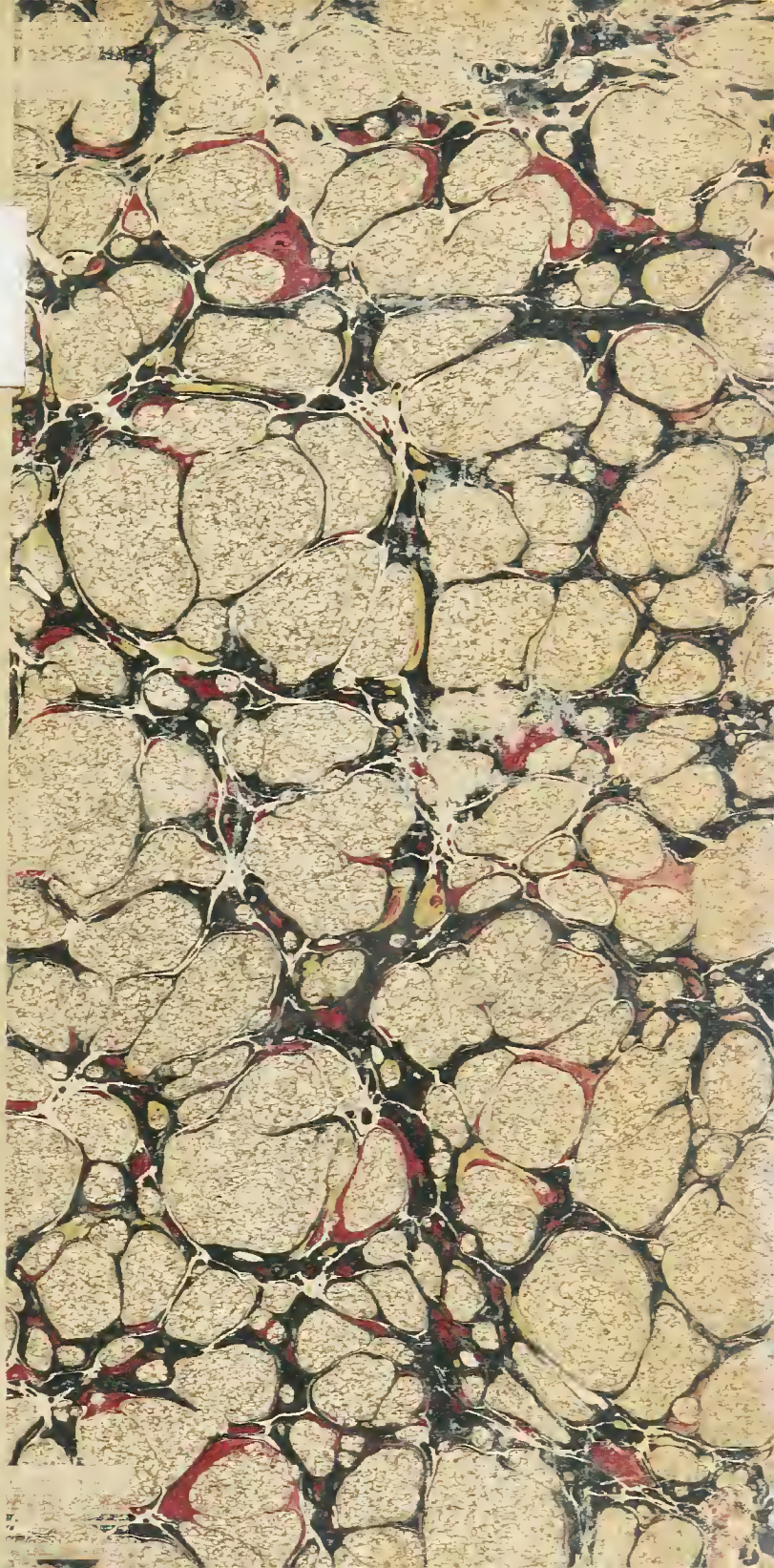


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CONSIDERED IN THEIR BEARING ON THE THEORY
OF ADVANCED ULTRAMONTANISM.

'Veritas liberabit vos.' *Joan. viii. 32.*

Rev. W: W.

Roberts

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The Pontifical Decrees against the Motion of the Earth

CONSIDERED IN THEIR BEARING ON THE THEORY
OF ADVANCED ULTRAMONTANISM.

ROME in the 17th century stigmatising as false and anti-scriptural opinions she has since learnt from the Englishman Newton to recognise as true and sound, certainly seems to give the lie direct to a theory that can be expressed as follows: 'Rome, let it never be forgotten, is commissioned to teach England and Germany; not England or Germany to teach Rome. So far as any Englishmen or Germans are at variance with what is authoritatively inculcated in Rome, they are infallibly in error.*' But we have been told that the contradiction is only in appearance; 'that the decision referred to was not a mistake on a matter of doctrine or of principle; that it was not uttered by the Pope *ex cathedrâ*, but by Cardinals, for whom no one claims infallibility; that it was a mere disciplinary enactment very necessary for its times; that it afforded true doctrinal guidance to contemporary Catholics, and was, in fact, the one legitimate application of Catholic principle to the circumstances with which it dealt.†' In the following pages I will endeavour to vindicate the relevancy of the objection, and show that all such answers as those just mentioned ignore the true history of the case.

The judgment, the effect of which is in question, was first communicated to the Church in the following well-known decree, which I transcribe from the *Elenchus Librorum pro-*

* *Authority of Doctrinal Decisions*, by W. G. Ward, p. 96.

† *Ibid.* p. 186.

hibitorum, published at Rome in 1640, under the editorship of Capiferreus, who, be it observed, was secretary to the Index when the edict was issued :

‘*Decretum Sacræ Congregationis Illustrissimorum S. R. E. Cardd. a S. D. N. Paulo Papa V. Sanctæque Sede Apostolicâ ad Indicem Librorum, eorumdemque permissionem, prohibitionem, expurgationem, et impressionem, in universâ Republicâ Christianâ specialiter Deputatorum, ubique publicandum.*

‘Cum ab aliquo tempore citra, prodierint in lucem inter alios nonnulli libri varias hæreses atque errores continentes, ideo Sacra Congregatio Illustriss. S. R. E. Cardd. ad Indicem Deputatorum, ne ex eorum lectione graviora in dies damna in totâ Republicâ Christianâ oriantur, eos omnino damnandos atque prohibendos esse voluit ; sicuti præsentis Decreto penitus damnat et prohibet, ubicumque et quovis idiomate impressos aut imprimendos. Mandans, ut nullus deinceps, cujuscunque gradus et conditionis sub pœnis in Sacro Concilio Tridentino, et in Indice Librorum prohibitorum contentis, eos audeat imprimere aut imprimi curare, vel quomodocunque apud se detinere aut legere. Et sub iisdem pœnis quicumque nunc illos habent, vel habuerint in futurum, locorum Ordinariis, seu Inquisitoribus, statim a præsentis Decreti notitia exhibere teneantur. Libri autem sunt infrascripti, videlicet :

‘Theologiæ Calvinistarum Libri tres, auctore Conrado Schlusserburgio.

‘Scotanus Redivivus, sive Comentarius Erotematicus in tres priores libros Codicis, &c.

‘Gravissimæ Quæstionis de Christianarum Ecclesiarum, in occidentis præsertim partibus, ab Apostolicis temporibus ad nostram usque ætatem continua successione et statu, historica explicatio. Auctore Jacobo Usserio, S. Theologiæ in Dubliniensi Academia apud Hybernos Professore.

‘Frederici Achillis Ducis Wirtemberg. Consultatio de Principatu inter Provincias Europæ, habita Tubingæ in Illustri Collegio, anno Christi 1612.

‘Donnelli Enucleati sive Comentariorum Hugonis Donelli de Jure Civili in compendium ita redactorum, &c.

‘Et quia etiam ad notitiam præfatæ Sacræ Congregationis perveit, falsam illam doctrinam Pythagoricam, divinæque Scripturæ omnino adversantem de mobilitate Terræ et immobilitate Solis, quam Nicolaus Copernicus de revolutionibus orbium celestium, et Didacus a Stunica in Job etiam docent, jam divulgari et a multis recipi, sicuti videre est ex quâdem epistolâ impressâ cujusdam Patris Carmelitæ, cui titulus, Lettera del R. Padre Maestro Paolo Antonio Foscarini Carmelitano sopra l’ opinione de’ Pittagorici, e del Copernico, della mobilità della Terra e stabilità del Sole, et il nuovo Pittagorico Sistema del Mondo, in Napoli per Lazzaro Scoriggio 1615; in quâ dictus Pater ostendere conatur præfatam doctrinam de immobilitate Solis in centro Mundi, et mobilitate Terræ, consonam esse veritati et non adversari Sacræ Scripturæ: Ideo ne ulterius hujusmodi opinio in perniciem Catholicæ veritatis serpat, censuit dictos Nicolaum Copernicum de revolutionibus orbium, et Didacum a Stunica in Job suspendendos esse donec corrigantur. Librum vero Patris Pauli Antonii Foscarini Carmelitæ omnino prohibendum atque damnandum; aliosque omnes Libros pariter idem docentes, prohibendos, prout præsentî Decreto omnes respective prohibet, damnat, atque suspendit. In quorum fidem præsens Decretum manu et sigillo Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi D. Cardinalis Sanctæ Cæcilie Episcopi Albanensis signatum et munitum fuit die 5. Martii 1616.

‘P. Episc. Albanen. Card. Sanctæ Cæcilie.

Locus+sigilli.

‘P. Franciscus Magdalenus Capiferreus, Ord. Prædicat. Secretarius.’

I subjoin a translation of the part we have to do with :

‘Since it has come to the knowledge of the above-named Holy Congregation that that false Pythagorean doctrine, altogether opposed to the divine Scripture, on the mobility of the earth and the immobility of the sun,—which Nicolas Copernicus in his work *De Revolutionibus Orbium Cælestium*, and Didacus a Stunica in his commentary on Job, teach,—is being promulgated and accepted by many, as may be seen from a printed letter of a certain Carmelite father, entitled

Lettera del R. Padre Maestro Paolo Antonio Foscarini sopra l' opinione de' Pittagorici, e del Copernico della mobilità della Terra e stabilità del Sole, &c., wherein the said father has endeavoured to show that the doctrine of the immobility of the sun in the centre of the universe, and the mobility of the earth, is consonant to truth and is not opposed to Holy Scripture; therefore, lest an opinion of this kind insinuate itself further to the destruction of Catholic truth, this Congregation has decreed that the said books—*Nicolas Copernicus De Revolutionibus* and *Didacus a Stunica on Job*—be suspended till they are corrected; but that the book of Father Paul Antony Foscarini the Carmelite be altogether prohibited and condemned, and all other books that teach the same thing; as the present decree respectively prohibits, condemns, and suspends all. In witness whereof this decree was signed and sealed with the hand and seal of the most illustrious and Reverend Lord Cardinal of Saint Cæcilia, Bishop of Albano, on the 5th day of March 1616.'

Now the Ultramontanist does, and, as we shall see, must, admit, that if this decree had been accompanied with the clause 'quibus Sanctissimo per me infrascriptum relatis, Sanctitas sua decretum probavit et promulgari præcepit,' its declaration ought on his theory to have been infallibly true; but appearing as it did without that notice, it had not, he contends, the slightest pretensions from the principles of his school to be accounted anything more than a confessedly fallible utterance. Looking back, then, and calculating what, humanly speaking, the chances were, he would fain persuade us that the erroneous decision under the circumstances, so far from being a difficulty to him, is a positive argument in his favour. 'How truly remarkable,' exclaims Dr. Ward, 'that no adverse decision was put forth for which any one could even claim infallibility! that the decree issued was Congregational, and not Pontifical! . . . Who can fail to see in all this the finger of God?'

'Merito,' says M. Bouix, 'alligari valet dicta condemnatio ad confirmandam pontificiæ infallibilitatis prerogativam.'

* *Authority of Doctrinal Decisions*, pp. 182, 183.

Nam si hoc totum Galilæi negotium perpendatur, cuidam supernæ providentiæ tribuendum est, quod decreto Cardinalium non accesserit solita clausula de pontificia confirmatione aut speciali mandato. . . . Cur præcise quoad tale decretum omissum est, quod omitti non solet? Cur illa omissio quam sic testatur commissarius Sancti Officii, Pater Olivieri, *on avait omis de faire approuver le décret par le Pape?* Id fortuito casui forsan quis adscribendum existimabit! At mihi liceat altio rem causam autumare. Cum nempe decretum istud errorem contineret, singulari sua providentia præpedivit Christus ne a Romano Pontifice ex cathedrâ confirmaretur; et sic illæsa remaneret cælitus concessa inerrantiæ prærogativa' (Bouix, *Tractatus de Papâ*, vol. ii. p. 476).

The simple truth of the matter is this:—The custom referred to is, comparatively speaking, quite modern; and the notion that a decree of the Index in 1616 ought by usage to have had the clause involves an anachronism most discreditable to the author of a treatise on the Roman Curia. To prove this sufficiently for my purpose, I need only refer to the work whence I have taken the decree. The *Elenchus* of Capiferreus was, as I have said, published in 1640. It professes to give 'omnia decreta hactenus edita.' It contains, in fact, twenty-five congregational edicts. Not one has the clausula. So much for the insinuation that the omission in the case before us was something quite providentially exceptional; something that might have indicated an abnormal deficiency of authority. I now raise these two questions:—First, is it true that the Ultramontanist's general doctrine on the authority of Congregational decrees justifies his relegating the decision in question to the class of confessedly fallible utterances? Secondly, does not the denial of this judgment's infallibility involve an abandonment of the only ground upon which the infallibility of a decree with the clause can be reasonably defended?

On turning to M. Bouix's *Tractatus de Curiâ Romanâ**—a work Dr. Ward most warmly recommends to our notice—we learn that there are three kinds of Congregational decrees:

* Pars iii. cap. vii. p. 471.

1. Those which the Pope puts forth in his own name after consulting a Congregation. 2. Those which a Congregation puts forth in its own name with the Pope's confirmation or express order to publish. 3. Those which a Congregation with the Pope's sanction puts forth in its own name, but without the Pope's confirmation or express order to publish. Decrees of the first and second class, we are told, are certainly *ex cathedrâ*, and to be received with unqualified assent under pain of mortal sin.

According to Zaccaria—a very great authority—even decrees of the last class are not fallible, in the sense that they can ever condemn as erroneous a doctrine which is not so. To this M. Bouix demurs; and his reasons for so doing place his own position in the clearest possible light. As Dr. Ward has misrepresented that position, and as M. Bouix himself tries to shuffle out of it when he comes to deal with the difficulty under discussion, I will quote what he says, at full length, and in his own words.

‘*Privilegium inerrantiæ Romano Pontifici divinitus concessum ipsi omnino personale est; neque potest Summus Pontifex prærogativam illam aliis communicare. Textus enim Sacræ Scripturæ, et traditionis documenta quæ Summi Pontificis infallibilitatem adstruunt, simul aperte hanc prærogativam exhibent tanquam ipsi exclusive ex divina institutione propriam. Jam vero si infallibilia forent decreta dogmatica ex mandato generali a Sacris Congregationibus edita, incommunicabilis non esset infallibilitatis prærogativa, nec soli Romano Pontifici exclusive propria. Nam per ejusmodi generale mandatum deputantur quidem Cardinales ad judicandum de doctrina; et auctoritate Pontificia hoc suum munus expleant; at judicia Cardinalium non sunt proprie judicia ipsiusmet Pontificis, quamdiu Pontifex ea in particulari non cognoverit et assensum dederit. Nemo enim potest judicare de veritate aut falsitate alicujus propositionis nisi propositionem illam cognoscat, et proprii intellectus actum veram aut falsam pronuntiet. Ergo si intervenerit dumtaxat generale mandatum, et non supervenerit ipsummet Pontificis proprie dictum judicium, dicta decreta dogmatica non*

erunt simul judicia Cardinalium et Pontificis, sed dumtaxat judicia Cardinalium. Ergo si forent infallibilia, infallibilitas hæc inhæreret Sacræ Congregationi, et Pontifex S. Congregationem generaliter ad judicandum de doctrina deputando, ei suam communicaret inerrantiæ prærogativam.

‘*Objicies 1°.*—Per generale mandatum quo Romanus Pontifex Sacræ Congregationi Inquisitionis committit ut de doctrina pronuntiet, simul ei confert auctoritatem suam Pontificiam; ergo et auctoritatem infallibilem.

‘*Respondeo.*—Ei confert auctoritatem Pontificiam quoad eam partem quæ est communicabilis et delegabilis, concedo: quoad eam partem quæ nequit communicari et delegari, nego. In iis scilicet quæ ad regimen ecclesiasticum pertinent et a voluntate pendent, potest Summus Pontifex auctoritatem suam delegare. Et de facto pluribus Sacris Congregationibus legislativam suam potestatem in certis materiis contulit Sedes Apostolica; ita ut universaliter obligent decreta disciplinaria a Sacris Congregationibus intra fines concessæ ipsis facultatis edita, perinde ac si ab ipso Pontifice immediate prodiissent. Et tunc applicandum venit axioma, *quod facit per alios perinde est ac si per se faceret.* At vero potestas infallibiliter pronuntiandi de dogmate, ipsimet Pontifici, id est, judiciis ab ipsiusmet intellectu elicitis divinitus alligata est. Ut nempe infallibile sit iudicium de alicujus propositionis veritate aut falsitate, necesse est ut ipsemet Pontifex ad hanc propositionem attendens, de eâ pronuntiet. Ergo nequit Pontifex hanc inerrantiæ prærogativam aliis communicare seu delegare. Ergo quantumvis Sacram Inquisitionis Congregationem ad pronuntiandum de doctrina deputaverit, infallibile non erit ullum hujus congregationis decretum *nisi Pontifex hocce decretum suo proprio et proprie dicto iudicio firmaverit.* Ejusmodi autem proprie dictum Pontificis iudicium in generali mandato non includitur.

‘*Objicies 2°.*—Per generale mandatum, id est, deputando Sacram Congregationem ad pronuntiandum de doctrina Summus Pontifex *sua facit* ejusdem Congregationis decreta dogmatica. Ergo perinde valent decreta illa ac si forent ipsiusmet Pontificis judicia. Ergo infallibilia censenda sunt.

‘*Respondeo.*—Per solum generale mandatum Summus Pon-

tifex nequaquam *sua facit* dicta Sacræ Congregationis judicia, eo modo qui ad infallibilitatem requireretur. Nam ex dictis, ad infallibilitatem requireretur, ut quod de unaquaque propositione Sacra Congregatio pronuntiavit, idipsum Romanus Pontifex de iisdem propositionibus proprie dicto suo iudicio pronuntiaret. Porro ejusmodi proprie dictum Pontificis iudicium non adest per solum generale mandatum, ut patet: adest vero per *speciale* ipsius mandatum aut confirmationem, ut infra ostenditur.

‘*Objicies 3^o.*—Rem evinci rationibus Zaccariæ supra relatis.

‘*Respondeo.*—Etsi de iis sim qui clarissimum virum summa æstimatione prosequantur, fateor tamen dictas rationes haud mihi peremptorias videri. Arguit nempe *primo* ab experientiâ, quâ teste nullum adhuc intervenit dictæ speciei decretum, erroneum aliquid definiens. Esto ita sit (a quo expendendo hic abstinemus, ne quis nobis Galilæi condemnationem et alia nonnulla obstrepat). At potuit ita contingere ob notam illam Eminentissimorum Patrum sapientiam, quâ solent arduas de dogmate quæstiones Summo Pontifici remittere, ut eas suo supremo ac infallibili iudicio dirimat; ita ut suo nomine et absque Pontificis confirmatione aut speciali mandato non definierint, nisi quæ alias jam omnino plana erant. Arguit *secundo* ex eo quod ad majorem conciliandam Pontificis ex cathedrâ loquentis definitionibus reverentiam divina dispositione cautum censendum sit, ut etiam dicta Congregationum decreta inerrantiæ privilegio donarentur. At quamvis negare non audeam ita revera fuisse divinitus dispositum, dico tamen id rigore non probari. Non enim necesse fuit ut Pontifici ex cathedrâ loquenti reverentiam conciliaret Deus, omnibus qui excogitari possunt modis; at satis fuit provideri sufficienti aliquo modo; qualis profecto fuit, Pontificis ex cathedrâ loquentis inerrantiam revelasse, et Ecclesiæ suæ omnino certam fecisse’ (Pars iii. cap. vii. p. 475-7).

The argument comes to this:—Scripture and tradition show that the gift of inerrancy attaches by Divine promise to the Pope as a strictly personal prerogative. He cannot therefore delegate it to others. Hence a decision to be infallible must represent the Pope’s own judgment on the matter it

is about. The general order under which the Congregations act invests them, indeed, with authority to decide, but, containing no judgment on the point to be decided, cannot render the decree they publish solely in virtue of that order, Papal in the sense required to guarantee it from error. And as to Zaccaria's appeal to the testimony of experience—that a Congregation has never yet put forth an erroneous decision—the fact, if it be a fact, may be accounted for by supposing that the Cardinals have always been wise enough to consult the Pope before issuing a decree in a difficult case.

Beyond the shadow of a doubt, the only decisions covered by *this reasoning* are those that are not Papal judgments at all—those that cannot in any true sense be said to represent the Pope's own mind on the question at issue. But it is admitted that the condemnation of Copernicanism was, *and was known to be*, a Papal judgment, and that the decree of 1616 was the result of Paul V.'s having applied his own mind to the very point to be settled. 'Paul V.,' says Dr. Ward, 'undoubtedly united with the Congregation of the Index in solemnly declaring that Copernicanism is contrary to Scripture.'* Undoubtedly, then, that declaration is positively disqualified for being placed under the only class of utterances M. Bouix has any right to call *confessedly* fallible. Now let us see whether its infallibility can be denied without abandoning the only ground on which the *ex cathedrâ* character of decrees of the second class can be defended, granting, for argument's sake, that they are decrees with the clause.

Why does the Papal confirmation, or express order to publish, argue infallibility? Because, says M. Bouix, either fact proves that the judgment published is the Pope's own decision for the Church:—

'Infallibilia sunt dicta decreta in posteriori etiam casu, id est, quando *eduntur* quidem *nomine Sacræ Congregationis*, sed de *speciali mandato* Papæ, aut accedentē ipsius confirmatione.

'1°. In casu accedentis Pontificiæ confirmationis, patet decretum ipsimet Pontifici esse attribuendum; *si quidem illud*

* *Authority of Doctrinal Decisions*, p. 144.

confirmando suum facit. Et cum aliunde sit dogmaticum et publicetur, per illud Summus Pontifex universalem Ecclesiam docere censendus est; ac proinde, infallibile sit ejusmodi decretum necesse est.

‘2°. Infallibile etiam est decretum dogmaticum, *Sacræ Congregationis nomine editum, si publicetur de speciali mandato Pontificis. Hoc ipso enim quod Summus Pontifex, habita notitia de aliquo ejusmodi decreto dogmatico, vult et jubet illud publicari, ipsum approbat ac suum facit. Proinde ipsemet judicat ac definit id ipsum quod in decreto definitur. Ergo non minus valebit istud decretum quam si a Pontifice ipso immediate et ipsius nomine ederetur et publicaretur. Ergo et per ipsum censendus est Pontifex tanquam universalis Doctor, ac proinde infallibiliter, de dogmate pronuntiare*’ (Pars iii. c. vii. p. 480).

A moment’s reflection will show that M. Bouix stands pledged to the following principle:—Whenever the Pope passes judgment on a question of doctrine, and causes that judgment to be communicated to the Church, whether directly, in his own name, or *indirectly, in the name of a Congregation*, he judges *ex cathedrâ*, and infallibly. Dr. Ward does not choose to see this, and gives a very different account of the matter.

‘The Pope,’ he says, ‘exercises two different functions, not to speak of more: (1) that of the Church’s Infallible Teacher; and (2) that of her Supreme Governor. The former he can in no sense delegate; but of the latter he may delegate a greater or less portion, as to him may seem good. Moreover, in either of these characters he may put forth a doctrinal decree; but with a somewhat different bearing. If he put it forth as Universal Teacher, he says, in effect, “I teach the whole Church such a doctrine;” and the doctrine is of course known thereby to be infallibly true. But if he put forth a doctrinal decree as Supreme Governor, he says, in effect, “I shall govern the Church on the principle that this doctrine is true.” That the doctrine so recommended has an extremely strong claim on a Catholic’s interior assent, is the very thesis which we are presently to urge; but, of course, it is not in-

fallibly true ; because no Papal dicta have that characteristic, unless the Pope utters them in his capacity as Universal Teacher' (*Auth. of Doc. Dec.* pp. 130, 131).

Thus, according to Dr. Ward, the question turns on the mode of publication. Papal dicta put forth by the Pope in his capacity of Universal Teacher are ex cathedrâ, and to be accounted infallibly true. Papal dicta put forth by the Pope in his capacity of Supreme Ruler are not ex cathedrâ, but confessedly fallible. How, then, does it follow from the Pope's having ordered a Congregation—which, mark, Dr. Ward tells us, p. 132, represents him exclusively in his capacity of Supreme Governor—to publish even a doctrinal decree in its name, that he has spoken ex cathedrâ? And most clearly it follows from the distinction laid down, that a Papal judgment communicated to the Church solely through the medium of a disciplinary decree is confessedly not ex cathedrâ. Let us hear what the Pope himself has to say upon this subject. On the 8th of January 1857 the works of a distinguished theologian and philosopher, Günther, were condemned by what, according to all theological rule, was nothing more than a disciplinary decree.* Günther himself submitted, and so did many of his followers. Some of them, however, contended that a mere disciplinary decree was not conclusive against the soundness of their master's tenets. Whereupon, to set them right, his Holiness, on the 15th of June, the same year, addressed a brief to the Archbishop of Cologne, containing the following passages :

‘Nos quidem, pro Apostolici Nostri ministerii officio, nullis unquam parcentes curis nullisque laboribus, ut fidei depositum Nobis divinitus concreditum integrum inviolatumque custodiatur, ubi primum a pluribus Venerabilibus Fratribus spectatissimis Germaniæ Sacrorum Antistitibus accepimus, non pauca Güntheri libris contineri, quæ ipsi in sinceræ fidei et catholicæ veritatis perniciem cedere arbitrabantur; nullâ interpositâ morâ, eidem Congregationi commisimus, ut ex more, opera ejusdem Güntheri accurate diligenterque excuteret, perpenderet, examinaret, ac deinde omnia ad Nos referret.

* Conf. Bouix, *Tractatus de Curia Romana*, pars iii, cap. vii, p. 471.

Cum igitur ipsa Congregatio Nostris mandatis obsequuta suoque munere functa, omnem in hoc, gravissimo sane maximi-que momenti negotio, curam et operam scite riteque collocaverit, nullumque prætermiserit studium in Güntheriana doctrina accuratissimo examine noscenda ac ponderanda, animadvertit plura in Güntheri libris reperiri omnino improbanda ac damnanda, utpote quæ catholicæ Ecclesiæ doctrinæ maxime adversarentur. Hinc rebus omnibus a Nobis etiam perpensis, eadem Congregatio Decretum illud supremâ Nostrâ Auctoritate probatum, Tibique notissimum edidit, quo Güntheriana opera prohibentur et interdicuntur. Quod quidem Decretum, Nostrâ Auctoritate sancitum Nostroque jussu vulgatum, sufficere plane debebat, ut quæstio omnis penitus dirempta censere-
tur, et omnes qui catholico gloriantur nomine clare aperteque intelligerent sibi esse omnino obtemperandum, et sinceram haberi non posse doctrinam Güntherianis libris contentam, ac nemini deinceps fas esse doctrinam iis libris traditam tueri ac propugnare, et illos libros sine debitâ facultate legere ac retinere. A quo quidem obedientiæ debiti-que obsequii officio nemo immunis propterea videri censerique poterat, quod in eodem Decreto vel nullæ nominatim propositiones notarentur, vel nulla certa stataque adhiberetur censura. Ipsum enim per se valebat Decretum, ne qui sibi integrum putarent, ab iis quæ Nos comprobavimus, utcumque discedere.’

Thus the Pope says in effect, ‘The original judgment on Günther’s works, because it was Papal, clearly ought to have been accounted *ex cathedrâ*, although it was presented to the Church solely through the medium of a disciplinary decree; in other words, although it was put forth by the Pope exclusively in his capacity of Supreme Ruler.’ A more thorough-going indorsement of the principle we have extracted from M. Bouix, in opposition to Dr. Ward’s, it would be difficult to conceive. The former gentleman, indeed, in his *Tractatus de Papâ*, to save himself from the consequences of his own doctrine when applied to the decree of 1616, catches at ‘the clause,’ and quietly argues as if it were the same thing as a Bull or Brief of confirmation. But the assumption is false. The clause is a notice *not from the Pope*

himself, but from the Secretary of the Congregation, who certifies, not that his Holiness approved the decree *publicly*, but in his the attestor's presence; and ordered it to be published:—in whose name? *In the name of the Congregation*. And mark, in the case of Günther's condemnation, the decree itself contained no assertion whatever that the works condemned *were unsound*. 'Yet,' says Pius IX., 'that decree, sanctioned by our authority and promulgated by our command, plainly ought to have sufficed *that the whole question* be judged entirely settled, and all who boast of the Catholic name should clearly and distinctly understand that complete obedience was to be paid to it; and that the doctrine contained in Günther's books might not be accounted sound. . . . Nor could any one deem himself excused from rendering such due tribute of obedience and submission on the ground that in the decree no propositions were marked by name, no determinate censure was expressed. For the decree itself was quite sufficient to prevent any one's thinking himself at liberty to depart in the slightest degree from what we have approved.'

I submit, then, that his Holiness plainly teaches us that the question does not turn on any such distinction as Dr. Ward imagines, but that Catholics ought to regard it as infallibly certain that an opinion is unsound, if the Church has received an official intimation that the Pope has declared it to be so. I have only, then, to show that the Church received an official intimation that the decision against Copernicanism was Papal, and that judgment's claims on Ultramontanist ground to be accounted infallibly true will be evident.

But, in the first place, I contend that the decree of 1616 by itself was such a notice; for it emanated from a Congregation acting under the provisions of a Bull which distinctly gave the Church to understand, that decisions of the kind would invariably be examined and ratified by the Holy See before publication, and would go forth clothed with Papal authority. With regard to all the Congregations Sextus V. had said,

'Congregationes quindecim constituimus, singulisque certa negotia assignavimus, *ita ut graviores difficilioresque consultationes ad nos referant*. . . . Et quoniam divinis oraculis admonemur, ubi multa consilia, ibi salutem, adesse eædem Congre

gationes pro earum arbitrio viros Sacræ Theologiæ, Pontificii Cæsareique juris peritos, et rerum gerendarum usu pollentes in consultationibus advocent atque adhibeant; ut causis, quæstionibus, et negotiis quam optime discussis, quæ Dei gloriæ animarumque saluti, et justitiæ atque æquitati consentanea maxime erunt, decernantur: *graviora vero quæcunque ad nos vel successores nostros deferantur, ut quid secundum Deum expediat, ejus gratia adjuvante, mature statuamus.*'

And with special reference to the Congregation of the Index:

'Quare ut Cardinales, qui ad libros prohibendos expurgandosve delecti sunt, in ea cura diligenter ac majore cum fructu versentur, has illis facultates tribuimus, ut librorum ejusmodi catalogos et indices, aut proxime confectos, eorumque regulas editas recognoscant atque examinent, certorum auctorum libros prohibitos, aut quovis modo in prioribus indicibus suspensos diligenter excutiant, et prout expedire judicaverint, permittant libros, qui post Indicem Tridentini Concilii jussu editum prodierunt, Catholicæ doctrinæ Christianorumque morum disciplinæ repugnantes, expendant et recognoscant, *ac ubi nobis retulerint, nostra auctoritate rejiciant.*'

There could have been no doubt that the question to be settled by the decree of 1616 had been dealt with as one of the graviora. It concerned the prohibition of a work hitherto sheltered under the highest ecclesiastical patronage—the condemnation of a theory that had been before the Church uncensured for more than seventy years—one that many of the ablest scientific men of the day thought would turn out to be the truth. The consequences of a mistake might be very serious.

I say, then, that as soon as the decree appeared, Catholics ought to have presumed from Sextus V.'s Bull* that it expressed not only the judgment of the Cardinals of the Index, but the judgment of the Pope, and that his Holiness had directly sanctioned its issue.

* Fromond of Louvain, on the strength of this Bull, regarded it as certain that the decree had been examined and ratified by the Pope, but he doubts whether anything but a *direct* utterance from the Pope to the Church would warrant his pronouncing the Copernicans *open heretics*.

But the publication of the *Dialogo* caused Rome in 1633 to challenge the Church's attention to testimony directly evincing the Papal character of the decision—to the very evidence in fact which compels Dr. Ward to admit 'that Paul V. undoubtedly united with the Congregation of the Index in solemnly declaring that Copernicanism is contrary to Scripture.'

It then appeared from the account of things* which the Congregation of the Inquisition, by order of Urban VIII., promulgated expressly for the benefit of Catholic men of science,—that, on Galileo's impeachment before the Holy Office in 1615 for his doctrine on the fixity of the sun and the motion of the earth, and for his manner of dealing with the objected passages of Scripture, the following steps were taken by that holy Tribunal to obviate the inconveniences and prejudices which were arising and prevailing to the injury of the sacred faith :

1. By order of the Lord Pope and the Lord Cardinals of the supreme and universal Inquisition two propositions were qualified by the theological qualifiers of the Holy Office as follows,—

That the sun is in the centre of the universe and immovable from its place, is absurd, philosophically false, and formally heretical, because it is expressly contrary to Holy Scripture.

That the earth is not the centre of the universe nor immovable, but that it moves, and also has diurnal motion, is absurd, philosophically false, and, theologically considered, at least erroneous in faith.

2. To deal mildly with the accused, it was decreed in a Congregation *held in the Pope's presence*, on the 25th February 1616, that Cardinal Bellarmine should enjoin him to give up altogether the said false opinion; and in the event of his refusal, the Commissary of the Holy Office was to command him, under threat of imprisonment, to abandon it altogether, and forbid him to teach, defend, or treat of it in any manner whatever, either by word of mouth or in writing.

The following day this order was executed, and Galileo on promising obedience was dismissed.

* See Appendix A.

3. The Index was brought into action to give public effect to these proceedings.

‘And to the end,’ said the document, ‘that so pernicious a doctrine *might be altogether taken away*, and spread no further to the heavy detriment of Catholic truth, a decree emanated from the Sacred Congregation of the Index, in which books that treat of doctrine of the kind were prohibited, and that doctrine was declared false and altogether contrary to the sacred and divine Scripture.’

‘Et ut prorsus tolleretur tam perniciosa doctrina neque ulterius serperet in grave detrimentum Catholicæ veritatis, emanavit decretum a Sacra Congregatione Indicis, quo fuerunt prohibiti libri qui tractant de hujusmodi doctrina; et ea declarata fuit falsa et omnino contraria sacræ et divinæ Scripturæ.’

‘We do not well see,’ says Dr. Ward, commenting on the Brief ‘*Eximiam tuam*,’ ‘how “*penitus dirempta*” can well imply anything less than a final and absolute determination.’

And I do not see how ‘*prorsus tolleretur*’ can well mean less than ‘*penitus dirempta*.’

And observe in what emphatic and unmistakable terms Rome repudiated the notion that the decree might be interpreted as a practical direction, as a measure of caution for the time being, or as anything short of an absolute settlement of the question.

‘Understanding,’ the Congregation said, ‘that, through the publication of a work at Florence entitled *Dialogo di Galileo Galilei delle due massime Sistemi del Mondo Ptolemaico e Copernicano*, the false opinion of the motion of the earth and the stability of the sun was gaining ground, it had examined the book, and had found it to be a manifest infringement of the injunction laid on the author; and that he had defended an opinion *already condemned and declared to him as having incurred condemnation*, since in the said book he had tried by various circumlocutions to make it appear that he left the matter undetermined, and expressed the opinion as probable. *A most grave error, since an opinion can in no manner be probable which has already been declared and defined to be contrary to the divine Scriptures.*’

Thus the declaration of the Index, for which all the authority of an infallible decision is claimed, was identified with the condemnatory judgment made known to Galileo by a Congregation *held in the Pope's presence*. This was significant enough; but mark what followed.

‘And when a convenient time had been assigned you for your defence, you produced a certificate* in the handwriting of the most eminent Lord Cardinal Bellarmine, procured, as you said, to protect you from the calumnies of your enemies, who had put it about that you had abjured† and had been punished by the Holy Office; in which certificate it is affirmed that you had not abjured, had not been punished, but only that *the declaration made by our Lord the Pope*, and promulgated by the Sacred Congregation of the Index, had been announced to you; the tenor whereof is, that the doctrine of the motion of the earth and of the fixity of the sun is contrary to the sacred Scriptures, and therefore can neither be defended nor held.

‘But this very certificate produced in your defence has rather aggravated the charge against you; for it asserts that the above-mentioned opinion is contrary to Holy Scripture: yet you dared to treat of it, to defend it, and advance it as probable.’

Here, then, the Congregation plainly made it known that the decision of the Index was Papal. But Papal in what sense? In a sense, according to what had been said above, to make it a most grave error to suppose that the opinion condemned thereby could in any manner be probable. In a sense, according to the sentence which followed, to justify its being classed with those declarations and *definitions*, the conclusiveness of which it would be *heresy* to deny. Papal in such a sense that a Catholic might be compelled to yield its doctrine the assent of faith.

‘Invoking, then, the most holy Name of our Lord Jesus

* See Appendix B.

† The abjuration was a solemn profession of faith, accompanied with a renouncement of every opinion opposed to the Church's teaching, exacted only from those attainted of some crime implying unsoundness of faith. Hence Galileo's anxiety to return to Florence after the proceedings of 1616, with a testamur that he had not *abjured*; which did not mean that he had not been made to retract his opinions.

Christ, and that of His most glorious Mother Mary ever Virgin, by this our definitive sentence we say, pronounce, judge, and declare, that you the said Galileo, on account of the things proved against you by documentary evidence, and which have been confessed by you as aforesaid, have rendered yourself to this Holy Office vehemently suspected of *heresy*—that is, of having believed and held a doctrine which is false and contrary to the sacred and divine Scriptures—to wit, that the sun is in the centre of the world and that it does not move from east to west, and that the earth moves and is not the centre of the universe; and *that an opinion can be held and defended as probable after it has been declared and defined to be contrary to Holy Scripture*. And consequently that you have incurred all the censures and penalties decreed and promulgated by the sacred canons and other constitutions, general and particular, against delinquents of this class. From which it is our pleasure that you should be absolved, provided that, with a pure heart and faith unfeigned, you in our presence first abjure, curse, and detest the above-named errors and *heresies*, and every other error and heresy contrary to the Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church, according to the formula which we shall show you.

‘And that this your grave and pernicious error and transgression remain not altogether unpunished, and that you may be the more cautious for the future, and *be an example to others to abstain from offences of this sort*, we decree that the book of the Dialogues of Galileo Galilei be prohibited by public edict; and you we condemn to the prison of this Holy Office during our will and pleasure; and as a salutary penance, we command you for three years to recite once a week the seven Penitential Psalms; reserving to ourselves the power of moderating, commuting, or taking away altogether or in part the above-mentioned penalties and penances.’

And Galileo had to abjure in the following terms:

‘I, Galileo Galilei, son of the late Vincenzo Galilei of Florence, aged seventy years, appearing personally before this court, and kneeling before you, the most eminent and reverend Lord Cardinals, Inquisitors-General of the universal Christian Republic against heretical pravity, having before

my eyes the most holy Gospels, and touching them with my hands, swear that I always have believed, and now believe, and with God's help will always believe, all that the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church holds, preaches, and teaches. But because, after this Holy Office had juridically enjoined me to abandon altogether the false opinion which holds that the sun is in the centre of the world and immovable, and that the earth is not the centre and moves; and had forbidden me to hold, defend, or teach in any manner the said false doctrine; and *after it had been notified to me that the said doctrine is repugnant to Holy Scripture*, I wrote and caused to be printed a book, wherein I treat of the same doctrine *already condemned*, and adduce arguments with great efficacy in favour of it, without offering any solution of them; therefore I am judged vehemently suspected of *heresy*, that is, of having held and believed that the sun is the centre of the world and immovable, and that the earth is not the centre and moves. Wherefore, desiring to remove from the minds of your Eminences and *all Catholic Christians* this vehement suspicion legitimately conceived against me, *with a sincere heart and faith unfeigned*, I abjure, curse, and detest *the above-named errors and heresies, and generally every other error and sect contrary to the above-mentioned Holy Church*; and I swear that for the future I will neither say nor assert by word of mouth, or in writing, anything to bring upon me similar suspicion. And if I shall know any heretic, or one suspected of heresy, I will denounce him to this Holy Office, or to the Inquisitor or Ordinary of the place in which I may be. Moreover I swear and promise to fulfil and observe entirely all the penances that have been or shall be imposed on me by this Holy Office. And if—which God forbid—I act against any of these said promises, protestations, and oaths, I subject myself to all the penalties and punishments which the sacred canons and other constitutions, general and particular, have enacted and promulgated against such delinquents. So help me God and His holy Gospels, which I touch with my hands.

‘I, Galileo Galilei above-named, have abjured, sworn, promised, and bound myself as above; in token whereof I have

signed with my own hand this formula of my abjuration, and have recited it word by word.'

Thus did Rome's supreme Pontifical Congregation, established, to use the words of Sextus V., 'tanquam firmissimum Catholicæ fidei propugnaculum . . . cui ob summam rei gravitatem Romanus Pontifex præsidere solet,' known to be acting under the Pope's orders, announce to the Catholic world that it had been ruled that the Papal declaration of 1616 was to be received, not as a fallible utterance, but as an absolute settlement of the question, as an expression of the mind of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome; and that the Holy See was prepared to punish as heretics those who dared to maintain the opinions condemned thereby. Can it, then, be denied that the decision against Galileo, in virtue of Sextus V.'s Bull on the one hand, and Rome's strong words and acts in 1633 on the other, had as good a title to be accounted infallibly true as the decision against Günther plainly had in virtue of the clause-bearing decree of 1857? I turn to M. Bouix for an answer:

'Objicies,' he says: 'In sententiâ contra Galilæum pronuntiatâ, supponitur ab ipsomet Papâ condemnatam fuisse doctrinam de motu terræ. Ibi enim de quâdem testificatione quam Galilæus a Cardinali Bellarmino impetraverat sic habetur. "In quâ testificatione dicitur, te non abjurasse neque punitum fuisse, sed tantummodo denuntiatam tibi fuisse *declarationem factam* a Domino Nostro, et promulgatam a Sacrà Congregatione Indicis, in quâ continetur, doctrinam de motu terræ et stabilitate solis contrariam esse Sacris Scripturis." Igitur condemnatio Copernicani systematis, quæ exprimitur in decreto 5 Martii 1616, *facta fuit* ab ipsomet Summo Pontifice.

'Respondeo: Facta est ab ipso Pontifice, ast edenda et publicanda solo nomine cardinalium, et quin accesserit Pontificis confirmatio aut speciale mandatum, concedo. Facta est a Pontifice, id est, edita fuit et publicata nomine Pontificis, vel ei accessit attestatio de publica Pontificis confirmatione aut speciali mandato, nego. Decreta scilicet, quæ solo nomine cardinalium eduntur, non fiunt plerumque, præsertim si magni momenti sint, nisi postquam ipse Summus Pontifex quæestionem expendit, et decreta hæc jam approbavit ac edi mandavit.

Unde in eo sensu dici possunt ab ipso facta. Sed ejusmodi approbatio et mandatum Pontificis, de quibus nulla fit attestatio publica, remanent actus *privati*; sunt nempe Pontificis *privatam personam agentis, non autem discernentis ut Pontificis et ex cathedrâ*. Quæstio est num Galilæi et Copernicani systematis condemnationem suam fecerit aliquis Romanus Pontifex per litteras apostolicas, vel per solitam clausulam et publicam attestationem de ipsius confirmatione aut speciali mandato.* Id a nullo Papa peractum dicimus; nec contrarium probant objecta verba' (*Tractatus de Papâ*, vol. ii. pars 11, pp. 474-5).

In accepting this solution, we commit ourselves to the following absurdities :

1. That the Pope uniting with a Congregation to make a law for the universal Church does not, *ipso facto*, act in his official capacity as the Church's supreme Legislator.

2. That the Supreme Pontiff referring in a Bull to the Pope in such terms as these, '*Ubi nobis retulerint nostrâ auctoritate rejiciant*'—'*graviora quæcunque ad nos vel successores nostros deferantur, ut quid secundum Deum expediât, ejus gratiâ adjuvante mature statuamus*,' may be supposed to mean the Pope *in his private capacity*.

3. That a Pontifical Congregation acting under the Pope's orders in testifying that an opinion *since its condemnation* by the Pope is to be regarded as a *heresy*,† to be renounced among

* See postscript, p. 65.

† '*Hæresis*,' says De Lugo, '*est secta seu divisio, et hæreticus est sectarius, quia secat et dividit unitatem Ecclesiæ, seque a reliquo Ecclesiæ corpore et sensu dividit, sectando et amplectendo proprium sensum et opinionem contra id quod Ecclesia sentit*.

'*Ecclesia proponit totam Scripturam Sacram ut indubitanter a fidelibus credatur, tanquam vera Dei revelatio; addit insuper pœnas speciales non contra omnes non credentes, sed contra hæreticos, hoc est, contra eos, qui contra communem Ecclesiæ sensum aliter credunt ac a Deo revelatum sit. Quamvis ergo aliqui vel aliquis subtilius et melius scripturam legens penetret et percipiat sufficienter sensum in aliquâ scripturæ clausulâ contentum, quem communiter alii non ita poterant percipere, atque adeo aliter sentiens peccet contra Dei fidem; non tamen incurrit pœnas specialiter ab Ecclesia statutas, quæ non sunt contra omnes non credentes, sed contra aliter credentes, contra communem Ecclesiæ sensum*.

'In foro externo non punietur ille pœnis corporalibus hæreticorum quo-

the *other* errors and heresies opposed to the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church, does not in effect attest that the Holy See has condemned that opinion.

Is the Pope's public confirmation the only one to be reckoned official? And must a decree be published *in the Pope's own name* to have claims to infallibility? Then, I submit, the Günther decree's title to be accounted *ex cathedrâ* is bad. A document cannot attest more than it says or obviously implies, and the clause attached to the Günther decree neither said nor implied that the Pope had *publicly* confirmed that decision, or that he had ordered it to be published *in his name*. Nor did it assure the Church that the Pope had given that decree any more authority than Sextus V. assured the Church the Pope would give every congregational decree on a matter of grave importance; certainly no more authority than the sentence of 1633 implied the Pope had given the decision of 1616. The question, When does the Pope act as Pope, must be determined not by what theologians in a difficulty choose to assert, but by the language and practice of the Pope himself. And I contend that the language of Sextus V.'s Bull, and the practical interpretation it received for many years, eminently in the case under discussion, prove that the Pope has claimed to decide questions for the Church *as Pope, through a Congregation*, without either Bull, Brief, Apostolic Letter, or clause.*

With regard to the conduct of the Inquisition in 1633, M. Bouix holds that the tribunal had no right to require

ties ipse ostendet Doctores Catholicos communiter non tradere eum sensum tanquam certum, sed aliquos eum negare, alios fateri non esse omnino certum nec pertinere ad fidem Catholicam. Imo licet aliqui dicant id esse de fide, si tamen ipse pro se afferat alios graves Doctores id negantes, non damnabitur tanquam hæreticus, ut observavit Hurtado, addens hæresim propriam talis esse naturæ ut ab omnibus viris doctis et Catholicis censeatur hæresis post diligentem criminis cognitionem' (*De Virt. Did. Fidei*, disp. xx. sect. ii. 60, 62, 63).

* Speaking of the Declarations of the Congregation of the Council of Trent, Fagnanus says: 'Quotiescunque emergentia dubia nondum decisa resolvuntur, ad præscriptum Constitutionis Sixti V. de omnibus consuevit fieri relatio Papæ a Cardinali Præfecto vel a Secretario Congregationis. ut ego ipse diu observavi, licet id in declarationibus exprimi nec opus sit, nec semper soleat' (*De Const. c. Quoniam*, tom. i. p. 134).

Galileo to abjure his opinions, inasmuch as they had not been condemned ex cathedrâ; but he thinks the Congregation proceeded in ignorance, not malice :*

‘ Porro in hoc mihi videtur dictum tribunal aliquid humani passum esse; suæ scilicet potestatis limites excessisse, et injustum exstitisse, non quidem ex *pravo ullo affectu, sed ex errore*. Enimvero dictam Galilæi opinionem nondum infallibilis Ecclesiæ auctoritas, id est, Summus Pontifex ex cathedrâ loquens, erroneam aut hæreticam pronuntiaverat. Ipsa autem Inquisitionis congregatio poterat quidem de ista opinione judicare, eique notas theologicas quæ justæ viderentur (etiam hæreseos) inurere, et prohibere sub pœnis ne quis eam *externe* propugnaret. At hoc ipsius iudicium utpote cui nondum accesserat Summi Pontificis ex cathedrâ loquentis confirmatio, remanebat fallibile. Proinde, nec Galilæus, nec quisvis alius, poterat juste adigi ut *interne* et ex animo illi iudicio adhæreret.† Unde Sacra Inquisitionis Congregatio, Galilæum adigendo ut *corde sincero et fidè non fictâ* opinionem de terræ motu abjuraret, idque antequam cardinalium hac in re iudicium confirmasset ex cathedrâ loquens Summus Pontifex, potestatis suæ limites excessit, ac injuste egit’ (p. 485).

As if a Congregation composed of Cardinals, carefully selected by the Pope to try a difficult case, might be credited with a piece of theological ignorance that would disgrace a candidate for ordination! M. Bouix is forgetting the Munich Brief.

‘ Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim.’

But how about the Pope’s share in the business? The Congregation did not exceed its rights in the opinion of the

* Monsignor Marini, on the contrary, is in ecstasies over the sentence, and thinks that perhaps no judicial act ever came up to it in wisdom and justice: ‘ Non possiamo a rendere il debito elogio alla giustizia, sapienza, e moderazione della stessa Inquisizione, non affermare non esservi fosse mai stato nè così giusto nè così sapiente atto giudiziario che questa sentenza’ (*Galileo e l’Inquisizione*, p. 141).

† Dr. Ward, on the contrary, dogmatically asserts that no Catholic is permitted to hold the opinion here advanced. I cannot think that he has succeeded in vindicating his own doctrine on the subject. It is certainly quite irrelevant to the present issue; for plainly the assent demanded from Galileo by Urban VIII. was of the most absolute kind—the assent of faith.

Pope, and whatever injustice it committed lies at Urban VIII.'s door. Upon that point there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. M. Bouix is prepared for something of the kind being said.

‘Objicies: Hac in re nihil egit Inquisitionis tribunal nisi assentiente et dirigente Urbano VIII.; ergo si admittatur error, in ipsum Papam refundendus est.

‘Respondeo: Distinguo antecedens: nisi assentiente Urbano VIII. *quatenus doctore privato* transeat; quatenus loquente ex cathedrâ, nego. Item, distinguo consequens: refundendus error in ipsum Papam *quatenus doctorem privatum*, transeat; quatenus loquentem ex cathedrâ, nego. Unde ad *summum ex objectione sequeretur ipsum etiam Urbanum VIII. quatenus doctorem privatum hac in re deviasse*’ (p. 486).

So the head of a Congregation is not to be held officially responsible for the acts it does with his full knowledge and consent! But M. Bouix writes as if he knew nothing of those extracts from the original minutes of the process M. l'Épinois published some three years ago in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*. In the face of that evidence he might as well deny that Galileo's trial took place at all, as say that the Pope did not preside over it from first to last in his official capacity. It was not that the Congregation did nothing ‘nisi assentiente et dirigente Urbano VIII.,’ but ‘nisi jubente et mandante Sanctissimo.’

The facts were as follows:—

The *Dialogo* was published at the beginning of the year 1632. Late in the spring it reached the authorities at Rome. Towards the end of the summer his Holiness ordered a commission to examine the work, and draw up a report of the circumstances under which the imprimatur had been obtained. The following list was returned of the points forming the corpus delicti: observe No. IV.:—

‘Conforme all' ordine della Santità vostra si è distesa tutta la serie del fatto occorso circa l'impressione del libro del Galilei quale poi è stato impresso in Firenze. . . . Nel libro poi ci sono da considerare come per corpo di delitto le cose sequenti:

‘I. Aver posto l’*imprimatur* di Roma senza ordine e senza participar la publicatione con chi si dice aver sottoscritto.

‘II. Aver posto dal corpo dell’opera et aver posto la medicina del fine in bocca di un sciocco et in parte che ne anche si trova, se non con difficoltà, approvata poi dall’altro interlocutore freddamente, e con accennar solamente o non distinguere il bene che mostra dire di mala voglia.

‘III. Mancarsi nell’opera molte volte e recedere dall’ipotesi, o asserendo assolutamente la mobilità della terra e stabilità del sole, o qualificando gli argomenti su che la fonda per dimostrativi e necessari, o trattando la parte negativa per impossibile.

‘IV. *Tratta la cosa come non decisa, e come che si aspetti e non si presupponga la definizione.*

‘V. Lo strapazzo degl’ autori contrarii, e di chi più si serve S. Chiesa.

‘VI. Asserirci e dichiararsi male qualche nguaglianza nel comprendere le cose geometriche tra l’ intelletto umano e divino.

‘VII. Dar per argomento di verità che passino i Tolemaici ai Copernicani, e non e contra.

‘VIII. Haver mal ridotto l’ esistente flusso e reflusso del mare nella stabilità del sole e mobilità della terra non esistenti.

‘Tutte le quali cose si potrebbero emendare se si giudicasse esser qualche utilità del libro del quale gli si dovesse far questa grazia’ (MS. minutes of the process, p. 387; quoted in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, July 1867, pp. 156-8).

The immediate result of this representation was an injunction to stop the sale of the *Dialogo*, and sequesterate all obtainable copies (Marini, p. 117). And on the 23d of September a letter was sent by the Pope’s command to the Inquisitor-General of Florence, bidding him serve Galileo with a summons to present himself before the Commissary of the Holy Office in Rome some day during the ensuing month.

‘Sanctissimus mandavit Inquisitori Florentiæ scribi ut eidem Galileo nomine S. Congregationis significet quod per totum mensis Octobris proximum compareat in Urbe coram Commissario Generali S. Officii, et ab eo recipiat promiss-

sionem de parendo huic præcepto, quod eidem faciat coram notario et testibus, ipso tamen Galileo penitus inscio, qui in casu quo illud admittere noluit, et parere non promittat, possint id testificare, si opus fuerit' (Quoted by Marini, p. 120, from MS. p. 394).

On the 1st of October, Galileo acknowledged the execution of this order, and promised obedience (MS. p. 398; quoted by Marini, p. 121). At the same time, he did not mean to go if he could help it. On the 13th he wrote to Cardinal Barbarino expressing his surprise 'that his enemies had been able to persuade the authorities that his work deserved suppression; and the pain he felt at having been summoned to Rome as though he had committed some grave delinquency. In all his writings he had ever kept the interests of the Church steadily in view; and though he would rather die than disobey, he trusted that his great age, the state of his health, what he must suffer in a journey to Rome, might be considered sufficient reasons for the Congregation to grant him at least a reprieve.'*

Niccolini, not without misgivings, and mainly in deference to Father Castelli's advice, presented the letter. In writing back to Galileo on the subject, he points out the necessity of absolute submission; that he must not think of defending his opinions, but must be prepared to make any retractation the Holy Office chose to demand:

'Quanto poi al negozio, creda pure che gli sarà necessario non entrare in difesa di quelle cose che la Congregazione non approva, ma deferire a quella, e ritrattarsi nel modo che vorranno i Cardinali di essa, altrimenti troverà difficoltà grandissime nell'espedizione della causa sua, come è intervenuto a molti altri; *ne parlando cristianamente, si può pretendere altro che quello che vogliono loro, come tribunal supremo che non può errare.*'†

In the mean time the ambassador left no stone unturned to get the order rescinded; but in vain. Ginetti, one of the Cardinals, and Signor Boccabella, the Assessor of the Holy

* *Opere di G. G.* Fl. ed. vol. vii. p. 7.

† *Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 305.

Office, listened to his representations, and said nothing. He then tried to soften the Pope.

‘I went this morning,’ he writes in a despatch dated the 13th of November, ‘into all the circumstances of the case with his Holiness, and tried to stir up his compassion for the poor old man. I asked him if he had seen his letter to Cardinal Barberino. The Pope said that he had, but could not dispense with his coming to Rome. Niccolini hinted that he might die on the road. “He may come slowly,” said the Pope; “pian piano in a litter, and have anything he pleases to lessen the discomforts of the journey; but he must be examined here in person; and God forgive him for having got into such a scrape after I, when Cardinal, had extricated him on a former occasion!”’*

On the 20th of November the Inquisitor at Florence wrote to say ‘that he had again cited Galileo before him; that the latter had expressed his willingness to obey, but pleaded his age, his bodily ailments, that he was then under medical treatment, and so forth. He had exacted from him a promise, in the presence of witnesses, to start at the end of a month,’ ‘non so poi se l’ eseguirà.’ ‘If he does not,’ his Holiness replied, ‘he must be made to do so.’

‘9 Dec. 1632. Sanctissimus mandavit Inquisitori rescribi ut post elapsum terminum unius mensis assignatum Galileo veniendi ad urbem omnino illum cogat, quibuscunque non obstantibus, ad urbem accedere’ (MS. p. 402; *R. des Q. Hist.* p. 122).

On the 18th of December the Inquisitor notified that his Vicar on visiting Galileo had found him confined to his bed, declaring himself quite incapable of undertaking the journey to Rome in his then state of health. A certificate was forwarded, signed by three of the most eminent medical men in Florence, to the effect that Galileo was suffering from hernia, and could not be moved without peril to his life. But his Holiness and the Congregation were incredulous, and returned the following stringent order:

* *Opere di G. G. Fl.* ed. vol. ix, p. 429.

' 30 Dec. 1632, a Nativitate. Sanctissimus mandavit Inquisitori rescribi quod Sanctitas sua et Sacra Congregatio nullatenus potest aut debet tolerare hujusmodi subterfugia. Et ad effectum verificandi an revera in statu tali reperiatur, quod non possit ad urbem absque vitæ periculo accedere, Sanctissimus et Sacra Congregatio transmittent illuc commissarium una cum medico, qui illum visitent, ut certam et sinceram relationem faciant de statu in quo reperitur; et si erit in statu tali ut venire possit, illum carceratum et ligatum cum ferris transmittat. Si vero causa sanitatis et ob periculum vitæ transmissio erit differenda, statim postquam convaluerit et cessante periculo carceratus et ligatus ac cum ferris transmittat. Commissarius autem et medici transmitantur ejus sumptibus et expensis, quia se in tali statu et temporibus conticuit, et tempore opportuno, ut ei fuerat, præceptum venire et facere contempsit' (*R. des Q. Hist.* p. 123).

Galileo's friends begged him to start at once. On the 20th of January he managed to get well enough to begin the journey in one of the Grand Duke's litters. On the 13th of February he reached Rome; and the next day paid his visit to the Commissary of the Holy Office.

It has been contended that the Pope was under an impression that Galileo meant to hold him up to ridicule in the *Dialogo*, and that mortified vanity prompted his conduct. To my mind, the evidence does not warrant the charge. What Urban did fully agrees with what he said,—that he was taking up the case on purely public grounds, from a conviction that the interests of religion and the faith were at stake; and that, sorry as he was to pain an old friend, and one standing so high in the favour of the Grand Duke, he could not do less than prohibit the doctrine of the *Dialogo*, and make an example of the author.*

Every one admits that Galileo during his trial was treated

* Conf. the following extracts from Niccolini's despatches (*Opere di G. G.* Fl. ed. vol. ix.):

' Roma, 5 Sett. 1632: Rispose che questo era il manco male che se gli potesse fare, e cho si guardasse di non esser chiamato al S. Offizio, e d' aver decretata una Congregazione di Teologi e d' altre persone versate in diverse

with unusual indulgence; and his sentence was a much lighter one than he had reason to expect. Let us look at

scienze, gravi e di santa mente, che a parola per parola vanno pesando ogni minuzia, perchè si trattava della più perversa materia che si potesse mai aver alle mani, tornando a dolersi d' essere stata aggirata da lui e dal Ciampoli. Poi mi dissi, che io scrivessi per ultimo al Padrone Serenissimo, che la dottrina era perversa in estremo grado' (vol. ix. p. 421-2).

'Roma, 18 Sett. : Replicai di supplicarla umilmente di nuovo a considerare, che il Signor Galilei era matematico di S. A., suo stipendiato, e suo servitore attuale, e per tale ricevuto anche universalmente. E S. S. replicò, che per questo anche era uscita dall' ordinario con noi, e che ancora il Signor Galilei era suo amico, ma che queste opinioni furono dannate circa a 16 anni sono; e che anch' egli è entrato in un gran ginepreto, nel quale poteva far di meno, perchè son materie fastidiose e pericolose; e che questa sua opera in fatti è perniciosa, e la materia è grave più di quel che S. A. si persuade; . . . anzi soggiunse che si cercasse di star in poco avvertiti, e questo io lo significassi ommamente a S. A., che il Signor Galilei, sotto pretesto di certa scuola di giovanetti che tiene, non vada imprimendo loro qualche opinione fastidiosa e pericolosa, perchè aveva inteso non so che; e che di grazia S. A. vi stesse attenta e vi facesse star vigilante qualcheduno, affinchè non le seminasse qualche errore per gli stati, da doverne ricever de' fastidi' (p. 427).

'Roma, 13 Nov. : Io dissi che l' approvazione quì del libro aveva cagionato tutto questo, perchè mediante la sottoscrizione e l' ordine dato all' Inquisitor di Firenze s' era camminato al sicuro e senza sospetto in questo interesse; ma fui interrotto col dirmi, che il Ciampoli ed il Maestro del S. Palazzo s' eran portati male, e che quei servitori che non fanno a modo de' padroni son pessimi familiari; perchè in dimandare al Ciampoli spesse volte quel ch' era del Galilei, non le aveva mai risposto altro, se non bene, senza passar più avanti in dirle che il libro si stampava, quando pur S. S. ne aveva subodorato qualche cosa, tornando a dire di trattarsi di pessima dottrina' (p. 430).

'Roma, 13 Marzo : Cominciai questa mattina il mio ragionamento con Sua Santità dall' uffizio di rendimento di grazie . . . mi disse . . . e che Iddio gli perdoni a entrar in queste materie, tornando a dire che si tratta di dottrine nuove, e della Scrittura Sacra, e che la meglio di tutte è quella di andar con la comune; . . . che il Signor Galilei è stato suo amico, ed hanno insieme trattato e mangiato più volte domesticamente, e dispiacerle d' averlo a disgustare, ma trattarsi d' interesse della fede e della religione' (p. 436-7).

'Roma, 9 Aprile : E questa mattina avendone anche parlato a S. Beatitudine, dopo i dovuti rendimenti di grazie della partecipazione anticipata, di che ha voluto favorirmi, s' è doluta la Santità Sua che sia entrato in questa materia, la quale da lei è stimata gravissima e di conseguenza grande per la religione' (p. 439).

'Roma, 18 Giugno : Ho di nuovo supplicato per la spedizione della causa del Signor Galilei, e Sua Santità mi ha significato ch' ell' è di già spedita, e che di quest' altra settimana sarà chiamato una mattina al S. Uffizio per sentire la risoluzione o la sentenza . . . mi replicò . . . che aveva fatta volentieri ogni abilità al Signor Galilei in riguardo all' amore, che porta al Padron Serenissimo : ma che quanto alla causa non si potrà far di meno di

things from the standpoint of the court.* It assumed, we must bear in mind, that the doctrinal question had been settled, and that the decision of 1616 was absolute. The issues before it were these two,—Had Galileo wilfully transgressed the order he was under, not to treat of Copernicanism in any manner? Did he hold, and had he written advisedly in favour of that condemned opinion? If so, according to the former ruling of the court, his crime was heresy.

Galileo's answer on the first count was, that he had completely forgotten that the order contained the words 'teach in any manner.' And to render this statement credible he produced Bellarmine's record of the order without the words.† He had taken, he said, that certificate as a complete account of the transaction it referred to. Nor had it occurred to him to tax his memory on the subject. Further, since it was obvious that the judgment notified to him was one and the same thing with the declaration of the Index, he had not supposed himself to be under any special restriction; and therefore had not thought it necessary to mention the order when he applied for the *imprimatur*.

With regard to the second point he absolutely denied that he had meant the *Dialogo* to be a defence of Copernicanism. He granted that vain-glory and the desire men have to show off their cleverness in arguing even for propositions they allow to be false, had led him to give an appearance of strength to the Copernican side; but his real intent had been to show the *inconclusiveness* of the argument for the theory. And he begged the court to allow him to add a dialogue to the work, to make the thing quite unmistakable.

non proibire quell' opinione, perchè è erronea e contraria alle Sacre Scritture dettate ex ore Dei (p. 443-4).

After Galileo's death, when rumours of an intention to erect a monument to the philosopher in the Church of Santa Croce had reached the Pope's ears, his Holiness objected: 'Che non era punto di esempio al mondo, che S. A. facesse questa cosa, mentre egli è stato qui nel S. Uffizio per un' opinione tanto falsa e tanto erronea: con la quale anche ha impressionati molti altri costà, o dato anche scandalo tanto universale al Cristianesimo con una dottrina stata dannata' (Venturi, vol. ii. p. 324).

* See the minutes of the trial in 'Extraits du ms. Vatican,' *R. des Questions Historiques*, pp. 159-169.

† The Cardinal, I imagine, purposely omitted the words for Galileo's sake, that his enemies might not twit him with being under special restraint.

But the evidence was dead against him. And we cannot wonder that the consultors of the Holy Office—Augustinus Oregius, Melchior Inchofer, and Zacharias Pasqualigus—protested against his defence, and declared their conviction that the accused had held, defended, and taught the theory of the earth's motion.

It remained for the Pope to determine what should be done. He must have been morally sure that Galileo had not spoken the truth; and had it been his object to crush *the man*, he would, I take it, have cited witnesses to convict him of perjury, or he might have condemned him for heresy on the data he had. Instead of doing either of these things, he decreed as follows:

Galileo was to be questioned about his intention. He was to be threatened with the torture.* If he stood the threat,

* 'Lugendum est,' remarks M. Bouix, 'quod in processus decursu torturam physicam Galilæo Cardinales comminati sint.' Yes; but more lamentable still is the moral blindness of those who could see no harm in tricking a person into making a confession by threatening the torture, when, from age or other circumstances, its actual infliction was not intended.

'Si inquisitores habent vehementem opinionem contra reum, *quamvis extra processum, possunt eum verbaliter terrere, minando torturam, etiamsi legitima indicia non procedant; quia hoc non est torquere, nisi sit persona timida.*

'Rursus, torquere non possunt minores 14 annis' (ita *Delrius*, lib. v. sect. ix. contr. Villadiego, pol. i. 3, n. 322). '*Possunt tamen tales terrere ducendo sub equuleo absque ligatura*' (ita *Miranda*, *ibid.* initio).

'Et tandem non possunt torquere senes. Sed senectus non est annorum numero comptanda (ut docet Villagut, Prax. Crim. tit. v. c. xxi. n. xii. requirens annos 60), sed valetudine, robore, qualitate delicti et delinquentis, inquisitorum arbitrio. Quando vero torquere non possunt, posse terreri, ait Cavalcanus, p. iii. n. 126' (*Diana, Summa*, pars post. n. 108, 140, 141).

It is not true that the Popes only permitted the use of torture; they enjoined it, as M. Bouix perfectly well knows, under threat of excommunication, and promoted it by express decrees. See Constitutions, 'Ad extirpanda,' of Inn. IV., Alex. IV., Clement IV., and the following: 'Inhærendo decretis alias per felices recordationis Paulum Papam Quartum D. N. Pins V. decrevit omnes et quoscunque reos confessos et convictos de hæresi pro ulteriori veritate habenda, et super complicitibus, fore torquendos arbitrio D. D. Judicum' (Quoted by Carena, *de Sancto Off.* pars ii. p. 65). The Holy Office, it was held, could less than any Court dispense with this method of getting at the truth, and for the following reasons: 'Inquisitores,' says Diana, 'debent esse promiores ad torturam, quia crimen hæresis est occultum et difficilis probationis. Simancas addit aliam rationem, quia confessio rei in casu hæresis non solum reipublicæ sed ipsimet heretico proficit' (*Summa*, pars post. 104). 'Quod hæretici torqueantur pro ulteriori veritate &c. clarissimum est, et ab omnibus pro indubitato præsupponitur. Quoniam hæresis delictum est in mente residens, et occultum, singulare habet hoc Officium S. Inquisitionis ut

he was to be condemned, after making the abjuration 'de vehementi' in a full assembly of the Holy Office, to imprisonment during the pleasure of the Sacred Congregation. An injunction was to be laid on him never again to treat of the heliocentric theory, for or against, by word of mouth or in writing, under pain of being dealt with as a relapsed heretic. The *Dialogo* was to be prohibited. And that all might know these things, his Holiness commanded the Congregation to send copies of the sentence to all the Nuncios Apostolic, to all the Inquisitors of heretical pravity,* and expressly to the Inquisitor of Florence, who was to summon a number of mathematical professors to hear it read publicly.

Ms. fol. 451. 'Die 16 Junii 1633. Galilei de Galileis de quo supra proposito cautus Sanctissimus decrevit ipsum interrogandum esse super intentione, et comminata ei tortura, ac si sustinuerit, previa abjuratione de vehementi in plena congregatione S. Officii, condemnandum ad carcerem arbitrio Sacræ Congregationis, injuncto ei ne de cætero scripto vel

per tormenta iudices violatæ Religionis possint se certificare, an bene, an male, de fide senserit reus in hoc Sancto Tribunali inquisitus.'

'Quod confitentes se hæreticalia verba protulisse, sed *intentionem hæreticam* sese habuisse negantes, *quod super ista intentionis qualitate torqueantur, et torquere soleant* in hoc Sancto Officio, nemo in hoc Sacro Tribunali, vel mediocriter versatus, ignorat . . . Ratio hujus conclusionis est quia *de intentione istius rei non potest Ecclesia (quæ de occultis non solet judicare) sese certificare nisi per tormenta et ob id reos super intentione ista torquere solet*' (Carena, *de S. Officio*, pars ii. pp. 62, 63). Nevertheless I believe that, as a rule, the physical torments of the Inquisition were less severe than those of most secular courts of the day. Certainly we find the best authorities discountenancing and inveighing against novel and excessive kinds (cf. *Pegna in Eymeric. Direct.* pars iii. p. 594).

* In this part of the order the Pope not obscurely intimated his will that the Copernican-minded Catholics should be forced to yield assent to the decision of 1616. For the local tribunals of the Inquisition were to take their tone from the Supreme Court.

'Jura ubique clamant majores Ecclesiæ causas, et præsertim quæ articulos fidei tangunt, ad Sedem Apostolicam esse referendas. Ergo privati civitatum Inquisitores, si tutius et securius tractare omnia cupiunt, cum leges deficiunt, aut etiam obscuræ sunt leges, stylum et consuetudinem Supremi Scuatius Inquisitionis Romanæ, quæ ceterarum caput est, consulunt et sequuntur. In hac enim nullum est erroris periculum; nam præterquam quod a sapientissimis iudicibus et vigilantissimis causæ fidei tractantur, quotidie etiam Summum Pontificem consulere licet, cujus iudicium quantum in rebus fidei habeat auctoritatem exploratissimum est apud Catholicos' (*Franciscus Pegna in Eymeric. Direct. Inquisit. De Auctorit. Extrav.* p. 149).

verbo tractet amplius quovis modo de mobilitate terræ nec de stabilitate solis et e contra, sub pœna relapsus. Librum vero ab eo conscriptum, cui titulus est: Dialogo di Galileo Galilei Linceo, prohibendum fore. Præterea, ut hæc omnibus innotescant, exemplaria sententiæ de supra ferendæ transmitti jussit ad omnes Nuncios Apostolicos, et ad omnes hereticæ pravitatis Inquisitores, ac præcipue ad Inquisitorem Florentiæ, qui eam intimarent in ejus plenâ congregatione, accersitis etiam et coram plerisque mathematicæ artis professoribus publice legi.*

Accordingly, on the 21st of June, Galileo underwent a final examination with respect to his intention in writing the *Dialogo*.†

He was asked to say whether he held, or had held, and since when, that the sun is in the centre of the universe, and that the earth is not the centre, but moves, and with a diurnal movement.

He replied that before the determination of the Congregation of the Index, and until he received an order to the contrary, he had suspended his judgment on the matter, and had thought it open to dispute whether the truth lay with Ptolemy or Copernicus, there being no reason in the nature of things why either might not be right. But the moment his superiors decided the question he ceased to doubt, and held, and continued to hold, the opinion of Ptolemy, that the earth is fixed, and that the sun moves.

The Congregation submitted that his having written the *Dialogo* was inconsistent with this statement, and urged him to speak the truth.

He said that his object in writing the *Dialogo* was to exhibit the astronomical and physical arguments that might be advanced on both sides of the controversy; and to show that as reason could not settle the question, recourse must be had to a higher teaching—‘alla determinazione di più sublimi dottrine.’ He concluded by again asserting that he did not hold the condemned opinion, and had not held it since its condemnation.‡

* *Revue des Questions Historiques*, vol. iii. p. 129.

† *Ibid.* ‘Extraits du ms. du Vatican,’ vol. iii. pp. 168, 169.

‡ Dr. Ward seems to think that Galileo was probably speaking the truth. I think he will change his mind after referring to the philosopher’s letter to

He was then warned that the presumption was so strong against him, that if he did not confess, the court must have recourse to the remedies the law provided for such cases.

He repeated his assertion that he had not held the opinion of Copernicus since he had been ordered to give it up: 'I am in your hands, and you must do what you think fit.'

He was then told in plain terms, that if he did not speak the truth, he would be put to the torture.

'I am here,' he said, 'to obey. I have not held that opinion since the decision against it.'

The Congregation, having so far carried out the Pope's decree, dismissed him to his place:

'Et cum nihil aliud posset haberi in executionem decreti, habita ejus subscriptione, remissus fuit ad locum suum.'

The next day he was summoned to the convent of the Minerva; and there, in the presence of the Cardinals and prelates of the Holy Office, the sentence we have already considered was pronounced, and he made his abjuration.

It appears that on the 30th of June his Holiness again expressly enjoined the publication of the sentence.*

The assertion, then, that the Pope directed the proceedings simply as a doctor privatus, and did not make himself officially responsible for the result, is plainly at variance with the truth. And whatever may be thought of the decree of the 16th of June as a display of personal feeling, its doctrinal significance is indisputable.

It was an act whereby his Holiness caused a Pontifical Congregation to inculcate it first on Galileo, and then on the Church, that the opinion of the earth's motion, having been absolutely condemned as false and altogether opposed to God's Word, ought to be detested by Catholics as a heresy opposed to the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church. And the lesson to us is, that a Papal utterance purporting to be declaratory of the mind of the Holy Roman Church on a

Prince Cosi, 23 Sept. 1624; to Cesare Marsili, 7 Dec. 1624; to Elia Diodati, 15 Jan. 1633; conf. also Niccolini's letter, 9 April 1633.

* Ms. 30 Jun. 1633. 'Ordre du Pape à l'Inquisiteur de Florence de publier la sentence contre Galilée' ('Extraits du ms. du Vatican,' *Revue des Quest. Hist.* p. 169).

point of doctrine, put forth to influence the faith of Catholics, may be a misleading blunder.

‘In a thousand different ways,’ says Dr. Ward, ‘he (the Pope) may sufficiently indicate his intention of teaching the Church; but *whenever and however he may do so*, the Holy Ghost interposes to preserve his instructions from every the slightest intermixture of error’ (*Brief Summary*, p. 13). And elsewhere, drawing a parallel between the Pope and an Apostle, he says, ‘In the Christian Church there is no “acceptation of persons;” no doctrinal favouritism: whatever doctrine is infallibly revealed *at all*, is infallibly revealed *for the whole Church*. The Apostle may have originally addressed it to a local church, or *even to an individual*; but he none the less delivered it in his capacity of *Universal Teacher*. Still, then, we have come to no point of difference between the *Apostolic Rule of Faith as understood by all Christians*, and the *modern Roman Catholic Rule as understood by Roman Catholics*; except, indeed, that in the former there were *twelve Universal Teachers*, and in the latter there is no more than one’ (*Second Letter to F. Ryder*, p. 32).

‘The question is not about addressing himself, but about commanding interior assent. *But the Pope*—mark this—*never exacts absolute and unreserved assent to any doctrine from individual Catholics, except where he exacts such assent from the whole body of Christians, otherwise he would himself destroy that unity of faith which it is his office to maintain*’ (‘Infallibility and the Council,’ *Dublin Review*, Jan. 1870, p. 200). But Urban VIII. did exact from Galileo absolute and unreserved assent to the doctrine of the decision of 1616, therefore he exacted such assent from the whole body of Christians; therefore his act was *ex cathedrâ*. Q.E.D.*

I have yet another question to raise. If the Ultramontanist

* And quite recently ‘an *ex cathedrâ* act is an act in which some Pope purports to teach the whole Church obligatory doctrine’ (*Dublin Review* for April 1870, p. 399). And must not the Pope be purporting to teach the Church obligatory doctrine when he commands such a Congregation as that of the Inquisition to represent it to the Church that a certain doctrine has been insisted upon in Rome as a truth of revelation—as a *portion of the teaching of the Roman Church*?

could show us that the judgment against Copernicus was nothing more than a decision on a matter of doctrine put forth by a Pontifical Congregation, would he be out of his difficulties? I think not. He is obliged by his theory to regard the Munich Brief as an infallible utterance. Accordingly, he must believe that the Holy Ghost has guaranteed the absolute truth of an instruction to this effect. 'It results from the principles of true theology that men cannot have that perfect adhesion to revealed truth which is necessary for the progress of science and the refuting of error, unless (1) they yield that subjection which is to be rendered in an act of divine faith, not only to dogmata expressly defined by decrees of Œcumenical Councils and the Roman Pontiffs, but also to those things which are delivered as divinely revealed by the teaching authority of the Church dispersed throughout the world, and which are therefore accounted by Catholic theologians to appertain to the faith. And unless (2) they subject themselves in conscience as well to the decisions on matters pertaining to doctrine that are put forth by the Pontifical Congregations; as also to those heads of doctrine that are retained by the common and consistent consent of Catholics as theological truths, and conclusions so certain that opinions adverse to the same, though not to be called heretical, yet deserve some other censure.'

Now, here the Pope apparently bids us attribute the same authority to decisions on matters of doctrine that emanate from the Pontifical Congregations, as to those heads of doctrine Catholics are bound to account theologically certain. In other words, he seems to claim for the former theological certainty. But not to press this point, and taking the words of the Brief as they stand, we must conclude from them, that Catholic men of science in 1633 were bound in conscience, in order to have that perfect adhesion to revealed truth which is necessary for true scientific progress and the refuting of error, to submit themselves to a decision scientifically false and doctrinally erroneous; and since the decree of 1616 was in full force in 1687, that Catholic men of science were under that obligation at a time when every one up to the science of his day knew the decision was false.

The case before us does a great deal more than exemplify the truth that Pontifical Congregations are not, strictly speaking, infallible. It shows that they can make mistakes we should not expect from wise and learned men. It demonstrates that God will permit their maturely formed, repeatedly expressed, and long-sustained judgment to be in direct antagonism to the truth He is disclosing through 'the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' How, then, can any dominion over the scientific thought of their age be legitimately claimed for them? Here Dr. Ward comes to the rescue, and with characteristic boldness denies that their condemnation of Copernicanism was a mistake at all in any proper sense of the term. He explains himself thus :

'If a decree is put forth claiming infallibility, it purports to have God's unfailing guarantee of its truth. But it is most certain that Galileo's condemnation was *not* put forth with any claim to infallibility; and we ask, therefore, what such a decree *does* purport to be? No answer but one can possibly be given, as a moment's consideration will evince. It purports to instruct Catholics in that conclusion which legitimately follows from existing data. Now, we argued at much length, that the contrariety of Copernicanism to Scripture *was* the consequence legitimately resulting from the data of 1616 (see pp. 140-152; 160; 182). The reason why Copernicanism is now justly held to be consistent with Scripture is its having been scientifically established (pp. 142-3); but so far was this from having been the case in Galileo's time, that, on the contrary, as a matter of mere science, its falsehood was more probable than its truth (pp. 146-152). Nor was Galileo's confidence in the scientific strength of his theory any presumption of its real strength, because the one main argument on which he laid his stress is now admitted by every one to have been absolutely worthless (p. 400). By accident he was right; but, "formally," even as a man of science, he was wrong.

'The decree purported to be—not infallibly guaranteed by God, but—the true conclusion from existing data. Well, it *was* the true conclusion from existing data: how, therefore,

in any true sense, can it be called mistaken? On the contrary, it afforded "true doctrinal guidance to contemporary Catholics" (p. 186). For (1) it inculcated on them that doctrinal lesson which legitimately resulted from existing data; and (2) it warned them against "a most false, proud, irreverent, and dangerous principle of Scriptural interpretation." What is that principle? "The contradicting the obvious and traditional sense of Scripture, on the strength of a theory scientifically unlikely." And this is a principle as anti-Catholic now as it was then* (*Doctri. Decis.* pp. 199, 200).

This account of the matter, besides that it utterly fails to do justice to the terms of the condemnation—*false* and *altogether* opposed to the divine Scripture—lies open to this fatal

* It is worth observing, that Foscarinus, whose position the Congregation singled out to exemplify what it meant to condemn, takes the greatest pains to guard against giving the slightest countenance to such a principle. He insists *in limine* on the scientific merit of the heliocentric theory, and makes its acknowledged likelihood a reason for attempting its theological defence: 'Perciò molti moderni si sono indotti e persuasi finalmente a seguirlo, ma con alquanto di timore e di rimorso; perciocchè parve a loro, che alla Scrittura Sacra ci fusse talmente contrario, che non si potessero con esso conciliare le autorità, che gli repugnavano. . . . Io per me, considerate tutte queste cose (per il desiderio, che tengo, che le dottrine ricevano quant'è possibile aumento, lume e perfezione, e se ne sgombrino tutti gli errori, con rilucervi dentro la pura verità), sono andato fra me stesso speculando in questo modo. O questa opinione de' Pittagorici è vera, o no; se non è vera, non è degna che se ne parli, ne che si metta in campo; se è vera, poco importa che contraddica a tutti i filosofi ed astronomi del mondo, e che per seguirla e praticarla s'abbia da fare una nuova filosofia ed astronomia, dependente da nuovi principj ed ipotesi, che questa pone. Quello, che appartiene alle Scritture Sacre, nè anco gli nuocerà, perciocchè una verità non è contraria all'altra. Se dunque è vera l'opinione Pittagorica, senza dubbio Iddio avrà talmente dettate le parole della Scrittura Sacra che possano ricevere senso accomodato a quell'opinione e conciliamento con esse. Questo è il motivo, che m'indusse a considerare ed a cercare, (*stante la probabilità evidente della già detta opinione*) il modo, e la strada di accordare molti luoghi della Scrittura Sacra con essa, ed interpretarli, non senza fondamenti teologici e fisici, in modo tale che non gli contraddicano affatto; acciò quando ella si vedrà (per caso) e determinata espressamente, e con certezza esser vera, (*siccome ora per probabile è ricercata*) non se gli ritrovi intoppo alcuno, che l'impedisca e che gli dia fastidio, privando indegnamente il mondo del venerabile e sacrosanto commercio della tanto da tutti i buoni desiderata verità' (Lettera del P. Foscarini, *Opere di G. G.* vol. v. pp. 460-1).

The real question at issue was, are the expressions of the sacred writers in relation to the physical order to be judged by the same rule as those relating to things moral and spiritual. In condemning Copernicanism as altogether contrary to Scripture, Rome virtually said yes. Was that the right answer?

objection. Its interpretation of the decree is the one Urban VIII. and his Congregation prohibited: 'Tratta la cosa come non decisa, e come che si aspetti e non si presupponga la definizione.'

If Rome meant what she said, either in 1633 she utterly mistook the force and scope of her own decree issued about seventeen years before, in which case she blundered over the very easiest matter that could possibly come before her; or that decree was meant to be taken as absolutely true, in which case even Dr. Ward must admit that it was a mistake in every sense of the term.

The truth is, Dr. Ward proceeds throughout on misconceptions of fact. To begin with, he supposes (pp. 157 and 172) that there were two decrees of the Index in 1616, issued about the same time; one purely doctrinal, the other purely disciplinary. The former, he holds, was the declaration referred to in Bellarmine's certificate; the latter was the 'Quia etiam ad notitiam.' The former, he says, certainly affected liberty of thought; but then it was never repeated, and concerned only contemporary Catholics. And he bids us notice (p. 183) how it avoided the dangerous and untheological confusion implied in censuring Copernicanism as *false*. The latter, he admits, continued in force to the time of Benedict XIV.,* and must be considered for all practical purposes to have been re-enacted by every successive intermediate Pontiff; but then, being purely disciplinary, it affected only liberty of action.

The reader knows that the purely doctrinal and temporary decree, Dr. Ward says was never repeated, never existed; that the decree Dr. Ward would persuade us was a purely

* Venturi and others say that Benedict XIV. suspended the decree in question. I have not been able to verify their statement; what I have made out is, that the books condemned by that decree were in an Index published by order of Benedict XIV., to which was attached a constitution containing the following:

'Absolutum itaque juxta mentem nostram laudatum Indicem, et ab iisdem Cardinalibus revisum atque recognitum, typis cameræ nostræ Apostolicæ edi volumus, ipsumque præsentibus litteris nostris tanquam expresse insertum habentes, auctoritate Apostolicâ tenore præsentium approbamus et confirmamus, atque ab omnibus et singulis personis, ubicumque locorum existentibus, inviolabiliter et inconcusse observari præcipimus et mandamus, &c. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctam Mariam Majorem sub annulo Piscatoris die xxiii. Dec. MDCCCLVII.' (*Index Librorum prohibitorum*, S. D. N. Pii VI. jussu editus Romæ MDCCCLXXXVI.).

disciplinary enactment, Rome ruled to be doctrinal as well as disciplinary; that the dangerous and untheological confusion Dr. Ward would relegate to an unauthoritative preamble, Rome indorsed and insisted on as a part of the declaration.

‘Et ut prorsus tolleretur tam perniciosa doctrina, neque ulterius serperet in grave detrimentum Catholicæ veritatis, emanavit decretum a Sacrâ Congregatione Indicis, quo fuerunt prohibiti libri qui tractant de hujusmodi doctrina, et ea declarata fuit *falsa*, et omnino contraria sacræ et divinæ Scripturæ.’

One would not have supposed it possible for a man of Dr. Ward’s ability, with this passage and its context—not to speak of other evidence—before him, to miss seeing what Bellarmine meant. But I observe that, after professing to have compared Dr. Madden’s translation of it with the Latin, he retains and founds his argument on a word in the former that does not exist in the latter.

Speaking of the sentence in p. 163, he says: ‘We will draw special attention to a few passages by italics. The translation is founded on Dr. Madden’s; but we have made various changes, to bring it (as we think) into nearer accordance with the Latin.’ Now mark how he translates and italicises the extract just given: ‘And in order that so pernicious a doctrine should be taken wholly away, and no longer allowed to spread, to the great detriment of the Catholic Truth, a decree emanated *from the Sacred College of the Index*, in which the books were prohibited which treat of doctrine of this kind; and that doctrine was declared false by *it*, and altogether contrary to the sacred and divine Scriptures.’

And how the interpolated ‘*it*’ is utilised in p. 169:*

‘All their expressions, however, are quite inconsistent with the supposition, that they regarded this decree as the Pope’s judgment *ex cathedrâ*. *They ascribe that decree, in fact, to the Congregation of the Index, and not to the Pope.*’

Few people, I believe, enter into controversy with more honest intentions than Dr. Ward. I admire his earnestness

* Where, if he will permit me to say so, he strikes me as failing, is in not being a sufficiently *patient* thinker.

and zeal in behalf of what he thinks is God's cause, and cordially acknowledge that he has very great intellectual gifts. Still there is evidently something in his temperament which unfits him for being a trustworthy exponent of documentary evidence.

Again, look at the considerations which constitute his proof that the heliocentric theory at the time of its condemnation was scientifically unlikely.

He begins (p. 146) by insisting on the proposition that simplicity is no proof of truth; and gives us the benefit of Mr. Mill's remark on the subject. He asserts, 'that in Copernicus' or even Galileo's time this argument hardly furnished a presumption, much less did it establish a likelihood' (p. 147).

Then, to show that 'before Galileo's time the Copernican theory was a mere guess, a mere conjecture,' he quotes from De Morgan's *Motion of the Earth* a specimen of what he calls 'the chief,' but what the Professor calls 'the more common arguments,' then used on both sides; and exclaims, 'Such were the arguments of which it has been gravely contended that they would justify Catholics in disbelieving the obvious and traditional sense of God's written Word!' (p. 149.)

But when those arguments were most in vogue the Copernican interpretation of Scripture was *not* prohibited, and we may safely say, never would have been, if better ones had not been adduced. So that one does not see how their absurdity helps Dr. Ward.

We are next presented with the following account of the scientific status of Copernicanism in Galileo's time, from what Dr. Ward calls an extremely fair and able paper in the *Rambler* of January 1852.*

'The Ptolémaic theory had sufficed for centuries to explain

* The following is Delambre's summary: 'Les réflexions de Copernic, de Képler, et de Galilée suffisaient pour qu'on fût Copernicien de bonne foi, de persuasion et d'inclination; on voyoit une foule de probabilités; les adversaires mêmes conviennent que pour les tables astronomiques l'hypothèse est plus commode, et ils la permettent en ce sens. Galilée, par ses découvertes, a levé quelques difficultés; les phases de Vénus et la mesure plus exacte des diamètres, la rotation du Soleil, les satellites de Jupiter, ont augmenté des probabilités déjà si fortes. Les lois de Képler ont ajouté à la beauté et à la simplicité du système. Newton en montrant que les lois de Képler sont des corollaires mathématiques du principe de la pesanteur universelle, a lié plus intimement encore toutes les parties du système; il a prouvé l'impossibilité

and to account for all the observed motions of the planets as logically and as precisely as the Copernican theory does now ; and it was during all this time found capable of taking in and preserving all the exact knowledge of the world. Such being the state of the case . . . a new system suddenly makes its appearance, and claims to supersede the old ; and on what grounds ? Because it accounted for phenomena in a more simple way than the old theory. But then the old theory *did* account for phenomena, however complex it might have been ; and *simplicity is not always an infallible test of truth*. Again, it was in analogy with the newly-discovered system of Jupiter's satellites, and accounted for the moonlike phases of Venus which the telescope revealed. *And these three points constituted about the whole proof which Galileo could bring forward*. His other arguments, from the tides and magnetism of the earth, are all moonshine. The Newtonian theory of gravitation was then unknown ; and the periods of the revolutions of the planets appeared quite as disconnected and random as did the cycles and epicycles of the old theory. Newton first explained the one law on which the revolutions depended ; before his time *there was nothing to make the Copernican system more plausible and reasonable than the Ptolemaic theory*. *The modern demonstrations of the annual motion of the earth*—namely, the micrometrical observations on the discs of the bodies of the solar system, and especially the great discovery of the aberration of light, by which that motion is made evident to the senses—*were then unknown* : and as to the diurnal motion, it

physique du mouvement du Soleil autour de la Terre : l'expérience de Richer prouve le mouvement diurne ; l'aberration découverte par Bradley démontre le mouvement annuel. La question est irrévocablement décidée. Toutes les objections *assez futiles d'ailleurs*, disparaissent devant des preuves si positives et si bien liées. Les théologiens sensés seront les premiers aujourd'hui à demander qu'on interprète l'Écriture comme le proposaient Képler, Galilée et Foscarini.

'Riccioli avoue que les inquisiteurs n'ont prononcé sur le sens des passages de l'Écriture que d'après le témoignage des astronomes d'alors, qui ne voyaient aucune démonstration valable du mouvement de la Terre. *Enfin, quand on compare les éloges que Riccioli donne à l'hypothèse qu'il combat, à la faiblesse des raisons qu'il lui oppose, on croit voir un avocat chargé malgré lui de plaider une cause qu'il sait mauvaise, qui n'apporte que des arguments pitoyables, parce qu'il n'y en a pas d'autres, et qui sait lui-même que sa cause est perdue*' (Delambre, *Ast. Mod.* vol. i. p. 680).

was unproved till Richer's voyage to Cayenne, where he was obliged to shorten his pendulum. And it is only within the last few months that an experiment has been devised by which this motion may be exhibited to the senses—namely, by the apparent revolution of the plane of the vibration of a pendulum fixed over a horizontal table. *Before these demonstrations, there was no solid reason to induce men to disbelieve the evidence of their senses. The most decided Copernicans were reduced to mere probabilities, and were obliged to confine themselves to preaching up the simplicity of the Copernican system, as compared with the absurd complexity of that of Ptolemy. It is now generally taken for granted that the Copernican theory is self-evident. So far from that being the case, we may safely affirm, that up to Galileo's time the balance of proof was in favour of the old system; that is, the old system was at that time the probable one, and Copernicus' theory the improbable one' (pp. 15, 16).*

This writer is not famous for his caution; yet even he does not venture to commit himself to the position that in Galileo's time, *i.e. when the doctrine of the earth's motion was condemned*, the balance of proof was in favour of the geocentric theory. Accordingly Dr. Ward supplements him as follows:

‘But fairly and temperately as this writer expresses himself, it would seem nevertheless that he states Galileo's scientific status at somewhat greater advantage than truth will warrant. M. Artaud, in the volume named at the head of this article (pp. 306-321), draws attention to a paper contributed by M. Léon Desdouts, a Catholic savant, to the *Univers Catholique* of March 1841. The *gravity of the air*, M. Desdouts reminds his reader, was first discovered by Torricelli after Galileo's death. The Florentine philosopher therefore, from ignorance of this fundamental truth, was in an inextricable difficulty. To say that the earth is whirled through the terrestrial air, was plainly inconsistent with phenomena; while yet he could give no sufficient reason for supposing that the earth carries the air with it in its revolution. He was unable therefore to complete a theory of his own which he could even reconcile with known facts; and since

his opponents had no difficulty whatever in so reconciling theirs, it is not too much to say that his hypothesis, in its then incomplete state, was "scientifically unlikely," *i. e.* that there were stronger grounds for rejecting than for accepting it.'

Here is a pretty piece of confusion! *What weight* the air has was not accurately known in Galileo's time; nor till Torricelli's experiment in 1643 had any proof been given that the pressure of the atmosphere causes the phenomena of a common pump.* But the following extract from Baliani's letter to Galileo, dated October 26, 1630,† will show the sort of reminder those need who talk of Torricelli as the discoverer of the gravity of the air, and argue that his master must have been placed in an inextricable difficulty from ignorance of this fundamental truth. I give Mr. Drinkwater's translation :

'I have believed that a vacuum may exist naturally ever since I knew *that the air has sensible weight, and that you taught me in one of your letters how to find its weight exactly, though I have not yet succeeded with that experiment.* From that moment I took up the notion that it is not repugnant to the nature of things that there should be a vacuum, but merely that it is difficult to produce. To explain myself more clearly: *if we allow that the air has weight, there is no difference between air and water except in degree.* At the bottom of the sea the weight of the water above me compresses everything round my body; and it strikes me that the same thing must happen in the air, we being placed at the bottom of its immensity. We do not feel its weight, nor the compression round us, because our bodies are made capable of supporting it. But if we were in a vacuum, then the weight of the air above our heads would be felt. It would be felt very great, but not infinite, and therefore determinable; and it might be overcome by a force proportioned to it. In fact I estimate it to

* Yet the hypothesis was not new; for, to quote Dr. Whewell, 'Descartes, in a letter of the date of 1631, explains the suspension of mercury in a tube closed at the top, by the pressure of the column of air reaching to the clouds' (*History of Ind. Sciences*, vol. ii. p. 52). Even Aristotle knew that the air has weight (cf. *De Carlo*, lib. iv. c. iv.).

† *Opere di G. Gal.* ed. vol. ix. p. 211.

be such, that to make a vacuum I believe we require a force greater than that of a column of water thirty feet high.*

As to the summary from the *Rambler*, its accuracy may be estimated by its assertion that ‘before Newton’s time there was nothing to make the Copernican system more plausible and reasonable than the Ptolemaic.’ Long before Newton’s time the ablest anti-Copernicans had abandoned the *Ptolemaic* theory as quite indefensible.† Kepler’s and Galileo’s discoveries left but two types of system for the scientific man to choose between—the Copernican and the Tychonic. It was not, as the *Rambler* puts it, the case of an upstart theory trying to supersede one that had been in possession for ages, and which was fully up to its work; but of a struggle between two new systems,—the Copernican having the advantage in point of age,—for the place left vacant by one that had received its deathblow from both. And their claims may be fairly stated thus:—Both could account for the celestial phenomena—the latter nearly or quite as well as the former; but the former was by far the simpler explanation, and as an hypothesis was universally preferred. And when it was known that the planets were globular opaque bodies, like the earth deriving light from the sun, and that they moved round the sun; and when it seemed to be the law that the smaller body should revolve round the larger,‡ the *onus probandi* lay very

* *Life of Galileo*, p. 90.

† ‘Tra questi si può comprendere il Padre Clavio Gesuita, uomo dottissimo, il quale vedendo il poco fondamento dell’ opinione comune, quantunque egli per altro confuti la Pittagorica, nondimeno confessa che gli astronomi, per levare molte difficoltà, che non pienamente sono tolte dal comune sistema, sono sforzati a cercare di provvedersene di alcun altro’ (Lettera del P. Foscarini, *G. G. Opere*, vol. v. p. 460).

‘Omnes denique planetas solem motu proprio circumcurrere. Verum universa hæc et plura ejusdem novæ cœlestis philosophiæ volentes concedimus’ (Fromundus, *Ant. Arist.* c. xvii. p. 91).

Conf. Riccioli, *Astr. Refor.* vol. i. p. 85, and proleg. viii. 9.

‘Utra hypothesis Copernici an Brahei (*nam antiquas Ptolemaicas falsas esse certum est*) sequenda sit’ (J. Kep. Admonitio; Venturi, vol. ii. p. 74). And conf. Gassendi, tom. i. 134.

‡ Credibilis enim est, magnum esse corpus, circa quod minora circum-eunt: sic enim Saturnus, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercurius omnia minora sunt corpora ipso corpore Solis, circa quod illa circum-eunt: sic Luna minor est Tellure, circa quam Luna circumit; sic quatuor satellites Joviales minores sunt ipso Jovis corpore, circa quod illi volvuntur. Jam vero si Sol movetur, Sol

decidedly with the advocates of the more complex arrangement giving the earth an apparently abnormal position.

Now there never had been more than two good arguments on their side—one against the diurnal, and one against the annual, movement of the earth. Tycho had urged, if the earth revolves on its axis once in twenty-four hours, how is it that a piece of lead dropped from a high tower falls straight to the base, instead of being left behind? And if the earth moves round the sun once in the year, how is it that the fixed stars present no annual parallax, in spite of the enormous dimensions of the earth's orbit, and yet some of them have a diameter of two minutes?

Galileo announced, and verified by experiment, the law that meets the first objection. The second was shown by the telescope* to derive its force from an optical delusion. Besides, in its best days it was fairly cancelled by a counter one from the Copernican side. The great size which the assertion of the earth's annual motion seemed to require for the fixed stars was no harder to believe than the prodigious velocity we attribute to the heavenly bodies in denying the diurnal rotation.

The physical difficulties Dr. Ward insists on Tycho himself discredited;† and it is obvious that they could not have

maximus et tres superiores, omnes terrâ majores, circa tellurem minorem circumibunt; credibilis igitur est, Tellurem, corpus parvum, circa Solis corpus magnum circumire' (Kepler, *As. Cop.* lib. iv. p. 544).

* 'When,' says Dr. Whewell, 'the system of the planet Jupiter offered to the bodily eye a model or image of the solar system according to the views of Copernicus, it supported the belief of such an arrangement of the planets by an analogy all but irresistible. It thus, as a writer of our own times—Sir J. Herschel—has said, "gave the holding turn to the opinions of mankind respecting the Copernican system"' (*Hist. of Ind. Sciences*, vol. i. p. 301).

* 'Periti artifices negant, ullam quantitatem veluti rotundi corporis detegi per inspectionem telescopi, quin potius quo perfectius instrumentum hoc magis fixas representari ut puncta mera, ex quibus radii lucidi in speciem crinium exeant disperganturque' (Kepler, *Ep. As. Cop.* lib. iv. p. 498).

† 'Nec tot inconvenientia hinc proveniunt quot plerique arbitrantur; quæque in Poemate Sphærico clarissimi illius poetæ Buchananii Scoti, mei, cum in vivis esset, amici eximii, nuper publicata sunt, locum hic non habent. Is enim non animadvertit posito motu terreno, mare et circumfluum proximumque acrem una pari concitatione convolvi, ideoque nullam violentiam causari, nec absurditatem, quantum in omnibus iis, quæ in contrarium adducit, provenire' (Tycho Brahe, *Epist. Astr.* p. 74).

given a moment's trouble to any one possessing the knowledge Baliani's letter implies.

Copernicanism, then, was condemned when its formal superiority was universally admitted, when it was supported by a powerful argument from analogy, and had no greater difficulties to contend with than its rival; and as no one in his senses will say that a theory in such a position deserves to be called scientifically unlikely,—*false* was the term used,—we may safely pronounce the attempt to justify the decision by an appeal to the scientific data of the time an egregious failure.

Dr. Ward thinks very highly of the scriptural argument for the judgment, and is amazed that Dr. Pusey should speak of the mistakes of theologians in the matter. Yet he himself gives up all the passages on which those theologians, in fact, mainly took their stand; and admits 'that perhaps it may be truly maintained with regard to all those texts which speak of the sun's motion, that they merely purport to describe phenomena as such, and that in their simple and obvious sense they would not be otherwise understood.' But he bids us consider the following: '(Ps. ciii. 5) "Thou who didst found the earth on its stable support (*super stabilitatem suam*); *it shall not be moved for ever.*" (Ps. xcii. 1) "He hath fixed the earth, *which shall not be moved.*"* Job xxxviii. 4-6, where God Himself speaks, "Where wast thou," asks the Creator, "when *I laid the foundation of the earth?* Upon what *were its supports established?* (*Super quo bases illius stabilitæ sunt?*)" Texts similar are Ps. xvii. 16, lxxxix. 5, xcix. 10, cxxxv. 6; Prov. iii. 19, viii. 29. We entreat our readers to study successively these various texts. It is most unfair to speak, as Dr. Pusey speaks, of the mistakes of theologians in the interpretation of these texts. Surely, had it not been for the Copernican theory, no one, who believes in the inspiration of Scripture, would have thought of doubting, that in them God expressly declares the earth's immobility. If any one hesitates at this statement on first reading them,

* The mere expression, '*non commovebitur*' (Ps. xcii. 2), Bishop Wilkins remarked, proves nothing; for the Hebrew is radically the same in these: '*Perfice gressus meos in semitis tuis, ut non moveantur vestigia mea*' (Ps. xvi. 5); '*Non det in commotionem pedem tuum*' (Ps. cxx. 3); and Ps. xv. 8.

he must be convinced, if he will put into words his own version of their meaning. Take, *e. g.* the first: Ps. ciii. 5:* “Thou who didst found the earth on its stable support; it shall not be moved for ever.” This means, as we are now aware, “Thou who didst place the earth in its orbit; it shall not cease from steadily revolving therein.” But who will say that this is a sense in the slightest degree obvious? And the same test may be applied with equal efficacy to every text we have named’ (*Auth. of Doc. Dec.* pp. 141, 142).

Yet surely in a book which we admit may naturally speak of the sun as moving, and describe it as ‘a bridegroom coming out of his bridechamber;’ ‘rejoicing as a giant to run the way;’—‘his going out is from the end of heaven, and his circuit even to the end thereof,’—we need not be surprised to find the earth depicted under images of things fixed and stable.

The obvious earth of the Bible is, no doubt, an immovable earth; but then *it is also the immovable earth of common observation, of a much ruder conception of things even than the Ptolemaic.* It rests on stable supports, on foundations placed none can tell where; and the movement denied is that of a building falling to ruin through the shaking or slipping of its basis.

Test the following by Dr. Ward’s rule: (Job xxxvii. 18) ‘Tu forsitan cum eo fabricatus es celos, qui solitissimi quasi are fusi sunt?’ (Job xxvi. 11) ‘Columnæ cæli contremiscunt et pavent ad nutum ejus.’ (Ps. cxxxv. 6) ‘Qui firmavit terram super aquas.’ (Ps. xxiii. 2) ‘Ipse super maria fundavit eum, et super flumina præparavit eum.’ (Job xxxviii. 8-11) ‘Quis conclusit ostiis mare, quando erumpebat quasi de vulva procedens; cum ponerem nubem vestimentum ejus, et caligine illud quasi pannis infantie obvolverem? Circumdedi illud terminis meis, et posui vectem et ostia; et dixi, usque huc venies, et non procedes amplius; et hic confringes tumentes fluctus tuos.’ (Prov. viii. 26-29) ‘Adhuc terram non fecerat et flumina, et cardines orbis terre. Quando præparabat celos aderam; quando certa lege et gyro vallabat abyssos; quando athera firmabat sursum, et librabat fontes aquarum; quando circum-

* Dr. Ward is most unfortunate in his choice. The Vulgate is ‘non inclinabitur.’

dabat mari terminum suum, et legem ponebat aquis, ne transirent fines suos; quando appendebat fundamenta terræ. (Jer. v. 22) 'Me ergo non timebitis, ait Dominus, et a facie meâ non dolebitis? *qui posui arenam terminum mari, præceptum sempiternum, quod non præteribit, et commovebuntur, et non poterunt, et intumescunt fluctus ejus, et non transibunt illud.*'

When men knew that the heavens were not a firm vault 'most strong, as if they were of molten brass' 'supported by pillars'; that the earth has 'no foundations,' 'no bases,' 'no ends,' is not 'surrounded by water naturally tending to overflow it,'—theologians had received a pretty significant hint that the texts Dr. Ward refers to, must not be pressed to mean more than the stability of the earth in its appointed order, whatever that may be. Surely it is indisputable that the course they adopted was more rash, more calculated to bring the authority of Scripture and the Church into contempt, than anything Foscarinus or Galileo wrote:—'Mostrando con quanta circospezione bisogni andare intorno a quelle cognizioni naturali, che non sono *de fide*, alle quali possono arrivar l' esperienze e le dimostrazioni necessarie, e quanto pernicioso cosa sarebbe l' asserire come dottrina risoluta nelle sacre Scritture alcuna proposizione, della quale una volta si potesse avere dimostrazione in contrario' (*Letter to Monsignor Dini, 16th February 1614*).

Thirdly, in spite of the declaration that it was a most grave error to suppose that the opinion of the earth's motion *could in any manner be probable*—in spite of Rome's solemn judgment that Galileo's doctrine must be regarded as false and heretical,—Dr. Ward would have us believe (p. 182) that Catholics were not *prohibited from publishing any scientific argument in behalf of Copernicanism*, and that the ecclesiastical authorities *allowed consistently (!) throughout the fullest and freest scientific discussion of the theory*.

I presume he relies on the permission given to treat Copernicanism *as an hypothesis*.* If so, I venture to remind him that an hypothesis may be held in two ways: (1) as a possibly true explanation, for the purpose of being tested; (2) as an *avowedly false one*, to facilitate the conception of

* See Appendix C.

phenomena, and for convenience in making calculations; and that to tolerate an hypothesis *only in the latter sense excludes its scientific* discussion.

Melchior Inchofer, the Consultor of the Holy Office, ought to be a good authority on the matter. He says :

‘Dico licere ex hypothesi assumpto motu terræ uti ad putationes mathematicas conficiendas. Patet tum ex consensu Ecclesiæ, quæ Copernicanæ putationis usum permittit, etsi principia ex quibus illa deducitur *absolutè damnat*. . . . Porro in usu calculi Copernici duplex esse potest progressus. Alter ex hypothesi pure mathematicâ, quæ tamen a principiis veris et physicis etiam putatis, minime censeatur pendere. Alter ex hypothesi, quæ existimetur principiis naturalibus et veris, vel quæ talia habentur niti, et ex eisdem conclusiones certas ac demonstratas, vel quæ tales reputantur, deducere.

‘Juxta primum, licet eatenus operari, ut posito illo systemate pleraque phænomena explicantur, periodique omnes motuum, et quicquid huc spectare potest, arithmetice et velut ex arte subducantur, non aliter quam si ex positionibus Ptolemæi, aut quibusvis aliis præter Copernicanas censerentur. Ceterum sicut mathematicus, si postulet lineam dari infinitam, aut quâvis quantitate continuâ majorem vel minorem, recte concludet superstrui posse triangulum infinitum, neque tamen verum erit in rerum natura dari lineam infinitam. Recte præterea deducet lineam esse longitudinem sine latitudine et profunditate, si punctum fluere, et lineam esse fluxum puncti supponat, quod tamen reipsâ falsum est et physice impossibile . . . ita prorsus dato systemate Copernicano, etsi falso et a ratione alieno, deduci possunt putationes veræ, eademque principia vaga (ut hinc etiam falsitas arguatur et incertitudo) applicari possunt ad alia, quæ in physicis genuinas habent causas. . . . *At in systemate Copernicano, progredi licet eatenus, ut examinari tantum queat, an ex falsis illis positionibus, rectæ et cum syderiis motibus coherentes eliciantur supputationes.*

‘Juxta alterum sensum, in usu calculi Copernici eatenus est progrediendum, *ut nedum de principiis, nisi ostendendo eorum falsitatem, sed neque de ipsâ putatione tanquam ex verâ hypothesi pendente, liceat disputare* : Idque tum ob rationes initio

capitis adductas; tum quia puri mathematici, si in plerisque aliis, in præsentî argumento ad physicas atque etiam theologicas rationes reducto, non discernunt, quid ex quo sequatur, necessitate vel consequentiæ vel consequentis. Idcirco non solum paralogizant, sed etiam inepta et falsa Scripturarum interpretatione errant, aliisque periculum errandi creant. Ob quam, inter alia, causam, recte cavit S. Congregatio Indicis ne quid præter usum calculi Copernicani, circa hypotheses stabiliendo affirmaretur' (*Melch. Inchofer. Tractatus Syllepticus*, pp. 48-50).

And Palaccus writes to the same effect: 'Dicamus ergo Eminētissimorum Cardinalium Congregationem non prohibuisse terræ motum, adeo ut nulli liceret cæli difficultates exponere supposito terræ motu, dummodo is qui explicat clare ostendat se non illâ hypothesi ut verâ niti, sed tantum ex falso principio procedere ut rem melius aperiat, eo fere modo quo theologi plurima theologica explicant, dum aiunt, supponamus Deum non esse Infinitum, vel Justum, et sic de ceteris; vel quod idem est, si per impossibile Deus non esset Infinitus, vel Justus, et cetera, id vel illud sequeretur' (*Anticopernicus Catholicus Assert.* ix. p. 5).

Plainly, the state of the case was this: To use the distinction so clearly explained by Professor de Morgan,* a Catholic might argue as much as he pleased in behalf of *mathematical*, but not at all in behalf of *physical*, Copernicanism. That is, he might show that if the earth rotated on its axis and about the sun, the heavenly appearances would be as they are; and he might use the supposition of such movements for astronomical calculations; and he might, of course, point out the weakness of this or that anticopernican objection. But anything beyond this, any attempt to show that there were facts nothing but the earth's motion could explain; anything, in

* See 'Notes on the Antegalilean Copernicans' (*Comp. to the Almanack for 1855*, pp. 1, 2): 'Every person,' remarks the professor, 'who knows the heavenly motions as they appear before our eyes, and has a little knowledge of geometry, must be a mathematical Copernican. He cannot fail to see that a Copernican universe would show the same appearances as that in which he lives.' It is not so wonderful that the authorities did not forbid men to study mathematics and astronomy. Yet Dr. Ward ascribes it to a special interposition of Providence (p. 183).

short, that implied a belief that the reason why things appear as they would if the earth moved, is that it does move, was directly in defiance of Rome's decision, and, according to the judgment of 1633, constituted matter for prosecution on suspicion of heresy.

Lastly, Dr. Ward (p. 172) quietly takes for granted that the decision of 1633 was purely personal to Galileo, and concerned no one else. How completely at variance with the truth is this notion, we have already seen.

M. l'Épinois' extracts have shown us that both before and after it was pronounced, the Pope himself expressly commanded the Congregation to publish the sentence, that all, and particularly those whose pursuits would bring them across the question at issue, might know how it had been decided. And from the same source we learn how thoroughly the order was obeyed.

The minutes of the process record letters acknowledging the receipt or publication of the sentence, from Ferrara, Vienne, Aquila, Florence, Perosa, Coma, Pavia, Padua, Sienna, Faenza, Milan, Crema, Cremona, Reggio; from the Nuncio Apostolic in France, from the Nuncio Apostolic at Brussels, from the Nuncio at Madrid, from the Rector of the University of Douai, and others (see 'Extraits du MS. Vatican,' *R. des Quest. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 169).

Further, the sentence itself testifies to its general scope: 'Ne autem tuus iste *gravis et perniciosus error* ac transgressio remaneat omnino impunitus, *et sis in exemplum aliis, ut abstineant ab hujusmodi delictis.*' And so do the letters of publication: 'Come vostra Reverenza,' writes the Cardinal of S. Onofrio to the Inquisitor-General at Venice, 'vedrà dall' allegata copia della sentenza ed abjura, che se le manda, affinché la notificchi a' suoi Vicari, e se ne abbia notizia da essi e da tutti i professori di filosofia e di matematica, perchè sapendo egliino si che modo si è trattato il detto Galileo, comprendano la gravità dell' errore da lui commesso, per evitarlo insieme con la pena, che, cadendovi, sarebbero per ricevere.'

'Atque hoc,' writes the Nuncio Apostolic in Belgium to Jansenius, Rector of the University of Louvain, 'Academiis Belgicis significari prædicta Sacra Congregatio voluit, ut huic

veritati se conformare omnes velint. Ideo cæteros quoque ipsius Universitatis Professores a dominatione tua de hoc admoneri cupimus.*

Indisputably, then, the sentence of 1633 was a decision on a matter pertaining to doctrine put forth by a Pontifical Congregation; and therefore, according to the Munich Brief, was obligatory on all.†

To conclude. Among the things which the history of Galileo's case incontrovertibly teaches are these:

1. Rome—*i. e.* a Pontifical Congregation informed by the

* *Opere*, vol. ix. p. 473.

† And that it was received by many as the voice of the Church, as a Pontifical decree, is certain. 'An supradicta propositio,' asks Polaccus, 'quæ opinatur et tuetur terram mobilem esse, cælos vero immobiles, sit hæretica, maxime post abjuratorem factam Romæ à Galileo. . . . Sic modo Ecclesia se gessit, Sacræ Scripturæ loca, scilicet pro immobilitate terræ et cælorum immobilitate, quæ aliter absque hæresi adhuc a quibusdam interpretabantur, suâ auctoritate ita confirmando, ut de illis amplius homini Christiano dubitare citra hæresim minime liceat' (*Anticopernicus Catholicus*, pp. 64, 65).

'Vides,' says the Jesuit Cazræus to Gassendi, 'igitur quam ista periculose in publicum divulgentur, et a viris præsertim qui suâ auctoritate fidem facere videantur; et quam non immerito jam inde a Copernici tempore Ecclesia semper huic se errori opposuerit; eumque etiam novissime non Cardinales tantum aliqui, ut ais, sed supremum Ecclesiæ caput Pontificio decreto in Galileo damnaverit, et ut ne in posterum verbo aut scripto doceretur, sanctissime prohibuerit' (quoted by Gassendi in his letter, 'De Proportionibus qua gravia decedentia accelerantur' (Gassendi, *Opera*, tom. iii. p. 582).

'In argumento præsertim,' remarks Scipio Claramontius in his *Antiphilolous*, 'et errore qui nedum philosophiæ, sed etiam pietati jam adversatur, geometricam et demonstrativam veritatem tribuit positioni ab Ecclesia Pontificio decreto damnatæ. Si vera est damnata positio, sanctio quæ ut falsam damnat ipsa falsa erit' (p. 3). And again: 'Tertium caput propositorum restat, repugnare scilicet opinionem positionemque sacris literis, tantum abesse, ut illi faveant veluti dicebat Keplerus. Satis sane est Catholicis decretum Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ ad agnoscendam positionis falsitatem, cum edicto ipsa caverit ne quis amplius positioni Copernici tanquam veræ adhareat. Loca sunt in Sacra Scriptura quæ terram immobilem, cælum mobile faciant, quodque amplius est ex ejus interpretatione, cui vera sensa patent Scripturarum. Spiritus enim prophetarum subditus est prophetis' (p. 187).

And observe the tone Viviani, Galileo's disciple and enthusiastic admirer, found he must adopt in writing of the matter:

'Ma essendo già il Sig. Galileo, per l'altre sue ammirabili speculazioni, con immortal fama fino al cielo innalzato, e con tante novità acquistatosi tra gli uomini del divino, permesse l'Eterna Provvidenza ch'ei dimostrasse l'umanità sua con l'errare, mentre, nella discussione dei due Sistemi, si dimostrò più aderente all'ipotesi Copernicana, già dannata da Santa Chiesa come repugnante alla Divina Scriptura' (*Vita di Galileo da Viviani*).

On which Professor Albèri remarks, 'Le parole che il Viviani si è qui creduto in obbligo di usare, parlando della condanna di Galileo, valgono più di un lungo ragionamento a rappresentarci la condizione dei tempi in cui quel fatto si consumava' (*Opere di G. G.* vol. xv. p. 352).

Pope—may put forth a decision scientifically false and doctrinally erroneous.

2. It does not follow from the Church's having been informed that the Pope has ordered a Catholic to abandon an opinion altogether as indefensible and untenable, that the opinion may not be true and sound.

3. The Pope may call upon a Catholic to give unreserved assent to a judgment doctrinally erroneous.

4. The Pope may command a Pontifical Congregation to promulgate, as a portion of the teaching of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church, that which is scientifically false and doctrinally erroneous.

5. The true interpretation of our Lord's promises to St. Peter permits us to say, that a Pope may, when acting officially, confirm his brethren the Cardinals* in an error touching the matter of faith, and use his authority as Pope to indoctrinate the Church with a false opinion respecting Holy Scripture.

6. It is not always for the good of the Church that Catholics should think as Rome does, even on a point of doctrine.

Are not these propositions anti-Ultramontane? If they are, can it be denied that the theory is as certainly false as it is true that the earth moves?

* 'Qui tanquam Sanctæ R. Ecclesiæ nobilissima membra capiti propriis coherentia, eidem Summo Pontifici, sicut Christo Domino Apostoli, semper assistunt, quique primi laborum et consiliorum socii sunt et participes' ('Immensa æterni Dei,' Cher. Bull. vol. ii. p. 667). 'Qui vere sunt sal terræ ac lucernæ positæ super candelabrum, ut inter sanguinem et sanguinem, causam et causam, lepram et lepram discernant, ac doctrinæ opportunitate et veritate, infirma confirmant, disrupta consolidant, depravata convertant, luceant omnibus qui in domo Domini habitant, ac primæ hinc Sedi assistentes cunctos pastores, dum in gravioribus negotiis eandem Sedem consulunt, ejusve opem implorant, suo judicio, consilio et auctoritate instruere, dirigere, ac docere, non cessent' ('Postquam verus,' Bull. vol. ii. p. 609).

'Eorum autem,' says Fagnanus, 'decisioni necessario parendum esse aperte ostendunt subsequentia verba, et facies quæcumque dixerint sequerisque eorum sententiam, &c. Hinc Cardinalis Paleot. de Sacri Consistorii Consult. pars v. q. 10, dixit Congregationes Cardinalium quas Summi Pontifices et præsertim Sixtus V. ad causarum difficultates ipsius auctoritate cognoscendas et definiendas instituerint, esse tanquam filias Consistorii ab eo veluti fonte permanentes. Et quemadmodum sol non solum ipse luet, verum etiam stellis lumen impertitur, quo et cælum ornavit et illuminant orbem universum, sic Summum Pontificem, non suis decretis modo Ecclesiam per seipsum docere et moderari, verum etiam ita Cardinales suâ tum auctoritate fulcire, tum potestate augere, ut societatis laboribus facile omnes difficultatum nodos dissolvant' (*Const. c. Quoniam*, tom. i. p. 132).

APPENDIX A.

SENTENTIA TRIBUNALIS INQUISITIONIS IN GALILÆUM, ET
 ABJURATIO EJUSDEM, EX RICCIOLI
 (Almagesto Novo, tom. ii. p. 497).

Nos Gaspar, tituli S. Crucis Hierosolymæ, Borgia.
Frater Felix Centinus, tituli S. Anastasiæ, dictus de Asculo.
Guidus, tituli S. Mariæ Populi, Bentivolus.
Frater Desiderius Scaglia, tituli S. Caroli, dictus de Cremona.
Frater Antonius Barberinus, dictus S. Onuphrii.
Laudivivus Zacchia, tituli S. Petri in Vinculis, dictus S.
Sixti.
Berlingerius, tituli S. Augustini, Gypsius.
Fabricius, S. Laurentii in pane et perna, Verospius, dictus
Presbyter.
Franciscus, S. Laurentii in Damaso, Barberinus.
Martius S. Mariæ Novæ Ginettus, Diaconi.

Per misericordiam Dei Sanctæ Rom. Eccl. Cardinales, in universa Republica Christiana contra hæreticam pravitatem Inquisitores-Generales a Sancta Sede Apostolica specialiter deputati.

Cum tu Galilæe, filii quondam Vincentii Galilæi, Florentini, ætatis tuæ annorum 70, denunciatus fueris anno 1615, in hoc S. Officio, quod teneres tanquam veram falsam doctrinam a multis traditam, solem videlicet esse in centro mundi et immobilem, et terram moveri motu etiam diurno; item quod haberes quosdam discipulos, quos docebas eandem doctrinam; item quod circa eandem servares correspondentiam cum quibusdam Germaniæ mathematicis; item quod in lucem dedisses quasdam epistolas inscriptas de maculis solaribus, in quibus explicabas eandem doctrinam, tanquam veram, et quod objectionibus, quæ identidem fiebant contra te, sumptis ex Sacra Scriptura, respondebas glossando dictam Scripturam juxta tuum sensum; cumque deinceps coram exhibitum fuerit exemplar scriptionis in forma epistolæ, quæ perhibebatur a te

scripta ad quemdam discipulum olim tuum, et in ea sectatus Copernici hypotheses, continens nonnullas propositiones contra verum sensum et auctoritatem Sacræ Scripturæ.

Volens proinde hoc Sacrum Tribunal prospicere inconvenientibus ac damnis quæ hinc proveniebant, et increbrescebant in perniciem Sanctæ Fidei: De mandato Domini Nostri et Eminentissimorum DD. Cardinalium hujus supremæ ac universalis Inquisitionis, a Qualificatoribus Theologis qualificatæ fuerunt duæ propositiones de stabilitate solis et de motu terræ, ut infra;—

Solem esse in centro mundi, et immobilem motu locali, est propositio absurda, et falsa in philosophia, et formaliter hæretica, quia est expresse contraria Sacræ Scripturæ.

Terram non esse centrum mundi, nec immobilem, sed moveri motu etiam diurno, est item propositio absurda, et falsa in philosophia, et theologice considerata, ad minus erronea in fide.

Sed cum placeret interim tum nobis tecum benigne procedere, decretum fuit in Sacra Congregatione, habita coram Domino Nostro die 25 Februarii, anni 1616, ut Eminentissimus D. Card. Bellarminus tibi injungeret ut omnino recederes a prædicta falsa doctrina, et recusanti tibi a commissario S. Officii præciperetur, ut desereres dictam doctrinam, neve illam posses alios docere, nec defendere, nec de illa tractare; cui præcepto si non acquiesceres, conjicere in carcerem. Et ad executionem ejusdem decreti, die sequenti in palatio coram supradicto Eminentissimo D. Cardinali Bellarmino, postquam ab eodem D. Cardinali benigne admonitus fueras, tibi a D. Commissario Sancti Officii eo tempore fungente præceptum fuit, præsentibus notario et testibus, ut omnino desisteres a dicta falsa opinione, et ut in posterum non liceret tibi eam defendere, aut docere quovis modo, neque voce, neque scriptis; cumque promisisses obedientiam, dimissus fuisti.

Et ut prorsus tolleretur tam perniciosa doctrina, neque ulterius serperet in grave detrimentum Catholicæ veritatis, emanavit decretum a Sacra Congregatione Indicis, quo fuerunt prohibiti libri qui tractant de hujusmodi doctrina; et ea declarata fuit falsa, et omnino contraria Sacræ ac Divinæ Scripturæ.

Cumque postremo comparuisset hic liber Florentiæ editus

anno proxime præterito, cujus inscriptio ostendebat te illius authorem esse, siquidem titulus erat *Dialogo di Galileo-Galilei, delle due massimi Sistemi del Mondo, Tolemaico e Copernicano*, cum simul cognovisset Sacra Congregatio ex impressione prædicti libri convalescere in dies magis magisque falsam opinionem de motu terræ et stabilitate solis, fuit prædictus liber diligenter consideratus, et in ipso deprehensa est aperte transgressio prædicti præcepti, quod tibi intimatum fuerat; eo quod tu in eodem libro defendisses prædictam opinionem jam damnatam, et coram te pro tali declaratam, siquidem in dicto libro variis circumvolutionibus satagis ut persuadeas, eam a te relinqui tanquam indecisam et expresse probabilem, qui pariter est gravissimus error, cum nullo modo probabilis esse possit opinio quæ jam declarata ac definita fuerit contraria Scripturæ divinæ.

Quapropter de nostro mandato evocatus es ad hoc Sanctum Officium, in quo examinatus cum juramento agnovisti dictum librum, tanquam a te conscriptum, et typis commissum. Item confessus es decem aut duodecim circiter ab hinc annis, postquam tibi factum fuerat præceptum ut supra, cœptum a te scribi dictum librum. Item quod petiisti licentiam illum evulgandi, non significans tamen illis, qui tibi talem facultatem dederunt, tibi præceptum fuisse, ne teneres, defenderes, doceresve quovis modo talem doctrinam.

Confessus es pariter scripturam prædicti libri pluribus in locis ita compositam esse, ut lector existimare possit argumenta ducta pro parte falsa, esse ita enunciata, ut potius præ illorum efficacia possent adstringere intellectum, quam facile dissolvi; excusans te, quod incurreris in errorem adeo (ut dixisti) alienum a tua intentione, eo quod scripseris in formam dialogi, et propter naturalem complacentiam quam quilibet habet de propriis subtilitatibus, et in ostendendo se magis argutum quam sint communiter homines in inveniando, etiam ad favorem propositionum falsarum ingeniosos, et apparentis probabilitatis discursus.

Et cum adsignatus tibi fuisset terminus conveniens ad tui defensionem faciendam, protulisti testificationem ex autographo Eminentissimi Domini Cardinalis Bellarmini a te, ut dicebas, procuratam ut te defenderes a calumniis inimicorum

tuorum, qui dicitabant te abjurasse et punitum fuisse a Sancto Officio: in qua testificatione dicitur te non abjurasse, neque punitum fuisse, sed tantummodo denuntiatam tibi fuisse declarationem factam a Domino nostro, et promulgatam a Sacra Congregatione Indicis, in qua continetur doctrinam de motu terræ et stabilitate Solis contrariam esse Sacris Scripturis, ideoque defendi non posse nec teneri. Quare cum ibi mentio non fiat duarum particularum præcepti, videlicet *docere et quovis modo*, credendum est, in decursu quatuordecim aut sexdecim annorum eas tibi e memoria excidisse, et ob hanc ipsam causam te tacuisse præceptum, quando petiisti facultatem librum typis mandandi, et hoc a te dici non ad excusandum errorem, sed ut adscriberetur vanæ ambitioni potius quam malitiæ. Sed hæc ipsa testificatio producta ad tui defensionem, tuam causam magis aggravavit, siquidem in ea dicitur prædictam opinionem esse contrariam Sacræ Scripturæ, et tamen ausus es de illa tractare, eam defendere, et persuadere tanquam probabilem. Neque tibi suffragatur facultas a te artificiose et callide extorta, cum non manifesta-veris præceptum tibi impositum.

Cum vero nobis videretur non esse a te integram veritatem pronuntiatam circa tuam intentionem, indicavimus necesse esse venire ad rigorosum examen tui, in quo (absque præiudicio aliquo eorum, quæ tu confessus es, et quæ contra te deducta sunt supra circa dictam tuam intentionem) respondisti Catholice. Quapropter visis et mature consideratis meritis istius tuæ causæ, una cum supradictis tuis confessionibus et excusationibus, et quibusvis aliis rebus de jure videndis et considerandis, devenimus contra te ad infrascriptam definitivam sententiam.

Invocato igitur Sanctissimo Nomine Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, et ipsius gloriosissimæ Matris semper Virginis Mariæ, per hanc nostram definitivam sententiam, quam sedendo pro tribunali, de consilio et iudicio reverendorum magistrorum sacræ theologiæ, et juris utriusque doctorum nostrorum consultorum proferimus in his scriptis circa causam et causas coram nobis controversas, inter Magnificum Carolum Sincerum utriusque juris doctorem Sancti hujus Officii fiscalem procuratorem ex una parte, et te Galilæum-Galilæi reum hic

de præsentì processionali scriptura inquisitum, examinatum, et confessum, ut supra, ex altera, dicimus, judicamus, et declaramus te Galilæum supradictum, ob ea, quæ deducta sunt in processu scripturæ, et quæ tu confessus es ut supra, te ipsum reddidisse huic S. Officio vehementer suspectum de hæresi, hoc est quod credideris et tenueris doctrinam falsam et contrariam Sacris ac Divinis Scripturis, solem videlicet esse centrum orbis terræ, et eum non moveri ab oriente ad occidentem, et terram moveri, nec esse centrum mundi, et posse teneri ac defendi tanquam probabilem opinionem aliquam, postquam declarata ac definita fuerit contraria Sacræ Scripturæ; et consequenter te incurrisse omnes censuras et pœnas a sacris canonibus et aliis constitutionibus generalibus et particularibus contra hujusmodi delinquentes statutis et promulgatis: A quibus placet nobis ut absolvaris, dummodo prius corde sincero et fide non ficta coram nobis abjures, maledicas et detesteris supradictos errores et hæreses, et quemcunque alium errorem et hæresim contrariam Catholicæ et Apostolicæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, ea formula quæ tibi a nobis exhibetur.

Ne autem tuus iste gravis et perniciosus error ac transgressio remaneat omnino impunitus, et tu in posterum cautior evadas, et sis in exemplum aliis ut abstineat ab hujusmodi delictis, decernimus ut per publicum edictum prohibeatur liber Dialogorum Galilæi; te autem damnamus ad formalem carcerem hujus Sancti Officii ad tempus arbitrio nostro limitandum; et titulo pœnitentiæ salutaris præcipimus, ut tribus annis futuris recites semel in hebdomada septem Psalmos pœnitentiales, reservantes nobis potestatem moderandi, mutandi, aut tollendi omnino vel ex parte supradictas pœnas et pœnitentias.

Et ita dicimus, pronunciamus, ac per sententiam declaramus, statuimus, damnamus, et reservamus hoc, et omni alio meliori modo et formula qua de jure possumus ac debemus.

Ita pronunciamus Nos Cardinales infrascripti.

<i>F. Cardinalis de Asculo.</i>	<i>B. Cardinalis Gypsius.</i>
<i>G. Cardinalis Bentivolus.</i>	<i>F. Cardinalis Verospius.</i>
<i>F. Cardinalis de Cremona.</i>	<i>M. Cardinalis Ginettus.</i>
<i>Fr. Antonius Cardinalis S. Onuphrii.</i>	

ABJURATIO GALILÆI.

Ego Galilæus Galilæi, filius quondam Vincentii Galilæi, Florentinus, ætatis meæ annorum 70, constitutus personaliter in judicio, et genuflexus coram vobis eminentissimis et reverendissimis Dominis Cardinalibus universæ Christianæ Reipublicæ contra hæreticam pravitatem generalibus Inquisitoribus, habens ante oculos meos Sacrosancta Evangelia, quæ tango propriis manibus, juro me semper credidisse, et nunc credere, et Deo adjuvante in posterum crediturum omne id quod tenet, prædicat, et docet Sancta Catholica et Apostolica Romana Ecclesia. Sed quia ab hoc Sancto Officio, eo quod postquam mihi cum præcepto fuerat ab eodem juridice injunctum, ut omnino desererem falsam opinionem quæ tenet solem esse centrum mundi et immobilem, et terram non esse centrum et moveri; nec possem tenere, defendere aut docere quovis modo prædictam falsam doctrinam; et postquam mihi notificatum fuerat prædictam doctrinam repugnantem esse Sacræ Scripturæ; scripsi et typis mandavi librum in quo eandem doctrinam jam damnatam tracto, et adduco rationes cum magna efficacia in favorem ipsius, non afferendo ullam solutionem; idcirco judicatus sum vehementer suspectus de hæresi, videlicet, quod tenerim et crediderim solem esse centrum mundi et immobilem, et terram non esse centrum ac moveri.

Idcirco volens ego eximere a mentibus Eminentiarum Vestrarum, et cujuscunque Christiani Catholici, vehementem hanc suspicionem adversum me jure conceptam, corde sincero et fide non ficta abjuro, maledico, et detestor supradictos errores et hæreses, et generaliter quemcunque alium errorem et sectam contrariam supradictæ Sanctæ Ecclesiæ, et juro me in posterum nunquam amplius dicturum aut asserturum voce aut scripto quidquam propter quod possit haberi de me similis suspicio; sed si cognovero aliquem hæreticum, aut suspectum de hæresi, denunciaturum illum huic Sancto Officio, aut Inquisitori, et Ordinario loci in quo fuero. Juro insuper ac promitto me impleturum et observaturum integre omnes pœnitentias quæ mihi impositæ sunt, aut imponentur ab hoc Sancto

Officio. Quod si contingat meis promissionibus, protestationibus, et juramentis (quod Deus avertat) contraire, subicio me omnibus pœnis ac suppliciis quæ a sacris canonibus et aliis constitutionibus generalibus et particularibus contra hujusmodi delinquentes statuta et promulgata fuerunt: sic me Deus adjuvet, et Sancta ipsius Evangelia, quæ tango propriis manibus.

Ego Galilæus Galilæi supradictus abjuravi, juravi, promisi, et me obligavi ut supra, et in horum fidem mea propria manu subscripsi præsentì chirographo meæ abjuratiōnis, et recitavi de verbo ad verbum. Romæ, in Conventu Minervæ, hac die 22 Junii, anni 1633.

Ego Galilæus Galilæi abjuravi ut supra manu propria.

APPENDIX B.

BELLARMINE'S CERTIFICATE.

Noi Roberto Cardinale Bellarmino havendo inteso che il Sig. Galileo Galilei sia calunniato, o imputato di havere abjurato in mano nostra, et anco di essere stato per ciò penitenziato di penitenzie salutari; et essendo ricercati della verità, diciamo che il suddetto Sig. Galileo non ha abjurato in mano nostra, ne di altri qui in Roma, ne meno in altro luogo che noi sappiamo, alcuna sua opinione o dottrina, ne manco ha ricevuto penitenzie salutari, nè d' altra sorte: ma solo gli è stata denunziata la dichiarazione fatta da Nostro Signore, et publicata dalla sacra Congregazione dell' Indice, nella quale si contiene, che la dottrina attribuita al Copernico, che la terra si muova intorno al sole, e che il sole stia nel centro del mondo senza muoversi da oriente ad occidente, sia contraria alle Sacre Scritture, et però non si possa difendere, ne tenere. E in fede di ciò habbiamo scritta e sottoscritta la presente di nostra propria mano: questo dì 26 di Maggio 1616.

Il medesimo di sopra

ROBERTO CARD. BELLARMINO.*

* From Marini, *Galileo e l' Inquisizione*, pp. 101, 102, with M. l'Épinois' corrections.

APPENDIX C.

MONITUM SACRÆ CONGREGATIONIS AD NICOLAI COPERNICI LECTOREM, EJUSQUE EMENDATIO, PERMISSIO, ET CORRECTIO.

Quamquam scripta Nicolai Copernici, nobilis astrologi, de mundi revolutionibus prorsus prohibenda esse patres Sacræ Congregationis Indicis censuerunt, ea ratione, quia principia de situ et motu terreni globi Sacræ Scripturæ ejusque veræ et Catholicæ interpretationi repugnantia (quod in homine Christiano minime tolerandum est) non per hypothesim tractare, sed ut verissima adstruere non dubitat: nihilominus quia in iis multa sunt reipublicæ utilissima, unanimi consensu in eam iverunt sententiam, ut Copernici opera ad hanc usque diem impressa permittenda essent, prout permiserunt, iis tamen correctis, juxta subjectam emendationem, locis, in quibus non ex hypothesi sed asserendo de situ et motu terræ disputat. Qui vero deinceps imprimendi erunt, non nisi prædictis locis ut sequitur emendatis, et hujusmodi correctione præfixa Copernici præfationi, permittantur.

Locorum, quæ in Copernici libris visa sunt correctione digna emendatio.

In præfatione circa finem.—Ibi *si fortasse* dele omnia, usque ad verbum *hi nostri labores*; et sic accommoda *cæterum hi nostri labores*.

In capite vi. libri i. p. 6.—Ibi *si tamen attentius*. Corrige *si tamen attentius rem consideremus, nihil refert an terram in medio mundi, an extra existere quoad solvendas celestium motuum apparentias existimemus. Omnis enim, &c.*

In capite viii. ejusdem libri.—Totum hoc caput posset expungi, quia ex professo tractat de veritate motus terræ, dum solvit veterum rationes probantes ejus quietem. Cum tamen problematice videatur loqui, ut studiosis satisfiat, seriesque et ordo libri integer maneat emendetur ut infra.

Primo, pag. 6, dele versiculum *cur ergo* usque ad verbum *prochimum*, locusque ita corrigatur. *Cur ergo non possum mobilitatem illi formæ suæ concedere, magisque quod totus labatur*

mundus, cujus finis ignoratur, sciri que nequit, et quæ apparent in cælo, perinde se habere, ac si diceret Virgilianus Æneas.

Secundo, pag. 7, versiculus *addo* corrigatur in hunc modum: *addo etiam difficilius non esse contento et locato, quod est terra, motum ascribere, quam continenti.* Tertio, eadem pagina, in fine capitis, versiculus *vides* delendus est usque ad finem capitis.

In capite ix. pagina 7.—Principium hujus capitis usque ad versiculum *quod enim* ita corrige: *Cum igitur terram moveri assumpserim, videndum nunc arbitror, an etiam illi plures possint convenire motus. Quod enim, &c.*

In capite x. pagina 9.—Versiculum *proinde* corrige sic: *Proinde non pudet nos assumere. Et paulo infra, ibi, hoc potius in mobilitate terræ verificari,* corrige: *Hoc consequentur in mobilitate terræ verificari.* Pagina 10, in fine capitis, dele illa verba postrema: *Tanta nimirum est divina hæc Dei optimi maximi fabrica.*

In capite xi.—Titulus capitis accomodetur hoc modo: *De hypothesis triplicis motus terræ, ejusque demonstratione.*

In libro iv. capite x. pagina 122.—In titulo capitis dele verba, *horum trium siderum,* quia terra non est sidus, ut facit eam Copernicus.

FRATER FRANCISCUS MAGDALENUS CAPIFERREUS,
Ordinis Prædicatorum, Sacræ Congregationis Secretarius.

Romæ, ex typographia Cam. Apos. 1620.

POSTSCRIPT.

I would add to my argument the following evidence that the decree of 1616 was actually sanctioned by a Papal Bull. In 1664 an Index was published by order of Alexander VII. It contained: (1) a catalogue of prohibited books; (2) the Tridentine Index as promulgated by Clement VIII.; (3) all the decrees relating to the prohibition of books up to the 20th of February 1664. Among those decrees was the 'Quia etiam

ad notitiam ;' and affixed to the Index was a Bull beginning, 'Speculatores Domus Israel,' in which the Pope said :

'Quamvis autem ulteriorem classium distinctionem omitti jusserimus, hactenus tamen observatam retinendam censuimus, ut citarentur in cujusque Libri confixione, ubi opus est, hujusmodi classes, et Appendices una cum Decretis, quibus primum Libri confixi fuerunt, quo rei ab initio gestæ series innotescat. Quam etiam ob causam Indices Tridentinum et Clementinum, una cum suis appendicibus Indici huic generali adjiciendos curavimus, *simulque omnia Decreta ad hæc usque tempora* in hac materia post prædicti Clementis Prædecessoris Indicem emanata, ne quid omnino, quod curiosæ fidelium diligentiae prodesse posset, omissum videretur. Quæ omnia cum juxta mentem nostram diligenter et accurate fuerint exequationi mandata, composito Indice generali hujusmodi, cui etiam Regulæ Indicis Tridentini cum observationibus et instructione memorato Indici Clementino adjectis appositæ fuerunt: Nos de prædictorum Cardinalium consilio eundem Indicem generalem, sicut præmittitur jussu nostro compositum atque revisum, et typis Camerae nostræ Apostolicæ jam impressum, et quem præsentibus nostris pro inserto haberi volumus, *Cum omnibus et singulis in eo contentis auctoritate Apostolicâ tenore præsentium confirmamus et approbamus*, ac ab omnibus tam Universitatibus, quam singularibus Personis, ubicumque locorum existentibus inviolabiliter et inconcusse observari mandamus, et præcipimus, sub pœnis in Constitutione rec. mem. Pii P.P. IV. . . . Mandantes propterea omnibus et singulis venerabilibus Fratribus Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, et aliis locorum Ordinariis, necnon delectis filiis eorum Vicariis, et Officialibus ac Hæreticæ pravitatis Inquisitoribus, et Regularium cujuscumque Ordinis, Congregationis, Societatis, vel Instituti Superioribus, omnibusque aliis, ad quos spectat, et in futurum quomodolibet spectabit, ut hunc generalem Indicem vulgandum et observandum pro viribus curent: memores ad officii sibi commissi munus pertinere, ut oves Dominici gregis tam a pabulis perniciosis arceantur, quam salutaribus impleantur, a quo si (quod absit) per malitiam aut negligentiam cessent, omnium malorum, quæ inde gravissima et maxima oriri necesse

est, districtam sibi apud severum Judicem reddendam esse rationem. . . . Dat. Romæ, apud Sanctam Mariam Majorem, sub annulo Piscatoris, die v. Martii MDCLXIV. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Nono.'

I beg the reader to bear in mind that the theory I combat is, I believe, at variance with the sense of the majority of educated Catholics.

THE END.

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