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ART. I.—*The Life of Jerome Savonarola.\**

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WE are about to fulfil a promise in a former number, and to give some account of a Dominican monk, who was almost a Reformer. Our narrative will be framed chiefly from the materials collected by the diligent and able scholar whose work is cited in the margin: but we shall also collate other authorities, as well Roman Catholic as Protestant. No one who feels any interest in the stirring events which we detail, should be prevented by our sketch from recurring to the work under review, which is a notable specimen of historical compression, and does not well admit of abridgment.

What we offer is history, not panegyric. The foibles, excesses, and errors of the man are obvious to every Protestant reader; yet these are no more than spots on a bright object; and we wish to bring out into day the lustre of this noble soul. To the Protestant, the subject of our sketch will be attractive, as approaching very nearly to the evangelical character; to the American, as an undaunted martyr in the cause of republican rights. We happen to know that

\* Hieronymus Savonarola und seine Zeit: Aus den Quellen dargestellt, von A. G. Rudelbach, P. D.—Hamburg, bei Friedrich Perthes. 1835. pp. xvi: 503.

when, in 1832, the patriots of Italy were using means to awaken the dormant spirit of freedom, one of the first acts of a little group of scholars at Bologna was to publish the discourses of Savonarola, which had for scores of years lain under the Romish ban.

Hieronymus Savonarola was descended from a noble family of Padua, which had received special distinction from a famous physician, Michel Savonarola, one of the ornaments of Ferrara. Niccolo, the son of Michel, intermarried with Helena, of the family of Bonacossi; and the fruits of this union were five sons and two daughters. Hieronymus, or Jerome, the subject of this sketch, was the third of these sons, and was born September 25th, 1452.

He was carefully educated, according to the opinions of the age. His grandfather taught him grammar, and his father, who lived until 1461, spared no pains in giving him every literary advantage. It was their hope that he would perpetuate the medical reputation acquired by Michel; but at a very early age he began to make excursions into another field. Among all his studies, he was most pleased with scholastic theology. Thomas Aquinas was the favourite author, whose clew he followed in the labyrinth of speculation; and from this subtle divine he derived his singular acquaintance with the Aristotelian dialectic. In seasons of repose he relieved his mind with the elegancies of the Tuscan language and letters, with such success, as appears from extant specimens, that he might have become a distinguished poet.

Even in youth, Savonarola led a recluse and contemplative life, of which the charms were so much the greater when it was contrasted with the political and military agitation of that period. At times he thought of the conventual life as offering a refuge from these tempests, but from this he was again repelled by the worldliness and the stupendous iniquity of the monks. He was by no means an idolatrous admirer of the monastic institution; as even from boyhood his independent sagacity descried the defects and enormities of the system. Yet he had not so far risen above the superstitious prejudices of the age, as to be proof against the seductions of a life which fell in with all the solitary and ascetic musings of his juvenile enthusiasm; and in his twenty-first year he became a Dominican friar. In thus taking monastic vows he did only what was done thirty years after by Luther; but it was with a temperament more open than was that of the

Saxon monk, to the dark enchantments of the cloister. In April, 1475, without the privity of his parents, he assumed, at Bologna, the habit of that order whose device has been the instrument of torture. Who can remember without a pang the numerous instances in which, from motives that might under other circumstances have formed a Calvin or a Simeon, ingenuous young men have been plunged into the abyss of conventual pollution and misanthropy! "The chief reasons," says Savonarola, "which moved me to enter the monastic order were these: First, the great misery of the world and the iniquity of men, seeing that mankind has arrived at the point where there is not one that doeth good. Many times a day did I therefore sing: 'Hec, fuge crudeles terras, fuge littus avarum!' And, again, I could not endure the wickedness of the blinded people of Italy; for I saw that virtue was altogether prostrate, and that vice exalted its head. Here was the greatest affliction I could suffer in this world; wherefore I constantly besought my Lord Jesus Christ, that he would deliver me out of this filth, and often prayed in these words: 'Cause me to know the way wherein I should walk, for I lift up my soul unto thee.'" Such are the expressions which he uses in a letter to his father, on the occasion of his forsaking home.

In the Dominican convent at Bologna he was appointed Lector in metaphysics and natural history; he discharged his duties with fidelity and had many pupils. But his private studies were chiefly the Meditations of Augustin, and Cassian's *Collationes Patrum*; and the further he went into the history of the fathers, the more clearly did he see the defects of monkery, as compared with the usages of the early anchorets; and as to the life of genuine Christianity, he found no vestige of it in the cloister. The legendary and devotional books, which are the pabulum of all novices, were unsatisfying. He procured the Holy Scriptures, which henceforth became the great study of his life; and dwelling upon them night and day he received on his memory the whole contents of the sacred canon. At the same time he acted as confessor, and made some beginnings as a preacher. So far as we can learn, he was at this time happier in private than in public discourses. His biographers relate that on a certain occasion as he went from Ferrara to Mantua, thirteen dissolute soldiers who happened to be in the same vessel were brought to penitence by the force of his exhortations.

In 1481, after having sometime taught at Ferrara, Savona-

rola, by order of his superiors, removed to Florence. Soon after his arrival, Vincenzo Baldella, prior of the monastery of S. Marco, appointed him Lector. He preached during Lent, in 1482; and we mention for the encouragement of young preachers, that although afterwards the most eloquent orator of his age, he was at this time far from being either easy or impressive in his pulpit discourses. His hearers amounted to no more than twenty-five. His estimate of his own performances was moderate; for he says he was without good qualities of voice or lungs, and that his manner was highly disagreeable to all who heard him.\*

In 1483 and 1484 we find him at Brescia, where he seems to have had some glimpses of the desperate corruptions in which the Romish church was sunken, revealed to him by the light of scripture. In one of his sermons he declares the conviction that reform is indispensable, and that the earth was ripening for a judicial overthrow. "The popes," says he, "acquire their eminence by craft and intrigue, or by the crime of simony; and when they have reached the holy see, either devote themselves to harlots and infamous favourites, or are busied in hoarding wealth. In monasteries, discipline is relaxed, and those who ought to serve God with holy zeal are cold or lukewarm." He then predicts that God will remove the light of Christendom, and bestow it on the dark tribes of Asia and Africa.

At a provincial synod at Reggio, probably in 1484, he became acquainted with the learned and noble Giovanni Pico, of Mirandola; equally celebrated for his scholastic penetration and erudition, and his enthusiasm in Platonic philosophy. This great scholar was so enchanted with the perspicacious intelligence, and argumentative dexterity, which Savonarola evinced in disputation, that he used his influence with Lorenzo de' Medici to have the young Dominican invited to Florence. To this focus of literary activity he was at length attracted in the year 1489. Here he again discharged the duties of a lecturer, and here the singular independence of his character began to shine out. We must suppose our readers to be in some degree familiar with the history and condition of this city, especially under the guidance of the Medicean family. To freshen any one's recol-

\* Ogni uno, che mi conosceva gia dieci anni passati, el sa, che io non havevo ne voce, ne pecto, ne modo di predicare, anzi era in fastidio ad ogni huomo el mio predicare.—Sav. Pred. p. xi. Venez. 1520.

lections, nothing more will be needed than a recurrence to the elegant histories of Mr. Roscoe. Let the Protestant reader however guard himself against the subtilty with which this accomplished writer, on all occasions, insinuates statements prejudicial to the character of every advocate for reformation. The power of the Medici was in its 'most high and palmy state,' and there were few who could venture to animadvert, however gently, upon Lorenzo or his creatures. The court-preachers were moral declaimers, who winked at the corruption of manners, and nevertheless—a paradox alas! too familiar—founded salvation on good works. All the world was in raptures at the method, the neatness, the classic grace of their discourses. Such, in later days and other sects, are the sleek and dapper pulpit favourites 'who never mention hell to ears polite.' Among this time-serving company Savonarola appeared like John among the Pharisees; and as he spared not even Lorenzo de' Medici, we need not wonder that Mr. Roscoe should call his sanctity, "pretension," his zeal, "animosity," and his simplicity of rebuke, "morose and insolent." At the same time the historian owns that "he acquired an astonishing ascendancy over the minds of the people," but adds: "The divine word, from the lips of Savonarola, descended not amongst his audience like the dews of heaven; it was the piercing hail, the sweeping whirlwind, the destroying sword."\*

We may imagine the relish with which such truths as the following were received by the fastidious Florentines: "Christians have forsaken the true service of God, and are now-a-days fallen into such blindness, as no longer to know the meaning of the Christian name, or the import of genuine worship. They busy themselves with outward ceremonies, but inward service of God they know not. They seldom or never read the holy scriptures, or when they do, they understand nothing; or even when they understand, they have no taste for them. Yea, they say: 'Our soul loatheth this light bread! O that we could listen to the eloquence of Cicero, the melody of the poets, the sweet diction of Plato, and the acuteness of Aristotle! The bible is too simple—food for women only. Preach to us something elegant and grand!' And as they will not endure sound doctrine, they have gone after lies; and having itching ears heap to themselves teach-

\* Is not my word like as a fire? saith Jehovah; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?—Jer. 23: 29.

ers, turn away from the truth, and are turned unto fables. Even princes and chiefs of the people will not listen to the truth, but say: Prophecy not unto us right things, speak unto us smooth things, prophecy deceits. Hence it is, that the people are wrapped in the grossest darkness." And again in a sermon on the 73d Psalm, after many direct exposures of evils in the state and the church, he proceeds: "They have invented festivals and usages to supplant those ordained of God. Go now to one of these ceremonious prelates, and lo! they have at their tongues' end the very choicest words one could ask. Lament over the present state of the church, and you shall have for answer, 'Aye Father, you are right; no man can live much longer, if God do not restore us; the faith is sinking.' But in their hearts, they cherish their wickedness, turning God's feasts into devil's feasts. So that if one says to another: 'What think you of our Christian faith? how do you regard it?' the other will answer: 'Surely! you are but a simpleton! It is all a mere dream, a thing for sensitive women and monks.' These ecclesiastics have no spiritual discernment, nor know how to distinguish between good and bad, truth and falsehood, sweet and bitter. The care of souls is not near their hearts; it suffices them, if they get their stipend."

Savonarola began his public acts as preacher in a garden belonging to the convent of S. Marco, and Burlammacchi marks the precise spot as being under a large damask-rose tree. Many learned men came to hear him, and his auditory was soon increased to such a degree that no room was left for the monks; many of whom hung around the walls. The strain of his preaching was no less awakening than before. His chief topics were the necessity of church reform—the imminent danger of Italy, as the land which had been most polluted by crime—and the suddenness and weight of the approaching judgments. There was undoubtedly a mixture of enthusiasm in these exercises of Savonarola, and then, as well as at later periods, he imagined himself to be acting under a prophetic afflatus, when in truth he was only rehearsing the predictions of the Hebrew seers. It was not without a struggle that he brought himself to brandish such unwelcome arms; and sometimes he was on the point of repressing his indignant messages. Particularly during Lent, in 1490, when he had yielded to temporary fear, so as to spend the whole of a certain Saturday as well as the following night in a distressing vigil, filled with doubts as to the

duty of proclaiming the denunciations which he had prepared for the next day; he received about daylight, while in prayer, this divine message: *Demens nonne vides, Deum velle, ut talia in hunc modum annuncies?* The effect of his next discourse, and of those which followed it, was very great. The common people heard him gladly, but there was much diversity of judgment about him. Some said, He is an upright and pious man; some, He is learned, but very wily; and others, He follows false and foolish visions.

In 1490 he was made prior of the Dominican convent of S. Marco. On such accessions of a superior, it had been the usage for the new incumbent to wait on Lorenzo de' Medici, as the chief magistrate, and seek his patronage. One might consider this compliment as at least harmless, but Savonarola declined any such indication of respect, notwithstanding the importunities of his monks. His language always was: Have I been chosen to this place by Lorenzo, or by God? Lorenzo, though offended by the slight, pursued his usual policy, and employed gentle measures to win over the impracticable churchman. In a number of instances, he went to S. Marco under pretext of hearing mass, and walked in the garden. The monks in such cases had been wont to join him, and engage in flattering conversation. They hastened, therefore, whenever he made his appearance, and said to the prior: "Lorenzo is in the garden."—"Has he asked for me?" inquired the prior, and, when they answered in the negative, replied: "Very well; let him walk." In this is manifest too much that resembles the pride of a zealot. In other attempts of the great man to gain Savonarola by largesses to the conventual treasury, he was equally unsuccessful. Dreading the consequences of such an alienation, he then availed himself of friendly embassies, in order to procure a change in the style of the prior's discourses. But Savonarola replied at once to the five noble citizens who came to him with this expostulation: "You tell me you have come hither out of regard for the commonwealth, and for our convent, but I say to you, it is not so. Lorenzo de' Medici has sent you to me. Say to him in my name, that although he is a Florentine and the chief of the state, while I am a stranger and a poor friar, it will nevertheless come to pass, that he shall be forced to depart hence, and I shall remain." And so he dismissed them as they came.

In forming a judgment of this seeming moroseness of Savonarola, it should be considered that his opposition to

Lorenzo was not personal, being excited chiefly by his knowledge that the republican immunities of the state were trampled down by the party of this ambitious potentate. The latter took another method to neutralize the influence of his adversary, by spiriting up and assisting a rival preacher. This was Mariano da Ghenezzano, a monk of the Augustinian Eremites, the favourite pulpit orator of the refined classes, and celebrated as such by pens no less distinguished than those of Politian and Machiavel. Lorenzo instructed him to teach that Savonarola's preaching was fanatical and seditious, which he was the less slow to do, as the popularity of the other had long been food for his envy.

Lorenzo de' Medici had been for a long time valetudinary, having derived only a temporary mitigation of his infirmities from the warm baths of Siena and Porrettana. In the early part of the year 1492 he breathed his last. On his death-bed, as we are informed by the younger Pico and by Burchiellacci, he sent for Savonarola, no doubt in that sincere hour remembering him as a man above the reach of fear or flattery. The account which Roscoe gives of this interview is surcharged with obvious prejudice, not to say dishonesty. Contrary to every authority which he cites, and without the show of any authority for the surmise, he tells us that the "haughty and enthusiastic Savonarola probably thought that in the last moments of agitation and suffering he might be enabled to collect materials for his factious purposes." He likewise garbles, even to mutilation, the testimony of Pico, which we have compared in the original, and represents the prior as unwarrantably withholding absolution.\* This is only one instance among many of the injustice which the reformers, and such as like them attacked the papacy, have received at the hands of latitudinarian historians.

Lorenzo, according to Pico, when he felt the approaches of death, sent for Savonarola. The latter, who was at hand, came immediately, in a friendly manner by the dying man was accosted, who requested that he would hear his confession in a Christian manner; especially his confession of three sins which greatly distressed his conscience. "And what sins are these?" said the prior. "The three sins, which I mean," said Lorenzo, "are such that I know not whether God will ever pardon me. The first is the sacking of Volterra, in which the soldiers committed great violence.

\* *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. ii. p. 323, 325.



..... The second is the plundering of Monte delle Fanciulle, in which many young women lost their dowries. The third is the affair of the Pazzi, in which much innocent blood was shed." To which Savonarola replied: "Lorenzo, yield not to despair of heart, for God is merciful, and will moreover show mercy to you, if you will observe three things which I shall tell you."—"And what are these?" The prior answered: "The first is that you have a strong and lively faith that God can and will pardon."—"It is indeed great," said Lorenzo, "and thus I believe." The prior added, "It is further necessary that whatever you have wrongfully acquired be restored, so far as is possible; leaving only such substance to your children, as may befit their decent livelihood as private citizens." After some moments of thought Lorenzo replied, "And this also I will do." The monk then proceeded to the third, saying, "Lastly, it is necessary that Florence be restored to her liberties, and her popular state as a republic." At which words Lorenzo elevated his shoulders but made no answer. Savonarola then left him, without any farther confession, and shortly after Lorenzo expired. These events occurred on the 9th of April, 1492.

It does not fall within our plan to record the convulsions which ensued upon the death of this great man, and which are familiar to every student of Italian history. The progress of the French arms, under Charles the Eighth, whose triumphs extended even to Naples, filled the Florentines with extraordinary alarm. Other events made the period remarkable. Soon after the demise of Lorenzo, died also Innocent VIII., whose otherwise useless pontificate had the merit of conducing to the peace of Italy. He was succeeded August 11th, 1492, by the infamous Borgia, under the name of Alexander VI. The character of this pontiff is sufficiently established. "He was," says Guicciardini, "a man of penetration and sagacity, able in counsel, endowed with peculiar powers of convincing argument, and in all affairs of moment was diligent and expert. But his manner of life was debased; he was devoid of honesty, shame, truth, honour, and faith; his avarice was insatiable, his ambition boundless, his cruelty more than savage; and he moreover had the greatest desire to exalt in every way possible his numerous sons."\* By the courtezán Vanozza this Holy Father had

\* Guicciardini. *Istoria d' Italia*. lib. I. fol. 3. a.

five children; "qui omnes (says the Jesuit Briet) Christi sanguine et pauperum patrimonio ditandi fuere, quum esse debuissent ob natales suos turpissimos ecclesie mendicula."\*

Pietro de' Medici, the son of Lorenzo, allowed youthful inexperience and temerity to lead him into a policy diametrically opposed to that by means of which his father had maintained tranquillity in the state. The rage of parties, and the storm of political agitation, increased from year to year, until it became necessary to take some measures with reference to the triumphant approach of the French king. During this period the influence of Savonarola was constantly on the increase, and he had more than one conference, as ambassador of the republic, with this victorious monarch. In 1494, for example, he was one of five who were sent to treat with Charles. Savonarola had long been predicting just such an invasion. In common with all the patriots of Florence he was afflicted at the evils which seemed to impend over their liberties. This grief was poured forth in his public discourses, in which, as was common in that age, he treated no less of politics than of religion; constantly expressing the hope that these revolutions would open a way for the reformation of the church. The five oratori, or commissioners, found the king at Lucca, or, as others relate, at Pisa, where Savonarola made a strong appeal to him in the Italian language; charging the monarch under the most awful sanctions to use his newly acquired authority in behalf of justice and piety. The effect of this harangue, which is extant, can be judged only from the fact that Charles always treated Savonarola with evident favour. The return of Pietro to Florence was the signal for one of those tumults which have scarcely a parallel out of the annals of the Italian republics, and which ended in the downfall of the Medicean dominion. The watchword of the Medici, *Palle, Palle*, which had in former days summoned thousands to the rescue, now proved impotent. The cardinal Giovanni, afterwards

\* The sons of the pope were: 1. *Giovanni Pietro Ludovico Borgia*, whom he made duke of Gandia, and who was murdered by the contrivance of his brother Cesare, June 14, 1497.—2. *Cesare Borgia*, cardinal and archbishop of Valencia, 1493; and, after laying aside the ecclesiastical habit, duke of Valentinois, 1498; Ob. 1507.—3. *Giovanni Borgia* the younger; made duke of Gandia after his eldest brother's death.—4. *Giuffre* (Godfrey) *Borgia*, prince of Squillace, who married a natural daughter of Alfonzo of Naples.—The daughter, whose name is the synonyme of monstrous incest and parricide, was *Lucretia Borgia*.

Leo X., tried in vain to appease the mob, and was himself forced to fly to the Appenines, in the disguise of a Franciscan friar. The other brothers, Pietro and Giuliano, escaped to Bologna, where the cardinal soon joined them. The Medicean palace was abandoned to the populace, and the wonderful collections in the fine arts, which had their origin in the exquisite taste of the family, became the prey of the rabble. Lorenzo and Giuliano, the relatives of Pietro, purchased immunity by tearing down the family escutcheon from their marble portals; and the name of Medici was exchanged for that of Popolani. These excesses took place on the 9th of November, 1494. During their continuance Savonarola was absent, but on his return, a few days later, he employed all his influence with the people to restrain their unbridled passions, and so far succeeded as to shield several members of the suffering family; which in a single day lost the supremacy that had lasted sixty years.

On the 17th of November, 1494, Charles VIII. made his triumphal entry into Florence. He rode in full armour, surrounded by the lances of his knights; the reins of his horse being held by the Gonfalonieri. The civil authorities escorted him to the church of S. Maria del Fiore, where he prayed at the altar, and thence to the Medicean palace. The Florentines, ever tenacious of their republican prerogatives, had not expected and could ill brook the open assumption of sovereignty which now took place; yet they were for a time content to discover their dissatisfaction only by suppressed threats. There was indeed a skirmish between the people and the French soldiery, but this was suspended from the consideration that they might jeopard the commerce of the city. Conferences took place between the two parties. The king waved his right of absolute jurisdiction, but imposed certain terms which were publicly read by one of his secretaries, with the remark that they constituted his ultimatum. Here ensued a scene which is characteristic of that republican intrepidity which even the presence and the arms of a victorious monarch could not shake. When the secretary had finished the reading of these conditions, Pietro Capponi, a man equally noted for his talents and his courage, approached this official, took the scroll from his hand, and said to the king, as he deliberately tore the paper to pieces: "We shall see, whether our swords are not as sharp as yours: and if you sound your trumpets, we will sound our alarm-

bells.”\* Charles was startled at this display of republican resolution, and naturally suspecting it to be indicative of a widely extended popular determination, conceded most of his previous claims, and indeed at length almost subsided into the plan of amicable alliance proposed by the citizens. On the next day, the 26th of November, both parties convened in the church of S. Maria del Fiore, where the agreement was signed, and confirmed at the altar by an oath; the king laying his hand on the holy evangelists.

Such is the account given by Nerli in his history of Florence, but Burlanmacchi's narrative is different. According to this writer, Savonarola acted a part almost as important as that of Capponi. The words of the latter had so incensed the king, that he swore in his fury that the whole population should be put to the sword. The signal for this vengeance was to be given at five o'clock the next evening. Upon information of this, the consternation of the Signoria was extreme. The people, in this conjuncture fled to Savonarola, in whose patriotism and sanctity they reposed the greatest confidence, and the prior betook himself first to prayer, and then to the presence of Charles. Holding forth the idolatrous emblem of our crucified Redeemer, he cried: “This is He who made heaven and earth: regard not me, but Him who is King of kings and Lord of lords, who causeth the earth to tremble, and giveth kings the victory according to his own will and justice; who can sweep away thee and all thy host, if thou dost not desist from thine inhuman purpose. O believe me, the friends and servants of God, the many innocent souls in this city, will cry unto God day and night, and he will not leave their prayer unheard. Knowest thou not that it is a small thing to the Lord to give victory with few or with many? Through the prayer of Moses and Joshua the Israelites overcame their enemies; and thus can God do now. Cease from thy design, and be content with that which thou canst have—the hearts of this people!” By these words, says the historian, Charles was induced to sign the convention. Savonarola himself referred to this very transaction, scarcely two years after, during another critical suspense, in the presence of the whole people; where thousands might have denied the statement if they

\* Noi vedremo, se le nostre spade tagliano come le vostre, e se Voi sonerete le vostre trombe, et noi soneremo le nostre campane.

had not known it to be true. The passage occurs in a sermon, October 28th, 1496. On a second occasion Savonarola was sent to treat with the king, who soon after left Florence on his conquering expedition towards the south.

We need not follow the arms of Charles the Eighth through Tuscany or the Ecclesiastical States; but his approach to Rome is too signal a fact to be passed in silence. When it was rumoured that he was drawing nigh, Alexander the Sixth is said to have been stricken with terror; especially as it was believed that Charles was about to summon a general Council for the reformation of the church. These fears were in a good degree dissipated by the assurances of the king himself; yet on his entrance into Rome, Dec. 31, 1494, the pope could not repress his panic, and with a number of his cardinals fled to the castle of St. Angelo. The cardinal di San Piero in Vincola, well known as the enemy of Alexander VI., with a number of like sentiments, availed himself of this opportunity to address the king of the French, and urge him to depose a pontiff whose crimes were an opprobrium to Christianity. They represented that the plighted faith of Alexander could afford no ground of confidence, particularly when extorted by mortal fear. In the sequel, however, it became evident that the pope had found a golden avenue to Charles's heart, for a league was ratified between them. Alexander returned from St. Angelo to the Vatican, and received the ordinary but revolting tokens of homage from his conqueror.

Florence was meanwhile convulsed with the discordant opinions of two great parties, who agreed in nothing but the desire to remodel the government. The question which separated them was whether the democratic element should predominate in their commonwealth. In this contest Savonarola, who viewed all these revolutions as subservient to a great ecclesiastical reformation, took an active part, and defended the project of a constitution in which the people should have, by their representatives, a paramount authority. He seems to have been filled with the conviction that a well organized democracy was the most natural to the Florentines, and his whole life evinces his love for Italian freedom. He saw in this form the most favourable soil for the growth of true religion, so far as he understood it. His contemporaries charged him with seeking an ideal theocracy, rather than a polity which was sound and practicable. In November, 1494, he had delivered a sermon before the Signoria, the other au-

thorities, and the body of the people, in which he declared his views respecting the political changes which were demanded. At the basis of his system, he placed the fear of God, and as its necessary results, Christian activity and reformation of manners. The next principle was, that every citizen should prefer the common weal to his private advantage. The third was a general amnesty for all friends and supporters of the preceding government. And, fourthly, he claimed, for all who in the best days of Florence had enjoyed the elective franchise, a restitution of the same, by means of a popular form of government.\* With some temerity of prophetic zeal, he declared that God himself would change the minds of all opposers. After long debates these principles went into effect, and the General Council was erected. The greatest opposition was to the amnesty, but the humane influence of Savonarola prevailed here also; and next to this the predominance given to religion was unpopular, but the republic was reorganized, to the delight of our disinterested monk, who eventually became a sacrifice for these very principles.

Upon the return of the French king from his bloodless conquest of southern Italy, he came into Tuscany in the spring of 1495. The people of Florence were in a state of doubt as to the terms which he might hold with them. On one hand, sumptuous preparations were made for giving him a triumphal reception: on the other, the warlike provision of barricades and artillery showed the apprehension of the citizens. In this critical juncture they once more used the intervention of Savonarola, who was sent on an embassy, and had more than one private and confidential interview with Charles. The fears of the people were not removed until the king passed by them, and hastily pursued his march homewards by the way of Pisa.

The internal condition of Florence was still unsettled, as the new organization of the government did not go into effect without some disturbance and opposition. Among those who were disaffected towards it, was the faction of the Medici, which was kept in continual agitation by Alfonsina, the wife of Pietro; likewise all such as believed their private interest to depend on the aristocratic form; and all who revolted at the strictness of morals introduced under the new regime. The last of these parties made their principal

\* *Forma di governo universale.*

assault on Savonarola, who stood forth as the public castigator of vice, no less than the apostle of liberty. The moral reformation, of which he was the instrument, has few parallels in the history of Catholic Europe. We may learn the state of popular feeling from the very names of reproach which were given to the religious party; these being called Weepers, *Piagnoni*, Hypocrites, and the like. It was pretended by the aristocrats and libertines that Savonarola was seeking tyrannical domination. So far as we can judge, his sole intention, whether judiciously pursued or not, was to establish a free constitution, as subservient to the extension of what he understood to be true piety. On the first day of July, 1495, the new government may be said to have gone into operation, by the election of the state officers which it recognised.

Contemporaneously with these political changes, there were ecclesiastical movements, which have for our minds higher interest. It cannot be concealed that the whole course of Savonarola was hostile to the Romish usurpations. It was openly directed towards church reform, the least whisper of which conveyed disgust and terror to the reverend sybarite who occupied the Roman see. Reformation was the element of Savonarola's life; and from first to last he was reforming every evil thing within his reach. Though the scales of popery still covered his eyes, he was not so blind as to mistake the corruptions of monkery for beauties; and one of his darling projects was the restitution of the religious fraternities to what he considered their primeval simplicity and purity. If he failed, it was because he had to deal with institutions which were rotten in their very stamina. The natural consequence of his zeal was that his proceedings were reported at Rome; he was forbidden to preach the Lent sermons, and ordered to leave Florence. In discoursing on this subject, he had been uttering truths which under better auspices might have made Florence the Wittenberg or Geneva of Italy. "Well do I know," said he, "that men may do me great harm. But all men are vanity—kings, pope, and emperor—in this all are alike. They live indeed for a season, and in their time can effect a great deal. But man disappears like a shadow. How fleeting is the image in a mirror! For no sooner has a man quitted the glass than the image vanishes. Thus also when God withdraws his countenance, and removes his life-giving power, man departs from the world, as the reflection from

the glass. And therefore I am afraid of no man—for I fear not the image, but him whose image it is. Many there are who say that I have thrown Italy into confusion, and this is often charged upon me to my face. O foolish Italians, who hath bewitched you that ye should not hearken to the truth? Where are the treasures and the mercenaries, with which I have troubled Italy? Nay, I will answer you, as Elijah, under a like reproach, answered Ahab: ‘I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy father’s house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and hast followed Baalim.’ It is not I who have troubled Italy, but you, who have forsaken the Lord; who have made light of baptism and the sacred blood of our Redeemer; who have made a traffic of his sacraments; who have squandered his church revenues on harlots and panders; who have left all equity, and oppressed the poor; who have been filled with pride, ambition, envy, and hatred; who are polluted with lust, even the most unnatural; and who live in the commission of these sins so openly that heaven and earth cry out for vengeance!”

In pursuance of the vocation which Savonarola had followed, for almost seven years, in the city of Florence, he now felt himself bound to testify against the corruptions of Christianity which were embodied in the hierarchy, and he did so in the spirit of the ancient prophets. In one of the homilies which he was wont to deliver in regular course on the prophetic books, he presented the following views; and the apologue which the passage contains is eminently expressive.—“Lift thy hand, O Lord, against these high-minded prelates, kings and princes, who have destroyed thy people; thy left hand for temporal, thy right for eternal punishment! For what abomination is there which the enemy has not done wickedly against thy saints! I meditated on it with myself. Methought I beheld a glorious temple of marble, inlaid with gold, having columns of porphyry, and gates of the costliest gems, the sanctuary of mosaic and the choir of the choicest ivory. Over it was inscribed, *King Solomon hath builded this for the King of kings and Lord of lords*. In secret, and by night, there came many, and sought to destroy this temple. Some brought axes and hammers to break down the door; some cast fire into the edifice, and others defiled the holy of holies. The glorious temple fell; but anon they set to work and builded another. But in this all was made of wood, painted like marble and porphyry, and overlaid with gold and silver. I beheld the



priests in the vestments of their order with silver staves; before them went the singers, and sang so sweetly and delightfully that Paradise seemed thrown open. The people sent up acclamations of wonder, saying 'Of a truth, our temple grows in beauty day by day; never was there so fair a temple as ours!' Ere long the roof fell through, being insufficient to sustain the weight, and buried in ruins all that was below.—Would you know the interpretation of this vision? The first temple is the primitive apostolic church, builded of living stones, that is, of Christians, who were grounded in faith, and cemented by love, for they had one heart and one soul in Jesus Christ who was the chief corner-stone. These were hewn and fitted by the persecutions of tyrants. This temple shone with gold, the gold of heavenly wisdom. The columns, which arose within, were the prophets and apostles, on whose foundation Christians are builded. All was compacted gloriously; it was an Eden of God on earth. But the devil, the enemy of God and his church, now plotted to destroy this temple. He took for helpers the Jews, the Romans, the Heretics; but all in vain. Then he bethought him of another way. He took into his pay lukewarm and false brethren in the church itself; he dressed them in sheep's clothing; that is, they fasted, they made prayers, they gave alms, they submitted to penances, in a word, they did all that belongs to the externals of true Christianity. And lo! the devil now gained his purpose. These are the brethren who by their lukewarmness have ruined the church of Christ, and corrupted all things by their hypocrisy. The foundation was now cleared away. No one thought any longer of apostles and prophets. The columns of the church are leveled with the ground; evangelical doctrine is no longer heard. The gold of the temple is gone, that true divine wisdom which enlightens and rejoices the heart. The roof is fallen; the pious priests and princes who decorated the bride of Jesus are carried away in storm and whirlwind. The uniting cement crumbles. In our day, where do you find true love among Christians? No longer united to Jesus Christ, they are no longer united to one another, and every one seeks his own. All the church-walls are undermined. Where is the justice of princes and leaders? the pastoral fidelity of preachers? the obedience of subjects? All the treasures of the church have vanished. Ecclesiastical revenues are wasted in empty pomp, and for worldly ends. And what enhances the sin of these children of the devil is that

they glory in what they have done, to render the way of Christian life wider; and they vaunt their crimes for virtues. But they have not only destroyed the true church; they have erected another, after their fashion. This is the Modern Church, which is builded, not of living stones upon the foundation of the faith, but of wood; that is, of those Christians who are prepared as combustibles for hell-fire. Yet one thing in our temple gives us great content, which is that it is so beautifully gilt and painted. Our church has many beautiful outward rites; the ecclesiastical functions are attended in noble walls, with silver and golden lamps, so that it is pompous to behold. There may you see grand prelates with their mitres, glittering with gold and jewels, approaching the altar in the magnificent vestments of the mass. There may you hear, at matins and vespers, adagios which enchant the ear. To use the words of a great bishop: 'Never was the church so honoured as in our days, and never were prelates in such consideration, so that the primitive bishops were but pigmy bishops (*prelatuzzi*) in comparison with ours.' Would you know my meaning? In the primitive church the vessels were of wood, and the bishops of gold—in the modern church the bishops are of wood, and the vessels of gold. Thus on a certain occasion St. Thomas Aquinas answered a great prelate, who was probably of the modern stamp. For the latter showed him a basin, and perhaps more than one, filled with ducats, saying, 'Look-here, Master Thomas, the church can no longer say with St. Peter, *Silver and gold have I none.*'—'True,' replied Thomas, 'nor can she any longer add, *In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk.*' And I declare to you, this my vision will be accomplished. The roof will fall in upon them; the grievous sins of churchmen, as well as princes, will crush them in the midst of their pageantry; for they were far too secure under this structure."\*

Our only wonder in regard to these events is that the papal fulminations were delayed so long; for almost every discourse of Savonarola was a war manifesto against the Romish court. In 1495 he was cited to appear at Rome, under pain of excommunication, and the Signoria was warned that unless they enforced his obedience their city should be laid under an interdict. Through the mediation, however, of friends

\* *Savonarola Prediche sopra il Salmo*; "Quam bonus, Israel, Deus." (Advent Sermons, 1493.) p. 245, b. — 256.

at the papal court, Savonarola was this time spared; the citation was revoked; and Alexander affected to submit it to the conscience of the offender, whether he should continue to preach or not. He chose for a season to be silent, and did not ascend the pulpit from the 23d of July until the 11th of October. Another Dominican, Domenico da Pescia, an aged and venerable man, and subsequently his companion in suffering, preached in his stead. Yet we are not to regard his influence as suspended during this interval. The reformation of morals wrought by the truth which he dispensed, was such as can be believed only on the concurring testimony of friends and foes, of religious and irreligious witnesses. Nardi assures us, that when Savonarola preached, the whole city of Florence felt the impression. Such was the fame of his piety and eloquence that foreigners and men of the greatest note came to the city for the mere purpose of hearing him. The great church of Santa Maria del Fiore, which like other cathedrals was too vast to have been erected for the auditory of any single voice, was no longer competent to contain the worshippers. Along the inner walls on both sides of the pulpit, rising seats and steps were concentrically arranged for the young people. All accounts agree in representing the change wrought in the manners of the people as amazing. During parts of the year 1495, Savonarola laboured in the adjacent cities. On his return to Florence people flocked from every quarter to hear him. Peasants from the rugged mountainous tracts would travel all night in order to be in the city early in the morning; consequently at daybreak the streets were often thronged with those who were pressing towards the cathedral, in order to secure places. Rich and respectable citizens sometimes entertained thirty or forty of these strangers at once. The greatest brotherly love existed among the people, and this found especial exercise in the dearth that prevailed during that year. Even in winter many would arise at midnight, go to the cathedral, and in despite of wind and weather await the hour of service with uncovered heads. During service, every one who had sufficient learning read the *officium*, taper in hand, while the rest repeated their prayers. It was the custom of many to study at home the portion of scripture which was to be expounded; and all shops and schools were closed until the hour of service was past. In the villages, sacred hymns entirely superseded the *canzoni*, *rispetti*, and other secular songs which had been the delight of the Tuscan peasantry.

After grace at meals, it became customary to read passages of the fathers, and other good books, particularly the published sermons of Savonarola. Games of hazard were excluded, and public temptations to lewdness were abolished. Such is the account given by a contemporary historian.\*

From this time forward the important events in the life of Savonarola succeed one another so rapidly, that our sketch can only note such as are most prominent. The reformation attempted in Florence was carried into the details of private life with a rigour which seems to us almost inquisitorial; associations were organized with officers specially appointed to visit every family and remove every abuse, even in regard to the books which they read. These and other less questionable measures tended to strengthen the party of *Arrabiati*, or Enraged, as Savonarola's enemies chose to call themselves. But at the same time the fame of his achievements was spreading not only throughout Italy, but to London, Lyons, Brussels, and even Constantinople, where some of his discourses had been translated into Turkish. The alarm of the pope was natural, and could no longer be kept within bounds. Savonarola had denounced by name the "Romish Babel," and Alexander plied alternately the weapons of menace and flattery, with equal disappointment in both methods.† He offered him, so we are told, a cardinal's hat, but this was an ornament without charms for a monk who was ready to receive the crown of martyrdom; and Savonarola was so far from being won over, that he soon after, in 1497, wrote a circular letter to the kings of Spain, France, Hungary, and England, and to the emperor of Germany, urging them to procure the calling of a general council. The pope next endeavoured to embroil Savonarola with his own order, by transferring to the Tuscan province twelve religious houses of Dominicans which had previously belonged to the Romish states. Alexander then threatened the whole Florentine republic with his interdict, while his emissaries were using every method to foment the dissen-

\* Burlammaechi, p. 548—550.

† Theodore Beza has the following apostrophe to Savonarola: "Homini tam perdite scelerato, quam fuit Alexander ille Borgia Pontifex hujus nominis Sextus usque adeo displicuisse, ut non nisi TE indignissime damnato et eremato quiescere potuerit, maximum esse videtur singularis Tuæ pietatis argumentum."—And the orthodox and learned Andrew Rivet speaks of him thus: "No one can deny that he recognised the necessity of a reformation in the church, that he sighed for it, and expected it. It is on this account that we place him among our witnesses for the truth."—*Remarques sur la Response, &c.* Tom. ii. p. 632.

sions already existing in the city. At length sentence of excommunication was pronounced against Savonarola, in May, 1497; on three counts, namely, first, because he had failed to obey his citation; secondly, because he had preached heresy; and thirdly, because he had refused to receive the twelve Dominican convents above mentioned. Savonarola denied the validity of this pontifical act, upon grounds which we shall not detail, as they seem to us altogether inconsistent with the fundamental error of popery, which he still avowed to be a part of his creed. But there were multitudes who rejoiced at this occasion for crushing his power. Priests were known to deny absolution, the eucharist, and even burial, to such as had frequented the preaching of the excommunicated man. In this emergency, while the whole city was involved in frantic tumult, and direct attempts were made to assassinate him, Savonarola manifested not merely his characteristic intrepidity, but a spirit of meekness and love, which shines with undeniable lustre in the copious extracts given by M. Rudelbach from his eloquent discourses.

The reader may be disposed to ask, What were the heretical opinions for which Savonarola was condemned; and we consider this a proper place to afford some notices of his doctrinal views, before we proceed to the last act of his tragical history. While, then, he maintained in a modified and very lax sense the infallibility of the church, the supremacy of the pope, the seven sacraments, and other unscriptural inventions, he added to these, and embraced with far more affection, the very body of Pauline theology.

The rule of his faith was the word of God, and he enjoined the study of the scriptures on all who heard him. Especially did he exhort to the reading of the former books of the canon which had fallen into great neglect. "The old and the new testaments," said he, "are an inseparable whole; they are like the two cherubim above the ark, which faced one another: one casts light on the other, and by means of one we understand the other."—"Some study nobly, but in commentaries, and not in the sacred text, and so can never be well instructed, because they do not rest their doctrine on the foundation."

From these divine sources, thus studied, Savonarola derived the truths which we might have expected. To prevent mistake, we shall give his own representations. And first as it regards the doctrine of Faith. "Faith," says he, "is a gift of God's free grace; not a human opinion founded

on things which are seen, but a light undeservedly bestowed by God, which is not quenched, even when human reasons fail." "This faith alone *justifies*; that is, makes righteous in the sight of God, without works of law. It is the principle of all good, the source of all Christian virtues. Hence almost all the sayings of Christ refer to faith. Hence the apostle is ever crying *Faith, Faith!* This is the basis of the whole. If you have faith, you will at once do good works; but he who is without faith, is for ever in the way of sin."—"Confidence in our own strength is false confidence; that is, where any one thinks he can of his own strength repent, begin a good life, or avoid sin. No, God must prevent us, and we must say to him, Turn thou us, Lord, and we shall be turned! The only true confidence is that which relies on the sufficiency of the merit of Jesus Christ; and this merit has an endless power, because it springs from the very Godhead, and flows from the grace which abides without measure in Christ."—"So that the act of justification is an act of God's mere mercy, through the grace and merit of Jesus Christ. So many righteous as there are—so many acts of mercy. The righteousness by which man becomes just before God, is the righteousness of God, which through faith in Jesus Christ is imputed to us; and, in the next place, it is the not imputing of our sins."

With respect to the *Decrees of God*, he maintained the doctrines of Predestination and unconditional Election.—“How comes it, some are ready to say, that God influences one rather than another, that he draws this man, and not the other? This is purely of grace. Go and say to a potter, ‘Why do you make this vessel so beautiful, and that one so rough and mean?’ He will answer, ‘I am making them for the use of the whole house; and the fine are needed for one purpose, the coarse for another.’ Ask him again, ‘Why do you make out of one and the same clay, at one time, a beautiful, at another a mean vessel?’ He will reply, ‘Because such is my pleasure.’ Thus also when one asks, ‘Why does God draw one and not another?’ the answer is, ‘In order to manifest his justice and his mercy.’—‘Why does God draw one sooner than another?’ Answer, ‘Because so it seemeth good in his sight.’ My Son, here is a great abyss! Augustin says: *Noli judicare, si non vis errare*. St. Paul knew better than we how to solve this question, and limited himself to these words: Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? God knows perfectly the reason why

he so decreed, but thou knowest it not, nor is he bound to tell thee. When we shall have gone up into Paradise, we shall know this. Which is better, to reckon God unrighteous and yourself wise, or God righteous and yourself ignorant? God is justice itself. Go no deeper into this question, otherwise you will strike on a rock of offence. Origen sought to solve this problem, and assumed that all souls were originally created at once, and then placed in these bodies according to their merit or demerit; this contradicts all philosophy. Pelagius sought to solve it, and assumed that he who does good is called of God. But he fell into a shameful error, for according to the scriptures, we can of ourselves do no good, nay we are not sufficient of ourselves so much as to think a good thought, but all our sufficiency is of God. Plunge not into this profound, but consider that the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ hath appeared to us, and that he has shown us kindness, not according to our merit, but his own mercy."

Without proceeding further, we find enough in these extracts to incur the condemnation of the Romish church. It would be easy, however, to show by similar citations, that Savonarola taught all the leading doctrines of the evangelical system, as they were expounded by Augustin.\*

There can be no doubt that Savonarola was through many years of his life deluded into the belief that he was endowed with immediate prophetic inspiration. His incautious disciples and biographers have contributed to perpetuate this error. His own claim to divine communications gave a specious pretext to his persecutors, especially when they found many instances in which he had directed these predictions towards the attainment of his republican ends. When the tempest was about to break over him, he did not lose his confidence in divine succour, being possessed with a lofty belief that he should triumph. But this fire was on a sudden met by an equal confidence and enthusiasm from the opposite side. However it may suit the policy of Roman Catholics to denounce the false fire of evangelical Christianity, it stands as an imperishable record in history, that no fanaticism has ever exceeded their own. The incidents which we subjoin are sufficiently humbling.

\* For an insight into the doctrines of Savonarola, recourse must be had to his published works, "which," says M. du Pin, "abound with unction and pious maxims; in these he speaks freely against vice, and inculcates the purest morality."—D. Pin. *Bibl.* xii. p. 115. *ed de Holl.*

A Franciscan monk, Francesco of Apulia, declared from the pulpit that he was ready to go into a personal trial by fire, to prove by his escaping all injury, that the pope's excommunication of Savonarola was legitimate and just; provided that the latter should undergo the same ordeal as a test of his prophetic legation. Domenico da Pescia, a zealous adherent of Savonarola took up the gauntlet in the place of his master, who, he said, was called to a higher destiny; and he declared his assurance that God would work a miracle for his deliverance. The populace, always eager for the excitement of such spectacles, pressed the combatants to enter this extraordinary arena; and the government allowed itself to sanction this mode of settling the controversy between the holy see and a contumacious prophet. But the Franciscan friar was unwilling to deal with any but the principal, and a subsidiary contest arose as to the spiritual etiquette of this fiery duel. Two other friars, however, Pilli and Rondinelli, offered themselves in place of the Franciscan, and almost all the Dominican monks of the province, a crowd of priests and seculars, and even women and children begged the favour of entering the flames in behalf of Savonarola. At length Domenico and Rondinelli girded themselves for the conflict, and stood ready to pass through a furnace of burning fagots, the very sight of which filled the immense assembly with shuddering. But when the champion of Savonarola was about to enter the fire, a dreadful outcry was made among the Franciscan party, because he insisted on carrying with him the consecrated wafer; and as Domenico absolutely refused to jeopard himself without this safeguard, the matter was suspended, until a violent rain scattered the multitude and refrigerated the zeal of the populace.

This infatuation of Savonarola gave a blow to his influence, and exposed him to ridicule. Soon after this he took leave of his congregation in a touching discourse, declaring that he foresaw the persecution of which he was to be the victim, but that he freely devoted himself for his flock. That very evening a great tumult broke out in the city among his adversaries. They attacked the convent of S. Marco, where he lay, and while a few of his adherents stood on the defensive, a number of his other friends in the city were robbed or murdered by the contrary faction. At last, the Signoria sent an order to the monks of S. Marco, to deliver their superior, together with Domenico da Pescia and Silvestro Maruffi. The three friars were given up to the officers, and



the populace loaded them with every outrage on their way.\*

Couriers were despatched to Rome on the day of his arrest, and the pope was filled with joy at the prospect of speedy revenge. He wrote to the Signoria expressing his sense of the favour, and demanded that Savonarola, after the necessary inquisition, should be consigned to the tender mercies of his Holiness. He also gave authority to the Archbishop and the Chapter of S. Fiore, to absolve any one of any sin into which he might have fallen in securing the culprit, not excepting murder. Between twelve and fifteen commissioners were introduced to the Senate to conduct the trial: almost all these were passionately inimical to the prisoners. Francesco degli Albizi, however, quitted them on the first day, declaring that he would not stain his house with innocent blood.

On the 10th of April Savonarola had his first audience. Here he was menaced with the rack, if he did not show some miraculous confirmation of his predictions; his answer was, that this proposal was a tempting of God. On the 11th, each of the three monks having been put into a solitary cell, the inquisitors proceeded to the *question*; which was after this manner. The hands of Savonarola were fastened behind him crosswise with very strong chains; these were attached to a suspended rope, by means of which he was drawn up to some height, and then all at once suffered to fall, without however reaching the earth; the effect being a luxation of the shoulder-joints. This mode of torture is known in the Roman Catholic discipline by the name of the *strappado*. It was repeated upon the wretched prisoner once the same day, and again on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Easter eve. During the anguish of the torture, his frail body was so far overcome that confessions were wrung from him, not however to the extent demanded by the demons who tempted his endurance; and in the intervals of ease he constantly retracted these concessions, and witnessed to the truth of his doctrines and the purity of his intention. This he persisted in, even when burning coals were applied to his feet. These tortures were continued daily, except on Easter Sunday, until the 17th of April. The half-dead sufferer often exclaimed during these examinations, "Lord, it is enough!

\* In these particulars we follow the condensed relation of M. Sismondi.

Oh receive my spirit!" at the same time praying for his tormentors.

Finding the established methods of inquisition to be unavailing, as no consistent acknowledgment of crime could be extorted, they sought a new method; and adroitly substituted for the minutes of the confessions, which a notary had taken down, a counterfeit and self-condemnatory statement, forged by Cecconi, one of Savonarola's most bitter foes.\* The signature of the exhausted and, on this point, unsuspecting monk was fraudulently obtained to this instrument.

It is not often that we have it in our power to learn with precision what are the exercises of a good man under the alternating suspenses and pangs of inquisitorial butchery. This however we are permitted to learn more intimately in the case before us; not indeed from the supposititious confessions, but from two Meditations on the thirty-first and fifty-first Psalms, which he wrote while awaiting execution. These reveal to us the recesses of his bursting heart.

"Distress," he exclaims, "hath encompassed me, and besieging me day and night, ceases not to war against me. My friends have gone over to the enemies' camp. All that I see, all that I hear, wears the hues of sorrow. I am troubled by the remembrance of my friends, and my spiritual children; distressed by the thought of my cell; pierced at the consideration of my studies; and crushed by the weight of my sins. As to those who lie ill of a fever, every sweet thing is bitter, so to me all things are turned into pain and misery. Oh the burden that is on my heart! The venom of the serpent works within—murmuring against God—unceasingly tempting—seducing me to despair. Oh wretched man that I am! who will deliver me from the hand of the adversary! Who will fight for me, defend me, or help me? Whither shall I flee? Nevertheless, I know what I will do; I betake me to that which is invisible, and thus defend myself against all that is visible. But who is my guide? It is HOPE, that contends with Sorrow and will gain the victory. Hear the prophet's words: 'I will say of the Lord, Thou art my refuge and my fortress; my God, in him will I trust.' Who can withstand the Lord? Who can storm his high tower, which he has made our defence? Lo! he cometh! he brings

\* The proofs of this falsification are given in full by M. Rudelbach, who cites Burlammacchi, Pico, Nardi, Magliabecchi, and other historians.

joy in his train: he teaches me to fight; he says to me, 'Cry aloud, spare not!'—What shall I cry?—Say (he answers) confidently, and with the whole heart, 'In thee, Lord, do I put my trust, let me never be ashamed; deliver me in thy righteousness!' Yea, now comes consolation. Now let sorrow come on with all her armies; let the world stand in array and rise against me; my trust is in God, and my resort is to the Highest. In thee, Lord, do I put my trust, and therefore pray I, first, that thou wouldst free me from my sins; for sin is the greatest affliction, and the source of all afflictions. O Lord, take away my sins, and all my troubles shall depart. In thee, Lord, do I put my trust, and thou wilt redeem me; not by my own righteousness, but by thine; for I ask for mercy, and offer no righteousness of my own. But if thy grace make me righteous, then I have thy righteousness. The Pharisees went about to establish their own righteousness, and did not submit themselves to the righteousness of God; for by works of law can no man be just before God. But the righteousness of God is manifested without works of law, through the grace of Jesus Christ. The Philosophers plumed themselves on their own righteousness, and therefore never found thine; they were thieves and robbers who entered not by the door. Thus it is thy grace, O Lord, which is righteousness for us; and it would be no longer grace, if it came from the merit of works. Save me by thy righteousness, that is by thy Son, Jesus Christ, who is the righteousness by which men are justified."

By a large majority of voices in the council, the three monks were found guilty, and the sentence of death was communicated to them on the twenty-second of May. They received it with tranquil submission. Savonarola, in particular, was enabled both to restrain the undue zeal, and dispel the doubts of his fellow-sufferers. They were then publicly degraded by the hands of the bishop of Vasona. As a part of his function, this prelate said to Savonarola, *Separo te ab ecclesia triumphante*; to which the excommunicated martyr replied—"From the *militant*, not from the *triumphant* church; for that lies not in your power."

After communicating in the rites of the church, and after having severally pronounced a clear confession of their faith, they were burned alive at the stake, on the very spot where exactly five weeks before, Domenico had offered to submit to the ordeal. Silvestro cried with a loud voice, from amidst the flames, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo*

*spiritum meum!* [Savonarola repeated the apostles' creed as he approached the stake. Death relieved him from his torments much sooner than his companions. The ashes of the three were cast into the Arno.

Here we close our notice of this singular man, regretting that we cannot introduce from his works more numerous proofs of his comparative orthodoxy and ardent piety. To our readers we must leave the task of passing judgment on his character, and discriminating between the good and evil in his character; as well as of forming the conclusion which these facts warrant, concerning the tendency of the Romish system.\*

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*Joel Jones*

ART. II.—*A Discussion of the question, Is the Roman Catholic Religion, in any or in all its Principles or Doctrines, inimical to Civil or Religious Liberty? And of the question, Is the Presbyterian Religion, in any or in all its Principles or Doctrines, inimical to Civil or Religious Liberty?* By the Reverend John Hughes of the Roman Catholic Church, and the Reverend John Breckinridge of the Presbyterian Church. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard. 1836.

(Continued from p. 266.)

OUR review of this work was suspended more abruptly in the last number than we could have wished, for want of room. We were upon the topic of "the Divine right," as defined by the Rev. Mr. Hughes, (see p. 258.) We took the liberty of assuming, that this right (as defined) was claimed to be vested exclusively in the priesthood of the Roman Catholic church. We are not solicitous to prove that the assumption is warranted by the fact,—on the contrary, we would almost be willing to receive a disavowal of the claim *ex cathedra*, or even from the archiepiscopal chair, as a proof that we were mistaken. Still, as we cannot expect such a disavowal,

\* We have learned, not without surprise, that the German is not the vernacular tongue of M. Rudelbach; though even Germans detect no constraint in his diction. He has been devoting himself for some time to the Bohemian language, in order to avail himself of documents hitherto unpublished, and illustrating the history of John Huss. The life of this great reformer, from a pen so able, will be hailed as a treasure.