Camera Papae: problems of Papal Finance in the later Middle Ages

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Boniface VIII probably spent some half a million gold florins on the acquisition of lands for the Caetani. But of that money not a word is said in the Introitus and Exitus volumes, the main account books of the Apostolic Chamber. Where was it accounted for and from whence did it come? The pope had certain special sources of income which would not ordinarily be reckoned in the main account books, and of these, some could properly be termed his fortune as a private person, while others attached to his office as pope. There was the private fortune which he had before he assumed the tiara. There were the incomes of benefices personally reserved to him, gifts made him by prelates and laymen, legacies, sometimes the goods of deceased prelates, and the so-called 'private visitations' and 'secret services'. Later in the fourteenth century many other sources were tapped for the benefit of a secret fund, and all in all the sums which it disposed of were formidable and sometimes enormous. The ends to which the money was directed were as various as the characters and policies of the pontiffs: it was used for nepotistic ends on a princely scale, as a mere convenient subsidiary to the main financial machine, as a war account, as a means of making enormous loans to lay rulers, or simply as a petty cash account. The earliest records of the secret accounts to survive are from the mid-fifteenth century, but the large sums involved, and its covert but great importance in papal policy in general make the earlier history of this institution as interesting as it is obscure.

The best early evidence comes from the pontificate of Clement V. On


2 The sources are printed by F. Ehrl, *Der Nachlass Clements V und der in Betreff desselben von Johann XXII (1316–1334) geführte Procez*, in Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters, v (1899), referred to as Der Nachlass hereafter.
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comes with the loan made to the king of England, which was said to be made by Clement 'tanquam privata persona'. But it is probable that this phrase was a sophism, and that the loan was in fact paid out of the central coffers of the Church; all Clement's practice suggests that this was so. That there was a secret treasure beyond the enormous sums revealed by John's enquiry (1,300,000 florins in 1311; 937,000 in 1313) is most unlikely. The diminution of the treasure between 1311 and 1313 almost certainly represents the loans to the kings of France and England. And moreover the will, which was made in the greatest secrecy, appears obviously intended to dispose of the whole of Clement's treasure.

In 1366 an enquiry was made in the Apostolic Chamber which throws a good deal of light on the evidence given in the enquiries of 1318-21. Among the canonical clerks giving evidence in 1360 was Johannes de Lesclapone. He made a modest and evasive statement which ended with the suggestion that he knew little of what went on in the pope's private chamber, and that three familiaris of Raymond Fabri the treasurer, canonical clerks whom he named, were fitter persons than he to ask, because they were always in and out of the private chamber. That this was a prevarication is suggested by several of the other witnesses, who said that Johannes knew more about the treasure in 1314 than anyone except the treasurer; indeed the Englishman Robert Pinchebek said 'sed magister Johannes de Lesclapone, qui reputabatur secundus thesaurarius, omnia scire debuit non solum de thesaurio metallico sed de claris et pannis sericis et aliis localibus preistris'. This comment received startling confirmation in 1356, when after Johannes' death his 'liber tam de secretis recepis quam expensis' was discovered in the Apostolic Chamber, containing under sixteen heads the secret income and expenditure of Clement V: the heads 'secreta scripitu' and 'domus data domino' are named. The book is now lost, but a report of it exists as a result of the action which Benedict XII promptly took to recover the purchase price of the castle of Monteu (the same castle to which Clement's treasure was sent in 1314) from the family of Armagnac; it appeared in Johannes' book that the castle was purchased for the Venetian of Limagne in 1315, largely with money paid out of this secret account. The 'secret services' were imposed over and above the ordinary common service which was paid to the Apostolic Chamber and the Chamber of the

1 Der Nachlass, 46, 47, 157. Huyser, Feedor, ii, 52, 28 October 1315. Ehel. op. cit., 130, n. 6, shows from the archives of Fau that repayments of this loan were being made to the Viscount de Limagne out of the revenues of the province up to 1315-20. Another example of Clement's free behaviour with the revenues of the Church is the gift to his brother not only of the revenues of the whole province, but of the income of the province. (Der Nachlass, 140, A. Eitel, Der Kirchenstaat unter Clemens V (1907), 135 f.)
2 F. Bachgen, Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des päpstlichen Finanzwesens, in Quellen, xxxiv (1924-29), 129, f. prints the notarial act of 30 March 1316. Johannes' evidence in Der Nachlass, 63-71; Pinchebek's, 82. Bachgen is in error in saying that Johannes died in 1314 (ibid, 132, n. 4); he died in 1329: Geelker, Die Einzahlungen unter Johannes XXII, 349, 315.
College of Cardinals on entering a benefice of a certain value. The secret services seem to have been forced subsidies (made 'consideratis oneribus, devota mens compropati') or payments in return for some special grace. They are referred to as such in Johannes' evidence of 1392: 'quamplures littere, tam super dispensationibus quam aliter super gratus factis per ipsum dominum Clementem certis personis, qua promiserat exinde servicia camera, qua ascendebant ad magnam summam... . They must have sometimes crossed the border of simony, and as he lay dying the repentant Clement V ordered that all outstanding secret services be cancelled and the bonds destroyed. Thus some, although not all, of the secret services were paid through a secret account, and Johannes de Lescapone, if he was not the clerk of that account, was certainly one of the confidential servants who knew of its existence. But this secret organisation was a shadowy one, and if it was secret from the ordinary clerks of the Chamber, it was certainly no secret to the treasurer and chamberlain. Johannes says in his evidence that while the treasurer was lodged in the castle of Montueux the treasurer Raymond Fabri made him live outside the castle in the town, that he was not allowed to enter the castle without special permission, and that when he, Johannes, made payments from the treasury, the treasurer himself was always present. Nowhere in John XXII's enquiries does it appear that there was such a thing as a secret treasurer of Clement V, distinct from the treasurer of the Roman Church, and the truth may be that there was a secret account without there being a separate secret treasury. For under Clement V the whole of the main treasury was at all times secret, as is very evident from the counting of the treasury, which was carried out in secret by the chamberlain and treasurer, perhaps by a papal nephew, and by one or two clerks of the Chamber who were familiar of the chamberlain or treasurer. This was not always so during the following centuries, but it remained true that the Apostolic chamberlain and
Chamber to the pope. Now by no means all the cubicularii were secret treasurers; some held their position as an office of honour, others were occupied in comparatively menial duties, others were used on missions outside the curia, or had a hand in the hearing of supplications. There were ten cubicularii in 1362, and it is unlikely that more than one or two would be occupied with the secret treasury: it was not in itself necessary that any should be. But it was most likely that the secret treasurer should be a cubicularius, because of his confidential post and because the secret treasury was kept in or next to the pope's chamber. It was also likely, although not necessary, that he should have been a cleric of the Apostolic Chamber and a public notary. In 1520 it was remarked that Clement V's treasurer required a public instrument to be drawn up when paying sums expended from the treasury. The number of cubicularii increased (there were over thirty in 1420 and under Sixtus IV they were organised as a college) but the connection with the secret account remained: in 1494 this account was called the 'computa cubicularii'.

It is hard to determine where the secret treasury was kept. Of the palace of John XXII at Avignon little is known. The pope slept in the same tower as the main treasury, which was being erected in 1317 in or next to the tower of St. Stephen. At the same time being erected the 'studium domini nostri sive studium camere novi constistorii', which may or may not be the studium into which the money was paid. But its position is unknown. Benedict XII was by 1335 erecting the 'turrinis plumbi', or 'turrinis magna', later called the Tower of the Angels. This tower was connected with the pope's wardrobe tower, adjoining it was the 'thesauriarius', or treasury office where the records and bocuils were kept. There were connecting passages to the room of the chamberlain, after this officer ceased to sleep in the tower itself. At the bottom of the tower was a semi-cell for wine. On the next floor was the lower treasury, the main treasure hoard of the Roman Church, referred to as 'in fundo turrinis magne', 'in turrini basso', 'in thesauro inferiori'. On the second floor was a room where slept first the chamberlain, later the pope's personal guard. On the third floor was the pope's room, where he slept. The fourth and top floor was a large room, approachable only through the pope's room and used as a treasury also. It was divided into two by Innocent VI to accommodate a library; the treasure there was that 'in turri alta', 'in turri superiori', and it is probably the room referred to by the 'liber de diversis' when this records in 1352 a payment into the Apostolic Chamber by the chamberlain.
passage'. The judgement in the case dealt also with the 314,000 florins given to Clement's relations and dependents: John says that it is reasonable that they should have some recompense for their service, and does no more than express the principle that some of the gifts should be reduced, where the recipient has already in Clement's lifetime been sufficiently rewarded with benefices, and others increased. Thus John XXII does not quarrel with the principle on which the gifts were made, and he himself gave many thousands of florins to his relatives while on his deathbed. Benedict XII on the other hand recovered the part of the purchase price of Monteux which had been paid by the Church, presumably on the grounds of the general prohibition against alienation, though if that law could always have been enforced against the families of previous popes, many great families in France and Italy would have found themselves in hard straits. The charge of alienating the lands of the Church was brought against Boniface VIII by the Colonna, and again against John XXIII at the Council of Constance. And since in principle the treasure of the Roman Church was a single unit, the prohibition against alienation ran equally for the secret treasure, which was not the private means of the pope as distinct from the mensa of his bishopric, but a department of the main treasure of the Church, separate only for administrative convenience.

In spite of the strictures of the canonists this law was often broken, but its infringement must not be allowed to give a discreditible colour to the phrase 'secret fund'. Clement V and Innocent VI used the secret fund for nepotistic ends, but the secret accounts of Pius II, Eugenius IV (and, one dare hazard, those of Urban V and many other popes) show the money being used for buildings, payments of condottieri, small pensions, arms and a variety of innocent ends whose only common factor seems to be that they had attracted the special personal interest of the pope. The accounts were nevertheless secret for the practical reason that they often concerned matters of high policy which could not be disclosed to underlings.

The sources of the income of the secret fund increased in number, until by the end of the fourteenth century it seems to have been usual to appropriate almost any kind of papal income for its purposes. From the time of Innocent VI there were great numbers of direct transfers of cash from the Apostolic Chamber to the pope. Under Clement VI, and indeed probably at all times, loans were raised from merchants or from the College of Cardinals for the pope's secret purposes. Under Boniface IX anates, the sequestered income of schismatics, remittances from apostolic collectors, censuses from the vicariates in the States of the Church were all paid in cash to the pope; the choice seems quite arbitrary. On occasion the money

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1. Alber, Quelques vues des dernières volontés de Jean XXIII (1903).
2. Sagni, Matrie de l'Institut, loc. cit., König, Die Päpstliche Kamerer, et al., no. 8; Ehrle, quoted above, no. 2.
3. D.C. Beaulon, Sepphnum Principium (Venice, 1588), sq. 9, no. 12. I owe this reference to Mr. Peter Rosenberg, of Columbia University.

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1. L. Mülhers, Die Einzahlungen .. unter Leobnus VI (1931), 459.
2. De Vito, Archivi di Chancilleo Apostolico, xii (1899), 81. This loan may be the same as that of 46,000 florins from the Cardinals in 1506, P.M. Baumgarten, „Untersuchungen und Urkunden über die Konselie Cardinalium“ (1899), 193, no. 995. No such loans are recorded in the ordinary books of the Apostolic Chamber, so they must have been paid to the secret account.
3. Hoberg, 1913, Colonna, En l'Honneur d'Urban V, where he post-dates this removal by some years. Ehrle, Historia Bibliothecae, 66; in 1579 the lower treasure is said to be 'ubi spolia prelatuorum conservatur repens'.
4. Cfr. J. B. Sagni, Ladebuch des kirchlichen Kirchenrechts (1904), 724-725. The Commentary of Innocent IV (Venice, 1577, 159) says alienation is forbidden nisi pro utilitate ecclesie et cum suis solvemur.
would be given straight to the pope or his agent, and subsequently be noted in the books of the Chamber, on occasion it would be paid in due form to the Chamber, and hence to the pope. Some sums were diverted from the Chamber to ends which were private but not secret. Under Urban V it is said in the Exits that 500 florins were 'assigned to the pope', so that the cardinal bishop of Avignon could buy rents for the church of Grâce, Urban's native town in Comté Gévaudan. The cardinal, Urban's brother, was one of the usual recipients of money for the secret account, but whether this sum would be accounted for there seems open to doubt. Similarly under Gregory XI 400 francs are assigned to the Countess of Valence, the pope's sister, and Peter de Chassanis the secret treasurer receives the money for her in cash; he was the vehicle for many such gifts. Under Boniface IX the clerk of the Chamber of the College of Cardinals notes that out of the part of the divisions of common services which belongs to the Apostolic Chamber, various assignments are to be paid on behalf of the pope, including 100 florins a year to a Spaniard called Didachus, 500 florins a year to John of Sermoneta, and 2 florins a month to Domina Florella of Anagni. In one instance of a division of the services, Magister Johannes de Sermoneta habuit de ista divisione florenos ducentos, Magister Didachus habuit de ista divisione de portione pape florenos LXX, Domina Florella de Anania etiam habuit florenos X. The pope himself received by hand the balance of 16 florins; thus in this case he apparently had the whole share of the Apostolic Chamber, either in cash or in assignments.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century certain kinds of income were diverted into a fund specially reserved to the pope, called at one time the 'introitus extraordinarius', not necessarily identical with the secret treasury, but closely connected with it, and usually administered by a cubicularius. The amount of money drawn from taxes on the sealing and registration of apostolic letters had increased steeply in the second half of the fourteenth century, so that during the Schism it was (allowing for the decline in other revenues) one of the main sources of income. Under John XXIII, who had himself as archdeacon of Bologna probably been the secret treasurer of Boniface IX, the money from the Bullaria and the Registry was paid into a separate account, kept by Stefano Geri da Prato, bishop of Volterra, papal cubicularius and registrar of apostolic letters. To this account went also money from annates and common services; from

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1 Schaffer, Die Ausgaben ... Urban V und Gregor XI, 175. 2 Ibid., 452. 3 Baumgarten, Untersuchungen, etc., 233, no. 396. The record of the division is printed by W. von Hofmann, art cit., in Quellen, xxvi, 170-1, no. 13. 4 P.-M. Baumgarten, Aus Kanzele und Kammer (1907), 251. W. von Hofmann, Forschungen zur Geschichte der kurialen Behörden vom Schisma bis zur Reformation (1914), 1, 244 ff., 6, 143-49. 5 C. Guasti, Gli Anziani dell'Archivio di un pratese Vescovo di Volterra, in Archivio Storico Italiano, 4 Ser., xiii (1888). Guasti publishes only part of the accounts, and these do not mention annates or services. But see the bull of quittance of 7 April 1415, Reg. Pat., 345, f. 254, which mentions annates, common services and other payments, in the monies handled by Stefano Geri. 6 Baumgarten, loc. cit. B. von Ottenbach, Die Bullenregister Martin V und Eugen IV, in Mitteilungen des Institutes für osteuropäische Geschichtsforschung, Erg. Bd. 1 (1903), 514-16. 7 W. von Hofmann, ibid., 286-313, 329, 330. 8 Von Hofmann, l. c., quoting Reg. Vat., 354, f. 291r. There are slight differences in the amounts in Introiti et Exitus, v. 370, ff. 132, 134, 141, 156, but the payments are obviously the same ones. The church is not St. Peter, as in von Hofmann, loc. cit. 9 Baumgarten, in Römische Quartalschrift, xviii (1905), 168. 10 Vatican Archives, Int. et Exit., v. 387, f. 30v. 11 Baumgarten, Aus Kanzele und Kammer, 292. 12 Ottenbach, op. cit., 509-534, n. 13 E.g., Vat. Arch., Int. et Exit., v. 370, ff. 387, 149, 20,000 florins from census of the Malatesta, f. 156, 420 florins from rector of March of Ancona; f. 178v, 668 florins from collector in Compostello, f. 216v, 60 florins from recomposition with the Chamber, v. 382, f. 97, 1759

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it were made repayments of loans from bankers, payments of condottieri, of censures, settlement of ransoms, purchases of clothes, charter of ships and so on. Such an account, quite separate from the ordinary books of the Apostolic Chamber, alimonyed by sources similar to those formerly used for the secret account and with its treasurer accountable personally to the pope, is hard to distinguish from the secret account.

The income from the Bullaria and Register continued to be handled by the cubicularius after the Schism; in proportions varying from time to time, the proceeds of these offices were shared between the pope, the Apostolic Chamber and the Vice-Chancellor. From 1419 the monies of the Bullaria were being drawn 'for the expenses of the apostolic palace' by Paolo Capranica and Oddo Poccia di Gennanaro (Oddo Potii de Varris), who is described in that year as 'receptor pecuniarum in palatio domini pape'. The looseness of the accounting system is illustrated by the payments made by Paolo Capranica for the repair of the Church of the Holy Apostles. He drew the money for these from the Bullaria, and the payments to him were recorded in the Exits volumes as 'pro papa'. But he received quite a separate bull of quittance, which states simply that he has had 3818 florins from the proceeds of bulls, and has expended them on the repair of the basilica. The proceeds of the Register appear on the whole to have been paid into the Chamber at this time, but the secret account may have had a share of them. Oddo Poccia drew the tax 'de registro' for a bull for the Jews in Lombardy issued in January 1419, and it may be significant that Paolo Capranica and Nicolo Cesari di Ceciliano, another clerk of the secret treasury, were also registrars of apostolic letters, as had been Stefano Geri da Prato. For a time Martin V ceased to use the taxes from the Bullaria; in 1430 he returned to the Apostolic Chamber the money he had had from bulls between June 1429 and January 1430, amounting in all to about 5956 florins, and until 1431 the proceeds of bulls were thereafter paid into the Chamber. But Eugenius IV again diverted them to his own uses, as in the assignment of a third of the income of bulls to the college of minsters of Valenza. In making an assignment to the bishop of Corona of part of the proceeds of the Registry, Eugenius mentions that he has formerly reserved to himself half the proceeds of this office. Martin V continued also to use many other expedients to supply the secret fund.
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From the pontificate of Eugenius IV survives a volume of the 'computa cubiculairii' of 1433-4, of the papal cubicularius and cameral clerk Francisco de Lignamine de Padua. The income includes annates, bulls, and many lump sums paid by the regent Vice-Chancellor. Compositions for dispensations, which under Martin V had gone into an independent account, are included in these 'computa'. So also are the proceeds of the sale of the office of apostolic scripsor, an office which had been vacant since early in the Schism, but whose venality has left few traces in the main account books of the Chamber. Francisco’s accounts were audited in the presence of the chamberlain, three clerks of the Chamber, the depository, and two or three other persons, and give the impression of being treated with discretion rather than extreme secrecy. The large cash payments made to Calixtus III by the ‘cubicularius secretus’ Bartholemeus Regas suggest the possibility of yet a further secret fund. When the cubicularius is a papal nephew, as under Pius II, it is most probable that his account deals with all the secret monies; the fundamental form of the secret treasury must have been simply a box of money kept under the pope’s bed, whose keys were held only by a papal nephew.

The men concerned with the secret treasury of Martin V were almost all personal dependents of the Colonna. The most successful was Oddo Poccia, from Gennazano, the seat of that branch of the Colonna to which Martin V belonged. A cubicularius in charge of the secret treasury at the beginning of the pontificate, he became treasurer of the Roman Church in 1426, and was also for long periods locum tenens of the chamberlain. The papal familiar Paolo Capranica was from Capranica in Lazio, a castle of the Colonna of Gennazano, and was probably a relative of the cameral clerk Domenico Capranica, later cardinal. Bishop of Évreux in 1420 and translated to Benevento in 1427, he was also a secretary and registrar of apostolic letters. In 1449 he and Oddo Poccia seem to be jointly responsible from tenth in Dalmatia; f. 103, 2000 fl. from gabelle at Avignon; f. 114, 100 ductus ‘pro fictitious male perceptus’; v. 328, 45, 210 fl. common service of bishopric of Bath and Wells; f. 327, 75 fl. from annate of a parish church; v. 328, f. 149, 2000 fl. paid in cash from the Apostolic Chamber; f. 157, 1005 fl. from salt monopoly of the March; v. 321, f. 152, 2000 fl. from treasurer of City of Rome. Rome, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Camerale, Pt. I, v. 805 (Annali Camerale), f. 139, 2000 fl. from taxes of Ripa and Ripetta of Rome; v. 688, f. 310 fl. from the dogeship of Rome.

Rome, Archivio di Stato, Archiv. Com., Pt. I, v. 1438 (Spese dinatale di Paolo). The bull of quittance of 46 April 1438 quoted by von Hofmann, ii. 128, refers to this volume. Other similar bulls of quittance for the same period, von Hofmann, ibid.

Von Hofmann i. 87 f.

Ibid., 1927.


For the fragmentary accounts for 1434 printed by Gottfolk, Aa der Camera Apostolica, App. III. Two complete volumes in Rome, Archivio di Stato, Archiv. Cam., Pt. I, vols. 1498, 1509, apparently unknown to Gottfolk, belong to the same series, and give the complete secret account from 1436-69.


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sible for the secret treasury: the treasurer is told to pay the pope 150 florins either through Oddo Poccia or Paolo Capranica. Capranica died in 1428; until then he was engaged in the business of the secret treasury. Angelo Massili de Genazano, a papal cubicularius, does the same kind of work from 1427; so also does Thomas de Fileo, prior of the Cluniac priory of Pont-Saint-Esprit, in the diocese of Uzes, and a papal cubicularius. The cubicularius Nicolò Cesari di Ceciliano, canon of SS. Celso e Giuliano in Banchi at Rome and registrar of apostolic letters, came from Ciciliano, in the diocese of Tivoli, a castle which Martin V and his brother had owned when Martin was a cardinal. He became bishop of Tivoli in 1427, and the Exitus volumes show him engaged in the secret funds from 1425: he was also Governor of Spoleto. On the death of Martin V both he and Oddo Poccia as the closest and most confidential servants of one pope were quickly ruined by the next. ‘Dell’ Anno 1432, a di 15 di Aprile fu pigiato Oddo Poccia Viccecamerengo, e pigliolo Stefano Colonna per commannamento di papa Eugenio per volere sapere li denari e le robbe di Santa Echlesia, et dove stavano.’ There is little doubt that Eugenius was trying to find Martin’s secret treasury. Both men at once lost most of the offices and benefits which Martin had given them. Released and in favour again for a short time, Oddo Poccia soon betook himself to the opposition. Nicolò di Ceciliano was in 1439 deprived of all his curial offices on account of the crime of lese majesty, but he returned to his bishopric two or three years later, and died there in 1450.

Only a few indications remain of the amounts of money which passed through the secret treasury, and most of these figures represent a part and not the whole of the sums involved. About 600,000 florins are known to have come from John XXIII’s secret funds: the total income of the pontificate excluding these was about 410,000 florins. Clement VI is known to have lent the king of France not less than about 600,000 florins from the secret account. In the first eight years of the pontificate of Innocent VI a total of 240,915 florins were withdrawn from the Apostolic Chamber for the pope: this gives a yearly average of 30,114 florins, which Schäfer calculates to be about 12 per cent of the total income. Urban V drew relatively little from the Chamber, a total of rather under 37,000 florins for the whole pontificate. Gregory XI in the five and a half years ending in

3. Stefano Infessura, ‘Diario della Città di Roma,’ ed. Tommasini (1690), 27. Nicolò di Ciciliano was taken by Stefano Colonna for the same reason: M. Giustiniani, De Vescovi e de governatoribus di Tivoli (1665), 35; Platinia, RIBIS, ed. nov., 314, 8.
4. Schäfer, ‘Die Ausgaben ..., Johann XXII., i. 149 f. But of this sum, 150,000 florins came from the part of Clement V’s treasure recovered from the Viscount of Lomagne.

This and the following figure calculated after the figures in Schäfer, ‘Die Ausgaben ..., Urban V und Gregor XII und Kirsch, ‘Die Rückkehr der Papiete,’ etc.
August 1376 drew over 58,000 florins, a yearly average of over 17,000 florins. Under Martin V the recorded transfers from the Chamber for the use of the apostolic palace between 25 June 1418 and 25 July 1419 amounted to 34,445 cameral florins and 540 scut. aur. The income for this period is not known because of gaps in the Introitus, but the income from March 1421 to February 1422, the first year for which there are monthly totals in the Introitus, is 110,273 florins, 14 sol. 3 den. The total income in the 'computa cubiculistica' of Franciscaus of Padua from 1 June 1433 to 31 July 1434 is 34,944 cameral florins. The accounts kept by the Piccolomini nephews under Pius II show 42,019 ducats 4 sol. paid into the secret account from November 1450 to November 1451; for the following year 35,367 duc. 7 sol. 6 den., and for 1462 to 1463, 37,818 duc. 4 sol. 2 den. As the most important of the many subsidiary funds which never found their way into the main accounting system of the Apostolic Chamber, the secret fund is a warning against any kind of temerity in the statistics of papal finance. The tidy tables of papal income and expenditure in the Vatikane Quellen zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung are of very limited value, as Goeller and Schäffer well knew, and those impressive volumes are better used for the study of the Curia and the system of benefits than for asarding easy generalizations on the papal income. Further work on the secret funds may increase our knowledge of papal finance, but a complete knowledge of the income of the popes we can never hope to have.

Richard Baxter's Apology (1654): its occasion and composition

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Rich. Baxter's Apology Against the Modest Exceptions of Mr. T. Blake, and the Digression of Mr. G. Kendall. Whereunto is added A Memorial and a Memorial of a State Dissertation of Ludovicus Calamy, alias, Ludovicus Molinetius, M. Dr. Oxen, and an Admonition of Mr. W. Ery of Salisbury, with Mr. Grandon's Anatomy for satisfaction of Mr. Caryl (London 1654) contains, besides the five main parts indicated in the title, a number of dedicatory epistles, prefaces and postscripts, some of them with and some without dates. In the following analysis of the work an attempt is made to elucidate its manifold occasion and the order in which the various pieces included in it were written, with the approximate dates of their composition.

Three of the pieces to which Baxter was replying were, or contained, attacks on the Aphorisms of Justification, which he had published in 1649. The earliest attack had been Of the Death of Christ, published in 1650 by John Owen, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; but, Baxter says, 'I never thought fit (nor yet do) to Reply to that; partly because Owen had defended his own work, Solus E electus (1648), against animadversions by Baxter in the Aphorismes, and 'It is not fit that I should both begin and end'. The second attack was by 'my Reverend and Dear Brother Mr. Blake', i.e. Thomas Blake, Vicar of Tamworth, Warwickshire (now Staffordshire), in a Treatise of the Covenants, i.e. Vindiciae Foederis; or, a Treatise of the Covenant of God Entered with Men-kinde, which, while defending Baxter by name from An Antidote against the Venom... of Mr. Richard Baxter in the Saints Everlasting Rest (1650), by John Tombs, Vicar of Leominster, Herefordshire, had also expressed exception to Baxter's doctrine of justification, without mentioning him by name. Blake's book is dated 1653 on its title page and was not received by Thomas till 29 January 1652-3, but it carries an imprimatur from Edmund Calamy dated 27