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R E P O R T  
OF THE  
T R I A L A N D M A R T Y R D O M

OF  
PIETRO CARNESECCHI,  
SOMETIME SECRETARY TO POPE CLEMENT VII.,  
AND APOSTOLIC PROTONOTARY.

TRANSCRIBED FROM THE ORIGINAL MS.,  
*And Edited,*  
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION, FACSIMILES OF SIGNATURES, AN INTRODUCTION,  
AND ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES,

BY  
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TO  
THE MOST REV. JOSEPH HENDERSON SINGER, D.D.,  
LORD BISHOP OF MEATH,  
AND FORMERLY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,  
WHO WAS THEN MY TUTOR, AND IS NOW MY BISHOP;  
AND TO  
THE REV. CHARLES WILLIAM WALL, D.D.,  
VICE-PROVOST OF THE SAME COLLEGE,  
WHO GENEROUSLY PURCHASED, AND PRESENTED TO THE LIBRARY OF THAT  
UNIVERSITY, THE VERY VALUABLE MS. RECORDS RELATING TO THE  
INQUISITION AT ROME, ONE OF WHICH IS NOW MADE PUBLIC,

*The following Pages*

ARE, WITH THEIR PERMISSION, INSCRIBED.

RECTORY, MOATE, *Sept.* 1856.

M. ANT. FLAMINIUS, AD PETRUM CARNESECUM.\*

---

“O dulce hospitium, O lares beati,  
O mores faciles, O Atticorum  
Conditæ sale colloctiones,  
Quàm vos ægro animo et laborioso,  
Quantis cum lacrymis miser relinquo !  
Cur me sæva necessitas abire ?  
Cur vultum, atque oculos, jocosque suaves  
Cogit linquere tam venusti amici ?  
Ah Reges valeant, opesque Regum,  
Et quisquis potuit domos potentum  
Anteponere candidi sodalis  
Blandis alloquiis, facetiisque.  
Sed quanquam procul à tuis ocellis  
Jucundissime Carneसे abibo,  
Regis imperium mei secutus,  
Non loci tamen ulla, temporisve  
Intervalla tuos mihi lepores,  
Non mors ipsa adimet : manebo tecum,  
Tecum semper ero ; tibi que semper  
Magnam partem animæ meæ relinquam,  
Mellite, optime, mi venuste amice.”

---

\* *Carmina quinque illustrium Poetarum*, foll. 93, b, -94. Venet. 1558.

## INTRODUCTION.

---

ALTHOUGH the names of the righteous, which are written in heaven, cannot be erased by their enemies from the book of life, yet frequently in this world, the foundations of which are out of course, their memorials have been either obscured or obliterated; and the question "When shall he die, and his name perish?" has oftentimes not been inapposite in the case of many an individual amongst those who shall hereafter "shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father."

Dr. M'Crie commences his account of Carnesecchi and Paleario with the observation, that they had been "persons of great celebrity for their talents and stations," but that, "owing to the secrecy with which they were put to death," they "have not obtained a place in the Martyrology of the Protestant Church."\* The works of Aonio Paleario have been published at Basel, Bremen, Amsterdam, and Jena. Attention has also been recently directed to a celebrated treatise, for a considerable time past commonly attributed to him,† (and hereinafter mentioned,) which had been so vigorously proscribed three hundred years ago, that

\* *History of the Reformation in Italy*, p. 328. edit. 2. Edinb. 1833. Schelhorn (*De Petri Carnesecæ Martyrio*, §. i.) had said: "Cumque hactenus in martyrologiis Protestantium nulla planè ejus mentio facta sit," &c.

† *The Benefit of Christ's Death*: reprinted in fac-simile from the Italian edition of 1543; together with a French translation printed in 1551: to which is added an English version made in 1548, by Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire. With an Introduction, by Churchill Babington, B. D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 8vo. Camb. 1855.

Professor Ranke has declared that, out of very many thousands, which then appeared, "not one was suffered to escape;"\* and Mr. Macaulay has confidently asserted, that it was "as hopelessly lost as the second decade of Livy."†

Pietro Carnesecchi, similar in character, conduct, and destiny to Paleario, while he was superior in position and influence, has not been equally fortunate with regard to the preservation of his writings; as it is believed that but a single letter bearing his name survives,‡ and the authenticity of it is far from

\* *Hist. of the Popes*, Book ii. §. 6.

† Essay on "the Revolutions of the Papacy:" *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1840. *Crit. and Histor. Essays*, ii. 139. Lond. 1854.

‡ Ad fin. *Epistt. aliquot M. A. Flaminii*, in *Lat. serm. ex Ital. convers. et edit. à Joach. Camerario*, Norib. 1571. Schelhornii *Amœnitates Hist. Eccles.* Tom. ii. pp. 155–179. Francof. 1738. M'Crie has translated into English part of this letter (pp. 470–474.) without distrusting its genuineness. He has admitted also (p. 200.) the integrity of an unworthy and antedated document ascribed to Flaminio, which is a production as plainly surreptitious as the *Sui Reditus Consilium* devised for Marc-Antonio De Dominis. The Flaminian epistle was put forth by Lodovico Dolce after the death of the alleged author; and it of course requires to be examined in connexion with Carnesecchi's supposed reply. We should observe that it professes to have been written at Trent on the first day of January, 1543; and that Flaminio, who had accompanied Pole thither, wrote from Viterbo in the following month. (*Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini*, Tom. ii. fol. 54. Vineg. 1556.) Schelhorn (ubi sup. p. 29.) states, with insufficient accuracy, that this was "about the time" ("eo circiter tempore") when Flaminio was appointed as Secretary to the Council of Trent by Pope Paul III.: but this Synod did not assemble until December 13, 1545; and the papal nomination then made was ineffectual, as we learn from Cardinal Pallavicino (*Hist. C. T.* Lib. vi. Cap. i.) that the office was declined by that eminent man, "because that perhaps even at that period he favoured those doctrines, in the condemnation of which it would have been necessary for him to have there employed his pen:" ("for-tasse quòd jam tum animo foveret earum doctrinarum studium, quibus dam-nandis sibi necesse fuisset ibi stylum exercere.") This is a very important testimony, incidentally borne by an adversary, to the principles of Flaminio; who could scarcely have exhibited them more distinctly than by his refusal to be associated with those who, according to the ominous simile made use of by the Bishop of Bitonto in his oration at the first session of the same Council, had met together "as in the Trojan horse."

being credible.\* This destruction of documents which were worthy of the highest esteem proceeded not exclusively from Carneseccchi's enemies, who might have been expected, after their manner,† to suppress and annihilate all his compositions; but, as it transpires from the judicial process, his friends were reduced to the necessity of endeavouring to diminish the evidence against him by committing his papers to the flames. That no unquestioned literary remnant appears to have been rescued from this twofold ordeal is, however, under present circumstances the less to be regretted, as we have now for the first time an opportunity of obtaining an indirect, but a complete‡ and unexceptionable, insight into

\* If Flaminio addressed his friend in January, 1543, we may safely form a conclusion as to the date of the answer, which itself is without mark of time or place. It furnishes, however, a very decisive proof that the writer of it was not a Lutheran in the year to which it must be assigned; for the following sentence, with others of a similar import, is found in the letter: "*Quid verò, in quo cardo totius controversiæ vertitur, quid de Transubstantiatione legibus etiam sancita, et Consubstantiationis posteriore commento, dicemus?*" The Inquisitors now unwittingly come to our assistance; and, in the seventeenth charge against Carneseccchi, clearly, and with manifest truth, declare that, notwithstanding his occasional tendency to Calvinistic doctrines, he had adhered to the Lutheran view respecting the Eucharist "*since the year 1543.*" He could not therefore at that time have called Consubstantiation "a fiction;" though possibly he might have preferred some definition of his belief different from that afforded by a stigmatical term invented by the Zuinglians. The matter does not however rest upon the question as to whether a particular word was disclaimed or not; and upon the whole it would appear that we have been dealing with only an imaginary correspondence.

† "*. . . . perspicuè elucescit, libros pestiferos jure optimo prohiberi et exterminari.*" (Gretserus, *De jure et more prohib. expurg. et abolend. libros hæret. et nox.*, p. 69. Ingolst. 1603.)

‡ For the earliest abridgment of the Inquisitorial proceedings in this case we are indebted to Laderchius, the continuator of the Annals of Baronius and Raynaldus from 1566 to 1572. This Oratorian author has so expanded his general narrative as to occupy three folio volumes with the events of this short period; whereas the twelve tomes of his predecessor Baronius comprise the history of as many hundred years. His supplemental Annals are now so scarce as to be nearly inaccessible. They were originally published at Rome in 1728-37; and it is said that the Cologne impression of 1733, which I have procured from a sale in Germany, was discontinued after the issue of

the nature of those principles the valiant maintenance of which added to the noble army of Martyrs one who for nearly three centuries has been almost forgotten among men. Inaccurate a few of his opinions must be considered; but nevertheless he loved not his life unto the death, and was slain for the testimony which he held.

According to Alphonsus de Castro,\* the paramount vices of those whom he designates as heretics are self-love and vain-glory; the gratification of which feelings can be obstructed only by burning the writings of all offenders, even though they should comprehend many excellent things, hardly obtainable among the faithful;† for the Devils, he adds, on a certain occasion were forbidden to speak, though they sometimes told the truth. In a special and fully sanctioned treatise,‡ inscribed to Pope Gregory XIII., Cardona expatiates on the same subject; and recommends that doctrinal delinquents should not be permitted to sound a trumpet before them by displaying in books their names, which should rather be involved in pollution, dense obscurity, and overwhelming darkness.§ Twenty years after the date of this performance, the Clementine Prohibitory Index sentenced to extirpation every honorary epithet and tribute of praise bestowed upon heretics;|| so that, as we learn from the Spanish Index of 1640,¶

Tom. xxii.—Schelhorn, who, in his *Amanitates Literariæ*, (x. 1198–1206. Francof. 1729.) reprinted Camerarius' Eulogy of Carnesecchi, subsequently reproduced all the intelligence supplied by Laderchius. (*Amæn. Hist. Eccles.* ii. 180–209. Francof. 1738.) It is a most singular fact, that the MS. record which the papal historian abbreviated, and to which he refers when he uses the words, "quæ ab autenticis scripturis habuimus," and "Ex Archiv. intim.," (xxii. 198.) is the identical one which in the ensuing pages shall be given at length.

\* *Advers. Hæreses*, Lib. i. Cap. xi. foll. xxi, b, xxii, a. Colon. 1539.

† " . . . multa egregiè dicta, quæ vix apud alios fideles reperiantur."

‡ *De expungendis Hæreticorum propriis nominibus etiam de libris qui de Religione ex professo non tractant*; 8vo, Romæ, 1576. (p. 21.)

§ " . . . cum tamen obscura et incognita in tenebris delitescere, et tamquam improbata, abjecta sine honore, miserè in sordibus jacere, et crassa, occultata, et circumfusa caligine latere debeant."—p. 24.

|| "Epitheta honorifica, et omnia in laudem hæreticorum, deleantur." (*De correct. libror.* §. ii. p. 41. Romæ et Bonon. 1596.)

¶ *Advertencias y Mandatos*, §. v. p. xix. ed. 1667.

such phrases as “Vir optimus,” “pius,” “bonæ memoriæ,” “virtute, moribus, probitate insignis,” &c., were to be obliterated as intolerable when applied to any person disaffected toward the Church of Rome.

Schelhorn, in a rare work,\* has pointed out some instances of the extent to which Carnesecchi's fame has suffered from the contrivances of those who, as they dismembered and immolated hostile authors, did not scruple to mutilate untoward books, or to destroy such as were incorrigible.

On the 25th of October, 1557, a subpoena was issued by the Roman Inquisitors against Carnesecchi, who refused to attend before them. This circumstance caused the utmost perplexity to the well-known Muretus, who had intended to publish an ode in commendation of one to whom he had heretofore been attached; but could not now, without advice, decide whether to emit or withhold the poem. He writes to consult Manutius; but, not venturing to set down distinctly the name of a suspected person, he is obliged in a whimsical manner to describe his former friend:†—“Erat ad Petrum τὸν ξηρόκρεον‡ (finge aliquod ejusmodi nomen aut Latinum aut vernaculum, ita quem dicam intelleges,) ode una jam pridem scripta; de qua, quid faciam, nescio. Nam neque cum homine in eam suspicionem adducto, nisi prius de illius innocentia constiterit, quidquam mihi esse negotii volo; et perire eam, etsi nihili est, nollem. Ad hæc exspecto quid sentias.”—Prudential motives overpowered the poet's love for his offspring, and the verses speedily vanished.

Paulus Manutius had not merely to admonish an acquaintance, but likewise to act for himself. On the 24th of January, 1553, he had written to Carnesecchi,§ who had been sponsor by a representative for his son Girolamo, and communicated to him the fact of the baptism having taken place; rejoicing that their friendship had been confirmed by kindness shown upon such a solemn

\* *Ergötzlichkeiten aus der Kirchenhistorie und Literatur*, i. 205–210. Ulm, 1761.

† Mureti *Epistt.* Lib. i. p. 442. ed. Thomas. Lips. 1672.

‡ Ξηρός, siccus, and κρέας, caro; in Italian *Carne secca*.

§ Porcacchi, *Lettere di xiii. huomini illustri*, Lib. viii. fol. 144, b. Venet. 1571.

occasion. Another letter, dated May 14, 1555, and mentioning the sudden death of Pope Marcellus, is preserved in the same collection.\* But Manutio's intimacy could not be of long continuance with a person whose reputation became impaired at Rome, and every symptom of the recognition of it must for the future be dispelled.

This learned typographer had published at Venice, in 1556, the *Epistolæ selectæ clarorum virorum*, one of which (fol. 66.) was addressed by Cosmo Ghieri, Bishop of Fano, "ad Petrum Carnesicium, Protonotarium Apostolicum." In the Venetian reprint, of the year 1568, (fol. 53, b.) Carnesecchi's office, but not his name, appears.

The dedication by Manutio of the works of Sallust to Cardinal Antonio Trivulzio bears date Venet. 1557. Near the end of this preface, as it is given in the Aldine edition of the *Epistolæ Pauli Manutii*, Venet. 1560, fol. 224, the following memorable passage occurs:—"Equidem habeo non voluntatis modò testem, verum etiam studii ac benevolentiae auctorem in te meæ, hominem honoratum, et cum omni virtute excellentem, tum verò omnium, quos ego in vita viderim, humanissimum, Petrum Carnesecum Protonotarium, qui te amat egregiè, facitque plurimi, tuasque laudes utraque manu ad astra sæpe tollit." This panegyric upon Carnesecchi, as "an honoured man, distinguished for every virtue, and having the most highly cultivated mind" of all whom the writer had ever met with in his lifetime, is nullified in subsequent impressions by the omission of the words, "PETRUM CARNESECCUM PROTONOTARIUM."

Copies of expurgated editions of these Epistles are not particularly scarce; and, independently of the various readings and perversions of the original, which may be discovered by the tedious task of collation, not infrequent asterisks† are, as Thomasius

\* Porcacchi, *Lettere di xiii. huomini illustri*, fol. 123, b. Venet. 1571.

† An example of the use of which is perceptible in the heading of the 47th Epistle of the fourth Book. This letter is directed to "\*, Patavium;" the name "ANDREÆ DUDITHIO" having been erased. In the 22nd Epistle of the sixth Book a similar event deserves notice; "\*, Episcopo creato," being the disfigured inscription. On both these occasions, as also in twelve consecutive



observes,\* sufficient marks of things thought worthy of silence. To those who desire to arrive at further information than it is consistent with my present purpose to develop I would say, that their first object must be to inquire for the earliest impression, put forth by Paolo Manutio himself in 1558. The edition of 1560 seems to be of almost equal value; but other reprints which I possess are quite unfaithful. One additional instance shall suffice:—

At the conclusion of a letter to Muretus, which commences with the word “Beasti,” we find in the editio princeps, and in its successor of the year 1560, this ardent testimony to Carneseccchi’s worth:—“Quid Carneseccus meus, flos omnium leporum, omniumque virtutum? ut valet? jube eum salvere quam potes humanissimè.” Instead of “Carneseccus meus,” “MOLINUS MEUS” is to be seen in the Manutian Epistles as published at Cologne, in 1586;† at Leipsic, in 1669;‡ and doubtless also in Grauff’s revivification of them at Berne, in 1837.

After this exhibition of the effects of what De Thou has called

Epistles near the commencement of the fourth Book, the celebrated Andrew Dudycz, or Dudith, Bishop of Tinia, afterwards of Five-Churches, Ambassador of the Emperor Ferdinand, and Delegate of the Hungarian Clergy at the Council of Trent, was thus contemptuously treated because that, having resigned his bishoprick, he had embraced the reformed Religion; and, having finally fixed his residence at Breslau, he died there in 1589.—Sandii *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 61. Freistad. 1684. Paleotti *Acta Concil. Trident.* ed. Mendham; Pref. p. xxi. Lond. 1842. Thuani *Histor. Lib.* xxxii. Tom. ii. p. 248. Lond. 1733. Krasinski’s *Reform. in Poland*, Vol. i. p. 316. Lond. 1838.—A full account of Dudycz may be met with in *Observatt. select. ad rem lit. spectant.* Tom. v. pp. 348–379. Halæ Magdeb. 1702. In early life he had been intimate with Cardinal Pole, whom he accompanied to England, and whose biographer he was. (*Vita Reg. Poli, Britanni, S. R. E. Card.* 4to., Venet. 1563.) How highly he was once esteemed by Paulus Manutius we learn from the sixth letter of the fourth Book, *Vido Pancirolo*: “nihil est, aut esse omnino potest, Andreæ Dudithii quotidiana consuetudine jucundius: non solum quia probitate, modestia, morum elegantia, omnibus denique animi bonis excellit;” &c. His name in this sentence is supplanted by a †, or some such mark, in all depraved impressions.

\* Præloq. ad lectorem, in edit. Lips. 1669, sign. b 2.

† p. 122.

‡ p. 136.

"clandestine censure",\* we may conclude this bibliographical investigation with mention of the inconsistent conduct of Mancurtius. That while, to use the words of Schelhorn† respecting Carnesecchi, "the funeral pile, on which his body was consumed to ashes, was yet smoking," there should have prevailed among Italian writers a fear even to express his name is hardly a matter that can excite surprise; but that verses, unconnected with Religion, should be suppressed at the expiration of almost two hundred years, simply on account of their having been addressed to that Martyr, is a proof of the permanent vigour of papal prohibitory laws. In the *Carmina quinque illustrium Poetarum*, ("additis nonnullis M. Antonii Flaminii libellis nunquam antea impressis,") 8vo, Venet. 1558,‡ I find three poems which Flaminio had inscribed to Carnesecchi. These were included amongst the metrical compositions of M. A. Flaminio, issued in 8vo, from Comino's press at Padua, by Franciscus Maria Mancurtius, in the year 1727; and the editor's fairness elicited from Schelhorn§ due approbation. His candour, however, became extinct when a second edition was required; and in 1743 the inoffensive odes were all withdrawn; Mancurtius being, as he confesses, cautious not to undergo the reproof of those who considered Flaminio a heretic in consequence of his having been the friend of Carnesecchi:—"In hac editione" (he declares, p. 375.) "omisimus M. Antonii Flaminii carmina ad Petrum Carnesecum, ne iudicium eorum subiremus, qui M. Ant. Flaminium hæreticum dixerunt, scriptisque mandarunt, propterea quòd Carneseci amicitiam coluerit. Enimverò fuit quidem Flaminio cum Carneseco in re litteraria, atque in omni urbanitatis officio familiaritate conjunctus;"—then follows the transparent falsehood—"in rebus autem ad Religionem spectantibus ab eo prorsus dissensit."||

\* "Occultam censuram."—Thuani *Hist. Lib. viii. Tom. i. p. 307. Lond. 1733.*

† *Ergötz. i. 209.*

‡ foll. 93, 99, 137.

§ *Amæn. Hist. Eccles. ii. 209.* In this volume Mancurtius is invariably called Mancurtus.

|| *Ergötzlich. i. 191.*

A still stronger proof of disingenuousness may be adduced against Mancurtius. He acknowledged his misdoing, and revealed the object of it, in the former case; but he had recourse to fraudulent secrecy at another time. Flaminio, in the prosaic Dedication of his *Carmina de rebus divinis*, or *Carmina sacra*, to Margaret, sister of Henry II. King of France, had said: "Cum PETRUS CARNESECUS, lectissimus et ornatissimus vir, de tua singulari erga Deum pietate, et assiduo litterarum studio, ad me multa scripsisset," &c. Mancurtius has corrupted this passage by expunging the name "Petrus Carnesecus," and thus remodelling the sentence: "Cum lectissimus et ornatissimus QUIDAM vir" &c.\*

Riguccio Galluzzi, Historiographer-Royal of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, informs us,† that Pietro Carnesecchi, the intimate and much loved friend of the Cardinals Pole, Sadolet, and Bembo,‡ was a member of a Florentine family of high rank, which had always followed the fortunes of the Medici. He was appointed Secretary to Pope Clement VII., one of that illustrious race, and was afterwards Protónotary to the Apostolic see. Such superior influence did he exercise as an administrator that it was rumoured, and commonly believed, that he, and not his patron, wielded pontifical power.§ One of his preferments was an Abbacy in France, in which country he was countenanced and protected by Catherine de' Medici, Queen of Henry II.; and he enjoyed likewise the favour of Cosmo de' Medici, on whom Pope Pius V. subsequently conferred the title of "Grand Duke." After the death of Clement, being weary of protracted residence at Rome, or rather from abhorrence of the abuses of the papal court, which he could no longer restrain, he retired to his Abbey at Naples, and visited various cities in Italy, devoting himself exclusively to study, and to intercourse with learned men. He was, as Galluzzi states, "thoroughly conversant with Greek and Latin literature, an eloquent speaker, and a poet." In France he was greatly

\* *Ergötz.* i. 196-7.

† *Storia del Granducato di Toscana*, nuova edizione, Tomo terzo, p. 67. Firenze, 1822.

‡ M'Crie, pp. 328, 329.

§ *Camerarii Elog. Pet. Carn.*

honoured, and regarded with the utmost esteem; and in his native land especially he became the light and centre of all those who sighed and prayed for reform in the Church.

Such a man could not long escape the vigilance of the Inquisitors; and the criminal process now divulged discloses all the most important particulars relative to the measures adopted against him for one and twenty years. Four Popes were judges in Carnesecchi's case; Paul III., Paul IV., Pius IV., and Pius V. Of these the first and third absolved him; the second and fourth condemned him. Paul III. was gentle, and too discreet to inculcate so eminent a personage without absolute necessity. The reign of the intemperate Paul IV. was signalized by persecutions, torments, and universal terror. From him therefore it was natural that a decree of excommunication should proceed; and that by it Carnesecchi should be consigned, if captured, to the secular arm. Of Pius IV. it is sufficient to observe, that he laid claim to descent from the Medicean family of Florence, to which the future Martyr and his kinsfolk had ever faithfully adhered; and that this Pontiff had been aided in obtaining his elevation to the popedom by Cosmo, who was now Carnesecchi's firm friend. It remained for Michele Ghislieri, the austere and inexorable Pius V., a sainted ruler of the Romish Church,\* to immolate this dreaded witness of the truth.

Pius, says Galluzzi, a Pope who had been an Inquisitor,† and

\* The Roman Breviary (*Proprium Sanctorum, die v. Maii*.) contains the following prayer in the service appropriated to this canonized Pontiff: "Deus, qui ad *conterendos* Ecclesiæ tuæ hostes, et ad divinum cultum reparandum, Beatum Pium Quintum Pontificem Maximum eligere dignatus es: fac nos ita tuis inhærere obsequiis, ut, omnium hostium superatis insidiis, perpetua pace lætemur: per Dominum nostrum."—In "the Roman Missal for the use of the Laity," the word *conterendos* has been dishonestly translated "depress," instead of "crush." See Mendham's *Life of S. Pius V.*, p. 234. Lond. 1832.

† Not only an Inquisitor ordinarily so called, but "*Supreme Inquisitor*;" having been dignified with an office and an appellation of honour which he was the first to obtain, and, by his own injunction after his advancement, the last, exclusively of the Popes themselves, to deserve. (Laderchius, ad an. 1566, §. 15. Spondanus, an. 1557, n. 6. Pallavicino, *Hist. Concil. Trid.* Lib. xiv. Cap. v. §. 3.) Catena, the biographer of Pius, states explicitly:

who was consequently well acquainted with Carnesecchi's course of life and correspondence, as well as with the imputations which he had previously sustained, determined on evincing his resolution to extirpate the new opinions from Italy by leaving no effort untried to make a victim of one who had so long promoted the dissemination of them. Carnesecchi had placed himself under the protection of Cosmo, and continued for a while at Florence in the peaceful enjoyment of the patronage of the Etrurian Duke. But this tranquillity was disturbed by the arrival of an emissary from Rome. The Master of the Sacred Palace\* is the bearer of a letter written with the Pope's own hand:—

“Dilecto filio, nobili Viro, Cosmo Medicæo, Reipublicæ Florentiæ  
et Senarum Duci,

Pius Papa V.†

Dilecte fili, nobilis Vir, salutem, et Apostolicam Benedic-  
tionem.

Ob rem, quæ maximoperè ad Divinæ Majestatis obsequium,  
et ad Catholicam Religionem spectat, mittimus, qui nostram hanc

“Tuttavia è da sapere, che ne prima, ne dopo lui, alcuno fù sommo et supremo Inquisitore; riservato i Pontefici a se tal peso,” &c. (*Vita di Pio V.*, p. 15.)

\* The official employed was Friar Thomas Manrique, or Manriquez, who, in the year 1572, set forth with full authority, at Rome, the famous *Censura in Glossas Juris Canonici*, in which there was not any condemnation of the passage where the Pope is blasphemously styled God by the French Canonist Zenzelinus de Cassanis. (See Calphill's *Answer to Martiail*, p. 6, note. ed. Parker Soc. Camb. 1846.) There was, however, a subsequently evaded deletion prescribed for these words in the Gloss upon the Preface to the Clementines, ver. Papa: “Nec Deus es, nec homo; quasi neuter es inter utrumque.” The source of this extravagant line, here quoted by Joannes Andreæ, is a hexameter poem, inscribed by its author Galfridus de Vino salvo (Vin-sauf) to Pope Innocent III. about the year 1200. (Compare *Notes and Queries*, Vol. ii. p. 232. Lond. 1851.) An interesting *Collatio* relative to the effect of Manrique's Censures on the Glosses as revised by his successor Sisto Fabri, and edited with the approbation of Pope Gregory XIII. in 1580, was published by Joannes Pappus, as an appendix to a reprint of the first, or Belgic, Expurgatory Index, at Strasburg, in 1599, 12mo., and again in 1609, 8vo.

† As the autograph signature of this Pontiff, who was elected January 7, 1566, is a great curiosity, I subjoin a fac-simile of it, which I have traced from the original copy of the sentence passed by him upon Nicolo' Francesco Mis-

tibi exhibebit, nostri Sacri Apostolici Palatii Magistrum; et nisi ferventissimi calores extitissent, adeò cordi Nobis est res ipsa, tantique eam ducimus, ut hanc provinciam ipsi Cardinali Paceco mandavissemus. Eamdem ergò præfato Magistro fidem habebis, quam Nobis ipsis haberes, si coram colloqueremur. Sic Deus te, unà cum filio ac Nuru Principibus, ac Cardinales benedicat, uti Nos ex corde Apostolicam Benedictionem impertimur.—Datum Romæ, die xx. Junii, MDLXVI.”\*

“To our beloved and high-born son, Cosmo de’ Medici, Duke of the Republic of Florence and Sienna,

Pius V. Pope.

Beloved son, of noble extraction, We wish you health, and bestow our Apostolic benediction.

On account of a matter which exceedingly concerns the service of the Divine Majesty, and the Catholic Religion, We send the Master of our Sacred Apostolic Palace, who shall present to you this our letter; and the object in view so much affects our heart, and of so great moment do We esteem it, that, were it not for

sanelli, Bishop of Policastro, in the kingdom of Naples, on the 22nd of May, 1567. It is stated therein that this Prelate had become vehemently suspected of heresy, because that “*complures ac diversos hæreticos*” were known for a long time to have lived and laboured in his diocese. He was accordingly suspended from the episcopal office for ten years, and deprived of half his income; that he might stand as a warning to other Bishops, who should be free from evil suspicion.

*Ista p nūtiamus  
nos pius v<sup>s</sup> catholicę ecclie eps*

\* This credential letter Laderchius procured “from the old secret archives of his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany:”—“*Ex Archiv. occulto veteri Reg. Celsit. Magni Ducis Etrurię.*” (*Annales Eccl.* Tom. xxii. p. 60. ed. Colon.)

the intense heat which prevails, We should have committed this office to Cardinal Pacheco himself. To the aforesaid Master, therefore, you will yield the same amount of credit as you would repose in Ourselves if We were speaking to you face to face. So may God bless you, together with the Prince and Princess, your son and daughter-in-law, and the Cardinals, as We from the heart confer our Apostolic benediction.—Dated at Rome on the twentieth day of June, 1566.”

Cardinal Pacheco's missive to the Duke bears date the preceding day, and in English is as follows:—“By the letter which our Lord writes to your Highness, and by the person whom he

\* Galluzzi gives the Italian. (*Storia di Toscana*, Lib. iii. Cap. iv. pp. 69–71.)

“Dalla lettera, che N. S. scrive a Vostra Eccellenza, e dalla persona, che spedisce, potrà Ella ben giudicare di quanta premura sia il negozio, che il Padre Maestro le dirà, nel quale Le posso assicurare che ho visto con i miei occhi cose nuovamente scoperte, che non solo non si possono dissimulare, ma sarebbe gran peccato davanti a Dio se Sua Santità non ne venisse a capo, e di Vostra Eccellenza come Principe temporale se non desse al Papa tutto il favore, di cui ha bisogno per fare il suo ufficio come Vicario di Gesù Cristo. Sua Santità mi ha parlato di questo affare con gran premura e ansietà, e io l'ho sempre assicurata di due cose, l'una che in tutta la Cristianità non vi è Principe più zelante della gloria di Dio, e delle cose della Inquisizione quanto Vostra Eccellenza, e Sua Santità conosce molto bene questa parte in Lei, e la predica. L'altra che per suo particolar contento e consolazione non vi sarebbe cosa per grave che fosse, che Ella non facesse, e mi ha detto che non poteva venir negozio in cui Vostra Eccellenza gli potesse mostrare il suo animo come questo; e per dichiararglielo in una parola dirò che mi commesse nella Congregazione due volte che io venissi in persona a far l'ufficio, che viene a fare il P. Maestro, e se gl' Illustrissimi miei Colleghi non avessero disapprovato questa risoluzione non mi scaricava di tal peso, dicendo queste parole, ‘Se bisognasse per la buona spedizione di questo affare che andassi io in persona lo farei volentieri, perchè questo è il mio ufficio.’ Non si maravigli Vostra Eccellenza che per un uomo solo si faccia questa istanza, perchè sarebbe possibile ricavarne altre cose, che importassero moltissimo, e forse qualcuna che fosse di suo servizio. La supplico intanto che, considerando questo negozio con la sua solita Cristianità e prudenza, si risolva in quello come suole nelli altri maggiori, tenendo Dio davanti agli occhi, e tenendo ancora per certo che da questo caso dipenderà gran parte della buona corrispondenza, che Vostra Eccellenza deve tenere col Papa in questo Pontificato ec.”

despatches, you may well conceive how great is the importance of that matter which the Father the Master will communicate to you: in which I can assure you that I have seen with my own eyes things newly discovered; which not only cannot be concealed, but to a conclusion of which if his Holiness were not to attain, it would be a great sin before God, and one involving your Highness as a secular Prince, if you were not to render to the Pope all the assistance of which he stands in need, in order that he may perform his office as Vicar of Jesus Christ. His Holiness has spoken to me of this transaction with much concern and solicitude; and I have always made him confident as to two things; the one, that in all Christendom there is not any Prince more zealous than your Highness is for the glory of God, and for the interests of the Inquisition; (and his Holiness is very well aware of the fact that such is your inclination, and he applauds it;) the other, that for his personal satisfaction and gratification there could not be anything of what moment soever which you would not do: and he has told me that no circumstances could occur in which your Highness could give so clear a proof of your disposition toward him as the present case admits of. And, to explain the whole matter in one word, I will say, that on two occasions in the Congregation he charged me to go in person to accomplish that business which the Father the Master now undertakes: and had not my most illustrious colleagues disapproved of this determination, I would not have relinquished such a task; making use of these expressions, 'If it were necessary for the good success of this design that I should go in person, that I would do so willingly, because that this is my duty.' Your Highness need not be surprised that such earnestness should be exhibited respecting one man alone, because that there might be a possibility of effecting other objects of the utmost consequence, and perhaps something which would be advantageous to yourself. Meantime I entreat you, reflecting on this matter with your accustomed Christian feeling and discretion, to come to a decision in it as you are wont to do in other more important affairs; keeping God before your eyes, and also knowing for certain that on this incident will depend in a great measure the



good understanding which your Highness can maintain with the Pope during this pontificate," &c.

At the moment when the coming of the papal delegate was made known to Cosmo, Carnesecchi was sitting at dinner with the Duke:—it was a time when the rights of hospitality would have been respected by a heathen:—but the unsuspecting guest was immediately commanded by him in whom he confided to rise from the table and surrender to his captors.\*

Great was the pleasure felt by the unrelenting Pius† at hearing of the accomplishment of his nobly executed project, and at beholding in the fact of the seizure of his prey a decisive proof of the compliant disposition of Cosmo, who (as Catena,‡ Gabuzio,§ and other writers have recorded) proclaimed his perfect willingness to bind and deliver up the Prince his son, if such a sacrifice should haply be demanded.

A letter to the Duke, replete with complaisance, and with sincere acknowledgments of gratitude, comes next before us.‖ It

\* "Circumstantiæ illæ, ob quas Pio maximè placuit Cosmus, eas fuisse arbitramur, quòd, cùm inter prandendum, unà cum eodem Carnesicca, de Pontificis voluntate Cosmus idem admonitus fuisset, statim eum à mensa surgere jusserit, ac præfato Pii Nuncio tradi imperaverit." (Laderchius, ubi sup. p. 61.)

† "Ingentem ergo, ex benè acta re, et optima Cosmi mente, voluptatem cùm Pius cœpisset," &c. (Laderchius, ad an. 1566, §. 196.)

‡ *Vita di Pio V.*, p. 132. In Roma, 1587.

§ Gabutius, *De vita et reb. gest. Pii V. P. M.* Lib. iii. Cap. xii. pag. 112. Romæ, 1605. Laderch. §. 195; et ad an. 1567, §. 55.

‖ Laderchius supplies us with the following transcript of the original, which is preserved in the private archives of the Tuscan court:—

"Illustrissime et excellentissime Domine observandissime.

In hoc negotio Excellentia tua sanctissimo Domino nostro plenè placuit: nam licet ab ea, præter illud quod fecit, nil aliud præterea effecturum existimaret; et à bonitate ac prudentia tua id semper sibi pollicitus esset; nihilo-minùs, tum quod res optatum finem obtinuerit, quod illi gratissimum fuit, tum præcipuè ob circumstantias, quæ ab eo ipso qui Sanctitati suæ literas, sub die vigesima secunda datas, illi narratæ fuerunt, summis laudibus, uti ritè debet, Excellentiam vestram attollere non cessat. Quare, sicuti hoc nomine Apostolicam suam ei benedictionem impertitur, et facti memorem se futurum pollicetur; ita, si alii Christiani Principes in hac parte ei similes essent, suumque sectarentur exemplum, Religionis res in posterum secundiori cursu,

is from the pen of Michele Bonelli, lately elected Cardinal Alessandrino, nephew of the Pontiff,\* and the inheritor of his name and title.

“Most illustrious and most eminent Lord, worthy of all reverential esteem.

In this affair your Highness has completely gratified our most holy Lord. For although he believed that his influence would produce no other effect with you than that which has resulted, and had always assured himself of as much from your good-will and discretion, notwithstanding, both because that this matter has arrived at the desired conclusion, which was most satisfactory to him, and especially on account of the circumstances† which were mentioned to his Holiness by the bearer of a letter to him dated on the 22d. ult., he ceases not, in fulfilment of his bounden duty, to extol your Highness with the utmost praise. Wherefore, as for this reason he bestows upon you his Apostolic benediction, and promises that he will be mindful of your conduct,‡

majori quoque Dei obsequio, et hinc feliciori totius Christianitatis beneficio, dicit successuras. Quod quidem Deus Opt. Max. nostris hisce temporibus, ad laudem et gloriam sanctissimi nominis sui impertiri dignetur. &c.—Romæ, die prima Julii, 1566.

Excellentiæ vestræ  
servus,  
Cardinalis Alexandrinus.”

\* Quetif et Echard, *Scriptores Ord. Præd.* Tom. ii. p. 323. Lut. Paris. 1721.

† What these commendable “circumstances” were a former note explains: p. xix.

‡ His Holiness amply fulfilled his promise when he conferred the title of “Grand Duke” on Cosmo and his successors, whose royal crown was to bear the submissive inscription, “BENEFICIO PII V. PONT. MAX.” The Bull, by which this distinction was conceded, is dated 6 Cal. Septemb., (August 27,) —not *November*, as Cicarella, in his *Life of Pius*, states,—1569, and celebrates the zeal of him in whose favour it was framed “for the purity of the Faith, and in the persecution of heretics,” whom he was ever ready to deliver up to the Inquisition at Rome:—“fu celebrato il suo zelo per la purità della Fede, la persecuzione delli Eretici, la compiacenza di consegnarli alla Inquisizione di Roma.” (Galluzzi, Tom. iii. p. 100. ed. Firenze.) The entire ordinance may be found in Cherubini’s *Bullarium Romanum*, Tom. ii. pp. 217–18. Romæ, 1638, and in the *Bullarium Magnum*, Tom. ii. pp. 307–9. Luxemburg. 1727.

so he declares that, if other Christian Princes resembled you in this respect, and would imitate your example, the interests of Religion would for the future be more successfully promoted, to the better service of God, and consequently to the happier advantage of all Christianity. Which indeed may God, supremely good and powerful, vouchsafe to grant in these our times, to the praise and glory of His most sacred name. &c. At Rome, the first day of July, 1566.

Your Highness' servant,  
Cardinal Alessandrino."

Carnesecchi, having been thus perfidiously arrested, was escorted forthwith to Rome, and incarcerated, on the fourth of July, in one of the prisons of the Inquisition. That he was repeatedly examined, permitted to have many opportunities of self-defence, admonished, tempted to make a recantation, and tortured, will be evinced by the proceedings now brought to light; but the Martyr's faith remained unshaken. It had been expected that his resolution would have wavered as soon as he should have perceived that otherwise his state was hopeless: but being, says Laderchius, "a man of hardened heart and uncircumcised ears, he yielded not to the exigence, nor to the grievous emergency by which he was oppressed; and rendered the warnings and frequent respites granted to him for reflection unavailing."\*

An interval of nine months elapsed ere the Duke Cosmo was inspirited to make any effort to rescue the adherent whom he had betrayed.† Then a supplication for lenity was trans-

\* "Expectabatur idcirco, ut licet serò, tandem nihilominus Carnesechium criminum pœniteret, quorum animadversionem haud jam effugere valebat: sed vir duri cordis, incircumcisis auribus, nec tempori, nec duræ, qua obstrangebatur, necessitati cessit, ac admonitiones, ac pluries iteratas, datas ei ad deliberandum, inducias irritas reddidit." (Laderchii *Annales*, Tom. xxii. ad an. 1567. §. 52.)

† "Dopo nove mesi di silenzio, il Duca spedì espressamente al Papa per implorare la di lui clemenza, e impiegò a questo effetto l'autorità e il favore dei Cardinali; tentò di scusarlo, attribuendo i suoi errori a leggerezza piuttosto che a matura riflessione: ma tutto ciò fu inutile, perchè il Carnesecchi si aggravava da per se stesso nei costituti." (Galluzzi, *Storia di Toscana*, Lib. iii. Cap. iv. p. 71.)

c

mitted by him to the Pope: the interposition of the Cardinals was sought for; and every attempt was made to mitigate the charges against Carnesecchi by attributing the errors which formed the ground of his impeachment to indetermination rather than to contumacy. All such endeavours were totally frustrated by the prisoner's firmness. The more he was examined, the more did he aggravate the accusations by his replies.

A statement made by De Thou is sufficient to account for the extraordinary minuteness of some of the details in the present case. He informs us\* that Achilles Statius, a native of Portugal, who had once been Secretary to Carnesecchi, now acted as his accuser; and that he was a man not destitute of learning, but utterly perfidious. This observation has provoked the displeasure of Laderchius; and in his anger he reveals a secret, which demonstrates the importance of this trial, and furnishes no small foundation for conjecture as to the number of victims then in the Inquisition at Rome, if the attainure of an individual could elicit so much evidence. He declares† that he had not found the name of Statius amidst the voluminous depositions which he had perused, and which had emanated from *four hundred and thirty* persons, who were either accomplices or witnesses. But, admitting this assertion to be true, De Thou's remark may still be justified; for it was not necessary that Achilles Statius‡ should have actually confronted Carnesecchi: his testimony against his former

\* . . . "accusante eum Achille Statio, Lusitano, homine non illiterato, sed prostitutæ fidei, qui Carnesecco ab epistolis fuerat." (*Histor. Lib. xxxix. ad an. 1566. Tom. ii. p. 483. ed. opt.*)

† Ad an. 1567. §. 58. p. 202.

‡ Nicolas Antonio (*Biblioth. Hispan. Nov. Tom. i. pp. 3, 4. Matriti, 1783.*) enumerates the works of Statius, who is highly panegyricized by S. Carlo Borromeo in two letters, written in the year 1565, and to be found in the Appendix in Mansi's edition of Baluze's *Miscellanea*. (Tom. iii. pp. 523, 525. Lucæ, 1762.) These letters prove that Statius was dissuaded from returning to Portugal, and was detained at Rome, by Cardinal Borromeo; and I cannot forbear from suspecting that at the commencement of the first of them there may be an allusion to gratefulness for information imparted concerning Carnesecchi:—"Achyllum Statium, omni liberali doctrina expolitum, faciebam antea plurimi; et hoc tempore, cum se nobis mirifice probaverit," &c.

patron might have been equally efficacious in private; and the accuracy of the great French historian\* is not to be disparaged by the murmurs of every gainsayer.

Thuanus also affirms that Carneseccchi was condemned to be burned : ("tandem ad ignem damnatus est.") Hereupon he is again assailed by the papal annalist for having "most craftily omitted to say whether he had been committed to the flames when alive or dead." It is "CERTAIN," continues Laderchius, that "for matters of this sort, relating to the Faith, the Church of Rome has never decreed that men should be burned alive."† Similar is the language used in our own day by a noted Spanish ecclesiastic, the Abbé Balmez, and by Cardinal Wiseman. The former testifies,‡ in words adopted and confirmed by the Pseudo-Archbishop of Westminster,§ that "It is a remarkable thing, that the Roman Inquisition has never been known to pronounce the execution of capital punishment, although the Apostolic see has been occupied during that time" [query, what time?] "by Popes of extreme rigour and severity in all that relates to the civil administration. We find in all parts of Europe scaffolds prepared to punish crimes against Religion: scenes which sadden the soul were everywhere witnessed. Rome is an exception to the rule: Rome, which it has been attempted to represent as a monster of intolerance and cruelty. It is true that the Popes have not preached, like the Protestants, universal toleration; but the facts show the difference between the Popes

\* De Thou's imperishable work has been absolutely prohibited since the year 1609; (Capiferrei *Elenchus*, p. 185. Romæ, 1640.) and he himself has been set down as a Calvinist, and as a heretic of the first class, by the inquisitorial censor Antonio Caracciolo.—Vid. *Epist.* ii. Buckleanæ edit. præf. Tom. i. p. 32. Lond. 1733.

† "Ultra modum criminum animadversionem studiosè auxerunt [Thuanus et alii.] ut severum nimis, ac penè injustum Pontificem exhiberent; nam igni traditum Carneseccium referunt, vaferrimè reticentes, viventi an mortuo ignis admotus fuerit: cùm nihilominus certum sit, ob hujusmodi causas Fidei, Romanam Ecclesiam nunquam statuisse homines viventes comburi." (Ubi sup. p. 201. §. 55.)

‡ *Protestantism compared with Catholicity*, p. 166. London, James Burns, 1849.

§ *Dublin Review*, June, 1850, p. 457.

and the Protestants. The Popes, armed with a tribunal of intolerance, have not spilt a drop of blood: Protestants and Philosophers have shed torrents."

Cardinal Wiseman, in the memorable article referred to, repeats as a "fact" what Balmez had asserted in what is called "his admirable work."\* His Eminence is anxious to establish a perfectly unprofitable distinction between the "ancient Inquisition" and the "modern tribunal;" and as to the first he writes:† "It arose in disorderly and unnatural times, and it *gradually expired* with the circumstances in which it arose. In France it speedily became inoperative.‡ *In Italy, and especially in Rome,*

\* *Dublin Review*, June, 1850, p. 440.

† *Ib.* p. 450.

‡ The reason why it was found to be impracticable to introduce into France, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the same kind of an Inquisition as that which subsisted in Italy and Spain, through the exertions of Pope Paul IV. and Philip II., was simply, according to Fabre, Fleury's continuator, that in that kingdom "heresy was then too inveterate to bear so violent a remedy" as it was feasible to employ in the other countries:—"L'hérésie y étoit trop invétérée pour souffrir un remède aussi violent que celui-là." (*Hist. Eccl.* Tome xxxi. p. 460. A Paris, 1733.) An alarming symptom of this malady was apparent when, on the 11th of December, 1566, sentence of deposition and excommunication was pronounced by Pope Pius V. upon a French Archbishop and five Bishops, the effigies of whom were consigned to the flames in Rome. I have taken a copy of this denunciation, which was sealed in the presence of the Pontiff, as he sat "upon the exalted throne of his majesty," from the original document; and the manner in which statues of the offenders were delivered over to the secular arm, to be burned "*juxta morem*," is in itself an unequivocal intimation of the destiny which awaited those Prelates if they could have been seized. France was not, however, to be disciplined without much more rigid measures; and the preconcerted S. Bartholomew massacre, (the "*Ugonottorum Strages*," celebrated on the Gregorian medal struck at Rome in 1572,) and the permeating sacrifice of 40,000 victims, summarily changed the position of affairs. Authentic particulars of this tragedy are related in a very scarce thin quarto volume, entitled, *De Furoribus Gallicis, vera et simplex Narratio*, Ernesto Varamundo Frisio auctore, *Edimburgi*, 1573; and Casimiro Freschot has recorded the *Origine, progressi, e ruina del Calvinismo nella Francia*, In Parma, 1693.—It is to be remembered that ERNESTUS VARAMUNDUS, whom Foulis does not identify, (*Romish Treasons*, p. 368. Lond 1681.) and whom Niceron, (*Mem. des Hommes illustres*, T. xi. p. 131. A Paris, 1730.) Gerdes, (*Scrinium Antiquarium*, Tom. vi. Par. ii. p. 644.

we have the unsuspected authority of Puigblanch, that *it soon became almost a dead letter.*" The Cardinal does not give any reference, but unquestionably the passage which he had in view is this:\* "In Italy, and even in Rome itself, it soon declined." But what is the remainder of the sentence? There is but a comma at "declined," and the ensuing clause is: "TILL, IN 1545,† IT WAS RESTORED BY PAUL III." So far then was the Roman Inquisition from having in any sense degenerated into "a dead letter," at the very period when its incomparable services for the extinction of the Reformation were most required, that the system was then beyond measure invigorated by the appointment of six

Groningæ, 1761.) and Browning (*History of the Huguenots*, p. 79. Cf. p. 101. edit. 3. Lond. 1842.) call "*Eremundus*," is the pseudonyme of the learned civilian Francis Hotoman, who narrowly escaped from the slaughter in 1572, (Hankius, *De Rom. Rer. Scriptor.* i. 251. Lips. 1669.) and published the first edition of his *Franco-Gallia* at Geneva in 1573, 8vo. He was also the author of a much superior work, the *Brutum Fulmen Papæ Sixti V.*, (Vid. Cunr. Rittershus. *De diff. Jur. Civ. et Can.*, p. 18. Argent. 1618.) which primarily consisted of 234 numbered pages, but was afterwards augmented, (in neither of the old impressions is there any mark of place or date,) and it has been inserted by Goldastus in the third tome of his *Monarchia*.

Gerdes (ubi sup.) incorrectly appeals to Hotoman as testifying that the number of the slain at the massacre of S. Bartholomew was 100,000; for his words (*De Furor. Gall.* p. lxiii.) refer only to the multitude reduced by it to destitute orphanage and widowhood. We have to seek elsewhere for this writer's estimate of the actual loss of life. Under the fictitious and twice assumed name of Matago, or Matagonis, de Matagonibus, he declares in his *Monitoriale* against Matharellus, p. 7, that in the space of two days (the work of destruction continued in a diminishing ratio for about a month) 30,000 persons were treacherously put to death; and he repeats this statement in the *Strigilis Papii Massoni*, p. 32. Both these tracts were printed in 1578, 8vo., s. l.—Hotoman is doomed to opprobrious oblivion by the Index Expurgatorius of Rome, which thus commences its censure on his Commentaries upon the Institutions of Justinian: "Ex Epistola Typographi, quæ incipit, *Nostrum institutum*, &c., delendum est nomen, cum laudatione Hottomanni." (p. 555. Romæ, 1607: p. 461. Bergomi, 1608.)

\* Puigblanch's *Inquisition unmasked*, Vol. i. Introd. p. 13. Lond. 1816.

† 1542; July 21.—Llorente (*Hist. de l'Inq. d'Espagne*, Tome ii. p. 78. A Paris, 1817.) wrongly says April 1, 1543; and by him M'Crie has been misled. (*Hist. Ref. in It.*, p. 229.)

Cardinals as "Inquisitors General and generalissimos" to superintend the operations of the Holy Office.

The Court of Rome (writes Cardinal D'Ossat,\* ambassador of Henry IV.) is "a school of dissimulation." Almost every one smitten by its influence seems determined to perpetuate a reminiscence of the words, "Quid Romæ faciam? mentiri nescio." Will it be believed that, whereas Laderchius had averred without hesitation that capital punishment was never inflicted on reputed heretics at Rome, he had before him, in the very MS. volume from which he took the report of Carneseccchi's trial, and which is now available for his refutation, an unambiguous account of the condemnation of several other persons to be *burned to death*? The Oratorian annalist, however, having at length ascertained the impossibility of cloaking incontrovertible facts, proceeds to

\* "Une école de dissimulation." (*Lettres*, Tome v. p. 22. A Amsterd. 1708.) D'Ossat is, as Bishop Hall observes, (*A Sermon of Thanksgiving*; Works, ii. 302. Lond. 1634.) "a witness beyond exception;" and the testimony of one Cardinal can be set with advantage against that of another: where the truth lies let the reader judge. In a letter dated June 23, 1595, he informs M. de Villeroy that the city of Rome, whence he was writing, could not procure for herself an immunity from the scandals caused by heretics. Not more than three weeks, he says, had passed since a Flemish heretic was BURNED ALIVE there, in the Campo di Fiore, because that he had constantly refused to be converted, when an Englishman, a native of London, and of about thirty years of age, insulted those who were bearing the holy Sacrament in procession, and exclaimed that the Host was an idol. On the fifth day following, namely, on Tuesday, June 20, 1595, the hand of the offender was severed from his body, and his tongue cut out, in the place where the outrage had been committed; and he was then BURNED ALIVE in the Campo di Fiore: besides this, all the way, as he was led along, he was being burned with blazing torches.—"Par une particularité que je vous ajouterai ici, vous verrez, que Rome même ne se peut exempter des scandales des heretiques. Il n'y avoit pas plus de trois semaines qu'on y avoit BRÛLÉ TOUT VIF au camp de Fleur un herétique Flamand, qui ne se voulut jamais convertir, quand un Anglois," &c. . . . "dont le mardis après, 20 de ce mois, il eût le poing et la langue coupez au même lieu, et fut puis BRÛLÉ TOUT VIF au camp de Fleur: outre que par tout le chemin, pendant qu'on le menoit, on le brûloit avec des torches ardentes." (*Lettres*, Tome i. p. 451.) D'Ossat's mournful narrative of the latter event is confirmed by a letter from John, Earl of Gowrie, written at Padua on November 28, 1595, and printed in the Appendix to M'Cric's Life of Andrew Melville.



make a somewhat guarded acknowledgment of his previous misapprehension. Having occasion, in his history of the events of a subsequent year,\* to record the fate of Francesco Cellario, (who, notwithstanding the evasive denial of Gabuzio,† Catena's plagiarist, and of others his copyists, was gagged, and slowly consumed by fire on Friday, the 20th of May, 1569,‡) he confesses, that although he “had elsewhere remarked, that the Church of Rome had never decreed that men should be burned alive, on account of offences perpetrated relative to matters of faith, yet that, when she finds persons inflexible in faithlessness, and contumacious, SHE IS OBLIGED AT LAST TO SENTENCE THEM TO THAT PUNISHMENT. So much, however, is this against her will, that, either in consequence of a slight sign of repentance, (like what appeared in that Cellaria,§) or for any other considerable reason, (such as nobleness of birth, which might have been regarded in Carnesecchi, who has been men-

\* “Hæc præcipua hæresum quædam capita. Quod autem asserit Gabutius, tandem nempe suam pravitatem agnovisse Cellariam, antequam igni traderetur, passim ab aliis etiam scriptoribus confirmatur: nam licet ex authenticis monumentis, tanquam hæreticum, relapsum, impenitentem, obstinatum, ac pertinacem, ab Ecclesiastico foro, et ab Ecclesia sancta, ac immaculata depulsum, ac sæculari Curie puniendum, Cellariam traditum fuisse habeatur, die Veneris, ac vigesima Maii hujus anni; nihilominus asserunt (ut audisti) in conspectu ignis, quo comburendus erat, constitutum, perterrefactum, ut tormenti severitatem vitaret, errorum pœnitentiam vel fecisse, vel simulasse, sicque tormentum ipsum evasisse. Romana siquidem Ecclesia, quam, ob causas fidei, viventes homines nunquam comburi, ob patrata delicta statuisset, alibi adnotavimus: ubi tamen in perfidia obstinatos, pertinacesque deprehendit, eidem illos supplicio tandem adjudicare compellitur: sic tamen invita, ut, vel ob leve resipiscentiæ indicium, (uti in isto Cellaria,) vel ob aliam quamlibet honestam causam, (qualis esse potuit in eo, quem suo loco commemoravimus Carnesecca, familiæ ingenuitas,) a sententia resiliat, ac salva justitia, temperet; ut mortui, videlicet, tradantur igni, qui viventes eidem tradendi essent; levatque misericorditer tormento, quem justè opprobrio non potest.” (*Annales Eccles.* à Jacob. de Laderchio. Tom. xxiii. pp. 219, 220. Romæ, 1733. Conf. De Porta, i. 657.)

† In *Vita Pii V.*—He admits, nevertheless, “damnatum hæreticum pœnam sequi oportebat, ut igni vivus cremaretur.”

‡ Pet. Dom. Rosii de Porta *Hist. Reformat. Eccles. Raticar.* Tom. i. p. 476. Aug. Vindel. 1794.

§ So he always erroneously calls this Martyr.

tioned in his proper place,) she withdraws from her decision, and, saving the rights of justice, exercises lenity; to this extent, that they, who were to have been committed to the flames while living, should be so treated after their death: and thus she mercifully releases from anguish one whom she cannot equitably free from reproach."

Such is the recantation of Laderchius; and the question is, should we be warranted in conceding, without a tittle of real evidence, that Carnesecchi was strangled or beheaded\* before he was burned at the stake? Was one, whom the voice of slander never accused of having yielded, likely to excite compassion? or could his rank secure for him a reversal of the letter of the law? Let us not lose sight of the established ordinance,—comprehended in the *Literæ Apostolicæ, pro Officio sanctissimæ Inquisitionis*, "cum Privilegio, et Superiorum approbatione," (folio, p. 17. Romæ, 1579,) a compilation dedicated by Pegna to five Inquisitors General, two of whom had been Carnesecchi's judges, the Cardinals Pacheco and De Gambara,—that "if any persons shall be discovered to have wandered, even in a single article, from the Catholic Faith," and shall "persist in steadfastness," they are to be "BURNED ALIVE in the presence of the people."†

But we need not dwell upon probabilities, as it is possible to counteract inconsistent palliations, and to check capricious surmises, by summoning impartial witnesses whose credibility cannot be impugned. Of these Girolamo Catena may take the lead;

\* Galluzzi, with great preciseness, fixes upon "Ponte" as the place of his alleged decapitation. By this Ponte we are, as I suppose, to understand the Bridge of S. Angelo, anciently styled the Ponte d' Adriano. From it the street named Borgo Vecchio leads directly to S. Peter's. (Sir George Head's *Modern Rome*, Vol. iii. pp. 189, 204. Lond. 1849.)

† "Si inventi fuerint à fide Catholica, saltem in uno articulo, deviare, ac per ipsos pastorali more commoniti, tenebrosis Diaboli relictis insidiis, noluerint agnoscere Deum lucis, sed in erroris concepta constantia perseverent, . . decernimus . . UT VIVI in conspectu hominum COMBURANTUR, flammæ commissi judicio."—Conf. Bern. Comensis *Lucerna Inquisitorum*, fol. 26, b. Mediol. 1566.

and certainly we could not appeal to any authority more completely unexceptionable than the Secretary to Cardinal Alessandrino, who was the nephew of Pope Pius V., and the writer, as we have seen, of a letter of thanks for Carnesecchi's capture. Catena's *Vita del gloriosissimo Papa Pio Quinto* was printed first at Rome in 1586; and thus does he describe the martyrdom which occurred in that city but nineteen years before: \*—"Carnesecchi had sentence passed upon him by Pius; and he was COMMITTED TO THE FLAMES† by the secular Court. He had remained in heresies for twenty-seven years. Many letters of his to Calvin, together with the answers, were discovered. He sustained the heretics with Church revenues."

A compendious register is now to be adduced, which claims, and should receive, particular attention. Its existence is almost unknown, and it seems totally to have eluded the research of Dr. M'Crie, who, had he ever met with it, would doubtless have very highly prized, and frequently relied upon, such an abstract. There is extant an outline of a Summary, or succinct Memorandum, of the proceedings carried on by Roman Inquisitors against the friends of the Reformation in Italy, during an interval of several years subsequent to 1542. For my first acquaintance

\* "Il Carnesecchi fù sentenziato da Pio, & dato al fuoco dalla Corte secolare: venti sette anni hauea continuato nell' heresie: furono ritrouate molte lettere sue al Caluino, & le risposte: manteneua con l' entrate Ecclesiastiche gli heretici." (p. 132. In Roma, 1587.) This is the second edition, revised and enlarged by the author. The copy which I use was a gift from my aged and excellent friend, the Rev. Joseph Mendham, of Sutton Coldfield.

† As it might be pleaded that this phrase would bear the interpretation that his *dead body* only was consumed, we have to remark that in the margin there is a note, "sue heresie et morte;" plainly implying that the "*morte*" which he suffered was, that he was "*dato al fuoco*." Catena very well knew that the mournful privilege of being burned *after* death was reserved for those alone who succumbed to the Inquisitors. The proof of this may be rested on his language with reference to another Martyr who ended his days at Rome. He declares that "he was condemned to the flames, to be *burned alive*;" ("Quegli al fuoco ad ardersi *vivo* sentenziato fù;") but that, "before he was placed in the fire, he became a convert to the Catholic Faith, so that he was *burned when dead*:"—"anzi fosse posto nel fuoco, convertissi alla fè Catholica, tal che fù arso *morto*." (*Vita di Pio V.*, p. 158.)

with this epitomized record I am indebted to Bernino,\* who has inserted it in his *History of all Heresies*,† and expresses his obligation for it to the learned and laborious transcriber Moraldi. It will be found in the third book (in part of which are recounted the “Frutti del detto Supremo Tribunale del Santo Officio,”) of a manuscript Life, in Italian, of Pope Paul IV., entitled, *Vita e Gesti di Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, cioè di Paolo IV. Pont. Massimo*, by Antonio Caracciolo; a copy of which volume, in folio, purchased from M. Aymon in Holland, and said to have been formerly kept in the Vatican Library, is now preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.‡

In the passage that relates to Carnesecchi it is noted,§ that Sienna and Florence were very full of heretics; the former having

\* M'Crie, (*Hist. Ref. It.*, p. 310.) borrowing a quotation from Puigblanch, (i. 162; *not*, as he says, i. 61, 62.) refers to Bernino as a writer “contemporary” with the events of the middle of the sixteenth century. I know not whether he could have inadvertently confounded the age of Domenico Bernino, the son, with that of the celebrated architect and sculptor Giovanni Lorenzo Bernino, the father, whose Life the historian wrote, and of whom he speaks; (iv. 261.) but even so, besides the error as to personality, there would be an anachronism of about a hundred years. The author with whom we are concerned belongs to the commencement of the eighteenth century; and his work is dedicated to Clement XI., who was elected Pope in November, 1700.—Dr. M'Crie (*Ref. in It.*, p. 134.) makes a similar mistake when he speaks of Antonio Caracciolo, who *wrote* in 1611, as having been “contemporary” with Juan de Valdés, who *died* in 1540.

† *Historia di tutte l' Heresie*, Tomo iv. pp. 485–498. 4to., Venezia, 1733.

‡ 1763. Vid. *Harl. Catal.* Vol. ii. p. 207.

§ “Sienna e Fierenze furono assai piene di heretici. Quella produsse l'Okino e Lattanzio Rognone (*sic*) heretichissimi; questa hebbe Frà Pietro Martire Vermilio, che infettò Napoli, Firenze, e tutta l'Inghilterra: hebbe ancora il Protonotario Carnesecchi, il quale fù Secretario di Papa Clemente VII. Il Cardinal Theatino fù il primo che lo processò, poco doppo che fù fondato il Santo Officio in Roma. Poi nel 1546. per qualche speranza che diede di Conversione, fù rilasciato non già dal Cardinal Theatino, mà da altri, che non occorre qui nominare; però si doleva il Cardinal Theatino della troppa lentezza, e perniciosà benignità verso gli Heretici. Quindi andò à Firenze sua Patria, e ritornò al vomito tanto fieramente, ch'egli dell' entrate di molte Badie manteneva molti aguati di Heretici in varie Città d'Italia. ALLA FINE PIO V. STANDO EGLI PERTINACE, LO FÈ BRUGIARE VIVO IN ROMA.”

produced the heresiarchs Ochino and Lattanzio Ragnone; the latter harbouring Peter Martyr, who contaminated Naples, Florence, and the entire of England: this city being also the residence of the Protonotary Carnesecchi, who had been Secretary to Pope Clement VII. The first person who judicially proceeded against him was the Theatine Cardinal,\* shortly after the establishment of the Holy Office in Rome. In 1546, owing to some hope that he allowed to be entertained of his conversion, he was set at liberty; not indeed by the Theatine Cardinal, who deprecated any injurious exercise of forbearance and clemency with regard to heretics, but by others, whose names are not just now remembered. He afterwards went to his native place, Florence, and returned with such fierceness to his abominable practices, that, with the income accruing from several abbeys, he supported many ambuscades of heretics in various cities of Italy. "AT LENGTH, AS HE CONTINUED OBSTINATE, PIUS V. CAUSED HIM TO BE BURNED ALIVE IN ROME."

Caracciolo's unequivocal statement, for the truth of which Catena primarily vouched, is repeated by the Canon Giuseppe Lancisi, who both abridged and augmented Bernino's work.† He tells us distinctly, that Carnesecchi, "on account of his contumacy, was *burned to death* at Rome."‡

One other corroborative testimony may be annexed. It is contained in a letter dated at "Curia," that is Coire, the capital of the Canton of the Grisons, in the ancient Rhætia. The writer is Thobias Eglinus, or Iconius,§ distinguished at the Synod of

\* Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, Archbishop of Civita di Chieti, a city of Naples, and afterwards Pope Paul IV. He was the founder of the Order of the *Theatines*, (so named from *Chieti*;) of which his biographer Caracciolo was a member.

† *Istoria di tutte l' Eresie, descritta da Domenico Bernino, compendiata ed accresciuta da Giuseppe Lancisi, Canonico dell' insigne Basilica di S. Maria in Trastevere*, Tomo iv. p. 250. 12mo. In Roma, 1733.

‡ "Il detto Carnesecchi con l'entrate delle sue pingui Badie manteneva Eretici in diverse Città, e poi morì *brugiato vivo* in Roma per la di lui pertinacia."

§ Schelhornii *Dissert. epist. de Mino Celso Senensi*, p. 37, sqq. Ulmæ, 1748.

Coire in 1571; and thus he addresses Bullinger on the second of March, 1568, exactly five months after Carnesecchi's death: "At Rome some persons are every day burned, strangled, or beheaded. All the gaols and places of confinement are full, so that there is constant toil in building new prisons. Rome, though very extensive, can scarcely hold and keep in custody the multitude of the godly. That city *has committed to the flames* an illustrious man named Carnesecchi, formerly ambassador to the Duke of Florence."\*

The final scene, as it is depicted by Galluzzi,† is full of interest. Carnesecchi, having been formally degraded, was delivered over to the secular arm on Sunday, the 21st of September, 1567; and was invested with the ordinary garment, a *Sanbenito*,‡ painted

\* "Romæ quotidie aliquot comburuntur, suffocantur, decollantur. Omnes carceres et custodiæ sunt impletæ, adeo ut indies de novis carceribus exstruendis laboretur. Vix amplissima quamvis Roma piorum numerum capit et detinet. *Combussit* eximium quendam virum nomine Carnesecam, olim Florentini Ducis oratorem." (De Porta, *Hist. Ref. Eccl. Rætic.* i. 486.)

† Ubi sup.—"Li ventuno di Settembre, 1567, fu letta pubblicamente la sua sentenza, e dichiarato convinto di trentaquattro opinioni condannate: fu privato di tutti gli onori, dignità, e benefizj, e consegnato al braccio secolare: gli fu posto indosso il Sambenito, dipinto a fiamme e Diavoli, e fu degradato. Si tentò a nome del Duca di muovere il Papa a compassione per risparmiarli l'ultimo supplizio; e siccome era impenitente, Sua Santità sospese l'esecuzione per dieci giorni, promettendo la grazia qualora si convertisse. Un Cappuccino da Pistoja fu incaricato di esortarlo, e ridurlo con la speranza della vita; ma egli godeva di disputare, e non di pentirsi, e sprezzava la morte. Riconosciute inutili le prove di Fra Pistoja, li 3 Ottobre, 1567, fu decapitato in Ponte, e abbruciato. Sostenne fino alli ultimi momenti il suo fanatismo; e volle intervenire alla esecuzione come in pompa; affettando di avere biancheria, e guanti nuovi ed eleganti, giacchè il Sambenito infiammato non gli permetteva l'uso di altre vesti."

‡ "Such as stode stoutly to their tackling, and defended their profession against their detestable falshoodes, weare the *Sambenit* vnto the very stake; which is a linen garment of the coulour of earth, made like to a coate armour, and all to be painted with black deuils, over whom the manfull souldiour of Christ triumpheth in token of victory." (*A Discovery and playne Declaration of sundry subtill practises of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne*, by Reginaldus Gonsaluius Montanus, [Reynaldo Gonzalez de Montes,] fol. 45, b. 4to, Lond. 1568.) This English translation was published by Vincent Skinner,

with flames and Devils. Even then a suspension of the capital sentence was (perhaps at the solicitation of the Grand Duke) conceded by the Pope. For ten or twelve days the unwonted respite lasted; and during this interval a Capuchin Monk of Pistoia was charged with the task\* of admonishing the prisoner, and holding out to him an assurance of forgiveness if he would submit and be penitent. But "he took pleasure in arguments rather than in making professions of repentance, and disregarded death." The labours of the Friar, when found to be unprofitable, ceased: the catastrophe ensued; and the Martyr calmly died. "His fanaticism," says Galluzzi, "sustained him to the last instant. He desired to proceed to his execution as if he were celebrating a triumph; and was studiously careful to wear new and beautiful linen and gloves, because that his inflamed *Sanbenito* did not permit him to exhibit any other article of dress."

Secretary to Sir William Cecil. (Strype's *Annals*, Vol. i. p. 578. Lond. 1725.) The original Latin was first printed at Heidelberg in 1567. From this work Gerdes has extracted the "Piorum Martyrum Elogia." (*Scrinium Antiquarium*, Tom. iv. Par. ii. pp. 581-662. Groning. 1755.)

\* Dr. M'Crie has singularly erred in conceiving (*Ref. in Italy*, p. 334.) that this Monk was "incarcerated" along with Carnesecchi. Galluzzi's word is not "incarcerato," but "incaricato." The Monk was not *imprisoned*, but *employed*.







Sñtia.

✠ fisco ✠. d. petrũ  
Carneseccũ florentiñ.

die Sabbati xvj. mensis  
Augusti. 1567. lecta et lata  
z die dñica 21. 7<sup>bris</sup> 1567.  
publicata in ven<sup>u</sup> ecc<sup>a</sup> bñe  
Marie supra Mineruã pub-  
lice corã p̃plo et fuit tradi-  
tus curie seculari iuxta for-  
mã illius pñtibus z d. xp̃iano  
de monte s<sup>m</sup> d. n. p̃pe cur-  
sore et Vespasiano Rodul-  
phino de Narnia quo ad  
publicatiõem testibus.\*



Sentence, in favour of the Fiscal, against Signor Pietro Carnesecchi of Florence, was read and passed on Saturday, the 16th day of August, 1567 ; and on Sunday, the 21st day of September, 1567, it was published openly before the people, in the venerable church of the Blessed Mary, above the Minerva;† and he was delivered

\* This statement is in the handwriting of Claudius de Valle, Notary of the Inquisition at Rome; a facsimile of whose autograph may be seen in the *Case of a Minorite Friar*, p. 7. Dublin, 1858.

† The "Piazza della Minerva" is the place in which the *autos-de-fé* were formerly celebrated. The eastern side of this piazza is bounded by the church of "S. Maria

over to the secular Court, according to the form prescribed therein: the witnesses of the publication of the said sentence having been, Signor Cristiano di Monte, Messenger of our most holy Lord the Pope, and Vespasiano Rodolfini of Narni.



Noi, Bernardino di S<sup>to</sup> Mattheo de Trani, Scipione di Santo Angelo di Pisa, Francesco di S<sup>to</sup> Croce in Hierusalem Pacheco, et Gio: Francesco di S<sup>to</sup> Potentiana di Gambara, de titoli, per la miserazione diuina, della s<sup>ta</sup> Romana Chiesa Preti Cardinali, et nella vniuersa Republica Christiana contro l'heretica prauità Inquisitori Generali, dalla S<sup>ta</sup> di N. S<sup>to</sup> Pio, per la diuina prouidentia Papa Quinto, spetialm<sup>te</sup> deputati.

Ogni giorno per esperienza uedemo uerificarsi quello che il diui-



WE, Bernardino de Trani, Scipione di Pisa, Francesco Pacheco, and Giovanni Francesco di Gambara, by divine mercy Cardinals Presbyters of the holy Roman Church, bearing, respectively, the titles,\* of S. Matthew, of Sant' Angelo,† of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, and of S. Potentiana,‡ and specially commissioned to act as Inquisitors General against heretical pravity, in the entire Christian Commonwealth, by his Holiness our Lord Pius V., by divine providence Pope.

Every day we see confirmed by experience that which the heavenly

sopra Minerva," and the convent of the Dominicans annexed to it. The title of "Minerva" is derived from the temple built nearly on the same site, and dedicated by Pompey to that goddess.—(Sir George Head's *Rome*, Vol. i. pp. 314, 353. Lond. 1849.)

\* Vid. Ciaconii *Vitt. Pontiff. Rom. et Cardd.* Tom. i. coll. 118, 119. Romæ, 1677. Loescheri *Stromateus*, Append. pp. 173–4. Vittemb. 1724.

† For a notice of the church of S. Angelo in Pescaria, which is situated close to the ruins of the Portico of Octavia, see Sir George Head's *Rome*, Vol. i. p. 445.

‡ Her name is given in this form by the Apostolic Protonotary Galesinius; (*Martyrol.* fol. 72. Venet. 1578.) but she is generally, and apparently with more correctness, called Pudentiana; and is said to have been a daughter of the Roman Senator Pudens. (Baronii *Annales*, ad an. 59. §. xviii. *Martyr. Rom.* die Maii 19. Conf. 2 Tim. iv. 21.) Bollandus found it convenient to alter the text of the very dubious document on which her history rests. (Tillemont, ii. 616. A Paris, 1701.)

no Apostolo San Paulo scriuendo à Thimoteo predisse; Erit enim tempus cum sanam doctrinam non sustinebunt; sed ad sua desideria coaceruabunt sibi magistros prurientes auribus; et à ueritate quidem auditum auertent, ad fabulas autem conuertentur; si come in questi infelici et calamitosi tempi si uede continuamente fare da molte scelerate sette di heretici, con irreparabil danno della Republica Christiana, et perditione d'infinite anime, et particolarment<sup>e</sup> se puo considerare nella presente causa.

Poiche essendo tu, Pietro Carnesecchi, Chierico Fiorentino, già Prothonotario Ap<sup>l</sup>ico, in questa Corte di Roma stato alleuato, et liberalment<sup>e</sup> beneficato di honori, beneficij ecclesiastici et pensioni, non hauendo riguardo all' ineffabile uerità della s<sup>a</sup> Fede Cath<sup>a</sup>, ne rispetto ueruno all' authorità della s<sup>a</sup> Romana et Apostolica Chiesa, ne considerando il grado tuo, ma deuiano dalla diritta strada della uera salute, cadesti in alcune heresie, contro la detta santa Fede, et tenesti et credesti molte et diuerse opinioni heretiche et erronee.

Et prima dal 1540. in Napoli instituito dalli quondam Giouanni

Apostle S. Paul, writing to Timothy, foretold: \* “For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears; and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables;” as in these unhappy and disastrous times we see perpetually done by many wicked sects of heretics, to the irretrievable injury of the Christian Commonwealth, and the destruction of innumerable souls; and as we may peculiarly observe in the present cause.

Because that you, Pietro Carnesecchi, a Clergyman of Florence, formerly Apostolic Protonotary, having been brought up in this Court of Rome, and largely endowed with dignities, ecclesiastical preferments and emoluments, not having any esteem for the unspeakable truth of the holy Catholic Faith, nor any reverence for the authority of the holy and Apostolic Church of Rome; and reflecting not upon your rank, but wandering from the straight path of true salvation, have fallen into sundry heresies in opposition to the said holy Faith, and have held and believed many and various heretical and unsound opinions:—

Having, in the first place, from the year 1540, at Naples, been

\* 2 Tim. iv. 3, 4.

Valdes Spagnolo, Marc' Antonio indoctrinated by the late Juan Fláminio, et Bernardino Occhino Valdés,\* a Spaniard, as well

\* It is important, but, owing to the confusion made by many writers, sometimes extremely difficult, to distinguish sufficiently this first influential Reformer in Spain from his brother Alfonso Valdés. Llorente has attempted to compromise matters by ignoring the existence of one of these illustrious men, and combining the names of both for the disservice of the other, whom he accordingly designates as "*Jean Alphonse de Valdés*." (*Hist. de l'Inq. d'Espagne*, Tome iii. p. 221. Cf. ii. 478. A Paris, 1817-18.) But Alfonso was an ecclesiastic of Burgos in Spain, a Professor of Divinity, and Latin Secretary to the Emperor Charles V.; (Vid. Jo. Frid. Burscheri *Spicileg. v. Autographor.*, p. xvii. Lipsiæ, 1785.) while his more celebrated brother was a Jurisconsult, knighted by the same Emperor, and Secretary to his Viceroy, Don Pedro de Toledo, at Naples. This city, Ant. Caracciolo declares, was for the first time infected with Lutheranism by German soldiers, of whom 6000 were infantry, and 2000 cavalry; but "Juan de Valdés alone," he conceives, who arrived there in the year 1535, "caused a far greater destruction of souls than had been effected by those many thousands of military heretics:"—"unus Joannes Valdesius Hispanus, qui anno M.D.XXXV. Neapolim venit, longè majorem mentium stragem dedit, quàm multa illa Hæreticorum militum millia." (*De Vita Thienæi*, p. 240. Conf. Schelhorn, *Ergötzlichkeiten*, i. 211-12.)

Two works only by Juan de Valdés were published by himself; *Dialogues*, issued separately, and appertaining to the years 1528-30. One of these Dialogues is between Mercury and Charon; the other between Lactantius and an Archdeacon. Together they form a volume of 481 pages 8vo, in which shape they were privately reprinted, in 1850, by a gentleman who has kindly favoured me with a copy. These *Dos Diálogos* are in Spanish, and laid the foundations of Protestantism in the country for which they were principally intended.

It is to be remembered that the name Juan de Valdés, which is Spanish, takes other forms in different languages; so that the possessor of it must be identified when we find him called in Italian *Valdesio*, in English *Valdesso*, and in French *De Val d'Esso*. Another variation is that recommended by Bernino, who frequently styles him "Gio. Vvaldes." (*Hist.* iv. 447, 448, 495.)

A letter addressed by Giacomo Bonfadio, from the Lake of Garda, to Carneseccchi, on the recovery of the latter from an acute fever, shows how deeply Valdés was lamented by his followers, when he was removed from them by death in the year 1540:—"Wherefore should we return to Naples, since Signor Valdés is dead? Surely this loss is a great one both to us, and to the world: for Signor Valdés was one of the rare men of Europe; a fact which the writings he has left upon the Epistles of S. Paul, and on the Psalms of David, abundantly demonstrate. He was, without any doubt, a most accomplished man in all his actions, words, and counsels. With a very small measure of life he sustained his weak and slender body: but his nobler part, and refined intellect, as if exterior to the body, were ever elevated to meditation upon truth and heavenly things. I condole with Mr. Marc' Antonio [FLAMINIO,] because that he, above all others, loved and admired him."— . . . . "doue andremo noi, poi che 'l Signor Valdes è morto? è stata questa certo gran perdita et à noi, et al mondo: perche 'l Signor Valdes era un de rari huomini d'Europa; et que' scritti ch'egli ha lasciato sopra le epistole di san Paolo, et i

da Siena, et conuersando con loro, as by Marc' Antonio Flaminio,\*  
et con Pietro Martire, et con Ga- and Bernardino Ochino of Sien-

salmi di David, ne faranno pienissima fede. Era senza dubbio ne i fatti, nelle parole, et in tutti i suoi consigli un compiuto huomo. reggeua con una particella dell' animo il corpo suo debole et magro : con la maggior parte poi, et col puro intelletto, quasi come fuor del corpo, staua sempre solleuato alla contemplatione della uerità, et delle cose diuine. Mi condoglio con messer Marc' Antonio, perche egli piu che ogni altro l' amaua et ammin-  
raua." (*Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini*, Lib. i. fol. 28, b. Aldus. In Vinegia, 1554.)—Bonfadio was the historian of Genoa, (not of Geneva, as some have said;) and *Gli Annali de Genova* are a translation of his Latin work into Italian by Bartol. Paschetti; 4to, In Genoa, 1586. This history was fatal to its author. He was condemned to be burned alive; but his friends obtained permission that he should be beheaded. (Peignot, *Dictionnaire des livres condamnés au feu*, Tome i. p. 44. A Paris, 1806.)

The best account of Valdés may be found in an Essay respecting him in the *Revista Hispano-Americana*, by Don Pedro J. Pidal. See also the *Diccionario Biográfico* of Barcelona; an article by B. B. Wiffen in the *British Friend*, 1846; and M'Crie's *Ref. in Spain*, pp. 140–146. Edinb. 1829.

\* The position assigned to Flaminio in this category must always be accounted as an unerring proof of the light in which that exquisite scholar was deliberately regarded by some of the strictest members of the Church of Rome. That he was at one time favourable to the reformed opinions none can deny; (See before, Introd., p. vi.) and the enrolment here made for private use by Inquisitors General demonstrates, in despite of every subterfuge, what was the true and fixed feeling entertained towards him by the heads of the Holy Office seventeen years after his death, which occurred in 1550. It has been mentioned in the preceding note that Valdés came to Naples in the year 1535; and Flaminio's doubts as to some points had so soon been frankly expressed that, in June, 1536, Cortese, writing to Contarini, to request that he would obtain for him the Pope's permission to read certain heretical books, adds, "because I would not have that happen to me which befell Marc' Antonio in the Holy Week; especially if M. di Chieti should know it." This passage is cited by Tiraboschi in his attempted answer (*Storia della Letter. Ital.* xiii. iii. 1424–1427.) to Schelhorn's Dissertation "De Religione M. Antonii Flaminii"; (*Amen. Hist. Eccl.* ii. 1–179.) and "M. di Chieti" is none other than Cardinal Giampietro Caraffa, who teased Flaminio, when upon his death-bed, to make an acceptable confession of his faith. Ant. Caracciolo asserts that this was at length so satisfactorily elicited that the importunate Cardinal leaped for joy;—"exiliens Carafa præ gaudio:"—and Flaminio died, he states, "in a Catholic and pious manner." (*De Vita Pauli IV. Collectan. Histor.*, pp. 54, 55. Colon. Ubior. 1612.) If all this were true, in the sense intended by that writer, would not the same Cardinal be liable to the charge of gross inconsistency when, as Pope Paul IV., he malignantly condemned in his Index, published in 1559, everything, however inoffensive, which had been written by Flaminio? Such a Pontiff as he was acted advisedly; and fully understood the validity of the reasons for which were interdicted absolutely "Marci Antonii Flaminii Paraphrases et Comment. in Psalmos: item literæ, et carmina omnia." This stigma was removed by the Tridentine Index of Pope Pius IV., in 1564, which cancelled the censure on Fla-

## RECORDS OF THE ROMAN INQUISITION.

leazzo Caracciolo, et con molti altri heretici et sospetti di heresia, leggendo il libro del beneficio di na;\* and having had intercourse with them, and with Pietro Martire,† and with Galeazzo Caraccio-

minio. Again was he defamed by the authentic, but suppressed, Index of Sixtus V., Romæ, 1590; and once more, and finally, absolved, in the way of preterition, by Pope Clement VIII. in 1596. Thus have Jannes and Jambres withstood each other, as well as contended with their adversaries; and neither party to the possession of Flaminio; "the sweetest," (says Tiraboschi,) "the most amiable, the most modest, of all the Latin poets of that age: a name not less dear to Virtue than to the Muses; and who in all those who knew him awakened sentiments of equal admiration and tenderness."—A highly interesting Memoir of him is prefixed to *Fifty select Poems* of his, imitated by the late Rev. *Edw. Will. Barnard*, and edited by the *Ven. Archdeacon Wrangham*; 8vo, Chester, 1829; of which only fifty copies were printed for sale.

\* In 1542 Ochino laid aside his monkish habit, and escaped from Italy. He had been General of the Order of the Capuchins; and in his answer to Muzio the reasons for his departure are explained. Having been summoned to Rome, he was going thither, but met with Peter Martyr at Florence, and both resolved on flight. Ochino came to Geneva; and in Spon's History, the name of his native place, Sienna, having been corrupted, he is called "Bernardin de SESVAZ;" (*Histoire de Geneve*, Tome ii. p. 54. A Geneve, 1730.) a misprint which Dr. M'Crie was strangely disposed to perpetuate. (*Ref. Camb.* 1842.) Ochino accompanied Peter Martyr to England, having been invited by Archbishop Cranmer; but after the death of King Edward VI. the two friends were obliged to leave that country. Everything worthy of notice connected with Ochino's life, fortunes, and imputed heterodoxy, has been related and discussed by Salig, (*Hist. Conf. Aug.* Tom. ii. pp. 419, sqq.) Schelhorn, (*Ergötzlichkeiten*, iii. 765–801, 979–1017, pp. 1–82. Halæ Magdeb. 1701–2.) Cf. Gerdesii *Syllab. Italar. Reform.*, pp. 308–314. Lugd. Bat. 1765.

† Peter Martyr was a native of Florence, and had been an Augustinian Monk. His advancement was unusually rapid; and he became, successively, Abbot of Spoleto, Head of the Neapolitan College of S. Pietro ad aram, Visitor General of the Augustinian Order in Italy, and Prior of S. Fridiano at Lucca. His Life has been carefully written by Josias Simler of Zurich. It was printed there in 4to, A. D. 1563, and republished by Daniel Gerdes in his *Miscellanea Groningana Nova*, Tom. iii. Par. i. pp. 1–59. an. 1752. It is remarkable that, when Peter Martyr was accused of heresy, Cardinal Pole maintained his innocence before the Pope. (Schellh. *Amæn. Hist. Eccl.* i. 148.) Muzio, writing to Vergerio, from Milan, in October, 1548, reminds him that there was no room in Italy for him or for his followers; and that Peter Martyr and Ochino had taken refuge in England:—"che ben sapete che frate Pietromartire, & frate Bernardino nostro se ne sono fuggiti in Inghilterra." (*Le Vergeriane*, libro terzo, fol. 114, b. In Vinegia, 1551.) Conf. Sleidani *Commentar.* Lib. xix. p. 553: Lib. xxv. pp. 745–6. Francof. 1610. Gerdesii *Hist. Evangel. renov.* iv. 359. Melch. Adami *Vitt. Theol. exteror.* pp. 24–63. Francof. 1618.

Christo, et scritti del detto Valdes. lo,\* and with many other heretics, and persons supposed to be tainted with heresy; reading the book† Of

\* The eldest son of Nicol' Antonio Caracciolo, Marquis of Vico, one of the highest noblemen at Naples; and his mother was a sister of Pope Paul IV. His Life, says Dr. M'Crie most truly, "presents incidents which would excite deep interest in a romance." (*Ref. in Spain*, p. 352.) It was first composed in Italian by Balbani; translated into Latin by Beza; (*Museum Helveticum*, viii. 519, sqq.) and by Minutoli, and the *Sieur de Lestang*, rendered into French. William Crashaw's English version is entitled: "The Italian Convert. News from Italy of a second Moses: or, the Life of Galeacius Caracciolus, the noble Marquess of Vico: containing the story of his admirable conversion from Popery, and forsaking of a rich Marquesdom for the Gospel's sake. Illustrated with several Figures." 8vo, Lond. 1677; which edition is only a reprint. A beautiful letter, written by Flaminio to Galeazzo Caracciolo, and dated at Viterbo, Feb. 14, 1543, may be read in the fifth chapter of this Life, or in Schelhorn's *Amenitates Hist. Eccles.* ii. 122-132. See extracts also in M'Crie's *Ref. in Italy*, pp. 484-487: but for the original Italian the *Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini* must be consulted. (Libro ii. foll. 50, b, -54. Aldus, 1556.) At the conclusion of the letter there is a strong declaration of Cardinal Pole's affectionate esteem for the heir to the Marquis of Vico: "The most reverend Legate regards your Lordship as his dearly beloved brother in Christ; and will rejoice in availing himself of every opportunity which God may grant to him of testifying the sincerity of his love:"—"il Reuerendissimo legato ama V. S. come suo diletissimo fratello in Christo, & haurà gratissima ogni occasione, che li manderà il sig. Dio di poterui mostrare con gli effetti l'amor suo."

† Many arguments, and conjectures at least as numerous may be founded on the manner in which this extraordinary work is here referred to. It seems not unreasonable to determine that the book was at that time, that is in the year 1540, *in print*; and besides this, that *Naples* was its birthplace. Both these notions are doubtless completely at variance with the hypothesis which Mr. Babington has put forward, and defended with learning and all imaginable skill. (See the Introduction to his beautiful reprint of the *Trattato*, Cambridge, 1855.) His theory is, that the treatise was first printed at *Venice*; and not till the year 1542; and that Aonio Paleario was the author of it; the last supposition having been devised by Schelhorn. As to the *place* of its earliest publication Vergerio says nothing; and as to the *date* we have only an inference from some words used by him in his annotations upon Della Casa's Catalogue of forbidden books. This Catalogue was printed in the year 1549, and may be found in Schelhorn's *Ergötzlichkeiten*. (ii. 359-367.) Giovanni Della Casa, Archbishop elect of Benevento, and Apostolic Legate at Venice, thus described the condemned treatise:

"*Il Beneficio di Christo un libretto così intitolato.*"

Upon this entry Vergerio remarks, that, during *six years* prior to the publication of this Inventory, the *Trattato* was being printed and sold in Venice; and that forty thousand copies of it had been circulated there. ("Perchè ne hanno prima lasciati vender XL. mille, che tanto io so, che *da sei anni* in quà ne sono stati stampati e vendetti in Venetia sola.") This statement, if taken in its plain signification, would demonstrate,

*the benefit of Christ, and writings  
of the said Valdés:*

Et poi nell' anno seguente in      And afterwards, in the following

that no edition was published at Venice previously to 1543; the very impression which Mr. Babington has set before us in facsimile. If this be so, Paleario's claim to the authorship of the treatise in question, assuming for a moment that it then and there primarily appeared, would fall to the ground: for whatever he wrote on the same subject (Aonii Palearii *Opera*, p. 101. ed. Hallbauer. Jenæ, 1728.) most certainly belongs to the year 1542; and this fact is what has chiefly perplexed the upholders of the opinion advanced by Schelhorn and Gerdes.

Again, as Professor Ranke has observed, (*Hist. of Popes*, i. 105. Lond. 1847.) Paleario complains that he was called to account for what he had written "in the same year; while the Compendium of the Inquisition expressly declares, 'Quel libro fu da molti approbato solo in Verona, fu conosciuto e reprobato, dopo molti anni fu posto nell' indice.' " The *Trattato* then, on the other hand, was generally approved of, and not prohibited for many years; and indeed there was not any Index by which it could have been condemned in Italy until 1549. But, for the sake of accuracy, the punctuation of the passage quoted from the Inquisitorial Compendium must be corrected; and Bernino enables us to amend it. (*Historia di tutte l' Heresie*, iv. 492.) This treatise, we are informed by Ant. Caracciolo, who cites the Compendium, "had an extensive sale, and was by many approved of: in Verona alone cognizance was taken of it, and it was disallowed: after many years it was placed in the Index of interdicted books by Paul IV.; [i.e. in 1559;] and subsequently by Pius IV., and Clement VIII."—( . . . "però hebbe grande spacio, e fù da molti approvato: solo in Verona fù conosciuto, e reprobato: doppo molti anni fù posto nell' Indice de' libri prohibiti da Paolo IV., e poi da Pio IV., e da Clemente VIII.")

We have seen that Vergerio made mention of Venice *only*; ("Venetia sola,") and consequently his testimony cannot be understood as a denial of the earlier publication of the tract elsewhere. To Naples then, and to Naples solely, where one of Carnesecchi's abbeys was, it would seem that we should look for the origin of the treatise which has set at nought so much research. The circumstance that Valdés had resided there from 1535 till 1540, the year of his death, taken in connexion with the fact that parts of his *Hundred and ten Divine Considerations* are incorporated with the *Trattato*, very naturally led to the association of his name with the composition of the work; and the passage in the text, and some other similar sentences which occur in this process against Carnesecchi, are the source of the error of Laderchius in absolutely assigning the book to the Spanish Reformer. (*Annales Eccles.* Tom. xxii. p. 199. ed. Colon. Ag.)

Inquirers, however, are at fault when they desire to ascertain indisputably the author's name. Vergerio distinctly affirms that *two persons* had been concerned in the formation of the *Trattato*; one of whom had commenced, and the other had completed and embellished it. He declares moreover that both were then living in Italy, and high in favour with the leading members of the Church of Rome; while, notwithstanding, the book which they had written was repudiated as heretical.—("Aggiungo di questo libretto, che sono due persone, le quali vi hanno posto mano; una l'ha cominciato, l'altra finito et espolito; et tutte due sono in Italia, et molto conosciute et carezzate dai primi membri et ministri di Roma; et il libro loro è condannato per heretico.") It would



Viterbo, praticando et trattando year, at Viterbo,\* consulting about  
delle medesime et d'altre heresie and treating of the same and other  
et errori con l'istesso Flaminio, et heresies and errors with the said

appear not to be improbable that these two persons, thus said to be united with regard to the *Trattato*, were Cardinal Pole and M. A. Flaminio. The idea that the former was either directly or indirectly connected with it is in perfect agreement not merely with what is stated above in the process, but also with the language of Vergerio, in his scholium on the eighteenth article drawn up against Cardinal Morone, when he was imprisoned for Lutheranism in 1558. These articles are inserted in Wolfii *Lectiones Memorabiles*, (Tom. ii. pp. 655-6. Francof. 1671. Cf. Schel. *Am. Lit.* xii. 564, sqq.,) and that now alluded to is this: "Item quod libellum intitulatum Beneficium Christi distribuentum curavit; et Bibliopolæ hæretico, [Antonio Gadaldino, who published the work at Modena, "de mandato Moroni,"] seu de hæresi suspecto, mandavit, ut hujusmodi libellos venderet quàm pluribus posset; et iis qui non haberent dono traderet, quia ipse pecuniam illorum solveret." Upon which item Vergerio remarks: "Immo dicam amplius, Reginaldum Polum, Cardinalem Britannum, istius Moroni amicum summum, *existimari ejus libri autorem, aut bonam partem in eo habere*: saltem certum est illum defendisse et promovisse cum suis Flaminiiis, suis Priulis, aliisque alumnis."

That Flaminio revised this treatise, and that he was reputed to be grievously tainted with heresy, we learn from Ant. Caracciolo in his MS. Life of Pope Paul IV.; and he was guided by Inquisitorial documents:—"fù revisore di detto libro il Flaminio, anch'egli gravemente infetto." When the *Trattato* was replied to by Ambrogio Catharino in the year 1544, Flaminio zealously hastened to defend it; but his work is now, perhaps, irrecoverably lost. That it once existed is clear from an accusation against Carnesecchi, that he had read and possessed a copy of that "pertinacious Apology." This is unquestionably the "dolce libro," which the composer of it is reported by Vergerio to have "given into the hands of a Cardinal;" and that Cardinal was Pole. (See Mr. Babington's Introduction, pp. lxiii, lxiv.)

To reconcile what has thus been suggested with what the Compendium of the Inquisitors, (appealed to by Ranke,) or possibly only Ant. Caracciolo himself, alleges as to the original author of the *Trattato*, we might conceive, that neither Pole nor Flaminio framed the first sketch of the work; but that one of them began to improve it, and the other finished the task. If this supposition were admitted, all seeming contradictions would be obviated. The prime parent of the treatise might have been, as the MS. referred to states, "a native of Sicily, and a Monk of San Severino at Naples," as he undoubtedly was "a pupil of Valdés."—"fù il suo autore un Monaco di S. Severino in Napoli Siciliano, e discepolo di Vualdes.")

\* "On quitting Naples," says Mr. Roscoe, speaking of Flaminio, (*Life of Leo X.*, iii. 311. Liverp. 1805.) "he repaired to Viterbo, where the Cardinal Reginald Pole then resided as pontifical Legate, and where Flaminio lived on terms of the most friendly intimacy with that Prelate, who greatly distinguished himself by his munificent patronage of the learned men of his time." Mr. Phillips would have us to believe, that at Viterbo Cardinal Pole induced Flaminio "gradually to return to the Catholic doctrine, to which he ever after steadfastly adhered." (*Life of Reg. Pole*, p. 300. Cf. Gloucester Ridley's *Review*, pp. 142-3. Lond. 1766.) But the conduct of Pope Paul IV. abun-

li quondam Vittor Sorantio, già Vescouo di Bergamo, Appollonio Merenda, et Luigi Priuli, et altri sospetti et infetti d'heresia, legendo parimente simil libri Lutherani et heretici, con alcuni de quali, et con altri ancora, poco inanzi che andasti à Viterbo, et dopo che partisti di là, in Fiorenza et in altri luoghi d'Italia, legesti l'Institutioni di Caluino, et rispettuamente trattasti delle medesime cose.

Flaminio,\* and the late Vittore Soranzo, formerly Bishop of Bergamo, as well as with Apollonio Merenda, and Luighi Priuli, and others suspected of and infected with heresy; reading in like manner similar Lutheran and heretical books: with some of which persons, and with others also, a short time prior to your going to Viterbo, and, after you had left that town, in Florence,† and in other places in Italy, you read *The Institutes* of Calvin, and conferred respecting the same things severally.

dantly refutes this notion; for that Pontiff not only totally prohibited all the writings of Flaminio, but was with difficulty dissuaded from disinterring and burning his remains. (*Amœnitates Literariæ*, x. 1157. *Am. Hist. Eccl.* ii. 41.) Likewise, when Pole was a candidate for the papacy, the same Caraffa, then the Theatine Cardinal, caused him to be suspected of heresy on account of his patronage of, and friendship for, Flaminio and others. (Gerdesii *Syllabus*, p. 253. Schelh. *Amœn. H. E.* i. 144. Conf. Poli *Epistoll.* Tom. v.—*Ep.* ad P. Paulum IV.) Cardinal Quirini has spent his strength in vain, labouring to prove that Flaminio was what he would consider orthodox. (Dissert. *De Viterbiensi Card. Poli Sodalitio*.)

\* In a letter to Contarini, written from Viterbo in December, 1541, Cardinal Pole thus touchingly speaks of himself and his associates: "The remainder of the day I pass in the holy and useful company of Signor Carnesecchi, and of our Mr. Marc' Antonio Flaminio. I call it 'useful,' because in the evening Mr. Marc' Antonio gives a repast to me, and to the best part of my family, *de illo cibo qui non perit*, [S. John vi. 27.] in such a manner that I know not when I have felt greater comfort or edification."—"Il resto del giorno passo con questa santa e utile compagnia del Sig. Carnesecchi, e Mr. Marco Antonio Flaminio nostro. Utile io chiamo, perche la sera poi Mr. Marco Antonio da pasto a me, e alla miglior parte della famiglia, *de illo cibo qui non perit*, in tal maniera che io non so quando io abbia sentito maggior consolatione, ne maggior edificatione." (Poli *Epistola*, iii. 42.)

† A sentence in the manuscript Life of Pope Paul IV. already cited (p. 9, and Introd., p. xxx.) strikingly points out the result of Carnesecchi's efforts here:—"This fellow, together with Peter Martyr, infected Florence in such a manner, that I have frequently heard these expressions used by Signor Pietro Antonio Bandini, the father of Cardinal Bandini: 'Previously to the existence of the Holy Office, there was not a shred of the Faith in Florence.'"—"Costui insieme con Pietro Martire appestò Firenze in modo tale, ch' io udii più volte dal Signor Pietr' Antonio Bandini, padre del Cardinal Bandini, queste parole: *Innanzi al Santo Ufficio, non vi era straccio di Fede in Firenze*." (Bernino,

Et accadde di te quello che dice il medesimo Apostolo, Mali autem homines et seductores proficient in peius, errantes, et in errorem mittentes; perciò che in molti anni seguenti in Venetia, caminando di male in peggio, non solo perseuerasti nelle prime heresie, ma ancora apprendesti delle altre, comunicandole con altre persone similmente heretiche et sospette, sì per la lettione de molti libri di Martino Luthero heresiarcha, et d'altri authori heretici et prohibiti, come anco per la conuersatione continua che hauesti con molti et diuersi heretici, et tra gli altri con Pietro Paulo Vergerio, già Vescouo di Capo d'Istria, con li quondam Lattantio Ragnone da Siena, discipolo del detto Bernardino Ochino, et seguace di Valdes, Lutherano, et poi anchora Zuingliano ò Caluinista, et Baldassare Altiero, Apostata et Lutherano, il quale teneua commertio et intelligenza con i Principi et heretici Protestanti di Germania, et che faceua monopolio di libri heretici et sospetti, et senza alcun' riguardo ò timore desti alloggio, ricetto, fo-

And concerning you has come to pass that which the same Apostle says: "But evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse; deceiving, and being deceived;"\* inasmuch as, during many subsequent years in Venice, proceeding from bad to worse, you not only persisted in the previous heresies, but adopted others likewise; imparting them to different persons equally heretical and suspected, as well by the reading of many books composed by the heresiarch Martin Luther, and other heretical and forbidden authors, as also by the constant intimacy which you maintained with many and various heretics; and, amongst others, with Pietro Paolo Vergerio, formerly Bishop of Capo d'Istria, with the late Lattanzio Ragnone of Sienna, (a disciple of the said Bernardino Ochino, and a follower of Valdés, a Lutheran, and afterwards too a Zuinglian or Calvinist,) and with Baldassare Altieri, an apostate and a Lutheran, who had dealings and communication with the Protestant Princes and heretics of Germany, and who assumed the exclu-

iv. 492.) With this passage may be compared the following one which occurs in Caracciolo's *Collect. Hist. de Vita Pauli IV.* p. 94. Colon. Ubior. 1612.: "Memini audisse me non semel à Petro Antonio Bandinio, gravissimo et clarissimo viro, atque amplissimi Cardinalis Octavii digno parente, Italiam potissimum hoc Elogium debere Paulo: REPARATOR LABANTIS CATHOLICÆ FIDEL." This parallelism seems clearly to authorize the inference, that Ant. Caracciolo, who is the writer on both occasions, added in the former instance, and throughout all that part of his narrative, intelligence gleaned by himself to confirm the information supplied by the Inquisitorial note-book.

\* 2 Tim. iii. 13.

mento, et danari à molti Apostati et heretici, che per conto d'heresia se ne fugiuano in paesi d'heretici oltramontani, et raccomandasti per lettere à vna Principessa d'Italia duoi Apostati heretici con tanto affetto come se fusserò stati duoi Apostoli mandati à predicar' la Fede à i Turchi, come tu confessi, i quali Apostati nel dominio di quella Signora voleuano apprire schuola con intentione di fare imparare da i loro teneri scholaretti alcuni Cathéchismi heretici, i quali poi scoperti, furono all' hora mandati prigioni à questo S<sup>co</sup> Offo.

sive right of vending heretical and suspected books; and without any concern or fear you gave lodging, shelter, encouragement, and money to many apostates and heretics, who on account of heresy fled into the countries of ultramontane heretics; and, according to your own admission, you recommended by letter to a Princess of Italy\* two heretical apostates, with as much warmth of feeling as if they had been two Apostles sent to preach the Faith to the Turks; which apostates were desirous of opening a school in the territory of that Lady, with the intention of making their tender little pupils learn some heretical Catechisms; but, having been afterwards unmasked, were immediately sent prisoners to this Holy Office.

Delle quali cose essendo uenuto alcun rumore alla fel : mem : di Papa Paulo Terzo, nel. 1546. fosti chiamato à Roma, doue comparendo fosti per la bo : me : del Car! di Burgos, all' hora Inquisitore, et

Some report of which things having reached Pope Paul III. of happy memory, you were, in the year 1546,† cited to Rome, where having appeared, you were at that time examined by the deservedly

\* Either Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara, or Julia Gonzaga, Duchess of Trajetto, and Countess of Fondi. A letter addressed by Carnesecchi to the latter Italian Princess, with whom he sometimes corresponded, was found amongst papers intended for Calvin; (Compare Introd., p. xxix.) and she died at Naples in 1566, her days having been shortened by the Inquisitorial proceedings against her. (Vid. Ireneo Affo, *Memorie di tre celebri Principesse della famiglia Gonzaga*, 4to, Parma, 1787.) It appears from a sentence near the end of Flaminio's letter to Galeazzo Caracciolo, referred to p. 7, that the Marchioness of Pescara was at Viterbo with Cardinal Pole and his companions in 1543; and she had also been instructed by the famous Ochino, whose conduct it was feared that she would imitate. Probably one of the preachers alluded to was Bernardo Bartoli; and the other may have been Bartolomeo Pergola. (Bernino, iv. 491. M<sup>c</sup>Crie, 240.)

† Compare Introd., p. xxxi.

in questa causa Commissario deputato dal Papa nel S.<sup>to</sup> Off.<sup>io</sup>, in quel' tempo esaminato, et negasti ogni cosa, con molte finte et false escusationi et risposte, et talmente palliasti le tue colpe, che la tua causa non fu terminata giudicialmente, ma ripreso delli errori passati, et delle pratiche sudette, et ammonito che per l'auenire te ne astenessi, da quel s.<sup>to</sup> Pontifice fraudolentemente estorcesti vna beneditione et assolutione, come tu confessi, rimanendo nelle heresie et nelle censure et pene per quelle incorse con ingannare l'anima tua, et questo Tribunale di verità.

Doppo partito d' Italia, te ne andasti in Francia, doue se bene à te parue in quel tempo esser' passato sobriamente, et hauer' fatta tregua se non pace con le opinioni acquistate in Italia, et esser stato vno interregno del Diauolo nell' anima tua, come tu dici, nondimeno, et per tua confessione, trouiamo che iui parimente praticasti con alcuni heretici, et altri personaggi sospetti d' heresia, et tanto in Lione, nell' andare et tornar', quanto in Parigi et in quella Corte, leggesti li luochi cōmuni del Melanthon, et altri libri sospetti, et facesti uenire d' Italia vn libro

remembered Cardinal di Burgos, then an Inquisitor, and in this cause the Commissary appointed by the Pope in the Holy Office; and, making many feigned and untrue excuses and replies, you denied every thing, and so extenuated your faults that your cause was not judicially brought to a close; but, having been reprimanded for your previous hallucinations, and for the practices above-mentioned, and having been warned to abstain from them for the time to come, you deceitfully extorted (as you have acknowledged) a benediction and an absolution from that holy Pontiff; continuing in the heresies, and under the censures and penalties consequently incurred; deluding your own soul, and this Tribunal of truth.

After having left Italy, you went into France, where, although you appear to have spent that time soberly, and to have made a truce, if not peace, with the notions imbibed in Italy; and though it would seem that there was then "an interregnum of the Devil" in your soul, as you say, nevertheless, and by your own confession, we find that you in like manner held intercourse with several heretics, and with other notable persons suspected of heresy; and as well in Lyons, when you were going and returning, as in Paris and at its Court, you read *The*

asperso d' heresia del Valdes, et lo donasti, non ti rimouendo dalle dette false et heretiche opinioni.

Et questo insino all' anno. 1552. incirca che tornasti in Italia, dimorando la magior' parte in Venetia et in Padoua, nelli quali luochi retornasti come prima à continuare nelle antiche familiarità et conuersationi di huomini heretici, et infamati d' heresie in questo S.<sup>o</sup> Off.<sup>o</sup>, et nella lettione de libri sospetti et prohibiti, et riceuesti lettere di alcuni heretici di Geneura, et particolarmente dal detto Lattantio Ragnone, tuo anticho familiare, et già Ministro in Geneura delli Heretici Italiani, il quale ti persuadeua à andartene à Geneura, se-

*Common Places* of Melanchthon,\* and other suspected books; and you introduced from Italy a book by Valdés tinctured with heresy,† and presented it as a gift; not renouncing the same unfounded and heretical principles.

And so the matter remained until about the year 1552, when you revisited Italy, dwelling principally in Venice and in Padua; in which places you renewed your long subsisting intimacy and converse with persons heretical, and obnoxious to the imputation of heresies in this Holy Office; and you persevered in the perusal of books suspected and prohibited; and you received letters from sundry heretics of Geneva, and especially from the above-named Lattanzio Ragnone, your old and intimate friend, sometime Minister

\* Melanchthon's *Common Places* were translated into Italian, published in 8vo at Venice, and eagerly read for some time at Rome. His German name *Schwartzerd*, which when Grecized became *Melanchthon*, was rendered into *Terra Negra* in Italian; and under this disguise the real author lay for a while concealed. (Peignot, *Dict. des livres condamnés au feu*, i. 299–300. Gerdesii *Specimen Italie Reformate*, p. 11. *Syllabus*, p. 218. Mc'rie, p. 54.) Damianus à Goes, a Portuguese knight, speaks thus of Melanchthon when lamenting his having involved himself in theological pursuits: “. . . . Philippum Melanchthonem, columnen Germaniæ. Fateor eum hoc tempore cum illis antiquis Hispanis in arenam descendere potuisse, si se Theologiæ ac fidei negociis non implicuisset; quibus dum incumbit, contabescunt studia illa, ob quæ nostro ævo inclaruit.” (Dam. à Goes *Opuscula historica*, ad fin. *Decadd. Petri Martyris ab Angleria de Rebus Oceanicis et Novo Orbe*, pp. 637–8. Colon. 1574.)

† Most probably a copy of the *Hundred and ten Divine Considerations*, which had been translated from the original Spanish into Italian “by a person of great piety and virtue,” as we learn from the Preface prefixed to the work by Cælio Secundo Curione, who published this version of it at Basel in the year 1550.—It is surprising that Placcius (*De Scriptor. Pseudon.*, p. 207. Hamb. 1708.) should have followed Hyde (*Catal. Bibl. Bodleiana*, p. 230.) in the extravagant supposition that Curio was a fictitious name, assumed by Thomas Vicars.

condo anco nel ritorno tuo per  
Lione te haueua essortato.

Et essendo tra tanto sopraggiunti molti et graui inditij contro di te, si per depositione de complici come per altre testimonianze et argomenti che fosti adherito alla setta Lutherana in molti articoli per longo tempo, et che hauessi tenuto libri heretici, et pratiche con heretici, proposta la causa tua in Congregatione generale della s<sup>ta</sup> mem: di Paulo Papa Quarto, et delli Ill<sup>mi</sup> et R<sup>mi</sup> SS<sup>ri</sup> Car<sup>li</sup> Inquisitori di quel tempo, fu à 25. d' Ottobre. 1557. decretata citatione penale contro di te à comparire personalmente auanti di loro à espurgarti sopra di cio, et essendo stato personalmente citato in Venetia a di. 6. di Nouembre del medesimo anno, et non uolendo anzi recusando comparire in questo S<sup>to</sup> Offitio in contumacia tua, seruatis seruandis col consiglio et uoti de Dottori Theologi et Canonisti, dalli præfati SS<sup>ri</sup> Car<sup>li</sup> Inquisitori fu proceduto alla sentenza declaratoria delle censure et pene contenute in detta citatione et monitorio per te incorse sotto il di. 24. di Marzo del. 1558. et alla publicatione delle lettere declaratorie sopra di cio espedite fatta in Roma, et anco in Venetia.

of the Italian heretics in Geneva, who persuaded you to go thither, as he had also encouraged you in your return by Lyons.

And meantime much and serious evidence having been super-added against you, as well by the deposition of confederates as by other attestations and proofs, that you had for a considerable length of time adhered in many particulars to the Lutheran sect; and that you had kept possession of heretical books, and had held intercourse with heretics; your cause having been propounded in the general Congregation of Pope Paul IV. of holy memory, and of the most illustrious and most reverend Lords the Cardinals who were then Inquisitors, a penal summons was decreed against you, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of October, 1557, to appear in person before them, to clear yourself concerning the matter: and having been personally cited in Venice, on the 6<sup>th</sup> day of November in the same year; and not choosing, but on the contrary in your perverseness refusing, to present yourself in this Holy Office; all the necessary forms having been observed, the aforesaid Lords the Cardinals Inquisitors, pursuant to the advice and votes of the Doctors, Theologians, and Canonists, proceeded, on the 24<sup>th</sup> day of March, 1558, to the issuing of the sentence indicative of the censures and penalties expressed in the said citation and

Et essendo contumacemente perseuerato nella Scomunica, et in altre censure et pene per vno anno et piu ; ne uolendo altrimenti comparire, precedente le debite citationi, col medesimo consiglio et parere di Dottori, per sentenza diffinitua pronunciata da detti SS.<sup>ti</sup> Car.<sup>li</sup> Inquisitori, a di. 6. d'Aprile del. 1559. fusti come contumace condannato per heretico, et per incorso nelle pene debite à gli heretici impenitenti, alla confiscatione de tutti tuoi beni mobili et stabili, et alla priuatione delli benefitij ecclesiastici, relassato il mandato executiuo contro di te, et che preso fusti lasciato alla Corte seculare.

Et per che cum peccator venerit in profundū malorum contemnit, in luogo di pentimento tra questo, latitando, non quietasti l'animo tuo dalle prauæ et peruerse opinioni delle quali eri infetto, perseuerando ne i medesimi errori et

monition, and incurred by you; and likewise to the publication (which took place in Rome and also in Venice) of the letters declarative despatched concerning the case.

And having stubbornly persisted for more than a year\* in remaining under Excommunication and different censures and penalties, and declining otherwise to appear, after the proper citations had first been sent forth, you were, according to the same advice and judgment of the Doctors, by a decisive sentence pronounced by the said Lords the Cardinals Inquisitors, on the 6<sup>th</sup> day of April, 1559, condemned, being refractory, (as a heretic, and as one who had incurred the punishments due to unrepentant heretics,) to the confiscation of all your property, personal and real, and to the loss of your ecclesiastical preferments, (the decree of execution having been confirmed against you,) and, when apprehended, to be delivered up to the secular Court.

And as "the wicked man, when he is come into the depth of sins, contemneth,"† keeping yourself concealed, instead of becoming contrite, in the mean time, you did not set your mind at rest from the corrupt and froward principles

\* "Lapsus anni in excommunicatione operatur non solum quod contumax pro convicto habeatur, sed etiam quod potest ferri sententia diffinitua contra eum." (*Lucerna Inquisitorum* Bernardi Comensis, fol. 21. Mediolani, 1566.)

† Prov. xviii. 3. Douay version.



heresie, leggendo et tenendo l'Institutione di Caluino et altri libri heretici, conuersando, mangiando et beuendo, con diuersi heretici, massime fugitiui, et Caluinisti, et altri sospetti, dando loro aiuto, fauore, et consiglio, et desiderando che Galeazzo Caracciolo, col quale ancora nel venire di Geneura, et nel ritorno all' hora, praticasti in Venetia, guadagnasse alla setta heretica la moglie et li figlioli alli quali era ito con saluocondotto; et hauendo insieme con esso et con altri heretici ragionamenti di heresie, et della vita et costumi di Geneura, ti facesti persuadere da lui, et conchiudesti di fugirtene

with which you had been imbued; persisting in the same errors and heresies; reading and having in your possession *The Institutes* of Calvin,\* and other heretical books; holding converse, eating and drinking, with various heretics, chiefly fugitives and Calvinists, and with other suspected persons; giving them assistance, countenance, and advice; and being anxious that Galeazzo Caracciolo (with whom also, both on his coming from Geneva, and on his subsequent return, you held intercourse in Venice,) should gain over to the heretical sect the wife and children† to whom he had gone with a safe-

\* An Italian version of Calvin's *Institutes* was printed at Geneva in 1557. The translator was Giulio Cesare "P.," that is Paschali, and the work is dedicated to Galeazzo Caracciolo.—Clement, *Biblioth. Curieuse*, vi. 92–3.

† One of these children was Nicol' Antonio, so named after the Marquis his grandfather. In the MS. volume of Inquisitorial records from which Carnesecchi's process has been extracted there is an entry of the trial of this son and heir of the celebrated exile. He was accused of having favoured heresy; of having been the friend of Fran. de Aloys, and of having subsidized him when he was in prison; of having sent money to his father at Geneva, and of having received letters from him, without arresting the messengers; of having burned letters from his father, and from Aloys; and of having obliged his vassals to work upon holydays. He was sentenced to clear himself canonically by producing four sponsors or compurgators. Two Cardinals, the Archbishop of Tarento, and the Master of the Sacred Palace came forward as his sureties; and the form of his abjuration as to the charge of having favoured heretics is given. He was required, however, to pay five hundred crowns to the Hospital of the Incurable at Naples, for having destroyed the minutes of proceedings against a heretic. There is also subsequently a notice of the examination of a servant, who had accompanied Galeazzo Caracciolo to Geneva; and he was condemned to the galleys for four years. It is not to be forgotten that the "Fran. de Aloys" above mentioned was Giovan-Francesco d' Aloys de Caserta, a nobleman, the cousin of Galeazzo Caracciolo, and the person who first induced him to attend to the exhortations of Peter Martyr. He is the "Signor Giovan Francesco" whom Flaminio speaks of at the commencement of his letter to Caracciolo; (suprà, p. 7.) and he was burned as a heretic at Naples on the 24th of March, 1564. (Giannone, *Histoire Civ. de Naples*, xxxii. v. §. ii.)

con Pero Gelido et con altri heretici tuoi amici in Geneura, cio consultando et trattando con tuoi complici, come gia deliberasti (se bene poi non essequisti il disegno) si per fugire il giusto giudicio di questo s.<sup>to</sup> Tribunale, che tu chiamauì persequitione per la causa de Christo, et per star' sicuro come ancora, per che se non in tutto, almeno in parte, tu approbauì la falsa Religione et il modo di uiuere di quella terra, et ui assentisti, volendoti del resto chiarir' con quel sceleratiss.<sup>o</sup> Caluino, perniciosissimo Heresiarcha, et con altri

conduct:\* and together with him and with other heretics discussing heresies, and the way of living and the customs followed at Geneva, you allowed yourself to be persuaded by him, and decided on flying with Pero Gelido,† and with other heretics, your friends in Geneva; consulting and debating thereupon with your accomplices, as (although you did not afterwards effect the design) you formerly deliberated upon eluding the just sentence of this holy Tribunal, which you styled "persecution for the cause of Christ;"‡

\* See his *Life*, Chapter xx. It is here stated that he left Geneva on March 7, 1558, and that the passport was obtained from "the high Court of Rhætia." The best treatise on the subject of Safe-conducts appears to be that by Gregorio Magalotti, Bishop of Chiusi in Tuscany. It is dedicated to Pope Paul III., and was printed at Rome in 1538. None can be astonished at the anxiety felt by Gal. Caracciolo's friends respecting him, (*Life*, Chap. xxiii.) when it is remembered how easily excuses could be invented for the infringement of a Safe-conduct. Magalotti distinctly affirms that there are cases in which such an assurance, even when granted with the additional security of an oath, is not of any value. He declares that Deception is twofold, good and bad; and that it is of the former species when offenders are ensnared by it;—"dicitur esse bonus dolus, quo delinquentes decipiuntur, ut delicta puniantur;"—and again, "Bonus dolus est decipere hostem." (*Securitatis ac Salui conductus tractatus*, sigg. F ij, E iij.)

† Galluzzi informs us that the learned Pietro Gelido was a native of Samminiato, and that he was commonly called "Pero." (*Storia di Toscana*, iii. 68.) His mind had become disquieted, as the historian says, by means of intercourse with Carnesecchi, ("la familiarità e domestica conversazione del Carnesecchi avendo posto in agitazione il suo spirito,") who encouraged him in his resolution to fly to Geneva, and aided him when there by frequent remittances. "Signor Però" was the person who had acted in the name of Carnesecchi at the baptism of Manutio's son. (Porcacchi, *Lettere*, fol. 144, b. Cf. *Introd.*, p. ix.)

‡ In the year 1560, Juan Perez de Pineda, the Spanish Reformer, composed and published, during his retirement at Geneva, *An Epistle of Consolation to the faithful in Christ Jesus, who suffer persecution for the confession of His Name*: "Epistola para consolar a los fieles de Jesu Christo, que padecen persecucion por la confession de su Nombre." This work, which abounds with quotations from Scripture, was most influential in supporting the patience and faith of Martyrs at that period. Perez had been resident at Rome, as Secretary of Legation with the Duke of Sesa, in May, 1527,

heretici suoi compagni, che tu sei solito chiamar' Theologi; et per uiuere liberamente tra loro, scriuendo tal hora che l'inclinatione che haueui di andarui era tanto vehemente, et gagliarda, che taluolta haueui paura del giuditio di Dio à resisterle; massime per esser' conscio à te stesso di restar' piu presto per rispetti humani che altrimenti, come soggiungeui, et altre uolte che ti moueui à questo solo per zelo del seruitio et honor' di Dio; parendoti di offenderlo troppo grauemente, oltre al non seruirlo, stando doue stauì à viuere, et conuersare di continuo con li suoi inimici, li quali non fanno mai altro che dishonorarlo in parole et in fatti.

and as you desired to remain in safety; and also because that, if not entirely, at least in part, you approved of the false Religion and the manner of living adopted in that country, and assented to them: wishing, moreover, to come to an understanding with that most impious and most mischievous heresiarch, Calvin, and with other heretics his associates, whom you are accustomed to call "Divines," and intending to live without restraint among them: writing meanwhile, that the inclination which you felt to go thither was so urgent and powerful, that you sometimes dreaded the judgment of God for withstanding it; especially on account of your being conscious, as you added, of remaining where you were rather from worldly considerations than for any other reason; and at other times stating that you were impelled to such a line of conduct solely by zeal for the service and

when that city was pillaged by the army of the Emperor Charles V. He was intimate with the famous Juan Valdés, (two of whose Commentaries he edited from the original MS.,) and doubtless with Carnesecchi also. The *Epistola Consolatoria* is so immensely rare as to be almost unnoticed in any book. An impression of it, limited to 150 copies, was struck off, but not for sale, in the year 1848; and for a present of one of them I am indebted to the gentleman at whose instance the tract was reprinted in London. Another, and an earlier, work on the same subject, bears the name, "*Libretto consolatorio a i perseguitati.*" It was prohibited by the Inquisition of Venice in 1554; (*Cathal. lib. haeret.*, sig. B 3.) and previously by Della Casa's Catalogue, A. D. 1549, (Schell. *Ergötzlich.* ii. 366.) which gives the remainder of the title: "per la confessione della verità euangelica." An accurate observer not have failed to remark that here, as well as previously, (pp. 7, 8.) I have unhesitatingly set down 1549 as the date of the first Italian Index. Peignot, in his notice of Vergerio's reprint, gives "M.D.XLVIII." as the correct year; (*Dict. des livres condamn. au feu*, i. 256. A Paris, 1806.) while Schelhorn,

Il che diceui hauendo opinione che in Geneura si predicasse piu puramente l'Euangelio che non faceuano li nři Predicatori di qua, et che si facessero l'orationi piu frequenti et piu feruenti che non faceuamo noi, et che si attendesse con piu diligenza allo studio delle sacre lettere, et che si frequentasse ancora l'uso del Sacramento, cio è, della Cōmunione, piu spesso che facenamo noi. Et soleui anco dire che tre legami ti teneuano à non andarui, intendendo per quelli tre personaggi riueriti et molto amati da te, alli quali tu dubitauì che nocesse la tua partita.

honour of God; appearing to yourself that, besides not serving Him, you were offending Him too grievously by continuing to live where you were, and by incessantly holding intercourse with His enemies, who never do anything but dishonour Him in words and deeds.

Which expressions you made use of, being of opinion that in Geneva they preached the Gospel more purely than our preachers here; and that they offered up more frequent and more fervent prayers than we; and that they applied themselves with greater assiduity to the study of the holy Scriptures; and that they also more often attended to the administration of the Sacrament, that is of the Communion, than we did. And you were likewise in the habit of saying, that three ties kept you from going thither; meaning by them three remarkable persons, revered and much loved by you, to whom you were

mentioning the same book, has "M.D.XLVIII." (*Ergötz.* ii. p. 3.) It is true that on one occasion Vergerio himself is represented as saying "1548;" but there may have been a typographical mistake in putting the Arabic 8 for 9; or, if the date had been (as it most probably was) written in Roman characters, there may have occurred an accidental omission of the final "I"; or, lastly, "M.D.XLVIII." might have been written, according to the ancient custom, "M.D.XLVIII," and thus the numeral error could easily have arisen. (Compare Mr. Babington's Introduction to the *Trattato del Beneficio di Gesu Christo*, p. xxxix.) This elongated "I" has frequently been employed not only in dates but in genitive cases. For example, in the title-page of Buxtorf's *Lexicon*, Basil. 1621, we find: "JOHANNIS BUXTORFI LEXICON HEBRAICUM." Another exhibition of the duplicated vowel appears in the inverted name adopted by Sarpi's biographer Fulgentio, whose *Jura Maris Hadriatici*, in defence of the Venetian Republic, claimed to be the work "ITENEU ICHANOM ITNEGLVF;" that is to say, "FULGENTI MONACHI VENETI." (Deckherrus, *De Scriptis Adestotis*, p. 184. Amstel. 1686.)

Et procurasti dar' per Auditor' del suo stato ad vn Sig<sup>ro</sup> del Regno di Napoli il quondam Pierleone Marione da Gubbio, heretico Calvinista et transfuga, et fusti consapevole d'vna provisione di cento scudi l'anno, che da vna persona amicissima tua, inquisita et diffamata d'heresia, si mandaua à Donna Isabella Brisegna, heretica et fuggitiua à Zurigo, et poi à Chiavenna tra gli heretici.

Lodasti alcuni heretici fuggitiui in Geneura, et in terre di Lutherani; approuando la loro resolutione, accio potessero uiuere secondo la loro coscienza liberamente.

Chiamasti la santa dottrina Catholica, nelle tue lettere, falsa et superstitiosa Religione; dalla quale diceui esser' liberato per mezzo d'vn tuo complice.

Biasimasti et improbasti insieme con vna persona tua complice, come superflua et scandalosa, la confessione della Fede Catholica fatta nell' estremo della sua uita da vn gran personaggio, nella quale tra le altre cose confessaua il Papa, et

apprehensive that your departure might prove to be injurious.

And you also endeavoured to assign the late Pierleone Marione, a native of Gubbio, a heretical Calvinist and a renegade, to a Signor of the kingdom of Naples, as an Auditor of his state; and you were cognizant of a provision of a hundred crowns a year, sent by a person most friendly to you, accused of and under reproach for heresy, to Donna Isabella Brisegna,\* a heretic and a fugitive at Zurich, and afterwards at Chiavenna amongst the heretics.

You commended several heretics, fugitives in Geneva and in the countries of the Lutherans; approving of their resoluteness, that they might freely live according to the dictates of their conscience.

In your letters you called the holy Catholic doctrine "a false and superstitious Religion;" from which you said that you had been set free by means of one who was your colleague.

Conjointly with an individual who was associated with you, you reprehended and disapproved of, as needless and disgraceful, the confession of the Catholic Faith made at the close of his life by a personage of high rank;† in which,

\* Isabella Manricha of Brisegna had been a zealous disciple of Valdés at Naples. She is thus mentioned in Simler's *Life of Peter Martyr*: "silentio tamen præterire non debeo nobilissimam heroinam Isabellam Manricam, quæ nunc Christi nomine à patria exulat." (*Scrin. Antig.* iii. i. 14.)

† Apparently the Emperor Charles V., with whom Carnesecchi once had an inaus-

proprio quello che all' hora presideua, esser' vero Vicario de Christo, et Successore di San Pietro; lodando molto piu il Valdes, nel fine della sua vita, chel detto psonaggio.

Et trattasti di hauer' in Venetia li pestiferi libri et scritti prohibiti di detto Valdes da vna persona tua complice che li teneua conseruati per farne parte di quelli imprimere et publicare, non ostante la prohibitione fatta da questo S<sup>to</sup> Offitio, ò almeno che fussero occultati et nascosti, insegnando non essere peccato ritener' libri prohi-

amongst other things, he acknowledged the Pope, and particularly him who was then in authority, to be the true Vicar of Christ, and the Successor of S. Peter;—praising Valdés, at the conclusion of his life, much more than the said personage.

And you made mention of having in Venice the pestilential books and interdicted writings of the said Valdés, at the house of an accomplice of yours,\* who, notwithstanding the prohibition issued by this Holy Office, preserved them, in order to circulate them, by getting them printed and published; or at least that they might be

picious interview, (Camerar. *Elog. P. Carn.*: Schellh. x. 1203.) and who had been angrily called by Pope Paul IV. "a favourer of heretics and schismatics." (Ranke, i. 216.) This impetuous Pontiff had ineffectually threatened that Monarch and his son with excommunication, but submitted to terms of amity conceded by the Spaniards, and insisted on styling his former adversary "Emperor" after his retirement into the convent of S. Yuste. (Gul. Zenocarus, *De Vita Car. V.*, p. 299. Antwerp. 1596.) It may be that Carnesecchi and his friends were disappointed at discovering that Charles, in his last moments, had exhibited more hostility to the opinions of the German Reformers than they had expected he would have shown; and if this reasonable supposition be correct, Bishop Burnet's conjecture that this Emperor "died a Protestant" is utterly unfounded. (*Hist. of Ref.*, iii. v. 181–2. Dubl. 1733.) It would be difficult to reconcile with such an exaggeration the extracts set forth by the Sicilian Inquisitor Paramo from the testamentary directions left by Charles V. relative to the operations of the Holy Office. (*De orig. S. Inquis.*, pp. 278–280. Matriti, 1598.) In truth the only real ground for the presumption seems to be that afforded by the fate of the Emperor's Chaplains Ponce and Cazalla, and especially by the prosecution and untimely end of his last Confessor, the Spanish Primate, Bartolomé de Carranza of Miranda.

\* The following sentence, extracted by Bernino (iv. 489.) from Ant. Caracciolo's MS. work, which we have found so often serviceable, appears to prove that at one period at least Michele Angelo Florio had been an "accomplice" at Venice:—"In Trevigi fù trovato un pedante chiamato Angelo, il quale stette à Venezia un tempo, e da quella città mandava i pestiferi libri *del beneficio di Christo* a' suoi complici." Florio was afterwards pastor to an Italian congregation in London. Two letters of his may be read in the Appendix to Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, pp. 141–144. Lond. 1694.

biti, ma opera indifferente secondo la coscienza; offerendoti ancora esserne diligente custode, et affermando esser' piu peccato quanto all' anima bruciarli che conseruarli.

Desiderasti che alcune false et heretiche opinioni si propagassero, ò fussero riceuute in alcune prouintie.

Et haueui molto à male la punitione et il gastigo delli heretici, passando molta ansietà per quelli che erano in quel tempo carcerati del S.<sup>o</sup> Offitio, massime de tuoi complici et amici, li quali tu chiamauì etiamdio scriuendo à altri, Nostri innocenti Fratelli, pij Amici, et eletti di Dio, facendo esso S.<sup>o</sup> Dio protettore delli heretici et inquisiti, et talm.<sup>o</sup> desiderando che fussero liberati, che con ogni tuo potere l'haueresti procurato in

concealed and secreted: teaching that it was not a sin to keep possession of forbidden books; but an indifferent act, according to one's conscience: proposing yourself also as a careful guardian of them; and declaring, that it was a greater sin, as regards the soul, to burn them than to preserve them.

You were anxious that divers false and heretical principles should be diffused, or that they might be embraced, in various provinces.

And you were much displeased at the punishment and castigation of heretics: exhibiting great solicitude respecting those who were at that time imprisoned by the Holy Office;\* especially about your own accomplices and friends, whom also, when writing to others, you styled "Our innocent brethren," "pious friends," and "elect of God;" making Him, the Lord God, the protector of heretics and accused persons; and desiring so

\* Of the persons then confined in the Inquisition at Rome one of the most eminent was Guido Zanetti of Fano. (Vid. Catena, p. 126.) Thuanus (ii. 483.) and Laderchius (xxii. 60.) erroneously call him "Julius Zoannetus," and Dr. M'Crie has named him "Julio Zannetti." (Ref. in It., 346.) He is the "Guido Gianetti" spoken of in Albizzi's *Risposta* to Father Paul's History of the Venetian Inquisition, p. 118, and doubtless also the same individual who is noted in the MS. Life of Pope Paul IV. as an acquaintance of Bartolomeo Pergola, who appears to have had at his friend's house the justly celebrated book *Of the Benefit of Christ*. These are the words cited from Ant. Caracciolo: "hebbe in Roma il libro *del beneficio di Christo* da un certo Guido da Fano." (Bernino, iv. 491.) Pergola, it is stated in the same page, had been at that time invited to Rome by means of Soranzo, Bishop of Bergamo, whom we have found censured in the process against Carnesecchi, (p. 10. Cf. De Porta, i. 253.) and who, as Catena relates, was deprived of his bishoprick, having been convicted of heresy, and met with a miserable death at Venice:—"mori poi in Vinegia infelicamente." (*Vita di Pio V.*, p. 10. Cf. Mendham's *Life of S. Pius V.*, p. 14.)

qualunque modo, et per qualunque uia, etiamdio aiutandoli à fugir' se fusse stato possibile; et perciò troppo acerba et impiamente biasmaui il Papa, et li SS<sup>ti</sup> Car<sup>li</sup> Inquisitori, et il S<sup>co</sup> Offitio, sentendo male dell' autorità loro.

Et anco per che Henrico, Re di Francia, d'inclita memoria, gastigaua gli heretici, attribuisti alcune sue rotte, et anco la morte che poi successe, à giusta uendetta di Dio; alle quale ancora ascriuesti l'empio et sacrilego incendio del Palazzo del S<sup>co</sup> Offo in Ripetta, fatto nella morte di detto Paolo Papa Quarto santa memoria.

earnestly that they should be set at liberty, that with all your ability you would have effected this object, in any manner, and by any means; even by assisting them to fly, if this had been possible: and consequently, with excessive bitterness and impiety you blamed the Pope, and the Lords the Cardinals Inquisitors, and the Holy Office; taking offence at their authority.

And also, because that Henry, King of France, of illustrious memory, inflicted chastisement upon heretics, you ascribed some of his defeats, and even his death which occurred afterwards,\* to the just vengeance of God; to which likewise you attributed the impious and sacrilegious burning of the Palace of the Holy Office in Ripetta,† which took place at the death of the above-named Pope Paul IV. of holy memory.‡

\* Henry II., King of France, received a wound in the eye in a tournament, June 30, 1559, and died on the 10th of July following. His death, says Paolo Sarpi, was attributed by the Reformed to a miracle:—"la cui morte li nuoui riformati ascriueuano a miracolo." (*Concil. di Trento*, p. 426. Genev. 1629.) The severe edict issued at the commencement of his reign, relative to heterodox books, is noticed and commended by Gabriel Putherbeus, Fontebraldæus, (Puy-Herbault, of the Order of Fontevrauld,) in his treatise *De tollendis et expungendis malis libris*, p. 237. Paris. 1549.

† The house and prisons of the Inquisition were at that time situated near the lower bank of the Tiber, which the Romans call *Ripetta*. (Bernino, iv. 485.) The Via di Ripetta extends from the Piazza del Popolo to the Via della Fontanella; and the Corso is connected with it by the Via di S. Giacomo.

‡ "In obitu Pauli, cùm vrasano furore carceres Sanctæ Inquisitionis effracti fuissent, hæretici ad LXXII. inter quos multi heresiarchæ erant, veluti totidem Tartaræ Eumenides, inde proruperunt." (Caracciol. *Coll. Hist. de Vita Pauli IV.*, p. 102.) One of these seventy-two "infernal Furies" who were then set at liberty was the Baron Mario Galeotta; a fact which I have learned from the original MS. Records. Galluzzi



Doppo la quale per varij modi et mezzi procurasti con molte arti et importune istanze, et con alcune finte escusationi appresso Pio Papa Quarto di felice ricordanza, che fosti ammesso à esser' udito, il che non poteui se non per clementia sua, essendo secondo la legge condannato per heretico conuitto.

Et à escusare le tue colpe, le quali parimente nelli tuoi costituti di quel tempo, secondo il tuo solito dissimulasti et copristi, parte fingendo dell' ignorante, et parte non solo non reuelando li tuoi errori contro la santa Fede, ma ne anco satisfacendo à gl' interrogatorij generali, sopra li quali eri dimandato, non parendoti esser' obligato à manifestarli. Et poi nelli interrogatorij speciali tergi-

After which, by various ways and means, you endeavoured with many artifices and importunate entreaties, and with divers feigned excuses, addressed to Pope Pius IV. of happy memory, that you should be admitted to an audience; which you could not have been, were it not for his clemency, since you had been legally condemned as a convicted heretic.

And, with a view to palliate your faults, you practised (according to your custom) dissimulation and concealment, to which in like manner you had recourse in your examinations of that date: meanwhile putting forward the fallacious plea of ignorance; and at the same time not only not disclosing your errors against the holy Faith, (it appearing to you that you were not under any obli-

(iii. 65, 66.) does not shrink from speaking of the "furibondo zelo," and the "genio feroce" of Pope Paul IV. This Pontiff, as we are informed by Panvinio, declared on his death-bed to the Cardinals whom he had convened, that "the authority of the Apostolic see RESTED ON THE INQUISITION ALONE:"—"quo uno niti affirmabat Apostolicæ sedis auctoritatem." (Onuph. Panvin. *De Vitæ Pontt.*, p. 405. Colon. 1574.) Sandini alludes to the same circumstance; (*Vita Pontiff. Rom.*, p. 529. Patav. 1739.) and gives a reference to the History of the Council of Trent by Cardinal Pallavicino, who, in a very remarkable passage, (Lib. xiv. Cap. ix.) confesses, that Italy was indebted to the Holy Office for "the preservation of the integrity of her Faith:"—"dal' quale riconosce l'Italia la conservata integrità della sua fede." (Cf. Soames' *Hist. of Reform.* iv. 573. Mendham's *Literary Policy of the Church of Rome*, pp. 306-7. Lond. 1830. Cærenæ *Tractat. de Off. S. Inquis.* Antelud. §. 46.) Bernino likewise allows full credit to "il rimedio del fuoco" for the removal of heretical contagion from Spain: (*Hist.* iv. 479.) but when we consider the eventual and present degradation of that country, as well as the deplorable condition of Italy,—the organized system of outrage and oppression in the Papal States, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and Tuscany,—it would seem not to be unwarrantable to suppose that it may have been a divine appointment, that national Churches, which refused to repent, and hated to be reformed, in the sixteenth century, should since be visited with accumulated blindness, if not delivered up to a reprobate mind.

uersando, et schiuando di risponderui semplicemente, et parte con l'habilità del tuo carcere consultasti, et ti facesti imboccare alcune risposte et dechiarationi, et da alcuni altri inquisiti d'heresia, ch' erano stati liberati, et da alcuni Theologi, facendo ogni opera con suasioni fraudolenti, et modi illi-citi, accioche come innocente uscissi liberato et assoluto dal S.<sup>co</sup> Offo dalle imputationi dateti, le quali doueui per salute tua sinceramente confessare, et publicam.<sup>te</sup> abiurare et detestare, per essere ammesso per gratia nel grembo della s.<sup>ta</sup> Chiesa.

Il che tu facesti per rispetto dell'honor' mondano, et per euitare le pene debite à gli heretici, facendo anco esaminare molti testimonij per approuare le tue bugie, et per canonizarti, come tu diceui, et in giustificatione di alcuni heretici tuoi maestri et compagni.

Onde per le tue arti et simulationi, et per essersi bruciate alcune scritture et processi nell' incendio

gation to make them known,) but also not giving satisfaction as to the general interrogatories concerning which you had been questioned. And then, in the special interrogatories, equivocating, and evading the giving of direct replies, you in the meantime took counsel with the talent of your prison, and got put into your mouth various answers and declarations, both by some others who had been tried for heresy and set at liberty, and by certain Theologians; making every effort by illusory arguments and unlawful means, in order that you might go forth as one reputed blameless, released by the Holy Office, and acquitted of the charges alleged against you; which, from a regard to your salvation, you were bound candidly to acknowledge, and openly to abjure and abhor, for the purpose of obtaining admission by favour into the bosom of the holy Church.

In which manner you acted through esteem for worldly honour, and to avoid the punishments due to heretics; causing also many witnesses to be examined, to confirm your untruths, and to "canonize" you, as you said, and in vindication of several heretics your masters and companions.

Whence, by your artifices and false pretences, and in consequence of some writings and legal docu-

di Ripetta, per le quali si sarebbe potuto chiarire la uerità, ti uenne talmente fatto, che in luogo di seuera condennatione, dolosa et iniquamente estorcesti vna sentenza absolutoria, come fussi stato sempre innocente et Catholico; et nondimeno tu hai dechiarato ancora per confessione di tua ppria mano, che tutte le accusationi che ti furono fatte erano uerissime, et le scuse et giustificationi tue erano simulate et finte, cosi del processo fatto à tempo di Pio, come di quello à tempo di Paolo, et à maggior' dannatione dell' anima tua, inganando la S<sup>a</sup> di quel Papa, subreptitia et obreptitiamente \* impetrasti da quella vn motu proprio confirmatorio della sudetta sentenza.

Doppo la quale non percio lasciasti l'antiche amicitie et conuersationi di persone heretiche et sospette di heresia, tanto in Roma come in Napoli, Firenze, Venetia, et altri luoghi d'Italia, anzi hai data souentione et aiuto de danari in piu uolte à Pero Gelido heretico sacramentario, doppo che fuggi in Francia tra gli altri heretici; et promettesti dare certa prouisione il mese al detto Pier' Leone Mari-

ments, by which the truth might have been made manifest, having been consumed in the burning of Ripetta, you succeeded so far that, instead of being rigorously condemned, you deceitfully and unjustly extorted a sentence of acquittal, as if you had always been guiltless and a Catholic: and nevertheless you have declared, even in admissions signed by your own hand, that all the charges which had been brought against you were most true; and that your excuses and vindications were pretended and fictitious, as well with respect to the suit instituted in the time of Pius as to that commenced in the days of Paul; and, to the greater damnation of your soul, imposing upon his Holiness the first-named Pope, you obtained from him, by simulation and dissimulation, a formal decree confirmatory of the said sentence.

After which you did not on this account abandon your old friendships and intimacies with persons heretical and suspected of heresy, as well in Rome as in Naples, Florence, Venice, and other places in Italy; but on the contrary have repeatedly given subsidy and assistance in money to Pero Gelido, † a Sacramentarian heretic, after that he had fled into France amongst the other heretics: and you pro-

\* Cf. Du Pin's *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 479. Dublin, 1723.

† It will be remembered that Pero Gelido had represented Carnesecchi as sponsor for Manutio's son.—Suprà, p. 18: Introd., p. ix.

oni ritornato da Chiauenna in Venetia, mentre però hauesse la gratia di esser' reconciliato; al quale poi, accio non uenesse à Roma à accusarti, et non reuelasse le tue false opinioni contro la s.<sup>a</sup> Fede, et pratiche d' heretici, ne sopra di cio stampasse un libello contro di te, procurasti che le fussero pagate per mezzo de tuoi amici alcune somme di danari, et che con lui fusse fatto offitio, che non pubblicasse queste cose doppo che di nuouo ritorno da Chiauenna con la sua famiglia, sino che si mori in Venetia.

Di piu hai riceuute lettere, non solo dal detto Pero, ma da altri heretici fugitiui che si trouauano in Geneura et à Lione tra gli heretici, essortandoti à fuggir' tra loro come loro complice, et quelle non solo non hai manifestato alli superiori, ma anco alcuna di quelle hai mandato à legere à vn tuo anticho amico et complice.

Trattasti parimente nel. 1564. con quella persona, tua complice, et conservatrice di detti scritti et libri di Valdes, che ti fosserò mandati in Venetia per uia sicura, si

mised to give a regular monthly allowance to Pier' Leone Marioni before mentioned, who had returned from Chiavenna to Venice, whilst however he had received the indulgence of reconciliation: to whom afterwards (in order to prevent his coming to Rome to accuse you; and that he might not disclose your false opinions held in opposition to the holy Faith, as well as the practices of heretics; and lest concerning these points he should publish a small book against you,) you took care that certain sums of money should be paid by means of your friends; and that an arrangement should be made with him not to divulge these things, after he had returned again from Chiavenna with his family, up to the time of his death in Venice.

Moreover, you have received letters, not only from the said Pero, but from other fugitive heretics, who were in Geneva and in Lyons amongst the heretics, and who exhorted you to take refuge with them as their confederate; and these letters you have not merely not shown to your Superiors, but you have even sent some of them to an old friend and accomplice of yours to be read.

In like manner, in the year 1564, you consulted with that individual who was your partner in guilt, and the keeper of the said writings and books of Valdés, that

per desiderio di conseruarli, come anco per liberar' quella persona dal pericolo che li soprastaua tenendoli.

Hai anco doppo detta sentenza letti et tenuti molti libri heretici delli sceleratissimi Martino Luthero, Pietro Martire Caluinista, et altri prohibiti, et di authori heretici, et alcune lettere et scritti similmente heretici, et suspecti d'heresia; et tra quelli la pertinace Apologia di Marc' Antonio Flamminio, in fauor' di quello perniciosissimo libro detto il Beneficio di Christo, contro la bo: mem: di Mastro Ambrosio Catharino, che fu poi Arciuescouo di Consa.

Et ancora hauendo duoi tuoi amici, conosciuti per heretici sacramentarij secondo l'opinione di Caluino, et che percio sentiuano male della santissima Messa, et del Sacramento, non solo non li reuelasti alli superiori, ma, come tu confessi, ti sforzasti rimuouerli da quella heresia, con persuadere loro vn' altra, cio è che adherissero alle opinioni di Luthero.

they should be sent to you by safe means to Venice; being anxious as well to preserve them as to deliver that person from the danger which threatened him from his having them in his possession.

You have also, subsequently to the issuing of the said sentence, read and retained many heretical books, composed by the reprobates, Martin Luther, and Peter Martyr the Calvinist; and other works that were forbidden, and those the authors of which were heretics; and some letters and writings equally heretical, and distrusted in respect to heresy; and, amongst them, the obstinate *Apology* of Marc' Antonio Flamminio,\* on behalf of that most noxious book, entitled, *The Benefit of Christ*, against Master Ambrosio Catharino, of worthy memory, who was afterwards Archbishop of Conza.†

And besides, having as your friends two persons who were known to be Sacramentarian heretics holding the doctrine of Calvin, and who consequently disapproved of the most holy Mass and the Sacrament, you not only did not discover them to your Superiors, but, as you have admitted, you laboured to withdraw them from that heresy by convincing

\* See before, p. 9.

† I know not why Mr. Sansom should have styled this writer "*Card. Catharinus*;" (Bp. Cosin's *Scholast. Hist. of Canon*, Works, Vol. iii. p. 131. note y. *Anglo-Cath. Lib.* Oxford, 1849.) for Du Pin, to whom he refers, distinctly states that he was only "going to be made a Cardinal." (*Eccles. Hist.* iii. 682. edit. 3. *Dubl.* 1723.)

Ma per che, come tu gia riconosci et confessi, Deus non irridetur, et nemo potest effugere manus eius, essendo soprauenuti contro di te altri inditij urgenti, per li quali anco si uerificaua parte delle cose sopradette, fosti per ordine della S.<sup>a</sup> di N. S.<sup>a</sup> Pio Papa Quinto fatto prigionie in Firenze, et accio che detti libri non fussero trouati desti ordine prima che fussero occultati in luogo remoto, et poi per viaggio scriuesti che fussero gittati in vn pozzo.

them of another, namely, that they should adopt the opinions of Luther.

But since, as you have already conceded and acknowledged, "God is not mocked,"\* "and there is none that can escape His hand,"† further cogent evidence having been superinduced against you, by means of which some of the things above mentioned were proved to be true, you were made prisoner in Florence by command of his Holiness our Lord Pope Pius V.:‡ and, in order that the said books should not be found, you at first gave directions that they should be concealed in a distant place; and afterwards, during your journey, you wrote that they should be thrown into a well.

\* Gal. vi. 7.

† Tobit, xiii. 2. Douay version. Cf. Wisdom, xvi. 15.

‡ Brief, but very comprehensive, is the observation contained in the Addition made by Victorellus to this Pontiff's Life: (Ciaconius, iii. 1001.) "Archiepiscopum Toletanum, et Carnesiccam ad se Romam mitti iussit." This Archbishop of Toledo was the famous Bartolomé de Carranza, already mentioned, (note, p. 22.) whom Pius V. mercifully, and doubtless also with a feeling of regard for a brother Dominican, ordered to be finally tried at Rome. Singularly interesting is the fact, that this eminent Prelate, the ruthless persecutor of the advocates of the Reformation both in Spain and England, was led in time to adopt many of the tenets of Luther and Melancthon, and suffered as at least a partial adherent of the Faith which once he destroyed. We learn from Llorente that the Spanish Inquisitorial proceedings against Carranza formed no less than four-and-twenty folio volumes; (*Hist. de l'Inq. d'Espagne*, iii. 183.) and he was accused (Ib. p. 246.) of having had secret intercourse with the Cardinals Morone and Pole, with M. A. Flaminio, and Carnesecchi. For sixteen years the Archbishop of Toledo was confined either in the cells of the Inquisition in Spain, or in the Castle of Sant' Angelo at Rome; and he died, at the age of seventy-two, in the monastery of S. Mary-above-the-Minerva, on the 2nd of May, 1576. (Antonio, *Bibl. Hisp. Nov.* i. 190. Quetif et Echard, *Scriptt. Ord. Præd.* ii. 240.) Carranza's principal works are, his *Catechism*, and the *Summa Conciliorum et Pontificum*; the former of which was mainly the basis of the charges of Lutheranism advanced against him. It was first printed, not at Brussels, as Nicolas Antonio states, but at Antwerp, in 1558; and it received the approbation of

Et condotto à Roma, nel S<sup>to</sup> Officio, essendo diligentemente esaminata la causa tua, doppo alcune tue escusationi, et molte uarietà et tergiuersationi, nelle quali ti sei mostro duro et difficile nel confessare liberamente le tue false opinioni contro la s<sup>ta</sup> Fede Catholica, et nel ricoprire le tue colpe et gl' errori; et spesso aspettando di esser' conuinto con le proprie scritture, non obstante l'infinite ammonitioni che ti sonno state fatte, finalmente habbiamo ritrovato per inditij che sōno contro di te, et per lettere et scritture di tua mano, et anco per la tua propria et spontanea confessione, le cose narrate esser' uere, et essere passate cosi come si è detto; et

And having been conducted to Rome, and your cause having been carefully investigated in the Holy Office, after various apologies and many inconsistencies and evasions on your part, in which you showed yourself to be rigid and intractable, by shrinking from a free confession of your heterodox sentiments opposed to the holy Catholic Faith, as well as by your palliation of your faults and misconceptions; and while you frequently waited to be convicted by your own writings, notwithstanding the countless warnings that were given to you; we have finally ascertained, by the testimony which exists against you, and by letters and documents written by

deputed fathers at the Council of Trent, (Sarpi, viii. 768.) but has been prohibited by the Popes Sixtus V. and Clement VIII.—The earliest edition of the *Summa Conciliorum* is that of Venice, 1546. With the second impression Antonio and others were unacquainted; but it was published at Salamanca in the year 1549, 4<sup>to</sup>, in eights; and I perceive both in it, and in the reprint of 1551, a most important appendix, the *Consilium delectorum Cardinalium de emendanda Ecclesia*, the ever memorable suggestions for the Reformation of the Church presented to Pope Paul III. by his own command in 1537. This *Counsel* is transformed into a "*Council*" in Foster's translation of Ranke's *Hist. of the Popes*, i. 111, note, Lond. 1853; and the same mistake appears twice in *The Christian Remembrancer* for July, 1856, pp. 80, 92, where mention is made of "the *Council*" of Cardinals, which imaginary assembly is further described as a "*Conciliolum*" in page 86, note. In later editions of Carranza's *Summa*, e.g. Paris. 1560, Lugd. 1601, Lovan. 1668, we may look in vain for the *Advice*. Crabbe (iii. 819.) did not keep it concealed in 1551; but Crashaw had nevertheless to remonstrate publicly with Binius for having followed the evil example of Surius and Nicolinus in suppressing this admirable document. (Brown, *Append. ad Gratii Fascicul.*, p. 170. Lond. 1690.)—Azpilcueta, in the seventeenth chapter of his *Manual of Confessors*, printed at Coimbra in 1553, had eulogized his intimate friend Carranza as "the much renowned, most religious, and most learned Friar;" but these and other encomiastic words were erased from the Salamanca reprints of that *Manual*, bearing date 1556, and 1557, and long before the Inquisitors had arrested the Archbishop of Toledo. (See De Castro's *Spanish Protestants*, pp. 154–5. Lond. 1851.)

che tu dal. 1540. et anni seguenti hai tenuto et creduto l'infrascritte propositioni, rispettiamente heretiche, erronee, temerarie, et scandalose.

1. La Giustificazione per la sola fede, senza che ui habbino parte l'opere nre; secondo Luthero heresiarcha sopra l'Epla ad Galatas.

2. La certitudine della gratia et della salute, secondo 'l medesimo Luthero.

3. Che l' opere nostre non fussero necessarie alla salute, essendo acquistata per la fede; ma che l'huomo giustificato necessariamente operasse ogni uolta che hauesse tempo et occasione.

4. Et consequentemente che dette buon' opere non fussero meritorie di uita eterna; ma si

your own hand, and also by your own voluntary confession, that the things recited are true, and that they occurred in the manner stated; and that from 1540, and in succeeding years, you have held and believed the following propositions, which are, respectively, heretical, erroneous, rash, and scandalous:—

1. Justification by faith alone,\* without the participation of our works therein; according to the doctrine of the heresiarch Luther, on the Epistle to the Galatians.

2. The certainty of grace and of salvation, according to the same Luther.†

3. That our works were not essential to salvation, which is to be obtained through faith; but that the justified man would inevitably perform them whensoever he should have time and opportunity.

4. And consequently that the said good works could not merit everlasting life;‡ but should indeed

\* Respecting the concession made by Melanchthon and other "most learned and peace-loving men," with regard to the omission of the word "only," see Bishop Forbes' *Considerationes Modesta*, Tom. i. Lib. i. Cap. v. p. 62, sqq. Oxon. 1850.

† It is well known that Melanchthon's influence was sufficient to induce Luther to qualify his views as to Justification. The question of Indefectibility afterwards became one of the obstacles to union between the Lutherans and Calvinists. (Thorndike's *Works*, Vol. v. p. 328. Oxf. 1854.) Catharino's treatise *De Certitudine inherentiæ Gratia*, published at Rome in 1559, involved him in considerable difficulties.

‡ In the ancient form for preparing the sick for death, contained in the *Sacra Institutio Baptizandi*, printed at Paris in 1575, the Priest is directed to interrogate the patient thus: (fol. 35.) "Credis non propriis meritis, sed passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi virtute et merito, ad gloriam pervenire?" And again: "Credis quòd Dominus noster Jesus Christus pro nostra salute mortuus sit; et quòd ex propriis meritis, vel alio modo nullus possit salvari, nisi in merito passionis Ejus?" The same inquiries are pre-



bene fussero premiate da maggior grado di gloria dopo la Resurrectione vniuersale.

5. Hai tenuto delli degiuni, che non fusse peccato mortale non guardarli, senõ per disprezzo; ma solo utili alla mortificatione.

6. Che habbiamo il libero arbitrio al male per natura; et auanti la gratia solo al peccare.

7. Che sia impossibile osseruar li precetti del Decalogo, et particolarmente li duoi primi, et l'ultimo, Non concupisces, senza vna efficacissima gratia di Dio, et senza vna grande abbondanza di fede, et di Spirito, la quale si troua in pochi, et non è cosi d'ogni mediocre Christiano, ma de perfetti, come sono stati li santi Martiri, et Dottori della Chiesa.

be rewarded with a higher degree of glory after the general Resurrection.

5. You have held concerning Fasts, that it was not a mortal sin not to observe them, unless this omission should arise from contempt; but that they were useful for mortification only.

6. That we have by nature a free will to do evil; and, before grace, only to commit sin.

7. That it is not possible to keep the Commandments in the Decalogue, and especially the first two, and the last, "Thou shalt not have a strong desire," without the most effectual influence of the grace of God, and without a great abundance of faith and of the Spirit, which is found but in few; and the case is not so with every ordinary Christian, but with the perfect, such as the holy Martyrs and Doctors of the Church have been.

scribed for use in the *Ordo Baptizandi et Visitandi*, Venet. 1575, and in the *Sacerdotale*, fol. 116, b. Ibid. 1579: but they have been marked for expurgation by the Index of Cardinal Quiroga in 1584; (fol. 182.) and the uncorrupted *Ordo Baptizandi* is a prohibited book. (*Ind. Alex. VII.*, p. 122. Romæ, 1664.) We may observe here, says Archbishop Ussher, how late it is since Romanists have, as to this fundamental point, "most shamefully departed from the faith of their forefathers." (*Answer to a Challenge*, p. 569. Lond. 1631.) But there is more comprised in this condemnation than the censure of a doctrine taught by an anonymous writer; for Cardinal Hosius admits that S. Anselm is believed to have been the author of the interdicted questions; (*Confess. Cathol. Fid.*, fol. 249. Antverp. 1559.) and they are substantially found in his works. (*Admonit. Morienti.*—Opp. i. 272. ed. Bened. Venet. 1744.) Conf. Georg. Calixti *Script. fac. ad Colloq. Torun.*, §. xxxiv. Dorschei *Dedicat. Theol. Zachar.* præmiss. Jac. Frid. Reimmanni *Access. uber. ad Catal.*, p. 57. Brunsvigæ, 1747. Cassandri *Append. ad opusc. Fisher De Fiducia, et Misericordia Dei.* Stillingfleet's *Council of Trent examined and disproved by Catholick Tradition*, p. 62. Lond. 1688. Featley's *Case for the Spectacles*, pp. 109–10. Lond. 1638.

8. Che non si douesse credere a altro che al uerbo di Dio espresso nella sacra Scrittura.

9. Che non tutti li Concilij generali sono congregati in Spirito S<sup>to</sup>; et percio non si debba credere alle determinazioni de tutti; censurando quali possono essere li congregati in Spirito Santo, et dubitando se appartenesse il raunare quelli all' Imperatore, al Papa, ò altri.

10. Sei stato irresoluto circa il numero delli Sacramenti, vdendo che Caluino ne teneua duoi, cio è, il Battesimo, et la Cena, (come tu taluolta sei solito chiamare la sanctiss.<sup>a</sup> Eucharistia;) et che Luthero ui aggiungeua ancora l'Ordine, che tu chiami l'Impositione delle mani.

11. Hai parimente dubitato se il Sacramento della Confirmatione fusse instituito da Christo, ò dalla Chiesa; tenendo che fusse la ratificatiõe delle promesse fatte nel Battesimo.

8. That we ought not to believe anything else than the word of God, expressed in holy Scripture.\*

9. That not all General Councils are assembled in the Holy Ghost; and therefore that we should not have faith in the decisions of them all: exercising a critical judgment as to which may be those assembled in the Holy Ghost; and questioning whether the power to convoke them belonged to the Emperor, to the Pope, or to others.

10. You have been undecided respecting the number of the Sacraments; having heard that Calvin held two, namely, Baptism and "the Supper," (as you are wont sometimes to call the most holy Eucharist;) and that Luther added to them Orders, which you term "the Imposition of hands."

11. You have in like manner been uncertain as to whether the Sacrament of Confirmation was instituted by Christ or by the Church; holding that it was the Ratification of the promises made in Baptism.†

\* "That the Christian doctrine, which we ought necessarily to believe, is wholly contained in the holy Scriptures" was one of the propositions taken out of Luther's writings, and subjected to examination at the Council of Trent. (Du Pin, iii. 419. Sarpi, Book ii. p. 141. Lond. 1676.) *De expresse Dei Verbo* is the title of a tract by Cardinal Hosius, printed at Louvain in 8<sup>vo</sup>, 1559, and at Paris in 1561. The latter enlarged edition, collated with the Roman copy, is inserted among his works in folio, Antwerp. 1566, f. 320, sqq.

† The Catechism of the Council of Trent declares that it is an unlearned and impious fiction, that the name of Confirmation was derived from the practice, "quòd olim, qui infantes baptizati erant, cum jam adulti essent ad Episcopum adducebantur, ut Fidem Christianam, quam in Baptismo susceperant, confirmarent." (pp. 199-200. Lovan.

12. Che la Confessione sacramentale non fusse de jure diuino, ne instituita da Christo, ne si pro-uasse per la Scrittura, ne fusse necessaria, senon quella che si fa à Dio, et percio fusse in libertà del Christiano l'andar' ò non à confessarsi, se bene fusse utile et consolatoria al confitente, quanto al conforto che sente dall' absolutione, et quanto alli consigli et remedi che si riceuono, et questo sino al tempo della confessione fatta da te in questo giudicio.

13. Hai tenuto che la satisfactione, che consiste nelle opere satisfattorie che s'impongano dalli Sacerdoti alli penitenti, non fusse necessaria, presupponendo che supplisse il merito de Christo, come sufficiente à soddisfare per li peccati di tutto il mondo; ma che tali opere fossero buone per mortificatione della carne, et per uiuificatione dello spirito.

12. That sacramental Confession was not established by divine command, nor appointed by Christ; and that it cannot be proved by Scripture:\* and that none was indispensable except that which is made to God; and therefore that it was left at the option of a Christian to go, or not to go, to confess; although it might be beneficial and consolatory to the penitent, as to the comfort which he might derive from absolution, and as to the advice and the remedies which he might receive:—and such was your opinion up to the time when you acknowledged your delinquency before this Tribunal.

13. You have held that the Satisfaction which consists of penitential works, imposed by Priests upon those who are contrite, was not necessary; (upon the presumption that it took the place of the merit of Christ, as sufficient to atone for the sins of the whole world;) but that such works were good for the purposes of mortifying the flesh, and giving life to the spirit.

1567.) Cf. *Concil. Trid.* Sess. vii. Can. i. *De Confir.* et Aug. Barbose *Remissiones* in edit. Antverp. 1633, p. 91, vel in ejusd. *Collectan. Doctorum*, pp. 44–45. Lugd. 1651. Thorndike's *Just Weights and Measures*, Chap. xxi. §. 9.

\* In the year 1524 Erasmus dedicated his *Exomologesis, sive Modus Confitendi*, to François Du Moulin, Bishop-elect of Condom. Near the commencement of this treatise we find the following words:—"Hi quoque qui Lutheri tuentur dogmata fatentur eam esse salutiferam, minimeque contemnendam. Ego, ut efficacibus Scripturarum testimoniis, et argumentis irrefutabilibus non possum à pertinacibus evincere, hanc Confessionem, hanc inquam qualis nunc in usu est, à Christo, aut etiam ab Apostolis fuisse institutam," &c. . . . "Quàm bene sibi consulant alii, qui docent eam non esse necessitatis, ipsi viderint."

14. Che l'Indulgenze non fusero fundate nella sacra Scrittura, ma trouate da Papi; et non ualesero se non per li uiui, quanto alla penitenza imposta loro dal Papa, ò altri Sacerdoti.

15. Hai tenuto l'incertitudine del Purgatorio; del quale hai gagliardam<sup>te</sup> dubitato, anzi tenuto che non si troui in rerum natura doppo la pñte uita; ma che il sangue di Christo fusse stato il Purgatorio delli nñi peccati; non essendo rimasto persuaso per li luoghi della sacra Scrittura che si allegano per questa uerità sino al tempo della prefata tua confessione.

16. Hai tenuto per Apocrifo il

14. That Indulgences were not founded upon holy Scripture, but were invented by the Popes;\* and were not available except for the living, as to the penances imposed on them by the Pope or by other Priests.

15. You have maintained the uncertainty of Purgatory; concerning which you have entertained strong doubts, or rather have actually held, that it has no real existence after the present life; but that the blood of Christ was the Purgatory for our sins;—not having continued convinced by the places of holy Scripture, which are cited in support of this truth,† up to the period of your aforesaid confession.

16. You have considered as

\* Pope Paul III. had been admonished by his delegated counsellors to correct abuses with respect to the too frequent concession of Indulgences. One leading principle twice impressed upon his Holiness was, that gain should not be made by the use of the Power of the keys, because of the injunction, "Freely ye have received; freely give." (*Consil. de emend. Eccles.*, sigg. a iij, b iij. ed. Rom. 1538.) Sturmius, in his Epistle to the selected Cardinals, which accompanies his reprint of the *Consilium*, set forth at Strasburg in the year in which that document transpired, exclaims: (sig. D 4.) "Quid de Indulgentiis vestris? inauditum ea in re vocabulum est; res etiam ipsa ficta et vana est." To this assertion Cochlæus replied, that the word "Indulgence" was not unheard of, "cùm dicat Esaias in hoc venisse Christum, ut prædicaret captivis Indulgentiam." (*Æquitatis Discussio*, sig. C ij. Lipsiæ, 1538.) Two decisive Letters, both of them printed at Zurich in 1748, 4<sup>to</sup>, were addressed by the acute and learned Schelhorn to the Vatican Librarian, Cardinal Quirini, on the subject of the praiseworthy *Consilium*. The first demonstrates that Pope Paul IV. condemned this *Advice*, in the giving of which he, as the Theatine Cardinal, had been a partaker; and the second Letter makes it evident that Paul III., having declined to carry into effect the exhortations which he had sought for, was both the deviser and the violator of his own laws.

† "Luterani et quipiam alii contra consuetudinem et sensum totius Ecclesiæ purgatorium ignem negarunt, eò quòd non sit expressa mentio de eo facta in sacris literis." (Gasp. Contarenus, Card. *De Sacram. Christ. Legis*, lib. iij. p. 112. Florent. 1553.)

libro de Machabei, doue si tratta de suffragij per li morti.

17. Che nel s<sup>mo</sup> Sacramento dell' Eucharistia rimanesse la substantia del pane, et cosi ui fosse la presenza del corpo di Christo, senza farsi la Transubstantiatione, secondo l'opinione di Luthero, alla quale ti appigliasti dal. 1543. benche qualche uolta ti è piaciuta et arriso l'heresia di Caluino, alla quale ancora desti orecchie, et di quella n' hai ragionato, trattando con altri, et scritto.

18. Hai tenuto et creduto che fusse meglio comunicare li laici sub utraq; spetie, che sub vna.

19. Che il santiss<sup>o</sup> Sacrificio

apocryphal the book of the Maccabees,\* in which mention is made of Prayers for the dead.

17. That in the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist the substance of bread remained, while there was also in it the presence of the Body of Christ, without Transubstantiation having taken place; according to the opinion of Luther, to which you adhered since the year 1543: although sometimes you were pleased with and favourable to the heresy of Calvin; to which also you gave attention; and, discussing which with others, you have reasoned as well as written.

18. You have held and believed that it was better that the laity should communicate in both kinds than in one.†

19. That the most holy Sacri-

\* Carnesecchi's patron, Pope Clement VII., had not objected to the expression of the same opinion; for to him Cardinal Cajetan dedicated his Commentary on the historical books of the Old Testament; and in that inscription, written and approved of at Rome, the apocryphal books are all excluded from the Canon. (Bp. Cosin's *Works*, iii. 258. Oxf. 1849.)

† During the twenty-first session of the Council of Trent, the question was proposed, whether the use of the Cup might, under peculiar circumstances, be granted to the laity; and in the twenty-second session that Synod determined that the matter should be left altogether to the discretion of the Pope. In the month of April, 1564, Pope Pius IV., (not Pius V., as Gerdes states, *Scrin. Antiquar.* vii. i. 101.) acting as the referee, conferred the solicited privilege on the Austrians, Bavarians, Bohemians, and others; but Pius V. very quickly withdrew the permission. It is a remarkable fact, that several Roman Catholic writers, for example Cardinal Cajetan, Jansenius, and Ruardus Tapper, have acknowledged that their reason for denying that the sixth chapter of S. John's Gospel relates to the Eucharist was, that it would inevitably follow from the sacramental interpretation of that part of Scripture that it is necessary to receive the holy Communion under both kinds. (Bp. Cosin, iv. 330. Tapper, *Explicat. Articular.* ii. 393, sqq. Lovan. 1557. Du Moulin, *Anatomie de la Messe*, pp. 194-201. A Geneve, 1640. Stapleton, *Promptuar. Cathol.* in Fer. 3 Hebdom. Sanct. p. 293. Colon. Ag. 1624.)

della Messa non fusse ueramente propitiatorio, se non in quanto ec-cità in noi la memoria della sua passione, et consequentemente la fede per la quale s'impetra la remissione de peccati.

20. Che 'l Papa fusse primo degl' altri Vescoui, non per authorita, ma per vna preeccellenza solamente, et questo per qualche tempo.

21. Et cosi che 'l Papa fusse solo Uescouo di Roma, et che non hauesse potestà sopra le altre Chiese, se non quanto la fusse deferita dal mondo per esser' stata sede di Pietro; si anco per la dignità et grandezza di Roma, et per esser' stata honorata dal sangue di tante migliaia di Martiri.

22. Che li Pontefici Romani s' haueuano arrogata piu autorità ch' hauessero da Dio in alcune cose, et particolarmente sopra l'Indul-

fice of the Mass was not truly propitiatory, except so far as it excites in us the remembrance of the passion of Christ, and consequently that faith by which the forgiveness of sins is obtained.

20. That the Pope possessed Supremacy over other Bishops, not in the way of jurisdiction, but simply by pre-eminence: and this you have for some time believed.

21. And thus that the Pope was only Bishop of Rome, and that he had no ascendancy over other Churches, beyond what might be conceded by the world, from respect to the see of Peter;\* as also on account of the dignity and greatness of Rome; and because that that city had been ennobled by the blood of so many thousands of Martyrs.

22. That the Roman Pontiffs had unjustly claimed for themselves, in sundry matters, more authority than they had received

\* Paris has accidentally supplied me with one of the rarest books in the world relative to the pretensions of the Roman see. It is the *Dialogus* of Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., which cannot be discovered in any edition of his works. In this carefully suppressed, and almost exterminated, document the future Pontiff argues vigorously against the genuineness of the Donation of Constantine. Bishop Jewel somewhere (perhaps Felinus Sandeus was the original source,) met with a lax reference to this Dialogue; and his editors, Dr. Jelf (v. 399.) and Mr. Ayre (iv. 678.) are blameless for not having found the treatise. Dr. Jelf, however, was mistaken in saying (vi. 109.) that Fabricius promised to publish the Dialogue. It was Mansi, and not Fabricius, who encouraged such a hope; and his declaration, "quod è MSS. primò producitur," is now clearly shown to have been an error. (*Bibl. med. et inf. Latin.* i. 29.) The *Dialogus* was printed at Rome on the 11th of September, 1475. It is of small folio size, and consists of 53 leaves. Andiffredi speaks of two copies of it; one in the Vatican, the other in the Corsini, Library. (*Catal. Rom. Editt.*, p. 175. Romæ, 1783.)

genze, et la superiorità delle altre Chiese. from God;\* and especially with regard to Indulgences,† and predominance over other Churches.

\* Pier Angelo Manzolli thus boldly censures the conduct of the Roman Pontiffs early in the sixteenth century:

"Nec præcepta Patrum, nec Christi dogmata curant.  
Jactant se dominos rerum, et sibi cuncta licere."

This language was hazarded in the time of Pope Clement VII., and it is discernible in the *Zodiacus Vita*, (Capricornus, p. 287. Lond. 1575.) afterwards translated into English by Barnabe Googe. The first twenty-nine lines of this poem commence with letters which form Manzolli's assumed name, "Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus." (Cf. *Gerdesii Syllabus*, pp. 317-20.) The work is inscribed to Hercules II., Duke of Ferrara, who was married to Renée, the illustrious daughter of Louis XII. of France. Through her influence the most distinguished friends of the Reformation were received with honour at the Court of Ferrara; and even Calvin visited the Duchess. (M'Crie, p. 89. *Olympia Morata*, *her times*, p. 66. Lond. 1834.)

† Professor Ranke has asserted (*Hist. of Popes*, Vol. i. p. 45. Lond. 1853.) that an unusual extension was given to the sale of Indulgences by Pope Alexander VI., "the first to declare officially that they were capable of releasing souls from Purgatory." It is manifest, however, that the power of bestowing Absolutions for the dead was assumed by the Pontiffs very long before the year alluded to, namely 1500. The earliest instance of an Indulgence of this description is that conferred by Pope John VIII. in the year 877. (Mabillonii *Prefat. in. V. Sæc. Bened.*, §. 108. p. 421. Rotom. 1732. Euseb. Amort, *De orig., progress., valore, ac fructu Indulgenti.* Par. ii. pp. 280, 294. Aug. Vindel. 1735. Cf. Gieseler, iii. 324, sqq. Philad. 1836. Butler's *Letters on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, note, pp. 179-80. Dublin, 1850.) The mode of obtaining papal pardon for the grossest crimes was considerably simplified by the invention of the far-famed TAX-TABLES. Mr. Mendham has amply and conclusively treated of this subject in his work on the *Spiritual Venality of Rome*, Lond. 1836, and in its sequel, *Venal Indulgences and Pardons*, Ib. 1839. Care must at all times be taken to distinguish the Chancery Decrees from the Penitentiary Taxation. With regard to the former, Marchand, Maittaire, Audiffredi, Panzer, Dibdin, and Mendham commence no higher than with the *Regulæ* of Pope Sixtus IV. A. D. 1471. I happen nevertheless to have before me the Ordinances of the Chancery of that Pontiff's predecessor, Paul II., the earliest of which was promulgated in 1464. As to the Roman Penitentiary, the authenticity of the list of prices, or graduated scale of payments, according to which absolution from the most grievous sins might be purchased, cannot be rationally questioned; the editions of the Tax-books being sufficiently numerous for attestation, and their integrity unassailable. Besides the Protestant reimpressions, by Tuppins, 1597, Du Piniez, 1607, Banck, 1651, and at Rome [Paris] in 1744, I have been able to procure a copy of the celebrated quarto edition published at Paris by Toussains Denis in 1520, and also one of the reprint there, apud Galeotum à Prato, 1533, 12<sup>mo</sup>; in eights. The whole Tariff may be verified by collation with the undoubted Roman volume, bearing date 1516, and in the Lambeth Library. (See Dr. Maitland's *List of early printed books* therein, p. 136. Lond. 1843.)

23. Et per certo spatio di tempo dubitasti che la successione de Pontefici Romani fusse mancata nell' Apostolato di San Pietro.

24. Hai improbate alcune institutioni et regole de Monaci et de Religiosi, come di San Benedetto et d' altri, che faccino uita otiosa et inutile, et siano quasi fruges consumere nati; et anco alcune regole di Mendicanti, et di sacchi; come che toglino il pane di mano à poueretti; et ch' fariano meglio à lauorar' con loro pprie mani, et uiuere in sudore uultus sui.

25. Et se bene hai approuato il

23. And you have for a certain period suspected that the succession of the Roman Pontiffs terminated with the Apostleship of Saint Peter.\*

24. You have blamed several Orders and Rules of Monks and Friars, (as those of S. Benedict and others,) for leading an idle and useless life, and for being persons who had, as it were, been "born to consume the fruits" of the earth:† and you found fault with some fraternities of Mendicants also, and their bags; saying such things as, that "they took the bread out of the hand of the poor;" and that "they would do better to work with their own hands, and live by the sweat of their brow."‡

25. And although you have ap-

\* Perhaps Carnesecchi had merely maintained that whatever measure of personal pre-eminence might be assigned to S. Peter, the extraordinary gifts and power of that Apostle were not entailed upon the Bishops of Rome.

† "Nos numerus sumus, et fruges consumere nati." (Hor. Lib. i. *Epist.* ii. 27.)

‡ On this and other points Carnesecchi's sentiments were the same as those which were held by the author of that most curious and singularly rare book, *Il Sommario de la Sacra Scrittura*, which had much influence in advancing the views of the Italian Reformers. The answer to this work by the Dominican Ambrosio Catharino of Sienna was printed at Rome in 1544, and I have fortunately obtained a copy. It appears from fol. 51 b, that in the xxiv. chapter of the *Sommario* the writer had compared the life of artisans and other labourers with that of Monks whose days were spent in idleness; declaring that "Nessuna vita è piu Christiana, piu secondo l'Euangelio come la vita de comuni artigiani, & lauratori per opere de lor mani, & nel sudore del lor volto guadagnano lor pane," &c.—The verse referred to, Gen. iii. 19, was that chosen as a test by Gregory the Capuchin at Naples, in the case of Bibles brought before him for inspection; ("facio experimentum," he says, "in 3. cap. Genesis;") and if he found in any version the words "vesceris pane," which the present Vulgate exhibits, and not "vesceris pane tuo," which was the earlier translation, (e. g. Paris. 1523.) he forthwith consigned the book to the flames:—"ego sine remissione, tamquam textum suspectum, non transeo ad ipsam censurando, sed igniendo." (*Enchiridion Ecclesiasticum*, fol. 166. Venet. 1588.)



zelo di quelli Religiosi, che si affaticano in vinea Domini, predicando, et attendendo alla salute del prossimo, hai pero tenuto che 'l zelo loro non fusse secundum scientiam, parendoti che fussero troppo posti in predicar' l'opere.

26. Del celibato hai tenuto che fusse meglio restituir' le moglie à Preti che hauernele tolte.

27. Che al uoto della castità li Religiosi non potessero ne doues-

proved of the zeal of those Monks who labour hard in the vineyard of the Lord, preaching, and watching over the salvation of their neighbours, you have nevertheless held, that their zeal was not "according to knowledge;" as it appeared to you that works were put forward too prominently in their preaching.

26. With respect to Celibacy, you have conceived, that it would be better to restore wives to the Priests than to have deprived them of them.\*

27. That to the vow of single life members of the Religious Or-

\* This was the opinion of Pope Pius II. also, one of whose sententious sayings Platina records to have been, "Sacerdotibus magna ratione sublatis Nuptias, majori restituendas videri." Philippe De Mornay assures us that these words were "raced" by Onufrio Panvinio "out of his edition." (*Mysterie of Iniquitie*, p. 588. Lond. 1612.) What may have been the foundation for this particular charge I cannot determine, as the passage is certainly not eliminated from the Life of Pius in the Cologne impressions of 1574 and 1611. It may be seen also in Rycaut's English translation, Lond. 1685; and Francus could not imagine what edition of Panvinio De Mornay used. (*De Papistarum Indicibus*, p. 149. Lips. 1684.)

But Panvinio's fidelity is sometimes impeachable upon valid grounds. I shall mention one instance which is always sufficient to serve as a criterion when it is desirable to discriminate the corrupted from the unblemished text of Platina. This writer, in his Life of Cletus, testifies of S. Luke: "Vixit annos octoginta tres: uxorem habuit in Bithynia." These expressions are to be found in the editio princeps, Venet. 1479, and in the second edition, Nuremb. 1481, which Oudin (iii. 2685.) erroneously supposed to be the first; as also in the reprints, Lugd. 1512, and Venet. 1518, which, with the Nuremberg folio, I happen to possess: nor is there any mutilation perceptible in the impressions issued in the years 1485, 1504, 1511, and 1540, as I learn from a MS. note, said to have been taken from Chevillier, in Marchand's *Hist. de l'Imprimerie*, p. 97. A la Haye, 1740. The true reading in Platina being thus established, let us look into Panvinio; and, instead of "UXOREM HABUIT," we shall find "UXOREM NON HABENS" in Bithynia, with a further alteration of "tres" into "quatuor." It is observable that the inflection here introduced was evidently borrowed from an interpolation in S. Jerom's *Lib. de Viris illust.*, Cap. vii. ad fin., which Ern. Sal. Cyprianus should not have retained. (Cf. Ceillier, i. 360. Bp. Hall's *Honor of the married Clergie*, p. 146. Lond. 1620. Loescher, *De Latrociniiis, quæ in publicos Scriptores, Patres præcipuè, solent committere Hæretici*, p. 86. Martisburgi, 1674.)

sero obligarsi; et che cio fusse inconueniente, essendo la castità et continenza dono de Dio; et per questo non si può promettere, se non da quelli, che per longa esperienza hanno potuto conoscere hauer' tal dono da Dio; et per questo desti consiglio et animasti vn Monacho di San Benedetto, similmente heretico, et tuo complice, che era inclinato à uscire della Religione che n'uscisse.

28. Et il medesimo hai sentito delle Monache et delle Virgini che si dedicano à Dio, et cosi anco hai tenuto del uoto semplice della continenza perpetua.

29. Hai dubitato se conuenisse à ogni sorte di persona le peregrinationi et visitationi di Chiese, che si fanno per uoti ò uoluntariam\*; anzi hai detto, che questi uoti di peregrinatione sōno inutili vniuersalmente à ogn' uno.

30. Che tutti li cibi senza diletto alcuno si possono mangiar' secondo la coscienza di chi li mangia; et tu cosi hai fatto.

31. Et che non fusse peccato mortale transgredire l'osservanza delli giorni et tempi prohibiti nell' usare cibi prohibiti; ma fusse piu

ders could not, and should not, bind themselves; and that it would be inexpedient for them to do so, chastity and continence being the gifts of God; and on this account that they cannot be promised except by those who by long experience have been enabled to ascertain that they have received such a faculty from Him: and for this reason you advised and encouraged a Benedictine Monk,\* (equally heretical, and your accomplice,) who was disposed to desert his Order, to leave it.

28. And you have had the same opinion relative to Nuns and Virgins who devote themselves to God: and such has also been your judgment with regard to the mere vow of permanent continence.

29. You have questioned whether Pilgrimages and visits to churches, undertaken spontaneously or in consequence of vows, are suitable for all kinds of persons: nay rather you have said, that these vows respecting Pilgrimage are worthless to every one without exception.

30. That all sorts of food, without any choice, may be eaten, according to the conscience of him who partakes of them: and you have acted upon this supposition.

31. And that it would not be a mortal sin to disregard the observance of days and seasons of restraint by making use of forbid-

\* Giovanni-Battista Folengo?

ò manco secondo lo scandalo che si da, et secondo l'accusatione ò escusatione della propria coscienza.

32. Che non sia peccato tener' ò legere libri heretici ò prohibiti; ma opera indifferente, et secondo la coscienza di chi li tiene, non obstante la prohibitione della s<sup>ta</sup> Chiesa.

33. Hai tenuto, dal. 1543. sino al. 1545. et dal. 1557. sino al. 1559. che essendo Christo vnico Mediatore tra Dio et gl' huomini, fusse superfluo inuocare li Santi; et per vn tempo tu non gl' hai inuocati.

34. Et finalmente hai creduto à tutti li errori et heresie contenuti nel detto libro del Benefitio de Christo, et alla falsa dottrina et institutioni insegnatati [*sic*] dal detto Gio: Valdesio tuo maestro.

Ma doppo la tua confessione et declaratione delle soprascritte opinioni heretiche, temerarie, et scandalose, fatte in diuerse examini, se bene non negasti li fatti hereticali disopra narrati, nondimeno pentito pur' di hauer' confessato dette tue opinioni, dicesti nō hauerle tenute ferma et determinatamente, et hauer' grauato souerchiam<sup>te</sup> la mano, et che doueui hauer' detto di hauer' creduto, ma legghierm<sup>te</sup>; et di nuouo dicesti, che

den kinds of food: but that it would be a greater or less offence in proportion to the scandal thereby occasioned; and according to the accusing or excusing of one's own conscience.\*

32. That it is not a sin to keep or to read heretical or prohibited books; but a matter of indifference, and one to be decided by the conscience of him who possesses them; notwithstanding the interdict of the holy Church.

33. From the year 1543 until 1545, and from 1557 till 1559, you have held that, Christ being the only Mediator between God and men, it was unnecessary to pray to the Saints; and for some time you have not done so.

34. And, lastly, you have believed all the errors and heresies comprised in the said book *Of the Benefit of Christ*, as well as the false doctrine and principles taught by the said Juan Valdés your master.

But, after your admission and affirmation of the above-mentioned heretical, rash, and disreputable sentiments, made during various examinations, although you did not disown the heretical conduct before described, nevertheless, influenced simply by regret for the acknowledgment of your aforesaid opinions, you declared, that you "had not held them steadfastly and decisively;" and that you "had extremely exaggerated them;"

\* Cf. Rom. ii. 15.

eccetto l'articolo della Giustificazione, non haueui tenute opinioni heretiche, ò uero che tu stesso non te intendeui, per che non ui haueui fermam<sup>te</sup> adherito, benchè in parte hauessero quadrato al tuo intelletto, ma che l'haueui confessate per non esser' reputato fitto, et simulatamente conuerso appresso di noi; et così perseuerasti nella medesima negatiua di ueram<sup>te</sup> non hauer' tenute heresie se non per transennam, et che l'haueui confessate contro la propria coscienza. Ma successiuamente conuito con le proprie lettere trattanti della tua transmigratione à Geneura, confessasti per quella tua deliberatione di andare alli heretici, hauer' approuato almeno in parte la Religione et modo di uiuer' loro, dichiarando che tu non solo haueui dubitato intorno gl' articoli et heresie sopradette, ma che anco haueui consentito à quelle, benchè per breue tempo, et non così efficacem<sup>te</sup> ch' perciò fussi transfugito à gl' heretici.

Et mentre noi sperauamo da te segni di penitenza trouandoti prigioner nel S<sup>to</sup> Officio, hauesti ardire piu uolte scriuere molte et uarie

and that you "should have said that you had believed them only in a slight degree:" and you asserted anew that, with the exception of the article of Justification, you had not maintained heretical tenets, or at all events that you had no intention of doing so, as you had not steadily adhered to them, although they had partly coincided with your own judgment; but that you had made confession with a view not to be considered hypocritical, and a feigned convert in our presence: and thus you persisted in the same denial of your having really assented to heresies, except in a cursory manner; and you alleged that you had acknowledged them against your conscience. But, having been eventually convicted by your own letters, which referred to your escape to Geneva, you admitted, by the fact of your having even with hesitation entertained the design of going over to the heretics, that you had at least partially approved of their Religion and mode of life; showing that you not only had harboured doubts respecting the afore-named articles and heresies, but that you had also adopted them; although but for a short time, and not so determinately as that you should therefore revolt to the heretics.

And whereas we expected from you symptoms of repentance while you were a prisoner in the Holy Office, you had the assurance se-

lre furtiuamente, et contrafatte di mano tua, et di altri per tuoi disegni, à diuerse persone et Signori, corrotti anco alcuni che seruivano nel S.<sup>o</sup> Offo, significando à quelli lo stato, et alcuni secreti della tua causa, auanti che hauessi le defensionì, et hauendo tra gl' altri complici confessato alcuni complici morti, et scriuendo tra l'altre cose auisasti un tuo amico à chi apparteneua, che facesse ricercar' le scritture di coloro, et libri et lettere, et massime tue che trattassero di questa moderna et scandalosa Religione, et che le facesse bruscìar' tutte.

Di piu hauendo confessato un' heretico sacramentario, et tacciuto vno altro, et dubitando che quello fusse preso, et questo scoperto, scriuesti à un' altro tuo amico, del quale similm<sup>te</sup> dubitauì che si si scoprisse per heretico, che tacesse di quelli, se ne fusse interrogato auertendolo doue si trouauano, acciò fussero auisati da lui, accorgendolo d'alcune cose, et che egli pensasse alli casi suoi, accio non fusse trouato imparato, et impremeditato se fusse esaminato.

veral times to write many and diuers letters clandestinely, and in a disguised hand, and by the instrumentality of others who acted under your direction, (some seruitors in the Holy Office having also been corrupted,) to various individuals and men of rank, making known to them the condition of your cause, and some private particulars relating to it, antecedently to your defence: and, having avowed that some persons who were then dead had been numbered among your confederates, you sent, with other written admonitions, this advice to a friend of yours whom it concerned, that he should search for the writings, and books, and letters of those people, and especially for such as were your own, which treated of this new and scandalous Religion, and that he should have them all burned.

Moreover, having owned one person to be a Sacramentarian heretic, and having concealed another by silence; and suspecting that the former might be apprehended, and the latter detected, you wrote to a different person, who was your friend, and respecting whom you felt similar uncertainty, that, if he were discovered to be a heretic, he should hold his peace concerning the aforesaid parties, in case questions should be put to him: informing him where they were to be met with,

in order that they might be forewarned by him: instructing him as to several things; and that he should have regard to his own circumstances; so as not to be found unprepared, and without forethought, if he were brought to trial.

Et dopoi essendoti dato il termine à fare le tue difese, et per te renuntiato à quelle, et di nuouo essaminato, con la solita inconstanza et uarieta tornasti à dire hauer' accusato te stesso piu graueamente di quello che doueui, et che la propria coscienza ti accusaua, con affermar' di non hauer' tenute opinioni heretiche, ma hauer' dubitato dal tempo sopra espresso in molti de sopradetti articoli da te specificati uehementemente, et in alcuni altri similmente specificati da te legiermente, non obstante che all' hora sapeui, che la santa Romana Catholica Chiesa teneua il contrario; ma che affermatiuamente haueui tenuto secondo Valdes, sino all' ultima approbatione et confirmatione del Concilio Tridentino, l'articolo della Giustificatione per la fede, della certitudine della gratia, et contro la necessità et merito di buon' opere.

And a set time having been afterwards allowed to you for making your defence, and you having declined the same, and having been examined afresh, with your accustomed irresolution and fickleness you returned to saying, that you had brought too serious a charge against yourself concerning the aforesaid matter; and that your own conscience reproved you: asserting, that you had not embraced heretical opinions; but that, from the period previously noted, you had entertained very strong doubts relative to many of the foregoing points which you had distinctly mentioned; and that as to divers others, likewise enumerated, you had felt some slight uncertainty; notwithstanding that at the same time you were aware that the holy Catholic Church of Rome maintained the reverse: admitting, however, in respect to the tenets of Justification through faith, the perpetuity of grace, and those which are inconsistent with the belief that good works are indispensable and meritorious, that you had absolutely adopted views in which you concurred with Valdés,

Et dichiarando tali articoli intorno la Giustificatione, dicesti non saper' discernere bene che differenza fusse tra l'opinioni di Valdés et la determinatione del Concilio, et non esser' ancora risoluto se doueui condannare ò non la dottrina sua in questa parte, et che leggendo qualche uolta vn libro heretico, poteua esser' che hauessi assentito à quello che hauessi letto; et in tale et tanta variatione et inconstanza sei perseverato ancora nell'essamine rigoroso.

Per il che douendosi procedere alla espeditione della tua causa, di nuouo ti fu dato termine à far' tutte et qualsiuoglia diffese, et concessa copia del processo necessario, et ti furono confermati gli Aduocati et Procuratori ta te nominati, et quel medesimo termine ti fu prorogato, ne hauendo dedutta cosa alcuna in tua difesa, ne prouando che le tue prime confessioni fatte in giudicio, et

up to the time of the final resolution and ratifying ordinance of the Council of Trent.\*

And, explaining those statements which related to Justification, you said, that you could not clearly perceive what distinction there was between the sentiments of Valdés and the decision of that Council; and that you were not yet determined whether you should disapprove of his doctrine on that subject or not; and that sometimes, when reading a heretical book, you might possibly have assented to what you had read:—and in such and so great variableness and instability you persisted even during the time of your examination by torture.

Wherefore, it being expedient to make progress so as to despatch your cause, a certain time was once more allotted to you for making every species of defence; and a transcript was granted to you of the requisite legal proceedings; and the lawyers and proctors whom you had named were secured to you; and the same fixed time was for you protracted. But when you had failed to adduce

\* Cardinal Contarini's treatise *De Justificatione*, which maintains the Lutheran doctrine, was written in the year 1541, as the date at the conclusion of it shows. It is not contained in the 8vo volume of his works before cited, (p. 36.) which was printed at Florence in 1553, with the Privilege of the Pope, and of the Duke Cosmo de' Medici. Afterwards it was thought right to publish it in a vitiated form; and in the Aldine folio, Venet. 1578, it appears with this heading: (p. 588.) "Hic tractatus ante Concilium Tridentinum editus fuit; nunc verò, post commemoratum Concillium, EXPURGATUS prodit."

per molti inditij corroborate, fusero in alcuna parte erronee ò false; et essendo la causa tua proposta et essaminata nella nra Congregatione gñale, et apparendo manifestamente la tua impenitenza, parse à noi desiderosi di vsarti misericordia di procedere con qualche longanimità, la onde oltre le molte ammonitioni fatteti à bocca et in scritti, ti facemmo per nostri Officiali vna ò due uolte generalm<sup>te</sup> ammonire, et prefigerti altri termini à pensare et deliberare sopra la tua causa, et à soddisfare come eri obligato à quanto doueui, accio potessi essere ricevuto nel gremio della s<sup>a</sup> Chiesa, se bene diceui et protestaui rimetterti sopra di questa tua credulità ò dubitatione al giuditio et arbitrio di sua S<sup>a</sup> et nostro.

Et finalm<sup>te</sup> hai di tua mano fatta vna poliza di confessione, nella quale mostri hauer' fatto grande et interiore esame di te stesso, et esser' stato ingānato per astutia del Demonio à coprire le tue colpe, et percio hauer' scoperto le tue

any plea in vindication of yourself; or to prove that your first admissions, made before this Tribunal, and confirmed by abundant evidence, were in any particular erroneous or untrue; and after your cause had been brought forward and investigated in our general Congregation, we, being anxious to show compassion toward you, (notwithstanding the clear exhibition of your obduracy,) determined on proceeding with some forbearance; and hence, in addition to the repeated warnings given to you by word of mouth and in writing, we caused that you should be admonished by our Officials once or twice in a general manner, and that other definite periods should be appointed for you, to think of and reflect upon your cause, and to make such amends as you were bound to render in compliance with your duty, in order that you might be received into the bosom of the holy Church, provided that you should say, and solemnly declare, that, with regard to this your credulity or vacillation, you were willing to refer yourself to the judgment and decision of his Holiness and of us.

And, lastly, you have drawn up with your own hand a schedule of a confession, in which you pretend that you have made a great and searching examination of yourself; and that you had been seduced by the subtlety of the Devil to con-



piaghe esser' piu profonde di quello che apparivano prima, et cosi di hauer' assentito non solamente à Valdes, ma ancora à Luthero, circa l'articolo della Giustificatione, et consequentemente circa li dependenti di quella, et altri date espressi; et que questi haueui tenuti et creduti in diuersi tempi, secondo l'occasione della conuersatione, et lettione di libri, et massime nel. 1557. 1558. sino al. 1560. in circa; ma di hauer' in molti altri piu graui dubitato, et in alcuni di quelli penduto dalla parte heretica, et in alcuni dalla parte Catholica, rimettendoti al processo quanto all' altre accusationi et presupponendo per questo di hauer' soddisfatto, ti offerui di dare altra satisfattione maggiore che si pretendesse da potersi et douersi dare, la quale però non hai data.

Ma per che questa tua confessione non è stata giudicata sincera, ne che interamente satisfacci, non parendo piu tempo di differire la espeditione di questa causa, et hauendo noi maturamente viste et considerate le tue depositioni, et il processo, et li sopradetti errori et

ceal your faults; and that by these means you have discovered that your wounds were deeper than they seemed at first to be. And so it appears that you have agreed not only with Valdés, but also with Luther, respecting the doctrine of Justification, and therefore as to those principles which are subordinate to it, and as to others which you have mentioned; and that these you have retained and believed at various times, according as you had opportunities for holding intercourse, and for reading books; and especially in 1557, and 1558, until about the year 1560. But concerning many other tenets of greater moment you have entertained doubts; in divers of them inclining to the heretical side, and in some to that which is Catholic. Relative also to the other charges, you referred to the legal proceedings; and, assuming that you had in this way given satisfaction, you offered to make amends of a different kind, to a greater extent than it was expected you could or ought to do; which, however, you have not done.

But forasmuch as this your confession has not been considered guileless, nor such as gives complete contentment; and it appearing to be now no longer the time for delaying the despatch of this affair; We,—having fully examined and deliberated on the testi-

heresie, et essendo tu prima stato citato à istanza del Fisco nostro à sentenza, è stata proposta et discussa questa tua causa in Congregatione gñale, et uiste le facultà à noi concesse, et spetialmente da N. S.<sup>o</sup> Pio Papa Quinto sopra la reuisioni delle cause appertinenti al n<sup>ro</sup> Tribunale, per il che uolendo terminarla per giustitia [sic] come si conuienne.

INUOCATO IL SANTISS.<sup>o</sup> NOME DI N. S.<sup>o</sup> JESU CHRISTO, et della gloriosa Virgine Maria, dalla faccia de quali procedono li retti giuditij, et gli occhi de Giudici riguardano la uerità, in questa causa et cause uertenti nel S.<sup>o</sup> Offo, tra il Mag.<sup>co</sup> M. Pietro Belo, Procuratore Fiscale di esso S.<sup>o</sup> Ufficio, da vna parte, et te Pietro Carnesecchi, reo, processato, confesso, et colpeuole respettiuamente ritrouato, dall' altra parte, per questa sentenza diffinitua, che in questa scrittura proferimo, pronuniamo, sententiamo, diffinimo, et dichiaramo, che tu Pietro Carnesecchi, dall' anno. 1540. et seguenti, sei stato here-

mony you have given, and the legal procedure, and the aforesaid errors and heresies; and you having first been summoned, at the suit of our Fiscal, to receive sentence, this your cause has been propounded and scrutinized in a general Congregation; and we, paying attention to the powers committed to us, principally by our Lord Pope Pius V., with reference to the review of causes belonging to our Tribunal, and being therefore desirous of arriving at such a conclusion as justice requires,—

Having invoked the most holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the glorious Virgin Mary, from the countenance of whom come forth right judgments, and the eyes of arbiters behold the truth,\* in this cause and these causes pending in the Holy Office, between the illustrious Master Pietro Belo, Fiscal Procurator of the said Holy Office, on the one side, and you, Pietro Carnesecchi, on the other side, who have been (distinctively) arraigned, and prosecuted, and have admitted charges, and been found criminal,— by this conclusive sentence, which we issue in this writ, PRONOUNCE,

\* There is here doubtless an allusion to the verse, "Let my judgment come forth from Thy countenance: let Thy eyes behold the things that are equitable." (Psalm xvii. 2. Douay version.) Diodati's translation is: "Proceda il mio giudicio dalla Tua presenza: gli occhi Tuoi veggano le diritture." Compare Nehemiah, ix. 13: ("Thou gavest them right judgments, and the law of truth:") also Prov. viii. 15, 16. Zech. viii. 16. Song of the three Children, v. 4.

tico, credente agl' heretici, et loro fautore, et recettatore rispettivamente, et che per cio sei incorso nelle sentenze, censure, et pene legittime et ecclesiastiche, dalli sacri Canoni, leggi, et constitutioni, cosi generali come particolari, à simili delinquenti imposte.

Et attesi tanti inganni fatti alla s<sup>ta</sup> Chiesa, et tanti periurij, uarieta, vacillationi, et l'inconstantia et instabilità tua, et la durezza nel confessare la uerita, et la impenitentia da te mostrata in molte cose per molti segni, et tra gl' altri essendo prigionio nel scriuere et dare auisi in fauore di heretici, come si è detto, et la inueterata uita nelli errori, et conuersatione d'heretici, et l'incorrigibilità tua, poi che in tre altre istanze, oltra di questa, è stato giudicato di te et tua causa, hauendo in quelle deluso et ingannato il Santo Offitio, ne doppo le prefate due assoluzioni ti sei emendato ne corretto, et considerando che per cio il S<sup>co</sup> Offitio di te non si puo piu fidare, ne haerne sigurtà ch' sij uera et sinceramente pentito, ne puo sperarne correttione alcuna.

ADJUDGE, DETERMINE, AND DECLARE, that you, Pietro Carneseccchi, from 1540 and the years which followed, have been a heretic, one who confided in heretics, and who was their abettor and entertainer, severally; and that you have consequently become amenable to the decisions, censures, and penalties, legal and ecclesiastical, imposed upon such like offenders by the sacred Canons, laws, and ordinances, general as well as special.

And having regard to so many deceptions practised upon the holy Church; and so many false oaths, successive changes, and fluctuations; together with your inconsistency, and unsteadfastness, and obstinate resistance to the acknowledgment of the truth; and the obduracy manifested by you in numerous instances by many signs; and, among others, by writing and giving counsel on behalf of heretics while you were a prisoner, as has been stated; and your established continuance in errors, and intercourse with heretics, and your hopeless depravity, inasmuch as on three other occasions, besides the present one, judgment has been passed on you and on your cause; you having in those cases duped and deceived the Holy Office;—and finding, that after the former two absolutions you have not improved nor reformed; and persuaded that for these reasons the Holy Office can

Per questo similmente ti dichi-  
 aramo et giudichiamo heretico im-  
 penitente, fintamente conuerso, et  
 diminuto, et esser' ipso iure pri-  
 uato, et quatenus opus est, di nu-  
 ouo ti priuiamo d'ogni grado,  
 honore, et dignità, et de beneficij,  
 pensioni, et offitij, ecclesiastici et  
 temporali, qualunque si siano, et  
 in qual si uoglia modo qualificati,  
 et quelli esser' uacati dal tempo  
 delle tue heresie, et doppo quello  
 te esser' stato inhabile à conse-  
 guirli, et alla confiscatione de tutti  
 li tuoi beni mobili et stabili, et se  
 mouenti, ragioni et attioni, secon-  
 do la dispositione de sacri Canoni,  
 da applicarse si come l'applichi-  
 amo à chi di ragione si debbono.

Et come incorrigibile, impeni-  
 tente, et fintamente conuerso, pa-  
 rimente dechiaramo, et decretiamo  
 douer' essere degradato, si come  
 ordiniamo che sij attualmente de-  
 gradato, dalli Ordini nelli quali  
 sei costituito, et cosi degradato  
 ex nunc prout ex tunc, come inu-  
 til palmite, ti scacciamo dal Foro  
 nro ecclesiastico, et dalla protet-

place no further confidence in you,  
 nor have any assurance that you  
 have really and unfeignedly re-  
 pented, nor expect the slightest  
 amendment in you;—

On this account we accordingly  
 declare and adjudge, that you are  
 an impenitent heretic, a dissem-  
 bling convert, and debased; and  
 that by the very law you are de-  
 prived (and, so far as it is neces-  
 sary, we deprive you anew) of  
 every rank, privilege, and eminent  
 position; and of your preferments,  
 emoluments, and occupations, ec-  
 clesiastical and secular, whatsoever  
 they may be, and howsoever desig-  
 nated; and that they have ceased  
 to be enjoyed by you from the  
 date of your heresies; and that  
 thenceforward you were incapable  
 of obtaining them. And we con-  
 demn you to the forfeiture of all  
 your property, personal and real,  
 and of all consequent rights and  
 claims, agreeably to the appoint-  
 ment of the sacred Canons; to be  
 applied, as we do apply it, to the  
 purpose to which it should be  
 justly assigned.

And, as one irreclaimable, with-  
 out remorse, and whose change of  
 mind has only been fictitious, we  
 in like manner pronounce and or-  
 dain, that you ought to be de-  
 graded, as we direct that you be  
 actually degraded, from the Orders  
 to which you have attained. And,  
 as a person so depressed, hencefor-  
 ward, as well as from the previous

tione della nra santa Chiesa, et diamo et relassiamo alla Corte secolare, cio è à uoi Mons<sup>re</sup> Gouvernatore di Roma, che lo riceuiate nel vro Foro, et à uro arbitrio, da punirsi con debito gastigo; pregandoui pero, si come caldamente ui preghiamo, à moderar' la sentenza uostra intorno la persona sua senza pericolo di morte et effusione di sangue.

Ita pronūciam' Nos Car<sup>les</sup> Inquisito<sup>res</sup> gnales infrascripti—

time, we expel you, as an unprofitable branch, from our ecclesiastical Court, and from the safeguard of our holy Church: and we surrender and deliver you up to the secular Court; that is, to your Lordship the Governor of Rome; that you may take him under your jurisdiction; and that he may be subject to your decision; so as to be punished with due chastisement:—beseeching you, however, as we do earnestly beseech you, so to mitigate the severity of your sentence with respect to his body, that there may be no danger either of death or of shedding of blood.\*

So we Cardinals, Inquisitors General, whose names are written beneath, decree.

B. Carl<sup>is</sup> Franc<sup>is</sup>  
S. Car<sup>ls</sup> Pisarum:  
J. Car<sup>ls</sup> Pascheo  
J. Franc<sup>is</sup> Car<sup>ls</sup> di gambara

\* For some remarks on the absolute nullity of this hypocritical deprecation, and on the origin and continued use of such a derisive formula, see the *Report of the proceedings in the Roman Inquisition against Fulgentio Manfredi*, note, pp. 50–51. Lond. 1852. Cf. Puigblanch, i. 345, sqq. Fox, ii. 255. Lond. 1684. More's *Utopia*, Introd., p. civ. ed. Dibdin.—The appeal of the Inquisitors to the civil power, and their personal protest against bloodshed may remind us of the words, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death."











