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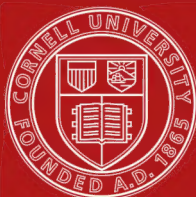
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A REPORT
OF THE PROCEEDINGS IN
THE ROMAN INQUISITION
AGAINST
FULGENTIO MANFREDI.

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WERE "HERETICS" EVER BURNED ALIVE AT ROME? yes

A REPORT

OF THE PROCEEDINGS IN

THE ROMAN INQUISITION

AGAINST

FULGENTIO MANFREDI;

TAKEN FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT BROUGHT FROM ITALY

BY A FRENCH OFFICER, AND EDITED,

WITH A

PARALLEL ENGLISH VERSION, AND ILLUSTRATIVE ADDITIONS,


BY THE

REV. RICHARD GIBBINGS, M.A.,

RECTOR OF RAYMUNTERDONEY, IN THE DIOCESE OF RAPHOE.

LONDON:

JOHN PETHERAM, 94, HIGH HOLBORN.





REPORT
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS,
&c.

WERE “HERETICS” EVER BURNED ALIVE AT ROME?

IN the *Dublin Review* for June, 1850¹, in an article attributed to Cardinal Wiseman, it was boldly declared to be a “FACT,” that “the Roman Inquisition,—that is to say, the tribunal which was immediately subject to the control and direction of the Popes themselves in their own city,—has never been known to order the execution of capital punishment.” Is this *a fact*, or is the assertion *false*?

An opportunity shall now be afforded of determining this question by means of one example of what was nothing extraordinary until the object aimed at—the extinction of light—had been suffi-

¹ p. 457.

ciently accomplished. But, at the outset, it is to be observed, (and the remark may enable us to account for the degree of fearlessness exhibited in the foregoing statement,) that the policy of the papal Court, especially as compared with that of Spain, has always been to guard against needless publicity with respect to the punishment of criminals ; and the efforts to prevent intimations of the truth from transpiring have been attended with so much success, that books are nearly altogether silent ; and, during three centuries of incessant warfare between the Churches of England and Rome, a single document, similar to those which shall be presently produced, has never hitherto emerged from secrecy. The historian of the suppressed Reformation in Italy² "entertained no hope of finding access" to such records ; and heartily lamented the difficulty of obtaining the slightest authentic information, "as the archives of the Inquisition are locked up."

The peculiar case of Manfredi is available for two distinct purposes. It furnishes a conclusive answer to the delusions of the *Dublin Review* relative to the infliction of the punishment of death in obedience to the sentence of the Inquisition ; and it also presents to our notice an instance of violated faith, more directly chargeable upon the Church of Rome, and less liable to be pal-

² Dr. Mc Crie. See his Preface, and p. 271.

liated by her defenders, than the iniquitous dealings of the Council of Constance with Hus and Jerom of Prague two hundred years before. The first and principal division of this subject we shall arrive at an acquaintance with in due time: the consideration of the latter point may be fitly introduced by the citation of the following passage from the Bishop of Exeter's invaluable *Letters to Charles Butler, Esq.* ³ :—

“ Father Fulgentio, the friend of the illustrious Paul Sarpi, was prevailed with to come to Rome under a safe-conduct granted by the Pope. When there, he was treated as a heretic, and, on appealing to his safe-conduct, was answered, that ‘ *the conduct was safe for his coming thither, but not for his going thence.*’ After this, who will deny the strict fidelity of the Church of Rome to all its engagements with heretics ?”

Bearing in mind that the individual here mentioned was not the Servite, the biographer of Sarpi, but Fulgentio Manfredi, a Franciscan Monk and Priest, who, when resident at Venice, had “spared not to rebuke the vices of the Roman Court ⁴,” we have to reflect upon the circumstances which demonstrate the treachery of his enemies.

Early in the year 1607, the differences between the papal and Venetian governments were termi-

³ p. 298. London, 1826.

⁴ *Letters of Father Paul*, pp. 38, 39. London, 1693.

nated through the mediation of the King of France. On the 19th of May, Contarini, the Ambassador from Venice, had an audience of his Holiness Pope Paul V., who pledged himself "that he would never after remember any thing that had passed; taking up that word of Scripture, *Recedant vetera, nova sint omnia* ⁵,"—"Let old things pass away, and all things become new." The Pontiff, in answer to a special question, added, as a proof of perfect reconciliation, "that he had given his benediction to all ⁶."

How far this assurance and the blessing were intended to be effectual, Father Paul Sarpi speedily discovered; for in less than five months afterward he was assaulted and grievously wounded by several assassins, who almost entirely deprived him of his life, *stilo Romanæ Curia*, as he himself humorously said; (that is, "*in the style*," or "*with the dagger*, of the Court of Rome.") These murderers in design fled for refuge to the only house in Venice which would afford them shelter until they could escape at night,—the palace of the papal Nuncio Gessi.

On the 8th of August in the following year, Fulgentio privately left Venice, and commenced his unfortunate journey to Rome. There "he will

⁵ *History of the Quarrels of Pope Paul V. with the State of Venice*, pp. 431, 432. London, 1626.

⁶ Sarpi's *Life*, by Fulgentio, p. liv. London, 1676; or by Lockman, p. lx. Westminster, 1736.

quickly be," (writes Father Paul in the same month,⁷) having been "at last wheedled;" "and they will soon lay hands on the strayed sheep, and make a beast of him quickly." "He went hence" (says Sarpi⁸) "with the Nuncio's safe-conduct; he went through the Patrimony of the Church, and was met and congratulated by the way." "He has had kind and long audiences from his Holiness; and particularly about a fortnight since he was two full hours with the Pope." . . . "Friar Fulgentio writes word to his friends here that he shall quickly come back to Venice."

But Father Paul judged more wisely; and accordingly, in a letter⁹ bearing date August 3, 1610, we read as follows:

"I dare say you have a great mind to know the truth of the miserable end of Friar Fulgentio because you knew him, and that you are the more willing to know it because it has been told divers ways.

"I myself do not as yet know the whole of it certainly; and I am very cautious in believing where I have not good grounds for it. Wherefore, the narrative that I shall give you shall be nothing but truth, though it be not the whole truth.

"Father Fulgentio went away, as you yourself know, in the beginning of August, 1608, with a

⁷ *Letters*, p. 39.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 50.

⁹ D. 180.

most ample patent of safe-conduct, and a particular clause in it that nothing should be done against his honour. Being got to Rome, they tampered with him to abjure, and do public penance ; but he still denied it most resolutely, referring himself to his safe-conduct. At last, persisting in the negative of doing public penance, he was wrought upon to make a very secret Abjuration, before a Notary and two witnesses¹⁰, by the new declaration of the Cardinals that it should be understood as done without any dishonour, and without any prejudice to him."

This very interesting extract shall be continued as soon as we shall have seen what were the first formal proceedings in the Inquisition against Fulgentio. An English translation of the documents shall be supplied, and facsimiles given of the signatures.

¹⁰ This was no mark of favour shown to Fulgentio ; for the general rule is, that "Hæretici sponte comparentes abjurant tantummodo coram Inquis. ordinario, Notario, et duobus testibus, in secreto Auditorio S. Officii." (Cæsar's Carenæ *Tractatus de Offic. sanctiss. Inquisit.*, p. 382. Cremonæ, 1655.)

“ NOI, Frate Stefano Vicario da Garessio, dell' Ordine de Predicatori, Maestro di sacra Theol^a., et Comessario Generale della santa et universale Inquisitione Romana.

“ Essendosi in questo S^{to}. Officio havuti da diverse vie inditii giuridici che tu Fra Fulgentio, figliuolo del q. Lodovico Manfredi da Venetia, Sacerdote Professo dell' Ord^{ne}. de Min^{ri}. Osservanti, dell' età tua d'anni 45 in circa, stando gl'anni prossimi passati nella città di Venetia, havessi nelle tue predicationi et ragionamenti, che pubblicamente facevi al popolo, asserito propositioni hereticali, erronee, scandalose, et degne d'altra censura, contro l'autorità del soñno Pontefice, e santa Sede Apostolica, rispettivamente, et in particolare :—

“ Che l' Interdetto, posto dal soñno Pontefice nella città di Venetia, et altre città et luoghi dell' istesso dominio, non si dovesse temere, stimare, ne

“ WE, Friar Stefano Vicario¹, a native of Garessio, of the Dominican Order, Master of sacred Theology, and Commissary General of the holy and universal Inquisition of Rome.

“ Juridical evidence having been obtained by various means in this Holy Office that you, Friar Fulgentio, son of the deceased Lodovico Manfredi, a native of Venice, a Priest and professed Monk of the Order of Observant Franciscans, of about forty-five years of age, while dwelling of late years in the city of Venice, have, in your Sermons and Discourses² which you publicly addressed to the people, asserted propositions heretical, erroneous, scandalous, and deserving of other censure, against the authority of the supreme Pontiff, and of the holy Apostolic see, respectively, and in particular :—

“ That no one should fear, regard, or observe the Interdict laid by the supreme Pontiff upon the city of Venice, and upon the other cities and places

¹ In Latin Stephanus de Vicariis. See the notice of him in Quetif and Echard, *Scriptt. Ord. Præd.* ii. 424. Lut. Paris. 1721.

² A summary of the doctrines advocated by the Venetian preachers and writers, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, may be seen in Bramhall's *Just Vindication of the Church of England*, Part i. Chap. vii. Works, i. 242-3. Oxford, 1842.

osservare; con dire che non era stato legitimamente pubblicato, ne la Chiesa matrice l'osservava; et anco per che dal Prencipe di Venetia era stato dichiarato nullo; et per esser stato posto per cose temporali, et non per occasione di Fede; aggiungendo che quello che si trova in gratia di Dio non dove temere ne Scomunica ne Interdetto.

"Ch'il confessarsi, et comunicarsi spesso, l'andar' alla Dottrina Christiana, et oratorii, fussero cose da putti et da femine, et frutti de falsi Profeti; se ben poi dichiarando te stesso, dicesti d'haver' inteso che fussero cose facili.

of that republic; saying, that it was not lawfully proclaimed, and that the mother Church did not observe it; and also because that it was declared to be of no effect by the Prince of Venice; and since it had been imposed for the sake of temporal matters, and not on account of the Faith; adding, that he who is in the favour of God ought not to fear either Excommunication or Interdict.

"That to confess³, and to communicate frequently⁴, to attend at the exercises of the Christian Doctrine⁵, and at places allotted for prayer, were things suitable for children and women, and fruits of false Prophets; although afterwards, when explaining yourself, you have said that you had meant that those were things easily performed.

³ Compare with this clause the following passage from Le Courayer's *Défense de la nouvelle traduction de l'Histoire du Concile de Trente*: "Ce récit de Burnet" [*Life of Bishop Bedell*, p. 12.] "est confirmé par une accusation portée contre Fra-Paolo devant le Nonce par quelques-uns de ses propres Confrères, qui le chargèrent de ne jamais se confesser ni lui ni ses disciples." (p. 52. A Amsterd. 1742.)

⁴ It is not unlikely that this charge against Fulgentio may have been founded on his opposition to some of the tenets maintained by the Jesuits, who were at utter variance with the divines of Venice. The extent to which this sacramental controversy was afterward carried between the Jesuits and the Jansenists may be learned from the Avertissement prefixed to the eleventh edition of Antoine Arnauld's treatise *De la fréquente Communion*. A Lyon, 1739. The Jesuitical view is defended against Arnauld in the work of the learned Denys Petau, *De la Pénitence publique, et de la préparation à la Communion*, 2^e edit. 4to, à Paris, 1644.

⁵ Bellarmin's well-known Catechism, written by the command of Pope

“Ch’havessi detto di non conoscere altro superiore che Dio et il Prencipe di Venetia.

“Ch’havessi essaltato et laudato il Regno d’Inghilterra; dicendo ch’era Regno santo, et simili parole.

“Che li Pontefici antichi havessero chiamato licenza dagl’ Imperatori d’ istituire le Feste, edificar Chiese et Monasterii; et questi moderni vogliono poterlo fare senza chiamar licenza à Prencipi; il che pare indegnità.

“Ch’havessi detto ch’il Papa non havesse autorità alcuna nel temporale.

“Che Christo ò la santissima sua Madre non fussero della stirpe di David.

“Fosti per questo, d’ordine degl’ Ill^{mi}. et R^{mi}. SS^{ri}. Cardinali, Generali Inquisitori in tutta la Republica Christiana, giuridicamente amonito et citato à dovere personalmente comparire in Roma, avanti le sudⁱ. Ill^{mi}. SS^{ri}. Cardinali, ò vero avanti il P. suo Coñessario Gñale, residente nel Palazzo

“That you have affirmed that you did not recognise any other superior than God and the Prince of Venice.

“That you have *extolled and commended the kingdom of England*; saying that it was a holy kingdom, and using similar expressions.

“That the ancient Pontiffs applied to the Emperors for permission to institute holy-days, to build churches and monasteries; and those of modern times wish to have power to do so without asking for the sanction of Princes; a thing which seems to imply contempt.

“That you have said that the Pope has no authority in temporal matters.

“That neither Christ nor His most holy Mother was of the family of David.

“Wherefore, by order of the most illustrious and most reverend Lords the Cardinals, Inquisitors General in the whole Christian commonwealth, having been juridically warned and summoned to appear personally in Rome, before the above-mentioned most illustrious Lords the Cardinals, or

della santa Inquisitione Romana, in termine di giorni 24, ad respondendum de fide, et ad espurgarti delle sudette, et altre cose deposte contro di te, et questo sotto pena di Scom^{ca}. maggiore di lata sentenza, et altre pene espresse nelle litere citatorie et monitoriali, et successivamente citato canonicamente, passati i debiti termini, et non havendo tu obedito, fosti denunciato, scomunicato, et incorso in tutte le pene espresse in dette lre monitoriali.

" Con tutto ciò essendo da te stesso alcuni mesi sono venuto à Roma. Comparesti personalmente in questo S^{to}. Officio, dicendoti voler rispondere à tutto quello di che fossi stato interrogato, essendoti (come dicesti) p^a. presentato ai piedi di N^{ro} Sig^{ro}., et all' Ill^{mo}. Protettore della tua Re-

before the Father, who is their Commissary General, and who resides in the palace of the holy Inquisition of Rome, within the space of twenty-four days, in order that you might reply to questions concerning your orthodoxy, and clear yourself from the foregoing as well as other charges advanced against you, under the penalty of the greater Excommunication *latæ sententiæ*⁶, and other punishments set forth in the citatory and admonitory letters; and having been afterward cited canonically, you overpassed the appointed periods; and inasmuch as you did not obey, you were denounced, excommunicated, and you incurred all the penalties expressed in the said admonitory letters.

" Notwithstanding all this, some months ago you came of your own accord to Rome. You have appeared personally in this Holy Office, declaring that you were desirous of replying to every question that might be proposed to you; having (as you said) previously presented yourself⁷ before the

⁶ That is, already determined. As to this species of Excommunication see Zanger's *Dissertatio Theologico-Juridica*, p. 5, sqq. Witeb. 1607. The twenty-one evils (" mala ") produced by it are enumerated in the *Summa Angelica de casibus Conscientiæ*, by Angelus de Clavasio, fol. cxvii. Argent. 1491. Exclusion from the kingdom of heaven is the fifth of these punishments.

⁷ See the extract from Father Paul, p. 5.

ligione; et ch'eri pronto di dare sodisfatione et conto di te stesso à q^{to}. S^{to}. Officio; dicendo però di non esser consapevole d'haver data mala sodisfatione, ne meno haver mai havuto tal' intentione, da quella gñale in poi, d'esser restato in quella città à tempo dell' Interdetto, et haver persuaso al popolo nelle tue predicationi et sermoni il violare l' Interd^o.

“Et interrogato sopra i capi de quali venevi inditiato, come sopra, prima confessasti di haver predicato,—

“Che l' Interdetto non si doveva osservare, si per che non era stato legitimam^{te}. publicato, si per che la Chiesa Patriarchale non l'osservava; et anco per ch'era stato posto per occasione de beni temporali: le quai parole però dicesti ch' inavertentemente t'uscirno di bocca, per haver sentito così fattamente parlare; mà negasti d'haver detto che

feet of our Lord^s, and to the most illustrious Guardian of your Order; and that you were ready to give satisfaction and an account of yourself to this Holy Office; stating, nevertheless, that you were not conscious of having given dissatisfaction; neither had you, from the commencement of that embarrassment, ever entertained the design to have remained in the said city during the time of the Interdict, and in your Discourses and Sermons to have incited the people to the infringement of it.

“And when questioned as to the heads of those matters about which evidence had been given against you as above, you have first acknowledged that you have taught in your Sermons,—

“That no one should observe the Interdict, as well because it had not been lawfully proclaimed as that the patriarchal Church⁹ did not regard it; and also because that it had been imposed on account of temporalities: which words, however, you have declared that you had inadvertently uttered, in consequence of having heard people speaking in that way;

⁸ The Pope, whose ordinary title is, “La Santità di nostro Signore.”

⁹ Of Venice.

l'Interd^o. non si doveva osservare, per che dal Doge fusse stato dichiarato nullo; sapendo ch' à nessun Prencipe secolare tocca far tale dichiarazione.

" Et quanto al secondo capo, dicesti, non haver mai biasmato la frequenza de Sacramenti, le Dottrine Christiane, et altre opere pie, come venisti inditiato, quando però si frequentano debitamente, e buona dispositione; mà che sapendo, ch'in frequentarli c' intervenivano molti abusi et eccessi, essagerasti contro quelli che non fanno profitto, et indebitam^{te}. li frequentano, senza le debite preparationi; et le chiamasti opere non eroiche, et da huomini, mà da femine et putti; et negasti gl' altri capi, de quali eri inditiato come sopra, in quanto però importano delitto, et nel modo esplicato da testimonii.

but you have denied that you had said that no one should observe the Interdict because of it having been declared to be null by the Doge; since you were aware that the power to make such a declaration does not appertain to any secular Prince.

" And as to the second point, you have declared that you had never found fault with the frequent use of the Sacraments, the Christian Doctrine, and other works of piety, as it had been alleged against you, whensoever people attend to them duly and in a right state of mind; but that being conscious that many abuses accompanied the continual attendance on them, you disclaimed against those who do not profit by them, and who engage in them in an improper spirit, and without due preparation; and you called them works not of pre-eminent excellence, and such as were suited to men, but rather those of women and children; and you have denied the other points respecting which you had been accused as above, so far as they imply an offence, and in the sense put upon them in the evidence.

" Et per che nella risposta

" And since, in the answer

che facesti alle lre monitoriali et citatorie, tra le altre propositioni degne di censura, si contiene questa, cioè :

“ ‘Che Dio non cōmāda all’ huomo cosa impossibile naturalm^{te}. et civilm^{te}.; et ch’ il dir altrimenti sia heresia.’ ”

“ Et in una lra privata, da te riconosciuta, come scritta di tua mano, si trovano inserte queste parole, cioè :

“ ‘Quasi che Chiesa sia quella Corte iniqua, et ch’ ella stia ; ò consista nelle lascivie, vanitadi, et pompe,’ &c.

vasse un libro proibito, detto Difensorio di Guglielmo Okam, contra Papa Giovanni 22^o ; et che l’ havessi prestato ad un Frate del tuo Ordine, affinche ne potesse cavar copia ; et ch’ all’ istesso havessi detto, che

that you made to the letters of admonition and citation, among other propositions deserving of censure, it contains this statement, viz. :

“ ‘That God does not enjoin upon man a thing that is naturally and civilly impossible ; and that to speak otherwise would be heresy.’ ”

“ And in a private letter, which is admitted by you to be in your own hand-writing, the following words are found inserted :

“ ‘As if the Church were that impious Court, and a receptacle for beasts¹ ; or were composed of dissoluteness, vanities, and empty show²,’ &c.

“ And, moreover, information was given against you, that in your possession was found a prohibited book, entitled, “*Defensorium Guilielmi Occami contra Joannem Pam XXII.*”³ ;” and that you had lent it to a Friar of your Order, that he might transcribe

¹ Perhaps there may be here an allusion to Rev. xviii. 2. A curious alphabetical list of various beasts to which heretics have been compared by ancient writers is given in Raynaud’s *Erotemata de malis ac bonis libris*, pp. 93—96. Lugd. 1653.

² Vid. Nicolaus de Clemangiis, *De Ruina Ecclesiæ*, Cap. iii. apud Von der Hardt, i. iii. 7.

³ This must have been a manuscript. The tract was afterwards printed in Brown’s Appendix to the *Fasciculus Rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*, pp. 436—465. Lond. 1690. Part of the *Defensorium* seems to be an abridgment of the *Opus nonaginta dierum*. See Cap. xciii. of the latter work, Lugd. 1495. The copy just now consulted exhibits on its title-page the notice, “Questo libro è proibito.”

s'havessi quattro ò cinq. compagni, com' hebbe detto Okam, non haveresti paura di resistere in faccia à chi se sia, come fece d°. Okam.

"Interrogato sopra questi capi, rispondesti, che per detta propositione, 'Ch' Iddio non cõmanda cose impossibili naturalm^{te}. et civilmente,' non intendesti di parlare di cose di Fede, et sopranaturali; mà intendesti delle attioni esteriori, naturali et morali; et ti sforzasti dichiarare te stesso in senso Catolico; se ben poi la tua esplicatione non fù giudicata tale, rimettendoti in ciò alla determinatione della santa, Catolica, et Apostolica Romana Chiesa.

"Dicesti in oltre haver scritto in quella l^{ra} privata cioè, 'Che Chiesa sia,' &c., per soverchio zelo del profitto della Christianità; et che per le dette parole altro non hai voluto inferire, che di biasmare la vita scandalosa dei Ecclesiastici; senza pregiudicare all' autorità et santità della santa Chiesa, per la quale (come dicesti) spargeresti il sangue.

it; and that you had declared to the same individual, that, if you had four or five associates, as the said Occam had, you would not be afraid to oppose any one to the face as he did.

"Having been questioned about these points, you have replied, that in the said proposition, 'That God does not prescribe things that are naturally and civilly impossible,' you did not mean to speak of matters relating to the Faith, and such as are supernatural; but that you referred to external actions, natural and moral; and that you had endeavoured to express yourself in a Catholic sense; but that, since your explanation was not considered sound, you would submit yourself in that matter to the decision of the holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church of Rome.

"You have said, moreover, that you had written in the same private letter thus; 'That the Church was,' &c., through excessive zeal for the interest of the Christian religion; and that by those words you had not wished to signify any thing beyond a condemnation of the disgraceful lives of the Clergy; without detracting from the authority and sanctity of the holy Church, for which (as you affirmed) you would shed your blood.

“Dicesti anco di haver prestatato il libro proibito di Okam ad un Frate del tuo Ordine ; che te lo ricercò ; et d’haver saputo che detto libro era proibito, et che d°. Frate l’haveva copiato ; et d’haver’ ancora detto indifferentemente à più persone, che s’ havessi 4 ò 5 compagni, com’ hebbe Okam, non haveresti paura di dir’ in faccia à chi se sia la verità, quando però ne fossi certo, come delle cose della Fede : mà che ciò dicesti haver detto ad altro proposito, che dell’ opinione di Okam ; et che ciò dicesti per desiderio c’ hai sempre havuto del beneficio delle anime, et in proposito di togliere gl’ abusi et scandali, per edificatione, et reprimendo i vitii.

“Di più confessasti haver letto altri libri proibiti : et particolarmente, uno intitolato *Christianæ Religionis Institutio*, authore Calvino ; mà che però lo leggesti obiter ; et per ch’ avvertisti che trattava contro i Sacramenti, te ne stornacasti, et non volesti piu leggerlo :

“Furthermore, you have declared that you had lent the interdicted book of Occam to a Friar of your Order ; that he had asked you for it ; and that you were aware that the book had been forbidden, and that the said Friar had transcribed it ; and also, that you had told several persons, without distinction, that if you had four or five companions, as Occam had, you would not fear to speak the truth boldly to any one ; only, however, when you were certain about it, as with respect to matters relating to the Faith : but you affirmed that you had used this language for another purpose than with a view to maintain the opinions of Occam ; and that you had so spoken in consequence of the anxiety which you had always felt concerning the welfare of souls, and with the design of removing abuses and scandals by means of edification and the reproof of vice.

“Besides this, you have acknowledged that you had read other books that were prohibited : and especially, one, which was named ‘ The Institution of Christian Religion,’ by Calvin ; but you said that you had only perused it cursorily ; and that, having perceived that it

un altro intitolato *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Apologia* : il 3°. il cui titolo è *Catechismo*, che conteneva la dottrina di Calvino : et per il zelo della s^{ta}. Fede Catolica, et della tua patria, sentisti dispiacere che tai libri ci capitassero ; et che detti libri furno da te restituiti à quelli che te li havevano portati ; dicendo non sapere à che fine te li portassero ; mà che però si puo persuadere, ch' essendo quelle persone di casa del Ambasciatore Inglese, il lor pensiero sia stato persuadendosi tirarti in alcuna delle opinioni erronee di detti libri : non hai però havuto mala intentione, et credulità, ne di contrafare à precetti et ordini di santa Chiesa, ne di adherire

was written against the Sacraments, you were disgusted, and would read no more of it : another, entitled, ' An Apology of the Church of England ' : a third, which was called, ' A Catechism ' , and which contained the doctrine of Calvin : and that through zeal for the holy Catholic Faith, and on behalf of your native country, you were displeased that such books should have arrived in it ; and that they were returned by you to those who had brought them ; declaring that you did not know what had been their object in bringing them ; but yet that one may feel assured, that as they are members of the household of the English Ambassador ⁶, it

* The name of Bishop Jewel's celebrated work will at once be recognised. Many years before this time, however, as he informs us, (*Def. of Apol.* Part i.) it was not unnoticed in " Italy, Naples, and Rome itself." His Epistle to Scipione Biondi, a Venetian nobleman, respecting the absence of English representatives from the Council of Trent, may also have been known in Italy, though it was not printed until Sir Nathanael Brent annexed it to his translation of Father Paul's History of that Synod. In the Belgic Appendix to the Tridentine Index, (p. 72. Antwerp. 1570.) Bishop Jewel has been stupidly entered under the letter " Y ;" and he is styled both " *Yuellius Anglus*," and " *Yonellus, vel Ionellus Anglus* ;" thus in his own person forming " *Primæ classis auctores* " in that section of the Catalogue of those prescribed.

⁵ Probably a copy of an Italian version of the *Catechismus Genevensis* ; but we may also remember the estimation in which Dean Nowel's Latin Catechism was then held.

⁶ Sir Henry Wotton was the Ambassador employed by King James I. at Venice at the time of the Interdict ; and his Chaplain, here undoubtedly referred to, and subsequently, as we shall see, described by the Inquisitors

à dottrina falsa, et contraria
all' istessa santa Chiesa.

“Per tanto volendo venire
all' espeditione di questa tua
causa, et havendo visto il De-
creto, fatto nella Congregatione
tenuta avanti N^{ro} Sig^{re}, sotto
il dì undici del presente mese
di Dicembre, col quale à noi
è cõmessà tal' espeditione, ci
siamo rissoluti venir' all' infra-
scritta sentenza.

“Invocato dunq; il s^{mo}.
nome del N^{ro} Sig^{re}. Giesu

may have been their persua-
sion that they should induce
you to adopt some of the erro-
neous principles of those
books: that you have, never-
theless, not harboured any evil
intention, or credulity, with re-
gard either to disobeying the
precepts and injunctions of the
holy Church, or adhering to
doctrine which is false and op-
posed to her.

“Wherefore, being desirous
of despatching this your cause,
and having seen the decree
made in the Congregation held
in the presence of our Lord,
upon the eleventh day of the
month of December instant,
by which such despatch has
been committed to us, we are
resolved to pass the sentence
recorded underneath.

“Having then invoked the
most sacred name of our Lord

as an “English stranger,” and as “a heretic from England,” was the pious and admirable BEDELL, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore. Father Paul speaks of him as “a Minister that was an excellent person;” (*Letters*, p. 339.) and to him he gave permission to “use,” though not then to transcribe for publication, his *History of the Venetian Interdict*, which Potter put forth in English, and Bedell himself in Latin, in 1626. Another deeply interesting and apposite testimony to his character is to be found in a letter from Sir Henry Wotton to King Charles I., recommending him as a person eminently worthy of promotion to the Provostship of Trinity College, Dublin. “For it may please your Majesty to know,” he writes, “that this is the man whom Padre Paolo took, I may say, into his very soul; with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart; from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had ever practised in his days.” (*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 330. Lond. 1672. Burnet's *Life of Bedell*, p. 25. Dubl. 1736.)

Christo, et della sua gloriosissima Madre sempre Vergine Maria, nella causa et cause vertenti tra il Rev. Sig^{re}. Carlo Sinceri, dell' una et dell' altra Legge Dottore, Procuratore Fiscale di questo S^{to}. Officio, per una parte, et te Fra Fulgentio sudetto, processato, inditiato, et in parte confesso, et colpevole ritrovato, come sopra, dall' altra; per questa nostra diffinitiva sentenza, qual sedendo pro Tribunali proferimo in questi scritti, dicemo, pronuntiamo, sententiamo, et dichiaramo, te Fra Fulgentio Manfredi sudetto, per le cose sudette, dedotte in processo, et da te in parte confessate, come sopra, et particolarmente per la ritentione et lettione de libri prohibiti, esserti reso vehementemente sospetto di heresia; cioè, d' haver tenuto et creduto tutti gl' errori significati per le propositioni da te, come sopra, proferite; et d' haver anco tenuto et creduto quelle che si contengono nei libri prohibiti sudⁱ.; et consequentemente sei incorso in tutte le pene et censure da sacri Canonì et altre Constitutioni, tanto generali quanto particolari, contro simili delinquenti inflitte et promulgate. Onde sei tenuto d' abjurarle,

Jesus Christ, and that of His most glorious Mother, Mary ever Virgin, in the cause and causes pending between the reverend Lord, Carlo Sinceri, Doctor of Laws, Fiscal Procurator of this Holy Office, on one side, and on the other you, Friar Fulgentio, before named, who have been processed, against whom evidence has been received, and who have partly confessed, and have been found culpable, as it appears above; by this our definitive sentence, which, sitting on the Tribunal, we make known by these letters, we say, pronounce, give judgment, and declare, that you, the said Friar Fulgentio Manfredi, by reason of the things before mentioned, drawn up in the proceedings, and by you in part acknowledged, as above, and particularly on account of your having kept and read prohibited books, have been rendered very strongly suspected of heresy; that is to say, that you have held and believed all the errors expressed in the propositions put forth as above by you; and that you have likewise held and believed those which are contained in the said forbidden books; and have consequently

come vehementemente sospetto, et generalmente ogni et qualunque; altro errore, heresia, et setta, contraria alla santa, Cattolica, et Apostolica Romana Chiesa, nel modo et forma che da noi ti sarà data. Dopò la quale abjuratione, ci contenteremo assolverti dalla Scomunica, et altre censure, in quanto per le sudette cose ne fosti incorso.

“Et accio che possi piu facilmente ottener’ il perdono dal Nro S. Iddio, procedendo teco come sponte comparente, t’ imponiamo le infrascritte Penitenze salutari ; et prima,

“ Ch’ una volta visiti le sette Chiese privilegiate, dentro et fuori le mura di Roma.

“ Che per cinq; anni prossimi à venire, reciti una volta

become liable to all the penalties and censures inflicted upon, and published against, similar offenders by the sacred Canons, and other constitutions, both general and special. That you therefore, as one vehemently suspected, are bound to abjure these tenets, and without exception each and every other error, heresy, and sect, in opposition to the holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church of Rome, in the manner and form which shall be prescribed for you by us. After which abjuration, we shall be satisfied to absolve you from the Excommunication and other censures, so far as you have incurred them in consequence of the things already stated.

“ And in order that you may more easily obtain the pardon of our Lord God, we, dealing with you as a person appearing here of your own accord, impose upon you the subjoined salutary Penances ; and first,

“ That you are to visit once the seven privileged Churches, within and without the walls of Rome’.

“ That for the next five years you are to recite once

⁷ See *Fiscus Papalis ; sive, Catalogus Indulgentiarum et Reliquiarum septem principalium Ecclesiarum urbis Romæ*, published in Latin and English by Crashaw. 4to. Lond. 1617.

la settimana li sette Salmi Penitentiali, con le Litanie, orationi, et preci sussequenti; et una volta l' Offitio per i morti.

" Ch' ogni Venardi per detto tempo habbi à digiunare semplicemente.

" Riservando però alli Ill^{mi}. et R^{mi}. SS^{ri}. Cardinali, generali Inquisitori, la facoltà di moderare, mitigare, et levare, in tutto ò in parte, le sud^e. Penitenze.

" Et cosi dicemo, pronunziamo, sententiamo, dichiariamo, penitentiamo, et riserviamo, in questo et in ogni altro miglior modo et forma, che di ragione potemo et dovemo.

in the week the seven Penitential Psalms, together with the Litanies, orisons, and prayers which follow; and once the Office for the dead.

" That you are to fast rigorously on every Friday during the same period.

" Reserving nevertheless to the most illustrious and most reverend Lords the Cardinals, Inquisitors General, the right to moderate, mitigate, and alleviate the foregoing Penances either entirely or in part.

" And thus we say, pronounce, pass sentence, declare, enjoin Penances, and make reservation, in this and in every other better manner and form which we reasonably can and ought to adopt.

Joseph V. a Gar. Commiss' & cap
Stapmunician

" I, Friar Stephanus Vicarii à Garexio, the Commissary above-mentioned, have thus pronounced.

" Die Sabati, 13 men^o. Decembris, 1608,

" On Saturday, the thirteenth day of the month of December,

“Lata, data, et in his scriptis pronunciata fuit suprascripta sententia, per suprascriptum Adm. R. P. Commissarium, pro Tribunali, ut supra, sedeñ, Romæ, in palatio Sancti Officii; lecta verò et publicata alta et intelligibili voce per me, &c.; ibidem preseñdº. Fñe Fulgentio Manfredo, audiente, intelligente, et non contradicente: qui dictæ sententiæ parere volens, genuflexus coram eod. Adm. R. P. Com^{rio}., sacrosancta Dei Evangelia, coram posita, manibus corporalĩ tangens, abjuravit, maledixit, et detestatus est hæreses et errores de quibus vehementer suspectus judicatus fuit; et generalĩ &c. et alias, prout latius in schedula abjuratonis, ejus propria manu subscripta, incipieñ. ‘Io Fra Fulgentio, figliuolo,’ &c. continetur.

“Qua quidem abjuratone sic ut supra facta, idem Fñ Fulgentius, adhuc coram eodem Adm. R. P. Com^{rio}. genuflexus, fuit ab eo absolutus, ad

1608, the preceding sentence was passed, given, and pronounced in these letters, by the above-named very reverend Father the Commissary, sitting, as it appears before, on the Tribunal, in the palace of the Holy Office at Rome; but it was read and published in a loud and intelligible voice by me, &c.; the said Friar Fulgentio Manfredi being there present, hearing, understanding, and not objecting to it: who, being willing to comply with the said sentence, kneeling before the same very reverend Father the Commissary, actually touching with his hands the holy Gospels of God which lay in view, abjured, execrated, and declared his abhorrence of, the heresies and errors on account of which he was adjudged to be very strongly suspected; and in general, &c., all other heresies likewise, as is expressed more fully in the schedule of his abjuraton, which he has signed with his own hand, and which commences thus: ‘I, Friar Fulgentio, son,’ &c.

“Which abjuraton having been so made, the said Friar Fulgentio, still on his knees before the same very reverend Father the Commissary, was

cautelam, in forma Ecc^m. consueta, à señtia Excōis, et aliis censuris ecc^{lis}., quas præmissorū causa et occ^{ne}. quomodolibet forsā incurrerat; et cōmunioni fidelium, participationiq; ecclesiasticorum Sacramentoꝝ, et sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ unitati et gremio restitutus; adhibitis orationibus et cæremoniis solitis et consuetis, ac injunctis ei Pœnitentiis salutaribus in Señtia contentis.

"Super quibus, &c.

"Actum ubi supra, in mansionibus dⁱ. Adm. R. P. Com^{rii}.; ibid. præsentibus R. P. D. Marcello Philonardo, J. U. D., et Sancte de Sanctis, de loco Materillæ, status Ferentilli, nullius diœcesis, testibus."

by him, in the usual cautionary form which the Church employs, absolved from the sentence of Excommunication, and the other ecclesiastical censures, which, by reason and through occasion of the foregoing matters, he had haply in any way incurred; and was restored to the communion of the faithful, and to the right to partake of the ecclesiastical Sacraments, and to the unity and bosom of our holy mother the Church; the ordinary and accustomed prayers and ceremonies having been used, and the salutary Penances comprised in the sentence having been enjoined upon him.

"Upon which, &c.

"This was done in the before-mentioned residence of the said very reverend Father the Commissary; the witnesses there present being, the reverend Father Signor Marcello Philonardo, Doctor of Laws, and Sanctes de Sanctis, from the place Materilla, in the district of Ferentilli, exempt from the control of a Diocesan."

At the sight of those who were ready to become his executioners, Fulgentio's courage forsook him for the time. His Recantation, in the ordinary form, follows next. Let us beware of judging

harshly of an amount of temporary weakness from which, under circumstances scarcely so terrific, Cranmer and Jewel were not free.

“Io, FRA Fulgentio, figliuolo del q. Lodovico Manfredi da Venetia, Sacerdote Professo dell’ Ord^e. de Min^{ri}. Osservanti, dell’ età mia d’ anni 45, in circa, costituito personalmente in giudicio, et inginocchiato avanti di voi molto R. P. Frate Stefano Vicario da Garessio, dell’ Ordine de Predicatori, Maestro di sacra Theologia, et Com^{rio}. Generale della santa et universale Inquisitione Romana, havendo avanti gl’ occhi miei li sacrosanti Evangelii, quali tocco con le proprie mani, giuro che sempre hò creduto, hora credo, et credero sempre per l’ avvenire, tutto quello che tiene, crede, predica, et insegna la santa, Catolica, et Apostolica Romana Chiesa.

“Mà per che da q^{to}. S^{to}. Off^o. sono stato giudicato vehementemente sospetto di heresia, per haver’ io ritenuto appresso di me, et letti libri prohibiti, che contenevano heresie, et errori manifesti, contro la santa Fede; per haver ne prestato uno ad un Frate dell’ Ord^{ne}. mio, quale con mia saputa ne

“I, FRIAR Fulgentio, son of the deceased Lodovico Manfredi of Venice, a Priest and professed Monk of the Order of Observant Franciscans, of about forty-five years of age, being placed in person at the Tribunal, and kneeling before you very reverend Father, Friar Stefano Vicario of Garessio, of the Dominican Order, Master of sacred Theology, and Commissary General of the holy and universal Inquisition of Rome, having before my eyes the holy Gospels, which I touch with my own hands, do swear, that I have always believed, now believe, and ever shall believe for the time to come, all that the holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church of Rome holds, believes, inculcates, and teaches.

“But because that I have been adjudged by this Holy Office to be very strongly suspected of heresy, for having kept in my possession, and read, prohibited books, containing heresies and manifest errors, contrary to the holy Faith; as well as for having lent one of them to a Friar of

prese copia, si com'io stesso hò confessato spontaneam^{te}.

"Et per esser stato inditiato d'haver ne miei ragionamenti publici, fatti in Venetia à tempo dell' Interdetto, persuaso il popolo à non osservare l' Interdetto, con dire, 'Che non era obbligato ad osservarlo, si per che non era stato legitimam^{te}. publicato, si anco per che la Chiesa Catredale non l'osservava; si anco per che non era stato posto per interesse di Fede et dei Sacramenti, mà solo per interesse de beni temporali;' aggiungendo, 'Che quando l' homo si trova in gratia di Dio, non deve temere ne Scomunica ne Interdetto.'

"Et per esser stato inditiato, 'Che le orationi, gl' oratorii, il confessarsi, et cõffunicarsi spesso, le Dottrine Christiane, fussero frutti de falsi Profeti, et cose da putti.'

"Et d'haver detto, 'Che li Pontefici Romani antichi havessero chiamato licenza da Principi secolari di stabilire le Feste; et questi moderni vogliono poter' edificar Chiese et

my own Order, who, with full knowledge of the fact on my part, transcribed it; as I have voluntarily made confession.

"And in consequence of evidence having been given, that in my public Discourses, delivered in Venice at the time of the Interdict, I had persuaded the people not to regard it; saying, 'That they were not bound to do so, since it had not been lawfully proclaimed, and as the Cathedral Church did not attend to it; as also because that it had not been imposed on account of the Faith and the Sacraments, but only for the sake of temporalities;' adding, 'That when a man is in a state of grace he should not fear either Excommunication or Interdict.'

"And owing to the evidence brought forward of my having said, 'That prayers, and oratories, and constant attendance at Confession, the Communion, and the exercises of the Christian Doctrine, were fruits of false Prophets, and things fit only for children.'

"And for having also affirmed, 'That the ancient Roman Pontiffs had applied for the sanction of the secular Rulers to establish holydays; and that those of modern times desire

Monasterii, senza chiamar licenza a Principi.'

"Et d'haver detto, 'Ch'io non conoscevo altro superiore ch' Iddio, et il mio Principe di Venetia.'

"Et per essersi trovato scritto in una mia lra familiare, da me riconosciuta, tra le altre cose, queste parole, 'Quasi che Chiesa sia quella Corte iniqua, et ch'ella stia; ò consista nelle lascivie, vanitadi, et pompe,' &c., modo veramte. di parlare degl' heretici contro la Chiesa santa.

"Et per haver'io scritto questa proposit^{te}., 'Ch' Iddio non comãda all'huomo cosa che egli non possa naturalm^{te}. et civilm^{te}.'

"Et per haver scritto, 'Esser vano il timore di coloro ch' avevano paura di violare l' Interdetto.'

"Io, PER levare dalla mente d' ogni fidele questa vehe- mente sospitione di me con- cetta, con cuore sincero, et fede non finta, abjuro, maledico, et

to have power to erect churches and monasteries without seeking for the permission of Princes.'

"And that I had said further, 'That I did not acknowledge any other superior than God, and the Doge of Venice, my Sovereign.'

"And on account of the following words, amongst other things, having been found written in a private letter, which I have admitted to be mine:— 'As if the Church were that impious Court, and a receptacle for beasts; or consisted of licentiousness, vanities, and empty show,' &c.; which is in truth a way that heretics speak against the holy Church.

"And because of my having written this proposition, — 'That God does not enjoin upon a man any thing that he is naturally and civilly unable to perform.'

"Likewise for having written, 'That the fear of those persons who were afraid of infringing the Interdict was vain.'

"IN order to remove from the minds of all faithful people this very strong suspicion entertained concerning me, I, with sincerity of heart and

detesto, tutte le heresie et errori contenuti in detti libri ; et anco le sudette propositioni, de quali sono stato denunciato haver proferite, et ch'io stesso hò confessato, come mal dette: et generalmente abjuro, maledico, et detesto, ogni et qualunque; altro errore, heresia, et setta, contraria alla sud^a. santa Chiesa.

"Giuro anco, et prometto, che mai piu predicarò, dirò, ò asserirò, ne in publico ne in privato, simili assertioni ; ne meno terrò, leggerò, libro ò scrittura, che contenga dottrina heretica et dannata ; ne farò cosa per la quale si possa di me havere tal suspitione.

"Anzi se conoscerò alc^o. heretico, ò sospetto d' heresia, ò che tenga insegna errori et heresie, ò vero che tenga, legga, ò componga libri ò scritture prohibite, lo denuntiarò, quanto prima potrò, à questo S^{to}. Off^o., ò vero all' Inq^{re}., ò Ordinario del luogo dove mi trovarò.

unfeigned fidelity, abjure, execrate, and abhor, all the heresies and errors contained in the above-named books ; together with the foregoing propositions, for the utterance of which I have been denounced, and which I have admitted to be wrong expressions : and in general I abjure, execrate, and abhor, each and every other error, heresy, and sect, opposed to the said holy Church.

"I do also swear and promise, that I will never again preach, utter, or put forward, either publicly or privately, similar assertions : nor will I keep or read either book or writing which may contain heretical and condemned doctrine ; nor will I do any thing by reason of which it might be possible to form such a suspicion respecting me.

"Moreover, if I should know any heretic, or person suspected of heresy, or any one who should maintain notable errors and heresies, or who should keep in his possession, read, or compose, prohibited books or writings, I will denounce him, as soon as possible, to this Holy Office, or to the Inquisitor or the Ordinary of the place in which I may happen to be.

"Giuro anco, et prometto, di adempire et osservar' intieramente tutte le Penitenze, che mi sono, ò mi saraño imposte da questo S^{to}. Off^o.: et s' ad alcuna delle sud^e. mie promesse et giuramenti io contravenissi, (del che Dio mi guardi,) mi obbligo et sottopongo à tutte le pene et castighi, da sacri Canoni, et altre Constitⁿⁱ., gñali et partic^{ri}., contro simili delinquenti inflitte et promulgate. Così Iddio mi ajuti, et questi suoi sacrosanti Evangelii, ch'io tocco con le proprie mani.

"Io, Fra Fulgentio Manfredi sud^{to}., hò abjurato, giurato, promesso, et mi sono ubligato, come sopra. Et in fede del vero, hò sottoscritto la pñte cedola di mia abjurazione di propria mano, et recitatala di parola in parola, in Roma, nel Palazzo del S^{to}. Ufficio, qsto dì 13. di X^{bre}, 1608."

"I do also swear and promise, that I will fulfil and entirely observe all the Penances, which are or shall be enjoined upon me by this Holy Office: and if I should contravene any of the preceding promises and oaths, (from which offence may God preserve me,) I hereby bind and submit myself to all the penalties and chastisements inflicted upon, and promulgated against, similar delinquents by the sacred Canons, and other constitutions, general and special. So help me God, and these His holy Gospels, which I touch with my own hands.

"I, Friar Fulgentio Manfredi, before-named, have abjured, sworn, promised, and bound myself, as above. And, for a testimony of the truth, I have with my own hand subscribed to the present schedule of my abjuration, and recited it word for word, at Rome, in the palace of the Holy Office, this thirteenth day of December, 1608.



"I, Friar Fulgentio, with my own hand."

The quotation from Father Paul's *Letters*, which was necessarily interrupted⁸, is now to be resumed. The agreement of his narrative in so many particulars with the details furnished by these the only records extant by which it could be verified demands our special attention; and from the fact of so much accuracy being proved to exist on this occasion, we may judge how great is the amount of confidence which may reasonably be reposed in the writings of this excellent man at other times.

Sarpi's letter is dated August 3, 1610; and it will be seen that Fulgentio's life had been spared until the preceding month.

"Matters passed on with him sometimes well, sometimes ill, according as he was looked on, till February last; and then one evening Cardinal Pamphilio, the Pope's Vicar, sent some Sergeants to apprehend him; pretending that he had done something, I know not what, that did belong to his office. They put him in prison in the Tower of Nona, where men of ordinary offences are thrust.

"Then they went to seize upon his papers; and having looked into them, they removed him from that prison to the Inquisition-Jail. There they drew up three charges against him. One, that he had amongst his books some prohibited ones. The second, that he kept correspondence by letters with

⁸ See page 6.

the heretics of England and Germany. The third, that there was a writing, all of his own hand, which contained divers articles against the Catholic Roman doctrine: particularly, That St. Peter was not superior to the other Apostles; That the Pope is not Head of the Church; That he cannot command any thing beyond what Christ had commanded; That the Council of Trent was neither a General Council, nor a lawful one; That there are many heresies in the Church of Rome; and a great many such things.

“ To these charges he answered :

“ ‘ 1. As to the books; that he did not know that they were prohibited.

“ ‘ 2. As to the commerce of letters that passed between him and those persons, and those persons and him; that they were none of them declared heretics.

“ ‘ 3. As to the writings that were under his own hand; that they were imperfect; and that they were not his opinions, but only memorandums to make considerations upon those points.’

“ At which answers of his, the Inquisition being unsatisfied, they resolved to proceed against him by way of Torture: which being intimated to him, he answered, that he [as a Priest ⁹] was not a per-

⁹ These words inserted within crotchets by the translator, the Rev. Edward Brown, show that he was unacquainted with the rule discoverable in all the private Guide-books of Inquisitors,

son to be put to Torture; but, however, they might do as they pleased, for he put himself upon their mercy.

" The 4th of July he was brought into St. Peter's, where there was an unspeakable throng of people; and there being placed upon a floor, his faults were rehearsed, and the sentence passed upon him, That he should be excluded from the bosom of holy Church, as a heretic relapsed, and delivered over to the Governor of Rome, to be chastised with a ——¹, but without fetching blood.

" At this ceremony, which lasted about an hour, Father Fulgentio stood with eyes lifted up to heaven, and never spake a word. People thought that he had a gag in his mouth². The ceremony being over, he was conducted to the Church of St. Saviour's *in Lauro*, and there degraded; and

that persons in holy orders may be punished with tortures even upon the testimony of a single witness. "Clericus potest torqueri," says Bernard of Como plainly. (*Lucerna Inquisitorum*, fol. 84, b. Mediol. 1566.)

¹ Part of a bull's hide. See Brown's *Addenda et Emendanda*. —De poena Fustigationis, vid. Carenæ *Tractat. de Off. S. Inquis.*, p. 390. Cremonæ, 1655.

² There is no room for conjectures about this matter; the thing is certain. In Pegna's forty-seventh Scholium on the second part of Eymerici's Directory, Romæ, 1578, we read: "Hoc est omnino præcipiendum, ut lingua eorum alligetur, et impium os obstruatur;"—"that their tongue is to be bound, and their impious mouth gagged."

next morning he was brought to *Campo di Fiore*, and there hanged³ and burned." "The

³ It appears to be impossible to determine absolutely whether Fulgentio was burned alive, or strangled and then consumed. In either case ropes must have been used; and this circumstance might account for the expression here employed. When we come, however, to examine the evidence, the weight of it seems to be on the side of the assurance that he suffered death in its most awful form. He was condemned as a *relapsed heretic* by ten Cardinals, Inquisitors-General; and the doom of persons reputed to have so apostatized is, without any hearing, to be handed over to the civil power: "*sine ulla penitus audientia, relinquendi sunt judici sæculari.*" (Bern. Comensis, fol. 70, b.) This is to be their destiny whether they repent or not; "*sive pœniteant sive non;*" (Eymerici, p. 264.) for now there can be no compassion: "*absque ulla misericordia.*" (Carena, p. 79.) What, then, is the inevitable treatment which all such heretics are to receive from the secular arm? "They are to be punished with the penalty of fire, and to be burned:"—"debent puniri pœna ignis, et quod debent cremari:" (B. Comens. fol. 26, b.) and if any infliction more appalling could have been devised, it should have been their portion. (Carena, p. 387.)

With regard to the precise fate of Fulgentio, the decision of the point depends upon the question, whether, on the occasion of his second trial, he shrunk from the confession of the truth or not. It can scarcely be supposed that his inexorable judges would have been contented with a slender and vacillating acknowledgment of regret for certain errors; and nothing short of a complete retraction of his principles (and of this there is not any intimation, but the reverse,) would have rendered him entitled to the dismal privilege of being burned *after death*. Previous strangulation was never permitted in the case of one who had not fully renounced his offensive opinions; but an edict of the Emperor Frederic, confirmed by papal authority as an un-

beginning and the end of it are plain; that is, A SAFE-CONDUCT, AND A ROASTING FIRE."

changeable decree, required, that all persons found to have "persevered in constancy" should be "committed to the judgment of the flames," and "BURNED ALIVE in the presence of the people:" "ut vivi in conspectu hominum comburantur, flammæ commissi judicio." (See the *Apostolic Letters* subjoined to the *Directorium Inquisitorum*, p. 17. Romæ, 1579.)

The following is the registered memorial of the final proceedings against Manfredi.

"Noi, Doménico Vescovo d'Ostia Pinello; Fra Geronimo Berniero, Vescovo di Porto, detto d'Ascoli; Pietro del titolo di Santi Giovanni e Paolo Aldobrandino; Lorenzo del titolo di San Lorenzo in pane et perna Bianchetto; Roberto del tt^o. di Santa Maria in via Bellarmino; Antonio del titolo di Santa Croce in

"We, Domenico Pinello, Bishop of Ostia; Friar Geronimo Berniero⁴, Bishop of Porto, called d'Ascoli; Pietro Aldobrandino, of the title of S. John and S. Paul; Lorenzo Bianchetto, of the title of S. Laurence in *Pane et Perna*⁵; Roberto Bellarmino, of the title of S. Mary in the Way; Antonio Zapata⁶, of the title of

⁴ He was Protector of the Order of Servites, to which Father Paul belonged; (Ciaconii *Vitæ Pontiff. et Cardd.* Tom. iv. col. 163. Romæ, 1677.) and might therefore have been the source of the intelligence received at Venice about Fulgentio.

⁵ Vid. Ciampini, *De sacris Edificiis à constantino Mag. construct.*, p. 138. Romæ, 1693. The words "Pane et Perna" are a corruption of *Panisperna*, and this perhaps of *Perpernia*. (De Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum*, p. 203. Paris. 1702.)

⁶ Afterwards Inquisitor-General in Spain, and the Cardinal who sanctioned the publication by De Pineda of the *Novus Index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum*, folio, Hispali, 1632. In p. 820 of this Index, Sarpi has been placed in the second class, and one of his books forbidden;

Gerusalemme Zapata; Ferdinando Taverna, del titolo di Sant' Eusebio; Gio: Garsia del tt^o. di Santi Quattro Coronati Millino; Francesco del titolo di San Calisto de la Rochefoucault; et Fabritio del titolo di S. Agostino Verallo; chiamati, per la misericordia di Dio, della santa Romana Chiesa Preti Cardinali; in tutta la Rep^{ca}. Christiana contro l'heretica pravità gñali Inquis^{ti}.; dalla santa sede Apostolica spēalmente deputati.

“ Havendo tu Fra Fulgentio, figliolo del q. Ludovico Manfredi da Venetia, Sacerdote Professo dell' Ordine de Min. Osservanti, hora dell' età tua d'anni 48 in circa, dell'anno 1608, in questa s^{ta}. et uñle Inquis^e. Romana, abjurato, come vehementemente sospetto d' heresia, molti errori et heresie, delle quali fosti denunziato, et da piu persone giuridicamente inditiato d' haverle asserite, et nei publici ragio-

the Holy Cross in Jerusalem; Ferdinando Taverna, of the title of S. Eusebius; Giovanni Garsia Millino, of the title of the Four Crowned Saints'; François de la Rochefoucault, of the title of S. Callistus; and Fabritio Verallo, of the title of S. Augustin; styled, by the mercy of God, Cardinals Priests of the holy Roman Church; Inquisitors General against heretical pravity in the entire Christian Commonwealth; specially deputed by the holy Apostolic see.

“ You, Friar Fulgentio, son of the late Ludovico Manfredi of Venice, a Priest and professed Monk of the Order of Observant Franciscans, now of about forty-eight years of age, having, in the year 1608, in this holy and universal Inquisition of Rome, abjured, as one very strongly suspected of heresy, many errors and heresies, for which you were denounced, and which several persons gave legal evidence that you had

but previously (p. 801.) a higher rank had been assigned to him, among authors of “damned memory;” and the Jesuit who compiled the Index, not knowing that *Pietro Soave Polano* was the anagram of *Paolo Sarpi Veneto*, has made the writer of the History of the Council of Trent a *Pole*, —“*Polonus*,”—and describes him as “*homo pestilens*.”

⁷ Aringhi *Roma Subterranea*, Tom. i. p. 23. Romæ, 1651. The names of these Martyrs, it is said, were, Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus, and Victorinus. (Surius, *De probat. Sanctt. Histor.* vi. 177. Colon. Agripp. 1581.)

namenti prechiate et insegnate, et in parte da te confessate ; et in generale ogn'altro errore et heresia contraria alla santa, Cat^{ca}., et Apost^{ca}. Romana Chiesa. Et dell'anno 1610, essendo tu stato carcerato in Torre di Nona, dalla Corte dell' Ill^{mo}. Sig. Cardinal Vicario, per cause spettanti à quel Tribunale; et con tal occasione fattasi la perquisitione della tua stanza, furno in essa trovati molti libri prohibiti, et scritture perniciose, che contenevan manifesti errori et heresie, contro la sacra Scrittura, et la santa, Catholica, et Apost^{ca}. Romana Chiesa, et del Sommo Pontefice suo Capo ; le quali, con i libri prohibiti, furno pñtate in questo Sant' Offitio.

"Perilche fù ordinato, che da dette carceri dovesse esser trasportato alle carceri dell' istesso S^{to}. Offitio ; dove costituito in giuditio col tuo giuramento, dopo d' haver riconosciuto i libri prohibiti ritrovati nella tua stanza, recognoscesti anco le scritture perniciose, et dicesti haverle scritte di tua mano : dalle quali scritture, tra l'altre, si raccolgono l'infra-

asserted, and in your public Discourses preached and taught, and which you in part acknowledged ; and in general every other error and heresy opposed to the holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church of Rome. And you having been imprisoned in the Tower of Nona, in the year 1610, by the Court of the most illustrious Lord the Cardinal Vicar, for reasons relating to that Tribunal ; and your abode having been searched on the same occasion, there were found in it many prohibited books, and pernicious writings, which contained manifest errors and heresies, contrary to the sacred Scripture, and the holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church of Rome, and the supreme Pontiff who is her Head ; which writings, together with the forbidden books, were produced in this Holy Office.

"Wherefore an order was given, that you should be removed from that place of confinement to the prisons of this Holy Office ; where having been brought to trial, and put upon your oath, after having recognised the prohibited books found in your dwelling, you avowed knowledge of the pernicious writings also, and said that you had written them with

scritte heresie et errori,
cioè:—

“ ‘Che il Papa non sia Capo della Chiesa Catholica.’

“ ‘Che sia bestemia dire, che gli Apostoli fossero soggetti à San Pietro, ò fosse loro Capo et Prelato.’

“ ‘Che San Pietro et suoi Successori non habbino havuto, ne habbino, potestà sopra tutte le Chiese del Christianesimo.’

“ ‘Che il Papa non habbia auttorità d’instituir Vescovi.’

“ ‘Che non sia di necessità di salute, che ciascun Christiano sia soggetto et obedisca alla Chiesa Romana et Romano Pontefice.’

“ ‘Che la Chiesa militante non habbia Capo visibile.’

“ ‘Che la Chiesa Romana non sia santa, se non di voti.’

“ ‘Che non sia Catolica: Che non sia Apost^{ca}.: Che non sia Christiana.’

“ ‘Che sia heretica, et contraria à Christo.’

“ ‘Che sia seminatrice di heresia, et di discordie.’

your own hand: from which writings the following heresies and errors, amongst other things, are collected, viz.—

“ ‘That the Pope is not the Head of the Catholic Church.’

“ ‘That it is blasphemy to say, that the Apostles were subject to S. Peter, or that he was their Head and Prelate.’

“ ‘That S. Peter and his Successors have not had, and have not, power over all the Churches of Christendom⁸.’

“ ‘That the Pope has no authority to give institution to Bishops.’

“ ‘That it is not necessary to salvation, that every Christian should be subject and obedient to the Church of Rome, and to the Roman Pontiff.’

“ ‘That the Church militant has not any visible Head.’

“ ‘That the Church of Rome is not holy, except in vows.’

“ ‘That she is not Catholic, nor Apostolic, nor Christian.’

“ ‘That she is heretical, and opposed to Christ.’

“ ‘That she is the disseminator of heresy and strife⁹.’

⁸ “This superiority of the see of Rome was unknown in ancient times.” (Father Paul on *The Rights of Sovereigns and Subjects*, p. 44. Lond. 1722.)

⁹ So Petrarch thought, as we learn from one of his interdicted Sonnets, in which he writes of Rome as

“Fontana di dolore, albergo d’ira,
Scola d’errori, e tempio d’heresia.”

" 'Che non sia Capo et Maestra di tutte le altre.'

" 'Che nella Chiesa non ve siano Vescovi canonicamente eletti.'

" 'Che faccia contra la dottrina et istituto di Christo, consecrando in azimo, et astringendo li fedeli à quelle cose alle quali Christo gli hà lasciati liberi.'

" 'Che il Concilio Tridentino non fu uñle, ne legñmo; et che in esso si contengono decreti contra il santo Evangelo di Christo.'

" 'Che i Papisti non hanno ragione alcuna ne auttorità dell' Evangelo, per provare il primato di San Pietro, da due in poi, che falsamente espongono.'

" 'That she is not the Head and Mistress of all other Churches.'

" 'That in the Church there are no Bishops canonically chosen.'

" 'That she acts contrary to the doctrine and appointment of Christ, in using unleavened bread for consecration, and in binding the faithful to those things with regard to which Christ has left them free.'

" 'That the Council of Trent was neither universal nor legitimate¹; and that among its ordinances are found decrees opposed to the holy Gospel of Christ.'

" 'That the Papists have not any testimony or authority of the Gospel, to prove the primacy of S. Peter, except from two passages², which they interpret falsely.'

¹ "Meantime this infallibility is plainly supposed; because in every session of the Council of Trent there is this expression, *sancta Synodus in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata*; i. e. 'the sacred Synod lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost.' " (Sarpi's *Rights of Sovereigns*, p. 75.) If it had been conceded that the Council of Trent was really a "General" one, and in every respect "lawfully assembled," all its ordinances must have been considered binding; for the Divines of Venice agreed in opinion with the Doctors of the Parisian school, (see Richer's *Apologia pro Joanne Gersonio*, Admonit. and Præfat.) one of whose articles of theological belief was this: "Certum est, Concilium Generale, legitime congregatum, universalem representans Ecclesiam, in fidei et morum determinationibus errare non posse." (Videantur Launoi *Epistolæ*, p. 242. Cantab. 1689.)

² "In all the New Testament there are but two passages where Jesus

“ ‘Che tutti i Papi et Papisti siano heretici.’

“ ‘Che il Papa erri in definire in materia di Fede :’—con altri molti errori, degni di gravissima censura, quali per brevità si tralasciano.

“ ‘Sopra delle quali esaminato col tuo giuramento, ti sforzasti scusarti circa l’haver tenuto et letto libri prohibiti, con dire ‘non haver saputo che alcuni d’essi fossero prohibiti : altri dicesti haverli tenuti con saputa de Superiori ; et parte con’animo di restituirli à chi te li haveva prestati, anchorche prohibiti ; et alcuni altri per scriverli contro.’

“ ‘Et quanto alle scritture, che contenevano i sudetti errori et heresie, rispondesti, ‘haverle scritte per la più parte secondo l’opinione d’altri, et per impugnarle ; et anco à fine di chiarirti d’alcuni dubbii che ti passavano per la mente circa li abusi della Religione ; et massime dopo d’haver letto et inteso molte cose di controversie intorno l’auttorità del

“ ‘That all the Popes and Papists are heretics.’

“ ‘That the Pope may err in his decisions in matters of Faith :’—with many other errors, worthy of the severest censure, which are omitted for the sake of brevity.

“ ‘Having been examined on your oath about these matters, you endeavoured to excuse yourself, respecting your having kept and read prohibited books, by saying, ‘That you were not aware that some of them had been forbidden : others you declared that you had kept with the knowledge of your Superiors ; and a portion with the intention of returning them to those who had lent them to you though they were prohibited ; and some others in order to write against them.’

“ ‘And as to the writings which contained the foregoing errors and heresies, you answered, ‘That you had written them for the most part as representing the opinion of others, and with a view to impugn them ; and also for the purpose of clearing up to yourself some doubts which were passing through your mind concerning the abuses of Reli-

Pontefice Romano, et della Corte di Roma ; et haver trattato con' un pelegrino Inglese, quale per molti giorni havendo dimorato teco nelle tue stanze, ti raccõtò molte cose del stato della Religione in quel regno, et delle qualità et inclinationi di quel Re, appresso del quale ti diceva che eri in bona opinione ; et che per ciò ti venne desiderio di passar in quel regno, per trattar seco per servizio di Dio, et della Religione Christiana. Et che anco le hai scritte, mosso da diversi pensieri e passioni ;' adducendo altre scuse frivole.

"Interrogato poi in particolare intorno i capi contenuti in d^e. tue scritture, dopo molte fughe, tergiversationi, contrarietà, et inverisimili risposte, dicesti 'haverne scritti alcuni secondo le opinioni d'altri, con intenzione di scrivere pro et contra, per chiarirti della verità,' alle quali dicesti non haver adherito ne creduto ; et d'altri dicesti 'haverci havuto dubio ;'

gion ; and especially after having read and heard many things connected with the controversies which relate to the authority of the Roman Pontiff, and of the Court of Rome ; and that you had intercourse with an English stranger³, who, having remained for many days in your dwelling with you, recounted to you many things concerning the state of Religion in that kingdom, and the character and disposition of the King, with whom he told you that you were in favour ; and that therefore you desired to go to that kingdom, to communicate with him for the service of God and of the Christian Religion. And moreover that you had written them under the impulse of various thoughts and passions ;' alleging other frivolous excuses.

"Having been further specially questioned with regard to the points contained in your said writings, after many evasions, tergiversations, inconsistency, and unlikely answers, you declared 'That you had written some of them as exhibiting the opinions of other persons ; having intended to write on both sides of the questions, in order to make

³ This "stranger" certainly was Bedell. See pp. 16, 17.

et in altri 'esservi cascato, et haverci adherito, creduto, inclinato, et in essi perseverato, rispettivamente.'

"Et in par^{te}. dicesti haver adherito all'opinione ;—

" 'Che il Papa non sia Capo della Chiesa.'

" 'Che San Pietro non fosse Capo et Prelato delle altri Apostoli.'

" 'Che il Papa non avesse autorità d'instituir Vescovi.'

" 'Che la Chiesa Romana non sia Maestra delle altre quāto à tutti i riti et costumi.'

the truth manifest to your own mind ;' which statements you said that you had not adhered to nor believed : and of other things that were written you affirmed 'that you had entertained doubts ;' and into others of those tenets you admitted 'that you had fallen, and that you had adhered to, believed, felt inclined towards, and had persevered in them, respectively.'

"And in particular you said that you have adhered to the opinion ;—

" 'That the Pope is not the Head of the Church.'

" 'That S. Peter was not the Head and Prelate of the other Apostles.'

" 'That the Pope has no authority to give institution to Bishops⁴.'

" 'That the Church of Rome is not the Mistress of other Churches⁵ with regard to all rites and customs.'

⁴ The subject of ecclesiastical Benefices, revenues, and Investitures, is very ably discussed in Sarpi's *Trattato delle Materie Beneficarie*, in Miranda, 1676. Carolus Caffa published a Latin version of this work, Jenæ, 1681 ; and it was translated into English by Tobias Jenkins, Esq., M.P. 3d edit. Westminster, 1736.

⁵ An article in the Creed of Pope Pius IV., to which all the Romish Clergy have been pledged by oath since the year 1564, is thus expressed : "Sanctam, Catholicam, et Apostolicam Romanam Ecclesiam omnium Ecclesiarum Matrem et Magistram agnosco." (Vid. Cherubini *Bullarium*, Tom. ii. p. 97. Romæ, 1638.) A decisive book upon this fundamental tenet is Bishop Morton's *Grand Imposture of the (now) Church of Rome* ; second edit. Lond. 1628.

" 'Che non fosse di necessità di salute, che ciascun Cristiano sia tenuto ad obedi-
 re alla Chiesa Romana, et al Romano Pontefice:' dicendo,
 'esserti mosso à credere q̃sto p
 molte cause, mà particolar-
 mente per proprio tuo interesse;
 et massime intendendo di an-
 dare in paesi ove potessi vivere
 secondo la libertà di coscienza,
 et scrivere senza impedimento.'

" 'Che la Chiesa Romana
 non sia santa, ne Catolica, ne
 Apost^{ca}., ne Christiana; non
 immitando la vita di Christo,
 ne delle Apostoli: ma che sia
 heretica, et seminatrice di he-
 resie et di discordie; et con-
 traria à Christo.' Et à queste
 opinioni dicesti 'haver adherito
 anco avanti la tua Abjuratione.'

" 'Che la Chiesa faccia con-
 tro la dottrina et istituto di
 Christo, astringendo i Chierici

" 'That it is not necessary
 to salvation that every Chris-
 tian should be bound to yield
 obedience to the Church of
 Rome, and to the Roman Pon-
 tiff⁶:' saying, 'That you were
 induced to believe this by many
 reasons, but particularly by a
 regard to your own interest;
 and especially as you intended
 to go into countries in which
 you might live according to
 freedom of conscience, and write
 without any hinderance.'

" 'That the Church of Rome
 is not holy, nor Catholic, nor
 Apostolic, nor Christian; not
 endeavouring to resemble the
 life of Christ or of the Apostles:
 but that she is heretical, and
 the source of heresies and dis-
 union; and is opposed to Christ.'
 And to these opinions you said
 'that you had adhered even
 before your Abjuration.'

" 'That the Church contra-
 venes the doctrine and ordinance
 of Christ, in binding the Clergy

⁶ Such an assertion was not likely to be tolerated, as it directly contra-
 dicts an essential principle of the papal Canon Law. The Extravagant
Unam sanctam of Pope Boniface VIII. concludes with these terms:
 "Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus,
 dicimus, diffinimus, et pronuntiamus, omnino esse de necessitate salutis;"
 (*De major. et obed.* Cap. i. ad fin. *Lib. sext. Decretall.* col. 212. Paris. 1585.)
 and the fortieth of the articles maintained by Wycliffe and Hus, and con-
 demned at the Council of Constance was this: "Non est de necessitate
 salutis credere Romanam Ecclesiam esse supremam inter alias Ecclesias."
 (See the Reprobations of these articles at the end of the first edition of the
Commentar. Æneæ Sylvii de Concil. Basil. p. 296. Conf. *Binii Concill.*
 Tom. iii. P. ii. p. 947. Colon. Agripp. 1618.)

et Religiosi alla castità et celibato :’ aggiungendo, di ‘ haver adherito à questa opinione, et haverci perseverato più che in altra.’

“ ‘ Che l’havere ò possedere beni temporali in commune repugni alla perfettione et stato Apostolico :’ nella quale opinione dicesti ‘ haver inclinato, parendoti più ragionevole ; et che Giovann 22º. habbia errato, decretando in tal materia.’

“ ‘ D’haver creduto, che li Vescovi eletti et istituiti dal Romano Pontefice non siano canonicam^{te}. et legitimamente istituiti ; et che il Papa si usurpi l’auttorità in deputarli.’

“ Confessasti in oltre, d’esser cascato, d’haver inclinato, et d’haver adherito, rispettivamente, ad altre opinioni erronee, come più diffusamente appare ne tuoi costituiti ; et in particolare, d’esser ricaduto in quelle opinioni erronee et hereticali che p^a. havevi abjurato, per esser intrato in pensiero, che il Sant’ Offitio avesse giudicato male, dechiarandoti vehementemente sospetto d’heresia.

and members of religious Orders to chastity and celibacy :’ adding, ‘ That you have adhered to this opinion, and have persevered in it more firmly than in any other.’

“ ‘ That to have or possess temporal goods in common is adverse to perfection and the Apostolic state :’ to which opinion you declared ‘ that you have felt inclined, as it appeared to you more reasonable ; and that John XXII. had erred in issuing a decree about such a matter.’

“ ‘ That you have believed that the Bishops elected and instituted by the Roman Pontiff are not canonically and lawfully instituted ; and that the Pope has usurped authority in making such appointments.’

“ You have confessed moreover, that you have fallen into, have felt inclined towards, and have adhered to, respectively, other erroneous sentiments, as it appears at greater length in your examinations ; and in particular, that you have relapsed into those erroneous and heretical opinions which you at first abjured, in consequence of your having adopted the persuasion, that the Holy Office had judged wrongly in declaring you to be very strongly suspected of heresy,

"Et essendoti stato offerto il termine competente à fare le tue difese, al quale renunciasti, dicendo, che ti rimettevi alla misericordia di Dio, et alla benignità et charità del Sant' Offitio, da te stesso dicesti ' voler rispondere liberamente all' Interrogatorio più volte replicato cioè. A che fine, et con qual intentione, havessi scritto le dette scritture tanto perniciose et scandalose; et dicesti esserti mosso à scriverle per diversi affetti et passioni, et per sdegno; et che tua intentione era di scrivere contro il Papa, et contro la Chiesa Romana; et che à questo mirava ogni cosa che scrivevi; notando in quei fogli non solo le cose che ti parevano, mà quelle ancora secondo il parer d'altri: 'scusandoti, 'che quando adherivi et entravi in quelle opinioni, non pensavi che fossero hereticali; anzi che ti parevano pie et salutari; et particolarmente quelle nelle quali ti fermasti per alcun tempo.' Aggiungendo di più, ' che l'animo tuo era d'andar in Germania, ò in Inghilterra, dove si lascia vivere in libertà di consciēza, et quivi scrivere senza impedimento. Quello che ti passava p la mente; et che à questo effetto havevi

" And a sufficient time having been offered to you for making your defence, (which you refused to do, saying that you left yourself to the mercy of God, and to the kindness and charity of the Holy Office,) you declared of your own accord, ' That you wished to answer freely the interrogatory put to you several times. For which purpose, and with which intention, you had composed the said so pernicious and scandalous writings; and you affirmed that you were moved to write them by various affections and passions, and by disdain; and that your intention was to write against the Pope, and against the Church of Rome; and that this was the object at which every thing that you have written aimed; when you set down on those papers not only the things which you yourself thought, but also those which coincided with the sentiments of others: ' alleging as an excuse for yourself, ' That when you adhered to and adopted these opinions, you did not conceive that they were heretical; on the contrary that they seemed to you pious and salutary; and especially those in which you had for some time fixed yourself.' Adding furthermore, ' That

abbozzato una lettera al Rè d' Inghilterra; se ben dicesti non haverla mandata.

“Dicesti anco interrogato, ‘Che in detti luoghi intendevi di vivere Catholicamente, et sotto l'obedienza del Romano Pontefice et Romana Chiesa.’ Et dettoti che questo non poteva stare havendo intentione (come dicesti) di scrivere contro il Romano Pontefice et Romana Chiesa, rispondesti, que ‘qsto era il maggior bisbiglio et viluppo che ti passasse per la mente;’ ne altra risposta adducesti.

“Apparisce ancora da tre minute di lettere, ritrovate tra le tue scritture, indirizzate ad un Potentato heretico, il comertio et intelligenza che tu havevi con heretici; tanto più che in una di esse ti affatichi

your design was to go into Germany, or to England, where people are permitted to live in freedom of conscience, and where one might write without obstruction. Which was passing through your mind; and that to this effect you made a sketch of a letter to the King of England:’ you declared, however, that you had not sent it.

“You also said, when questioned, ‘That in those places you intended to lead a Catholic life, and to remain in obedience to the Roman Pontiff, and to the Church of Rome.’ And when it was remarked to you that this was inconsistent with your having the design, which you had spoken of having entertained, of writing against the Roman Pontiff and the Church of Rome, you answered, that ‘This was the greatest confusion and perplexity which had come into your mind;’ and you made no other reply.

“The intercourse and understanding that you have had with heretics appear also from three minutes of letters, found amongst those writings of yours, addressed to a heretical Potentate⁷; the more so because

⁷ King James I.—See before, p. 38. It is observable that this Monarch had been definitely honoured with the epithet of “Heretic” at the conclusion of Bellarmin’s pseudonymous Answer to his *Apology for the Oath*

biasmare la dottrina d'un scrit- that in one of them you have
tor Catolico intorno al primato laboured to vituperate the doc-
del Romano Pontefice, impug- trine of a Catholic writer^s with

of *Allegiance*. "Certè ex ipsa Apologia discet" [lector], "non Catholicum, sed planè Hæreticum, esse hujus auctorem Apologiæ." King James replied to the charge in his *Premonition*, pp. 32—51. Lond. 1609.

^s This "Catholic writer" was none other than the famous Cardinal Bellarmin, whose name was advisedly omitted as he was now present, and not disinterested, and whose autograph is among those which are attached to the sentence passed upon Fulgentio by the Inquisitors-General. It is well known that after the discovery of the Gunpowder-plot, the English Sovereign and Parliament had considered it both right and reasonable that an Oath of Allegiance should be administered to Romanists simply as a test of their loyalty. In the years 1606-7, however, two Briefs were issued by Pope Paul V., instructing all his dependants, if they valued the salvation of their souls, utterly to abstain from taking that or any similar Oath. King James I. published in English his Apology for it, (whimsically styled *Triplici nodo triplex cuneus*,) in 1607; and the Latin version which Bellarmin tells us, at the commencement of his *Responsio*, he had just then obtained, was the performance of Sir Henry Savile, (see Bishop King's Letter to Izaak Walton: Hooker, Vol. i. p. 105. ed. Keble, Oxford, 1841.) and was printed in 4to, London, in the same year. So much was this book detested and dreaded, that John Mole, a native of Devonshire, and who was travelling in Italy with Lord Ross, was, in consequence of his possessing it, and his having communicated its contents to a Florentine acquaintance, confined for thirty years, and at length died, in the prison of the Inquisition at Rome; (*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 314. Lond. 1672. Fuller's *Church Hist. of Britain*, B. x. pp. 48-9. Ib. 1655.) where of course he was not permitted to receive the letter addressed to him by Bishop Hall. (*Decad vi. Epist. ix.* Lond. 1634.) On the 8th of April, 1609, the second edition of the regal Apology (the first with the King's name) was set forth; and together with it the *Preamble*, or *Premonition*, to all Christian Monarches, free Princes, and States; and both compositions very speedily appeared in Latin, in 8vo, at the Hague. Bellarmin did not at first come forward in his own person; but having assumed the title of *Matthæus Tortus* in his Answer to King James, he met with a prompt and complete refutation from the *Tortura Torti* of the incomparably-learned Bishop Andrewes; Lond. 1609. In this year, at Rome, the Cardinal's *Apologia pro Responsione sua* was published; and there was a reprint of it, apparently at Cologne, in 1610. This Apology was directed against the Admonitory Preface of King James, which was assailed also in the folio *Examen* of the Augustinian Leonardus Coqueus, at Friburg in Suabia; and Andrewes repelled his royal master's leading adversary in his *Responsio ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini*, Lond. 1610.

nato dal detto heretico ; offe- regard to the primacy of the
rendoti voler dire qualche cosa Roman Pontiff, which had been

Preston, a Benedictine Monk in England, who took the appellation of Roger Widdrington, was a distinguished opponent of Bellarmin, the "Adolphus Schulckenius" whose twenty calumnies he confutes in the Appendix to his *Supplicatio* to Pope Paul V., Albionopoli, 1616. The Congregation for the Index, as it might have been expected, strenuously assisted those who were hostile to the Oath of Allegiance ; and their decree, by which Widdrington's previous books had been stigmatized, may be found in Dodd's *Church History of England*, ii. 481. Brussels, 1739. It is remarkable also, that Bellarmin and Aldobrandin, now among Fulgentio's judges, were those Cardinals who had received deceptive letters from Holy-Rood house in connexion with the fictitious application made by Lord Balmerino to Pope Clement VIII., in the name of King James, for the establishment of diplomatic relations with Rome, in 1599. (Dodd, ii. 460. Spottiswoode's *Hist. of Church of Scotland*, pp. 456, 507. Lond. 1677. Calderwood's *True History*, pp. 426, 600. an. 1678. Andrewes, *Tortura Torti*, p. 229. ed. Bliss, Oxon. 1851.)

But the most singular circumstance to be noted with respect to Bellarmin is, that he had been compelled to change his own opinion as to the nature of the Pope's power in temporals. He had for some time attempted to avoid the vindication of extreme views ; but succeeded only in exasperating the ultramontane party, while he did not gain favour with the Doctors of the Sorbonne. His book against Barclay, though proceeding from Rome, was condemned by an ordinance of the Parisian Parliament in 1610 ; and the doctrine therein defended, relative to the seduction of subjects from obedience to their Princes, was pronounced to be "false and detestable." (Goldasti *Replicatio pro Imperio*, pp. 81-2. Hanov. 1611. Clement, *Biblioth. Curieuse*, Tome iii. pp. 58-9. A Göttingen, 1752.) On the other hand, since he had at first, in his treatise *De Romano Pontifice*, pleaded merely for *indirect*, though supreme, papal authority in political affairs, his celebrated *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianæ Fidei* were prohibited by the Index of Pope Sixtus V. (fol. 52, b. Romæ, 1590.) This Index was suppressed, perhaps solely on account of the untoward misadventure which had befallen so renowned a champion ; and it might never have been visible again had not a copy of it happily come into the possession of the Rev. Joseph Mendham, who carefully reprinted it in 1835. (Compare his ever interesting and most useful work on *The Literary Policy of the Church of Rome*, pp. 104-7. Lond. 1830.) A rumour as to the fate of the "Aries gregis" which had confronted him had reached King James I., who observes : "Fama etiam proditum est, haud scio quam vera, libros Controversiarum Bellarmini in Italia non permitti vulgo ;" (*Protestatio Antivorstia* : Opp. p. 173. Francof. 1689.) and measures were adopted at Rome to obviate any awkward allusions to the fact. For example, when

contro detto scrittor Catolico.

"Fù anco ritrovata un'altra lettera, scrittati da un'heretico d'Inghilt^a., nella quale fà mentione di mandarti un libro heretico et pestilente. Le quali cose tutte mostrano il tuo mal' animo et mala volontà contro la santa Fede, et Chiesa Catolica Romana.

"Et essendoti state mostrate le dette lettere, le hai riconosciute; dicendo 'di non haver mai havuto animo di pregiudicare à Catholici; et che le parole scritte in biasmo del scrittor Catolico, le scrivesti per impeto di pass^e., et quando vacillavi e titubavi intorno il primato del Romano Pontefice; et che conosci d'haver scritto malamente et falsamente; et che il libro, del quale si fà

impugned by the said heretic; making an offer expressive of your readiness to say something in opposition to the said Catholic writer.

"There was likewise found another letter, written to you by a heretic from England^o, in which he made mention of sending to you a heretical and pestilent book. All of which things demonstrate your evil disposition and ill-will against the holy Faith, and the Catholic Church of Rome.

"And the said letters having been shown to you, you have admitted their genuineness; saying, 'That you never had a design to injure Catholics; and that the words which were derogatory to the Catholic writer you wrote through vehemence of passion, and at a time when you were irresolute and wavering with respect to the primacy of the Roman Pontiff: and that you are conscious of having written wrongly and falsely;

the energetic and candid Jesuit Raynaud had stated that the cause of the proscription was, that "negaverat Pontifici dominium directum super omnia regna Christiana," the Congregation for the Index marked these words for expurgation. (*Apopompeus*, p. 264. Cracoviæ, 1669.) After the death of Pope Sixtus V. Bellarmin's name was no longer inserted in any Catalogue of interdicted authors; and for future impressions of his writings he prepared a modification of every unacceptable sentiment:—"paucis denique quæ minus placebant correctis;" as he says in the Preface to his *Recognitio librorum omnium*, p. 2. Ingolstadt. 1608.

^o Bedell. See pp. 16, 38.

mentione nell'altra lettera, non l'hai ricevuto.'

"Finalmente, ti fù di novo assignato il termine à fare le tue difese ; e rispondesti, 'non voler far altre difese ; mà che conosci d'haver errato ; et che sei molto pentito di tali errori ; et che ti rimetti alla benignità et misericordia del Sant'Offitio.'

"Et parendoci che non havessi detto la verità intorno ai Complici, ordinassimo, che contro di te si venisse al rigoroso esame ; solamente per sapere se in dette tue opinioni heretiche et erronee havessi havuto Complici. Il che essendo stato eseguito, doppio d'haver proposta questa tua causa nella Congregatione nostra gñle, et quella votata et risoluta, siamo venuti all'infraffa sentenza.

and that you have not received the book of which mention was made in the other letter.'

"Finally, the set time for making your defence was anew assigned to you ; and you answered, 'That you did not desire to make any other defence ; but that you are sensible of your having erred ; and that you are very penitent for such errors ; and that you commit yourself to the benignity and compassion of the Holy Office.'

"And as it appears that you have not spoken the truth with regard to your accomplices, we commanded that you should be subjected to an examination by torture¹ ; solely for the purpose of discovering whether in these your heretical and erroneous opinions you have had accomplices. Which having been carried into effect, after having proposed this your cause in our general Congregation², and it having been put to the vote and determined upon, we have

¹ Scourging was the punishment inflicted on this occasion. Compare what we have already learned from Father Paul, p. 30, with the information given by Carena, that "in secundo casu," (that of concealing the truth,) "stilus S. Offitii est non punire testem falsum pœna talionis, sed alia extraordinaria, scilicet Fustigationis" . . . (Par. ii. p. 276. Conf. *Pegnæ Schol.* p. 252.)

² That is, the Congregation for the Inquisition ; the first of the fifteen Congregations of Cardinals instituted by Pope Sixtus V. in the year 1587. (Cherub. *Bullar.* Tom. ii. p. 464. Romæ, 1638.)

"Invocato dunq; il nome s^{mo}. di nostro Sig^{ro}. Gesu Christo, et della glorios^{ma}. sua Madre sempre Vergine Maria, nella causa et cause predette, al pñte vertenti in questo Sant' Offitio, tra il Re^v. Carlo Sinceri, dell' una et l'altra Legge Dottore, Procurator Fiscale di d^o. Sant' Offitio, da una parte, et te Fra Fulgentio Manfredi sud^o., reo già inquisito, et come vehementemente sospetto di heresia, sententiato, et abjurato, et di novo per tua confessione colpevole et heretico relasso ritrovato, dall' altra ; per questa nostra diffinitiva sñza, quale di consiglio et parere de Re^v. P^{ri}, Maestri di sacra Theologia, et Dottori dell' una et l'altra Legge, nostri Consultori, proferimo in questi scritti, dicemo, pronuntiamo, sententiamo, et dechiariamo, te Fra Fulgentio predetto essere heretico relasso ; et per ciò esser incorso in tutte le censure ecclesiastiche et pene, da sacri Canonì, leggi, et constitutioni, così gñli come particolari, à tali heretici confessi et relassi imposte ; et come tale ti degradiamo verbalmente, et dechiaramo dover esser degradato, sì come ordiniamo, et commandiamo, che

come to the underwritten sentence.

"Having then invoked the most sacred name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that of His most glorious Mother, Mary ever Virgin, in the cause and causes aforesaid, at present pending in this Holy Office between the reverend Carlo Sinceri, Doctor of Laws, Fiscal Procurator of the said Holy Office, on the one side, and on the other side you Friar Fulgentio Manfredi before-mentioned, a criminal formerly impeached, who, as very strongly suspected of heresy, were under sentence, and abjured, and who by your own confession have anew been found culpable, and a relapsed heretic ; by this our definitive sentence, which, by the counsel and advice of the reverend Fathers our Consultors, Masters of sacred Theology, and Doctors of Laws, we put forth in these letters, we say, pronounce, give sentence, and declare, that you the above-named Friar Fulgentio are a relapsed heretic ; and have consequently incurred all the ecclesiastical censures and penalties imposed upon such confessed and relapsed heretics by the sacred Canons, laws, and constitutions,

sii attualm^{te}. degradato da tutti gl'Ordini ecc^{li}., maggiori et minori, nei quali sei costituito, secondo l'ordine de sacri Canonî; et dover esser scacciato, si come ti scacciamo, dal Foro n^{ro} ecc^{lo}., et dalla nostra santa et immacolata Chiesa, della cui misericordia ti sei reso indegno; et dover esser rilasciato alla Corte secolare, si come ti rilasciamo alla Corte di Monsig^{re}. Governatore di Roma, ovvero al suo Luogotenente Criminale, qui p^{nte}, per punirti delle debite pene: pregandolo però efficacemente, che voglia mitigare il rigore delle leggi circa la pena della tua p^{sona}; che sia senza peri-

as well general as special; and as such we degrade you verbally, and declare that you ought to be degraded, as we do ordain and command that you be actually degraded, from all the ecclesiastical Orders, greater and less, into which you may have been admitted, according to the appointment of the sacred Canons³; and that you ought to be expelled, as we do expel you, from our ecclesiastical Tribunal, and from our holy and immaculate Church, of whose compassion you have rendered yourself unworthy; and that you ought to be delivered to the secular Court, as we do deliver you to the Court

³ An instance of the manner in which the ceremony of Degradation is performed is furnished by the *Book of the Sentences of the Inquisition of Toulouse*, which Limborch published at Amsterdam in 1692. The case is that of John Philibert, a Priest, who having relapsed into union with the Waldenses, early in the fourteenth century, was degraded from all his Orders previously to his being delivered over to the secular Court. (*Lib. Sentt. Inq. Thol.*, pp. 252-5, 274-7.) Verbal Degradation, or Deposition, takes place when a criminal is to be perpetually imprisoned: but Actual Degradation must ensue when the person accused of heresy is to suffer death; as it is thought necessary, that, before his "Relaxation," (Llorente, i. xlvi, 122. A Paris, 1817.) or being surrendered to the civil power, he should be deprived of every dignity which might have exempted him from its jurisdiction. All the formulas and ceremonies appertaining to the rite of Ordination are now reversed: the various privileges which had been conferred from the lowest to the highest are contrariwise taken away: the unction is erased from the hands by scraping them slightly with a piece of glass; and lastly the head is shaved, so that no mark of the tonsure may remain upon it. Then the sacrifice is offered. (Limborch, *Hist. Inquis.*, pp. 349-50, et *Addenda* ante pag. 1. Baker's *History of the Inquisition*, pp. 316-20. Lond. 1734. Conf. Martene, *De antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*, ii. 318-19. Venet. 1783.)

colo di morte, ò mutilatione di membro.

of his Lordship the Governor of Rome, or to his Deputy in criminal cases, who is present, in order that he may inflict the due penalties upon you : earnestly entreating of him, however, that he would be pleased to mitigate the severity of the laws with regard to the punishment of your person ; that it may be effected without danger of death, or mutilation of limb⁴.

⁴ To those who have not investigated the mysteries of the Inquisition this supplication for mercy, presented to the secular arm, will probably appear either to have been added in derision of the unhappy victim, or else to be an irrefutable confirmation of the statement put forward in the *Dublin Review*, and referred to at the commencement of these pages. If the words were to be taken literally, they might certainly be spoken of as exhibiting "gross and confident mockery of God and the world;" (Geddes, *Inquis. in Portugal: Tracts*, i. 409.) for assuredly this petition is never granted, even at Rome, where the same person possesses supreme spiritual and civil power; nor is it intended that it should be complied with; but manifestly any such concession would be totally at variance with the desires, principles, and conduct, of those who have made the request apparently from compassion.

It is argued in defence of the Inquisitors, that they, as ecclesiastical judges, may intercede for the offender in another, that is in the temporal, Court; and though any kind of intercession tending to favour the individual designated as a heretic, or to impede the execution of supposed justice, is strictly forbidden, and out of the question, yet it is presumed that recourse may be had to this species of entreaty for the sake of avoiding the irregularity of Clergymen consenting to the effusion of blood, and especially because that a particular ordinance in the papal Canon Law has declared that "the Church *ought* to intercede efficaciously"—"*debet Ecclesia efficaciter intercedere*"—on these occasions. (*Decretall. Greg. IX. Lib. v. Tit. xl. Cap. xxvii.*) This obligation was imposed by Pope Innocent III., the first and great patron of Inquisitors, about the year 1216; and it may be seen in EymERICI'S Directory, (p. 77. Conf. pp. 333, 386.) in which its meaning is discussed by his annotator Pegna. (*Schol. xvii. pp. 43-4.*) The Constitution *Cupientes abusu*, issued by Pope Paul IV. in April, 1557, which is not to be found in the *Bullarium Magnum*, but is duly adverted to by CastellanUS, (*Compend. Const. fol. 77. Venet. 1604.*) decided,

“Et così dicemo, pronun-
tiamo, sñiamo, dechiariamo,
ordiniamo, commandiamo, de-
gradiamo, scacciamo, rilasci-
amo, et preghiamo, rispettiva-
mente, in questo et in ogn’altro
miglior modo et forma che di
ragione potemo et dovemo.

“Ita pronūtiāmus Nos Card^{les}.
Gñles Inquisitores infrascripti—

“And thus we say, pro-
nounce, pass sentence, declare,
ordain, command, degrade, ex-
pel, deliver up, and entreat,
respectively, in this and in
every other better manner and
form which we reasonably can,
and should, adopt.

“So we Cardinals, Inquisi-
tors General, whose names are
written beneath, pronounce—

Don. C. B. other?

card Penellus—

that ecclesiastics assisting in causes of heresy should not thenceforth be esteemed “irregular,” whatever might be the result of the proceedings which they should originate and perfect; and Pope Pius V. subsequently ratified and enlarged the same Decree. So timid and scrupulous, however, are the consciences of Inquisitors, that they have been unwilling to rest contented with such a provision for their peace of mind, and have declined to omit or alter the letter of the ancient law; and accordingly the formal protest against cruelty and bloodshed, which, being designedly inoperative, is actually hypocritical, has been still retained. Finally, let it not be forgotten, that one of the propositions selected from Luther’s writings, and condemned by Pope Leo X. in the Bull *Essurge*, in 1520, as pestiferous and destructive, &c., was this, “*That it is contrary to the will of the Holy Spirit that heretics should be burned.*”—“HERETICOS COMBURI EST CONTRA VOLUNTATEM SPIRITUS.”

Jr & Co. ^{James} Porchus
 (Card. ^{Asm.} Asm.)

P. Card. ^{Alshandy} Alshandy
 S. R. & Card. ^{Le} Le

L. Card. ^{Blanchettes} Blanchettes.

R. Card. ^{Belarmius} Bellarmius

A. Car^{lis}. Zapata

Genl. Car^{lis}. J. R. Euseby

Joannes Savia

Card^{lis} Milin

Card^{lis} de la Roche Foucault

J. Card^{lis} O'Connell

"Die Jovis, prima Julii, 1610,

"Lata, data, et in his scriptis pronuntiata fuit suprascripta sñtia p̄ sūptos Ill^{mos}. et R^{mos}. Dños Cardinales gñales Inquisitores, pro Tribunali ut signa sedeñ, in Cong^o. gñali sanctæ Romanæ et Vñlis Inq^{nis}., habita Romæ, in Palatio Apostolico Montis Quirinalis; pñtibus ibidem RR. PP. DD. Fñe Stephano de Vicariis à Garexio, Ord. Præd., sacrae Theologiæ Magrō, et Commissario gñali, et Marcello Philonardo, J.U.D., Assessore S^{ti}. Officii, testibus.

"On Thursday, the first day of July, 1610, the foregoing sentence was passed, given, and pronounced in these letters, by the most illustrious and most reverend Lords the Cardinals, Inquisitors General, whose signatures appear above, sitting for signs^o on the Judgment-seat, in the general Congregation of the holy and universal Roman Inquisition, holden at Rome, in the Apostolic palace of the Quirinal mount; the reverend Fathers, Seigniors, Brother Stephanus de Vicariis à Garexio, of the Order of Preaching-Friars, Master of sacred Theology, and Commissary General, and Marcellus Philonardus, Doctor of Laws, the Assessor of the Holy Office, being there present as witnesses.

*Andreas de Peretinis J. U. Rom.
ex univ^{er}s^{is} Inquis^{itis}. m^{on}str^{is}*

^o Probably this phrase was used in allusion to Isaiah viii. 18, "for signs and for wonders in Israel;" or to Ezek. xii. 6, "I have set thee for a sign unto the house of Israel." Many persons would consider that verse, Psalm lxxiv. 4, more applicable to such an assembly: "Thine enemies roar in the midst of Thy congregations; they set up their ensigns for signs."

“Andreas de Pettinis, Notary of the holy and universal Inquisition of Rome.

“Die Dominica, quarta mensis Julii, 1610, post Vesperas,

“In executionem decreti facti in gñali Cong^e. sanctæ Inq^{nis}., coram S^{mo}. D. N., sub die 27 Maii proximè præteriti, et ad instantiam R. D. Procuratoris Fiscalis antedⁱ.; congregatis et coadunatis RR. PP. DD. ejusdem sanctæ Inquisitionis Consultoribus, et Officialibus, in Basilica Sancti Petri de Urbe; astantibus etiam ibidem RR. DD. Canonicis et Capitulo dictæ Basilicæ, nec non magna populi multitudine, lecta et publicata fuit, alta et intelligibili voce, sup̃ta sñtia; ibidem pñte eodem Fñe Fulgentio Manfredo, audiente, et intelligente: qui incontinenti, in illius executionem, fuit consignatus R. P. D. Julio Monterentio, almæ Urbis Gubernatori, pñti, et acceptanti.

“On Sunday⁶, the fourth day of July, 1610, after Vespers,

“In execution of the decree made in the general Congregation of the holy Inquisition, on the twenty-seventh of last May, in the presence of our most holy Lord⁷, and at the solicitation of the reverend Seignior the Fiscal Procurator before-named; the reverend Fathers and Seigniors the Consultors of the said holy Inquisition, and the Officials, being assembled and met together in the church of S. Peter of the city; the reverend Seigniors the Canons and the Chapter of the same Cathedral, as well as a great multitude of people, being bystanders, the preceding sentence was read and promulgated in a loud and intelligible voice; the said Friar Fulgentius Manfredus being present, hearing, and understanding it: who, for the purpose of it being executed, was immediately

⁶ How suitable was the evening which was selected for such an employment!

⁷ It is then undeniable that Pope Paul V. superintended the trial, and authorized the destiny, of Fulgentio.

handed over to the reverend Father Seignior Julius Montementius, the Governor of the plenteous city, who was present, and took him into his charge.

" Super quibus, &c.

" Upon which, &c.

" Actum ubi supra ; pñtibus RR. DD. Americo Egio Spoletano, et Thoma Oldovino Cremonenñ, ejusdem Basilicæ Beneficiatis, ac Jo. Antonio Thomasio Romano, testibus ad præmissa vocatis, habitis, atque rogatis."

" This was done in the place before-mentioned ; in the presence of the reverend Seigniors, Americus Egius of Spoleto, and Thomas Oldovinus of Cremona, Beneficiaries of the said Cathedral, and Joannes Antonius Thomasius of Rome, who were summoned, taken, and requested, to be witnesses of what is above recorded."

THE END.

