

*The Cheese and the Worms:
The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*
Domenico Scandella,
nicknamed Menocchio

This miller was pretty well read. His theory of the cheese and the worms had to do with his cosmology. He also said that Jesus was a man, Mary was not a virgin, the pope had no power given to him by God but was just a good man. Scandella was 'relapsus'- one who returned to his errors following an earlier conviction. Worse he was a Heresiarch, the founder of a heresy, or a major proponent of such a heresy.

First trial:

He was incarcerated October 1583 - May 1584 as a heretic. He spent another twenty months in prison.

Second Trial:

After twelve years he was again arrested, tried and convicted as a relapsed heretic. In 1599 Domenico Scandella, 67 years old was burnt at the stake by the Venetian secular authorities.



FRA FULGENZIO MANFREDI

***WERE “HERETICS” EVER BURNED ALIVE AT ROME:
A REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
AGAINST FULGENTIO MANFREDI;
Taken From the Original Manuscript
Brought From Italy by a French Officer...***

During the Venetian Interdict imposed by Pope Paul V, (pp 38-39) Manfredi, a Franciscan friar preached anti-Roman sermons. A few years later he voluntarily went to Rome, at first abjured in front of 20,000 and was surprised when a bit later he was tried by the Roman Inquisition as a **relapsed heretic**, and sentenced to be burnt. He was executed in the Campo de’ Fiore, in Rome, on Sunday July 4, 1610 after Vespers.

The Vatican Astronomer, Dr. Consolmagno in his lecture about the trial of Galileo [Consolmagno, Galileo, Science, Faith...Lecture 7] stated that nobody thought about Giordano Bruno at that time (his execution being over thirty years before Galileo’s trial). He did not mention the Fulgenzio affair. His execution was four months after Galileo’s ‘*The Starry Messenger*’ was published. Incidentally, when Galileo was in Venice during the Interdict he made fun of the Jesuits leaving. Recall that Galileo’s friend, the philosopher Cremonini was under investigation by the Inquisition and Bellarmine’s request to the Inquisitor at Padua...’See whether Galileo, professor of philosophy and mathematics is mentioned in the process...’

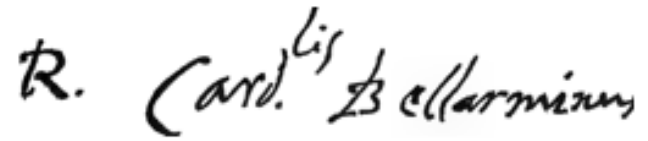
Legally the trial was ‘...between Carlo Sincero, Fiscal Procurator (prosecutor) for the Holy Office and Friar Fulgentio...’ He was tried for having kept and read prohibited books and was rendered strongly suspected of heresy and had to abjure.

Galileo’s trial in 1633 was between Carlo Sincero and him and he was rendered vehemently suspected of heresy.

Taverna was one of the four cardinals Galileo mentioned in his first deposition when he came to Rome to inquire what was approved by the Church to believe.

Galileo's letter to Castelli was submitted probably by Cardinal Millini to a theologian censor of the Holy Office,

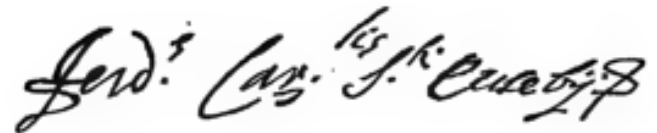
n.b. After an abjuration a person could still be executed.



Robert Cardinal Bellarmine



Giovanni Garcia Cardinal Millini



Fernando Taverna Cardinal Eusebius

Three of the ten cardinals that signed Manfredi’s death warrant.



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Giordano Bruno

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‘Development of the Legal Institute of the Titular Bishop Bruno Figliuolo’, ??

ROMAN CATHOLIC BURNINGS AT THE STAKE ITALY

- Solomon Molcho († 1532), Mantua
- Pomponio Algerio († 1556) Boiled in oil, Rome
- Pietro Carnesecchi († 1567) Florence, Italy
- Domenico Scandella (Menocchio) (1599), Italy
- Giordano Bruno (1600), Rome, Italy
- Fulgenzio Manfredi (1560 ca. - 1610) Rome, Italy
- Gertrude Cordovana († 1724), Palermo, Italy



https://libdbserver.princeton.edu/visual_materials/maps/websites/wendt-world-maps/Macrobius_1501.html

WORLD MAP MACROBIUS 1501

"An excellent primer for anyone remotely interested in building a bridge between religious faith and scientific investigation." —*Publishers Weekly*

Would You Baptize an Extraterrestrial?

... AND OTHER QUESTIONS FROM THE
ASTRONOMERS' IN-BOX AT THE VATICAN OBSERVATORY



Guy Consolmagno, SJ
and Paul Mueller, SJ

New Preface by the Authors

In 748, Pope Zachary authorized Boniface, bishop of Mainz to excommunicate the abbot of a monastery in Salzburg—an Irishman called Virgil. Boniface had accused Virgil of teaching that there was “another world and other men beneath the earth.” Virgil was called ‘the Geometer’ because of his mastery of classical mathematics. What was the Church’s Problems with the Antipodes? First, it seemed like a logical impossibility. The people would be walking upside down. Second, his teaching contradicted St. Augustine, *the church authority at that time*. Third, the concept could be interpreted as heretical. (Sounds similar to almost 900 years to the future?) Many believed as St. Augustine did, that men could not traverse the ‘perusta’, (the torrid hot zone) to get to the antipodes. Those living there could not have been descendants of Adam and Eve and thus could not be saved by Christ, to baptize them would be a heresy! Zachary vindicated Virgil; the possibility of life on the other side of the earth was not a challenge to the Church. I found it remarkable that Thomas Paine, the U.S. patriot knew this and connected Virgil with Galileo! So, I would connect Boniface with Bellarmine. In his book, *Would You Baptize an Extraterrestrial?* Dr. Consolmagno just says how Zachary considered all human beings as one and missed this medieval analog of the Galileo case. Sorry for the book review, but Giordano Bruno believed that there were many more multiple worlds. Recall Bellarmine’s first question to the Jesuit astronomers at the Roman College. Are there multiple worlds? I went to a lecture given by the Jesuit astronomer about seven years ago. After the lecture the line formed by those who wanted to purchase his new book, *Would You Baptize an Extraterrestrial?* I wanted to just ask brother Consolmagno the question- “In the book you answered how Zachary would have acted-yes, baptize the antipodeans. How would Cardinal Bellarmine have acted in 1600 when Giordano Bruno talked about other worlds?” Let’s get back to Galileo.

I’d like to thank the internet site ‘The Virgil Story – Shorter Version’ for the story above.

<https://virgilofsalzburg.com/the-virgil-story-shorter-version/>



TYCHO'S SUPERNOVA 1572



TYCHO'S COMET 1577



KEPLER'S NOVA 1604

The supernova of 1572 was among the most important observation events of early astronomy. The appearance of this "new star" was one of the first phenomena to show that there could be serious problems with Aristotelian natural philosophy. Like Tycho's Nova, Kepler's served at the time as evidence of the mutability of the stars. Tycho proved that the comet of 1577 was superlunary. Recall: the two divisions of the Universe in Aristotelian Physics, the sublunary and the superlunary- the latter is unchanging and incorruptible. Galileo was ill and did not observe the comets.

Three comets appeared in 1618. Was this a foreshadowing of the Thirty Years War? Some scholars think that that war was a factor in the Galileo case.

<https://www.sciencephoto.com/media/482250/view/brahe-observing-the-supernova-of-1572>
<https://www.rocketstem.org/2020/11/07/ice-and-stone-comet-of-week-46/>
[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321974404 Stellarium_0170_User_Guide/figures?lo=1](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321974404_Stellarium_0170_User_Guide/figures?lo=1)

D E
 TRIBVS COMETIS
 ANNI M. DC. XVIII.
 DISPV TATIO ASTRONOMICA
 PVBLICE HABITA
 IN COLLEGIO ROMANO
 SOCIETATIS IESV
 AB VNO EX PATRIBVS
 EIVSDEM SOCIETATIS.



R O M A E,
 Ex Typographia Iacobi Mafcardi. MDCXIX.
 SVPERIORVM PERMISSV.

GRASSI (S.J.)

D I S C O R S O
 DELLE COMETE
 DI MARIO GUIDVCCI
 FATTO DA LVI
 NELL'ACCADEMIA FIORENTINA
 NEL SVO MEDESIMO CONSOLATO.



I N F I R E N Z E
 Nella Stamperia di Pietro Cecconcelli, Alle Stelle Medicee. 1619.
 CON LICENZA DE' SVPERIORI.

GUIDUCCI (REALLY GALILEO)

Galileo was sick in bed and did not observe. His opponent was the Jesuit of the Collegio Romano, Orazio Grassi who published anonymously as Lothario Sarsi. Grassi's opinion was that they were superlunary. Galileo said that they were optical events caused by reflected sunlight. Galileo was wrong! He shouldve listened to Kepler, but the highly eccentric orbits of the comets seemed to spoil the Copernican theory- comets should travel in perfectly circular orbits according to Copernicus. Just as with the sunspot debate with the Jesuit Christoph Scheiner, Galileo as Guiduci was sarcastic and alienated all the Jesuits. Sarsi-Grassi responded with a book. Since one of the comets was in the constellation of Libra, the Scales, his book was entitled *Astronomical Balance*.

CORRECTING BOOKS

TYCHO, KEPLER, GALILEO, COPERNICUS are all mentioned in this book which went through three editions: 1620, 1635, 1651 Two Protestant heretics and the Antiaristotelian Galileo included in a book sanctioned by the Church?

There was a split among the Jesuits, the orthodox Aristotelians vs. the Jesuit astronomers. Biancani had to fight the censors who would state that one should not say Aristotle's arguments are defective and that comets are superlunary. Certainly one should not praise Tycho and Kepler, they are Protestants and "It does not seem proper or useful for the books of our members to contain ideas of Galileo..."

[Blackwell, *Galileo, Bellarmine and the Bible*: Ch.6. The Jesuit Dilemma: Truth or Obedience? P 135]

Biancani went so far as to adopt Galileo's position on floating bodies in one of his treatises, but it was censored at the time.



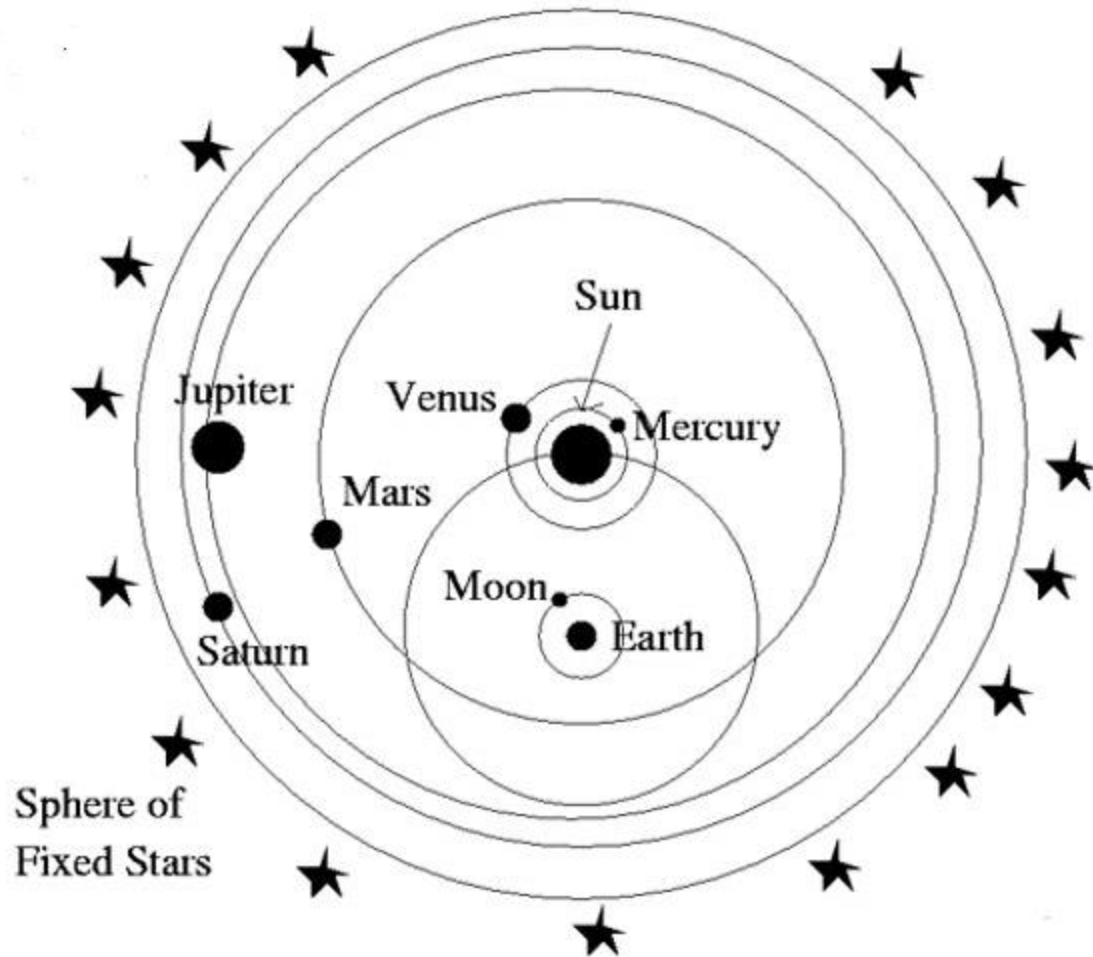
BIANCANI'S SPHAERA MUNDI 1620

Posset fortasse corrigi liber
maybe the book could be corrected!

"SYSTEM OF THE WORLD ACCORDING TO PHILOLAUS THE PYTHAGOREAN AND HIS FOLLOWERS"



COPERNICAN SYSTEM BIANCANI 1620 p.68



https://www.physics.unlv.edu/~jeffery/astro/tycho/tychonic_system.html

TYCHO'S SYSTEM - A GEOHELIOCENTRIC THEORY:

The Earth is at the center of the Universe; the sun, moon and stars revolve around the Earth, the other five planets revolve around the Sun.



THE ASSAYER

1623

The title page shows the crest of the Barberini family, featuring three busy bees. The book was dedicated to the new pope Urban VIII.

“Possibly he (Sarsi, really Orazio Grassi S.J.) thinks that philosophy is a book of fiction ... like the Illiad... Philosophy is written in this grand book - I mean the universe— which stands continually open to our gaze, but it cannot be understood unless one first learns to comprehend the language in which it is written. It is written in the language of mathematics, and its characters are triangles, circles, and other geometric figures, without which it is humanly impossible to understand a single word of it; without these, one is wandering about in a dark labyrinth.”
Galileo The Assayer

We’ve seen that Galileo was wrong with respect to the comets and his acerbic tone permanently alienated his relations with the Jesuits. I still think Galileo had a point; he could not reconcile himself to their split nature-truth or obedience. But some critics of *the Assayer* fail to mention that this book is a revolution in the history of science. It is here that Galileo describes the scientific method. He mainly criticized Orazio Grassi's method of inquiry, heavily biased by his religious belief and often based on previous texts rather than his hypothesis on comets.

MAFFEO CARDINAL BARBERINI

becomes



<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/262702946>

POPE URBAN VIII

1623



https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Urban_VIII#/media/File:Urban_VIII_Bernini_Musei_Capitolini.jpg

Gian Lorenzo Bernini

In an early letter he referred to Galileo as a brother. He was on Galileo's side in the debate on the floating and sinking of objects. In 1620, Barberini wrote a Latin poem that included praises to Galileo. He was elected Pope in 1623. Nothing could be better for Galileo, his friend as Pope! As Pope he stated about condemning the Copernican opinion, "It was never our intention; and if it had been up to us , that decree would not have been made." When Barberini was Pope he loved the book *the Assayer*, which was dedicated to him.

GALILEO'S FOURTH TRIP TO ROME: APRIL-JUNE 1624 SIX MEETINGS WITH POPE URBAN VIII



GALILEO 1624

Galileo had been granted six audiences by the Pope from whom he had received “great honors and favors.” There is no documentation of what was said, but it is obvious that Galileo was telling Urban about the book he wanted to publish. Pope Urban demanded that his own arguments be included in the book. God is all-powerful and can create in a variety of ways what we know to be possible in one way only. Urban probably told his friend that he could discuss Copernican theory, so long as he treated it as an hypothesis.

Dr. Consolmagno asks, “So why wouldn’t Galileo “play ball” the way Urban VIII wanted him to? Galileo was well capable of providing the sort of persuasive but merely hypothetical treatment of Copernicanism that Urban wanted to see. Why didn’t Galileo stay within the limitations set forth by his friend the Pope?” On the previous page his colleague exclaimed, “But Galileo didn’t come through in the way Urban had hoped- Galileo didn’t “play ball”. His treatment of the two systems was witty, urbane and persuasive-as hoped. But it was not hypothetical. Once Galileo’s book came out, *Urban realized that everyone could see that Galileo thought that the Copernican system really was correct.*” [Consolmagno, *Would You Baptize* pp 131-132, my italics]

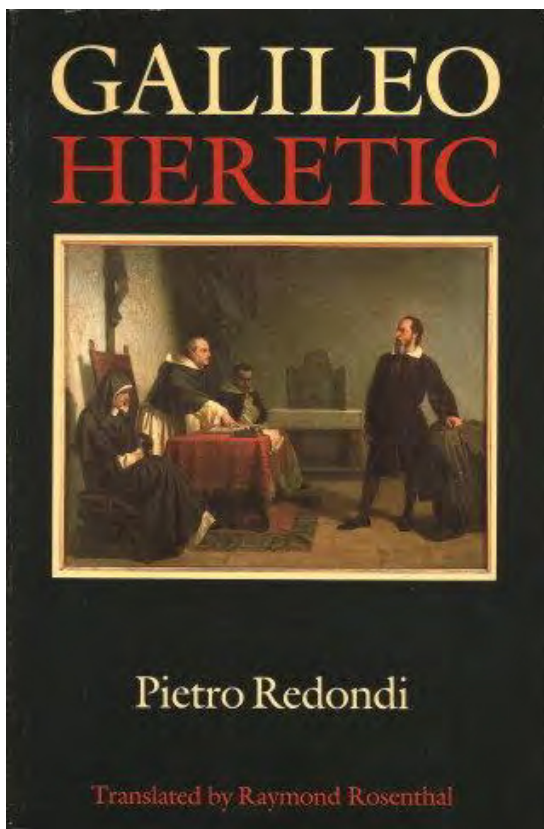
Dr. Consolmagno, it was Galileo’s courage to stand up for the right of a natural philosopher to present his theories and ideas without intervention from some purported ‘higher authority’. If the Church continued with that kind of dictatorial power, as an astronomer today, like your former colleagues Scheiner and Grassi you would still be writing anonymously.



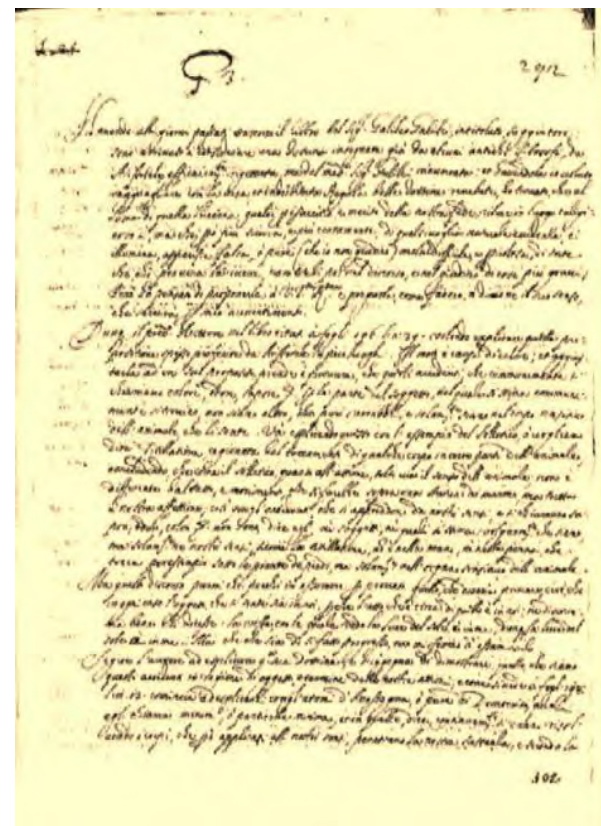
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Disputation_of_the_Holy_Sacrament#/media/File:Disputa_del_Sacramento_\(Rafael\).jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Disputation_of_the_Holy_Sacrament#/media/File:Disputa_del_Sacramento_(Rafael).jpg)

LA DISPUTA (THE DISPUTE)– RAFFAELLO 1509-1510

Why am I including this? It is opposite the School of Athens in Raffaello's room in the Vatican. The School of Athens represents Reason, the Dispute represents Faith. In its 13th session the Council of Trent defined transubstantiation as "that ...conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the Body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the Blood..." Transubstantiation became a dogma of the Church. In most Protestant churches, communion is seen as a memorial of Christ's death. The bread and wine do not change at all because they are symbols. If Galileo's theory of atomism, which was put forth in *The Assayer*, contradicted transubstantiation that would be a worse heresy than Copernicanism.



Redondi proposed that G3 played the major role in the Galileo Affair.



G3 1624: First page of three Vatican Secret Archives

Redondi in 1982 discovered a document, G3 in the files of the Holy Office relating to *The Assayer*. In it an anonymous contemporary informer claimed that Galileo's book contained a defense of atomism that could be construed as heretical. Galileo's atomism was incompatible with the Eucharist, in particular transubstantiation. The informer was very accurate theologically and knew his canon law. Redondi's theory: this was really the crime that the Church wanted to try Galileo for-heresy, but they toned it down to the lesser offense of believing in Copernicanism. Most scholars reject Redondi's theory.

THE ROMAN (ITALIAN) INQUISITION CONGREGATION OF THE HOLY OFFICE OF THE INQUISITION

The Roman, also known as the Italian Inquisition or Holy Office is not to be confused with the Spanish or the Portuguese Inquisition. Paul III established the Roman Inquisition in 1542 with the bull 'Licet ab initio'. With this formal document he created a congregation of cardinals, originally six, charged with the fight against heresy. By Galileo's time it grew to ten. Later other crimes were considered, e.g. blasphemy, polygamy, witchcraft etc. The crimes were spelled out in inquisition manuals. The pope was the supreme head of the Inquisition.

Meetings were usually divided into three parts, an introductory, the middle or secret part where only the cardinals were present, (sometimes the pope) and a concluding part. They discussed political matters, misbehaving clergy, or embarrassing things.

Meeting days were Wednesday and Thursday, sometimes Saturday. The cardinals met on Wednesday and decided cases and forwarded their recommendations to the pope who attended on Thursday. However they voted, the pope's decision was final. He had supreme power over this congregation.

Thus, we have the pope as the *Supremus*, next, the cardinals followed by a many functionaries at a lower level of the hierarchy.

One striking characteristic of the Holy Office of the Inquisition was secrecy. Toward the end of Galileo's first deposition, "...he was ordered to sign below and was sworn to silence." When a commission was formed to examine Galileo's book, the matter was treated in great secrecy. Even the Tuscan ambassador to the Vatican and the grand duke were instructed to maintain secrecy. The antiGalileist Arthur Koestler compared the procedures of the Inquisition trials with the Soviet OGPU (the former KGB) methods.

THE ROMAN (ITALIAN) INQUISITION

CONGREGATION OF THE HOLY OFFICE OF THE INQUISITION

Commissary: the chief operating officer of the case. He presided over the investigation and hearings. Commissary Vincenzo Maculano questioned Galileo, the defendant.

Assessor: assistant to the Commissary; he reports to the Holy Office the meetings of cardinals.

Procurator Fiscalis: took the role of accuser, the official prosecutor. Recall: legally the trial was ‘...between Carlo Sincero, Fiscal Procurator for the Holy Office and Friar Fulgentio...’ Galileo’s case in 1633 was between Carlo Sincero, the prosecutor on one side, and Galileo Galilei on the other side. The Commissary General questioned Galileo in his first deposition. His assistant Carlo Sincero, was present only in the first of the four depositions of Galileo.

Notary: He recorded the questioning, sentencing, the torture etc.; he was responsible for archiving.

Advocatus Reorum: a defender of the accused.

Consultants: decided if the accused is a heretic, or suspect, or not.

Qualifiers: decided if propositions are heretical, rash, erroneous or scandalous. So technically ‘Consultors report on Copernicanism; Feb. 24, 1616’. [19] should read ‘Qualifiers report...’

Master of the Sacred Palace: He is the chief censor and has authority to request changes in the text and to issue the imprimatur. (i.e. to license books)

STAGES OF AN INQUISITIONAL TRIAL

someone is a suspect 'publica fama' (a public rumor)

preliminary investigation by inquisitor, initial questioning

cite the accused

interrogations of suspect and witnesses

charges brought forth- suspect enters a plea

"repetition" all witnesses reexamined, also new ones

interrogations ended- defense proper

congregation decided the sentence

the pope's phase

convicted person had to abjure

publication of the sentence

[Mayer, *The Trial of Galileo 1612-1633* pp 8-10]

In spite of the above there was no such thing as a 'typical' Inquisition trial. Mostly a public rumor or complaint by at least two starts it off. This is a denunciation. An alternative method is that initiated by the Holy Office itself. In the Galileo case we have seen that father Lorini (and indirectly his Dominican convent) initiated it. But, the Pope ordered that Caccini be deposed also. Initial questioning is under oath-usually the person is not charged nor read his or her rites. This will be important later. Then the accused should be cited and the trial formally begins. Interrogation can include torture. The defendant should be given written charges. Galileo was brought before the inquisitor twice, April 12th and April 30th before being charged on May 10th 1633. In the Repetition stage a public defender can be brought in. The defendant has time to prepare- Galileo had 8 days but he chose not to take that time. The defendant gets a copy of all testimony-but no names of witnesses are listed. After Galileo was sentenced and abjured and was under house arrest he realized that he never got a copy of the proceedings. Next-the 'expedition' phase when the sentence is decided. The final judgement depended solely on the 'Summarium'- a summary of the case. The cardinals discuss and recommend a sentence based on this but the decision is totally up to the Pope. The convicted person must abjure, i.e. repent. Most are done publicly. Galileo's abjuration was private with about 18 or 20 attending. The sentence of the convicted person is published. Galileo's case was unprecedented-almost every city throughout Catholic Europe was notified. Mayer in his *The Trial of Galileo* said that "Galileo's had no more and no less than the usual number of departures from the model." p 8) I don't believe that is true; there was a plea bargain, which, as far as I know, is highly unusual. And the publication of Galileo's sentence and abjuration throughout Christian Europe was unprecedented.



DIRECTORIUM INQUISITORUM

NICHOLAS EYMERICH O.P.

‘GRANDDADDY’ OF INQUISITION MANUALS
SOME EDITIONS: 1376, 1585, 1587, 1607.

DIRECTORIUM INQUISITORUM F. NICCLAI EYMERICI
ORDINIS PRAED CUM COMMENTARIIS FRANCISII
PEGNAIE IN HAC POSTREMA EDITIONE ITERUM
EMENDATUM & AUCTUM & MULTIS LITTERIS
APOSTOLICIS LOCUPLETATUM

THE DIRECTORY OF THE INQUISITORS, ORDER OF THE
PREACHERS F. NICHOLAS EYMERIC ORDER WITH
COMMENTARIES OF FRANCISCO PEGNA IN THIS LAST
EDITION AGAIN CORRECTED AND ENLARGED AND
ENRICHED WITH MANY APOSTOLIC LETTERS*

It includes definitions of various types of heresies, discussion of questions of jurisdiction, and proper trial procedure. It was used as a manual for inquisitors, and gave practical advice on how to conduct inquiries and when to administer torture.

* Google Latin-English translator

SACRO -
A R S E N A L E
 O V E R O
P R A T T I C A
 D E L L ' O F F I C I O
 D E L L A
SANTA INQUISITIONE.



collegato IN GENOVA, *Al. Cecis*
 APPRESSO GIUSEPPE PAVONI.
 MDCXXI.

There were ten editions of the *Sacred Arsenal* from 1621 to 1730. The first Inquisition manual and the only one that I have seen that is written partly in Italian. It was a handbook for fledgling Inquisitors- a practicum for on the job training. The 1621 edition might have been used in the Galileo trial. As far as I know it has not been recorded which inquisitional manual was used in his case, if any at all. There were many different ones available at the time.

CONTENTS OF SACRO ARSENALE - INQUISITION MANUAL

(ten editions: 1621-1730)

1. On the Authority, Dignity of the Office of the Inquisition; and of the persons against which the Holy Office will proceed.
2. On the method of forming the trials and examining the testimony of the accused.
3. The way one must examine the formal heretics.
4. On the method of forming a trial.
5. Method of forming citations, precepts, decrees, assurances and other similar things.
6. Method of interrogating the accused by torture.
7. On the method of proceeding against polygamists and witches in the Holy Tribunal.
8. On the method of terminating the trial in the Holy Office.
9. Method of forming the licenses for the officials, giving them the oath of allegiance, proposing the actions of the Congregation and to discharge the accused from excommunication in the Holy Office.
10. Useful and necessary advice to the judges of the Holy Inquisition. In the first edition there were 200 short paragraphs giving miscellaneous information. By the last edition it grew to 300.

Chapter 7 on witches and polygamy does not exist in the first edition. It does first appear in the second edition, 1625. Polygamy was a criminal offense, adultery was not; the former was a sacrament, the latter just a mortal sin.

REGOLE DEL TRIBVNALE DEL S. OFFICIO

PRATICATE
IN ALCVNI CASI IMAGINARI
DAL P. MAESTRO F. TOMASO MENGHINI
D'Albacia, già Inquisitore d'Ancona, e di Ferrara,

E di nuouo ristampate ad istanza
DELLI SIG.^{RI} VICARII FORANEI
DELLA S. INQUISITIONE DI MILANO.

Per loro lume, & instruzione.



IN MILANO, MDCCII.

Nella Stampa di Francesco Vigone, e fratelli, vicino a S. Michele al Gallo.
Con licenza de' Superiori.

Loosely translated, *COURT RULES OF THE HOLY OFFICE, A PRACTICUM IN SOME IMAGINARY CASES*. At least five editions (1687, 1689, 1702, 1716, 1724) exist. It was added to the *Sacro Arsenale* in 1693. It focuses on six types of crimes frequently dealt with by the courts, giving mock examples of interrogations and sentences. 1. Blasphemy 2. Spells 3. Of a woman urged to be wicked in sacramental confession. 4. Of a celebrant not promoted to the priesthood. 5. Polygamy. 6. Of the theft of a pyx. 7. ? A case involving the author of the *Regole del Tribunale*. Although the first edition is more than fifty years after Galileo's trial all of the basic information seems applicable to Galileo's time. Incidentally, a pyx is the container in which the consecrated bread of the Eucharist is kept.

RULES OF THE TRIBUNAL OF THE HOLY OFFICE

1 *Auanti d'ogni cosa si nota il giorno, Mese, & anno.*

2 *Si scriuerà la comparsa personale del Denunziante, la presenza del Giudice, il Luogo, dove si fa l'esame, e la presenza del Notaro.*

3 *Circa il Denunziante si noterà il Nome, Padre, Cognome, Patria, età, esercizio, habitatione, e giuramento; e queste cose dovrà imparare à memoria il Notaro, quando non le sà; e circa il giuramento auuertirà il Vicario di farlo stendere tutto, cioè tactis Sacris litteris; essendo questo l'Ordine della Sacra Congregatione.*

PRIMA DENUNTI DI BESTEMMIE.

Die 5. Junij 1682.

1

2



Pontè personalitèr comparuit corà Adm. Reu. Patre Vicario S. Officij Auximi, existente in propria Cella, in Meiquè &c.

3

Titius Filius quondam Berengarij Cedrari de Neapoli; ætatis annorum quadraginta circitèr; Mercator; degens de præfenti in hac Ciuitate Auximi sub Parochia Maiori; cui delato iuramento veritatis dicendæ, quod præstitit tactis sacris litteris, exposuit vt infra . . .

1. Before every case note the day, Month, and year.
2. One will write the personal appearance of the Denounced one, the presence of the Judge, the place, where one did the examination, and the Presence of the notary.

FIRST DENUNCIATION OF BLASPHEMY

- 1 Day 5. June 1682
- 2 ...

A common case in the Holy Office is blasphemy. Notice the very first case and the instructions-record everything (more or less). Although this directive is in *the Regole del Tribunale*, it is certainly in the *Sacro Arsenale* and other inquisition manuals. Notaries recorded testimony of witnesses and defendants in the vernacular, sometimes even facial gestures and body language.

Contro à quai persone proceda il S. Officio .

SI come cinque generalmente sono i casi, & i delitti appartenenti à questo Santo Tribunale, cioè. Prima, l'Heresia formale, & la sospitione d'essa. Secondo, la fautoria de gli heretici, e sospetti d'heresia. Terzo, la Necromantia, maleficioj, stregarie, & incanti. Quarto, la bestemmia hereticale. Quinto, l'offesa, & la resistenza al S. Officio: Così contro cinque sorti di persone procede il Santo Officio.

Prima, contro gli heretici, ò sospetti d'heresia.

2. Contro i fautori loro.

3. Contro i Maghi, Malefici, & Incantatori.

4. Contro i Bestemmiatori.

5. Contro quelli, che s'oppongono ad esso Santo Officio, & suoi officiali.

Et accioche meglio siano distinte, e conosciute tai persone, dichiareremo con essempi, quali siano.

De gli Heretici.

Heretici sono quelli, che dicono, insegnano, predicano, ò scriuono cose contro la Sacra Scrittura. Contro gli Articoli della Santa Fede.

Chapter One of this Inquisitional manual lays out in detail those who the Holy Office will prosecute.

SACRO ARSENALE 1621, p.16.

THE HOLY OFFICE

WILL PROCEED AGAINST...

...

First, against the heretics, or those suspected of heresy.

2. Those who protect heretics.

3. the Magicians, the Wicked, the Sorcerers.

4. the Blasphemers

5. those that oppose the Holy Office and its officials.

Of the Heretics.

Heretics are those who say, teach, preach, or write things against Holy Scripture. Against the Articles of the Holy Faith.

146 **OF THE HERETICS** (continued)

Against the articles of the holy faith.

Against the sacred Sacraments ceremonies and rituals or the use of them.

Against the Decrees of the holy Councils and determinations made
by the Supreme Pontiffs.

Against the supreme authority of the Supreme Pontiff.

Against the Apostolic traditions.

Against Purgatory and Indulgences.

Those that renounce the holy Faith, making themselves
Turks, Jews and other sects...

TYPES OF HERESY

FORMAL HERESY, SUSPECTED HERESY

STRONG SUSPICION OF HERESY

VEHEMENT SUSPICION OF HERESY

MILD SUSPICION OF HERESY

ERRONEOUS, SCANDALOUS, RASH BELIEFS.

Galileo was convicted of 'vehement suspicion of heresy'. A heresy is a pernicious error of the intellect with obstinacy of the will; an erroneous opinion or belief that you hold voluntarily and that opposes a truth of faith. In Galileo's time 'vehement suspicion of heresy' was second to formal heresy in its seriousness. They are both crimes that can be prosecuted. The word suspicion doesn't mean that they think he did it- he did it! I believe strong suspicion of heresy was abolished in Galileo's time.

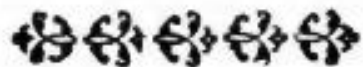
"And the inquisitor should take particular notice that those beliefs that go against the faith reside in the soul, and only God can see and judge these without fault. ... Therefore, if the defendant should make a confession in court to having blasphemed or acted in a heretical fashion, he should be examined immediately over his intentions and his beliefs." (*Sacro Arsenale*-Part Two, 1621. p 46. [Martin, Tortured Testimonies, p 378])

When Galileo's third deposition was just completed, Urban was still doubtful about Galileo's intention. In a document of June 16, 1633 [47] Urban states “**...Galileo is to be interrogated about his intention, even threatened with torture,...**”

“The crime of heresy was, after all, not visible but lay in the heart or mind of the accused” ... Francesco Peña, in his highly influential commentary on Eymeric's fourteenth-century *Directorium Inquisitorum*, praised the "custom of torturing defendants, especially in these times, since, without torture, criminals rarely confess to their crimes." In his *Sacro Arsenale*, first published in 1621, the Genoese jurist Eliseo Masini reiterated the difficulty inquisitors faced in trying to get to the heart and soul of a defendant.” [Martin, Tortured Testimonies p 378]

Galileo was threatened with torture; the Pope wanted to know his intention, his true belief; which of course we know was that he still believed in Copernicus' theory. But in the trial, for his survival he denounced Copernicus and said he believed in the Ptolemy- Aristotelian world. If he told the truth I believe he'd be put in a dungeon. People who stuck to a heretical belief were 'relapsus' and would probably be executed.

SESTA PARTE



Del modo d'interrogare i Rei nella tortura .

HAuendo il Reo negato i delitti oppostili, & non essendosi essi pienamente prouati, è necessario per hauerne la verità venir contro di lui al rigoroso esame: essendo stata à pūto ritrouata la tortura per supplire al difetto de' testimonij, quando non possono intera proua apportare contro del Reo. Ne ciò punto sconuiene all' Ecclesiastica mansuetudine, & benignità, anzi quando gli indicij sono legitimi, bastevoli, chiari, & (come dicono) concludenti in suo genere, può, e dee l' Inquisitore in ogni modo senz' alcun biasimo farlo, accioche i Rei confessando i lor delitti si conuertano à Dio, e per mezo del castigo saluino l' anime loro. Ma perche in negotio di tanta

SACRO ARSENALE (1621)

PART SIX

OF THE WAY TO INTERROGATE
THE DEFENDANT BY TORTURE.

Lines 8-13

"...indeed when the evidence is legitimate, sufficient, and clear and (as they say) decisive in its own way, the inquisitor can and should (carry out torture), without any blame, so that the defendants, confessing their sins, convert to God and save their souls through punishment."

[Martin, Tortured Testimonies
p 379]

n. b. This is page 263 lines 12-16 in the tenth (1730) edition.

SESTA PARTE



Del modo d'interrogare i Rei
nella Tortura.



VENDO il Reo, negato i delitti oppostigli, e non essendo essi pienamente provati: s' egli, nel termine assegnatogli a far le sue difese, non avrà dedotto a sua discolpa cosa alcuna: ovvero, fatte le difese, ad ogni modo non avrà purgato gl' indizj, che contro a lui risultano dal Processo: è necessario, per averne la verità, venir contro di lui al rigoroso esame; essendo stata appunto ritrovata la tortura per supplire al difetto de' Testimonj, quando non possono intera pruova apportare contro del Reo. Nè ciò punto sconviene all' Ecclesiastica mansuetudine e benignità: anzi quando gl' indizj sono legittimi, bastevoli, chiari, e (come dicono) concludenti *in suo genere*, può e deve l' Inquisitore in ogni modo senza alcun biasimo farlo, acciocchè i Rei, confessando i loro delitti, si convertano a Dio, e per mezzo del castigo salvino l'anime loro. Bene sconvirebbe da doverlo, anzi

SACRO ARSENALE (1730)
PART SIX

The way to interrogate the
defenders in the Torture.

METHODS OF TORTURE

STRAPPADO, CORDA
STANGHETTA
CANNETTE
BACCHETTA
FUOCO
VEGLIA

Lines 12-16 "when the evidence is legitimate, sufficient, and clear and (as they say) decisive in its own way, the inquisitor can and should (carry out torture), without any blame, so that the defendants, confessing their sins, convert to God and save their souls through punishment."

Recall our previous page 148; in 109 years this sentence remained the same!

“it is necessary in order to have the truth to come against him (a negative heretic) to a rigorous examination* torture being precisely invented in order to supply the defects of the witnesses, when they (inquisitors) cannot bring complete proof against the suspect.” [Mayer, *Trying Galileo* p. 204]

On that page Meyer discusses the question of whether Galileo was tortured. Is the expression ‘rigoroso esame’ synonymous with torture? Don’t forget, in Galileo’s fourth deposition the Inquisitor threatened him with torture. Most scholars believe that he was not tortured. Masini’s *Sacro Arsenale* implies that he should have been tortured. But we do not know if that manual was used for Galileo’s case.

- **‘rigoroso esame’**: For ‘rigoroso’ I looked in Florio’s 1611 Italian-English Dictionary; synonyms are ‘rigorous’, ‘severe’. ‘fierce’, ‘unmerciful’.
- To get the truth it is still necessary to do a ‘rigorous examination’, whether it is 1621 or 1730.

PART SIX, first page, 1621 edition

‘...quando gli indicij sono legitimi...’

PART SIX, first page, 1730 edition

‘... quando gl’indizj sono legittimi...’

So, the sentence is exactly the same except for minor spelling changes. But in other places in the *Sacro Arsenale* there were major revisions. I know of no study that investigated this.

"And the judges should ensure that the notary writes down not only all the responses of the defendant but also all his reasonings and all the gestures and all the words that he offers while being tortured, not to mention all the sighs, all the screams, all the complaints, and all the tears that he gives forth." [Martin, Tortured Testimonies p 382]
 The defendants screams were recorded as OIMÈ, OIMÈ. [Martin, p 376]

Torture was legal starting from 1252. It was an integral part of the Inquisitional procedure as well as state law. It could be used to resolve contradictory evidence. The **strappado**, also known as **corda (the rope)** is a form of torture in which the victim's hands are tied behind his back and the victim is hoisted up by a rope attached to the wrists. The **stanghetta** involved squeezing the heel of the right foot with a makeshift metal clamp. **Cannette** were tubes put between fingers, which were then squeezed. A **bacchetta** was a cane for use on children older than age nine. **Fuoco** is fire. (I have no information about this procedure)
 The greatest misfortune that an offender could have encounter would have been the **veglia**, as we will soon see.

METHODS OF TORTURE:

STRAPPADO, CORDA

STANGHETTA, CANNETTE BACCHETTA, FUOCO, VEGLIA



“**CAMPANELLA** set fire to the straw mattress in his prison cell and pursued a plan to simulate a raving delirium. . . .

Campanella spent one month raving, muttering or otherwise outwardly demonstrating an utter loss of reason to any official who saw him. Meanwhile he conversed rationally with a prisoner friend. . . . For months Campanella somehow managed his posture of simulated madness through tortures, surprise visits and surreptitious observations. . . . On June 4 and 5,

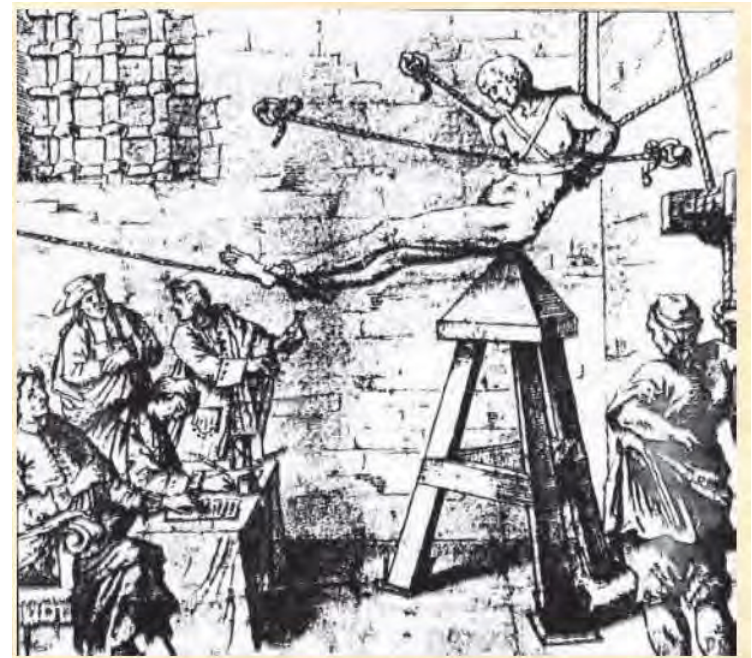
Campanella underwent the veglia (wake). By Campanella's time, the wake was a relatively rare form of torture, deemed sufficiently cruel that it was universally recognized as intolerable enough to provoke confession even from the most recalcitrant of subjects. . . . After thirty-six continuous hours of torture without sleep, the exactors of punishment cut loose his ropes and declared him insane. As soon as Campanella heard these words, he was said to have turned to one of his torturers, Giacomo Ferraro, and hissed in his ear: "Che si pensavano che io era coglione, che vovera parlare? (What did you think, that I was a dumbass, that I wanted to talk?)"

I thank Professor Sherry Roush, Penn State.

<https://lcbackerblog.blogspot.com/2011/03/sherry-roush-on-tommaso-campanellas.html>



https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tommaso_Campanella#/media/File:Cozza_Tommaso_Campanella.jpg



VEGLIA JUDAS' CRADLE



DIALOGUE CONCERNING THE TWO CHIEF WORLD SYSTEMS

1632

COPERNICAN SYSTEM
VS. PTOLEMAIC SYSTEM

THE *DIALOGUE* is a discussion of natural philosophy among three characters during a period of four days. It was written in Italian. **SALVIATI** argues for the Copernican position and gives Galileo's views. **SAGREDO** is an intelligent man who is initially neutral. **SIMPLICIO** is an Aristotelian and opts for the Ptolemaic system. Galileo does not consider Tycho's system, nor does he consider Kepler's elliptical orbits.

Galileo finally presented his arguments for heliocentrism in this masterpiece which was published in Florence, early in 1632.

First Day: Salviati attacks the old Aristotelian philosophy. There is no difference between the material in the heavens and on earth. The objects in the heavens and the bodies on earth obey the same laws of nature.

Second Day: The daily rotation of the earth is discussed and why the effects of this rotation cannot be directly observed. 'Galileo's Ship' describes a person on a uniformly moving ship having no sense of movement. One cannot distinguish between a system moving uniformly from one at rest. This 'principle of inertia' is actually one of the two postulates of Einstein's theory of Special Relativity.

Third Day is devoted to the analysis of astronomical phenomena and describes the revolution of the planets around the sun.

Fourth Day: Galileo considers the Copernican theory of the solar system and the tides on earth.

This is the book that got Galileo in trouble with the Inquisition.

The story of the publication of the book is long and involved. Niccolo Riccardi, the Master of the Sacred Palace, the Church's chief censor in Rome, was dragging his feet. The book was to be funded by Prince Cesi of the Lincean Academy, but he died (August 1630). To make matters even worse for Galileo all the roads to Rome were closed due to the plague. Finally Galileo got permission to publish it in Florence. The book was on sale by February 1632. It definitely favored Copernicanism, and there was no mention of Scripture at all. In August the publication of the *Dialogue* was suspended. Even the three dolphins of the publisher Landini was investigated. Was this a veiled reference to the three bees of the Papal coat of arms referring to Urban's nepotism; namely the brother and the two nephews of Urban? The Latin motto, 'Grandior ut proles' just above the dolphins when translated literally means "bigger as children" and could be construed as Urban's nepotism. Also in Renaissance symbolism, dolphins rescued drowning sailors by lifting them to the surface, so they (and Landini's books) represent saving the people from the three bees of Urban. The preface was in a different font. Finally, the Pope wanted a purely hypothetical view of the Copernican theory and his argument about the heliocentric theory to be included. Urban had argued that an all-powerful God could make the Sun and other heavenly bodies do as He pleased, whatever the laws of physics. Galileo put the Pope's argument in the mouth of Simplicio, the fool.



THREE DOLPHINS OF LANDINI



THREE BEES OF
COAT OF ARMS OF URBAN VIII

SPECIAL COMMISSION'S REPORT ON THE *DIALOGUE* [25]

SEPTEMBER 1632 (The authors are not listed)

Urban wanted to know the events pertaining to the printing in Florence of Galileo's book. The history of the publication was included in the report.

re Galileo: He violated orders by going back from hypothesis.

He fraudulently kept quiet about an injunction given to him in 1616. (not to hold, teach or defend the same (the false doctrine) in any manner in word or in writing).

re the book: Having put the preface in different characters,

having placed the medicine in a fool's mouth,

having backed away from hypothesis,

giving bad treatment of opposing authors,

declaring badly the equivalence between the human and Divine

in understanding geometric things,

Ptolemaics become Copernicans but not the reverse,...

"All these things could be amended if there is judged some utility in the book..."

The *Dialogue* was published in February 1632 and by August the Holy Office ordered publication suspended and sales halted. The Pope ordered a special commission. I quote, "We think that Galileo may have overstepped his instructions by asserting absolutely the earth's motion." Both the *Sidereus Nuncius* (*Starry Messenger*, 1610) and the *Sunspot Letters* (1613) have prefaces in italics while the text is in regular type. But, the 'medicine', i.e. the Pope's explanation of the cosmos was put in the mouth of Simplicio, the fool. Actually there were three (possibly four) authors of the commission. Two commissions investigated the contents of the book, 'the Special Commission's report', [25] of September of 1632 as mentioned above and another in the spring of 1633- the reports of a commission of three, [44] [45] [46].

Imprimatur si videbitur Reuerendis. P. Magistro Sacri
 Palatij Apostolici.
 A. Episcopus Bellicastensis Vicesgerens.

Imprimatur
 Fr. Nicolaus Riccardius
 Sacri Palatij Apostolici Magister.

Imprimatur Florentiæ ordinibus consuetis seruatis.
11. Septembris 1630.
Petrus Nicolinus Vic. Gener. Florentiæ.

Imprimatur die 11. Septembris 1630.
Fr. Clemens Egidius Inqu. Gener. Florentiæ.

Stampisi adi 12. di Settembre 1630.
Niccolò dell'Altella.



The Church claimed that Galileo deceitfully obtained the imprimatur by not telling the censors about the personal injunction. Galileo obtained two imprimaturs; four censors signed off on it. One was the Inquisitor of Florence! This 'mess-up' was a big embarrassment for the Church.



GIOVANNI CIAMPOLI

CIAMPOLI read a draft of Galileo's *Dialogue* in 1630. He wrote to Galileo assuring him of the Pope's favorable view. He told the Pope that Galileo had faithfully followed the instructions Urban had given him concerning how the book was to be written. His influence was crucial in ensuring that the book would be published.

Ciampoli was a friend of Galileo from at least 1615 on. At that time he was cluing Galileo in on things that were happening in Rome. Later he became very influential in the Galileo Affair. He became Secretary to Urban and was ultimately exiled to a small town, one reason being that he was, according to the Pope, totally inadequate in his duty of dealing with Galileo's book.

158 URBAN'S PROBLEMS AT THE TIME GALILEO'S BOOK APPEARED

THE 30 YEARS WAR: The Thirty Years War which started in 1618 (the year of the three comets) was initially a battle among the Catholic and Protestant states that formed the Holy Roman Empire. The struggle was between the Holy Roman Empire, which was Roman Catholic and Habsburg, and a network of Protestant principalities that relied on the anti-Catholic powers of Sweden and the Netherlands. As it evolved it became more and more a power struggle between countries. The only reason the Thirty Years War concerns us is because of how Urban dealt with it. From 1631 to 1634, Cardinal Borgia was Spain's ambassador to the Holy See and, on orders from the Spanish king, accused Urban (then seemingly favoring France) in the consistory of March 8, 1632 of failing to defend Catholicism in its war with the Protestant nations and threatened that Spain would depose him. Rumors were that the Pope was a closet Protestant and a heretic.

CIAMPOLI: As we have seen, as Papal Secretary, he was pivotal in helping to get Galileo's book published, which for Urban was infuriating. He also sided with the Spanish by the support he gave to the pro-Spanish faction headed by Cardinal Borgia who was hostile to Urban VIII.

GALILEO: His friend Galileo deceived him by putting Urban's argument about the nature of the cosmos in the mouth of the fool.

ECLIPSES: Urban had a dreaded fear of death due to the upcoming eclipses. In 1628 the pro-French Pope, Urban VIII, was deeply fearful of an approaching eclipse which his Spanish enemies had loudly predicted was a prophecy of his death.

URBAN AND ECLIPSES: Urban VIII deeply believed in astrology. In December 1628 he was staying at the Quirinal Palace near the Vatican, fearful of the coming solar eclipse. A solar eclipse was predicted for June 10th. Urban was terrified. He summoned the astrologer and magus Tommaso Campanella who had been in jail for heresy and overthrowing the government of the Kingdom of Naples for the past 27 years.

“They sealed the doors and windows of a Vatican apartment to prevent the infiltration of outside air and hung white silken cloths on the walls. They sprinkled the room with rose vinegar and other aromatics and then lit two candles and five torches representing the seven planets. All the other persons present had horoscopes immune to the evils of the eclipse. They played music attuned to the harmony of the planets, Jupiter and Venus, employed appropriate stones, plants, and odors, and drank astrologically distilled liquids.” *The Darker Vision of the Renaissance*, Robert S. Kinsman p. 105.

The ceremony was obviously successful.

THE MORANDI AFFAIR: On May 18th 1630 a ‘Notice’ (like the National Enquirer) stated that the mathematician and astrologer Galileo was coming to Rome to publish his book and that he predicted the death of the Pope and the Pope’s nephew! At about the same time Urban arrested Orazio Morandi, an abbot of a monastery and astrologer and imprisoned him on charges of having predicted the death of His Holiness. Books and Notices from the library of the monastery were confiscated-including horoscopes by Galileo, a friend of Morandi. Galileo went to the Vatican and obviously they knew he was not culpable. Yet, this did not look good for him. News of this prediction of the death of the Pope spread as far as Spain, where cardinals quickly embarked for Italy to attend a conclave that would elect a new pope! Urban was furious. Morandi soon died in November in prison, probably poisoned. As an aftermath to the Morandi case, Urban put forth a papal bull against astrology. It was mainly concerned with those who predicted the death of the pope and his kin to the third degree of consanguinity,



POPE URBAN VIII



TOMMASO CAMPANELLA