

MELCHIOR INCHOFER, “UN HOMME FIN & RUSÉ”*

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Recent interest in Inchofer has centered on his part in the Galileo affair, first as one of the three experts who reported on the *Dialogo* prior to the trial, and then as the author of the *Tractatus Syllepticus*, a scriptural and patristic defense of geocentrism published in the fall of 1633, just a few months after the scientist's condemnation.¹ But well into the 18th century his noto-

* Manuscript holdings are abbreviated as follows: ACDF, Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede; AFCJ, Archives françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus; ARSI, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu; All., Bibliotheca Vallicelliana, Fondo Allacci. Unless otherwise indicated all cited correspondence is from the originals. I owe special thanks to José Antonio Yoldi, SJ, of the Jesuit Archives in Rome for his generous assistance and for permission to publish the letter in Plate II; Francesco Beretta for sharing his Inchoferiana with me; Pietro Redondi for his thoughts on the document published in App. I; and Michel-Pierre Lerner for the occasion to take up the thorny questions posed by Inchofer.

¹ For Inchofer's two undated reports on the *Dialogo*, the most extensive and condemnatory ones submitted, cf. Sergio M. Pagano, (ed.), *I documenti del processo di Galileo Galilei*, Archivio Vaticano, Vatican City, 1984, no. 45/I, 139-148 (hereafter *Documenti*); it must be stressed that the report from Agostino Oreggi alone is dated, 17.IV.1633. Inchofer's publication is analyzed by William R. Shea, "Melchior Inchofer's *Tractatus Syllepticus*: a Consultor of the Holy Office answers Galileo", in Paolo Galluzzi, (ed.), *Novità celesti e crisi del sapere*, Olschki, Florence, 1983, 283-292. See also Francesco Beretta, "Le procès de Galilée et les archives du Saint-Office", *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 83 (1999), Paris, 441-490, at 484-485; and Michael John Gorman, "A Matter of Faith? Christoph Scheiner, Jesuit Censorship, and the Trial of Galileo", *Perspectives in Science* 4/3 (1996), Chicago, 283-320, for Scheiner's censure of the *Tractatus*, dated 9.VIII.1633, and the internal Jesuit reports of early 1636 which prevented Inchofer from publishing a second work against heliocentrism,

riety was due to two other works far removed from astronomical debates, which nevertheless caused the Jesuit to suffer a fate with uncanny similarities to Galileo's. Symptomatically enough, these are the works mentioned in the two sections of the *Naudaeana* devoted to Inchofer:

Melchior Inchoffer Jesuite, a fait un Livre, intitulé, *Veritas vindicata*, touchant une Lettre que ceux de Messine en Sicile disent avoir receuë, & leur avoir été écrite par la Vierge Marie. Et comme je lui alleguois plusieurs raisons, par lesquelles je lui prouvois que cette Lettre avoit été supposée par ceux de la Ville de Messine, il me dit: qu'il sçavoit bien toutes ces raisons-là aussi bien que moi, & que tout ce qu'il en avoit dit en son Livre, n'avoit été que pour plaire & obeir à ses Superieurs qui le lui avoient commandé, & qu'au reste il ne croyoit rien du tout de ce qui étoit dans cette Lettre. Et cependant voilà comme se repandent dans le monde les erreurs & les abus; & voila comme les esprits simples sont trompez tous les jours.

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Le Pere Inchoffer Jesuite a été découvert être le vrai Auteur du Livret contre les Jesuites. Il est intitulé: *Monarchia solipsorum*. Les Jesuites cherchent par tout ce Livre pour le supprimer, ils achètent les copies au poids de l'or, ils en ont acheté un exemplaire quinze pistoles. Il est mort depuis peu en Italie. C'étoit un homme fin & rusé.²

I

Born around 1585 into a Lutheran family in Köszege, he entered the Collegium Germanicum-Hungaricum in 1605. When and how he became Catholic is unknown, though we should note that Jesuit missions made many converts in Hungarian lands. After briefly leaving Rome to try to convert his father, he began his Jesuit novitiate in March 1607. By early 1616 he was at the Jesuit College in Messina, where he lectured on the normal cycle of subjects, teaching in turn logic, physics, philosophy, mathematics, and theology, and also held a variety of administrative posts, including that of consultant. He is regularly listed in the provincial catalogues for Sicily through 1629, the year which marked the major turning-point in his career.³

the *Vindiciae S. Sedis Apostolicae, SS. Tribunalium et Auctoritatum Adversus Neopythagoreos Terrae Motores et Solis statores*.

² *Naudaeana et Patiniana* (A Amsterdam, Chez François vander Plaats, 1703), 2nd ed., 102-103.

³ For the early biography, cf. Dezső Dümmerth, "Les combats et la tragédie du Père Melchior Inchofer S.J. à Rome (1641-1648)", *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae. Sectio Historica XVII* (1976), Budapest, 81-112, at 84-85; Rosario Moscheo, "Melchior Inchofer (1585-1648) ed un suo inedito corso messinese di logi-

Inchofer's first book, the *Epistolae B. Virginis Mariae ad Messanenses Veritas vindicata*, was published in Messina in 1629.⁴ Under circumstances which are still unclear, it was sent to the Congregation of the Index in the summer of that year. The urgency of the matter can be measured by the folder assembled for the Holy Office. The charges which would put the volume on the Index rested on a special decree of July 1598 by Clement VIII and in his name by the Inquisition, declaring the Virgin's Letter apocryphal. Behind the challenge to the legend's veracity as defended by Inchofer lay the influence of cardinal Giovanni Doria, archbishop of Palermo, who wanted to stop the escalating dissension over competing claims for primacy in Sicily between Messina, where Rome had a foothold in the Jesuit College, and his own city, which belonged to Spain's sphere of influence.⁵ Pledging to support Inchofer, Muzio Vitelleschi, the General of the order, told him immediately to take refuge across the straits in Reggio Calabria, and in the fall to come to Rome hopefully to avoid a censure of his work. Not only had Inchofer's claims been attacked by a Palermitan, Francesco Baronio, but his very safety was considered in jeopardy if he remained on the island.⁶

ca dell'anno 1617", *Quaderni dell'Istituto Galvano della Volpe* 3 (1980-81), Messina, 181-194; Gorman, 290 n. 22 (cit. n. 1); and L. Szilas / M. Colpo, "Inchofer, Melchior Ildephonus", in the forthcoming *Diccionario Historico de la Compañía de Jesús*, kindly made available by Fr. Yoldi; all of these draw on new archival material. Dümmerth's article has paved the way for all recent studies. In ARSI, Sic. 155, a volume signalled in the invaluable notices compiled by Edmond Lamalle, Inchofer is listed as teaching in Messina "sub initium Anni 1616" (f. 35^r), until 1629 (f. 128^v); the catalogue for the eastern province of Sicily describes him in 1630 as "professor Theol^{ae}, sed f(ori)s nunc Romae commoratur, eius locus supplet P. Melchior Belli" (f. 147^v).

⁴ Cf. the article on Inchofer in Carlos Sommervogel, (ed.), *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 10 vols., Bruxelles-Paris, 1890-1909, IV, 561-566. The most complete bibliography on the Letter is in Alessio Narbone, *Bibliografia Sicola Sistemática*, vol. 1, Pedone, Palermo, 1850, 310-314; especially useful for the early history of the controversy is Johann Albert Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, vol. 1, Schiller & Kisner, Hamburg, 2nd ed., 1719, 844-850.

⁵ ACDF, S.O., Cens. Lib. 1626-1640, f. 593^r: "De hoc libro per l(ite)ras ad Sac. Indicis Cong^{nem} conqueruntur Ill^{mus} et R^{mus} D. Card. di Auria Archieps Panormit^{us}, et Senatus eiusdem Civitatis, quia Auctor multa con(tra) eam profert, quae magnam dissentionem, et scandala inter Panormum, et Messanam excitare possunt; Supplicavit propterea pro huius libri prohib^{ione}". The folder is no. 21 of the volume, ff. 592^r-610^v, and bears the date 1630.

⁶ Vitelleschi to the Provincial in Messina, 16.VIII.1629: "Il P. Inchoffer si deve onninam^{te} trattenerne fuori di Sicilia sino ad altr'ord^{ne}. non si tratta adesso della sodisfatt^e che il S^r Card^{le} [Doria] desidera, ma di quello che noi doviamo fare dal canto nostro. Il libro del P^{re} è arrivato qui alla Cong^e dell'Indice, e Dio sa quello che sarà, noi però non lasceremo d'aiutare in tutti li modi possibili il P^{re}"; to Inchofer, 23 August: "Adesso è arrivato [il suo libro] alla Cong^e dell'Indice, et haverò molto gusto che VR. possa diffendersi in modo che il libro possa passare senza censura. Alla rinfrescata VR. verrà quà come ho scritto al P. P(rovincia)le, e in tanto ha fatto benissimo ad eseguir l'ord^e di ritirarsi à Reggio. Quello che da Pal(erm)^o si scrive costà non so che fondamento habbia, ne io mi muovo da questi, ò altri motivi, ma da quello che giudico che convenga fare hic, et nunc per bene della comp(ani)^a ne ho altro fine"; to the Provincial, 23 August: "Quello [i.e. Baronio] che in Pal^o haveva scritto per stampare contro il

Inchofer was able rather quickly to persuade the Holy Office to accept, on 23 April 1630, a planned revision of his work which would argue for the probable, rather than certain, truth of the Letter, with an appropriately changed title.⁷ The *De Epistola B. Virginis Mariae ad Messanenses Coniectatio plurimis rationibus et verisimilitudinibus locuples* was printed in 1632 by Grignani, who specialized in works by authors attached to the Barberini papal court.⁸ Grignani would print the *Tractatus* and indeed everything of Inchofer's that appeared in Rome. To counter another attack the following year, Inchofer also published a self-defense under a friend's name, which, if it was not entirely his own production, was a collaborative venture and set a pattern for later works.⁹

Pře Incoffer era secolare col quale non habbiamo autorità. Con tutto ciò quei Při cercarono d'impedire, e si farà nuovo officio"; to the Provincial, 30 August: "Il P. Incoffer deve venir qua in tutti li modi per defendere il suo libro appresso la Cong^e dell'Indice, alla quale è stato dato, et haverò molto caro, che si possa difendere. VR. lo mandi subito, che si potrà far viaggio senza pericolo"; to the Provincial, 4 September: "Qui ancora si vede dalla Cong^e dell'Indice il libro del P. Incoffer, ne si manca d'aiutare per quanto si può, ma temo del buon' essito pure vedremo. Non si otterrebbe di qua inhibitione all'inquisitione di Palermo, e Dio sa se sarebbe ammessa. Di qua non si mettono nelle cose dell'inquis^{ne} di Spagna, con la quale va costata di Sicilia. ... Li Při Incoffer, et [Scipione] Arnone sono arrivati sani, e continuano in questo stato Dio gratia, e ho ricevuta l'apologia fatta in Palermo contro il P. Incoffer" (ARSI, Sic. 10-I, ff. 5^r, 6^r, 6^v, 8^v, 15^v-16^r, secretarial minutes). For the rare *Vindicata verita Panormitana* (Venetiis, 1629), which I have not seen, cf. Emmanuele Aguilera, *Provinciae Siculae Societatis Jesu ortus, et res gestae*, vol. 2, Felicella, Palermo, 1740, 247; Inchofer reported on it for the Index, in ACDF, Index, Protocolli EE, f. 136^rv.

⁷ ACDF, S.O., Cens. Lib. 1626-1640, f. 596^r: "RR. PP. DD. Qualificatore sancti officii in Cong^e habita in Palatio eiusdem sancti officii die 23. Aprilis 1630. super petitione sac. Cong^{nis} Indicis, et Decreto sac. Cong^{nis} sancti officii de epistola ad Messanenses sub nomine Beatae Virginis, et libro P. Inchofer, censuerunt, aprocriphum in Decreto sancti officii tollere tantum indubietatem, et certam assertionem veritatis illius Epistolae, quam si Author solùm proponat ut verisimilem, vel non impossibilem, adductis modestis coniecturis, et probabilibus responsionibus, poterit illi permitti correctio, et secunda editio sui libri, titulo in totum mutato per sacram Indicis Congreg^{onem}". The list of signatories that follows is headed by Riccardi. The petition addressed to the Index (or a copy of it), which cleared the way for permission from the Holy Office, is contained in ARSI, Fondo Ges. 675, ff. 213^r-215^v, 220^r-222^v, where the argument was made that Inchofer could not be bound by the decree of 1598 since it was never promulgated.

⁸ My impression is that the *Coniectatio* is much rarer than the *Veritas vindicata*, though I have not done a systematic study. The copy I have seen, at the Vatican, gives Viterbo as the place of publication. Sommervogel claims it was printed in Rome and that a very small number do so indicate, but he is only repeating the notice on Inchofer by François Oudin, in Jean-Pierre Nicéron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres dans la République des Lettres*, vol. 35, Briasson, Paris, 1736, 322-346, at p. 328.

⁹ *Apologia Pro Pietate Messanensium Ex Traditione Repromissae Protectionis In Epistola B. M. Virginis Adversus Rocchum Pirrum Netinum, Authore, U.I.D. Benedicto Salvago* (Messanae, Typis HH. Petris Breae, 1634); cf. p. 163: "Multis locis insinuat Inchofer, etsi non inhaeret, ex hac Virginali Epistola, peti posse Primatum Messanae, etsi cetera non militarent". Inchofer's authorship of this work is identified in a letter of 7.III.1648 by Leone Allacci to Fabio Chigi, the future Alexander VII, tracing the origin of Inchofer's later troubles to "una

The swiftness of the compromise was due to more than Vitelleschi's help. According to his good friend Leone Allacci, the Vatican librarian and later a fellow consultor for the Congregation of the Index, Inchofer won the favor of many cardinals in that body by his handling of the matter, so much so that he obtained a position as confessor at the Gesù and did not resume his duties in Messina, despite the General's wishes otherwise.¹⁰ Inchofer's ties to Francesco Barberini were probably consolidated during this period, leading up to Galileo's trial. There is evidence of their association as early as 1623, when Inchofer asked Barberini for another copy of the Vatican exemplar of the Virgin's Letter because the one made by Bartolomeo Petracchi had disappeared at his death, the previous year.¹¹ Concern with the Letter in the Barberini entourage dates at least to 1622, when Giovanni Battista Lauri published it in the appendix to his *De Annulo Pronubo Deiparae*

disputa nata frà Palermitani e Messinesi, del ritrovamento del Corpo di S. Rosalia, e dell'Epistola della B. Vergine a Messinesi, havendo detto Padre scritto in favor di Messinesi un libro grande e dotto, alli quali si professava tanto obligato, e posto a terra la ritrovata del corpo [on 15 July 1625: cf. *Martyrologium Romanum*]. li convenne venire à Roma, e rendere raggione delli suoi detti. la maggior però molestia che esso avesse fù de suoi Patri li quali havevano scritto in favor di Palermitani, e contra la lettera, contra quali sotto nome d'altri esso mostrò quanto errassero" (Vat. Chig. A.III.59, f. 177^r). It is also indirectly attested in a long letter written by Inchofer from Milan in late summer 1648, shortly before his death, to an unnamed correspondent, perhaps Sforza Pallavicino; the letter contains a last testament of sorts, with instructions about his belongings: "Ho lasciato in Camera al Coll^o Germ^o insino a 13 esemplari di q^o primo tomo delli Annali [the *Annales Ecclesiastici Regni Hungariae*]. Havrei a caro se V.R. con buona commodita ne potesse mandar uno a q^a casa per la libreria, havendomi domandato qⁱ buoni Padri. Ivi anco si trovano alcuni esemplari non legati dell'Apologia di Benedetto Salvago, in 4. l'istesso faccia d'uno di qⁱ per la med(esi)^{ma} causa" (ARSI, Hist. Soc. 166, f. 106^r).

¹⁰ Allacci to Chigi (ibid.): "Con simil occasione s'insinuò con molti Cardinali della S. Congregatione dell'Indice, li quali e dal discorso, e dal portar del negotio li posero affetto, si che con mala voglia del Viteleschi gli fù concesso starsene a Roma, e per non mangiar il pane a torto come si dice, gli fù assegnato un confessionario al Giesù, dove esso e con gran zelo, e con gran charità esequi quanto si conveniva all'officio suo". Inchofer and Allacci traded approbations for each of their major works, the *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1644) and the *De Perpetua Consensione* (1648). See Sommervogel for the letters and minor treatises by Inchofer which Allacci published. Inchofer returned to Messina for brief periods between 1634 and 1636: the letters to Allacci cited in Sommervogel nos. 18 and 15 are dated Messina 1.II.1635 and 1.V.1636. He was apparently in Rome in February 1636, when he received the negative *iudicium* on the *Vindiciae* (ARSI, Fondo Ges. 655, f. 201^v), and he was definitely there on 4.IX.1636 when he sent Allacci a note asking to borrow the *Systema Cosmicum*: "Ne' bisogni si ricorre alli amici. Io ne havrei bisogno grandem^e de' Dialoghi del Galileo de motu Terrae, et non li posso haver dagli amici perche dicono di non haverli, et perche non dubito che VS l'abbia nella sua fioritissima libreria, la pregho me l'impresti almeno per otto ò dieci giorni" (Vat. Barb. lat. 3093, f. 200^v).

¹¹ All. CLX.42, f. 154^{r-v}, dated Messina 15.I.1623 (18th-c. copy); on Petracchi, cf. Sommervogel, VI, 628. For Barberini as a member of the Congregation of the Index, cf. Christoph Weber, *Die ältesten päpstlichen Staatshandbücher. Elenchus Congregationum, Tribunalium et Collegiorum Urbis 1629-1714*, Herder, Rome, 1991, 197.

Virginis Qui Perusiae religiosissimè adservatur.¹² The choice of Grignani to print the *Coniectatio* makes one wonder whether Francesco Barberini both sanctioned and funded it. Later, between 1637 and 1647, Inchofer would serve as one of the Cardinal's intimate advisors on two matters, Spanish intrigues in Sicily and the Jansenist movement in Belgium.¹³

Ties in such high places also help to explain Inchofer's nomination to the special commission set up under the supervision of the Pope's nephew to consider Galileo's case, before the decision was made that it should proceed to the Holy Office. The story is well known. Shortly after the first copies of the *Dialogo* were distributed in Rome in July 1632, word began to circulate that various problems raised by the book, from its frontispiece to its content, were to be examined. On 15 August Francesco Niccolini, Florence's ambassador in Rome, informed the Florentine Secretary of State, Andrea Cioli, that a "congregation" composed of people hostile to Galileo was to meet before Francesco Barberini.¹⁴ Over the next three weeks Niccolini met both the Cardinal, who refused to be precise and told him to take the matter up with Niccolò Riccardi, the Master of the Sacred Palace, and the Pope himself. After first losing his temper, Urban disclosed only that the congregation was composed of "theologians and others versed in different sciences, ... who would weigh every single word because the most perverse matter was in question".¹⁵ Niccolini finally had more definite information to give Cioli on 11 September. Riccardi had tried to reassure the ambassador. He was personally reviewing the *Dialogo* and expected to be able to fix it before submitting it to the Pope. With regard to the commission, Riccardi said that he above all was obligated to defend the book, given his friendship with Galileo and his approval of its publication. He also alleged that there was no cause for concern from two of its other members: the Pope's theologian, Agostino Oreggi, was well disposed; as for "that Jesuit", Riccardi himself had proposed him, and he was in the confidence of the Padre Maestro, who could therefore vouch for his forthrightness.¹⁶

¹² Romae, Typis Andreae Phaei, 196-197, based on a copy sent to Lauri by a certain Giuliano Castanaceo, from Messina. On Lauri, cf. Nicéron, *Mémoires*, vol. 37, 1737, 268-273.

¹³ Cf. the letters and reports submitted by Inchofer in Vat. Barb. lat. 6467, ff. 5^r-32^r; Barb. lat. 6549, ff. 17^r-29^r; All. CLX.43-45; and Lucien Ceysens, *Sources relatives aux débuts du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme 1640-1643*, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, fasc. 31, Louvain, 1957, passim.

¹⁴ "...sento che si faccia una Congregazione di persone versate in questa professione avanti il Sig^r Cardⁱ Barberini, tutte poco affette al Sig^r Galileo...", in Antonio Favaro, (ed.), *Le Opere di Galileo Galilei*, 20 vols., Barbèra, Florence, 1964-1966 (1890-1909), XIV, 372 (hereafter *Opere*).

¹⁵ Niccolini to Cioli on 28 August and 5 September, *Opere* XIV, 377, 383-384.

¹⁶ "...che il Teologo del Papa veramente ha buona volontà, e che quel Gesuita l'ha proposto egli stesso et è suo confidente, et assicura che camina con retta intenzione; nè sa vedere con che ragione ci doviamo doler di loro", *Opere* XIV, 389. The exact composition and size of the commission are unknown. Zaccaria Pasqualigo, who along with Oreggi and Inchofer reported on the *Dialogo*, presumably belonged to the commission.

We know Inchofer was "that Jesuit" because of his two signed reports in the inquisitorial proceedings. No other evidence points directly to his activity on the commission, or indeed to his involvement in Galileo's trial. Shortly after Riccardi made his revelations, the commission's work was done. On 25 September Barberini reported to Giorgio Bolognetti, the papal nunzio to the Grand Duke, that the "congregation" had met five times and could not avoid referring the matter to the Holy Office. The *Dialogo* had been sent forward to the Holy Office, which two days earlier had in fact decreed that Galileo should appear before its Commissioner in the coming month.¹⁷ Reckoning back from the first references to a special commission, in mid-August, we can assume it met once a week. Much can be done in five weeks' time. Urban had told Niccolini that it would scrutinize the *Dialogo*; sometime during those five weeks Bellarmine's precept of 1616 to Galileo was also unearthed, instructing the scientist not to hold teach or defend the Copernican doctrine.¹⁸

With the opening of the archives of the Index and of the Holy Office, now grouped together, a new document has surfaced which adds one more piece to our picture of Inchofer's reaction to Galileo.¹⁹ In ten short paragraphs stretching over a page and a half, Inchofer drafted a judgment of the distinction between primary and secondary qualities, or accidents, in the central part of §48 of the *Saggiatore*, and of its implications for the doctrine of the Eucharist (see Appendix I and Plate I). After an introductory sentence which identifies the matter at hand simply as the "discourse of the Lyncean", six "errors" are listed, keyed to Galileo's treatment of the subjective experience of secondary qualities: heat, the customary triad of taste, smell, color, and the famous account of tickling.²⁰ Two complementary consequences, both con-

¹⁷ "Essendosi scoperte nell'opere del Gallileo alcune cose sospette, N. S.^{re} in riguardo del S^o Gran Duca ha comesso ad una Congregatione particolare che le esaminasse, e vedesse se si poteva far di meno di non le portare nella Sagra Congregatione del S^{to} Offitio; et essendosi quelli S^{ri} congregati insieme per cinque volte, e considerato bene il tutto, hanno risoluto che non poteva farsi di meno di non portar il negotio nella Congregatione", *Opere* XIV, 397-398. For the decree of 23 September summoning Galileo, cf. *Documenti* no. 261, 113-114, and no. 9/II, 225.

¹⁸ Cf. *Documenti* no. 21/I, 101-102, for the precept; and no. 25/I, 106 and 108, for its prominent appearance in the summary of the irregularities with the *Dialogo*. This last document has traditionally been interpreted as the result of the commission's findings, if not actually produced by it. Riccardi alerted Niccolini of the precept's existence in the conversation reported on 11 September (cf. n. 16, above).

¹⁹ I first stumbled on the document on 8 June 1999 and transcribed it the following February. What immediately caught my eye was Inchofer's hand, and only gradually has its significance emerged. Others too, I know, have been busy deciphering it. After very briefly presenting the document at the end of my talk at Tenerife in February 2001, I learned of the collaborative study undertaken by Mariano Artigas and William Shea, presented in March at the Letture galileane in Florence. From what I have heard our conclusions at this stage diverge considerably.

²⁰ The six points correspond roughly to the following lines of the *Saggiatore*: no. 1 = *Opere* VI, 347, l. 25; no. 2 = 347, l. 30; no. 3 = 348, l. 4; no. 4 = 348, l. 14; no. 5 = 350, l. 6; no. 6 = 351, l. 7.

trary to accepted teaching on the Eucharist, are then drawn from Galileo's atomistic argument for the impossibility of separating primary qualities alone from substance: without the substance of the bread the secondary qualities (of taste, smell) cannot be present after its transubstantiation; and only the primary qualities (of size, shape) can subsist in the Eucharistic bread if taste and smell are merely names. By way of an elliptical reference to its antique precedents, the final paragraph preemptively attacks Galileo's atomism for propositions which would be both absurd and dangerous to religion if asserted. The opinion concludes that the points listed would suffice "in the meantime" for further examination before the Holy Office.

Two things are quite sure about this *iudicium*: though unsigned it is in Inchofer's distinctive hand (see Plate II for a signed letter), and it is a response to another document, the now infamous "G₃" discovered by Pietro Redondi in 1982. Beyond that we can only make educated guesses. On the first point, familiarity with Inchofer's hand makes it unmistakably his; other signed and unsigned pieces written by him are to be found, for instance, in the same collection of *Protocolli*. As for the second point, one would suspect that Inchofer's opinion is related to "G₃" since it immediately precedes it in the bound volume.²¹ A cursory glance at the two texts is enough to notice that they treat the same material, in similar terms, and with comparable conclusions. Inchofer also picked up from "G₃" the odd designation of "discourse" for §48 of the *Saggiatore*.²² What proves, however, that Inchofer was in fact responding to "G₃", and that it was in front of him, is his explicit reference to it ("Recte deducitur ex opinione huius authoris"), followed by a digest in his own opinion of the two conclusions drawn by that anonymous author.²³ The phrase also indicates that he did not receive "G₃" directly from its author.

Like "G₃", Inchofer's judgment bears neither date nor address.²⁴ The argument for dating "G₃" before Galileo's condemnation holds a fortiori

²¹ Cf. Pietro Redondi, *Galileo eretico*, Einaudi, Turin, 1983, 427-430, and *Documenti* no. 41/II, 245-248, for editions of "G₃", where the series is called by its earlier name of *Acta et Documenta*. Since the restoration of volume EE, around 1995 I was told, a new pagination has also been introduced in pencil, which now puts "G₃" at ff. 302^r-303^r.

²² Cf. the third paragraph of "G₃", "Ma questo discorso", and the opening of Inchofer's opinion.

²³ Points no. 7 and 8 in Inchofer recap paragraphs 5 and the first half of 6 in "G₃"; the "philosophia Aboriginum" in Inchofer's final paragraph is a mannered circumlocution for Anaxagoras and Democritus mentioned in the second half of 6 in "G₃". Redondi, 202-206, analyzes the argument in "G₃" and notably the structure of its two major conclusions.

²⁴ The restoration of the volume makes it impossible to tell if there was once a companion leaf to the judgment, which is on f. 301 (old f. 291); ff. 302-303 (old ff. 292-293) contain "G₃"; f. 304 (old f. 295) is blank, but not visibly from the same sheet of paper as f. 301, or even the same size (though it could have been trimmed). I suspect that the companion leaf was old f. 294, discussed by Redondi, 192, whose absence is no longer reflected in the new pagination. The correction in paragraph 7 (see App. I) incidentally confirms that we have here an original draft, and not a copy.

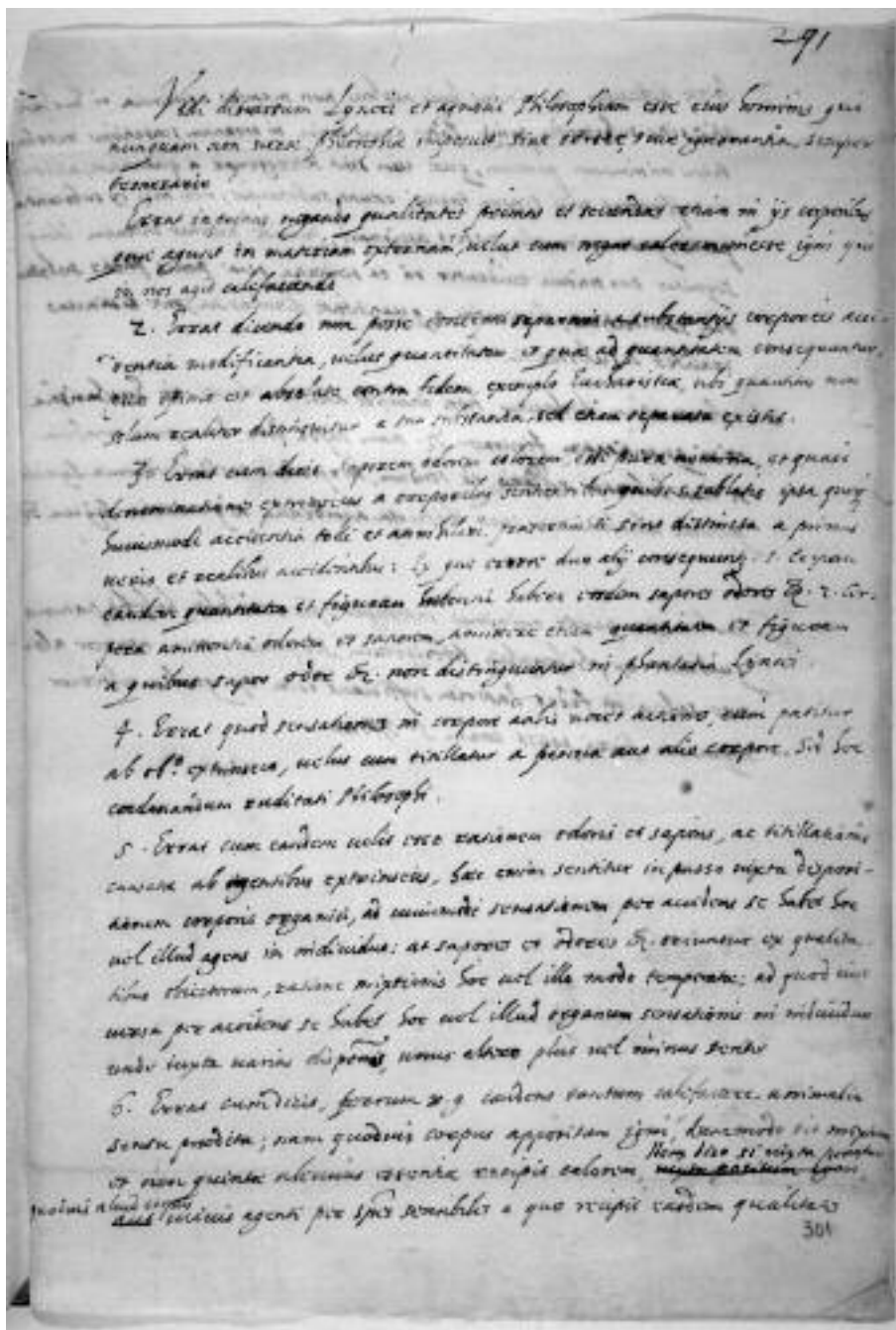


Plate I (ACDF, Index, Protocolli EE, f. 301r)

here, given Inchofer's last sentence; his opinion had to be drafted before 23 September 1632, when Galileo was called before the Holy Office.²⁵ Moreover, it seems highly unlikely that Inchofer would have been given a document like "G₃" before he returned to Rome in the fall of 1629, and cleared the way for the revisions of the *Veritas vindicata*. As a member of the commission that met in late summer 1632, however, he had an excellent opportunity to come across, or actually to be shown, a denunciation that had lain dormant at the Holy Office since 1624 or 1625, and which we may suppose was now put before the special commission, much as the precept of 1616 was.²⁶ Stylistically, too, the opinion reads like an internal document, if it circulated at all. Inchofer's studied elision of names, those of Galileo and the *Saggiatore* as well as the "aboriginal" philosophers cited by "G₃", and the absence of specific page references such as "G₃" supplied, and Inchofer himself gave in his reports on the *Dialogo*, imply I would suggest one of two things. Either he expected his reader, or readers, to be so familiar with both the denunciation and its burden that he could afford to be allusive without sacrificing any clarity. Or, as seems much more probable to me, the *iudicium* was a strictly personal memorandum, drafted in conjunction with the meetings of the special commission, and then reserved for future reference precisely because the *Saggiatore* did not enter within the scope of the inquisitorial proceedings.

In this manner we can account for the fact that the judgment and "G₃" were collected together in a volume of miscellaneous documents pertaining not to the Holy Office, but to the Index, which Inchofer had close ties to especially in the late 1630's and early 1640's. The two pieces may well have remained in his possession for several years after he drafted his opinion, and been deposited with the Index in connection with his later duties as consul-tor there. Even as a member of the special commission of 1632, and as the author of the two reports on the *Dialogo* used for Galileo's trial, he never served as far as we know in any official capacity for the Holy Office.

Inchofer's opinion is valuable as an indicator of the lasting repercussions, perhaps right up to Galileo's trial, of the questions posed by the anonymous author of "G₃", questions which had not been put to rest in 1626 by Orazio Grassi's response to §48 of the *Saggiatore* in the *Ratio Ponderum Librae et Simbellae*.²⁷ It would thus contain a splendid confirmation of Pietro Redondi's proposal that we take Barberini at his word when he wrote Bolognetti on 25 September 1632 that the special commission had been charged with examining "works"; and that these could have included the *Saggiatore*, in addition to the *Dialogo*.²⁸

²⁵ Cf. Redondi, 200, and n. 17, above.

²⁶ Even if Orazio Grassi was not its author, the cogency of Redondi's dating, 238, for "G₃" as the denunciation mentioned by Guiducci on 18.IV.1625 (*Opere* XIII, 265) still holds until a better explanation is offered.

²⁷ Cf. *Opere* VI, 485-490, with Galileo's annotations of the text.

²⁸ Cf. Redondi, 313-314, and n. 17, above.

More radically than “G₃”, Inchofer’s opinion refused to engage the atomistic argument in §48 of the *Saggiatore*. To the extent that it focused exclusively on the Eucharistic issue, its violence is in keeping with the other evidence of his complete lack of sympathy for Galileo’s science. Since Riccardi’s assurances to Niccolini on Inchofer’s score have always been considered puzzling, the opinion might appear to make them even more so. But only at first sight. It is of course possible that Riccardi was playing a double game, or that he did not know his man all that well, but we must remember that in 1639 Inchofer would pronounce Riccardi’s funeral oration, and then publish it. Their friendship was evidently not compromised by the outcome of Galileo’s trial. On the other hand, Inchofer’s troubles with his fellow Jesuits, starting with his two writings against heliocentrism, the *Tractatus* and the *Vindiciae*, and continuing to the very end of his life, make it difficult to count him among the Jesuits reputed in 1632 to be persecuting Galileo.²⁹ Inchofer was simply too quirky to be a serious antagonist, and he was treated accordingly by his colleagues in the Company. The choice of Inchofer for the special commission by Riccardi and above him, as I want to claim, by Francesco Barberini was calculated to displace the scrutiny of Galileo away from scientific controversy. Whether the condemnation handed down in June 1633 also entered into that calculation is a completely separate matter.

II

Inchofer’s quirkiness took literary shape in stylistic extravagance, which one of the Jesuit censors of his *Annales Ecclesiastici Regni Hungariae* strongly reproved,³⁰ and in a fondness for pen names. His first pseudonym was invented to defend Jesuit causes, and meant perhaps to reflect his position as consultor of the Index. He signed himself Eugenius Lavanda to respond to attacks by Kaspar Schoppe of the Jesuit pedagogical program.³¹ He later

²⁹ Riccardi himself is quoted as having said so: “I Giesuiti lo perseguiteranno acerbissimamente” (*Opere* XIV, 370).

³⁰ Jean Bagot wrote as follows about the *Annales* on 7.IX.1641: “Nonnulla tamen habeo quae reprehendi posse videntur. Atque imprimis stylus minus Latinus, & accuratus esse videtur: satis videlicet habet multorum auctorum; eorumque minus Latinorum verba referre, & ex iis quantumvis stylo dissimillimis unum velut centonem conficere; quod cum in dogmatico opere non repraehendatur, haud scio an saeculi huius adeo polito fastidiosi lectores in opere historico ferant: unde quoque fit ut minus clara sit authoris mens, & rerum earumdem ingrata repetitio” (ARSI, Fondo Ges. 666, f. 32b^r). Dümmerth (cit. n. 3) examined the difficulties censors also found with the book’s anti-Imperial emphasis, all of which delayed publication for some three years. Inchofer’s interest in language is evident in his *Historia Sacrae Latinitatis*, 1635, his only other signed work printed in Messina.

³¹ *Grammaticus Paedicus Sive Puerilis*, 1638, and *Grammaticus Palaephatus Sive Nugivendus*, 1639, both without place or name. For Scioppius’ anti-Jesuit attacks, cf. the classic discussion by Charles Nisard, *Les Gladiateurs de la République des Lettres aux XV^e, XVI^e*

added Ninevensis (for Viennensis) to the name, for a rebuttal of claims that monastic holdings recovered in German lands by the Catholics should not be given to the Jesuits.³² The three-part name fixed the pattern.

The second pseudonym, Benno Durkhundurkhus Slavus, is even more transparent. It was adopted for what proved to be the fourth volley of a lengthy paper war sparked by a lavish volume, printed in Florence, describing the Etruscan forgeries allegedly unearthed by a young nobleman on his family estate at Volterra.³³ The *Antiquitates* ostensibly contained an entire Etruscan library buried for safekeeping by a certain Prosperus Fesulanus around the time of Cicero. Allacci exposed the fraud in a set of *Animadversiones*, a work of some importance for the development of codicology, and was repaid with a pamphlet consisting of an Italian letter signed simply “Lo Spento Accademico Sepolto”.³⁴ Like the case of the *Veritas vindicata*, the debate here too hinged on the authentication of ancient documents. Inchofer stepped in at this point and composed a satirical *Examen* of Florence’s rejoinder.³⁵ As the autograph manuscript shows, he worked from Italian notes that Allacci had drawn up in the form of a commentary to Spento’s letter.³⁶ Inchofer transformed the notes into his own Latin and gave them a fictional frame, in which Benno, who is naive “through and through” even though he has travelled across Europe and attended the diet at Regensburg, starts out believing that the *Antiquitates* contain sybilline revelations.³⁷ He returns home to Vienna, where a Togatus omi-

et XVII^e siècles, vol. 2, Lévy, Paris, 1860, and Mario D’Addio, *Il pensiero politico di Gaspare Scioppio*, Giuffrè, Milan, 1962, 211-228. Inchofer drafted reports for the Index on Schoppe’s *Actio perduellionis*, 1632, and *Jesuita exenteratus*, 1633, which were presented at the session of 19.IX.1633 (ACDF, Index, Protocolli EE, ff. 401^r-416^v).

³² *Notae Astrum Inextinctum Fr. Romani Hay suis radiis interstinguentes*, 1640, without place or name, with a 1641 rept. in Amsterdam, dedicated to Francesco Barberini; the Benedictine Romain Hay first published his *Astrum Inextinctum* together with Schoppe’s *Astrologia Ecclesiastica*, 1634, and then separately, 1636. Inchofer had to defend his *Notae* from efforts by Hay to have it condemned (ACDF, Index, Protocolli EE, f. 71^r).

³³ *Ethruscarum Antiquitatum Fragmenta, Quibus Urbis Romae, aliarumque gentium primordia, mores, & res gestae indicantur A Curtio Inghiramio Reperta Scornelli propè Vulterram*, 1637; the volume was printed by Amadore Massi, with a fake Frankfurt imprint.

³⁴ *Animadversiones in Antiquitatum Etruscarum Fragmenta ab Inghiramio edita* (Parisiis, Apud Sebastianum Cramoisy, 1640); *Lo Spento Accademico Sepolto. Lettera Sopra il libro intitolato Leonis Allatii Animadversiones in Ethruscarum Antiquitatum fragmenta* (In Fiorenza, nella Stamperia del Massi, e Landi, 1641). For Allacci’s discussion of palimpsests, cf. Sebastiano Timpanaro, *Aspetti e figure della cultura ottocentesca*, Nistri-Lischi, Pisa, 1980, 248.

³⁵ *Bennonis Durkhundurkhi Slavi In Spenti Academici Sepulti Epistolam, Pro Antiquitatibus Etruscis Inghiramii: Adversus Leonis Allatii, contra easdem Animadversiones, Examen* (Coloniae, apud Georg. Genselinum, 1642), but as Naudé wrote Francesco Barberini from Paris on 30.V.1642, it was actually printed in Lyon, surely through his good offices (Vat. Barb. lat. 3150, f. 338^v). The *Animadversiones* contain a report from Inchofer on the Virgin’s letter (cf. Oudin, 330, cit. n. 8).

³⁶ Vat. Barb. lat. 3061, ff. 33^r-55^r, followed by Allacci’s notes, ff. 56^r-57^v, which are not complete.

³⁷ The work is dedicated to “D. Christophoro Baroni in Telche, Domino in Schnarpis”, who sent Benno a copy of the *Antiquitates*.

nosus gives him a copy of the *Animadversiones*, which makes him sick to his stomach. He runs to a pharmacy where he spots Spento's letter. Unable to decipher its Italian mysteries he consults two interpreters, Lignyphagus Misconius and his colleague Capnolavus, who is especially expert in Tuscan, only to discover as their names indicate that the letter and the antiquities are nothing but obfuscations. In a third stage of composition, Allacci edited, and added to, Inchofer's text. "Slavus", for instance, was Allacci's contribution to the pseudonym, which originally read "Saxonus". The final product has to be called a collaboration and Allacci evidently had the last word, but its shape and flavor, as well as the bulk of the writing, are all Inchofer's.³⁸ A comparable operation, on a related topic, occurred with the declamation read by Allacci before the Accademia degli Umoristi "Contra scriptionem", which Inchofer extensively annotated for his friend.³⁹

Perhaps no other pseudonym has at once concealed and revealed its author so well, or caused so much mischief, as Inchofer's last incarnation as Lucius Cornelius Europaeus. Adopting the same first person narrative formula as the *Examen*, this time with an opposite premise, the *Monarchia Solipsorum* tells the adventures of its clever hero in order to satirize Jesuit incompetence and ambition. Unlike Benno, his gullible predecessor, Lucius is too perceptive and canny. In the story he rises to become judge and advisor to the monarch Vibosnatus, who stands for Vitelleschi, only finally to become the victim of an intrigue which costs him his position and sends him into exile. Lucius ends his tale by sending the reader who wants to learn more to his two works on the internal and external wars of the Solipsists. Behind the hero's name and high office one hears echoes of another Lucius Cornelius, the ancient legislator Sulla, as well as of the narrator of the *Golden Ass*. Inchofer may have also intended a playful reference to his own first name, as meaning King of Light.⁴⁰

The *Monarchia* appeared in Venice, 1645, with a dedication to Allacci, and proved an instant success.⁴¹ It also caused a major scandal as speculation grew about its true author. Not surprisingly, Allacci knew more about the book than he ever let on. We thus learn from his correspondence with Angelico Aproso, in Venice at the time, that it was printed before

³⁸ Oudin, 336 (cit. n. 8), quotes Lenglet for the possible attribution of the *Examen* to Inchofer, only to follow Fontanini and opt for Allacci; today it is often attributed to Vincenzo Noghera on the basis of Gaetano Melzi, *Dizionario di opere anonime e pseudonime*, vol. 1, Milan, 1848, 339.

³⁹ All. LXXXIX.12, ff. 112^r-116^v; Allacci intended to publish it in his *Symmicta*: cf. J.A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, vol. 14, Hamburg, 1727, 18. The piece is signalled in Riccardo Maisano, "Manoscritti e libri stampati nell'opera filologica di Leone Allacci", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/6 (1982), Vienna, 197-206, at 198.

⁴⁰ As he explained in his *Tres Magi Evangelici*, Rome, 1639, 65.

⁴¹ For the rich publication history, and notably the 2nd edition of 1648 equipped with a "Clavis onomastica", cf. the supplement by Pierre Bliard to Sommervogel, vol. 11, Paris, 1932, 74-76.

Vitelleschi's death, on 9 February 1645, who the publisher was, and that it went through a second otherwise unrecorded printing the same year.⁴² These exchanges form the background to the article on the *Monarchia* in Apro시오's *Visiera Alzata*. Like the *Naudaeana*, if in a more roundabout manner, he clearly attributed the work to Inchofer.⁴³

These two notices are, it should be stressed, the only ones from close friends of Allacci's, and although published long after Inchofer's death, they both represent nearly contemporary testimonials. François Oudin nevertheless rejected them in the article on Inchofer that he contributed to Nicéron's *Mémoires* because they were corroborated in a most unlikely place. At the end of the *Relation* of his mission to Rome to prevent the censure of Arnauld's *De la fréquente communion*, Jean Bourgeois added a long digression lavish in praise of Inchofer's open-mindedness to the Jansenist cause. He went on to tell an impossible tale about Inchofer's abduction at night by the Jesuits and summary condemnation to exile because of his suspected authorship of the *Monarchia*. In Bourgeois' version of the events, two cardinals, Barberini and Franciotti, interceded with the Pope to save him. At the Pope's command, the General of the Jesuits at last conceded and had Inchofer brought back from Tivoli to his College in Rome, where he lived out the rest of his days in peace.⁴⁴ Bayle, if he is indeed responsible for the

⁴² Allacci to Apro시오 on 14.II.1645: “Intendo che à Venetia sia stampato un libro sotto questo nome Lucii Cornelii Europaei de Monarchia Solipsorum dedicato à me da un tal Timoteo Cursantio. io non cognosco ne l'uno, ne l'altro, ne mi posso imaginare chi siano questi solipsi, e quello che è peggio non hò visto il Libro. potria essere qualche cosa contra di mè. la pregho di gratia voglia informarsi sopra questo, e chi è l'auttore, et avisarmi. non sò se il stampatore sia il Baba” (Genoa, Bibl. univ., E.V.17, no. 21); on 10 June: “È vero che qua in Roma ancora hà fatto strepito la Monarchia di Solipsi, e se vi è qualche d'uno si vende quantum plurimi et a discretione. mi si dice tal uno esser venduto quindeci giuli” (no. 22); on 15 July: “Haverei a caro VS^a mi desse conto più minuto della Seconda editione de Solipsi, chi l'hà stampato, come, et in che forma, sè è stampato cosi scorretam^{te} come il primo, se vi è aggiunta. et a che prezzo si mette” (no. 24). Allacci gave Chigi the same information as to when the book appeared: “Poccho inanzi dell'Interregno uscì un libretto sotto titolo di Lucio Cornelio Europaeo de Monarchia Solipsorum stampato in Venetia, e dedicato à me” (Vat. Chig. A.III.59, f. 177^r).

⁴³ “...mi fù detto da un Amico, che fatta la cerca con licenza del Papa delle scritte del *Inchofero* temendo di simil ventura alle sue, sacrificò à Volcano alcune scritte spettanti alla stessa *Monarchia*, che forse potevano essere di quei libri, che si nominano nell'ultima pag. *Alterum de intestinis Solipsorum, de externis bellis alterum*. Per quello, che io potei cavare da tal uno degl'interessati in Viterbo nel M.DC.LI. interrogandolo del libro dell'*Inchofero* mi disse, che nelle Scritture ritrovarono qualche notareella che verteva nell'istessa materia, e lettere del Conte *Giulio Clemente Scoti*, e che interrogato intorno al Libercolo della *Monarchia* disse non haverlo fatto: mà che havevano in mano da poter convincere, che egli l'havesse fatto”, *La Visiera Alzata* (In Parma, per gli Heredi del Vigna, 1689), 76. Apro시오 also indicated that the work was issued “dalle stampe di Matteo Leni, e di Gio: Vecellio Cadorini compagni, però ad istanza di Francesco Baba, che teneva impediti i torchi”.

⁴⁴ *Relation de M. Bourgeois, Docteur de Sorbonne et Député de vint Evêques de France vers le S. Siege pour la defense du livre De la Frequente Communion, composé par M. Arnauld, Contenant Ce qui s'est passé à Rome en 1645. & 1646. pour la justification de ce Livre*, 1695,

notes to the *Naudaeana*, had already questioned the reliability of Bourgeois as Jansenist propaganda.⁴⁵ For Oudin proving that the *Monarchia* could not be by Inchofer precisely because the *Relation* was full of implausibilities became an obsession, and he attributed it instead to the renegade Giulio Clemente Scotti, who was known for his later anti-Jesuit writings. Armed with biographical details obtained from the Jesuit archives in Rome, Oudin continued to build his case in the companion article he wrote on Scotti. He had discovered that Scotti almost left the Company in 1641 and did finally “apostatize” in 1645, after Vitelleschi’s death. Scotti fled to Venice on his way to Parma, when he was sent to attend the Provincial Congregation to elect a new General. The *Monarchia*, in Oudin’s eyes, was the libellous product of his bitterness that the Jesuits had not recognized his merits.⁴⁶ But Allacci’s information on the publication of the *Monarchia* undermines the chronological basis of Oudin’s argument.

Oudin even drafted a separate memorandum on the *Relation* which clearly exposes the flaw in his reasoning: since the portrayal by Bourgeois of Inchofer’s Jansenist sympathies and his success in limiting the General’s term of office to nine years was all wrong, so too the abduction had to be “pure fable”.⁴⁷ Oudin’s conclusions were blindly accepted by Sommervogel

without place or name, 99-108 for the digression on Inchofer, 105-108 for the abduction. This is the (separate) edition cited by Bayle (cf. the next note); Oudin cites another 1695 edition, which contains other pieces about Arnauld. The history of this work has yet to be told; Pasquier Quesnel was responsible for the posthumous publication. Cf. the reprint of the *Relation* in Antoine Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, vol. 28, D’Arnay, Paris, 1779, 667.

⁴⁵ *Naudaeana*, 2nd ed., 221-222 (cit. n. 2).

⁴⁶ The disputed attribution takes up a full third of the article on Inchofer, 337-345 (cit. n. 8), and it informs most of that on Scotti, in *Mémoires*, vol. 39, 1738, 56-85. Oudin wrote to Nicéron of his researches from Dijon on 9.IV.1736: “L’article ci joint m’a paru propre à vous être envoyé. Si vous jugez qu’il puisse entrer dans votre Ouvrage, je vous supplie de le retoucher, quant au stile. ... Quoique dans ce que j’ai dit sur la *Monarchie des Solipses*, j’aye eu grand soin à ne rien mettre qui pût offenser ceux dont je refute les sentimens, je vous prie, Mon Reverend Pere, de faire attention à cet endroit. j’aurois pû le faire plus long, et y ajouter bien d’autres raisons et me repandre en reflexions, il m’a paru que la chose étoit suffisamment prouvée, quant à la justification d’Inchofer. Si vous faites usage de cet article, et que vous souhaitiez celui de *Jules Clement Scotti*, j’aurai l’honneur de vous l’envoyer” (AFCJ, Collection Vivier, N° 2, f. 240^r); and on 12.III.1737: “Pour ne pas échaper cette commodité, je vous envoie ces papiers, quoique dans un état un peu malpropre. C’est tout ce que je sai sur la personne et les ouvrages de *Jules Scotti*. Les dattes n’y sont pas epargnées. je les ai recues de Rome. Le reste je l’ai tiré de Pallavicin, et de Theophile Raynaud” (f. 243^r), when he also asked Nicéron to preserve his anonymity. His letters of 14.VI.1736 and 27.IV.1737 (AFCJ, Correspondances et pièces autographes II, ff. 71^r-72^v) also concern Scotti, notably how to spell his name in Italian.

⁴⁷ The memorandum was given to Jean-Bernard Michault, who summarized it in his *Mélanges historiques et philologiques*, vol. 2, Tilliard, Paris, 1754, 349-354, esp. 353-354: “L’enlèvement nocturne du P. Inchofer n’est évidemment qu’une pure fable. Quoi, M. Bourgeois voudroit que l’on crût que le Général Vincent Carafa, homme né d’une famille noble, d’une vertu exemplaire, & cinq Assistans, gens recommandables par leur science & leur Religion, fussent des hommes perdus, des assassins!”. Inchofer’s stance in the Jansenist affair still awaits study; and cf. Dümmerth, 101 (cit. n. 3), for the reforms of the Jesuits by Innocent X.

and have thereby become authoritative. Giorgio Spini alone, it seems, has argued for the original attribution.⁴⁸

Inchofer's trial and condemnation help to explain why the authorship of the *Monarchia* has proved such a delicate question. Following a denunciation on 3 January 1648, a search of Inchofer's rooms at the Germanicum turned up incriminating papers and led to charges that he had conspired to defame the order. Among other things, letters were found from Scotti indicating that Inchofer was familiar with, and possibly supplied information for, his anti-Jesuit writings; other writings against the Company by a certain Portuguese named Baretta; a history of the Congregation that elected Carafa to succeed Vitelleschi; and a continuation of the *Monarchia*, which exposed Inchofer to investigation that he had authored the book itself. These papers served as the principal exhibits at Inchofer's trial, which took place in Tivoli from 11 to 20 January.⁴⁹

On 18 January, after seven interrogations conducted by Sforza Pallavicino under the supervision of Valentino Egidi, the Provincial of Rome, Inchofer broke down and asked Pallavicino to end the trial in the quickest and most acceptable manner possible. He was told that the strict penalty for conviction on the charges against him was disgrace and death, and if not death, then life imprisonment. To avoid such punishment, Pallavicino advised him to make a sincere confession and to put himself entirely at the General's mercy. Inchofer drafted a letter which, as Pallavicino observed, acknowledged much less on the score of the Solipsists than could really be believed, and would do him little good. When Inchofer countered that he could say no more without lying, Pallavicino offered to let the trial proceed. In that moment the trial turned. At Inchofer's insistent request that Pallavicino find a means for him to plead his guilt, Pallavicino provided the appropriate legal formula. The same day, Pallavicino reported this conversation in a letter to Carafa by way of forwarding Inchofer's confession to the General. He went on to say something he had surely not told Inchofer, namely that Inchofer had not yet been found guilty in the matter of the Solipsists, and

⁴⁸ *Ricerca dei libertini. La teoria dell'impostura delle religioni nel Seicento italiano*, Universale, Rome, 1950, 222-229. Spini argued principally on stylistic grounds.

⁴⁹ The proceedings of the trial, in ARSI, Hist. Soc. 166, were first signalled by Dümmerth, 103-104 (cit. n. 3). The confiscated papers are in ARSI, Cong. 20d; the so-called continuation of the *Monarchia*, in Inchofer's hand, at ff. 185^r-186^r, figures in the denunciation by Pirro Gherardi, the general procurator: "Che habbia continuata un'opera intitolata Lucii Cornelii Europaei Monarchia Solipsorum, la quale con allegorie assai chiare è un libello famoso contro la Comp^a dalche si sospetta, che egli sia stato l'authore del d^o libro Monarchia Solipsorum già stampato" (Hist. Soc. 166, f. 5^r). The trial was the last stage in a demotion that began soon after the election of Carafa; cf. Allacci to Chigi: "Fatto il Generale novo, non so perche, sotto specie d'honore levorno detto Padre dalla casa professa, e lo mandorno nel Collegio a leggere la Scrittura Sacra, dove la lesse per più mesi con sodisfattione di tutti. Ma perche l'età era troppo innanzi, e meno habile a quella faticha, si rissolsero mandarlo al Collegio Germanico per Confessore di quella gioventù" (Vat. Chig. A.III.59, f. 177^v).

that there was little hope of doing so.⁵⁰ In light of the points that did convict him, Pallavicino recommended imprisonment not for a set term, but at the discretion of the General, which effectively meant for life, though in a place like Monte Santo (Potenza Picina today, in Macerata) where the air was good. Carafa accepted Pallavicino's recommendations for ending the trial. On the 19th he stipulated that revisions be made in the official confession to be included in the proceedings of the trial, listed the points that confession should contain, and set the punishment. In addition to imprisonment at Carafa's discretion, Inchofer was stripped of any voice in the administration of the order and given one month of penance.⁵¹ Sentence was passed on the 20th,⁵² and the next day, considering himself perhaps indeed lucky, Inchofer wrote to thank Carafa (see Appendix and Plate II).

Pallavicino began his letter to Carafa by saying that Inchofer had called for an end to the trial just when interrogation on the *Monarchia* was to resume. During his second interrogation, on 12 January, Inchofer had played dumb on the subject:

Io specialm^{te} in ordine al libro intitolato Monarchia Solipsorum, dico che non solo non l'ho composto, il che se havessi fatto sarei il muggior infame, e

⁵⁰ Pallavicino to Carafa, Tivoli, 18 January: "...egli vedendosi già tanto stretto, mi ha pregato di consiglio per finir la causa nella più corta e tollerabile maniera che si potesse. Io gli ho risposto che il titolo de' suoi delitti è tale che porta seco la degradatione et anche la morte quando ne fosse convinto e quando cessasse ogni circostanza per la quale dovrebbe alleggerirsi la pena ordinaria, e che se non la morte vi potrebbe esser luogo alla condannatione nell'ergastolo. Che in ordine poi alle prove egli medesimo sentiva quanto erano gagliarde oltre di quelle che avrebbe sentite negli esami futuri. Pertanto che s'egli voleva assicurarsi da tali pene, poteva fare una sincera confessione a VP^{ta} e rimettersi tutto alla sua misericordia. ... Egli accettò la proposta, e mi ringraziò infinitamente. Ma nello stendere poi la lettera à VP^{ta} confessava assai meno di quello che verisimilm^{te} può credersi in virtù del processo intorno al *Solipsi*, onde io gli significai che tal confessione à VP^{ta} sarebbe paruta non sincera e *diminuta*, come stimo e però non degna d'alcuna misericordia. E esso dall'altro canto assicurava, che non poteva senza bugia incolparsi di più. All'ora io gli replicai, che se ciò era, meglio sarebbe stato il rimettersi a VP^{ta} e lasciare correre il processo. Ma egli mi si raccomandava caldissimamente a trovar qualche modo nel quale senza mutatione potesse darsi per colpevole affatto e tralasciasse ogni scusa. Sì che finalmente io gli suggerii che scrivesse alla PV^a nel termine ch'essa vedrà. Il che fece volentierissimo. ... Bisogna poi avvertire, che nel delitto del *Solipsi* egli non è convinto nè possiamo sperar di convincerlo: Oltre che non essendo ivi nominata la Compagnia, ne vi entrerebbe la pena ordinaria de libelli famosi, come dicono espressam^{te} i Dottori" (Hist. Soc. 166, ff. 7^r-9^r). In Inchofer's letter of confession to Carafa, likewise Tivoli, 18 January, the critical sentence immediately follows acknowledgment of his other writings about the Company: "In quanto alli altri punti del commercio tenuto con il Scotti, Barretto et nella causa del libro della Monarchia di Solipsi, vedo esser tante le presuntioni congetture e raggioni contra di me che in foro externo non sono bastante a rispondere, et merito degno castigo" (ibid., f. 65^r).

⁵¹ Carafa responded to Pallavicino through Egidi (ARSI, Italia 78, ff. 7^v-8^r, secr. min.), who had also written on 18 January (Hist. Soc. 166, f. 117^r).

⁵² Hist. Soc. 166, f. 58^{r-v}.

traditore, che possa havere la Comp^a, ma non ne ho letti se non tre ò quattro capi, e questi non l'ho intesi.

He brought his friend Allacci into the story and related, first, a detail which is independently confirmed,

Ma di questo libro io non ho altra notitia, senon che essendo io Consultore della Congreg^{ne} dell'Indice, sò ch'il S^{re} Leone Alatio Consultore dell'istessa Congreg^{ne}, et al quale il libro viene dedicato, si offese di tale dedicatione quasi che si volesse far credere, che egli havesse amicitia con l'autore e però deferì il sudetto libro alla Cong^{ne}. E con tale occorrenza io ne viddi di la, e di qua tre ò quattro capi fattimi leggere da quelli della med^{ma} Congreg^{ne}, e non intesi, che cosa volesse dire.

and then another which seems to have been invented whole cloth:

Dopò il S^r Leone Alatio mi disse in capo à molti mesi essersi ritrovato l'autore del sudetto libro, il quale era un tal fiammengo poco amico della Comp^a, et che essendo stato in Roma haveva havuto informat^{ne} delle cose nostre...

His account of the alleged continuation of the *Monarchia* was even more fantastic:

Pře sì che questa scrittura è mia, et scritta, e composta da me, ma non è continuatione del detto libro; et dirò come l'ho fatta. Io mi sono diletato di comporre in varii stili, ne' i quali io mi servissi hora delle frasi particolari d'un'Autore, et hora d'un'altro, e credo haver fatto più di dieci tomi in diverse materie imitando varii autori per mio essercitio. Hora sono circa quattro mesi, che mi venne pensiero di fare l'istesso delle frasi di Plauto, e leggendo una materia à caso tale, quale m'occorresse. Hora mi occorse al pensiero il sud^o libro del *Monarchia Solipsorum*, e però di tal materia scrissi le tre pagine, che VR. m'ha mostrate senza haver in mente altro significato. Ma poi tralasciai considerando, che alla mia età, et alle mie occupationi non conveniva perdere il tempo in ciò.⁵³

⁵³ Hist. Soc. 166, ff. 25^r-26^r. On 19.III.1648 Allacci told Chigi the same story about having referred the *Monarchia* to the Index (Vat. Chig. A.III.59, f. 179^r), but neither to Chigi, with whom he had a protracted exchange about Inchofer, nor in any of the other references to the *Monarchia* elsewhere in his correspondence does the story of the Flemish author ever appear. Allacci kept a guarded silence on the subject. As late as 1650, when Barthold Nihus, in Amsterdam, asked who the author was, Allacci answered: "Sed quis tandem fuerit? dices. Des veniam amico, mi Nihusii. parcendum est nomini nunc. ita placet Auctori, cui mos gerendus est. forte alias innotescet. Quid intererit Lectori sive sub Cornelii nomine, sive sub Caii tantae Monarchiae mysteria noverit. Liber tamen cuiuscunque sit, attente accurateque legendus est, et mente a rebus aliis aversa. Sunt ne alia eiusdem Auctoris? Auctor ipse promittit, nescio an edenda" (on 23.VIII.1650, All. CLIV/59, f. 264^{r-v}, minute). Nihus answered: "Autorem Monarchiae Solipsorum esse Apellem post tabulam, nunciabo amicis" (on 21.X.1650, All. CXLIX/131, f. 422^v).

But Pallavicino was not at all persuaded. How could Inchofer write a pastiche of a work he had barely glimpsed at some two years earlier? He subsequently questioned the recent bibliographer of the Company, Philippe Alegambe, and his successor, Nathaniel Southwell. Both experts thought Inchofer had written the *Monarchia* and for similar reasons: its style first of all, as well as the allusions to events in his own life and to recent incidents in Rome that he knew better than anyone else.⁵⁴

The account of Inchofer's arrest and trial that Allacci sent Fabio Chigi, nunzio at the time at the peace negotiations in Münster (see Appendix III), shows that Bourgeois had not invented "une petite aventure romanesque", in Oudin's words. Bourgeois did conflate two separate efforts to protect Inchofer. During the trial itself, a petition in his name was made to the Congregation of Regulars for his immediate release on the grounds of his irregular treatment, but it came to nothing when word got out of his unforced confession. Carafa also insisted in his reply to Pallavicino that Inchofer append a disavowal to the petition.⁵⁵ The appeal directly to the Pope occurred after the trial, and only delayed the inevitable. By late February, evidently after his month of penance, Inchofer was sent to Monte Santo, and in July from there to Milan. He believed his removal to Milan was a stratagem to prevent his leaving the Company, as he was preparing to do.⁵⁶

Allacci's account is remarkable above all because it provides a context for the interventions on Inchofer's behalf. The "doctrine" he mentions, which sanctioned the killing by clerics and monks of one of their own for defamation of their order, came from the noted Jesuit jurist Francesco Amico.⁵⁷ This was the punishment reserved for Inchofer, as Pallavicino had reminded him, but under what circumstances exactly? If one could prove that he had written the *Monarchia*, since on every other point he was found guilty? Inchofer did not underestimate the danger. The sentence immediately preceding his confession on the score of the *Monarchia* ends with a plea to be spared: "spero che non vorrà mortem peccatoris sed ut magis convertatur et vivat".

⁵⁴ Hist. Soc. 166, ff. 42^r-43^v, on 15-16 January. A study of the allusions in the *Monarchia* is still needed.

⁵⁵ Hist. Soc. 166, f. 113^{r-v}, for the petition and its disavowal. Marc'Antonio Franciotti, mentioned by Bourgeois, was a member of the Congregation of Regulars.

⁵⁶ On 27 February Inchofer wrote Pallavicino from Monte Santo (Hist. Soc. 166, f. 97^r); he was in Milan by 22 July: cf. Carafa to Inchofer on 8 August (Mediol. 29-I, f. 133^r, secr. min.). For his efforts to change orders, cf. Inchofer to Pallavicino?, Milan, late summer 1648, and other miscellaneous papers (Hist. Soc. 166, ff. 106^r, 122^r-124^r), and Carafa to Alessandro Fieschi, Rector of the Jesuit College in Milan, on 22 August (Italia 78, f. 141^r, secr. min.). Oudin's explanation, 325-326 (cit. n. 8), for the moves to Macerata and Milan is thus pure fiction.

⁵⁷ *De Iure et Iustitia*, vol. 5 of his *Cursus Theologici* (Duaci, Apud Haeredes Baltazaris Belleri, 1642), 544; the excerpt sent by Allacci is bound out of place, at f. 173^r. The volume was put on the Index in 1651, and an expurgated edition published in 1650 without the passage in question: cf. the article on Amico by Alberto Merola in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 2, 1960, 787-788.

When word reached Rome of Inchofer's death, on 28 September 1648, Allacci wrote Chigi that the end had been hurried on:

Io per dirli quello che ne sento mi meravigliavo che durasse tanto. e sebene mi consolavo che l'haverlo confinato in Milano sotto pretesto di dover esser lettore della Scrittura, non dovesse poi servir per altro che tramandarlo in Germania e li poi allontanato dalla Congregatione trattarlo a suo modo, niente di meno hò poi cognosciuto che hanno sollecitato l'impresa, per tema che egli uscendo dalla religione, cosa che gia si trattava da suoi amici, non dovesse dire quello che esso sapeva, e che essi non volevano sentire. Si che s'è fatto quello del quale essi erano tenuti per legge di charità, secondo la dottrina dell'Amico che io l'inviai con altra occasione.⁵⁸

Carafa's reaction to the news leaves room for just that possibility:

Il sig^r Iddio ha liberata la Comp^a da travagli, che potevano succedere, et hà voluto usar misericordia con quell'anima, che s'era incaminata per poca buona strada.⁵⁹

When Inchofer got scared, and his bluff was called, Pallavicino offered the terms for just enough of a confession to satisfy Carafa and end the nasty business. The letter he then wrote was a masterpiece of inquisitorial diplomacy. While it stressed that Inchofer had been shown the edge of the precipice, it also offered the General, and the entire Jesuit order, a juridical escape from the logical outcome of the case. The judge had broken his victim and then moved swiftly to grant him a reprieve. Memories of another trial, some fifteen years earlier, in which the victim had faced a similar danger and received a comparable sentence, must have been vivid during the conversation between Inchofer and Pallavicino. But now the tables had in a manner of speaking been turned.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Vat. Chig. A.III.59, f. 187^r, on 24 October.

⁵⁹ ARSI, Mediol. 73, f. 223^r, Carafa to Fieschi on 17 October.

⁶⁰ Pallavicino played a part in delaying, or deflecting, Grassi's attack against the atomistic argument in the *Saggiatore*: cf. Guiducci to Galileo on 21.VI.1624, *Opere* XIII, 186, cited by Redondi, 231.

Appendix

I. ACDF, Index, Protocolli EE (= II^a27), f. 301^{r-v} (old f. 291^{r-v}) (cf. Plate I)⁶¹
 Inchofer's *iudicium* on §48 of the *Saggiatore*

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Vidi discursum Lyncei et agnovi Philosophiam esse eius hominis qui nunquam non verae philosophiae imposuit, sive errore, sive ignorantia, semper temerarie.

Errat in primis negando qualitates primas et secundas etiam in iis corporibus quae agunt in materiam externam, velut cum negat calorem inesse igni qui in nos agit calefaciendo.

2. Errat dicendo non posse conceptu separari a substantiis corporeis accidentia modificantia, velut quantitatem et quae ad quantitatem consequuntur. Quae opinio est absolute contra fidem, exemplo Eucharistiae, ubi quantitas non solum realiter distinguitur a sua substantia, sed etiam separata existit.

3. Errat cum dicit saporem, odorem colorem, esse pura nomina, et quasi denominationes extrinsecas a corporibus sentientibus, quibus sublatis ipsa quoque huiusmodi accidentia tolli et annihilari, praesertim si sint distincta a primis veris et realibus accidentibus: Ex quo errore duo alii consequuntur.

1. Corpora eandem quantitatem et figuram habentia habere eosdem sapes odores &c. 2. Corpora amittentia odorem et saporem, amittere etiam quantitatem et figuram a quibus sapor odor &c. non distinguuntur in phantasia Lyncei.

4. Errat quod sensationes in corpore animalis vocet actiones, cum patitur ab obiecto extrinseco, velut cum titillatur a penna aut alio corpore. Sed hoc condonandum ruditati Philosophi.

5. Errat cum eandem velit esse rationem odoris et saporis, ac titillationis causatae ab agentibus extrinsecis, haec enim sentitur in passo iuxta dispositionem corporis organici, ad cuiusmodi sensationem per accidens se habet hoc vel illud agens in individuo: at sapes et odores &c. oriuntur ex qualitatibus obiectorum, ratione mixtionis hoc vel illo modo temperatae; ad quod vice versa per accidens se habet hoc vel illud organum sensationis in individuo unde iuxta varias dispositiones, unus altero plus vel minus sentet.

6. Errat cum dicit, ferrum v.g. candens tantum calefacere, animalia sensu praedita; nam quodvis corpus appositum igni, dummodo sit mixtum et non quintae alicuius essentiae recipit calorem. Idem dico si iuxta ponatur quodvis aliud corpus* cuius agentis per species sensibiles a quo recipit easdem qualitates. |

⁶¹ The abbreviations, which are few in number, have been expanded for the sake of clarity. Full stops are missing at the end of 5 of the 10 paragraphs, including the final one, and have been silently added.

* *Idem ... corpus* is a correction for *iuxta positum igni, aut* which was crossed out.

7. Recte deducitur ex opinione huius authoris, non manere accidentia in Eucharistia sine substantia panis. Patet, agunt enim in organum sensationis resolutione minimarum partium, quae cum sint heterogeneae a quantitate, alioqui non afficerent nisi sensum tactus, erunt substantiae, non nisi ex substantia panis, quae enim alia potest assignari, proinde habetur intentum. Idemque sequitur non minus evidenter in ea sententia quae ponit partes substantiae entitativas, distinctas a quantitate dimensiva, nec distinctas realiter a substantia.
8. Recte etiam deducitur non manere alia accidentia in Eucharistia nisi quantitatem, figuram &c. nam sapor odor, sunt pura vocabula si non habeatur relatio ad sensum, in opinione scilicet erronea Lyncei proinde absolute non sunt distincta accidentia a quantitate figura &c.
- Si author per partes minimas intelligat species sensibiles, habebit patronos quosdam ex philosophia Aboriginum, sed plura cogetur asserere absurda nec salva in fide. Interim sufficiant ista ex quibus ulterior inquisitio fieri potest coram S. Officio.

II. ARSI, Hist. Soc. 166, f. 71^r (cf. Plate II)
 Inchofer to Vincenzo Carafa, Tivoli 21.I.1648

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M^o Rev^o Pře nřo in Xp^o

Ringratio di tutto cuore VP. della pena che m'ha data, la quale spero che servirà per medicina dell'anima mia, perche venendomi da lei, la ricevo come dalle mani di Dio, et procuraro d'essequirla non solo con prontezza ma con allegrezza ancora. La ringratio ancora che m'habbi usato misericordia, meritando io assai peggio, et VP. s'assicuri ch'io vivo in cecità di quel che facevo et che illuminati sunt oculi mei. Et posso dire Bonum mihi quia humiliasti me. Dio mi dà tal sentimento che mi pare d'esser sicuro che VP vederà i fatti confermar le parole: Et che se mi gli sono mostrato figlio indegno, non gli morerò figlio indegno in risguardo alle mie operationi future. VP m'aiuti con le sue orationi, et m'aggiunga pure qualsivoglia penit^{ta} che la farò volontieri. Et per fine la pregho della sua santa bened^e. Di Tivoli 21 Genn^o 1648.

Di VP.

Figlio mi^o in Chřo
 Melchior Inchofer.

III. Vat. Chig. A.III.59, ff. 177^v-178^r
 Leone Allacci to Fabio Chigi, Rome 7.III.1648 (excerpt)

... Hora fra tante turbulenze, dove gli aversarii havevano fabricate le loro machine, li giorni passati dell'Epiphania fu l chiamato dal Germanico al Gesù per ordine dell'assistente d'Italia, sotto pretesto d'haver da trattar negotii seco, come altre volte haveva fatto. Andò. ad hora di pranso fà istanza ritornarsene, già che non haveva potuto parlarli, e che sarebbe tornato, se li dice, rimangha ivi à pranso. verso il tardo lo trattenero, lo posero in una carrozza con doi compagni, secondo si dice con ferri ai piedi, e lo mandorno a Tivoli carcerato. In questo mentre appirno la camera sua nel Germanico. cercorno. quello che si trovassero, Dio lo sà, mentre esso non era presente. Sparsero però haverli trovati varie scritte contra la religione de Gesuiti, Un Historia dell'Interregno, la seconda parte de Monarchia Solipsorum, e lettere di corrispondenza con detto Scoto. Il giorno seguente mandorno a Tivoli doi Gesuiti, li maggiori inimici che esso s'havesse, e che già in altre occasioni s'erano dichiarati offesi da lui, a formar il processo, e fare la causa. Non si può dire quanto bisbiglio suscitasse negli animi di tutti i conoscenti di detto Padre la saputa di questo negotio. Ammirationi. risi. ma sopra tutto timore grande, che la persona non fosse prima malmessa che finita la causa. Accresceva il timore una dottrina sparsa in Roma delli detti Gesuiti, dove insegnano, esser lecito, immo debere, un Clerico amazzare uno il quale difamasse, ò se ò la sua religione, gli mando copia di questo capitolo. li sospetti furono grandi, tanto più che molti di detti Padri andavano per la corte di detti Sig^{ri} informando contra detto Padre, e pregando che non dovessero pigliare la sua protettione, ma l'abbandonassero alla loro discrezione. Non manchò però chi prese la sua protettione, e dette un memoriale alla Congregatione de Regolari. dove presentata la dottrina, si supplicava che in qualche modo s'assicurasse la persona à non perire. e che poi la causa la facessero a bell'aggio, e lo condannassero a quello che essi volessero. Non ostante che li Gesuiti repugnassero, si rescrisse ad Generalem pro Informatione. Li Padri lo sentirono male, e per saldar la loro causa, operarono, come si sia andato non si sà, che detto Padre si rimettesse a loro, e così presentorno una scrittura originale sua, dove rinunciava alle sue giustificationi, e si rimetteva in tutto e per tutto al P. Generale: ma perche vedevano che la Congregatione non l'intendeva bene, sopra detta renuncia lo condanorno, cioè lo privorno di voce attiva, e passiva, et in carcere ad arbitrio del P. Generale. non dimeno la Sacra Congregatione rescrisse di novo, che referatur ad urbem. Sopra questo stabilimento un Sig^r Cardinale fece parola con N.Sig^{re}. l'informò della causa, della dottrina, della conclusione presa, quale ne riportò haver fatto bene haver presa la protettione di detto, quale era suo amico, et haverebbe fatto piacere a proseguir a defenderlo, e che rimetteva la causa a detto Sig^{re} e molte altre cose. Così bisognò che il P. Incofer fosse riportato à Roma, e posto nel Novitiato, d'indi poi trasferito in casa del detto Cardinale, dove si prese rissoluzione per

acquietar in qualche modo li negotii, e che la religione non rimanesse intacchata, si rimettesse, e mostrasse d'obedire, e cosi fù mandato a Monte Santo a star la per qualche tempo. si dice che inanzi pascha tornerà in Roma. ...

