



TRIUMPH OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE
CEILING, PALAZZO BARBERINI

**WHAT THE BARBARIANS DID NOT DO,
THE BARBERINI DID.**

URBAN VIII: So, Galileo was arrogant! Yes! But let's look at his opponent. Urban's reign included nepotism and the pillaging of ancient Roman monuments. On July 29, 1644, the Roman public learned that Urban had died the previous day and they were euphoric. The next day a mob went after the marble statue of the Pope carved by Bernini.

A SMALL 30 YEARS WAR: There was a small fiefdom bordering the Papal State, owned by the Alidosi family since the early 1500's. In 1608 the head of the family, Rodrigo was accused of aiding Germans. At about the same time (Spring 1633) that Galileo was being questioned by the Inquisitor, the same inquisitor was questioning Mariano (Rodrigo's son) for murder. The Alidosi family was ultimately ousted from their family home, Castel del Rio in 1638 by Urban.

NEPOTISM: The average wage of a skilled worker in Rome in the 1620s was 3 scudi per month. In 1627, a Roman woman living in a two-room attic apartment was less than one scudo per month. Another Roman was paying 10 scudi per year (type of apartment not identified). On a higher level of transaction an "Illustrissimo Signor in 1628 was renting an entire Roman patrician palazzo from a Duke for 300 scudi per year.. <https://www.francomormando.com/bernini-updates-2-2/>

Caravaggio got 8 scudi for his painting "The Fortune Teller". Peter Paul Reubens complained that he could not afford maintaining a house with two servants for one year in Rome on the allotted 140 scudi. In 1601-2 when he arrived in Italy, he painted three pictures for the church Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and was paid about 200 scudi.

Urban's nephew Cardinal Francesco Barberini had a fortune of 63 million scudi; nephew Tadeo 42 million. Francesco's fortune- about \$2.5 billion in today's money. [Scotti, p 222]



VATICAN SECRET ARCHIVE

<https://www.vaticannews.va/en/vatican-city/news/2021-03/papal-archives-vatican-open-world-sergio-pagano.html>

With over 52 miles of shelves, the Galileo documents are found in the Vatican File on Galileo (VF) kept in the Vatican Secret Archive (ASV). “The VF documents, then, represent the legal basis of Galileo’s condemnation and are of the utmost importance for the reconstruction and proper interpretation of his trial.” [McMullin p 193]

The critical, definitive edition of the trial of Galileo is contained in *I Documenti Vaticani del processo di Galileo Galilei (1611-1741)* which divides the documents into two parts; those from the Vatican Secret Archives, (Documents 1-117), and those from the Archives of the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith (the Holy Office) (Documents 118-189).

I Documenti leads off with 258 pages of commentary.

GALILEO'S SIXTH TRIP TO ROME: FEBRUARY 13-JULY 16, 1633

February 22, 1632; publication of the *Dialogue*

July 25, 1632; Urban withholds the *Dialogue*

September 23, 1632; Galileo called to Rome

January 20, 1633; Galileo left Florence

February 13, 1633; Galileo arrives in Rome

April 12, 1633; Galileo's first deposition [37]

April 28, 1633; Commissary General to Cardinal Francesco Barberini [181]

April 30, 1633; Galileo's second deposition [38]

May 10, 1633; Galileo's third deposition (Galileo's Defense) [40,42]

June 21, 1633; Galileo's fourth deposition [48]

June 22, 1633; Galileo's sentence [114] and abjuration [115] - house arrest to the end of his life.

163 The *Dialogue of the Two Chief World Systems* was published on February 22, 1632 and by July 25th Urban directed that the book be withheld. On September 23, 1632 in a meeting the Pope ordered Galileo to be called to Rome. Two days later Cardinal Antonio Barberini (the Pope's brother) contacted the Florentine Inquisitor. Galileo is to come to Rome by October. Witnesses and a notary should be present and Galileo is not to know why he is summoned. [Mayer, *The Trial of Galileo*, p122]. It is interesting to compare this letter with another the Pope's nephew Francesco sent, on the same day to the Tuscan Nuncio [Finocchiaro, *The Galileo Affair*, p 222]

Galileo writes back and requests two possibilities. He could give a written reply or maybe they could have the inquisition in Florence. In an Inquisition Decree of Nov. 11, 1632 the Pope denied Galileo's request.

On Dec. 17 three doctors testified on Galileo's behalf , "... these symptoms are worthy of notice, as under the least aggravation they might evidently become dangerous to life." The Pope replied, "...by no means can and must tolerate these kinds of tricks." [Mayer, *The Trial of Galileo*, pp 139-140]

On January 20, 1633 Galileo left Florence and arrived in Rome on February 13 and took up lodging in the Tuscan Embassy. To the anti-Galileists who say how well he was treated by the Inquisition because of his lodgings. He was almost 70, it was winter and the plague was raging in Florence.

Urban even said that if Galileo did not come, they would come and take him in chains and the scientist would have to pay the expenses. He arrived February 13 and his First Deposition was on Apr. 12. So, for just about two months he basically was clueless about what would happen. He was not permitted to go out. He was strongly advised not to see visitors or pay visits.

THE TRIAL BEGINS: TUESDAY, APRIL 12, 1633

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This is probably the best depiction of the trial; at least Galileo's first Deposition where the Commissary General, Vincenzo Maculano (the Inquisitor) questions Galileo while the prosecutor, Carlo Sincero looks on. The notary records the proceedings. Sincero was recorded to be present only in the first deposition. Since some of the texts can fill five or six pages, in what follows I have condensed the actual texts of the trial so that only the essential information is shown. Of course one would want to read the entire transcript. The translations of the trial transcripts, as are most other translations in my paper are taken from *The Galileo Affair, A Documentary History* by Maurice A. Finocchiaro. Recall, the numbers in brackets and in blue, e.g. 'Galileo's Sentence' [114] refer to the number of the document in *I Documenti...* A concordance between '*I Documenti*', Finocchiaro's *The Galileo Affair*, and Mayer's *The Trial of Galileo 1612-1633* appears on page 275.

TUESDAY, APRIL 12, 1633

Galileo was summoned to the Holy Office to appear before Father Vincenzo Maculano the Commissary General, and Father Carlo Sincero, Prosecutor for the Holy Office. Galileo took the formal oath to tell the truth. The Inquisitor questioned Galileo in Latin in the third person; the response was in Italian.

Q. "Whether he knows or can guess the reason why he was ordered to Rome."

A. "I imagine that the reason ... is to account for my recently printed book."

Maculano then asks if Galileo could recognize his book and

Q: "Whether he likewise acknowledges each and every thing contained in the said book as his."

A: "I know this book shown to me, for it is one of those printed in Florence; and I acknowledge all it contains as having been written by me."

Maculano then asks about Galileo's trip to Rome in 1616 and why he was there.

A. "...having heard objections to Nicholas Copernicus's opinion... I came to hear what was proper

B. to hold in regard to this topic."

Galileo said that he "discussed this matter with some cardinals ...especially with Cardinals Bellarmine, Aracoeli, San Eusebio, Bonsi and d'Ascoli." [p. 258, Finocchiaro]

Thus, *Galileo spoke to at least five cardinals in 1616*, including the top theologian Cardinal Bellarmine! He died in 1621, but cardinals Galamini and Centini were still alive in 1633. In fact, Centini's name was first on the list of the seven that condemned Galileo on June 22, 1633. A typical Inquisition trial would have had a 'repetition' stage where witnesses could be reexamined. [Mayer, *Trial* p. 8.] Why weren't the two cardinals called? Obviously this is not an ordinary trial.

Q: "...what then was decided about this matter?"

A: "...it was decided by the Holy Congregation of the Index that this opinion, taken absolutely, is repugnant to Holy Scripture and is to be admitted only suppositionally in the way that Copernicus takes it."

So far Galileo admitted to writing a book that was repugnant to Holy Scripture. Recall Osiander's preface to Copernicus' book (p 32), claiming the author took it suppositionally and not absolutely. We know that Copernicus believed that his theory explained reality. Now the Inquisitor asks a key question...

Q: "Whether he was then notified of the said decision, and by whom."

A: "I was indeed notified of the said decision of the Congregation of the Index [22], and I was notified by Lord Cardinal Bellarmine."

Galileo admits that he was notified of the Decree of the Index and was notified by Bellarmine. This last point is crucial. Maculano will try to show that Galileo got a formal injunction [21]; Galileo that it was only *a verbal warning*.

The Inquisitor asks what Bellarmine told Galileo. The Cardinal responded that the opinion could only be held suppositionally. "His Eminence knew that I held it suppositionally, namely in the way that Copernicus held it."

Galileo gives Maculano a copy of Bellarmine's letter to Foscarini (p. 103, not in *I Documenti*) where Bellarmine says that Foscarini and Galileo took the theory suppositionally.

Galileo has to say he is holding the doctrine suppositionally; to admit he believes it would further incriminate him as a heretic. He stated explicitly that he and Foscarini both held it suppositionally, as well as Copernicus himself. All this was really false; they all believed it was really the way the world was. Would Maculano know this? But presenting a signed letter by Cardinal Bellarmine is very strong on Galileo's side.

Q. "What was decided and then made known to him precisely in the month of February 1616."

A: "In the month of February 1616, Lord Cardinal Bellarmine told me that since Copernicus's opinion, taken absolutely, was contrary to Holy Scripture, it could be neither held nor defended, but it could be taken and used suppositionally. In conformity with this I keep a certificate (a second letter) by Lord Cardinal Bellarmine himself, dated 26 May 1616, [41] (Bellarmine's Affidavit) in which he says that Copernicus's opinion cannot be held or defended, being against Holy Scripture. I present a copy of this certificate, and here it is."

Galileo stresses that he is taking the opinion suppositionally as dictated by Bellarmine. He presented copies of two letters written by Bellarmine. He is probably banking on the fact that his book, the *Dialogue*, will be taken as a true debate.

Q: "Whether, when he was notified of the abovementioned matters, there were others present, and who they were."

A: "When Lord Cardinal Bellarmine notified me of what I mentioned regarding Copernicus' opinion, *there were some Dominican Fathers present...*" [my italics]

Did any scholar ever investigate who these Dominican fathers were? If Galileo was just warned by Bellarmine and did not receive a formal injunction, that seems to lead us to believe that the event was just a 'monitio', a warning. However, if, as the Church claimed that Galileo did receive the formal injunction, was it legal for them to be present? Why were they there?

The Inquisitor then asks the defendant (*he hasn't been charged yet*) about getting the Injunction.

Q: "Whether at that time, in the presence of those Fathers, he was given any injunction either by them or by someone else concerning the same matter..."

Recall [20] the meeting of Feb. 25, 1616 when the Pope ordered Bellarmine to warn Galileo, and if he did not agree, the Commissary would issue the formal injunction. The question Maculano asks is totally bizarre. Why would one of the Dominican fathers or someone else, issue an injunction to Galileo? That would defy the Pope's explicit orders!

Galileo could not remember when the Dominican Fathers were there.

A: "As I remember it, the affair took place in the following manner..."

Finally, it may be that I was given an injunction not to hold or defend the said opinion, but I do not recall it since this is something of many years ago."

I think this is Galileo's first serious blunder. If he got a formal injunction he would have remembered it.

The Inquisitor asks how and by whom he was ordered the injunction.

A: "I do not recall that this injunction was given me any other way than orally by Lord Cardinal Bellarmine. I do remember that the injunction was that I could not hold or defend, and maybe even that I could not teach. I do not recall, further, that there was the phrase *in any way whatever*, [my italics] but maybe there was..."

The two adversaries are defining 'injunction' in two different ways- to the Inquisitor it is a formal document, to Galileo it is just a verbal statement. Galileo seems to be losing ground here. I italicize the phrase 'in any way whatever' because I think it is important to Galileo's case. He rests his defense primarily on Bellarmine's Affidavit [41] to him.

Next Maculano addressed the topic of the book.

Q: “Whether, after the issuing of the said injunction, he obtained any permission to write the book...”

A: “After the above-mentioned injunction I did not seek permission to write the abovementioned book because I do not think that by writing this book I was contradicting at all the injunction given me not to hold, defend, or teach the said opinion, but rather that I was refuting it.”

Later he says, by writing the book he had neither held nor defended the opinion. But saying that he refuted it is a serious mistake.

Galileo describes how he obtained permission from the Master of the Sacred Palace in Rome and Florence to publish the book.

Q: “Whether, when he asked the Master of the Sacred Palace for permission to print the book, he revealed to Father Master the injunction previously given to him.”

A: “When I asked him for permission to print the book, I did not say anything to the Master of the Sacred Palace about the injunction because I did not judge it necessary to tell it to him...since with the said book I had neither held nor defended the opinion...”

Galileo’s first answer above is truly fallacious; the book is totally pro-Copernican. He backtracks later by saying he neither held nor defended the opinion.

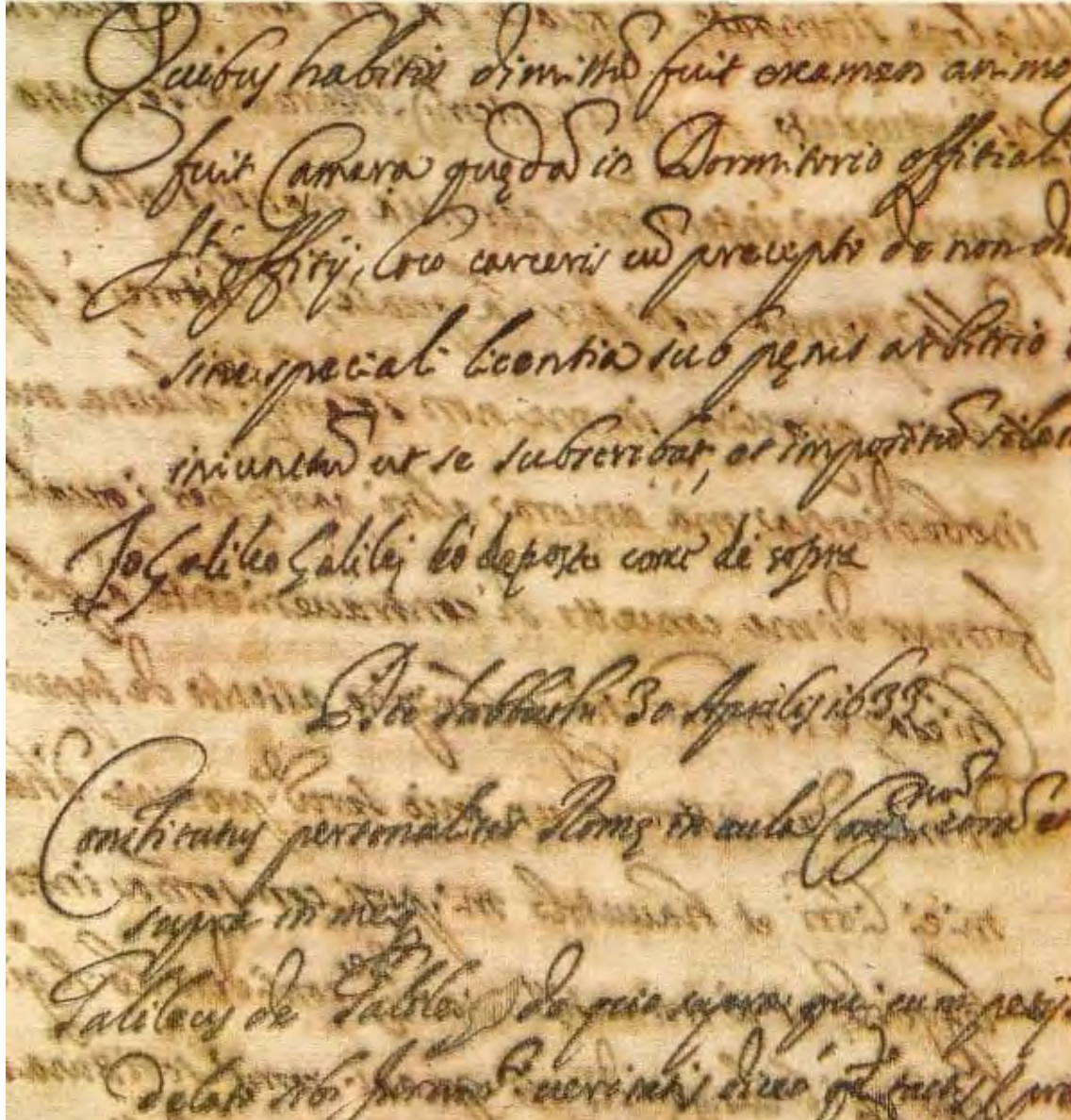
Galileo Galilei: le deposizioni con le sue

DETAIL; LAST SIX LINES OF
GALILEO'S FIRST DEPOSITION
[37] AND
THE FIRST FOUR LINES OF HIS
SECOND DEPOSITION [38].

This photo is from
'I Documenti'
1984 and is labelled
12 Aprile 1633.

In the 2009 edition
it is labelled
30 Aprile 1633.

I am not a paleographer but it is
obvious to me that this
document was recopied from the
original notes that the notary
took at the trial. It is just too
neatly written. Shouldn't the two
depositions be totally separate?
For more information on the
actual documents see
[McMullin, p 191]



Three reports on the *Dialogue* just so happened to appear after Galileo's 'First Deposition' (Apr. 12.) and his second on April 30? Only Oreggi's is dated.

OREGGI'S REPORT ON THE *DIALOGUE* [44]

April 17, 1633

"In the work entitled *Dialogue of Galileo Galilei etc. on the Two Chief World Systems, Ptolemaic and Copernican*, the opinion is held and defended which teaches that the earth moves and the sun stands still, as one gathers from the whole thrust of the work ... "

PASQUALIGO'S REPORT ON *THE DIALOGUE* [46]

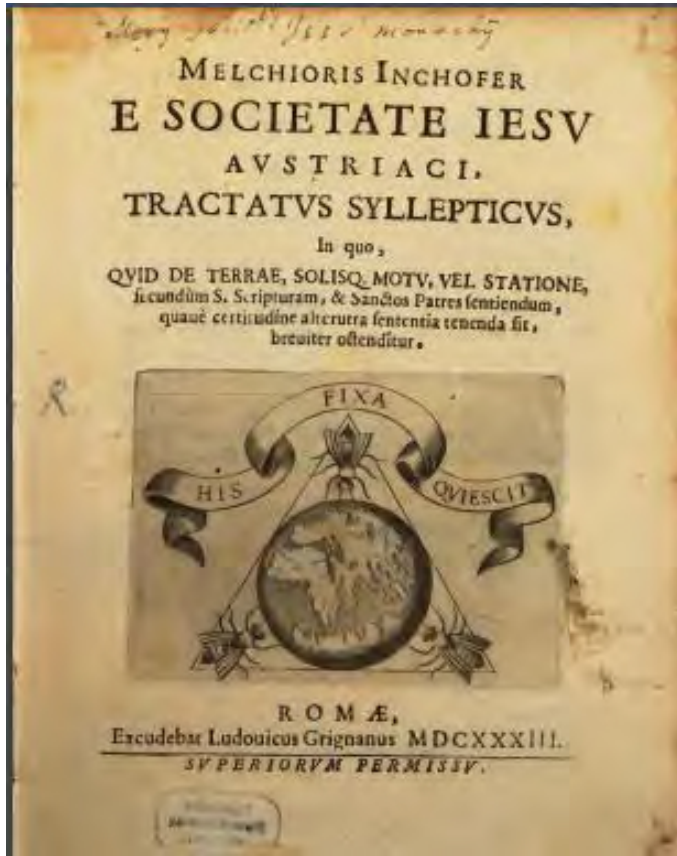
(undated)

"Having diligently inspected his book, I am of the opinion that he transgressed it* as regards the words "teach or defend," since indeed he tries as best he can to support the earth's motion and the sun's immobility, and also that he is strongly suspected of holding such an opinion."

"...he transgressed it..."

Pasqualigo is the only one of the three who state the charge.

"...[Galileo] has transgressed the injunction [21] ..."



“I am of the opinion that Galileo not only teaches and defends the immobility or rest of the sun or center of the universe, around which both the planets and the earth revolve with their own motions, but also that he is **vehemently suspected** of firmly adhering to this opinion, and indeed that he holds it.”

A SUMMARY TREATISE CONCERNING THE MOTION OR REST OF THE EARTH AND THE SUN. in which it is briefly shown what is, and what is not, to be held as certain according to the teachings of the Sacred Scriptures and the Holy Fathers.

LETTER: COMMISSARY MACULANO TO FRANCESCO CARDINAL BARBERINI [137] April 22, 1633.

Maculano informs the Pope's nephew that Galileo is in pain, he shouts and it would be good to expedite the trial as quickly as possible. The congregation (Oreggi, Pasqualigo, Inchofer?) met the day before and it was decided that Galileo defended and taught the opinion. It seemed like the Commissary was sensitive to the old man's plight and wanted to 'expedite' the case as quickly as possible.

LETTER: MACULANO TO CARDINAL BARBERINI [181] April 28, 1633.

The Commissary Maculano reported Galileo's case to the Sacred Congregation and there were various difficulties "...leading it to a conclusion; for in his deposition Galileo denied what can be clearly seen in the book he wrote, so that if he were to continue in his negative stance it would become necessary to use greater rigor in the administration of justice...(torture?). Finally I proposed a plan, namely that the Holy Congregation grant me the authority to deal extrajudicially with Galileo, in order to make him understand his error and, once having recognized it, to bring him to confess it."

Technically one must give the defendant his 'defenses'; the list of charges against him so that he can build a defense. Only then the true trial begins. But in cases like this, one must know the defendant's 'intention' that is, his real belief about the matter in his soul. This can not be ascertained except by torture. Torture is legal. The Commissary wants to do the torture first, (or just show the instruments of torture) then follows the trial. The *Sacro Arsenale* states that the torture comes after the trial. This is a technicality because inquisition manuals state that Galileo would be too old to be tortured- although, as stated, he could be shown the instruments of torture.

For the Vatican astronomer, Consolmagno to say [Consolmagno, Galileo, Science, Faith, Lecture 7] "he (Galileo) tries to make a deal, tell me what's wrong I'll admit what's wrong. I'll change the book, whatever changes you want I'll make." That is false! Maculano proposed the deal! Whoever was in charge-Francesco Barberini probably ran the idea to the cardinals who agreed and more than likely Urban denied the request.

APRIL 30, 1633

GALILEO: "It dawned on me to reread my printed *Dialogue*..."

"...and I started to read it with the greatest concentration and to examine it in the most detailed manner."

"Not having seen it for so long, I found it almost a new book by another author."

He basically said that his arguments for the Copernican side that he presented were really not that strong and the vanity to appear wittier than the next fellow led him into the error of not presenting the arguments for the opposing side fairly.

"My error then was, and I confess it, one of vain ambition, pure ignorance, and inadvertence."

He offered to rewrite sections of the *Dialogue* to boost more the argument for the Aristotle-Ptolemaic system.

To Galileo Galilei: ho deposto come di sopra.

Gio: Galilei 30 Aprile 1633
 Certificato personalmente come in aula di S. Marco et altrove quod
 supra in meo: et in causa di Galileo Galilei
 Galileo de Galilei Inquisito per meo, cum perisset aulicè
 delato non furono pervenuti dieri di quel quarto fuo. D.
 Int ut dicit quod non dicitur occurrere.
 Il Galileo in quei giorni non noua e firmo a S. Marco sopra gli interrogatori
 fatto il 10 et 16 del presente et lo partì sopra quello
 20. m. era. Fatto sopra proibitione solita anni fa d'ordine del
 S. officio di non toccar, ed fare, e in ogni modo

FIRST LINES OF GALILEO'S SECOND DEPOSITION [38]
 SATURDAY APRIL 30, 1633

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io eccaduro in qualche parte, come ho già detto preato nelle
 scritture con una fede aggiunta del giorno 20. di Carlo D'Alton
 mine scritte di propria mano del medesimo Carlo, della quale già
 presentai una copia di mia mano. Del rimanente mi rimetto in
 tutto, e per tutto alle solite pistole, e olemenda di questo Tribunale
 et habitose in subuisione fuit remittit ad domus sup
 orij Rex Magni Ducis modo, et formam iam si si notij
 Jo Galileo Galilei manu ff:

https://michelangelobuonarrotietornato.files.wordpress.com/2019/12/asv_firma-galilei2.jpg

LAST LINES GALILEO'S THIRD DEPOSITION I [40]

GALILEO'S THIRD DEPOSITION I

May 10, 1633 [40]

'...Father Commissary assigned him a term of eight days to to make his defenses, if he wishes to make them, and intends to make them.'

GALILEO'S THIRD DEPOSITION II, GALILEO'S DEFENSE

May 10, 1633 [42]

He explained why he did not tell the Master of the Sacred Palace about the Injunction of 1616 "not to hold, defend, or teach in any way whatever the opinion ..."

Because of the calumny of his enemies in 1616 Galileo obtained a letter from Bellarmine [41]. The Cardinal stated that Galileo was made aware of the Decree of the Index. The general announcement of the Decree affected every one.

"I received this certificate, written by his own hand, and it is what I attach to the present statement. In it one clearly sees that I was only told not to hold or defend Copernicus's doctrine... but one cannot see any trace that, besides this general pronouncement applicable to all, I was given any other special order."

Galileo's defense was that the Master of the Sacred Palace and the others signed off on the book because they knew of the Decree of 1616 and that it was a general pronouncement applicable to all. As far as the 'false opinion' that decree was no different from Bellarmine's letter or the verbal warning given by Bellarmine on February 26, 1616 as to the relevant context. Galileo claimed that there was only a verbal warning. He should have stated that in his first deposition. He presented the original copy of Bellarmine's affidavit [41] to Maculano.

Bellarmino's affidavit stated that Galileo was notified only of the personal warning by the Pope and the Decree of 1616 not hold or defend the opinion. Galileo told Maculano that the words- "teaching and *in any way whatever*, struck me as very new and unheard. I do not think I should be mistrusted about the fact that in the course of fourteen or sixteen years I lost any memory of them..." As to the Dialogue he says..."I feel very reasonably excused for not notifying the Master of the Sacred Palace of the injunction given to me in private, the latter being the same as the one of the Congregation of the Index." and "...those flaws that can be seen scattered in my book were not introduced through the cunning of an insincere intention, but rather through the vain ambition..."

Galileo begged for consideration mentioning his physical health, his age of seventy, ten months of constant mental anxiety, and the long journey in the winter and his reputation.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Io Galileo Galilei". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background.

He stressed the similarity between the Bellarmine affidavit and the 1616 Decree of the Index which everyone knew, including the book censors. He stressed that he shouldn't be held accountable for forgetting the words 'in any way whatever'. He said that those words are 'very new' implying they were added on later. This would be a very strong accusation of the Holy Office. Again he reiterated his weak defense of Deposition 2 that he was vain and did not intend to go too far.

Galileo had a strong case- two letters from the top church theologian of the time for the first phase of the investigation sixteen years before. The Church only had one document in its favor and it was poor as a legal method of prosecution as we will see.

(no date, no signature)

Recall the procedures of the Inquisition manuals, even for every minor case, the instructions to the Inquisitor: record the day, month, year; the names, where the event took place, names of witnesses, the notary, etc. Why with such a crucial case as Galileo's, "THE SUMMARIUM" [1] is documented in such a cavalier manner by the Holy Office?

The date according to *I Documenti*, "Rome after May 10, 1633". Mayer, "May or June 1633". Finocchiaro, *The Galileo Affair*, p. 362 "...it was written sometime between the date of Galileo's fourth deposition and defense (10 May) and the Inquisition meeting of 16 June 1633 when the Pope decided to have Galileo interrogated a fourth time to determine his intention."

This is probably the only document of the trial that the cardinals will see. They discuss the case, but the Pope makes the final decision. As far as we know, no cardinals questioned the defendant directly. Nor were they present during any interrogation except Carlo Sincero, the prosecutor and perhaps Francesco Barberini, the Cardinal in charge of this case, and, of course, the Inquisitor.

"The Summarium" is analogous to an indictment.

We will deal with the content of this document in the analysis of the trial. For one thing, there is no mention of the plea bargain in the Summarium.

INQUISITION DECREE [47]

JUNE 16, 1633

‘His Most Holiness decreed the same Galileo is to be interrogated about his intentions, *even threatened with torture*, (my italics) and if he should sustain it, after a previous abjuration of vehement suspicion of heresy... be condemned to prison...enjoined not to deal further with the aforesaid in writing nor orally in any way whatsoever...under pain of a relapsed heretic (i.e. death). Truly the book written by him... *Dialogue of Galileo Galilei Lincean*, is to be prohibited.’

‘...he (the Pope) ordered copies of the sentence about it made and sent to all papal ambassadors and to all inquisitors of heretical depravity, and especially to the inquisitor of Florence who will publicly read the sentence in a full congregation assembled of many professors of the mathematical art.’

The translations above are from Mayer, *The Trial of Galileo 1612-1633*. I’m surprised that Finocciaro, *The Galileo Affair* missed this important document.

The trial was over for Galileo on May 10 after he made his defense.

The Cardinals must have discussed the case at this secret meeting of June 16.

In important cases like this one, the Pope makes the final decision.

Only six of the ten cardinals attended. Absent were Francesco Barberini, Zacchia, Borgia and Centini. Maculano and Pietro Paolo Febei also attended. Did they leave during the secret part of the meeting as was usual? Centini however was one of the seven who signed off on Galileo’s condemnation.

JUNE 21, 1633

Recall the June 16th meeting [47] where the Pope decides that Galileo is to be interrogated about his intentions, even threatened with torture,

Q: “Whether he holds or has held...that the sun is the center of the world and the earth is not the center of the world...”

Galileo answered that before the Decree of the Index [22] and the injunction [21] he was undecided, but after it was issued he definitely holds the Ptolemaic system.

A: “I still hold, as very true and undoubted Ptolemy's opinion, namely the stability of the earth and the motion of the sun.

...In regard to my writing of the *Dialogue* already published, I did not do so because I held Copernicus's opinion to be true...”

Q: “...from the book itself...he is presumed...that he holds Copernicus' opinion...therefore...unless he decided to proffer the truth, one would have recourse to the remedies of the law...”

A: “I do not hold this opinion of Copernicus... ..here I am in your hands; do as you please.”

Q: “...**he was told to tell the truth; otherwise one would have recourse to torture.**”
(my highlighting)

A: “I am here to obey.”

I don't think Galileo knew that the trial was over five days ago, when Urban decided at the June 16th meeting.

GALILEO'S SENTENCE [114]

June 22, 1633

'Whereas you, Galileo, ... Florentine, aged seventy years, were denounced to this Holy Office in 1615 for holding as true the false doctrine taught by some that the sun is the center of the world and motionless and the earth moves even with diurnal motion; for having disciples to whom you taught the same doctrine...

That the sun is the center of the world and motionless is a proposition which is philosophically absurd and false, and formally heretical, for being explicitly contrary to Holy Scripture;
That the earth is neither the center of the world nor motionless but moves even with diurnal motion is philosophically equally absurd and false, and theologically at least erroneous in the Faith.

His Holiness on 25 February 1616 [20] [directed] that the Most Eminent Lord Cardinal Bellarmine would order you to abandon this false opinion completely; that if you refused to do this, the Commissary of the Holy Office would give you an injunction to abandon this doctrine, not to teach it to others, not to defend it, and not to treat of it; and that if you did not acquiesce in this injunction, you should be imprisoned. ...

June 22, 1633

(Feb 26) ‘... after being informed and warned in a friendly way by the same Lord Cardinal, you were given an injunction [21] by the then Father Commissary of the Holy Office in the presence of a notary and witnesses to the effect that you must completely abandon the said false opinion, and that in the future you could neither hold, nor defend, nor teach it *in any way whatever*, [my italics] either orally or in writing; having promised to obey, you were dismissed.’

...

‘And whereas a book has appeared here lately, printed in Florence last year, whose inscription showed that you were the author, the title being *Dialogue* by Galileo Galilei

...

...the said book was diligently examined and found to violate explicitly the abovementioned injunction given to you; for in the same book you have defended the said opinion already condemned...’

‘Therefore, by our order you were summoned to this Holy Office, where, examined under oath, you acknowledged the book as written and published by you. ... then you asked for permission to print it without explaining to those who gave you such permission that you were under the injunction of not holding, defending, or teaching such a doctrine *in any way whatever*.’ [again, my italics]

GALILEO'S SENTENCE [114]

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June 22, 1633

'We say, pronounce, sentence, and declare that you, the abovementioned Galileo, because of the things deduced in the trial and confessed by you as above, have rendered yourself according to this Holy Office **vehemently suspected of heresy, namely of having held and believed a doctrine which is false and contrary to the divine and Holy Scripture ...**, and that **one may hold and defend as probable an opinion after it has been declared and defined contrary to Holy Scripture.***

We are willing to absolve you from them provided that ... in front of us you abjure, curse, and detest the abovementioned errors and heresies, and every other error ...

Furthermore...we order that the book Dialogue by Galileo Galilei be prohibited by public edict.

We condemn you to formal imprisonment in this Holy Office at our pleasure. As a salutary penance we impose on you to recite the seven penitential Psalms once a week for the next three years. And we reserve the authority to moderate, change, or condone wholly or in part the abovementioned penalties and penances.

This we say, pronounce, sentence, declare...'

Signed by seven of the ten cardinals.

* The bold highlighted is presents the actual heretical charge. The previous two pages are kind of an indictment and summary of Galileo's depositions. There is some overlap with the Summarium and some differences. I will analyze both of these key documents in future pages.

THE TRIAL OF GALILEO REVISITED YET AGAIN PART II THE LEGAL CASE



FIRST PAGE INQUISITION FILE OF GALILEO

I will attempt to prove that the Holy Office's case against Galileo was riddled with sloppy documentation and use of legally defective documents and legally defective court procedure. I will use only the documentation of the time, supported of course by the work of great modern scholars. The first part of these lectures involved the scientific, political, social, personal and legal interplay of events. Galileo's acerbic attitude, the Pope's rage, the 30 Years War, the relation of Galileo to the Jesuits and the Dominicans etc. are all irrelevant in the legal case. The total conglomerate would explain why 'the Galileo Affair' happened but it would not prove or disprove legally Galileo's culpability and/or the Church's. In the 'Galileo Trial', one cannot use contemporary legal standards for either the analyses or the evaluations of what happened. For example, torture was certainly legal at the time.

RECALL **GALILEO'S ABJURATION [115]**

BASILICA DI SANTA MARIA SOPRA MINERVA,ROME

Wednesday, June 22, 1633

at the Dominican Convent

Santa Maria Sopra Minerva

Galileo was sentenced and abjured
before the cardinals and guests of
the Holy Office of the Inquisition.

Galileo's abjuration was a private
affair with about twenty attending.
Usually an abjuration is public.

"I, Galileo Galilei... seventy years old, arraigned personally for judgment, kneeling before you...
...whereas, after **having been judicially instructed with an injunction** by the Holy Office
to abandon completely the false opinion
that the sun is the center of the world and does not move and
the earth is not the center of the world and moves,

GALILEO'S ABJURATION [115]

JUNE 22, 1633

and not to hold, defend, or teach this false doctrine in any way whatever, orally or in writing;
and **after having been notified that this doctrine is contrary to Holy Scripture;**

I wrote and published a book in which I treat of this already condemned doctrine...

I have been judged vehemently suspected of heresy, namely of having held and believed...
[the false doctrine]

I abjure, curse, and detest the abovementioned ...

I, Galileo Galilei, have abjured as above..."

We must look carefully at what Galileo confessed to in the abjuration. Succinctly-

1. violating an Injunction of the Holy Office.
2. holding, defending or teaching Copernicanism and
3. writing and publishing a book defending the Copernican theory.

This document was composed by the Inquisition.

I will work backwards from the abjuration which lays out the basic charges against Galileo quite clearly, then to the SUMMARIUM and then to the SENTENCE. We must look carefully at what Galileo confessed to- 1. violating an Injunction of the Holy Office. 2. holding, defending or teaching Copernicanism as a reality and 3. writing and publishing a book defending the Copernican theory. The abjuration was composed by the Holy Office and is of standard format.

Galileo was condemned by the Holy Office for believing in 'the false opinion' of Copernicanism, as is brought out in the abjuration. It is obvious that the penalty for violating an injunction would depend upon the charge contained in the injunction. The charges are not at all that clear in the Summarium and the Sentence but are a miscellaneous disparate collection of accusations in those documents. Notice that the words, 'in any way whatever' appear even here in the abjuration.

We must look carefully at the Summarium (the Final Report to the Pope, analogous to our Indictment) and the Sentence which has quite a bit more information. These two documents overlap somewhat.

The Holy Office basically charged that Galileo violated an injunction by writing a book that teaches 'the false doctrine', the Copernican theory. If convicted that should have rendered him a heresiarch, certainly the most serious offense. However Galileo was sentenced to the second most serious offence, vehement suspicion of heresy.

THE ABJURATION OF GALILEO GALILEI BEFORE THE TRIBUNAL OF THE SACRED INQUISITION

Painting by Giovanni Squarcina, 1863-1870

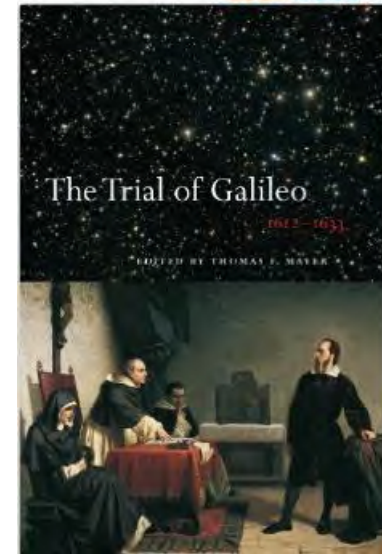
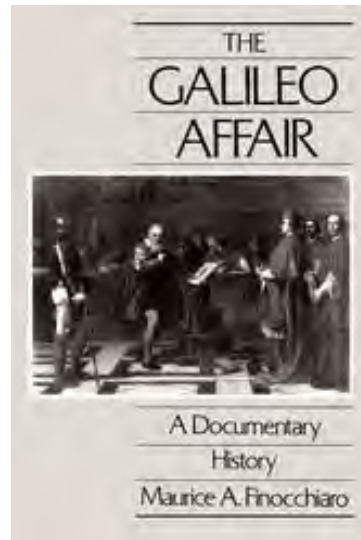


<https://brunelleschi.imss.fi.it/itinerari/immagine/img34569.html>

**L'ABIURA DI GALILEO GALILEI DAVANTI AL TRIBUNALE DELLA SACRA INQUISIZIONE
DIPINTO DI GIOVANNI SQUARCINA, 1863-1870**

THE DOCUMENTS

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I Documenti Vaticani del Processo di Galileo Galilei- Sergio Pagano; 2009. Abbrev. **DV**

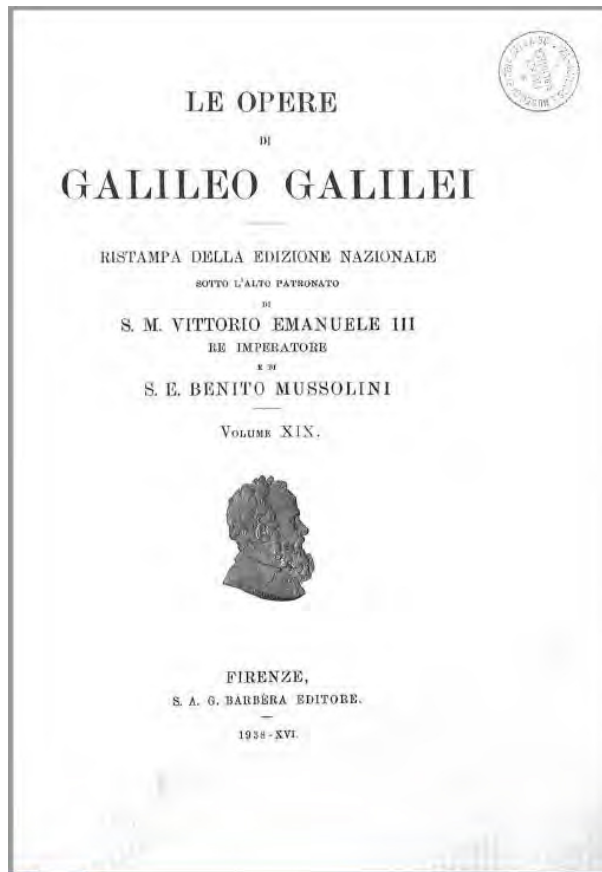
The Galileo Affair, A Documentary History- Maurice Finocchiaro;

University of California Press. 1989. abbr. **GA**

The Trial of Galileo 1612-1633 - Thomas F. Mayer; University of Toronto Press. 2012. Abbrev. **TG**

We must go to the primary sources. The definitive source for the trial is *I Documenti Vaticani del Processo di Galileo Galilei (1611-1741)* (DV) published by the Vatican. Unfortunately it is in Italian and Latin but the other two books are translations in English of most of the key documents in the Galileo case. They are excellent. It's amazing that, as far as I know, no one has translated even the shorter 1984 edition of *I Documenti*. The 2009 edition has ample commentary; both editions are available through the Internet Archives. I've chosen, what I think are the minimum number of the basic documents that must be considered and that totals to 23. They are indicated in blue bold e.g. **[22]** and their numbering is taken from *I Documenti*. The last page of my paper (p. 275) provides a concordance between *I Documenti* (DV) Finocchiaro's *The Galileo Affair* (GA) and Mayer's *The Trial of Galileo 1612-1633* (TG).

All translations, unless otherwise stated, are taken from Finocchiaro's *The Galileo Affair*.



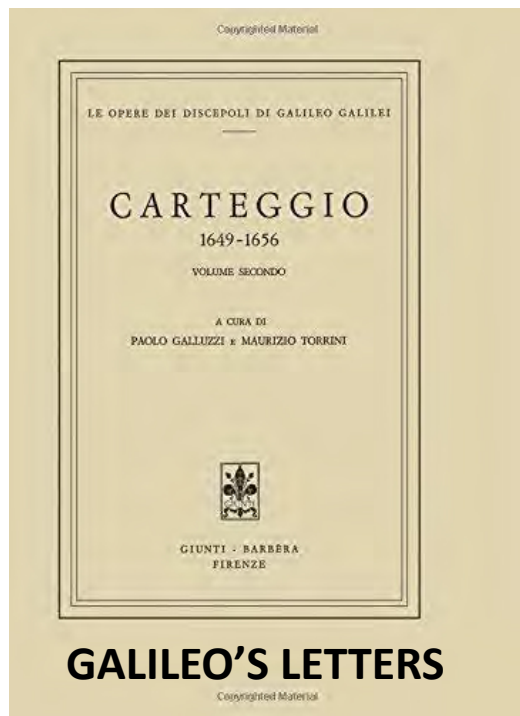
OPERE DI GALILEO GALILEI LINCEO
FIRST EDITION BOLOGNA, 1655



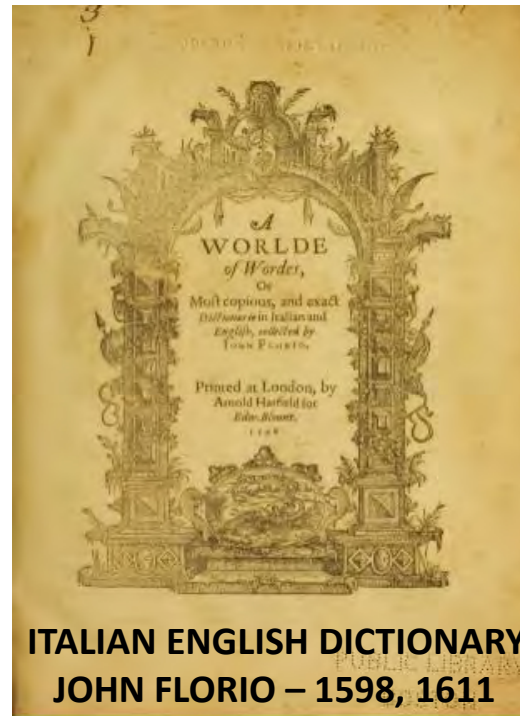
GALILEO AND 3 MUSES

Engraving - Stefano della Balla
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/377877>

The Works of Galileo Galilei in 20 volumes in Italian. Vol 19 pages 272-419 has information on the trial. For those who can read Italian you can download the previous *I Documenti* and the *Opere* from the Internet Archives.



GALILEO'S LETTERS

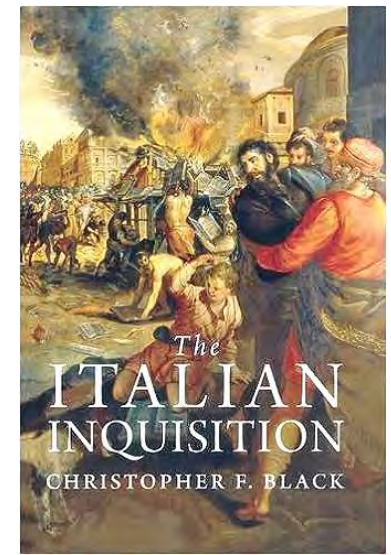
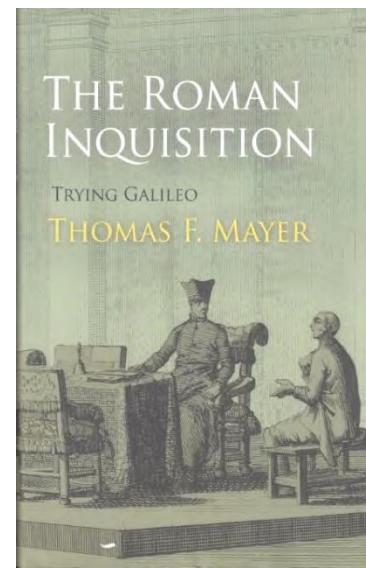
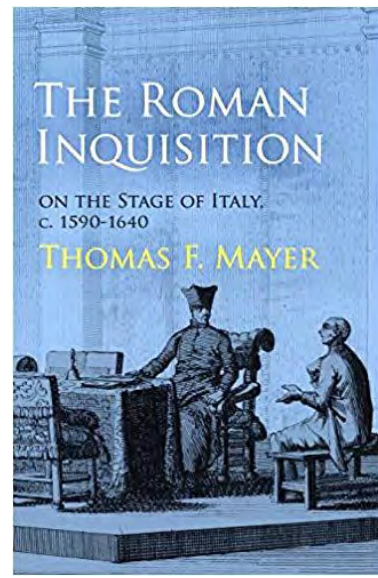
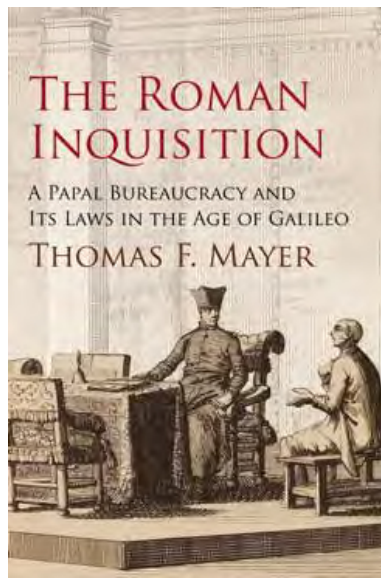


ITALIAN ENGLISH DICTIONARY JOHN FLORIO – 1598, 1611

CARTEGGIO, CORRESPONDENCE: 612 letters or documents by Galileo, to Galileo or by officials and dignitaries relevant to Galileo, from his Juvenilia to his death. Some involving the trial are not included in Finocchiaro or Mayer.

‘traduttore, traditore’ ‘The translator is a traitor.’? We should address the issue of the translation of documents in Italian that are 400 years old. As far as I know except for minor changes in spelling and script the language is basically the same as today. But certain words have meaning that might have evolved - especially those of a legal or theological nature. An example of the latter is ‘morals’. Florio’s dictionary appeared in three editions 1590, 1598, 1611. It is on line. I used it occasionally.

More importantly, as we progress through the events that led up to and during the trial we must try to place ourselves into a different culture of 400 years ago. Almost everyone believed in the Bible as the word of God- almost everybody was Catholic in Italy. Mathematicians practiced astrology, torture was legal in trials. Legal standards and morality of today were different then.



WAS THE CHURCH JUSTIFIED IN CONDEMNING GALILEO? DID THE HOLY OFFICE ACT LEGALLY IN THE TRIAL?

The goal of this paper is to answer these two questions. In Volume 1, Mayer portrays the Holy Office (synonymous with 'Inquisition') as a ponderous corporate bureaucracy with the pope at its head and profiles the cardinal inquisitors, including those who would play a major role in Galileo's trial. How the Roman (Italian- not the Spanish nor the Portuguese) Inquisition worked and how the law it applied was constantly modified.

Vol. 2 discusses the Inquisition (=The Holy Office) from 1590-1640) and its relationship to Naples, Venice and Florence. In Vol. 3 Mayer examines the Galileo trial within the context of Inquisitional Law. He has traced the legal procedure from Galileo's first precept (injunction) in 1616 to his formal trial in 1633 and showed where the trial departed from standard procedure. I will take issue with some of Mayer's conclusions.

There are many different ways to approach the Galileo Case, legally, politically, historically, etc. Very few authors, up to now have approached it from the legal aspect.

Black analyzes the complex structure and operations of the Inquisition. He gives some trials as examples and discusses censorship, magic, witchcraft etc. References that I used will be listed on the last few slides.

JUNE 22, 1633

The document stated (re: Galileo) very briefly,
He was denounced in 1615 for holding as true the 'false opinion' and teaching it to disciples,
He corresponded with Germans about it,
He published the *Sunspot Letters* where that doctrine was said to be true.
He interpreted Holy Scripture according to his own meaning,
He wrote a letter to a disciple putting forth the false opinion against Scripture.
He was warned by Cardinal Bellarmine and then given an Injunction to abandon the opinion.
The Congregation of the Index issued a decree which prohibited books treating the opinion.
He wrote a book promulgating the false opinion in violation of the Injunction.

We say, pronounce, sentence, and declare that you, ... Galileo, because of the things deduced in the trial and confessed by you as above, have rendered yourself ...

vehemently suspected of heresy, namely of

having held and believed a doctrine which is false and contrary to the divine and Holy Scripture: that the sun is the center of the world and does not move from east to west, and the earth moves and is not the center of the world, and that **one may hold and defend as probable an opinion after it has been declared and defined contrary to Holy Scripture.**

I have ruthlessly summarized the charges against Galileo. We will address the above important points in detail later in my defense of Galileo. It should be pointed out that teaching the 'false opinion' would label Galileo a heresiarch. This is an executable offense.

An example of the sloppiness of some of the documents of the Holy Office is illustrated below

“...We say, pronounce, sentence and declare that you... have made yourself **vehemently suspect of heresy**...of holding and believing doctrine false and contrary to the sacred and divine scriptures, that **the sun is the center of the earth** (or in most texts “world”) Mayer The Trial of Galileo, p 193.

“...We say, pronounce, sentence, and declare that you...rendered yourself ... **vehemently suspected of heresy**, ... of having held and believed a doctrine which is false and contrary to the divine and Holy Scripture: that **the sun is the center of the world...**” Finocchiaro, The Galileo Affair, p. 291.

Ch'il Sole sia Centro della terra (I DOCUMENTI)
The Sun is the Center of the earth

Terra, the element call'd earth. Also our generall mother the earth. Used also for the whole world. Also any earth, or ground, or land. Also any land, countrie, province, region, or soile. Al-

FLORIO'S 1611 ITALIAN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY

I believe that the theologians of the Holy Office should have at least had an astronomer to check for better wording of the document. According to the meaning at the time (Florio's Dictionary) the translation is, “... the Sun is the center of the earth...”

MY DEFENSE FOR GALILEO

1. THE HOLY OFFICE USED LEGALLY DEFECTIVE DOCUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF THEIR CASE AGAINST GALILEO.
2. THE HOLY OFFICE USED LEGALLY QUESTIONABLE COURT PROCEDURE IN SUPPORT OF THEIR CASE AGAINST GALILEO.

My defense of Galileo rests on two basic provable facts- the Holy Office used defective documents and legally questionable court procedure. For some issues they overlap.

MY DEFENSE FOR GALILEO

1. THE HOLY OFFICE USED LEGALLY DEFECTIVE DOCUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF THEIR CASE AGAINST GALILEO.

1. **THE SUMMARIUM [1]** is undated and unsigned.
It is riddled with contradictions and fabrications as I will show.
2. **THE SENTENCE [114]** *accuses Galileo of two crimes that did not exist.*
The second ‘crime’ was never mentioned in the Summarium and neither in Galileo’s four depositions; it just appeared in this document.
It is questionable, as we will see, as to whether the first charge is a crime.
The Sentence contains a gaping lacuna crucial to Galileo’s defense.
3. **THE SEGIZZI INJUNCTION [21]** is not a legal document, it is just an unsigned memo.
4. **MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS:** Many are undated and some unsigned.

I will first show that the documents supporting the Holy Office’s case are legally inadequate. I will present this material from the least egregious to the worst; Miscellaneous Documents, the Sentence, the Summarium and the Segizzi Injunction, although that order is questionable.

MY DEFENSE FOR GALILEO

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1. THE HOLY OFFICE USED LEGALLY DEFECTIVE DOCUMENTS

4. MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

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

AUTHORS? The authors are not listed.

DATE? DV: After Feb. 1632. GA: Sept. 1632. TG: Aug.-Sept. 1632.

See page 155 for the basic results of this report.

Agostino Oreggi: Urban's personal theologian, who was made a Cardinal in November 1633 and an Inquisitor the year after.

Melchior Inchofer: Recall the document (G3 written anonymously) discovered by Redondi about the atomism idea that Galileo presented in *The Assayer* of 1623. The handwriting has been identified by scholars as that of Inchofer.

Zaccaria Pasqualigo: Sometime after this report was completed, he had two of his works put on the Index.

These three, in particular Inchofer, were probably picked by the Master of the Sacred Palace, Niccolo Riccardi. Notice that none of the three are mathematicians. In a letter (Sept. 11, 1632) of the Tuscan Ambassador to the Vatican, Francesco Niccolini to the Tuscan Secretary of State, Andrea Cioli, Niccolini related how he asked Riccardi that Galileo have some representation, say, Campanella or Castelli, perhaps on the Special Commission. This was rejected.

The cards were always stacked against Galileo.

A further example of this- in early December, 1632, the Inquisitor Ippolito Lanci, Commissary General, who was favorable to Galileo was replaced by Vincenzo Maculano.

1. THE HOLY OFFICE USED LEGALLY DEFECTIVE DOCUMENTS

4. MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

REPORT ON THE *DIALOGUE*; APRIL 17, (?) 1633

Oreggi [44] Inchofer [45] Pasqualigo [46].

PASQUALIGO'S REPORT clearly states what he was charged to do:

"...whether Galileo Galilei, by the publication of his Dialogue where he deals with the Copernican system, has transgressed the injunction by which the Holy Office prohibits him to hold, teach, or defend in any way whatever, orally or in writing, this opinion..."

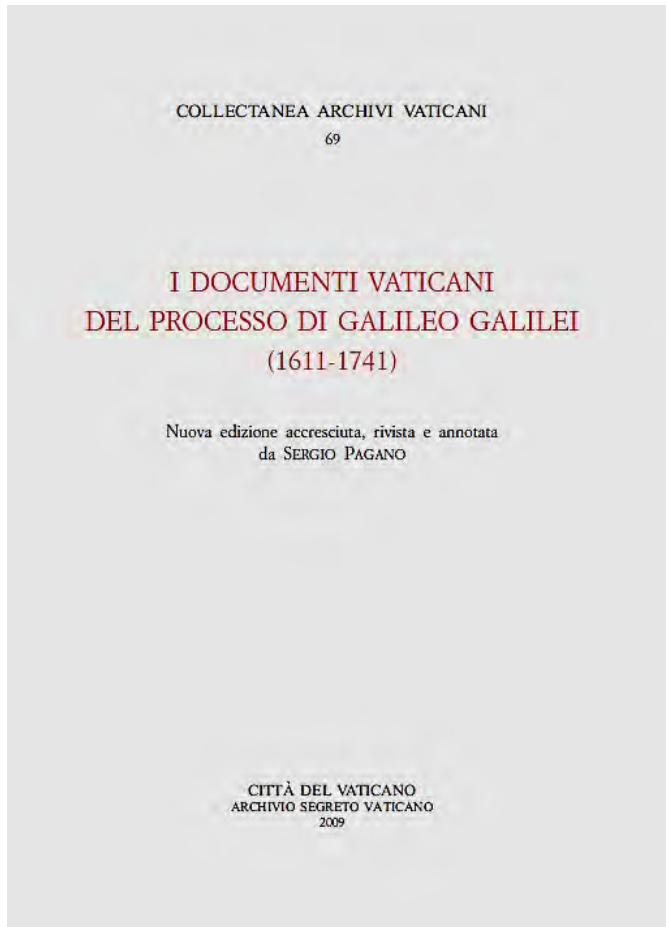
Pasqualigo's paper is undated.

INCHOFER'S PAPER is undated. A few weeks before Inchofer (S. J.) was charged with this task, a work of his was put on the Index of Prohibited books. He defended the authenticity of a letter that the Virgin Mary wrote to the people of Messina.

His report on Galileo should be disqualified.

OREGGI'S REPORT is the only of the three reports that is dated. It is only eight lines long.

As already stated Inchofer was probably the writer of the G3 letter in 1624. It was well known at that time that Inchofer was a friend of Chrisoph Scheiner (S. J.) and an enemy of Galileo. In almost every Inquisitional deposition, the Inquisitor asks, are you an enemy of the person you brought to the court - e.g. in the Caccini deposition, the Inquisitor asked Caccini, "Are you an enemy of Galileo?" Actually Caccini really was. Technically enemies of the defendant were not allowed to testify. That rule apparently did not hold for the Holy Office when they were using an enemy of Galileo in helping them to prosecuting him.



SUMMARIUM [1]

(Final Report to the Pope)
CONTRO GALILEO GALILEI

This document is the only one out of chronological order in *I Documenti*. THE SUMMARIUM is the summary of the evidence against Galileo and was probably drawn up by the Assessor (the Chief legal officer). It is the basis on which the ten cardinal Inquisitors advised the Pope. For the cardinals it is a paper trial, they never directly question Galileo. The Summarium is analogous to an indictment. Finocchiaro in *The Galileo Affair* calls it ‘The Final Report to the Pope’.

These documents “...represent the legal basis of Galileo’s condemnation and are of the utmost importance for the reconstruction and proper interpretation of his trial.” [McMullin, p. 193]

**THIS KEY DOCUMENT IS NOT DATED
and IT HAS NO SIGNATURE**
(After the tenth of May-June 16 1633. DV)
(May 10 – June 16. GA)
(May or June. TG)

SUMMARIUM DEL PROCESSO [1]

(Rome- after the 10TH of May, 1633)

It is worth repeating- it is the document with which the cardinals (the jury) base their judgment and this is probably the only document they saw when proposing sentence and so it is crucial. The cardinals only read documents. They do not get to question the defendant. It should be pointed out the incredible oaths of secrecy everyone is under. The members of the Holy Office would never publicly (even privately) say or write anything about a past or present case under pain of severe punishment. Hence the importance of the accuracy of the documents. The cardinals only advise Sanctissimus. THE POPE MAKES THE FINAL DECISION. There is much overlap between the Summarium and the Sentence.

I will summarize the document by pointing out the key 'charges' against Galileo and refute them. Mayer's assessment of the Summarium in - *Trying Galileo* p 20. "All in all, a succinct and mainly level-headed account of some of the evidence against Galileo, which if anything works to his advantage." I'll certainly take issue with that assessment! I need not, but I will quote an authority- "No honest lawyer would have written this summary report. What we have rather is a willingness to compose a misleading and partially false document." [Blackwell, *Behind the Scenes* p. 18.]

Before we proceed with the analysis of the Summarium, I must elaborate on Inquisitional secrecy in a bit more detail.

“First and most seriously, the Roman Inquisition insisted that its trials be kept strictly secret. ...’all those deputed to the Congregation of the Holy Office give an oath of fidelity, of keeping silence and maintaining the secrets of the Office, of holding secret all that is done or said in the present and all other congregations (meetings) of the Holy Inquisition and of not revealing or speaking or talking about what is said and done concerning the Office of the Holy Inquisition, except among those of the Congregation, *under pain of major excommunication [my italics]* ... from which they may not be absolved except by the supreme pontiff or his successor.’ The principle might be pushed to great lengths, as when the cardinals were forbidden to inform their absentee members about what they had done. The main reasons given for strict secrecy include the protection of witnesses and the defendant’s reputation, plus the necessity of moving quickly against suspects. ... Anyone involved in a trial before the Inquisition swore an oath of secrecy, and all depositions ended with such an oath.” [Mayer, *a Papal Bureaucracy*, pp. 160-161.]

Secrecy even extended out of the Vatican. Niccolini (Tuscan Ambassador to the Vatican) in letters to the Tuscan Secretary of State (Sept 5, and 18, 1632) tells how Urban imposed secrecy on the Ambassador and the Duke also! So for the Catholic apologists, like our Vatican astronomer to state, “Furthermore, Galileo knew darn well that, as the hand picked court philosopher of Cosimo de’ Medici, the duke of Florence, for anything like that (Bruno’s fate) to happen to him even at the height of his trial.” [Consolmagno, *Would You Baptize...* p 117].

Even if these two statesmen violated Urban’s order, the Duke was only 23 years old, was weak politically and was strongly influenced by the pious dowager mother Christina.

204 1. THE SUMMARIUM: LEGALLY DEFECTIVE DOCUMENT

In early 1615 two Dominicans Fathers complained to the Holy Office about Galileo's letter to Castelli [4]. Father Niccolo Lorini (the first) stated that it was written for the purpose of contradicting a sermon of Father Tommaso Caccini (the second). The letter to Castelli was written on Dec. 21, 1613; Caccini's sermon was delivered on Dec. 21, 1614.

How could that letter contradict Caccini's sermon which occurred one year in the future? Did the author of the Summarium check the dates of both events?

*How could a legal document in its very first paragraph have **a blatantly deceptive statement that is an impossibility?!***

From the Summarium: "Then Father Caccini was examined ...he testified having heard Galileo utter other erroneous opinions..." The document continues that "...these propositions were not uttered by Galileo or his disciples in the manner of an assertion, but only in the context of a disputation."

This document states blatantly false facts concerning the Caccini deposition [8] of 1615 that Caccini heard Galileo utter rash statements. *Caccini never said that in his deposition!* As for Galileo's students, it was just 'a disputation' and *Galileo wasn't even there!* The disputation was about some of the statements in the letter to Castelli.

CONSULTOR'S REPORT [2] ON THE LETTER TO CASTELLI: **"It does not deviate from the paths of catholic speaking."** Galileo was cleared of any possible offense. Why 17 years later does the Holy Office resurrects this? Is one ever truly declared not guilty by the Inquisition?

THE SUMMARIUM: LEGALLY DEFECTIVE DOCUMENT

From the Summarium: “Then, from **the book on sunspots** ... by the same Galileo, two propositions were examined: "that the sun is the center of the world and wholly motionless ...; that the earth is not the center of the world and moves

They were qualified as philosophically absurd.

Moreover, the first was also qualified as formally heretical, for expressly conflicting with Scripture ... the second as at least erroneous in faith, considering the true theology.”

***The Sunspot Letters (1613)* received the Imprimatur.**

It was not included among the three books cited in the Decree of the Index [22].

Galileo's name was never mentioned in any public Holy Office document of 1615-1616.

Why was it included in the Summarium?

From the Summarium: “*Then, from the book on sunspots* (my italics) published in Rome by the same Galileo, two propositions were examined...” (see above)

Galileo never even quoted the propositions in any way in that book.

This is a blatant fabrication designed to deceive the reader.

THE SUMMARIUM [1] states, “...on the 25 February 1616 *His Holiness ordered ...Bellarmine to summon Galileo and give him the injunction* (my italics) that he must abandon and not discuss *in any way* (my italics) the abovementioned opinion...” [20]

The Pope’s instructions in the meeting of Feb. 25 were that Bellarmine was to WARN Galileo and **IF** Galileo did not comply, the Commissary Segizzi would issue an Injunction.

The Summarium purposely distorts the Pope’s true statement of Feb. 25th. It implies that Bellarmine gave the Injunction. Bellarmine did not give the injunction, the Commissary General did. (if he did.)

The Injunction [21] states the phrase, ‘*in any way whatever*’ [*quovis modo*]. That phrase does not appear in any other Holy Office document of 1616. I believe that phrase is relevant to Galileo’s defense.

Did Galileo get the Injunction or not? The debate still continues among the scholars. He did only according to [21] in 1616. We will see later why the phrase ‘*in any way*’ or, ‘*in any way whatever*’ is probably important in this case. I will discuss the ‘Segizzi Injunction’ [21] (or ‘Galileo’s Personal Injunction’) in a page or two.

MY DEFENSE FOR GALILEO

THE SUMMARIUM: LEGALLY DEFECTIVE DOCUMENT

The document then segues into the publication of the *Dialogue*, and then gives a fairly accurate history of how Galileo proceeded with the publication of his book. Two imprimaturs were given for the book, one from Rome, the other from *the Inquisitor General* of Florence. **Four censors signed it!**

The Holy Office's charge: Galileo obtained these imprimaturs deceitfully by not telling those in charge about the 1616 Injunction. He claimed in his depositions that, to him, he did not deem it necessary to tell the Master of the Sacred Palace because the Injunction that he received, verbally from Bellarmine, was no different from the public Decree of the Index [22] of 1616.

He just forgot the words *'in any way whatever'*.

Two points are crucial here.

Galileo admitted he received an injunction - but only verbally.

He is relying on Bellarmine's affidavit [41] that does not mention the words, *'in any way'* or *'in any way whatever'*.

From the Summarium-

"...on 25 February 1616 His Holiness ordered the Lord Cardinal Bellarmine to summon Galileo and give him the injunction that he must abandon and not discuss in any way the abovementioned opinion..."

The phrase- *'in any way'* does not appear in the February 25th document.

The Summarium does not reference the letter Maculano to Cardinal Francesco Barberini [181] April 28, 1633 (**the Plea Bargain**). This was deceitful and unfair to Galileo because it is dated two days before Galileo's Second Deposition where he basically 'confessed' to overstating the decisiveness of the Copernican view, and hence probably his real belief in it. What a startling contrast of Galileo's demeanor in the first and second depositions!

The phrase, 'in any way whatever' appears only in the unofficial, unsigned memo [21] called 'the Segizzi Injunction' and *in no other document of 1616*.

'In any way whatever' would imply that Galileo could not even try to disprove the Copernican theory. What about the astronomers of the Collegio Romano, or Biancani who discusses the Copernican theory in his 1620 book? Why should this only apply to Galileo? But the phrase miraculously appears in almost all the documents of 1632, 1633.

I will list them...

- [25] Special Commission Report on the *Dialogue*- Sept. 1632. (2 times)
- [37] Galileo's First Deposition- April 12, 1633. (3 times)
- [46] Pasqualigo's Report on the *Dialogue*- April 17, 1633. (5 times)
- [38] Galileo's Second Deposition- April 30, 1633. (1 time)
- [42] Galileo's Defense- May 10, 1633. (2 times)
- [1] The Summarium (Final Report to the Pope) Undated (4 times)
- [114] Sentence- June 22, 1633 (3 times)
- [115] Abjuration-June 22, 1633 (1 time)

For a total of 21 times!

Before we proceed, just a comment:

It appears to me that in any Holy Office deposition a defendant is always considered guilty. The Letter to Castelli was cleared by the Church [2] and in 1616 it seemed as if there was absolutely nothing wrong with the *Sunspot Letters*. It passed the criticism of the censors. It received the imprimatur. So seventeen years later these two items come back to haunt Galileo as if he was guilty as charged. The Summarium dredged up totally irrelevant information from the past to make Galileo look like a trouble maker.

And furthermore, THERE WAS NO TRIAL OF GALILEO IN 1615-1616!

“A formal trial began then, like now, only when a defendant was “brought up on charges” and required to plead guilty or not guilty; this occasion in a criminal inquisition was likened ..., to the *litis contestatio*, or “contesting of the case,” in a civil action, when the defendant answered the plaintiff’s charges.” [Kelly, p. 747.]

“The trial was a ‘*contestatio*’ between the prosecutor, Carlo Sincero, and Galileo before the presiding judge, Commissary (deputy Inquisitor) Vincenzo Maculano, ...” [Kelly, p 726] That did not occur in 1616.

Back to our analysis...

3. THE SEGIZZI INJUNCTION [21]

Let us move on to the Segizzi (Seghizzi) Injunction. It was supposed to be a warning as indicated by the Pope's order [20] on Feb. 25th to cite Galileo with the document only if he did not agree to abandon the false opinion. So, why was the Injunction immediately given to Galileo? The phrase 'in any way' or 'in any way whatever' does not appear in the Pope's instruction in [20], nor does it appear in the Decretum [22], nor does it appear in Bellarmine's affidavit to Galileo [41], but only in the Segizzi Injunction. Did Galileo get the Injunction? Only according to that document of 1616 he did. We will see later why the words 'in any way' are important in this case.

[21] is not a binding legal document, it is just a memo.

It is unsigned by Cardinal Bellarmine,

it is unsigned by the Commissary, Michaelangelo Seghizzi,

It is unsigned by Galileo,

it is unsigned by witnesses,

it is unsigned by a notary!

The witnesses were Bellarmine's servants and were not qualified to attend.

The memo is not even an exact copy of the original. It is the only 'official?' document the Holy Office presented for its case..

It just mysteriously reappeared 16 years later in September 1632, just about when Urban set up the Special Commission's Report on the *Dialogue* [25] and called Galileo to Rome!

MY DEFENSE FOR GALILEO**3. THE SEGIZZI INJUNCTION [21]**

[21] states that Galileo got an Injunction.

That does not agree with any of the other document of 1616, the Pope's February 25th [20] order as to whether Galileo got the Injunction, or the March 3rd meeting [124]* or Bellarmine's Affidavit. [41].

*[7] in the 1984 edition of *I Documenti*.

The personal injunction to Galileo [21] is the heart of the Holy Office's case- an unsigned office memo. Was [21] an 'injunction' or 'precept'?

The actual document in *I Documenti* is titled 'Ammonizione del Cardinale Roberto Bellarmino a Galileo Galilei'. 'Admonition of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine to Galileo Galilei' It is an admonition, a warning.

What gives credence to this view is the fact that there were "some Dominican Fathers present" as Galileo stated in Deposition 1. That implies [21] was a warning. I don't think that the Holy Office would administer an official injunction with guests present.

Even if [21] was a legal document it would be null and void because a precept expired with the death of the man who issued it. [Mayer, *Trying Galileo* p 4.**]

Paul V died in 1621, Bellarmine died in 1621, and Segizzi died in 1625.

(According to Mayer, Galileo got a precept and not an injunction.) [Mayer, *Trying Galileo* p. 53]

**Unfortunately Mayer does not give a reference.

In *Trying Galileo*, Mayer states (p. 53 - 54)

“Six documents bear directly on the episode in Bellarmino’s palazzo... The first three as minutes have the greatest authority:

No. 1. Paul V’s order on 25 February to Bellarmino and Commissary... [20]

No. 2. A precept dated the next day... [21]

No. 3. The report of a meeting... on 3 March 1616... [124]

The other three texts...

No. 4. Part of the... report of September 1632.

No. 5. The Summary (Summarium)

No. 6. Galileo’s sentence.

Most scholars have thought that the minute of 26 February recording the administration of the precept (No. 2.) makes the most trouble. This is not the case.”

That document (actually a memo) is the heart of the Holy Office’s case. It is the only document they confront Galileo with. Recall the Special Commission Report on the Dialogue [25] (September 1632); “...he may have been deceitfully silent about an injunction given him by the Holy Office in the year 1616...” The word ‘injunction is mentioned four times. The April 17, 1633 reports [44], [45], [46] list the word five times.

I, Zaccaria Pasqualigo, ... have been asked whether Galileo Galilei, by the publication of his *Dialogue* ... has transgressed the injunction. That was the charge of the three dictated by Urban. In Galileo’s First Deposition [37] the word injunction occurred sixteen times, in the Summarium [1] eight times and in the Sentence, [114] nine times.

THE PERSONAL INJUNCTION TO GALILEO [21] IS THE HEART OF THE HOLY OFFICE’S CASE- AN UNSIGNED OFFICE MEMO, LABELED AS A ‘WARNING’ TO GALILEO, LOST FOR 17 YEARS AND FOUND JUST AT THE TIME URBAN SET UP THE SPECIAL COMMISSION OF SEPT. 1632.

2. THE SENTENCE [114]: LEGALLY DEFECTIVE DOCUMENT

THE SENTENCE begins: “Whereas you, Galileo ... were denounced to this Holy Office in 1615 for holding as true the false doctrine...for having disciples to whom you taught the same doctrine; for being in correspondence with some German mathematicians about it; for having published some letters entitled *On Sunspots*, in which you explained the same doctrine as true; for interpreting Holy Scripture according to your own meaning... and whereas later we received a copy of ... a letter [4] ... written by you which in accordance with Copernicus's position contains various propositions against the authority and true meaning of Holy Scripture.”

As we have seen Galileo was deposed in 1615 because of the ‘Letter to to Castelli’. A Consultor for the Holy Office dismissed the charge [2]. *The Starry Messenger* and *The Sunspot Letters* were not included among the three books cited in the 1616 Decree of the Index [22]. It received the Imprimatur.

So, why is all this included here?

“...for being in correspondence with some German mathematicians about it...(the false doctrine)...”

In 1597 and 1610 Galileo wrote to Kepler but by 1613 Kepler was an excommunicated Protestant. Indeed Galileo dealt with Germans! They were Jesuit mathematicians at the Collegio Romano, e.g. Christopher Clavius. For the *Sunspot Letters* he dealt with the Catholic Marc Welser, a scholar and the Jesuit astronomer Christoph Scheiner in Germany. Welser was even an informer for the Roman Inquisition!

The Sentence mentions the meeting of Feb. 25, 1616 [20] when the Pope ordered Bellarmine to warn Galileo- to treat the scientist '*with benignity*'...

"...Cardinal Bellarmine would order you to abandon this false opinion completely; that **if** you refused to do this, the Commissary of the Holy Office would give you an injunction to abandon this doctrine, not to teach it to others, not to defend it, and not to treat of it; and that if you did not acquiesce in this injunction, you should be imprisoned."

The author of this document corrected the fact, falsely stated in the Summarium that Bellarmine was to deliver the Injunction. This, and other errors in the Summarium imply that that document was written with great swiftness and urgency. Also recall the dates of the Oreggi, Inchofer, Pasqualigo reports [44], [45], [46] - between Galileo's first and second depositions!

The very next day the plan was carried out.

"... Cardinal Bellarmine, after being informed and *warned in a friendly way* by the same Lord Cardinal, you were given an injunction by the ... Commissary ... in the presence of a notary and witnesses to the effect that you must completely abandon the said false opinion, and that in the future you could neither hold, nor defend, nor teach it *in any way whatever*, either orally or in writing; having promised to obey, you were dismissed.

...the Index issued a decree which prohibited books treating of such a doctrine and declared it false and wholly contrary to the divine and Holy Scripture."

(all italics are mine)

What happened on February 26, 1666 is crucial for the Church's case. Did Galileo receive an injunction? Was it a document or was it verbal?

THE SENTENCE: LEGALLY DEFECTIVE DOCUMENT

“...the said book was diligently examined and found to violate explicitly the abovementioned injunction given to you...”

“**You confessed** that about ten or twelve years ago, after having been given the injunction ... you began writing the said book, and that then you asked for permission to print it without explaining ... that you were under the injunction of not holding, defending, or teaching such a doctrine in any way whatever. **Likewise, you confessed** that in several places...that a reader could get the idea that the arguments given for the false side were effective enough...”

“**Having been given suitable terms to present your defense**, you produced a certificate in the handwriting of the Most Eminent Lord Cardinal Bellarmine,...”

A formal trial began then, like now, only when a defendant was “brought up on charges”.

[Kelly, p. 747.]

“giving defenses” is shorthand for the actual beginning of the trial, in which the suspect was formally charged and given a period to respond, along with full documentation, in order to mount a defense against any of the charges he rejected. [Kelly, p. 741.].

The phrase “**Having been given suitable terms to present your defense...**” nullifies the prosecutor’s accusations above, “**You confessed...**” and “**Likewise, you confessed...**” because *Galileo had not been given suitable terms to present his defense!* Recall the dates of the first and second depositions, April 12 and April 30 respectively. The Commissary allowed Galileo to present his defenses only on May 10, 1633.

Thus, ***I judge that Galileo’s first and second depositions be stricken from the court records.***

THE SENTENCE: LEGALLY DEFECTIVE DOCUMENT

There are two reasons why Galileo's first and second depositions should be null and void. First: In modern parlance, Galileo was never read his Miranda rights . As stated before Commissary Maculano allowed Galileo to present his defenses only on May 10, 1633. Depositions one and two in April of 1633 were really pre-trial interrogations. Thus, only Galileo's third deposition should legally count. The fourth, where the Inquisitor was determined to ascertain Galileo's real 'intention' is irrelevant because the Pope already decided the sentence at the June 16th meeting. Whatever Galileo said at the fourth deposition would theoretically change nothing.

According to Kelly "the laws of due process in inquisitorial procedure established at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, ... were still in force in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' and that the inquisitors violated Canon Law by not protecting the privacy of the defendant. 'Ecclesia de occultis non judicat (The Church makes no judgment about secret matters), which was repeated at the Council of Trent in 1563, and the canonical privilege against self-incrimination is expressed in the principle, Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum (No one is obliged to betray himself)." [Kelly, pp. 727-28.]

The Sentence is a deceitful legal document. It does not mention the Plea Bargain and its failure. This impinged on Galileo's Second Deposition where he "confessed' to various things. His statements there were used in his Sentence.

Recall **that the extra judicial aspect of the proceedings was not mentioned in the Summarium** also.

AN ASIDE,

“...for interpreting Holy Scripture according to your own meaning...”

Why didn't the Church cite Galileo in 1616 for violating a tenet of the Council of Trent as stated in the Fourth Session of Apr. 8, 1546 referring to his letter to Christina?
Recall: Only Holy Mother Church can interpret Scripture.

The Letter to Christina was a masterpiece of exegesis, actually debunking major arguments, particularly of Bellarmine's- e.g. 'the unanimous agreement of the Holy Fathers'.

My rebuttal of this charge (interpreting Scripture) is not so wild a claim. Pope Leo XIII issued an encyclical 'Providentissimus Deus' (November 18, 1893) 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 by Leo.

MY DEFENSE FOR GALILEO

2. THE HOLY OFFICE USED LEGALLY QUESTIONABLE COURT PROCEDURE POLICY IN SUPPORT OF THEIR CASE AGAINST GALILEO.

1. The extra judicial aspect of the case (the Plea Bargain) was never mentioned in the Summarium nor in the Sentence.
2. Extorting potentially damaging information from the defendant before he was 'given his defenses'. Today we say that he was never read his Miranda Rights.
3. Charging Galileo with a 'crime' that was never really defined to be a crime. Charging Galileo with a 'crime' in the Sentence which did not appear in the Summarium, nor in any of the Galileo depositions and was never defined as a crime in any judicial codex or inquisition manual.
4. Using the Segizzi injunction [\[21\]](#) was questionable court procedure as we will soon see.

2. LEGALLY QUESTIONABLE COURT PROCEDURE**1. THE EXTRA JUDICIAL ASPECT OF THE CASE**

A crucial document should have been included in the court proceedings, 'The letter of the Commissary General to Cardinal Francesco Barberini' [181] dated April 28th 1633.

This document includes the 'extra judicial' deal proposed by Maculano and accepted by Cardinal Barberini. It is not mentioned anywhere in the Sentence nor in the Summarium. As stated heretofore, any statement of Galileo or the Inquisitor taken from the Second Deposition of Galileo [38] on April 30, 1633 should be removed because that totally shipwrecked Galileo's case. In the the first deposition of April 12, he was rather strong; that segued into the absurd 180 degree turn he took on the second deposition which occurred two days later. Those 'confessions' were used in the Sentence against Galileo without any reference to the plea bargain. Recall also the total secrecy mandated by this bureaucratic system. Recall that the cardinals got to read only the Summarium and so reading Deposition 2 without knowing about the plea would render Galileo's statements there ludicrous. Due to the pervasive secrecy of the Holy Office we don't know how many of the cardinal judges knew about the plea bargain.

I would hope that scholars would peruse the volumes on the Code of Canon Law, and then the Inquisition manuals to see how often extra judicial proceedings were addressed at the time, if they were addressed at all.

MY DEFENSE FOR GALILEO

LEGALLY QUESTIONABLE COURT PROCEDURE

2. EXTORTING POTENTIALLY DAMAGING INFORMATION FROM
THE DEFENDANT BEFORE HE WAS 'GIVEN HIS DEFENSES'.

GALILEO'S DEFENSE: MAY 10 1633. It was on this date that the formal trial began. As stated before for the trial to formally begin the defendant must proceed to 'present his defenses'. This marks the time when formal charges were levied and a suspect formally becomes a defendant. When did Galileo receive the formal charges? April 28th? Where is the record of Maculano's (actually Carlo Sincero's) formal charges against Galileo? Does such a document exist?

GALILEO'S FIRST INTERROGATION: APRIL 12, 1633

Without having been charged with any infraction, many of the statements he made at that time were used in the Summarium and in the Sentence.

He was coerced into making the statements of the Second Deposition on April 30 by the extra-judicial process two days before.

For more on 'receiving one's defenses' see page 215.

LEGALLY QUESTIONABLE COURT PROCEDURE

2. EXTORTING POTENTIALLY DAMAGING INFORMATION FROM THE DEFENDANT

‘Letter Francesco Niccolini - Tuscan Ambassador to the Vatican to Andrea Cioli, Tuscan - Secretary of State Sept. 5, 1632.’ (not in DV, see Finochiarro, *The Galileo Affair* p 229.)

Niccolini, meeting with Urban suggested that Galileo should know the objections against him. “He answered violently: I say to Your Lordship that the Holy Office does not do these things and does not proceed this way, that these things are never given in advance to anyone, that such is not the custom...”

The Vatican astronomer in his Lecture 5 ‘Now You Know’ claims that in England, unlike the Inquisition, you didn’t know who was accusing you and didn’t know what the charges were. Galileo surmised the charges against him but he was not charged on April 12 (first deposition) nor on April 30 (second deposition). Only on May 10, almost two months later did Galileo receive ‘his defenses’. Don’t forget, he spent almost two months waiting to be called for the first deposition.

The *Sacro Arsenale* says that, if suspects insisted on first “being given their defenses” (that is, formally tried, with the charges leveled and explained beforehand), they were told that it was not to be done in such circumstances. [Kelly, p 732]

(*Sacro Arsenale*, 1621 edition; part 6 – Martin, pp 146–147)

This trial tactic was a relatively recent development by the Holy Office and was not adapted in earlier manuals. (For more see Kelly’s paper.)

MY DEFENSE FOR GALILEO

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LEGALLY QUESTIONABLE COURT PROCEDURE

3. CHARGING GALILEO WITH A 'CRIME' THAT WAS NEVER REALLY DEFINED TO BE A CRIME.

Recall the highlighted statements on pages 185 and 195.

“We say, pronounce, sentence, and declare that you, the abovementioned Galileo, ..., have rendered yourself ... **vehemently suspected of heresy**, namely of having held and believed a **doctrine which is false and contrary to the divine and Holy Scripture**: that the sun is the center of the world and does not move from east to west, and the earth moves and is not the center of the world... “

Belief in the Copernican Theory was never defined as being heretical in any inquisitional manual. It is not even mentioned in the manuals. It was not even mentioned at Trent.

The only published formal Church document addressing the Copernican theory was the 1616 Decree of the Index [22]. It did not state that the Copernican theory was heretical. “...the false Pythagorean doctrine [is] completely opposed to divine Scripture.” The only declaration of heresy for belief in the Copernican theory was from the Consultors report on Copernicanism [19] - Feb. 24, 1616. This committee was advisory and so their document had absolutely no legal weight.

Although it is obvious from the manuals that any document, letter, or book or abstract idea that violates Scripture is heretical, and the Copernican theory fits the description (if taken absolutely and not hypothetically) no legal document of the Church from 1616-1633 declared it so. The Decree of the Index does not declare Church doctrine; the pope obtains full and supreme power in the Church assisted by bishops.

The ‘false opinion’ was never defined in Church canon law to be heretical.

LEGALLY QUESTIONABLE COURT PROCEDURE

3. CHARGING GALILEO WITH A 'CRIME' IN THE SENTENCE WHICH DID NOT APPEAR IN THE SUMMARIUM, NOR IN ANY OF THE GALILEO DEPOSITIONS AND WAS NEVER DEFINED AS A CRIME IN ANY JUDICIAL CODEX OR INQUISITION MANUAL.

The second 'crime' that Galileo was sentenced for, namely, **"...that one may hold and defend as probable an opinion after it has been declared and defined contrary to Holy Scripture"** did not appear in the Summarium nor did the **Inquisitor ask him about it in the depositions.** Therefore Galileo's defense was severely weakened for not knowing one of the charges. **In fact, it is not a crime as laid out in any judicial manual nor in any Inquisition manual.** As far as I know this 'crime has never seen the light of day after Galileo's sentence.

This 'crime is really just Urban's opinion that the Scriptures reign supreme over natural philosophy. Urban's reasoning was that the Scriptures are the word of the omnipotent God; how can an opinion be probable if it contradicts the Scriptures?

In his lecture on the trial, Galileo-Science, Faith (lecture 7) Dr. Consolmagno states, "he (Galileo) never actually specifies, no one actually ever specifies what those heresies were." It is well known that the abjuration is written by the Holy Office, not Galileo. Of course he did not know what the heresies were- especially the second. And if *no one knew what the actual heresies were*, Pope Francis should now announce,

"Pope Urban VIII and the seven cardinals who convicted Galileo were wrong. The Galileo case is finally closed!" The Church was wrong! Thank you brother Consolmagno. Of course the heresy was the Copernican theory although the Church legally never defined it to be a heresy.

LEGALLY QUESTIONABLE COURT PROCEDURE

4. USING THE SEGIZZI INJUNCTION [21] WAS QUESTIONABLE COURT PROCEDURE

Recall the Special Injunction to Galileo (the Segizzi Injunction [21]) when Bellarmine “...warned Galileo that the abovementioned opinion was *erroneous* and that he should abandon it...”

The key word here is “*erroneous*”.

And recall the Consultors’ statement [19] about the earth being in 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.***” [my italics]. Theologically they declared the motion of the sun **formally heretical** but the motion of the earth ***at least erroneous in faith.***

So, eleven theological experts distinguishes the two. Therefore, in the Sentence the Holy Office was charging Galileo with the wrong crime.

I don’t believe that it was ever ascertained in any Inquisitional manual that ‘erroneous in faith’ was equivalent to ‘formally heretical’. Perhaps the scholars can correct me on this.

LEGALLY QUESTIONABLE COURT PROCEDURE

4. USING THE SEGIZZI INJUNCTION [21] WAS QUESTIONABLE COURT PROCEDURE

As stated before, this is not a binding legal document, it is just a memo.

It is unsigned by Cardinal Bellarmine,

it is unsigned by the Commissary Michaelangelo Seghizzi,

It is unsigned by Galileo,

it is unsigned by witnesses,

it is unsigned by a notary!

The witnesses were Bellarmine's servants and were not qualified to attend.

The memo is not even an exact copy of the original. It is the only 'official' document the Holy Office presented for its case.

I do not apologize for all the repetition. I am considering myself as an 'Advocatus' for Galileo.

THE GREATEST SCANDAL IN CHRISTENDOM

LETTER TO NUNCIOS AND INQUISITORS BY THE HOLY OFFICE

At the Thursday meeting of June 16, 1633 [47] with Urban and six cardinals present* it was decreed by the pontiff that Galileo's sentence and abjuration was to be sent to all papal nuncios in Europe and all local inquisitors to be publicly read to all professors of mathematics and inquisitors throughout Christendom. A reply was expected and a full copy of Galileo's sentence and abjuration was included.

"Letters of reply have survived from the nuncios to Naples, Florence, Venice, Vienna, Paris, Brussels, Cologne, Vilnius, Lucerne, and Madrid, and from the inquisitors of Florence, Padua, Bologna, Vicenza, Venice, Ceneda, Brescia, Ferrara, Aquileia, Perugia, Como, Pavia, Siena, Faenza, Milan, Crema, Cremona, Reggio Emilia, Mantua, Gubbio, Pisa, Novara, Piacenza, and Tortona."
[Finocchiaro, *Retrying Galileo* p 27]

*Cardinals Borgia and Francesco Barberini hardly ever attended these meetings. (*I Documenti* p. CXCVIII). Centini and Zacchia were also absent. Although absent from this meeting, Centini did sign off on Galileo's condemnation.

Cardinal Antonio Barberini's letters to the nuncios of Europe

Examples:

[113] to the Nuncio of Vienna - Ciriaco Rocci, July 2, 1633.

[143] to the Inquisitor of Siena – Vincenzo Baldeschi, July 2, 1633.

[68] a reply from the Inquisitor of Perugia Vincenzo Pellegrini to Cardinal Antonio Barberini, Sept. 10, 1633.

[I Documenti]

According to Kelly, (pp 724,26,29) the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) binding on the whole Church, and laying down the obligation of the Secrecy of the Confession was still in effect. Galileo's sentence and abjuration was stated in these letters to the Nuncios.

In fact, attached to these letters were copies of Galileo's entire sentence and abjuration.

'A priest who reveals a sin confided to him in confession is to be deposed and relegated to a monastery for the remainder of his life. (Canon 21 Fourth Lateran Council)

But let him exercise the greatest precaution that he does not in any degree by word, sign, or any other manner make known the sinner, but should he need more prudent counsel, let him seek it cautiously without any mention of the person. He who dares to reveal a sin confided to him in the tribunal of penance, we decree that he be not only deposed from the sacerdotal office but also relegated to a monastery of strict observance to do penance for the remainder of his life.'

<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/lateran4.asp>

FOR VIOLATING THE SECRECY OF THE CONFESSIONAL

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Galileo's trial was an ordinary heresy trial conducted by the Inquisition, at least up to the plea bargain. But as we've seen on page 227 the tenets of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) binding on the whole Church, and laying down the laws of due process was still in effect in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Lateran also established the regulations of sacramental confession and the seal of secrecy. [Kelly, p 724]

“But the proper forum for such admissions of guilt was private confession to one's priest, which was made mandatory at Lateran IV, with strong cautions to confessors not to reveal any confessed sins (what was later called violating 'the seal of confession') ”. [Kelly, p729]

Galileo, as well as other suspects, were forced to testify against themselves before 'receiving their defenses', i.e. before having charges laid against them'. Urban and his brother Antonio violated the seal of confession by sending Galileo's sentence and abjuration throughout Catholic Europe.

The dogma of infallibility was formally proclaimed at the First Vatican Council in 1870. There are several requirements for a dogmatic, papal infallible pronouncement: (1) The pronouncement must be made by the lawful successor to Peter. (2) The subject matter must be in the area of faith and morals. (3) The pope must be speaking ex cathedra, that is from the very seat and office of Peter. In this way he must be specifically intending to proclaim a doctrine, binding the entire Church to its assent. If one or more of these elements is missing, there is no infallible pronouncement. CATHOLIC FAITH AND REASON: <https://www.catholicfaithandreason.org/papal-infallibility.html>

I thought, if Urban was following Cardinal Bellarmine's idea that everything in the Scriptures has to do with faith and morals, and since this letter was sent to all of Christendom, Urban violated papal infallibility. But it was only sent out to all professors of mathematics and inquisitors. It does not seem applicable to everyone.



LAST EIGHT LINES OF THE APRIL 12, 1633 DEPOSITION [37]

...Copernico, et che le ragioni di esso Copernico sono invalide,
e non concludenti.

Quibus habitis, dimissum fuit examen animo etc., et assignata ci
fuit Camera quaedam in Dormitorio officialium sita in Palatio
Sancti Offitij, loco carceris, cum precepto de non discedendo ab ea
sine speciali licentia sub poenis arbitrio Sacrae Congregationis etc., et
fuit ei iniunctum ut se subscribat, et impositum silentium sub Iuramento.
Io Galileo Galilei ho deposto come de sopra

...Copernico, et che le ragioni di esso Copernico sono invalide,
e non concludenti.

Quibus habitis, dimissum fuit examen animo etc., et assignata ci
fuit Camera quaedam in Dormitorio officialium sita in Palatio
Sancti Offitij, loco carceris, cum precepto de non discedendo ab ea
sine speciali licentia sub poenis arbitrio Sacrae Congregationis etc., et fuit
ei iniunctum ut se subscribat, et impositum silentium sub Iuramento.

Io Galileo Galilei ho deposto come de sopra

...Copernicus's opinion and show that Copernicus's reasons are invalid
and inconclusive.

With this the deposition ended, and he was assigned a certain
room in the dormitory of the officials, located in the Palace
of the Holy Office, in lieu of prison, with the injunction not to leave it
without special permission, under penalty to be decided by the Holy
Congregation; and he was ordered to sign below and was sworn to silence.
I, Galileo Galilei, have testified as above

LAST EIGHT LINES OF THE APRIL 12, 1633 DEPOSITION [37]



FIRST TEN LINES OF THE APRIL 30, 1633 DEPOSITION [38]

Die Sabbathi 30 Aprilis 1633.

Constitutus personaliter Romae in aula Congregationum coram et assistente quibus supra in meique.

Galileus de Galilei[s] de quo supra qui cum petijsset audiri delato sibi iuramento veritatis dicendae quod tactis etc. praestitit fuit per Dominos Interrogatus ut dicat quid sibi dicendum occurrit [sic].

Respondit Nel far io più giorni continova, e fissa riflessione sopra gli interrogatorij fattomi sotto il dì 16 del presente, et in particolare sopra quello se mi era stata fatta prohibitione sedeci anni fà d'ordine del S. Officio, di non tener, difendere, o in[seg]nar quovis modo

Die Sabbathi 30 Aprilis 1633.

Constitutus personaliter Romae in aula Congregationum coram et assistente quibus supra in meique.

Galileus de Galilei[s] de quo supra qui cum petijsset audiri delato sibi iuramento veritatis dicendae quod tactis etc. praestitit fuit per Dominos **Interrogatus** ut dicat quid sibi dicendum occurrit [sic].

Respondit Nel far io più giorni continova, e fissa riflessione sopra gli interrogatorij fattomi sotto il dì 16 del presente, et in particolare sopra quello se mi era stata fatta prohibitione sedeci anni fà d'ordine del S. Officio, di non tener, difendere, o in[seg]nar quovis modo ...

Saturday 30 April 1633.

Called personally to the hall of the Congregations, in the presence and with the assistance of those mentioned above and of myself, the abovementioned Galileo Galilei, who has since then petitioned to be heard, having sworn an oath to tell the truth, was asked by the Fathers the following:

Q: That he state whatever he wished to say.

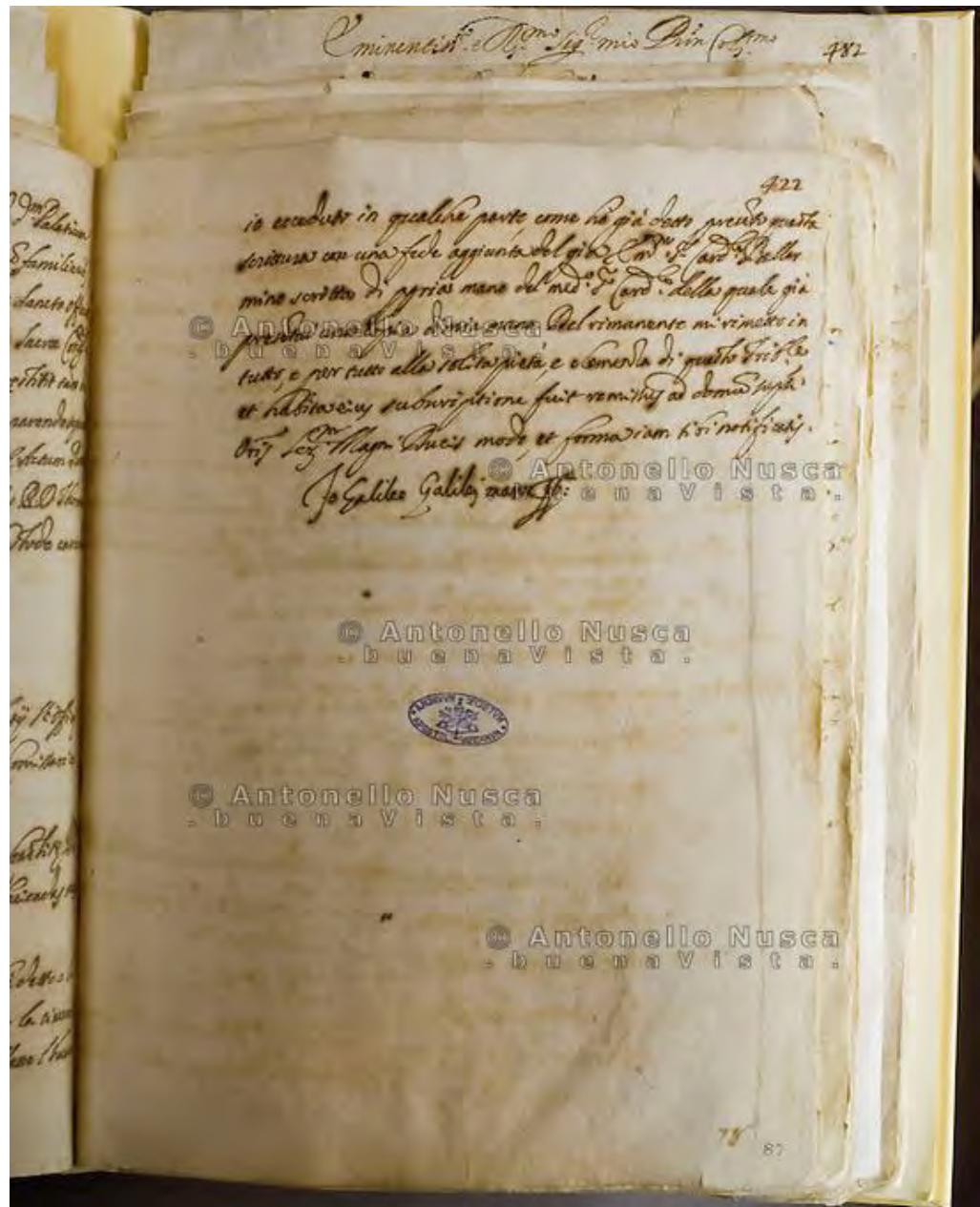
A: For several days I have been thinking continuously and directly about the interrogations I underwent on the 16th of this month, and in particular about the question whether sixteen years ago I had been prohibited, by order of the Holy Office, from holding, defending, and teaching in any way whatever ...

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io eccaduto in qualche parte, come ha già detto preato nelle
 scritture con una fede aggiunta del giorno 20. di Carlo Della
 mina scritto di propria mano del medesimo Carlo della quale già
 presentai una copia di mia mano. Del rimanente mi rimetto in
 tutto, e per tutto alla solita pietà, e clemenza di questo Tribuna-
 le et habitose in subuersione fuit remittit ad domum su-
 am Rex Magni Ducis modo, et forma iam tibi nota
 Jo Galileo Galilei manu propria

https://michelangelo Buonarroti et ornato.files.wordpress.com/2019/12/asv_firma-galilei2.jpg

LAST EIGHT LINES GALILEO'S THIRD DEPOSITION I [40]



LAST EIGHT LINES

GALILEO'S THIRD DEPOSITION I [40]

ANTONELLO NUSCA PHOTOGRAPHER

https://antonellonusca.photoshelter.com/gallery-image/Lux-in-arca/G0000vxczZviDibU/I0000Eqftxl_qiXE

422

is condit in quatuor parte come se già dicitur prima parte
 deservit con una fede appunta del giorno 22 d' Aprile 1633
 mine scritte di propria mano del medesimo Galileo della quale già
 Antonio Nוסca del rimanente mi rimetto in
 tutto e per tutto alla integrità e osservanza di questo scritto
 et sottoscrizione fuit rogatus ad obsequium
 Ant. Nוסca
 Jo Galileo Galilei teste: ANTONELLO NUSCA
 ANTONELLO NUSCA

https://antonellonusca.photoshelter.com/gallery-image/Lux-in-arcana/G0000vxczZviDibU/I0000Eqftxl_qiXE

ANTONELLO NUSCA PHOTOGRAPHER

LAST EIGHT LINES GALILEO'S THIRD DEPOSITION I [40]

Io ecceduto in qualche parte, come ho già detto presento questa scrittura con una fede aggiunta del già Eminentissimo Signor Cardinale Bellarmino scritta di propria mano del medesimo Signor Cardinale, della quale già presentai una copia di mia mano. Del rimanente mi rimetto in tutto, e per tutto alla solita pietà, e clemenza di questo Tribunale.

Et habita eius subscriptione fuit remissus ad domum supradicti Oratoris Serenissimi Magni Ducis, modo, et forma iam sibi notificatis.

Io Galileo Galilei manu propria

my having transgressed in some ways, as I have already said. I present the following statement, together with a certificate by the late Most Eminent Lord Cardinal Bellarmine, written with his own hand by the Lord Cardinal himself, of which I earlier presented a copy by my hand. For the rest I rely in every way on the usual mercy and clemency of this Tribunal.

After signing his name, he was sent back to the house of the abovementioned Ambassador of the Most Serene Grand Duke, under the conditions already communicated to him.

I, Galileo Galilei, with my own hand.



The photos (cropped) were not taken from an exhibit 'Lux in Arcana- L'Archivio Segreto Vaticano si Rivela' exhibit- 'Lux in Arcana- The Vatican Secret Archives reveals itself.'

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RvpAg4AYWxw>

but from an older Lux in Arcana website no longer on line.

THE TRIAL OF GALILEO REVISITED YET AGAIN

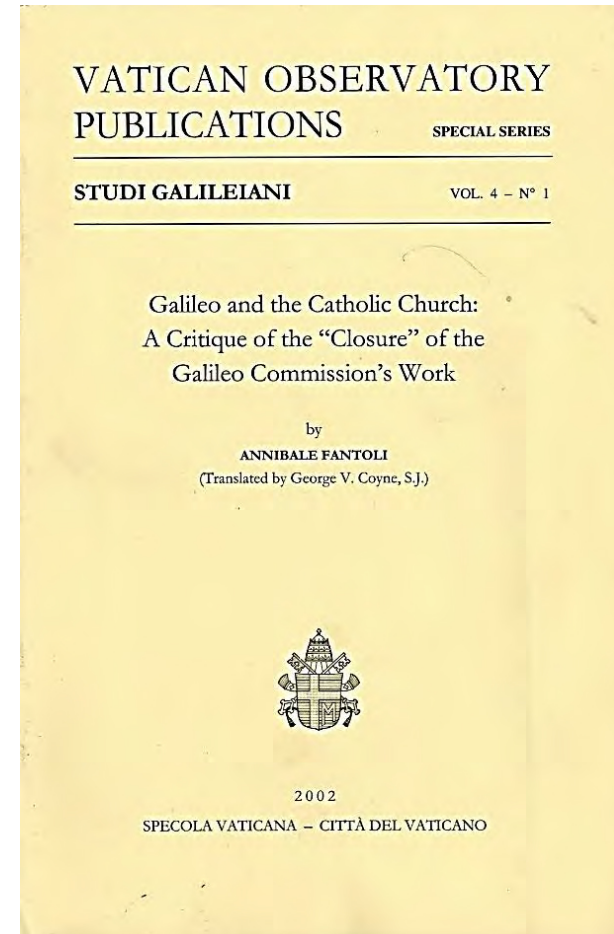
PART III, EPILOGUE

POPE JOHN PAUL II 's FINAL COMMISSION REPORT CRITICIZED CONTRA PAUL FEYERABEND



<https://brunelleschi.imss.fi.it/itineraries/image/img34602.html>

Pope John Paul II on a visit to the Great
Historic Hall of the University of Pisa.



In November 1979 Pope John Paul II, in a speech to the Pontifical Academy of Sciences mentioned Galileo and how he "...had to suffer a great deal..." He urged scholars and theologians to study the Galileo case objectively and to recognize the "wrongs from whatever side they come..." [Coyne, p 18]. He formed a commission to investigate the Galileo Affair on July 3, 1981. Over eleven years later on October 31, 1992, the Pope brought to a closure the work of the Commission. At that time he said, "From the beginning of the Age of Enlightenment down to our own day, the Galileo case has been a sort of myth...the Galileo case was the symbol of the Church's supposed rejection of scientific progress, or of dogmatic obscurantism opposed to the free search for truth." [Coyne, p 1] n.b. Almost everything in this section about the Commission is taken from Coyne's paper. labeled [C, p x]

Just a few comments about the Commission:

It had four sections: exegetal, cultural, scientific-epistemological, and historical-judicial. The first meeting of the Commission was held on October 9, 1981. Seven meetings of the Commission were held, the last on November 22, 1983. Except at the seven meetings there was little or no exchange between the four sections of the Commission.

On October 31, 1992, at a meeting of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences Cardinal Poupard presented the final report, described as "the results of the interdisciplinary inquiry".

There was no philosopher of science or historian of science among the members; nor was there a section dedicated to those disciplines.

For more details on the Commission see Coyne's paper. Now deceased, the Rev. Dr. George Coyne was a Jesuit.

Coyne summarizes succinctly the discourse presented by the Commission. I quote him verbatim.

- (1) Galileo is said not to have understood that, at that time, Copernicanism was only “hypothetical” and that he did not have scientific proofs for it; thus he betrayed the very methods of modern science of which he was a founder;
- (2) it is further claimed that “theologians” were not able, at that time, to correctly understand Scripture;
- (3) Cardinal Robert Bellarmine is said to have understood what was “really at stake”;
- (4) When scientific proofs for Copernicanism became known, the Church hastened to accept Copernicanism and to admit implicitly it erred in condemning it.

The Jesuit astronomer addresses them in order.

Coyne summarizes these four points with the statement, and I agree. “...there appears to have been a retreat within the Church from the posture taken in 1979 and ... history continues to show that the differences between authority in the Church and authority in science are persistent.” [C, p 18]

These points (particularly 1, 3, and 4) evolved into the many anti-Galileo arguments used in the current ‘Galileo myth’ papers on internet sites by Catholic apologists.

To my mind the Church has regressed back to the old days; worse, Galileo doesn’t even know his own philosophy of science and the commission report “...appear[s] to make Bellarmine both the most open-minded of theologians and a scholar respectful of science.” [C, p 7]

(1) "... like most of his adversaries, **Galileo** made no distinction between the scientific approach to natural phenomena and a reflection on nature, of the philosophical order.... That is why he rejected the suggestion to present the Copernican system as a hypothesis since **it had not been confirmed by irrefutable proof.**"

In short, this is the now common talking point of the current Catholic apologists. Galileo refused to accept that the Copernican system was just a purely mathematical model.

Moreover, he had no 'proof'.

Galileo certainly knew the the ambiguity in the meaning of 'hypothesis'; he was the Grand Duke's philosopher and mathematician and certainly knew his own conception of hypothesis as an assumption to be verified by observation, experiment, reason etc. He was certainly aware of its meaning as a mathematical fiction to 'save the appearances', (as the theologian Osiander wrote in the preface to Copernicus' book). Recall what he said in his first deposition about the 'opinion of the sun's stability and earth's motion, ... taken absolutely, is repugnant to Holy Scripture and is to be admitted only suppositionally in the way that Copernicus takes it.' He was trying to deceive the Inquisitor, but we know he took the now current scientific meaning of the word.

Coyne points out [p 4] Poupard "asserts that Galileo did not have proof for the earth's motion and ... Galileo's erroneous use of the argument from the tides." The debate about the scientific aspects of the Copernican theory was completely squelched in 1616 and certainly during the trial of 1633. The Church did not want to debate the science; recall the Decree of 1616. Yet in spite of all the positive evidence for Copernicus' theory, the phases of Venus, the rotation of the Sun, the satellites of Jupiter etc.; Certainly not a proof but quite convincing. However, the apologists always focus only on Galileo's wrong theory of the tides.

(2) Theologians” were not able, at that time, to correctly understand Scripture.

“... the new science, with its methods and the freedom of research which they implied, obliged theologians to examine their own criteria of Scriptural interpretation. Most of them did not know how to do so.” (John Paul II Oct. 31, 1992.)

Similarly the Commission report states, “Certain theologians, ... failed to grasp the profound, non-literal meaning of the Scriptures when they describe the physical structure of the created universe.” Coyne points out [p 5] “the majority of theologians of that epoch did not even know of the existence of a new science, did not know its methods, nor did they feel obliged to respect the freedom of scientific research.”

In the Pope’s address [p 6] he said that “the error of the theologians was due to their failure to “recognize the formal distinction between Sacred Scripture and its interpretation.”

“Since the time of Augustine, this distinction was well-established and it was taught in all the schools of exegesis at the time of Galileo. In fact, in 1616 the qualifiers/consultors of the Holy Office knew this distinction...” [C, p 6]

And Coyne addresses a different view The “theologians” in both discourses (the Pope’s speech, the Commission) are unidentified and unidentifiable. There is no mention of the Congregation of the Holy Office, of the Roman Inquisition or of the Congregation of the Index, nor of an injunction given to Galileo in 1616 nor of the abjuration required of him in 1633 by official organs of the Church. Nor is mention made of Paul V or Urban VIII, the ones ultimately responsible for the activities of those official institutions.”

(3) **Cardinal Robert Bellarmine is said to have understood what was “really at stake”**

Recall the letter ‘Bellarmine to Foscarini’ pp 103-105] “When there may be a true demonstration ... But I will not believe that there is such a demonstration until it is shown me.”

This “...appear[s] to make Bellarmine both the most open-minded of theologians and a scholar respectful of science.” [C, p 7] But that is a sham.

Let’s review the whole letter:

(i) ex-supposition is OK but asserting the opinion is true “...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. ...

(ii) “Second, I say that, as you know, the Council [of Trent] 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;...”

(iii) “Third I say that if there were a true demonstration...” But reading on the Cardinal cites the Scriptures and the wisdom of Solomon. Bellarmine believed in Scripture 100%.

(3) **Cardinal Robert Bellarmine is said to have understood what was “really at stake”**

Sometime in 1615 Prince Cesi told Galileo that, “...as to the Copernican opinion, Bellarmine himself...told me that he holds it to be heretical... ” [Fantoli 3rd ed., p 132]
If the good Cardinal was so objective why did he support the 1616 Decree of the Index?
“And why did he agree to deliver the injunction to Galileo in 1616? This injunction prohibited Galileo from pursuing his research as regards Copernicanism.” [C, p 8]

Bellarmino believed Scripture is the final arbiter. Recall his concept of what is “faith and morals”- everything is subordinate to Scripture. His theory of the Cosmos was based on the Hebraic view of the creation as laid out in the Bible. This to me is interesting because it violates the dogmatic Church view that the Aristotelian-Ptolemy conception of the Universe is to be taken by Catholics.

One of the key disputes in the Galileo Affair was whether the motion of the earth was a matter of faith and morals. Bellarmine would said yes, Galileo said would say no. According to Bellarmine *anything stated in the Bible*, even about the motion of the sun, is to be taken on faith. In the letter to Foscarini he wrote that it is a matter of faith to say that Abraham did not have two children and Jacob twelve. 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 you did not believe Tobias had a dog.
Cardinal Bellarmine was 100% on the side of Scripture.

(4) When scientific proofs for Copernicanism became known, the Church hastened to accept Copernicanism and to admit implicitly it erred in condemning it.

Almost 30 years after Galileo's *'Dialogue'* was banned Giovanni Battista Riccioli (S.J.) published the *Almagestum Novum* which embraced the Tychonic system, which was approved by the Church. As stated before the arguments for the scientific validity of the Copernican system was never considered at all, neither in 1616, nor in 1632-33. The Consultors declared it heretical because it was opposed to Scripture, in spite of Galileo's and Foscarini's contrary arguments.

The first comprehensive and mathematically consistent explanation for the behavior of astronomical objects was Newton's *Principia Mathematica* published in 1687 and from then on the study of astronomy and physics soared. The accuracy of mathematical predictions improved with each generation of instruments. The Church still followed Riccioli's book. Things improved a bit in 1741.

"Galileo died in 1642. In 1741, Pope Benedict XIV granted an imprimatur to the first edition of the complete works of Galileo. In 1757, a new edition of the Index of Forbidden Books allowed works that supported the Copernican theory."*

Typical of these sights they stop there and neglect to mention that "the publication in 1744 of the "complete works" had to include the Letter to Christina and the Letter to Castelli. Furthermore, the *Dialogue* had to be printed in Volume IV, accompanied by the 1633 sentence and the text of Galileo's abjuration and it had to contain a preface emphasizing its "hypothetical" character. [C, p 10]

The 1835 edition of the *Index of Prohibited Books* for the first time omitted from the list- 'Galileo's *Dialogue'* including four other books, including one by Kepler and Copernicus' masterpiece. *Over 200 years after Galileo's trial!*

*(Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights- Galileo and the Catholic Church)

247 Cardinal Ratzinger (later Pope Benedict XVI) in a speech delivered at La Sapienza University, Rome on February 15, 1990 put forth his outlook about the Galileo affair. In March 1990 the Cardinal published a book *A Turning Point for Europe?* In it he discussed the relation of Europe to the Church after the collapse of Marxism and also his views about Galileo. In January 2008, students and professors protested the planned visit of Benedict to La Sapienza University. In what follows I will respond to the remarks Cardinal Ratzinger made about Galileo in his book.

Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger
RATZINGER'S 1990 REMARKS ON GALILEO
“The Crisis of Faith in Science”

March 15, 1990, Parma

Extracts taken from *A Turning Point for Europe? The Church and Modernity in the Europe of Upheavals* Paoline Editions, 1992, pp. 76-79. English translation by NCR.

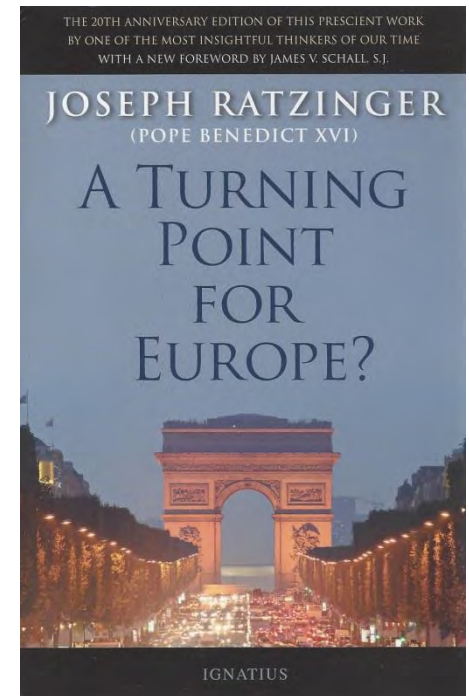
I thank the ‘National Catholic Reporter’ for providing me with this material.

<https://www.ncronline.org/news/ratzingers-1990-remarks-galileo>

In what follows:

Cardinal Ratzinger’s remarks about Galileo are in the black text.

My responses to the Cardinal are in blue. I highlighted the particular statements in his letter that I take issue with



In the last decade, creation's resistance to allowing itself to be manipulated by humanity has emerged as a new element in the overall cultural situation. The question of the limits of science, and the criteria which it must observe, has become unavoidable. Particularly emblematic of this change of intellectual climate, it seems to me, is the different way in which the Galileo case is seen. This episode, which was little considered in the 18th century, was elevated to a myth of the Enlightenment in the century that followed. **Galileo appeared as a victim of that medieval obscurantism that endures in the Church.** Good and evil were sharply distinguished. **On the one hand, we find the Inquisition: a power that incarnates superstition, the adversary of freedom and conscience. On the other, there's natural science represented by Galileo: the force of progress and liberation of humanity from the chains of ignorance** that kept it impotent in the face of nature. The star of modernity shines in the dark night of medieval obscurity. Today, things have changed.

Cardinal, you bring up the 'myths' spawned by the Enlightenment (roughly 1680-1820). The Inquisition manual, the *Sacro Arsenale* went through ten editions - from 1621 to 1730; right into the beginning of the High Enlightenment. It was a handbook for fledgling Inquisitors. The 1621 edition might have been used in the Galileo trial. In Chapter One it describes who the Holy Office will proceed against...first, against the heretics, but also the magicians, the wicked and the sorcerers. Let us not forget 'those that renounce the Holy Faith, making themselves Turks, Jews and other sects...' Chapter 6 dealt with the method of interrogating the accused by torture. Chapter 7 on witches (and polygamy) does not exist in the first edition. It does first appear in the second edition of 1625 and was still in the 1730 edition! I would indeed say that the Inquisition was a power that incarnated superstition and was the adversary of freedom and conscience. How many sorcerers, magicians and witches were tortured and sent to prison and executed since it was reorganized by Pope Paul III in 1542 right up to the middle of the 19th century when it was abolished? Galileo was threatened by the Inquisitor with torture if he didn't answer as they wanted.

249 According to [Ernst] Bloch, the heliocentric system – just like the geocentric – is based upon presuppositions that can't be empirically demonstrated. Among these, an important role is played by the affirmation of the existence of an absolute space; that's an opinion that, in any event, has been cancelled by the Theory of Relativity. Bloch writes, in his own words: 'From the moment that, with the abolition of the presupposition of an empty and immobile space, movement is no longer produced towards something, but **there's only a relative movement of bodies among themselves, and therefore the measurement of that [movement] depends to a great extent on the choice of a body to serve as a point of reference,** in this case is it not merely the complexity of calculations that renders the [geocentric] hypothesis impractical? **Then as now, one can suppose the earth to be fixed and the sun as mobile."**

Bloch's argument is specious. He is using the Special Theory of Relativity where objects move at constant velocity relative to each other. Bloch is using Galilean Relativity which is the first postulate Einstein used in Special Relativity. Ironically enough this argument of relativity of motion was first introduced by Galileo in his *Dialogue on Two Chief World Systems* to show that the earth can move. The very book condemned by the Church! In using Bloch's argument you are neglecting the key issue-gravity. According to Newton's gravitational theory a planet orbits the Sun because of the gravitational pull it feels from the Sun and this is due to accelerating bodies. The Sun is in the center of the solar system, not the earth.

Special Relativity, where there is no gravity is essentially a special case of General Relativity. Geometrically Special Relativity 'lives' in flat Minkowski spacetime which is the very special case where the curvature of spacetime is 0. In that case there is no gravity. When the curvature is not zero, gravity (General Relativity) kicks in.

The analogous situation is as follows. Someone is standing in a flat field. That person concludes that the earth is flat. Cardinal, would you conclude that?

Curiously, it was precisely **Bloch**, with his Romantic Marxism, who was among the first to openly oppose the [Galileo] myth, offering a new interpretation of what happened: **The advantage of the heliocentric system over the geocentric, he suggested, does not consist in a greater correspondence to objective truth, but solely in the fact that it offers us greater ease of calculation.** To this point, Bloch follows solely a modern conception of natural science. What is surprising, however, is the conclusion he draws: “Once the relativity of movement is taken for granted, an ancient human and **Christian system of reference** has no right to interference in astronomic calculations and their heliocentric simplification; however, **it has the right to remain faithful to its method of preserving the earth in relation to human dignity**, and to order the world with regard to what will happen and what has happened in the world.”

Cardinal, I am really confused on this one. As to *Bloch's new interpretation (?)* of what happened with respect to Galileo; his argument is that the advantage of the heliocentric system is not that it pertains to objective truth but that it is better computationally? Isn't that Cardinal Bellarmine's argument that he used (see p 103) almost 350 years ago?

“Speaking suppositionally and not absolutely...” Yes, it has morphed into a modern philosophy of science. It has been updated as to the question of a scientist being an Instrumentalist or a Realist. I will leave that for the philosophers.

To my mind it is obvious that you don't need to use Bloch's specious pseudo-scientific argument to state that the Christian system of reference has a right to remain faithful to its method of preserving the earth in relation to human dignity.

If both the spheres of conscience are once again clearly distinguished among themselves under their respective methodological profiles, recognizing both their limits and their respective rights, then the synthetic **judgment of the agnostic-skeptic philosopher P. Feyerabend appears much more drastic. He writes: “The church at the time of Galileo was much more faithful to reason than Galileo himself,** and also took into consideration the ethical and social consequences of Galileo’s doctrine. Its verdict against Galileo was rational and just, and revisionism can be legitimized solely for motives of political opportunism.”

From the point of view of the concrete consequences of the turning point Galileo represents, however, C.F. Von Weizsacker takes another step forward, when he identifies a “very direct path” that leads from Galileo to the atomic bomb.

I will deal with the philosopher of science Paul Feyerabend in a few pages.

Cardinal, as you know Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker was a German theoretical physicist, and later philosopher, who worked on Nazi Germany's atomic bomb program. I'll leave it to the scholars to decide if he just became a pacifist after the war. *But you are using the voice of a former Nazi collaborator who thought of Galileo as the turning point that led us directly to the bomb! Galileo directly to the bomb! Are you getting your ideas from a playwright (Brecht's play, "Life of Galileo"), with all of the theatrical licenses to put forth any view and spread this absurd view to your flock? With this extreme manner of addressing your multitude there will never be a compatibility with science and religion.*

To my great surprise, in a recent interview on the Galileo case, I was not asked a question like, ‘Why did the Church try to get in the way of the development of modern science?’, but rather exactly the opposite, that is: **‘Why didn’t the church take a more clear position against the disasters that would inevitably follow, once Galileo had opened Pandora’s box?’**

It would be absurd, on the basis of these affirmations, to construct a hurried apologetics. **The faith does not grow from resentment and the rejection of rationality**, but from its fundamental affirmation and **from being inscribed in a still greater form of reason ...**

Here, I wished to recall a symptomatic case that illustrates the extent to which modernity’s doubts about itself have grown today in science and technology.

Cardinal really?? The disasters that would inevitably follow, once Galileo had opened Pandora’s box? Galileo’s thoughts about the Universe almost 400 years ago inevitably led to the disasters of today and a “very direct path” that lead us from Galileo to the atomic bomb! Why is it that Galileo’s science led directly only to the disasters? What about his improvement of the telescope which today with the James Webb telescope which opened to us the wonders of hundreds of ancient galaxies that could be among the first members of the universe-the earliest-known galaxies ever found taking us back to the creation? Or, more practically, Galileo invented the pulsometer, a simple heart monitor which was derived directly from the timing of his pulse while in the cathedral at Pisa when he observed the swaying of a chandelier. This simple device evolved into the modern cardiac pacemaker which keeps me alive as well as more than 3 million people worldwide.

I don’t know what you mean by a greater form of reason. I guess I really do. It is faith. Not just a possible mutual understanding of two distinct human beliefs but faith must dominate reason. Right?

The Galileo case: the philosopher of science Feyerabend defended the position of the Church

<https://www.uccronline.it/eng/2018/10/19/the-galileo-case-the-philosopher-of-science-feyerabend-defended-the-position-of-the-church/>

Calendar 19 October 2018

Galileo, Bellarmine, and the Church. The most ancient version of the “Letter to Benedetto Castelli” by Galilei was found in London. We exploit this occasion to publish a reflection by philosopher Feyerabend, whose quotation meant the censorship of Benedict XVI by some professors of the Sapienza University in 2008. Paul Feyerabend was professor at the main European universities as well as at the California University. His approach, as can be deduced, is absolutely secular.

By **Paul Feyerabend***

* *Philosopher of science*

THE GALILEO CASE

The Philosopher of Science, Paul Feyerabend’s text is in black. [My responses are in blue.](#)

Since I have not read any of professor Feyerabend’s books, it is to be distinctly understood that I am only criticizing the professor’s letter below, not his total philosophy of science.

Next page: GALILEO, PAUL FEYERABEND, AND ME

I don’t know if the highlighted words or phrases are due to the UCCR website or the philosopher.

254 The Church at the time of Galileo not only **kept closer to reason** as defined then and, in part, even now: it also considered the ethical and social consequences of Galileo's views. Its indictment of Galileo was rational and only opportunism and a lack of perspective can demand a revision. [...]

Ab initio Professor, you perplex me- "...reason as defined then and, in part, even now"? Surely Aristotelian logic has not changed in the past four hundred years. You claim that the Church came closer to 'reason', so that I imagine you mean the natural philosophy of that time- the valid reasons given in support of anti-Copernicanism. There were such valid reasons, the best of course was the parallax problem. But, there were also many valid reasons to support the Copernican doctrine; the fact that Venus went through a complete set of phases, like the moon, actually put the nail on the coffin of the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic view and further supported the heliocentric view. The mountains and craters of the moon and the satellites of Jupiter demolished the dogma of the unchanging, pure nature of the heavens in contradistinction to the corrupt, ever changing earth. Need I mention more? Aristotle's physics was crumbling also.

What were the ethical and social consequences to the flock (the common people) who didn't care one iota about the theory of the motion of the planets but the problem of putting food in their mouths and sustaining their meagre state of existence? Or, do you mean that they'd lose faith in the word of God-the Scriptures?

Re: the Church's 'indictment of Galileo was rational' -in the legal sense at that time that he violated an injunction or in the ethical and social sense? As to the latter, see the previous paragraph. As to the legal case, you'd have to read my entire paper. Legally, according to Church law at the time, they only had the injunction against Galileo; an unsigned, undated office memo that carried absolutely no legal weight.

The trial of Galileo was one of many trials. It had no special features except perhaps that Galileo was treated rather mildly, despite his lies and attempts at deception.

“Galileo was treated rather mildly”; On January 20, 1633 Galileo left Florence and arrived in Rome on February 13. That trip took over three weeks. He was almost 70, it was winter and the plague was raging in Florence. He was ordered to come to Rome and if he didn’t (even with three doctor’s notes stating that this journey might threaten his life), they would come and get him and put him in chains. Yes! prior to the trial, Galileo stayed in the Tuscan embassy; during the trial, he was put up in a six-room apartment, complete with a servant; on the other hand ***he had to wait two months to be called up for questioning by the Holy Office. He was questioned without being charged*** on April 12, 1633 and April 30th and finally charged on May 10th. He was sentenced and had to recant his views, on his knees. Yes, again, he was treated mildly; the abjuration was private- usually it is to be a public display.

But Professor - imagine that you yourself were called to a university by professors who denounced your philosophy as “absurd”. You are not permitted to debate with them but were forced to recant your philosophy on your knees to your opponents. You were treated ‘rather mildly’.

Lies and attempts at deception? Professor, a philosopher throwing serious accusations against someone without giving at least one example?

256 But a small clique of intellectuals aided by scandal-hungry writers succeeded in **blowing it up to enormous dimensions** so that what was basically an altercation between an expert and an institution defending a wider view of things now looks almost like a battle between heaven and hell.

More name calling- scandal-hungry intellectuals. "...an altercation between an expert and an institution defending a wider view of things..." re: 'the wider view of things'. Galileo, in his letter to Christina, questioned why theology was the Queen of the Sciences. And does the Church really have a wider view of things? It has a different view of things. Galileo questioned the Holy Office's method of total domination and its power to stifle thought in scientific matters that they knew nothing about.

The so-called **trial of Galileo** consisted of two separate proceedings, or trials. The first occurred in 1616. The Copernican doctrine was examined and criticized. Galileo received an order, but he was not punished. The second trial took place in 1632/33. Here the Copernican doctrine was no longer the point at issue. Rather, what was considered was the question of whether Galileo had obeyed the order given him in the first trial, or whether he had deceived the inquisitors into believing that the order had never been issued. The proceedings of both trials were published by Antonio Favaro in Vol. 19 of the National Edition of Galilean material. The suggestion, rather popular in the 19th century, that the proceedings contained falsified documents and that the second trial was therefore a farce, seems no longer acceptable.

There was only one trial of Galileo and it was in 1633. There was no trial in 1632. Galileo received a 'monitio', a warning in 1616. Why would he be punished in 1616 when his books were not put on the 1616 Decree of the Index and he legally received the imprimatur for the books? The Consultors came to the conclusion that the Copernican view was, theologically, heretical. You state that in 1633 the Copernican doctrine was no longer the point at issue. So, Galileo was condemned for heresy for just violating an injunction? Did you read his sentence? He was convicted of heresy for "having held and believed a doctrine which is false and contrary to the divine and Holy Scripture: that the sun is the center of the world and does not move from east to west, and the earth moves and is not the center of the world..." That professor is the Copernican theory!

257 **The first trial** was preceded by denunciations and rumors, in which greed and envy played a part, as in many other trials. The Inquisition started to examine the matter. Experts (qualificatores) were ordered to give an opinion about two statements which contained a more or less correct account of the Copernican doctrine. Their decision concerned two points: what would today be called the scientific content of the doctrine and its ethical (social) implications. On the first point the experts declared the doctrine to be «*foolish and absurd in philosophy*» or, to use modern terms, they declared it to be unscientific. This judgement was made without reference to the faith, or to Church doctrine, but was based exclusively **on the scientific situation of the time**. It was shared by many outstanding scientists — and it was correct when based on the facts, the theories and the standards of the time.

Once again professor, there was only one trial. In 1615 there was a ‘publica fama’, an accusation and Galileo was investigated. It is not clear whether he was formally called before an inquisitor in 1616 or was just warned. The accused must be cited, questioned and then charged. So, there was no trial. The trial was in 1633. According to the actual document your order of the two statements is incorrect. In your first point (really the **second**) ‘...the experts declared the doctrine to be «foolish and absurd in philosophy» or, to use modern terms, they declared it to be unscientific.’ There were eleven qualificatores, *all of them were theologians*; none of them were astronomers. Why weren’t five or six Jesuit astronomers from the Collegio Romano put on the committee? That is because the astronomers knew that the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic Universe was untenable even in 1616! The phases of Venus, the satellites of Jupiter, the novae observed in the past and the craters and mountains of the moon give a preponderance of evidence against Aristotle’s physics. In fact the phases of Venus put the nail on the coffin of the Ptolemaic theory! The outstanding scientists of the day were the Jesuit astronomers. The Jesuit General Acquaviva sent two letters out, one in 1611, the other in 1613 putting forth the dictum from ‘the Ratio Studiorum of 1599’... “He shall not depart from Aristotle in matters of importance, unless he find some doctrine contrary to the common teaching of the schools or, more serious still, contrary to the true faith.” The judgement of the heliocentric theory was certainly made by the theologians with reference to the faith, not by the competent Jesuit astronomers.

258 Compared with those facts, theories and standards the idea of the motion of the earth was as absurd as were Velikovsky's ideas when compared with the facts, theories and standards of the fifties. A modern scientist really has no choice in this matter. He cannot cling to his own very strict standards and at the same time praise Galileo for defending Copernicus. Only few admirers of Galileo have an inkling of this rather complex situation. The situation becomes even more complex when we consider that the Copernicans changed not only views, but also standards for judging views. Aristotelians, in this respect not at all unlike modern epidemiologists, molecular biologists and "empirical" sociologists who insist either on the examination of large statistical samples or on " " in Luria's sense, **demand strong empirical support** while the Galileans were content with far-reaching, unsupported and partially refuted theories. I do not criticize them for that; on the contrary, I favor Niels Bohr's «*this is not crazy enough*». I merely want to reveal the contradiction in the actions of those who praise Galileo and condemn the Church, but **become as strict as the Church was at Galileo's time** when turning to the work of their contemporaries.

The Church was rightfully strict in demanding strong empirical support for the Copernican theory. So, why did they totally stifle the Copernicans in 1616 with the Decree of the Index? Because the theory *seemingly* contradicted Scripture.

Your analogy with Velikovsky is specious. Scientists in the fifties knew that there was *absolutely no evidence* for Velikovsky's theory. None at all. There *was* substantial evidence for the Copernicus' theory.

Professor, why are you talking about the methods of modern epidemiologists, molecular biologists and "empirical" sociologists using large statistical samples and clearcut experimental steps? Astronomers cannot perform experiments like biologists, they get their data indirectly, they are remote from their objects of study. Now an astronomer can use statistical methods but statistical methods almost 400 years ago with astronomy as a nascent science? Searching the internet for the modern methods of molecular biology and epidemiology I found that their methods are so complex and sophisticated it is indeed ludicrous to even suggest that Copernicans provide equivalently this sophisticated level of empirical support.

On the second point, the social (ethical) implications, the experts declared the Copernican doctrine to be “formally heretical”. This means it contradicted Holy Scripture as interpreted by the Church, and it did so in full awareness of the situation, not inadvertently (that would be “material” heresy). The second point rests on a series of assumptions, among them the assumption that Scripture is an important boundary condition of human existence and, therefore, of research. The assumption was shared by all great scientists, **Copernicus**, **Kepler** and **Newton** among them. According to Newton knowledge flows from two sources – the word of God – the Bible – and the works of God – Nature; and he postulated divine interventions in the planetary system, as we have seen.

First Professor, why didn't you include Galileo in the list? He too believed in the two sources! Didn't you read Galileo's letter to Castelli or his letter to Christina?

Only the qualificatores, in early 1616 labelled the Copernican system heretical. The actual word used in the 'order' as you call it, (p 256) i.e. the personal Injunction to Galileo was 'erroneous', not 'heretical'. But in 1633 the Holy Office declared that he was 'vehemently suspect of heresy'. The Decree of the index of 1616 used the words 'contrary to Scripture'. The Church never really legally declared 'contrary to Scripture' to be 'formally heretical'. The opinion of the qualificatores was an opinion; that did not make it legal. I'll agree that 'the assumption that Scripture is an important boundary condition of human existence (at that time) and, therefore, of research (at that time) was shared by all great scientists, Copernicus, Kepler, and yes, Galileo. It was a basic tenet of the philosophy of Aquinas! But Aquinas said that they should be separate. Galileo firmly believed in the two truths. What he resented was the academicians, the 'scientists' who could not justify their theories by scientific methods, experimentation, observation, deduction, etc. and then go to Scripture for a passage to support their view. And, the meddling of theologians, (who knew no science) who use passages of scripture to 'explain' a natural, physical event.

260 The Roman Church in addition claimed to possess **the exclusive rights** of exploring, interpreting and applying Holy Scripture. Lay people, according to the teaching of the Church, had neither the knowledge nor the authority to tamper with Scripture and they were forbidden to do so. This comment, whose rigidity was a result of the new Tridentine Spirit, should not surprise anyone familiar with the habits of powerful institutions. The attitude of the **American Medical Association** towards lay practitioners **is as rigid as the attitude of the Church** was towards lay interpreters – and it has the blessing of the law. Experts, or ignoramuses having acquired the formal insignia of expertise, always tried and often succeeded in securing for themselves exclusive rights in special domains. Any criticism of the rigidity of the Roman Church applies also to its modern scientific and science-connected successors.

Since we are dealing with the Galileo case, I assumed that it was axiomatic that the Roman Church had exclusive rights to interpret Scripture at that time according to Tridentine law. Although there were many very intelligent lay people like Galileo who questioned *the very personal interpretation* of, for example, Cardinal Bellarmine, that the motion of the planets were a question of ‘faith and morals’. Incidentally, Galileo did a better job of interpreting Scripture at the time according to some scholars and even according to some modern Catholic theologians, like Pope Leo XIII who adopted an interpretation of Scripture (Providentissimus Deus) almost exactly as that of Galileo and this was over 250 years after the scientist’s condemnation! The interpretation of Scripture according to Cardinal Bellarmine at the time included *everything related to Scripture*, including ‘faith and morals’. Galileo would argue, ‘What does the planet Jupiter have to do with faith and morals? Apply your Medical Association analogy here Philosopher. A powerful man who believed that the Universe was structured according to the ancient antiquated view of the Hebrews in Genesis, (a belief that his own Church did not agree with at the time) set back scientific progress for an inestimable amount of time.

Now, the American Medical Association would rightly have its experts, and not lay practitioners interpret and apply their medical expertise on *medical issues*, but not have its experts, for example interpret an astrophysical investigation of solarmagnetohydrodynamics as, at that time the Church theologians (e.g. the 11 qualificatores) did to evaluate a concept totally outside of their expertise.

261 Turning now from the form and the administrative backing of the objection to its content we notice that it deals with a subject that is gaining increasing importance in our own times – the quality of human existence. **Heresy**, defined in a wide sense, meant a deviation from actions, attitudes and ideas that guarantee a well-rounded and sanctified life. Such a deviation might be, and occasionally was, encouraged by scientific research. Hence, **it became necessary** to examine the heretical implications of scientific developments. Two ideas are contained in this attitude. First, it is assumed that the quality of life can be defined independently of science, that it may clash with demands which scientists regard as natural ingredients of their activity, and that science must be changed accordingly. Secondly, it is assumed that Holy Scripture as interpreted by the Holy Roman Church adumbrates a correct account of a well-rounded and sanctified life. The second assumption can be rejected without denying that the **Bible** is vastly richer in lessons for humanity than anything that might ever come out of the sciences. Scientific results and the scientific ethos (if there is such a thing) are simply too thin a foundation for a life worth living. Many scientists agree with this judgement. They agree that the quality of life can be defined independently of science – which is the first part of the first assumption. At the time of Galileo there existed an institution – the **Roman Church** – watching over this quality in its own particular way. We must conclude that the second point – Copernicus being “formally heretical” – was connected with ideas that are urgently needed today.

Copernicus being declared “formally heretical” almost 400 years ago is connected with ideas that are urgently needed today??

In my personal copy of the Code of Canon Law, Latin-English Edition (1983) I see the word ‘heresy’ once and ‘heretic’ once. It is defined on p 285. Can. 751- “Heresy is the obstinate post-baptismal denial of some truth which must be believed with divine and catholic faith, or it is likewise an obstinate doubt concerning the same: ... “ I find it fascinating that a philosopher of science (an agnostic?, an atheist?) in a four page paper has the words ‘heresy’, ‘heretic’ five times, while the 314 page official Catholic law book has it listed twice. A philosopher talking about quality of life in terms of heresy??)

262 Your interpretation of the word 'heresy' as "defined in a wide sense, meant a deviation from actions, attitudes and ideas that guarantee a well-rounded and sanctified life." From your last sentence (p 261) It seems as if your argument is to be applied to man's quality of life today. Your definition of herey would then apply to other valid religions e. g. Taoism, Hinduism or even Protestantism. I'm sure you'll reject Stoicism because of the expression 'sanctified life', a holy life implying a religious life as you later require interpretation by the Holy Roman Church. That would leave out almost a billion protestants. You assumed that the quality of life can be defined independently of science. You also stated, "**it became necessary** to examine the heretical implications of scientific developments." Why is it necessary to examine the heretical implications of scientific developments? The discoveries of science are amoral, it is the theologians, philosophers and politicians that attach a morality to them. Then you state 'that Holy Scripture as interpreted by the Holy Roman Church adumbrates a correct account of a well-rounded and sanctified life. I'll disagree with that and I'll also vehemently disagree that the Roman Church had the right to watch over 'this quality of life' (in Galileo's time or now?) if the Bible is its basis. You claim that 'the Bible is vastly richer in lessons for humanity than anything that might ever come out of the sciences.' What lessons for humanity? I'll merely quote the perhaps main religious objection to Copernicanism; Joshua 10:12, 10:13, "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon..." But read on... Joshua put all the people [of Libnah] to the sword, leaving no survivors. And Lachish and Eglon and Hebron and Debir. "They put them to the sword and devoted to destruction everyone in the city, leaving no survivors." Everyone, men, women, children, Everyone!. And this is a small sample of the ugly carnage told in that book. Lest you counter with the fact that the New Testament is more humane, the Fourth Session of the Council of Trent states that Holy Mother Church receives and venerates "with an equal affection of piety, and reverence, all the books both of the Old and of the New Testament," That is true even today.

I believe that the 'good life' - a well rounded, meaningful, happy, morally sound life can be followed by one contemplating nature and by using his or her faculties of reason to try to understand the nature of the Universe and of life.

The Church was on the right track. But was it perhaps mistaken in rejecting scientific opinions inconsistent with its idea of a Good Life? I argued that knowledge needs a plurality of ideas, that well-established theories are never strong enough to terminate the existence of alternative approaches, and that a defense of such alternatives, being almost the only way of discovering the errors of highly respected and comprehensive points of view, is required even by a narrow philosophy such as empiricism. Now if it should turn out that it is also required on ethical grounds, then we have two reasons instead of one rather than a conflict with “science”.

“I argued that knowledge needs a plurality of ideas, that well-established theories are never strong enough to terminate the existence of alternative approaches...” Professor Feyerabend, isn't this basically Urban VIII's argument- that an all-powerful God could make the Sun and other heavenly bodies do as He pleased--notwithstanding the laws of physics. In the *Dialogue* Galileo responded, "Surely, God could have caused birds to fly with their bones made of solid gold, with their veins full of quicksilver, with their flesh heavier than lead,..." Scientists agree that “well-established theories are never strong enough to terminate the existence of alternative approaches...”, We all know there are limits to human knowledge, but, “...knowledge needs a plurality of ideas ”- yes!, but any new idea at all?

264 **Besides, the Church**, and by this I mean its most outstanding spokesmen, **was much more modest than that**. It did not say: what contradicts the Bible as interpreted by us must go, no matter how strong the scientific reasons in its favour. A truth supported by scientific reasoning was not pushed aside. It was used to **revise the interpretation** of Bible passages apparently inconsistent with it. There are many Bible passages which seem to suggest a flat earth. Yet Church doctrine accepted the spherical earth as a matter of course. On the other hand the Church was not ready to change just because somebody had produced some vague guesses. **It wanted proof — scientific proof** in scientific matters. Here it acted no differently from modern scientific institutions: universities, schools and even research institutes in various countries usually wait a long time before they incorporate new ideas into their curricula.

Professor, you are obviously talking about Cardinal Bellarmine in his letter to Foscarini (and Galileo, pp 103-105). He wanted a demonstration, a proof, scientific proof. There was no scientific proof of the heliocentric system. But neither was there proof of the geocentric system, nor of Tycho's. You state "...the Church was not ready to change just because ***somebody had produced some vague guesses.***" Vague guesses?? Must I repeat the *many valid reasons* to support the Copernican doctrine: Venus went through a complete set of phases like the moon, the Ptolemaic system did not! Jupiter had satellites, and the sun rotated. Also, there were *many valid reasons* why belief in Aristotelian physics was becoming untenable. The moon had craters and mountains, supernovas appeared in 1572 and in 1604, Tycho's comet in 1577. All this totally put serious doubts about the dogma of the unchanging, pure nature of the heavens in contradistinction to the corrupt, ever changing earth and the total dismantling of the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic system!

Vague guesses? Professor, either you don't know your history of astronomy or you are totally deceitful in your presentation.

If the good Cardinal Bellarmine really wanted to allow Galileo to get this **scientific proof**, why did he give the Injunction to Galileo and support the 1616 Decree of the Index? Bellarmine always thought the heliocentric theory was heresy. This was a political problem for the Church. The Copernican idea needed to be squelched.

(Professor Stanley Goldberg has described the situation in the case of the special theory of relativity.) But there was as yet no convincing proof of the Copernican doctrine. Hence Galileo was advised to teach Copernicus **as a hypothesis**; he was forbidden to teach it as a truth. This distinction has survived until today. But while the Church was prepared to admit that some theories might be true and even that Copernicus' might be true, given sufficient evidence, there are now many scientists, especially in high energy physics, who view all theories as instruments of prediction and reject truth-talk as being metaphysical and speculative. Their reason is that the devices they use are so obviously designed for calculating purposes and that theoretical approaches so clearly depend on considerations of elegance and easy applicability that the generalization seems to make good sense. Besides, the formal properties of "approximations" often differ from those of the basic principles, many theories are first steps towards a new point of view which at some future time may yield them as approximations and a direct inference from theory to reality is therefore rather naive.

This is for another discussion, realism vs. instrumentalism. But why should Galileo be forced to adhere to considering Copernicanism as a hypothesis? He was advised and chose not to, so he was charged with heresy. If you read the reports of the three assigned to read and evaluate his *Dialogue*, they all came to the conclusion that he went 'beyond hypothesis'. And just as the Church stated lay persons could not interpret Scripture because they had "neither the knowledge nor the authority to tamper with Scripture" then a theologian who has no knowledge of astronomy should not tamper with astronomy and tell the astronomer how to do his investigation. Copernicus responded to Luther- "Mathematics is for Mathematicians."

All this was known to 16th- and 17th-century scientists. Only a few astronomers thought of deferents and epicycles as real roads in the sky; most regarded them as roads on paper which might aid calculation but which had no counterpart in reality. The Copernican point of view was widely interpreted in the same way – as an interesting, novel and rather efficient model. **The Church requested, both for scientific and for ethical reasons, that Galileo accept this interpretation.** Considering the difficulties the model faced when regarded as a description of reality, we must admit that **“logic was on the side of ... Bellarmine and not on the side of Galileo,”** as the historian of science and physical chemist **Pierre Duhem** wrote in an interesting essay.

“logic was on the side of ... Bellarmine and not on the side of Galileo,” a statement by a brilliant scientist, Pierre Duhem (died in 1916) but unfortunately totally ignorant about Baroque-Roman Catholic Church politics. Cardinal Bellarmine determined even before the Decree of the Index of 1616 that a belief that the Copernican was true was heretical. His view was the total, 100%, word for word belief in the Scriptures. His view of the Universe? The archaic Hebraic one as laid out in Genesis!

“The Church requested, both for scientific and for ethical reasons, that Galileo accept this interpretation.” Accept the Church’s *request*? Stop scientific investigation because there were problems? Epicycles? Why the Decree of 1616 that totally shut down all investigation of the Copernican view? The Church’s *request*? Their order- you don’t comply and there is to be legal action- heresy- threats of incarceration, torture possible execution. The logic on the side of Bellarmine was the logic that kept the Church in total power.

267 To sum up: the judgement of the Church experts **was scientifically correct** and had **the right social intention**, viz. to protect people from the machinations of specialists. It wanted to protect people from being corrupted by a narrow ideology that might work in restricted domains but was incapable of sustaining a harmonious life. A revision of the judgement might win the Church some friends among scientists but would severely impair its function as a preserver of important human and superhuman values.

‘the judgement of the Church experts was scientifically correct’

The “experts”(?) were 11 *theologians not astronomers*. All the others- pawns of the Pope.

‘[the Church] had the right social intention, viz. to protect people from the *machinations* of specialists.’

Are you implying that Copernicans and Galileo himself secretly devised plans to accomplish evil or treacherous ends to subvert important human and superhuman values?? Really?

Professor, you did not specify what the machinations of the astronomers were to corrupt the people and severely impair its function as a preserver of important human and superhuman values.” Was it really a scientific theory? The machinations of Galileo might have been for the people to be free to think about things that the Church had no business dealing with.

I will not argue that the Church can be a preserver of important human values, but that has and had nothing to do with the scientific investigation of the nature of the Universe.

Dr. Feyerabend's arguments drawn from *Against the Method. Outline of an Anarchistic Theory of Knowledge*

<https://www.uccronline.it/eng/2018/10/19/the-galileo-case-the-philosopher-of-science-feyerabend-defended-the-position-of-the-church/>

This is a small episode in an unending argument between those who *know* they are right and therefore claim the mandate of heaven, and those who suspect that the human race has nothing but the poor candle of reason by which to light its way.

Christopher Hitchens III

(from: Galileo and the Conflict Between Religion and Science
Gregory W. Dawes)

“Of all hatreds there is none greater than that of ignorance over knowledge.” *

Galileo, the father of science said this when leaving Rome on June 30, 1616. In the few years just before the 1616 Decree of the Index, we have seen how he attempted to introduce the Copernican system to the Church, to convince the elders to consider it. He failed miserably. They did deal with it but only to condemn it in 1633 when he was denounced as a heretic for believing and teaching that theory. Over four hundred years later there is still the question of the compatibility of science with religion, or reason with faith.

On this question of the relationship between reason and faith, I feel that I must briefly give my opinion. Galileo’s great strength was to challenge the authority of the pope. In his letter to Christina he pointed out that the pontiff had the power to direct Church doctrine, but no power at all to declare true or false anything in nature. And that is the key to the question of the compatibility of science and religion today. As Blackwell points out in the 1998 Aquinas Lecture [Blackwell, Richard, Science, Religion and Authority p. 51] “At the authority level, scientific truth is understood to be thoroughly fallibilistic; however that is not the case in regard to truth in religion.” A religion has an ultimate and final arbiter. Therefore, I conclude that science and religion can never be compatible.

Continued, next page

* De Santillana, p 145.

What are some applications of the knowledge and understanding of the Galileo Affair? I take it as axiomatic that division is pervasive in human society. On a minor level we have seen the different approaches to the Galileo problem by two churchmen, both Jesuits, both Vatican astronomers- Dr. George Coyne and Dr. Guy Consolmagno. Over sixty years ago the English novelist and physical chemist C. P. Snow pointed out the schism between the "two cultures" of modern society – the sciences and the humanities. A few years after Snow's book was published the nation focused its attention on the Oppenheimer security hearing proceedings; a classic example of science vs. social responsibility. Recently we have the anti-science, climate change deniers. Mario Livio, an American astrophysicist, in his book, *'Galileo and the Science Deniers'* discusses parallels between the Church's attitude toward Galileo's original discoveries and the viewpoints of modern-day climate change deniers. The recent new pandemic, Covid, had devastating affects on millions of people. Today the United States is deeply divided into two factions, liberal vs. conservative, Democrat vs. Republican etc., but even those appellations are distorted today. Some of the media distort and pervert facts and the truth about climate change and various health issues. For the politicians and the public, the correct approach to these and other crucial issues, and I think Galileo would agree with this, will require keen observation from the proper sources and clear thinking to come to a compatible solution.

I took Galileo's aphorism one step further.

Of all hatreds there is none greater than those of knowledge that pervert truth to those who are ignorant.

- De Santillana p 145.

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