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THE SACRED COLLEGE OF CARDINALS:
SIZE AND GEOGRAPHICAL COMPOSITION
(1099-1986)

Summarium. — Hoc articulo tum amplitudo numerica Sacri Cardinalium Collegii variis temporibus eius existentiae, tum etiam eius membrorum distributio geographica ab initiis eiusdem Collegii usque ad annum 1986 suppeditantur, et prolata in medium larga rationum varietate quae istis saeculis de utroque proposito memorato occurrit, exponitur quomodo sive christiani laici, itemque duces et reges ac Concilia Ecclesiae, sive cardinales ipsi adversus numerum constitutum cardinalium vel etiam adversus usum ex aliquibus tantummodo regionibus eos assumendi se gesserint. Deinde de conatibus Sacrum Collegium instaurandi ac de eorum magis vel minus felici exitu agitur. Denique, quid ipsi Summi Pontifices, praesertim qui tempore nobis proximiores fuerunt, de iisdem rebus iudicaverint disseritur*.

I. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, whenever a pope announces a creation of Roman cardinals, worldwide attention focuses on the resultant size and geographical makeup of the Sacred College. These two related topics are here studied from the time of the College's origin up to 1986. In the process striking variations from the current situation will become evident¹.

* The following abbreviations have been used:

AAS = *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 1- (Città del Vaticano 1909-).

Acta Conc. Const. = HEINRICH FINKE (ed.), *Acta Concilii Constantiensis*, 4 vols., Münster 1896-1928.

DDC = *Dictionnaire de droit catholique*, 7 vols., ed. by R. NAZ, Paris 1935-1965.

HEFELE-LECLERCQ = CH. J. HEFELE, *Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux*, translated from German, with corrections and critical annotations, by H. LECLERCQ, 11 vols., Paris 1907-1952.

Hierarchia cath. = CONRAD EUBEL et al., *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi*, 8 vols., Münster and Padua, 1898-1978.

Memoirs = *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The Commentaries of Pius II. An Abridgment*, New York 1959.

PASTOR = LUDWIG VON PASTOR, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, translated from German, 40 vols., London and St. Louis 1898-1961.

TPS = *The Pope Speaks* 1..., Huntington, IN (USA), 1954-

VON DER HARDT = H. VON DER HARDT, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium*, 6 vols., Frankfurt and Leipzig 1696-1700.

¹ Despite the importance of the Sacred College, an adequate, modern, scholarly synthesis of its history remains a desideratum. Institutional developments can be traced in histories of canon law, such as those by W. M. PLOCHL, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts* (to 1917), 3 vols., Vienna 1953-1959; 2nd ed. of vol. II, Vienna 1961; or H. E. FEINE, *Kirchliche Rechtsgeschichte*, I: *Die katholische Kirche*, Cologne and Graz 1964. Both works have good bibliographies. There are good summaries by A. MOLJEN, in DDC II (1937), cols. 1310-1339, s.v. «Cardinals»; and III (1942), cols. 990-1000, s.v. «Collège (Sacré)».

As recent decades of scholarship have made clear, the Sacred College of the Holy Roman Church (*Sancta Romana Ecclesia*, S.R.E.) came into existence around the beginning of the twelfth century². Only then did the 3 formerly separate groups of cardinal bishops, cardinal priests, and cardinal deacons culminate a long, complicated process of development, and fuse into the *collegium* that still exists³. For nearly 9 centuries this body has been in continual operation as an international organization of great importance ecclesiastically and often politically. True, the term 'cardinal' was used to designate individuals in several dioceses from ancient times⁴. As applied to local cardinals this usage perdured into the medieval, and even into modern times; but with a meaning different from the one here associated with the

A scholarly, but incomplete and now partly outdated history of the medieval College has been provided by C. JORDAN, *Le Sacré Collège au Moyen Age*, a series of 14 articles, originally university lectures, totaling about 200 pages, in *Revue des Cours et Conférences* 22 (1913-1914) and 23 (1921-1922). MARTIN SOUCHON has supplied a very detailed history of the College between 1294 and 1417 in *Die Papstwahlen von Bonifaz VIII. bis Urban VI. und die Entstehung des Schismas 1378*, Braunschweig 1888; and *Die Papstwahlen in der Zeit des Großen Schismas: Entwicklung und Verfassungskämpfe des Kardinalats von 1378 bis 1417*, 2 vols., Braunschweig 1898-1899 (reprinted, Aalen 1970). For the Avignon period, see also the carefully researched work by BERNARD GUILLEMAIN, *La Cour pontificale d'Avignon (1309-1376). Etude d'une société*, Paris 1962, especially chapter 4, pages 181-276: «Les Cardinaux et leurs suites». For the period between 1305 and 1447, see also GUILLAUME MOLLAT, *Contribution à l'histoire du Sacré Collège de Clément V à Eugène IV*: *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 46 (1951) 22-112, 566-594. For the fifteenth century, see BERNHARD ARLE, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kardinalkollegiums in der Zeit von Konstanzer bis zum Tridentiner Konzil. Erste Hälfte: 1417-1484*, Bonn 1914 (Second half never published). For the latter half of the sixteenth century, see PAUL HERRE, *Papsttum und Papstwahl im Zeitalter Philipps II.*, Berlin 1907 (reprinted, Aalen 1973). LUDWIG VON PASTOR devotes a great deal of space to the Sacred College members between 1305 and 1799 in *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, 40 vols., London and St. Louis 1898-1961, translated from German.

The best source for recent literature is *Archivum historiae pontificiae* (1962ff.), whose annual bibliographies are complete, well-ordered, and indexed for easy consultation.

² On the origins of the Sacred College, see HANS W. KLEWITZ, *Die Entstehung des Kardinalskollegiums*: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* 25 (1936) 115-221; and *Das Ende des Reformpapsttums*: *Deutsches Archiv* 3 (1939) 372-412. (Both articles were reprinted in IDEM, *Reformpapsttum und Kardinalkollegium*, Darmstadt 1957, 10-134, 207-259); STEPHAN KUTTNER, *Cardinalis: The History of a Canonical Concept*: *Traditio* 3 (1945) 129-214 (reprinted in IDEM, *The History of Ideas and Doctrines of Canon Law in the Middle Ages*, London 1980, 129-214); CARL GEROLD FÜRST, *Cardinalis. Prolegomena zu einer Rechtsgeschichte des römischen Kardinalskollegiums*, Munich 1967. Good summaries of this development can be found in LUCHESIUS SPÄTLING, *De mutatione cardinalatus Romani saeculo undecimo*: *Antonianum* 42 (1967) 3-24; CHARLES LEFEBVRE, *Les origines et le rôle du cardinalat au moyen âge*: *Apollinaris* 41 (1968) 59-70; KLAUS GANZER, *Das römische Kardinalkollegium (to c. 1200)*, in *Le Istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'Societas cristiana' dei secoli XI-XII. Atti della V Settimana internazionale di studio*, Mendola, 26-31 agosto 1971 (*Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali*, 7), Milan 1974, 153-181.

³ EDITH PÁSZTOR, *Riforma della Chiesa nel secolo XI e l'origine del Collegio dei Cardinali: Problemi e ricerche*, in *Studi sul medioevo cristiano offerti a Raffaello Morghen*, II (Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. Studi storici, fasc. 88-92), Roma 1974, 609-625. After summarizing recent research, Pásztor criticizes the claim that the College of Cardinals existed in the latter eleventh century. She holds that it was then in the process of development, but did not exist yet as a distinct college.

⁴ MICHEL ANDRIEU, *L'origine du titre de Cardinal dans l'Eglise Romaine*, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati V* (*Studi e Testi*, 125), Città del Vaticano 1946, 113-144.

word⁵. In Rome, by the eighth century, a group of priests who were stationed in the city, and of bishops from neighboring dioceses were asked by the Bishop of Rome to officiate regularly at liturgical services in 5 great basilicas. These clerics were known as cardinal priests and cardinal bishops. Until mid-eleventh century, however, their functions were mainly liturgical, and so of limited interest. They enjoyed no special authority in Rome, even at synods.

A metamorphosis occurred during the second half of the eleventh century. It was connected with the Gregorian reform movement, which included a greatly increased centralization of ecclesiastical authority in Rome, Pope Leo IX (1049-1054), a native of Alsace, inaugurated this significant alteration in the traditional role of cardinals. During his pontificate the change affected the 7 cardinal bishops, whose services were utilized by the Pontiff in the Church's central government. Leo IX also began the practice of selecting these dignitaries from outside Rome, and even from outside Italy. The entrance of the cardinal priests, 28 in number in mid-eleventh century, into this government received its first important impetus under Gregory VII (1073-1085). Urban II (1088-1099) placed cardinal priests on a parity with cardinal bishops. Until the final decade of this century genuine papal documents seldom mentioned cardinal deacons. Henceforth the local charitable functions that had previously occupied the deacons of the 18 Roman *diaconiae* were assigned to others. Thereafter cardinal deacons were employed in the running of the Universal Church. By the beginning of the pontificate of Paschal II (1099-1118) all 3 orders of cardinals formed a single college⁶. Subsequent to this, the College's inner organization continued to grow, and so did its powers and duties; but the 3 orders constituting the College saw no further development.

Ever since the twelfth century the Sacred College has played a very important role in the Church⁷. As the liturgical functions of the cardinals sank into insignificance, the governmental ones mounted. Popes regularly utilized these prelates as their closest advisers. Throughout the medieval period cardinals dwelt in the environs of the popes with relatively few exceptions. Gathered in consistory from the twelfth century on, the College was consulted for centuries by popes on all important religious and politico-religious matters. Consistories, which came to replace Roman synods, met frequently, even daily, during the Middle Ages. They remained important until 1588, when Sixtus V set up a new system of congregations of cardinals, an arrangement which, with modifications, still exists. Signatures of cardinals often appeared

⁵ FÜRST, *Cardinalis* (above n. 2), pp. 74-86, 119-211, lists 44 dioceses in Italy, France, Germany, Spain, and England that at one time had local dignitaries called 'cardinals'. He names another 14 sees that are erroneously said to have had local cardinals; CARL GEROLD FÜRST, *I cardinalati non romani*, in *Le Istituzioni ecclesiastiche* (above n. 2), pp. 185-198.

⁶ At the Council of Reims in 1148 the cardinals referred to themselves as the Sacred College. This seems to be the first explicit use of this term. A. MOLIEN, in DDC III, col. 990.

⁷ On the varied activities of the medieval College, see JOHANN B. SÄGMÜLLER, *Die Thätigkeit und Stellung der Cardinäle bis Papst Bonifaz VIII*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1896.

on papal documents⁸. In the exercise of papal jurisdictional power the College gained a significant share from the time of Paschal II on. As the Roman Curia developed from the twelfth century on, cardinals regularly held the top posts. Individual cardinals served as papal legates throughout Latin Christendom, and as emissaries to civil rulers. Recognizing the importance of cardinals, princes played court to them. By the beginning of the twelfth century the entire Sacred College acted as the sole elective body for the selection of Roman Pontiffs. Official recognition of this practice came in 1179 at Lateran Council III in the decree *Licet de evitanda*. Ever since then the College has retained this enormous power. From its ranks have emerged all but a few popes since Paschal II. In the latter medieval period the College tried, though unsuccessfully, to inflate its already great powers by making exorbitant oligarchical claims⁹. To the medieval mind, however, the Sacred College was part of the pope's body; and popes referred to it as *pars corporis papae*¹⁰. According to the Code of Canon law promulgated in 1917: «The cardinals of the Holy Roman Church constitute the Senate of the Roman Pontiff, and they assist him in ruling the Church as his chief advisers and helpers» (canon 230)¹¹. Save for the pope, cardinals are the highest dignitaries in the Church.

Selection of all cardinals has always been, as it is now, the exclusive responsibility of the popes; and so, cardinals are said to be created by them. This power permits each pope to determine the total size of his Sacred College, as well as to pick new cardinals from various nationalities, according as he sees fit. When explaining their reasons for specific choices, popes as a rule have spoken in generalities, at least until very recently. Frequently, however, they have insisted, sometimes very vigorously in the face of opposition and pressure, on their complete freedom of action as part of their plenitude of power. Attempts have been made, notably by the College itself and by general

⁸ These signatures are an important source of knowledge about names of members of the medieval College. See BRUNO KATTERBACH and WILHELM M. PEITZ, *Die Unterschriften der Päpste und Kardinäle in den «Bullae maiores» vom 11. bis 14. Jahrhundert*, in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle* IV (Studi e Testi, 40), Rome 1924, 177-274.

⁹ JEAN LULVES, *Die Machtbestrebungen des Kardinalats bis zur Aufstellung der ersten päpstlichen Wahlkapitulationen*: Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken 13 (1910) 73-102; ID., *Die Machtbestrebungen des Kardinalkollegiums gegenüber dem Papsttum*: Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 35 (1914) 455-483.

¹⁰ JOSEPH LECLER, «*Pars corporis papae*...» *Le Sacré Collège dans l'ecclésiologie médiévale*, in *L'Homme devant Dieu. Mélanges offerts au Père Henri de Lubac* II, Paris 1964, 183-198. As recently as 1973 Pope Paul VI spoke in similar terms. In an allocution to a secret consistory of cardinals, March 5, 1973, he declared: «... The Sacred College can in a certain sense be called 'a part of our person' as is expressed in ancient ecclesiastical documents...» See *L'Osservatore Romano* (English edition), March 15, 1973, p. 1.

¹¹ The revised Code of Canon Law, promulgated in 1983, describes the role of the cardinals thus: «The cardinals of the Holy Roman Church constitute a special college whose responsibility is to provide for the election of the Roman Pontiff in accord with the norm of special law; the cardinals assist the Roman Pontiff collegially when they are called together to deal with questions of major importance; they do so individually when they assist the Roman Pontiff especially in the daily care of the universal Church by means of the different offices they perform» (Canon 349).

councils, to curb this power; but all of them have failed. In practice, popes have sought and accepted the advice of the College and of others before making their choices. At times, as will be seen, they have bowed reluctantly to external influences. Evidence for this will be presented in explaining the phenomenon of «crown» cardinals, named in past centuries at the behest of powerful Catholic rulers. Tradition has also been a strong determining factor in papal choices. But there have never been any "born" cardinals, i.e. seats in the medieval College occupied automatically by the holders of certain ecclesiastical preferences¹². A unique exception, to be noted below, is the situation of the modern Patriarchate of Lisbon.

II. SIZE OF COLLEGE

The total number of cardinals from 1099 to 1986 here studied approximates 2900. A more precise figure is ruled out by the uncertainties still shrouding the twelfth century; by the confusion generated by the Western Schism (1378-1417); and by occasional doubts concerning individuals in other centuries¹³. Almost a third of the above total was named in the pre-Reformation era; and another fifth by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation popes between 1513 and 1655. Nearly half the cardinals have been created since 1655; and about one-twelfth between 1958 and 1986¹⁴.

¹² CARL GEROLD FÜRST, *Die 'geborenen' Kardinäle*: Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie 88 (1966) 51-74; KLAUS GANZER, *Zur Frage der sogenannten 'geborenen' Kardinäle von Vendôme*: Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 78 (1967) 340-345.

¹³ CONRAD EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, I: 1198-1431, Münster 1913, regularly lists in the footnotes the names of individuals whom he regards as at best doubtful cardinals; although Ciacconius and others have portrayed them as authentic. AGOSTINO PARAVICINI-BAGLIANI, *Cardinali di Curia e 'Familie' cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254*, 2 vols., Padua 1972, discusses in vol. II, pp. 517-554 the cases of 25 doubtful cardinals for the period from 1227 to 1254 alone.

¹⁴ For the twelfth century, which is by far the most difficult one to investigate, no single work supplies reliable information about the size of the College and the geographical origins of its members. Some lacunae still exist in the list of cardinals; and many do in our knowledge about individual cardinals; but their number has been greatly reduced by the following studies (whose authors occasionally differ among themselves regarding names, dates, and biographical data): RUDOLF HÜLS, *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms 1049-1130* (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, Bd. 48), Tübingen 1977; HANS W. KLEWITZ (see above n. 2); KLAUS GANZER, *Die Entwicklung des auswärtigen Kardinalats im hohen Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kardinalkollegiums vom 11. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen 1963; EVA OBERMAYER-MARNACH, *Das Kardinalkollegium in der Zeit von 1070 bis 1130*, Vienna 1948 (doctoral dissertation in typescript. I have used a photocopy); CARL GEROLD FÜRST, *Kennen wir die Wähler Gelasius' II?*: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft 12 (1966) 69-80; LUIGI PELLEGRINI (= MARIO DA BERGAMO, O.F.M. Cap.), *Cardinali e Curia sotto Callisto II (1119-1124)*, in *Raccolta di studi in memoria di Sergio Mochi Onory* (Contributi dell'Istituto di storia medioevale, ser. III, vol. 2), Milan 1972, 507-556; MARIO DA BERGAMO, O.F.M. Cap., *La duplice elezione papale del 1130. I precedenti immediati e i protagonisti*, in *Raccolta di studi in memoria di Giovanni Soranzo* (Contributi dell'Istituto di storia medioevale, ser. III, vol. 1), Milan 1968, 265-302; FRANZ J. SCHMALE, *Studien zum Schisma des Jahres 1130*, Cologne-Graz 1961; JOHANNES M. BRIXIUS, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130 bis 1181*, Berlin 1912; BARBARA ZENKER, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130 bis 1159*, Würzburg 1964; WERNER MALECZEK, *Das Kardinalkollegium unter Innocenz II. und Anaklet II.*: Archivum historiae pontificiae 19 (1981) 27-78; ELFRIEDE KARTUSCH, *Das Kardinalkollegium in der Zeit von*

Successive periods have varied markedly in their contribution to the above grand total. Thus, about 300 cardinals were appointed between 1099 and 1198; but only 138 between 1198 and 1304¹⁵; and 134 between 1305 and 1378. During the ensuing 4 decades of the Western Schism the Roman claimants chose 71 cardinals; the Avignon line, 48; and the Pisan one, 15¹⁶.

1181 bis 1227, Vienna 1948 (doctoral dissertation in typescript. I have used a photocopy); VOLKERT PFAFF, *Papst Clemens III. (1187-1191). Mit einer Liste der Kardinalsunterschriften*: Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung 66 (1980) 261-316; *ib.*, *Die Kardinäle unter Papst Cölestin III. (1191-1198)*: *ibid.* 41 (1955) 58-94; and *Die Kardinäle unter Papst Cölestin III.*, Zweiter Teil: *ibid.* 52 (1966) 332-369; HELENE TILLMANN, *Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del collegio cardinalizio nel XII secolo: Identificazione dei cardinali del secolo XII di provenienza romana*: Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia 24 (1970) 441-464; 26 (1972) 313-353; 29 (1975) 363-402.

For the years 1198 to 1903 a complete, highly reliable catalog of cardinals, drawn from original sources in Rome, and tabulating cardinals chronologically in the order of their creation pontificate by pontificate, can be found in *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi*, 8 vols., Münster and Padua 1898-1978. *Et recentioris* was added to the title from Vol. 3 on. CONRAD EUBEL, O.F.M. Conv., who inaugurated the series, edited vol. 1 (1198-1431), '1898, '1913 and vol. 2 (1431-1503), '1901, '1914. Together with G. VAN GULIK he produced the 1st edition of vol. 3 (1503-1592) in 1910, and with L. SCHMITZ-KALLENBERG, the 2nd edition in 1923, PATRICK GAUCHAT, O.F.M. Conv., edited vol. 4 (1592-1667) in 1935. Two German Franciscan Conventuals, REMIGIUS RITZLER and PIRMINUS SEFRIN, completed the great project, editing vol. 5 (1667-1730) in 1952; vol. 6 (1730-1799) in 1958; vol. 7 (1800-1846) in 1968; and vol. 8 (1846-1903) in 1978. Information about geographic origin of each cardinal is supplied regularly from vol. 4 on; but only irregularly in the first 3 volumes.

For the 20th century, see the volumes published annually by the Vatican: *Acta Sanctae Sedis* (1865-1908); and *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (1909 ff.); *La gerarchia cattolica* (1872-1911); *Annuario pontificio* (1912 ff.).

A caveat is needed in regard to the use of older lists and biographical collections of cardinals, such as: ALPHONSUS CIACONIUS, O.P. (c. 1542 - c. 1601) and his continuator AUGUSTINUS OLDINUS, S.J. (1612-1683), *Vitae et res gestae summorum pontificum et S.R.E. cardinalium*, 4 vols., Rome '1677; LORENZO CARDELLA, *Memorie storiche de' cardinali della Santa Romana Chiesa*, 9 vols., Rome 1792-1797; C.B. (= CHARLES BERTON), *Dictionnaire des cardinaux* (Encyclopédie théologique, 3d series, edited by Jacques P. Migne, vol. 31), Paris 1857 (reprinted Lexington, Mass. 1969); FRANCESCO CRISTOFORI, *Storia dei cardinali di S. Romana Chiesa*, Rome 1888. For the twelfth and thirteenth centuries particularly, they are unreliable. They tend to exaggerate, sometimes greatly, the number of cardinals; and their biographical data often rely on suspect sources. Because of its professed reliance on the above and other older works, the same caution must be urged against the fairly recent biographical dictionary of cardinals compiled by *Annuaire pontifical catholique* (Paris) in each of its annual volumes between 1925 and 1939, totaling some 291 pages, and extending to the year 1513.

¹⁵ These totals for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries vary widely from those in the earlier works cited in the previous footnote. Thus Ciaconius and Oldoinus list 363 cardinals created between 1099 and 1198, and another 175 between 1198 and 1304. According to *Dictionnaire des cardinaux*, by C.B., there were 284 cardinals between 1119 and 1198, and 177 between 1198 and 1304. The *Annuaire pontifical catholique* counts 437 cardinals appointed between 1099 and 1198, and 173 between 1198 and 1304. In his frequently-cited work, *Trésor de chronologie, d'histoire et de géographie pour l'étude et l'emploi des documents du moyen âge*, Paris 1889 (reprinted 1962), L. Mas-Latrie, who relied heavily on Cardella, enumerates 386 cardinals who were named between 1099 and 1198, and another 183 between 1198 and 1304.

¹⁶ Even a scholarly modern ecclesiastical historian like Ludwig von Pastor seriously miscalculated the number of cardinals appointed during the Western Schism, because of his reliance on Ciaconius and Oldoinus. According to PASTOR I, p. 260, the total number of creations in all three obediences was 201. (However, in his 7th German edition [1925] he reduced this total to 139).

The following century, 1417-1513, saw another 197 new cardinals; and the next 8 decades, 1513-1590, another 319. Subsequent to the norm set by Sixtus V in 1586, which fixed the maximum membership of the College at 70, 402 cardinals were created between 1591 and 1700; 343 between 1700 and 1799; 475 between 1800 and 1903; 214 between 1903 and 1958; and 255 between 1958 and 1986.

To some extent these variations can be explained by changes in the average length of membership in the College. For the twelfth century information is too fragmentary to attempt a calculation; but for subsequent centuries it is almost complete. Membership has normally terminated with death or election to the papacy; in exceptional cases, by resignation or dismissal. Up to 1591 the median length of membership was between 10 and 11 years. Between 1592 and 1700 this median rose to 13 or 14 years. For the eighteenth century it was 14 or 15 years. Then it dropped to 11 or 12 years between 1800 and 1903. From then until 1939 the median was between 12 and 13 years. About 25 percent of the cardinals up to 1591 remained in the College 20 or more years; 35 percent between 1592 and 1700; 30 percent during the 18th century; 20 percent between 1800 and 1903; and 30 percent between then and 1939.

Much more important as an explanation of the variations in the above totals has been the expansion and contraction of the total size of the College. The traditional number of cardinals, 7 cardinal bishops, 28 cardinal priests and 18 cardinal deacons, would indicate a total of 53 as the maximum complement of the College. This theoretical standard has not, however, been the one used in practice. For the Middle Ages the size of the College is most easily ascertained on the occasion of papal elections. In 1099 Paschal began his pontificate with about 18 cardinals, and ended it in 1118 with some 46. Gelasius II appears to have had 46 or 47 cardinals in 1119, a total not matched again until the early sixteenth century. In 1124, 1130, and again in 1145 the College had 44 members; but the trend was toward a smaller body. During his long pontificate Alexander III (1159-1181) had as few as 19 cardinals, never more than 27 or 28. In 1187 the total stood at 19, and in 1191 at 33. Innocent III (1198-1216) began and ended his pontificate with 26 cardinals; but the remainder of the thirteenth century witnessed a smaller body, often a much smaller one. Thus there were 18 cardinals in 1227; 12 or 13 in 1241; 6 in 1244; and 8 in 1261. This total rose to 21 in 1264; but receded to 10 in 1276; to 7 in 1277; to 10 in 1288; and to 11 in 1294. Celestine V (1294) began his brief pontificate with 11 cardinals; and had 21 when he resigned. Boniface VIII had 18 cardinals in 1303; and Benedict XI, 19 in 1304. During the Avignon period (1305-1378) the College reached a maximum of 30 on only 2 occasions, in 1316 and 1371. Normally the size ranged between 20 and 30; but it fell to 16 in 1312, 1327, and 1338. When the Black Death invaded Avignon in 1348, it carried off 6 cardinals inside of 10 weeks, and left the College once more with but 16 members. Another outbreak of the plague in 1361 cost the lives of

9 cardinals between May and September, leaving only 17 survivors. When 5 more cardinals died of this pestilence between mid-April and early July, 1374, the Sacred College was left with 18 members.

Several papal schisms occurred during the Middle Ages; but eventually it became possible for all to distinguish popes from antipopes. Cardinals who were named by these antipopes are not considered in this study. In the case of the most famous of all these schisms, however, doubts still shroud the validity of the 3 rival lines of pontiffs during the 4 decades subsequent to the still disputed papal election of 1378. This makes suspect the credentials of the cardinals created by the Roman, Avignon, and Pisan claimants to the Apostolic See. Unity was finally restored without a definitive solution to this question; for the Council of Constance succeeded in terminating the Western Schism, not by determining which of the 3 current claimants was the rightful one, but by eliminating all of them by forcing their abdication or deposition, and then setting up a novel arrangement for choosing a new pope acceptable to all sides. To this day the Church has never made any official, authoritative pronouncement about the papal line of succession for this confusing period; nor has Martin V or any of his successors. Modern scholars are not agreed in their solutions; although they tend to favor the Roman line. At the Council of Pisa (1409) 24 cardinals from both the Roman and Avignon obediences met as equals to elect Alexander V, and inaugurate the Pisan line. At Constance cardinals of all 3 obediences sat as conciliar fathers. For the papal election in 1417 all of them were recognized as the College of Cardinals, and permitted to participate in the voting. Of the existing 31 cardinals, 23 (5 of the Roman obedience, 18 of the Pisan) entered the conclave, along with 30 specially chosen representatives of the conciliar «nations». Cardinal Odo Colonna (of the Pisan obedience, but previously of the Roman one) emerged as Martin V. Once elected, Martin V (1417-1431) accepted into his Sacred College the cardinals of the 3 former obediences, including the deposed Pisan claimant John XXIII, who had previously been Cardinal Baldassare Cossa. With these observations in mind, it seems preferable not to cut the Gordian knot, but to take note of all the cardinals affiliated with whatever obedience, leaving the doubts intact.

During the Schism the size of the colleges varied widely and suddenly, largely because of defections from one obedience to another. In the Roman obedience the maximum size was 24. This was reached on September 18, 1378, when in his first promotion Urban VI (1378-1389) named 24 cardinals, after all 22 cardinals who had recently elected him defected, leaving him briefly without any cardinals. In 1402 Boniface IX (1389-1404) had but 10 cardinals. The Avignon obedience had as many as 34 or 35 cardinals in 1387, but only 6 in 1409 after 9 of the cardinals of Benedict XIII (1394-1423) deserted him at the Council of Pisa. The total in the Pisan college varied between 17 and 32.

Under Martin V the College reached a maximum of 30 in 1419 after he accepted into it all the cardinals of the 3 former obediences; and again in 1426. At his death there were 23 cardinals. From then until 1492 the size varied

between 18, in 1437; and 36, in 1478. Normally, however, the range was between 25 and 35. In the 16th century the size kept expanding notably. Alexander VI (1492-1503), who began his pontificate with 26 cardinals, had 48 by 1500. Leo X (1513-1521) had 34 cardinals in 1513. After the Cardinal Petrucci conspiracy he created 31 cardinals in one consistory in 1517, raising the total to 56. Paul III (1534-1549) had 66 cardinals in 1539; Pius IV (1559-1565), 76 in 1565; and Pius V (1566-1572), 74 in 1570. Then in his apostolic constitution, *Postquam verus*, December 3, 1586, Sixtus V (1585-1590), who at that time had 65 cardinals, established 70 as the permanent maximum for the College. Thereby the first effective cap was set on the number of cardinals; since the predecessors of Sixtus V had refused to be restrained by the papal election capitulations, which had become common since 1352; or by conciliar decrees. Although succeeding popes were as free to establish new norms as Sixtus V was, all of them up to 1958 chose not to exceed the limit fixed by Sixtus V, modeled as it was on the 70 elders of Israel, selected by Moses (*Exodus* 24:1). This figure was incorporated into the Code of Canon Law (canon 231, 1) in 1917.

At the time of papal conclaves between 1586 and 1958 there were generally between 60 and 70 cardinals. Only occasionally did the total fall well below these figures. Thus Innocent XI (1676-1689) had but 43 cardinals in 1686, just before he named another 27 in a single promotion. Benedict XIV (1740-1758) permitted his College to decline to 43 in 1743, before he added another 25 in a consistory. During his conflict with Napoleon Bonaparte, Pius VII (1800-1823) created no cardinals for 12 years, causing its membership to decrease to 31 by 1816. In the course of 1816, 35 new cardinals were named. When John XXIII (1958-1963) chose 23 cardinals in his first consistory, 1958, he departed from the norm of Sixtus V by raising the total in the College to 75; but he fixed no new norm. By 1962 there were 87 cardinals. Paul VI (1963-1978) kept expanding the College until in 1973 it had 145 members. John Paul II had 136 cardinals after his first promotion, in 1979; and 138 after his next one, in 1983; and 152, the highest total to date, after the 1985 consistory. The new Code of Canon Law, promulgated in 1983, is silent on the matter of the College's size but it leaves in force Paul VI's regulations fixing the maximum number of papal electors at 120, and excluding cardinals over 80 years of age from conclaves, while permitting them to remain in the College.

III. GEOGRAPHIC ORIGIN OF CARDINALS, 1099 - 1417

The area from which cardinals could be drawn remained quite limited throughout the Middle Ages. In 1100 Christendom adhering to Rome did not extend south of the Mediterranean; for Islam controlled North Africa. To the east the Orthodox Churches constituted a barrier running roughly from the Strait of Otranto at the heel of Italy northeast to the Gulf of Riga on the Baltic. Northwest of there Latin Christendom found its northern boundaries in

southern Sweden and Norway. Save for the British isles and other islands north of them to Iceland, the Atlantic Ocean marked the western boundary. Missionary efforts from the twelfth into the fifteenth centuries gradually converted the pagan tribes in the East Baltic region.

Only limited sections of the above area supplied the vast majority of medieval cardinals. The same observation holds true for the modern era, even into the twentieth century.

1. Twelfth Century.

During the twelfth century there were 16 popes between 1099 and 1198. All were Italians except for the Burgundian Callistus II (1119-1124) and Adrian IV (1154-1159), who left his native England permanently for the Continent at an early age. These pontiffs created about 300 cardinals; and Paschal II (1099-1118) inherited another 18 from his predecessor. The place of origin of 172 of them is unknown or very uncertain. For many cardinals, only their names are on record. It is not even clear when their terms in the College of Cardinals began or ended. Contemporary chroniclers showed little inclination to supply details about cardinals unless they became popes, or gained fame for other reasons. When details are forthcoming, they must be examined with the utmost caution. Often they stem from suspect sources, particularly from the notorious and prolific falsifier of medieval documents Alfonso Ceccarelli (1532-1583). By contriving the biographies, and even the existence, of prelates, he deceived for a price an unspecified number of noble, wealthy Italian contemporaries who were eager to include in their genealogy cardinals of the distant past. Although documents and historical works known to be produced by Ceccarelli lost credibility after his detection and public execution in Rome, he continued to deceive scholars of later centuries like Muratori and Ciaconius, who were unaware of the numerous, still not completely known, pseudonyms utilized by "the greatest forger not only of his own century, but of all times"¹⁷. Of the remaining 145 cardinals whose origins

¹⁷ Ceccarelli was «il più gran falsario del suo secolo non solo, ma di tutti i tempi», according to LUIGI FUMI, *L'opera di falsificazione di Alfonso Ceccarelli*: Bollettino della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria 13 (1902) 243. On Ceccarelli, see also G. PISTARINO, *Una fonte medievale falsa e il suo presunto autore: Saladino de Castro Sarzana e Alfonso Ceccarelli*, Genoa 1958; A. PETRUCCI, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 23 (1979) 199-202, s.v. «Ceccarelli, Alfonso»; HELENE TILLMANN, *Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del collegio cardinalizio del secolo XII*: Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia 24 (1970) 441-464. Tillmann devotes this first part of her three-part article to the problems connected with determining the origin of cardinals of the twelfth century, «La questione dell'accertamento dalle origini dei cardinali». According to her, recent research has supplied good knowledge about the names, the numbers, and the activities of these cardinals; but its weak point has been the reliable determination of their native country and town, and their family. One reason has been the influence of Ceccarelli, who «ha dato origine ad un numero inimmaginabile di falsificazioni, ha indotto in errore molti autori» (pp. 452-453). She believes that Ceccarelli may be the one responsible for all statements regarding place of origin of twelfth-century Italian cardinals, unless evidence prior to the year 1560 is forthcoming (p. 453). In conclusion she states that any notice about the origins of cardinals of the twelfth centuries, and of other medieval centuries as well,

are known from reliable sources, 116 (80 percent) were Italians, and 18 (12 percent) were French. The few others included 6 Germans, 2 Englishmen, 2 from Burgundy (a geographically elastic area in the Middle Ages), and one from Lorraine (Namur in present-day Belgium). Rome itself supplied at least 39 cardinals; and so, far more than all of Latin Christendom outside of Italy¹⁸.

Special interest attaches to the makeup of the College at its beginning under Paschal II. Of the 18 who were cardinals at his accession, Hüls identified 4, perhaps 6, as Italians; one, perhaps 3, as French; and one, as Burgundian. Among the 76 cardinals created by this Pontiff, the same author has established that one was French; 4, Germans; and 17, Italians; with another 10 perhaps Italians¹⁹. Tillmann has demonstrated that 7 of these Italians were certainly native Romans; but she admitted that the total number of Romans was larger, even though her sources could not prove it²⁰. Right from the start, therefore, the Sacred College exhibited 2 features that have characterized most of its history: a very marked Italian predominance, along with a certain amount of internationalization. If Romans were more numerous than the natives of any other city, the Eternal City, with its immediate surroundings, had no monopoly on the cardinalate as it had before mid-eleventh century.

2. Thirteenth Century.

Although the following century (1198-1304) saw a great drop in the number of new cardinals, percentage-wise the Italian and French predominance changed little. All 19 of the popes were Italians, except for one

should not be accepted unless supported by sources that are contemporary or nearly so, or which can be deduced from them. Failure to reveal sources makes almost all recent histories of cardinals suspect when they deal with the topic of origins. «Inutilizzabile va considerata qualsiasi notizia sulle origini dei cardinali del XII secolo, e non solo del XII, che non sia comprovata dalle fonti contemporanee o cronologicamente vicine o che non si possa nemmeno desumere da esse. Quasi tutti i lavori più recenti sulla storia dei cardinali rendono straordinariamente difficile un controllo delle indicazioni da essi fornite sulle origini. Come prova viene citata spesso solo la bibliografia ...» (p. 463).

¹⁸ TILLMANN (above n. 14), whose data are accepted here, lists another 4 cardinals whose Roman origin cannot be definitively proved (Rivista... 29 [1975] 397-402).

¹⁹ HÜLS, *Kardinäle*... (above n. 14), pp. 88-254.

²⁰ TILLMANN (above n. 14): Rivista... 24 (1970) 444, n. 25. Tillmann refuses, however, to accept the conclusion of Klewitz that Paschal II created 19 Romans as cardinals (*ibid.*, pp. 442-445). HANS W. KLEWITZ studied very carefully the makeup of Paschal's Sacred College in his famous, pioneering article, *Die Entstehung des Kardinalskollegiums* (above n. 2). According to him, Paschal II inherited 14 cardinals from his predecessor Urban II, consisting of 3 Romans and 5 other Italians; 4 French; one Burgundian; and another of unknown origin. Of the 66 cardinals raised by Paschal II, in Klewitz's calculations, there were 19 Romans and 25 other Italians; 2 French; 3 Germans; and 17 of unknown origin. At least 22 of these cardinals were monks. Klewitz's methodology for deciding the number of Romans was unfortunately defective. He admitted that the Roman origin of only 7 cardinals could be clearly proved (*Reformpapsttum* [above n. 2], p. 101). Actually his evidence is compelling in only 5 instances. In the remaining cases his proofs are non-existent, or vague, or unconvincing; since he cites unspecified witnesses (*Zeugnissen*), or presumes that men who were known to have lived for long periods in Rome before becoming cardinals were native Romans. Hüls, who used Tillmann, described 5 of these cardinals as certainly Romans; another as perhaps Roman; and the seventh merely as Italian.

Portuguese, and 3, perhaps 4, French pontiffs²¹. All but 10 of the 138 creations can be identified as to place of origin. Italy accounted for 83 (65 percent), and France for 28 (22 percent). There were also 8 English, one Hungarian, 2 Portuguese, and 4 Spanish prelates²². Some 21 of the Italians were Romans; and about as many more originated elsewhere in the Papal States. This tiny area, therefore, continued to produce about as many cardinals as the rest of Latin Christendom outside Italy.

3. Fewness of German Cardinals.

Remarkably, the 2 Germans named by Honorius II (1216-1227) were the last Germans to receive the honor of the cardinalate until 1439. As late as 1519 the *Vandalia* of Albert Krantz remarked that a German cardinal was rarer than a white raven²³. Considering the outstanding importance of medieval Germany ecclesiastically and politically, this situation must seem strange. A likely explanation is the prevalence of the outlook that Germans should have no role in the central government of the Church; since the emperor was German, and Germans controlled the Empire (*Imperium*), and thereby one of the two heavenly lights, leaving rightfully to Italians control of the priesthood (*sacerdotium*)²⁴. Alexander von Roes, a canon of Cologne and early theorist of the Empire, emphasized this dichotomy several times in the late thirteenth century²⁵. Augustinus Triumphus (d. 1328) noted that it was not customary to choose cardinals from Germany; although he advocated the representation of every country in the College of Cardinals²⁶. At the Council of Constance the

²¹ Pope Innocent V (1276) was born in the town of Tarantaise; but it remains disputed whether the town in question is Tarantaise in Savoy or Tarantaise in France, near Lyons.

²² The first Spaniard to sit in the Sacred College appears to have been Pelayo Gaitán, O.S.B., created by Innocent III; but some have claimed that he came from Portugal. See D. MANSILLA, *El Cardenal hispano Pelayo Gaitán (1206-1230)*: *Anthologica Annu* 1 (1953) 11-66. Were he Portuguese, the first Spanish cardinal was Aegidius (Gil de Torres), a canon of Burgos, who was named cardinal by Honorius III in 1216. It is doubtful that there was a Spanish cardinal in the twelfth century; although it has been claimed that Pedro of Cardona was made cardinal by Lucius III (1181-1185). See RAMÓN RIU Y CABANAS, *Primeros Cardenales de la Silla Primada*: *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 27 (1895) 137-147. The first cardinal from Portugal who is known with certainty was Petrus Juliani, Archbishop of Braga, whom Gregory X created cardinal in 1273, and who became Pope John XXI (1276-1277). There is a complete list of Spanish cardinals up to 1969 in *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, edited by QUINTIN ALDEA VAQUERO *et al.*, I, Madrid 1972, 347-351.

²³ «Germanum Cardinalem fieri esse monstrum corvo rarius albo», in *Vandalia*, lib. 12, cap. 21, cited by ERICH SCHELENZ, *Studien zur Geschichte des Kardinalats im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, Marburg 1913, 25, n. 7.

²⁴ ALFRED A. STRNAD, *Zur Kardinalserhebung Burkhards von Weissbriach*: *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 106 (1966) 181-246, especially pp. 181-185.

²⁵ Quoted in STRNAD, *op. cit.*, 182-183.

²⁶ «...ad secundum est dicendum quod nulla patria excluditur, ex qua ad cardinalatum aliquis vocari non possit, sed quia de Alamannia consuetum est, ut eligatur Imperator, qui est minister ecclesiae, ne secreta ecclesie suis ministris pandentur, et ne, quos oportet esse subiectos, habeant in ecclesia ex sua patria vel genere dominos et iudices defendentes, ideo non consuevit ecclesia de Alamannia cardinales vocare», in *Summa de potestate ecclesiastica*, quaestio 102, art. 4, quoted in SCHELENZ, *op. cit.*, p. 25, n. 7.

anonymous author of a tract on the coming papal election recommended that in the Sacred College every nation and province be represented, including Germany, even though it controlled the Empire²⁷.

German prelates themselves appear to have been disinterested in the cardinalate; although they were not unique in that respect. The anonymous tract at Constance, quoted above, decried this characteristic²⁸. Cardinal Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini, the later Pope Pius III, who was very well acquainted with Germany, and who acted as Protector of the German Nation in the Roman Curia, was asked on day in 1473 during a consistory to name those German prelates he considered worthy of the cardinalate. After mentioning several names, he went one to say that German bishops were not as a rule eager for this honor²⁹.

4. Prevalence of Curial Cardinals.

A plausible reason for the reluctance of Germans and others, particularly residential bishops, to enter the Sacred College is that all but a very small minority of medieval cardinals resided at the papal curia, leaving it only to serve as papal legates, a rather frequent duty, or on other papal business. Up to mid-thirteenth century, only 9 cardinals, all twelfth-century Italians, can be said with certainty to have acted simultaneously as cardinals and abbots of monasteries outside Rome³⁰. These monasteries, located at Benevento, Casauria, Farfa, Monte Cassino, and Volturno, were not, however, so far away from Rome that these abbots could not devote part of their time to curial duties. Another 10 cardinals were at once residential bishops and cardinals. Five of these were Italians; 2 French; one German, and one English. Stephen Langton (d. 1228), Archbishop of Canterbury, and cardinal from 1205, was the last non-curial cardinal of the thirteenth century³¹. There were also 3 who resigned as abbots upon becoming cardinals; and 11 bishops who resigned their sees. The common practice was to give these former residential bishops the rank of cardinal bishop, and assign them one of the Roman suburbicarian

²⁷ «Et non valet, si quis diceret: Germani habent imperium, ... ergo debent carere assistentia sui spiritualis patris, pape, et mistici corporis sui proprii, videlicet sacri collegii cardinalium ...» (p. 634), in «Der Schriftencyclus zur Papstwahl im Anschluss an die Cedula: Ad laudem (1417 Mai 29)» complete text in HEINRICH FINKE, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis* III, Münster 1928, 624-645.

²⁸ «Nec valet, si quis diceret: Germani nolunt esse cardinales, quia archiepiscopis Moguntinensi, Coloniensi et Treverensi et similibus cardinalatus fuit sepe exhibitus et recusaverunt». *Ibid.*, p. 634.

²⁹ «Dictum quoque est, praelatos Germanarum ecclesiarum ideo cardinalatum studiosos non esse, quod in eorum (sc. principum) conventibus, quod crebros de publicis habent, ei dignitati locus non est; neque enim eorum quemquam, qui anteire sit solitus, pati cardinali postponi. Ideoque vel alios non convenire, vel cardinalem, factum ad conventum non accipi», quoted in STRNAD (above n. 24), p. 184.

³⁰ GANZER, *Die Entwicklung des auswärtigen Kardinalats* ... (above n. 14. By «auswärtigen» Ganzer understands non-Curial cardinals, including Italians (p. xi). Ganzer examined the careers of 86 cardinals created between 1055 and 1254. Seventy of those were named after 1099; but doubts surround 21 of them, and they are not taken into consideration here.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-159.

sees. Heads of religious orders were replaced after entrance into the Sacred College. Numerous requests came from prelates between 1227 and 1254 who wanted to retain a residential see while cardinal; but Gregory IX and Innocent IV invariably denied them, while insisting on the need for utilizing cardinals in the Church's central government³². When the French Pope Urban IV named 3 French cardinals in 1261, 2 of them requested to be left in their sees: Raoul Grosparmi, Bishop of Evreux; and Guy de Foulques, Archbishop of Narbonne (who succeeded Urban IV as Clement IV). Urban IV denied both requests, even after King Louis IX pleaded his own urgent need for their services³³. Both men were made cardinal bishops, and were given suburbicarian sees, one at Albano, the other at Sabina. The third new cardinal, Simon de Brion, who had been the royal chancellor, became a curial cardinal, but served mostly in France as papal legate until 1281, when he was elected Pope Martin IV. The papal outlook is understandable; since cardinals residing permanently at a distance could not participate in the frequent consistories and other curial tasks, or even attend papal elections.

According to Ganzer, non-curial cardinals disappeared after mid-thirteenth century, and did not reappear until the fifteenth century³⁴. During the Avignon period, however, there were a few cardinals who were not exclusively curial. Of the 17 French chancellors and other high royal officials who received red hats during these decades, the 11 who did so before mid-century abandoned their civil posts, and became curial cardinals, while watching out for the interests of their king at Avignon. The other 6 who entered the College between 1356 and 1375 retained their civil posts, and divided their time between papal and royal service; but one of them, the chancellor Jean de Dormans, never appeared at Avignon³⁵. Curial cardinals remained the rule during the ensuing Western Schism in all 3 obediences. It became common, however, for cardinals who had been residential bishops to retain their sees as administrators, while leaving the actual administration to vicars. Arle has calculated that between 1417 and 1484, out of 149 cardinals 23 were non-curial, 5 dwelt part time at the Curia, and the others full time³⁶. In the sixteenth and later centuries, as the College of Cardinals became much larger, and the importance of the Consistory declined, it became more and more common for cardinals to remain in residence in their dioceses. By 1985 only 35 out of 152 cardinals were curial.

³² PARAVICINI-BAGLIANI, *Cardinali...* (above n. 13), p. xi.

³³ Text of letter of Urban IV to Louis IX in *Annales ecclesiastici*, by C. BARONIUS *et al.*, XXII, Paris 1870, 91-92, *ad an.* 1262, nn. 44-51.

³⁴ GANZER, *Die Entwicklung...* (above n. 30), pp. 205-206.

³⁵ GUILLEMAIN, *La Cour pontificale...* (above n. 1), p. 199.

³⁶ BERNHARD ARLE, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kardinalkollegiums in der Zeit von Konstanz bis zum Tridentiner Konzil. Erste Hälfte: 1417-1484*, Bonn 1914, 14.

5. Avignon Period.

A rapid shift in the composition of the Sacred College characterized the Avignon papacy. The result was a French predominance that was more pronounced than that of the Italians up to then³⁷. During these decades the Roman Curia moved to Avignon in southern France on the Rhone River. All 7 popes were French. Remarkably all of them came from a very small area in southwestern France that can be encompassed by a square approximately 125 miles per side, with its center near Cahors in Quercy, the birthplace of John XXII (1316-1334). Of the 134 cardinals created by these pontiffs, 113 (85 percent) were French³⁸. Ninety-six of these prelates were natives of southern France; and all but 2 of them came from the very same area that produced the popes. Indeed, 33 of this group were relatives of the popes who created them. Thus was inaugurated on a large scale the practice of papal nepotism in appointments to the College, a custom that remained prominent into the eighteenth century. Northern France gained 17 cardinals. Italy supplied only 14 (10 percent). Seven of these came from Rome, and 4 more from elsewhere in the Papal States; while 2 stemmed from Florence, and one from Milan. In addition, 5 were Spanish, and 2 English.

6. Western Schism.

During the following 4 decades of the Western Schism, the 4 popes of the Roman obedience replaced the French majority with an even more pronounced Italian one. When all 22 cardinals who had elected him a few months previously in 1378 deserted him, Urban VI lost 18 French cardinals. His own 42 creations included 36 (86 percent) Italians, along with 2 from Hungary, one each from England and Bohemia, but only 2 from France³⁹. Urban's successors were as favorable to Italians as he; and so to the total of 70 cardinals named in the Roman obedience included 61 (87 percent) Italians, along with 3 Frenchmen, 2 Hungarians, and one each from Spain, England, and Crete⁴⁰.

³⁷ GUILLEMAIN, *op. cit.*, especially chapter 4, pp. 181-276, «Les Cardinaux et les leurs suites»; MARTIN SOUCHON, *Die Papstwahlen von Bonifaz VIII. bis Urban VI. und die Entstehung des Schismas 1378*, Braunschweig 1888. The table extending from page 163 to page 184 lists all the cardinals created between 1294 and 1378, together with their place of origin, and other data.

³⁸ Yet John XXII (1316-1334), whose 28 creations included 23 French cardinals, along with 4 Italians, and one Spaniard, revealed an interest in the international character of the Sacred College. On the occasion of his first promotion, in 1316, he declared: «...de diversis mundi nationibus viros cooperatores... deliberavimus». Again, at the time of his fourth promotion, in 1327, he stated: «...nos et fratres nostri profundis meditationibus, laboriosisque vigiliis, de diversis ipsius orbis partibus perquirentes...» *Annales ecclesiastici*, ad an. 1316, n. 21; ad an. 1327, n. 55, quoted in SCHELENZ (above n. 23), p. 24, n. 3.

³⁹ MARTIN SOUCHON, *Die Papstwahlen in der Zeit des großen Schismas: Entwicklung und Verfassungskämpfe von 1378 bis 1417*, 2 vols., Braunschweig 1898-1899 (reprinted, Aalen 1970). Volume 2, pp. 257-303, contains a table which lists all the cardinals of the 3 obediences, along with their place of origin and other information.

⁴⁰ The first Cretan cardinal was Peter (Pitros) Philargis (Filargis, Philaretus) of Candia. He was born c. 1339-1340 on the island of Crete to humble parents whom he never came to know.

In the Avignon obedience, however, the creations were in the majority French, 27 out of 48. French predominance was more notable under Clement VII (1378-1394), himself French. After accepting into his own College the 21 cardinals (17 French) who, besides himself, had abandoned Urban VI, he proceeded to name another 22 French cardinals, along with 6 Italian, 4 Spanish, and one Scotch prelate. His successor, the Spanish Benedict XIII (1394-1417) favored his own compatriots; since 8 of his 15 creations were from the Iberian peninsula, with only 5 French, one Italian, and one Portuguese dignitary⁴¹.

Italians dominated the cardinalate of the Pisan obedience. Alexander V (1409-1410) named no new cardinals; he formed his College from the 9 prelates who had defected from the Avignon obedience, and the 15 who, in addition to himself, had left the Roman obedience. These included 17 Italian, 6 French, and one Spanish cardinal. His successor, the Italian John XXIII (1410-1415) raised 9 Italians, 5 French, and one Portuguese to his College. At the time of his deposition at the Council of Constance, John XXIII had 16 Italian and 10 French cardinals.

IV. NON-PAPAL INFLUENCES, 1099-1439

This is a logical point to pause for review of the reactions of Latin Christendom to the Italian and French monopoly of the Sacred College up to 1417. Native Romans alone had received many more seats than all of Christendom outside Italy and France. Neither Ireland, the Scandinavian countries, nor northeastern Europe, not even Poland, could count as many as one cardinal; and Germany could list but eight. What were the attitudes of contemporary writers, civil rulers, the cardinals themselves, and Church councils?

1. Medieval Writers.

Writers seem to have concerned themselves little with this matter up to the fifteenth century, judging from the sparseness of the extant evidence. The earliest and best-known statement is that of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153). In his treatise, *On Consideration*, directed to his friend Eugene III, the chapter «On what manner of men the cardinals ought to be» advises the Pope: «It is your duty to summon from all parts of the world, and to associate with yourself, after the example of Moses (*Numbers* 11:16), not youths, but men of mature age, such as you know to be the elders of the

He received his early education from an Italian Franciscan missionary, who brought him to Italy, where he joined the Franciscans in 1357. In 1405 Innocent VII of the Roman obedience created him cardinal. At the Council of Pisa he was elected as the first pope in the Pisan obedience, taking the name Alexander V (1409-1410).

⁴¹ On May 22, 1423, the day before his death, Benedict XIII created 4 more cardinals. These are not considered in the above enumeration.

people, reckoning age more by virtue than by years. Is it not reasonable that they should be selected from every nation whose office it is to judge all nations? ^{41a}»

Not until the fourteenth century could another author be found addressing this topic. Augustinus Triumphus, in his chief work, *Summa de potestate ecclesiastica* (1320), discussed the problem: «*Utrum deroget perfectioris statui cardinalium ut omnes de una patria sint electi*» ⁴². He admitted that the pope may choose whom he wishes as cardinals; but he quoted with approval the above sentiment of St. Bernard. Since he cited no one else, seemingly he knew of no one else to cite. According to Augustinus, choosing cardinals from various countries would prevent selections based on carnal affection; and would promote unity. In his view the principal reason for the Eastern Schism was the exclusion of Greeks from ecclesiastical honors. Also he noted the failure to select Germans; but he justified this practice on the score that the emperor was German.

Quite different was the outlook of a contemporary of Augustinus, Pierre Dubois, a French layman, lawyer, and publicist. In his *De recuperatione Terre Sancte* (c. 1306), he prophesied: «If the lord pope should remain long in the kingdom of the French, he will probably create so many cardinals from that kingdom that the papacy will remain with us, and escape altogether the grasping hands of the Romans» ⁴³.

In his *Epistola pacis* (1379), proposing his solution to the Western Schism, Henry of Langenstein, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Paris, stigmatized as one of the worst corruptions of his time that cardinals should all come from one nation, or almost all from one nation; whereas they should come from various kingdoms ⁴⁴.

2. Civil Rulers.

Civil rulers were the ones most successful in broadening the makeup of the Sacred College, although their motives were selfishly national. Realizing the value of having one or more of their subjects in this powerful body, several rulers are known to have made strong efforts to effect this goal. Their success

^{41a} «Tuum est undecumque evocare et adsciscere tibi, exemplo Moysi, senes (*Num* XI, 16), non iuvenes; sed senes non tam aetate, quam moribus, quos tu nosti, quia senes populi sunt. An non eligendi de toto orbe, orbem iudicaturi?» St. Bernard, *De consideratione*, IV, 4, 9, in MIGNE, PL 182: 778 B-C.

⁴² Quaestio 102, art. 4. I have consulted the 1479 edition, published in Rome, and unpaginated.

⁴³ *The Recovery of the Holy Land*, translated into English by W. I. BRANDT, New York 1956, 173.

⁴⁴ «... Quid sibi voluit, quod Cardinales solum de una natione vel quasi de una patria fiebant? inter quos de singulis regnis, vel nobilibus linguis aliqui esse deberent. Numquid apud Christum esse differentia Graeci et Latini, Gallici et Alemanni, Hispani et Ungari, etc?...», in H. VON DER HARDT, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium*, 6 vols., Frankfurt and Leipzig 1696-1700; vol. 2, col. 53. The complete text of the *Epistola pacis* is in vol. 2, columns 2-60. The above quotation occurs in Chapter 17, «De corruptissimo illius tempore Ecclesiae regimine».

was uneven, and in all cases limited; but their labors did increase the non-Italian element in the College. Political considerations had much to do with the extent to which popes acceded to requests of this type.

By the thirteenth century princes were active and successful in this regard. Most memorable was the case of King Charles II of Naples, a nephew of King Louis VIII of France, and a member of the noble French Angevin house. In September, 1294, shortly before he moved his residence to Naples, Celestine V created 13 cardinals in his sole promotion to the College. Seven were French, and 6 Italian. All the names had been proposed by Charles II. Indeed, at the last minute the King replaced one of his candidates by another. Remarkable also was the fact that an Italian pope placed more non-Italians than compatriots in this body⁴⁵. In the entire history of the cardinalate, royal influence has never equaled this incident.

During the Avignon period the influence of French rulers was great; but, as noted above, it effected the choice of only a small minority of creations, and was a much less decisive factor than papal nepotism. Of the 17 cardinals (one of them an Italian) selected to please the French king, 6 were royal chancellors or vice-chancellors; 8 royal counsellors; 2 judges; and one a royal confessor⁴⁶.

The extent of the ambitions of the French court is revealed in an abortive reform program of King Philip the Fair. According to this plan, drawn up c. 1305, the pope would unite all the military religious orders into one, the Knights of Jerusalem, whose master-general would be the ruler of France or his son. At papal conclaves this master-general would have 4 votes. Considering the small size of the Sacred College at that time, and the power of the French crown, these 4 votes could be decisive in the election of popes⁴⁷.

King Edward II of England was at this period active in his own behalf, but much less successful. In 1311 he wrote twice to Clement V seeking to have his confessor John of Lenham named cardinal to replace the recently deceased Thomas Jorz⁴⁸. Again in 1320 he wrote to John XXII in favor of Roger of Northburgh⁴⁹. All these requests were unavailing; since the next promotion of an English cardinal was not until 1368, when Urban V promoted Simon Langham, O.S.B., the Archbishop of Canterbury.

During the Western Schism, when rival claimants were desperately striving to win countries to their allegiance, they were eager to heed the requests of civil rulers. None went as far as Clement VII (1378-1394). At least

⁴⁵ PETER HERDE, *Cölestin V (1294)* (Päpste und Papsttum, 16), Stuttgart 1981, especially pp. 97-104.

⁴⁶ GUILLEMAIN (above n. 1), pp. 183-203, on the influence of the French and other courts.

⁴⁷ HEINRICH FINKE, *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, 2 vols., Münster 1907; I, pp. 121-122; II, pp. 115-119 (document).

⁴⁸ Text of letters in THOMAS RYMER, ed., *Foedera, conventiones, litterae... inter reges Angliae et... pontifices...*, London, 1818 edition, II, part 1, folios 127, 139.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, folios 432-433: «...summis desideriis affectamus, ut de natione nostra et lingua Anglicana cardinalis existeret, qui vestro continue assistens lateri, nostrorumque existens cognitor desiderii et secretorum, ea vestrae circumspectioni posset suggerere, et assertionem veridicam demonstrare, quae ad ipsorum negotiorum declarationem et veritatis denudationem pertineret...»

19 of his 33 promotions were dictated by the desire to please princes. Thus 9 cardinals were named to suit French rulers; 3, the king of Naples; 2, the ruler of Castile; and one each to accede to the Duke of Berry, and the sovereigns of Scotland, Portugal, Navarre, and Aragon⁵⁰.

Aragon illustrates better than any other realm the eagerness and persistence of rulers to gain places for their subjects in the Sacred College; and their limited success. Thanks to the well-preserved medieval archives of the Crown of Aragon, and to the publication of exhaustive researches into their riches, this topic is known in great detail for the years 1291 to 1410⁵¹.

Once Aragon gained control of Sicily in 1282, its politico-religious relations with the Holy See increased; and so did the importance of having within the College a friendly advocate. Repeatedly King James II (1291-1327) sought for an Aragonese cardinal. Thus he wrote to Boniface VIII, Benedict XI, and John XXII suggesting specific names. He even made a personal visit to Clement V. All to no avail, although Castilians were raised to the cardinalate during these years. His successor Alfonso IV (1327-1336) was equally diligent in this pursuit, and equally unsuccessful. In 1330 he sent a special ambassador to Avignon to promote his case; and expressed great indignation that Italy, France, England, and Castile had cardinals, but not Aragon. Peter IV (1336-1387) persisted in these efforts, and kept urging his cause with popes and cardinals by correspondence and by means of representatives sent to the papal court. All his candidates were passed over in the promotion of 1350; but 2 foreign prelates with sees in Aragon were raised to the College — Nicholas Capocci, a Roman, Bishop of Urgel; and William of Aigrefeuille, a Frenchman whose elevation to the see of Saragossa the king had opposed. Unrelenting in his pursuit, Peter IV made a personal visit to Innocent VI; and also sent his uncle for the same purpose. Victory finally crowned these decades of effort when the promotion in 1356 included Nicholas Rosell, a member of the Aragon Province of the Dominicans, and a native of Majorca, which fell under the rule of Aragon in 1343⁵². Innocent VI wrote to Peter IV on December 24, 1356 that he named Rosell at the king's request. After Rosell's death in 1362, Peter IV sought another Aragonese cardinal; but Urban V (1362-1370) did not oblige. Peter IV continued to press his case very urgently with Gregory XI (1370-1378). In 1375 he sent a large delegation to this pontiff, headed by his chancellor. The same year Pedro de Luna, an Aragonese, was made cardinal.

⁵⁰ SOUCHON (above n. 1) I, pp. 173-174. Five other promotions were relatives of cardinals in Clement VII's College; and 7 more were relatives of the Pope.

⁵¹ JOHANNES VINCKE, *Der Kampf Jakobs II. und Alfons IV. von Aragon um einen Landeskardinal*: Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung 21 (1932) 1-20; RAFAEL OLIVAR BERTRAND, *Alfonso IV el Benigno quiere un cardenal de sus reinos*: Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragon 4 (1951) 156-176; DIETER EMEIS, *Peter IV., Johann I. und Martin von Aragon und ihre Kardinäle*, in *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft. Erste Reihe: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens XVII*, Münster 1961, 72-233.

⁵² JOHANNES VINCKE, *Nikolaus Rosell, O.P., Kardinal von Aragon*: Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum 14 (1944) 116-197.

The next pope, Urban VI, was urged to name still another cardinal from Aragon. In 1380 Peter IV asked that Aragon always have a cardinal, chosen from a list drawn up by him or his successors.

During the Western Schism Peter IV came to follow a policy of neutrality; but his successor John I (1387-1396) favored the Avignon claimant Clement VII. In 1387 this pontiff raised the king's relative, Bishop James of Valencia to the cardinalate; but he declined to accede to the royal request that year for 2 more Aragonese cardinals. Benedict XIII (1394-1417), who succeeded Clement VII, was the Aragonese Cardinal de Luna; so Aragon could then boast of having one of its sons as a papal claimant. Aragon proved to be the country most loyal to Benedict; and this loyalty was repaid by increased Aragonese representation in the College. True, John I's petition in 1395 for 3 more Aragonese cardinals proved fruitless. In September, 1397, however, Martin I (1396-1410) gained this favor after making a visit to the pontiff. Again, in December of that year another Aragonese entered the College. Martin I could not win a like honor for Benedict XIII's nephew, however; although he made between 30 and 40 petitions for this purpose. The promotion of 1408 included 2 more prelates from Aragon. During the fifteenth century, after the resolution of the Western Schism, Aragon continued to gain seats in the College. It even saw 2 of its sons chosen popes, Callistus III and Alexander VI.

The long periods during which Aragon lacked a native as cardinal did not mean that this kingdom lacked advocates in the College⁵³. Thus the powerful Roman family of Orsini, which provided many cardinals over the centuries, was traditionally friendly to Aragon⁵⁴. For example, Napoleon Orsini, who was one of the most influential figures in the Sacred College from 1288 to 1342, was referred to as «the Cardinal of Aragon». In the Roman Curia he acted as its unofficial representative. Other cardinals, too, served as Aragon's «promoters» during the fourteenth century. Requests to them were frequent, diverse, and important. These men were forerunners of the later cardinal protectors or cardinal procurators of various countries. For these services they were handsomely rewarded with gifts, royal pensions, and rich benefices⁵⁵. Aragon was not exceptional in this respect. Other rulers followed similar practices.

3. Cardinals.

The cardinals themselves were very much interested in the makeup of their body, particularly its size.

⁵³ EMEIS, *op.cit.*, pp. 105-230.

⁵⁴ HEINRICH FINKE, *Acta Aragonensia* I, Berlin and Leipzig 1908, pp. CLXVI-CLXXXIII.

⁵⁵ EMEIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-230, has a list of benefices held by 42 different cardinals in the lands of the Crown of Aragon between mid-fourteenth century and early fifteenth century. The list does not claim to be complete.

«The question of the number of cardinals was the stake, the object of extremely lively and prolonged conflicts between the Sacred College and the Holy See. It is in this matter, more perhaps than in any other, that was manifested the tendency of the Sacred College to limit the authority of the Holy See, and to bind each pope in some way by precise commitments, imposed even before the beginning of his pontificate. Indeed the principal aspirations of the cardinals were almost summed up in the limitation of their numbers; this essential point obliterated all the others»⁵⁶.

The validity of this observation is borne out by historical scrutiny.

In consistories cardinals regularly had the opportunity to air their views. Among the topics on which popes consulted them was the creation of new cardinals. Customarily a pope would query each cardinal privately and individually (*auriculariter*). As the cardinals' influence kept mounting during the twelfth century, so did an oligarchical tendency to share ever more in the papal power⁵⁷. In line with this, the cardinals sought to present their judgments publicly as a group (*collegialiter*); and to insist that their consent, as well as their advice, be a prerequisite to final decisions about all additions to their numbers. Officially popes never bowed to these demands; yet the influence of the College was considerable, especially with more compliant pontiffs.

Responsibility for the reduced size of the College in the latter twelfth century, and for the still more precipitous decline throughout the following century can be attributed mainly to the pressures from the cardinals themselves, even if contemporary sources do not state this explicitly. So can the continued reduced size in the first half of the fourteenth century⁵⁸. To be sure, this phenomenon may be explained in part by the nomadic life of the Holy See, which would urge popes to curb the size of their court, in which almost all cardinals then resided. It has been calculated that, even before moving to Avignon for 7 decades, the popes were absent from politically turbulent Rome for 55 years between 1099 and 1198; and for another 67 years between 1198 and 1304⁵⁹. More significant is it that the diminution also

⁵⁶ «En particulier la question du nombre des cardinaux a été entre le Sacré Collège et le Saint-Siège l'enjeu, l'objet de luttes extrêmement vives et très prolongées. C'est sur ce point, plus peut-être que sur aucun autre, que s'est manifestée la tendance du Sacré Collège à limiter l'autorité du Saint-Siège, à lier chaque pape en quelque sorte par des engagements précis, imposés d'avance avant même le début de son pontificat. En effet, les principales aspirations de cardinaux se résumaient presque dans la limitation de leur nombre; ce point essentiel emportait tous les autres». C. JORDAN, *Le Sacré Collège au Moyen Âge*: Revue des Cours et Conférences 22 (1913-1914) 644.

⁵⁷ LULVES, *Die Machtstrebungen des Kardinalats...* (above n.9): Quellen und Forschungen... 13 (1910) 73-102; ID., *Die Machtstrebungen des Kardinalkollegiums...* (above n. 9): Mitteilungen... 35 (1914) 455-483.

⁵⁸ «The oligarchic tendencies which had produced the systematic reduction in the number of cardinals in the Sacred College from the twelfth century onwards, were even more apparent in the fourteenth». G. MOLLAT, *The Popes at Avignon 1305-1378*, London 1963, 305, translated from French.

⁵⁹ MOLLAT, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

coincided with the period when the Sacred College attained its height of influence, and became the sole adviser of pontiffs in consistories. Eventually the aim of the cardinals became explicit; and this aim persisted long after the fourteenth century. Motivating this policy was ambition to inflate the power and prestige of individual cardinals, and to increase their income. A separate financial administration of the College dates from the time of Callistus II (1119-1124). In the thirteenth century this business was handled by a special department of the Curia, the *Camera*. In 1289 Nicholas IV assigned to the College half the income of the Holy See. This income was all the more sought in the fourteenth century, when the life style of the cardinals at Avignon became much more pompous and expensive⁶⁰.

Papal Election Capitulations.

The clearest manifestation of the oligarchical aims of the Sacred College, and the culmination of its concerted efforts came in 1352. For the first time in history, as far as can be determined with certainty, an election capitulation was drawn up at the conclave, and signed by all the conclavists. The intent of this pact was to restrict the powers of the pope-elect, while expanding those of the cardinals. The very first article limited the size of the College by setting the maximum number of cardinals at 20, or 22 in exceptional circumstances. New cardinals must not be named until the total fell to 16. Preceding all nominations must be the consent, as well as the advice, of two-thirds of the College. Among other provisions was the preservation of Nicholas IV's privilege regarding the equal division of the Holy See's income between pope and Sacred College⁶¹.

The cardinal who emerged from this conclave as Innocent VI had signed the capitulation; but, like some others, he had hedged his assent with reservations. Shortly after election he rejected the compact as contrary to the decretals of Gregory X and Clement V, and as incompatible with the inalienable papal plenitude of power⁶². In practice, however, he did not change much the size of the College, which totaled 21 at his death. Deterred by this frustration, the cardinals formulated no more capitulations along these lines previous to the Council of Constance. During the Western Schism, to be sure, capitulations were presented in the conclaves of 1394, 1404, and 1406; but their content was designed to reunite the Church. After Constance election capitulations began to reappear, as will be seen; and enjoyed a long life.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 308-310.

⁶¹ The text of this capitulation can be found in RAYNALDUS, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ad an. 1352, nn. 25-26. On the topic of papal election capitulations, see JEAN LULVES, *Päpstliche Wahlkapitulationen. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Kardinalats: Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 12 (1909) 212-235.

⁶² WALTER ULLMANN, *The Legal Validity of the Papal Electoral Pacts: Ephemerides iuris canonici* 12 (1956) 246-278.

Implicitly the endeavor to restrict the size of the Sacred College militated against a broadening of national representation. Explicitly the cardinals revealed no such desire previous to Constance; certainly not in the capitulation of 1352; nor elsewhere, as far as can now be determined. A rare insight into the outlook of a fourteenth century cardinal is provided by a letter from Cardinal Napoleon Orsini, a Roman noble and member of the College since 1288, to King Philip IV of France concerning the state of the Church after the death of Clement V in 1314. When this pontiff was elected in 1305, there were 13 Italian, 2 French, and one Castilian cardinal. During his pontificate he radically altered the national makeup of the College by creating 23 French and one English cardinal. At his demise there were 16 French and only 8 Italian cardinals. After the letter bewailed the fact that the late pope had named no cardinals from Italy, a country that once had a sufficiency of them, he exclaimed: «We Italians... have been rejected like earthen vessels»⁶³. The fact that other areas of Christendom were even more neglected was not mentioned.

4. Councils.

Seven ecumenical councils met between 1123 and 1312. All were professedly reform synods. Three of them, Lateran I, II, and III, concerned themselves with the College of Cardinals; yet none of their decrees or extant reform proposals addressed the questions of the size and makeup of the College.

A radical change in this situation occurred when these two related matters came in for a great deal of conciliar attention from the early fifteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries. A striking alteration in the attitude toward the Sacred College characterized the period of the Western Schism, whose outbreak and continuance were widely blamed on the cardinals. At the Council of Pisa (1409) one reform proposal, from an unknown source, asked that the College have at least 24 members, chosen from the various regions of Christendom, not just from 2 or 3, as had been customary⁶⁴.

Constance.

At the ecumenical Council of Constance (1414-1418), whose members were divided geographically into 5 groups, called «nations», one of the chief items on

⁶³ «... Dimittamus, quod de XXIV cardinalibus, quos in ecclesia posuit, nullus in Italia est repertus, que aliquando credita fuit sufficiens habere personas. Sed per eum fuit hoc! Quinimmo nos Italici, qui ipsum bonum credentes posuimus, sicut vasa testea reiecti fuimus, adeo, quod ad omnia que ad statum cardinalatus respiciunt, sicut clerici [habeamur] ...» The complete text of this letter is in CARL A. WILLEMSSEN, *Kardinal Napoleon Orsini 1263-1342*, Berlin 1927, 207-209; also in STEPHANUS BALUZIUS, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, 2d edition by GUILLAUME MOLLAT, III, Paris 1921, 237-241.

⁶⁴ JOHANNES VINCKE, *Ein auf dem Konzil von Pisa diskutierter Reformvorschlag*: Römische Quartalschrift 50 (1955) 91-94. Proposal 6 reads: «Item, quod de singulis regionibus, non autem de una duabus aut tribus solum, ut hactenus consueverunt, cardinales assumantur, sed ut esse debeant ad minus XXIII de christianitate». p. 93.

the agenda, along with the restoration of the unity fractured by the Western Schism and the combating of the teachings of Wyclif and Hus, was reform. So voluminous were these reform proposals that, according to the contemporary chronicler Dietrich of Niem, a hundred camels would scarcely suffice to carry them⁶⁵. Prominent among the aims of the reformers were changes in the College of Cardinals. Some went so far as to advocate its complete abolition⁶⁶. Pileus Marini, Archbishop of Genoa, wanted a College with about 24 members, and with no state, province, or dominion possessing more than 3 cardinals⁶⁷. One anonymous suggestion (*avisamentum*) would limit the College to 24 members. These would come from various nations, with no

⁶⁵ *De Scismate libri tres*, ed. G. ERLER, Leipzig 1890, 223; quoted on p. 404, n. 34, in ALFRED A. STRNAD, *Konstanz und der Plan eines deutschen 'Nationalkardinals'*. *Neue Dokumente zur Kirchenpolitik König Sigmunds von Luxemburg*, in *Das Konzil von Konstanz: Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte und Theologie*, edited by AUGUST FRANZEN and WOLFGANG MÜLLER, Freiburg 1964, 397-428.

⁶⁶ Pierre d'Ailly took note of this outlook as early as 1403, while disapproving of it, in his *Tractatus de materia concilii generalis*: «... Fuit quorundam opinio, quam tamen non approbo, quod expediret Ecclesiae Papam habere loco cardinalium aliquos praelatos de diversis regnis et provinciis eidem pro consilio assistentes, et quod ille cardinalium status, tamquam male stabilis, caderet, sicut olim chorepiscoporum...» The entire *Tractatus* has been edited by FRANCIS OAKLEY, in *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly*, New Haven 1964, 244-343. The above quotation occurs on page 328.

At Constance in 1416 D'Ailly again disapproved of this view, while noting that some members of the Council held it. «Hic autem, propter dictos excessus, dudum quandam opinionem recitavi quam nuper in tractatu *De ecclesiastica potestate*, tamquam erroneam reprobendam esse declaravi: videlicet, quorundam detractorum Romanae Ecclesiae, qui in eius odium, praetextu quorundam abusu, statum Cardinalium, quasi inutilem vel damnosum, nec ab Apostolis, vel Conciliis institutum, et sine causa rationabili usurpatum, tanquam onerosum Ecclesiae, extirpandum esse dixerunt, sicut olim de statu Chorepiscoporum factum esse legitur. Hunc autem errorem in hac Synodo Constantiensi quodammodo resuscitare aliqui praesumpserunt...», in *Tractatus super reformatione Ecclesiae*, in H. VON DER HARDT, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium I*, Frankfurt and Leipzig 1697, 418. This passage is also reprinted in OAKLEY, *op.cit.*, pp. 346-347. According to L. SALEMBIER, *The Great Schism of the West*, London 1907, 359-360, «... several bishops ... loudly demanded the exclusion of the cardinals from the conclave that was about to open. They dared to go even further, and to call for the abolition of this ecclesiastical institution». Hefele has identified this outlook with a sizable group of bishops at Constance who were penetrated with conciliarist ideas, and who looked upon the continued existence of the Sacred College as an obstacle to the development of episcopal power. «Un des grands partis, que nous appellerons le parti libéral, voulait, conformément à l'esprit des décrets de Constance, transformer la constitution de l'Eglise de monarchie absolue en aristocratie constitutionnelle, en sorte que le centre de gravité ne se trouvât plus dans la personne du pape, mais dans les évêques réunis en concile général. Il devait aussi naturellement chercher à écarter ou réduire les nombreux privilèges que la papauté absolue du moyen âge s'était attribués, et plusieurs proposaient à cet égard, les moyens les plus radicaux. Ainsi, ils ne regardaient le Sacré-Collège que comme la cour du pape et un obstacle au développement du pouvoir épiscopal, ils voulaient donc le faire disparaître entièrement de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique... Cette question divisait déjà le parti libéral...», HEFELE-LECLERCQ VII, p. 452.

⁶⁷ «Item praefigatur certus numerus Cardinalium, ut XXIV vel circa, ad instar XXIV Seniorum, nec assumi possint ex aliqua civitate, provincia vel dominio ultra tres ad evitandam usurpationem papatus per successionem...», in JOHANNES J. IGNAZ VON DÖLLINGER, ed., *Beiträge zur politischen, kirchlichen und Cultur-Geschichte der sechs letzten Jahrhunderte*. Vol. 2: *Materialien zur Geschichte des fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg 1863, 305.

more than one from the same province, diocese, or city; and with no 2 cardinals related to one another within the fourth degree of consanguinity⁶⁸.

Much more impressive were the views of Pierre d'Ailly, Archbishop of Cambrai, one of the leading figures at the Council. He appears to have been the first cardinal to express such views; although he began to do so before receiving the red hat in 1411. Thus, in his *Tractatus de materia concilii generalis*⁶⁹, thought to be composed in 1402 or 1403, he urged that the majority of cardinals be not selected from one kingdom or nation, as was customary, to the great scandal of many; but from diverse kingdoms and provinces, according to the merits of individuals⁷⁰. To him it would suffice to have one cardinal per province. Also proposed was a diminution in the size of the Sacred College for financial reasons; although no precise figure was given⁷¹.

More precise views were propounded later in *Capitula agendorum*, commonly attributed nowadays to D'Ailly⁷². Chapter 7, «De statu et officio cardinalium et illorum assumptione», asked that cardinals be chosen, not merely from a few places, but if possible from every kingdom; so that any one part of the world would have no more than 2 or 3 cardinals, with the city of Rome having 4 at the most. In this way the papacy would cease to be hereditary in one nation or people. The maximum size of the College was set at 30⁷³.

⁶⁸ «... Pro quo videtur posse sustineri, quod de cetero sint et esse debeant perpetuis futuris temporibus XXIV Cardinales, ... et non plures; qui videlicet Cardinales sint de diversis et singulis nationibus sive regnis, non tamen duo simul de eadem provincia sive dioecesi, nec civitate, nec minus de eodem genere, nisi post quartum gradum consanguinitatis aut affinitatis, qui non debeant creari a cetero ad solum nutum Summi Pontificis et aliorum Cardinalium, quin immo veniant per electionem, ita, quod dato, quod sint de Italia duo Cardinales, mortuo altero eorum ecclesia Italica habeat praesentare Summo Pontifici tunc existenti et aliis dominis Cardinalibus duos vel tres notabiliores, sufficientiores et digniores viros, quos noverint de eorum natione, et Papa cum suis Cardinalibus habeat alterum duorum vel trium praesentatorum loco defuncti in Cardinalem assumere et non alium...», *ibid.* II, p. 322.

⁶⁹ See n. 66 *supra*.

⁷⁰ «... esset statuendum quod de cetero maior pars cardinalium non posset assumi de uno regno sive de una natione, sicut quandoque hactenus factum est in magnum scandalum plurimorum, sed quod de diversis regnis et provinciis indistincte iuxta personarum merita assumantur... Et videretur sufficere quod de una provincia solum esset unus cardinalis, ut sic in eorum promotione et multiplicatione tolleretur vel saltem restringeretur et arteretur carnalis affectio promoventis, et ut per assumptos de diversis provinciis diversitas morum et statuum eorum Romanae Ecclesiae innotesceret ad utilitatem et salutarem provisionem incolarum...», in OAKLEY, *op.cit.*, p. 323.

⁷¹ «Item, necessaria erit reformatio et provisio circa gravamina quae Romana Ecclesia infert aliis inferioribus ecclesiis et praelatis, et maxime in tribus... Tertio per diminutionem numeri cardinalium, ita quod non esset tantus nec tam onerosus numerus ipsorum sicut hactenus fuit...», *ibid.*, p. 324.

⁷² The full text of this work can be found in *Acta Conc. Const.* IV, pp. 548-583. In his introduction, pp. 539-547, Finke discusses, without finally settling, the long disputed questions of the work's authorship and dating. It may have been written as late as 1413.

⁷³ «... assumantur cardinales non de singulis locis paucis, set si fieri potest, de quolibet regno seu regimine, ita quod de una parte mundi non possunt fieri plures quam duo vel tres. Et in hoc aliquantulum honoretur Roma cum sua metropoli in aliquo maiori numero, non tamen excessive, puta usque ad quatuor. Et ex hoc evitabitur, quod papatus non fiat hereditarius uni nationi sive genti... Provideatur etiam de taxando numero cardinalium ita quod non excedant XXX. Aliis videtur ad instar XXIV seniorum...», *Acta Conc. Const.* IV, p. 560.

A later work by D'Ailly, *Tractatus super reformatione Ecclesiae*, presented on November 1, 1416 at Constance, and frequently reproduced during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, repeated with little variation the statements noted above in the *Tractatus de materia concilii generalis*. Like that writing it sought a diminution in the size of the Sacred College, without recommending any precise total⁷⁴.

After D'Ailly delivered a sermon entitled «Ad laudem» at the Council on Pentecost, 1417, which propounded his famous program for the coming papal election, succeeding months saw a series of writings on this topic pro and contra. Almost all these remain unpublished; but one of them, by an anonymous German, is in print⁷⁵. Much of this work concerns the makeup of the Sacred College. It favored the selection of cardinals from all parts of Christendom. To bolster this recommendation, it cited the similar views of St. Bernard, Augustinus Triumphus, Henry of Langenstein, and Pierre d'Ailly, but no others⁷⁶. This would indicate that he was aware of no others. More than once the tract complained that all the current cardinals were Italian or French, save for 2 Spaniards. It feared that these 2 countries would continue to monopolize the Sacred College and the papacy⁷⁷. Then it went on to lament the exclusion of the German and English nations from the College, although they constituted about half of Christendom. Nor would it accept the argument that, since the Germans controlled the Empire, they should be satisfied not to have a pope or a seat in the College of Cardinals⁷⁸. Also it rejected the claim that Germans did not wish to become cardinals, and repulsed proffered offers⁷⁹. As for the size of the Sacred College, it mentioned as possibilities a membership of 12, 24, 36, 40, or 50; but it recommended 72 as the most suitable total, since Christ had 72 disciples, and the human race 72 languages; and each language should have a cardinal. The author also held that the Church should have 72 provinces⁸⁰. It went on to note that since the Italian and French «nations» at the Council had 30 cardinals, the other 3 «nations» should have at least 42 more. He would, however, permit the Roman province more than one cardinal, provided these prelates were not related to one another, or born in the same diocese⁸¹. At its close the tract averted to the

⁷⁴ «Et primo tollendus esset ille detestabilis abusus, a quo praesens schisma originem traxit, scilicet quod una natio sive regnum, aliquando ultra aliquando citra montes, ... ita diu Papatum tenuit, ut possit dicere: Haereditate possideamus sanctuarium Dei ... Item pro dicta provisione esset statuendum, quod de caetero major pars Cardinalium non possit assumi de uno regno sive de una natione ... Sed ut de diversis regnis et provinciis indistincte juxta personarum merita assumantur ... Et videretur sufficere, quod de una provincia solum esset unus Cardinalis ...», in VON DER HARDT (above n. 66) I, p. 414.

⁷⁵ The complete text of *Der Schriftencyclus zur Papstwahl im Anschluß an die Cedula: Ad laudem* (1417 Mai 29) is in *Acta Conc. Const.* III, pp. 613-645.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 625-627.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 629, 632-633.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 634.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 634.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 636-638.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 639.

odium for Germans held by a few Italians who claimed that Italians see with 2 eyes, Frenchmen with one, and Germans with none; and that one Italian mule is superior to any German⁸².

To prepare for its final decisions on the reform of the Church, the conciliar fathers set up a reform committee (*reformatorium*). The first such committee, which labored from July, 1415, to the summer of 1417, had 35 members, 8 from each of the 4 elder «nations» (excluding the Spanish one), plus 3 cardinals, including D'Ailly. Succeeding it was a second *reformatorium*, active from the summer of 1417 to the election of Martin V in November of that year, and composed of 25 members, 5 from each of the 5 «nations». Extant are 2 sets of recommendations (*avisamenta*) concerning the Sacred College. Both texts seem to be preliminary drafts rather than final statements; and both are undated. In their contents both are similar in their standards for individual cardinals regarding minimum age, educational and moral qualifications, and health. Neither would admit a cardinal who was related to a living cardinal. The first document set the maximum size of the College at 18, because a larger number has customarily caused confusion. It would also permit no more than one cardinal for one religious order. It further required that the selection of all new cardinals be preceded by the advice and consent in writing of the majority of the College⁸³. The other *avisamentum* would allow only one cardinal for any one mendicant religious order. Cardinals should not exceed 24 in number; and should be chosen proportionately from all part of Christendom, as far as possible. Creations should be made with the advice of the cardinals acting *collegialiter et verbaliter*⁸⁴.

At its fortieth session, October 30, 1417, the Council decreed that the pope soon to be elected must, in conjunction with the Council or with representatives of the various «nations», reform the Church in head and in the Roman Curia. This must be done before the dissolution of the Council, in accordance with the articles agreed upon by the «nations» in the reform committees. There followed the headings of 18 articles, the first of which is entitled: «*De numero, qualitate, et natione dominorum cardinalium*»⁸⁵.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 644.

⁸³ «Quia plerumque multitudo superflua confusionem inducere consuevit, statuimus, ut deinceps numerus cardinalium sancte Romane ecclesie in futurum assumendorum decem et octo non excedat ... nec de uno ordine religionis ultra unum ... Nec fiat eorum electio per auricularia vota solummodo, sed illi solum eligi et assumi possint, in quos facto vero scrutinio ac publicato maiorem partem cardinalium per subscriptionem manus proprie constiterit collegialiter consensisse ...», *Acta Conc. Const. II*, p. 635.

⁸⁴ «Statuimus, ut deinceps numerus dominorum s.R.e. adeo sit moderatus... quod nec sit gravis ecclesie nec superflua in numerositate vilescat. Qui de omnibus partibus christianitatis proportionaliter, quantum fieri poterit, assumantur, ut noticia causarum et negotiorum in ecclesia emergentium facilius haberi possit et equalitas regionum in honoribus ecclesiasticis observetur; sic tamen quod numerum XXIII non excedant ... Nec de uno ordine Mendicantium ultra unum ... Nec fiat eorum electio per auricularia vota solummodo, sed cum concilio dominorum cardinalium collegialiter et verbaliter ...», *Acta Conc. Const. II*, p. 636.

⁸⁵ The text of the headings of these 18 reform articles can be found in J. ALBERIGO *et al.*, editors, *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1962, 420.

A third reform committee was set up after the election of Martin V; and composed of 26 members — 4 from each of the 5 «nations», plus 6 cardinals. Unfortunately no written record of its deliberations is extant. Early in January, 1418, the German «nation» sent to the pope proposals covering the 18 articles of the fortieth session. Concerning the Sacred College it recommended that it be limited to 18 members preferably, or to 24 at the most. These should be chosen by the pope in equal numbers from each nation, so far as possible⁸⁶. The French «nation» produced its own set of proposals the same month. Regarding the cardinals, its views coincided with those of the German «nation»⁸⁷.

Martin V, late in January, 1418, submitted to the conciliar «nations» his own reform program⁸⁸. Article I, «*De numero, qualitate, et natione dominorum cardinalium*», proposed that cardinals be chosen, as far as possible, proportionately from all parts of Christendom. Their total number was not to exceed 24, except that occasionally one or 2 might be added to honor nations lacking a cardinal. Regulations regarding educational and moral qualifications, practical experience, health, and nepotism resembled those of the first and second reform committees. However, there was no mention of a minimum age for new cardinals. Mendicant orders would be limited to one cardinal per order. New cardinals would be selected with the advice of the Sacred College acting *collegialiter*⁸⁹.

At its forty-third session, March 21, 1418, the Council enacted decrees on 7 of the 18 topics noted in the fortieth session. These 7 topics did not include

⁸⁶ «Super primo videtur dicte Nationi, quod numerus decem et octo Dominorum Cardinalium prima facie sufficiat Ecclesiae universali. Si tamen aliae Nationes deliberaverint de XXIV, Natio Germanica non reluctatur. Qualitatem dictorum Dominorum in futurum creandorum admittit, prout est in Reformatione avisata. Distributionem autem per Nationes singulas faciendam, relinquit Summo Pontifici. Ita tamen, quod de qualibet natione aliqui Cardinales, quantocius fieri poterit, habeantur. Nec aliqua natio, sine rationabili comparatione, aliam seu alias in hoc excedat: Sed servetur aequalitas quoad omnes, Romanae Ecclesiae et singularum nationum opportunitatibus, dispositionibus et circumstantiis ponderatis», VON DER HARDT (above n. 66) I, p. 999.

⁸⁷ «Super primo articulo, videlicet de numero et qualitate d. cardinalium. Natio predicta deliberavit quoad numerum, quod numerus d. cardinalium universali ecclesie videtur esse sufficiens de XVIII, ut honestius et melius secundum suum statum eis provideatur. Si tamen alie nationes de maiori numero convenirent, placet nationi concurrere cum eisdem, dum tamen numerus in universo non excedat XXIII. De qualitate vero et aliis in dicto articulo contentis placuit nationi predictae in forma», *Acta Conc. Const.* II, p. 673.

⁸⁸ The full text of this program is in VON DER HARDT, *op.cit.* I, pp. 1021-1028.

⁸⁹ «Statuimus, ut deinceps numerus Cardinalium sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae adeo sit moderatus, quod nec sit gravis Ecclesiae, nec superflua numerositate vilescat. Qui de omnibus partibus Christianitatis proportionaliter, quantum fieri poterit, assumantur. Ut notitia causarum et negotiorum in Ecclesia emergentium facilius haberi possit, et aequalitas regionum in honoribus Ecclesiasticis observetur. Sic tamen, quod numerus viginti quatuor non excedant. Nisi pro honore nationum, quae Cardinales non habent, unus vel duo pro semel de consilio et consensu Cardinalium assumendi viderentur... Non fratres, aut nepotes ex fratre vel sorore, alicujus Cardinalis viventis. Nec de uno ordine mendicantium, ultra unum... Nec fiat eorum electio per auricularia vota solummodo, sed etiam cum consilio Cardinalium, collegialiter, sicut in promotione Episcoporum fieri consuevit...», VON DER HARDT, *op.cit.* I, p. 1021. HEFELE-LECLERCQ VII, pp. 488-489, also prints this text, along with a French translation.

the one on the cardinals. The other reform articles were remitted to the concordats concluded between Martin V and each of the conciliar «nations». The texts of 4 of these concordats are extant⁹⁰. The German, Spanish, and French concordats repeated almost word for word Martin V's proposal; except that the Spanish concordat would require the consent, as well as the advice, of the cardinals if the size of the College arose to 25 or 26. The English concordat did not fix a maximum size to the College; but it did require that cardinals be chosen from all Christian kingdoms and provinces. Also it insisted that both the advice and consent of the majority of the College precede any promotion of cardinals⁹¹. The duration of the English concordat was indefinite; whereas the others ran for only 5 years. At its forty-third session the Council approved these concordats *nationaliter*⁹².

The final outcome of the lengthy conciliar deliberations gave small comfort to the traditional oligarchic aims of the Sacred College⁹³. Thus Constance made no reference in its decrees to the cooperation of the cardinals in the central government of the Church; nor to satisfaction of the financial demands in the election capitulation of 1352. All the concordats, save the English one, granted to the College only an advisory role in the selection of new cardinals. If the Council placed a cap on the College's size not much higher than the 20 sought earlier by the cardinals themselves, it did so largely to ease the financial burden of supporting these prelates, and not to inflate their individual incomes and power. Unlike the capitulation of 1352, the Council demanded a widening of the College's geographical representation.

On the practical level the value of these concordats proved slight. Since the Council of Pavia-Siena (1423-1424) failed to renew the German, French, and Spanish concordats, they lapsed. As for the English concordat, it appears to have fallen soon into oblivion⁹⁴.

Previous to this the German concordat was put to a test by Sigismund of Luxembourg, the German ruler and later emperor. Shortly after the coronation of Martin V in 1417, Sigismund proposed the creation of 2 cardinals, to be designated by himself. To this the Pope would not agree. Then in 1422 Sigismund asked that, in accordance with the German concordat, his chancellor Count Georg von Hohenlohe, the Archbishop of Prague, be made

⁹⁰ The texts of these concordats are printed in ANGELO MERCATI, editor, *Raccolta di Concordati* I, Rome 1954, pp. 144-168.

⁹¹ The text of the English concordat reads: «In primis quod numerus cardinalium S.R.E. adeo sit moderatus, quod non sit gravis ecclesiae, nec nimia numerositate vilescat. Qui indifferenter de omnibus regnis et provinciis totius christianitatis, et cum consensu et assensu collegii dominorum cardinalium, vel majoris partis eorum, eligantur et assumantur», MERCATI, *op.cit.*, p. 165.

⁹² *Nationaliter* signifies ratification by the separate 'nations,' as opposed to *conciliariter*, by the entire Council.

⁹³ On the role of the cardinals at Constance, see KARL GATZEMEIER, *Stellung und Politik der Kardinäle auf dem Konstanzer Konzil nach der Absetzung Johanns XXIII. 29. Mai 1415*, Mosbach/Baden 1937.

⁹⁴ E. F. JACOB, *A Note on the English Concordat of 1418*, in *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.*, edited by J. A. WATT, J. B. MORRALL, and F. X. MARTIN, Dublin 1961, 349-358.

cardinal. Martin V had not acceded to this request by the time of Hohenlohe's death in 1423. When in 1426 Martin V bestowed the red hat on the Bohemian Johannes von Bucca, Bishop of Olmütz, it was not because of Sigismund's intercession⁹⁵.

In accordance with the decree *Frequens* of Constance, Martin V summoned the Council of Pavia-Siena (1423-1424). Of the reform proposals at this synod, only those of the French «nation» are now known. One of them would limit the Sacred College to 18 members, 24 at the most, to be divided proportionately among all nations. Nominations to the cardinalate must rely on a list of names submitted by the various nations⁹⁶. However, this proposal was not enacted.

Martin V's reform decrees of 1425 included a section on the Sacred College; but there was no mention in them of the total number of cardinals or their mode of selection⁹⁷.

What effect did all this conciliar activity have on the actual makeup of the Sacred College under Martin V? He reconstituted the College by receiving into it by June, 1419, the 31 living cardinals of the 3 former obediences, including the Pisan claimant John XXIII, previously Cardinal Baldassar Cossa. These comprehended 17 Italian, 8 French, 4 Spanish, one Portuguese, and one English cardinal. In addition, this pontiff created another 16 cardinals: 6 Italian, 4 French, 3 Spanish, one English, one Bohemian, and one Cypriot⁹⁸. Throughout the pontificate about three-fourths of the cardinals were Italian or French, and most of the others Spanish. At its close there were 23 in the College.

5. Cardinals After Constance.

a. Reappearance of Election Capitulations.

The conclave of 1431 saw the reappearance of an election capitulation, signed by all the conclavists. Among other provisions it required the next pope to abide by the decisions of Constance in naming cardinals, and not to deviate from them without the express consent of the majority of the College. Like the 1352 document it demanded an equal division of the Holy See's income between the pope and his cardinals. Other clauses restrained more the exercise of papal power, and enhanced that of the cardinals than had the earlier

⁹⁵ ALFRED A. STRNAD, *Konstanz und der Plan eines deutschen Nationalkardinals*, in *Das Konzil von Konstanz* (above n. 65), pp. 397-428.

⁹⁶ WALTER BRANDMÜLLER, *Das Konzil von Pavia-Siena, 1423-1424*, I, Münster 1968, 148-153.

⁹⁷ HEFELE-LECLERCQ VII, pp. 645-647, summarizes these decrees.

⁹⁸ The Cypriot, first cardinal from the Latin Orient, was Hugh de Lusignan (c. 1380/91-1442), son of James I, King of Cyprus, and member of the Lusignan dynasty, originally French, descended from the Dukes of Aquitaine. See WIPERTUS H. RUOT DE COLLENBERG, *Les cardinaux de Chypre: Hugues et Lancelot de Lusignan*: *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 20 (1982) 83-128. (Lancelot, nephew of Hugh de Lusignan, was named a cardinal in 1447 by the antipope Felix V).

capitulation⁹⁹. Shortly after his election Eugene IV (1431-1447) reaffirmed this capitulation in writing; but during his long pontificate, during which he was regularly at odds with his cardinals, he did not abide by it.

The next election capitulation accompanied the conclave of 1458. After that, capitulations were a feature of every conclave for the following century; although the texts of over half of them are not now known. The 1458 capitulation again demanded adherence to Constance in the naming of cardinals, while placing even more restrictions on papal government than the 1431 agreement, and enlarging the power of the Sacred College¹⁰⁰. In 1464 the capitulation increased still more the role of the cardinals; and insisted that the size of the College must never exceed 24¹⁰¹. In his *History of the Popes*, Pastor observed of this latter promise:

«The provisions of this document would necessarily have involved a transformation of the monarchical character of the Church's constitution, and have reduced the pope to the position of the mere President of the College of Cardinals»¹⁰².

Paul II complained in 1464 that the stipulations of the election capitulation tied his hands, so that he could do scarcely anything without the consent of the cardinals¹⁰³. He altered on his own the clauses of this capitulation. Like other pontiffs, he judged such a document as no more than a non-binding promise that could not impinge on the plenitude of power inherent in the papal office.

Sixtus V, who had signed a capitulation in 1585, was responsible for major decisions regarding the subsequent role of the Sacred College. His apostolic constitution *Postquam verus* (1586), which was published with the advice and unanimous consent of the cardinals fixed permanently at 70 the maximum membership of the College, with its members chosen from all Christian nations so far as is feasible, in accordance with the Tridentine decree. No mention was made, however, about the need for prior advice or consent of the College in the creation of cardinals¹⁰⁴. In 1588 the Pope reorganized the Roman Curia by establishing a system of permanent congregations of cardinals, which with modifications still functions¹⁰⁵. One of its effects was to deflate the influence of consistories, and to weaken the College's unity. These measures did not terminate election capitulations. Between 1605 and 1676 they are known to have occurred at 8 conclaves; although their significance was much diminished.

⁹⁹ RAYNALDUS, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ad an. 1431, nn. 5-7, contains the text. Its contents are summarized in PASTOR I, p. 284.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, ad an. 1458, nn. 5-8, contains the text. Its contents are summarized in PASTOR III, 10-11.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, ad an. 1464, nn. 54-55, contains the text. Its contents are summarized in PASTOR IV, pp. 9-10.

¹⁰² PASTOR IV, p. 9.

¹⁰³ PASTOR IV, p. 21.

¹⁰⁴ The full text is printed in *Codicis juris canonici Fontes*, edited by Cardinal PIETRO GASPARRI I, Rome 1923, pp. 286-293. Its contents are summarized in PASTOR XXI, pp. 227-229.

¹⁰⁵ PASTOR XXI, pp. 245-261.

b. Consistories.

Several consistories from mid-fifteenth to late sixteenth century also provide evidence of strong opposition by the cardinals to additions to their numbers. Pius II (1458-1464), the former Enea Silvio Piccolomini, has supplied first-hand witness to this in colorful fashion in his autobiography¹⁰⁶. Concerning his own nomination to the College, December 17, 1456, he wrote:

«At Advent... there was bitter dispute in the apostolic senate, because Calixtus wished to create cardinals and the college opposed him. Now they said there were too many cardinals already; now they heaped abuse and insults on the persons named as candidates and, as is their habit, inveighed more and more bitterly against those who were considered better and more worthy of the papacy. Nevertheless Calixtus won with the vigorous support of the three cardinals he had already created and showed himself, as was fitting, the head and master...»¹⁰⁷.

Previous to this nomination there were 22 cardinals. Six more were added on this occasion. A few days later Enea wrote to another newly-created cardinal, Giovanni Castiglioni:

«Never have cardinals entered the College with more difficulty than we. The hinges had become so rusty that the doors would not open. Pope Calixtus had to employ battering rams and all kinds of engines of war in order to force open the door»¹⁰⁸.

At his first creation, March 5, 1460, Pius II added to the existing 20 cardinals 6 more¹⁰⁹. According to Ludwig von Pastor, «those chosen were all excellent men»¹¹⁰. During the consistory, however, Cardinal Scarampo objected:

¹⁰⁶ There is an English version of the complete Latin text, translated from Vatican MS *Reginensis lat.* 1995, entitled *The Commentaries of Pius II*, translated by FLORENCE A. GRAGG, with historical introduction and notes by LEONA C. GABEL (Smith College Studies in History, vols. 22, 25, 30, 35, 43), Northampton, Mass., 1937-1957. A shortened, more readily available version in book form is entitled *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The Commentaries of Pius II an Abridgment*, New York 1959. A critical edition of the Latin text, accompanied with an index of names, had been produced by ADRIAN VAN HECK, *Pii II Commentarii Rerum memorabilium quae temporibus suis contigerunt*, 2 vols., with continuous pagination (Studi e Testi, 312, 313), Città del Vaticano 1984. In the *Commentaries* Pius II speaks of himself in the third person.

¹⁰⁷ Smith College Studies... (above n. 106), 22 (1937) 85; *Memoirs*, p. 76; *Commentarii*..., Lib. I, cap. 32, p. 93.

¹⁰⁸ GEORG VOIGT, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter II*, Berlin 1862 (reprinted Berlin 1967), p. 191. PASTOR II, p. 457.

¹⁰⁹ One of these, the German Burkhard von Weissbriach, Archbishop of Salzburg, was created *in petto*. His name was not published until May 21, 1462. According to Pius II, this «election, it was decided, should not be made public till others should be chosen from the nations across the Alps», in *Memoirs*, p. 151. Regarding the creation of this cardinal, see especially ALFRED A. STRNAD, *Zur Kardinalserhebung Burkhard von Weissbriach*: Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde 106 (1966) 181-246.

¹¹⁰ PASTOR III, p. 294. See pp. 294-297 for information on these 6 cardinals. For the College of Cardinals under Pius II, see WALTER SCHÜRMAYER, *Das Kardinalskollegium unter Pius II.*, Berlin 1914.

«I am ashamed to sit in this place which every man thinks due him. The path to this eminence used to be open only to the most illustrious... You have named a number whom I would not have as servants in my kitchen or stable. Nor do I see the necessity for the creation of new cardinals. There are enough of us already... We are cheapened by too great numbers. We have not enough resources for ourselves, and you wish to add others to take the bread out of our mouths. Further, you have not yet mentioned anyone whom I consider worthy of the red hat»¹¹¹.

After conferring with the cardinals about the coming creation, Pius II departed the consistory to allow them to discuss matters among themselves.

«The cardinals after protracted wrangling sent three representatives to the Pope... to ask that no new cardinals be created, since there were still enough old ones...»¹¹².

As early as December, 1460, Pius II began to propose another creation of cardinals, which would include others besides Italians; but the opposition in the Sacred College was so violent that the actual creation kept being deferred for a year¹¹³. During Lent, 1461, the Pope again brought up the matter, noting that the French and Spaniards considered themselves slighted. When he bade the cardinals to confer among themselves about the number and names of transalpine red hats:

«The cardinals were aghast at the mention of creating cardinals for there is nothing they dislike more than an increase in their number and the fewer they are the better they are pleased. In reply to the Pope they said there were already more of them than was necessary; a large number of itself cheapened the dignity; the provinces did not desire many cardinals, who were a burden to them, since they secured a good part of the recommendations to ecclesiastical benefices. If it was counsel that was needed, there were enough in the present college; if envoys were to be sent, they had enough for that too. They urged, begged, and implored that no more cardinals be added to those already created. The Pope said he could not disregard the request of the transalpine princes nor was it honorable for him to pass over foreign nations. The question was argued in the consistory for a long time, since the Pope was set upon a new election and the cardinals resisted. At last they agreed to put the matter over...»¹¹⁴.

When, in October, Pius II took up the question once more with the cardinals:

«They said the number was already larger than it should be and there was no need of a new creation. The Pope replied that the Transalpine nations had been neglected and some cardinals ought to be created from them. ... All attempts to persuade the cardinals as a body were fruitless. All were aghast at the Pope's

¹¹¹ Smith College Studies ... (above n. 106), 30 (1947) 303-304; *Memoirs*, p. 150; *Commentarii*..., Lib. IV, cap. 9, p. 252.

¹¹² Smith College Studies ..., 30 (1947) 304; *Commentarii*..., Lib. IV, cap. 9, pp. 252-253.

¹¹³ PASTOR III, pp. 297-298.

¹¹⁴ Smith College Studies..., 30 (1947) 376-377; *Commentarii*..., Lib. V, cap. 13, pp. 326-327.

words and like adders stopped their ears against persuasion, making only ambiguous and confused answers. The Pope then proceeded to speak with individuals alone. He made use of exhortation, flattery, promises, terror, and threats, whichever he thought suited to the character of his listener... When the Pope saw that he had won over the majority of the cardinals to agree with him, ... he disregarded the rest and convened the college on the Monday before the four times [ember days] of Advent. He discoursed on the creation of cardinals, stated the number, and named the individuals. The cardinals looked at one another in silence and... no one dared to oppose him. All approved the nominees...

The Cardinal of St. Anastasia, who had outdone the others in stubbornness and folly, when he saw that those who had urged him to stand firm were changing, took a few aside and said, 'There are more traitors than cardinals among us. Let this dignity go to destruction since it is our pleasure. For my part if the Pope decides to add three hundred to our number I shall not oppose him'....¹¹⁵.

At his second and final creation, December 18, 1461, Pius II added to the 23 existing cardinals 6 more — 3 Italians, 2 French, one Spaniard.

Successors of Pius II during the next century and more confronted Sacred Colleges violently opposed to the creation of new cardinals, similarly motivated, utilizing similar delaying tactics, and enjoying similar lack of success. Such was the experience of Sixtus IV in 1476¹¹⁶; of Innocent VIII in 1485¹¹⁷; of Julius II in 1505¹¹⁸; and of Paul III in 1535 and 1542¹¹⁹. As late as 1588, when Sixtus V named 2 cardinals,

«it was characteristic of the temper of the Sacred College that even this small creation aroused such a storm of discontent that at first the Pope could hardly make himself heard at the consistory»¹²⁰.

During the consistories of these decades, the College revealed no inclination to urge a broader national representation among its members.

6. Council of Basel.

Returning to Eugene IV, this pontificate experienced also a great deal of conciliar concern about the Sacred College¹²¹. The Council of Basel (1431-1437) had as its stated purposes peace, care for the faith, and reform. Like the other reform councils of the fifteenth century, it was more interested in reforming

¹¹⁵ Smith College Studies..., 35 (1951) 496-503; *Commentarii*..., Lib. VII, cap. 9, pp. 442-449.

¹¹⁶ PASTOR IV, p. 410.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* V, p. 534.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* VI, pp. 220-222.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* XI, pp. 141, 201-202.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* XXI, pp. 239-241.

¹²¹ For a good survey of efforts to reform the Sacred College between Constance and Trent, see HUBERT JEDIN, *Vorschläge und Entwürfe zur Kardinalsreform*, in *Kirche des Glaubens, Kirche der Geschichte: Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Vorträge II*, Freiburg 1966, 118-147; reprinted, without the documentation, from *Römische Quartalschrift* 43 (1935) 87-126.

the head than the members of the Church. Reform proposals concerning the Sacred College kept recurring to 3 topics as essential: the qualifications and life style of the prelates; the maximum size of the College; and broader national representation¹²². Basel busied itself with this last problem more than with the others. This subject was first presented to the synod in February, 1433, by the German «nation», which advocated that cardinals be chosen from each region, in proportion to the size and quality of each region; but no definite maximum size for the College was mentioned¹²³. It is not known how the council reacted to this suggestion. Johannes Schele, Bishop of Lübeck, and one of the leading members of the German «nation», made a number of reform proposals in 1433 or 1434 that are extant¹²⁴. According to him it was absurd to choose cardinals from only one or 2 Christian nations, some of them young men. He wanted all nations represented, with 30 as the minimum age for a cardinal. Also he advocated that the advice of the Sacred College be sought before a creation¹²⁵.

Reform of the College came to be linked with the question of its financial support. The Archbishop of Lyons, in March, 1434, strongly attacked the Italian predominance, one that resulted in an Italian monopoly of the papacy. He asked why Italian cardinals should be supported by other nations, nations that were insufficiently represented in the College. In the future, he recommended, let Italians support their own cardinals, and other nations, theirs¹²⁶. The French government agreed with this proposal. In an instruction sent to Basel in March, 1436, it asked that the Church be reformed in head and members, beginning with the head. First to be decided should be the number of cardinals. Support for these prelates should come from their own nation. Further, it was suggested that France have more cardinals than any other nation; so that this kingdom might outshine all others in the Church¹²⁷.

A committee of 12 members produced a report in 1435 that recommended a distinction between the 4 principal «nations» (Italian, French, Spanish, German) and all others. In a College of Cardinals with a maximum of 24 members, each of the principal «nations» must have between 4 and 7 cardinals; whereas each of the others would have 2 at the most. Each «nation» would select its own cardinals; and the pope must ratify this selection. These cardinals

¹²² RICHARD ZWÖLFER, *Die Reform der Kirchenverfassung auf dem Konzil zu Basel*: Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde 28 (1929) 144-249; 29 (1930) 1-58 supplies the best account. See especially vol. 29, pp. 28-42, for the reform of the Sacred College.

¹²³ The text of the entire reform proposal is in *Concilium Basiliense*, edited by JOHANNES HALLER et al. I, Basel 1896, 195-201.

¹²⁴ HANS AMMON, *Johannes Schele: Bischof von Lübeck auf dem Basler Konzil*, Lübeck 1931.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-94 has the text of the proposals concerning the cardinals.

¹²⁶ ZWÖLFER (above n. 122), vol. 29, pp. 34-35.

¹²⁷ «Cum ecclesia reformari debeat in capite et in membris, a capite incipiendum est; et primo de numero cardinalium, quod unaqueque natio cardinales habeat, quibus providere teneatur secundum eorum statum etc. Item quia regnum Francie pre ceteris in Dei ecclesia refulget, ex ipso debent assumi cardinales in ampliori numero; videatur quod nominentur fideles regi in tanto numero, quod ceteri non praevalcant», in *Concilium Basiliense* (above n. 123) I, pp. 400-401.

would serve as legates from their own «nation» to the pope. These legates would be obligated under oath not to subscribe to any papal measure until it was examined in their presence, and found by them useful and necessary¹²⁸. Under such conditions cardinals would be permanent, constitutional representatives of their own «nation» in the Roman Curia, rather than papal counselors. It was stated explicitly that each of the 4 «nations» embraced diverse kingdoms, principalities, and dominions¹²⁹.

None of the above proposals was enacted by the Council, largely because of the opposition of England, which insisted that it be recognized as the fifth principal «nation». The German and Italian «nations» supported England; but the French and Spanish wanted England incorporated into the German «nation»¹³⁰.

Basel's final decree on this topic, *De numero et qualitate cardinalium*, was enacted at the twenty-third session, March 26, 1436. It decided that cardinals should be chosen from all Christian regions, as far as this could be done commodiously. No one nation was to have more than one-third of the cardinals; and no one city or diocese more than one cardinal. Nephews of a pope or of a living cardinal were not to enter the College. The total size of the body should not exceed 24; but one or 2 might be added to this maximum because of some great need or utility to the Church; and these could be chosen from the Greeks, once these united with Rome. Election of new cardinals must have the written consent of the majority of the Sacred College¹³¹.

This final decree differed in important respects from earlier proposals. No mention was made of the minimum or maximum number of cardinals that each of the 4 principal «nations» must have. Left open was the question of England's constituting the fifth principal «nation». Gone was the insistence on the right of «nations» to select their own cardinals; and the demand that cardinals serve as legates of their own «nation».

With the collapse of Basel, however, this whole reform attempt was undermined. The long, bitter conflict between Eugene IV and the Council meant that the decree on the Sacred College remained a dead letter, as far as Rome was concerned. Reform of the College was not on the agenda of the continuation of Basel at Ferrara and Florence (1438-1442).

Aftermath of Basel.

Basel's reform legislation received a welcome in France that was denied it in Rome. With some modifications all 23 of these decrees were incorporated into French law in the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438), which was

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* I, pp. 241-243 contains the text of the report.

¹²⁹ «Item quia predictae antiquae nationes plura et diversa regna principatus et dominia, plures etiam notabiles provincias sub se continent...», *ibid.* I, p. 242, n. 9.

¹³⁰ ZWÖLFER (above n. 122), vol. 29, pp. 38-40.

¹³¹ The full text of this decree is in *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta* (above n. 85), pp. 477-480.

registered by Parlement in 1439¹³². Except for the exclusion of the clause prohibiting papal nephews from becoming cardinals, the decree on the number and quality of cardinals was accepted intact. Pius II condemned the Pragmatic Sanction at the Congress of Mantua (1460). Lateran Council V declared it null and void at its fourth session, in 1512. At its eleventh session, in 1516, this Council accepted Leo X's bull, *Pastor aeternus*, which definitively abrogated the Pragmatic Sanction. The Concordat of 1516 between France and the Holy See, which abrogated the Pragmatic Sanction, regulated Church-State relations thereafter.

The electoral princes of the Empire, meeting in a diet at Mainz, also accepted, with some modifications, the Basel reform decrees in the *Instrumentum acceptationis*, March 26, 1439. The decree, *De numero et qualitate cardinalium*, was accepted without change. The *Instrumentum* never received formal approval from King Albert II; it never became a law of the Empire; it was not confirmed at Basel; and it was not recognized by the pope. But it did receive support in the territories of the electoral princes¹³³. Reform of the Sacred College went unmentioned in the Concordat of Princes (1447) and in the Concordat of Vienna (1448).

V. 1431–1565

1. National Composition of College.

Despite Constance and Basel and the electoral capitulation, Eugene IV decided for himself the size of his College of Cardinals. In 6 promotions, he named 27 cardinals. Although there were only 22 after the first promotion (1431), and 28 after the next (1437); the 2 following ones, in 1439 and 1440, both raised the total to 32. After each of the last 2 promotions, in 1444 and 1446, there were 26 cardinals. These creations also broadened national representation in the College beyond that of any previous pontificate. True, the 13 Italian 4 French, and 3 Spanish red hats constituted three-quarters of the promotions. But there were also one Portuguese, one Hungarian, and one English cardinal; and the first German in over 2 centuries, Bishop Schaumberg of Augsburg. Bishop Olesnicki of Cracow became the first Polish cardinal. Two Greek Basilian monks who were active promoters of reunion at Florence also entered the College: Isidore of Kiev, born in Greece, Ruthenian Metropolitan of Moscow; and Bessarion, the famous humanist, who was born in the region of present-day Turkey.

The following 9 popes of the Renaissance period (1447-1513), who were all Italians except for the Spaniards Callistus III and his nephew Alexander VI,

¹³² On the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, see NOËL VALOIS, *Histoire de la Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges sous Charles VII*, Paris 1906; HEFELE-LECLERCQ VII, pp. 1053-1059; VICTOR MARTIN, *Les origines du Gallicanisme II*, Paris 1939, 293-324.

¹³³ HEINZ HURTEN, *Die Mainzer Akzeption von 1439*. Archiv für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte 11 (1959) 42-75.

created 154 cardinals. Eighty of these were Italians, 28 French, and 31 Spaniards, constituting 90 percent of all appointments. This pattern perdured into the nineteenth century. The other creations included 5 German, 3 English, 2 Hungarian, one Polish, and one Cypriot prelates; and also the first native born within the borders of present-day Switzerland, Matthäus Schiner (or Schinner), named in 1511¹³⁴. Nineteen cardinals originated in the Papal States, especially in the city of Rome; these outnumbered the cardinals from all of Christendom outside Italy, apart from France and Spain.

All 8 popes between 1513 and 1565, from the beginning of the Reformation period through the Council of Trent, were Italians, save for the Dutch Adrian VI (who created no cardinals), the last non-Italian pope until John Paul II. Out of the 232 cardinals they raised, 163 (70 percent) were Italian, 29 (13 percent) French, and 20 (9 percent) Spanish. The others included 7 German, 4 English, 3 Portuguese, 2 Netherlander, one Scotch, one Walloon, one Pole, and one Croat prelates. Whereas all of Christendom outside Italy, except for France and Spain, gained only 20 cardinals, the tiny area of the Papal States gave birth to 42.

1. Conciliar Reforms.

a. *Lateran V*.

Interest in reforming the Sacred College outlived Basel. In the latter fifteenth century, Pius II, Sixtus IV, and Alexander VI all had documents drawn up to this effect; but none of them were published. Lateran Council V (1512-1517) issued a decree on the reform of the Roman Curia that contains a lengthy section on the College of Cardinals. Predominantly it dwelt on the life style of cardinals. It ordered that all cardinals reside at the Curia; but it omitted mention of the size or national makeup of the body, or the method of selecting new members¹³⁵.

b. «*Consilium de emendanda ecclesia*».

In 1535 a committee of 4 cardinals and 5 other prelates submitted to Paul III the *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia*, one of the best-known and important reform recommendations of the Reformation era, which prepared for all the key reforms enacted at Trent. In accordance with the injunction of the Pope when he set up the committee, the memorial exposed all the abuses in the Roman Curia and in the rest of the Church that called for improvement.

¹³⁴ The next Swiss cardinal was Gaspard Mermillod, who was named in 1890. See K. BUGMANN and P. L. ZAESLIN, *Schweizerische Kardinäle*, in *Helvetia sacra*, edited by ALBERT BRUCKNER, Abt. I, Bd. I, Bern 1972, 31-33.

¹³⁵ The Latin text, from the ninth session, May 5, 1514, is in *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta* (above n. 85), pp. 593-597. There is a fairly complete English translation in H. J. SCHROEDER, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation, and Commentary*, St. Louis 1937, 491-495.

According to the *Consilium*, what needed correction in the Sacred College was the practice of holding several bishoprics simultaneously by individual cardinals, and the soliciting of these sees from civil rulers. The report claimed that the office of cardinal was incompatible with that of resident bishop; since the function of a cardinal was to assist the pope in governing the whole Church, and that of a resident bishop was to feed his own flock. Condemned also was the absence of so many cardinals from the Roman Curia, while inactive in any other work proper to their office. The *Consilium* would permit some cardinals to dwell in their provinces to help maintain ecclesiastical unity under the Holy See; but it insisted that most cardinals should reside at the Curia. Despite the presence of cardinals on the committee, nothing was said about the maximum size of the Sacred College, its national makeup, or the role of the cardinals in selecting new confreres¹³⁶.

c. Trent.

As the Council of Trent (1545-1563) there was great interest in the reform of the Sacred College¹³⁷. Among secular rulers Emperor Ferdinand I was particularly active in this regard¹³⁸. To his mind a thorough reform of the College was more urgent than the convocation of the Council. In an allocution to two papal legates, October 9, 1560, he complained that there were then more than 60 cardinals, whereas the Council of Basel wanted only 24; and that many of the current cardinals were too young and lacking in ability. His so-called first reform plan, June, 1562, asked for a limit of 26 to the number of cardinals. In his second reform plan, March 3, 1563, he again sought a decrease in the size of the Sacred College; and requested more consideration for maturity, capability, and spirituality in the selection of red hats. The imperial orators at Trent were instructed in August, 1563, to ask that cardinals be chosen from all nations. At this latter date, the French orators petitioned that the maximum size of the College be cut to 24.

Conciliar action was long stalled, however, because of the more pressing urgency of other problems, because of the strong opposition of the cardinals to any reform of their body, and because of papal hesitations formed by the linking of reform of the College of Cardinals with reform of papal elections, and with the question of the superiority of council over pope. Not until its final months did Trent issue decrees about the cardinals. At Session 23, July 15, 1563, it was enacted that all who preside over patriarchal, primatial, metropolitan, and cathedral churches are bound to personal residence in their

¹³⁶ The complete Latin text is printed in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des Römischen Katholizismus*, edited by CARL MIRBT and KURT ALAND, Tübingen 1967, 530-537. There is an incomplete English translation in *Readings in Church History*, edited by COLMAN J. BARRY II, Westminster, Md., 1965, 96-102. PASTOR XI, pp. 164-172, has a good analysis of the contents.

¹³⁷ JOACHIM BIRKNER, *Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform des Kardinalkollegiums unter Pius IV.*: Historisches Jahrbuch 52 (1932) 340-355.

¹³⁸ GOTTFRIED EDER, *Die Reformationsvorschläge Kaiser Ferdinands I.*, Münster 1911.

diocese, even if they be cardinals¹³⁹. At Session 24, November 16, 1563, the pope was directed to choose cardinals from all the nations of Christendom, so far as this is feasible; and to use the same norms as regards manner of life, age, doctrine, and other qualities in the selection of cardinals as were enacted by the Council for the choice of bishops¹⁴⁰. Tridentine legislation, therefore, did not insist that cardinals reside at the Roman Curia; it avoided setting limits to the size of the College; it was silent on the role of the cardinals in the choice of new cardinals; and it left popes with wide latitude in deciding who would be cardinals. This was the final statement to date of an ecumenical council on the Sacred College.

VI. 1565-1799

1. National Composition of College.

Subsequent to Trent little alteration in the makeup of the College can be detected for the remainder of the sixteenth century. Of the 147 cardinals created by the 7 popes between 1566 and 1605, 106 (72 percent) were Italian, 18 (12 percent) French, and 13 (9 percent) Spanish. The others included 2 Germans, 2 Austrian archdukes, 3 Poles, one Croat, one Fleming, and one Englishman. The 38 cardinals from the Papal States far outnumbered all the cardinals from outside Italy, except for France and Spain; and nearly equalled all the non-Italians, with France and Spain included. Sixtus V was no exception to the above practices. Although his constitution, *Postquam verus* (1586), which established 70 as the full complement of the Sacred College, decreed that cardinals be selected from all parts of the Christian world, his 33 creations numbered 26 Italian, 4 French, one Spanish, one Croat, and one English prelates. Ten came from the Papal States.

By the late sixteenth century missionaries had spread the Church to the enormous Spanish and Portuguese dominions in the Western Hemisphere, Asia, and Africa, far beyond the medieval confines. Population-wise, however, about nine-tenths of all Catholics dwelt in Europe as late as 1700, as far as can be estimated from the fragmentary and imperfect available evidence¹⁴¹.

During the next half-century, (1605-1655), which brought to a close the Counter-Reformation period, the 7 popes named 185 cardinals. Since 152 (82 percent) of these were Italians, the Sacred College became almost as much as Italian body as it been a French one during the Avignon period. Together with

¹³⁹ The Latin text of Canon 1 of *Decreta super reformatione* is in *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta* (above n. 85), pp. 720-722. H. J. SCHRÖDER, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent: Original Text with English Translation*, St. Louis 1941, has an English version of this text on pp. 164-166, and the Latin one on pp. 436-438.

¹⁴⁰ The Latin text of Canon 1 of *Decretum super reformatione* is in *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, pp. 735-737. SCHRÖDER, *op.cit.*, has an English translation on pp. 190-192, and the Latin original on pp. 460-462.

¹⁴¹ JOSEPH GRISAR, *Zur Religionsstatistik Europas gegen Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati V* (Studi e Testi, 125), Città del Vaticano 1946, 477-523.

12 (7 percent) from France, and 13 (7 percent) from Spain, these 3 areas furnished 96 percent of the red hats. The other 8 nominees included 2 Poles, 2 Hungarians, 2 Germans, one Austrian, and one Bohemian. The 78 cardinals who were natives of the Papal States showed this small region to be increasingly the source of cardinals. This group far outnumbered the cardinals from the whole of Christendom outside Italy, including France and Spain; since the non-Italian cardinals totaled only 33.

Much the same pattern characterized the ensuing century and a half. Between 1655 and 1799 the 14 popes created 498 cardinals. Italians comprised 393 (80 percent), French 35 (7 percent), and Spaniards 24 (5 percent). From the Iberian peninsula came also 11 Portuguese cardinals. From Central and Eastern Europe came 12 German, 11 Austrian, 2 Bohemian, 3 Polish, one Hungarian, and one Croat cardinals. Two more red hats went to the Low Countries, one to Alsace, and 2 to England. The city of Rome, together with the rest of the Papal States, with 170 cardinals, continued to be the favored source of these dignitaries, far outstripping the total of all non-Italians. Italy south of the Papal States and Sicily remained the section of the peninsula least represented in the Sacred College, gaining only 47 cardinals in this period.

2. Critiques of College's Makeup.

What was the reaction throughout Christendom to the maximum size of the Sacred College as set by Sixtus V; and to the actual geographical distribution of red hats, after Trent had called for the representation of all Christian nations? No urging for a College larger than 70 has been discovered; nor for a much smaller one, although some cardinals continued reluctant to welcome newcomers into their midst. A few critiques by cardinals themselves concerning the national makeup of their body have been unearthed. Thus in 1674 the German Cardinal Frederick of Hesse complained bitterly in a report to Emperor Leopold I about the small number of non-Italian cardinals¹⁴².

Cardinal Jean-François-Paul de Gondi, known as Cardinal de Retz, composed a more significant assessment in 1666 in the form of a memoir for the French royal court, which was much appreciated by Louis XIV. After cataloging, more or less accurately, the number of Italian and non-Italian, or national, cardinals named by each pope since 1417, De Retz criticized all the popes of the intervening period for the invariably small percentage of national cardinals. Especially was he condemnatory of the post-Tridentine pontiffs for their failure to conform better to the Tridentine decree on the choice of cardinals from all nations of Christendom — he omitted mention of the Councils of Constance and Basel. He complained, too that in 1666 merely 4 national cardinals existed in the world, only one of them resident in Rome; and that the city of Genoa had more native sons in the Sacred College than had the entire world outside Italy, and so had Siena. His one specific

¹⁴² PASTOR XXXII, p. 2, n. 1.

-commendation was that popes name more cardinals from France, Spain, and the Empire, although no precise numbers were suggested. These names would be furnished by the civil rulers of these 3 great Catholic powers. Yet these were the areas outside Italy with the most cardinals already. De Retz lamented that these rulers sometimes felt constrained to recommend Italian prelates for the cardinalate because of their inability to secure red hats for their fellow nationals. Nowhere in this document can be found a plea for cardinals from other specific nations¹⁴³.

3. Crown Cardinals.

a. *Prevalence.*

In describing the creation of French, Spanish, and German cardinals as made «to satisfy the princes», Cardinal de Retz used a phrase that the popes themselves utilized. It accurately characterized Rome's motivation; and it helps explain the national imbalance in the Sacred College. Examination of the procedures followed in the selection of non-Italian cardinals during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries reveals that, with some exceptions, all were made by popes acceding to the recommendations, if not demands or threats of Catholic rulers¹⁴⁴. Moreover, the same procedure accounted for the choice of many Italian cardinals; because Catholic rulers outside Italy labored, sometimes with great vigor and tenacity, for the promotion of Italian prelates who had served as nuncios to their courts, if these were considered friendly to the interests of the country sponsoring them. Nuncios collaborated in this procedure¹⁴⁵. Polish rulers were especially prone to follow this course. Other Italians gained the cardinalate by becoming high government officials outside their homeland, men like Alberoni in Spain and Mazarin (born in Italy, in the Abruzzi region) in France. The Bourbons and Hapsburgs also embraced in their vast domains the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and extensive regions in central and northern Italy.

As far back as the Middle Ages, as has been noted, some civil rulers besought Rome to gain places for their subjects in the Sacred College. This pressure became more extensive and intensive and successful in the sixteenth

¹⁴³ Retz's *Mémoire sur la promotion* is printed in R. CHANTELAUZE, *Le Cardinal de Retz et ses missions diplomatiques à Rome*, Paris 1879, 401-416.

¹⁴⁴ ANTOINE DEGERT, *Le Chapeau de Cardinal de Richelieu*: *Revue historique* 118 (1915) 227 describes the situation in France: «Les deux pouvoirs entraient en concours dans l'élévation d'un sujet à cette haute dignité. Depuis le Concordat de 1516, le cardinalat, par les hauts privilèges qu'il conférait, même en notre droit public, à ses titulaires, tendait de plus en plus à devenir, en France, une distinction politique autant qu'une dignité ecclésiastique, et si le pape en disposait souverainement, il ne la conférait presque jamais que sur la proposition du roi. Mais, dans l'évaluation des mérites des candidats, le pape et roi s'inspiraient rarement des mêmes motifs...»

¹⁴⁵ PASTOR XXIX, p. 165, described the situation in mid-seventeenth century thus: «It was a particularly embarrassing practice of nuncios to try to obtain the purple with the help of the Princes to whom they were accredited. Already Pius IV (1559-1565) had issued a Bull against this abuse, but he failed to root out the evil».

and early seventeenth centuries; and much more so in the ensuing century and a half of the Age of Absolutism. Catholic governments considered it important to have their religious and political interests promoted at the Court of Rome by cardinals amenable to their wishes; and to have a voice at conclaves. It became traditional for popes to select as cardinals some individuals whose names were proposed by the most powerful Catholic rulers, particularly those of France, Spain, and the Empire. When Rome turned down or delayed the implementation of the recommendations of these 3 leading powers for so-called crown, or national, cardinals, the reaction was one of ever-increasing discontent. Portugal came to assume a similar attitude; and so did smaller Italian principalities. To get their way, governments regularly had resort to high-pressure tactics, such as the presentation through their ambassadors to Rome of the same nominee for years on end, accompanied by refusals to heed papal pleas for military or other aid against heretics or Turks until their demands were met; threats of schism or armed violence; and severance of diplomatic relations with Rome. Usually, but not inevitably, these measures, alone or in combination, proved successful.

Concrete examples that illustrate government outlook and procedures are not lacking. Thus, when Julius II sought French military help in 1506 for the recovery of Perugia and Bologna in the Papal States, he had to promise King Louis XII and his prime minister Cardinal Georges d'Amboise that he would, among other things, name 3 French cardinals. It was part of the agreement that all 3 must be close relatives of D'Ambroise, thereby enhancing the chances of this ambitious prelate to succeed Julius II as pope¹⁴⁶. Again in 1557 France made clear that continuation of military aid to the pope depended on compliant consideration of its candidates for the Sacred College¹⁴⁷.

Emperor Charles V in 1551 asked Julius III to reserve 4 places in the Sacred College *in petto*, permitting the Emperor to supply the names later¹⁴⁸. This request was refused. Three decades later, however, Charles V's successor, Philip II, went even further when he stated that he desired that only those Spaniards proposed by himself should receive the purple; and that otherwise he preferred that there should be no promotion of any Spaniard¹⁴⁹.

To secure Spanish and French military cooperation in the war against the Turks, Clement IX in 1669 raised to the cardinalate Luis Portocarrero and Emmanuel de la Tour d'Auvergne, Duke D'Albret, later known as Cardinal de Bouillon. When the court of Vienna complained that its candidate had been passed over at this consistory, the nuncio explained that the wishes of Spain and France had been heeded because their assistance was vital for the relief of Candia. In reply Prince Lobkowitz, one of Leopold's leading ministers, threatened that the Emperor would join hands with the heretics if his candid-

¹⁴⁶ PASTOR VI, pp. 259-289.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* XIV, p. 201.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* XIII, p. 171.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* XXI, p. 238, n. 1.

ate for cardinal was not named; and was thinking of expelling the nuncio, and breaking off diplomatic relations with the Holy See. As became clear later, the source of these threats was Prince Auersperg, another leading minister, a widower who ambitioned a red hat for himself, and who had sought and gained French intervention in his behalf. When Auersperg's duplicity was revealed soon after, he lost all chance of obtaining the cardinalate, and was dismissed from court in disgrace¹⁵⁰. But he knew the nuncio would take him seriously, because his strategy was not unusual.

A somewhat similar, but much more famous case, involved Giulio Alberoni (1664-1752), an Italian cleric whose intellectual prowess and extraordinary flair for languages induced the Duke of Parma to send him to Madrid as his ambassador. There he arranged a marriage between the Duke's niece, Elizabeth Farnese, and King Philip V of Spain. Alberoni gained great influence with the new queen who came to dominate her weak husband. She and Alberoni soon became the real rulers of Spain. Aware of his precarious position as a foreigner with no official government position, Alberoni sought to solidify his political power, in the manner of Richelieu, by obtaining a red hat. To overcome Clement XI's strong aversion to such a procedure, Alberoni induced the nuncio to make a special trip to Rome in 1716 to plead his case. Papal objections did not vanish, however, until it was made clear that Spanish fulfilment of its promised military aid against the Turks for the relief of the island of Corfu hinged on Alberoni's ecclesiastical promotion. Once news reached Madrid in 1717 of Alberoni's acceptance into the College of Cardinals, the Spanish fleet set sail. (But as it turned out, Alberoni double-crossed the Pope by diverting the fleet from the beleaguered Christian island of Corfu, and directed it to attack Sardinia, an imperial possession of an ally in this crusade!)¹⁵¹.

Ladislav IV of Poland in 1640 sought a place in the Sacred College for Onorato Visconti, an Italian who had been nuncio to Warsaw from 1630 to 1635. When Urban VIII did not include Visconti in the promotion of 1641, the King showed his anger by dismissing the current nuncio from Warsaw, and recalling his envoy from Rome¹⁵².

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* XXXI, pp. 345-348. GRETE MECENSEFFY, *Im Dienste dreier Habsburger: Leben und Wirken des Fürsten Johann Weikhard Auersperg (1615-1677)*: Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 114 (1938) 295-509, especially pp. 462-493.

¹⁵¹ PASTOR XXX, pp. 121-174.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* XXIX, pp. 165-166. Polish prelates did not then ambition the cardinalate, apparently because of the disputes over precedence that would ensue in the turbulent Polish political assemblies. Between 1417 and 1605 there were only 6 Polish cardinals, and only 4 more between 1605 and 1700. During the entire eighteenth century, there was only one. None were created between 1738 and 1856. It became a practice for Polish rulers to recommend as their crown cardinals former Italian nuncios to Warsaw. Four of these received red hats between 1622 and 1747. Between 1671 and 1754 there were 2 French and 2 Austrian prelates who became Polish crown cardinals. The French Foreign Minister of Louis XIV, the Marquis de Pomponne, was aware of this situation when he noted in his *Mémoires sur l'état de l'Europe en 1679*: «Comme cette dignité n'était point recherchée par les prélats polonais qui se croient assez élevés par le propre, et qu'elle les embarrasserait pour le rang dans les diètes qu'ils estiment plus que toute chose, les rois n'avaient nommé depuis très longtemps que les nonces du pape qui résidaient auprès d'eux...», cited in CHARLES GERIN, *Louis XIV et le Saint-Siège II*, Paris 1894, 565, n.2.

When Poland claimed it had been overlooked in the promotion of March, 1667, it not only lodged a vehement protest in Rome; it also proposed that all the Catholic powers should unite to threaten the pope with schism unless he took into account their wishes in naming cardinals¹⁵³.

In 1717 Count Gallas, the imperial ambassador to Rome, demanded that Emmerich Czacki, who had been reserved *in petto* as cardinal on July 12, 1717, be publicly proclaimed as such; and that the next vacancy in the Sacred College be retained for another candidate of the emperor. Otherwise the papal nuncios and collectors would be expelled from Naples, Milan, and the Netherlands, and the ecclesiastical revenues sequestered. When Clement XI asked for time to think matters over, Gallas revealed that he had orders to wait only 4 days. Very soon thereafter Czacki's promotion was published¹⁵⁴.

About this time Portugal became involved in a long, acrimonious dispute with Rome over the naming of a cardinal. Clement XI decided in 1720 to recall his unsatisfactory nuncio to Lisbon, Vincenzo Bichi (1668-1750), and to replace him with a newly-named one, Giuseppe Firrao. Portugal utilized the occasion to try to raise the stature of the Lisbon nunciature to that of Madrid, Paris, and Vienna, whose retiring nuncios traditionally became cardinals. King John V refused to allow Bichi's departure unless he were assured the cardinalate. Rome refused to give way, not only because of its complaints against Bichi, but also because of fear lest it initiate a precedent that would rouse protests from Spain, France, and the Empire; and lead to similar demands from other lesser Catholic courts¹⁵⁵. Clement XI, and after him, Innocent XIII and Benedict XIII would not bow to Portugal's demand. Finally, after Portugal had closed the Lisbon nunciature, forbidden Portuguese subjects, whether clerics or laity, to deal directly with the Holy See, and ordered all its subjects from Rome, Clement XII relented in 1731, and bestowed on Bichi the long-awaited red hat¹⁵⁶.

Not long after this Portugal won from Rome a concession never granted before or since to any other government. The concordat of 1737, in a clause long kept secret lest it tempt other countries to make a similar demand, stated

¹⁵³ PASTOR XXXI, p. 133.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* XXXIII, pp. 148, 155-158.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* XXXIV, pp. 181-189, 403. There is a biography of Bichi by G. DE CARO, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* X (1960) 353-355.

¹⁵⁶ Illustrative of the importance that governments attached to the conferring of the cardinalate on departing nuncios is the case of Niccolò Pietro Bargellini. When in 1671 Clement X revealed his intention of terminating his undistinguished service as nuncio to Paris, Louis XIV insisted that Bargellini remain as nuncio unless he be given a red hat. The King claimed it was an offence to the French crown to send into his realm a nuncio who was not worthy of entering the Sacred College. (As matters turned out, Bargellini did not remain as nuncio; nor did he ever become a cardinal). GERIN (above n. 152) II, p. 452; G. DE CARO, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, VI (1964) 349-350. In 1753 King John V of Portugal was repaid for his persistence when he finally persuaded Rome that the nunciature in Lisbon carried with it the practical certainty of a future place in the College of Cardinals; and that the nuncio was not to depart Lisbon until he received his nomination to the cardinalate. This led to protests and threats from Sardinia, Naples, and Venice. PASTOR XXXV, pp. 341-342.

that Patriarchs of Lisbon would always be made cardinals¹⁵⁷. Since then they regularly have been. In 1766 Clement XIII confirmed as a Portuguese prerogative that whoever was named Patriarch of Lisbon would be created cardinal at the next consistory¹⁵⁸.

Bishop Armand de Richelieu is the most noted example of a secular statesman who sought the cardinalate to further a political career; and persisted in this ambition, with government cooperation, until he succeeded¹⁵⁹. In his case it required a vigorous three-year campaign spearheaded by himself, King Louis XIII, and the French ambassador to Rome to overcome the objections of the Court of Rome, and to obtain the cardinalate in 1622¹⁶⁰. Richelieu then utilized his great political power over a period of several years to win the same dignity for his brother Alphonse in 1629¹⁶¹. Not until December, 1641, after mixing requests with threats, was he able to secure this honor for Giulio Mazarin, who succeeded him as virtual ruler of France after 1642¹⁶². But 6 years of effort to gain the same honor for Père Joseph, his Capuchin assistant, ended in failure; and the «Grey Eminence», whom Richelieu seemed to be grooming to replace him as prime minister died in 1638 without the purple. Once in power, Mazarin strove for a place in the College of Cardinals for his brother Michael, a very mediocre person. He reached his goal in 1647 by pleasing Rome for taking action against the Jansenists¹⁶³.

Even more vigorous was the successful three-year campaign, termed by his biographer an assault, of a latter-day Richelieu and Mazarin, Guillaume Dubois¹⁶⁴. Famed throughout Europe for his diplomatic skill in arranging the

¹⁵⁷ PASTOR XXXIV, pp. 406-408. The text of the concordat is in *Raccolta di Concordati* (above n. 90) I, pp. 328-329.

¹⁵⁸ PASTOR XXXVII, p. 401. In his consistorial allocution, June 15, 1843, on the occasion of raising to the cardinalate the Patriarch of Lisbon, Francesco a S. Luis Saraiva, Pope Gregory XVI took note of the concordat of 1737. Saraiva died in 1845. In the following year his successor as Patriarch was made cardinal. See the text of the allocution in ANTONIO BERNASCONI (ed.), *Acta Gregorii Papae XVI*, III, Rome 1903 (reprinted at Graz, Austria, 1971), 279-280.

¹⁵⁹ DEGERT, *Le Chapeau...* (above n. 144), pp. 225-288, contains a very thorough, well-documented description of Richelieu's pursuit of a red hat.

¹⁶⁰ The Marquis de Coeuvres, the French diplomat and father of Cardinal d'Estrées, wrote in January 1621: «...la dignité du roi et de sa couronne est entièrement engagé à obtenir ce que depuis dix-huit mois Sa Majesté a continuellement fait demander par M. l'ambassadeur et depuis si vivement poursuivi...», cited in DEGERT, *op.cit.*, p. 230.

¹⁶¹ PASTOR XXVIII, p. 399.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* XXVIII, pp. 410-411.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* XXX, pp. 62-64.

¹⁶⁴ See especially P. BLIARD, *Dubois, Cardinal et Premier Ministre (1656-1723)*, 2 vols., Paris 1902, particularly II, pp. 115-246. Bliard's account is one of unequaled thoroughness, based on original sources. At its conclusion, he reflected: «Effectivement, plus encore que l'épiscopat, on avait, pour ainsi dire, sécularisé le cardinalat: il était presque devenu une dignité profane, que les gouvernements les plus catholiques se disputaient avec acharnement et tâchaient d'exploiter assez ordinairement non pas uniquement pour les intérêts de l'éternité, mais bien surtout pour ceux du temps. C'est pour cela qu'affin d'atteindre cet honneur, on usait de toutes les armes, à peu près comme s'il se fut agi d'enlever une citadelle... Comme la plupart de ses contemporains, Dubois vit-il dans la pourpre cardinalice moins une participation plus haute à l'autorité spirituelle, qu'un moyen de tenir ses adversaires politiques à distance, d'en imposer à la foule, d'assurer son pouvoir. La justice demandait qu'on le constatât», *ibid.* II, pp. 245-246.

Triple Alliance (1717) of France, England, and Holland; and then the Quadruple Alliance (1718), joined also by Austria. Dubois became French Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1718, and Prime Minister in 1721. Motivated not by vanity, but by desire to solidify and advance his political power, to increase his popular influence, and to overcome his numerous critics, he utilized every means at his disposal to obtain a red hat. Thus he dispatched to Rome Pierre Lafitau as an agent well supplied with funds to lobby with cardinals and other influential ecclesiastics. Dubois was also able to enlist the active support of Louis XV of France, the Emperor, and the rulers of Spain and Portugal. Even the Protestant King George I of England and his cabinet were induced to extend themselves in his behalf. So was George I's rival, the Catholic Stuart Pretender to the throne, James III. Rome admitted that he retained the royal prerogative of nominating individuals for the cardinalate; the only royal prerogative he was able to exercise, as he admitted. Dubois arranged a sizable annual government pension for the impecunious Pretender, with the sole proviso that he recommend Dubois for the cardinalate. However, in the promotion of November 27, 1719, the only French ecclesiastic to be honored was Archbishop Mailly of Reims. This greatly displeased the French government, which had formally opposed this nomination. In 1720 Dubois was made Archbishop of Cambrai. Up to then he had not received either Major or Minor Holy Orders. This honor did not, however, deter him from his higher goal. Thus he induced the French Cardinal Rohan to try at the conclave of 1721 to extract from any cardinal likely to be elected pope a promise to make Dubois a cardinal. When presented with this document Cardinal Conti, who emerged as Innocent XIII, said he found nothing reprehensible in it. Urged on by the appeals, mixed with threats, of the supporters of Dubois, Innocent XIII conferred on him the coveted honor in his second promotion, July 16, 1721. Like Richelieu and Mazarin before him, Dubois never visited Rome after promotion to the cardinalate, even for the bestowal of the red hat.

Another strategy that was used occasionally by rulers to increase their influence in the Sacred College was to present one of their own subjects as the nominee of another country. At times Rome approved, but very reluctantly. Thus in 1669 Louis XIV proposed as crown cardinal of Portugal, with the consent of the Portuguese ruler, César d'Estrées, Bishop of Laon. When Rome demurred on more than one count, César was sent to Rome as envoy extraordinary to promote his own cause, aided by his brother, the Duke d'Estrées, who was French ambassador to the Holy See. After Louis XIV threatened to close his kingdom to all ministers of the Holy See if it continued to frustrate his wishes, Clement X yielded in the promotion of August 24, 1671¹⁶⁵. At the same consistory Louis XIV won another victory when Pierre de

¹⁶⁵ PASTOR XXXI, pp. 473-475; GÉRIN (above n. 152) II, pp. 368-374, 396-398, 404, 412-418, 429-474.

Bonsi, Archbishop of Toulouse and French ambassador to Warsaw, was named crown cardinal of Poland, with the approval of the Polish king¹⁶⁶.

Much more protracted was the endeavor to win entrance into the College of Cardinals for Toussaint de Forbin-Janson, Bishop of Marseilles. This very capable diplomat served as French ambassador to Warsaw, where he irritated Rome by promoting Louis XIV's Turkish policies. In 1673 Louis XIV recommended him, as did the king of Poland, as crown cardinal of Poland¹⁶⁷. In Rome the case was vigorously pursued by Cardinal César d'Estrées and his brother, the Duke d'Estrées. So ardently did the latter pursue his goal that it led to an incident unprecedented in modern papal history. In 1675, during one of his innumerable papal audiences on this matter, he laid violent hands on the 85-year-old Clement X, winning for himself an immediate excommunication^{167a}. The next pontiff, Innocent XI (1676-1689), repeatedly refused this promotion during his entire pontificate. On one occasion in 1686 he declared he would break off relations with France before he would make Forbin-Janson a cardinal. Victory for France capped 17 years of work. To help restore religious peace in France, Alexander VIII bestowed a red hat on Forbin-Janson in 1690. As cardinal he served Louis XIV for the next 23 years «as an entirely willing tool»¹⁶⁸.

In a reverse type of procedure, though guided equally by French political interests, Louis XIV began urging in 1673 as crown cardinal of France a German prelate, Wilhelm Egon von Fürstenberg, who in 1683 succeeded his brother as Bishop of Strasbourg. Fürstenberg was a born subject of the Empire; but Emperor Leopold I imprisoned him for a time for his conspiratorial partisanship toward France. At last, in 1686, Innocent XI gave way, and raised him to the purple. However, he blocked Louis XIV's effort to have Fürstenberg transferred to the see of Cologne, where he would be a prince-elector of the Empire. Instead the Pope confirmed the youthful Clement of Bavaria for Cologne in 1688, a step that led to a European war, the War of the League of Augsburg¹⁶⁹.

Louis XIV made another extraordinary attempt to influence the makeup of the Sacred College when in 1662 he utilized the incident of the Corsican Guards in Rome to demand that, among other things, the Governor of Rome, Cardinal Lorenzo Imperiali, be removed from the College of Cardinals. Although Alexander VII had to agree to several humiliating conditions to placate the French monarch, he would do no more in Imperiali's case than transfer him to a post outside Rome as legate to the Marches¹⁷⁰.

¹⁶⁶ GERIN II, pp. 102-104, 233.

¹⁶⁷ PASTOR XXXI, pp. 478-480; XXXII, pp. 119-121, 543-547; GERIN II, pp. 557-609; E. MICHAUD, *Louis XIV et Innocent XI*, III, Paris 1883, 94-134. Gérin's volumes cover the years from 1655 to 1676, and Michaud's, from 1676 to 1689.

^{167a} PASTOR XXXI, pp. 479-480.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* XXXII, pp. 546-547.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* XXXI, pp. 139-143, 478; XXXII, pp. 374-405, 418.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* XXXI, p. 103.

b. *Papal Attitudes.*

Paul II (1464-1471) once remarked that in naming cardinals a pope needs to be a god¹⁷¹. His successors in the ensuing 3 centuries must have found this problem even more trying. Some of them have indicated as much. During an audience with the imperial ambassador in 1717, Clement XI complained about the demands that were being made on him by various Catholic governments; and asserted that they seemed to be trying to force the pope to fill the Sacred College with foreigners, and to deprive him of his freedom to name deserving prelates as cardinals. He then spoke of resigning the papacy, which had become for him a crown of thorns¹⁷². At another audience in 1709, when he was being pressed for various concessions during the War of the Spanish Succession by agents of the Bourbons, Clement XI compared himself to a sea captain who is surrounded by corsairs, and who offers part of the cargo as a ransom for ship and crew¹⁷³.

When the French ambassador Cardinal de Polignac tried to get Benedict XIII in 1726 to agree not to create more than 12 cardinals during his entire pontificate, the Pope insisted that he would not yield to this attempt to restrict his power; that he would rather give up the papal office, and return to Benevento, his former archbishopric, than do so¹⁷⁴.

In an age when Church and State were still closely intertwined, the popes accepted recommendations from Catholic rulers, particularly the most powerful ones, as the official protectors of the Church within their realms. Some popes, however, had misgivings about permitting this latitude. Thus Pius V (1566-1572) declared that he did not give advice to princes about their appointments; and so they should not find fault if he did not entertain their suggestions in the nomination of cardinals¹⁷⁵. When Urban VIII was pressed in 1637 by the Spanish ambassador to bestow a red hat on an unqualified ecclesiastic, he responded that he must be as free in the choice of cardinals as princes were in selecting their advisers¹⁷⁶. Innocent XI insisted in 1686 that cardinals are named for the good of the Church, not for that of secular states; and he instructed his nuncio to Paris to emphasize that the nomination of cardinals was exclusively the affair of the pope, who would have to give an account of it to God¹⁷⁷. In practice, all 3 of these popes did name crown cardinals. When, however, in 1667 France and Spain went so far as to claim that the power of naming crown cardinals was theirs by right, Clement IX would not hear of such a pretension¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷¹ «Dicebat in rebus aliis hominem esse non posse, in Ecclesiarum rectoribus creandis angelum, in collegio augendo Deum Pontificem esse oportere», cited in RAYNALDUS, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ad an. 1471, n. 63.

¹⁷² PASTOR XXXIII, p. 148.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* XXXIII, pp. 62-63.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* XXXIV, p. 182.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* XVII, p. 162.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* XXIX, p. 193.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* XXXII, p. 415.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* XXXI, p. 345.

Papal qualms about government intervention in the process of choosing cardinals did not arise solely from the implicit diminution of their independence. Catholic rulers normally selected crown cardinals with their own interests in view, not those of the popes. As a result a high percentage of such candidates were ecclesiastically unsuited for the Sacred College. In some cases blood relationship to the ruler was the chief, if not the sole recommendation; as was the case of Fernando, son of King Philip III of Spain, who became a cardinal in 1619 at the age of ten¹⁷⁹. More often governments advanced the names of clerics, or occasionally of laymen, who had gained prominence as secular statesmen or diplomats. Examination of the individual appointments reveals that a good 60 of the French and Spanish cardinals created in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries belong in this category. Many cardinals with such backgrounds were loathe to take up residence in Rome, unless in the service of their rulers as ambassadors, as several were. Some never bothered to visit Rome. Francesco Acquaviva, Spanish ambassador to Rome in the early eighteenth century, was described as an ambassador of a king rather than a cardinal¹⁸⁰. When Troiano Acquaviva d'Aragona, who had been simultaneously cardinal and Spanish ambassador to Rome, lay dying in 1747, Benedict XIV admonished him to repair as best he could the harm he had inflicted on the Church because of the aid he had given to the enemies of the papacy¹⁸¹. Pierre Guérin de Tencin, the French statesman who became Archbishop of Lyons and cardinal, was on intimate terms with Benedict XIV. The Pope wrote to him frequently on confidential matters under promise of absolute secrecy. Although Tencin promised to reveal the letters to no one, he had fair copies of them made, and handed them over to the French government¹⁸².

Paul IV took note of this type of cardinal whose primary loyalty was to his civil ruler, rather than to the pope, when he told the Venetian ambassador in 1555 that he would not hesitate to choose foreigners as cardinals if only they were independent. He exclaimed:

«What a disgrace that prince should have servants in the Sacred College! How can secrecy be kept, or impartiality be hoped for in such a dependent position? What sort of people have received the purple on such terms?»¹⁸³

Clement VIII remarked in 1596:

«Cardinals who are appointed at the request of princes almost always follow private interests, as I myself have experienced at conclaves»¹⁸⁴.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* XXV, p. 337.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* XXXIII, p. 150.

¹⁸¹ GIACOMO MARTINA, *La Chiesa nell'età dell'Assolutismo, del Liberalismo, del Totalitarismo*, Brescia 1970, 239.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 239.

¹⁸³ PASTOR XIV, p. 181.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* XXIV, p. 193.

It was customary at conclaves for crown cardinals to abide by the instructions of their governments regarding cardinals whose election they should promote or discourage. The French Cardinal Louis de Vendôme is one example of this kind of subservience. At the order of Louis XIV he traveled to Rome in 1667 with the other French cardinals to be on hand for the expected conclave, as Alexander VII lay mortally ill. As soon as he arrived in the Eternal City, Vendôme wrote to Lionne, the French Foreign Minister, for instructions on his duties as cardinal; so that, as he wrote: «*Je ne fasse rien qui n'ait l'aveu du maître et de le vôtre*». In reply Lionne told him that he would learn all the intentions of Louis XIV from the mouth of the French ambassador to Rome. Vendôme was also instructed to pass on to the ambassador twice daily news of happenings within the conclave¹⁸⁵.

After detailing in several volumes the manipulations that preceded the creation of cardinals, the historian of the popes, Ludwig von Pastor commented on the situation in the first half of the eighteenth century:

«Given the hostility to the Church which was becoming increasingly strong even in countries that had remained Catholic, the pope, unfortunately, could only give his confidence to a very few national and crown cardinals proposed to him by the Emperor, and the Kings of France and Spain. The above-named powers based their right of presentation on their role of protectors of the Church. However, these patrons threatened more and more to become oppressors, and they only proposed men who had the interests of the State far more at heart than the welfare of the Church. Hence it was natural that the popes should seek to restrict the Powers' right of nomination, a right now also claimed by Portugal, Poland, and Venice, and that they occasionally ignored it, or put off promotions of foreigners proposed for the cardinalate with a view to securing some advantage for the Church by their eventual surrender.

It is in this light that Clement XII's creations of cardinals must be viewed... The chief consideration that guided the Pontiff was that in view of the hostile attitude of the Catholic Powers, it was expedient, as much as possible, to keep their representatives out of the Sacred College»¹⁸⁶.

Not only Clement XII but also other popes of this period refused to accept some government nominations. They also used delaying tactics, in the hope that names would be withdrawn; or that eventual acquiescence could provide opportunities for gaining some compensatory advantage to the pontiffs. Still another practice was to create cardinals *in petto*, publicly announcing the creation of one or more cardinals at a consistory, while leaving all but the pope himself in the dark about the specific names or nationalities of the new dignitaries until actual publication. This might not occur for months, or years; or never, in case the pope died before revailing the names¹⁸⁷. The custom of

¹⁸⁵ GERIN (above n. 152) II, pp. 149-150.

¹⁸⁶ PASTOR XXXIV, pp. 401-402. Clement XII (1730-1740) created 35 cardinals. These included 28 Italians, 9 of them from the Papal States; also 2 French prelates, 2 Spanish, one Portuguese, one German, and one Polish.

¹⁸⁷ Clement XIV, e.g., created 13 cardinals on April 26, 1773, all but 2 of them *in petto*. Since he died on September 22, 1774, without publishing these 11, the names remain unknown.

reserving names *in petto*, which began with Martin V (1417-1431), was infrequently used until the pontificate of Urban VIII (1623-1644), when it was utilized 14 times. Between 1644 and 1799 it was used about 75 more times. Around 90 additional instances are known in the ensuing decades up to 1846. After that its use became much more sparing¹⁸⁸.

c. *Strategies of Civil Powers.*

How many crown cardinals did governments want? Whatever their ultimate ambitions may have been, they seemed satisfied with the traditional totals granted them; so long as they could pick the individuals to fill their quota. At the same time, France, Spain, and the Empire were intensely jealous of one another. They complained whenever a new creation of cardinals seemed to concede to one of their rivals what they considered an undue advantage. When they believed their «turn» had come for another cardinal, they pursued their case vigorously. Governments also boosted their influence in the Sacred College by granting favors to Italian cardinals. If any one government or combination of governments had been able to control a sufficiently strong faction in the College, it might have been able to dictate the outcome of a conclave, and then dominate the pope-elect. In the practical order, that possibility was always remote. All the popes were careful to maintain a large Italian majority in the Sacred College, with a very sizable percentage chosen from their own Papal States. An analysis of the conclaves subsequent to the close of the Reformation period in mid-seventeenth century reveals the consistent rivalry of Bourbon and Hapsburg factions among the electors, no one of them able to muster a two-thirds majority, and all of them seeking to build one by joining forces with other groupings. This interplay of rival factions resulted in a series of lengthy conclaves; and the final choice of cardinals who were compromise candidates not regarded as markedly pro- or anti- Bourbon or Hapsburg; and who were as a rule elderly, competent, and rather colorless¹⁸⁹. The three great Catholic regimes of France, Spain, and the Empire were placated by the ability of each of them to veto the election of any cardinal they regarded as unfavorable to their interests¹⁹⁰. Governments also tried to exercise a veto occasionally in the creation of individual cardinals; but

¹⁸⁸ Thus it was used only 13 times between 1847 and 1903. On reservations *in petto* (or *in pectore*) see P. A. KIRSCH, *Die Reservatio in petto bei der Cardinalscreation*: Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht 81 (1901) 421-432.

¹⁸⁹ The 15 conclaves between 1644 and 1775 lasted a total of 1260 days. Only 2 were completed within a month; and one lasted almost half a year. As time went on, the conclaves became more protracted. Thus the 7 conclaves between 1644 and 1691 averaged 74 days each; while the 8 between 1700 and 1775 averaged 92 days each. In contrast, the voting in the 10 conclaves since 1846 occupied only 2.5 days or so per conclave.

¹⁹⁰ On the veto, see L. WAHRMUND, *Das Ausschließungsrecht (ius exclusivae) bei den Papstwahlen*, Vienna 1888.

this claim never received formal recognition. As a rule, however, care was taken not to offend Catholic powers in the choice of cardinals¹⁹¹.

d. *Reasons for Italian Majorities in College.*

How many non-Italian cardinals would the popes have named if not pressured by governments? In addition to the light thrown on this subject by papal remarks and actions already cited, a few others can be added. At the consistory, April 29, 1658, Alexander VII created 3 Italians as cardinals, «in view of the circumstance that up to that date no demand for the red hat had come in from any of the Catholic Princes»¹⁹². Cautiously, however, the Pope kept the names reserved *in petto* until the next consistory two years later when one of the 5 new cardinals was German, the candidate of the Emperor; another Spanish, the candidate of the King of Spain; an Italian whose elevation was sought by the King of France; and another Italian, a former nuncio to Warsaw, whose promotion was advocated by the King of Poland¹⁹³.

As Alexander VII lay dying in 1667 he delivered a farewell address to 36 cardinals gathered around his bedside. During it he blamed himself for yielding more than was just to princes in his last creation of cardinals¹⁹⁴. In the consistory of the previous month, to which he was alluding, the 4 new cardinals included one each from France, Spain, Germany, and Italy. However, for the entire pontificate all but 5 of the 38 creations were Italians. He merely followed the practice of other popes in deferring the addition of crown cardinals until a strong Italian majority in the College was assured.

When Clement XI was being pressured in 1720 to give Guillaume Dubois a place in the Sacred College, he declared that the number of foreign cardinals was already too large; and that the Romans justifiably complained of the Pope's parsimony in their regard¹⁹⁵. Actually all but 19 of this pontiff's 69 creations were Italians; while Rome gained 6 red hats, and the rest of the Papal States 11 more.

Benedict XIV's 64 creations included only 16 who were not Italians. Yet when he honored the Spaniard Luis Fernández in 1754, he wrote to his friend, the French Cardinal Pierre Guérin de Tencin apologizing for conferring the purple on a foreigner; even though the very same consistory saw the resignation from the College of another Spaniard, the Infante Luis de Bourbon¹⁹⁶.

After recording the above incident, Ludwig von Pastor observed; «The conferment of distinctions on foreigners was clearly a matter that called for

¹⁹¹ PASTOR XXXV, p. 342.

¹⁹² *Ibid.* XXXI, p. 130.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* XXXI, pp. 130-131.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.* XXXI, pp. 119-120.

¹⁹⁵ BLIARD (above n. 164) II, p. 207.

¹⁹⁶ PASTOR XXXV, p. 345.

extreme caution»¹⁹⁷. Throughout his other volumes of *The History of the Popes* that treat of these 3 centuries, the author's outlook is similar. Thus, in the account of Clement XIII, 45 of whose 52 creations were Italians, there occurs the following reflection:

«It is hardly surprising in view of the world situation then prevailing, that at his last two promotions to the cardinalate in 1766, Clement XIII again paid no attention to foreign courts»¹⁹⁸.

After noting that 14 of the first 16 cardinals named by Pius VI (1775-1799) were Italians, Pastor added:

«It was not the time for the other nations and courts to be honoured by the creation of crown cardinals»¹⁹⁹.

Owen Chadwick, an English Anglican historian, has arrived at a similar conclusion:

«The standing Italian majority in the college of cardinals was an indispensable condition of the Pope's freedom of action. The Italian nominations interested the world, for they were reliable signs of a Pope's policy (more reliable than his foreign nominations, which were forced)...»²⁰⁰.

VII. 1800-1939

1. Geographic Origin of Cardinals, 1800-1846.

In the nineteenth century the first 4 popes, from 1800 to 1846, effected little alteration in the national makeup of the Sacred College, as compared with the previous century and a half. Of the 205 new cardinals, 160 (78 percent) were Italians, 17 (8 percent) French, and 9 (4 percent) Spanish. There were also 5 Portuguese, 2 Germans, 5 Austrians, one Hungarian, one Belgian, 2 English, one Scotch, one Maltese, and one Corsican²⁰¹. The Papal States provided 96 of these princes of the Church, including 29 native Romans. They constituted 60 percent of all Italian promotions, and more twice the number of cardinals from the whole world outside Italy.

2. Reform Plans of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Had Napoleon Bonaparte his way, this picture would have been altered radically. Napoleon was greatly interested in the makeup of the College of Cardinals. While still First Consul, he informed Cardinal Caprara, the papal

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* XXXV, p. 345.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* XXXVII, p. 399.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.* XXXIX, p. 345.

²⁰⁰ OWEN CHADWICK, *The Popes and the European Revolution*, Oxford 1981, 315.

²⁰¹ Joseph Fesch, Archbishop of Lyons, was a native of Corsica, like his nephew Napoleon Bonaparte, who was responsible for his promotion.

legate, on March 30, 1802, that he desired 4 red hats for France; although as yet he had settled on only one specific candidate. Portalis, his director of cults, advised him to obtain these 4 places in the College, and later to seek more; since France was now a political power of the first rank as a result of Napoleon's military conquests, and should be represented in Rome by the number of cardinals proportionate to its new grandeur. Bonaparte thereupon wrote to Pius VII (1800-1823) in June asking for 7 French cardinals. By resort to very strained reasoning, he claimed that France at that moment had no cardinals. Actually it had 3; but Napoleon insisted that these should not really be counted as French. The papal reply refuted Napoleon's faulty reasoning; but proposed to create 4 more French cardinals, provided the Catholic courts at Vienna, Madrid, and Lisbon agreed. The following month saw Napoleon lower his demand to 5; since only that number of places was then vacant. He instructed the French minister to the Holy See, Cacault, to exert pressure on the Pope; and to issue threats if need be. Napoleon kept changing the names of the prelates he wanted chosen. Pius VII published in August the name of Alphonse de Latier de Bayane, the French Dean of the Roman Rota, who had been reserved *in petto* since February 23, 1801. At the next consistory, January 17, 1803, Pius VII created 4 more French cardinals. One of them was Joseph Fesch, Archbishop of Lyons, an uncle of Napoleon and, like him, a native of Corsica. France now had 7 cardinals.

By December, 1813, when the total of French cardinals had dropped to 4, Napoleon, now Emperor, had Pius VII as his prisoner at Fontainebleau. During their discussions about the contents of the so-called Concordat of Fontainebleau, the Emperor proposed that in the future popes would select only one-third of the cardinals. The other two-thirds would be chosen by Catholic rulers, in effect by Napoleon himself. Since Napoleon was also proposing at that juncture to have the pope take up permanent residence in Paris, the danger loomed that the Sacred College would become completely subservient to the French ruler, as would papal elections and the papacy itself. Napoleon's downfall soon after this ruled out the possibility of putting into effect demands that went far beyond those of any civil ruler before or since.

French control of the College was never really imminent during Pius VII's pontificate. Traditionally popes had built a strong Italian majority of cardinals before adding non-Italians. Pius VII followed this tradition. At the start of his pontificate the College had 34 Italians and 10 non-Italians. Between 1800 and 1802 the pontiff created 24 Italian cardinals before publishing the name of De Bayane, the first non-Italian. After January 17, 1803, he chose no more French as cardinals until 1817, subsequent to Napoleon's final military defeat at Waterloo, and exile to St. Helena. Only then did he add 3 French cardinals to the 2 still alive²⁰².

²⁰² SIMON DELACROIX, *La Réorganisation de l'Eglise de France après la Révolution 1801-1809* I, Paris 1962, 418-428; HENRI WELSCHINGER, *Le Pape et l'Empereur 1804-1815*, Paris 1905; P. FERET, *La France et le Saint-Siège sous le premier Empire, la Restauration, et la Monarchie de juillet*, 2 vols., Paris 1911; Tome I: *Le premier Empire et le Saint-Siège*.

3. Initiatives of Pius IX.

Pius IX (1846-1878) began the gradual process of broadening the national composition of the Sacred College that has continued into the late twentieth century. Of the 123 cardinals he created, only 71 (58 percent) were Italians. This change is particularly striking when compared with the practice of his immediate predecessor Gregory XVI (1831-1846), whose College of Cardinals was one of the most Italianate on record. Italians comprised 66 (88 percent) of his 75 creations. The Papal States supplied 41 (55 percent) of his cardinals, but only 49 (40 percent) of those of Pius IX. This pontiff also chose 16 (13 percent) of his cardinals from France, 12 (10 percent) from Spain, 3 from Portugal, 4 from Germany, 5 from Austria, 4 from Hungary, one from Belgium, and 2 from Poland. Michael Lewicki, a Ruthenian, who became a cardinal in 1856 and died in 1858, was the first Pole so honored since 1737, and the first Ruthenian since 1439²⁰³. England received 3 red hats; and Ireland its first ever, Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin. The Western Hemisphere was accorded its first prince of the Church in 1875, John McCloskey, Archbishop of New York²⁰⁴.

4. Geographic Distribution of Cardinals, 1878-1939.

Leo XIII (1878-1903) added 147 cardinals. Italians comprised 85 (58 percent) of them, exactly the same percentage as under his predecessor. Although the Papal States had become completely merged with the new Kingdom of Italy by 1870, this area continued to provide more cardinals than the rest of Italy put together; since they totaled 47, including 9 Romans, almost a third of the cardinals from the entire world. France received 19 (13 percent) of the red hats, Spain 10 (7 percent), Portugal 2, Germany 6, Austria 9, and Hungary 3. Thus more than 9 out of 10 cardinals originated in Italy, France, the Iberian Peninsula, Germany, and the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. From Continental Europe came also 3 Poles, one Belgian, and one Swiss. Two red hats went to England, and two more to Ireland. A third Irish prelate, Patrick Moran, Bishop of Ossory in Ireland from 1872 to 1884, became Archbishop of Sydney, Australia, in 1884 before entering the Sacred College in 1885, the first from Oceania. The Armenian Rite Uniates received a cardinal in the person of Antonius Hassun, a native of Constantinople and Patriarch of Cilicia. In the Western Hemisphere Archbishop James Gibbons of Baltimore became a cardinal in 1886, the same year as Archbishop Tascherau of Quebec, the first Canadian cardinal.

²⁰³ The second Polish cardinal created in this pontificate, Mieczysław Halka Ledóchowski, was named in 1875. Although Pius IX raised 2 Polish cardinals, there were Poles in his College during only 4 1/2 years of his 32-year pontificate. In other cases also, both in this and other pontificates, replacements because of deaths account for some of the nominations, and not special favoring of one or another country.

²⁰⁴ Juan Moreno y Maisonave, Archbishop of Valladolid, who became a cardinal in 1868, was born in Guatemala in 1817, and was the first native of the Western Hemisphere to enter the College. His parents were Spanish. They departed Guatemala permanently for Spain in 1834. See *New Catholic Encyclopedia* IX, 1145-1146.

In the twentieth century much the same direction was followed by Pius X (1903-1914), who named 50 cardinals; Benedict XV (1914-1922), 32; and Pius XI (1922-1939), 76. Italy provided 83 (53 percent) of their 158 cardinals, with 46 (55 percent) of the Italians stemming from the area of the former Papal States²⁰⁵. Continental Europe and the British Isles were given 147 (93 percent) of all the red hats; since France gained 20 (13 percent); Spain, 14 (9 percent); Portugal, 2; Germany, 6; Austria, 6; Hungary, 3; Czechoslovakia, one; Poland, 3; Belgium, 2; Holland, one; England, 3, and Ireland, 2. Neither Africa nor Oceania were given any cardinals. From Asia came Ignace Tappouni, Patriarch of Antioch of the Syrian Rite, a native of Mosul in present-day Iraq, who was named by Pius XI in 1935. Latin America won its first 3 red hats, with 2 going to Brazil (one in 1905 and another in 1930), and one to Argentina in 1935. Three archbishops of Quebec entered the College (in 1914, 1927, 1933). Five seats went to the United States (2 in 1911, one in 1921, 2 in 1924)²⁰⁶.

5. Code of Canon Law, 1917.

The Code of Canon Law, *Codex iuris canonici*, whose compilation was inaugurated by Pius X in 1904, was promulgated in 1917, and went into effect the following year. In its section on cardinals, canons 230-241, it stated that they constitute the Senate of the Roman Pontiff, who assist him as his chief counselors and aids²⁰⁷, and who are the sole electors of popes²⁰⁸. They are to be chosen freely by the Roman Pontiff from the entire world; and should be men outstanding for learning, piety, and practical judgment, and ordained at least to the priesthood²⁰⁹. They are obliged to reside in the Roman Curia; but those who are bishops of dioceses outside Rome are excused from this requirement²¹⁰. The maximum size of the Sacred College continued to be set at 70²¹¹.

²⁰⁵ Thus Pius XII chose 8 of his 14 Italian cardinals from this area; and John XXIII, 9 out of 22; but Paul VI, only 6 out of 38.

²⁰⁶ Two promotions in 1911 illustrate some of the problems involved in assigning cardinals to a particular area. John Farley, Archbishop of New York, who is here listed as an appointment from the United States, was born in Ireland in 1842, and migrated to this country in 1866. Diomede Falconio, O.F.M., who is here categorized as an Italian cardinal, was a native Italian born in 1842, who resided in the United States from 1865 to 1872, becoming a naturalized United States citizen in 1866. He returned to this country from 1882 to 1883; and again from 1902 to 1911 as Apostolic Delegate. As cardinal he served in the Roman Curia until his death in 1917.

²⁰⁷ «S.R.E. Cardinales Senatum Romani Pontificis constituunt eidemque in regenda Ecclesia praecipui consilarii et adiutores assistant» (canon 230).

²⁰⁸ «Cardinales creantur et publicantur a Romano Pontifice in Consistorio sicque creati et publicati obtinent ius ad electionem Romani Pontificis...» (canon 233, 1). See also canon 160.

²⁰⁹ «Cardinales libere a Romano Pontifice ex toto terrarum orbe eliguntur, viri, saltem in ordine presbyteratus constituti, doctrina, pietate ac rerum agendarum prudentia egregie praestantes» (canon 232, 1).

²¹⁰ «Cardinales tenentur obligatione residendi in Curia, nec fas est ipsis ab eadem discedere sine licentia Romani Pontificis...» (canon 238, 1). «Cardinales qui sunt Episcopi alicuius dioecesis non suburbicariae, lege residendi in Curia eximuntur...» (canon 238, 3).

²¹¹ «Sacrum Collegium in tres ordines distribuuntur: episcopalem, ad quem soli pertinent sex Cardinales, dioecesis suburbicariis praepositi; presbyterales, qui constat Cardinalibus quinquaginta; diaconalem, qui quatuordecim» (canon 231, 1).

VIII. EXPANDING INTERNATIONALIZATION, 1939-1986

1. Pius XII.

Pius XII (1939-1956) was very notable for broadening the national makeup of the Sacred College, while curtailing markedly the traditional European, and especially the Italian predominance. In 2 promotions he named only 56 cardinals; but these came from 24 countries and all 6 continents. Nine European countries were given 36 (64 percent) of the red hats: Italy 14 (25 percent); France and Spain 5 (9 percent) each; Germany 4; Poland and Ireland 2 each; and Hungary, Yugoslavia, Netherlands, and England one each. Africa received its first cardinal, in the person of Archbishop de Gouveia of Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, a native Portuguese born on the island of Madeira. The three cardinals from Asia included the first ones from China and India, and also the Armenian Gregory Peter XV Agagianian, Patriarch of Cilicia of the Armenian Rite. Australia gained the single red hat from Oceania. Nine prelates from Latin America were chosen: 3 from Brazil and one from Argentina; while Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador and Peru each received its first cardinal. Two cardinals came from Canada; and 4 from the United States.

In his Christmas eve address in 1945, Pius XII noted that the coming promotion of 32 cardinals would be the largest in history²¹²; and that it would raise the number in the Sacred College to its canonical limit of 70 for the first time since the eighteenth century. (His second promotion, in 1953, also attained this limit). He regretted that respect for the tradition set by Sixtus V in 1586 prevented him from exceeding this total; although he asserted his power to do so. He added:

«Another characteristic of this creation will be the variety of nations to which the future cardinals belong; for We have been anxious that the greatest possible number of races and peoples should be represented, so that this creation may portray in a living manner the universality of the Church. In this way ... We shall have the consolation of seeing grouped around Us new members of the Sacred College from the four quarters of the earth ...»²¹³.

2. John XXIII.

John XXIII (1958-1963) did not share his predecessor's reticence about exceeding the traditional size of the Sacred College; since each of his 5 promotions did so, raising it first to 74, then to 79, 85, 86, and 87. He explained his action as follows on the occasion of his first promotion:

²¹² This total was surpassed by Paul VI in his third promotion, March 28, 1969, when he named 33 cardinals, plus 2 more *in petto*.

²¹³ *Catholic Mind*, 44 (1946) 65-75 contains an English translation of this address. The original Italian text is in AAS 38 (1946) 13-25.

«When We increased the membership of your Sacred College, We also had in mind that the very grave duties — and in certain cases multiple duties — incumbent upon some of you in this city of Rome might be lightened to some extent; and in doing so, Our motive was not only that the strength and advanced age of some of your members might not be imposed upon, and that they might be relieved by the added help of other colleagues, but also — and this was foremost in Our mind — that the Roman Curia might be able better to expedite the matters referred to it, which would undoubtedly redound to the good of the Universal Church.

Derogating, therefore, insofar as is necessary, from what was laid down by Our Predecessor, Sixtus V (Cfr. Apostolic Letter, *Postquam verus*, December 3, 1586), and what has been sanctioned by the Code of Canon Law (Canon 231), We proceed to replenish your Sacred College by naming to it 23 very worthy prelates...»²¹⁴.

At the time of his final promotion, John XXIII remarked:

«...At the beginning of Our pontificate, some have been surprised that in creating new cardinals We have increased the size of the Sacred College to a figure never yet attained; but We are conscious that We have new and heavy tasks that the government of the Church must face in our days...»²¹⁵.

At this consistory, March 19, 1962, when he made his final promotion of cardinals, the Pope announced that in the future all cardinals would possess episcopal consecration; although he retained the traditional grouping of cardinal bishops, cardinal priests, and cardinal deacons²¹⁶.

In addition to 3 creations *in petto*, whose identities were never revealed, John XXIII chose 52 cardinals from 23 countries and 5 continents. Europe was the recipient of 37 (71 percent) of the red hats; with Italy given 22 (42 percent); France and Spain 3 (6 percent) each; Germany 2; and Austria, Portugal, Belgium, Netherlands, England, Scotland, and Ireland one each²¹⁷. Africa's sole red hat went to Tanzania. In Asia Japan and the Philippines also received their first cardinal; while Gabriel Coussa, a Syrian, Pro-Secretary of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches in the Roman Curia, became the first of the Melchite Rite to enter the Sacred College. Eleven prelates from the Western Hemisphere received the purple. Chile, Colombia, and Peru were again honored; and for the first time Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Five dignitaries from the United States also joined the College.

In his allocution at the consistory, January 16, 1961, previous to his fourth promotion, John XXIII observed:

²¹⁴ Latin text of allocution to secret consistory, December 15, 1958, in AAS 50 (1958) 986-987. English translation in TPS 5 (1958) 143-148.

²¹⁵ AAS 54 (1962) 194.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 54 (1962) 199-200.

²¹⁷ The Portuguese cardinal was João da Costa Nunes, Vice-Camerlengo of the Roman Church in the Roman Curia, who was born in the Azores.

«...In this new creation... We have followed the rule not only of rewarding prelates distinguished for their activity and zeal in the Roman Curia or in the dioceses confided to them; but also to give, as far as possible, to the Sacred College a physiognomy similar to that of the Church, which belongs to all peoples... That is why We have chosen the new cardinals from diverse parts of the world....»²¹⁸.

3. Paul VI.

Paul VI (1963-1978) caused the Sacred College to become larger and more international than it had ever been; and he also introduced important legislation concerning its makeup. His total of 143 creations, exclusive of 2 nominations *in petto*, was exceeded only by the 147 of Leo XIII²¹⁹. Each of the first 4 promotions kept augmenting the College's size to record proportions, first to 103, then to 120, 134, and in 1973 to 145. After each of the final 2 promotions there were 137 members. The largest number of papal electors ever, 134, occurred in 1969 after the third promotion. A new distinction among cardinals was announced in 1970 in the *motu proprio*, «*Ingravescentem aetatem*»²²⁰. It decreed that once cardinals completed their eightieth year of age, they could no longer participate in elections for a new pope; and they ceased to be members of the departments of the Roman Curia and of other permanent institutions of the Apostolic See. In 1973 Paul VI decreed that the number of cardinals entitled to take part in a papal election must not exceed 120²²¹. He then went on to say: «We hope that this carefully considered norm will have lasting effect, and that Our successors... will want to retain it». Taken together, these two actions set a limit, although not a precise one, to the size of the Sacred College²²².

Another significant innovation appeared in the *motu proprio*, «*Ad purpuratorum Patrum*», February 11, 1965, which enacted that Eastern patriarchs who entered the Sacred College became assimilated to the order of cardinal bishops, while retaining their patriarchal sees and without receiving a suburbicarian diocese or becoming part of the Roman clergy²²³. The aim was

²¹⁸ AAS 53 (1961) 70.

²¹⁹ At the secret consistory, March 5, 1973, on the occasion of his fourth promotion of cardinals, Paul VI published the name of Štěpán Trochta, Bishop of Litomerice in Czechoslovakia, who had been created *in petto* in 1969. He also took the highly unusual step of revealing the name of the other cardinal who had been created *in petto* in 1969, although he had since died. He was Julius Hossu, Bishop of Cluj-Gherla in Romania, who belonged to the Romanian Church of the Byzantine Rite, and who died on May 28, 1970. According to the Pope, it was at Hossu's request that the name had been retained *in petto*.

²²⁰ Latin text in AAS 62 (1970) 810-813. English translation in *Catholic Mind*, 69 (1971) 46-48.

²²¹ English translation of allocution at secret consistory, March 5, 1973, in TPS 18 (1973) 58; also in *L'Osservatore Romano* (English edition), March 15, 1973, p. 1.

²²² Both of the above norms reoccur in the apostolic constitution, *Romano Pontifici eligendo*, October 1, 1975. Latin text in AAS 67 (1975) 609-645. See Part 2, chapter 1, no. 33. English translation in TPS, 22 (1977) 64-89; also in *L'Oss. Rom.* (Engl. ed.), November 20, 1975, pp. 1-7.

²²³ Latin text in AAS 57 (1965) 295-296.

to remove the reluctance of these Oriental prelates, especially those from the ancient patriarchates of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, to enter the College of Cardinals — only 3 had ever done so previous to 1965. To them the patriarchate is a universal dignity, a summit surpassed only by the papacy. Therefore, the cardinalate, as an inferior dignity, could not be considered a promotion; since it is an institution that originated in the Middle Ages to serve Rome, the Latin patriarchate of the West. And so it was thought incompatible with the discipline of the Eastern Church to view the office of cardinal as a promotion²²⁴.

No pope has revealed as frequently and frankly his criteria for selecting cardinals as has Paul VI. Thus on the occasion of his first promotion, in 1965, he observed:

«... The representative function of the Sacred College has grown broader and more demanding precisely because of the definite impulse that ... Pius XII gave to the supra-national character of the Church, which is reflected in the make-up of the College; and because of the spread of the ecumenical idea ... We have no intention of trying to increase the effectiveness of the Sacred College by inflating its numbers ... it is still Our firm intention to keep the number carefully within the limits of the real needs of the Church. To be sure, her magnificent universality should be mirrored in the College of Cardinals, which is now a synthesis of the Catholic world as well as of the City of Rome, but more in a symbolic and qualitative form than in a quantitative one ... Our intention is to have the Sacred College express a fuller communion and be a more effective representation of authority, collegiality, experience, tradition, culture, and merit. In this regard, you will have noted the great variety of qualifications that distinguish the new members of the College of Cardinals ...»²²⁵.

Paul VI took the occasion of his second promotion, in 1967, to outline the 4 criteria that guided him. The first was public recognition, without favoritism, of the merits of persons who had served the Church long and faithfully. Next came a desire to utilize in the Church's central government worthy and long-experienced men from all countries, who represented widely diverse elements pastorally, historically, sociologically, and psychologically. Thirdly, there was a wish to highlight the Church's notes of unity and catholicity in a divided world. The final criterion was a determination:

«to give to the Sacred College a character ever more widely representative. It is this criterion that inspired ... Pius XII when, on February 18, 1946, following the example of his predecessors, by an act that was prophetic and of immense

²²⁴ Maximos IV Saigh, Melchite Rite Patriarch of Antioch, explained his reasons for accepting the cardinalate in 1965 in an allocution, originally in Arabic, translated into French in *Documentation Catholique* 62 (1965) 1293-1298. The same volume of *Doc. Cath.* carries an article on columns 1287-1292, entitled «Patriarchat et cardinalat», by Elias Zooghy. In it he explains why he resigned as Patriarchal Vicar of the Melchites in Egypt as a protest against the acceptance of the cardinalate by Maximos IV, an act he considered incompatible with the dignity of a patriarch.

²²⁵ English translation of address to a general audience, January 27, 1965, in TPS 10 (1965) 237-242. See also pp. 242-243 for address to a general audience, February 22, 1965.

significance, he called to become part of the Senate of the Church prelates from the five parts of the world... Since then this universalist purpose has been affirmed more and more. It was the dominant note in the ... choices... by John XXIII; and like a luminous star it has also guided Our ... action...»²²⁶.

Again, in an address to the new cardinals in 1969 after the third promotion, the Pope declared:

«We feel great joy at your coming here, for you are from every language and nation, from peoples who live at a great distance from Rome... Your numbers cannot in any way be said to be excessive, for... they will be seen to be better suited to promote true and authentic unity in gifts and ministries. The diversity of your origins clearly shows the great value of the increase in universality that has been brought about, of an increase in representation, and of an improvement in the functioning of the Sacred College..., all of which are demanded by the many-sided development of the Church... This more extensive representation in the College of Cardinals has not yet reached the developed and complete form which We really desire, and this is partly owing to... special circumstances... At all events, Our chief purpose in appointing you and thus... giving better expression to the unity and universality of the faithful, was to strengthen and expand the importance of this Sacred College...»²²⁷.

During his homily at the concelebrated Mass with the newly created cardinals, March 5, 1973, Paul VI reflected:

«...Ought we not to rejoice... when we realize that you, the new cardinals, are... representatives of your dioceses and of your nations? And are we not able to confide to you that your very geographic and ethnic plurality was intentionally foreseen in your selection; and indeed it would have wished to extend itself even further if that had been possible?...»²²⁸.

Similarly, in his address to the secret consistory, May 24, 1976, on the occasion of the fifth promotion, the Pope emphasized:

«Once We had decided to fill the vacancies, We followed a plan and norm which We regard as very important, namely, that as far as possible the Sacred College should have members from all nations and be international in character. The College is rightly eager to be for the world an image of the holy Catholic Church that is gathered from every region of earth into the one fold of Christ, and is open to all peoples and cultures... Our comprehensive vision embraces the whole world... and none of the chief regions of the earth, however remote, is unrepresented here...»²²⁹.

After Vatican Council II, and especially after the Synod of Bishops came into being in 1965, rumors circulated that the Sacred College had become superfluous, and might be suppressed, or diminished in importance and functions. Rumor also had it that a new system of creating cardinals on a

²²⁶ Latin text of allocution to secret consistory, June 26, 1967, in AAS 59 (1967) 706-708.

²²⁷ English translation in *L'Oss. Rom.* (Engl. ed.), May 15, 1969, pp. 6-7.

²²⁸ English translation in *L'Oss. Rom.* (Engl. ed.), March 15, 1973, p. 5.

²²⁹ Latin text in AAS 68 (1976) 369-371. English translation in TPS 21 (1976) 204-205.

temporary basis was being envisioned. In refutation Paul VI made clear that he saw no reason to alter the current status of the Sacred College. He further emphasized that both the College and the Synod of Bishops were consultative bodies whose purposes were different, and which complemented one another²³⁰.

An analysis of Paul VI's 143 creations makes clear that the above criteria were put into practice; since the new cardinals came from all 6 continents and 49 countries. Sixteen European countries accounted for 82 (57 percent) of these promotions. Italy received 38 (27 percent) of the red hats; France 11 (8 percent); Spain 6 (4 percent); Germany 7; Poland and Czechoslovakia 3 each; Netherlands, Switzerland, and England 2 each; and Hungary, Yugoslavia, Portugal, Belgium, Scotland, and Ireland one apiece. Monaco received its first cardinal. Giuseppe Slipyj, Archbishop of Lviv of the Ukrainians, became the first native of the Ukraine to enter the Sacred College; since Isidore, Metropolitan of Kiev, who became a cardinal in 1439, was a native of Greece.

Africa, which had been given only 2 red hats up to this pontificate, was granted 12. They were distributed to 11 countries, each for the first time. Dahomey, Senegal, Nigeria, Upper Volta, Congo (Brazzaville), Zaire, Egypt, Kenya, Uganda, and South Africa each received one cardinal; and Madagascar 2. The 13 new Asian prelates included 2 each from India and the Philippines; and one each from Syria, China, and Japan. Lebanon, Pakistan, Ceylon, South Korea, North Vietnam, and Indonesia each gained its first cardinal. In Oceania Australia and New Zealand both gained 2 cardinals, and Samoa, one; both of the latter for the first time.

Latin America was given 18 of the 32 red hats that went to the Western Hemisphere. Brazil obtained 7; Argentina 4; Mexico 2; Colombia and Ecuador one apiece. Bolivia, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Rico each received its first cardinal. Two cardinals came from Canada, and 12 from the United States.

Unprecedented attention was paid to the Eastern Churches. Both the Maronite and Melchite Patriarchs of Antioch, and the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria entered the Sacred College; as did the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Rite Archbishop of Lviv and the Chaldean-Malabar Rite Archbishop of Ernakulum, Pakistan.

4. John Paul II.

John Paul II (1978-)²³¹ promulgated in 1983 the revised Code of Canon Law, a work that had been in preparation since 1959²³². Pertinent similarities and dissimilarities from the 1917 Code are observable in Canons 349 to 359, which treat of cardinals. Thus Canon 349 of the revised Code describes the office of cardinals differently from the earlier Canon 230 (which was noted previously):

²³⁰ Latin text of allocution to new cardinals, April 30, 1969, in AAS 61 (1969) 437-438. English translation in *L'Oss. Rom.* (Engl. ed.), May 15, 1969, p. 6.

²³¹ John Paul I (1978) created no cardinals.

²³² *Code of Canon Law: Latin-English Edition*, Washington, D.C., 1983. Vernacular translations of the 1917 Code were not permitted.

«The cardinals of the Holy Roman Church constitute a special college whose responsibility is to provide for the election of the Roman Pontiff in accord with the norm of special law; the cardinals assist the Roman Pontiff collegially when they are called together to deal with questions of major importance; they do so individually when they assist the Roman Pontiff especially in the daily care of the universal Church by means of the different offices which they perform».

Whereas the 1917 Code required that cardinals be men who are at least priests, the later version insisted that those priests who are not yet bishops must receive episcopal consecration. Both Codes demand that cardinals reside at the Roman Curia, unless they are diocesan bishops.

The size of the Sacred College was limited to 70 in 1917; but no explicit limit is set in the later law. When, however, the 1983 legislation provides for the election of the Roman Pontiff by the cardinals according to the norm of special law (Canon 349), it refers to Paul VI's apostolic constitution, *Romano Pontifici eligendo*, which limited the number of papal electors to 120 cardinals, all of whom must be under 80 years of age. Therefore, the College of Cardinals must not have more than 120 members who are under 80. No limit was placed on the number of cardinals over 80.

John Paul II abided by this norm in his first 3 promotions. After the first one, in 1979, the College had 134 members; after the second, in 1983, 138; and after the third, in 1985, 152, the largest membership ever; but in all cases only 120 electors. In the second consistory the Pope named 2 as cardinals who were already over 80, and so incapable of ever participating in a conclave. Archbishop Vaivods, a Latvian, who was 87, was one; and the French Jesuit priest, Henri de Lubac, the other. At the latter's request, the Pope permitted him to forego episcopal consecration. Pietro Pavan was an 81-year-old priest when named in the third consistory.

Both Codes state that cardinals are freely chosen by the pope alone, with no mention of either the advice or consent of the Sacred College. Whereas the 1917 Code stated that cardinals are to be chosen from the whole world, the 1983 lawbook omits this clause, and says nothing about the geographic distribution of cardinals.

In practice, however, John Paul II has conformed to the pattern traced by his immediate predecessors. The 60 prelates who were raised in the first 3 promotions came from 6 continents and 22 countries. One other was named *in petto* in 1979; but his identity had not yet been publicized at the close of 1986. Continental Europe and the British Isles accounted for 37 (62 percent) of these honors: Italy 14 (23 percent); Poland 6 (10 percent); France 5 (8 percent); Belgium and West Germany 2 each; with one each for East Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Holland, Spain, and Ireland. Latvia, part of the U.S.S.R., received its first cardinal ever, Bishop Julijans Vaivods, the Apostolic Administrator of Rīga and Liepāja. The 4 African red hats went to Nigeria, and for the first time, to Angola, Ivory Coast, and Ethiopia. The 6 Asian honors went to the Patriarch of the Maronite Rite in Lebanon, Japan, North Vietnam,

and, for the first time, to Thailand. New Zealand provided the sole dignitary from Oceania. Besides 2 red hats to Venezuela, one went to each of the following Latin American countries: Mexico, Colombia, Chile, and, for the first time, Nicaragua. In North America, Canada and the United States each gained 3 red hats. Moreover, Myroslav Lubachivsky, Archbishop of Lviv of the Ukrainians, a native of Ukraine and resident in Rome, dwelt in the United States from 1947 to 1980, and became a naturalized citizen there in 1952.

In his public utterances, too, John Paul II left no doubt about his outlook. In his first address to the cardinals, two days after his election to the papacy, he declared:

«It is difficult for me to hold back the expression of my profound gratitude to ... Paul VI for deciding to give to the Sacred College so broadly international and intercontinental a character. Its members come ... from the farthest ends of the earth. This brings out not only the universality of the Church, but the universal aspect of the city ...»²³³.

Again, in his discourse at the public consistory, February 2, 1983, on the occasion of the second promotion, the Pontiff stated:

«With the steady increase of the worldwide function of the College of Cardinals, the need was felt to ensure that it was matched ever more accurately by the College's actual composition. This was done by ensuring that, as far as possible, representatives of the various peoples of the earth ... should become members. This is what was done especially by the recent Popes. And it is what I myself, in the 1979 Consistory and in the present one, have taken care to put into practice, by calling to the cardinalatial dignity individuals of every continent ...»²³⁴.

For the duration of the pontificate of John Paul II, therefore, it seems most unlikely that notable changes will occur either in the size of the Sacred College or in the geographical distribution of its members.

²³³ Original Italian text in AAS 70 (1978) 935-936. English translation in TPS 24 (1979) 19, and *L'Oss. Rom.* (Engl. ed.), Oct. 26, 1978, p. 5.

²³⁴ English translation in *L'Oss. Rom.* (Engl. ed.), Feb. 7, 1983, p. 3. See the similar statements in the secret consistory on the same day. Italian original in AAS 75 (1983) 190-191. English translation in *L'Oss. Rom.* (Engl. ed.), Feb. 7, 1983, p. 1. See *L'Oss. Rom.* (Engl. ed.), June 3, 1985, pp. 1-2, for similar observations by John Paul II on the occasion of the third creation of cardinals, May 28, 1985.