

THE ROMAN COLLEGE ANSWERS BELLARMINE'S QUESTIONS  
All were answered in the affirmative! Apr 24, 1611.  
Only with reference to question 4 was their interpretation  
different than Galileo's.

Soon after his telescopic discoveries Galileo traveled to Rome  
where he was honored for his astronomical discoveries at a  
banquet by the mathematicians at the Collegio Romano.

Clavius almost single-handedly founded the world-  
renowned school of mathematics at the Roman College  
and was probably the most respected astronomer in  
Europe. His textbooks were used for astronomical  
education for over fifty years. He played an important role  
in the reform of the calendar under Pope Gregory XIII.  
Galileo, was 30 years younger and had presented his early  
work to Clavius. Early in his career Galileo used Jesuit  
notes from the Roman College to help prepare his  
lessons.



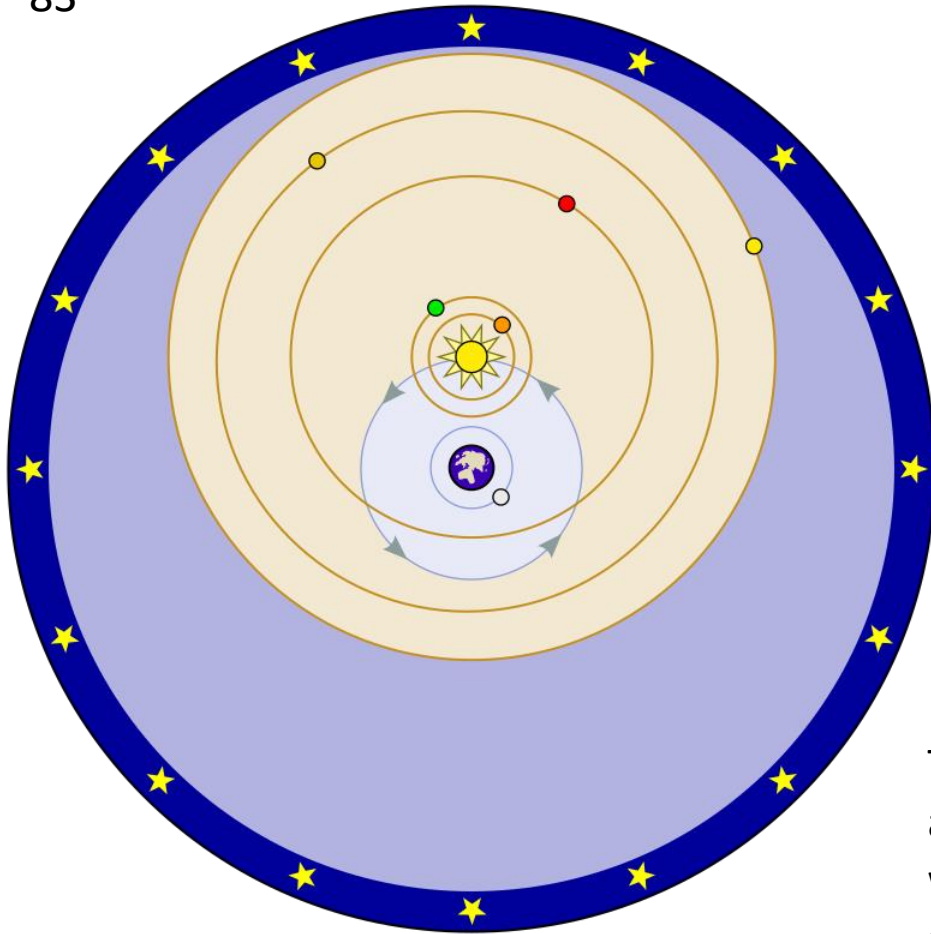
**CHRISTOPHER CLAVIUS S.J.**  
ASTRONOMER, MATHEMATICIAN  
COLLEGIO ROMANO



[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Brahe\\_kepler.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Brahe_kepler.jpg)

## **TYCHO BRAHE    JOHANNES KEPLER**

The greatest pre-telescope astronomer was the Dane, Tycho Brahe. Uraniborg was his astronomical observatory and alchemy laboratory. He worked closely with his assistant, Kepler who used Tycho's records of the motion of Mars to deduce his laws of planetary motion.



[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tychonic\\_system](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tychonic_system)

## TYCHO'S UNIVERSE

The earth is still the center of the universe; the moon, sun and the fixed stars revolve around the earth- all the other planets revolve around the sun.

The Jesuits adopted this system. Ptolemy-Aristotle was shown to be wrong, but this system agreed with scripture.

Tycho's Universe was a kind of half-way house, a geo-heliocentric system. Galileo thought it was so absurd; it was so cumbersome. But he could not disprove it. Moreover, it agreed with scripture.





## ROBERTO BELLARMINO

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NY



DISPUTATIONS CONCERNING THE  
CONTROVERSIES OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH  
AGAINST THE HERETICS OF THIS TIME

Bellarmino, in his book writes about interpreting the word of God writes, **“There can be no error in Scripture, whether it deals with faith or with morals,** or whether it states something general... each and every word pertains to faith.” The Council of Trent did not explicitly state anything about the literal interpretation of scripture. Galileo would argue that the motion of the planets has nothing at all to do with morals. Bellarmine would say it has everything to do with the word of God. Galileo countered with an extreme example about Tobias’ dog. In the *Book of Tobit*, Tobias had a dog. So, according to Bellarmine, one can be a heretic if he did not believe Tobias had a dog. (my highlighting)





**COSIMO II DUKE OF TUSCANY**



**CHRISTINA DI LORENA**



**BENEDETTO CASTELLI**

**“BREAKFAST WITH HIS LORDSHIPS” B. CASTELLI TO GALILEO- DEC. 14, 1613**

Galileo's former student and close friend, the Benedictine monk Benedetto Castelli had been invited to a breakfast at the Grand Duke's retreat in Pisa. He described the experience in a letter to Galileo. When explaining the recent celestial discoveries, one of the guests, an Aristotelian philosopher agreed that they were real, but whispered something into the ear of the Dowager Mother, Madama Christina di Lorena. She began to argue with Castelli using holy scripture and although he claimed to Galileo that he "behaved like a champion", he admitted that he was frightened.



LETTER: CASTELLI TO GALILEO: Dec 14, 1613

**LETTER: GALILEO TO CASTELLI: [4]** Dec 21, 1613

Castelli told Galileo about the breakfast. Galileo decided to write a long letter to Castelli, which could be shown to friends, attempting to reconcile observable scientific facts with the Bible. This was his first but not his last venture into theology. Soon a copy of the “Letter to Castelli” was circulating among his enemies. The Medici were his patrons; were they questioning his discoveries? Many scholars say that this was the beginning of all of Galileo’s troubles.

Dec 21, 1613

“Holy Scripture can never lie or err, nevertheless some of its interpreters and **expositors can sometimes err**...(if they) limit themselves always to **the literal meaning** of the words...”

“If so ...it would be necessary to **attribute to God feet, hands, and eyes**, as well as bodily and human feelings **like anger, regret, hate**, and sometimes even forgetfulness of things...”

“In Scripture there are many **false propositions** if taken literally but done so for the understanding of the common people.”

Re: Scripture: “it seems to me that **in disputes about natural phenomena it (Scripture) should be reserved to the last place.**”

“To accommodate the common people Scripture has not abstained from **perverting** its most basic dogmas.”

“Natural effects obtained from the senses or by necessary demonstrations should never be called into question by passages from Scripture.”

Recall the Council of Trent; only Holy Mother Church is the ultimate interpreter of Scripture. “no one, relying on his own skill, shall,-in matters of faith, and of morals ... presume to interpret the said sacred Scripture contrary to that sense which holy mother ...or even contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers...” This will become very important in our story. Galileo probably did not even think that this could be an issue; the planets and stars have nothing to do with faith and morals.. Bellarmine certainly thought otherwise.



There were essentially two different versions of Galileo's Letter to Castelli circulating since 1614, a stronger one and a weaker one. For over 400 years it was thought that the stronger version was a fraudulent copy presented to the Inquisition by an anti-Galileo Dominican father Niccolo Lorini and Galileo's was the weaker one. For example:

STRONG: 'Scripture does not refrain from **perverting** its most important dogmas.'

WEAKER: 'Scripture does not refrain from **somewhat concealing** its most important dogmas.'

STRONG: 'in the Scripture one finds many propositions which are **false** if one goes by the literal meaning of the words.'

WEAKER: 'in the Scripture one finds many propositions which **look different from the truth** if one goes by the literal meaning of the words.'

Just about the same time I was giving my Galileo lectures at the William & Mary Lifelong Learning Institute, I learned that  
*the original manuscript letter written by Galileo to Castelli was found and that it was the stronger version!*

### **'THE REAPPEARANCE OF GALILEO'S ORIGINAL LETTER TO BENEDETTO CASTELLI'**

Michele Camerota, Franco Giudice, and Salvatore Ricciardo

You can download the original article published online 24 October 2018 by the Royal Society.

<https://royalsocietypublishing.org/doi/epdf/10.1098/rsnr.2018.0053>

[nature](#) > [news](#) > article

NEWS | 21 September 2018

## Discovery of Galileo's long-lost letter shows he edited his heretical ideas to fool the Inquisition

**Exclusive:** Document shows that the astronomer toned down the claims that triggered science history's most infamous battle – then lied about his edits.

<https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-018-06769-4>

**“... he edited his heretical ideas to fool the Inquisition.”**

As prestigious a publication as ‘Nature’ to make such an outlandish statement is more than ludicrous. We will see in a while that the strong version of the letter was examined by a Church Consultant and found to be basically in line with Catholic thought! “...although sometimes it abuses improper words, it does not deviate from the paths of Catholic speaking.”

The ideas were NOT heretical! He rewrote the letter because he just wanted to tone the original letter down.

**“...to fool the Inquisition?”** The Inquisition did not look into Galileo until over a year later!

From the original paper:

“The autograph manuscript discovered at the Royal Society is a document of inestimable value, ...This work will lead to a reappraisal of the series of events known as ‘the first Galileo trial’”. Indeed, the discovery of RS (Royal Society) sheds new light on the episodes that preceded the condemnation of Copernican astronomy in 1616.“ I really don’t think that this document is as earth shaking as ‘Nature’ makes it out to be. Also, there was no trial of Galileo in 1616!

“For example, it can explain why, despite the pressing request of the inquisitors (later on in 1632-33), Benedetto Castelli never delivered the original letter in his possession. He would have had to hand over to the inquisitors the very same version sent to Rome by Niccolo` Lorini, a fierce opponent of his friend and teacher Galileo.”

As we will soon see Galileo had a lot of enemies both academician and theological who publicly and viciously attacked him. Recall Rafael delle Colombe and Caccini’s sermons and read the full transcripts of the depositions of Father Lorini [3] and particularly Father Caccini [8]. So, why would Galileo’s friend provide food for his enemies when in 1632-33 he had the whole power of the Holy Office of the Inquisition backed by the Pope against him??

But, Galileo is encroaching on the domain of the theologians. Recall the Council of Trent; only Holy Mother Church is the ultimate interpreter of Scripture. And “...no one, relying on his own skill, shall, ... in matters of faith, and of morals ... presume to interpret the said sacred Scripture...”

Other academicians writing about natural philosophical (scientific) matters often invoked Scripture to bolster their arguments. Galileo vehemently opposed this. The letter to Castelli [4] was written to separate the two truths- natural philosophy and the Bible.



**FATHER NICCOLO LORINI O.P.**  
**to CARDINAL INQUISITOR [3] FEB 7,1615**  
(O.P. Order of the Preachers- a Dominican)

The letter to Castelli [4] fell into the hands of the Dominican Father Niccolo Lorini. He sent a letter to the Cardinal Inquisitor. Lorini states, “In the judgement of all our Fathers at this very religious convent of St. Mark, it [the letter to Castelli] contains many propositions which to us seem either suspect or rash...”

Lorini points out disturbing ideas of the Galileists (students of Galileo).

‘many propositions which to us seem either suspect or rash.’

‘in disputes about natural effects the same Scripture holds the last place.’

‘its expositors are often wrong in their interpretations.’

‘some want to expound Holy Scripture in their own way and against the  
common exposition of the Holy Fathers.’

‘they speak disrespectfully of the ancient Holy Fathers and St. Thomas; that they  
trample underfoot all of Aristotle’s philosophy.’

He gives a copy of the letter to the Inquisitor.

Lorini was known to be a troublemaker. In 1602 he was banned by the Holy Office from the diocese of Florence for objecting to the Council of Trent’s prohibition of public confession. Later he was threatened with excommunication if he preached or otherwise discussed a certain contentious Church controversy. Pope Clement VIII said that he knew Lorini well; “how freely and imprudently he speaks.” [Mayer, Trying Galileo pp 13-14]



**FATHER TOMMASO CACCINI, DOMINICAN SERMON DEC 21, 1614**

**SANTA MARIA NOVELLA, FLORENCE JOSHUA 10:12 'SUN STAND THOU STILL...'**

Supposedly Caccini stated the biblical verse "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven?" (Acts 1:11). He preached a sermon against mathematicians in general and Galileo in particular and 'that "geometry is of the devil," and that "mathematicians should be banished as the authors of all heresies."'\* Three months later the Dominican friar, made a personal appearance before the Roman Inquisition. In his deposition he charged Galileo with suspicion of heresy. Pope Paul V ordered this interrogation the day before. Caccini was a member of the Pigeon League. \*[https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:Popular\\_Science\\_Monthly\\_Volume\\_8.djvu/414#cite\\_note-4](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:Popular_Science_Monthly_Volume_8.djvu/414#cite_note-4)



DETAIL, SPANISH CHAPEL SANTA MARIA NOVELLA, FLORENCE

When Dominican Father Lorini visited the Cardinal Inquisitor on Feb. 7, 1615 he referred to Dominican friars as, “white and black dogs of the Holy Office”, obviously referring to their habit. The Dominicans were considered the defense of orthodoxy and were often named inquisitors by the Holy Office. Domini canes means ‘God’s dogs’ in Latin.

The above is a detail of the painting, “The Church Militant and the Church Triumphant”, a fresco by Andrea da Firenze in Santa Maria Novella, c. 1365.



**FATHER TOMMASO CACCINI O.P. DOMINICAN**  
**to HOLY OFFICE OF THE INQUISITION [8]**

MARCH 20, 1615

“He appeared personally ...in the Palace of the Holy Office ... before the Right Reverend Father Brother Michael Angelo Seghezzi...” At a meeting the day before, the pope decided that Caccini should be heard.

Caccini said, “...it is a widespread opinion that the abovementioned Galilei holds these two propositions: the earth moves as a whole as well as with diurnal motion; the sun is motionless. These are propositions which, according to my conscience and understanding, are repugnant to the divine Scripture expounded by the Holy Fathers and consequently to the faith...”

Caccini also reported that “...they say he is very close to Fra Paolo,... so famous in Venice for his impieties...” (recall Paolo Sarpi and the Venetian Interdict.)

He tells the Inquisitor, that Galileo, in reference to his sunspot book, has correspondence with Germans. (Germans = Protestants = Heretics!)

Caccini then said that a certain Father Ximenes, of Santa Maria Novella, told him that he had heard some Galileists state these three propositions:

“God is not otherwise a substance, but an accident”;

“God is sensuous because there are in him divine senses” and,

“in truth the miracles said to have been made by the saints are not real miracles.”

He told the Inquisitor that Father Lorini showed him a copy of a letter written by Galileo to Father Benedetto Castelli.

Paul V ordered this interrogation the day before.

This deposition [Mayer, Trying Galileo p19] could be null and void. In a legal proceeding one must describe himself correctly. Caccini described himself as a bachelorate at the Dominican convent Santa Maria Sopra Minerva. ‘Caccini apparently never got the office’. Unfortunately Mayer doesn’t give a reference. If this statement was true it would render large parts of the 1633 trial by the Holy Office, null and void.



## ST. THOMAS AQUINAS

Carlo Crivelli

National Gallery, London.

truth is known  
through reason (natural revelation)  
and faith (supernatural revelation)



## SUMMA CONTRA GENTILES

BOOK IV: OF GOD IN HIS REVELATION

The truth of reason is not contrary  
to the truth of Christian Faith.

Book 1, Ch.7

Dominican, Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274). Faith and Reason can never truly be in conflict.



97 PSALM 92:1, VULGATE  
the Lord hath reigned, he is clothed with beauty:  
the Lord is clothed with strength,  
and hath girded Himself.  
**for He hath established the world  
which shall not be moved.**

PSALM 19:6, VULGATE  
He hath set his tabernacle in the sun: and  
he, as a bridegroom  
coming out of his bride chamber,  
hath rejoiced as a giant **to run the way.**

ECCLESIASTES 1:5.  
**The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down,**  
and hasteth to his place where he arose.

In terms of the Psalms, there are two different numbering systems based on two ancient translations. The first is the Hebrew text; the second the translation into the Greek Septuagint and this to the Vulgate, the official translation for the Roman Catholic Church. e.g. Psalm 92 in the Vulgate is Psalm 93 in the King James version. A few of the main passages from the Bible that support the geocentric view have been presented.

JOSHUA 10:12, 13

Then spake Joshua to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, **Sun, stand thou still** upon Gibeon; **and thou, Moon,** in the valley of Ajalon. **And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed...So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day.**

I CHRONICLES 16:30.

Fear before him, all the earth:  
**the world also shall be stable,**  
**that it be not moved.**

The Joshua passages 10:12,13 are probably the most important for the scriptural argument..



### LETTER OF PAOLO ANTONIO FOSCARINI

*Carmelite on the Pythagorean and Copernican opinion concerning the mobility of the earth and the stability of the sun. 1615.*

In the beginning of 1615, a Carmelite priest, Paolo Antonio Foscarini published this letter ***On the Opinion of the Pythagoreans and Copernicus Regarding the Motion of the Earth***. He tried to reconcile Copernicanism with Scripture. He sent a copy of the letter to Cardinal Bellarmine for his opinion. The Cardinal's letter of April 12, 1615 to Foscarini (meant for Galileo as well) is one of the most important documents in the debate over Copernicanism and Scripture. We will look at it in a bit.

The term 'Pythagorean' had a bad connotation at the time. Pythagoras taught that when you die your soul travels out of your body and is reborn in another. This was totally heretical. Pythagoreans had strange beliefs about the Earth, that it is a heavenly body and it moved. They were a scattered and mystical group and were bound by oaths and ancient religious beliefs. This was not good for Galileo.



**LETTER TO MADAME CHRISTINA OF LORRAINE**

GRAND DUCHESS OF TUSCANY:

This letter is really an essay concerning the compatibility of the Bible with science. It was written in 1615 and circulated widely at the time and finally published in Strasbourg France in 1636. It is a very detailed elaboration of the letter Galileo sent to Castelli.

He cited Cardinal Baronio's quip, "that the intention of the Holy Spirit is to teach us how one goes to heaven and not how the heavens go."

Galileo states that Copernicus was not only a Catholic but also a clergyman and a canon, and he was so highly thought of that he was called to Rome to discuss the reform of the ecclesiastical calendar.

Recall the Council of Trent and 'the unanimous agreement of the Holy Fathers'. Galileo realized that *there was no unanimous agreement of the Fathers*. Most of the time the Church Fathers, Augustine, Tertullian etc. did not care one iota about the planets and stars; that had nothing to do with salvation. As Galileo pointed out-the Bible scarcely mentions the planets.



'Alla Serenissima Madama  
La Gran Duchessa Madre'



**ST. AUGUSTINE**

BOTTICELLI

## FROM THE LETTER TO CHRISTINA

Galileo invokes the Church Father Augustine nine times. In book 2 of *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis*

we read, "It is also customary to ask what one should believe about the shape and arrangement of heaven according to our Scripture..." Basically he says that it is a waste of time reading such authors "...which are of no use for eternal life to those who study them, and (what is worse) which take up a great deal of time that ought to be spent on matters pertaining to salvation. For what does it matter to me whether heaven, like a sphere, ... or whether like a discus it covers the earth on one side from above?"

Galileo in the letter to Christina; "...they say that theology is the queen of all the sciences and hence must not in any way lower herself to accommodate the principles of other less dignified disciplines subordinate to her... (but) I think no one will say that geometry, astronomy, music, and medicine are treated more excellently and exactly in the sacred books than in Archimedes, Ptolemy." [Finocchiaro, p. 99.]



**POPE PAUL V**

Caravaggio

### **GALILEO: LETTER TO CHRISTINA**

“With regard to this opinion, and others which are not directly matters of faith, certainly no one doubts that the Supreme Pontiff has always an absolute power to approve or condemn; but it is not in the power of any created being to make things true or false, for this belongs to their own nature and to the fact.”

With this letter Galileo alienated the Aristotelians, Jesuits, Bellarmine and even the Pope. This one was more provocative than the letter to Castelli. So, my question. Why didn't the Church prosecute Galileo for violating the tenets of the Council of Trent? Why did they not publicly prosecute him in 1616? In my opinion this is because his exegesis on Church doctrine with respect to astronomy was absolutely superb! The letter to Christina debunked every one of the Church's arguments. It seems to me that there could be no rebuttal. In 1893 Pope Leo XIII issued an encyclical 'Providentissimus Deus' in which he basically endorsed Galileo's approach to the reconciliation of apparent conflicts between the Catholic faith and science. Of course Galileo's name was not mentioned.



## CARDINAL BELLARMINE to CARMELITE FOSCARINI (and GALILEO)

APRIL 12, 1615 [not in DV]



### 1. Copernicanism is not “true”, speaking hypothetically is OK.

“First, I say that it seems to me that Your Paternity and Mr. Galileo are proceeding prudently by limiting yourselves to speaking suppositionally and not absolutely ... . For there is no danger in saying that, by assuming the earth moves and the sun stands still, one saves all the appearances better than by postulating eccentrics and epicycles; and that is sufficient for the mathematician. However, it is different to want to affirm that in reality the sun is at the center of the world ... this is a very dangerous thing, likely not only to irritate all scholastic philosophers and theologians, but also to harm the Holy Faith by rendering Holy Scripture false. ...”

This letter is important. As we have seen, the word ‘suppositionally’ had two different meanings which Galileo pointed this out in his letter to Christina. For Bellarmine and the Church it meant a purely mathematical fiction that ‘explains the appearances’, which means that it explains how to calculate the positions of the planets in the sky. Galileo thought of ‘by supposition’ (or by hypothesis) as an assumption about the truth of a theory which must be tested by experiment, observation, and logical deduction and which may turn out to be true reality. Relative to the Copernican theory Galileo, Kepler and Copernicus thought it to be truly the reality of the situation.



## 2. Copernicanism is contrary to Scripture; Holy Mother Church interprets Scripture. (Council of Trent)

“Second, I say that, as you know, the Council prohibits interpreting Scripture against the common consensus of the Holy Fathers ... but also the modern commentaries on Genesis, the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and Joshua, you will find all agreeing in the literal interpretation that the sun is in heaven and turns around the earth ... Consider now ...whether the Church can tolerate giving Scripture a meaning contrary to the Holy Fathers and to all the Greek and Latin commentators. Nor can one answer that this is not a matter of faith, since if it is not a matter of faith "as regards the topic," it is a matter of faith "as regards the speaker"; and so it would be heretical to say that Abraham did not have two children and Jacob twelve, as well as to say that Christ was not born of a virgin, because both are said by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of the prophets and the apostles.”

This paragraph states that all the Church Fathers believed in the geocentric theory. Galileo’s letter to the Grand Duchess totally nullifies this statement; he supported his view with quotes from the Fathers Augustine and Tertullian. With Bellarmine every word, phrase, sentence etc. in the Bible is true.

3. “Third I say that if there were a true demonstration that the sun is at the center of the world... then one would have to proceed with great care in explaining the Scriptures that appear contrary, and say rather that we do not understand them than that what is demonstrated is false. But **I will not believe that there is such a demonstration, until it is shown me.**”...(my highlighting) ...I add that the one who wrote, “The sun also riseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he arose,” was Solomon, who not only spoke inspired by God, but was a man above all others wise and learned in the human sciences and in the knowledge of created things; he received all this wisdom from God; therefore it is not likely that he was affirming something that was contrary to truth already demonstrated or capable of being demonstrated....”

This appears to make Bellarmine look like an open-minded theologian and a scholar that respected science. If such proofs are forthcoming, one must reinterpret Scripture. Bellarmine wanted proof - scientific proof. Galileo did not have a proof. This is a key argument of the anti-Galileists supporting their view. In fact one conclusion of Pope John Paul's Committee was that Bellarmine was a better scientist than Galileo! But reading on the Cardinal cites the Scriptures and the wisdom of Solomon. Bellarmine believed in Scripture 100%. Finally he gives a relativistic example. “Someone moves away from the shore, although it appears to him that the shore is moving away from him, nevertheless he knows that this is an error and corrects it, seeing clearly that the ship moves and not the shore.”

Sometime in 1615 Prince Cesi told Galileo that, “...as to the Copernican opinion, Bellarmine himself...told me that he holds it to be heretical... “ p. 132, Fantoli 3rd ed.

LATE 1615, EARLY 1616

“...although sometimes it abuses improper words,  
**it does not does not deviate from the paths of Catholic speaking.”**

So, a Consultor of the Holy Office found nothing heretical, not even errors in thinking in the letter to Castelli, just a few inappropriate words. The original letter to Castelli written by Galileo which was discovered in 2018 revealed that the Holy Office always had the original stronger copy. And yet there was really nothing much there. So, other than the fact that an authentic autograph copy of a document of Galileo was found recently it was no big earthshaking find.

According to Speller page 20 the Holy Office had recourse to two kinds of experts ‘Qualificatores’ ('Qualifiers') and the ‘Consultores’ ('Consultors'). The former examined propositions to ascertain their nature- the extent of deviation from Catholic dogma. The latter determined the nature of the accused – the extent of his criminality.



107 **GALILEO'S THIRD TRIP TO ROME: DEC 1615-JUNE 1616**

APR 12 1615: CARDINAL BELLARMINE'S LETTER TO FOSCARINI

FEB 19 1616: CONSULTANTS BEGIN REVIEW OF COPERNICANISM

FEB 24 1616: CONSULTANTS' REPORT ON COPERNICANISM

FEB 25 1616: POPE ORDERS BELLARMINE TO WARN GALILEO

FEB 26 1616: GALILEO MEETS BELLARMINE-GALILEO GIVEN AN INJUNCTION?

MAR 5 1616: ANTI-COPERNICAN DECREE OF THE INDEX

MAR 11 1616: GALILEO MEETS POPE PAUL V

MAY 26 1616: BELLARMINE GIVES CERTIFICATE TO GALILEO

Within a little more than a year the Church decided to increase the pressure against the 'false opinion', 'the Pythagorean doctrine', i.e. the Copernican theory and to deal with it swiftly and tend to Galileo privately. In a bit over two weeks they seemingly took care of the problem.

Feb 24, 1616

Propositions to be assessed:

(1) The sun is the center of the world and completely devoid of local motion.

Assessment: All said that this proposition is **foolish and absurd in philosophy**, and **formally heretical** since it explicitly contradicts many places the sense of Holy Scripture, according to the literal meaning of the words **and according to the common interpretation and understanding of the Holy Fathers and the doctors of theology**.

(2) The earth is not the center of the world, nor motionless, but it moves as a whole and also with diurnal motion.

Assessment: All said that this proposition receives **the same judgement in philosophy** and that in regard to theological truth it is at least **erroneous in faith**.

The 'Consultores' were all theologians and came to their conclusion in a few days. Were they qualified to judge the scientific aspects of the theory (foolish and absurd in philosophy)? Recall that natural philosophy is physics at that time and there were many criticisms of Aristotelian physics. On the committee there were five Dominicans, an archbishop, a Benedictine, a Franciscan, a Theatine, an Augustinian and one Jesuit (a theologian). They are recommending to the pope that it is the worst form of heresy. But for the current Church apologists that state how the Church promoted science, why wasn't there any Jesuit astronomers or mathematicians among the group to give their opinion about the philosophy? This set the ball rolling very quickly against the Copernicans, and Galileo in particular.

## INQUISITION DECREE

Feb 25, 1616 [20]

A meeting was called after the Pope and the cardinals learned of the assessment of the consultors.

“...After the reporting of the judgment by the Father Theologians against the propositions of the mathematician Galileo His Holiness ordered Cardinal Bellarmine

to call Galileo before himself and **warn him** to abandon these opinions;

and **IF** he should refuse to obey, the Father Commissary, in the presence of a notary and witnesses, is to issue him **an injunction** to abstain completely from teaching or defending this doctrine and opinion or from discussing it;

and further, if he should not acquiesce, he is to be imprisoned.”

Cardinal Bellarmine and the Commissary General Segizzi are in Bellarmine's palace, having summoned Galileo...

"...Lord Cardinal (**Bellarmino**) **warned Galileo** that the abovementioned **opinion was erroneous** and that he should abandon it; and thereafter, indeed immediately, before me and witnesses, the Most Illustrious Lord Cardinal himself being also present still, the aforesaid Father Commissary, in the name of His Holiness the Pope and the whole Congregation of the Holy Office, ordered and enjoined the said Galileo, who was himself still present, **to abandon completely the abovementioned opinion** that the sun stands still at the center of the world and the earth moves, **and henceforth not to hold, teach, or defend it *in any way whatever*, either orally or in writing**; otherwise the Holy Office would start proceedings against him."

No one knows what really happened that day. Scholars are divided, some say Galileo got the injunction, others say he did not. Did Bellarmine warn Galileo and Galileo started to debate giving the Commissary General Segizzi the opportunity to deliver the injunction? Did Galileo hesitate briefly and Segizzi overstepped his bounds? Or, was it supposed to be a warning followed by the injunction? But recall the pope's order- give him the injunction *only if* he doesn't agree. The meeting was at Bellarmine's palace-to me that implies that this was an informal proceeding. Now for the phrase- "*in any way whatever*". Recall- this phrase is not in the Pope's order. Did Bellarmine not tell Galileo he could study it hypothetically? If, 'in any way whatever' was included wouldn't that mean that every Jesuit mathematician who studied the theory even hypothetically could have charges brought against him? Later we will see that the Decree of the Congregation of the Index just suspended Copernicus' book. It was not banned.



Sixteen years later, however, when Pope Urban VIII was contemplating summoning Galileo to Rome in the wake of the publication of the *Dialogue*, a second document concerning Bellarmine's admonition was found in the archives of the Holy Office. Its content is as follows:

Friday, the 26<sup>th</sup> <sup>1616</sup> of the same month, at the palace, the usual residence of the said Most Illustrious Lord Cardinal Bellarmine, and in the chambers of His Most Illustrious Lordship, and in the presence of the Reverend Father Michelangelo Segizzi of Lodi, O.P., Commissary of the Holy Office, having summoned the above-mentioned Galileo before himself, the same Most Illustrious Lord Cardinal warned Galileo that the above-mentioned opinion was erroneous and that he should abandon it; and thereafter, indeed immediately, before me and witnesses, the Most Illustrious Lord Cardinal himself being also present still, the aforesaid Father Commissary, in the name of His Holiness the Pope and the whole Congregation of the Holy Office, ordered and enjoined the said Galileo, who was himself still present, to abandon completely the above-mentioned opinion that

Feb 26 1616  
Fri night  
Feb 26  
2016  
400th  
Anniversary

## THE DISPUTED INJUNCTION AND ITS ROLE IN GALILEO'S TRIAL

THE CHURCH AND GALILEO-ERNAN McMULLIN CHAPTER 5, p. 119.

I was pleasantly surprised that on the very day that I was reading an essay about, arguably the most important document of the Galileo Affair, it turned out to be the 400th anniversary *to the day* of the document that got Galileo into trouble! And later I realized that one of the keys to my defense of Galileo lies in the last seven lines above. That will come when I give the second part of this talk- the legal analysis. If I were religious I would have believed that this was an act of providence for me to vindicate Galileo.

Mar 3, 1616

Bellarmino reported that Galileo “had acquiesced when warned of the order by the Holy Congregation to abandon the opinion which he held till then... and the Decree of the Congregation of the Index [22] having been presented, in which were prohibited and suspended, respectively, (sic)

the writings of Nicolaus Copernicus-  
of Diego de Zuniga-

*On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres,*  
*On Job,* and

of the Carmelite Father  
Paolo Antonio Foscarini

*On the Pythagorean and*  
*Copernican opinion...*

His Holiness ordered that the edict of this suspension and prohibition, respectively, (correct) be published by the Master of the Sacred Palace.”

About a week after the Injunction to Galileo, a Decree of the Congregation of the Index banning books will go public in two days. Bellarmine reports back to the Cardinals and the Pope. Segizzi is among those present. Bellarmine says that Galileo agreed and that Galileo was told that the Decree would be issued. *There was absolutely no mention of the Commissary General giving Galileo an injunction.* We will see on the next page that Copernicus’ book was only suspended. Above, in the minutes of the meeting, the note taker stated Copernicus’ book was prohibited. He got the order mixed up.

\* [124] is from the files of the Holy Office and so is out of chronological order. In *I Documenti* 2009, documents 1-117 are from the Vatican Secret Archives, 118-189 from the files of the Holy Office.

# 113 DECRETVM

Sacrae Congregationis Illustrissimorum S. R. E. Cardinalium, à S. D. N. PAVLO Papa V. Sanctaq. Sede Apostolica ad Indicem Librorum, eorumdemq. permissionem, prohibitionem, expurgationem, & impressionem, in vniuersa Republica Christiana specialiter deputatorum, vbiq. publicandum.



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Christiana oriantur, eos omnino damnandos, atque prohibendos esse voluit; Sicui præfenti Decreto pœnitus damnat, & prohibet vbiq. & quouis idiomate impressos, aut imprimendos. Mandans, vt nullus deinceps cuiuscumque grauis, & conditionis, sub penis in Sacro Concilio Tridentino, & in Indice Librorum prohibitorum contentis, eos audeat imprimere, aut imprimi curare, vel quomodocumque apud se detinere, aut legere; Et sub ijdem penis quicumque nunc illos habent, vel habuerint in futurum, locorum. Ordinarijs, seu Inquisitoribus, statim à præfentis Decreti notitia exhibere tenentur, Libri autem sunt infra scripti, videlicet.

- Theologia Calvinistarum Libri tres, auctore Conrado Schlusbergio. Soriani Reducium, sive Comenianæ Erasmiæ in tres priores libros, edita, &c.*
- Gravissima questio Christianarum Ecclesiarum in Occidentibus, præsertim partibus ab Apostolica temporibus ad nostram usque ætatem continens, successione, & statim historica explicatio, auctore Jacobo Vssero Sacrae Theologiae in Dublinensi Academia apud Hyberniam professore.*
- Federici Achilli Duræ Pœtenseburg, Consulatus de Principatu inter Prævincias Europæ habitæ Tubungia in Illustri Collegio Anno Christi 1612.*

*Dionisii Pausanias sive Commentariorum Paganis Dionisii, de rebus Cæcis in compendium sua redactorum &c.*

Et quia etiam ad notitiam præfate Sacrae Congregationis peruenit, falsam illam doctrinam Pythagoricam, auiusq. scripturæ omnino aduersantem, de mobilitate Terræ, & immobilitate Solis, quam Nicolaus Copernicus de revolutionibus orbium cælestium, & Didacus Altonica in lob etiam docent, iam diuulgari & à multis recipi; sicuti videre est ex quadam epistola impressa cuiusdam Patris Carmelitæ, cui titulus, Lettera del R. Padre Maestro Paolo Antonio Foscarini Carmelitano, sopra l'opinione de Pittagorici, e del Copernico, della mobilità della Terra, e stabilità del Sole, & il nuouo Pittagorico Sistema del Mondo, in Napoli per Lazzaro Scoraggio 1615. in qua dicitur Pater ostendere conatur, præfata doctrinam de immobilitate Solis in centro Mundi, & mobilitate Terræ, consonam esse veritati, & non aduersari Sacrae Scripturæ: Ideo nè vterius huiusmodi opinio in perniciem Catholicæ veritatis serpat, censuit dictos Nicolaum Copernicum de revolutionibus orbium, & Didacum Altonicum in lob, suspendendos esse donec corrigantur. Librum vero Patris Pauli Antonij Foscarini Carmelitæ omnino prohibendum, atque damnandum; aliosq. omnes Libros pariter idem docentes prohibendos, Prout præfenti Decreto omnes respectiue prohibet, damnat, atque suspendit. In quorum fidem præfens Decretum manu, & sigillo Illustrissimi & Reuerendissimi D. Cardinalis S. Cæcilie Epî Albanensî signatum, & munitum fuit die 5. Martij 1616.

P. Episc. Albanen. Card. S. Cæcilie.



Registr. fol. 99.

Locus sigilli.

F. Franciscus Magdalenus Capiferreus Ord. Prædic. Secret.

R O M Æ, Ex Typographia Cameræ Apostolicæ. M. D. C. X. V. I.

1616  
5. Martij

“In regard to several books containing various heresies and errors...” “...the Congregation has decided that the books by Nicolaus Copernicus (*On the Revolutions of Spheres*) and Diego de Zuñiga (*On Job*) be suspended until corrected; but that the book of the Carmelite Father Paolo Antonio Foscarini be completely prohibited and condemned; and that all other books which teach the same be likewise prohibited...”

This order was charged by Paul V in order to stop “...the spreading and acceptance by many of the false Pythagorean doctrine, altogether contrary to the Holy Scripture...” This designation of the Copernican theory as the ‘Pythagorean theory’ had a bad connotation at that time. Foscarini’s book coming out in 1615 with ‘Pythagorean’ in its title was of no help to Galileo. That doctrine believed not only in the motion of the earth, that stars and planets were other worlds and that souls live in those countless worlds, but also in other heresies like the transmigration of souls.

Giordano Bruno, the heretic had an alternative theory of the elements which drew on Pythagoreanism, as did his geometry. (<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/bruno/>) The Church wanted to forget Bruno.

DECREE OF THE INDEX [22] March 5, 1616



## CARDINAL BELLARMINE'S CERTIFICATE TO GALILEO [41]

May 26, 1616

“...Galileo has not abjured ... nor has he received any penances, salutary or otherwise. On the contrary, **he has only been notified of the declaration made by the Holy Father and published by the Sacred Congregation of the Index...** the doctrine attributed to Copernicus ... is contrary to Holy Scripture and therefore cannot be defended or held.”

There were rumors that Galileo recanted. He appealed to the Cardinal to provide him with a letter saying that he had not confessed. This important document will appear in the actual trial of 1633. This certificate implies that no injunction was given to Galileo!



**CARDINAL BELLARMINE**

ROMAN SCHOOL

<https://www.1st-art-gallery.com/Roman-School/Portrait-Of-Cardinal-Robert-Bellarmino-Half-Length-Wearing-Red-Robes-And-Holding-A-Letter-In-His-Right-Hand.html>



115 **GALILEO'S THIRD TRIP TO ROME: DEC 1615-JUNE 1616**

LATE 1615- EARLY 1616: CONSULTANTS REPORT ON THE LETTER TO CASTELLI

APR 12 1615: CARDINAL BELLARMINE'S LETTER TO FOSCARINI

FEB 19 1616: CONSULTANTS BEGIN REVIEW OF COPERNICANISM

FEB 24 1616: CONSULTANT'S REPORT ON COPERNICANISM

FEB 25 1616: POPE ORDERS BELLARMINE TO WARN GALILEO

FEB 26 1616: GALILEO MEETS BELLARMINE-GALILEO GIVEN AN INJUNCTION?

MAR 5 1616: ANTI-COPERNICAN DECREE OF THE INDEX

MAY 26 1616: BELLARMINE GIVES CERTIFICATE TO GALILEO

These documents are important when we come to the trial in 1633. Only the February 26 document gives the possibility that Galileo got a personal injunction. The phrase 'in any way whatever' also only appears in that document and will be somewhat important in my defense of Galileo. Other documents from 1632-1633 will also be important. In fact, the Feb. 26, personal Injunction [\[21\]](#) (also called the Segizzi Injunction) only appeared in 1632 as a copy of the original.



<https://www.nndb.com/people/674/000029587/>

(written in 1616, published in 1622 in Germany)

F. THOMÆ CAMPANELLÆ  
CALABRI, ORDINIS  
PRÆDICATORVM,

APOLOGIA PRO  
GALILEO, MATHE-  
MATICO FLOREN-  
TINO.

VBI DISQVIRITVR, VTRVM RATIO  
PHILOSOPAHNDI, QVAM GALILEVS  
*celebrat, faueat sacroscripturis, an  
aduersetur.*



FRANCOFVRTI,  
Impensis GODEFRIDI TAMPAGHII,  
Typis ERASMI KEMPFERI.

ANNO M. DC. XXII.

Campanella, a renegade Dominican friar, philosopher, theologian, astrologer, and poet defended Galileo's right to debate and publish his ideas freely. This probably was not good for Galileo because Campanella was prosecuted by the Roman Inquisition in 1594 for criticizing the dogmas of the Church and in 1596 was found guilty of "strong suspicion of heresy". He abjured but a few years later, he was arrested and charged with conspiring against the Spanish rulers of Calabria and Naples. He was to spend his next twenty seven years in the prisons and dungeons of the Inquisition and was tortured four times, once with the horrendous *veglia* as we will see a bit later.

*The City of the Sun*, written in Italian, is a philosophical work describing a utopian city. It was written shortly after he was imprisoned for heresy and sedition. In 1615 Cardinal Caetani of the Congregation of the Index wrote to Campanella {who was incarcerated in Naples} to ask him what he thought about Copernicus and Galileo!

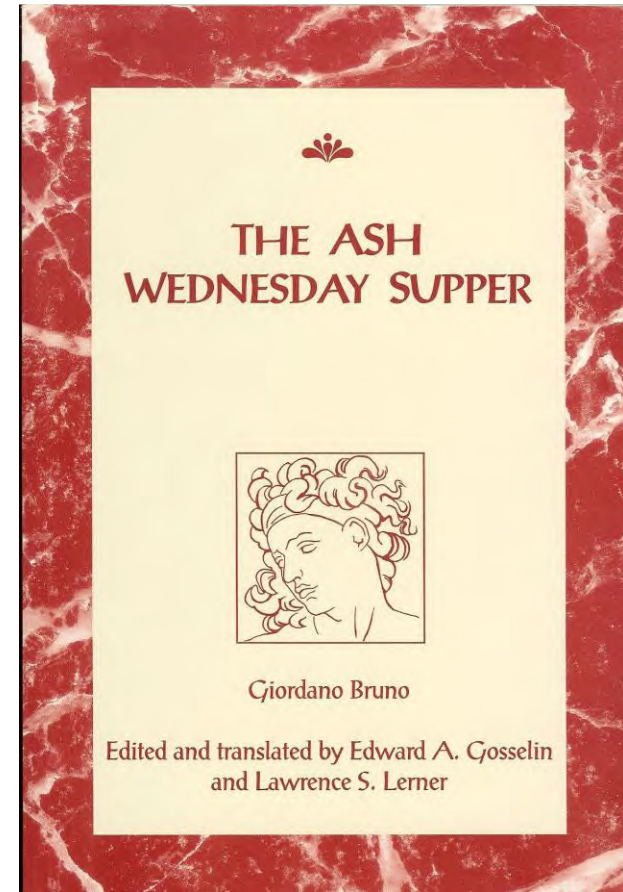
## GIORDANO BRUNO

In this book Bruno, although having a vague knowledge of the Copernican system, not only reaffirmed its reality but also believed that the Universe is infinite consisting of many worlds all in motion.

It is written in the form of a debate about the Copernican system but taken as an allegory for his theological and political ideas. As we will see Galileo's *Dialogue* was a debate about the Copernican theory with three interlocutors, Bruno has four. Both were written in Italian. Recall that Galileo's first book was entitled *the Starry Messenger*, Bruno called the stars 'messengers of God'. During the Renaissance in Italy Neoplatonism was being considered by many of the intelligentsia. That was sometimes associated with Hermeticism, an ancient philosophy-theology closely associated with Pythagoreanism.

Campanella was a Hermetic magus who wrote *the City of the Sun*, a distinctly Hermetic work. His rebellion of 1599 in Southern Italy was against Catholic reformers.

A theory that Galileo's enemies concocted was that he "was a resurrected Bruno who went before the Inquisition in 1633". [Lerner, p 273]



1584

DOMINICAN FRIAR, PHILOSOPHER, POET

was tried by the Inquisition for holding opinions contrary to the Catholic faith about the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, and incarnation, believing in the transmigration of the human soul, dealing in magic and divination and **claiming the existence of many worlds and their eternity**. His view of cosmology was supported by the book *The Ash Wednesday Supper*. He was burnt alive, possibly strangled first.



### VATICAN SECRET ARCHIVES

<http://asv.vatican.va/en/doc/1597.htm>

"The humane vicissitudes of Giordano Bruno ended with the Roman trial (1593-1600) and with the sentence of proven heresy, which, due to his resolute and extreme statement of not being guilty, changed into capital punishment, executed at Campo de' Fiori on the 17th February 1600." ... , . (from a previous presentation, Aug. 13, 2015)

The requested URL /en/doc/1597.htm was not found on this server. (8/15/23)

The Catholic apologists always say that Bruno was not condemned for supporting the Copernican theory, but executed for other heresies. Guy Consolmagno states, "...yes, Bruno was burnt at the stake, but there was no evidence that he was burnt for being a Copernican. He did plenty of things at the time thought deserving of death by burning..." Ingrid Rowland's *Giordano Bruno-Philosopher/Heretic*, lists on page 258 four items Bruno would not yield on, one being, "that there are multiple worlds". What he said to the judges when he was condemned: "Perhaps you pronounce this sentence against me with greater fear than I receive it".

It always amazes me that many Catholic apologists today, like Consolmagno (e.g. p 117- *Would You Baptize*) make statements about Bruno's execution without apologizing for the Church.



119 Cardinal Bellarmine was Giordano Bruno's inquisitor.

Recall the first of the five questions Bellarmine asked the Jesuit astronomers (p 78)-  
1. Were there really a multitude of stars invisible to the naked eye?

#### FOUR LIVING INQUISITORS SIGNED OFF ON BRUNO'S EXECUTION

Robertus Cardinal Bellarminus

Pompeius Cardinal Arrigoni

Paulus Cardinal Sfondrato

Camillus Cardinal Borghese (POPE PAUL V)

Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) was a Florentine philosopher who was largely responsible for the revival of Plato and Platonism in Renaissance Italy. Recall how deeply entrenched Aristotelian philosophy was coupled to the Church. Ficino was deeply influenced by the Hermetic tradition and an ancient theological belief that included the ideas of Hermes Trismegistus and Pythagoras. His Neoplatonism incorporates too many pagan elements and was therefore thought most likely heretical. This was very dangerous for the Church. Some scholars suggested that Giordano Bruno was burned at the stake in 1600 for espousing the Hermetic tradition.

To repeat, the Pythagorean opinion was an example of Hermeticism. Tommaso Campanella was known to be a magus or sorcerer. He wanted to reestablish the Pythagorean city in Southern Italy. His book *The City of the Sun* was a hermetic work. Was Galileo thought to be a follower of Bruno? Bruno's Ash Wednesday Supper was very similar form to the Dialogue.