutherischen Hofprediger in Dresden*, pp. 116-17.

³⁵ Schmeling, 'Polykarp Leyser', p. 190.

to become an unyielding champion of Lutheran orthodoxy in the Reich, which caused him to clash especially with the forces of Crypto-Calvinism. Among other events, this was manifest after his arrival in Braunschweig, and into 1589, in his dispute with the city's *Stadtsuperintendent*, Johann Heydenreich – over whom he prevailed – over the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's human nature as defined in the Formula of Concord.³⁶ It was also evident as he traveled, in September 1589, through some of the *Hansestädte* seeking to gain allies for the orthodox cause, as well as in his opposition, after that, to the abolition of baptismal exorcism in Anhalt.³⁷ Indeed, such was the hostility between the Lutherans and the Calvinists at this point, that Leyser observed that Lutherans had more in common with Catholics than Calvinists.³⁸ Thus, it was as a man with a reputation for erudition, authority, experience, and zeal that Leyser was, in 1594, appointed *Erster Hofprediger* in Dresden,³⁹ which Wolfgang Sommer, the present expert on the court preachers of Dresden, states was the highest ecclesiastical office of Lutheran Germany.⁴⁰ Not only did Leyser preach before Christian II but he also served as his adviser.⁴¹

While in the capital, Christian and Johann Georg were lodged by the emperor at the Rosenberg Palace, a residence at the Hrad any that was connected to the Castle by means of a corridor.⁴² The elector had come to Prague to see the emperor, and according to the ambassadorial reports, he had three to four audiences with him,⁴³ with the first taking place

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 192; Sommer, *Die lutherischen Hofprediger in Dresden*, p. 117.

³⁷ Peters, 'Polykarp Leyser d. Ä. in Wittenberg', pp. 182-83; Schmeling, 'Polykarp Leyser', pp. 192-93.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁴⁰ Sommer, *Die lutherischen Hofprediger in Dresden*, p. 115.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁴² ASVat, FB, II, 147, f. 26r; BAV, Urb.lat., 1075 I, f. 447v; AGSim, Estado, Leg. 2493, n. 68.

⁴³ Bodenius reported that Christian had three audiences with the emperor: *LH*, vol. 3, p. 347. The author of the first *avviso* of 16 July sent to Urbino reported that there were instead four meetings: BAV, Urb.lat., 1075 II, f. 466r.

on Saturday 7 July.⁴⁴ As should be expected, these missives indicate the matters discussed by Rudolf and Christian as well as their personal interactions. But these documents also make perfectly clear that the young prince left a very bad impression on the city's Catholic diplomatic elite. He was described as being corpulent.⁴⁵ He was also reported to be mean while tipping those who had tended to his needs over the course of his stay: on one occasion, for example, giving only a single medal, worth little more than four *Thaler*, with his image and arms on it, for the gentlemen of Rosenberg Palace to all share.⁴⁶ During his week-long sojourn, he granted an audience to only one ambassador, San Clemente of Spain, whom he treated disrespectfully. It is reported that the elector never rose from his chair to greet the ambassador or to see him out; nor did he even speak to him. Supposedly, the only communication that took place was between San Clemente and an interpreter, and Christian, during the audience, apparently never bothered to ask the interpreter what the ambassador was saying.⁴⁷ These letters also claim that Christian was constantly drunk.⁴⁸ Bodenius put it especially well while writing to Archduke Albert: 'This entire time here, the elector has indulged in gluttony and drunkenness, as he himself announced publicly

⁴⁴ BAV, Urb.lat., 1075 I, f. 447v; ASMan, Gonz., E. II.3, 486, f. 530r.

⁴⁵ See BAV, Urb.lat., 1075 I, ff. 447v-448r, where it is reported that Christian 'sia assai grasso' and 'ha il collo corto per la grassezza et per il troppo bere che infiamma il figato'. See also AGSim, Estado, Leg. 2493, n. 68, where the elector is described as 'grande y gordo'.

⁴⁶ ASVat, FB, II, 147, f. 48r; BAV, Urb.lat., 1075 II, f. 466v; ASVen, SDAG, 38, f. 207r.

⁴⁷ ASVat, FB, II, 147, f. 48r; BAV, Urb.lat., 1075 II, f. 466r; ASFir, Med., 4362, f. 934v; ASVen, SDAG, 38, f. 207r; ASMan, Gonz., E. II.3, 486, ff. 532rv; ASMod, CDEG, 59, letter of 16 July; AGSim, Estado, Leg. 2493, n. 68; *LH*, vol. 3, pp. 346-47.

⁴⁸ ASVat, FB, II, 147, ff. 26rv, 47v; BAV, Urb.lat., 1075 I, f. 448r; 1075 II, f. 466r; ASFir, Med., 4362, ff. 934r, 935v; ASVen, SDAG, 38, ff. 202r, 207r; ASMan, Gonz., E. II.3, 486, f. 530v; ASMod, CDEG, 59, letters of 9 and 16 July; ASGen, LMV, 20-2537, ns. 148, 149; AGSim, Estado, Leg. 2493, n. 68; *LH*, vol. 3, p. 345.

over the table the day before his journey home: “His Majesty treats me so well, that I have spent almost no time sober in Prague”⁴⁹.

One event in particular related to the elector’s visit especially incensed the local Catholic community. It was the morning of Sunday 8 July, Christian II’s third day in Prague.⁵⁰ As the people of the city went about their usual religious activities, something highly irregular took place. At this date in Bohemia, prior to Rudolf II’s issuing, in 1609, of the Letter of Majesty, which conceded religious freedoms to both Lutherans and Calvinists in the kingdom, only the Catholics’ and Hussites’ religions could be practiced legally and in public.⁵¹ Leyser himself lamented these conditions in the preface to the *ZCP*, where he observed that while even the Jews, ‘Christ’s enemies’, could worship freely in their synagogues in Prague, Lutherans could not.⁵² But despite these restrictions, the elector had his staunchly Lutheran *Hofprediger* preach publicly from a window in his quarters that

⁴⁹ *LH*, vol. 3, p. 347: ‘Zue dem hatt gedachter Churfurst diese ganze Zeitt hero alhier gulae et crapulae indulgirt, wie er den selbst den tag vor seinem verraysen offentlich über der Tafel vermeldet, Jr Majestett halten mich so woll, das jch auch fast keine Stunde zue Prag nüchtern gelebet’.

⁵⁰ For the day of the week and the potential time of day, see *ZCP*, pp. 5, 32. I identify the time of day as morning because Leyser spoke of the service during which the sermon was given as beginning at ‘die gewöhnliche Stund’, which is surely a reference to a standard Sunday morning service. See *ibid.*, p. 5. For the day of the week, see *LH*, vol. 1, pp. 4, 350; vol. 3, pp. 2, 327. As Arturo points out in Arturo, vol. 2, p. 364, n. 38, Lorenzo more than once identified this particular Sunday as ‘the day after’ Leyser’s arrival in Prague (*postridie ab adventu*), although the Lutheran’s second day in the city was in fact Saturday 7 July. For the day of the week, see also BAV, Urb.lat., 1075 II, f. 466v; ASMan, Gonz., E. II.3, 486, f. 530v.

⁵¹ Comm., f. 10r: ‘...In tutto il Regno di Bohemia non si poteva predicare se non alla catholica, o all’ussitica, ne era permesso publico essercitio di altra Religione’.

⁵² *ZCP*, p. 28.

faced into a courtyard at Rosenberg Palace.⁵³ Many people were in attendance.⁵⁴ And this throng did not just consist of Lutherans. According to Leyser, even Calvinists and Catholics (*Papisten*) showed up too,⁵⁵ with the report of the unknown Catholic individual mentioned above, who had heard Leyser's sermon, providing corroboration for some Catholic presence. According to the Mantuan ambassador Manfrino Castiglione, Christian II, like Leyser, was also standing at a window at this location,⁵⁶ presumably to both listen to Leyser as well as see the crowd.

Leyser's sermon was the focal point of what became a public service of worship, conducted in German, at Rosenberg Palace. He decided to preach on a highly controversial subject: good works. But before the *Hofprediger* addressed the crowd, everyone sang a hymn, Luther's *Nun freut euch lieben Christen g'mein* – a fitting choice as the merits of good works are downplayed in it – as well as the Apostles' Creed.⁵⁷ Leyser found his justification for treating this subject in the Gospel reading of the day, Luke 6:36-45, where

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 5; *LH* 1:4, 350; 3:2, 327, 345; *Comm.*, f. 10r; *IPMun*, f. 8; *APMil*, ff. 676, 761; *Q1*, f. 221; *ASVat*, *FB*, II, 147, f. 26r; *BAV*, *Urb.lat.*, 1075 II, f. 466v; *ASFir*, *Med.*, 4362, f. 935v; *ASVen*, *SDAG*, 38, ff. 207rv; *ASTor*, *LMA*, 6, letter of 16 July; *ASMan*, *Gonz.*, E. II.3, 486, f. 530v; *ASMod*, *CDEG*, 59, letter of 16 July; *AGSim*, *Estado*, *Leg.* 2493, n. 68. That Leyser preached at the direct orders of the elector is attested to by Leyser himself in *ZCP*, p. 2: 'In dem nun seine Churf. Hn. Zu Prag verharret, haben dieselbe auff die gewöhnliche Tag Predigt halten lassen, und dasselbig öffentlich...'; and p. 5: 'Hierauff antworte ich erstlich, Dass ich zu Prag geprediget habe, meiner hohen Oberkeit, der Churfürstlichen Herrshafft und derselben Dienern, dass bekenne ich/ Ich habe es aber gethan, mit meiner hohen Oberkeit vorwissen, gutem willen, und auff jhr geheis'. The Catholic ambassadors in Prague demonstrate awareness of this in their correspondence. See *ASFir*, *Med.*, 4362, f. 935v: '...Mentre questo Principe è stato qui in Praga, poiche più d'una volta ha fatto predicare pubblicamente alla lutherana...'; *ASVen*, *SDAG*, 38, ff. 207r: 'Ha voluto pubblicamente predicar piu volte da un suo ministro la dottrina di Lutero...'; *ASTor*, *LMA*, 6, letter of 16 July: 'Han di piu datto [Christian and Johann Georg] gran scandalo col haver fatto predicar il luoro Policarpo...'; *ASMan*, *Gonz.*, E. II.3, 486, f. 530v: 'Hieri che fu Domenica esso Ellettore stando egli alla finestra fece a porte aperte predicar alla luterana'; *AGSim*, *Estado*, *Leg.* 2493, n. 68: '...Hizo predicar a su Predicante dos vezes...'

⁵⁴ *BAV*, *Urb.lat.*, 1075 II, f. 466v; *ASVen*, *SDAG*, 38, f. 207v; *LH* 3:345; *ASMan*, *Gonz.*, E. II.3, 486, f. 530v; *AGSim*, *Estado*, *Leg.* 2493, n. 68.

⁵⁵ *ZCP*, p. 6.

⁵⁶ *ASMan*, *Gonz.*, E. II.3, 486, f. 530v.

⁵⁷ *ZCP*, p. 5. For an English translation of *Nun freut euch*, see *The Lutheran Hymnal* (St Louis, 1941), hymn 387.

Luke's version of the Beatitudes appears. In this one passage, Leyser explained to the crowd, could be found the sum of Christ's divine teaching, and especially the correct meaning and true use of the Law and the Gospel. As Christ preached in this passage about God's gracious mercy, some people came to believe that he might abolish the Law and good works. They thought, Leyser suggested, that the difference between his teaching and that of his opponents the Pharisees was that the latter pushed people to do good works and pursue piety, while Christ, with his emphasis on finding comfort in God's grace, gave them the opportunity to neglect good works and engage in wanton pleasure. This, however, Leyser said, was not true. Christ had not come to abolish the Law and good works, but rather to fulfill the Law.⁵⁸ In the past, the Lutheran continued, people believed that they became righteous by doing good works – whether those instituted by God in the Law, or by man – and that they had to earn their way into heaven: a reference, clearly, to the medieval Church and its traditions. However, he added, now they are told – that is, by the Lutherans – that they are made righteous not through works, but by faith in Christ. Christians, he asserted, did not have to earn their way into heaven, and this was because Christ purchased it for them with his Passion and death. Eternal life, therefore, was a gift of God. But it was on account of this teaching, Leyser stated, that the Lutherans' opponents – that is, the Catholics – accused them of abolishing good works and giving people, with their Gospel, the excuse to do every kind of evil work.⁵⁹ In other words, as Arturo notes of Leyser's argument, the Lutherans were facing the same situation that Christ had with his doctrine.⁶⁰ Even so, Leyser insisted, while referencing Paul in Titus 2:14, Christ saved

⁵⁸ *ZCP*, pp. 32-34.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁶⁰ Arturo, vol. 2, p. 364.

Christians from ruin not to do as they please, but so that he might purify for himself a people for his possession that was zealous for good works.⁶¹

Having established this much from the start, Leyser then set out in the remainder of the sermon, which he divided into two parts, to elucidate exactly what Lutherans believed about good works. In the first part, he spoke of good works in general. He drew a contrast – and one that should be expected from a Lutheran – between Moses’ approach to good works in the Law, and Christ’s in the Gospel. In the Law, he said, Moses required every Israelite, without distinction, to do good works, and he did so with great severity, thunder and lightning, and the threat of a curse should the Israelites not fulfill the Law. The end result, Leyser claimed, is that Moses did not make anyone desirous to do good works. On the other hand, Christ wanted his peoples’ hearts to be righteous, holy, and pure; after all, if a heart is right and good, then good works will come from it. But, as the Apostle Peter stated at the Council of Jerusalem in Acts 15, the heart is cleansed by faith. And it is through the hearing and receiving of God’s Word with faith that the Christian, through Baptism, is born again and becomes a new person with a new heart. Thus, the person who before desired to do evil now wants to do what is good.⁶² Additionally, after citing Ezekiel 36:26-27 as Old Testament support for Christ’s teaching, Leyser averred that Christ, through his Spirit, wanted to do what Moses could not, that is, create new hearts in his people so that they could then keep God’s commandments rightly.⁶³ Thus, for Leyser, it all came down to receiving a new heart by faith, which would then result in good works. And, based on the day’s Gospel reading, Leyser named specifically what Christ required of

⁶¹ *ZCP*, pp. 36-37.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 38-40.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

Christians. The first was to have charitable hearts (*liebreiche hertzen*), which he identified as showing mercy to one's neighbour.⁶⁴ The second was to have peaceable tongues (*friedfertige Zungen*), which, to him, meant to not judge others.⁶⁵ Third, the Christian was to be characterised by a gentle conduct (*sanftmütig Geberden*), that is, readiness to forgive others.⁶⁶ Lastly, Christ required generosity (*milde gebende Hand*), namely giving to those in need.⁶⁷

Over the course of the sermon, Leyser touched on a few additional points that are worth mentioning. First, given the nature of his argument, one might think that he would have focused his attention solely on the Catholics. But in fact he did not. At one point, after speaking about the necessity of faith and a new heart in order to do good works, he took a jab at Zwingli. One can imagine that Luther would have been pleased. Leyser expressed his disgust for the teaching of the reformer of Zurich in his *Exposition of the Faith* that pagan philosophers such as Socrates, Aristides, and Cato, who did not have faith – and whose works, therefore, could not be good – were in heaven.⁶⁸ Additionally, just as Luther had done decades before, Leyser on this occasion also questioned the apostolicity of the Epistle of St James. He suggested that it was not in line with the teaching of Christ and the apostles given its emphasis on good works.⁶⁹ Surely this point was intended to challenge the Catholics, who, as was seen earlier with Lorenzo's sermon plans, relied on James as one of their great proof texts against *sola fide*. And it is again the Catholics that Leyser

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 48-52.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 52-56.

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 56-60.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 60-64.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 42-43. For an English translation of this passage in *Exposition of the Faith* that Leyser was referring to, see U. Zwingli, *On Providence and Other Essays*, ed. W.J. Hinke (Durham, NC, 1983), pp. 271-72.

⁶⁹ *ZCP*, pp. 46-47.

referred to in the conclusion of the sermon: ‘Therefore, if you people hear from our adversaries, or others, that we in our churches forbid good works; or that the Gospel abolishes the teaching of good works; and that we, therefore, open the doors, gates, and windows to every wanton pleasure: do not believe such a thing. These people do us violence and wrong. You have now heard the opposite’.⁷⁰ He clearly intended for this sermon to be something of an *apologia* for Lutheran belief, which he longed to see legalised in Bohemia; and surely he was hoping to be able to convince some of the people in the crowd to see Christianity as he saw it. He insisted in the preface to the *ZCP* that he did not dispute; did not attack his theological enemies with harsh words and epithets; did not resort to shouting and aggressive rebukes; and that he preached Lutheran doctrine simply and with modesty.⁷¹ All that may be true; but surely he must have had enough foresight to know that the approach he consciously decided to take would provoke Prague’s Catholics.

It did not take long for the news of what had happened at Prague Castle to spread throughout the city. In the *Commentariolum*, Lorenzo related that this ‘novelty’ offended many of Prague’s Catholics, and especially himself.⁷² His confrere Giammaria da Monteforte reported in his 1628 testimony for the apostolic process of Milan that when Lorenzo heard what had transpired, ‘he felt so much sorrow, that it cannot be expressed’.⁷³ Given how emotional Lorenzo was, and how intransigent his religious convictions were, this is perhaps to be expected. In the *LH*, Lorenzo himself described his reaction vividly: ‘I was feeling within myself what is said about Paul in the Acts of the Apostles, that when

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 64.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 3.

⁷² Comm., f. 10r. : ‘Pero dispiacque a molti catholici questa novita, e grandemente a fra Lorenzo...’

⁷³ APMil, f. 762: ‘E quando il Padre Brindesi intese questa novità, ne sentì tanto dolore, che non si può esprimere...’

he was in Athens “his spirit was agitated in him, seeing the city given over to idolatry”; and what Jeremiah relates about himself: “The word of the Lord became in my heart like a raging fire shut up in my bones, and I grew weary, not being able to bear it”.⁷⁴ These are references to Acts 17:16, where Paul’s great disgust with the idols of Athens is evident prior to preaching against them in his famous sermon at the Areopagus; and Jeremiah 20:9, where the prophet felt that he must proclaim God’s word – in this case warnings of the impending destruction of Jerusalem – even though he wished he could forget about God. These verses are telling. Not only did Lorenzo reveal with his reference to the Apostle just how indignant he felt – with Paul and Lorenzo both feeling this spiritual exasperation before giving major sermons – but his quotation of Jeremiah makes manifest that he too, like the Weeping Prophet, felt an overwhelming and urgent compulsion to preach ‘the word of the Lord’ in response to the ‘spiritual evil’ surrounding him. In the Capuchin’s self-understanding, then, he likened himself to two biblical heroes who had also opposed forces working against belief in and obedience to God.

After hearing about what Leyser had done, Lorenzo went straight to the papal nuncio, Caetani, offering to reply immediately to the Lutheran by means of a sermon. He also did the same with the former nuncio, Giovanni Ferreri, the bishop of Vercelli, who was preparing to return to Italy, as well as Prague’s new, recently confirmed archbishop, Karl von Lamberg. But the nuncio, Lorenzo said, did not consider this a prudent course of action initially as he feared it might cause a tumult and give Leyser the excuse to preach

⁷⁴ *LH*, vol. 1, pp. 4-5: ‘Sentiebam ego intra meipsum id quod de Paulo in *Actis Apostolorum*, quod Athenis cum esset, *agitabatur spiritus eius in eo, videns idololatriae deditam civitatem*; et quod de seipso Ieremias refert: *Factus est sermo Domini in corde meo quasi ignis exaestuans, claususque in ossibus meis, et defeci, ferre non sustinens*’.

again.⁷⁵ Lorenzo recorded his response in the *LH*: ‘I ceased to press the issue. Zeal must be tempered by discretion. For many “have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge”; “obedience is better than sacrifice”’.⁷⁶ The pugnacious Capuchin’s language in the earlier draft of the preface to the *LH* is all the more revealing of just how much of a struggle this was for him: ‘Bearing it, I ceased to press the issue. I forced myself to suppress the impulse of my spirit, and my sorrow’.⁷⁷

Caetani’s own perspective on the matter is evident in his letter to Rome dated Monday 9 July, the day after Leyser’s sermon. He wrote disdainfully: ‘These things are usual for these lands’.⁷⁸ He also made clear that he was aware that the elector was due to leave Prague before the following Sunday, which appears to have given him comfort as he wrote: ‘The duke will depart before Sunday, and so the danger of the second sermon will be avoided’.⁷⁹ Interestingly, he said ‘the second sermon’ (*della seconda predica*) – and not ‘a’ second sermon – which may imply that he knew Leyser was planning a second one. By the following day, however, Tuesday 10 July, Caetani was no longer so confident. On 16 July, he reported that he had had a premonition – he unfortunately provided no further detail about what he meant by this – that a second sermon would be given on Wednesday. So, on Tuesday, he had composed a note for the emperor in which he implored him not to let there be another such ‘abomination’. He arranged for Ferreri and the archbishop to sign

⁷⁵ Comm., f. 10r: ‘[Fra Lorenzo] ando a farne risentimento col Nuntio Apostolico, offerendosi a rispondere subito con una predica al sudetto predicante. Non parve bene per non generare tumulto, e dare occasione al predicante di predicare di nuovo’. That Lorenzo went to speak with Ferreri and Lamberg too is evident in *LH*, vol. 3, p. 327. For more on Lamberg, who succeeded Zbyn k Berka as archbishop, see Winfried Eberhard, ‘Lamberg, Karl Freiherr von (1570-1612)’, in *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, 1448 bis 1648*, pp. 403-04.

⁷⁶ *LH*, vol. 3, p. 3: ‘...Quiievi, moderandus prudenti scientia zelus. Multi enim *zelum Dei habent, sed non secundum scientiam* [Rom. 10:12]; *melior est...obedientia quam victimae* [1 Sam. 15:22]’.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 350: ‘Quiievi sustinens, ac mihi vim faciens, impetum animi doloremque compressi’.

⁷⁸ ASVat, FB, II, 147, f. 26r: ‘...Queste sono cose solite di questi paesi...’

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 26v: ‘Partirà [the duke] prima di Domenica, e così si evitirà il pericolo della seconda predica...’

the request too. Rudolf received the note favourably, and ordered one of his ministers to speak with Christian, asking him to prevent Leyser from preaching again, or at least not to preach publicly. The elector, Caetani said, responded to the emperor with ‘excuses’: his grandfather August had his minister preach in Prague – a story that Leyser repeated in the preface to the *ZCP* – and that when princes come to visit his, Christian’s, lands, he did not impede them from practicing their religions.⁸⁰ In the end, Caetani’s efforts to resolve the problem diplomatically were to no avail. On the next day, Wednesday 11 July, at the same location in Rosenberg Palace, Leyser preached again with another concourse present. The theme this time was justification.⁸¹

Leyser’s Second Sermon

As on the previous Sunday, before Leyser gave his sermon, those present in the courtyard sang another hymn, this time Paul Speratus’s *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*,

⁸⁰ ASVat, FB, II, 147, f. 47r: ‘...Havendo presentito che il Mercordi se ne sarebbe reiterata un altra, presi per espediente di più scriverne il Martedì una polizza all’Imperatore, con la qual lo supplicavo a non permettere che su gl’occhi della Maestà Sua si reiterasse una abomination simile con scandalo de tutti boni, et anco con poco honore di Sua Maestà ove per la Christianità si fosse divulgata la fama di tal fatto, e per dar più peso all’offitio hebbero per bene Monsignor di Vercelli, et Monsignor Arcivescovo di Praga di aggiongervi anco essi la loro sottoscrizione. Sua Maestà prese ogni cosa in bene, e fece ordinare al Signor Carlo di Lietistain, che facesse penetrar destramente al Duca che gli sarebbe stato molto caro che havesse fatto astener quel suo ministro dalla nova predica almeno così pubblicamente, ma o che l’offitio fosse eseguito con freddezza politica, o che il Duca e chi lo consigliava giudicasse servitio della sua falsa setta non tenerne conto, non venne partorir alcun buon frutto, e le scuse che addusse il Duca furono l’esempio di suo Avo, che diceva haver fatto il simile quando fu in Praga e l’usanza da se osservata ne’ suoi stati di non impedir qualsivoglia Principe che venga a visitarlo di far gl’essercitij della religione che a lui più piace’. Bodenius corroborates what Caetani reports here: *LH* 3:345, 347. For Leyser’s mention of August of Saxony, whom he claimed had his ministers preach sermons in both Vienna and Prague without any trouble, see *ZCP*, p. 2. See also ASVen, SDAG, 38, f. 207r, where Francesco Soranzo repeated Christian’s same two ‘excuses’ mentioned by Caetani in his letter to Rome.

⁸¹ *ZCP*, p. 67; *LH*, vol. 1, pp. 4, 350; vol. 3, pp. 3, 327, 345, 347; ASVat, FB, II, 147, f. 47v; BAV, Urb.lat., 1075 II, f. 466v; ASFir, Med., 4362, f. 935v; ASVen, SDAG, 38, f. 207r; ASTor, LMA, 6, letter of 16 July; ASMan, Gonz., E. II.3, 486, f. 532r; ASMod, CDEG, 59, letter for 16 July; AGSim, Estado, Leg. 2493, n. 68.

another appropriate hymn choice on Leyser's part in light of its stress on putting one's faith in Christ alone for salvation. This was followed by the reading of Psalm 124, then a collect. Subsequently, the blessing was given.⁸² Leyser's second sermon began with the reading of 1 Timothy 1:15-17, where St Paul spoke of Christ having come into the world to save sinners, with the Apostle identifying himself as both foremost among them all and as someone who nevertheless experienced Christ's mercy and patience, making him an example to all those who would believe in Christ for eternal life.⁸³ Leyser planned to draw on Paul's example in order to explain how justification 'really' happened. The first point that the *Hofprediger* made while treating this theme was that the Apostle acknowledged in this verse that he was a sinner, meaning that he recognised, confessed, and felt remorse and sorrow for his sins. This, Leyser argued, was the first step that the individual had to take in order to be justified.⁸⁴

What had to take place next, Leyser taught, was that the person who has now become aggrieved over his or her sins must then flee to Christ through a true faith. But, he noted, not everyone has done this. People – read 'Catholics' – try to find different ways to ease their consciences, atone for their sins, and regain God's favor. They resort to prayers, fasts, almsgiving, and corporal mortification. Against this the Lutheran quoted Luke 17:10, where Christ stated that Christians ought to see themselves as useless slaves who, with their good works, have merely done what they ought to have done; from which Leyser deduced that works were useless for justification and salvation. Others, the *Hofprediger* continued, go on pilgrimages to holy places such as the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem,

⁸² ZCP, p. 113. For an English translation of *Es ist das Heil*, see *The Lutheran Hymnal*, hymn 377.

⁸³ ZCP, p. 67.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Santiago de Compostela, and Our Lady of Loreto. His response to this was Ecclesiastes 1:2: 'Vanitas vanitatum' and 'omnia vanitas'. Leyser also criticised indulgences, which he presented as being utterly worthless. He suggested that while in the throes of death, those who purchased indulgences would have to face the Devil, who would examine their sins and sue them for eternal death. Upon giving their indulgence letters to him, Leyser told the crowd, the parchment on which they were written would shrivel in his red-hot, iron-gloved hand, and the lead seal would melt.⁸⁵ According to Leyser, such was the value of traditions like this. However, all of God's faithful servants, he argued, have hailed Christ alone as the Christian's true source of comfort, life, and godliness. John the Baptist pointed to Christ as the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world. Peter spoke of people being baptised in Christ's name for the forgiveness of sins; there being no other name under heaven through which people could be saved; and the prophets testifying that through his name, all who believe in him should receive forgiveness of sins. Lastly, Leyser appealed to Paul's emphasis on Christ and the cross in 1 Corinthians 2:2 and Galatians 6:14, as well as his utter repudiation, in Philippians 3:3-9, of his own good works as a former Pharisee and now apostle, so that he could instead be found having the righteousness that was through faith in Christ.⁸⁶ Leyser then summarised succinctly the point he was trying to make: 'From all this, it is now crystal-clear and obvious that a poor sinner is justified by God; not his own works, the merit of saints, buying indulgences, corporal mortification, and the such; but Christ alone, with his precious merit and obedience, with his bitter Passion and death'.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 82-84.

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 87-90.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 90.

Thirdly, Leyser taught, upon being forgiven and justified for Christ's sake, the sinful but believing person must learn how to conduct himself in order to remain in God's grace. Again, he pointed back to the sermon's exemplar, Paul, in order to demonstrate exactly what he meant. The Apostle, after his conversion, walked in a new obedience and dedicated himself to pursuing godliness. He did not revert to his old way of life, blaspheming Christ and persecuting the Church. Instead, Paul now loved to follow Christ, about whom he always spoke, preached, and wrote. He faced dangers of every kind, all for the name of Christ. He was even prepared to face imprisonment and death for him. Paul, according to Leyser, was a true convert, and, he asserted, 'this kind of new obedience is required from all penitent sinners if they have now been made righteous by God through faith'.⁸⁸

As Leyser was preparing to conclude his sermon, he named some prominent figures from both Christian antiquity and the recent past who, he claimed, died trusting in God's mercy and Christ's merits alone for salvation. The point of this was of course to convince the audience that the Lutherans' evangelical understanding of justification was not a novelty, and had in fact been held by people of both spiritual and political importance. Among them were Ambrose of Milan from the early Church, and the sixteenth-century Emperors Charles V, Ferdinand I, and Maximilian II. The *Hofprediger* also cited Anselm of Canterbury, who, he taught, prepared during the Middle Ages a series of ten questions and exhortations that he instructed ministers and pastors to read to those who were dying. Leyser read these items, which emphasised faith, sorrow for sin, and trusting in Christ's

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 96-98.

death and merit, out loud to the crowd.⁸⁹ Then, after a brief exhortation for those present to recognise their sins, believe in Christ, and live better lives, Leyser led the audience in a confession of sin, which was followed by him pronouncing an absolution. Lastly, he said a prayer in which he remembered the Lutheran Church's ministers as well as the secular rulers, among whom he mentioned Rudolf II, Christian II, and Duke Johann Georg specifically. Leyser even prayed for the Reich's and the Lutherans' enemies and adversaries, petitioning God that they might cease to be such and proceed to live in such a way that everyone might live peacefully.⁹⁰ With the conclusion of the prayer, this second service was now over. Leyser recalled in the *ZCP* that many 'devout' Christians then thanked him for his sermons and expressed the wish that they could hear more from him.⁹¹ It would not be so.

Lorenzo's Response

Leyser's second sermon made it clear to Caetani that now an organised response was necessary. Prague's Catholic preachers were therefore unleashed and instructed to

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-08. For this part of Leyser's sermon, see also ASVat, FB, II, 147, f. 42v; ASMan, Gonz., E. II.3, 486, f. 532r; ASMod, CDEG, 59, letter of 16 July; ASVen, SDAG, 38, f. 207r. It should be pointed out that Francesco Soranzo's report is not consistent with the text of Leyser's published sermon. Soranzo claimed that Leyser taught that Charles V and Maximilian as well as Sts. Augustine and Basil died within the Lutheran religion.

⁹⁰ *ZCP*, pp. 109-112: 'Dass auch unsere Feinde und Widersacher ablassen, und sich begeben, mit uns friedlich und sanfftütig zu leben'. It could be that this part of Leyser's prayer is what both the author of the first *avviso* of 16 July sent to Urbino and Francesco Soranzo were referring to when they spoke of Leyser having supposedly encouraged his audience to say a *Pater noster* for the 'lost souls' of the Turk and the pope, and to pray that both be abased; the former of its strength and the latter, its pride: BAV, Urb.lat., 1075 II, f. 466v; ASVen, SDAG, 38, f. 207v. But such inflammatory words cannot be found in the *ZCP*. Perhaps Leyser did in fact speak like that while praying and, for some reason, chose to omit what he had said. It could also be that what these two Catholics were reporting were distortions, not necessarily of their own making.

⁹¹ *ZCP*, p. 4.

preach against Leyser's doctrine.⁹² Lorenzo, of course, was among them. For him, time was of the essence: he was determined to preach against the Lutheran without delay. Word spread quickly about his intentions, but not everyone thought his plans were well-advised. Giammaria da Monteforte reported in his testimony for the apostolic process in Milan that some of the principal men of the city came to the friary in order to dissuade Lorenzo from preaching. According to Giammaria, they were especially concerned that such a course of action would cause friction with Saxony. At first, Lorenzo tried to explain why it was necessary for him to give the sermon, but when he realised that they remained firm in their opposition, Giammaria, who was present at this exchange, remembered Lorenzo raising his voice and exclaiming: 'Ah, Mother of God! Ah, Mother of God! Is this zeal for the Catholic faith? Is this zeal for the Holy Roman Church and the salvation of souls? I am determined to preach and refute publicly the errors of this man. And if anyone resists me, I will denounce him to His Holiness!' After hearing that, according to Giammaria, the opposition collapsed.⁹³ Lorenzo was clearly not going to allow anyone to dissuade him from preaching against Polykarp Leyser.

⁹² ASVat, FB, II, 147, f. 47v: 'Io vedendo non poter più altro giudicai almeno bene non lasciar che a questo veneno non si contraponesse il suo antidoto, così si è fatto che tutti i predicatori Cattolici della Città una parte il Mercordì, a gl'altri la Domenica habbiano confutato articolo per articolo tutta quella falsa dottrina...'

⁹³ APMil, ff. 762-63: 'Quando si seppe in Praga quello designava di fare il Padre Brindesi, nacque gran disparere, et alcuni de più principali vennero nel Convento nostro, e con varij motivi cercarono di persuadere al Padre che non volesse far questo, allegando massime che non conveniva per all' hora di romperla con Sassonia. Il Padre Brindesi nel principio cercò con buone ragioni di fare intender che bisognava per ogni modo opporsi a questa heretica pravità. Ma quando vidde che quei principali stavano saldi, all' hora con grandissimo fervore cominciò ad inalzare la voce, dicendo, Ah Madre di Dio, Ah Madre di Dio, questo è il zelo della Catholica fede? questo è il zelo della Santa Romana Chiesa, et della salute delle anime? Io voglio risolutamente predicare, e confutare gli errori di costui pubblicamente, et se alcuno mi farà più resistenza lo voglio denontiare a Sua Santità. Io ero presente, et viddi et udij tutto ciò; et osservai, che quei Principali all' hora s'arresero, ne ebbero più ardire di fare contrasto'. Giammaria also alluded to this event in the IPMun. See IPMun, ff. 8-9.

Lorenzo made his response to Leyser the very next day, Thursday 12 July.⁹⁴ He did not explain in either the *LH* or the *Commentariolum* the time of his sermon, but it is certain that he preached from the pulpit of St Mary of the Angels.⁹⁵ Giammaria da Monteforte recalled that his superior had invited Caetani, the other ambassadors in Prague, the principal barons in the city, and anyone else who might be interested, to attend, and these prominent Catholics were present that Thursday, as were several gentlemen of the court of Saxony.⁹⁶ These men presumably informed Leyser about what transpired in the Capuchin church, as he, for reasons that have not been recorded, was not present in person.⁹⁷ And Lutherans from Saxony were not the only heretics in attendance: according to Gugliermo Ruffini, for the duration of the sermon he sat near a Hussite baron.⁹⁸ The fact that Lorenzo was preaching at the friary, so close to Prague Castle, made it more convenient for such people to attend.

Lorenzo began his sermon by entrusting himself to the care of the Virgin Mary.⁹⁹ In accordance with his usual preaching activities in Prague, he spoke in Italian.¹⁰⁰ But unlike Leyser, whose sermons were reproduced in minute detail, Lorenzo never left behind any kind of record, whether handwritten or printed, as to exactly what he said. All that can be known about his sermon are a few elements described in the *LH* and the *Commentariolum*. In both writings, he reported that he based it on Acts 13:10, where St Paul confronted the sorcerer and false prophet Elymas, who was trying to prevent Sergius

⁹⁴ *LH*, vol. 1, pp. 5, 350; vol. 3, pp. 3, 327; *Comm.*, f. 10v.

⁹⁵ *LH*, vol. 3, p. 327; *APMil*, f. 763; *ZCP*, pp. 26-27.

⁹⁶ *APMil*, ff. 762-63; *IPMun*, ff. 8-9; *LH*, vol. 3, pp. 5, 328.

⁹⁷ Leyser demonstrated his awareness of some of what had happened at Lorenzo's sermon in *ZCP*, pp. 26-27.

⁹⁸ *Q1*, f. 91.

⁹⁹ *LH*, vol. 3, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 328.

Paulus, the Roman proconsul of Cyprus, from hearing the Gospel: “O you who are full of all deceit and falsehood, you son of the devil, you enemy of all righteousness, will you not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?”¹⁰¹ Lorenzo evidently considered this verse appropriate for Leyser. On the one hand, as he pointed out in the *Commentariolum*, with this passage he could emphasise the phrase ‘enemy of all righteousness’ specifically because Leyser had preached, in accordance with Lutheran belief, that good works were neither necessary nor meritorious for salvation, an idea that was anathema to Tridentine Catholics such as Lorenzo.¹⁰² On the other hand, as has already been seen in the Capuchin’s sermon plans, he identified his Protestant opponents as being comparable to biblical false prophets, such as the prophets of Baal, and in league with Satan. Leyser was no different. In Lorenzo’s mind, just as Elymas strove to turn Sergius Paulus away from faith in Christ, so Leyser was doing everything in his power to keep Christian II away from Roman Catholicism.¹⁰³ And if Leyser was to be equated with the ‘deceitful’ and ‘diabolical’ Elymas, then surely Lorenzo saw himself – again – as the Paul figure in this situation, the champion of the ‘one true belief’ in what was really a ‘spiritual battle’ not over a single individual, such as Sergius Paulus or the elector of Saxony, but the soul of Europe.

As for the content of Lorenzo’s *filippica*, in the preface of the *LH*, all that he imparted is ‘multa dixi’,¹⁰⁴ and, in the earlier draft of the preface, he said that he hurled ‘many darts’ at the Lutheran (*multa in ipsum iacula...contorsi*).¹⁰⁵ Surely he did. But, besides implying that Lorenzo’s sermon was probably lengthy, these passages tell us

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 5, 350; vol. 3, pp. 3-4, 327; *Comm.*, f. 10v.

¹⁰² *Comm.*, f. 10v: ‘Preme assai sopra le parole inimice omnis iustitiae, perche havea predicato che l’opere buone non siano necessarie ne di merito alcuno’.

¹⁰³ *LH*, vol. 3, p. 4.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

nothing about the actual arguments he made. The same is true for the *Commentariolum*, where all he said is that he had ‘thoroughly refuted’ (*haverlo ben ben confutato*) Leyser, but then left it at that.¹⁰⁶ Despite this lack of direct evidence, we can probably assume that he would have employed the same tactics that we have seen in his sermons and sermon plans. No doubt a barrage of Bible verses and appeals to the Fathers made up a large number of the ‘darts’ that the Capuchin hurled in Leyser’s direction. Bodenius, the ambassador of Archduke Albert, spoke of the sermon as having been ‘violent’ (*hefftige*);¹⁰⁷ Lorenzo’s biblical and patristic references may well have been accompanied by his usual sarcastic and condescending remarks, this time about Leyser and Lutheranism specifically.

In his writings, Lorenzo passed over the content of his sermon in order to focus on what he deemed its crescendo. In the *Commentariolum*, Lorenzo stated very matter-of-factly that Leyser had used biblical quotations in his two sermons that were drawn exclusively from Luther’s German Bible. Leyser, therefore, had not interacted with Scripture in its original languages of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. But, Lorenzo continued, surely Lutherans were now supposed to have recourse to the text in those languages since they considered the Vulgate, the Roman Church’s approved Latin translation, to be riddled with errors.¹⁰⁸ Yet Leyser too had relied upon a translation, and one that, in Lorenzo’s opinion, could best be described as ‘Luther’s dreams and figments’ (*Lutheri somnia et figmenta*), and ‘muddy and base’ (*lutosa et sordida*).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Comm., f. 10v.

¹⁰⁷ *LH*, vol. 3, p. 345.

¹⁰⁸ Comm., f. 10v: ‘Non haveva nelle sue prediche citato la scrittura il predicante se non della Bibia di Luthero in thedesco, non admettendo i Lutherani l’edition vulgata della Bibia della quale si serve tutta la chiesa catholica, perche dicono che sia piena d’errori, pero ricorrono sempre alli testi hebraici caldaici, e greci’.

¹⁰⁹ *LH*, vol. 1, p. 5.

So, in the same way that he had been accustomed, while preaching to the Jews, to bring relevant Hebrew texts to the pulpit with him in order to demonstrate tacitly for his audience his familiarity with them and his readiness to debate them, he now, on this occasion in Prague, brought to the pulpit the Bible in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. In the *Commentariolum*, he recorded that he made the following announcement to the audience:

I want you to know what a great man this preacher is who has dared to preach openly against our Catholic Religion. Worse than that, he did this at the residence of His Imperial Majesty, a Catholic prince, and all his Catholic court; in the presence of two Apostolic Nuncios, ministers of the Pope, the Supreme Head etc.; an Archbishop; and so many prelates, who are heads of the Catholic Church in this Kingdom. He preached before so many Religious, so many theologians, and so many preachers of the Catholic faith. Almost like another Goliath, 'he came to reproach the armies of the living God'. Take these books that are the Bible in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek – one only need be in accordance with its doctrines and not believe or teach otherwise – and you will see that he does not even know how to read it.

Lorenzo then took these texts and, with great theatricality, hurled them from the pulpit into the midst of the audience.¹¹⁰ The books would have of course landed with a great thud. Surely the congregation was astonished, which would have undoubtedly been the effect that the Capuchin was seeking to create. In doing this, Lorenzo was challenging the audience to take the risk and bring the books to Leyser in order to see that what he, Lorenzo, was asserting was indeed true. And Lorenzo was so confident of this that, while describing

¹¹⁰ Comm., ff. 10v, 12r: 'Fra Lorenzo porto in pulpito le Bibie in queste tre lingue, et al fine della predica disse: voglio che conosciate che grand'huomo sia questo predicante ch'ha havuto ardire di predicare contro la nostra Religion catholica in faccia, anzi in casa di Sua Maesta Cesarea principe catholico, e di tutta la sua corte catholica; alla presenza di due Nuntii Apostolici, ministri del Papa, supremo capo etc.; d'un Arcivescovo; e di tanti prelati che sono capi della chiesa catholica in questo Regno; in faccia di tanti Religiosi, di tanti theologi, e di tanti predicatori della fede catholica; e quasi un altro Golia venit exprobare agminibus Dei viventis. Pigliate questi libri che sono la Bibia in hebraico caldaico, e greco, alla quale solo bisogna stare secondo la sua dottrina, ne altro credere o insegnare. Vedrete che non la sapra pur leggere. Così per farli gran vergogna getto que libri dal pulpito...' Others too could not help but to remember this seemingly shocking action. See APMil, f. 764; *LH*, vol. 3, p. 347. See also APMil, f. 677, the recollection of Francesco Castiglione, Rudolf II's cupbearer, who recalled erroneously in 1628 that Lorenzo had thrown the books from the pulpit not on Thursday 12 July, but during a second sermon dedicated to refuting Leyser. See also Q1, f. 221, where Guglielmo Ruffini testified that Lorenzo did not hurl Bibles from the pulpit, but rather some of Luther's German writings.

this part of his sermon in the preface of the *LH*, he employed the participle ‘comperturi’ in association with those in the audience, meaning that they ‘would find’ or ‘would obtain certain knowledge’ of the fact.¹¹¹ Indeed, the aforementioned Johann Barvitiuss, the emperor’s secretary, went forward to collect the books, saying that he would bring them to Leyser.¹¹² The drama was playing itself out perfectly.

There was a definite purpose to what Lorenzo did with the Bibles. As we have seen when examining his sermon plans, he knew that if he were going to attack Protestantism successfully, he would have to do so with Scripture. Thus, he quoted Bible verse after Bible verse in his homilies in order to refute Protestant doctrines. On this occasion with Leyser, he was determined again to use Scripture, albeit in another way, in order to pull the rug from under his opponent’s feet. Lorenzo knew that if such an illustrious Protestant preacher could in fact not read Scripture in its original languages, having instead to rely solely on a translation, it could have devastating consequences for his reputation as a theologian. As he explained bluntly in the *LH*: ‘But if Leyser did not even know how to read Sacred Letters in their original form, why is he able to teach?’¹¹³ Going beyond his standard biblical proof texts and sarcastic insults, the Capuchin here was aiming to humiliate and discredit his opponent, portraying him as a hypocrite who was too incompetent to abide by the Protestants’ own hallowed tenet of *sola Scriptura* in its purest sense. Lorenzo, therefore, believed that he had discovered the Lutheran’s weakness, and felt compelled to proclaim it as loudly as he could, for all to hear.

¹¹¹ *LH*, vol. 1, pp. 5, 350-51; vol. 3, pp. 4, 327.

¹¹² *APMil*, ff. 678, 764.

¹¹³ *LH*, vol. 3, p. 5.

Lorenzo made a further biblical reference in this passage in the *Commentariolum* that he felt was appropriate for the situation in Prague. He equated Leyser with another of the Bible's villains, the giant Goliath, the champion of the Philistines, who were at war with Israel, the 'armies of the living God', which in Lorenzo's mind were to be identified with Prague's Catholic prelates, religious, theologians, and preachers. And if Leyser, the great and renowned *Erster Hofprediger* of Duke Christian II, an elector of the Holy Roman Empire, was to be likened to Goliath, then it comes as no surprise that Lorenzo saw himself, the poor and seemingly insignificant Capuchin, as the David figure among the Catholics,¹¹⁴ who had now resolutely made his way out onto the battlefield in order to deal the fatal blow to the heretics' champion, who was nothing but a theological paper tiger. On this occasion, however, the giant was not taken down with stones, but rather with Bibles.

It is clear in both the *LH* and the *Commentariolum* that Lorenzo was convinced that his stunt with the Bibles had really wounded Leyser. In the preface of the *LH*, he claimed that it had 'pierced the man violently' (*pupugit res vehementer hominem*);¹¹⁵ and in the *Commentariolum*, he said something similar, that it 'pierced the preacher deeply' (*trafisse grandemente il predicante*).¹¹⁶ Lorenzo surely considered this the right conclusion to draw since, as he put it so derisively in the *Commentariolum*, 'after this happened, the good preacher, dumber than a fish, departed from Prague without uttering even a single word; which turned out to be to the great satisfaction of the Catholics, and embarrassment of the heretics'.¹¹⁷ In other words, because Lorenzo had exposed Leyser as a hypocrite and

¹¹⁴ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 350; vol. 3, p. 57.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 5.

¹¹⁶ Comm, f. 10v.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., f. 12r: '...E doppo questo fatto il buon predicante, muto piu di un pesce si parti da Praga senza far pure un minimo moto; il che riuscì a grandissima sodisfattione, e consolatione de catholici, e confusione de gl'heretici'.

ignoramus, the Lutheran left Prague confounded, like the proverbial dog with its tail between its legs. But the reality was that Christian II and his entourage had departed from the capital early in the morning the day after Lorenzo gave his sermon, that is, on Friday 13 July.¹¹⁸ The elector and Duke Johann Georg needed to get back to Saxony in order to ready themselves for Johann Georg's upcoming wedding ceremony that month to the Hohenzollern princess Magdalena Sibylla.¹¹⁹ As Christian left, so his courtiers and ministers would have to follow. There was no way that Leyser had time to make any kind of suitable reply to the triumphalist Lorenzo in person; and surely, given his experience in polemics up to that point, he would have certainly been able to do so. Lorenzo's estimation of Leyser was thus never challenged. While writing to the duke of Savoy on 16 July, for example, Gieronimo Lovencito spoke of Leyser as an 'ignorant preacher, and full of wickedness' (*predicante ignorante et pieno di malignità*).¹²⁰ Manfrino Castiglione, in his letter to the duke of Mantua, called him 'that ignorant beast' (*quella Bestia ignorante*).¹²¹ Apparently both these ambassadors attended Lorenzo's sermon and bought into his argument about Leyser's language skills. And the author of the first *avviso* of 16 July sent to the duke of Urbino reports with satisfaction that even some heretics who listened to Lorenzo's sermon came away from it confessing that Leyser was an ignorant man.¹²² These 'heretics' may of course have been not Lutherans, but rather Hussites or Calvinists; the latter might well have been especially open-minded to accepting Lorenzo's assessment of

¹¹⁸ *LH*, vol. 3, pp. 5, 328, 345, 347; ASVat, FB, II, 147, f. 47v; BAV, Urb.lat., 1075 II, f. 467r; ASFir, Med., 4362, f. 934v; ASVen, SDAG, 38, f. 207r; ASTor, LMA, 6, letter of 16 July; ASMan, Gonz., E. II.3, 486, ff. 532v; ASMod, CDEG, 59, letter of 16 July; ASGen, LMV, 20-2537, n. 149.

¹¹⁹ ASFir, Med., 4362, f. 934v; ASTor, LMA, 6, letter of 16 July; ASMan, Gonz., E. II.3, 486, ff. 532v; *LH*, vol. 3, pp. 346-47. See also Gotthard, 'Johann Georg I', p. 137.

¹²⁰ ASTor, LMA, 6, letter of 16 July.

¹²¹ ASMan, Gonz., E. II.3, 486, ff. 532r.

¹²² BAV, Urb.lat., 1075 II, f. 466v.

his opponent. So, Lorenzo accomplished what he set out to do that Thursday, namely to present a real threat to the cause of Catholicism in Prague as no threat at all.

However, while it might seem that Lorenzo had discovered Leyser's Achilles' heel, he really had not. The conclusion he drew about Leyser's skills with the biblical languages was rash to say the least. He seems to have based it upon what others had reported to him, rather than what he heard with his own ears or observed with his own eyes in Leyser's writings. Furthermore, the Lutheran's two sermons were given to ordinary Christians – not to his learned colleagues at Wittenberg – on occasions for which preaching from a vernacular Bible would have been more than appropriate. But if the sermons published in the *ZCP* reproduce the substance of those that Leyser gave at Rosenberg Palace – and it seems likely that they do – it is evident that he could in fact interact with biblical Greek, and quite possibly even quoted it while preaching. For example, in the sermon on good works, he spoke of *storg* (*storg*), the natural love and affection that a parent has for his or her child. He associated it with the true mother of the baby boy over whom the two women in 1 Kings 3:16-28 fought; she was the one who could not bear to see King Solomon cut her son in half so that both women could share him.¹²³ In the second sermon, Leyser explained the Greek behind the first half of 1 Timothy 1:15, where St Paul averred that it was a faithful saying, and worthy of acceptance, that Christ came into the world to save sinners.¹²⁴ On a few occasions, he cited the Greek term behind 'example' employed by the

¹²³ *ZCP*, p. 49.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 92: 'Darumb so ist es wol in acht zu nemen, was S. Paulus alhier für kräftige wort, die einen sonderbaren nachdruck haben, gebrauchte. Er saget, es sey *ἄσφατος*, certus, fidus sermo, ein solches wort, denn sicherlich zu trauen stehe, denn wir haben nicht ein zweifel haftiges, sondern ein festes, gewisses, Prophetisch und Apostolisch wort. Ein Wort, das da ist *ἄσφατος*, omni acceptione dignus, das man mit aller Danckbarkeit, als ein teuers werthes wort annemen, und demselben trauen soll'.

Apostle in 1 Timothy 1:16: ὁ (hypotyposis),¹²⁵ the same word, ironically, that Lorenzo would later use against him as part of the title of the *LH*.

Besides the *ZCP*, another of Leyser's works that demonstrates his knowledge of the biblical languages is his six-part commentary on Genesis, which comprises 2,805 quarto pages – no small undertaking. In chronological order, Leyser named each part after one of the book's six major patriarchs, beginning with Adam, and continuing with Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph. Part one was, appropriately, dedicated to Christian II, part two to his brother Johann Georg. This series was published between 1604 and 1609, the same period in the first decade of the seventeenth century as the clash in Prague, meaning it is a good indicator of what Leyser knew at that time.¹²⁶ Throughout the commentary, Leyser interacted not only with the original Hebrew text and the Aramaic Targumim, he also quoted the Greek of the Septuagint, the New Testament, and extra-biblical figures such as Euripides¹²⁷ and Gregory of Nazianus.¹²⁸ One place where his knowledge of all three languages is manifest is his attempt in the second part of the

¹²⁵ Ibid., pp. 71, 81, 93, 95.

¹²⁶ See P. Leyser, *Adamus D. Polycarpi Lyseri: hoc est, theologica expositio primae partis Geneseos, quae continet historiam Adami, primi mundi genitoris* (Lipsiae, 1604); *Noachus D. Polycarpi Lyseri: hoc est, theologica expositio secundae partis Geneseos, quae continet historiam Noachi, secundi mundi genitoris* (Lipsiae, 1605); *Abrahamus D. Polycarpi Lyseri: hoc est, theologica expositio tertiae partis Geneseos, quae continet historiam Abrahami, Patris omnium credentium* (Lipsiae, 1606); *Isaacus, D. Polycarpi Lyseri: hoc est, theologica expositio quartae partis Geneseos, quae continet historiam Isaaci, Filii Abrahae secundum promissionem* (Lipsiae, 1608); *Iacobus D. Polycarpi Lyseri, hoc est theologica expositio quintae partis Geneseos quae continet historiam vitae, laborum, peregrinationum, periculorum & miraculosarum liberationum Iacobi, quinti Patriarchae, in honorem Dei & ad usum Ecclesiae adornata* (Lipsiae, 1608); and *Josephus, D. Polycarpi Lyseri, hoc est theologica expositio sextae & ultimae partis Geneseos, continens historiam vitae, humiliationis & exaltationis Iosephi, sexti Patriarchae, Principis Aegypti: in honorem Dei & in usum Ecclesiae evulgata* (Lipsiae, 1609). This series can be accessed in its entirety in Oxford at the Bodleian Library between the Special Collections Reading Room at the Radcliffe Science Library and Duke Humfrey's Library. The texts' call numbers are as follows: *Adamus* (DD 48(1) Th.); *Noachus* (4° L 8(1) Th.); *Abrahamus* (4° L 10(1) Th.); *Isaacus* (4° L 12(1) Th.); *Jacobus* (4° L 12(2) Th.); and *Josephus* (4° L 13 Th.).

¹²⁷ Leyser, *Josephus*, p. 120.

¹²⁸ Leyser, *Noachus*, p. 92.

commentary to elucidate who the mysterious ‘sons of God’ were mentioned in Genesis 6:2.¹²⁹ This of course does not make Leyser a more qualified or more zealous linguist than Lorenzo. As it happens, when one contrasts their individual commentaries on Genesis, one can see that Lorenzo in the *Explanatio in Genesim* referred back to the Hebrew and other languages for every verse scrutinised; for him the original wording was at the very heart of the enterprise. With Leyser, however, the appearance of those languages is more scattered, and usually confined to clarifying words of particular theological and philological value, such as *Sheol* (שְׁאוֹל), the Hebrew for ‘hell’ or ‘the grave’.¹³⁰ The philological dimension does not seem to have concerned him as much as it did Lorenzo. Even so, it is clear that Leyser could, and did, read and work with those languages despite the impetuous Capuchin’s claims to the contrary. And with Leyser’s departure from Prague, the first phase of their dispute over good works and justification came to an end. Lorenzo was confident that through his sermon the cause of the Catholic faith had won the day.

Defending Catholic Veneration of the Virgin Mary

The second recorded theological clash involving Lorenzo and an individual Protestant minister in Prague took place in 1610, and centred on Catholic veneration of the

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 3: ‘Considerandum itaque quinam illi [the ‘sons of God’] fuerint. Primo quidem Judaei, atque alij quidam Iudaizantes interpretantur hoc de succubis & incubis: & fabulantur, angelos descendisse in corpora, & libidinem exercuisse cum filiabus hominum, ac proinde ex coelo exturbatos esse. Hoc confirmare nitantur ex libro Jobi, ubi Satanas quodam die inter filios Dei adstittisse dicitur. Et vetustior quaedam LXX interpretum versio, quam Philo & Eusebius Caesariensis secuti sunt, pro eo, quod hebraice legitur, בְּנֵי דֵי, id est, Filij Dei, habent, אֱלֹהִים, id est, Angeli Dei. Quae versio multas quaestiones peperit, & varias sententias introduxit: quas tamen Chrysostomus, Ambrosius & Augustinus sufficienter refutaverunt. Deinde Thargum Hierosolymitanum interpretatur בְּנֵי דֵי, hoc est, Filij Principum. Sicut in Psalmo habetur: Dixi, vos Dij estis, & filij excelsi omnes. Et haec interpretatio est commodior’.

¹³⁰ Leyser, *Josephus*, p. 53.

Virgin Mary.¹³¹ Unlike the episode with Leyser, however, for which there is abundant evidence – and for which Lorenzo’s adversary was able to speak for himself – that is not the case with this second conflict. By 1610, the Letter of Majesty had already been issued, and Protestants could preach and worship publicly in Bohemia. On this occasion, therefore, there was no great scandal as there had been during the Leyser affair. The only evidence available is Lorenzo’s recollections in the *Commentariolum*, which he recorded after explaining how, in that same year, he was made apostolic nuncio and ambassador of Spain to Maximilian of Bavaria.¹³² But that Lorenzo is the only witness we have for this incident does not mean that his account should be disregarded. The events he described in the *Commentariolum* are generally historically verifiable, although what must be taken with a grain of salt – as we saw above with Leyser and the biblical languages – are Lorenzo’s interpretations of those events.

Lorenzo recounted that in 1610, an assembly of princes came together in Prague in order to negotiate an agreement between Rudolf II and his brother, Archduke Matthias, who had been engaged in a vicious power struggle. This group of princes, the so-called ‘Prague Princes’, was initially summoned by Rudolf to counsel him in the major issues then facing the Reich, with the conflict between him and Matthias being its primary focus. The assembly gathered in May that year, and continued its work through the summer months. Among the princes was Elector Christian II of Saxony,¹³³ whom, from the Catholic

¹³¹ For Arturo’s treatment of this event, see Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 26-27.

¹³² Comm., ff. 14rv.

¹³³ Ibid., f. 14r: ‘Nell’anno medesimo [1610] facendosi a Praga un convento de principi per trattare l’accordo tra Rudolfo secondo Imperatore, et il Re d’Ungaria suo fratello hora Imperatore venne per tal effetto anco il Duca di Sassonia Elettore’. For more on the ‘Prague Princes’ in relation to Rudolf and Matthias, see Anderson, *On the Verge of War*, p. 113.

perspective, trouble seemed to follow. In August that year, Lorenzo was also in Prague, having carried out his diplomatic responsibilities on behalf of the Catholic League.¹³⁴

Given the new religious situation following the Letter of Majesty, Lorenzo began, the preacher who had accompanied Christian to Prague wanted to preach.¹³⁵ Lorenzo did not identify who this man was, and may not have known his name. It was definitely not Polykarp Leyser, who had died four months earlier in February that year. It could have been his successor as *Erster Hofprediger*, Paul Jenisch (1551-1612), whose career in Dresden began in 1603 when he was made the elector's *Dritter Hofprediger* as well as assessor of the city's *Oberkonsistorium*.¹³⁶ Whoever he might have been, this individual decided to preach about another matter of contention between Catholics and Protestants: Catholic veneration of Mary. As this was in August, when Lorenzo was in the city and able to hear of it, it could be that this man was preaching on or in light of the Feast of the Assumption. Over the course of his sermon, Lorenzo reported, the preacher spoke of Catholics as if they were idolaters, alleging that they worshipped Mary as true God. For his evidence, Lorenzo claimed, the preacher adduced the *Psalterium majus Beatae Mariae Virginis*, which was then attributed to St Bonaventure, but is in fact spurious. The book consists of 150 psalms dedicated to the Virgin that imitate those in the Book of Psalms in the Old Testament. It also includes eight canticles composed in her honour, after the fashion of some of the biblical songs, as well as Marian adaptations of the *Te Deum* and

¹³⁴ Arturo, vol. 3, pp. 26, 28, 30-31.

¹³⁵ Comm., f. 14r: 'Et essendo gia stata concessa da Rudolfo la confessione Augustana a stati di Bohemia attal che vi potevano predicare liberamente predicanti Lutherani come gia fanno, volse predicare anco il predicante del sudetto Duca di Sassonia'.

¹³⁶ For more on Jenisch, see *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (64 vols., Halle and Leipzig, 1732-1750), vol. 14, pp. 375-77, available online at <http://www.zedler-lexikon.de/index.html> (accessed 21 July 2013). I first became aware that Jenisch was Leyser's successor through the above-cited article of Gaylin Schmeling: Schmeling, 'Polykarp Leyser', p. 194, n. 24.

the Athanasian Creed. Focusing on the psalms in the *Psalterium*, the preacher asserted, according to Lorenzo, that since Catholics recited them to the Virgin just as King David's psalter is recited to God, that it could not be denied that they worshipped her as true God.¹³⁷

Word of this soon got back to Lorenzo. Being the ardent devotee to Mary that he was, he must have been livid. He stated that after he had heard this, he responded to the preacher with a sermon. There is not a shred of evidence here as to when and where this took place, or who was in his audience. Nevertheless, we may assume that he gave it, as he was accustomed to do with his sermons, in Italian at St Mary of the Angels. But rather than taking to the pulpit with him the Bible in its original languages, he instead brought some of St Bonaventure's relevant writings. Clearly he wanted to present himself as ready to go from page to page in the Seraphic Doctor's works in order to defend both his doctrine and the Marian devotion of the Roman Church. Pointing to these texts – he did not specify in the *Commentariolum* which ones – Lorenzo argued that Bonaventure did not teach that Mary ought to be worshipped, but rather that she must not be as she was a creature, not the Creator. As for the pseudo-Bonaventurian *Psalterium* itself, Lorenzo acknowledged that the Virgin was indeed highly praised and invoked therein – as she definitely is – but not with titles befitting only to God. He then pointed out that the principal invocation here was therefore for her intercession. This much was evident, he said, in the litanies of the Virgin that came immediately after the *Psalterium* in Bonaventure's *opuscula*. Here, he insisted,

¹³⁷ Comm., f. 14r: 'E predicando contro l'honore della Madre di Dio, fece una invettiva grande contro i catholici, trattandoli da idolatri, ch'adorano la Madre di Dio come vero Dio. E per argomento addusse il Salterio di S. Bonaventura che recitando questo i catholici alla Madre di Dio come si recita il Salterio di David a Dio non possono negare di non adorarla come vero Dio'. For the *Psalterium majus*, see *S.R.E. Cardinalis S. Bonaventurae ex Ordine Minorum Episcopi Albanensis, Eximii Ecclesiae Doctoris opera omnia* (15 vols. Parisiis, 1864-1872), vol. 14, pp. 199-224. That the *Psalterium* is spurious is evident in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité: ascétique et mystique: doctrine et histoire* (17 vols., Paris, 1937-1995), vol. 1, pp. 1843-45.

after each exalted title attributed to the Virgin – which include ‘fons misericordiae’, ‘splendor Sanctae Ecclesiae’, and ‘vera salus et beatitudo’ – the *ora pro nobis*, the petition for her prayers, is always recited.¹³⁸

Having made his defense of Catholicism, Lorenzo then turned his attention to the preacher himself. Based on the Lutheran’s ‘flimsy’ argument, he explained to the audience that ‘from necessity such a preacher was either an exceedingly ignorant man, and as such ought to go and bray among the donkeys and not dare to preach among men; or better said, a man who out of the extreme malice of the wicked is continually deceiving, not preaching, with manifest calumnies and falsities, diabolically persecuting the truth of the Catholic Religion’.¹³⁹ In other words, either this man was an ignorant fool or one of Satan’s minions looking to persecute Catholicism, the one true faith. There were no other options. Again Lorenzo coupled his theological argument against Protestantism with belittling and insults. And he did not leave the reader of the *Commentariolum* wondering how Christian II’s preacher reacted to his sermon: ‘The preacher did not dare to counter-reply so as not to be put to shame to an even greater degree’.¹⁴⁰ The *Commentariolum* is unclear as to the preacher’s whereabouts while Lorenzo was preaching. It is possible that he never knew of Lorenzo’s existence. We do not know for sure. What is obvious though is that in Lorenzo’s

¹³⁸ Comm., f. 14r: ‘Fra Lorenzo sentito ciò li rispose in una predica con addurre i libri di S. Bonaventura in pulpito dove evidentemente insegna il contrario, cio e che la Madre di Dio non deve essere adorata come Dio perche e creatura non creatore, e che nel Salterio di S. Bonaventura fatto ad imitatione di quello di David viene ben lodata la Madre di Dio, et invocata, ma non con titoli che convengono solo a Dio, e la principale invocataione sie della sua intercessione. Pero ne gl’opuscoli di S. Bonaventura immediatamente doppo il Salterio della Madonna seguono le litanie, nelle quali sempre si dice ora pro nobis’. For the litanies, see *S. Bonaventurae opera omnia*, vol. 14, pp. 224-25.

¹³⁹ Comm., f. 14v: ‘Pero concludere che per necessita tal predicante o era huomo sopra modo ignorante, e come tale doverebb’ andare ragghiare tra gl’asini, non ardire di predicare a gl’huomini, o vero huomo per estrema malitia malignante che va con manifeste calunnie, e falsita non predicando ma ingannando, e diabolicamente perseguitando la verita della Religion catholica’.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.: ‘Ne pero hebbe il predicante ardire di replicare per non restare maggiormente confuso’.

mind all those who dared to oppose the Roman Church and its lowly standard-bearer would fail miserably.

Engaging directly in theological disputes with individual Protestant preachers was another significant way that Lorenzo da Brindisi sought to combat heresy in the Holy Roman Empire. During the conflict with Polykarp Leyser over good works and justification, he was adamant about being at the forefront of Prague's Catholic defenses, and he insisted on refuting the Lutheran immediately. His denunciation of Leyser began with a sermon, the contents of which are, for the most part, unfortunately unknown; although we can assume, in light of his sermons and sermon plans seen above, that he based his arguments on Scripture – and lots of it – as well as relevant appeals to the Fathers. Corresponding to what is also seen in the sermon plans, Lorenzo equated Leyser with two biblical villains, the sorcerer and false prophet Elymas, the 'enemy of righteousness', and the giant Goliath who, despite his stature, was so easily defeated. But what was most important to the Capuchin was the part of his invective where he attacked Leyser personally, when he revealed to all – incorrectly – that the great *Hofprediger* could not even read the Bible in its original languages, with this culminating in the hurling of the Bible in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek from the pulpit into the midst of the audience so that those in attendance could take the books to Leyser to see for themselves just how ignorant he really was. This was, arguably, the greatest theatrical stunt employed by Lorenzo in his preaching career. Like the myriad biblical quotations in his homiletic works, during this particular episode he was looking to take the Bible, which the Protestants were supposed to esteem so much, and turn it into their greatest liability.

In the debate over Catholic veneration of the Virgin Mary with another of the elector of Saxony's preachers, quite possibly Leyser's successor Paul Jenisch, no books were thrown from the pulpit. Lorenzo did, however, bring the writings of St Bonaventure with him in order to demonstrate to his audience his knowledge of the relevant texts, and to prove, contrary to the Lutheran's accusations, that Catholics did not worship Mary as true God. After defending Bonaventure (really pseudo-Bonaventure) and the Marian spirituality of the Church, Lorenzo sought to turn the tables on the 'slandorous' preacher through mockery and belittling comments. As was the case with Leyser, the Capuchin was convinced that he had made mincemeat of this Lutheran too. Whether he was the victor or not in these disputes is not for the historian to judge, but what is certain is that he employed the Bible, the writings of some of the Church's great teachers, personal attacks, ridicule, and theatrics while engaging his opponents.

The *Lutheranismi hypotyposis*

Lorenzo da Brindisi's attacks on Protestantism were not solely verbal. While in the Holy Roman Empire, he also took up the pen as part of his campaign against heresy. The end product of this literary activity was the *Lutheranismi hypotyposis*, the work that makes up the tripartite second volume of his *Opera omnia*; but which was not published, as we saw earlier, until the twentieth century.¹ In this text whose origins stem from additional contact with Polykarp Leyser in 1607, Lorenzo set out to refute not only his opponent the *Hofprediger* but also Martin Luther and Lutheranism.

Sources

Since the *LH* came about during a 'second round' of the dispute with Leyser, the principal sources that shed light on this work's origins and content are much the same as in the previous chapter, less the extensive ambassadorial correspondence. The *LH* and the *Commentariolum* both provide Lorenzo's account of how the controversy was revived and led to his writing the *LH*,² where we can find his written arguments against Leyser, Luther, and Lutheranism. There have been two attempts made to translate the *LH* into modern

¹ For studies on the *LH*, see Claudio Favero, 'Le note della vera Chiesa nella "Lutheranismi hypotyposis" di s. Lorenzo da Brindisi', *Laurentianum* (fasc. 1-2, 2000), pp. 171-206; Claudio da Solesino, *L'apologetica di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi: originalità, studio storico-critico* (Roma, 1959); Gaetano Stano, 'S. Lorenzo da Brindisi, Controversista', in *S. Lorenzo da Brindisi: Studi*, 95-139. See also Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 377-412.

² *LH*, vol. 1, pp. 6-13, 351-52; vol. 3, pp. 5-9, 328; Comm., f. 12r.

languages. From 1932 to 1933, as the *LH* was being published in the Veneto, Gregorio da Casteldelpiano produced an Italian translation of part one of the text, which he entitled *Lutero*.³ Presumably Gregorio's intention was to translate the entire work; but he was not able to do so, perhaps because he died or was sidetracked with other responsibilities. More recently, between 2007 and 2008, the American Capuchin Vernon Wagner completed translating the entire *LH* into English, although his work, unfortunately, remains unpublished.⁴ Besides Lorenzo's accounts, the other major source for this subject of the *LH* is Leyser's *ZCP*. It was the arrival of this booklet in Prague that served as the catalyst for the renewed debate, and propelled Lorenzo into writing the *LH*. In the *ZCP*'s preface, Leyser described how Catholic preaching against him in the capital caused him to want to publish his sermons. Here he also included a brief statement about what he had heard of Lorenzo's performance in St Mary of the Angels that prompted him to send the Capuchin a copy.

The Origins and Fate of the *Lutheranismi hypotyposis*

As we have seen, the second week of July 1607 was unusual and agitating for many of Prague's Catholics because of Polycarp Leyser's two controversial sermons. After the second, the nuncio Caetani ordered the city's Catholic preachers to refute his teaching. Lorenzo was most likely the first among them, having denounced Leyser even before his

³ Lorenzo da Brindisi, *Lutero* (Siena, 1932-33).

⁴ St Lawrence of Brindisi, 'Hypotyposis of Martin Luther' (unpublished, 2007); 'Hypotyposis of the Lutheran Church and Doctrine' (unpublished, 2007); 'Hypotyposis of Polycarp Leyser' (unpublished, 2008). Fr. Vernon is one of the Capuchins connected to the St Lawrence Seminary High School in Mt. Calvary, Wisconsin. He can be reached by contacting the school, whose phone number is online at <http://www.stlawrence.edu>.

departure from the city on Friday 13 July. On Sunday 15 July, the Olomouc-born Jesuit Andreas Neubauer (1558/9-1618), who had been his Order's German preacher in Prague since 1590, also joined the fray. In the Jesuit church, Neubauer gave a sermon against Leyser that attracted a large number of people.⁵ It is likely that Lorenzo knew Neubauer personally. Arturo notes that Lorenzo, while he and the other Capuchins were staying in Archbishop Berka's hospital near the Charles Bridge, enjoyed warm relations with the city's Jesuits situated nearby at the Klementinum. He used to go listen to them speak and would sometimes join them for meals.⁶ During these visits, he would have had numerous opportunities to interact with Neubauer, with whom he shared a passion for preaching and with whom he perhaps even practiced his German. In the *LH*, Lorenzo spoke briefly, though admiringly, of the Jesuit, referring to him as 'a theologian and man distinguished for his erudition and piety' (*theologum doctrina et pietate insignem virum*).⁷

Unfortunately, the full contents of Neubauer's sermon, like Lorenzo's tirade a few days earlier, have not come down to us as Leyser's published sermons have. Arturo writes that Neubauer condensed his discourse and had it circulated as a small text in Prague, with a copy being sent to Leyser in Saxony. As his source for this information, he cited the Jesuit

⁵ For more on Neubauer, see A. Kroess, *Geschichte der böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu* (3 vols. Wien, 1910-1938), vol. 1, pp. 564, 811-16, 931-33, available online at <https://archive.org/stream/geschichtederbhm01kroe#page/n0/mode/2up> (2 January 2014). Kroess is mistaken (p. 813) that Neubauer's sermon was given on Sunday '16 July'; 16 July was a Monday that year. Kroess does not specify the year of Neubauer's birth, though he writes on p. 933 that Neubauer died in Brno at the age of fifty-nine in the July following the Defenestration of Prague and the Jesuits' expulsion from the city; that is, 1618. This means he was born in either 1558 or 1559, the same year as Lorenzo.

⁶ Arturo, vol. 2, p. 48. While Lorenzo apparently enjoyed a friendly relationship with Prague's Jesuits, that was certainly not the case from the 1620s for his fellow Capuchin Valeriano Magni (1586-1661). Magni clashed bitterly with the Jesuits over their differing philosophical worldviews, tactics on how to restore Catholicism in Bohemia, and the Jesuits' eventual exclusive control of theological instruction at the Carolinum. For more details, see Louthan, 'Mediating Confessions in Central Europe', pp. 684-89, 698; idem, *Converting Bohemia*, pp. 90-91, 100-101.

⁷ *LH*, vol. 1, p. 1.

Alois Kroess's *Geschichte der böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu* (1910).⁸ But Kroess did not say anything about Neubauer circulating a document in Prague or sending it off to Leyser – though he did do both, as we shall see. What Kroess notes is that Neubauer published neither this sermon associated with the Leyser affair nor another he gave in September.⁹ For the few details we have on Neubauer's 15 July sermon, we must turn to Leyser's *ZCP*, where the *Hofprediger* briefly listed eight points Neubauer was said to have made, responding to each one in turn.

As we noted earlier, numerous representatives of the court of Saxony were present for Lorenzo's sermon. They were more than likely the ones who informed Leyser about it; and we shall see what he related about that oration below. As for Neubauer's sermon given after Leyser had left Prague, Leyser stated in the preface to the *ZCP* that he learned about it both in writing (*schriftlich*) and orally (*mündlich*).¹⁰ It was presumably a German-speaking theological ally, or allies, in the city who notified him of it in writing upon his return to Saxony, possibly in the form of reports like the above-cited Catholic description of Leyser's first sermon in Prague.¹¹ The same kind of person, or people, may have shared this news with the *Hofprediger* in person, perhaps at Duke Johann Georg's wedding or while on business in Saxony that July. Whoever Leyser's informants may have been, however, what he said in the *ZCP* should be treated with a degree of suspicion. Perhaps he did report accurately what was related to him, but perhaps not: we are not in a position to be entirely sure. We cannot compare a printed version of Neubauer's sermon with Leyser's

⁸ Arturo, vol. 2, p. 375, n. 114, citing Kroess, vol. 1, p. 813.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 816.

¹⁰ *ZCP*, p. 4.

¹¹ See p. 167 above.

summary of it as we are able to do with Leyser's first sermon and the Catholic report on it. And there is no guarantee that what Leyser was told was totally accurate to begin with.

According to Leyser, Neubauer's sermon addressed both the 'questionable' legality of his having preached in Prague and his teaching on good works. For the first point, playing on the theme of fishing, perhaps alluding to a Gospel reference, the Jesuit called Leyser a 'wicked fish thief' (*ein schlimmer Diebfischer*) who 'fished in the stream' (*habe in der Bach gefischt*) – that is, sought to proselytise in Prague – contrary to what had been dictated by the authorities.¹² Neubauer was therefore charged by his superiors (*von der hohen Obrigkeit*) – presumably a reference to Caetani, and perhaps to others – to punish Leyser (*diesen Fischer zu straffen*).¹³ Leyser wrote that the Jesuit considered at length whether he even wanted to do this; but it became clear to him that he should when he happened on the instruction in Proverbs 26:5: 'Answer the fool according to his folly, lest he think himself wise'.¹⁴ Apparently this provided the 'affirmation' he 'needed' to gird himself to refute Leyser, who was the 'fool'. And as for good works, it seems that Neubauer tried to discredit Leyser's teaching by presenting it as contradictory to that of other Lutherans, claiming that what Leyser had taught in Prague would not sit well with his coreligionists in Saxony because they were, after all, not accustomed to doing good works.¹⁵ To help demonstrate what the Lutherans 'really' believed about this issue, he adduced quotations from four authoritative Lutherans: Luther himself; Leyser's uncle Andreae; Andreas Musculus, the former professor of theology at Frankfurt an der Oder; and the preacher of Vienna mentioned above, Josua Optiz. Neubauer read the quotations

¹² ZCP, p. 5.

¹³ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 13.

to the audience, and offered to provide copies to those who were interested. He also decided, provocatively, to send a copy to Leyser.¹⁶ Neubauer then made a proposal: if Leyser were to return to Saxony and convince the princes and lords to restore to the Church its abbeys and monasteries, then he, Neubauer, would recognise that the Lutherans did actually desire to do good works.¹⁷ And Neubauer concluded his sermon with additional mockery, saying that while Leyser wanted to present himself as a man of erudition, he did not show his wisdom and art in his sermon on good works, perhaps because he was drunk the night before.¹⁸ Neubauer was presumably insinuating with this accusation that his adversary had been busy partying with Christian II. Thus, like Lorenzo, Neubauer apparently went to great lengths to vilify and discredit Leyser, with the former stressing his ‘ignorance’ of the biblical languages, and the latter the ‘fact’ that he was not in harmony with Lutheran teaching on good works.

In his reply to Neubauer in the *ZCP*, Leyser insisted that he had done nothing wrong by preaching in Prague. He preached, he says, to the elector of Saxony and his servants, and did so with the elector’s knowledge and at his command.¹⁹ He further stated that he was publishing his sermon on good works so that all could judge whether it was in accordance with God’s Word.²⁰ And as he replied to each point Neubauer had made, he also frequently resorted to name-calling. For example, he called Neubauer a ‘Loyolite’ (*Lojolitischer*),²¹ a sycophant (*Sycophantae*),²² and ‘the mad head of an ass’ (*der tolle*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16. For more on Musculus, see the numerous references in Gritsch, *A History of Lutheranism*, and Kolb, *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture*.

¹⁷ *ZCP*, p. 19.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4 and *passim*.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Eselskopff).²³ He called Caetani and Archbishop von Lamberg ‘heads of the Devil’ (*Teuffelsköpff*), and the pope ‘der Pfaffe zu Rom’,²⁴ with *Pfaffe* being the pejorative term for ‘priest’. And in an effort to show that the ‘good-works-boasting’ Jesuits were perpetrators of international evil, he accused them of having been behind, *inter alia*, assassination attempts against Queen Elizabeth I in England as well as the infamous Gunpowder Plot against James I in 1605.²⁵ He also alleged cynically that the Jesuits had little interest in common people – unlike Christ – because their focus was on the wealthy and the landed who could enrich their colleges.²⁶ Leyser railed against Neubauer in the *ZCP*’s preface for twenty-three of its thirty-one pages, that is, for nearly seventy-five percent of it.²⁷

It is only after Leyser had completed his reply to the Jesuit that he turned his attention to Lorenzo and his sermon:

But this Loyolite monk was not the only one who was indignant with me on account of my sermons given in Prague. There was also a Capuchin friar, whose name is still unknown to me, who became really mad and furious over it. This same man, after he unleashed a terrible, monstrous storm in his church, and, according to his strange spirituality and holiness, had flashed lightning, stormed, and thundered against me for a rather long time, in the end, out of his fiery, burning zeal, also hurled forth a thunderbolt, as he threw the books that he had with him in the pulpit – there were, as several people report, five of them – down among the people and said: ‘There you have it, Polykarp, read it yourself!’

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

²⁷ This was not the first time Leyser had written against the Jesuits. He also wrote a lengthy apologetic preface against them in the ex-Jesuit Elias Hasenmüller’s polemical *Historia Iesuitici Ordinis*, published for the second time in 1595: E. Hasenmüller, *Historia Iesuitici Ordinis, in qua de Societatis Iesuitarum auctore, nomine, gradibus, incremento, vita, votis, privilegijs, miraculis, doctrina, morte, &c. perspicue solideque tractatur* (Francofurti ad Moenum, 1595), available online at <http://books.google.com/books?id=CgM8AAAACAAJ&pg=PT441&dq=elias+hasenmueller+1595&hl=en&sa=X&ei=98VkuU7TtAo3hsASKuYCQCw&ved=0CFgQ6AEwBw#v=onepage&q=elias%20hasenmueller%201595&f=false> (accessed 1 February 2014). Leyser actually wrote two prefaces for this printing, the first a dedicatory letter to Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Neither preface has page numbers. The first edition of this book was published in 1593, which contains a further preface written by Leyser, this one addressed to Claudio Acquaviva, then general of the Jesuits. See it available online at http://books.google.com/books?id=2B9DAAAACAAJ&pg=PR4&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false (accessed 1 February 2014).

Or, 'As I know very well that he has his spies in the church, bring them to him so that he may read them'.²⁸

That is all Leyser said about Lorenzo's sermon: a mere two pages of the preface compared to the twenty-three in which he reacted to Neubauer. When one reads Lorenzo's triumphalist accounts in the *Commentariolum* and the *LH*, one gets the sense that his own diatribe played the definitive role in crushing and humiliating the 'ignorant' and 'cowardly' Leyser. However, when we turn to Leyser himself, we find he has precious little to say about it. For Leyser, Lorenzo was a secondary foe compared to Neubauer. And Leyser related nothing about the discourse that we do not already know, that is, that Lorenzo heaved the Bibles from the pulpit and could demonstrate great fury while preaching. Something we do learn, however, is that Leyser claimed to not know Lorenzo's name, though he was aware of Neubauer's. That Leyser had so little to say about Lorenzo and his Italian sermon may be because his fellow German-speaking Lutherans who attended it did not understand much of it themselves, leaving them with little they could report. Unlike the very specific details Leyser provided in the *ZCP* for the content of Neubauer's German sermon, his synopsis of Lorenzo's reflects almost exclusively on the Capuchin's intensity, something the Lutherans would have been able to perceive well enough – and evidently found distasteful – despite the language barrier. The only content from Lorenzo's sermon reported in the *ZCP* is his call for someone to take the Bibles to Leyser so that he could

²⁸ *ZCP*, pp. 26-27: 'Es ist aber nicht allein dieser Lojolitischer Münch/ meiner zu Prag gehaltenen Predigten halb/ auff mich gantz ungehalten gewesen/ sondern auch ein Capuciner Münch/ dessen Name mir doch unbekandt/ ist gar toll und resend darüber worden. Derselbig nach dem er in seiner Kirchen ein greulich ungeheuer Wetter angerichtet/ und nach seiner sonderbaren Geistligkeit und Heiligkeit/ eine ziemliche geraume zeit wider mich geplitzet/ gewetterleuchtet und gedonnert hatte/ hat er zu letzt auch aus feurigem brennenden eyfer/ einen Donnerkeil herauß geschmiessen/ und die Bücher/ so er bey sich auff der Cantzel gehabt/ deren/ wie etliche berichten/ fünff sollen gewesen sein/ herunter unter das Volck geworffen und gesagt/ Da hastu es Polycarpe/ liese es selbs. Oder/ ich weis doch wol/ daß er seine Außspeher in der Kirchen hat/ trags jhm einer zu/ daß er es lesen mag'.

read them for himself. Lorenzo's flinging them into the audience as well as other gestures he might have made perhaps helped the Lutherans discern what he was saying. But the reason he insisted that Leyser should read them remains unexplained in the *ZCP*, presumably because Leyser and his Lutheran informants did not know themselves. Perhaps they thought the friar was convinced that he had some sort of incontrovertible proof text Leyser had to see so that he could finally understand the error of his ways. Either way, had the pugnacious Leyser been aware of Lorenzo's allegation about the biblical languages, he would presumably have addressed it head-on just as he did Neubauer's accusations.

After commenting, however, on how his two sermons must have hurt Neubauer and Lorenzo – hence their outbursts – and expressing his wish that there could be a place in Prague where Lutherans could preach publicly in German, Leyser shared a brief though impolite story that he was reminded of when hearing about Lorenzo's 'hotheaded zeal' (*unartigen eyfer*):

In the year of Christ 1558, when the Colloquy at Worms was held, there was a Franciscan, or Discalced, friar (with whom the Capuchins almost make up one Order) of the place, who was very famous because of his red-hot zeal in his sermons. Once, it happened that the Protestants went to his sermon to hear him preach. But some of the congregation (as is wont to happen from time to time) began to leave. The reverend gentleman becomes angry about this. He vehemently rebukes those who are leaving the church during the sermon, and says they can all go to the Devil. Meanwhile, an old woman in the congregation, being driven out of the church by another need, stands up and approaches the door. Then the friar becomes madder still. He takes hold of the hourglass (since he had no book like the Capuchin) and throws it at the old woman with angry words, saying: 'You old sorceress! I have no sooner rebuked those who walk out of the church than the Devil drives you to go against what I said!' The old woman is not slow to answer this, and says: 'You rascally friar! If you had the same need to shit as I do, you would not remain in the pulpit, but would go outside. I wish that you had in your cowl what drives me to go outside, so that I could remain sitting here'.²⁹

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 28-29: 'Anno Christi 1558. da das Colloquium zu Worms gehalten/ war ein Franciscaner oder Barfüßser Münch/ (mit denen die Capuciner fast eines Ordens sind) des orts/ der war seines hellheissen eyfers halb in Predigten sehr beschryen/ dem giengen die Protestirenden einemals zu gefallen in die Predigt/ daß sie jn höreten/ allein das Gesind (wie bißweilen zu geschehen pflaget) das lieff wider hinnaus/ darüber erzürnet sich der geistliche Herr/ schalt hefftig auff die/ so unter der Predigt aus der Kirchen lauffen/ und übergab sie alle dem Teuffel. Unter dessen stehet ein alt Weib unter der Gemein auff/ die eine andere not aus der Kirchen trieb/ und ging der Thüren zu/ da wird den Münch noch töller/ ergreiff die

Leyser did not reveal his source for this vulgar tale, which he certainly could have made up himself. Nevertheless, it is obvious for him that Lorenzo, because of his stunt with the books, was like this wild, hourglass-throwing Franciscan deserving both to be put in his place by an old woman and to have excrement in his hood. (Surely the scatological Luther would have loved this story.) But lest the *Hofprediger* appear too uncivil in his treatment of Lorenzo, he stated additionally: ‘I want to wish this Capuchin friar nothing in his cowl, except that God open his eyes, and those of others not erring willfully, to conversion. If this does not happen, he will one day get hellish brimstone and pitch in his cowl for the books and blasphemies that he hurled from the pulpit’.³⁰ Even in his ‘benevolence’ Leyser could not help resorting to mockery.

As Leyser brought the preface of the *ZCP* to its conclusion, he explained to his readers that the purpose behind publishing his two sermons was so that those who had not heard them could see what he actually said that left his adversaries in Prague so enraged.³¹ But there was another more provocative reason why this booklet was published. In the *postfatia*, as Leyser called it, he challenged both Lorenzo and Neubauer to prove his teaching wrong, if they dared, based on God’s Word (*durch Grund göttliches Worts*), and

Sanduhr (dieweil er kein Buch hatte/ wie der Capuciner) wirfft dieselbe dem alten Weib nach/ mit bösen worten sagende: Du alte Wettermacherin/ ich hab jetzt erst darauff gescholten/ daß man nicht aus der Kirchen lauffen sol/ und der Teuffel treibt also bald dich/ daß du darwider thust. Darauff ist das alte Weib nicht faul zu antworten und sagt: Du loser Münch/ wenn dir so not zu schnc. were als mir/ du bliebest nicht auff der Cantzel/ sondern lieffest hinaus. Ich wolte/ daß du es in deiner Kappen hettest/ was mich hinaus treibet/ so köndte ich besitzen bleiben’. Leyser here was mistaken about the date for the Colloquy at Worms, which actually took place in 1557. This meeting was organised by the Gnesio-Lutherans in an attempt to secure a recantation from the Philippists for their ‘unorthodox’ opinion on the Lord’s Supper. For more details, see Gritsch, *A History of Lutheranism*, pp. 96-97.

³⁰ *ZCP*, pp. 29-30: ‘Ich wil diesem Capuciner Münch nichts in sein Capucium wünschen/ denn daß jhme und andern nicht mutwillig jrenden/ Gott die Augen zur Bekehrung eröffne. Welche wo es nicht geschicht/ so wird er dermalen eins hellisch Schwefel und Bech/ für die Bücher und Lesterungen/ die er von der Cantzel geschmiessen/ in sein Capucium bekommen’.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

not their caviling, lying, blaspheming, slandering, false glosses, and – he could not help but to mention it – book-throwing,³² as if that was all anyone should have expected from them, and not from him. Thus, he had not been able to lock horns with them personally in Prague, but was now eager to vie with them in writing. According to the preface, Leyser had finished writing its contents on 31 July 1607;³³ the text would have been sent to Leipzig to be printed by Abraham Lamberg shortly thereafter. Once the *ZCP* was printed, Leyser made sure that two copies found their way to two specific locations in Prague: the Klementinum and the Capuchin friary.

The *ZCP* arrived at the Hrad any on Saturday 15 September 1607, more than two months since Leyser had left Prague. Lorenzo provided a dramatic account of what occurred that weekend:

For several weeks there was utter silence. Then behold, on 15 September there suddenly appears a messenger from Polykarp carrying in hand an unbound booklet printed in German, saying that he was sent from Saxony by Polykarp to bring me the book, though without any letter and not even the smallest note. He said what he needed to. He gave me the booklet. He left. I guess what it was. I take the book. I look at it carefully. It is German. It was only in the lower margin of the first page that this was written in Latin: ‘Fratri Capuccino suo adversario mittit Polycarpus Laiserus D. propria manu’. A marvelous gift! A German book is sent by Dr. Leyser to an Italian monk, and indeed on account of his love, or rather, benevolence!³⁴

Who this mysterious messenger was is unknown. But what becomes obvious is Lorenzo’s preoccupation with the fact that Leyser had written to him in German. After claiming that he was ‘not well-versed’ in that language (*cum germanica lingua non probe calleam*), and

³² Ibid., p. 115.

³³ Ibid., p. 31.

³⁴ *LH*, vol. 3, p. 5: ‘Per aliquot hebdomadas altum silentium. Et ecce tibi 17 calendas Octobris de repente nuncius a Polycarpo manu gestans libellum, germanice impressum, incompactum, dicens se a Polycarpo ex Saxonia missum, ut librum ad me deferret sine ullis litteris ac ne minimo quidem epistolio. Dixit, dedit, abiit. Coniicio id quod erat. Accipio librum, contempior; germanicus est. Tantum in margine inferiori superioris paginate scriptum latine erat: ‘Fratri Capuccino suo adversario mittit Polycarpus Laiserus D. propria manu’. Mirandum munus! Italo monacho germanicus liber a doctore mittitur Laisero; sed cuius amoris aut benevolentiae!’ The Roman date translates to 15 September.

therefore had to call upon the assistance of an unidentified translator in order to understand the book, he stated:

I was astonished that he wrote in German against an Italian man who preached against him in Italian. And it is not right to think that so great a teacher does not know Latin, especially since he signed the booklet in Latin with his own hand. If he was thinking that I do not know German, why did he write to me in German?...He asks for a response as soon as possible. If he supposed that I knew [German], why the Latin note?³⁵

This comment Lorenzo made about his German skills could be a recognition that his knowledge of German only went so far, hence his need for the translator to be sure that, as the editors of the *Opera omnia* suggest, he completely understood what his opponent was saying in this serious matter.³⁶ But it could also be an example of false modesty and part of the rhetorical fuss here intended further to present Leyser as an ignorant dolt unprepared to have a serious theological debate. Whatever the reality, we need to keep in mind that Lorenzo was by no means the sole intended recipient of the *ZCP*. Leyser was also writing against the German-speaking Andreas Neubauer – presumably his primary target – and his immediate concern was to get the word out to the other German-speaking Christians of the Reich aware of the conflict. So, it could be that at that point Leyser, given his other responsibilities, including preaching and readying the fourth volume of his Genesis commentary for publication in 1608, was not interested in spending additional time on this issue by having to translate the text of the *ZCP* into Latin so that Lorenzo, who had preached against him in a language that Leyser presumably did not know, could read it without trouble. And the great irony of this all is that Lorenzo complained about Leyser writing against him in German; but evidently, in Lorenzo's mind, it had been completely

³⁵ Ibid., p. 6

³⁶ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 6, n. 48.

justified for him to preach against Leyser in a foreign tongue, and to then criticise him for failing to respond, despite the language barrier, before returning to Saxony ‘dumber than a fish’ the very next day.

Lorenzo stated in the *LH* that, rather than finding demonstrable arguments from Leyser in the *ZCP*, he found ‘a lot of words’ (*multa verba*), ‘astonishing loquacity’ (*miram loquacitatem*), ‘a great many sophisms’ (*sophismata quam plura*), insults (*contumelias*), sarcasms (*sarcasmos*), calumnies (*laedoria*), verbal abuse (*convicia*), and excessive jeering (*scommata longe plurima*).³⁷ It was his observation in the *Commentariolum* that what Leyser was doing in the *ZCP* was ‘complaining querulously, and to a great extent, about what had been done against him. The wolf was complaining because the dog had barked at him from behind’.³⁸ And it is in the *LH* that Lorenzo expressed his final judgment on the content of Leyser’s text:

He truly published a booklet that is most worthy not of Minerva, as they say, but to be handed over and edited by coots. And in it he has shown that he deserves to be laughed at by us rather than refuted, and that he is unworthy of any response. As that Divine Proverb says: ‘Do not respond to the fool according to his folly, lest you become like him’. And yet Polykarp demands that we respond to him, if there is a vein of honor in us at all. What are we waiting for then? Let us observe that same proverb: ‘Respond to the fool according to his folly, lest he seem wise in his own eyes’.³⁹

Like Neubauer before him, Proverbs 26:5 was to be Lorenzo’s battle cry as he again made his way onto the spiritual frontline. This time, he would be waging war with the pen.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁸ *Comm.*, f. 12r: ‘Quando fu in Sassonia il predicante scrisse, e diede alla stampa un libretto con le due prediche fatte da lui a Praga querelandosi grandemente di quello ch’era stato fatto contro di lui. Si lamentava il lupo perch’il cane gl’havesse gridato dietro’. Cf. this account with what is written in *LH*, vol. 1, p. 27, where Lorenzo described ‘dogs’ (*canibus*) – himself and Neubauer – as the source of the ‘wolf’ Leyser’s ‘woes’. What Lorenzo wrote in the *Commentariolum* about the single ‘dog’ (himself) should not be taken as evidence that he saw himself as the sole defender of Catholicism in Prague. Again, this memoir was intended for Lorenzo to describe his own deeds as a missionary in the Reich, not those of others.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

In the *Commentariolum*, Lorenzo related that, in light of this new development, he responded to Leyser from the pulpit before setting himself to write against the *ZCP* – ‘that infamous booklet’ (*quel infame libretto*),⁴⁰ as he called it. He did not specify when he did so, although Arturo suspected that, given Lorenzo’s ‘volcanic nature’ (*indole vulcanica*), it was probably as soon as the following day, Sunday 16 September.⁴¹ That makes perfect sense, though it is likely that Lorenzo had not yet been able to read through the booklet in its entirety. And according to Kroess, Neubauer, after receiving his copy of the *ZCP*, gave his reply in the form of a three-hour sermon a week later on Sunday 23 September.⁴²

Lorenzo explained in the *LH* that he began to pen his response to Leyser – to ‘humour’ him (*ut viro morem gererem*) – on the very same day he finished reading the *ZCP*. Given his earnestness, that was probably early the following week. Initially, he did not intend to publish his reply to Leyser.⁴³ Instead, as Arturo notes, he seems to have meant it to be a private response to a private individual.⁴⁴ However, this changed early on, probably at the behest of Caetani, who wanted to see the book published as expeditiously as possible. This is evident in his letter of 24 September to Cardinal Scipione Borghese in Rome. Being fully aware of, and enthusiastic about, Lorenzo’s apologetic enterprise, the nuncio expressed his opinion that it was imperative that a response be made quickly to Leyser lest the Catholics of Prague seem defeated. But there was an obstacle standing in the way. The Capuchin *Constitutions* required that books being published by those within the Order be submitted to the Order’s superiors for examination, which, as Caetani

⁴⁰ Comm., f. 12r.

⁴¹ Arturo, vol. 2, p. 381.

⁴² Kroess, vol. 1, p. 816.

⁴³ *LH*, vol. 1, p. 26.

⁴⁴ Arturo, vol. 2, p. 380.

recognised, would take a long time. Given the urgency of the matter, he implored Borghese to intercede with Paul V to grant a dispensation making it possible for the book to be reviewed in Prague and then published immediately.⁴⁵ Borghese responded to Caetani on 13 October, informing him that he, Borghese, believed it best to abstain from responding to Leyser, lest a never-ending conflict be engendered; and that if Lorenzo decided to write, Caetani should leave it to the local ordinary to approve the work.⁴⁶ Clearly Rome did not perceive this situation to be nearly as exigent as the nuncio. Nevertheless, the Catholics in Prague did not cease trying to persuade the pope to grant the dispensation. On 5 November, the Spanish ambassador San Clemente wrote to his counterpart in the Eternal City asking him to do all that he could to advocate for it.⁴⁷ The following day, Cardinal Franz Seraph von Dietrichstein, the bishop of Olomouc who began to serve as president of Rudolf II's privy council that year, wrote a letter to Borghese in which he did the same. He mentioned that Lorenzo desired the pope's approval for his work to be examined and published in Prague, and that he, Dietrichstein, judged the Capuchin worthy to be satisfied in this matter.⁴⁸ On 1 December, Borghese wrote to Caetani with the news that the pope had

⁴⁵ ASVat, FB, II, 147, f. 226r. For the Capuchins' rules on publishing books, see Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini*, vol. 1, p. 423.

⁴⁶ Arturo, vol. 4.1, p. 256, doc. 289. When Arturo visited the ASVat in the twentieth century, the relevant part of this letter could be seen in Nunziatura Germania, 16, f. 306r. When I was at the ASVat in October 2012, the staff informed me that the letters in this collection are now in 'Segreteria di Stato, Germania, 16'. They also told me that these particular manuscripts were being restored, and were therefore unavailable; hence my reliance on Arturo's transcription. According to an e-mail of 6 February 2014 that I received from Marco Grilli of the ASVat, these documents still remain unavailable as the restoration process continues.

⁴⁷ ASVat, FB, II, 164, ff. 299rv.

⁴⁸ Ibid., FB, III, 45 C, ff. 216rv. For more on Dietrichstein, see Miranda, 'The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church', <http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1599.htm#Dietrichstein> (accessed 16 February 2014). See also Winfried Eberhard, 'Dietrichstein, Franz Seraph (seit 1623) Fürst von (1570-1636)', in *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, 1448 bis 1648*, pp. 129-133; Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' cardinali della santa Romana Chiesa*, t. 6, pp. 62-65; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 4, pp. 6, 264.

granted the dispensation.⁴⁹ That same day he also wrote to Dietrichstein, informing him that he was being entrusted with the book's examination.⁵⁰ Lorenzo's enterprise, therefore, now enjoyed the favour – albeit apparently reluctant favour – of Rome. The *LH*, once complete, was to be published with urgency and under extraordinary circumstances.

Originally, it had been Lorenzo's objective to write against Leyser exclusively. However, after giving the project more thought, it seemed to him, he said in the *LH*, that refuting Leyser's 'futile trifles' (*futilibus nugamentis*) and 'nonsense' (*deliramentis*) was worth neither the time nor the effort.⁵¹ He decided, therefore, that it would be more useful to focus his attention on Lutheranism as a whole, and particularly on Martin Luther, Leyser's father in heresy, and whose mirror image he saw in the *Hofprediger*. He wanted to show everyone Luther's 'true nature' based on his life and teaching, and to reveal to all just what a 'monstrosity' (*monstrum*) Lutheranism really was. He was setting out, he explained, to present a *hypotyposis* of Lutheranism, an express image of it in its living and natural colours. The scope of Lorenzo's work was therefore changing, but he still planned to incorporate into it a response to Leyser.⁵² Thus, as Claudio da Solesino, the Capuchin Order's twentieth-century expert on the *LH*, observes, Lorenzo was doing his part to combat heresy, win back those who had fallen away from the Church, protect the Catholic faithful, and demonstrate to the imperial authorities why they should never concede

⁴⁹ Arturo, vol. 4.1, pp. 259-260, doc. 296. Like the document in n. 420 above, this item at the ASVat remains unavailable too.

⁵⁰ *LH*, vol. 1, pp. 262-63, doc. 302.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

freedom of worship to heretics such as the Lutherans⁵³ – though they would of course gain that freedom two years later through the Letter of Majesty.

Despite the initial Catholic enthusiasm surrounding Lorenzo's book, it never made it to the press during his lifetime. He began to write in autumn 1607, but it seems that he was unable to complete the first draft until sometime the following year. This is evident in the draft of the preface published as the first *additamentum* in part one of the *LH*, where Lorenzo announced that he had finished writing (*scripsi*) the *hypotyposis*, and was now preparing it for publication (*quam nunc in lucem edo*). That this was in 1608 is obvious when he dated the coming of Christian II and Leyser to Prague to the 'previous' year, 1607 (*anno 1607 proxime elapso*).⁵⁴ This may have been written in the latter part of 1608, since he also spoke of having encountered obstacles that retarded his progress: 'Due to my continuous occupations, and then also my infirmities, I was not able to finish as quickly as I desired, since I could not work hard at this writing unless I had several straight hours to dedicate to it'.⁵⁵ Arturo reminds us of what Lorenzo is referring to here, including his responsibilities as commissary general of Bohemia-Austria, routine preaching duties, and his different maladies.⁵⁶ And according to Claudio's examination of the final draft of the text's introductory material, where Lorenzo, in an apparent *lapsus calami*, recounted accidentally that Leyser's messenger delivered the *ZCP* to him the 'previous' year, 1608 (*anni MDCVIII proxime elapsi*) – rather than 1607 – it could be that Lorenzo started this

⁵³ Claudio, *L'apologetica di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi*, p. 110.

⁵⁴ *LH*, vol. 1, pp. 349-350.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵⁶ Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 408-09.

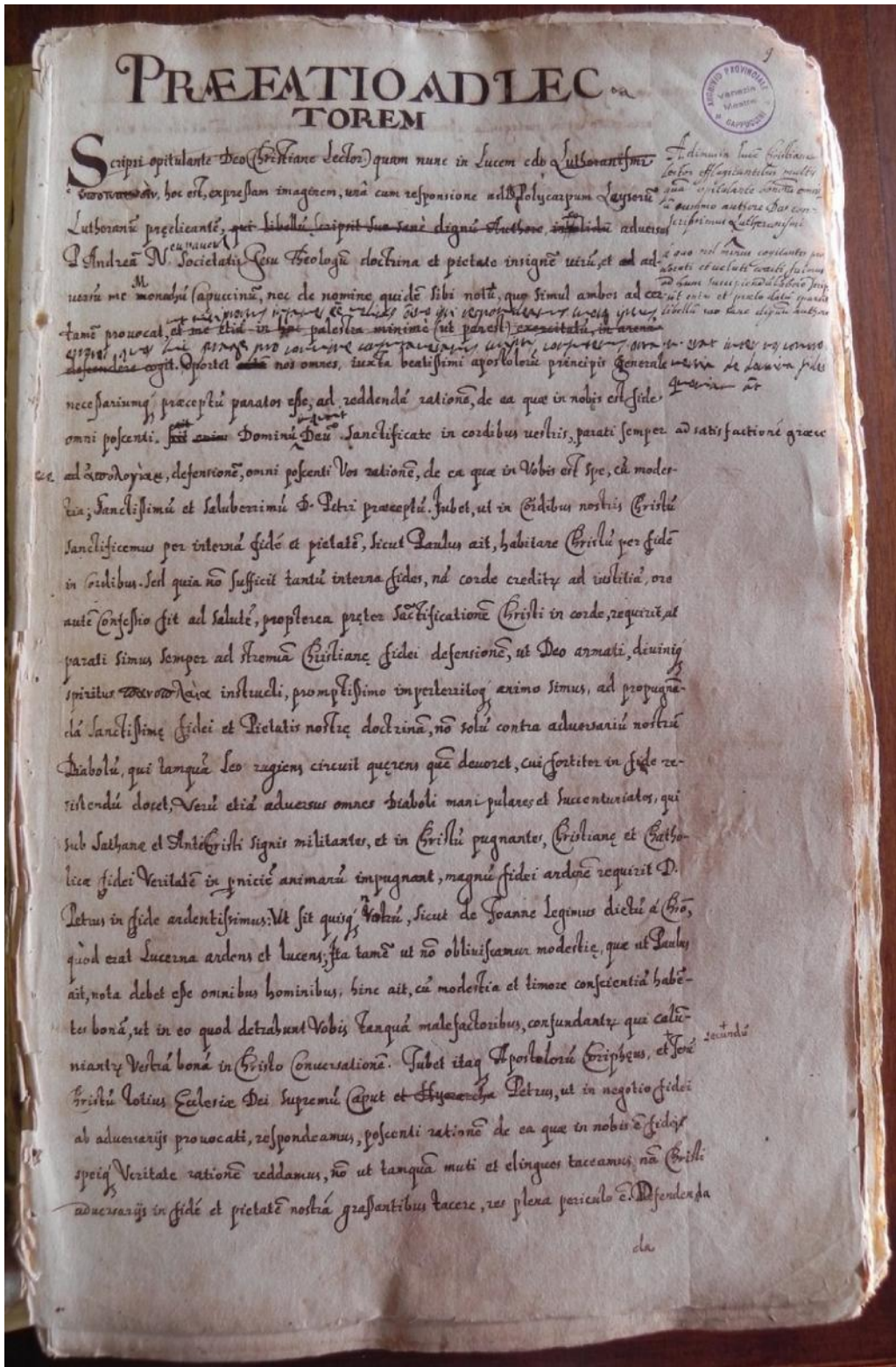


Figure 21: The first folio (f. 9r) of the transcribed 'Præfatio ad lectorem' of the LH, Archivio Provinciale Cappuccini Veneti, Mestre

last phase of his work, and began to have it transcribed by an amanuensis, in 1609. But in June that year, he had to turn his attention away from the book and to his diplomatic mission in Spain on behalf of the Catholic League, which kept him occupied until July 1610. By that time, because of the Letter of Majesty, Lutherans had been able to worship freely in Bohemia for over a year,⁵⁷ a fact that undoubtedly grieved Lorenzo, and possibly removed some of the urgency behind his finishing the work. However, it seems to have been news from Dresden – Leyser’s death in February 1610 – that served as the final death-knell of the project. Lorenzo did not indicate when or where he had learned of it, whether while still on mission or upon his return to the Reich; but as he stated in the *Commentariolum*: ‘Because the preacher died while [fra Lorenzo] was attending to this work with which he was painting a true-to-life portrait of Lutheranism, he left off completing the finishing touches and publishing it so that it might not seem like he wished to fight against the dead or make war on shadows, which is not proper’.⁵⁸ The project to publish the text, therefore, was abandoned. And despite the significant alterations made to focus it more broadly on Lutheranism rather than Leyser exclusively, apparently for Lorenzo his foe was still at the very heart of the enterprise.

The *LH* was thus not published as Lorenzo and his fellow Catholics had been hoping, but the fact that he laboured on it when he did places him among the noteworthy Catholic controversialists from after the Council of Trent. Most prominent among them was Bellarmino, with his magisterial *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei*. However, as Gaetano Stano points out, this large work examined in scholastic fashion all

⁵⁷ Claudio, *L'apologetica di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi*, pp. 404-06.

⁵⁸ Comm., f 12r. ‘Ma perche mentre attendeva a quest’opra con la quale dipingeva un ritratto fatto al naturale del Lutherismo si morse il predicante, lascio di darli l’ultima mano, e divulgarlo per non parere che volesse combattere contro i morti, o fare guerra all’ombre, che non conviene’.

controversial questions and all Protestant teachings, making it fit for the schools, whereas the *LH* was more practical and concentrated solely on the essential features of Lutheranism.⁵⁹ Lorenzo should also be compared as a polemicist with Johann Pistorius (1546-1608), the fervent convert to Catholicism from Calvinism – before that he had been Lutheran – who was appointed Rudolf II’s confessor in 1601, and was the author of the *Anatomia Lutheri* (1595-98). Both Lorenzo and Pistorius, who probably knew each other in Prague, shared a common methodology as they sought to expose Luther for the heretic they believed he was: they quoted his own writings against him. However, as Claudio da Solesino notes, Pistorius’s intent had been to scrutinise Luther alone, and not Lutheranism as a whole; and that Pistorius did so based solely on Luther’s writings, whereas Lorenzo combined them with constant references to Scripture.⁶⁰ Lorenzo should be compared with François de Sales too, whose *Controverses*, published after his death in 1622, were based on the series of apologetic pamphlets he had printed during his mission among the Huguenots of the Chablais during the 1590s.⁶¹ His intended audience was different from Lorenzo’s, but both wrote as missionaries while actually engaging the enemy on the ground. And Lorenzo was by no means the only Capuchin controversialist of the age. The aforementioned Valeriano Magni, an alumnus of the Order in Prague who, like Lorenzo before him, worked toward the restoration of Catholicism in Bohemia, also wrote against

⁵⁹ Stano, ‘S. Lorenzo da Brindisi, Controversista’, pp. 115-16. For more on the *Disputationes*, see also Motta, *Bellarmino*, pp. 226-243.

⁶⁰ For more on Pistorius and the *Anatomia Lutheri*, see Claudio, *L’apologetica di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi*, pp. 25-90; Evans, *Rudolf II*, pp. 89-91. Claudio’s insistence on the originality of the *LH* was a response to the suggestion in 1939 of a Capuchin *dottorando* named Benedetto da S. Paolo that, based upon similarities in the titles, content, and quotations drawn from Luther in the *LH* and the *Anatomia*, Lorenzo was heavily dependent on and greatly influenced by Pistorius. For some of Benedetto’s observations, see Claudio, *L’apologetica di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi*, pp. 20-21. In his own comparative study of the two books – for which he went back to the *LH* manuscript – Claudio demonstrates convincingly that the *LH* was an original work on which Pistorius had merely a limited influence. For more details, see *ibid.*, pp. 153-283.

⁶¹ Kleinman, *Saint François de Sales and the Protestants*, pp. 59-62.

Protestantism; unlike Lorenzo, he did so with an irenic spirit, and from a philosophical bent rather than a dogmatic one, as can be seen in his *De acatholicorum credendi regula iudicium* (1628).⁶²

As we have already seen, the *LH* was first published, in Lorenzo's *Opera omnia*, more than 300 years after it was written. Claudio describes that when the editors began their work on the text, the folios and booklets of the manuscript were bound within two codices and numbered, though, unfortunately, not always in the correct order. Thus, in addition to the already difficult task of transcribing the text, the editors also had to figure out how to arrange it.⁶³ They published the *LH* in three parts: the *Hypotyposis Martini Lutheri* (1930), the *Hypotyposis ecclesiae et doctrinae lutheranae* (1931), and the *Hypotyposis Polycarpi Laiserii* (1933). It was Claudio's judgment that their edition neither entirely reproduced the coordination of the chapters as they appear in the manuscript nor distinguished between what belonged to the final phase of the draft and earlier phases. Nonetheless, he believed that the editors' work presents us with the overall thought of the *LH*.⁶⁴ And as Lorenzo's strategies for combating Lutheranism will be the primary focus for the remainder of this chapter, Claudio's reservations about the edition's imperfect structure need not concern us here.

⁶² For more on Magni's *Iudicium*, see Louthan, 'Mediating Confessions in Central Europe', pp. 684-86; idem, *Converting Bohemia*, p. 101.

⁶³ Claudio, *L'apologetica di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi*, pp. 121-22.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 311-411

The Content of the *Lutheranismi hypotyposis*

a) Initial observations

Lorenzo's objective in each part of the printed *LH* will be analyzed in turn, and the methods he used to argue against Lutheranism. Before investigating specific instances where these tactics appear, however, it is worth offering some initial observations on them. First, as mentioned above, Lorenzo made constant appeals to Scripture while seeking to refute Lutheranism. Claudio calculates that the scriptural citations and allusions in the *LH* exceed 8,000.⁶⁵ That Lorenzo referred to the Bible so many times should not surprise us given how central it was to him personally and in his preaching.

The Fathers were also significant for Lorenzo. They may have had less of a polemical role in his sermons and sermon plans, where the focus was mostly the Bible, but their presence was greater in the *LH*. Lorenzo notes that Leyser had insisted that his adversaries should prove his teaching wrong on the basis of Scripture alone; yet Leyser himself, in an attempt to provide validation for his teaching, had called upon the testimonies of doctrinal authorities of the past such as Augustine, Ambrose, and Anselm. To Lorenzo, it was only right that those fighting a duel should use the same weapons. Thus, if Leyser could refer to the Fathers, there was no reason why he, Lorenzo, should not do so as well.⁶⁶ Throughout the *LH*, therefore, Lorenzo frequently quoted patristic figures such as Augustine and Vincent of Lerins in order to define heresy and to show that Lutheranism, since it stood outside the 'true' and 'apostolic' tradition of the Roman Catholic Church, belonged unquestionably in that category.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 176.

⁶⁶ *LH*, vol. 1, pp. 10-11.

As in the QM and the CV, Lorenzo consistently resorted in the *LH* to mockery and insults while denouncing Luther, Leyser, and their coreligionists. Echoing the rhetoric in his preaching material labelling heretics as innovators, the Capuchin called Luther a ‘new prophet of God and evangelist of Christ’ (*novus Dei propheta et Christi evangelista*) who, like a ‘new Muhammad’ (*novus Mahumetes*), has introduced into the world a ‘new gospel’ (*novum evangelium*) – that is, ‘another Quran’ (*alterum Alchoranum*) – preaching to his followers a promise of eternal salvation while permitting them to indulge in every carnal pleasure.⁶⁷ He identified Leyser as ‘so illustrious a trumpeter of this new gospel’ (*tam egregius novi istius evangelii buccinator*).⁶⁸ He also repeated his charge that Protestants were in league with Satan. He called Luther ‘the new vicar of the antichrist’ (*novus antichristi vicarius*) and ‘the pope of the Devil’ (*papa diaboli*).⁶⁹ As for the Lutheran Church, he insisted that since this ‘sect’ was not founded upon the rock of Peter, it could not be part of Christ’s Church; rather, it belonged to the antichrist.⁷⁰ In the *LH*, Lorenzo also bestialised his opponents, as Luther did.⁷¹ Besides referring to Leyser as a wolf, as we saw above, he called Luther a pig from the herd of Epicurus wallowing in the mud of incestuous lust (*in luto incesstarum libidinum incubantem*)⁷² – his interpretation of Luther’s marital life with the ex-nun Katharine von Bora. Additionally, Lorenzo likened Lutheran theologians – Leyser among them – to asses, asserting sarcastically that it was truly marvelous to hear an ass speak from the pulpit and for it to become a teacher of people.⁷³ And he derided Leyser’s ‘ugly surname’ (*foedo agnomine*), claiming early on in the *LH*

⁶⁷ Ibid., vol. 3, p. 150.

⁶⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 17.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 277.

⁷⁰ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 182.

⁷¹ Edwards, *Luther’s Last Battles*, p. 3.

⁷² *LH*, vol. 1, p. 105.

⁷³ Ibid., vol. 3, p. 212.

that it derived from the German word for ‘lice’, that is, *Läuse*.⁷⁴ Resorting to the low tactic of insulting word plays, he called Leyser ‘our louseman’ (*pedicularius noster*)⁷⁵, ‘our lousy one’ (*pediculosus noster*),⁷⁶ and ‘our Dr. Louseman’ (*noster pedicularius doctor*).⁷⁷ He even stated belittlingly that Leyser hardly had the intelligence of a louse (*vix pediculi ingenium habet*).⁷⁸ When compared to his homiletical material, Lorenzo’s language in the *LH* is clearly more intense as he was, after all, embroiled in a direct theological controversy.

The key strategy that Lorenzo employed in the *LH* which was not used in his homiletic material was, as indicated above, quoting Luther’s own writings against him. In other words, he intended to let what came from the reformer’s own pen ‘demonstrate’ that he was a nefarious heretic. To accomplish this, Lorenzo did not have to rely on the intermediary sources that he referred to in the *LH*, among them the writings of Pistorius and Luther’s early opponent the humanist Johannes Cochlaeus (1479-1552). Instead, as Claudio states, he went directly to Luther’s own works, available to him in Prague; that he did so is evident from the many references to them in the manuscript. Of particular importance to him were the German and Latin Wittenberg and Jena editions of Luther’s *Opera*, which together constituted thirty-one volumes. According to Claudio’s count, Lorenzo made a total of 483 references from nineteen of these books.⁷⁹ Seven of the tomes from the German editions remain extant at the Capuchin Provincial Library in Prague,

⁷⁴ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 16. For more on Leyser’s name in connection to *Läuse*, see the editors’ comments in n. 24.

⁷⁵ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 218, 236, 258.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 226.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 200.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 162.

⁷⁹ See Claudio, *L’apologetica di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi*, pp. 221-246, for his thorough and cogent treatment of Lorenzo’s direct use of Luther’s works. For Cochlaeus, see the numerous references in Bagchi, *Luther’s Earliest Opponents*, and Iserloh, Glazik, and Jedin, *Reformation and Counter-Reformation*, pp. 196-97.



Figure 22: The seven remaining volumes of Luther's German *Opera* consulted by Lorenzo, Capuchin Provincial Library, Prague

where they can still be accessed.⁸⁰ Lorenzo did not leave any written observations in these texts about what he was reading, something that would not be hard to notice given his

⁸⁰ The following books are preserved at the KPK: *Der ander Teil der Bücher D. Mart. Luth. Darin alle Streitschriften/ sampt etlichen Sendbrieu/ an Fürsten und Stedte etc. zusammen gebracht sind/ Wider allerley Secten/ so zu seiner zeit/ reine Christliche lere angefochten haben* (Wittemberg, 1548) (call number 10 D 001); *Der Ander Teil aller Bücher und Schrifften des thewren/ seligen Mans Doct. Mart. Lutheri/ vom XXII. Jar an/ bis auff den Christlichen und seligen Abschied aus diesem Leben/ des hochlöblichen Herrn Fridrichen/ Herzogen und Churfürst. zu Sachssen/ im Meien des XXV. Jars* (Jhena, 1555) (10 D 002); *Der Dritte Teil der bücher des Ehrnwirdigen herrn doctoris Martini Lutheri/ darin zusammen gebracht sind christliche und tröstliche Erklerung und auslegung der furnemesten Psalmen /die durch in selb/ durch Gottes gnad/ deusch geschrieben/ und etliche durch andere aus dem Latin in deudsche sprach gebracht sind/ seer nützlich zu rechtem und klarem verstand Christlicher Lere/ und zu trost aller Gottfurchtigen* (Witteberg, 1550) (10 D 003); *Der Vierdte Teil Der Bücher des Ehrwirdigen Herrn Docto. Mart. Luth. darin zusammen gebracht sind Christliche und tröstliche erklerung und auslegung aber etliche fürneme Capitel und Sprüche aus göttlicher Schrifft/ so Er/ durch Gottes gnade/ geprediget/ und etliche selbs mit eigener hand geschrieben hat. Der mehrer teil aber derselben predigten ist durch Doct. Casparn Creutziger/ und andere/ trewlich nachgeschrieben und in Druck gegeben/ Seer nützlich zu rechtem and klarem verstand Christlicher lere/ und zu trost allen Gottfürchtigen* ([Wittenberg], 1551) (10 D 004); *Der Fünfte Teil aller Bücher und Schrifften des thewren seligen Mans Doct. Mart. Lutheri/ vom*

easily distinguishable hand. Nevertheless, they do contain symbols such as crosses and asterisks penned into them that were obviously intended to serve as reminders of significant passages. A close examination of the different handwritings in the marginalia as well as the different writing instruments used to make them – both pen and pencil – reveals that several people have consulted these texts over the centuries. It could be that Lorenzo was responsible for some of these marks, something that seems likely given that, as Claudio reports, they and the texts with which they are associated so often correspond with Lorenzo’s quotations in the *LH*.⁸¹ In addition to Luther, Lorenzo also cited, though to a lesser extent, influential Lutherans such as Melancthon, Andreae, and the Leipzig theologian Nikolaus Selnecker,⁸² whom he saw as strategic witnesses to the ‘poor’ doctrinal and moral state of Lutheranism as well as to Lutheran ‘idolization’ of their beloved heresiarch. Claudio does not indicate whether Lorenzo went directly to their own writings. Even so, given Lorenzo’s policy of referring to Luther’s own works for this project, we can perhaps assume that he would have done the same for other authors when their texts were available to him in Prague.

XXX. jar an/ bis auff XXXIII (Jhena, 1557) (10 D 005); *Der Sechste teil der Bücher des Ehrnwürdigen Herrn Doctoris Martini Lutheri/ darinnen begriffen etliche auslegung der heiligen Schrift im newen Testament/ Auch die Bücher vom Ehestand/ Kauffshandel und Wucher/ Vermanung und Trostschriften/ historien etlicher Marterer zu dieser zeit/ Antwort auff etliche Fragen/ Streitbücher/ auch die Bücher von weltlicher Oberkeit/ nach anzeigung des Registers/ so nach der Vorrede verzeichnet* (Witteberg, 1553) (10 D 006); *Der Sechste Teil aller Bücher und Schrifften des thewren Mans Gottes/ Doct. Martini Lutheri/ Vom XXXIII Jar an/ bis uber den anfang des XXXVIII Jars/ geschrieben/ und im Druck ausgangen* (Jhena, 1557) (10 D 007). Given the political climate in Czechoslovakia after World War II, Claudio was only able to ascertain that these books still existed in Prague through correspondence with an unidentified Capuchin who had access to them. At that time, the KPK’s catalog listed eight tomes in its collection, though one of them, volume seven of the German Wittenberg edition, was reported as missing (Claudio, *L’apologetica di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi*, p. 231). Before my visit to the KPK in late May 2013, I received an e-mail from the present librarian, Vlasta Scheuflerová, dated 13 May 2013, in which she listed the works of Luther presently in the library’s possession. The volume seven in question was not among them, suggesting that it may now be lost.

⁸¹ Claudio, *L’apologetica di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi*, p. 231.

⁸² For more on Selnecker, see the references in Gritsch, *A History of Lutheranism*, and Kolb, *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture*.

b) *The Hypotyposis Martini Lutheri*

In the *HML*, Lorenzo spends the majority of his time attacking the person of Martin Luther. This first part of the *LH* is divided into five sections, each of which examines specific themes over a series of dissertations. After the preface, where he presented his version of how the controversy began, and after having made some preliminary biographical and polemical comments in section one about Leyser and the *ZCP* as well as heresy and heretics in general,⁸³ Lorenzo's treatment of Luther begins in section two, where he concentrated on describing the reformer's life before he broke with the Catholic Church.⁸⁴ In section three, the focus is Luther's 'lack' of a calling to preach the Gospel. Lorenzo attempted to refute Luther's claim that he had a calling much like St Paul's, and he also challenged the Lutheran belief that Luther was a prophet.⁸⁵ He dealt with Luther's departure from the Church in section four, where he claimed that it had been based not on godly principles, but rather on avarice, pride, and self-love. He also suggested that Luther would have been condemned by the Fathers because his teaching lacked antiquity, universality, and consent.⁸⁶ Lastly, in section five, Lorenzo addressed Luther's lifestyle as a 'pseudo-apostle'. Rather than the reformer being led by God's Spirit, he had instead been, the Capuchin charged, inspired by the Devil and possessed by the satanic spirits of pride, lying, uncleanness, malice, and blasphemy.⁸⁷ In treating these subjects, Luther's writings were a *sine qua non* for Lorenzo.

⁸³ *LH*, vol. 1, pp. 1-45.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-61.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-134.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-199.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 200-345.

One passage in the *HML* where we can get a sense of how Lorenzo used Luther's own words against him is in his presentation of Luther as a false prophet in section three, dissertation six. After citing Deuteronomy 18:18-22, where it is stated that a prophet who predicts something that does not come to pass does not speak God's word, and should therefore not be feared, Lorenzo quoted Luther in texts such as *Eine treue Vermahnung zu allen Christen, sich zu hüten vor Aufruhr und Empörung* (1522) and *An die Ritherren aller Städte deutsches Lands, da sie christliche Schulen aufrichten und erhalten sollen* (1524), where the reformer claimed that his teaching was of divine origin, and that he did not speak his own words, but Christ's.⁸⁸ More than once, though, Lorenzo stated, this 'self-proclaimed prophet' predicted the imminent demise of the papacy:

In the preface of the book *Adversus Henricum Regem Angliae*, [Luther] prophesied thus: 'The death of the abominable papacy is approaching. Its unavoidable fate presses hard upon it, and, as Daniel says, it is coming to its end and no one will be able to help it' ... And in the very same book, although [Luther] had said: 'I am certain that I receive my dogmas from heaven', he says: 'In spite of all the gates of hell and the powers of the air and earth and sea, my dogmas will stand, and the Pope will fall. They have provoked me to war; war, therefore, they shall have. They have regarded my offering of peace with contempt; therefore they shall not have peace'. And afterward, he writes: 'While alive I will be the enemy of the papacy. When I am ashes, I will be twice more its enemy. Do what you can, you Thomist pigs. You will have Luther as a she-bear in your path and a lioness in your way. He will attack you everywhere, and he will not allow you to have peace'. O what a terrible and most formidable prophet!⁸⁹

The sardonic Lorenzo found the same prediction in another location: 'In the book *De servo arbitrio* written against Erasmus of Rotterdam, Luther still prophesies, saying: "Being most certain that the kingdom of the Pope, with all his adherents, is going to fall, I sincerely rejoice; for the word of God has invaded this most powerful kingdom"⁹⁰. Lorenzo cited

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-120. For the relevant quotations in these two works, cf. *WA*, vol. 8, p. 683; vol. 15, pp. 27-28. For the English translations, see *LW*, vol. 45, pp. 67, 348.

⁸⁹ *LH*, vol. 1, p. 120. Cf. *WA*, vol. 10 II, pp. 181, 184, 188. For an English translation, cf. *Luther's Reply to King Henry VIII: Now First Englished after the Lapse of Four Centuries*, trans. E.S. Buchanan (New York, 1928), pp. 2, 7, 11.

⁹⁰ *LH*, vol. 1, p. 121. Cf. *WA*, vol. 18, p. 626; *LW*, vol. 33, p. 53.

these passages accurately and in their proper context, seeking to show that Luther did not speak on God's behalf, but was rather a false prophet. He affirmed this while commenting on what Luther wrote against Henry VIII: 'But in all these things it is clear that Luther was a lying and false prophet whom the Lord in Deuteronomy orders us not to fear. It has been shown that there was a lying spirit in the mouth of this most vain and empty prophet; for the papacy persists, and flourishes more and more after Luther in the most vast regions of America...' In Lorenzo's judgment, then, these and other prophecies of Luther did not merit commendation, but rather a black pebble,⁹¹ that is, a vote of condemnation.

Lorenzo made further use of Luther's writings in the *HML* section five, dissertation one, while seeking to expose the 'satanic origins' of the reformer's opinions on the Mass. Citing a lengthy excerpt from Luther's *Von der Winckelmesse und Pfaffen Weyhe* (1533), he insisted that he had translated it word-for-word and with the utmost fidelity (*de verbo ad verbum summa fide*),⁹² and his Latin translation is indeed remarkably close to the original German. The passage describes an alleged disputation Luther had one night, while still a Catholic priest, with the Devil, who is presented as having convinced him that private Masses were an abomination. During the encounter, Satan made five points. First, he asserted, Luther and his fellow clerics did not rightly believe in Christ since they did not take comfort in him as their savior, but instead devoted themselves to Mary and the saints. Second, Luther had been ordained and was, during his private Masses, consecrating the Eucharist contrary to the will of Christ, who intended for it to be distributed among the Christian faithful and not consumed privately by the priest. Third, Christ meant for the

⁹¹ *LH*, vol. 1, p. 121

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 204.

celebration of the sacrament to be accompanied by a sermon about him and his death, whereas Luther only murmured to himself during his private Masses. Fourth, Luther's ordination, whereby he could offer the Eucharist as a sacrifice to God, was perverse in that he was offering to God what Christ intended to be a common meal for Christians. Lastly, despite Christ's desire for the sacrament to be distributed in the Church for his public honour and so that his people could be strengthened in their faith, Luther, as a celebrator of private Masses, had turned it into a work of his own that he performed in exchange for money. Satan concluded that Luther's ordination and his consecration of the Eucharist were utter blasphemy; and that Luther, since he was not a true priest, had never truly consecrated anything, meaning that what he was offering to God and displaying before the faithful to be worshipped was mere bread and wine.⁹³ Lorenzo then cited the only rebuttal to these accusations that Luther depicted himself as being able to offer:

'Having decided while in this anguish and distress that I wanted to drive the Devil away from me, I took up the ancient shield that I was taught about while under the papacy, namely, the intention and faith of the Church. For although I did not have the right faith and intention, the Church, however, did have the right faith and intention. And I supposed, therefore, that my Mass and ordination were legitimate. But contrary to what I had been hoping, the Devil kept harassing me: "Tell me, please, where is it written that a godless and unbelieving man can consecrate based on the faith and intention of the Church? Where has God taught this, or commanded it? How do you prove that the Church offers and entrusts to you this intention for your own work done in a corner? If people have spoken without the word of God, it is an utter lie. Indeed, you do all things in darkness under the name of the Church, and you call your abominations the intention of the Church"'.⁹⁴

Luther had no further response for Satan, making it seem that the Devil was the victor here. However, this story was presumably meant to serve as part of a literary device, not to convey an actual event. After the debate, as Lorenzo recorded, Luther acknowledged that Satan was indeed a liar and formidable disputer; but he then averred that Satan did in fact

⁹³ *LH*, vol. 1, pp. 206-07. Cf. *WA*, vol. 38, pp. 198-200; *LW*, vol. 38, pp. 149-156.

⁹⁴ *LH*, vol. 1, p. 208. Cf. *WA*, vol. 38, p. 202; *LW*, vol. 38, p. 155.

speak the truth when confronting people about their sins.⁹⁵ It may be that Luther's purpose behind having the Devil torment him here was to force him, arguably a symbol of all 'ignorant' Catholic priests, to face the iniquitous 'reality' of their private Masses.⁹⁶ But that is not what Lorenzo, who took the story at face value, got from it:

Luther did not blush to openly admit that he had disputed with the Devil; had been vanquished and overthrown by his arguments; and had learned from the Devil – his teacher and master – the doctrine about abrogating the Mass. Let Luther together with his Lutherans rejoice over so great a teacher and leader, whom it has pleased them to follow rather than God's holy Church, 'the pillar and foundation of the truth'.⁹⁷

Thus, for Lorenzo, this particular story – a real gift for him – was manifest proof, straight from Luther's own pen, that Luther's teaching on the Eucharist came from none other than Satan, the great and mendacious enemy of God and the 'true' Christian faith who had so easily defeated Luther in their dispute.

c) *The Hypotyposis ecclesiae et doctrinae lutheranae*

The second part of the *LH*, the *HEDL*, is divided into two books. The first, which consists of a preambulatory dissertation and two sections, treats the nature of the Lutheran Church. In the initial dissertation, Lorenzo argued that of all the heretics of the age believing in *sola fide*, the Lutherans were the most libertine and licentious.⁹⁸ And in section one, he asserted that the Lutheran Church's foundation was not Christ and the apostles –

⁹⁵ *LH*, vol. 1, p. 209. Cf. *WA*, vol. 38, p. 205; *LW*, vol. 38, pp. 156-57.

⁹⁶ Modern scholars such as Martin Brecht are convinced that Luther's encounter with Satan in *Von der Winckelmesse und Pfaffen Weyhe* is part of a literary device: M. Brecht, *Martin Luther* (3 vols., Philadelphia, 1985-1993), vol. 3, p. 74. The same is affirmed in *LW*, vol. 38, p. 144. And in 1930, the editors of Lorenzo's *Opera omnia* noted that historians tended to be of the same opinion then too, including some Catholic ones. They mention this after indicating that many early modern Catholic writers – no specific names were given – interpreted the story as being true: *LH*, vol. 1, p. 204, n. 45.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 3-22.

unlike the Roman Church, of course – but rather Luther himself, which is why it was called ‘Lutheran’, after the heresiarch who had founded it, rather than ‘Christian’.⁹⁹ Over the course of the second section, he contended that the Lutheran ‘sect’ lacked all the marks of the ‘true’ Church: holiness manifested by miracles, unity, apostolic succession, antiquity, subjection to the papacy, bishops, universality, and the ability to persevere and grow amid persecution.¹⁰⁰ Book two, which addresses Lutheran doctrine, is composed of five sections. Section one contains Lorenzo’s examination and criticisms of the Augsburg Confession and Melancthon’s *Apology of the Augsburg Confession* (1531).¹⁰¹ In section two, he argued that despite what Lutherans claimed, Luther, with his chaotic and erroneous writings, was hardly a man of eminent doctrine.¹⁰² The third section is where he took on the cardinal doctrines of Lutheranism, *sola Scriptura* and *sola fide*.¹⁰³ In the fourth section, he alleged that Luther’s teachings were figments of his imagination, nonsensical, fallacious, paradoxical, and inconstant.¹⁰⁴ Lastly, in section five, he concluded by again commenting on Luther’s apostasy from the Roman Church. Here he also suggested that Luther’s condemnation as a heretic was comparable to that of the notorious early church heresiarch Arius.¹⁰⁵

As in the *HML*, the writings of Luther remained important to Lorenzo in the *HEDL* too. However, it is worthwhile also to consider how he used the works of other Lutheran authorities in his writing, and especially in an effort to assail the church that they

⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 23-78.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 79-252.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 253-324.

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 325-345.

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp. 346-370.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 371-461.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 462-487.

represented. One of the significant places where he employed this tactic – like Neubauer before him – in the *HEDL* is in book one’s preambulatory dissertation, while attempting to prove that the moral fruits of Luther’s ‘libertine’ gospel had all been appallingly bad. He first cited the opinions of some of Luther’s Catholic opponents, among them Duke George of Saxony, King Henry VIII (obviously before his own departure from the Church), and Erasmus, as well as those of non-Lutheran Protestants, including Martin Bucer and Calvin. Then, saving what he judged the most compelling evidence for last, he quoted, besides Luther, other leading Lutherans who seemed to admit that their coreligionists and fellow believers in the ‘new gospel’ were living sinful and unruly lives. For his witnesses, he cited Andreas Musculus; Bishop Johannes Wigand, one of the composers of the *Magdeburg Centuries*; the Wittenberg professor, superintendent, and hymnist Paul Eber; Jakob Andreae; and Melancthon.¹⁰⁶ His reference to Andreae, whom he identified as having been like the Lutherans’ supreme bishop and pope (*magnus ac pene summus Lutheranorum antistes ac veluti papa*) – making his testimony all the more valuable – demonstrates exactly what he was looking to accomplish:

So great a teacher in Israel produced this testimony on the matter, saying: ‘One part and group of Germans indeed gives proper place to the word of God so that it may be preached, but no emendation of morals is observed among them; rather, their horrible, epicurean, bestial way of life is seen in their conduct, drinking parties, greed, pomp, and profanation, or blasphemy, of the divine name, insofar as they want to sin as freely and without punishment as the papists in their idolatry. God earnestly commands in his word, and requires from his Christians, serious and Christian discipline; but among us, these things are considered a new papacy and a new monasticism. For they talk like this: “We have learned that we are saved only through faith in Christ, who, by his death, made satisfaction for all sins; but we cannot make satisfaction with our fasts, alms, prayers, and other works. Why not let us be, and permit us to do away with works like these; since we can be saved by another way, through Christ, and we trust in the grace of God and the merits of Christ alone”. And so that all the world may recognise that they are not papists and do not put confidence in any good works whatsoever, they also do not practice any of the papists’ works at all. In the place of fasting, they spend day and night drinking and eating. When it is needful to treat the poor mercifully, they skin and flay them. They turn prayers into swearing, blasphemy, and cursing. And they do it so immoderately that Christ is not even blasphemed

¹⁰⁶ For more on Wigand and Eber, see the references in Gritsch, *A History of Lutheranism*, and Kolb, *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture*.

to that degree by the Turks themselves, etc. And', he says, 'they call this whole way of life an evangelical institution'. Andreae, therefore, recognises and acknowledges the distinguishing mark of the new evangelism to the point that he says that Christ is not even blasphemed that immoderately by the Turks themselves as he is by the evangelicals.¹⁰⁷

Perhaps this was the same quotation that Neubauer used in his first sermon, although we cannot be entirely sure because, again, it is not extant. And maybe Lorenzo acquired a copy of the Jesuit's Lutheran texts 'confirming' Lutherans' disdain for works, which served as an inspiration for his own writing. However, Lorenzo never stated anywhere that he was in possession of a copy, and he and Neubauer did not always cite the same Lutheran authorities. What is certain is that for Lorenzo, Andreae's statement, like those of the other Lutherans, was cogent proof not from a Catholic polemicist, but rather one of the most influential Lutherans of the age, someone in a position to be particularly well-acquainted with the spiritual state of the Lutheran Church, that Lutherans wanted nothing to do with good works since they were so sure that they were saved by faith alone.

While attacking the Lutheran Church and its teachings, Lorenzo also found the Fathers useful, with their writings testifying to the structure, customs, and doctrine of the Church in its 'pristine' state, convinced as he was that they showed that Lutheranism did not reflect the true and ancient Christian faith. This was particularly true when he discussed papal primacy as one of the marks of the true Church. In the first book, section two, dissertation five, he sought to prove that Christ's Church was founded upon Peter, whose

¹⁰⁷ *LH*, vol. 2, pp. 17-18. Lorenzo adduced this quotation a second time in *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 246-48. According to the editors of the *Opera omnia*, Lorenzo cited this as having come from Andreae's 'concio 4 ad cp. 2 Lucae'. Unfortunately, the editors were not able to track it down: *ibid.*, p. 17, n. 84, and pp. 246-47, n. 131.

supreme authority was then passed to the popes through succession, and called upon the witness of Cyprian of Carthage, Jerome, and Augustine:

And in the first place, it must be shown from the orthodox Fathers that the Church is said to be founded upon Peter and upon the chair of Peter. St Cyprian in the book *De unitate Ecclesiae* shows that the Church was founded upon Peter, saying: 'Proof for faith is easy in a brief statement of the truth. The Lord says to Peter: "I say to you that you are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, etc." And he says the same to him again after his resurrection: "Feed my sheep". Upon that one man he is building his Church, and he commands him to feed his sheep'. And he adds this while teaching that the Church was founded upon the chair of Peter: 'He who does not have this unity', he says, 'does he believe that he has faith? He who withstands and resists the Church; he who deserts the chair of Peter, upon which the Church was founded, does he trust that he is in the Church?'" Thus Cyprian says that the Church was built upon the chair of Peter, which, a little before, he had said was founded upon Peter. St Jerome, while writing to Pope Damasus about the term *hypostasis*, says this: 'First of all, since I follow no one except Christ, I am united to Your Beatitude, that is, to the chair of Peter. I know that the Church is built upon that rock'. In more than one place Jerome teaches that the Church was founded upon the rock; and here he says that it is founded upon the chair of Peter. St Augustine in his *Psalmum contra partem Donati* says: 'Number the priests from the see of Peter itself. It is the very rock that the proud gates of hell cannot overcome'. And so it is that, just as it was with Peter, so it is also with his chair, that is, the Roman Church, which is called the foundation, root, and head of the Catholic Church. And it is for this reason that after St Jerome said, 'I am united to Your Beatitude, that is, to the chair of Peter. I know that the Church is built upon that rock', he added: 'Whoever eats the lamb outside this house, namely the one founded upon the chair of Peter, is profane. Whoever is not in the ark of Noah when the flood waters rise, shall perish'. And afterward, while addressing the Roman Pontiff Damasus, he says: 'Whoever does not gather with you, scatters, that is, he who does not belong to Christ belongs to the antichrist'. What, then, would Jerome, together with the entire choir of orthodox Fathers, have said about the Lutherans? They are profane; they belong to antichrist.¹⁰⁸

That was the very point Lorenzo wanted to make: the Lutheran sectarians, contrary to the clear witness of these three patristic authorities and the entire early Church, rejected and despised papal authority, thereby cutting themselves off from Christ's Church and joining themselves to the antichrist.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 172-73.

d) *The Hypotyposis Polycarpi Laiserii*

Lorenzo's focus in the four-section, final part of the *LH* is his opponent Polykarp Leyser. In section one, he again shared his account of how the debate had begun, and again made initial biographical and polemical comments about his foe and the *ZCP*.¹⁰⁹ Over the course of the lengthy second section, he argued, based on Leyser's own words in his booklet – that now familiar tactic – that the *Hofprediger* was a true heretic. Among the marks of heretics described in Scripture and the Fathers, in Leyser Lorenzo detected false prophecy, reviling, scoffing, folly, contempt for ecclesiastical authority, perversion of Scripture, lying, and moral perversity.¹¹⁰ For the remainder of the *HPL*, Lorenzo provided a comprehensive refutation of the Lutheran's Prague sermons. His first sermon, on good works, is the target in section three.¹¹¹ The focus for the fourth section is his sermon on justification.¹¹²

Leyser had challenged Lorenzo and Neubauer to prove by Scripture alone that the teaching in his sermons was wrong. Lorenzo was of course prepared to meet his opponent on the 'biblical battlefield' in the *LH*, although, as we already know, he refused to engage him from Scripture exclusively. In response to Leyser's argument in his first sermon that good works were not necessary for salvation, Lorenzo, in section three, dissertation two, adduced numerous Bible verses to show that they really were:

The Lord showed that [good works] are a necessary condition [for salvation] when he gave this reply to the man asking what work he had to do to obtain eternal life: 'If you want to enter into life, keep the commandments' [Matt. 19:17]. And, while writing to the Hebrews, Paul clearly says this: 'Patience is

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 1-30.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 31-153.

¹¹¹ Ibid., pp. 154-201

¹¹² Ibid., pp. 202-264.

necessary for you, so that by doing the will of God you may receive the promises' [Heb. 10:36]. And he says this to the Romans: 'We are debtors not to the flesh, so that we may live according to the flesh; for if you live according to the flesh, you will die; but if you mortify the deeds of the flesh, you will live' [Rom. 8:12-13]. How clearly he adds the condition of mortification of the flesh to obtain salvation! And again he says: 'The Spirit himself bears witness with our spirit that we are children of God; and if children, then heirs, heirs indeed of God, and coheirs with Christ if, however, we suffer with him so that we may be glorified with him. And I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that will be revealed in us' [Rom. 8:16-18]. It is astonishing that they do not see so clear a truth. Paul concludes that if we are God's children, just as the Holy Spirit testifies, then we will be heirs. And yet he adds a condition: 'If we suffer with him'. For we are not children of God by nature, but by adoption. And he who is adopted as a son by a wise and good man is undoubtedly adopted with that condition, to be an obedient, compliant, and good son; otherwise, he will be cast out of the house, just as Ishmael, because of his wickedness, was cast out of Abraham's house and disinherited – even though he was a natural son – so that he might not be heir [Gen. 21:9-14]; and just as Reuben was justly deprived of primogeniture [Gen. 49:3-4]. Therefore, the inheritance is not promised to all the children by God, but to the good ones. That is why Paul added the condition; for otherwise, as the Lord says: 'The children of the kingdom shall be cast out into the outer darkness' [Matt. 8:12], surely because of their wickedness. It is for that reason that St James preaches that faith alone cannot save a man: 'What profit is there, my brothers, if someone says that he has faith, but does not have works? Faith cannot save him, can it? [James 2:14]' And he also says: 'He who looks intently in the law of perfect liberty and abides by it, not having become a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed in his deed' [James 1:25]. And he says: 'Be doers of the word, and not merely hearers, deceiving yourselves' [James 1:22]. In this way, with many other clear and manifest testimonies, Catholic Doctors prove the necessity of works, which John the Baptist used to preach, saying: 'Bring forth fruit worthy of repentance, lest you begin to say: "We have Abraham as our father". For the ax is already laid at the root of the tree. Therefore, every tree that does not bring forth good fruit shall be cut down and thrown into the fire' [Matt. 3:8-10]. And the Lord taught the same about the tree not bringing forth good fruit [Matt. 7:19] and the branch not bearing fruit [John 15:5-6]; and he preached that, at the judgment, they who are found to have not done good works must be condemned [Matt. 25:41-46].¹¹³

Leyser wanted a 'biblical' response, and Lorenzo clearly intended to give it to him – rather, to bury him with it. This particular barrage contains twelve references to Scripture that Lorenzo was convinced illustrated his point about works being essential for salvation. They are all different from the verses he cited above while treating this subject in the CV, which demonstrates his thorough preparedness to argue against *sola fide* from a host of passages. And he did not just produce his own proof texts in an effort to refute Leyser: in the *LH*, he also challenged the biblical evidence given in the Lutheran's sermons. This is apparent in

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 163-64. The editors of the *Opera omnia* note that on numerous occasions here, Lorenzo's biblical quotations differ slightly from those in the Vulgate. See ns. 46, 48, 53, 54, 56.

section four, dissertation four, where Lorenzo criticised, *inter alia*, Leyser's references to John the Baptist and St Peter mentioned above in his second sermon while attempting to argue in favor of *sola fide*:

John the Baptist says: 'Behold the Lamb of God, behold the one who takes away the sins of the world' [John 1:29]. Very well. No one denies that; for Christ came into this world for this purpose, and wanted to be called 'Jesus' because, as the Angel says: 'He will save his people from their sins' [Matt. 1:21]. But John definitely does not make mention of *sola fide*. Yes, he did preach repentance, and that was so the people might bear 'fruit worthy of repentance' [Matt. 3:8]. And Peter's saying in Acts [2:38] meant to calm the people's perturbed consciences, 'Repent and be baptised every one of you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ for the remission of sins', was used by Leyser to prove *sola fide*. This is laughable since Peter definitely makes no explicit mention of faith, but rather repentance and Baptism to obtain remission of sins. How then did he preach *sola fide*? And he adds this saying of the same Peter, 'There is no other name under heaven given to men, etc.' [Acts 4:12], which does prove very nicely that Christ alone is savior. But where does he say through *sola fide*? He also quotes this saying: 'To him all the Prophets bear witness that all those who believe in him receive remission of sins through his name' [Acts 10:43]. But what does this prove about *sola fide*? And yet, from these passages, Leyser wants this figment of justification by faith alone to be proved more clearly than light. O the astonishing stupidity, thoughtlessness, blindness – and dare I say it, perversity – of this man given over 'to a reprehensible mind' [Rom. 1:28]!¹¹⁴

Thus, according to Lorenzo, these scriptural proofs for Leyser's position on justification were really no proof at all since they had nothing to do with *sola fide*. As we saw above with Lorenzo's homiletic material, it is obvious in these excerpts that Lorenzo wanted his readers to conclude with him that he, the Catholic, was in perfect harmony with the Bible's position on justification, whereas the depraved heretic Leyser, who excelled only at misquoting and perverting Scripture, was not.

As for using Leyser's own words against him, his story about the hourglass-throwing Franciscan and the old woman definitely did not go unnoticed by Lorenzo. For him, it was evidence as to how ungodly and irreverent his heretical opponent, who

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 227-28. As for Lorenzo's Bible references here, the editors of the *Opera omnia* point out that there are some differences here too from those in the Vulgate. See ns. 25, 28, 29, 31. For Leyser's arguments based on the teachings of Sts. John and Peter, see p. 185 above.

juxtaposed the tale with the preface's closing 'prayer', truly was. He asserted the following about it and its place in the *ZCP* in section two, dissertation two, of the *HPL*:

Since Leyser makes use of what seems to be a certain golden, very pious prayer, instead of a final flourish, at the end of this digression that he put in the preface, the prayer could have resembled the image of the Savior depicted by the Holy Spirit in the Song of Songs, with the golden head, golden feet, ivory body, and marble legs [Song 5:10-15], if the other details had been in agreement. But, in fact, since the whole body of this writing seems to be constructed out of stinking clay and rusty iron – from soft and hard material...it seems to me much more like the enormous statue that King Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dreams; except that statue, although having a head of gold, had feet composed of recooked clay and iron [Dan. 2:31-33]. But Leyser's, even though it has a head of gold, has feet – it shames me to say it, but I speak the truth – joined together with dung and gold. 'Who has ever heard such a thing? Or who has seen something like this?' [Is. 66:8]. For immediately after the ridiculous and scurrilous fable about the make-believe monk and the shameful little old woman full of dung, meant to disgrace us and move his readers to laughter in the manner of an actor on stage, he turns himself with the greatest piety to pray. An astonishing metamorphosis! Immediately, in the blink of an eye, the shameful actor is transformed into a sacred supplicant and priest of God. He wanted to imitate a priest of the Law who burned incense for prayer [Ex. 30:7]. But instead of incense and fragrant smoke, the good Leyser has burned putrid dung. My good man, is that how one plays with God? Indeed, is that how God is mocked among you? But 'God is not mocked' [Gal. 6:7]. The good man made use of prayer, but the kind for which it is appropriate to say: 'Let his prayer become sin' [Psalm 108:7], and 'His prayer shall be detestable' [Prov. 28:9]. Or is what the Apostle said about men of this kind not seen here: 'They confess that they know God, but they deny it by their deeds' [Tit. 1:16]? 'What agreement is there between light and darkness...between Christ and Belial' [2 Cor. 6:14-15]? And I shall say: 'What agreement is there between an actor and a priest, and between a shameful fable – unworthy even of the most shameful actor – and sacred prayer?...This fable has especially demonstrated Leyser's feigned, empty, deceitful, and hypocritical piety, and has showed of which spirit Leyser is. For 'he who is of the earth is from the earth and speaks of the earth' [John 3:31]. 'From the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks. The good man out of the good treasure of his heart brings forth good and the evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart brings forth evil' [Matt. 12:34-35]. Leyser showed which of these he is, about whom the Apostle said: 'They will indeed turn away their hearing from the truth, and will turn to fables' [2 Tim. 4:4]. Is this the way the cause of God ought to be fought for and defended – with scurrilous fables? 'We did not follow clever fables when we made known to you the power and presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were made eyewitnesses of his majesty' [2 Pet. 1:16].¹¹⁵

Thus, according to Lorenzo, who continued to draw heavily on Scripture and biblical imagery, Leyser's inclusion of this tale in the *ZCP*, and especially before he turned to 'prayer', revealed just how irreligious and hypocritical he was. One minute he was a foul-mouthed comedian, the next, he was praying so piously. But what Lorenzo identified as a

¹¹⁵ *LH*, vol. 3, pp. 46-47.

prayer (*precationem*), perhaps to make Leyser's language seem all the more vile and hypocritical, was really pastoral encouragement for the Lutherans in Prague to remain constant in their faith:

The Lord Jesus Christ himself will perfect, strengthen, confirm, establish, and, in the end, graciously reward you, you who are now deprived of his Word for a short time [1 Pet. 5:10], so that you who are appointed to an everlasting, unsullied, and unfading inheritance [1 Pet. 1:4] can acquire from it the end of your faith, namely the salvation of your souls. Amen.¹¹⁶

This statement might not have been a prayer, but Lorenzo's point about Leyser's vulgar-then-holy prose still ought not to be lost on us.

Lastly, given the strategic significance of Lorenzo's criticism of Leyser's ignorance of language in his 12 July sermon, it is worth noting that he repeated the charge in the *LH*. However, while the theme of Leyser's linguistic skills was central for the sermon's rhetoric, that was not the case for the *LH*, where Lorenzo's focus was on other subjects. Besides making a fuss over Leyser having written to him in German, he also mocked his adversary's Latin. In section one, dissertation two, of the *HPL*, he derided Leyser for two unusual words he used in the *ZCP*, *morionia* and *postfatio*:¹¹⁷

After these two sermons is found the third part of this pamphlet, which was called the 'postfatio' by the author. Awful! Why did Polykarp not write in Latin? He might have enriched the Latin language with many words never heard anywhere else by Roman ears; for writing in German as through a lattice work, he has given us two new and unheard of Latin words: *morionia* in the preface, and now *postfatio* in the peroration and, as it were, final flourish.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ *ZCP*, p. 31: 'Er der Herr Jesus Christus wolle euch/ die jhr jezo eine kleine zeit seines Worts beraubt seid/ volbereiten/ stercken/ kräftigen/ gründen/ und endlich gnädiglich verleihen/ daß jhr/ die jhr zu einem unvergenglichen/ unbefleckten und unverwelcklichen Erbe beruffen seid/ das Ende ewers Glaubens/ nemlich der Seelenseligkeit/ darvon bringen könnet/ Amen'.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 114.

¹¹⁸ *LH*, vol. 3, p. 20.

In section three, dissertation one, he took a jab at Leyser's Hebrew while criticizing his teaching on the distinction between the Law and the Gospel in his first sermon:

Leyser has established a new and unheard of distinction, namely, that 'Moses in his Law requires and extorts good works from everyone, whether they are born again or not born again, whether they are good or bad. And he seeks them with great severity. Thus, something severe is heard in every commandment: "You shall have no foreign gods; you shall not take the name of your God in vain; honor your father and your mother; you shall not kill, etc.'" But Leyser adduced these commandments from Luther's German Bible, where they appear in the future imperative. 'Therefore', he says, 'Moses often strikes our ears with *solt*' – as if God had spoken to the Hebrews in German – not knowing that Hebrew lacks the future imperative. Therefore, Moses uses the future indicative instead of the the imperative...¹¹⁹

Moreover, Lorenzo continued to insist in the *LH* that Leyser quoted solely Luther's 'contemptible' German Bible in the *ZCP*.¹²⁰ He never acknowledged the Greek that appeared in the pamphlet. And despite all his research on the writings of Luther and other Lutherans, he provided no indication that he attempted to investigate Leyser's skills with the biblical languages in any of his other works, such as his commentaries on Genesis. Even if he had, publicizing the results would not, of course, have scored him any polemical points. The closest Lorenzo came to admitting that he was wrong about Leyser's linguistic skills was a sardonic comment he made in section two, dissertation ten, of the *HPL*. While responding to Leyser's suggestion to Neubauer in the *ZCP* that he produce evidence from the Plantin Polyglot for the ecclesiastical power and jurisdiction that Catholics claimed their prelates had, Lorenzo stated:

Leyser assures us in this matter that we would be doing all Lutherans a favor, but especially him, who, even though he searched all the books of the Sacred Bible – even in various languages – still could not find any evidence for it. A great undertaking! But, oh how disappointing! He used up all that energy in vain! And while throwing the books from the podium, I was wrong to suppose that

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-57. Cf. *ZCP*, p. 39. For Leyser's teaching on this, see p. 178 above.

¹²⁰ *LH*, vol. 1, pp. 38-39; vol. 3, pp. 127-28.

Leyser did not know Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, since he, with the greatest zeal, and with diligence, searched all the sacred books printed in these languages.¹²¹

Lorenzo then went on in dissertation eleven to produce the scriptural ‘proofs’ that Leyser had requested.¹²² So, his goal here was not to admit any error on his own part, but rather again to present his opponent belittlingly as an inept theologian who could not find these verses in their original languages.

Writing against Lutheranism was the final way Lorenzo da Brindisi aimed to combat heresy in the Holy Roman Empire. The fruit of his labour was the *Lutheranismi hypotyposis*, the only one of his works that he ever intended to publish. It was written in response to Polykarp Leyser’s *ZCP*, published against Lorenzo and the Jesuit Andreas Neubauer after they had preached against him in July 1607. Lorenzo’s project began as a refutation solely of Leyser, but morphed into a three-part refutation of Lutheranism in its entirety. While writing, Lorenzo enjoyed the support of the ecclesiastical authorities in Prague; and a papal dispensation enabled his book to be published there extraordinarily, without having to be reviewed by the Capuchin Order, as was required in its *Constitutions*. He occupied himself with his writing, amid his other responsibilities, between 1607 and 1610. The issuing of the Letter of Majesty in 1609 probably removed some of the urgency behind his completing the text. However, it was the news of Leyser’s death in 1610 that

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 114: ‘Cum certos nos faciat Laiserus nos hac in re gratum facturos Lutheranis omnibus, maxime vero ipsi, qui, cum omnes Sacrorum Bibliorum libros evolverit in variis etiam linguis, invenire tamen non potuit. Magnus labor, sed, proh dolor! incassum tantas fatigavit vires! Fallebar autem ego, cum proiciens de suggestu libros putabam Laiserum hebraice, chaldaice et graece nescire, cum ipse evolverit omnes sacros libros summo studio ac diligentia in his linguis impressos’. Cf. *ZCP*, pp. 10-11.

¹²² *LH*, vol. 3, pp. 114-123.

caused him finally to give up working on the project. It was finally published more than 300 years later.

In the *LH*, Lorenzo attacked not only his adversary Leyser but also Martin Luther and the Lutheran Church and its teachings. Throughout the book, he employed the same polemical tactics that he did while preaching. He made constant appeals to Scripture – more than 8,000, according to Claudio da Solesino’s account. He very frequently called upon the testimonies of the Fathers, more than he did in his sermons and sermon plans. He resorted to mockery and name-calling, at times bestializing his opponents as well as accusing them, as usual, of being innovators and minions of Satan. And the belittling of Leyser over his ‘poor’ language skills continued in the *LH*, though it was not central to Lorenzo’s argument as it had been during his 12 July sermon. A new strategy that Lorenzo used, however, that became especially important to him polemically was to quote Luther’s own works against him, letting them demonstrate to the reader that the founder of the Lutheran Church was nothing more than a depraved and demonically-inspired heresiarch. In so doing, Lorenzo did not borrow from intermediary sources; rather, he went straight to Luther’s own *opera*. And he cited the writings of other Lutherans too, such as Jakob Andreae, who, he believed, gave evidence of the deplorable moral and theological state of the Lutheran Church. The Capuchin was determined to depict Lutheranism in all its ‘wretchedness’, and he was convinced that these tactics would all help him to accomplish his objective. The *LH* might not have been published during Lorenzo’s lifetime, but it certainly places him among the significant Catholic apologists of the age.

Conclusion

Since Lorenzo da Brindisi's primary objective in the Holy Roman Empire, besides confirming Catholics in their faith, was to win heretics back to the Roman Church, we should consider whether there are any indications in the source materials that his efforts were successful. Such evidence does exist, albeit precious little, and it is not without its problems. Nevertheless, it does give us a sense of some of the ways in which his apostolate might have been effective; although, as Howard Louthan has acknowledged, whether heretics became genuinely faithful Catholics remains always beyond the grasp of any historian.¹

According to Gugliermo Ruffini of Savona, for instance, Lorenzo had drawn at least one non-Catholic from heresy by his sermon of 12 July 1607 against Polykarp Leyser. Ruffini had been present at the sermon, and he reported this story in 1625 during the informative process of Genoa: 'I was at said sermon, and I sat near a Baron whose name I cannot remember; but I know that he was a Hussite heretic. I saw him weeping without restraint at said sermon; and immediately after it was over, I saw him go over to the said Father [Lorenzo] in order to understand the truth more fully, and to be converted, as happened to him, and many others also...'² Ruffini's testimony suggests that the baron had been convinced by the argument, or moved by the rhetoric, and sought out Lorenzo for

¹ Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, p. 8.

² Q1, f. 221: 'Inoltre essendo io a detta predica a sedere appresso ad un Barone, del quale non mi raccordo il nome ma so ch'era heretico Uscita, lo vidi piangere dirottamente a detta predica, e per subito finita andar dal detto Padre per maggiormente intendere la verità, et per convertirsi, come segui di lui, et di molti altri ancora...'

further instruction, and subsequently converted. Without the baron's name, however, and in the absence of corroborative evidence elsewhere, including the Capuchin sources preserved at the Czech National Archives in Prague, we have no way to verify Ruffini's account.

No surviving sources, in fact, allow to follow the career and religious progress of any of Lorenzo's converts in the way that we can in the case of the young, former Lutheran nobleman Michael Adolf von Althan, who, while in Prague in 1599, is said to have had a religious experience brought on by a 'vision' before the famous crucifix on the Charles Bridge. After converting – a move that made it possible for him to advance in the imperial service – Althan became a staunch supporter of both the Jesuits and the Piarists; and he was one of the military officers keen to see Capuchin chaplains in Hungary in 1601.³ What is more, Ruffini's testimony contains several inaccuracies: he stated that the sermon had been given in 1608, rather than 1607, and that the theme debated had been the Eucharist, and not good works and justification. He also reported that Lorenzo had thrown not Bibles from the pulpit, but some of Luther's German works. Admittedly, it does seem more likely that Lorenzo would have tossed Luther's books to the floor rather than the Bible, but that is not how Lorenzo himself recorded the event. And Ruffini additionally made the extraordinary claim that Lorenzo had learned to read and pronounce German well over the course of fifteen days, which, he asserted, everyone saw as a miracle.⁴ Ruffini might have

³ Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, pp. 47-48, 188-89; Arturo, vol. 2, pp. 136 ff.

⁴ Q1, f. 221: '...All' hora solita asceso sopra il pulpito, si fece sopra esso portar alcuni tomi di detto Martino Lutthero stampati in lingua tedesca, et nel corso della predica confutando le false propositioni di detto Predicante, a parte di essa si opponeva con dottrine de santi Padri, e Dottori di Santa Chiesa, et alla maggior parte con l' istessa dottrina di Lutthero, si come leggeva in detti tomi, quali poi gettava in mezzo la Chiesa, acciò ogn' uno potesse vedere il testo allegato, e quello che parse a tutti miracolosa cosa, fu che in quindeci giorni esso Padre imparò leger tedesco, e proferir bene, come fece sentir in pulpito, cosa che niuno

been confident that the baron was a Hussite, but he provided no evidence for the identification. Perhaps this is one instance where his details were accurate; but we should not be too confident. Believing that the sermon had been about the Eucharist, it may, therefore, not be a coincidence that he identified the man as part of the heresy specific to Bohemia whose most distinctive tenet concerned the Eucharist: the necessity of communion under both kinds. And Ruffini's reference to the 'many others' besides the baron who became Catholic because of Lorenzo's sermon is so general as to be practically useless.

Francesco Visconti, the *capitano* who had accompanied Lorenzo on his 1611 preaching tour in the Reich – through Saxony, the Palatinate, some of the free and imperial cities, and Salzburg – would also have us believe that Lorenzo made converts. In his 1630 testimony for the apostolic process of Milan, he related:

This Padre Brindisi preached with so much fervour, firmness, and efficacy; and he associated and conversed with those listening to him in such a way, that the Catholics among whom we journeyed were confirmed in the truth of the Catholic faith, and they forsook their sins and did penance, while the heretics felt remorse, and a large number converted and abjured heresy, and embraced our holy faith with great feeling, tears, and devotion. And I am an eyewitness of this because I was always present at the sermons given by this Padre Brindisi, and I saw and observed the very great fruit that resulted from them.⁵

But while Visconti's account of the impact of Lorenzo's sermons on the heretics who heard them might have been adequate to demonstrate Lorenzo's zeal for Catholicism to the

può fare, se non in corso d'anni, massime in quell'età per esser lingua difficilissima, si da imparare, come da proferire'.

⁵ APMil, ff. 855-56: '...Esso Padre Brindesi predicò con tanto fervore, sodezza et efficatia, et trattò, et conversò in maniera tale, che gli Catholici, per li quali pasassimo restavano confermati nella verità della Catholica fede, e lasciavano li peccati, et facevano penitenza, et li Heretici stessi si compongavano, et se ne convertirno moltissimi, et abiurarono l'heresia, et abbracciarono la nostra santa fede con grande sentimento, lagrime, et devotione et io ne sono di ciò testimonio oculato per che sempre mi ritrovai presente alle Prediche fatte da esso Padre Brindesi, et viddi, et osservai il frutto grandissimo, che come sopra ne risultò'.

beatification process, his vague mention of ‘a large number’ of heretics, like the ‘many others’ in Prague to whom Ruffini referred, provides us with no specific information on which we can work further. Visconti mentioned nothing of any records that might have been kept naming those who had converted. And to date, no conversion statements or Protestant evidence for this mission have surfaced either. And, interestingly, while Visconti seems to have firmly believed that Lorenzo had been at the centre of miraculous activity throughout 1611 – this included levitating while rapt in ecstasy as he said Mass, reading Visconti’s heart while he was suffering temptation during that same Mass, and suddenly foreseeing that a large group of armed heretics was coming to attack the mission while it had stopped in a heretical village, thereby making escape possible before it was too late⁶ – he gave no indication that miracles were a routine element of Lorenzo’s outreach, as they would become later in the seventeenth century during the Central European preaching missions of Marco d’Aviano, who is said to have combined his preaching with mass healings and exorcisms.⁷

It may be, however, that Lorenzo’s reputed wonderworking powers at Székesfehérvár in 1601 caused some heretics to reconsider their beliefs.⁸ After describing in the *Commentariolum* how the Turks had supposedly been thwarted by means of his relic-filled cross on Friday 12 October, Lorenzo stated that, on the following Monday,

Our men moved quarters, going in formation, in order to be battle-ready, and on Monday in the morning, once a suitable site had been found to engage in battle, they offered battle against the Turk in the open field. The two armies positioned themselves in formation opposite each other, and from the morning they commenced to fight each other with their artillery, and the vanguards began to skirmish together. The commissary went with his cross, emboldening our whole army from squadron to squadron, regiment to regiment, and cornet to cornet. And while the soldiery had mocked him greatly

⁶ For the events of this Mass and this demonstration of what Visconti understood to be the ‘*spirito di profesia*’, see APMil, ff. 858-864, 867-69.

⁷ Johnson, *Magistrates and Madonnas*, pp. 262-65.

⁸ For Lorenzo’s performance at Székesfehérvár, see pp. 44-48 above.

when he entered the encampment, by whistling and shouting ‘Volf, Volf, minich Volf’ at him from behind, which means ‘Wolf, wolf, monk wolf’ – this is what the heretics are especially in the habit of calling the religious – on the day of battle, however, they were treating him in a different manner. They beheld him with gladness. They were paying him reverence, and many were also kneeling when they saw him pass by. All the Catholics were vying and running to receive his blessing and to kiss the cross that he was bearing aloft in his hand. That the Turkish artillery did not cause even a little harm to our men was attributed to the virtue of the sign of the holy cross, while our artillery caused very great losses to the Turks, who deemed the Capuchin, whom they could see very well going through the whole encampment and passing by in front of their army, to be a necromancer. The battle did not begin until midday, when the right flank of the Turkish army came with the greatest haste to strike our left flank, which was the weariest part of our army. But since our men fought valourously, they put it to flight, with three chief leaders of the Turkish army being left dead...After having suffered this rout, the Turks no longer had the courage to enter the fray. When night fell, both armies withdrew to their camps, with our men thanking God for such a victory, attributing it to the virtue of the sign of the holy cross; and this was made known everywhere, and it was preached as being a work of God. And since many of the heretics saw what had happened, they were saying that the Religion and faith of that friar – who had gone about in such a way among so many perils, encouraging all without experiencing or suffering any injury and testifying to the truth of the Catholic Religion – must have been the true one.⁹

Thus, according to Lorenzo, after the ‘miraculous’ events of 12 October, the same heretics who had jeered at him upon his arrival at the Christian camp in Hungary were now treating him with reverence – even kneeling before him – and confessing the truth of the Catholic religion. Lorenzo’s account, then, suggests that Protestant soldiers began to reconsider their

⁹ Comm., ff. 6v, 8r: ‘I nostri mutorno quartiere andando in ordinanza da poter combattere et il Lunedì di matina trovato un sito a proposito per far giornata offersero in campo aperto la battaglia al Turco. Si posero i due esserciti in ordinanza a fronte l’un dell’altro, e dalla matina incominciorno a battersi con l’artiglieria, e scaramucciare insieme le vanuardie. Il comissario ando con la sua croce inanimando tutto il nostro campo di squadrone in squadrone di regimento in regimento, e di cornetta in cornetta. Et havendosi la soldatesca fatto gran beffe di lui quando entro nel campo fischiando, e gridandoli dietro Volf, Volf, minich Volf, che vuol dire lupo lupo, monaco lupo, che cosi sogliono massimamente gl’ heretici chiamare i religiosi, nel giorno pero della battaglia lo trattavano di altra maniera. Lo vedevano con allegrezza. Li facevano riverenza, e molti anco s’inginocchiavano quando lo vedevano passare. I catholici tutti a gara correvano per ricevere la sua benedittione, e bacciare la croce che portava in mano. Fu attribuito alla virtu del segno della santa croce che l’artiglieria turchesca non facesse pure un picciolo danno a nostri, facendo la nostra grandissimi danni a Turchi, quali stimavano ch’il capuccino qual vedevano benissimo andar per tutto il campo e passare per dinanzi il loro essercito, fusse un negromante. Non s’attacco la battaglia fin a mezo giorno, quando venne con grandissima furia il corno destro dell’essercito turchesco ad urtare nel nostro corno sinistro ch’era la parte piu fiacca del nostro campo. Ma combattendo valorosamente i nostri lo posero in fuga, restando morti tre capi principali dell’essercito turchesco...Havuta questa rotta i Turchi non ebbero piu ardire di venire ad attaccare zuffa, ma sopraggiunta la notte si ritirorno ambi gl’esserciti alle bagaglie, ringratiando i nostri Dio di tal vittoria, et attribuendola alla virtu del segno della santa croce; e fu tal cosa divulgata per tutto, e predicata per opra di Dio e molti de gl’heretici havendo veduto quanto era passato dicevano che bisognava che la vera Religione e fede fusse quella di quel frate ch’era andato cosi fra tanti pericoli inanimando tutti senza haver patito offesa nissuna conoscendo cosi, e testificando la verita della Religion catholica’.

faith after his very visible intervention on the battlefield; and other eyewitness accounts seem to corroborate his narrative. On 18 October, Girolamo Dentice, Archduke Matthias's councilor of war, and a Catholic, wrote a detailed report of the battle that was forwarded to Rome by the nuncio Spinelli, in which he noted: 'I will not neglect to speak about the greatest soldier of us all, who in this faction of the chief people was our Father Commissary of the Capuchins...Since that day [presumably 12 October], the heretics have taken a liking to him, and some have shown him great devotion. Now it pleases everyone to see him, even though a few days before they were laughing at him'.¹⁰ And after describing Lorenzo's activities among the soldiers, Dentice stated: 'He was certainly noticed and esteemed by everyone, both Catholics and heretics, who no longer made fun of him; rather, they honoured him, and loved him'.¹¹ And in 1628, Filippo Bevilacqua, a Catholic cavalry officer at Székesfehérvár, related the following during the apostolic process of Bassano: 'The victory was given to the Christians by God with the universal opinion of everyone that God granted us such a victory through the intercession of the prayers of Padre Brindisi; even the Lutherans confessed this'.¹² Thus, it may be that Lorenzo's narrative is more than a triumphalist exaggeration, as it might seem at first. But as yet, we have no Protestant account with which we can contrast these Catholic reports, which are likely to be biased in Lorenzo's favor. Moreover, some heretics may have confessed as a result of Lorenzo's 'supernatural' performance that Catholicism must be the true religion; but we do not know

¹⁰ FB, III, 15A 1, f. 106v: 'Non lascierò di dire del meglio soldato di tutti noi, che in questa fattione delli primi fu il nostro Padre Commissario de Cappuccini...che da quell giorno li heretici li presero inclinazione, et alcuni gran devotione, che hora a tutti piace vederlo, che alcuni giorni prima se ne ridevano'.

¹¹ Ibid., ff. 109rv: 'Certo fu osservato, et stimato da tutti, et Cattolici, et heretici, li quali non si burlavano più, anzi l'honoravano, et amavano'.

¹² APBass, part 3, f. 173r: '...Fu la Vittoria data a Christiani da Dio con opinion universal de tutti, che Dio ci concedesse tal vittoria per intercession dell'orationi del Padre Brindesi; anco li Lutherani confessavan questo'.

what became of any of them. We remain ignorant as to whether any decided to convert formally, since no conversion statements have ever surfaced. It may simply be that they recognised and celebrated him as some sort of miracle-worker, irrespective of his confessional allegiance.

Therefore, it may be that Lorenzo had been able to make converts through his diatribe against Leyser in 1607, his preaching against heresy in 1611, his ‘miraculous’ performance as a chaplain in 1601, and possibly by other means. But the evidence is meager and problematic. The Capuchin archives possess no conversion statements or collections of names of those who might have converted as a result of Lorenzo’s apostolate. None of the witnesses who came forward during the informative and apostolic investigations for his beatification process confess to having been converts brought to the Catholic faith because of him; although the vast majority of these processes were conducted in Italy, where heresy was hardly a major problem. Even so, we might expect that those supervising the informative process of Munich in 1624 would have been sure to summon, or contact, converts made in 1611 during Lorenzo’s preaching expedition, perhaps at the nearby imperial cities of Augsburg and Donauwörth (Lorenzo surely would have relished the opportunity to preach against heresy in the latter),¹³ had they been known. However, if there had been processes conducted in Prague, the epicentre for his missionary activities, perhaps we would have more evidence; we might even have been able to identify Ruffini’s ‘Hussite baron’. And apparently none of Lorenzo’s contemporaries attempted to enumerate or approximate how many converts he might have made. This contrasts starkly with the apostolate of François de Sales in the Chablais during the 1590s. Ruth Kleinman explained

¹³ For Lorenzo’s role in the religious crisis of Donauwörth, see pp. 48-49 above.

that De Sales himself had spoken of ‘several thousand’ converts, and that an official list sent to Rome had noted approximately 2,070 abjurations by heads of families in autumn 1598, leaving it open as to how many dependents had renounced heresy with them.¹⁴ One of these patriarchs, as Jill Fehleison describes in her study of the confessional issues in the diocese of Geneva, was Seigneur d’Avully Antoine de Saint-Michel, who embraced Catholicism publicly in Turin in 1596.¹⁵ It also contrasts with that of the Capuchin Emerich Sinelli, who, later, from 1651 to 1653, was said to have secured almost 4,000 conversions through his evangelistic work in Lower Austria.¹⁶ We have no such approximations for Lorenzo.

While we cannot state anything conclusive about Lorenzo and conversions, therefore, this study has nonetheless demonstrated that he – like Peter Canisius before him – played a leading role in changing the religious landscape of the Holy Roman Empire, and that while there he worked ceaselessly toward defending the cause of Catholicism. As we saw in chapter two, as commissary general of the papally-mandated Capuchin mission bound for Bohemia in 1599, he supervised the foundation of his Order’s Commissariate of Bohemia-Austria-Styria, overseeing specifically, in 1600, the foundation of its first three friaries in Prague, Vienna, and Graz. This new commissariate, which, due to later expansion, eventually became three separate provinces by the late seventeenth century,

¹⁴ Kleinman, *Saint François de Sales and the Protestants*, pp. 60-61. Kleinman also describes how the number of converts grew larger and larger the closer De Sales came to canonisation, with the 1665 Bull of Canonisation numbering them at 72,000, a number that, Kleinmann observes, ‘may come closer to representing the total population of trans-alpine Savoy in the 1590’s than the population of the Chablais’.

¹⁵ Fehleison, *Boundaries of Faith*, pp. 59-60.

¹⁶ Weißensteiner, *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, 1648 bis 1803*, p. 462.

went on to contribute significantly to the re-catholicization of these areas of the Reich, with figures such as Emerich Sinelli and Valeriano Magni building on the work that Lorenzo had already initiated. In chapter three, the focus was on Lorenzo's preaching against heresy, a central element of Lorenzo's apostolate. His animated, emotional, and histrionic sermons were preached routinely at St Mary of the Angels in Prague, and he did not shrink from preaching directly and unreservedly to the city's non-Catholics. In 1611, he also undertook his preaching expedition throughout the Reich, for which his knowledge of German was especially useful. It is evident from his sermon plans in the 'Codex vindobonensis' and from his recorded sermons in the 'Quaresimale del Padre Brindes' that he based his arguments against contemporary heresies almost exclusively on Scripture, although supplementing them with appeals to the Fathers and verbal violence. In chapter four, we found that Lorenzo had also combatted heresy by engaging in theological disputes. In the debate of July 1607, he challenged Polykarp Leyser's teaching on good works and justification; although his conjecture about Leyser not being able to read Scripture in its original languages – with its accompanying theatrical stunt with the Bibles – which he considered so damaging to the reputation of the *Hofprediger*, was ill-founded. In the dispute of August 1610, after the unidentified Lutheran preacher had attacked Catholic veneration of the Virgin Mary as idolatry based on his reading of pseudo-Bonaventure's *Psalterium majus*, Lorenzo set out to defend the Church's Marian spirituality by establishing the 'correct' reading of that text and the genuine *opera* of St Bonaventure, while not neglecting to ridicule his opponent. Lastly, in chapter five, we saw that Lorenzo had also intended to refute Lutheranism in writing. After renewed contact with Leyser in autumn 1607, he drafted the *Lutheranismi hypotyposis*, although he abandoned the text in

1610 upon hearing of Leyser's death that year. As in his homiletic material, he based his written arguments on Scripture and the Fathers, accompanying them with even fiercer verbal violence. He combined these tactics with quoting Luther's own writings against him in order to manifest to all that the reformer was really a satanic heresiarch. He also cited influential Lutherans whose writings, he believed, bore witness to the depravity of the Lutheran Church.

It was by these means that Lorenzo sought to promote Catholicism and wage spiritual war on heresy while in Central Europe. But despite the energy he poured into his preaching, disputations, and writing, and the importance that he and his contemporaries attributed to those activities, Lorenzo's major contribution to the process of recatholicisation in the Reich was more through his institutional creations, that is, his establishment of secure houses from which later Capuchin missions could operate. Had he arrived after the Catholic victory against the Bohemian estates at White Mountain in 1620, at which point the Catholics gained the upper hand in the Kingdom of Bohemia, and after which a more aggressive campaign against heresy was launched,¹⁷ his evangelistic strategies might have been more demonstrably effective. Instead, he served in Bohemia while the Catholics were still a beleaguered minority and the Protestants continued to secure religio-political gains, such as the Letter of Majesty. Had Lorenzo lived until 1620, he would surely have received the news of White Mountain with jubilation.

This thesis presents for the first time a substantial and critical study in English of Lorenzo da Brindisi, a towering figure of early modern Catholicism who, despite his great

¹⁷ Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, pp. 4-5, 17-18.

importance, has remained so obscure. It offers new insight into the early history of the Capuchin Order, and specifically how it contributed to rolling back the gains of the Protestants and other heretics in the Reich, and particularly in Bohemia. And Lorenzo and the Capuchins have even more that they can reveal to us about early modern Catholicism. My hope is that, following this thesis, more scholarly interest will be kindled in this 'standard-bearer of the Roman Church' and his Order.

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