



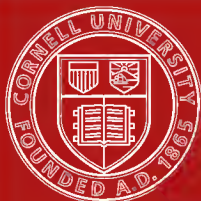
Cornell University Library
Z1019.M53 A2 1830

Literary policy of the Church of Rome



3 1924 029 554 429

olin



Cornell University
Library

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.



THE
LITERARY POLICY
OF THE
CHURCH OF ROME
EXHIBITED,
IN AN ACCOUNT OF HER
DAMNATORY CATALOGUES OR INDEXES,
BOTH PROHIBITORY AND EXPURGATORY.
WITH
VARIOUS ILLUSTRATIVE EXTRACTS, ANECDOTES,
AND REMARKS.

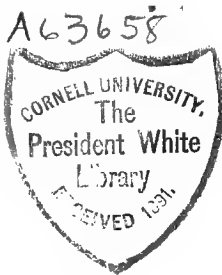
BY THE
REV. JOSEPH MENDHAM, M. A.

Neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum sævitum, delegato trium-
viris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur.
Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani, et libertatem senatus, et conscientiam generis
humani aboleri arbitrabantur. TAC. AGRIC. c. ii.

SECOND EDITION, MUCH ENLARGED.

LONDON:
JAMES DUNCAN, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

MDCCCXXX.



Destituimur adhuc in Republica literaria. 1.) Historia librorum prohibitorum. Cujus primas lineas duxit Paulus Sarpus—Schrammius—Raynaudus—Alii. 2.) Bibliotheca Historico-Critica indicum librorum prohibitorum, quæ exhibeat varias eorum Editiones, Accessiones, Detractiones, vicissitudines, utilitates, noxas, errata, arcana, omissa, suppressa, &c. Qualem Diatriben nos olim in animo habuimus, atque idcirco totidem editiones horum Catalogorum accumulavimus, quæ in Catalogo nostro Bibliothecæ Theol. Systematico-Critico enumerantur, quæque omnes rariores inventu sunt et nou nisi sollicitissime quærenti-obiæ.

Bib. Hist. Lit. Crit. &c., hoc est Catalogi Bibliothecæ Reimmanuianæ Systematico-Criticæ.—Tom. ii., pp. 743, 744. Hild. 1739.

TO

SIR ROBERT HARRY INGLIS, BART.,

M. P. for the University of Oxford.

DEAR SIR ROBERT,

I AM unwilling to lose the opportunity which the second enlarged, and, I trust, improved, edition, of the present work affords me, of congratulating, not only yourself, but the nation at large, on your early restoration to the legislative post, in the first occupation of which you discharged its high duties with so much honour to yourself and so much satisfaction to your country.

The first act of resumption has, indeed, been thrown into a shade by the splendid circumstances which produced, and which accompany the second.

The University of Oxford, which, on the eve of a noble revolution, exhibited a bright example of high-principled and intrepid resistance to a tyrannical invasion of the civil and religious liberty of the country, in one of its most sacred recesses, has even in the inglo-

rious year just passed, and in a contest strikingly analogous, maintained its claim to the same uncorrupt and incorruptible attachment, both to the pure religion of the Reformation and to the manly freedom of the Revolution.

Of the triumph obtained in this important and honourable conflict, both yourself and those who have achieved it reap the fruits—You, in becoming the representative of one of the most illustrious seats of learning, in a nation, which may have a rival, but has no superior, in the civilized world—They, in the services, which a merciful and omnipotent Providence may still place it within the reach of consistent integrity and eminent ability to accomplish.

I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir Robert,

Your very faithful friend and servant,

JOSEPH MENDHAM.

Sutton Coldfield, July 27, 1830.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

IN a path so untrodden as that of the present work, it was scarcely possible that what, I presume, may fairly be called a first effort should be otherwise than defective. In retracing my steps, however, I find fewer errors to correct than I had anticipated: but much has occurred which appears of importance in the way of addition. It was, indeed, obvious, in the first instance, that the nature of the Indexes of Rome would be more adequately represented, and somewhat of the tædium of such discussions be relieved, by examples and observations exhibiting and illustrating their contents. The true apology, perhaps, for this defect is, the labour which it would have required to avoid it. Nor is it impossible that it may be supplied with more effect and benefit by the

interval for reflexion which has elapsed between the first and the present essay. Had the additions which presented themselves as desirable been sufficiently separable from the body of the former work, I should have preferred publishing them in such a form as not to render the first edition of inferior value. But this, it may be easily conjectured from the nature of the work, could not be done without considerable disadvantage to the entire subject. The additions now given, I repeat, appear to me important; otherwise I certainly should not have undertaken the labour of making them: and among them, I apprehend the intelligent reader will not be the least gratified with the discovery—such at least it has been to me—of an Index of Sixtus V., which, obviously, has suffered the same disrespectful, or rather dishonourable, treatment, and identically from the same hands, and those the hands of a successor in the pontificate and a brother, as his celebrated, first authentic, and yet for its errors suppressed, edition of the Latin Vulgate.

In justification of the researches which I have

still continued to make, and now communicate, on this subject, I may be allowed to observe, that, after much and long reflexion it appears a matter of moment to the Christian and Protestant world, that a record, as complete and authentic as possible, should exist and be known, of a peculiar class of documents, from various intelligible causes highly inaccessible, issuing from a religious establishment, whose claims are estimated very differently by herself and by those who have thought it their duty to separate from her communion, and which, by their emphatic and minute exhibition of her body and spirit, furnish one, among divers other most satisfactory criteria, which of the two estimates is the just.

That the works, appearing under the form of Indexes, Catalogues, &c., however various, still all belonging to, as coming from, Rome, are at least uncommon and extensively unknown, requires no proof more elaborate or unexceptionable than the, not only ready but forward, declaration of ignorance by the very persons who should be presumed to be best acquainted with them,—by

well informed members of the ecclesiastic community which promulgates and enforces them, and among whom alone they have the authority which they either actually possess, or were intended to possess. Judging from my own feelings, as a Protestant, (and a more equitable rule cannot be devised,) on the supposition that, by the constituted authorities of the church to which I belong, there were published for the observance of her members, from time and time, books, of a nature so nearly affecting their constant daily occupations, as that of prescribing from what reading they should abstain, upon pain of the highest censures she could enounce, if we, as Protestants, were not ashamed of our ignorance of such authoritative promulgations, we should at least feel highly grateful to any individual, even of an opposite religious persuasion, who would communicate the information in which we were so obviously and deeply interested. It would not, perhaps, be an unreasonable expectation to look for the same gratitude from an ingenuous Romanist in the case which is exactly the converse.

That the miraculous ignorance, for which I have given the members of the Roman Church credit, is no gratuitous assumption, stands upon deliberate and public declarations of their own. I do not insist upon that of Charles Butler, Esq.*: but the statement of one, greater than he, as this eminent Jurist himself will allow, and delivered on a memorable occasion, is every way deserving of a repetition. The Roman Catholic Titular Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. MURRAY, when examined before the Committee of the House of Commons for inquiring into the state of Ireland, in 1825, thus answered a question proposed to him: ‘The *Index Expurgatorius* has no authority whatever in Ireland; it has never been received in these countries, and I doubt very much, whether there be ten people in Ireland, who have ever seen it; it is a sort of censorship of books, established in Rome, and it is not even received in Spain, where they have a censorship of their own;

* ‘Few of them’ (the Roman Catholics) ‘know of the existence of the *Index Expurgatorius*.’—*Letter to C. Blundell, Esq.*, prefixed to *Vindication*, p. lxxxiv. I am indebted for the reference to the PROTESTANT GUARDIAN, in its able review of this work, vol. i., p. 185.

in these countries it has no force whatever*.' No equivocation, I trust, lurks under the ambiguity of the epithet, *Expurgatorius*. If the REV. PETER KENNEY, Superior of the Jesuits' seminary at Clongowes, who was examined by the Commissioners in 1826, and discovered his acquaintance with, at least, the *last* edition of the *Instituta Societatis Jesu*, or the REV. CHARLES BROOKE, President of the College of the same order at Stonyhurst, Blackburn, Lancashire, could he have been examined, had been called upon to give the information which was required on the subject of the Roman Indexes, they would, one,

* Fourth Report, 17th May 1825, p. 202. In Phelan's and O'Sullivan's Digest, the reference is rather different; but the passage is the same. As a specimen of the talent with which the examination by the lay assembly of divines at Westminster was conducted may be adduced the following:—'What is the distinction you take between schism and heresy; is it that the one is voluntary and the other involuntary?—No. Schism and heresy are different things; schism refers to the government and discipline of the church, and heresy to its doctrines.'—Second Report, p. 244. The answer is Dr. Kelly's, Titular Archbishop of Tuam; and he must have felt his superiority while condescendingly instructing his examiner. Whoever the examiner might be, he deserves to be immortalized. Lord Viscount Palmerston was in the chair. This display will account for the intelligence discovered respecting Protestantism in the speeches of the late Mr. Canning, and the living Lord Grey, and likewise for the source from which their illumination was derived.

and both, at least have been *able* to produce from that portion of the *Instituta* which is entitled *Regulæ Societatis*, and in it from the division inscribed *Regulæ Præfecti Bibliothecæ*, the first rule, which is this: *Indicem Librorum Prohibitorum in Bibliotheca habeat, et videat ne fortè ullus sit inter eos ex prohibitis, aut aliis, quorum usus communis esse non debet.* I quote from the edition of Antwerp, in 1635; and there the page is 230. In the *Compendium Privilegiorum* of the same edition, pp. 124—126, is a title *Libri Prohibiti*. The last edition in 1757, folio, differs in some respects from the Antwerp one, as is particularly stated by COUDRETTE in his *Hist. Générale de la Comp. de Jesus*, tome v., pp. 470, *et seq.* The laws of this society, however, are not the most inflexible; and those to whom the administration of them is committed, may conceive it superfluous to bear in mind such as it is not convenient to observe. But every such institution must have a *Library*, and some regulations respecting it. And yet any knowledge of the documents, which are most expressly and authori-

tatively intended to state and enforce those regulations, is virtually disclaimed; and questions implying that knowledge are answered with the well-assumed air of intelligent surprise, or affronted innocence. But, after all, the question is, are the facts denied?

The ignorance expressed on this subject, whether real or fictitious, does certainly subserve the profitable purpose of screening from the imputation of the bigotry and intolerance which these documents so forcibly breathe; and the fact, *if allowed*, that, as in some other countries, so likewise in this, they have no authority, might be considered and alleged as an argument against the presumed argument of the present work. But the contrary supposition is by no means necessary to the main argument of the following pages. It is sufficient to leave that argument in all its strength, provided it be only allowed, that the instruments which they detail and describe, emanating from, and bearing with them all the sanction of, the supreme head and main body of Roman Catholicism, exhibit the genuine, unal-

tered spirit with which it is animated, and which never fails to produce its natural effects, wherever the *power* is present. And this, separate from its historic interest, is, I contend, a matter of no mean importance, particularly as the collation of power is concerned.

But, even in this liberal age, which not unfrequently confounds liberality with its opposite, it is possible to be ultra-liberal. And we approach pretty nearly to that imputation when we allow that the Roman Indexes are of no authority with any class of those who denominate themselves Romanists, or subjects of the papal see. The Roman Index is said to have no authority in France, in Austria, in Spain, in the Netherlands, in Portugal, in the kingdom of Naples, in Piedmont, in the papal portions of Great Britain and Ireland. Almost all of these nations, however, have a peculiar Index of their own, *identical*, except in some secular particulars, *with the Roman*; and in Spain and Portugal, till of late, more intolerant, but still essentially Roman. In countries where the prevailing religion is not

Roman, the non-observance, and therefore non-obligation, of some of its decrees, even upon the portion subject to the Italian jurisdiction, is a matter not of option but of necessity. It would be not only hopeless but injurious to its claims, to press them. Opposition and reprisals would be the inevitable consequence. Rome well understands the politic *economy* of regulating the rigour of her injunctions by the probability of their being efficient and profitable. Of this, a striking instance, which ought to be more known and noticed than it is, is recorded in the *Execution of Justice in England, &c.*, published by authority of Lord BURLEIGH, of which I use the second edition in 1583, purporting to have ‘some small alterations of things mistaken or omitted in the transcript of the first Original.’ The Bull of Pius V. in 1569, excommunicating and deposing Queen Elizabeth, and enjoining disobedience upon her subjects, reduced the subjects of the spiritual sovereign, from want of power, to great difficulty. They therefore applied to the pope to have the bull *so understood, ut obliget semper illam, et hæreticos,*

catholicos vero nullo modo obliget, rebus sic stantibus, sed tum demum quando publica ejusdem bullæ executio fieri poterit: which was granted by faculties bearing date Ap. 14, 1580. They were ‘taken about one of their complayces, immediately after Campion’s death,’ and are confirmed by the confession of Hart, who adds, that the pope ‘dispensed with them to obey and serve her, without peril of excommunication: which dispensation is to endure but till it please the *Pope* otherwise to determine*.’ Thus the true vicar of Him, who was a murderer from the beginning, and knew no compassion for the lives of his subjects when the supposed interest of his kingdom required the

* Sign. B iii., and 2 seq. This tract has been frequently reprinted, and is in Bp. GIBSON’S Collection. WILLIAM WATSON, Secular Priest, in his curious and important work, *A Decacordon of Ten Quodlibetical Questions, &c.*, 4to., 1602, has supplied a strong confirmation of the substance of this fact in the following passage relative to the bull of Pius V. ‘When the Pope his holinesse perceived what bloody tragedies and massacres on all sides were like to ensue thereupon, by commaund of withdrawing our natural allegiance from our native soveraigne upon wrong information given (as before we have touched at large), the said Bull was called in againe, and all catholikes throughout England left as free to obey her Majesty in all things due to her princely regalitie, as they were before.’ P. 327. This indeed is but half the truth; but I do not think the other half was *intentionally* suppressed.

sacrifice, was induced, with the flexible policy of the serpent, to spare them when that interest changed its aspect. But, independently of all circumstances and reasonings of this description, can it be believed by any one who has not imbibed the present infected atmosphere of papal ratiocination, that true, consistent, and obedient sons of the Italian church can, in their consciences, allow themselves to disregard, or do otherwise than reverence, the formal, solemn decrees of their spiritual sovereign, uniting with his own supreme personal authority that of councils the last and most authoritative; of congregations constituted of the most eminent members of the ecclesiastical state, expressly providing for the general security of the faithful against heresy, and enforcing the whole with, what must be esteemed by the individuals concerned, the most formidable denunciations? How can he who accepts the creed and oath of Pius IV. as the rule of his faith, or actually professes and swears it, and therein *solemnly engages to believe and profess all things defined, more especially by the Council of Trent*, from which

all the subsequent Roman Indexes flow, feel himself at liberty, not as to the *respect*, but as to the *degree* of respect, due to the deliberate and constantly renewed expression of judgment on religious subjects by the most sacred of all human authorities? The thing is not to be believed, whatever respectability may assert it. And, therefore, the caution which was needed, and which never forsook the gentlemen of Maynooth College, when upon their examination before the Commissioners in 1826, allowed Dr. Slevin, Præfect of the Dunboyne establishment, to admit, ‘All Catholics will *respect* the prohibition of the Congregation of the Index*.’ If this were not the case, how shall we account for the present publication of the Roman Index in France, where the encroachments of the papal see are resisted with the utmost jealousy, and at Brussels? Is it for the edification or conviction of heretics, or to supply them with matter of scandal? Or is it to direct and control the timid and obedient of the faithful? If it be said that the Company of Jesus are reco-

* Eighth Report, p. 209.

vering their power and influence on the continent, this is not only a solution but a confirmation of the fact. And the position stands unshaken, that no influence but such as is extraneous and foreign restrains the most submissive and unlimited obedience to the censorial decisions of Rome in every country, whether totally or partially, and then as far as partially, subject to her dominion. ROME HAS SPOKEN: AND WILL NOT HER CHILDREN HEAR?

Perhaps no proof more practical and decisive of the good will of the devoted servants of the Italian see to confer on this nation the benefit of her literary restrictions, with the sufficient sanctions seldom overlooked by her, together with that of *a sound Inquisition, although under another name*, could be devised, than that which is furnished by a work, valuable for other important purposes, and naturally of very rare occurrence. It is a production of the celebrated Robert Parsons, and is thus entitled: A MEMORIAL OF THE REFORMATION OF ENGLAND: *containing certain Notes and Advertisements, which seem might be proposed in the First Parliament and National*

Council of our Country, after God, of his mercy, shall restore it to the Catholick Faith, for the better Establishment and Preservation of the said Religion. GATHERED AND SET DOWN BY R. P., 1596.

I quote the only accessible edition of the work, by E. GEE, Rector of St. Benedict, &c., London, 1690, who affirms that the original was presented to James II. by the Jesuits, and that he, the editor, had obtained it, with permission to publish it, from Lloyd, Bp. of St. Asaph, to whom it is dedicated. In addition to the internal evidence of authenticity which occurs in the book itself, and which, for such evidence, will be satisfactory to those who know how to weigh it, the testimony of the anonymous historian of the *Church History of England*, from the year 1500, &c., who passes under the name of DOD, although his real name is said to be TOOTELL, is of peculiar force, from the natural and evident prejudices of the writer. He writes, under his account of *Parsons* and his Works, of this in particular*: ‘I remember to have seen an abstract of this book in a manuscript

* Vol. ii., p. 405.

I met with in a certain library abroad, of a very ancient date: so that I am confident Dr. *Gee* did not impose upon the world. Yet I dare not affirm Father *Parsons* was the author. However, there is a tradition among us that the work was his. If an unknown testimony will be of any force, I have among my collections a loose paper, written eighty years since: whereby the party affirms, he had seen the original of that performance in Father *Parsons's* own hand; subscribed: *Hæc habui, quæ suggererem. Robertus Parsonius.* I subjoin the remainder, because it shews to what feeling we are indebted for so much candour from the papal historian. 'But let that be as you will. There being nothing criminal in the work, it can't redound to the author's dispraise.' By *criminal*, I presume the writer meant *treasonable*. I must be indulged in expatiating still further upon this work, for important purposes. In Part I. and Ch. v., or p. 56, in *Gee's* edition, mention is made, for the first time, of a COUNCIL OF REFORMATION, the detailed consideration of which occupies the seventh chapter. Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxon.*,

supposes this to be another title of the work which we are noticing. There appears, indeed, to have been a work under this title; and it is very particularly noticed and described by the secular priest, WILLIAM WATSON, in his *Decacordon of Ten Quodlibetical Questions, &c.*, in the *Fourth*, and Article II. He gives the contents of it under the title of *Statutes*, and that which allows and recommends *detraction and calumny of opposers* is remarkable, as being most strictly observed; designating the work, in the close, as a 'huge volume.' This, with the greater precision in the particulars detailed, renders it nearly demonstrable, that the work, although a homogeneous, was yet a different one from that before us, and probably existing only in manuscript. But the fact of two deliberate and elaborate works, tending to the same object, is an evidence and measure of the intensity both of effort and expectation in the party with which they originated. The passage, then, to our immediate purpose is the following, in Part I., ch. ix., pp. 94, 95. 'Publick and private Libraries must be searched and Examined

for Books, as also all Book-binders, Stationers, and Booksellers Shops, and not only HERETICAL BOOKS and PAMPHLETS, but also prophane, vain, lascivious, and other such hurtful and dangerous Poysons, are utterly to be removed, BURNT, SUPPRESSED, and severe order and PUNISHMENT appointed for such as SHALL CONCEAL these kind of Writings; and like order set down for printing of good things for the time to come.' It was quite upon the papal system to associate really pernicious books with that which *it* calls heresy. Unite with what has been adduced the proposal in the next chapter to abrogate all laws 'in prejudice of the Catholick Roman Religion, and to *restore*, and PUT IN FULL AUTHORITY again, *all old laws that EVER were in use in England*, in favour of the same, and AGAINST HERESIES AND HERETICKS;' and then conjecture, whether Prohibitory and Expurgatory Indexes, in accordance, at least, with the Roman, would be unknown in Britain and Ireland.

But these and all other, whether intentions or measures, let us piously repose in the hands of

Him, who can disappoint or reverse the most artfully contrived machinations of human policy, and whose infinite wisdom enables him, in the mode of doing it, to inscribe the character of truth so legibly upon the result, that what is simply counteraction and defeat can never be mistaken for a natural and just effect.

Sutton Coldfield,
July 27, 1830.

INSCRIPTION TO THE FIRST EDITION.

TO

SIR ROBERT HARRY INGLIS, BART.,

WHOSE SHORT CAREER IN PARLIAMENT,

SIGNALIZED BY THE ORIGINAL AND SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT, THROUGH

THE PROHIBITORY INDEXES,

OF ROME,

TO PROVE AND ILLUSTRATE THE EXISTING AND

INHERENT INTOLERANCE OF]

HER RELIGION,

AS WELL AS THE DANGER TO EVERY PROTESTANT STATE IN THE

ADMISSION OF HER ADHERENTS TO

POLITICAL POWER,

HAS IMPOSED A DEBT OF DEEP AND CORDIAL GRATITUDE

UPON EVERY FAITHFUL MEMBER OF THE

BRITISH CHURCH,

THE FOLLOWING WORK,

WHICH HUMBLY PROCEEDS IN THE TRAIN OF THE SAME ARGUMENT,

IS,

WITH EQUAL GRATITUDE AND RESPECT,

INSCRIBED,

BY THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

SHOULD it be asked, with respect to the present work, as is sometimes done without the highest wisdom, *cui bono?* the Author might possibly satisfy himself with the supposed reply of the Apostle Jude, were it inquired of him, why, when intending to write of the common salvation, he occupied nearly his whole address in exposing the character and acts of its enemies. The truth is, a great delusion has long been, and is now, hanging over the minds of men, particularly in this country, respecting the character of the Church of Rome and her adherents. It becomes important to remind them, that this is not to be sought in the declarations of individuals, or even societies, of that communion, however respectable, which are worth nothing—absolutely nothing.

The subjects of the Papacy have taken the utmost possible pains to disqualify themselves from having any opinion, or being able to give any exposition, on the subject of their religion, which shall be independently and personally their own. The Roman, beyond any other professedly Christian sect, is bound to its peculiar faith and discipline by original engagements, the most sacred, the most precise, the most extended, the most rigorous. And it is there that we are to look for its true and distinguishing character. No greater mercy of the kind was ever vouchsafed to the Christian world by a compassionate Providence, than the Council of Trent. However cautious the managers of it, they were obliged by many motives to speak out, and declare themselves, in canons, in decrees, in anathemas, and, above all, in a Creed*, which can, none of them, be recalled

* CHARLES BUTLER, Esq., in accordance with a titular archbishop, Dr. Murray, and a titular bishop, Dr. Doyle, in Ireland, in their examination before Parliament (the *R. C. Evidence on the State of Ireland*, pp. 409 and 575; or *Minutes of Evidence before the Lords*, 1825, p. 394, and before the *Commons*, pp. 224, 5, March 22), acknowledges this Creed to be an 'accurate and explicit summary of the Roman Catholic Faith.' The Rev. GEORGE TOWNSEND, in his triumphant *Accusations of History against the*

or concealed. Here at least we fix upon, and bind, the object of our search and pursuit. The Indexes which are examined in the present work, emanated in a great measure from this assembly; and, with it and many other documents, they stand forth, a specimen and illustration of what the religion of Rome really is. This is precisely the information which the British public require. They are to be directed to look where proof is to be found. They must be taught to inquire for more unexceptionable testimony than that of a man, more especially a Romanist, to his own self, and to his own cause. This is the only way of

Church of Rome, &c., with an expression of surprise, forbears to inquire the reasons which have induced that acute and learned controversialist to omit the two last, and certainly very important, clauses of this Creed. Will it be believed, not only that he was ignorant of them, but that he has avowed his ignorance! Yet, after this, and many other similar successes of his literary campaigns, Mr. Butler will probably resume his polemical career with as much apparent comfort and self-satisfaction as if all his defeats were victories. The clauses, or (according to a more correct translation than the papal one) the clause referred to runs thus: 'This true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved, which at present I freely profess and truly hold, the same, I the same N. promise, vow, and swear that, as far as in me lies, I will take care shall be retained and confessed whole and inviolate, most constantly to the last breath of life, and shall be held, taught, and preached by my subjects, or those, the cure of whom falls to my office. So help me, God, and these holy gospels of God,' &c. &c.

avoiding error, which may be fatal, and, in any degree, is injurious.

It cannot, however, be necessary to rest the value of the *subject*, at least of the present work, upon any argument merely temporary and defensive. To those who can estimate the utility of historical monuments, which display the peculiar features of the human mind in the operations of large, conspicuous, and powerful societies, whether good or bad, and throw a light upon the distinguishing acts of Providence, whether appointing or permitting; and who perceive that the productions, which are here reviewed, may be regarded as a Grand Index of the sentiment, spirit, and policy of an empire, claiming, with the most critical exactness, the terrific appellation of **THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY**—a work, in any moderate degree, developing the history and contents of the Indexes of modern Rome will amply recommend itself by its positive and intrinsic character.

It may be observed, that the author has cautiously abstained from the use of the terms *Poper*y and *Papist*, because they are regarded

by the members of the Latin church as opprobrious. And yet, with what right, or even policy, the appellations can be disclaimed, is difficult to discover; since the form of the religion intended is mainly distinguished by its connexion with, and dependence upon, the Bishop of Rome, denominated the Pope, as its supreme head and sovereign. This is unquestionably the fact with respect to all the subjects of the Roman See, even those of France and Ireland, who, although certainly in different ways, take the liberty of qualifying their obedience. And why they should decline a denomination, which most accurately designates the principal peculiarity of their religious persuasion, can hardly be accounted for on any other supposition than one which they would repel as an insult, that they are ashamed of their spiritual Lord. On the other hand, an abstinence, equally rigid, will be perceived, from the use of the term *Catholic*—an abstinence, which courtesy, and a desire to avoid offence, would have effectually and permanently forbidden, had not the contrary conduct, prompted

by the honourable motives just suggested, been perverted into an admission of exclusive right to the appellation. But when, with a degree of ignorance and ungenerousness which could only be expected from the most degraded and illiterate, the collected papal hierarchy of Ireland, in their *Pastoral Instructions*, subjoined to the *Encyclical Letter* of their present terrestrial Supreme, blush not to assert, that their church 'is one, which alone can glory in the title of CATHOLIC—a title which she has borne from the apostolic times, which her enemies themselves concede to her, and which, if arrogated by any of them, serves only to expose her shame *'—it is time to

* Page 53. The late Bishop MILNER, Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District in this country, has, in his *End of Religious Controversy*, Letter xxv., lowered his reputation by the use of the same argument; of the nullity and puerility of which his general good sense could not allow him to be ignorant. Nothing more, indeed, is needed, to put an *end* to all *controversy* respecting the competency of the author to settle any religious one, than the perusal of the letter referred to. The reader has only to think of the word *Unitarian*, and the whole fallacy stands out. I cannot forbear adding, with respect to this plausible, because deceitful work, that the reflection, which but a cursory examination of it most constantly and forcibly impresses upon the mind, is, the facility with which, particularly when aided by opportune suppression, invention, and adjustment, Romanists may prove anything; since the authors and authorities respected by them have maintained everything. The degree of correctness exhibited in the work, in

inform *them*, and all who think with them, that no true church of Christ concedes that title to the Church of Rome, exclusively, if at all; and that every such church, with every member composing every such church, claim the title for her and themselves, with a confidence and a justice which they know to be, at least, superior to any belonging to that corrupt and usurping community.

The only remaining duty of the author is, to disclaim the presumption of imagining that a faultless work is presented. He is sensible of much imperfection, and believes that some may exist of which he is not sensible. He has, however, endeavoured to escape all, either false, or deficient, representation; and certainly has never wilfully offended in this respect. He should have considered himself unjustifiable in obtruding upon the world a work of this description, which might not in some degree be considered as com-

some particular instances, where correctness could hardly be avoided without intention and pains, is ably and incontrovertibly ascertained in *A Letter to the Right Rev. John Milner, D.D.*, &c. By the Rev. JOHN GARBETT, M.A., 1826. See likewise *Two Letters* to the same, by the Rev. T. H. LOWE, M.A.

plete ; and he will thankfully avail himself of any additional information or correction, should the opportunity be presented of using them. Criticism simply hostile will be useless.

May a light from above shine into the darkness, of which the damnatory Catalogues of Rome are both an example and a cause ; and may its blessed and emancipating influence encounter less and less of effectual obstruction, either from anti-christian bigotry or from anti-protestant infatuation !

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Definition of Prohibitory and Expurgatory Indexes—Francus and James on the subject—Defence of the practice by Gretser, with the qualification necessary to render it just—Sources of the Censures	1

CHAPTER II.

ANGLICAN Lists of Prohibited Books, from 1520 to 1558—Ordinance of Leo X. in Council of Lateran—Supposed Index at Venice, 1543—Index of John della Casa, 1549—SPANISH and BELGIC Indexes from 1539 to 1550—GALLICAN Indexes from 1544 to 1551—ROMAN Indexes from 1549 to 1559—Bull in Cœna Domini—Index of Paul IV., 1559, with Reprints by Vergerio and Naogeorgus in the same year—SPANISH Index of 1559—Censura Generalis, 1554 and 1562	15
---	----

CHAPTER III.

Council of Trent—ROMAN Index of Pius IV., 1564—Rules of the Index—BELGIC Indexes from 1568 to 1570— <i>Expurgatory</i> Index of 1571, with Reprints, by Junius 1586, by Pappus 1599, 1609, 1611—PORTUGUEZE Indexes, Latin and Portuguese, 1581—SPANISH Index 1583, <i>Expurgatory</i> 1584, the latter reprinted thrice, wholly or in part, 1601, 1609, 1611—NEAPOLITAN Index, Greg. Capuccini, 1588—ROMAN Index of Sixtus V., 1590—Of Clemens VIII., 1596—EXPURGATORY Index of Brasichellen, 1607, &c.—Zobelius on that Index—Counterfeit edition of it	58
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

SPANISH Index Prohibitory and <i>Expurgatory</i> , 1612—Reprint in 1619—MS. notice in a copy of the original edition in the Bodleian Library—POLISH Index, 1617—Decreta from 1601 to 1637—PORTUGUEZE Index Prohibitory and <i>Expurgatory</i> , 1624—Index by Dr. Thomas James, 1627—SPANISH Index, Prohibitory and Expurgatory, 1632—Elenchus Capiferrei, 1632, 1635, 1640—SPANISH Index Prohibitory and Expurgatory, 1640, 1662, 1666—Reprint in 1667, with	
---	--

	PAGE
additional Decreta—ROMAN Indexes, 1664 and 1665—Pascal— GALLICAN Arret of 1685, and Censures of Jesuitic Morality and Theo- logy—Constitutiones et Decreta Apostolica, 1680—ROMAN Indexes, 1670 et seq.—Fenelon—SPANISH Index, Prohibitory and <i>Expurgatory</i> , 1707, and Suplemento, 1739—BELGIC Index of Hannot, 1714— ROMAN, 1716, 1717—BOHEMIAN, 1726 and 1729	134

CHAPTER V.

AUSTRIAN-BELGIC Index, manuscript and unpublished, prepared for the Netherlands, 1735 et seq.—Bossuet and his Exposition—Roman Indexes, 1744 and 1750—SPANISH Index, Prohibitory and <i>Expurga- tory</i> , 1747—ROMAN Indexes, 1758 and 1786—SWEDISH History of Prohibited Books, 1764—AUSTRIAN Indexes from 1763 to 1778— Giornale Ecclesiastico from 1785 to 1798—SPANISH Indice Ultimo, 1790, and Suplemento, 1805—Subsequent censorial operations— Present force of the Bull in <i>Cœna Domini</i> —ROMAN Indexes, 1806 and 1819—Parisian edition, 1826; of Brussels, 1828—GALLICAN Catalogæ and Arrets, 1827—Separate Decrees—Works non-con- demned by the authors and patrons of the Papal Indexes—Roman Liturgical books	202
--	-----

CHAPTER VI.

REFLEXIONS and inferences from the foregoing details—Fallacy of the attempt to destroy propositions in the <i>index</i> , which are yet found in the <i>text</i> , of an author—Pliability of the Fathers in papal hands— Principles of the Indexes still in force, and their tendency—The injury or destruction to reformed Christianity where these principles prevail and are acted upon—Confession—Inquisition—Persecution—Duty of non-papal governments to resist the claim to power of the professors of the above principles—Various sophistic reasonings in support of such claim—Creed and Oath of Pius IV.—its feudality—Fenelon—his sen- timents of Indulgences and reading the Scriptures—Real Emancipa- tion—Persecutions of Queen Mary, and Executions of Queen Elizabeth —Opinion of a R. C. secular priest, respecting the latter—Europæ Speculum	289
---	-----

APPENDIX	351
INDEX	363

AN ACCOUNT,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

Definition of Prohibitory and Expurgatory Indexes—Francus and James on the subject—Defence of the practice by Gretser, with the qualification necessary to render it just.—Sources of the Censures.

AMONG the various principles and customs, more especially those of religion, which modern, and professedly Christian, Rome has adopted and perpetuated from the antient and idolatrous possessors of the great city and its empire, there is none in which the resemblance, or virtual identity, is more conspicuous, than in that policy, by which she has acquired, and by which she retains, her dominion over a great part of the civilized world. No instrument for these purposes, whether of fraud, of flattery, of terror, or of force, was ever refused or overlooked by her. Her code of government embraced all objects, and comprehended the most distant extremes, with all which occupied the intermediate space. The most self-tormenting ascetic and the most voluptuous profligate were almost equal objects of her attention; and while to the tractable, submissive, and at-

tached she presented every indulgence which was, or was believed to be, in her power, she had tortures and deaths of all horrors to gain, retain, or recover, those who either might be rebellious, or meditate rebellion. In short, to no power but modern Rome is equally applicable the encomium of the poet on the antient :

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento ;
 Hæ tibi erunt artes ; pacisque imponere morem,
 Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.

Aen. vi. 852.

Here is a gigantic, mysterious and long-established power, yet in existence ; having indeed suffered much, and therefore the more intent upon retrieving her loss ; having so far, most unexpectedly retrieved it, as, from a state of abject and imploring submission, to be put in a capacity, which she has not failed to improve, of re-erecting the two main pillars of her former domination ; and, therefore, looking back, not with diminished hope, nor with inactive zeal for the future, to the bright vision of past ages, when, as the centre, or, according to her own arrogant assumption, the sun, of a mighty system, she exercised her sway over vast portions of human spirits ; sending forth her energies to every and the most distant points of her dominion, and subduing to her will the entire substance and every particle of the compact, organized, and obedient mass. Such

are the prospects which she cherishes, such are her aims, such her present acquisitions, and such the progressive course which she is encouraged by the late attainment of better power than that of argument to pursue; neither deficient in skill to improve her opportunities, nor negligent of any of the instruments which may forward her views. And among these, as far at least as concerns the retention of the empire, which she does, or may possess, there are few more suitable, and more effectually adapted to attain that object than the literary ones about to be examined in the present work.

The books generally bearing the title of PROHIBITORY and EXPURGATORY INDEXES are catalogues of authors and works, either condemned *in toto*, or censured and corrected, chiefly by expunction; issuing from the church of modern Rome, and published by authority of her ruling members or societies, so empowered.

It is of some importance to distinguish the titles above given, which signify things essentially different, but which are frequently confounded, both by papal and early writers, who ought to understand the subject best, and by modern ones very generally.

The *Prohibitory* Index specifies and prohibits entire authors, or works, whether of known or of

unknown authors. This book has been frequently published, with successive enlargements, up to the present time, under the express sanction of the reigning Pontiff. It may, indeed, be considered as a kind of periodical publication of the papacy ; and no attempt or wish is discoverable to prevent its most extensive publicity, at least in countries professing the papal faith.

The other class of Indexes, the *Expurgatory*, whether united with the first or not, contains a particular examination of the works occurring in it, and specifies the passages condemned to be expunged or altered. Such a work, in proportion to the number of works embraced by it, must be, and in the instance of the Spanish Indexes of this kind, is, voluminous. In these, publicity was so little desired, that it was the chief thing guarded against. The earlier editions, in particular, were distributed with the utmost caution, as will incontrovertibly appear in the sequel ; and were only intended for the possession and inspection of those, to whom they were necessary for the execution of their provisions. The reason is obvious. It certainly was little desirable, that the dishonest dealings of the authors of these censures should be known, either to those who were injured by them, and to whom they would afford the opportunity of justifying themselves ; or to the world at

large, whose judgment they must know would, in many instances, be at variance with their own. And evidently it was not their interest to discover, and even officiously (as it were) to point out those very passages in the writings, not only of reputed heretics, but of reputed catholics, which expose the most vulnerable parts of their own system*. These apprehensions are sufficiently proved to have been well founded by the avidity with which the opportunity, whenever it occurred, was seized, by Protestants, of re-publishing these curious, as well as iniquitous, documents. And we can scarcely avoid feeling something like sympathy with the anger and invectives of those who, though frequently themselves smarting under the same lash, and yet the more for that very reason, are indignant, that the censures of their own brethren by these ecclesiastic critics should no sooner be published at Rome, Paris, or in Spain, than they are sent into the

* Their *Indices Expurgatorii* (for that use we may make of them) are very good common place books and repertories, by help of which we may presently find, what any author (by them censured) has against them. It is but our going to their Index, and by it we are directed to the book, chapter, and line, where any thing is spoken against any superstition or error of Rome; so that he who has the Indices (unless idle or ignorant) cannot want testimonies against Rome.—*Genuine Remains* of Bp. BARLOW, Lond., 1693, pp. 70, 71. The author was well acquainted with the editions known in his time, particularly with those preserved at Oxford.

world afresh, and everywhere dispersed, by heretical editors, for the direct and most provoking purposes of proving, how little unity subsists among self-nominated catholics*. Independently, however, of their own importance, as furnishing almost the only copies of these productions accessible to Protestants, these re-impressions will not be the less valuable on the account just adverted to.

Both the prefaces and other accompanying matter of the protestant editors, as well as the additional matter to be found in the genuine and original Roman and Romanistic editions, contain much historical information of great value and importance. There have not, however, been wanting, in addition to these, many elaborate works professedly written upon the subject. Among these, perhaps the highest rank is claimed, as containing the fullest and most satisfactory account of these productions, by the comparatively

* See RAYNAUDI *Erotemata de Malis ac bonis Libris*, 4to., Lugd., 1653, p. 311. The title of the paragraph is—*Suffixiones Catholicorum per Catholicos, scandalo hæreticis*. The following is the sentence of which the sense is given above—*Gebennæ in Spelæo iniquitatis, & meretricis Calvinianæ Lupanari, vix ulla in Catholicis a Catholicis censura stringitur Romæ, Parisiis, & apud extremos Hispanos, quin mox ab eis recusa in hunc finem, ubique spargatur, ut animorum consensionem, (sicut ipsi maligne interpretantur,) inter Catholicos, nullam esse, palam faciant*. The *Constitutio* of Benedict XIV. laments and confirms the same fact, as will appear in time—*digladiantibus inter se Catholicis, &c.*

early work of DANIEL FRANCUS, *De Papistarum Indicibus Libb. Prohib. et Expurg. &c.* Lipsiæ, MDCLXXXIV. 4to.; of which it is not the smallest praise, that it was compiled under peculiar disadvantages; for, with the evident merit of the work in view, it will scarcely be believed, that its indefatigable author had neither possession nor inspection of a single original edition of the earlier Indexes. Neither is it a slight testimony to the efficiency of this volume, that immediately upon its publication, as we are informed by the author himself, all the copies which were to be found at Francfort, were seized and conveyed away by the Imperial Commissary*—a fact which has produced the exceeding rarity of the work. Were we to specify any other treatise on the subject possessing peculiar merit, we should probably select that on the ‘*Mystery of the Indices Expurgatorii*,’ contained in a volume, entitled ‘*A Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, by the Prelats, Pastors, and Pillars of the Church of Rome, &c.*’ By THOMAS JAMES, First Librarian of the Bodleian Library. The particular discussion begins at p. 372 of the 8vo. edition

* In a letter of Francus to be found in *Schelhornii Amœnitates Litt.* Tom. ult. pp. 608, 9. There is a copy in the British Museum, but not, I believe, in the Bodleian Library.

of 1688. It is short and unassuming; but the writer, by a singular providence, the benefit of which is still enjoyed by the University of Oxford, possessed all the original materials which the other wanted; and he has shewn that he knew how to use them.

It is not my purpose to enumerate or describe other works of the same character, although in the progress of this discussion I shall find cause to advert to such of them as I may possess or have access to. The chief source of information, however, will be the body of the Indexes themselves, with the Regulæ, Edicts, Bulls, and other authorized documents accompanying them.

It is scarcely necessary to discuss with much effort the line of argument selected by the Romanists in vindication of their own biblical censures. The learned, but intemperate and rambling Jesuit, GRETSER, has undertaken this province in a work, entitled *De Jure et More prohibendi, expurgandi, et abolendi Libros hæreticos et noxios, adversus Franciscum Junium Calvinistam, & Joannem Pappum aliosq; prædicantes Lutheranos, &c.* Ingoldstad, 1603, 4to. In this work, in which might naturally have been expected some important information relative to the Roman Indexes, but in which the most important is derived from

the heretics, whom, at the very time, he vilifies*, he endeavours to justify the conduct of his church in the instance before us, both by its intrinsic lawfulness, and by the exercise of that right, real or supposed, by all political authorities, civil or religious, from early antiquity, and even among heathen nations. The whole argument, however, is nullified or superseded by the observation, that, without denying or qualifying the abstract right, and even duty, of the point contended for, the whole or main question turns upon the justice or injustice of the instances in which it is exercised—in other words, how far the condemned party, the prohibited or mutilated books, are really guilty or innocent, false and pernicious, or sound and beneficial; whether, in fact, the greater part of them, to which heretical or other pravity is imputed, are chargeable with any other offence than that of rejecting and oppugning the fables and atrocities of the church of Rome, which all eyes see but her own †.

* I allude particularly to a passage which will be produced on the earliest editions, from P. P. Vergerio, of which he says *si non mentitur Vergerius hæreticus*, p. 101. All that is to the purpose in the work of this Jesuit is professedly, and satisfactorily, disposed of, in the *Dissertatio Theologica de Libris Gentilium, &c., permittendis, &c. Protestantium vero prohibendis &c. Opera & studio JACOBI LAURENTII*. Amstelredami, 1619.

† In the *Encyclical Letter of LEO XII.* and the *Pastoral Instructions of the Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, Dublin, Coyme, 1824,*

The modern Italian church seems to have acted on the presumption, that, not when she condemned and executed, whether the innocent or the guilty, but only when she acquitted and allowed to escape, she did wrong. And therefore the power of condemning supposed heretical books was permitted to any of the superior ecclesiastic authorities. The more formal and authorized condemnations, however, proceeded from the three following sources—The Congregation of the Inquisition, the Master of the Sacred Palace, and the Congregation of the Index. This is evident, not only from the statement of all authors upon the subject, papal and others, but from the very form of the Decrees, some of which are appended to two of the Roman editions of the Index.

The Congregation of the Inquisition, or, in Spain, the Senate, claimed this authority, as originally and naturally belonging to their office as inquisitors of heretical pravity in general. VAN ESPEN distinguishes between those meetings when the Pope was present and when he was not—his name being mentioned only in the former

the only display of learning which occurs is borrowed from this work of Gretser. See p. 57; from Gretser, pp. 19, 39, 48, 57. But who would divine that the references, *L. Dam. c. de Her.* and *L. Mathem. c. de Epis.* were from the Codex Theodosianus?

case*. But all the Roman editions come forth with the papal sanction.

The Master of the Sacred Palace was a kind of domestic chaplain, or preacher, of the pope. The famous, or infamous Dominic was the first who bare this office; and a part of his jurisdiction referred to the printing of books, and the power of prohibiting them. If CATALANI, a Roman writer on this specific subject, is correct, he was the first who enjoyed this right. *Retinet quoque Magister Sacri Palatii facultatem, quam, ut ait Cardinalis de Luca loco superius citato, forte solus exercebat ante erectionem Sacræ Congregationis Sanctæ Inquisitionis, et alterius, quæ dicitur Indicis Librorum prohibitorum, de quibus dicemus nos infra opportuniore loco, Libros impressos, quos prohibendos judicaverit, proscribendi; &c.* †

The same writer has given a volume of the same size with the former, and printed at the same place, and in the same year, Rome, and 1751, *De Secretario Sac. Congregationis Indicis,*

* I quote from a MS. Tract of his, *De Sac. Congreg. Inquisitionis*, in my possession, formerly belonging to CARD. GASPAROLI. This Tract does not occur in the last edition of his works, printed in four volumes, fol. Lovan. 1753; which, however, tom. i. pp. 198—218, part i. tit. 22, cap. 4, et seq., discusses the subject of the Indexes; and I had supposed it to be unpublished. But it occurs in a supplemental volume printed at Bruxelles, 1768, pp. 131 et seq.

† *De Magistro Sac. Pal.* L. l. c. viii. Vide et capp. i. ii. vii. ix. Romæ, 1751. 4to.

in which he has stated the office of this congregation relative to the examination and prohibition of books. Indeed the congregation, as its title imports, was established for the express purpose of carrying into execution the decrees of the Council of Trent respecting the catalogue of prohibited books, which it had decreed*.

VAN ESPEN, in the tract referred to, has pretty satisfactorily evinced, that the censure or condemnation of the books in the Index is often to be resolved into the examination and judgment of a single Consultor, as he is called, one of the operatives in this laudable work. And it is certain, that many of the true Romanists, whose works were thus transfixed, made no ceremony of exclaiming against the supposed injustice of the proceeding. But after all, these Indexes, when published, bear upon their front, in brazen letters, the sanction of the bishop and church of Rome, and so are venerated by all the true sons of that community.

But besides these sources of the condemnations referred to, the pope, by his own authority, as head of the church, claimed the right; and it was

* In lib. i. c. vii. CATALANI has discussed the origin of this Congregation. It certainly virtually began in the Deputation of PIUS IV., but PIUS V. formally established it, as appears from the Roman Index 1664, p. 228.

likewise allowed to, and exercised by, all public ecclesiastic bodies, as those of the universities of the Sorbonne and of Louvain, by individual superior ecclesiastics, and even by the supreme civil magistrate* —not, indeed, without some repug-

* It is not necessary to my plan to trace the origin of biblical condemnations to the highest source; and therefore I am content to add what may yet be useful in a note, containing an extract from a valuable Essay on the Indexes in a late work of the Rev. Dr. Townley.

‘The first instances of books printed with *Imprimaturs*, or official permissions, are two printed at Cologne, and sanctioned by the University in 1479 (one of them a Bible), and another at Heidelberg, in 1480, authorized by the Patriarch of Venice, &c. The oldest mandate that is known for appointing a *Book-Censor* is one issued by BERTHOLD, Archbishop of Mentz, in the year 1486, forbidding persons to translate any books out of the Latin, Greek, or other languages, into the vulgar tongue, or, when translated, to sell or dispose of them, unless admitted to be sold by certain doctors and masters of the university of Erfurt. In 1501, Pope ALEXANDER VI. published a Bull prohibiting any books to be printed without the approbation of the Archbishops of Cologne, Mentz, Triers, and Madgeburg, or their Vicars-General, or officials in spirituals, in those respective provinces¹. The year following, FERDINAND and ISABELLA, sovereigns of Spain, published a royal ordinance charging the Presidents of the Chancellaries of Valladolid and Ciudad-Real, and the Archbishops of Toledo, Seville, and Grenada, and the Bishops of Burgos, Salamanca, and Zamora, with everything relative to the examination, censure, impression, importation, and sale of books². In the Council of Lateran, held under LEO X. in 1515, it was decreed that no book should be printed at Rome, nor in other cities and dioceses, unless, if at Rome, it had been examined by the Vicar of his Holiness and the Master of the Palace; or, if elsewhere, by the Bishop of the diocese, or a doctor appointed by him, and had received the signature, under pain of excommunication and burning of the books³.’ Pp. 145—7 of *Essays on various Subjects of Ecclesiastical History and Antiquity*, by the REV. J. TOWNLEY; 8vo. London, 1824.

¹ Beckman's *History of Inventions*, vol. iii. pp. 99—115.

² Llorente. *Hist. Crit. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, tom. i. p. 282.

³ *Dictionnaire Portatif des Conciles*, p. 280. Paris, 1764, 8vo.; Beckman's *History of Inventions*, vol. iii. p. 115.

nance and derogation. The jesuit Raynaud*, in particular, denies the authority of bishops in terms, although by allowing them a declaratory power, he admits it in fact. But his opinion of the authority possessed by the Universities is more pointed and contemptuous. If, he argues, this power resides not in an individual doctor as such, how can it reside in a collective body of doctors? If Æsop's ass, though in a lion's skin, was still but an ass, would a whole herd of such animals form an assembly of lions?

* *Erotem.* Partit. iii. *Erot.* ii., sect. 468, 471.

CHAPTER II.

ANGLICAN Lists of Prohibited Books, from 1520 to 1558—Ordinance of Leo X. in Council of Lateran—Supposed Index at Venice, 1543—Index of John della Casa, 1549—SPANISH and BELGIC Indexes from 1539 to 1550.—GALLICAN Indexes from 1544 to 1551—ROMAN Indexes from 1549 to 1559—Bull in *Cœna Domini*—Index of Paul IV. 1559, with Reprints by Vergerio and Naogeorgus in the same year—SPANISH Index of 1559—*Censura Generalis*, 1554 and 1562.

THE catalogue of prohibited books by Pope Gelasius I. at the close of the fifth century, to be found in the Decretals of Gratian, and appealed to by some writers on the subject before us, does not deserve to be considered as an instance of the prohibitory Index, in the proper sense of the term; as being applicable, not to private and universal, but to public reading*. Indeed the origin of the genuine Roman Indexes is to be assigned to the formidable attack upon the Roman superstition by MARTIN LUTHER and others, in Germany, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It may appear a matter of surprise to any one who reads the reflections and even invectives against the Roman church by her

* AS CATALANI himself acknowledges. *De Secret.* &c. l. i. c. iii.

own members, in MORNAY'S *Mystery of Iniquity*, or the *Testes Veritatis* by FLACIUS ILLYRICUS, that the publication could ever have been endured, or the authors continued, as was the fact, not only in safety but in favour*. The truth, however, is, that the church of Rome cared nothing about the infamy, while her dominion was safe. But when Luther and his adherents endangered that dominion, the case was altered. And perhaps our own country may have the credit, such as it is, of being among the first in endeavouring to repel the attack in a literary way †. In 1520, Cardinal

* What, to adduce but one out of numberless instances, are we to think of the following passage of N. MACHIAVELLI, in the Twelfth Chapter of the First Book of his *Discourses on the Decads of Livy*? He had just observed that, were religion maintained by the princes of the Christian republic, as it was delivered by its founder, Christian states and republics would be more united and happier than they are. He immediately adds: Ne se può fare altra maggiore congettura della declinatione d' essa, quanto è vedere come quelli popoli che sono più propinqui alla Chiesa Romana, capo della Religione nostra, hanno meno Religione. Et chi considerasse i fondamenti suoi, e vedesse l' uso presente quanto è diverso da quelli, giudicherebbe esser propinquo senza dubbio, ò la rovina ò il flagello. Abbiamo adunque con la Chiesa e co i Preti noi Italiani questo primo obbligo, d' essere diventati senza Religione e cattivi. The English of which is, The more of Rome, the less of religion.

† It may not be improper to notice, although I do not know what to make of it, a work mentioned by PANZER in his *Annales Typ.* tom. vii. p. 258, under the place *Lovanii* and the year MDX. *Die Catalogen of inventaryen van den quaden verboden bouken: na advis der Universiteyt van Louen. Met een edict oft mandement der Keysertyecker Majesteyt. Te Louen deprint, by servaes van Sassen. MCCCCCX. 4. Gesner, l. c. p. 34.* It is very much in the style of the catalogues which soon after issued from the same University, and by the same printer. The heresies, how-

WOLSEY, in consequence of the Brief of LEO X., dated 13 Kal. Julii*, of that year, directed the English bishops to require that all the books and writings of *one* Martin Luther (*cujusdam* M. L.) should be brought in and delivered up to them, from all persons whatsoever possessing them, under pain of the greater excommunication†. This, however, refers simply to the writings of Luther, and does not even enumerate any specific articles. In 1526, the Archbishop of Canterbury, WARHAM, sent a Mandate to VOYSEY, Bishop of Exeter, or

ever, which existed at that time, are not very obvious: fortunately for them, the reformers were not then moving. In the edition of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER's *Briefe*, &c., Erster Theil, Berlin, 1825, No. VIII., pp. 15, 16, there is a letter of the date of Feb. 8, 1516, which has this observation—*Nec cessant Universitates bonos libros cremare et damnare, rursum malos dictare, imo somniare.* As concerns this eminent and formidable individual, in 1519 issued condemnations to the flames (it hardly signifies of what work of his) by the Doctors of *Louvain*, and, following them; of *Cologne*, both printed at Wittemberg, in copies before me, 1520. The printer's name is remarkable, MELCHIOR LOTTHERUS. There followed, in 1521, *Determinationes Theologicæ Facultatis Parisien. super Doctrina Lutheriana*, Wittemberg, 1521, condemning a number of Propositions from the book *de Captivitate Babylonica*. The original edition is that from which I copy, although the pieces are likewise included in Luther's works. Cologne, in like manner, issued a censure against an *Epitome of Abuses by a Reformed Monastery*, 1532, of which the original account is in C. D'ARGENTRE'S *Collectio Judiciorum*, Tom. iii., Part ii., pp. 82, &c.; but my information is from the valuable *Miscell. Groning.* of GERDES, Tom. i., p. 418, &c.

* The celebrated Bull against Luther is dated xvii. Kal. Julii.

† It is to be found in STRYPE'S *Memorials of the Reformation*, among the *Records*, under HENRY VIII. — Numb. ix. *e* *Regist. Booth, Ep. Heref.*

his Vicar-General in spirituals, to inquire after English translations of the New Testament, full of heretical pravity, whether with or without notes, that they might be condemned to the flames: The names of books condemned, with the New Testament, to the number of eighteen, being some of *Tyndal*, *Huss*, *Zwingle*, *Luther*, are subjoined*. In 1529, a convocation of the Clergy of the province of Canterbury, and, as appears, in the following year, a provincial council, was held, by authority of which was published a much more extensive catalogue of prohibited books, to the number of nearly seventy, consisting exclusively of the English, German, and Helvetic Reformers†.

In the next year, 1530, a public instrument, made in an assembly of the primate and others, by order of the king, containing divers heretical and erroneous opinions, considered and condemned, enumerates very diffusely various supposed heresies in the writings of some English authors, the first of which, from the book of *The Wicked Mammon*, is, ‘Feith oonly doth justifie

* *Ex Regist. Exon. Voysey*, fol. 62. WILKINS, *Concil. Mag. Brit.* Tom. iii., pp. 706, 7. FOX has the same prohibition from C. TONSTAL, Bishop of London, to different Archdeacons of his diocese. *Acts and Monuments*, &c., vol. ii., pp. 233, 4. Ed. 1684.

† WILKINS, *ib.* ex. MS. Cott. Cleop. F. ii., fol. 54. FOX has the same, pp. 234, 5.

us.* As I am desirous of pursuing the history of Anglican hostility against presumed heretical literature to its termination, which happily is at no great distance, I proceed to a document of some interest, to be found exclusively in one of the rarest books existing, and with the inspection of which I was favoured in the library of Magdalen College in Oxford—I mean the first edition of Fox's Acts and Monuments†. It is a *List of condemned books*, subjoined to *certain Injunctions*, issued in the year 1539, which has been omitted in all subsequent editions. Wilkins, who has copied the Injunctions from Fox, has made the same omission. This circumstance will justify a more minute account of the document than it might otherwise seem to require. The omitted termination proceeds thus—‘Hereafter folow the names of certen bokes, whiche, either after this injunction, or some other in the said kinges daies, were prohibyted, the names of which bokes here folowe in order expressed. Miles Coverdale. First, the whole Bible. Item’—enumerating other works: ‘First,’ and ‘Item,’ in the same

* WILKINS, *Concil. Fox*, vol. iii., pp. 403, &c., in the reign of Mary, refers to it, and gives it the wrong year of 1531. There was a petition of the Synod of Canterbury, in 1534, to the king, to restrain or punish the publication of suspected books and translations of the Scriptures. . WILKINS, *ib.*, p. 776.

† Pp. 572, 3, 4.

way follow the succeeding names—‘George Joy, Theodore Baselle alias Thomas Beacon, William Tindall, John Frith, Mels Coverdalle, William Turner, Translated by Fysh, Roberte Barnes, Richard Tracy, John Bale alias Haryson, John Goughe, Rederick Mors, Henry Stalbridg otherwyse Bale, George Joy, Urb. Regius, *Apologia Melancthonis*, Pomerani, Sawtry, Luther translated by Tindall.’ The next royal ‘proclamation for abolishing of English books,’ repeating nearly the same names, and followed by an instrument of the bishops, specifying the heresies at length, bears the date 1546, which shews it to be an act of the last year of the reign and life of Henry*. The protestant reign of his son was disgraced by no retaliation; but that of his daughter, the sanguinary, improved upon the heterodox bigotry of the father. In the memorable year 1555, was ‘A Proclamation set out by the King and Queen, for the restraining of all Books and Writings, tending against the Doctrine of the Pope and his Church.’ It grounds itself upon the statute of the second year of Henry IV., and condemns, with many of the reformers, foreign and English, Hall’s Chronicle†. In 1557, a convocation of the

* Fox, *Acts, &c.*, vol. ii., pp. 496—508.

† Id. ib. vol. iii., pp. 225, 6. ‘*Imprinted by John Cawood, Anno 1555.*’ The statute of Hen. IV., referred to, is given in all complete collections of

province of Canterbury repeated, as far as their authority extended, the royal condemnation *. And the crown was put to the whole of these disgraceful operations, when, in the last year of the reign and life of this wretched princess, 1558, appeared a proclamation, which deserves by its brutality to speak for itself.

‘ By the King and Queen.

‘ Whereas divers Books, filled with Heresie, Sedition, and Treason, have of late, and be dayly brought into this Realm out of foreign Countries and places beyond the seas, and some also covertly printed within this Realm, and cast abroad in sundry parts thereof, whereby not only God is dishonoured, but also an incouragement given to disobey lawful Princes and Governors: The King and Queen’s Majesties, for redress hereof, do, by this their present Proclamation, declare and publish to all their Subjects, that whosoever shall, after the proclaiming hereof, be found to have any of the said wicked and seditious Books, or finding them, do not forthwith burn the same, without shewing or reading the same to any other

the Statutes, and may be found in COLLIER’S *Ecc. Hist.*, vol. i., pp. 614, 5. The preparations for it, in the petition of the clergy and reply of the king, may be seen in WILKINS, *Concil.*, Tom. iii., pp. 252—4.

* WILKINS, *ib.*, Tom. iv., pp. 155, &c., particularly 163.

person, shall in that case be reputed and taken for a Rebel, and shall without delay be executed for that offence, according to the order of martial law.

*' Given at our Manor of Saint James's,
the sixth day of June.*

*' John Cawood, Printer.'**

But it is time we should come to Rome, the fountain of these arbitrary acts. And in the Council of Lateran, assembled in 1511, in the tenth session, 1515, LEO X. then filling the pontifical chair, an ordinance of his was confirmed, with only one dissentient voice in favour of antient writers, that no book should be printed, until, if in Rome, examined and subscribed by the Master of the Sacred Palace; and, if in other places, by the Bishop, or his deputy, or the Inquisitor of the place. The printer who should transgress, besides the loss and public burning of the books printed, and the contribution of two hundred ducats for the building of St. Peter's Cathedral, and suspension of his trade for a year, becomes subject to a sentence of excommunication, and, in case of contumacy, to farther discretionary severities†. No-

* Fox, *Acts, &c.*, iii., p. 732.

† As this ordinance is both highly important in itself, and is recognized and adopted in the Tenth of the Tridentine Rules, it will be desirable to

thing like a formal Index of condemned books appeared from this quarter until the year 1543,

give it in the original, and at length, from the authentic edition printed at Rome, 1521, fol. cl., cli.—

Postmodum vero Reverendus pater Dominus Franciscus Episcopus Nane-tensis ascendit ambonem, et legit cedulam super Impressione Librorum, cujus tenor talis est:

LEO Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Ad perpetuam rei memoriam sacro approbante Concilio. Inter sollicitudines nostris humeris incumbentes perpeti cura revolvimus, ut errantes in viam veritatis reducere, ipsoque lucrifacere Deo (sua nobis cooperaute gratia) valeamus, hoc est quod profecto desideranter exquirimus, ad id nostre mentis sedulo destinamus affectum, ac circa illud studiosa diligentia vigilamus. Sane licet literarum peritia per librorum lectionem possit faciliter obtineri, ac ars imprimendi libros temporibus potissimum nostris, divino favente numine, inventa seu aucta, et perpolita, plurima mortalibus attulerit commoda, cum parva impensa copia librorum maxima habeatur. Quibus ingenia ad litterarum studia percommode exerceri, et viri eruditi in omni linguarum genere præsertim autem catholici, quibus sanctam Ro. Ecclesiam abundare affectamus, facile evadere possunt, qui etiam infideles sciant et valeant sacris institutis instruere, fideliumque collegio per doctrinam Christiane fidei salubriter aggregare.

Quia tamen multorum querela nostrum et sedis apostolice pulsavit auditum, quod nonnulli hujus artis imprimendi magistri in diversis mundi partibus libros, tam Grece, Hebraice, Arabice, et Caldee linguarum in latinum translatos, quam alios, latino, ac vulgari sermone editos errores etiam in fide, ac pernicioso dogmata etiam religioni Christianæ contraria, ac contra famam personarum etiam dignitate fulgentium continentes imprimere ac publice vendere presumunt, ex quorum lectura non solum legentes non edificantur, sed in maximos potius, tam in fide, quam in vita et moribus prolabuntur errores. Unde varia sepe scandala (prout experientia rerum magistra docuit) exorta fuerunt, et majora indies exoriri formidantur.

Nos itaque ne id quod ad Dei gloriam et fidei augmentum, ac bonarum artium propagationem salubriter est inventum, in contrarium convertatur, ac Christi fidelium saluti detrimentum pariat, super librorum impressione curam nostram habendam fore duximus, ne de cetero cum bonis seminibus spine coalescant, vel medicinis venena intermisceantur. Volentes igitur de

when REIMMANN, in his *Catologus Bibliothecæ Theologicæ*, adduces *Index Generalis Scriptorum interdicatorum*, of that date at Venice: but in so

oportuno super his remedio providere, hoc sacro approbante Concilio, ut negotium impressionis librorum hujusmodi eo prosperetur felicius quo deinceps indago solertior diligentius et cautius adhibeatur.

Statuimus et ordinamus, quod de cetero perpetuis futuris temporibus nullus librum aliquem, seu aliam quamcunque scripturam, tam in Urbe nostra, quam aliis quibusvis Civitatibus et Diocesibus imprimere seu imprimi facere presumat, nisi prius in Urbe per Vicarium nostrum et Sacri Palatii magistrum. In aliis vero civitatibus et Diocesibus per Episcopum vel alium habentem peritiam scientie, libri seu scripture hujusmodi imprimende ab eodem Episcopo ad id deputandum, ac inquisitorem hereticæ pravitatis civitatis sive Diocesis in quibus librorum impressio hujusmodi fieret, diligenter examinentur, et per eorum manu propria subscriptionem sub excommunicationis sententia gratis et sine dilatione imponendam approbentur.

Qui autem secus presumpserit, ultra librorum impressorum amissionem, et illorum publicam combustionem, ac centum ducatorum fabrice basilice principis apostolorum de urbe sine spe remissionis solutionem, ac anni continui exercitii impressionis suspensionem, excommunicationis sententia innodatus existat, ac demum ingravescente contumacia taliter per Episcopum suum vel Vicarium nostrum respective per omnia juris remedia castigetur, quod alii ejus exemplo similia minime attemptare presumant.

Nulli ergo, &c: Data Romæ in publica Sessione, in Lateraneū. sacrosancta basilica solemnitè celebrata. Anno incarnationis Dominice M.D.XV. Quarto Nonas Maii, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Tertio. There was one dissentient, qui dixit placere de novis operibus, non autem de antiquis.

In this same edition of the council, and in an Oration, uncondemned, of Christopher Marcellus, a Venetian nobleman and Notary of the Apostolic see, after many other extravagantly adulatory compellations of the Pontiff, the orator adds, *Tu denique alter Deus in terris*, fol. lvi. verso, end of the Fourth Session, and near the end of the Oration. This is the second and deliberate publication of such blasphemy, as I have an edition of the Oration published separately by the same printer the year after its delivery, 1513.

extraordinary a manner as to induce a reasonable doubt of its existence. At p. 90, vol. i., he expresses himself thus—*Atque ab hoc tempore* (493, having mentioned Gelasius's Decree as a similar work) *conquievit hæc libros excommunicandi ratio usque ad A. C. 1543, quo primus Scriptorum interdictorum Index Generalis prodiit Venetiis, quem plures postea secuti sunt. Et in iis hic Hispanicus*—that of 1612, which he had previously noticed. It does not appear, that the supposed book was seen by a single individual.

For the title of the next article, I am indebted to PEIGNOT, in the same work. *IL CATALOGO de' Libri, li quali nuovamente nel' mese di maggio nell' anno presente MDXLVIII* . sono stati condannati et scommunicati per heretici, da M. GIOVAN DELLA CASA, legato di Venetia et d' alcuni frati. E aggiunto sopra il medesimo Catalogo un giudicio et discorso del VERGERIO, 1549, in 4to†.* It is a remarkable circumstance, but no less certain, as

* This date, as appears by the concluding one, should be MDXLVIII. a terminating I being omitted by mistake. Of this farther evidence will appear: but as accuracy is important in criticism, I subjoin the note in the *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Bunavianæ*, where the Indexes are enumerated, and this in particular among them. *Est hic Catalogus omnium primus eorum qui in Italia prodire, teste VERGERIO in libello, &c., ex quo vide excerpta quædam in SCHOETTGENI Commentatione II de Indic. Libror. prohibitor. § 116. In his tamen excerptis primus Catalogus an. 1548, Venetiis impressus dicitur, quod sphalma typographicum est. Tom. I., p. 496.*

† Tom. I., p. 256.

appears by the very title, that this Index is the production of the infamous Archbishop of Benevento, John della Casa. It was written, as Vergerio asserts, by command of Pope Paul IV. And he adds, that the same Pontiff, overcome by his (Vergerio's) importunities, consented to insert the name of John della Casa among the condemned ones in the last edition published with his approbation ; as appears to have been actually done. *Verum quid?* adds our author with becoming indignation, *inseruit hujusmodi portentum in eo ipso Catalogo, in quo doctrinæ Filii Dei propugnatores recensentur. Sentit enim Antichristus, horribile illud atque abominabile scelus eodem loco et numero habendum esse, quo cælestis, quam profiteremur, doctrina**.

If either the original edition of this Index, or the reprint of it by Vergerio, be extant, they are certainly neither of them easily accessible. It cannot, therefore, be unacceptable to the inquirer into such subjects to be presented with an interesting extract from it, in a subsequent work of the same

* Vide WOLFII *Lectt. M.*, Tom. II., p. 692. To this information I was directed by MARCHAND, *Dict. Hist.* under *Casa*, where the reader may see more than will give him pleasure in the life of that worthless ecclesiastic. I allow the reference to Wolfius to stand, although I have corrected his quotation, particularly the mistake of *Sicut* for *Sentit*, by the original *Postremus Catalogus*, &c., fol. 8, verso. We shall hear more of this scarce but important little work.

zealous and able opponent of the papacy, entitled *Concilium non modo Tridentinum sed omne Papticum perpetuo fugiendum esse omnibus piis.* Auctore VERGERIO. Anno M.D.L.III. Printed, probably, at Strasburg. At the signature E 3 we have this account :—

Ita incipit Catalogus cujusdam Legati Papalis :
Publicantur pro damnatis et prohibitis omnia
opera infra scriptorum Hereticorum, & Hæresiar-
charum.

Martini Lutheri.	Hippoliti Melangei.
Martini Buceri.	Conradi Lagii.
Martini Borrhai.	Leonardi Culmani.
Melancthonis.	Claudii Guilandi.
Ecolampadii.	Joan. Lorichii.
Zuuinglii.	Hadamarii.
Joannis Hus.	Justi Jonæ.
Bullingeri.	Jo. Pauperii.
Erasmi Sarcerii.	Gerziani.
Joannis Brentii.	Joan. Malter in Apoc.
Pellicnai. [<i>sic</i>]	Joan. Spangelbergii Herdesiani.
Antonii Corvini.	Petri Artophagi.
M. Antonii Calvinii.	Andreas Althameri.
Hermani Bodii.	Joan. Calvinii.
Hieronimi Saonensis.	Othonis Brunfelsii.
F. Julii de Mediolano.	Huld. Hutteni.
Petri Vireti.	Urbani Rhegii.
Gulielmi Farelli.	F. Bernadini ochini.
Petri Artopei.	F. Petri Martyris Flor.
Arsatii Schoffer.	Martini Morhai in Eccles. Solo.
Clementis Maroti.	Hermetis Zetmarii de instau- randa religione.
Victoris de Bordellai.	Jo. Oldenthorpo de Communione
Theodori Bibliandri.	Corporis Christi, sub utraq; spetie.
Helias Pandochei.	

Joannis Draconitis in Abdiam Prophetam.
 Sebastiani Meyeri in Epistolas Pauli et in Apocalipsim.
 Joannis Epini in Evangelium ascensionis.
 Rudolphi Gualtheri Antichristus.

Zomithani in Matheum.
 Christophori Hofmani in Epistolam Pauli ad Titum.
 Fabricii Capitonis in Habakuk Prophetam.
 Et post alios quosdam fere LXXX. in universum profertur condemnatio hujusorodi.

Mandato et commissione reverendissimi Domini, Domini Joannis della casa Archiepiscopi Beneventani, Decani cameræ Apostolicæ et in toto illustrissimo dominio Venetorum Legati Apostolici tenore præsentium denunciatur excommunicati excommunicatione majore, contenta in Bulla Cœna Domini, juxta illius tenorem et formam omnes illi, qui penes se in domibus propriis et in quovis alio loco ausi fuerint absque auctoritate, et licentia sanctæ sedis Apostolicæ tenere publice vel occulte, et quovis modo legere, imprimere et defendere libros, compositiones, et opera de quibus in hujusmodi Catalogo fit mentio, et pro talibus ac ut tales declarantur, et publicantur. In quorum fidem, &c. Dat. Venetiis apud Sanctum Joannem a templo, Die VII mensis Mai. Anno M.D.XLIX. Presbyter Bartholomeus à Capello Cancellarius de mandato, &c.

Vergerio adds the following two notes:—

Legistis juramentum Episcoporum, in quo illi pollicentur se persecutores, et impugnatos

Hereticos. At videte, modo quosnam Papa cum suis Episcopis, et Legatis habeat pro hereticis et pro hæresiarchis. Omnes nos prorsus qui puritatem sanctæ doctrinæ Evangelicæ restitutam volumus. Itaque jam sumus ab illis condemnati; nihil aliud jam reliquum esset nisi ut in loco concilii et in faciem legerent nobis eam condemnationem, et sententiam atque mox in ignem mitterent.

Audite omnes gentes, audite omnes populi, Nam hic Joannes Della Casa Archiepiscopus, qui ausus est tot doctissimos viros condemnare, ille ille ipse est, qui libello a se edito, et Venetiis impresso apud Trojanum Navum Typographum, celebravit laudes—I omit the three following lines, and proceed—Proh pudor. An num sunt hi egregii Archiepiscopi? His scilicet iudicibus utetur Papa et Diabolus in suo Concilio.

Occasional and slight violations of the order of time are almost unavoidable in discussions like the present; we therefore retrograde a little to notice the origin of the condemning books in one of the most zealous and fruitful manufactories of them, Spain. Our best guide on this subject, as relates to Spain, in default of the works themselves, is the *Histoire de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, par LLORENTE. In the 1st vol. and xiiiith chap:

of that work he has given a detailed and able account of the prohibitions of books, or the Indexes, in Spain. At p. 462, and the following, he informs us, citing as his authority SANDOVAL'S *History* of CHARLES V., that that Emperor charged the University of Louvain to form a list of dangerous books, and that he obtained, in 1539, a bull of the Pope approving the measure. It was published in 1546; and having the original edition before me, I give the following as an account thereof.

MANDEMENT de l'imperiale Maieste donne et publie en l'an xlvi. Avecq Catalogue, Intitulation, ou declaration des livres reprouvéz, faicte par Messieurs les Docteurs en sacree Theologie de Luniversite de Louvain, a l'ordonnance et commandement de la susdicte Maieste Imperiale. Imprime a Louvain, par SERVAIS VAN SASSEN. Lan. M.D.xlvi. Cum Gratia et Previlgio. 8vo. fol. 39, unnumbered. The *Mandement*, after referring to ordonnances of the years 1540 and 1544, for the restraint of the press, complains of the continued publication of heretical books, and particularly of corrupt editions of the scriptures, and accordingly subjects booksellers to new restrictions, under the penalty of death—*sur paine du dernier supplice*—if they sell any books con-

taining error, without the previous inspection and mark of appointed officers *. The Catalogue itself, which is compiled by the Dean and Faculty of the University of Louvain, exhibits, firstly, a copious list of bibles in different languages; and, secondly, an alphabetic one, in Latin and Dutch, of the works, principally of the German reformers. In a separate notice at the close is contained a list of authors and works condemned by the Imperial Mandement of 1540. A Flemish edition of the same work is mentioned in the Second Part of the *Bibliotheca Selecta* of M. CHARLES MICHIELS, 1781, Anvers, under the head of *Ample Collection concernant les Expurgations et Censures des Livres*. I refer to the above work, and to this particular portion of it the more precisely, not only because I shall have future occasion for such references, but because many of the volumes, containing the Indexes, or relating to them, in

* They could only sell books printed by a printer admitted and sworn, &c. I have not particularly noticed circumstances of this kind; but I have before me two works, one entitled, *Acta Concilii Tridentini*, &c. Antverpiæ, 1546, with the notice of the printer, *Excudebat Martinus Nutius, typographus juratus et a Cæs. M. admissus. Cum Privilegio Cæsareo*. The other is on the subject of the present work, *Panegyricæ Orationes Duæ, Prior, de Vitandis et Repub. proscribendis Libris perniciosis*, &c. Auctore H. СУХСКОЮ, &c. Lovaniï, apud Jacobum Heybergium, Typog. Jurat. Anno M.D.XCV.

my possession, are, I have reason to believe, the identical volumes exhibited in that Catalogue.

In 1549 * the Emperor wrote to the same University to publish another edition of this Catalogue, which, with additions and by authority of the supreme Senate of the Inquisition, appeared in 1550. PEIGNOT gives the title, which is in the Flemish language, and which in English is—*THE CATALOGUES or Inventories of bad books prohibited, and of other good ones to be taught young scholars, according to the advice of the University of Louvain, with an edict or mandate of his imperial Majesty, Louvain, by SERVAIS VAN SASSEN, in 1550, 4to.* This volume, as Peignot affirms, is infinitely rare and unknown †. In the same year the same Catalogue, as may reasonably be supposed, but whether before or after is uncertain, was published in Latin, with this title—*CATALOGI Librorum reprobatorum, et prælegendorum ex judicio Academiae Lovaniensis. Cum edicto Cæsareæ Majestatis evulgati. Lovanii, ex officina Servatii Sasseni, Anno Domini M.D.L. Jussu, Gratia, et Privilegio, Cæsareæ Majestatis, 4to.* It begins with an address to the reader from the Rector and University, adverting to the Catalogue of 1546,

* Certainly not 1546, as in the original.

† Ubi supra, pp. 256, 7. In *Biblioth. Bunav. is Ordnung, &c., 1550, 4.* See p. 496.

and stating that two letters had been directed to them by the Emperor, commanding them to form a fresh Catalogue, which should comprehend the noxious books issued since the publication of the last ; which command they had now put in execution. They profess to insert, not only decidedly heretical books, but those likewise which insinuate the same poison, closing the list of condemned assertions with this—*solam fidem sufficere ad salutem*. They deprecate the wonder of the reader that so many Bibles and New Testaments should be the subject of reprobation ; but justify themselves by the observation, that the greater the danger, the greater should be the caution. With other common-place observations the pre-fatory address concludes. The Catalogue itself occupies eight leaves, and is principally constituted of the names and works of the Reformers. The condemned Bibles and New Testaments, in different languages, amount to nearly fifty*. I possess an apparently contemporary MS. copy, appended to *Articuli Orthodoxæ religionis per Cæsaræam Majestatem confirmati*, 1544, of what appears to be the same Catalogue, *Impressus*

* The *Bibliotheca* of Michiels enumerates two copies of this Catalogue. It contains, likewise, one in *Flemish*, differing somewhat in title, and, it is to be presumed, in contents, from the Flemish one of the same year just mentioned.

Lovaniï, apud Sassenium (Servatium), anno 1550. It consists of about eleven closely-written 4to. pages, the names alphabetically arranged, with a considerable number of the lately edited Bibles, in Latin, Greek, Dutch, French, nearly as they are found in the preceding Catalogue, and in the Spanish or Belgic one of 1570, which we shall notice in its place*. Both these editions, as Van Espen affirms, are extant in the first book *Edict. Fland.*, Ed. 1639.

The University of Paris, by its Faculty of Theology, had signalized its zeal against what, in common with the other members of Antichristian Rome, it presumed to call heresy, so early as the year 1544; when, on the 13th of August, it published an alphabetic Catalogue of sixty-five proscribed books, and in the same year another, with a greater number of names. This latter was published *sous la correction de la sainte mère de l'église et du saint siege apostolique*. This account is taken from P. FABRE'S *Continuation de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de M. FLEURY*, tome xxviii., liv. 141, § 50. He refers to the

* I have no doubt this is the identical article in the *Biblioth. of Michiels*, entitled,—*Articuli (XXXII.) Orthodoxæ Religionis a Sacræ Theologiæ Professoribus Lovaniensibus editi. MSS. Catalogus Librorum Prohibitorum. 1550. MSS. 4.* It has the name Capt. Michiels. printed at the bottom of the first page.

Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus, by D'ARGENTRE, [tome ii., pp. 167 *et seq.* It appears to have contained the names which occupy the first part of the next, more deliberate, publication by the same learned body, under the following title : *LE CATALOGUE des livres examinez et censurez, par la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Paris, depuis l'an 1544, jusques à l'an présent 1551, suivant l'edict du Roy, donné à Chasteau Briant au dit an 1551.* It is in 4to., although in 12mo. size. The worthy authors exult in the condemnation by the supreme senate of Paris, in imitation of their sovereign, of several poor heretics, *flammis ultricibus urendos*. There are two alphabets of Latin and French authors ; and some Italian pieces of BERNARDINO OCCHINO are added at the end. The privilege of the King, HENRY II., with his arms and device, close the whole. The volume is small, and the contents not very remarkable. Luther, Calvin, and Erasmus seem to be the great inspirers of the Parisian panic, as of that in Spain*.

In the year 1559 PETER PAUL VERGERIO published an attack, which will be noticed, in Italian, on the Inquisitors, authors of the Catalogue of

* The success of the attempt was not very flattering, if we may trust PUTHERBEUS, in his work *De tollendis, &c., malis libris, &c.* Parisiis, 1549, pp. 236—8.

heretical books published that year in Rome; and in the next year, 1560, prefixed to an edition of the Roman Index of 1559, certain Annotations, in Latin, to the same effect. The reprint of the Index is of no particular value, except that of subserving at the time the purpose of the author to render the contents of the original more accessible and notorious. But the Annotations, independently of the acute and severe, but just animadversions which they contain, possess the superior merit of supplying posterity with the original and most complete enumeration of the Roman and Papal Indexes anterior to the then published and most obvious one of 1559. The information, indeed, given by this Italian is so original, that his most bitter and bigoted opponents are reduced to the necessity of accepting and detailing it. The title of this rare and important work is—*POSTREMUS CATALOGUS Hæreticorum Romæ conflatus, 1559. Continens alios Quatuor Catalogos, qui post decennium in Italia, nec non eos omnes, qui in Gallia et Flandria post renatum Evangelium fuerunt editi. Cum Annotationibus VERGERII M.D.LX. Colophon: CORVINUS excudebat Pfortzheimii, 1560. Small 8vo., foll. 75 *.* The volume is dedicated

* It was reprinted in the first and only volume of the collected works of Vergerio at Tubing, in 1563, 4to.

The following passage from the Annotations is worthy of remark. After

to Stanislaus, Count of Ostrog, with the date and signature—Tubinga, die 12 Sep., 1559, Vergerius. At the commencement of the Dedication the author furnishes us with the article of historic information, that the Index or Catalogue was concocted by the Pope, with the concurrence of six Inquisitors only. But the Annotations contain the most important intelligence ; and there, at the beginning, he writes, that when the Popes, ten years back, observed that the Gospel and some books favourable to it, were making their way into Italy, imitating the Sorbonists and Louvainians, they published a small Catalogue condemning about seventy books.

the mention of the condemnation of Federicus Fregosius, an Archbishop and Cardinal, Vergerio observes—At illud observandum, quod cum Cardinalem, et quidem summum, Lutheranismi condemnent, reticent Cardinalis nomen, ne quis intelligat eum Cardinalem fuisse, ob duas causas, *altera* est, quod putent statim, ipso jure, exutos esse omni honore et dignitate, qua potiebantur, eos, qui in Lutheranismum delabuntur, propterea omittunt titulos atque honores cum eos nominant ; *altera* vero, ne in Europæ vulgus dimanet, ex Cardinalium et numero esse nonnullos, qui causam nostram probent. Thus the Inquisitors dissemble the heresy of Cardinal Morono ; thus they acted with others whom he knew ; thus with his brother, Jo. Baptist V., Bishop of Pola, of whose episcopal dignity they are silent ; thus with Æneas Sylvius, whom they take care not to announce as a future Pope. Kings and Princes are treated in the same manner when they become heretical. Our own king is thus entered—Henricus VIII. Anglus. Foll. 24, 5. It would be amusing to compare with this unceremonious treatment the bull and letter indited by a Pope, Leo X., reconfering upon his Majesty of England, for a certain service against the notorious heretic Luther, the title of Defender of the Faith.

It was printed at Venice in 1548*, the first monster of the kind which had appeared in Italy †. He wrote against its occasional impiety and ignorance in Italian. In 1552 another appeared in Florence, with some errors corrected and some added. In consequence of his (Vergerio's) attack upon this, a third was prepared at Milan, in 1554, with the same success. In the same year a fourth appeared at Venice, the folly and almost madness of which provoked our author to new exposure, no longer in Italian, but in Latin. Lastly, he adds, they fabricated a fifth, in this very year, 1559, at Rome ‡.

* Should be 1549.

† This should appear incorrect if the edition in 1543, at Venice, already noticed, be allowed genuine, or not originating in a mistake of date. This, however, is the Italian edition, noticed above.

‡ Cum ante decennium Papæ animadvertissent, in Italia quoque Evangelii facem, licet exiguam, accensam esse, et libros nonnullos ex eo genere circumferri, quos ipsi (pro summa eorum cum Deo et Christo inimicitia) summe oderunt, Sorbonistas atque Lovanienses imitati, Catalogum conscripserunt, in quo paucos quosdam, vix LXX. notarunt et condemnarunt. Contra hunc, qui omnium primus in Italia prodiit, novum scilicet monstrum anno scilicet 48 [49], Venetiis impressum, scripsi quædam Italice et reprehendi illorum, non modo impietatem et blasphemias, sed inscitiam quoque singularem. Quare haud multo post, anno scilicet 1552, alterum Florentiæ promulgarunt, in quo emendaverunt quidem (quod fuissent a me moniti) nonnullos errores, sed novos, et quidem valde pudendos admiserunt. Cum vero contra hunc quoque styllum acuere zelus gloriæ Dei me impulisset, ecce tertium concinnarunt A. 1554, Mediolani, emendatis quidem aliquot ex erroribus quos ego indicaveram, sed additis interim nonnullis nihilo (minus ?) deformioribus, quam fuerant priores. Quid multa ?

As this Index, expressly and in its title, as well as in the decree of the Inquisition, which intro-

Quartum quoque Venetiis eodem anno 1554, ediderunt, quem cum vidissem novis quibusdam ineptiis atque stultitiis et pene furoribus refertum, hunc quoque excipiendum putavi meo scripto, non Italico amplius, sed Latino. Postremo hoc ipso scilicet anno 1559, Romæ fabricarunt quintum, &c. This is the passage from which GRETSEB derived his information, which he has given incorrectly, as he reports only *one* edition in 1554; and RAYNAUD, *Erotem.* p. 5, has copied his mistake.

It will throw some additional light upon the statement here given relative to these early editions to transcribe a passage, in which the same statement, with slight variation, was made by Vergerio in a prior and very rare work, of which the British Museum has a copy, entitled—*A GI' Inquisitori che sono per l' Italia. Del Catalogo di libri eretici stampato in Roma nell' Anno presente MDLIX.* 8vo., foll. 54. It is dedicated—Al Serenissimo Re di Boemia; and is subscribed—Di Tubinga, il primo di Settembre del LIX. Di V. Maestà

Umilissimo Servitor,

Vergerio.

At fol. 4 verso the work begins thus :—

I Sorbonisti e Lovaniensi teologastri furono i primi, che doppia renata, ne' nostri tempi, la luce del Vangelo, si posero à far de catalogi, ove condannarono per eretici i libri de molti huomini da bene, liquali aveano revocata in luce e insegnata la verità, che era stata dalla vostra impietà e tirannide, gran tempo di lungo, tenuta nascosa. E parendo à voi, questa essere assai buona via per tener in piè le superstitioni, l' idolatrie e bestemmie, che in luogo della propria dottrina di Giesu Cristo havevate introdotto, incominciaste ancor voi inquisitori dell' Italia à farne uno, che avesse à servire per le vostre contrade, come quegli' altri havean servito per la Fraunza e per la Fiandra, e cio fu nel anno XLIX. e stampossi in Venetia: ma avendo voi fatto de falli molti vergognosi e ridicoli, presa io (quantunque io sia l' ultimo tra i miei fratelli fuorusciti per Cristo) la penna in mano, e scrittone un come contracatalogo dimostrai una parte delle vostre ignorantie e gofferie, oltra alle bestemmie. Allora correste à farne un' altro, che fu pur in Venetia nell' anno LIIII. stampato, e essendo voi con quella mia risposta stati avvertiti di vostri errori, alcuni n' emendaste, e tutto ad un tratto ne commetteste molt' altri. Or io scrissi anche contra questo secondo, e

duces it, and in whose name it is issued, is founded upon the bull *in Cæna Domini*, and reduces the general provisions of that bull to particulars, it will be proper to premise a few words respecting that important and formidable instrument. It appears in various forms. The first distinctly

poi contra un terzo stampato in Firenze, e fecivi vedere, che venivate tuttavia moltiplicando le vostre inettie e sciocchezze, e per una, che n'era stata da voi corretta, n'havvevate aggiunto quattro ò sei. Mettete mano al quarto che fu stampato in Milano, e ancor in questo, come da me avvertiti, volendo emendarsi v'imbarbugliaste piu che mai. Finalmente havendo io in un altro mio scritto fatto beffe ancor di questo come de primi, e palesato à chi volea veder le moltissime vostre gofferie, n'havete, quest'anno, fatto un altro, nel quale è raccolto tutto cio che contiensi primieramente ne' Parigi e Lovaniensi, che ho detto, e poi ne gl'altri vostri quattro, e dandovi ad intender d'haver fatto un bellissima cosa, per dargli piu credito, havete lo stampato in meza Roma, e questo è il piu goffo e che ha ignorantie di piu importanza, piu arrogantie e tirannidi, e sopra tutto piu orribili empietà, che tutti gl'altri, e ve ne faro veder alcune delle piu enorme, à mano à mano, lasciando à drieto le meno importanti, ond'io credo, che vorrete correre à rippezzarlo, e far ancora ridere e stomacar il mondo della vostra follia. E cosi occorre a chi vuol combatter contra di Dio e di Cristo (come fate voi) che ogn'ora piu s'avviluppa e fassi piu ridicolo ne gl'occhi degl'huomini da bene, fin che poi gli sopravviene il sempiterno supplicio.

To this long note I must yet add, as being probably *that*, among the rare, if yet existing editions enumerated by Vergerio, which bears the date of one of them, and is thus described in the *Biblioth. Michiels*—*Catalogus Librorum Hæreticorum, qui hactenus colligi potuerunt a Viris Catholicis supplendis indies, qui alià ad Notitiam devenerit de commissione Tribunalis sanctissimæ Inquisitionis Venetiarum. Ibid., Solitus, 1554. Libri fuori dell'Indice ne quali si sono avvertiti alcuni errori. MSS. per esser giunti all'Indice precedente, 1554, 12mo.* It appears, by being under the same number, to be bound with an Aldine edition of the Index, 1564, in 8vo. I have given the title above as I find it.—I cannot select a more convenient place to give the title of another Index in *Biblioth. Michiels*—*CATALOGUS Librorum reprobatorum cum Edicto Regio editus. Lov. 1558, 4to.*

cited as such was published by Urban V. But it did not attain its regular excommunicating and anathematizing character, until that distinction was given to it by Julius II. The two next are, that of Leo X., in 1514, Idibus Aprilis, Pontificatus nostri Anno Secundo ; and that of Adrian VI., in 1523, Quarto Nonas Aprilis, Pontificatus nostri Anno Primo, both of which begin with excommunicating and anathematizing all heretics, the Gazari, Patareni, &c. &c., and the latter adds Luther ; but without any mention of his *books*. These two bulls I fortunately possess in separate forms, each four folia 4to, evidently printed at the time. Neither of them, however, occur in my edition of the Bullarium Magnum, nor in the Supplement printed at Luxemburg. The particular bull referred to in the Index about to be considered is that of Paul III., dated 1536, in which the usual excommunication and anathema are emitted against the more modern reputed heretics, and especially their great captain, together with his followers, as in Adrian's : but, not forgetting his *books*, it adds—*et quoslibet alios hæreticos quocunque nomine censeantur, ac omnes fautores, et receptatores, librosque ipsius Martini, aut quorumvis aliorum ejusdem sectæ sine auctoritate nostra, et Sedis Apostolicæ, quomodolibet legentes, aut in suis domibus tenentes, imprimentes, aut quomodolibet*

defendentes, ex quavis causa publice vel occulte, quovis ingenio, vel colore. Et generaliter quoslibet defensores eorundem.*

Of this edition we will now give an account. The title is—INDEX *Auctorum, et Librorum, qui ab Officio Sanctæ Rom. et Universalis Inquisitionis caveri ab omnibus et singulis in universa Christiana Republica mandantur, sub censuris contra legentes, vel tenentes libros prohibitos in Bulla, quæ lecta est in Cœna Dñi † expressis, et sub aliis pœnis in Decreto ejusdem Sacri officii contentis. Index venundatur apud Antonium Bladum, Cameralem impresorem, de mandato speciali Sacri Officii, Romæ, Anno Domini 1559. Mense Jan. 4to.* Then follows the prohibitory Decree of the Inquisition, in which, after denouncing the punishments of transgression determined by the Bulla Cœnæ Domini and the Lateran Council, with others *nostro arbitrio infligendis*, it proceeds to ordain, in

* Vide Bullarium Magnum, Lugd., tom. i. pp. 282, 516, 714. He who wishes to amuse himself, not wholly without profit, may see how the ingenuity of Roman or jesuitic casuists is exercised respecting the cases in which the penalty of this bull, in the particular under consideration, is incurred, in REGINALDI *Praxis Fori Pœnitentialis*, lib. ix., c. xiii., sect. iii.; where he discusses the question, how far the *hearing* read heretical books renders the individual so doing obnoxious to the law. It seems, by his decision, that the offenders, *as printers*, include *Seven* individuals, as *impressioni propinque cooperantes*, and more. Sect. iv.

† In the *Biblioth. Michiels* there is mentioned an Index, which exactly agrees with this in title down to the mark of reference; and adds—in Bologna, siue anno. 8vo.

very appropriate style, *ne quis in posterum audeat scribere, edere, imprimere, vel imprimi facere, vendere, emere, mutuo, dono, vel quovis alio prætextu dare, accipere, publice, vel occulte retinere, apud se, vel quomodolibet aliter servare, vel servari facere librum vel scriptum aliquod eorum, quæ in hoc Indice Sacri Officii, notata sunt, sive quascunque alias conscriptiones quas labe aliqua cujusvis hæresis respersas esse, vel ab hæreticis produsse compertum erit, &c.* *Excommunicatio latæ sententiæ*, with some others, are the expressed punishments*. The Index itself is divided into three classes, 1. of entire authors; 2. of particular works; 3. of anonymous pieces. The alphabetic order is observed. It consists of thirty-six leaves. It has a list of *Biblia Prohibita*, occupying more than a page, and half an one of *New Testaments*, with all similar editions or translations †, at the end, followed by sixty-one prohibited printers; and last of all, which does not seem to be found in all the copies, not appearing either in Naogeorgus's or Vergerio's reprint in the same year, but evidently belonging to the book, the following licence. *De*

* GRETSER, in horrowing this Decree from Vergerio, is pleased to say, *si tamen V. bona fide decretum hoc retulit et transcripsit.* The Jesuit knew well enough, that it was perfectly superfluous to doubt the accuracy of Vergerio.

† Cum omnibus similibus libris Novi Testamenti.

Libris orthodoxorum patrum, aliorumve fidelium, vel infidelium auctorum nondum rejectorum, quotquot interpretatione, typis, vel opera hæreticorum in lucem prodire, definitum est, eas nullatenus legi, vel detineri posse, nisi prius licentia in scriptis habita ab Officio S. R. Inquisitionis, sive ab ejusdem sacri officii Commissariis, vel ab hæreticæ pravitatis Inquisitoribus seu ab eorum Vicariis. Hujusmodi vero licentia nulli hominum impertienda est nisi abrasis primum, vel adeo obliterated, ut legi, vel percipi non possint, nominibus, cognominibus, annotationibus, scholiis, censuris, argumentis, summaris, et quibuscunque aliis vestigiis memoriæ, vel industriæ omnium eorum qui in prima classe, secundum cujusque elementi seriem in Indice sacri officii fuerint annotati. Quamprimum autem ejuscemodi codices ab hæreticis versi recogniti, vel editi, rursus per auctores probatæ fidei evulgentur, adeo, ut obtineri possint, omnis jom concessa licentia revocata, et penitus irrita censeatur.

This index is of about the same dimensions as that, better known, of Trent. It does not exhibit the name or authority of the reigning Pontiff in any part: but not the slightest doubt can be entertained that it is to be ascribed to him; as is freely done in the Session of the Council of Trent, which discusses the subject of a new Index, ac-

according to the representation, not only of FRA PAOLO, as will be seen, but of PALLAVICINO*. If any confirmation of the fact were necessary, it might be supplied by CIACONIO, who, in his *Vitæ, et Res Gestæ Pontificum, &c.*, under Paul IV., expressly records of him—*ne aliquis hæreticus error piorum animis obreperet, Indicem librorum a se damnatorum, publicavit.* In an *Additio* on the passage by VICTORELLI, are read the following rather important observations. *De hac re Panvinius l. c. et narratio patrum ordinis Clericorum Regularium apud Caracciolum; fusius Caracciolus ipse†, et*

* Ist. del Conc. di Trento, lib. xv., cap. 19.

† In the life of Paul IV. by Caraccioli, there does not appear to be anything additional upon the subject; but the *Narratio* referred to, which is contained in a long letter of the regular clergy living at Rome, and writing in the very year when the Index was published, 1559, pp. 62—92, edit. Coloniae, 1612, deserves rather more minute attention. *Fuit item Christianæ Reipub. valde proficua prohibitio librorum quos heretici impiique Autores sive Impressores ediderant, curaque quam Pontifex adhibet, ut libri pravis Scholæ, Notisve infecti fædatique perpurgentur.* Then comes the common-place tirade against heretics; after which the writers (although the singular is used) resume. *Brevi itaque cum Dei auxilio, speramus, Sacra Doctorum Ecclesiæ Commentaria, Divinasque litteras, atque adeo omne genus libros, pravo dogmate purgatos, nobis fore reddendos.* In LETI, or GILTRIO ROGERI's *Vita di Sisto V.*, is a notice of the Index before us, entitled to some consideration. Montalto, acting under the directions of Cardinal Alessandrino, afterwards Pius V., whom he, with one intervention, was to succeed, while at Venice in capacity of Commissary-General, received from his superior *un grande Indice di Libri, che la sopra Inquisitione di Roma haveva riprovato, e dichiarati sospetti d' heresia, &c.*, enjoining him to prohibit, *sotto gravi pene d' iscommunica*, the reading or retaining them. The booksellers were ordered to give him a catalogue of their books,

Castaldus. Cardinalis Theatinus, sub Julio III. Indicem librorum non legendorum conficere cœperat; at Romanus Pontifex delectus, primus fuit, suo sæculo, qui universalem perniciosorum librorum indicem contexere, et ad usum revocare, studuit. Ante illum nulla Pontificia, aut Cæsarea lex, propositis pœnis, caverat, in universum, ne libri Hæreticorum, aut alii pestilentes legerentur. The *Additio OLDOINI* inserts in the list of the works of Paul IV. *Indicem librorum prohibitorum primus omnium Paulus confecit*.*

In my edition of the Index under consideration, which was bound up with an edition of that of Trent, at Bononia, 1564, a former possessor has marked with a pen all the alterations and additions, which are not many. The most remarkable peculiarity of this edition is the article already referred to, and which has disappeared from all subsequent editions, except the next but one, which will be noticed—*Joannis Casæ Poemata.*

There are some things, however, not undeserving of attention, connected with the insertion of the name, *Desiderius Erasmus.* It occurs

and, one refusing, the senate interfered with some vigour, and the nuncio was induced to advise Montalto to desist. *Parte Prima, Libro iii., Ed. Losanna, 1669, Tom. i, pp. 170—173.*

* Edit. ult., Tom. iii., coll. 812, 816, 840.

under the class of *Auctores quorum libri, et scripta omnia prohibentur*. And yet, after the name, the words follow—*cum universis Commentariis, Annotationibus, Scholiis, Dialogis, Epistolis, Censuris, Versionibus, Libris et scriptis suis, etiam si nil penitus contra Religionem, vel de Religione contineant*. This is somewhat of an illustration of the title, *De omnibus Rebus et quibusdam aliis*. But this is not all. Be it known, then, that in consequence of this proscribed writer's Dedication of the first edition of his Greek Testament, with Annotations, in 1516, to the reigning pope, Leo X., the head, infallible as by many he is believed, of the Roman church, directed to him a brief, which the editor has carefully inserted in the second, and in every subsequent edition of his Greek Testament, highly commending the lucubrations of his dear son, and proceeding thus—*Quas nuper a te recognitas, et pluribus additis annotationibus locupletatas, illustratasque fuisse certiores facti, non mediocriter gavisi fuimus, ex prima illa editione quæ absolutissima videbatur, conjecturam facientes, qualis hæc futura, quantumve boni, sacræ Theologiæ studiosis, ac orthodoxæ fidei nostræ sit allatura. Macte igitur, &c.* How should we ever have been extricated from this collision of papal authority, had not the healing mediation interposed of the Spanish In-

dex, published about half a century after, in 1612, and to be described in its place? In the Expurgatory division of that Index, and under the long article *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera*, at the beginning of the censures on the sixth volume, we read the following words—Ad marginem Epistolæ Leonis P. P. X. ad Erasmus, quæ incipit, *Dilecte fili, salutem, et habetur seq. pag. post inscriptionem hujus Tomi, adscribe: Dulcibus encomiis pius Pater nutantem ovem allidere conatur.* There is another article possessing some peculiarity: it is *Lib. inscrip. Consilium de emendanda Ecclesia.* This *Consilium* was the result of an assembly of four cardinals, among whom was our Pole, and five prelates, by Paul III., in 1537, charged to give him their best advice relative to a reformation of the church. The corruptions of that community were detailed and denounced with more freedom than might have been expected, or was probably desired, so much so, that when one of the body, Cardinal Caraffa, assumed the tiara, as Paul IV., he transferred his own *advice* into his own list of prohibited books. The genuineness of this work, which was frequently reprinted, and of which I have an edition printed at Antwerp, in the succeeding year, 1538, is past the possibility of controversy; and stands forth as an act of self-con-

demnation so palpable and confounding, as to necessitate from its incorrigible authors a further self-condemnation, which, however, only aggravates the original disgrace *. We may add, and conclude with, another instance in this Index, of an exactly corresponding description. *Aeneæ Sylvii commentaria de actis et gestis Concilii Basiliensium*; softened and explained in the following Tridentine Index to—*In actis Aeneæ Sylvii prohibentur ea quæ ipse in Bulla retractationis damnavit*. In that Bull, § 4, he observes with admirable simplicity, *Dicent fortasse aliqui, cum Pontificatu hanc nobis opinionem advenisse, et cum dignitate mutatam esse sententiam. Haud ita est, longe aliter actum, &c.* This was a very necessary procedure when he became pope, under the title of PIUS II; and before that time he could not pre-

* The *Consilium* is found in various places, in WOLFII *Lect. Mem.*; in BROWN'S *Fasciculus Rerum Fug. et Expet.*; portions in GERDESII *Italia Reformata*: and it became the subject of an animated controversy. M'CRIE, in his *History of the Reformation in Italy*, has given a satisfactory account of the whole, pp. 83, &c. The candid Quirini could maintain neither the spuriousness of this important document, nor its non-identity with the one condemned in the Index. See Schelhorn's Two Epistles on the subject. Tiguri, 1748. And now observe, gentle reader, the pontifical artifice which this discussion has produced. Not in the Index following the year 1748, namely that of 1750, (that was too soon,) but in the next, that of 1758, the article appears thus—*Consilium de emendanda Ecclesia. Cum Notis vel Præfationibus Hæreticorum. Ind. Trid.* The whole, particularly the *Ind. Trid.*, is an implied and real falsehood.

tend to infallibility. He might with justice have given the same ingenious account of his change of sentiment as was given by a pontifical brother in the same predicament, that *when he was raised higher he saw things more clearly*.—at least differently*.

In what estimation this Index was held, and what deference was paid to its authority by the ruling members of the Papacy, will appear, in rather an interesting light, by the discussions which took place on the expediency of a new Index, about two years after the appearance of this, at the Council of Trent then sitting, and which it will be desirable to detail in its place, as introductory to the formation of the next, and permanently authentic Roman Index.

Naogeorgus, or Thomas Kirchmaer, a reformer of poetical and satirical celebrity, gave a re-impression of this Index, in the same year, and probably, although no place is named, at Basil, in small 8vo. ; to which is annexed, a satire, *In Catalogum Hæreticorum nuper Romæ editum*, bearing date 1559, in which he does not forget the archbishop of Benevento, and has traced the

* SCHELHORN, in his *Epistola de Consilio de Emend. Ecc.*, p. 12, mentions two other editions of Paul IV.'s Index, the one printed at Bononia, in 1559, attested by the Inquisitor, and subscribed by the bishop of the place; the other in Italy, as is inferred from the type, without mark of place or year.

origin and success of the Reformation to their actual causes, in powerful verse, and with philosophic discrimination *. The reprint by Vergerio has already been noticed.

I will close the account of this remarkable edi-

* The reader will probably be gratified by the insertion of the passage. It begins at page 12, for the lines are not numbered.

Principio unus erat tantum, solusque Lutherus,
 Qui prædæ nugisque tuis obstabat ineptis,
 Quis emungebas populos et regna viritim.
 Placari poterat verbis is forsan amicis,
 Lenibus et factis, ne contradiceret ultra
 Ad prædam emissis effrontibus usque molossis :
 Sed dum latratu turbarent omnia sævo,
 Tuque tuo ex antro torqueres fulmina dira,
 Spiraresque minas, librosque et scripta cremares,
 Plures ille libros emisit, teque tuosque
 Depinxit lepide, in mediam et protraxit arenam.
 Paulatimque alii consurrexere trecenti,
 Exciti clamore tuo crudoque tumultu,
 Dogmata qui ritusque tuos, vitamque fidemque
 Impugnant, regnoque tuo sunt usque molesti.
 An nondum sentis, tua quid molimina lucri
 Attulerint? Hostes quid vis consurgere plures?
 Desine : dissimula : melius, mihi crede, silendo
 Ulcera curantur tua. Quin et membra coerce,
 Ne nos irritent scriptis dictisve probrosis.
 Quippe liber librum parit, extorquentque frequenter
 Inavitis etiam dirum convicia verbum,
 Provocat atque atrox persæpe injuria bellum.
 Multa equidem nunquam scripsissem, (forsan et alter)
 Me nisi membra tui traxissent turbida regni.
 Illis acceptum ferto, si scripsimus in te,
 Doctrinamque tuam, ritus, vitamque scelestam,
 Quod tibi nunc doleat, magnamque hanc excitet iram.

tion with an extract from Gretser, where, in taking leave of his good friend Vergerio, from whom alone he learned all that he knew of this and the preceding editions, he discharges from his quill some of the milk of his human kindness. *Hunc Indicem, ut et tres (quatuor) priores, virulentissimis scriptis Italicè et Latinè exagitavit perfidus transfuga Vergerius: et quamvis nusquam non insaniat potius ille Apostata, quam scribat, in libellis tamen contra catalogos librorum vetitorum furori suo omnes habenas laxat, et ita tonat, ut quicquid furiarum Orcus complectitur, in pectus ejus immigrasse, totumque virus inspirasse videatur, cujus amentiam infra interdum tangemus, &c.**

* *De Jure*, &c. p. 102. Take a specimen of his own soundness. Porro, lectione librorum hæreticorum tetrum fœtorem animo adflari, adeo verum est, ut sancti Viri hanc graveolentiam aliquando ipsis etiam corporeis sensibus perceperint. Illustre hujus rei exemplum, &c. p. 171.

The following testimonies, exhibited by Dr. GERDES, in his *Specimen Italiæ Reformatae*, pp. 97, 8, will throw light upon this part of the subject, and shew, that the Decrees of Rome against books were no dead letter, nor, living, an inactive one.

Et sunt gravissima in hanc causam verba NATALIS COMITIS, Scriptoris Veneti¹, Seculi XVI. ‘Exiit edictum, ut libri omnes impressi, vel explanationibus ab hæreticis scriptoribus contaminati, at non illustrati, sanctissimis magistratibus quæstionum ubique afferentur, propositis etiam gravissimis suppliciis, si quis illos occultasset, suppressisset, ac non obtulisset. Tanta concremata est omnis generis librorum ubique copia ac multitudo, ut Trojanum prope incendium, si in unum collati fuissent, apparere posset. Nulla enim fuit bibliotheca, vel privata vel publica, quæ fuerit immunis ab ea clade, ac non prope exinanita: Combusti sunt libri in

¹ Vid. Natal. COMES Histor. sui temporis, Lib. xi. p. 262.

We now come to Spain; and, according to LLORENTE, PHILIP II., whose name is not blessed in this country, published a sanguinary decree, like himself, denouncing death and confiscation of goods to all who should buy, sell, or keep the books prohibited by the Sacred Office; and, to preclude the pretence of ignorance, ordered a Catalogue, prepared by the Inquisitor-General, to be published in 1558.* A more extended one was published next year, 1559, by Valdes, Inquisitor-General, of which the title is—*CATHALOGUS Librorum, qui prohibentur mandato Illustrissimi et Reverend. FERD. DE VALDES, Hispalen. Archiepi, Inquisitoris Generalis Hispaniæ. Necnon et Supremi Sanctæ ac Generalis Inquisitionis Senatus. Hoc Anno M.D.LIX. editus.*

multis Italiæ civitatibus, sed non sine multis populorum lamentationibus, ob amissos sumtus.’

Consentit Latinus LATINUS², in ejus Ep. d. 19 Januar. 1559 ad Andr. Masium: ‘Sed heus tu! quid tibi tandem venit in mentem, ut quo maxime tempore omnibus pene libris, qui adhuc sunt editi, nobis interdictur, etiam novos publicare cures? Nemo apud nos, ut ego quidem sentio, multis annis reperietur, qui scribere aliquid audeat, nisi si quid inter absentes per epistolas agendum erit. Prodiit nuper Index librorum, quos sub anathematis pœna habere prohibemur, ù vero tot sunt, ut paucissimi nobis relinquuntur, præsertim eorum, qui in Germania sunt excusi.’

The Index here referred to is evidently the Roman one of 1559 described in this work, pp. 23 et seq.

* P. 470.

² Vid. Lat. LATINII Lucubrat. Part II., p. 61, conf. Simler in Vita Bullingeri, p. 33.

Quorum jussu & licentia Sebastianus Martinez Excudebat. PINCIÆ. The Colophon is: *Fue impresso en Valladolid. En casa de Sebastian Martinez.* Año de 1559. Pedro de Tapia. 4to. There are 72 pages, the last falsely numbered 27. In addition to the Latin catalogue, which is the principal, there are others of the vulgar language, called Romance, Dutch, German, French, and Portugueze. The prefatory pieces are, as usual, the most important. The Inquisitor in his opening edict announces, that in consequence of the great inconvenience arising from the allowed perusal of heretical works, he had applied for, and obtained from, the pope Paul IV., a brief prohibiting such reading, and revoking his former licence to that effect; but that, notwithstanding, the offence still continued to be committed; the best remedy of which appeared to him to be, the publication of a catalogue of prohibited books, that at least ignorance might not be pleaded in excuse. This he represents as the occasion of the present catalogue. The date of the edict is August 17, 1559. The brief of the Pontiff, addressed to himself, is subjoined, and is worth attention. It states, that of those who were entitled to the licence of reading heretical works, on the ground that the professed object was to refute them, some, instead of conquering, were themselves conquered and fell, to

their own destruction and the scandal of the faithful. To guard therefore against the recurrence of such disasters, in spite of the manifest variation in the apostolic councils, which is awkwardly palliated, by this constitution he solemnly revokes all his former licences, forbidding the perusal of heresy under penalties, both spiritual and temporal*. The date is, Romæ, Dec. 21, 1558. The reader will recollect, and compare with it, the Index of this same pope, of which an account has just been given, and will compare dates. But the meridians of Spain and Italy might each require its own peculiar treatment.

Llorente has given a long account of this Index; and instances several unjust proscriptions of orthodox books, concluding with a more edifying legend than usual of Saint Theresa, ‘that when she complained of such prohibitions, the Lord said to her, Disturb not thyself, I will give thee the book of life †.’

* Of these licences the reader will find a specimen under the account of the Spanish Index of 1612, when they were again withdrawn.

† Pp. 472—5. A work of authority was printed in 1554 with this title —*CENSURA Generalis contra errores quibus recentes hæretici sacram scripturam asperserunt, edita a supremo Senatu Inquisitionis adversus hæreticam pravitatem et apostasiam in Hispania, et aliis regnis, et dominiis Cæsareæ Majestati constituto*. Pinciæ. Ex officina Francis. Ferdinan. Corduben. cum privilegio Imperiali. 4to. The date in the introductory pieces is 1554. It is preceded by a decree of Ferdinand de VALDES, Inquisitor-General,

alleging the corruptions of Scripture by notes and indexes of heretics; directing the obliteration of objected portions by public authorities specified; and denouncing excommunication against the disobedient. Dated Valladolid, Aug. 20, 1554. A Preface follows, of the common plausible arguments, easily manufactured; then a list of condemned editions of scripture; and then a collection of presumed heretical doctrines in the indexes, notes, contents, &c. with an intended confutation of each. *Biblia* is, in this work, used as a singular of the first declension. A second edition was published with the title altered thus after Inquisitionis,—constituto adversus hæreticam pravitatem, et apostasiam in Hispania, et aliis regnis, et dominiis Cæsareæ Majestati subjectis. Venetiis, Ex officina Jordani Zileti. M.D.LXII., 4to. It is mortifying, and yet not unmixed with gratification, to observe, what difficulty and contrivances the literary purifiers of papal corruption about this time were reduced to, in order to apply the requisite remedy to the prevailing malady. He who was afterwards Pius V., when he held the office of Inquisitor of Como, (and a most diligent one he was,) ferreted out a cargo of twelve bales of heretical books sent from the Valteline to his station, for the purpose of distributing in the larger towns of Lombardy, Romana, and Calabria. He detained them at the holy office: but the vicar and chapter of the place espoused the cause of the merchant to whom they were consigned; and the poor Inquisitor was obliged to give them up, and escaped the resentment of the injured party with some difficulty, but, his biographer states, with honour. ANT. FUENMAYOR, *Vida de Pro V.*, foll. 8, 9. Another anecdote of a similar character is given by another biographer of the same Inquisitor, before he was Pope. When stationed at Bergamo, the priest there, depraved by the reading of heretical books, had filled two chests with this forbidden ware, and concealed them to obtain an opportunity for distribution; upon which an inquisitorial reflexion is duly made. GABUTTI *de Reb. et Gest. Pii V.* p. 12. Rom. 1605. The date of this affair, and therefore of the preceding, is given as about 1551. There is another curious anecdote to the same effect in *Aymon's Synodes Nationaux*, &c., in the *Collection of Letters from the Nuncio of Pius IV. at Paris*, tom. i. pp. 111, 2. 'Monsieur de Bourbon, Lieutenant of his most Christian Majesty, told me,' says the writer, 'yesterday, that two days ago he had taken a vessel, where he found, in wine casks, a great quantity of books, sent from Geneva, of the most distressing character that can be conceived, and had destined them to the flames.'—*Dove in Botte di Vino, era un gran numero di Libri, man-*

dati da quelli di Geneva, li piu tristi del mondo, gli quali ha fatto pigliar, per farli brussare, se cossi sara il buon piacere della Regina. This letter, which has no date, is placed between two, the dates of which require that this should be dated in the latter part of March, 1562. Chronology has induced me to place these anecdotes here. Geneva has the same credit from another writer, the historian of the society of Jesus, Sacchino, who, under the year 1562, lib. vi., sect. 44, &c. relates, that *that* heretical city introduced into Lyons *vim infinitam librorum pestiferorum*, which was intended, not only for France, but for Constantinople and the East; but that the zealous and active Possevinus procured, *ut pestilentium illa farrago voluminum flammis aboleretur.*

CHAPTER III.

Council of Trent—ROMAN Index of Pius IV., 1564—Rules of the Index—BELGIC Indexes from 1568 to 1570—*Expurgatory* Index of 1571, with Reprints, by Junius 1586, by Pappus 1599, 1609, 1611—PORTUGUEZE Indexes, Latin and Portugueze, 1581—SPANISH Index 1583, *Expurgatory* 1584, the latter reprinted thrice, wholly or in part, 1601, 1609, 1611—NEAPOLITAN Index, Greg. Capuccini, 1588—ROMAN Index of Sixtus V., 1590—Of Clemens VIII., 1596—EXPURGATORY Index of Brasi-chellen, 1607, &c.—Zobelius on that Index—Counterfeit edition of it.

THE æra, perhaps, of greatest importance in this inquiry is now arrived, when a Council, assuming to be general, and certainly very extended, considered it as an object of main importance to determine upon a list of prohibited books more correct than any which had preceded; and which being accomplished, although not until after the termination of the Council, went forth into the world with the express sanction of the Roman Pontiff. But some of the circumstances preparatory to this achievement, particularly the discussions by which it was preceded, are so illustrative of the Roman policy, and introduce the spectator so familiarly behind the scene of the exhibition to the motives and management which eminently characterize the proceedings of all papal assem-

blies, that some detail on the subject, as given by the most enlightened historian of the last General Council, will, it is presumed, rather gratify than fatigue the reader. It was in the seventeenth session of the Council, and the first under Pius IV., in the year 1562, that the prohibition of books came under its deliberate review. Two archbishops, Beccatelli and Selvaggio, deprecated the discussion of the subject, as calculated to impede the principal object of the council: since, Paul IV. having, with the counsel and assistance of all the inquisitors and many eminent men, formed a most complete catalogue, nothing could be added but books edited within the two years which had elapsed since its publication *—an act, undeserving of the labour of the synod. To reverse any condemnation in that Index would be to reflect imprudence on Rome; and while the decree detracted from the reputation of that work it would injure its own—new laws always degrading themselves more than the old ones. In the redundance of books since the invention of printing, it were better that a thousand innocent ones

* It may be desirable to adduce the original, as the estimation in which the Roman Index of 1559 was held by the best judges at the time, is ascertained by the passage. Poiche, havendo Paolo quarto, con consiglio di tutti gl' Inquisitori, e di molti principali, da' quali hebbe avisi da tutte le parti, fatto un catalogo compitissimo, non vi puo esser' altro d' aggiongervi, &c. Lib. vi.

should suffer than that one guilty should escape. Neither should reasons be given, which would provoke opposition, and impair the dignity of laws, which should rest simply upon their own authority. Correction and expurgation likewise were inexpedient, as inviting criticism and making enemies. Others joined in the same discouragement of a new Index. There was, however, one who thought the measure advisable, because the former Index, as proceeding from the Inquisition, and for its severity, was odious, and that practicable laws were to be preferred; that the work should be entrusted to a congregation for the purpose; that, with respect to the citation of authors condemned, those out of the pale of Rome were entitled to no consideration; and that, of her members, the living, in contradistinction from the dead, claimed some tenderness for their good name. It was urged, on the other hand, that the works even of Protestants should not be condemned unheard, as contrary to the practice of the law even in cases of manifest guilt: but this was considered a subtilty, and the council was advised, as a good physician, to act with severe decision *. A Decree was accordingly passed in

* The *Continuator of FLEURY, Hist. Eccles.* liv. 158, sect. 13, 14, has drawn his account of this session chiefly from Pallavicino. He represents the Archbishop of Braga as recommending the work to the universities of

the next session, declaring that, as the disease of pernicious books had not yielded to the salutary medicine hitherto applied, it was deemed proper, that certain fathers should be appointed diligently to examine, and state to the synod, what was necessary to be done, respecting the censure of books; and that others who were qualified for the task should be invited to give their assistance. In its last session the Council referred what had been done to the judgment of the Pope, that it might be completed and published with his authority. The work was accordingly published, in 1564, with the following title—*INDEX Librorum prohibitorum cum Regulis confectis per Patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos auctoritate Sanctiss. D. N. PII III., Pont. Max. comprobatus. Romæ. Apud Paulum Manutium, Aldi F. M.D.LXIII.* In

Bologna in Italy, of Paris in France, of Salamanca in Spain, of Coimbra in Portugal. A great variety of opinions, besides those recorded by FRA PAOLO, is given; and the French translator of the latter, Le Courayer, has admitted the possible superior accuracy of the Cardinal in some particulars of minor moment. The following information from *Monumentorum ad Hist. Conc. Trid. amplissima Collectio. Opera JUNOCI LE PLAT*, 7 voll. 4to. Lovan. 1781—7, and from the VIIth., containing TORELLI PHOLÆ DE PUGGIO, Diarium Act. Conc.. Trid. Ps. ii. p. 170, may not be unwelcome. The day is Feb. 10, 1562. *Deputati super indicem librorum prohibitorum. Eadem die [Martis 10] antequam dimitterentur patres a sacro-sancta synodo, deputati sunt infra scripti reverendissimi patres ad faciendum decretum super indicem librorum prohibitorum. Archiep. Jadrensis (Mutius Calinius Brixianensis); Ep. Mutinensis (Ægidius Fuscararius Bononien. Ordinis Prædicat.); Ep. Vivariensis (Jacobus Maria Sala Bononien.); Ep. Ilerdensis (Antonius Augustinus Hisp.)*

ædibus Populi Romani ; in 4to.* Prefixed is a bull of the Pope, simply detailing the already mentioned circumstances, and adding his approbation and authority as desired, dated Rome, March 24, 1564. Then follows a Preface of FRANCIS FORERIUS, Secretary of the Deputation, by whom the Index was drawn up, referring to the last Roman edition by the Inquisitors, from which little variation was intended, as being, however, insufficient, because not generally received, and inserting some books which did not deserve to be prohibited ; stating the determination of the fathers to frame certain Rules on the subject, which are subjoined, and explaining the triple division of the work. Then follow the Rules, Ten in number, which, as they are important in many respects, being the most deliberate proceeding of the Roman church, and almost universally received, as well as retained, by most of the

* Another edition perfectly identical, except in size, being 8vo., was published in the same year, place, and printer. One printed at *Bononia* in the same year, and in 4to., is in my possession, and has been mentioned before. The only addition and peculiarity is at the end—*Habita prius facultate, et autoritate a Reverendo D.D. Leone de Lianoriis Canonici, et Generalis Vicarii Bonon. Ac insuper a R. P. Inquisitore.* I have a small edition of the same Index printed the same year, *Colonix, Apud Maternum Cholinum.* In the title-page is the motto—*Benedices coronæ anni benignitatis tuæ, Psal. 64*—alluding to the circular device of a crown formed of a serpent with its tail in its mouth and ornamented : the common emblem of the year—in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus.

authorities in communion with her, to the present time, I subjoin them, with some slight variations, in English, (the Latin being inserted in almost every edition, foreign, as well as Roman,) from the valuable *Illustrations of Biblical Literature*, &c. by the Rev. JAMES TOWNLEY*.

RULES.

I. All books condemned by the supreme pontiffs, or general councils, before the year 1515, and not comprised in the present Index, are, nevertheless, to be considered as condemned.

II. The books of heresiarchs, whether of those who broached or disseminated their heresies prior to the year above-mentioned, or of those who have been, or are, the heads or leaders of heretics, as Luther, Zuingle, Calvin, Balthasar Pacimontanus, Swenchfeld, and other similar ones, are altogether forbidden, whatever may be their names, titles, or subjects. And the books of other heretics, which treat professedly upon religion, are totally condemned; but those which do not treat upon religion are allowed to be read, after having been examined and approved by Catholic divines, by order of the bishops and inquisitors. Those Catholic books also are permitted to be read, which have been composed by

* Vol. ii. pp. 479—485.

authors who have afterwards fallen into heresy, or who, after their fall, have returned into the bosom of the church, provided they have been approved by the theological faculty of some Catholic university, or by the general inquisition.

III. Translations of ecclesiastical writers, which have been hitherto published by condemned authors, are permitted to be read, if they contain nothing contrary to sound doctrine. Translations of the Old Testament may also be allowed, but only to learned and pious men, at the discretion of the bishop; provided they use them merely as elucidations of the Vulgate version, in order to understand the Holy Scriptures, and not as the Sacred Text itself. But translations of the New Testament made by authors of the first class of this Index, are allowed to no one, since little advantage, but much danger, generally arises from reading them. If notes accompany the versions which are allowed to be read, or are joined to the Vulgate edition, they may be permitted to be read by the same persons as the versions, after the suspected places have been expunged by the theological faculty of some Catholic university, or by the general inquisitor. On the same conditions, also, pious and learned men may be permitted to have what is called Vatablus's Bible, or any part of it. But the

preface and Prolegomena of the Bible published by Isidorus Clarius are, however, excepted; and the text of his editions is not to be considered as the text of the vulgate edition.

IV. Inasmuch as it is manifest from experience, that if the Holy Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue, be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of men will cause more evil than good to arise from it, it is, on this point, referred to the judgment of the bishops or inquisitors, who may, by the advice of the priest or confessor, permit the reading of the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue by Catholic authors, to those persons whose faith and piety, they apprehend, will be augmented, and not injured by it; and this permission they must have in writing. But if any one shall have the presumption to read or possess it without such written permission, he shall not receive absolution until he have first delivered up such Bible to the ordinary. Booksellers, however, who shall sell, or otherwise dispose of Bibles in the vulgar tongue, to any person not having such permission, shall forfeit the value of the books, to be applied by the bishop to some pious use; and be subjected to such other penalties as the bishop shall judge proper, according to the quality of the offence. But regulars shall neither read nor

purchase such Bibles without a special licence from their superiors.

V. Books of which heretics are the editors, but which contain little or nothing of their own, being mere compilations from others, as lexicons, concordances, apophthegms, similies, indexes, and others of a similar kind, may be allowed by the bishops and inquisitors, after having made, with the advice of Catholic divines, such corrections and emendations as may be deemed requisite.

VI. Books of controversy betwixt the Catholics and heretics of the present time, written in the vulgar tongue, are not to be indiscriminately allowed, but are to be subject to the same regulations as Bibles in the vulgar tongue. As to those works in the vulgar tongue which treat of morality, contemplation, confession, and similar subjects, and which contain nothing contrary to sound doctrine, there is no reason why they should be prohibited: the same may be said also of sermons in the vulgar tongue, designed for the people. And if, in any kingdom or province, any books have been hitherto prohibited, as containing things not proper to be read, without selection, by all sorts of persons, they may be allowed by the bishop and inquisitor, after having corrected them, if written by Catholic authors.

VII. Books professedly treating of lascivious or obscene subjects, or narrating or teaching them, are utterly prohibited, since, not only faith, but morals, which are readily corrupted by the perusal of them, are to be attended to ; and those who possess them shall be severely punished by the bishop. But the works of antiquity, written by the heathens, are permitted to be read, because of the elegance and propriety of the language ; though on no account shall they be suffered to be read by young persons.

VIII. Books, the principal subject of which is good, but in which some things are occasionally introduced tending to heresy and impiety, divination or superstition, may be allowed, after they have been corrected by Catholic divines, by the authority of the general inquisition. The same judgment is also formed of prefaces, summaries, or notes, taken from condemned authors, and inserted in the works of authors not condemned ; but such works must not be printed in future, until they have been amended.

IX. All books and writings of geomancy, hydromancy, aëromancy, pyromancy, onomancy, chiromancy, and necromancy ; or which treat of sorceries, poisons, auguries, auspices, or magical incantations, are utterly rejected. The bishops shall also diligently guard against any persons

reading or keeping any books, treatises, or indexes, which treat of judicial astrology, or contain presumptuous predictions of the events of future contingencies, and fortuitous occurrences, or of those actions which depend upon the will of man. But such opinions and observations of natural things as are written in aid of navigation, agriculture, and medicine, are permitted.

X. In the printing of books or other writings, the rules shall be observed which were ordained in the tenth session of the Council of Lateran, under Leo X. Therefore, if any book is to be printed in the city of Rome, it shall first be examined by the pope's vicar and the master of the sacred palace, or other persons chosen by our most holy father for that purpose. In other places, the examination of any book or manuscript intended to be printed shall be referred to the bishop, or some skilful person whom he shall nominate, and the inquisitor of heretical pravity of the city or diocese in which the impression is executed, who shall gratuitously, and without delay, affix their approbation to the work, in their own handwriting, subject, nevertheless, to the pains and censures contained in the said decree; this law and condition being added, that an authentic copy of the book to be printed, signed by the author himself, shall remain in the hands

of the examiner : and it is the judgment of the fathers of the present deputation, that those persons who publish works in manuscript, before they have been examined and approved, should be subject to the same penalties as those who print them ; and that those who read or possess them should be considered as the authors, if the real authors of such writings do not avow themselves. The approbation given in writing shall be placed at the head of the books, whether printed or in manuscript, that they may appear to be duly authorized ; and this examination and approbation, &c., shall be granted gratuitously.

Moreover, in every city and diocese, the house or places where the art of printing is exercised, and also the shops of booksellers, shall be frequently visited by persons deputed for that purpose by the bishop or his vicar, conjointly with the inquisitor of heretical pravity ; so that nothing that is prohibited may be printed, kept, or sold. Booksellers of every description shall keep in their libraries a catalogue of the books which they have on sale, signed by the said deputies ; nor shall they keep, or sell, nor in any way dispose of, any other books, without permission from the deputies, under pain of forfeiting the books, and being liable to such other penalties as shall be judged proper by the bishop or inquisitor, who

shall also punish the buyers, readers, or printers of such works. If any person import foreign books into any city, they shall be obliged to announce them to the deputies ; or if this kind of merchandize be exposed to sale in any public place, the public officers of the place shall signify to the said deputies, that such books have been brought ; and no one shall presume to give to read or lend, or sell, any book, which he or any other person has brought into the city, until he has shown it to the deputies, and obtained their permission, unless it be a work well known to be universally allowed.

Heirs and testamentary executors shall make no use of the books of the deceased, nor in any way transfer them to others, until they have presented a catalogue of them to the deputies, and obtained their licence, under pain of the confiscation of the books, or the infliction of such other punishment as the bishop or inquisitor shall deem proper, according to the contumacy or quality of the delinquent.

With regard to those books which the fathers of the present deputation shall examine, or correct, or deliver to be corrected, or permit to be reprinted on certain conditions, booksellers and others shall be bound to observe whatever is ordained respecting them. The bishops and general

inquisitors shall, nevertheless, be at liberty, according to the power they possess, to prohibit such books as may seem to be permitted by these rules, if they deem it necessary for the good of the kingdom, or province, or diocese. And let the secretary of these fathers, according to the command of our holy father, transmit to the notary of the general inquisitor the names of the books that have been corrected, as well as of the persons to whom the fathers have granted the power of examination.

Finally, it is enjoined on all the faithful, that no one presume to keep or read any books contrary to these rules, or prohibited by this Index. But if any one read or keep any books composed by heretics, or the writings of any author suspected of heresy, or false doctrine, he shall instantly incur the sentence of excommunication; and those who read, or keep works interdicted on another account, besides the mortal sin committed, shall be severely punished at the will of the bishops.

ON the substance of this Index it is, perhaps, unnecessary to say much, and not easy to say little, if the subject be entered upon. But it is the less needful, as no Index is of more common occurrence. It supplies, however, matter for many and serious reflexions; but they will probably find a more suitable place. At present we satisfy ourselves with observing, that the Roman edition described contains seventy-two pages, and that it is remarkable for omitting, as was noticed before, the name of *John della CASA*, and still more so for omitting—a strange juxtaposition—the list of condemned Bibles and New Testaments which is found in the former Index, and, we may add, that of printers. But the power of restraint or punishment was secured elsewhere,—in the decree of the fourth session of the Council of Trent.

Not to trouble the reader with an account of mere re-impressions* of this widely-diffused Index, we proceed to one, which is indeed a re-impression, but, as being the fountain of more important ones, it deserves attention. It belongs to Spain, or rather to the King of Spain, as may

* One occurs in the *Bib. Bunav.*, printed at Cologne by Mat. Cholinus, 1568; another at Venice, 1578. 8, tom.—i., p. 497.

be inferred from the sequel. It is entitled *INDEX Librorum Prohibitorum cum Regulis Confectis per Patres à Tridentina Synodo delectos, auctoritate Sāctiss. D. N. Pii IIII., Pont. Max. comprobatus*. Leodii, Impensis Henrici Hovii, 1568, small 8vo. It is no more than a reprint of the Tridentine Index; but it is followed in the next year by another, printed by the same printer, at the same place, with considerable additions, and with the authority of the Spanish Monarch, under the new title, *PHILIPPI II., Regis Catholici Edictum, de Librorum prohibitorum Catalogo observando*, 1570. This is the date in the title-page; but *that* in the second title-page, belonging to the Tridentine Index, and in the Colophon, is 1569. It is this circumstance which induces me to give it a place prior to that which succeeds, and presents itself in like manner with the following note of royal authority: *Una cum iis qui mandato Regiæ Catholicæ Majestatis, et illustriss. Ducis Albani, consiliiq; Regii decreto, prohibentur, suo quæq; loco et ordine repositis*. But this edition, which, like the former, is very rare, has this peculiarity—that although it contains the Appendix which will be described in the next, and apparently more authentic edition of the whole, it has augmented with extracts from that appendix what it professes to give as the Tridentine Index. This interpola-

tion is omitted in the two subsequent editions, printed the next year, 1570, at Antwerp. The title of both (for, although in contents identical, they are manifestly distinct and two, as an examination of the pages will at once discover, although so much alike that one description will adequately serve for both, as well indeed as for that which precedes, excepting the interpolations which are here abandoned) is, PHILIPPI II., *Regis Catholici Edictum de Librorum prohibitorum Catalogo observando*. Antwerpiæ. Ex officina Christophori Plantini MDLXX. Cum Privilegio, in 8vo. After that Edict, which we shall notice, follows the title of the Tridentine Index, exactly as in the original, with the addition, *cum Appendice in Belgio, ex mandato Regiæ Cathol. Majestatis confecta*. Same place and date. The edict, which appears in three languages, French, Flemish, and Latin, discovers that the Spanish monarch carefully reserved to himself, as a point of honour, to have every act of this nature emanate from his own authority: it discovers, too, that this provision was intended particularly for the part of his dominions which were situated to the north of Europe,—the Netherlands; and the command to enforce its execution is directed, first to the Duke of Alva, and then to the governors of each province separately. The object of the whole is,

that within three months after the publication of this statute, all the condemned books should be burned, and all possession or sale of them after that time should be unlawful. All books partially condemned, or appointed to be expurgated, were to be brought to the magistrate of the place, and be corrected according to the judgment of the council, and fit persons, to whom a commission for that purpose was entrusted. The usual penalties are added. It is dated, Bruxelles, Feb. 15, 1569—the 17th for Naples. The Preface to the Appendix has nothing in it worthy of remark. It does no more than detail facts already known, and give, as the reason of the present appendix, the necessary incompleteness of the former Index; but carefully referring all to the supreme authority of the king. The deputation date from the same place as the royal decree, Sept. 1569. This list comprehends books in Latin, in French, in Dutch, and in Spanish. We have here, after a hundred years, the first allusion to the infamous Taxæ of the church and court of Rome (when nearly thirty editions had issued from the bosom of the holy see, and she had been actively employed, for the same period, in finding out objects of literary reprobation), under the terms, *Praxis, et taxa officinæ pœnitentiariæ Papæ*. The description was probably meant to be unintelligible, as

it is *. Another characteristic peculiarity is, that the condemned Bibles and Testaments, which were dropped from the Tridentine Index, are here restored. And the whole closes with an extract from a decree of the fourth session of the Council of Trent under PAUL III. (should be III.), taking due care that printers shall not offend †.

* See TAXATIO PAPALIS, *being an Account of the Tax-Books of the United Church and Court of modern Rome, &c.* By EMANCIPATUS. pp. 46—48. This work contains large extracts from the unpublished MS. volume of the *Taxæ* in the British Museum, and the principal division, of the Four, *Taxæ Sac. Penitentiariæ*, from the rare Parisian edition of 1520. I have an edition of this division, printed apparently at Rome, which agrees almost verbatim with that just mentioned, and appears to be one of Leo X. As is plain from Dr. MILNER's ironical *End of Controversy*, Letter XLI., note 1, ed. 1824, where he ventures to touch upon the subject, but while he recognizes the Pope's Chancery, is prudently silent respecting the *Penitentiary*, which is quite a different thing, the champions of Rome are reduced to a formidable dilemma on the subject of this iniquity of their church. At one time it is the '*vile book*,' which had no existence but in the invention of heretics, and was uniformly disavowed, abominated, condemned, by the innocents upon whom it was charged. But this plan of attack, and this position, could not—there were shrewd fears—be maintained. The assailants, therefore, on a sudden get to the other side of the fortress, and endeavour to undermine and blow it up with '*fees of office*.' Between the two the besiegers hardly know which method to choose, or rather to adhere to, not considering, themselves, so attentively as perhaps others will do for them, that the two parties, as far as their efforts are effectual, annoy, and must eventually destroy each other; for if the book is so vile as to be disowned, it cannot be so innocent as to contain only what morality allows. Mr. C. Butler has adopted the *fees of office*: then he admits, which he cannot deny, the authenticity of the documents, with all their inseparable abominations. *Utrum vis.*

† To somewhere about this period is to be referred the diligence of

The next Index to be examined is a most important one, and evidently originated in the provisions which have been noticed in the royal edict just given. The title is—INDEX EXPURGATORIUS *Librorum qui hoc seculo prodierunt, vel doctrinæ non sanæ erroribus inspersis, vel inutilis et offensivæ maledicentiæ fellibus permixtis, juxta Sacri Concilii Tridentini Decretum, PHILIPPI II. Regis Ca-*

Pius V. in the extirpation of literary heresy. He sent Cardinal Comendon into Germany to oppose the Lutheran doctrine, with whom were joined two episcopal coadjutors. These he charged, above all things, to purify their dioceses from heretical books, which are perpetual instructors, and solicit without intermission. They were, moreover, to print in large quantities small books, which should dissipate error, and, being sold at a low price, might come into the hands of all. He promised money for the expense of printing, and to engage learned men to write against heretics, or perform other services for the recovery of souls;—no had specimen and anticipation of a Tract Society. It is, however, faithfully extracted from a Life, in Spanish, of Pius V., by ANT. FUENMAYOR. Madrid, 4to., 1595, p. 53. We shall meet with urgent recommendations of the same pontiff to the Bohemians upon the same subject in a future part of this work. He was, indeed, as his biographer, meaning to praise him, affirms, a *gran persecuidor de hereges*. Lib. i., p. 24. There is a very curious fact concerning this pontiff, related by BARTOLI, in his *Vita del Card. Bellarmino*, Rom. 1678, p. 388. The Cardinal was engaged by him to superintend the printing of an authentic and faithful edition of the New Testament in *Greek*; but when it was upon the eve of performance, his Holiness changed his mind. Has there appeared a single edition of the *Greek* New Testament from the Vatican, or even the Roman press? Has a single edition of the *Hebrew* Old Testament issued from the apostolic city? Was the Vulgate jealous of the two great originals? Or, was it not enough that Ximenes, in placing the Vulgate in a column between them, had assimilated them to the two malefactors between whom the Saviour was crucified? This is his own representation.

tholici jussu et auctoritate, atque ALBANI DUCIS consilio ac ministerio in Belgia concinnatus, Anno MDLXXI. Antwerpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini Prototypographi Regii. MDLXXI. 4to. The notice on the verso of the title-page begins to discover one of the peculiarities of this performance. *Ducis ALBÆ jussu ac decreto cavetur, ne quis præter Prototypographum Regium hunc Indicem imprimat, neve ille aut quis alius publicè vel privatè vendat, aut citra ordinariorum facultatem, aut permissionem habeat.* The work, therefore, could not even be possessed without episcopal permission. A diploma of the king then follows in the Flemish language*, which is rendered intelligible to ordinary scholars by the version of it into Latin by JUNIUS, in his reprint of this Index. It expresses deep concern for the endangered orthodoxy of his subjects, and some for their purses; and therefore, instead of condemning all the bad books to the flames, the corrigible ones are subjected to a necessary purgation, which is to be performed by prelates and others so authorized; and for their assistance in this office, an Index Expurgatorius is drawn up and provided. Application by the

* The *Crevenna Catalogue*, as quoted by *Peignot*, and the second part of the *Bibliotheca Selecta* of M. CHARLES MICHIELS, No. 2402, mention this Index as having a French preface; and the latter observes that it is accompanied by a portrait of the king.

possessors of these books for the purification enjoined, was ensured in the usually effectual way. The bishops might obtain the assistance of booksellers in different places, to whom, without the knowledge of any one besides, this Index was to be intrusted, and who were to communicate it to none, but solely occupy themselves in discovering, expunging, and restoring the places marked for those purposes. After the signature and approbation of the censor, the books were to be restored to their owners. Dated Bruxelles, July 31, 1571. After this we arrive at a second notice, short but full of meaning, and suitably prominent by having a page to itself, and displaying its importance in authoritative capitals. *CAVETUR ETIAM NE QUIS HUNC INDICEM PARTE ALIQUA AUZEAT, VEL MINUAT, NEVE EX IMPRESSIS MANUSCRIPTUM EXPRIMAT, CITRA GUBERNATORIS ET CONSILII AUCTORITATEM.* The Second, Fifth, Seventh, and Eighth of the Tridentine Rules then appear, and are succeeded by the Preface of B. A. MONTANUS, editor and compiler of the Index. Nothing but common matter occurs in it; something is detailed of the manner in which the business was conducted by the college of censors, over which he was commissioned to preside, and this with the parade ordinary on such occasions: and, in the close, he observes, that the present is not to be regarded as a complete

censure, but simply as a specimen. The date is Ant. Cal. Jun. 1571. We now descend to the body of the work, which contains one hundred and four closely-printed pages, with four more of index; and to the whole formidable array of *deleatur; mutetur, corrigatur, expurgetur*. It is divided into six classes, the theological being the first and most important. ERASMUS, who certainly, in the territory intended to be chiefly benefited by this labour of its spiritual rulers, was the principal object of terror, occupies the twenty-three last pages. It was the policy of these censors to avoid the appearance, while they committed the act, of correcting the Scriptures or the fathers, by transfixing such of their doctrines as they disapproved in the Indexes annexed to different editions of them, not only by the reformers, but even by their own adherents. The work is full of very curious and important matter; and perhaps no article better deserves that character, than the critique upon BERTRAM'S book *de Corp. et Sang. Domini*, professing to be communicated by the university of Douay. The good Romanists are almost equally troubled to dismiss or retain him: but, upon the whole, preferring the latter, they exert all their ingenuity to transubstantiate his supposed heterodoxy into orthodoxy; and, in the outset, divulge a principle of criticism, of extreme use to such

persons, but of most dangerous publication for them, 'that it was their custom, in judging the antient catholics, to bear with many errors, to extenuate, excuse, and often by an ingenious device to deny (what they affirm,) and to fabricate a convenient meaning to them, when objected in controversy. They therefore think that Bertram is entitled to the same equity and management; lest,' as they very simply add, 'heretics should deride them, as respecting antiquity only when it favours themselves *.'

The method by which they extricate their incautious brother is by the logical legerdemain of a distinction between the species and accidents, and the substance; and by the due application of which it is impossible to be a heretic as to the Eucharist in the Roman sense. This is one of those omnipotent arguments, which a bad cause should always have in reserve: but our censors,

* The words are so extraordinary, and so difficult to be rendered exactly, that even for fairness they ought to be given in the original. *Cum—in catholicis veteribus aliis plurimos feramus errores, et extenuemus, excusemus, excogitato commento persæpe negemus, et commodum iis seuisum affingamus, dum opponuntur, &c.—non videmus cur non eandem æquitatem mereatur Bertramus; ne hæretici &c.* GREYER has properly corrected the false grammar at the end, making the infinitives participles in the ablative absolute. He could not do so without an insinuation against the accuracy of Junius; as, though a Jesuit, he could not, or did not choose to see the original. The mistake however is there, and Junius is as correct as usual.

with more simplicity than is prudent, acknowledge that Bertram does not appear to have been acquainted with this subtle and most true philosophy. The practical argument of the Berengarians, who observed, that persons who were fed with the eucharist alone lived and thrived, is triumphantly confuted by the same distinction. The next article concerning CAPNIO, p. 7, is important as an instance in which the critics oppose Rome and her two last Indexes, by approving an author whom the latter had condemned, under disgraceful circumstances there detailed—a fact which proves, for the consolation of a much injured world, that the rogues in it do not always agree. P. 29, occurs the *Missa Latina*, first published with a preface by FL. ILLYRICUS, and to be found in Card. Bona's work *Rerum Liturg.* at the end; condemned, as indeed it was before, and first, in the Index of 1570, on account both of the preface and of offensive additions. It is said, without proof, that the panic afterwards changed sides, and the protestants wished to suppress it. However, it stands in the Roman Indexes to the last*.

* See *Missa*, &c. To the effect of the observation made above, see WENDLERI, *de Libris a Pontificiis*, &c., *Schediasma*, &c., Jenæ, 1714. *Dissert. Prælim.*, § 3, pp. 12—18; and BAYLE, *Dict. Hist.* under ILLYRICUS, note D., Paris 1820, Tome viii., pp. 350, &c.

It is a proof with what success the fabricators of this volume, who cannot be said to be lovers of the light, had provided for escaping it, that for fifteen years it was totally unknown to those who were most injuriously affected by it. It was discovered accidentally about the close of that period; and, although sufficiently hostile, both in intention and effect, while working under ground, the publication and exposure were so evidently an advantage to the injured party, that little time was then lost in making the best of it; and a reprint was effected by the discoverer, FRANCIS JUNIUS, in a little volume, 8vo. Apud Joannem Mareschallum Lugdunensem, 1586*. The title is a transcript of the original, with the addition, *Nunc primum in lucem editus, et præfatione auctus ac regii diplomaticis interpretatione*. All that requires notice in this volume is what belongs to the editor, an Epistle Dedicatory to JOHN CASIMIR, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and a Preface to the reader. In the first, all that is remarkable is the assertion of the fact of the recent discovery, and of the deposition of the original in his highness's library, to preclude both natural doubt and unprincipled denial. The preface is full of good sense and

* FRANCUS, *de Indicibus*, &c., p. 9, mentions an edition at Heidelberg, 1584: but he must be mistaken.

justly indignant feeling : proofs of the interpolation and corruption of authors are adduced ; and one in particular, with respect to an edition of Ambrose, in preparation at Lyons, the subsequent non-appearance of which is no contradiction of the fact, which Junius would never have risked his credit to affirm, had it been a fiction*. Towards

* Vide FRANCUM *de Indic.* pp. 99, 100. The reader shall have the story in Junius's own words. Rem meis oculis visam ad exemplum adferam. Ante annos viginti septem cum Lugduni agerem (egi autem anno MDLIX. et sequente) correctore quodam typographico usus sum familiariter, cui Ludovico Savario fuit nomen. Habitabat ille non procul a Mercuriali vico, in ædibus conjunctis trium columbarum signo. Quum ad salutandum hominem venissem, casu vel potius singulari Dei providentia accidit, ut versantem eum offenderem in recognoscendis D. Ambrosii Operibus, quæ tum Frelonio excudebat. Variis autem sermonibus ultro citroque habitis, quum me avocamento esse ab opere nolle ostenderem, ille redorsus lectionem unius paginæ, *videsne*, inquit, *hanc formam Ambrosianæ editionis nostræ ? quam sit elegans, accurata, et in speciem omnibus anteponenda aliis, quæ adhuc in lucem prodiderunt ?* Postea contuente opus et probanti elegantiam ejus dixit, *Ego vero si quod exemplum Ambrosiani operis mihi emendum esset, quodvis exemplum aliud potius, quam hoc, quod vides, compararem.* Sciscitatus sum hujus dicti causam. Tum ille de forulis suis, sub mensa sua latentibus, aliquot paginas promens (erant autem paginæ, ut loquuntur Græci *νεχιωμέναι*, sive cancellatæ, aliæ ex parte, et aliæ universæ) *hæc est*, inquit, *prima forma paginarum, quas his paucis diebus veteris et certi exemplaris ad exemplum optima fide impressimus. Franciscani autem duo pro auctoritate has omnes paginas dispunxerunt ut vides, et illas substitui in locum priorum curaverunt, præter omnem librorum nostrorum fidem, quæ res sumptum et molestiam Frelonio creavit gravissimam ; nam pretium chartæ operarumque amisit universum, temporis jacturam passus est, et typographicas illas priores plagulas commutari novis ad libidinem istorum oportuit, magno malo nostro et admiratione mea.* Gretser has done what every artful opponent does, called for proof, which he knew could not be given ; and then triumphs. The veracity of Junius is not to be thus shaken. Some

the close, he states two reasons why the critics under review abstained from the fathers—they

confirmation may indeed be derived to it, and an additional illustration of an important part of our present argument, by the account which the learned and candid Sorbonist, DU PIN, has given of *another* edition of this same Father, the *Roman* one of 1579—1587. ‘It was believed that a book, published with so much ostentation, valued so much by the publisher, printed in so fine a character, and with so much care, must needs be very correct and perfect; and yet this edition has many essential defects which disfigure it. The first and most considerable is that the *Roman* correctors took the liberty to change, cut off, and add, what they thought fit, though they had no ground to do so from the authority of any manuscript. They carried it so far, that they did not content themselves with changing those terms which appeared to them harsh, and substituting others according to their fancy, but they also blotted out, or added, whole lines and periods, which made a perfectly new sense, and altogether different from the author’s; as may be seen by comparing the ancient editions, and the last, with this *Roman* edition.’ *Hist. of Eccles. Writers*, Eng. Trans. Lond. 1693, vol. ii., p. 233. SCHOENMANN, in his *Bibliotheca Patt. Latt.*, writes that the Benedictines of St. MAUR are much chagrined at being obliged to join company with the heterodox in their censures of this edition. Tom. i., p. 405. Long as this note is, I cannot excuse myself, on so important a subject, from adding another testimony, supplied by a theologian of Louvain, who thus states his own case. O incredibilis in me Dei Opt. Max. beneficentia! Postquam repurgatorii Indicis, quem tyrannizante Albano Benedictus Arias Montanus, in piorum virorum lucubrations injurius, conceperat, exequutor inter primos factus, sexcentas contra falsa doctrinæ pontificiæ capita observationes, virgula censoria annotaveram, quam optarem lacrymis et sanguine meo elnere; Deo misericorditer animum meum concutiente, et aperiente oculos meos, in Papatu abominationem, in templo idolum, in Republica tyrannidem, in religione contagium et virus animadverti. HENRICI BOXHORNII, *lib. iii. de Eucharist. Harm.* I am indebted for this information to FRANCUS, in the work so often quoted, pp. 22, 3. The reader will find the name of the above writer in its due place, the First Class, in the Index of Spain, 1612. He has escaped a similar honour in the Roman Indexes, perhaps because Louvain was not of so much interest to Italy as to Spain. In the Spanish Index of 1632, is added to the simple

trusted to the past diligence of their own agents, and preferred leaving the remainder to the diligence of future ones*.

This edition was again reprinted in 1599, in 12mo., with the title of the original, to which is added, as contained in the work, *Collatio Censuræ*, &c. Impensis Lazari Zetzneri. It appears to have been printed at Strasburg. In addition to the prefatory matter of Junius, JOHN PAPPUS, the present editor, has given a preface, chiefly concerning the other work published with the Index †; but containing some pertinent remarks

name, German-Theol.-Calvino-Zuinglian. scribebat contra Eucharistiam, et Missam 1595. From *scribebat*, the later editions have taken care to omit this piece of information. Dexterous suppression is one of the main weapons of Rome.

* Quod si quid reprehensione dignum putaverunt, id maluerunt recentioribus acceptum ferre quàm suo facto committere ut in sanctos patres fuisse dicantur injurii.

† This is the *Collatio Censuræ in Glossas Juris Canonici a fr. Thoma Manriq; sacri et Apostolici Palatii Magistro, jussu Pii V. Pontificis, anno 1572 editæ, cum iisdem Glossis a Sixto Fabri, ejusdem Pal. Ap. Mag. Gregorio XIII. Pont. mandante, anno 1580, recognitis et approbatis*. This is a statement of the *discrepancies* of the two. But I notice the work in order to introduce the Address to the Reader from the former work, as illustrative in some measure of the expurgatory system and practice. My extract is from a copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; and it need not be added, that the small tract is not common. It bears the following title: *Censura in Glossas et Additiones Juris Canonici omnibus exemplaribus hactenus excusis respondens. Ex Archetypo Romano, Pontificis Maximi jussu edito, &c. Colonisæ, 1572. Cum gratia et privilegio. Foll. 57, 12mo.*

F. Thomas Manriq; sacri et apostolici Palatii Magister, Lectori.

Cum Glossæ ad explicationem Juris Canonici hactenus editæ, multis in

relative to the latter, from which we have, in all probability, partially profited.

The next reprint was in 8vo., printed at Strasburg, Impensis Lazari Zetzneri Bibliopol. MDCIX. It has the same title as the original, with the additional notice of a later Spanish Index, of which *Excerpta* are published, together with another work. It has nothing additional as respects the work which we are now considering, except the

locis doctrinæ ecclesiasticæ veritatē corrumpant, ne earum lectio legentibus obesse possit: primum diligentia adhibuimus, ut interim dum prodeat accuratior et plenior repurgatio, subsequens præcedat, juxta quam ea sola deleantur loca, quæ errores perniciosos continere animadvertimus, una cum additionibus impii Car. Molinæi. Deinceps, qua majori fieri poterit celeritate, omnino curabimus, ut ipsi integri Codices juris canonici imprimantur, iis notatis erroribus, qui veram atque sanam Ecclesiæ catholicæ doctrinam lædere possunt. Itaque viri boni et æqui, ne dum non acerbo, sed grato animo ferre debebunt, si dum loca periculosa adnotabatur, usu librorum, præsertim ab impio Car. Mol. depravatorum, caruerunt: neque item conqueri, si dum nec integras omnium locorum notationes habeant, donec ipsi novi Codices exeant in publicum, in quorum marginibus indicabitur, quid suo quoque loco vitandum sit. Multa consulto in ipsis glossis intacta reliquimus, non ideo quod vitiosa non sint, sed quia in alteram partem potius quam in fidem peccant. Permittitur autem ad communem studiosorum usum, ut interim liceat librariis quidem tenere, at nullo pacto nisi prius juxta hanc censuram correctos, vendere: aliis vero omnibus neque tenere, neque vendere, neque emere, neque legere, idem jus canonicum cum glossis, nisi infra tres menses proximos ab hujus impressionis noticia, omnia deleantur, quæ in paginis delenda inferius præscribuntur. Omnes Codices cujuscunque alterius impressionis ad normam et regulam hic præscriptas emendentur. Qui secus vendiderit, emerit, tenuerit, legerit, incurreret in pœnas, quas Bulla fe. me. Pii IIII. in eos decernit, qui a libris reprobatæ lectionis non abstinent, quæ Indici librorum prohibitorum ab eodem Pontifice comprobato, præfixa est. Vale. Dat. Romæ, xxii. August. M.D.LXXII.

prefaces, which appear in the immediately preceding edition.

The fourth and last reprint is in 8vo., and, referring to both the Belgic and Spanish Indexes, is entitled—*INDICES EXPURGATORII DUO, Testes Fraudum ac Falsationum Pontificiarum, Quorum prior jussu et auctoritate PHILIPPI II., &c. Hanovix Apud Gulielmum Antonium, Anno 1611.* It has the prefatory matter of Junius, and John Pappus. The fact will afford matter of earnest reflexion, that all these editions, not only the original but even the reprints, four in number, have long, perhaps always, been, and certainly are now, of superlatively rare occurrence.

Our next station is a new one, *Portugal*, or *Lisbon*. Here we have the following Index, *INDEX Librorum prohibitorum, cum regulis confectis per Patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos auctoritate Sanctissimi Domini nostri PII III. Pont. Max. comprobatus. Nunc recens de mandato Illustriss. ac Reverendiss. D. GEORGII DALMEIDA Metropolit. Archiepiscopi Olyssipponensis totiusque Lusitanicæ ditionis Inquisitoris Generalis in lucem editus. Addito etiam altero Indice eorum Librorum, qui in his Portugallix Regnis prohibentur, cum permultis aliis ad eandem Librorum prohibitionem spectantibus, ejusdem quoque Illustriss. ac Reverendiss. Domini jussu. Olyssipone excudebat*

Antonius Riberius, 1581. The book is in 4to. ; and the first part, as it purports to be, is nothing more than the Tridentine Index, which is thus sanctioned by the supreme ecclesiastic authority of Portugal. The other part, which may be, and is, considered as a separate Index, embraces additional books in Latin and Portuguese, with certain directions for the more effectual execution of the provisions against presumed heretical books. The title runs thus: *CATALOGO dos Livros que se prohibem nestes Regnos & Senhorios de Portugal, por mandado do Illustrissimo Reverendissimo Senhor Dom JORGE DALMEIDA Metropolitano Arcebispo de Lisboa, Inquisidor Geral, &c. Com outras cousas necessarias à materia da prohibiçaõ dos Livros.* Impresso em Lisboa per Antonio Ribeiro impressor de sua Illustrissima & Reverendiss. Señoria. 1581. From having but an imperfect acquaintance with the Portuguese language, I am unable to give so particular an account of this part as might be desired. It contains short edicts by the archbishop, with a translation of the Tridentine Rules into Portuguese, and appears to resemble the Spanish publications of this sort. This work is not common. My copy has the MS. inscription on the title-page—*Societatis Jesu Lovanii*, 1641. The arms are those of a cardinal.

We return to Spain ; and, in the year 1583,

meet with the following Index—INDEX *et Catalogus Librorum prohibitorum, mandato Illustris. ac Reverendiss. D. D. Gasparis a QUIROGA, Cardinalis Archiepiscopi Toletani, ac in Regnis Hispaniarum Generalis Inquisitoris, denuò editus. Cum Consilio Supremi Senatus Sanctæ Generalis Inquisitionis.* Madriti Apud Alphonsum Gomezium Regium Typographum, Anno MDLXXXIII., 4to. The Mandate of the Inquisitor General laments, that the preceding Catalogues have not sufficed to put a stop to the increasing heresies, and therefore he publishes a new one, accompanied with some general rules, which shall comprehend books not particularly noted already. He represents the work as the result of much care and deliberation of the Universities of the kingdom, and of many learned persons besides; and enjoins obedience by the penalty of the greater excommunication *latae sententiæ* (or already determined and not depending upon any discretionary judgment): Dated, May 20, 1583. The *Reglas Generales* follow, fourteen in number; but although varying from those of Trent, and from subsequent editions of themselves, they have nothing in them of sufficient importance to require particular notice. The fourth is directed against the writings both of the Jews and of the Moors; the eighth forbids confutations of the Koran in the vulgar tongue; and

the last declares that books condemned in any language are condemned in all. The Preface to the Reader advises him not to be scandalized at meeting with the names of some good Catholics, since nothing in them is censured but some incautious passages which heretics might pervert; nor to wonder that some others do not appear, who held opinions, peculiar in their lifetime, but by the determination of the church, or otherwise, since made correct. The Index itself is somewhat larger than the preceding prohibitory one, and comprehends in the second part, books in Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, Flemish, and Dutch. Perhaps one of the most remarkable circumstances in this Index, which it appears necessary to notice, is, that the work of BERTRAM, *de corpore et sanguine Christi*, is inserted, notwithstanding all the mysterious logic, the extenuation, the excogitated device, the convenient sense, of the Censors of Douay. There is, however, an article under the *Italian* class which deserves some remark. *Petrarca, los sonetos siguientes : uno q̄ comiença : Del' empia Babylonia, ond' è fuggita. Otro, Fiāma del ciel su le tue treccia piova. Otro, Fontana di dolore, albergo d' ira. Otro, L' avara Babylonia ha colmo il sacco.* This is the first appearance of the article, or even the name of the writer, in any Index. The Roman Indexes, which had then

been published,—those of Paul IV. and of Pius IV.—are perfectly silent. In the honest Index, however, which followed from the Seven Hills—that of Sixtus V., in 1590, of which not only the existence, but the memory, has been as far as possible plunged in oblivion,—the entry *does* appear under F., and to precisely the same effect. In all succeeding Roman Indexes it has been dropped. The Spanish ones have, indeed, continued it, with some additional articles. Of one of the *Sonetti* referred to I will give a little more of the beginning.

Fontana di dolore, albergo d'ira,
 Scola d'errori; e tempio d'heresia,
 Già Roma, hor Babilonia falsa e ria,
 Per chi tanto si piagne, e si sospira.

And I would ask the Bishop of Meaux, if living, or any other advocate of Rome, is this an invective against her *manners or discipline only*, and not against her *doctrine*? Is it no imputation upon her faith, that she is not only chargeable with errors and heresy, but is called a *school of errors* and a *temple of heresy*? This Index was never reprinted, and is therefore peculiarly rare.

The next of the same nation is more important in itself, as being of the expurgatory class, although it has been twice reprinted, and is therefore less inaccessible. The title is—INDEX LIBRORUM EXPURGATORUM, *Illustrissimi ac Reverendis. D. D.*

GASPARIS QUIROGA, *Cardinalis et Archiep. Toletani Hispan. generalis Inquisitoris jussu editus. De Consilio Supremi Senatus S. Generalis Inquisit. Madriti Apud Alphonsum Gomezium Regium Typographum. Anno MDLXXXIII., 4to.* The volume contains 194 leaves, besides 4 of index. The preface represents this not as a complete Catalogue, but as a beginning and specimen; and implores the assistance of the learned and pious. The expurgations are to be attended with as little cost to the owners of books requiring it as possible; and the assurance of perpetual fame is extended to those who contribute in so laudable an undertaking by the holy office of the Inquisition. *Erasmus* occupies from fol. 81 to 114, *i.e.* 33 foll.; besides his editions of Augustine, Hieronymus, Hilarius, Irenæus. The *Bibliotheca SS. Patrum* by *M. de la Bigne*, has its share. A specimen of the sentences selected by them for condemnation, particularly from the *Biblia R. Stephani*, fol. 8, &c., to 17, discover the iniquity and corrupt doctrine by which the censures are regulated. The copy of this uncommon book in my possession has the autograph, as it appears, of Alonso de Valdes. The cardinal's arms, both in this and the edition last noticed, are probably those of Quiroga.

Of this Index there have been two complete reprints, and one collection, a copious one, of

extracts. The first of these is that printed *Salmuri* (Saumur) Apud Thomam Portau., MDCI. The title is the same as in the original; and it is added *Juxta exemplar, &c.*, 4to. In the preface the editor says that the original was sent *a Jacobo James V. C. ad nobilissimum Plessiaci Dominum* (MORNAY *du Plessis*), who, it appears, was the editor; and to shew with what kind of people Protestants have to do, it is added, *penes quem, ad facti fidem asserendam, prototypus, cujus hoc exemplum prodit*. He exposes, with convincing evidence, the fact, and the dishonesty, of attacking the most distinguishing and important doctrines of the Bible and antient Christian writers, through the sides of the Indexes, which do scarcely more than verbally repeat them.

The Extracts, or EXCERPTA, are found in the reprint of the Belgic Index of 1571, at Strasburg, in 1609: and the Index is given entire, for the second time, in the INDICES EXPURG. DUO, *Testes Fraudum, &c.*, Hanoviæ, 1611; which likewise has, in the first part, a re-edition of the forementioned Belgic Index; both of which have been already noticed in the account of that Index. The title-page, however, has the mistake, in describing this edition, of making the date MDLXXI, instead of MDLXXXIIII. It has the preface of Mornay's reprint.

We now come to a very curious work, of which the sight and perusal may be obtained from two copies in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, but of which the possession is almost hopeless. It deserves attention, as containing a kind of Index of condemned books issuing from *Naples*—a new field for such operations. The title is a long one—*ENCHIRIDION Ecclesiasticum sive Præparatio pertinens ad Sacramentum Pœnitentiæ et Sacri Ordinis, Editum a R. P. F. GREGORIO CAPUCCINO Neapolitano uno ex Deputatis Patribus pro Revisione Librorum in Civitate Neapolitana per Illustriss. et Reverendiss. Archiepiscopum, Nunc denuo auctum, et amplificatum ab eodem Auctore, et tandem typis chalcographis traditum. Cura admodum excel. ac R. P. D. Horatii Venetia V. I. D. Canonici Ecclesiæ Neapolitanæ Ecclesiasticis Viris ac philosophiæ, et legum studiosis valde utile, et necessarium. Cum Privilegio S. Fran. Insti. Regv. Fr. Min. Venetiis, MDLXXXVIII. Sumptibus Jaco. Anelli de Maria Bibliopolæ Neapolitani. Hieronymo Polo Typographo Veneto imprimente. Small 8vo.*

At p. 146 commences the Catalogue, or Index, under the title of *LIBRI CORRIGENDI*; and it is prefaced thus, which discovers its connexion with the general subject of the work—*Quomodo Confessor potest cognoscere, si pœnitens tenetur ad aliquod peccatum, ob lectionem librorum, qui sunt a*

Catholicis editi, sed sunt infecti et prohibiti ob interpositionem hæreticorum, qui se interposuerunt in dictis libris, et aliorum qui sunt adnotati, et prohibiti in Indice Romano vel Tridentino: Exempli gratia, liber vocatur Expositio Sancti Thomæ in epistolas Divi Pauli, qui est Catholicus: sed quia ibi absconditus est Erasmus cum suo argumento: vel corrigatur juxta Indicem Concil. Trident. et sic de similibus. Hoc potest cognosci ex sequenti lista: sed est quædam adnotatio, sive memoria edita A M. R. D. D. Johanne Francisco Lombardo, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctore, et Canonici Majoris Ecclesiæ Neapolitanæ, post longum studium contra libros hæreticorum.

Then begins the Alphabet. At p. 166 the Spanish *Censura* of the Bibles, 1554, and 1562, noticed above, is mentioned with approbation. And at p. 218 we have a most extraordinary passage, discovering, in a signal manner, how readily the adherents of Rome, when any charge is made against them, in the first place, and at a venture, leap upon a denial; trusting that direct evidence may not be at the command of the accuser. *Finaliter summopere cave a quodam libro, cujus titulus est Index Librorum expurgandorum impressus Madriti, per Alphonsum Gomezium sub anno 1584, cum potius credendum sit falso adscriptum esse in eo in tali civitate et per dictum Alphonsium*

*impressum fuisse : ac etiam falso adscriptum esse tanti supremi, et catholici senatus ordine impressum ac ab eo editum : et inter cætera in eo contenta erronea, sive hæreticalia, est, quod dicit, posse concedi nonnulla opera Caroli Molinæi hæretici primæ classis absque correctione, et imprimis assignat Commentaria super consuetudinem &c.** The good father had the natural reward of his officious good will to his brethren ; and was himself, for this very passage, brought to the stake in the next *Auto de fe* † of books by the holy fathers of Spain.

* The following passage on the same subject, from the same book, at the end of the address to the reader, is of a somewhat lower tone. Præterea declaravi per publicum decretum, ego minimus inter Deputatos pro revisione librorum, librum Expurgationis per Alphonsum Gometium de anno 1581 editum, juxta Tridentini Indicis ultimam Regulam nullo modo in Neap. Dios. esse recipiendum : ubi præcipitur, nullum librum in Civitate admittendum absque consensu et facultate Deputatorum ab Episcopo. It is worth observation, that the approbation and imprimatur of this book dates Neap. die 10 Decembris 1583, although it refers to the Spanish Index of 1584, and was printed, being the first and only edition, in 1588. This is something like the act of those who *swear etceteras*.

† When I adopted this very natural expression I did not suppose it so literally justifiable as Llorente has proved it to be. He informs us, that in 1490, Torquemada caused many Hebrew bibles and more than six thousand volumes to be burnt in an *Auto de fe* at Salamanca. He proceeds to state, that this, which was originally an usurpation on the part of the Inquisition, was sanctioned by Charles V., who authorized F. Valdes to prohibit certain books proscribed by the university of Louvain, and by his successor in a similar act ; and that, in later times, Charles III. attempted to restrain the licence by obliging the inquisitors to submit their proposed censures to the approbation of the king, which, however, they easily contrived to evade. *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, &c. tom. i. pp. 282—284.

About the date at which we now are, (my copy indeed, which is not, I

Rome is the theatre of the next of these literary executions. From the silence of the next Roman Index, that of Sixtus V., and from some expressions in the following, that of Clement VIII., we infer, nearly to a certainty, that all the editions subsequent to that of Trent up to the pontificate of the first-named pope, and enumerated by *Peignot*, *Struvius* in Jugler's edition of his *Bibliotheca*, and others, contain nothing additional, excepting, by possibility, the detached decrees passed for the condemnation of particular books, or proscriptions of books in modern languages. But this I think improbable, since the earliest collection of these decrees, and which professes to give all *hitherto* published, commences no earlier than the year 1601.

Sixtus V., however, published an Index, of which the title, contents, and fate are peculiar. Before I describe it I will briefly remind the reader, that to this pope the Roman see is indebted for the institution of fifteen Congregations of Cardinals for important objects. The constitution is dated A. D. 1588, 11 Kalend. Martii, and

believe, the first edition, is precisely the same, 1588,) a French translation of the Council of Trent was published in a small volume at Rouen, to which is appended the Tridentine Index, with the prefatory pieces in French. The translator and editor was GENTIAN HERVET. This is one among many proofs of the anxiety of the papacy to introduce its biblical proscriptions into other countries, particularly into France.

may be found in its place in the Bullarium Magnum. Of these congregations the seventh is, *pro Indice librorum prohibitorum*; and it is empowered to examine and determine upon books, to correct where expedient, and to exercise all the powers necessary for the purpose of forming expurgatory Indexes. The censures of this body, after reference to the papal majesty, were to be published with his authority.

About two years after appeared the Index, which we are about to describe, and which was published by the pope in his own name. It is entitled: *BULLA SMI. D. N. SIXTI PAPÆ V. Emendationis indicis cum suis regulis super librorum prohibitione, expurgatione, et revisione, necnon cum abrogatione cæterorum indicum hactenus editorum, et revocatione facultatis edendorum, nisi ad præscriptam harum regularum normam.* Romæ, Apud Paulum Bladum Impressorem Cameralem. M.D.XC. With the arms of Sixtus V. The book is in 4to. and contains fifty-eight folia numbered, to which two are added unnumbered. The Index (for it is a regular Index, which from the title alone might be doubted) is preceded by what is properly the Bull. Of this some account will be more than usually important. It begins in the common way; and claiming, as we shall see his successor does, Gelasius I. and Gregory IX., as

having afforded examples of the same prohibitory zeal, he descends to Pius IV., whose brief prefixed to the Tridentine Index he recites. So far he is imitated in the prefatory brief of the next pontifical editor of an Index. But the pontiff before us, after this recitation, resumes; and rewards our curiosity with some matters worth knowing and remembering. He states his institution of a congregation of Cardinals, whom he names, elected by himself, for conducting the affairs of the Index, with whose assistance he had prepared and published the present one. He then gives the threefold division of it, which we shall notice. After this, without the slightest regard to the inerrancy of the apostolic see in the persons of his predecessors, by one deliberate stroke, he reduces all former Indexes, although issuing under the authority of his predecessors, and wherever published, to the rule of his own; and having set them all aside, propounds this, and this alone, with the annexed Regulæ, under the penalties enacted by Pius IV., to universal acceptance and submission. The original of so bold an act may justly be required. *Universos indices quacunque auctoritate etiam prædecessorum nostrorum hucusque, et ubilibet locorum editos, ad hunc nostrum indicem, tanquam ad normam ab apostolica sede præscriptam, ex qua recte sentiendi, credendi, do-*

cendique leges in omnem ecclesiam manare par est, revocamus, et exteris quibuscunque sublatis, hunc tantum, et ejus regulas ab omnibus personis, et sub pœnis omnibus, quæ in prædictis Pii IIII. literis exprimuntur, et quas præsentî decreto innovamus, apostolica auctoritate tenore præsentium servari præcipimus, et mandamus. There follows a prohibition to all colleges, universities and individuals against publishing any future Index without consulting the holy see. The close is in the usual form: *Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ revocationis, innovationis, præceptorum, mandati, hortationis, abrogationis, et voluntatis infringere, &c.* Dated Romæ, A. D. 1589, 7 Idus Martii. E. Card. Cusentinus Prodatarius. M. Vestrius Barbianus. The Rules which immediately follow, and are *substituted* for the Tridentine, under the head *Incipiunt Regulæ*, are twenty-two in number, sufficiently varying from those of Trent. We will extract a portion. Reg. I. *Quicumque sanctorum patrum libros, vel scripta fidem, seu mores concernentia, ab ecclesia hactenus recepta, non admiserunt, pœnis a jure statutis puniantur.* Reg. II. *Quoniam vero iidem sancti doctores, vel quia ante obortas hæreses, vel quia, ut eas surgentes impugnarent, fidei zelo accensi, quibusdam interdum locutionibus usi sunt, quas postea Dei ecclesia Spiritu sancto edocta rejecit, nemini*

posthac eas tenere, aut eis uti liceat: sanctis vero ipsis doctoribus, quia non animo ab ecclesia catholica recedendi talia scripserunt, debita reverentia deferatur. With the help of these two antagonist rules, what system may not the holy fathers of the church be made to support? At any rate they afford a dangerous discovery of the way in which the church claiming their suffrage, thinks itself at liberty to treat them. The eighth rule permits catholic books concerning controversies of faith in those places only in which catholics are mixed or connected with heretics. The ninth forbids the innocent books of heretics, in detestation of them, unless their names are expunged. The sixteenth restrains the circulation of manuscripts. The eighteenth regulates the visitation of printing-offices, and prescribes the *form* of authorizing the impression and publication of works. The nineteenth limits the impression of sacred and ecclesiastical books to cities and towns where the aid of an Inquisitor, or of others, may be had; and the books printed must be conformed to the exemplar in the Vatican, &c. The twentieth directs visitations of booksellers' shops, and forbids private persons to burn prohibited books, ordering them to deliver such to the master of the Sacred Palace, &c. The twenty-first prescribes the expurgation of sacred, or ecclesiastic books, the

decrétals, &c. which have been corrupted by heretics, &c. And the last takes regular care to inform the faithful, that if they offend by reading or retaining the prohibited books, they will incur a sentence of excommunication, from which they can alone be absolved by papal authority, except in the article of death, and then only upon exhibiting some token of true penitence. It concludes with enjoining booksellers to possess themselves of the present Index, in order that ignorance may not be pretended; and the rest, who from other causes may have books, *'we require and exhort in the Lord, that, in order to avoid transgression, they possess and read the same Index,'*—an injunction and request which decisively proves that the author intended his work to be as *public* as possible; at least among his own subjects.

We now proceed to the Index itself, at the head of which is announced its triple division. The second it is important to transcribe, as it has never been repeated. *Deinde adduntur nomina Catholicorum, quorum libri aut auctoris incuria, aut etiam impressoris negligentia, doctrinam non sanam, sed suspectam, et bonorum morum offensivam continere videntur.* Doctrine not sound, and offensive to good morals, in Catholic writers! But then, they only *appear*. Perhaps the appearance is enough. On coming, however, to the body of

the Index, the first of the few entries which we shall examine will determine this point, and is much to the credit of the pontifical compiler, *Joannis Casæ Poemata*. This is no other than the infamous prelate whom we have seen in the same place before. Paul IV., in *his* Index, was compelled by shame to put the offender where he should be. But did he continue there? No. Pius IV., in the more formal Index of Trent, supposing, probably, that the transgressor had done sufficient penance, absolved and dismissed him. The note of infamy was again affixed to him by the sterner Sixtus; but in all subsequent Indexes he has disappeared. It would not have argued less rigidity of virtue, had Sixtus discontinued the self-condemning article, *Liber inscriptus Consilium de emendanda Ecclesia*. But the most extraordinary one, and that which contributed in a great degree, no doubt, to the peculiar fate of this Index is, *Roberti Bellarmini Disputationes de controversiis Christianæ fidei. adversus hujus temporis hereticos*. To which is affixed the note, *Nisi prius ex superioribus regulis recognitæ fuerint*. And is this the triumphant champion of Roman orthodoxy? Is this the way in which the sovereign of the Seven Hills rewards his most devoted defenders? Yes, if they do not *all* that is expected of them. The offence seems to have been

that, in the third of these disputations, which concerns the power of the Roman Pontiff, he had stated that power to be no more than *indirect* as to temporals. This, the reigning pontiff, whose virtues were not those of the milder class, could not endure; and the consequence was the present censure, and the future public revocation and self-correction of the offender. No wonder that the mortified cardinal, when no longer in fear of his potent castigator, vented his resentment in this opinion of his death: *Conceptis verbis, quantum capio, quantum sapio, quantum intelligo, descendit ad infernum**. The reader will do well to com-

* This he said 'to an English Doctor of our nation,' as the priest, WM. WATSON, affirms. *Quod lib.*, pp. 56, 7. I here trust to BAXTER'S *Safe Religion*, &c. Address *To the Literate Romanists*, &c., not paged. I allow the reference to Baxter's valuable work to stand, although I have since become possessed of the extraordinary volume which he quotes, and see his accuracy. LETI'S *Vita di Sisto V.* accounts for the hatred of the Jesuits, and therefore of Bellarmine, to this pontiff, independently of his severity to the order. They wished to impose a confessor of their company upon him, which he parried by a jest; and he afterwards told them that their poverty was a great benefit to the church, and their wealth a great injury to the popes: *quali parole penetrarono nel vivo il cuore de' Gesuiti. Parte ii., Libro i., pp. 84, 5, ed. Losan. 1669.* On this subject we have the unexceptionable testimony of the respectable secular priest, in the work above quoted, and which abounds in important intelligence, who writes—'Xistus Quintus, then of holy memory, called before him on a time the Generall of the Jesuites, and demanding of him why they called themselves Jesuites: he answered, that they did not call themselves so, but Clearkes only of the Society of *Jesus*. Then the Pope replying, said: but why should you appropriate to yourselves to be of the Society of *Jesus*, more than all other Christians are: of whom,' &c. &c. 'And besides why do you not withall

pare with this the adulatory Epistle Dedicatory *Beatissimo Sanctissimoque Patri Sixto Quinto Pontif. Max.* originally and still prefixed to the *Disputationes*. He will then have some materials for discovering where the *unity* lies between the head and a principal member of the infallible church. The intimation of the censure which we are examining is very imperfectly given by biographers, either of the pope or of the cardinal, as may be seen by the most which can be made of them, and the consequent mistakes, in *Bayle*, under the name BELLARMIN*. It is, however, curious and

(if you will be holden for religious men) keepe the quier, rise at midnight, and do in all things as religious men should, are bound, and ordinarily everie where do? These words of his Holinesse, the Jesuits tooke so disdainefully, scornefully, and contemptuously, as he lived but a short while after? Pp. 99, 100. That this pontiff's death was not a *natural* one, is confirmed by the *praternatural* intimation vouchsafed of it to the *Jesuit* Bellarmine, as BARTOLI, his biographer, in the place to be referred to in the next note, informs his reader, and probably expected him to believe. The prophetic talents of Sixtus's enemies will receive a further confirmation in a subsequent note.

* Observe how the affair is represented by Bartoli, who states that Bellarmine, having been accused of denying the pope's direct universal temporal dominion, n' hebbe in pena la proibitione del libro: ma ella fu tanto brieve al durare, quanto quel Pontifice a vivere. Lui morto, la non meritata proscrittione fu subito annullata. Vita del C. Bellarm., p. 125. The author, it need scarcely be observed, was a Jesuit. There is another life of this celebrated Cardinal, written first in Italian by Fuligatti, and translated into Latin by Silvester Petra Sancta, in 4to, Leodii, 1626, no pages. Lib. ii., c. vi., affirms the first volume of his Controversies to have been published in 1581, the second two years after, the third in 1592. The next chapter states that the Cardinal's enemies persuaded Sixtus V. that this work de-

edifying to remark that the controversialist got into as much trouble with 'His Most Christian Majesty,' for allowing 'His Holiness' *any temporal power at all*, as with 'His Holiness,' for not allowing him *enough**.

The circumstances of this Index are mysterious, but not wholly unaccountable. Its rarity is extreme. That published six years after by a succeeding Pontiff, Clemens VIII., and which, after some concluding observations on this, will demand our attention, presents to us the almost incredible phenomenon of an occupant of the papal throne appearing, or (shall we say?) simulating, to be ignorant of a formal, enlarged, printed, and published Index, with the revocation of all former ones, and a perfectly new set of Rules, by a pre-

tracted from his temporal jurisdiction, and taking occasion from this—*nonnulli, re non discussâ, urgere, atque instare, quo ejus opera inhiherentur, donec egeri, quæ damnosa, et inseri Catalogo deberent Voluminum prescriptorum. Fraudem excepit eventus, et ii, quorum invidia in occulto, adulatio in aperto erat, facile impetrarunt, ut hoc pacto in Bellarmini libros sæviretur. Sed hæc sævitia vocem veritatis, quæ in libris iisdem loquebatur, non diu afflixit. Nam excedente Pontifice, cum eo (ut Aulici sunt plerumque suorum Principum inferiæ) cecidere Adversarii ejus, et Sacra Congregatio Cardinalium reputans injuriam esse, ita damnari eximium virum, præsertim, cum is Sedis Apostolicæ causa abesset, sponte mandavit, ex Indice probrosorum Scriptorum eximi Auctorem egregium, nullo in opinionibus ejus deprehenso vitio. And this throws much light upon the actual fact!* As much, however, as was intended.

* The reader must not forget *Franc. Petrarca*, noticed under the Spanish Index of 1583.

decessor in the same throne at so short a distance, and simply recognizing a private addition (*auctus*), with an express declaration that, whatever *intentions* had been formed and *preparations* had been made by Sixtus to that effect, he departed this life without putting them into execution. *Verum cum idem Sixtus, re minime absolutâ, ab humanis excesserit: Nos—hoc tempore omnino perficiendum atque in lucem edendum duximus.* It will, indeed, have been obvious to perceive, that succeeding Popes, and the whole Roman church, had *interest enough to desire* the suppression and non-appearance for the future of a publication, which could not be very grateful to them. And when we recollect, as we can scarcely fail to do, the defeat of the first effort by this Pope to give his church an authentic copy of the Vulgate Latin Bible, in the last year of his pontificate and life, which was likewise the date of his Index, by the means of his successor, the author of the next Index, Clement VIII.; it is difficult to dismiss the suspicion that the same versute policy which, in the first year of the later pontiff, provided a substitute and extinguisher for the *Bible*, in the fifth applied the same to the *Index*, of his predecessor.*

* The biographer of Sixtus V., Gregorio Leti, in describing the object of a printing-office erected by the Pope, has pretty significantly detailed

We are now prepared to enter upon the next Roman Index, thus entitled—INDEX *Librorum* ^x

the kinds of purification which Papal orthodoxy allowed itself to use in editions proceeding from the apostolic press. Non lungi della detta Libreria (the Vatican) vi fece fabricare Sisto una Stampa capacissima, acciò che i Libri corrotti, e profanati dagli Heretici, e pieni di gravissimi errori, si emendassero, e si riducessero al primiero candore, ed alla prima purità, e si rimettessero alla loro sincera verità, stampandosi, e publicandosi con migliore ordine, e regola. Parte ii., lib. iv., p. 385.

I am happy to be able to speak with more certainty than I was at first aware of an *Italian* translation of the Bible, which Peignot, in his *Dict. des Livres Condamnés, &c.*, i., p. 36, assigns to the date 1589; but at the close of the article he states the question of its existence to be undecided. Llorente, however, *Hist. de l'Inquis.*, tome iii., pp. 18—20, speaks without hesitation of the work as published, preceded by a bull strongly recommending the reading of it; and affirms it to have been condemned by the Inquisition. That those writers who maintain the affirmative on this subject, and particularly Llorente, are right, I have obtained evidence, to me abundantly sufficient, from a MS. copy of *Vita del Sommo Pontefice Sisto V., composta da un' Autore Anonimo, e dicata a' Merito Sublime del Signor Antonio Nati Romano, L'Anno mdcxi.*, from the dispersed library of the Earl of Guilford. It is a folio, containing 183 folia, and was purchased from the ably-compiled Catalogue of Manuscripts of Mr. Cochran. At fol. 149, verso, the biographer states, that there were many authors—Vi sono molti autori—who agreed in affirming the apparently incredible fact, that the Pope caused to be printed for general circulation the Bible in the vulgar tongue, in order that all who could might read it—in lingua volgare, nella qual' lingua fosse notoria à tutti il poterla leggere. And his intention was carried into effect—e questa sua volontà fù effettivamente eseguita nella Stamperia di Sua Santità. He adds, that the more scrupulous Catholics wrote to the King of Spain, as most concerned, on account of his Italian dominions, Naples, Sicily, and the duchy of Milan, whose conscience would be wounded by what they esteemed an heretical act, to use his utmost influence, which of himself he was disposed to do, and by his ambassador did, to induce the Pope to suppress the book—di far sopprimere una tal' Biblia, essendo una operazione di non lieve scandalo. The ambassador

Prohibitorum cum regulis confectis per Patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos Auctoritate PII III.

executed his office with some hazard from papal choler; and our author proceeds to detail the lamentations in particular of the Cardinal of Toledo on the *publication*—la pubblicazione di detta Biblia; exclaiming, that by such an act the unhappy Sixtus took the surest method of shortening his days; which, with amusing gravity, our biographer adds, was no vain prediction, as in a few months after the publication the Pontiff exchanged this life for another: and yet, when he relates the event, he plainly gives credit to the report that it was effected by poison.—Foll. 175, 6. The matter, however, appears to be completely set at rest, if we may rely upon Farnsworth's translation of Leti's History of Sixtus V., who, in pp. 404, 5, and about the middle of book x., gives, for substance, the same relation as has just been recited, and asserts, in addition, that copies of the Italian translation exist in the Duke of Tuscany's library, that of St. Laurence, the Ambrosian at Milan, two in the public library at Geneva, and several others. These facts are, indeed, stated by Peignôt; but Farnsworth further affirms, that Philip Brietius, a Jesuit, in his Annals, part ii., p. 347, A.D. 1663, positively asserts the fact, producing the passage, in which it is added, that a bull preceded the translation. The biographer proceeds, simply translating, as I presume, 'I remember myself to have seen, in a manuscript giving an account of the transactions of those times, that the Cardinal of Toledo, who most violently opposed this measure,' &c., said, &c., as above reported. Was the MS., or a copy, of that above adduced, the one here alluded to? This translation, if a fact, as can hardly be doubted, is a third instance of suppression inflicted upon what Llorente calls an *infallible* oracle of the faith. There were really some good points about this vigorous Pontiff.

There is an article in the Index which we are dismissing, which ought not altogether to be overlooked. It is the only one under *Biblia*, and runs thus—*Biblia, quæ hæreticorum opera impressa, et eorundem annotationibus, argumentis, summariis, scholiis, et indicibus referta fuerunt, omnino prohibentur: cætera vero omnia, quæ sub vulgatæ editionis titulo circumferuntur, si juxta textum Biblicorum pro vulgatæ editione recognita, et approbata correctæ fuerint, pro eodem textu retineri poterunt; si vero emendata non fuerint, illis tanquam vero vulgatæ editionis textu nemo uti præsumat, ut in constitutione super hoc edita latius continetur.* The whole of the latter

*primum editus, Postea vero a SYXTO V. auctus, et nunc demum S. D. N. CLEMENTIS PP. VIII. jussu recognitus, & publicatus. Instructione adjuncta de exequendæ prohibitionis, deque sincere emendandi & imprimendi libros, ratione. Romæ Apud Impressores Camerales. Cum Privilegio Sum. Pont. ad Biennium 1596. 4to.** The first of the Briefs of Clemens (for there are two) is simply a restraint of the right of printing to the printer. The second, bearing date Oct. 17, 1595, after the inflated series of false assumptions usual

part, with two words besides, which are in the Italic character, is omitted in the next—the Clementine, and I believe all the subsequent Indexes. The reason is obvious: Sixtus's own edition of the Vulgate was referred to; and if *that* was proscribed, the recognition must be proscribed with it. Here, then, we have the Roman Index condemning the Roman Index!

* This may be the Index and edition to which MARCHAND, in his *Dict. Hist.*, under the name *CASA*, refers, giving it the date 1593; for no edition of that date is known to me. What, however, *Marchand*, who was a good critic on such subjects, and intended an article on *INDEX*, writes, is additional information, and of some importance. Speaking of the non-continuance of the name of *della Casa* in the Tridentine Index, he adds—*que, s'il fut remis en ces termes, Giovanni della Casa, li Versi e Rime, dans la belle et magnifique édition de Clement VIII., faite à Rome, chez Paolo Blado, en 1593, in 4to., on ne l'a pourtant vû dans les éditions postérieures.* In a note from this passage he writes—*Voyez en le folio 47, verso, parmi les livres Italiens; car, dans cette édition, après les livres Latins, on trouve les Italiens, les Espagnols, les Portugais, les François, et les Flamans.* This addition is peculiar, whether the date be right or not. Is this another *suppressed* Index? A reprint of the Clementine Index, under the title of *INDEX TRIDENTINUS*, was given as an Appendix of the reprint of the Spanish Index of 1640, in Lyons or Geneva, 1667; which will be noticed in its place.

in such instruments, and claiming, very gratuitously, like his predecessor, GELASIUS I. as the founder of the Index, to whom it adds GREGORY IX., passes, without more ceremony, to PIUS IV. It then details rather minutely what it calls, both falsely and artfully, the intentions and incipient, but imperfect, execution of Sixtus V.—*re minime absoluta*;—and the rest is taken up with their pretended completion by CLEMENS, who commissioned a Congregation* of Cardinals, to be assisted by others, who should carry into effect the prohibition, expurgation, and regulated impression, of books; concerning each article of which new Rules were given, and are published, in this edition. Then follow the Brief and Preface of the Tridentine edition, with the Ten Rules, *restored* to their place by the suppression of the Sixtine Two-and-twenty. The next document peculiar to this edition is entitled *Observatio*—the first, upon the Fourth Rule; which denies that any power is given by it to bishops, &c., to grant licences to buy, read, or retain Bibles, or any parts or summaries thereof, in the vulgar lan-

* The expressions seem to imply that this was the first institution of the *Congregation of the Index*; but Catalani has satisfactorily proved that it existed, in substance, certainly under GREGORY XIII. (he should have said Sixtus V.), and probably as early as PIUS IV. *De Secret. S. Cong. Ind.*, l. i., c. vii.

guage*. The second is of little importance, on the Ninth Rule. The third revokes the partial toleration of Thalmudic and Cabalistic books. The fourth forbids the Hebrew Ritual called *Magazor*, in any other than the original language; and the fifth corrects a mistake relative to the books of *John Bodin*. The *Instructio*, which follows, is of considerable importance; and I., concerning the *Prohibition of books*, enjoins, that the names of such as were condemned should, under pain of heavy punishment, be delivered to the bishops and inquisitors; and that licence to read them should be obtained from the same. II. The *Correction*

* This, as relating to the reading of the scriptures, is so characteristic and important, that it must be given at length and in the original. Animadvertendum est circa suprascriptam quartam regulam Indicis fel. rec. Pii Papæ IV. nullam per hanc impressionem, et editionem de novo tribui facultatem Episcopis, vel Inquisitoribus, aut Regularium superioribus, concedendi licentiam emendi, legendi, aut retinendi Biblia vulgari lingua edita, cum hactenus mandato, et usu Sanctæ Romanæ, et universalis Inquisitionis subblata eis fuerit facultas concedendi hujusmodi licentias legendi, vel retinendi Biblia vulgaria, aut *alias* sacræ scripturæ tam novi quam veteris testamenti partes quavis vulgari lingua editas: ac insuper summaria et compendia etiam historica eorundem Bibliorum, seu librorum sacræ scripturæ, quocunque vulgari idiomate conscripta: quod quidem inviolatè servandum est. The word *alias*, which I have put in Italics, should surely be *aliquas*, although the former is retained in all the editions. But it is more important to be remarked, that the last sentence, beginning with *ac insuper*, condemning summaries and compends of the scriptures, is *silently* withdrawn in the Index of Benedict XIV., 1758, although appearing in his former edition of 1744; and has not, I believe, appeared in any since,—notwithstanding the inviolability of the prohibition.

of books. This is to be committed to learned and pious men ; and the work to be examined, when expurgated and amended to the satisfaction of the appointed judges, is permitted. The corrector and expurgator is to look very diligently into every thing, indexes, &c. ; and several objects are to be attended to as his guide—every thing anti-catholic, and against the church, and in praise of heretics, as well as what is immoral and injurious to the reputation of others. Catholic books, after the year 1515, if objectionable, are to be corrected* : but the antients, only where errors have been introduced by the fraud of heretics, &c. III. The *Impression* of books. The work to be printed must first be shewn to the bishop or inquisitor, and approved by either of them : when printed, it must be compared with the MS. and found correct, before it can be sold. Printers must be orthodox men, bind themselves by oath to deal faithfully and catholically, and the more learned and eminent of them must profess the creed of Pius IV. A condemned book, when expurgated, must express the fact in the title.

These Rules would give as much power to the executors of them as they could wish.

* FRA PAOLO, in his *Discorso dell' origine dell' Inquisit.*, remonstrates at great length against this injunction. Ed. 1639, pp. 173, &c.

We need only say of this Index, that an Appendix is subjoined, in portions, to every division of the original.

Of this Index there are two other editions, one in 12mo., the other in 8vo., printed in the same year and at the same place, 1596 and Rome, which are peculiar and valuable, as having subjoined to each of them the first collection of *Decreta*. Both these editions are attached to editions of the Elenchus of Capiferri, the first of the date of 1632, the second of that of 1640. These productions will come to be described in their place.

The earnest injunctions of Pius V. induced the church of Bohemia to publish and, I presume, enforce, the Tridentine Index, which appeared, according to Peignot, at Prague, in the year of the Clementine edition, 1596. Some remarks will occur on this subject in our notice of the edition at Prague in 1726.*

A small reprint likewise of this edition of the Roman Index by Clemens deserves to be recorded, on account of a slight deviation at the close of the title—*Additis Regulis, ac exequendæ prohibitionis ratione*; and on account of the printer and the place where printed—*Leodii. Ex Biblio-*

* There appeared INDEX *Expurgatorius in Libros Theologiæ Mysticæ D. Henr. Harpii.* Paris, 1598. It is exhibited with the rest in the *Biblioth. Select.* of C. MICHELIS.

polio Henrici Hovii. Anno M.DC.VII. Cum Gratia & Privilegio S. Cels.

We now advance to perhaps the most extraordinary and scarcest of all this class of publications. It is the first and last, and incomplete expurgatory Index, which Rome herself has ventured to present to the world ; and which, soon after the deed was done, she condemned and withdrew. But it is time to give the title : *INDICIS LIBRORUM EXPURGANDORUM in studiosorum gratiam confecti. Tomus Primus. In quo Quinquaginta Auctorum Libri præ cæteris desiderati emendantur, Per Fr. JO. MARIAM BRASICHELLEN Sacri Palatii Apostolici Magistrum in unum corpus redactus, et publicæ commoditati æditus. Romæ, Ex Typographia R. Cam. Apost. MDCVII. Superiorum Permissu. 8vo.* After a selection of some of the Rules in the last edition of the Prohibitory Index, the Editor, in an address, informs the reader that, understanding the expurgation of books not to be the least important part of his office, and wishing to make books more accessible to students than they were without expurgation, he had availed himself of the labours of his predecessors, and, adding his own, issued the present volume, intending that a second, which was in great readiness, should quickly follow ; (but, alas ! it was not allowed so to do.) Dated, Rome, from the Apostolic Palace, 1607.

The remonstrances and opposition created by this work made the rulers of Rome, who are not very willing to lose subjects, sick of the work of their servant, and very careful not to put their authority to the hazard in future. The experiment, indeed, was not only rash, but gratuitous. The *Instructio* of the immediately preceding Index had given complete power, by means of proper agents and prescribed corrections and expurgations, as the case required, of doing *that* secretly and securely, which, on the expurgatory system, must be done openly and with responsibility.

But the circumstances and contents of this volume are so extraordinary and important, that a rather minute examination will well reward our pains by the discoveries which it will present. If none more valuable result, it will afford some additional, and, it may be, unexpected insight into the logic and policy by which ecclesiastic Rome finds it expedient to support her system of faith. We will, therefore, discuss some of the articles, most important, not only to our particular purpose, but generally and in themselves, in the order in which they stand, which is, as usual, alphabetic. The first name, which will excite not only our attention but our surprise, is that of B. ARIAS MONTANUS *, who was the principal person con-

* FRANCUS refers this insertion to the *Index Sandoval. De Indic.* pp. 202, 3. But this is the first.

cerned in the fabrication of the Belgic Index. He occupies about six pages of the present; and there suffers the same castigation and mutilation which he had formerly inflicted upon others—*neque enim lex æquior ulla est, &c.* The *Biblia ROBERTI STEPHANI* would furnish some remarks; but we shall find another place for them. We proceed then immediately to the longest and most important article in the whole volume, the *Bibliotheca SS. Patrum*, 1589, per Margarinum de la BIGNE*. We may dispose at once of the more regular and constantly recurring expurgations by observing, that in the general title of each volume the word *Sanctorum*, and wherever besides *Sanc-tus*, or *S.*, and *Divus*, or *D.*, is in the Roman sense, misapplied, *i. e.*, applied to any who are not in the list of Roman saints, or inserted in the Roman Martyrology, these titles are either expunged or altered. The same general remark may be made respecting the names, and more especially the praises, of those who are esteemed heretics in the Italian church. An instance, of rather sweeping dimensions, to this effect occurs in the very outset of the critique. It is important further to observe, that as our expurgator was walking over rather tender ground, he has found it prudent to soften a large portion of his cen-

* A former edition of this work, that of 1575, had been reviewed, but much more sparingly, in the Spanish Expurgatory Index of 1584.

sures by the yet ominous words *Caute lege*. In *Anastasio Nicæno* we read the following censure on the *text* of the *antient*, (for he is not allowed to be *Divus*)—*Quidam non facientes mandata existimant se recte credere. Quidam autem facientes, regnum expectant tanquam quæ debetur mercedem : ambo autem a regno excidunt, appone in margine, Caute lege, aut potius abjice ista : nam peccator fidelis recte credit : tam & si [tametsi] non fructuose, id est, meritorie ; et operibus nostris in gratia factis tanquam merces regnum debetur. We shall have more of this theology of the Vatican. It comes a little closer to the foundations of the papal throne when the same author writes—Non ergo dixit de Præsidibus Ecclesiæ illud ; Quæcunque ligaveritis, erunt ligata, &c. (He certainly could be no saint to write thus : therefore the castigator steps in) *appone margini, Caute lege, nam omnes verba Christi de Præsidibus Ecclesiæ interpretantur. At p. 82, CLEMENS of Alexandria is degraded from the rank of Divus ; although S. is allowed to stand before the name of Victorinus Pictaviensis, as indeed it had been gratuitously inserted, with an adde, before, p. 65. Yet to him there is a caute, because he seemed to assert the doctrine of some Greeks concerning the state of the soul immediately after death. In the critique upon S. Peter**

Martyr, Bp. of Alexandria, the censor denounces his commentator, Balsamon, as a Greek, a schismatic, an enemy of the Roman church, and defiled with errors not a few*. Under *Macharius*, the Egyptian, there is a caution against his apparent approach to the Pelagian error. How far the censor and his church, themselves, are free from that error will, perhaps, appear before we have done with the present examination. *S. Chromatius* is censured as condemning oaths altogether: sed revocat in bonam mentem sancti Chromatii verba Sixtus Senensis. The simplicity of the notice deserves attention; and we shall meet with something of the same kind still more so. The text of *S. Ignatius* respecting the Lord's Day, &c., is censured. P. 124 exhibits the solœcism of a son of the papacy correcting a pope. *Symmachus* calls himself *Vicarius Petri*, and again, *Sedis Apostolicæ*: but this is modesty (that is, a mistake), since he is vicar only of Christ, and supreme ruler of the Apostolic Church. *Adelmannus* uses the word *creat* of the body and blood in the Eucharist, which our censor explains by observing, that transubstantiation is a something like creation: but this subject will return. *Leontius* is corrected for omitting the apocryphal books in the

* See likewise pp. 122, 123.

canon. We now come (p. 142) to a work, *De Duabus Naturis*, by *Gelasius*, whom no one doubted to be the pope of that name in the fifth century, until plainly interested motives induced the Romanists to move a question upon the subject. The case is stated in *Cave's Hist. Lit.*, where he asserts *Labbe* to be satisfied of its authenticity. The modern discussions are mere loans upon antiquity. But all that is in contest is the pope or a theologian of the same age; and, therefore, we may proceed. A passage is produced, p. 145, & *tamen esse non desinit substantia, nel natura panis, et vini, &c., tolle glossam*—we need not mind that: come we to the *Magister*—*proinde hoc sanum margini affige scholion, rite lector intellige verba Gelasii, substantiam panis et vini appellant, non ipsam veram substantiam vocat naturam, et essentiam accidentium, quæ manent in eucharistia, et theologi species vocant, quæ quidem vicem, et proprietatem substantiæ induunt in nutriendo, &c.; quodammodo hac etiam ratione substantia dici queunt. Hunc autem morem loquendi non esse alienum a Patribus, nec a Gelasio, præsertim, abunde te docebunt Bellarminus, &c.* Here, reader, you are let into the whole secret of pontifical logic, when the pressure is most severe. It is only to say of a thing *non ipsa vera*, and *quodammodo*; and you may turn the most obstinate substances and propositions into their

direct opposites ; or affirmatives into negatives, on any subject. As stubborn a sentence is that which follows : *et certe imago, et similitudo corporis, et sanguinis Christi in actione mysterii celebrantur, dele glossam marginis, refer ad corpus cruentum et visibile, utpote diminutam, (tum) et scribe, non negat Auctor vere, and realiter esse in Eucharistia verum Corpus, et Sanguinem Christi, sed ait, non solum ipsas species sacramentales panis, et vini esse signa Corporis, et Sanguinis Christi, ibi re vera existentium: sed etiam ipsum corpus, et sanguinem Domini, ut sunt in sacramento sub illis speciebus, esse signa, seu symbola ejusdem corporis, et sanguinis Christi, ut fuerunt in cruce, representatur enim in eucharistia mysterii dominicæ passionis, unde S. Chrysostomus Homil. 17, in Epist. Hebræ. ait, eucharistiam esse typum, seu figuram sacrificii crucis, cum tamen, et ipsa verum sit sacrificium, vide Bellarminum, 2. lib., de Eucharistia, cap. 15.—A most comfortable sliding away from the only words of any importance in the sentence, *imago et similitudo*. What a pity it is, that this rational style of interpretation had not been known in sufficient time to save some hundreds of conscientious people in this country from the stake for believing and professing what a pope had believed and professed before them! *Jonas Aurelianensis* next falls under displeasure for his testimony*

against image worship, in eo merito rejiciendus, quod nullam sacris imaginibus adorationem, aut venerationem deferenda existimaverit, qui fuit error nonnullorum Gallicanorum magni nominis theologorum, uti prædiximus. Jonas has some other things, a sinceræ doctrinæ sensu aliena; and we heartily thank the papal censor for his admission. Under *Marcus* the Hermit, the semi-pelagianism, at least, of Rome, makes a fresh appearance, where the author is charged with not obscurely intimating, that the kingdom of heaven is not given pro mercede nostrorum bonorum operum. Observe the process by which the offender is extricated. Forsitan auctor cum operibus nostris nihil tribuere videtur, intelligit de illis quatenus humana sunt, et a solo libero arbitrio proficiscuntur, non ea ratione qua in gratia fiunt, vel innuit non tantum mercedem, sed potissimum gratiam esse. Under *Antonius Melissa* is introduced the common distinction by which the Roman idolatry is defended. The author writes: Eam vero solummodo naturam, quæ increata est, colere et venerari didicimus; *vel expungatur dictio*; solummodo; *vel affigatur margini*; Cautè lege, forsàn de suprema, et primaria ratione latriæ, quæ per se tantum Divinitati tribuit (ur). In the same author is thus corrected the assertion of supreme earthly power to princes: Intellige inter sæculares, et

temporales dignitates ; nam Ecclesiastica dignitas sublimior est Regia. Is this doctrine now otherwise than in abeyance? The vindication of our author in the close, as to some objectionable doctrine, is worth attention for the word employed—posset *torqueri* in bonum sensum ; and, with some other specimens given, it discovers how effectually the dialectics of Rome provide an escape from any difficulty. We hasten over other articles, to arrive at a name of some note in controversy, *Paschasius*, whose title of *Divus* is, however, ordered to be expunged. Important as is the testimony of this writer to the modern church of Italy, in its most unfounded and most cherished doctrine, he comes under slight correction in the first instance, for denominating the change of the elements *creation*. The reproof is louder for the countenance given to administration of the cup to the people in these words : Accipite, et bibite ex hoc omnes, tam ministri, quam reliqui credentes. Observe how this is parried : si locus sit integer, vult Paschasius bibendum sanguinem Domini cunctis fidelibus, non sub specie vini : sed sub specie panis, sub qua cum sumitur Christi Corpus, non sumitur exangue : sed cum sacro sanguine, qui ibi adest, non ex vi Sacramenti, sed ex vi naturæ Corporis viventis, et ut aiunt Theologi per concomitantiam. Similar legerdemain is exer-

cised upon the plain declaration that the flesh or blood of Christ are converted into our flesh, by directing it to be understood only of the *species*. It becomes then impossible to use terms so plain and decisive as to contradict the doctrine of transubstantiation. For what then were our ancestors burned at the stake? The succeeding articles are a good deal on the same subject, and furnish the same display of papal sophistry, particularly *that* in which the physical transmutation to which the elements are liable is explained of the species solely: and when the flesh of Christ is said expressly by *Odo* to be a spiritual and not a corporal sacrifice, this is interpreted away by saying, non solo corporali et externo ritu immolari, ut reliquas carnales hostias, &c. I will finish the account of this long, but not uninteresting, article, by observing the indignation which the good Censor naturally feels and expresses against *Photius*, Bishop of Constantinople, for representing his own see as the head of all the churches; and his unceremonious treatment of an admitted saint, *Gregory* of Tours, who, adopting the words of another writer, he scruples not to affirm, multa aliter quam veritas se habet—literis commendavit. The fate of **EMANUEL SA** is peculiar. He is subject to discipline for twenty-eight pages; but is acquitted in the next Spanish Index. Indeed, in this act of

aggression principally originated the measured kind of warfare which afterwards took place between the Indexes of Rome and of Spain. FRANCIS DUARENUS honourably deserved the castigation which he has received for his almost only important work, and an important one it is—*Pro Libertate Ecclesiæ Gallicæ, &c.*, in which, particularly section 77, are detailed the enormous exactions of the Papal See. Under H. CARDANUS, we might expect that the eulogy of our excellent Edward VI. would not be allowed to stand: he was a heretic; ob id eradendum nomen ejus una cum laude. The same fate attends our heretical queen, Elizabeth, in a Dedication prefixed to an edition of PLATO. But we ought not to omit the censure upon the *Dict. Hebraic.* of JOANNES FORSTERIUS, on account of the marked attack upon the words *gratis* and *gratuita* in their protestant application. The lexicographer had explained a passage in scripture thus—*quicumque fide acceperit verbum de misericordia Dei omnibus gratis promissa propter Christum non trepidabit.* The critic comes—*verbum, gratis, juxta sensum Ecclesiæ delendum.* Again, *de gratuita misericordia, &c., dele, et repone, de divina misericordia, &c.* I add another analogous article: *Et infra, atque non paucos persuaserunt, ut existimarent non solum in Christum fide nos justificari, &c., dele totum, quia*

habentur plura quæ non sibi constant. The last writer to be noticed by us, contained in this Index, is POLYDORUS VIRGILIUS, whose work, *de Rerum Inventoribus*, is subjected to correction, pp. 685, et seq. Many passages in this writer must be highly offensive to the advocates of Romanism. That, in particular, does not escape, which occurs in lib. viii., cap. i., where, from our Bishop of Rochester, Fisher, a very recent origin is assigned to the doctrine of Indulgences, and the discovery of Purgatory is represented as the most powerful cause of the estimation and demand for the former. With this encouragement, he adds, as his own observation, Indulgences rapidly increased, and produced an abundant harvest; and, with reference to their venality, he adopts from a Christian father the observation, that where purchase intervenes, spiritual gifts come to light estimation. *Quæ utinam* (he feelingly concludes) *non nisi illa vidisset ætas.* The only other passage appointed to expunction in this author, which I shall adduce, is in the fifth book and ninth chapter, *Nullius animalis effigiem colito.* This is meant by Virgilius to express the second commandment; for he is evidently speaking of the Ten; which he expresses compendiously, like that given, nearly in their original order. But the Roman church and its advocates cannot endure

the slightest recognition of that Commandment of Jehovah, which, having violated in practice, they thus virtually erase from the divinely inscribed Table, that it may cease to condemn them. The charge in the present instance does not rest here. For, as if the author before us had studied to provide an evasion for the guilty, and secure the integrity of his own epitome, he has restricted the prohibition to the worship of the image of any *animal*, leaving other images untouched: yet so sensitive is guilt, that even this distant approach to an accusation, if it might not rather be considered as the kind suggestion of an excuse, must be condemned and expunged*.

Nothing more remains on the subject of this Index, than to report what is contained in the inaccessible work of ZOBELIUS, *Notitia Indicis*, &c.

* It may not be unacceptable to the reader to understand that this Index has been noticed by Fra Paolo; and that this acute critic has observed, as resulting from one of the main principles regulating the construction of it, that it affords ocular demonstration that the instances in which expunction and alteration were made in many good writers found their cause frequently in their having, in those passages, *defended the authority given by God to the Prince*. This, indeed, is a charge which he urges against the Roman church in general at great length. See *Discorso dell' Origine, &c., dell' Inquisitione, &c.*, p. 173, edit. 1639, no place. Another Tract by the same author, exactly similar in external circumstances and form, bound up with it, though of a different date, has the place, *Mirandola*. It may just be observed here, as a flagrant instance, that the atrocious work of MARIANA, *de Rege, &c.*, has never been condemned by any Index, Roman or Spanish, although other works of the same writer have attracted the papal lash.

but repeated from him by STRUVIUS, or JUGLER, his editor, in the *Bibliotheca Hist. Lit.**, that

* As the work of *Zobelius* is extremely scarce, it will probably please the reader to see the whole extract as given by *Jugler*.

Primus tantum hic est tomus celeberrimi Indicis, quem Auctor privato composuit studio, atque id quidem, ut profitetur, eam ob causam, quia Magister esset sacri Palatii, cujus requirat officium, libros expurgare, ideoque ii, qui tales possiderent, non haberent necesse, abolere eosdem, sed uti his potius, secundum censuram emendatis, possent. Cuncta vulgo tribuuntur *Guanzello*, dicto a patria Brasichellano, quæ in hoc Indice expurgatorio sunt præstita, quanquam certum est omnino, socium laboris fuisse *Thomam Malvendam*, ex ordine Prædicatorum hominem, qui recognovit *Bibliothecam Patrum*, ex editione *Margarini de la Bigne*, præcipuam hujus Indicis partem efficientem.

Res ipsæ, in Brasichellano Indice ad expurgandum notatæ, multifariam testantur censorum lectionem, judicium acutum, rerum ecclesiasticarum peritiam haud vulgarem, studium denique singulare pro servanda auctoritate Romani Pontificis, et universi ipsius cœtus. Rebus sic præstitis, auctores hujus Indicis omnem laudem et existimationem promeruisse, existimares: secus tamen res cessit, et ipse, quem nominavimus, Index Brasichellanus primum a. 1607 suspensus, postea, eodem Bergomi a. 1608, prelis iterum subjecto, denuo suppressus, tandem vero, quum anno 1612. novis typis in Belgio destinaretur, iterum impediri jussus, et, editione tunc temporis jam absoluta (*Antwerpi* seu *Andorfii*) venum dari prohibitus fuit. Accedit, quod inaudito hactenus exemplo hic Index expurgatorius, cum imminutione dignitatis Magistri sacri Palatii, qualis Brasichellanus fuit, quique in titulo libri auctorem solum se profitetur, pro libro, auctoritatem duntaxat hominis privati tenente, habitus, et, quod maxime mirandum, ipse in librorum expurgandorum et prohibendorum Indice collocatus sit. Tomus cæteroque secundus, quem primo adjicere constituerat auctor, statim in herba est suppressus. Verba hæc sunt *Nicolai Ern. Zobelii in Notitia Indicis libr. expurgand. editi per Fr. Joh. Mar. Brasichellen, Altorf. 1745 in 8*, qui aliquot saltim plagularum libellus jam rarius occurrit. In eodem, p. 51. § vii. docemur, Bergomenam editionem Romana multo nitidiorem esse, et ad evolvendum commodiorem. Omnia tamen exemplaria, sæpius ac diversis in locis producta, quum raritatem incredibilem retinerent, adeoque unum alterumve, alicubi repertum, magno satis pretio venderetur, *Ge. Serpilius*,

BRASICHELLEN*, or GUANZELLUS, was assisted in the work by THOMAS MALVENDA, a Dominican ;

sacrorum olim in civitate Ratisbonensi Antistes, Indicem hunc *ibidem*, omisso autem loci indicio, anno 1723. in 8. recudendum curavit sua haud dubie impensa ; quod quidem nulla ratione vituperandum erat, nisi nunciatum in Novis literariis fuisset, inventa esse Romæ complura editionis primæ exemplaria, studiosissime adhuc occultata, quæ nunc Ratisbonam delata æquo comparari pretio possint. Lætum fuit rei initium, nec exigua exemplarium pars avide careque ab eruditis empta, qui librum nunc se possidere rarissimum existimabant. At paullo post adparuit, fucus esse omnibus factum. Novitas enim chartæ typorumque iis innotuit, qui paullo accuratius acutiusque videre solebant. Per plures deinde annos apud hæredes Serpili adservata sunt reliqua hujus editionis exemplaria, donec anno 1742. Joh. Adam. Hesselius, typographus Altorfinus, consilium suum de recudendo Indice Brasichellano singulari schedula evulgaret. Tunc enim illi, ut retraherent ab instituto typographum, eodem quod is proposuerat, pretio editionem Serpilianam eruditis offerebant. Vid. *die Leipz. gel. Zeit.* anno 1743. p. 613. Sed Hesselius, nulla indicii hujus Ratisbonensis ratione habita, exsequutus destinata est anno 1745. quo ipso exhibuit Indicem Brasichellanum, ad formam exempli Bergomeni expressum, neque tamen annum locumve, quo id factum, titulo libri adjecit. Hæredes deinde Serpilianii exemplaria sua venum dedere Joh. Gastelio, bibliopolæ Pedepontino, prope Ratisbonam, qui eodem anno 1745 primam plagulam, solito more, denuo typis describendam curavit, et, omisso *primi Tomi* vocabulo, secundæ editionis elogium subjunxit. Atque hæc de celeberrimo illo Indice, de quo plura notatu digna congressit doctissimus *Zobelius* in laudata supra Notitia. Jam diu ante argumentum hoc pertractaverat GUIL. ERN. TENTZELIUS *Select. Observat. Halensium Tomo 3. p. 133. sq. Observat. vi. de Indice expurgatorio Romano rarissimo, quem Joh. Mar. Brasichellanus, Sacri Palatii Apostolici Magister, primus et hactenus solus edidit, item Tomo iv. Observat. vii. p. 71. ac Tomo v. Observat. x. p. 314 sq.* quibus locis bina Indicis ejusdem Specimina proferuntur.—et CLEMENT, *Biblioth. de livres difficiles à trouver, Tomo v. p. 207 sq. Pp. 1650—3 of BIBLIOTH. Hist. Litt. selecta, cujus primas lineas duxit B. G. Struvius, &c. post variorum emendationes, &c. Joh. Fr. Jugler. 3 vol. 8vo. Jenæ 1754—63.*

* See an entire chapter concerning this author in CATALANI *de Magistro*, &c., l. ii., c. xlix.

that another edition was printed at Bergomi in 1608; that when a fresh one was in preparation at Antwerp in 1612, it was suppressed*; and that finally the author, like Montanus, found his place in a future Index†. The second volume, promised, never appeared. The work, however, became exceedingly scarce, which induced *Serpilius*, a priest of Ratisbon, in 1723, to print an edition so closely resembling the original, as to admit of its being represented as the same. The imposition, however, being detected, another edition was prepared by *Hesselius*, a printer of Altorf, in 1745; and then the remaining copies of the former threw off their mask, and appeared with a new title page, as a second edition.

The original and counterfeit editions of this peculiar work are sufficiently alike to deceive any person who should not examine them in literal juxtaposition: but upon such examination the deception is easily apparent. The one, however,

* The *Bibliotheca* of *Michiels* exhibits a second edition at Bergomi, 1614, 8. No. 2411.

† The authority is not produced; nor can I find it except in a general article in a Decree of the *Cong. Ind.* of March 16, 1621, where are condemned, Indices et Syllabi omnes particulares, extra urbem absque auctoritate et approbatione Sacræ Indicis Congregationis impressi, post Indicem communem Sacri Concilii Tridentini, Pii Quartii auctoritate editum, postea vero a Sixto Quinto auctum, et tandem jussu Clementis Octavi recognitum et publicatum.

may be fairly considered as a fac-simile of the other. One can hardly read without sympathetic pain the complaint and request of FRANCUS, *Nul-
libi præterea Expurgatorius Index Romanus Joan-
nis Mariæ Brasichellani, anxie licet requisitus, com-
paruit, quem si Orthodoxus quidam Eruditus pos-
sidet, vel investigare potest, eum publice hic iterum
iterumque per Deum obtestor, ut novam istius
editionem procuret* *. This appeal has been an-
swered by two editions: and yet how scarce is
the work, in any, even now! There is a copy of
the original edition in the Bodleian Library, Ox-
ford; as likewise of the Belgic, the Portugueze,
the Spanish, and the Neapolitan Indexes, already
described. And this is the place to observe, that
the greater part, if not all these treasures, were
the result of the expedition against Cadiz, in
1596 †, when the library of JEROM OSORIUS, suc-
cessively bishop of Sylvas and of Algarva, fell
into the hands of the Earl of ESSEX, who pre-
sented it to Sir THOMAS BODLEY, founder of one
of the noblest libraries in the world, where it se-
curely rests with all its precious contents, these
not the least among them; and may they never

* Præf. and again p. 134.

† By FRANCUS's reference, p. 10, it should appear, that the best account of this expedition is to be found in *Metereni Hist. Belg.* For this outline of the event and its consequences, I am indebted to the *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, pp. 65, 6.

change their residence ! The first librarian of this invaluable collection, James, justly triumphs in this defeat of the attempt and power of concealing any longer from the eyes of the world these engines of iniquity and darkness, which, under favour of such concealment, had, for many years, been prosecuting their dishonourable work without impediment. It was the system with the parents to deny their progeny. Some instances occurred within the knowledge of the author ; and he adds others. The divines of Bourdeaux, he writes, attempted to discredit the Belgic production ; the Inquisitor of Naples that of Madrid. ‘ And yet,’ he proceeds, ‘ all these books are to be seen, with sundry others, brought together, by God’s especial providence, into the public Library of Oxford ; printed, all of them, beyond the seas, by those that were esteemed true papists. It is too late to deny them,’ &c.*

* *Corruption of Scripture*, &c. pp. 379, 380. The fact is justly represented as an *especial providence*. Pappus, in the preface to his edition of the reprint of the Belgic Index by Junius, refers the discovery of that concealed document by the latter to the same divine direction of events. Junius himself, as may be seen by the extract from his preface, copied in this work, pp. 52, 3, mentions his detection of the knavery at Lyons, in the case of an edition of Ambrose, then in hand, as a singular providence of God.

CHAPTER IV.

SPANISH Index Prohibitory and *Expurgatory* 1612—Reprint in 1619—MS. notice in a copy of the original edition in the Bodleian Library—POLISH Index 1617—Decreta from 1601 to 1637—PORTUGUEZE Index Prohibitory and *Expurgatory* 1624—Index by Dr. Thomas James 1627—SPANISH Index, Prohibitory and *Expurgatory* 1632—Elenchus Capi-ferrei 1632, 1635, 1640—SPANISH Index Prohibitory and *Expurgatory* 1640, 1662, 1666—Reprint in 1667, with additional Decreta—ROMAN Indexes, 1664, and 1665—Pascal—GALLICAN Arret of 1685, and Censures of Jesuitic Morality and Theology—Constitutiones et Decreta Apostolica, 1680—ROMAN Indexes 1670, et seq.—Fenelon—SPANISH Index, Prohibitory and *Expurgatory* 1707, and Suplemento 1739—BELGIC Index of Hannot 1714—ROMAN 1716, 1717—BOHEMIAN 1726 and 1729.

THE exterminating principle, as books are concerned, found a fruitful soil in Spain ; as her next Index abundantly proves, being a bulky folio, with the following title—INDEX LIBRORUM PROHIBITORUM ET EXPURGATORUM ILL^{mi}. ac R^{mi}. D. D. Bernardi de SANDOVAL et ROXAS S. R. E. Presb. Cardin. Tit. S. Anastasiae Archiepisc. Toletani Hispaniarum Primatis Majoris Castellae Cancellarii Generalis Inquisitoris Regii Status Consiliarii, &c. Auctoritate et Jussu editus. De Consilio Supremi Senatus Stæ Generalis Inquisitionis Hispaniarum, fol. pp. 102 and 739. The mandate of the editor is dated, Madrid, Dec. 12,

1612. The Appendix has forty-two numbered pages, and an Additio one folio. The Colophon: *Matriti. Excudebat Ludovicus Sancius, Typographus Regius, 1614. Peignot adds another edition, Panormi, 1628, in fol. Of the original edition in 1612 there are copies both in the Bodleian and the British Museum: I am now in possession of one myself. A reprint of it was given by Turretin, Professor of Divinity at Geneva, adding to the title above—*Juxta Exemplar excusum Madriti. Apud Ludovicum Sanchez Typographum Regium, Anno MD.CXII. cum appendice anni MD.CXIV. Auctus B. TURRET. Præfatione et Hispanic. Decret. Latina Versione.**

Indicis huic libro nomen præfigitur apte:
Nam proprio Sorices Indicio pereunt*.

Genevæ. Sumptibus Jacobi Crispini. Anno MDCXIX. In large 8vo. pp. 119 and 880, with more than fifty unnumbered †. The work commences with a Dedication to FREDERIC V. Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and a Preface to the Reader, by the Editor: the latter distinguished by the sound and forcible argument which might

* The allusion is to a line in Terence, *Eunuch. Act. v. Scen. vii. l. ult.*
Egomet meo indicio, miser, quasi sorex, hodie perii.

† This reprint appeared with a new title-page of the date 1620, and without the additional matter of the editor. A copy was in the possession of Messrs. Howell and Stewart, in 1827, and is now in the Bodleian Library.

be expected from the writer. Then follows, which belongs to the original, and is of some moment, the *Brief* of PAUL V. which, lamenting the increase of the licences for reading heretical books*,

* As the reader may be curious to see the form of such Licences, I subjoin one from Bishop BURNET's *Hist. of the Reformation*, extracted by him from *Regist. Tonst.* fol. 138, vol. i. *Records, Book i.* vi. Cuthbertus permissione divina London. Episcopus Clarissimo et Egregio Viro Domino Thomæ More fratri et amico Charissimo Salutem in Domino et Benedict. Quia nuper, postquam Ecclesia Dei per Germaniam ab hæreticis infestata est, juncti sunt nonnulli iniquitatis Filii, qui veterem et damnatam hæresim Wycliffianam et Lutheranam, etiam hæresis Wycliffianæ alumni transferebant in nostratam vernaculam linguam corruptissimis quibuscunque eorum opusculis, atque illis ipsis magna copia impressis, in hanc nostram Regionem inducere conantur; quam sane pestilentissimis dogmatibus Catholicæ fidei veritati repugnantibus maculare atque inficere magnis conatibus moluntur. Magnopere igitur verendum est ne Catholica veritas in totum periclitetur nisi boni et eruditi viri malignitati tam prædictorum¹ hominum strenue occurrant; id quod nulla ratione melius et aptius fieri poterit, quam si in lingua Catholica veritas in totum expugnans hæc insana dogmata simul etiam ipsissima prodeat in lucem. Quo fiet ut sacrarum literarum imperiti homines in manus sumentes novos istos Hæreticos Libros, atque una etiam Catholicos ipsos refellentes, vel ipsi per se verum discernere, vel ab aliis quorum perspicacius est judicium recte admoneri et doceri possint: Et quia tu, Frater Clarissime, in lingua nostra vernacula, sicut etiam in Latina, Demosthenem quendam præstare potes, et Catholicæ veritatis assertor acerrimus in omni congressu esse soles, melius subcisivas horas, si quas tuis occupationibus suffurari potes, collocare nunquam poteris, quam in nostrate lingua aliqua edas quæ simplicibus et ideotis hominibus subdolum hæreticorum malignitatem aperiant, ac contra tam impios ecclesiæ supplantatores reddant eos instructiores: habes ad id exemplum quod imiteris præclarissimum, illustrissimi Domini nostri Regis Henrici octavi, qui sacramenta Ecclesiæ contra Lutherum totis viribus ea subvertentem asserere aggressus, immortale nomen Defensoris Ecclesiæ in omne ævum promeruit.

¹ Perditorum?

and the mischiefs likely to follow, very formally, and *motu proprio*, withdraws and annuls them all;

Et ne Andabatarum more cum ejusmodi larvis lucteris, ignorans ipse quod oppugnes, mitto ad te insanas in nostrate lingua istorum nœnias, atque una etiam nonnullos Lutheri Libros ex quibus hæc opinionum monstra prodierunt. Quibus abs te diligenter perlectis, facilius intelligas quibus latibulis tortuosi serpentes sese condant, quibusque anfractibus elabi deprehensi studeant. Magni enim ad victoriam momenti est hostium Consilia explorata habere, et quid sentiant quove tendant penitus nosse: nam si convellere pares quæ isti se non sensisse dicent, in totum perdas operam. Macte igitur virtute, tam sanctum opus aggredere, quo et Ecclesiæ Dei prosis, et tibi immortale nomen atque æternam in cœlis gloriam pares: quod ut facias atque Dei Ecclesiam tuo patrocínio munias, magnopere in Domino obsecramus, atque ad illum finem ejusmodi libros et retinendi et legendi facultatem atque licentiam impertimur et concedimus. Dat. 7 die Martii, Anno 1527 et nostræ Cons. sexto. I am tempted to add a reference to another licence exhibited by the pious convert from Romanism, Dr. Andrew Sall, who in order to crush a part of the calumny with which it is the regular process to assail such individuals, in the preface to his valuable and unanswerable work, *True Catholic and Apostolic Faith maintained in the Church of England*, copies the licence conferred upon him by the Inquisitor General of Spain, when he was Rector of the Irish College of Salamanca, and Reader in it of the Chair of Controversies against Heretics. It is given both in the original and in English. It was for a year, and the purport of it was, a liberty to 'keep and read prohibited books, for the purpose of writing, printing, or publishing any books or treatises,' charging him 'that if he find in any book, antient or modern, any censurable proposition, not comprehended in the expurgatory, complying with his duty, he shall advertise and give notice of it to his Grace,' &c. The date is June 15, 1652. The writer adds, 'And at the bottom of the leaf on the left hand corner, are written these words, *assentada a fol. 138*, which is to say, set down p. 138. I suppose of the book where Licences given were enrolled, to prevent the using of supposititious ones.' These instruments were renewed each of the three years that the author retained his office. At p. 128 of the first part of his work he relates, that with the second graut came a complaint, that he had announced no censurable propositions. He excuses himself by saying, that he could meet with no Protestant books, but had sent a list of

forbidding the reading, possession, or sale of the prohibited books, under the severest penalties ; and, under the same, commanding discovery, in all such cases of the offence as may be known, and, if necessary, by an appeal to the secular arm. There is something tremendously resolute in the whole style of this document in the original. The date is Jan. 26, 1612. It is followed by a *Mandato* of the Inquisitor-General, in Spanish, and of a character not unworthy of its predecessor. It states, as the cause of the present Index, the great influx of heretical books by modern authors, who, therefore, have not been noticed in preceding Indexes ; and enforces all the commands of the pope by the additional authority of the inquisitor. Madrid, Dec. 16, 1612. The Latin *Notice* to the reader states, that three hundred authors more than formerly appeared are now subjected to expurgation, and that more, if necessity require, will follow. It adds a pressing invitation to private individuals of piety and learning to give their assistance to so laudable a work, and assures them, that their labour in that respect will lay the holy office under

some perverse doctrines he saw in books approved, and in much use among themselves, particularly in Leander de *Murcia's* Commentaries on Esther, in which one title is, *Etiam Deus Op. Max. proposita ante oculos morte in meliora contendat.* 'The second,' he adds, 'runs thus, *Etiam demon morte ante oculos constituta contendit in meliora.*' This name appears in no Index.

obligation to them, and render them most acceptable to the abundant Rewarder of all good. The Thirteen *Reglas Generales* do not agree, except very loosely, with the Fourteen of the Prohibitory Index of 1583. Their quality may easily and justly be anticipated from the known heterodoxy, ignorance, bigotry, and intolerance of the source from which they flow; and almost any abridgment would be as tiresome as needless. The *Mandatos* which follow have some peculiarities worth notice. The first to *Booksellers*, in case of offence against the preceding laws, denounces, for the first, suspension of office and loss of the offender's trade for two years, banishment twelve miles from the town where he exercised his trade, and a fine of 1200 ducats: for the second offence, double, and other punishments at the will of the inquisitor; and, with other things, to crown the whole, ignorance is not to be admitted as an excuse. In the next mandate, to *Importers* of books, the same severity is extended, because they ought to know better. The third, to *Printers*, enjoins their adding *repurgatus* and *permissus* to books thus purified and reprinted. The *Admonition* of the Three Classes into which the Index is divided is of little moment, those divisions being the same in substance as are found in the Tridentine Index.

The first, or Prohibitory, Index, presents nothing

to detain us: but the second, the Expurgatory, is full of curiosities; and as this is the first on the *extended* scale, which was afterwards followed in Spain, there will, at least, be a propriety in instituting a rather minute examination of its contents. Not the least remarkable, and therefore it shall be mentioned first, is the article GREGORII CAPUC. *Enchirid. Eccles.* This, it will be remembered, is the Neapolitan Index, which, in a passage already adduced, ventured to suggest, that the Spanish Index Expurg. might be a forgery. The author has his reward—Titul. *Libri corrigendi*, fol. 218. pag. 1. §. *Finaliter summopere cave*, dele ab initio § usque ad § *Ráymundus Lullus*, exclus. This is the third of the Phalarises or Adonibezeks, who have suffered what they inflicted. Most of the articles in Brasichellen's Index are transferred to this; and the reader will be almost amused to observe the names of *H. Stephens* and *John Scapula*. *J. A. Thuanus*, or *de Thou**, naturally enough finds a place

* In the last magnificent edition, London, 1733, of this invaluable author, the passages condemned by this Index are given at length; and, in the first set of pages, in vol. vii., extend from p. 63 to 137. The condemnations at Rome, particularly the private one of Caracioli, occupy from the beginning of the volume to the first of the above-mentioned pages. The treatment of this eminent historian by the Spanish censors is peculiar. Buckley, his last editor, at the close of the account given above, mentions it as remarkable, that the defective edition of 1606, which was criticised in the Index before us, is the only one noticed in the next Index of

here ; and so does *Isaac Casaubon*. But EMANUEL SA, freely censured in the Roman Index, is here very lightly corrected and excused. *Alia autem omittuntur, quæ neque ad Sancti Officii iudicium spectare, neque gravem offensionem habere videntur*. The Spanish and Roman Indexes, indeed, often clash ; and the former has been reprehended by Roman writers for its presumption *. Under *Thom. Cajetan* we have an instructive specimen of the alteration which these censors allow themselves to make in authors, by supposing, or rather asserting, a *fraus hæreticorum* †. Here are two sentences, in a work strictly Roman, and printed at Antwerp, altered to a directly opposite meaning, without any other proof of fraud than their own affirmation ‡. What author is safe, if such

1640 ; although there were complete editions of the *History*, consisting of one hundred and thirty-eight chapters, published in 1620, and again in 1630. He mistakes indeed, in reckoning the reprint of 1667 as another Spanish Index : but he might have cited the Index of 1707, to which we may add that of 1747, as having contented itself with the bare transcript of the first censure of the Index now under review, which extends only to the first eighty books of Thuanus. Was this escape the result of negligence ; or may we infer, that the inquisition of Spain sees nothing to condemn in the last fifty-eight chapters ?

* CATALANI, *de Secretario S. Cong. Indicis*, l. i. c. ix. § v.—vii.

† It will be remembered, that, in the *Instructio* of CLEMENS VIII. *fraus hæreticorum* was most fraudulently allowed as a ground of alteration or correction.

‡ The whole article in the original is so superlatively curious and characteristic, that the pleasure of seeing it should not be denied to the reader, who may not have access to the book.

liberties are allowed? Several of the articles in this Index are instances of the artful system of attacking Indexes instead of the authors themselves. They wished to escape the accusation and odium of impugning the Fathers of the Church, and yet could not tolerate some of the doctrines, manifestly declared in writings which they profess to venerate. They imagined they had found a receipt for that purpose; and, as the instances in this class of inquisitorial criticism will, perhaps, as clearly as any other, if not more so,

In THOMÆ CAIETANI Commentariis in D. Thomam errores, qui fraude hæreticorum irrepserunt.

Ex Commentariis Thomæ à Vio Caietani in 22. D. Thomæ Antwerpiae. Apud viduam et hæredes Joann. Stetsii, 1567.

Quæstione 122, art. 4, vers. Adhoc dicitur, quod corporalia opera, pag. 418, col. 2, post illud, deferre crucem et hujusmodi, dele, sed hæc sunt omnino illicita, et non amplectenda, quia sunt pars mali cultus, quæ verba fraude hæreticorum irrepserunt; cum vera Auctoris lectio sit, Et hæc sunt omnino licita et amplectenda quia sunt pars divini cultus.

Et paulo inferius, post illud, *ad Missam, Vesperas, dele, Et hæc quoque proculdubio sunt omnino illicita et impia, quæ similiter verba fraude hæreticorum depravata sunt, horum verborum loco, Et hæc quoque proculdubio sunt omnino licita et sancta.*

Et cave, si quid simile invenias; timeri enim potest eosdem hæreticos alia hujusmodi supposuisse.

With respect to a simple negative, the presence or absence of which will be allowed to make some little difference in the meaning of a passage, the omission is easy and frequent; not so much so the insertion. In the negative syllable in compound words the mistake either way is still less probable. But what are we to think of the conversion of *mali* into *divini*, and of *impia* into *sancta*? A *fraus*, indeed, will account for all: the only question is, on which side it lies.

develope the character and *animus* of the critics and their work, we will confine *our* criticism chiefly to that department. We commence with the condemned items in the Indexes of three different editions of S. ATHANASIUS'S works, p. 35*.

Adorari solius Dei esse—Imagines tollendas esse, testimonia—Angeli, non sunt adorandi. Non petendum quid ab eis—Corpus Christi cibus non corporalis, sed spiritualis—Creatura omnis] dele, nulla adoranda, nulla invocanda—Idolatria est Deum corporalibus, &c.—Justificatio fit per fidem—Sancti non sunt adorandi, non sunt invocandi—Scriptura sacra sufficit ad veritatis, &c. ; ita clara est, ut quisque, &c. ; etiam plebi, et magistratibus cognoscendæ. Additionally, in another of the Indexes of this father, (not to repeat what have just, for substance, been exhibited,) are marked for expunction, *Canonici libri soli legendi, et cur?—Canonici libri soli sunt fontes salutare, et pietatis scholæ. Soli sunt fidei anchoræ, et fulcimenta. Sufficiens ad cognitionem Dei. Christus etiam.] dele, justificat nos gratia sua, non ex operibus—Gratia Christi salvat nos per fidem, non per bona opera—Justitia Christi imputatur nobis.* There is a rich harvest of condemned orthodoxy in the castigated Indexes of the *Annotations* upon S. AUGUSTINUS

* The references are to the original edition,

and an edition of the father himself, beginning at p. 39. I need only refer to the words *Adorare* ; *Gratia* ; *Justitia* ; and their cognates, for a repetition of what has already been presented. But the following sentences deserve being given at length: Eucharistia] dele, *Quæ de carne sua manducanda Christus proposuit, spiritualiter sunt intelligenda—Merita*] dele, *Contra meritum humanum, pro gratia, abundantè disputatum*, with several other articles under that word—*Imaginum usus prohibitus*, and much more to the same purpose. At p. 79, is a selection from an Index to a Bible, taken chiefly, as our critics write, from the Index of R. Stephen's Bible, which will be noticed in a future portion of this work. ERASMUS is an inveterate offender in the eyes of inquisitorial orthodoxy. See, in the course of his flagellation, which consists of the strokes of about eighty folio pages from the 209th, particularly pp. 264, 282—5 ; and there observe the critical words, *Adorare* ; *Fides* ; *Gratia* ; *Imagines* ; *Justus* ; &c. The marginal notes and index of EPIPHANIUS come under review at p. 444, and the short selection discovers due anxiety for the honour and prevalence of creature-worship ; image-worship ; saint-worship. An Index of an edition of D. CHRYSOSTOM supplies a plentiful gleanings, at pp. 556—8. But neither he, nor his friends for him, are for a

moment to suppose, that the saint suffers any of the stripes which are inflicted upon his officious editors, who innocently imagined they were only forwarding the object of their pious original, in directing the reader to the most important passages of his works, by shortly expressing his sense, or using his own words, in an alphabetic arrangement. Little did they think at the time, either that any offence was committed, or that they should come in their author's stead, when they simply informed their readers, that St. Chrysostom had told them, that *sins were to be confessed to God, not to man ; that faith alone justifies ; that grace is excluded if we are saved by works ; that images are not to be adored ; that nothing is to be asserted without the authority of scripture, which is to be read by all, and to all who are willing to learn is intelligible ; and, finally, that after this life nothing can assist or deliver.* The last article in the order of the book and the letters concerns a very remarkable work, for its bulk, if for nothing else. It is *Theatrum Vitæ Humanæ* THEODORI ZUINGERI, and consists of twenty-nine volumes, the last page numbered being 4365—of course carried on from the beginning. A note is prescribed by the inquisitorial censors, after the inscription of the work, to this effect:—‘ Since this work is in a great degree collected from the

writings of condemned authors, it is to be read with caution by all, and their names are never to be cited or referred to publicly or honourably; for which reason, to guard against error, as often as the name of any author occurs, of whose condemnation the reader doubts, he must have recourse to authors of the first class.' This intimation will be useful to us. The selected condemnatory list from the Index of this fruitful writer upon all subjects, pp. 719—721, is remarkable for an assemblage of the names of popes, to whom are attached epithets, and descriptions, not always the most honourable. This, in fact, is a very tender place in the pontifical system; and ingenuity, rising with the emergency, has settled the point, that no attainment of vice, and of heresy, (resolvable into hypocrisy, and therefore vice only,) is of force sufficient to bar the claim to doctrinal infallibility in matters of faith and morals. The subject was the finest possible for such an experiment; for, degraded as has been the character of the greater part of secular rulers, it would be hard, among them, to find a commensurate race, who should equal in profligacy and impiety of all descriptions the self denominated heads of Christendom, the successors of St. Peter, the vicars of Christ, the vicegerents of God, for about a millennium from the fifth or sixth century*.

* It is worth observing, that even *Joannes de la Casa, Poeta obscænus*,

It must have struck any examiner of this Index Expurgatorius that the works which occupy this larger portion are, in a great measure, of a secular description. But it will be recollected, that the more regular bodies of theologic heresy were disposed of, by the mass, in the *prohibitory* part of the volume. And to this our Censors kindly refer all their *doubting* readers, as we have just seen. The former were works, likewise, with which scholars at least could not well, or patiently, dispense ; and it was therefore necessary to make them as harmless as possible.

But there is another striking circumstance in the portions which have particularly been adduced. In all the lists selected from the Indexes of books, there is not a single *reference* to the place of the author preserved, as it doubtless stands in the original, by page, or volume and page, or other division. This, it may be said, would have been endless, and likewise useless. The truth of the assertion is not very apparent. Allowing the satisfaction of heretics, as hopeless, to be set aside ; had the ultra-orthodox guardians of the Roman and Spanish faith no concern for their own people ? Might not some of these be as *inquisitive*, and for good reasons, as the inquisitors themselves ? Might

could not be allowed to stand, although our *Spanish* censors could have no *national* feelings connected with that Italian.

they not wish to have their own conviction of the accuracy of their guides confirmed, and themselves, by their own knowledge, to be qualified, either to defend themselves, or to confound, perhaps convert, heretical opposers? For suppose them, which is possible, to be committed in a discussion with an individual of this character, who, in all probability, will have the hardihood to assert that the sentences condemned in the Index are the *ipsissima verba*, or necessary sense, of the author referred to in the Index, what will they have to say in reply? If they attempt to silence their opponent by adducing the condemnation of the Expurgators as definitive, respecting the fidelity of the Index, do they not, or ought they not, to know, that heretics in general are so lost to reason and shame, that they pay no respect whatever to the simple affirmation of an inquisitor, or even of the pope himself? With what conscience, then, could these instructors leave their disciples in such a hopeless and uncomfortable dilemma? But, perhaps, after all, they had good reasons*.

* I might have saved myself some trouble, and better instructed and pleased my reader, had I transcribed, as instances of the censures in the Index under examination, a large portion of an elaborate and able Review of this work in the PROTESTANT GUARDIAN, vol. i., pp. 118—122, 147—154, 184—192, for the years 1827 and 1828. I cannot, however, deny myself the pleasure of communicating two extracts, where

There is an Appendix called *Prima*, although there is none besides, which at the end bears the

the reviewer is criticizing the very Index before us. The first is 'a specimen of treating an orthodox ignoramus, who, though full of sound doctrine, was apt to go astray in matters of fact.' 'We,' say the reviewers, 'have never been privileged to see the "Consideraciones sobre los Evangelios de la Quaresime" of F. HERNANDO DE SANTIAGO; and as the greater part of the five folio pages devoted to the revision of his work are occupied in directing that certain passages, pointed out by their beginning and end, shall be expunged, we do not gain much acquaintance with the writer, or learn what nine-tenths of his blunders were. But it is very curious to see how the careful censor follows to set him right. We could fancy that we saw him with the book in his hand, and heard him say, "Not *Abimelech*, my good brother; to be sure, the names are much alike, though the persons were quite different—you mean *Melchisedek*; and here, too, where you speak of *Pelagians*, you mean *Socinians*; and, just lend me your pencil, I will alter *Persia* into *Assyria*, and *Anna*, the sister of Moses, into *Miriam*, and *Tamar*, his sister, into *Dinah*; and, dear me! it is well I happened to look here—instead of saying *books of chivalry*, you should say, *books of the Maccabees*.'" Pp. 149, 150. The other extract is longer; and, as relating to a subject interesting in itself, and not made very prominent in the present work, independently of its intrinsic merit, it will be read with pleasure by the inquirer into Papal curiosities.

'If, however, the petty jealousy of the Church of Rome was manifested in such expurgations as these, a still more despicable fear and meanness was shewn in the careful erasure not only of every thing complimentary or civil to Protestants, but even of their very names, when mentioned in the works of either Protestants or Roman Catholics. We could fill page after page with such expurgations, and perhaps it would not be too much to say, that the single Index, to which we have more particularly alluded, contains enough on this one point to form a moderate volume. Let the following, taken at random from an infinite multitude, serve as a specimen. From Gesner's *Historiæ Animalium*: "In Indice Auctorum cui titulus est *Clarorum virorum deque nobis in hoc opere, &c.* In ipso titulo dele *clarorum et que*, Deinde ibi *Achilles Pyrminius Gasserus, &c.* dele *præstantissimus, Georgius Fabricius, &c.* dele *illustris, Gulielmus Turnerus, &c.* dele *eximius, Hieronymus Massarius, &c.* dele *præclarus, Huldricus Hugualdus, &c.* dele

date of 1614. It is preceded by a mandate of the same inquisitorial editor, breathing the same

doctissimus, Joan. Caius Anglus, &c. dele clarissimus, Joan. Hospinianus, &c. dele disertissimus, Joan. Parckhurstus, &c. dele Theologus et elegantissimus, Joan. Ribittus, &c. dele sacrarum literarum professor fidellissimus, Petrus Stuibius, &c. dele verbi minister et diaconis vigilantissimus, Theodorus Beza, &c. dele totum §.—“Præterea expurgantur quatuor epigrammata, tria priora Joannis Parkhursti, et quartum Philologi cujusdam, quæ sunt in laudem operis et auctoris.” With regard to the Bibliotheca of the same author, the direction is “Ex Indice Auctorum qui operi præfigitur, expurgantur nomina Hæresiarcharum, videlicet, &c. ;” then follows a list of seventeen names, including Beza, Bucer, Calvin, Huss, Luther, Melancthon, &c. The feeling which dictated this mode of proceeding is almost avowed in the notice of Zuinger’s *Theatrum Vitæ Humanæ*, where the reader is informed that the work is chiefly a compilation from the writings of those who were heretics, “whose names ought by no means to be publicly mentioned with respect.” This will account for such expurgations as the following, of which there are hundreds, but we take these at random :—“*Teste Dn. Oldendorssio dele Dn. et quia sæpius hic autor (Spiegelius), citans Oldendorssium in hoc opere, præmittit ei, Dn. delendum ubique elogium istud honoris Dn.*” “*dele clarissimi et substitue auctoris damnati,*” “*Leunclavius feliciter emendavit, dele feliciter.*” Hundreds, we say, of such passages might be quoted, and indeed, in many cases, it is the chief business of the censor to weed out these obnoxious expressions. For instance, twenty-five erasures are directed in the *Glossarium Græco-barbarum* of Meursius, of which fifteen at least (for it does not clearly appear what some are) consist merely in expunging “V. C., eruditus,” and the like, from before the names of Junius and other learned men. Nay, so far was it from being lawful to call a Protestant learned or illustrious, that it was forbidden even to call the persons pretending to holy orders *theologians*. We say nothing of the English “Pseudoepiscopi,” who figure in the prohibitory Index¹, because it is obvious that the Church of Rome always did

* ¹ ‘Our countrymen make a very respectable appearance in the Prohibitory Index, but it might not always occur to a hasty reader that he had fallen in with an old friend. “Parcharus,” for instance, might have passed for some heretical Monk, if he had not had the addition of “Pseudo archiepiscopus Cantuariensis.” As to “Reginaldus PERO K. Anglus,” we are at no loss to be sure, because one naturally expects to find honourable

threatenings as usual, and which, where there is power, are formidable. It is dated Aug. 22, 1614. Explanations of two of the Rules close

and always must look upon our Bishops as usurping laymen ; but surely there would have been no concession, and not too much civility, in allowing that Protestant divines were *theologians*. Yet this privilege is not allowed to De Thou, whose ninth book requires many erasures of this sort. Theologus, qui ad concilium, pro "*Theologis scribe iis. Et ibi decrevisse viros bonos mittere, dele bonos.*" But not to multiply instances of this petty criticism, we content ourselves with stating that the jealous critic actually follows the wandering Jew of Tudela through all his rambles (though the translation of his narrative was published by no less a person than the profoundly orthodox expurgator B. A. Montanus), in order to blot out every kind word which poor Benjamin had uttered respecting his nation, "*filius Jonæ probandæ memoriæ, dele probandæ memoriæ,*" "*Synagoga sacra, dele vocem sacra,*" "*Filii Haziddai felicitis memoriæ, dele felicitis memoriæ,*" and so on through a folio page.

mention of Bishop Peacock, and some notice of those works which he could not save (when he scarcely saved himself) from the flames. "*PIL KINTONIUS,*" though it looks rather odd, is intelligible; especially with the addition of "*Pseudoepiscopus Dunelmensis,*" which is near enough to what is right to shew that he not only was a sham Bishop, but that he presided over a See which the Church of Rome had no reason to love, a See which has lately exchanged BARRINGTON for VAN MILDERT, and which harbours such heretics as PHILLPOTS, FABER, and TOWNSEND; men whose writings plainly shew the necessity of Prohibitory Indexes, as the only weapons by which they can be successfully met. "*Sandes Wigorniensis*" may be forgiven, but the condemnation of "*Yonellus*" would scarcely have been sufficient to prevent the reading of Jewel's Apology, if "*vel Juellus Anglus*" had not been added.

It is, however, somewhat curious that all these and many more Englishmen are not only in the *prohibitory*, as distinguished from the *expurgatory* Index, but that they are all contained in the *first* class of that Index; that is to say, among those authors whose works, past, present, and future—"*opera edita et edenda*"—are absolutely prohibited. The second class consists of specific works by known authors; and the third, of books whose authors are unknown. The first class is, of course, satisfied with mentioning the name of the author, but the two latter condemn a multitude of Spanish, Portuguese, French, Flemish, and German books; yet, the only English work which we have observed in either of them (and we recollect not one in the expurgatory part of this Index) is the version of Sternhold and Hopkins; at least we suppose that to be meant by "*Psalmes of David in Enghelsche metre.*" Pp. 152, 3.

the prefatory part of the Appendix. The gratitude due from the really Christian world to those who, like the excellent and learned *Turretin*, in the work, or rather edition of the work, which we are now dismissing, drag these productions of degraded Rome from their dens of darkness, and expose them to eyes which can see their deformities, is in exact proportion to the mortification, felt and expressed, on such occasions, by their authors and patrons.

From an inspection of the copy of the original edition of this Index in the Bodleian Library, I am enabled to present to the reader some autographic notes on a blank fly-leaf at the beginning of that copy, which it would be injustice to withhold.

‘ Sept. 2, 1698.

‘ Dr. Wallis told me, that once a Popish Priest came to this Library, when Dr. Barlow (afterwards Bp. of Lincoln) was Library-Keeper. They chanced to have some talk together about Religion, and so of the Indices Expurgatorii, and the said Priest flatly denied that ever any Index Expurgatorius was printed at *Madrid*, but that the Calvinists of *Geneva* had fathered that lye upon them, and had counterfeited such an Edition. Dr. Barlow thereupon shewed him this book, which was undoubtedly printed at *Madrid*, and

had the *Names of several of the Inquisitors written in it, who owned it from time to time, before it came hither.* Upon which the Priest, being convicted, would fain have bought this book of the Doctor, and proffered whatever he would ask for it, with an intent to destroy it: but could not corrupt the Doctor.

‘Dr. Wallis afterwards made suit to the Curators, that this book might be removed into a securer place, for fear of afterclaps, and the book was accordingly removed from among the *Libri Theol.* in fol., where it was claimed, to the *Th.* in 4to, where I now found it: but I do not find herein such Ample Testimonys of several Inquisitors owning it, tho I perceive what is written on the back-side of the Title-Page, and at the bottom of the page, about 24 leaves from the end; and am therefore affraid that some ill person has torn them from the end, where they might have been written upon the spare leaves.

‘N. B. The very Letter shews that the book was printed in Spain: consider the marks of the Paper.

‘H. WANLEY.

‘I do very well remember that Dr. Barlow (since Bishop of Lincoln), when he was Library-Keeper at Oxford, did tell me the story above-

mentioned; and that I did advise the removal of the Book, which I do believe to be this individual Book. There is [are] now the names of two Inquisitors intimated in the back-side of the title-page, to whom (it seems) it had successively belonged. But I do well remember, that formerly there were divers others, which I guess to have been in the last leaf which hath been torn out, as appears by some part of it now remaining.

‘Ita testor Joh. Wallis, Sept. 15, 1701.’

There is an additional MS. note, with date Aug. 22, 1707, and signed ‘Tho. Hearne,’ which merely asserts a prior Index Expurgatorius, printed at Madrid. At the close of these autographs is a reference to ‘Hearne’s MS. Collections, 1705, vol. i., p. 198.’

Peignot, in the work and place so often referred to, gives the following. INDEX *librorum prohibitorum: cum regulis, &c. et cum adjecta instructione, de emendandis imprimendisque libris et de exequenda prohibitione. Nunc in hac editione congregationis cardinalium edictis aliquot, et librorum nuper scandalose evulgatorum descriptione auctus.* Cracoviæ, 1617, in 12. He adds, *Cet opusculum est assez rare.* It appeared under the auspices of MARTIN SZYSKOWSKI, bishop of Cracow. There had been two previous editions; one

by BERNH. MACIEIOWSKI, bishop of Cracow, the other by GR. ZAMOYSKI, bishop of Chelmin*.

We now come to a work, of the date of 1624 (although that date must be carried forward, conformably to the date of the Index which it accompanies, as will appear), which might have been considered with Clemens VIII.'s smaller edition of the Index of 1596, as the pages are continued from the former, and they are perhaps invariably bound together, as was the evident intention. It is, however, a separate and later work; but one of some interest, as the first of its kind. *Librorum post Indicem Clementis VIII. prohibitorum DECRETA OMNIA hactenus edita.* Romæ, Ex Typographia Rev. Cam. Apost. 1624. in 8vo. Each Decree, emanating from the different authorities, is here given separately and at length, with all its formality; and affords a practical evidence of the sources whence the prohibitions and criticisms in the Indexes originate. We have Edicts of the *Congregation of the Index*, Decrees of the *Pope*, Edicts of the *Master of the Sacred Palace*, Edicts of the *Inquisition*. Some, or all, of these decrees may have been printed and dispersed

* STRUVII *Biblioth.* JUGLER, p. 1658. Gregory XV. found it expedient in 1622, Dec. 30, to issue a Bull to this effect: *Revocatio quarumcumque licentiarum legendi, et habendi quomodolibet libros quibuscumque personis ab omnibus, etiam Romanis Pontificibus, concessarum.* His immediate successor, we shall find, felt himself under the same necessity. *Bull. Mag.*

singly, as is now the custom; but there is no evidence, within the knowledge of the writer, that any number of them were before collected and published together. They extend from the year 1601 to 1629; the Index, of which they are meant to be the sequel, and which will come to be considered in its place, bearing the date of 1632. In the edition of 1640, which is called the second, they extend to the year 1637.

The Master of the Sacred Palace, in the first decrees issued by that officer, is the celebrated Brasichellen, whose more active efforts in the cause sustained the rebuff which has already been mentioned, and is contained in one of these very decrees. The service of Romanism is not always an easy one. There are four decrees in particular, from No. VIII. to XI., issued by the Master of the Sacred Palace, Lud. Ystella, in the years 1609 and 1610, which are remarkable, as being the subject of severe animadversion by the estimable and celebrated Fra Paolo Sarpi. In his *Discorso* concerning the inquisition in Venice, a work of which the edition in my hands, and bearing date 1639, professes to have been derived from a purer original than that printed for the first time in the year immediately preceding; he complains of an attempt on the part of the papacy to undermine and violate the concordat

made in the year 1596, between the republic and that power, which, with other things, stipulated that no other Index should be allowed than the Clementine one, by introducing, and imposing as far as possible, particularly by means of confessors, new decrees, year after year, which were to be *in force in all cities, territories, and places, of whatsoever kingdom, nation, and people, and to have authority, in whatsoever way, even without publication, the edicts should be known.* These are the express terms in the two last of the above-mentioned decrees; and the intrepid defender of the secular authority of his country acted as became him in resisting so shameless an encroachment. The whole of the discussion is honourable to the writer, and not without instruction to the present generation*.

* It is a commentary on the XXIXth *Capitolo*, and occurs p. 167. The agents of Rome seem to have altered and abated their tone after the Decrees above specified. It may just be observed, that Brasichellen's Index is noticed by the author, p. 173.

To 'A Manifestation of the Motives whereupon the most Rev. Father MARCUS ANTONIUS *de Dominis*, Abp. of Spalato, &c., undertook his departure thence,' in English, is subjoined the Decree (both in Latin and English) which condemns, not only that work, but another announced one likewise, *De Rep. Ecclesiast.* (miscalling it *Christiana*) when it should appear. There follows 'A parcell of Observations upon some considerable points in this Decree,' distinguished by much pungency. On its anticipatory character it is remarked—'Besides this example,' (one just given,) 'they have also a book case for it. *Titius* resolving to contradict and bear down *Sempronius* in a public assembly, and being overtaken with a

But perhaps as remarkable an article, in its consequences, as any, is that contained in the Decree of April 26, 1628. *Elucidarium Deiparæ Auctore* JOANNE BAPTISTA POZA. The choleric Spaniard replied in a caustic Apology, in which he particularly charges *Brasichellen* with censuring the Fathers, and condemning unjustly a fellow-countryman, *Emanuel Sa.* This rebellious conduct was punished by a condemnation of all his works by another Decree, Sept. 9, 1632. The Spanish Index of 1640, however, took his part against the Roman, and quietly, in a *Supplement*, reversed the unjust decree.

The reader is now to pay a second visit to *Portugal*; and he will find that the interval has not been unimproved. The press in Lisbon will testify quite as much diligence in the Inquisitor-General of Portugal as in him of Spain. In 1624 she gave birth to a portly folio of more than one thousand pages. The title-page, which is engraved, is ornamented in a manner Romanistically imposing. In the centre of the top is the arms of the Inquisition—a cross between an olive-branch and a sword. On each side are two ill-favoured

nap, was suddenly awaked, and told in merriment, that *Sempronius* had newly ended a large speech fraught with arguments against him. Titius instantly starts up, and loudly saith—Worthy auditors, I deny all that *Sempronius* hath now said. Forthwith being told, that *Sempronius* had as yet said nothing; then, quoth he, I deny all that he will say.'

cherubs, who seem to be destined for inquisitors when they should grow to man's estate. Towards the bottom, on one side is a vine with a dead branch, to which an axe is applied, with the motto, 'that it may bring forth more fruit;' on the other is some tree half dead, with an axe at the root, and the motto, 'cast it into the fire : ' between them is the cardinal's hat and arms. The title is rather more rancorous than usual. INDEX AUCTORUM DAMNATÆ MEMORIÆ, *Tum etiam Librorum, qui vel simpliciter, vel ad expurgationem usque prohibentur, vel denique jam expurgati permittuntur. Editus auctoritate Ill^{mi}. Domini D. FERDINANDI MARTINS MASCAREGNAS Algarbiorum Episcopi, Regii status Consilarii, ac Regnorum Lusitaniæ Inquisitionis Generalis. Et in partes tres distributus quæ proxime sequenti pagella explicite censentur. De Consilio Supremi Senatus Stæ Generalis Inquisitionis Lusitaniæ.* The Colophon is, *Vlyssipone Ex officina Petri Craesbeeck, Regii Typogr. Anno DMCXXIIII. for MDCXXIIII.* The Edict of the Inquisitor, in Portuguese, commands all persons, whether ecclesiastic or laic, who may possess the condemned books, within thirty days after the publication of the Index, to deliver, or signify, them, to the inquisitor of the district—offenders render themselves subject to the greater excommunication and to be proceeded against as

of suspected faith—the same penalty awaits book-sellers, or others, selling or importing the books; and the vendors of other books condemned for causes short of heresy, besides the guilt of mortal sin, become liable to severe chastisement at the discretion of the general and other inquisitors—and the licences to have, or read, prohibited books, formerly given, are revoked.

The *Roman Index of CLEMENS VIII.*, with additions since his edition, forms the first part of this work. One of the *additions*, as a very remarkable one, shall be particularly noticed. Our king, James I., after the attempt of a parliamentary explosion, which was as truly papal, although *all* the subjects of Rome were neither concerned in it nor approved it, as her religion is idolatrous, although *all* her injunctions are not so, felt some security due to himself and to the country; and attempted it by an oath of fidelity, which he found occasion to *defend*. This did not please Rome, as appears by two successive edicts of the Master of the Sacred Palace condemning it, in the usual vindictive style, in the very year of its publication, 1609, July 23, and September 7. See the subsequent Collections of Decrees. The title of the condemned work runs thus: *Apologia pro juramento fidelitatis, primum quidem anonymos, nunc, vero ab ipso Auctore Serenissimo, et poten-*

*tissimo Principe Jacobo Dei gratia Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rege, Fidei defensore, denuo edita, &c. Londini excudebat Joan. Horton, 1609**. This condemnation might have been inserted in the Spanish Index of 1612, but was not. It appears, therefore, first in the Portuguese one now before us, and in the first division. And, in order that it may not escape the attention of the reader, it occurs under the letter A, both in the second and the third class. One of its next appearances is, indeed, in the next Spanish Index of 1632, under I, JACOBUS Rex, first class, noticing some other works; and, under the second, JACOBUS Angliæ, &c., more fully. Its first appearance in a Roman Index, the ELENCHUS Capiferrei, was in the same year, under A; and it, of course, found its place in the more authentic one of 1664, and in its successors. I have been the more anxious and diffuse in detailing the circumstances of this condemnation, because the Reverend M. O'Sullivan, in his examination by the Parliamentary Committee on the State of Ireland, April 26, 1825, justly deduces from it the papal doctrine, at the time, and *never since revoked, of the right of deposing kings* †.

* There were editions, published in the same year, in English and French—perhaps in more languages.

† See Fourth Report of the Commons, p. 15.

The second part is the *Portugueze Prohibitory Index*. It contains a preface and fifteen *Régras*, peculiar, as it appears, to itself; and the body of the Index has nothing more remarkable than the insertion of one or two *English* books.

The third, *Expurgatory*, part, constitutes the bulk of the volume. The *Monita* to the Reader apprise him that the former censures of Lisbon, Belgium, and Spain, are adopted; and that, the present censors having performed their work rather superficially, the defect will be supplied in a future edition. They profess, that the plan of classification has been declined, and all the matter thrown under one alphabet; the condemned and Catholics, Latin and vulgar writers, being indiscriminately mingled. The body of this Index is so identical in principle, as well as contents, with the Spanish, and that principle so degraded, that even a selection of particular instances is scarcely desirable; although almost any one would afford matter of astonishment as well as of reprobation. We content ourselves, therefore, with the following. At pp. 180, 1, as well as at p. 1031, *Tractatus Juris Can.* in several editions, (which, from its contents, must be the *Tractatus Universi Juris*, printed frequently at Venice,) is largely expurgated; and yet the *Taxæ*, though occupying a conspicuous place in the 15th volume of the edi-

tion of 1584, is entirely overlooked. In this specimen we bid farewell to Portugal; and have only to add, to her partial praise, that her sovereign, Joseph I., by a royal edict, dated April 2, 1768, prohibited every person or persons in his dominions, 'to print, sell, distribute, or anywise publish in them, or keep in their booksellers' shops or stalls, either the above bulls, entitled *In Cæna Domini*, or those that served as bases to the *Indices Expurgatorii*, artfully planned in the said year 1624, in the College of St. Anthony, of the Jesuits so called, in the city of Lisbon, under the inspection of their provincial, *Balthasar Alves* [*Alvares*]; or the above-mentioned *Indices Expurgatorii*; or any other bulls hereafter introduced for the prohibition of books, without having obtained the royal *Beneplacitum* previous to their publication;' &c.* The last sentence, however, which occurs repeatedly, is particularly to be observed, because it renders the abrogation *conditional* only. And it will likewise be recollected that the Inquisition,

* See Parliamentary Report of the Committee for inquiring into the Regulation of R. Catholics in Foreign Countries, 1816, Append., p. 379. The Jesuits had fallen into disgrace with the Court of Portugal, not only for their undutiful behaviour in Paraguay, but, more recently, for the higher offence of being concerned in a conspiracy against the sovereign in his own country, about the year 1760. See *Hist. of the Jesuits*, vol. i., pp. 346—8. This work embraces, as the title likewise announces, a Reply (and a conclusive one) to Mr. DALLAS's Jesuitic Defence of the Jesuits.

the principal source of the more bigoted Papal proscriptions, was not abolished. But the subjects of the Papacy, whatever their temporal sovereigns may decree, must always respect the declared and known judgment of their spiritual head.

A small volume will now detain us for a moment ; but it has intrinsic merit, and belongs to an author, both of which command respect. Its title speaks for itself. *INDEX Generalis Librorum prohibitorum a Pontificiis, una cum Editionibus expurgatis vel expurgandis juxta seriem literarum et triplicem classem. In usum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ, et Curatoribus ejusdem specialiter designatus. Per THO. JAMES, S. Theol. D. Coll. B. Mariæ Winton. in Oxon. Vulgo Novi dicti quondam Socium. Oxoniæ, Excudebat Gulielmus Turner. An. D. 1627, in 12mo.* The main object of the work, as the author himself expresses it in the Dedicatory Epistle, is, to prevail upon scholars in general, and the Curators of the Bodleian Library in particular, to value, and by all means, if possible, to procure those books, and especially those editions, which are condemned in the Roman Indexes, as being, the first, generally valuable, and the others far preferable to the modern editions. Oxford has not neglected the admonition ; and its library abounds in the trea-

asures pointed out by the reprobation of those who were unworthy of them, and either knew them not, or hated them.*

The year 1632 gave birth to another Index from Spain. NOVUS INDEX LIBRORUM PROHIBITORUM ET EXPURGATORUM; *editus auctoritate et jussu Eminent^{mi} ac Reverend^{mi} D. D. ANTONII ZAPATA, S. R. E. Presbyt. Card. Tit. S. Balbinæ; Protectoris Hispaniarum; Inquisitoris Generalis in omnibus Regnis, et ditionibus PHILIPPI IV. R. C. et ab ejus Statu, &c. De Consilio Supremi Senatus S. Generalis Inquisitionis.* Hispali † ex Typographæo Francisci de Lyra An. MDCXXXII. in fol. The title-page is engraved rather handsomely, with the cross, keys, sword, emblems of the papacy and of transubstantiation, and a cardinal's arms. The Inquisitor's *Edict*, which begins the volume, after the introduction in the usually pompous and hypocritical style respecting heresy, alleges the apostolic Brief of URBAN VIII. as the reason of forming a new Index, which should comprehend, not only modern writers but some antient ones who had been overlooked, to the number of 2500. He then proceeds to charge all persons,

* In the same year, 1627, a reprint of Ind. Trident. appeared, Col. Agr. 8. *Bib. Bunav.* In 1631, Apr. 2, Urban VIII. published a bull, with this title, *Revocatio licentiarum quarumcumque legendi, et habendi libros prohibitos.—Bull. Mag.*

† Seville.

neither to possess nor to read the forbidden books, under pain of the greater excommunication; and those who, having them, do not give notice of them within ninety days, are to be proceeded against with all the rigour of the law. Dated, Madrid, July 29, 1631. The *Brief* of the Pope follows, very much resembling that of Paul V. in the preceding Spanish Index. Terrified at the abuse of existing licences, it revokes them all—*revocamus, cassamus, irritamus, et annullamus, ac viribus penitus evacuamus, et pro revocatis, &c. &c.*—then come the penalties spiritual, and temporal, for the disobedient, and for the concealers of their knowledge of the books. Authority is then given to the Cardinal presbyter to put these decrees in execution, and, if necessary, to call for the assistance of the secular arm. Aug. 17, 1627. The Inquisitor then resumes, and in virtue of these powers, announces the revocation of all the licences previously given, Feb. 21, 1628. The document following is a *Licence* to the licentiate, *Sebastian de Huerta*, to chuse his own printer of the Index, which was to be signed with his own hand, (as is the case with the copy before me,) or with that of *Juan de Pineda*, a Jesuit, who assisted in the composition of the work. The *Notice* to the Reader announces a kind of liberality, in not altogether prohibiting, but allowing with expurgation, some

heretical writings. It states, as the result of various reading, that here was added some account of the country, age, sect, and profession of the writers. And, for the construction of the Index, it observes, that the Prohibitory and Expurgatory Parts were now embodied, the triple division being retained; and that an Universal Index was prefixed for the greater ease of reference. The *Regulas, Mandatos, &c.* vary but little, although they do vary, both in number and position, from those in the former edition of 1612. The pages amount to nine hundred and ninety numbered. More than fifty are unnumbered. There is one article in the body of the work worthy of particular consideration, the result, no doubt, of deep and accurate research. MARTINUS LUTHERUS. *Islebi natus in Saxonia, an. 1483. prædicat contra indulgentias 1517. ab Ordine Religioso et a Fide Catholica Apostata, et Heresiarcha. 1517. reperitur in lecto misere exanimis 1546**. All that need be

* In the work of the Sicilian Inquisitor, PARAMO, *de Origine, &c. Inquis.* 1598, which we shall find another opportunity of noticing, is a very curious and mysterious passage to the same effect, Tit. 3, cap. 6. § 33. He is enumerating the miserable deaths of heretics; and Luther, of course, finds his place. Verum his missis, ad autores hæresum nostri temporis descendamus. Ex quibus primus occurrit Martinus Lutherus, cujus infelicem obitum, data opera prætermitto, quod de eo in tit. 8. cap. 1. fusam fecimus mentionem. Now the reference is either mistaken or false; for no such account as is referred to exists. And in the Index, which has copious references to Martin Luther, in that which indicates his *infelix ex-*

said concerning this recondite article is, that it never re-appeared in any future edition. The officious communicativeness of this Index, met the same rebuke in the case of half its note subjoined to the mention of HENRICUS BOXHORIUS, as has already been observed. LLORENTE has

itus, the place and passage above adduced is the only one pointed out. Are we then to suppose, that the *fusa mentio* was expunged in the MS., or what are we to suppose? The edition in my hands is the first, and therefore the passage could not exist in a prior one. If, however, after all, it can be produced, it will be welcomed as a curiosity. These authors certainly tell us what we should not otherwise know. There is, naturally, and with reason, no limit to the 'arrowy shower' issuing from the phalanxes of Rome against the person of the Saxon Reformer. In his own language, in a letter to Melancthon, 'it was the practice of the whole herd of Rome to rage against his person without any notice of the cause in which he was engaged,' *in personam meam furere, causa relicta quam agerem*. Luth. Epist. p. 25, edit. Ranneri. The *Colloquia Mensalia* of the Reformer have been a copious treasury for his calumniators. The smooth but intolerant bigot, Dr. TREVERN, now Bishop of *Strasbourg*, not unknown to the English reader by the triumphant answers of Mr. FABER, has thought proper to refer to a *French* translation, of all things, for a particular calumny, which has been so much valued as to be frequently repeated. The *Colloquia* itself was printed and published, for the first time, twenty years after the death of Luther, in German, in direct violation of an anticipatory prohibition in his preface, to what are entitled *Conciunculae*, and which are inserted in the Jena edition of his works, tom. ii, coll. 522, et seq. The passage objected to is, a penitential confession of a particular sin in inclination. If, in sufficient parallelism, we suppose the admirer of any reverend Romanist, twenty years after the death of the latter, to report to his intended honour the confession—*I am full of anger and resentment against Luther and Protestants in general, and make use of every means, lawful and unlawful, to injure their reputation and obstruct their influence*—would all future professors of Romanism feel themselves bound by the report, or, if they did, consider it much to the discredit of his Reverence?

observed, that this is the first Index issued by the Inquisitor of Spain, in his own name and by his own authority, But it was certainly the fact, so early as in the edition of 1583. Had not a writer quoted in JUGLER'S edition of STRUVIUS'S *Bibliotheca*, thought it necessary to vindicate the genuineness of the Spanish Index of 1612, which, on inspection, he declares to exhibit every possible evidence of its origin, besides the autographs of many inquisitors, in the copy at Oxford, I should scarcely have considered it requisite to add my own testimony, on inspection likewise, to the same fact, as relating, not only to that edition, but likewise to the edition which has just been examined, and which no one conversant with books can for a moment doubt to be a genuine production of the Spanish press. It certainly does indicate the lowest confidence in a cause, when palpably groundless suspicions are seized to uphold it.

Now we approach a Roman production, printed at Rome, in 1632. ELENCHUS *Librorum omnium tum in Tridentino, Clementinoque Indice, tum in aliis omnibus sacræ Indicis Congreg^{nis} particularibus Decretis hactenus prohibitorum; Ordine uno Alphabetico, Per Fr. FRANCISCUM MAGDALENUM CAPIFERREUM Ordinis Prædicatorum dictæ Congregationis Secretarium digestus.* Romæ, M.DC.XXXII.

Ex Typographia Camerae Apostolicæ. Superiorum permissu, 8vo. There is something peculiar and worthy of attention in the *Imprimatur* on the *verso* of the title-page.

Imprimatur, Si videbitur Reverendiss. P. Mag. Sac. Palatii Apostolici.

A. Episcopus Bellicastren. Vicesg.

Qui Libri non reperientur in hoc Elencho, aut in Collectione Postindicis de quibus aliqua dubitatio merito moveri possit, non propterea approbati censeantur, sed judicentur ad communes regulas in Indice præscriptas.

Imprimatur

Fr. Nicolaus Riccardius S. Palatii Apost. Mag.

The dedication of the work URBANO VIII. Pont. Opt. Max. (a blasphemous title, being the same as the divine, but common in papal dedications and on papal medals,) is full of profane adulation. It can hardly be considered as a work of authority, although doubtless allowed by authority; and chiefly intended, as the preface imports, to facilitate reference, by uniting the divisions of the original Indexes under one alphabet, and giving surnames as well as Christian. In that respect it has its value still. That it is considered, indeed, simply as a private work, will appear from the

preface of the Secretary to the Roman Index of 1664. *Peignot* mentions another edition of this Index printed at Milan, in 1635. There is an additional one printed at Rome in 1640, called in the title-page *secunda*, and said to be *aucta*. It is certainly far more respectably printed than the first edition*.

The next Index is a Spanish one, published first in 1640. Neither the British Museum nor the Bodleian Library possess a copy. But this is the less to be regretted as there were more editions, two at Madrid, the first in 1662, and another in 1666, if *Peignot* be correct. But perhaps as valuable as any, and in some respects more so, is the reprint at Geneva, or Lyons †, in 1667, with the following title—INDEX LIBRORUM PROHIBITORUM ET EXPURGANDORUM NOVISSIMUS. *Pro Catholicis Hispaniarum Regnis PHILIPPI IV. Regis Cathol. Ill. ac R. D. D. Antonii a SOTOMAJOR Supremi Præsidis, & in Regnis Hispaniarum, Siciliae, et Indiarum Generalis Inquisitoris, &c. jussu ac studiis, luculenter et vigilantissimè recognitus: De Consilio Supremi Senatus Inquisitionis Gene-*

* The *Bib. Bunav.* has a reprint *Ind. Trid. Romæ et Tridenti*, apud Sanct. Zanettum impressorem Episcopalem, superiorum permissu, 1634, 12.

† The *Bib. Bunav.* has this note, Hanc Editionem *Lugduni in Galliis* factam esse, conjicit *Cl. SCHOETTGENIUS* in *Commentat. III de Indic. Libror. prohibit.*, p. 38. And the same of the reprint of *Alex. VIIth's* Index, which indeed is in the same volume. Tom. i. p. 499.

ralis. Juxta exemplar excusum. Madriti, ex Typographæo Didaci Diaz. Subsignatum LL^{do}. Huerta. MDCLXVII. in fol. The royal arms of Spain, with the golden fleece, are engraved on the title-page. It would have been as well to have preserved the date, 1640. The editor has given Latin translations of the Spanish documents. And he has deemed it necessary, as his predecessor Turretin had done, not only to profess his own accurate integrity, but to announce that the originals were preserved and producible, to satisfy either doubt or curiosity. The reader will readily infer, of what description those persons must be, towards whom such caution is necessary. TURRETTIN'S Preface is reprinted; as likewise two extracts, the first from JUNIUS'S Preface to the Index of 1571, and the other from BLONDEL *de Joanna Papissa**. Then comes the *Edict* of the Inquisitor General, Archbishop of Damascus, who, commencing as usual, inveighs against the audacity of heretics, and particularly their assumption of fictitious titles, which, upon consultation with his council, made him judge it necessary to command the publication of a new Index, with an addition, both of modern and antient authors; adding the common penalties for retaining or reading, or

* This Reprint is duly condemned in the subsequent Spanish Indexes of 1707 and 1747, as printed out of Spain and by heretics. But the Censors dare not impeach its fidelity.

suppressing knowledge, of heretical books. Dated Madrid, June 30, 1640. The same Licentiate has the control of this edition as in that eight years back. The *Reglas, Mandatos, &c.* differ but little from those formerly published. The last, or sixteenth, *Regla* merely adopts a part of the *Instructio* of CLEMENS VIII. The body of the work, independently of the General Index, contains, in this reprint, nine hundred and ninety-two pages. The unobtrusive article, in the supplement, permitting, with expurgation, what the Roman Congregation, and Index, had absolutely condemned—the works of POZA—has already been noticed. It would be difficult, and answer no particular purpose of sufficient value, to discover and criticise the new articles. This reprint, by its additions, will be useful to us again.

The papacy, which, in virtue of her exclusive infallibility, residing, if any where personally, most eminently in her head, possesses the chief power of settling all matters of doubt or dispute, has ever discovered a most provoking aversion to confer this most needful benefit upon erring mortals, by an explicit declaration of her views on important points of Christian doctrine. In conformity, therefore, with this tantalizing reserve, she determined not to hazard her infallibility and authority by any new publication of an *expurgatory*

description. She, however, presented her subjects with a more extensive *Prohibitory Index*, in 1664, under the title, *INDEX Librorum Prohibitorum ALEXANDRI VII. Pontificis Maximi jussu editus. Romæ, Ex Typographia Reverendæ Cameræ Apostolicæ, 1664. Superiorum permissu, et Privilegio. 4to.* The *Brief* of the pope conveys no information of importance : it simply explains the motive of the present publication—the want of order in the former, and the utility of uniting the whole under one alphabet, neglecting the triple division hitherto observed. It ratifies and repeats the apostolic threats in the former Indexes ; and professes to give the Tridentine Index separately. March 5, 1664. The *Regulæ, &c.* are the same as in the last Index of Clem. VIII. The Address of Fr. HYACINTHUS LIBELLUS, Secretary of the Congregation of the Index, to the reader, explains the contents of the volume ; and affirms that all other Indexes are to be considered as private ones. The first Index in this collection reaches to page 165. The second Index contains exclusively those books which have the names of the authors placed after them. The third is confined to those books, in the title of which the matter follows the name of the author. Then follows an Appendix from 1661 to the publication of the Index. The *Index Tridentinus* succeeds, to which

is prefixed an *Admonition* to the reader by the forenamed Secretary, giving the origin and history of that Index, as we have already detailed them; and affirming, which he was perfectly qualified to do, and is of some consequence, that the Deputation of the Index originally instituted by PIUS IV., was matured into a formal Congregation by PIUS V. All that follows in this part has appeared before. But the concluding part, INDEX DECRETORUM, although a part has been previously given, up to the year 1636, is entitled to particular attention. Professing, as it does, to be a complete collection, embracing *Omnia Decreta, quæ vel a Magistro Sac. Palatii, cum ratione Officii sui, tum jussu Sac. Congregationis, vel ab ipsis Sacris Congregationibus Indicis, et S. Officii emanarunt*, it is of primary importance. The first part of these decrees does not exactly coincide with the collection in the Index of CLEM. VIII. The third is an addition. So are the thirty-first, thirty-second, fortieth, and forty-first. The forty-third begins the additional portion. In the fourteenth and thirty-eighth is a condemnation of the celebrated Galileo, against whom proceedings had likewise been instituted in the Roman Inquisition*.

* This affair deserves some notice. My information as to the Inquisition, is derived from a *Narrative of the Persecution of Da Costa, in the Inquisition of Lisbon, for Free-Masonry*, London, 1811. Vol. i. pp. 107—

In the forty-fifth is the condemnation of A. C. JANSENIUS*. BANCK'S *Taxa S. Canc. Apost.*

114. Both the Decree and the Abjuration are given at length. They are dated July 22, 1633. The decree which sentences the philosopher to imprisonment in the holy office and some penance, purports, that he had been informed against for writing, that the sun was the centre of the system and immoveable, and that the earth, revolving round it and its own axis, was moveable; that in 1616, Cardinal Bellarmine admonished him; that then a decree of the Congregation of the Index was issued, condemning the doctrine; and that the following year, he offended by publishing a book to the same purpose entitled *Dialogo*, &c. From *Sir Robert H. Inglis's Speeches*, p. 17, I understand the exception to have been made by a papal advocate, that Galileo was condemned, not simply for his opinion, but for founding it upon scripture. If this qualification does not amount to just nothing, it is evident from the decree of the *Index*, that the philosopher was yet condemned simply for his doctrine. The Decree, numbered fourteen, does not name Galileo, but another, *Foscarini*, for the condemned Copernican doctrine: but it adds the general sentence, plainly including him, *aliosque omnes libros pariter idem docentes*. The Decree number thirty-eight, Aug. 23, 1634, specifies, with other condemned books, *Dialogo di Galileo Galilei*, &c.; and both *Foscarini* and Galileo are in the body of the *Index*—the first under *Lettera*, the other under *Dialogo*. But to crush perfectly and for ever the evasion attempted by the defenders of this papal censure, in the Roman *Index* of 1704, the following entry stands in its alphabetic place, *Libri omnes docentes mobilitatem Terræ et immobilitatem solis*. This entry, however, has since been omitted, and is not to be found in the modern editions.

* The account given of the condemnation of this writer in M. DE PLACETTE'S *Incurable Scepticism of the Church of Rome*, is instructive. 'Five Propositions were taken out of *Jansenius's Augustinus*, and by some French bishops sent to be examined by the pope. Others were present for *Jansenius*, who pleaded the propositions were capable of divers senses, some true, some false; and earnestly desired it might be specified in which sense each proposition was approved or condemned. That request being stiffly denied by the Roman Consistory, who were resolved to condemn them in the gross, the Jansenists distinguished three senses of each proposition, and placing the different senses in three columns, offered them to the

is condemned June 10, 1654. The sixty-sixth is directed against the *Lettres Provinciales*, Letter by Letter, throughout the Eighteen. This is the PASCAL, who has been adduced in a British Parliament as a specimen, and recommendation, of Roman Catholicity*. A decree by his Holiness

Examiners, desiring they would admonish which of all those senses the censure aimed at. But neither so could they obtain their end. Only afterwards, when the controversy grew hot, Pope Alexander VII. declared the propositions were condemned in the sense intended by the author. The author had been now dead before his book was published, much less condemned. And so, while the popes pretended to condemn the author's sense, they said nothing else but that they condemned a sense, which neither they would, nor any body else could tell, what it was. And to this day it is disputed among them, what is that heretical sense intended by the author, and condemned by the popes.' Ch. v. Tenison's Translation, first published in 1688, and afterwards in Bishop GIBSON'S *Preservative against Popery*, vol. iii.

* What right the peculiar faith and communion of this highly gifted individual possess to the credit of having aided, or even not obstructed, the formation of his character, may be justly enough estimated from their direct and known effect, not only in degrading his lofty intellect by their superstition, but in contracting and poisoning his Christian charity by their intolerance and tyranny. In the *History of the Jesuits*, London, 1816, which Mr. BICKERSTETH'S valuable and seasonable work, the *Christian Student*, authorizes me to ascribe to the able pen of JOHN POYNTER, Esq., it is stated, vol. ii. pp. 128, 9, that in the collection of pieces contained in *La Théologie Morale des Jésuites*, &c. the Fifth Letter, or *Ecrit des Curez de Paris*, is the production of Pascal. I adduce this authority, because it assigns the work without any expression of doubt to that author; although in the general collection of the works of Pascal, the volume which contains this and the other *Ecrits*, or *Factums*, the Third qualifies them, as well as the rest of the contents of that volume, thus, *attribués à M. Pascal*, and the Fifth is numbered the Fourth. But COUDRETTE, in his *Hist. Gen. de la Comp. de Jesus*, tom. ii. p. 498, has settled the matter by giving the title and contents of the *Ecrit*, and expressly ascribing it to Pascal—the cinquième

itself, ALEXANDER VII., Jan. 12, 1661, states, that some sons of perdition had arrived at such a state of madness as to turn the Roman Missal into the French, vulgar tongue, &c. &c. The decree, number seventy-seven, *again* transfixes

Ecrit, qui roule sur l'avantage que les Hérétiques prennent contre l'Eglise, de la morale des Casuistes et des Jésuites. Cet Ecrit est de la main de M. Pascal. Tout y est de la dernière beauté. That there may be no doubt who, or what, is intended by the term heretic, *Drelincourt*, pastor of Charenton, is expressly referred to as guilty of the offence. Towards the conclusion of this formal document, the writer distinguishes between the Jesuits, who, he says, are still members of our body, and the heretics (protestants,) who are members cut off (*retranchez*) and composing a body hostile to ours. The Calvinists, he again asserts, are more culpable than the Jesuits; for there is some good in the latter but none in the former. Among the heretics none is exempt from error, and all are certainly beyond the reach of charity (*hors de la charité, puisqu'ils sont hors de l'unité.*) He adds, that the Jesuits have a part in the sacrifices of the church, which the Heretics have not. He therefore concludes, that it is the indispensable duty of all to keep aloof from the Calvinists, and exults in the ease with which it may be performed, since the faithful are habituated from their infancy to shun them, and educated in a horror of their schism. Who that reflects upon the infamous doctrines, at least, of the Jesuits, and upon the warmth, not to say animosity, with which they were attacked by the virtuous part of Romanism, and here in a public and deliberate manner, can believe that such sentiments, under such circumstances, could flow from the pen of Pascal? But there is not wanting proof of the same intolerant bigotry in the more acknowledged writings of this extraordinary man. In *les Provinciales*, *Lettre XVII.*, near the beginning, he could express himself thus—*graces à Dieu je n'ai d'attache sur la terre qu'à la seule Eglise Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine, dans laquelle je veux vivre et mourir, et dans LA COMMUNION AVEC LE PAPE SON SOUVERAIN CHEF, HORS DE LAQUELLE JE SUIS TRÈS PERSUADÉ QU'IL N'Y A POINT DE SALUT.* Out of the communion of the Pope no salvation! And is this the profound, the pious, the illustrious Pascal? There is language not very abhorrent from this in the *additions* to his *Pensées*.

BANCK'S *Taxa*—the moles took care never to see their own. An omitted decree, restoring a passage in the infamous SANCHEZ, is added. A second Appendix, with some authors, and four Decrees, then appears; the first of which, to its immortal honour, proscribes WALTON'S *Polyglott*. The last thing is a list of the Cardinals and Consultants of the Congregation of the Index from the beginning.

In the next year, 1665, another edition was put forth by Alexander VII., sufficiently varying from the former to justify some notice of it. It is entitled—INDEX *Librorum Prohibitorum* ALEXANDRI VII., *Pontificis Maximi jussu editus. Actorum XIX. Multi autem ex eis qui fuerant curiosa sectati, contulerunt LIBROS et combusserunt coram omnibus.* Romæ, Ex Typographia Rev. Cam. Apost. Cum Privilegio. Svo. I copy from the reprint of this edition, (not possessing the original, or knowing of any copy), in the reprint of the Spanish Index of 1640, at Geneva or Lyons, to which it is annexed. But that such an edition appeared at Rome is placed beyond a doubt, if any were entertained, by the notice given of the Secretary of the Index, who superintended the publication, in CATALANI *de Secretario S. Cong. Ind.*; who writes—*Secretarium Congregationis Indicis agente Fano tum ab eo typis datus est,*

*novaque forma, nempe alphabetica non servata, quæ alias, classium distinctione, Index Librorum Prohibitorum. Romæ, ex typographia Vaticana anno MDCLXV., in 8vo., iterumque ibidem auctus anno MDCLXX., etiam in 8vo.** It begins with an Address to the Catholic Reader, by F. VINCENTIUS FANUS Ord. Prædicatorum Sac. Cong. Indicis Secretarius. It is short, and simply explains the nature of the new Index, which embodies the preceding under one alphabet. Although it has no date, the year of its publication is plainly declared by the very first words—*Prodiit anno superiori Librorum Prohibitorum, &c.*, referring to the Index of the preceding year.

If any apology should be required for introducing some censorial operations, which do not assume the form of an Index, it might be supplied by the new character of those about to be adduced, which are honourably distinguished from the general, if not entire mass of such productions, by being, in the main, legitimately, and therefore laudably, directed against objects deserving reprobation; thus furnishing a proof of what we started with observing, that it is not the abstract right, but the exercise, in particular cases, of literary censures by authority, which is questionable or

* Lib. ii., cap. x.

questioned. The honourable exception to the general injustice of such acts is afforded by France (which was not always, especially in earlier times, so guiltless), in the censures and condemnations issued by all orders of her clergy, and by most, if not all, her universities, against the infamous and shameless doctrines of the Jesuits, which prevailed with increasing extension and power about the middle of the seventeenth century. In the bosom of the most arrogant and most corrupt church in Christendom was permitted; for her own more perfect exposure, to arise a society, which should exhibit the quintessence of her spirit; and again proclaim to the world how those who like not to retain God in their knowledge are given over to a reprobate mind. This notorious order, by placing before themselves supremely and exclusively the end, and that not the best, found themselves hurried into the use of means which, if they must justify, they must, for that purpose, advance and maintain the most palpable contradictions of the divine law; and they did not shrink from the frightful necessity; but fearlessly and obtrusively, in multiplied acts, and under their own hand and seal, published to the world immoralities and impieties, of which it is difficult to conceive that any decent or even prudent heathen could allow himself to appear as the author, much

less the advocate. Although the persevering encroachments of this unprincipled society furnished considerable provocation, we are convinced that a virtuous indignation against such consummate and shameless wickedness was the principal motive which incited their assailants to rise with so much unanimity and force against offenders whom they yet acknowledged to belong to their own body.

La Théologie Morale des Jésuites, et Nouveaux Casuistes : représentée par leur Pratique et par leurs Livres : Condamnée il y a déjà long-temps par plusieurs Censures, Décrets d'Universitez, et Arrests de Cours Souverains : Nouvellement combattuë par les Curez de France ; et censurée par un grand nombre de Prélats, et par des Facultez de Théologie Catholiques : &c., Cologne, 1668,—is a collection and a record of the various acts of opposition to the most corrupt society of the Jesuits, by the principal authorities, more especially the ecclesiastic, in France. Those in particular are specified which proceeded from the Universities of Paris, of Caen, of Rheims, of Thoulouse, of Poitiers, of Valence, of Bourdeaux, and of Bourges, against a work of Sanctarel. There are several Arrests of Parliament against the rebellious and regicide doctrines of Mariana and Bellarminus, with whom others of the same order, twenty of whom are named, are affirmed to agree. Some

additional interest will be excited in the English reader by the censures of the archbishop of Paris, and other archbishops and bishops of France, as well as of the Sorbonne, against certain books of two English Jesuits,—the well-known one, Matthias Wilson, better known under the assumed name of Edward Knott or Nicholas Smith; and John Floyde. Eleven propositions, as generally taught in Ireland, are denounced by Patrick Cahil, of Dublin, and condemned. Not to detain ourselves longer by the condemnation of Caramuel, Mascarenhas, Escobar, Banny, justified by large extracts, we proceed to observe, that so little were these hardened offenders intimidated or abashed by the reception which they experienced, that they justified themselves in a publication, entitled—*Apologie pour les Casuistes, contre les Calomnies des Jansénistes*. Imprimé à Paris, en 1657*. Various writings, particularly a course of Letters (*Ecrits*), amounting to nine, by the Curés of Paris and other places, were levelled against this publication. Many prelates of the kingdom, with the Faculty of Theology of Paris, joined in the attack; and the very head of the church, of which both parties were avowed subjects, Alexander VII., was induced to fulminate against this obnoxious

* The History of the Jesuits affirms the name of the writer to be Father PIROT. Vol. ii., p. 126.

work a Decree, of the date of August 21, 1659, which takes its regular place, not indeed in the next (although among the Decrees), but in all subsequent Indexes; furnishing an additional instance of the self-contradictions, and of the humiliating submissions, to which the policy of ecclesiastic Rome at times reduces her sovereign. But these worthy sons of their militant founder were not thus to be silenced. They retorted in a work, entitled *AMADÆI GUIMENII LOMARENSIS olim primarii Sacræ Theologiæ Professoris opusculum singularia universæ fere Theologiæ Moralis complectens: adversus quorundam expostulationes, &c.* Lugd. M.DC.LXIV. Cum Appr. et Superiorum permissu.* A Censure of the Parisian Faculty of Theology was passed against this work, dated Feb. 3, 1665, of which it will be sufficient, and important, to transcribe, *ipsissimis verbis*, one *Censura*. Having given some simple references, they observe, *Hæ Propositiones (quas Sacra Facultas verbis tantum initialibus designandas de industria judicavit, ut modestiæ pudori castarum aurium, ac mentium consuleret) sunt turpes, &c.*†

The Jesuits gained something of a triumph by

* The true name, MATTHEW MOYA. Id., *ibid.*, p. 131.

† And yet the Jesuit could justify his vilest propositions by the authority of Aquinas, Cajetan, Scotus, and others. See CLAUDE, *Defence of the Reformation*, Part i., ch. iii., § 9.

a Brief of Alexander VII., enjoining upon the French ecclesiastics a condemnation of Jansenism, dated Feb. 17, 1665*. The triumph was confirmed and strengthened by another Constitution, expressly condemning the Censure of A. Guimenius by the Theologic Faculty of Paris, as presumptuous, rash, and scandalous, June 16, 1665†.

But a fresh wind blew upon the Vatican, and turned the clouds of infallibility to a direction precisely the opposite; and, in the *same* and the next year, were two separate Papal Decrees passed, condemning forty-five propositions maintained by the Jesuits, without mentioning their name‡. Nay, at no greater distance than the year 1680, the very Parisian Censure which was so formally condemned, was as formally adopted and repeated by the Italian Pontiff, in the person of Innocent XI.; and the pernicious and destructive doctrine of Guimenius was condemned and prohibited by apostolic authority, Sept. 15§. For what I add

* See Bullarium Magnum.

† Constitut., &c. Col. Agripp., 1686, pp. 119 et seq.

‡ Id., pp. 125 et seq.

§ Id., pp. 175 et seq. This and the two foregoing Constitutions do not appear in my edition of the Bullarium. I have, however, the original document—*La Morale justement condamnée dans le Livre du P. Moya, Jesuite, &c., par Inn. XI. A Rome, 1681*;—and thereto appended, *Epistola P. Moya ad SS. Dom. Inn. XI., containing his defence of himself as reported by Claude.*

I trust to the authority of the *History of the Jesuits*. March 3, 1679, Innocent XI. condemned sixty-five propositions of the Jesuits; and Alexander VIII., Aug. 24, 1690, issued a Decree against their doctrine of Philosophical Sin. On 16th July, 1716, the Faculty of Theology of Poitiers condemned Salton; on the 6th April, 1718, that of Rheims denounced several propositions of the society to the archbishop; on the 31st Dec., 1720, that of Caen did the same. In 1722, the bishop of Rhodéz issued an ordonnance against Cabrespine: and other similar instances might be added.

‘The doctrine of probability,’ writes the historian, ‘our ignorance of the law of nature, and the necessity of actual reflexion upon the quality of an action, in order to its becoming sinful,—are the foundations upon which the moral corruption of the Jesuits is built.’*

It is unnecessary to pursue farther our observa-

* Pp. 132, 3. The *Provincial Letters* of PASCAL were an attack, in one way, against which the Jesuits could never stand. But, perhaps, the most decisive and formidable one was that of the Sorbonist, PERRAULT, in *La Morale des Jésuites, extraite fidèlement de leurs Livres, &c.* A Mons, 1667. The subject is well methodized, and supported by the fullest and most incontrovertible proof. The work was published without a name, like many others against this sect, from a well-founded apprehension that the avowed principles of Jesuitism are not a dead letter, and that the lives of the authors of such works, if known, were in danger.

tions relative to the restless, as well as immoral, character of this ambitious and corrupt order, of whom, in the course of the present discussion, we shall hear again. Their infatuated self-confidence and increasing offensiveness procured for them, in 1772, the extinction which they had long and richly merited; and it is no very flattering omen of the course of human affairs, that, in the nineteenth century, they have been restored.

The edition printed at Geneva, or Lyons, in 1667, of the last Spanish Index, with its other additions, that of the last Roman Index in particular, just described, and the Clementine Index Tridentinus, carries on the decrees to that date, or from LXXXII. to XCII. No. 87 and the next condemn forty-five propositions, concerning confession, indulgences, &c. The last is curious, as discovering the wily caution of Romanism. It was a subject of controversy, whether attrition from fear and without the love of God were available or not. Silence was imposed upon the disputants, until the Holy See should come to a determination upon the point. Has it so done yet*?

* The *Bibl. Bunav.*, tom. i., p. 500., exhibits the following:—*Arrets du Parlement et Ordonnances de Msgr. l'Archevesque de Paris. Portant la deffense et suppression des Livres heretiques. Avec l'Edit du Roy, portant deffenses de faire aucun Exercice public de la R. P. R. dans son Royaume.*

In a small work, entitled *CONSTITUTIONES et Decreta Apostolica, &c.*, printed Colonia Agrippinæ. 1686, Superiorum permissu, 12mo., besides

Registré en la Chambre de Vacations le 22 October, 1685, à Paris, chez Fred. Leonard, 1685. 8vo. It is of this edict that LAVAL writes as follows— ‘ That edict was no sooner published, but the Parliament of Paris issued forth a decree, appointing the Archbishop of Paris to draw up an *Index Expurgatorius* of all books which he should think proper to suppress. The prelate obeyed without reluctance, and made such diligence, that, in very few days, he had done an Index of above five hundred authors, which he thought proper to proscribe. Amongst the books of the Reformers, he inserted those of the Lutherans, Socinians, Arminians, those of the Greek Communion, even some of the Roman Catholics, and amongst others, the History of the Council of Trent, done in French by *Amelot de la Houssaye*. And, what was the more scandalous, he proscribed all the versions of the Old and New Testament done by ministers, as *scandalous books*, composed against the Roman religion. He *published* that Index with a *mandate* at the head, forbidding the selling or keeping of these books in his diocese; and, on the 6th of September, the Parliament of Paris issued forth a decree enforcing the said prohibition, and commanding a strict search to be made of these books, not only at the booksellers and printers, but also at the ministers, elders, and other private persons. Several other Parliaments followed that example. The decree was strictly obeyed, a search was made, many books were burnt, but their fury fell especially upon the Bibles and New Testaments, which became the prey of their sacrilegious flames.’ *Hist. of the Reformation in France, &c.*, vol. iv., book viii., pp. 1169, 70. In the same year followed the Edict of Fontainebleau, repealing that of Nantes, with all its consequent barbarities. The above-named Archbishop of Paris was *Harlai*, a man so infamous, that, at his death, no curate could be prevailed upon to pronounce his funeral oration.

The Arret of the Parliament of Paris, providing for the execution of a former one in the same month, concludes with these words:—La Cour a ordonné et ordonne, que l’Archevêque de Paris fera un état des livres qu’il estimera nécessaire de supprimer suivant l’Edit du Roi, pour ce fait, rapporté et communiqué au Procureur Général du Roi, être ordonné ce qu’il appartiendra. Fait en Parlement le 29 Août, 1685. Signé, DONGOIS.

a selection of the Decrees in the preceding works, there are several after that date up to 1686. The first, of April 9, 1668, is against the *Roman Ritual of Alet*. That beginning, p. 150, has sixty-five condemned propositions. The Jesuit *Maimbourg* is censured in two; and the *French translation of the Roman Missal* is again condemned. There is attached a Decree against sixty-eight heretical Propositions of M. de *Molinos*, of a subsequent date, that of Aug: 28, 1687.

We now come to what may be considered a *Series* of Prohibitory Indexes, the only ones which Rome henceforth ventured to give to the world, in a small form, but with ample contents, published from time to time, at short intervals, by the succeeding Popes, down to Pius VII. It is hardly necessary to describe each particularly, since they so nearly resemble each other. The first which appeared in this form is that just described as published in 1665; to which succeeded, according to Peignot, that which issued by command of CLEMENS X. 1670. The next was edited by INNOCENT XI. in 1682. Another, which I possess, followed in 1683; another in 1685; another

I take this from the documents in the last part of the last volume of BENOIT's *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, No. cxci. 2. His account of the whole in the history itself, pp. 825—829 agrees substantially with that of Laval given above.

in 1696. The next, in the eighteenth century, has some peculiarities entitled to particular attention*. INDEX *Librorum Prohibitorum* INNOC. XI. P. M. *jussu editus. Usque ad Annum 1681. Eidem accedit in fine Appendix usque ad mensem Junii 1704.* Romæ, Typis Rev. Cam. Apost. 1704. Cum Privilegio. 8vo. After a recitation of the Privilege to the Printer of the Sacred Chamber, the Secretary of the Congregation of the Index, F. JACOBUS RICCIUS, a Dominican, repeats the old information that the increase of heresy has rendered a larger edition of the Index necessary, which, at the command of his holiness, and with his sanction, he has accomplished and publishes. Then follow the usual accompaniments, and after that the Index, which has as many as five Appendixes, reaching to the year 1734. The first of these has the epithet *Unica*, which is peculiar, and seems to justify the opinion that this is the Appendix, substituted for a previous *faulty* one, as containing a condemnation immediately revoked, to which HANNOT alludes in his Index of 1714. But of this more in its place. It is more appropriate to remark that, in this

* It may just be remarked that, in one of the preceding Indexes, beginning with that in 1682 (but not now in that of 1683, which I have examined), must be contained, in the Index or Appendix, a condemnation, referred to in HANNOT'S Index of 1714, of the *Mystica Ciudad* of *Sord' Agreda*.

Appendix, the last article under the letter E, we first meet with the celebrated Archbishop of Cambray, FENELON. *Explication des Maximes des Saints, &c.* This eminent individual, in whose character very opposite ingredients were united, had offended some of his brethren by adopting and defending in this work the spiritual principles of a mystical lady. By some means, generally unintelligible in such cases, the matter came to be referred to the pope, who, being a personage frequently as much governed as he governs, was induced to issue a *Constitution*, condemning twenty-three propositions extracted from the work. I have before me a contemporary copy of it, in 12mo, Lovanii, 1699. The work condemned was published in 1697; and by this instrument, INNOCENT XII., *Motu proprio* condemns the annexed Propositions, as *sive in obvio earum verborum sensu, sive attentâ sententiarum sensu, temerarias, scandalosas*, and so on, in the usual terms, and prohibits the perusal of the work, under pain of Excommunication, to *all* the faithful, without exception. Dated March 12, 1699, and published the next day. Some zealot, in five pages following, by the same printer, has reduced the Propositions to a systematic form. And to my copy is attached, in the same size, printed at Paris in the same year, *Arrest de la Cour de Parlement*, enre-

gistering the letters patent of the king for the execution of this Constitution, in the usual form, Aug. 14, 1699. It objects to the *Proprio motu*, and to the words in which the extension of the prohibition is expressed. It gives, however, to the papal condemnation its full force. Signé, DONGOIS. Perhaps the servility with which the humbled archbishop expressed his submission is over-stated; and if he did not really alter his opinions, it was insincere. But however he may or may not have suffered by this persecution, he soon after joined in inflicting the same upon the Jansenists. A very analogous instance of proscription is furnished by the second Appendix; it contains the first insertion of the *Nouveau Testament* by Father QUESNEL, against which was fulminated the famous Bull, *Unigenitus*, by CLEMENS XI., condemning 101 Propositions as heretical. It is dated Sept. 8, 1713*. The last

* Of this celebrated Bull, it may not be without some important result to give those condemned propositions which concern the Holy Scriptures.

79 Utile, et necessarium est omni tempore, omni loco, et omni personarum generi studere, et cognoscere spiritum, Pietatem, et Mystera Sacræ Scripturæ.

80 Lectio Sacræ Scripturæ est pro omnibus.

81 Obscuritas Sancta Verbi Dei non est Laicis ratio dispensandi se ipsos ab ejus lectione.

82 Dies Dominicus a Christianis debet sanctificari lectionibus pietatis, et super omnia Sanctarum Scripturarum. Damnosum est velle Christianum ab hac lectione retrahere.

Appendix, although not so named, is curious, being a re-edition of a small *Italian Index*, printed first at Bologna, afterwards at Pavia, and entitled, *RACCOLTA d'alcune particolari opere spirituali, e profane proibite, Orazioni, e Divozioni vane, e superstiziose, Indulgenze nulle, e apocrife, ed Immagini indecenti, ed illecite*. There are eight pages of condemned *Indulgenze*. Two decrees were passed at Rome in

83 *Est illusio, sibi persuadere, quod notitia Mysteriorum Religionis non debeat communicari fœminis, lectione sacrorum librorum. Non ex fœminarum simplicitate, sed ex superba Virorum scientia, ortus est scripturarum abusus, et natæ sunt hæreses.*

84 *Abripere e Christianorum manibus Novum Testamentum, seu illud clausum tenere, aufereudo eis modum illud intelligendi, est illis Christi os obturare.*

85 *Interdicere Christianis lectionem Sacræ Scripturæ, præsertim Evangelii, est interdicere usum luminis filiis lucis, et facere ut patiantur speciem quandam excommunicationis.*

From the condemnation of these propositions (by the translation of which the Pope and his adherents must abide) sanctioned by the penalty of excommunication and an appeal, if necessary, to the secular arm, and without any exception in favour even of the idolized Vulgate, it is impossible not to perceive that, as a general privilege, the perusal of the Scriptures is altogether condemned by the authority of the Roman Church. The Bull is inserted at length in the Spanish Indexes of 1739 (*Suplemento, &c.*) and of 1747, the first under PROPOSITIONES, the other under PASCHALIS QUESNEL. It may just be added, that this condemning Constitution was formally received and legalized by the Gallican Church in an *Arrêt du Parlement de Paris*, excepting the cases in which any condemnation may trench upon the liberty of that Church. It is dated Feb. 15, 1714. *Signé, DONGOIS*. The *Arrêt* is inserted in *Reflexions Disintéressées sur la Constitution, &c.* [Par J. BASNAGE.] Amst. 1714, pp. 329, &c.

1678, abolishing these by wholesale, as here represented*.

The year 1707 brings us to another folio of Spain, of which Struvius, in his *Bibliotheca*, Jugler's edition, the third volume, from the *Acta Erud. Lat.* a. 1709, p. 143, writes, that it was published at the close of the year with great pomp, amidst public and solemn processions, in which the gravest assessors of the Inquisition, and persons of the highest dignity, were present. The title is, *NOVISSIMUS LIBRORUM PROHIBITORUM ET EXPURGANDORUM INDEX pro Catholicis Hispaniarum Regnis PHILIPPI V. Reg. Cath. Ann. 1707.* On the engraved title, *INDEX EXPURGATORIUS HISPANUS ab Ex^{mo.} D^{no.} DIDACE SARMIENTO ET VALLADARES inceptus, & ab Ill^{o.} D^{no.} D. VITALE MARIN perfectus. ANNO MDCCVII. De Consilio Supremi Senatus Inquisitionis Generalis.* It is in two volumes, fol.; the first, to the letter I, containing 791 pages, which includes a supplement up to that letter, in addition to the unnumbered pages of the prefatory matter; the second, to the end of the alphabet, containing 324 pages.

* See them in COLLET, *Traité des Indulg.*, Tome i., pp. 413, &c. C. CHAIS has made some excellent observations upon this self-condemning conduct in his valuable *Lettres sur les Jubilés*, &c. *Lett.* xxviii., pp. 774, et seq. He is of course in the Index, and his work scarce.

Little alteration was made in the prefatory matter. It begins with the Edict of the Bishop of Ceuta, and Inquisitor General, DON VIDAL MARIN, who there states that his predecessor, as Inquisitor General, Don Diego Sarmiento of Valladares, having been prevented by death from completing a reimpression of the last Spanish Index of 1640, —considering the importance and necessity of its continuation and publication, in order that the books and pamphlets up to the present time prohibited and ordered to be expurgated, might be universally known, and the faithful be preserved from the errors which the perusal of them might occasion, he had applied himself to that which he esteemed a principal duty, committing the correction of the press to persons of the first literature, prudence, and experience, and adding the Edict of the Archbishop of Damascus, Inquisitor General, author of the last Index, with the *Reglas* and *Advertencias* contained in it; and having found nothing to add, expunge, or alter, he had resolved, with the concurrence of the Royal and Holy Council of the Inquisition, to reprint them literally. The edict referred to then follows: to which is subjoined a confirmation of that, together with the fore-mentioned *Reglas*, *Advertencias*, and *Mandatos*, which are to be enforced with the utmost rigour of the law; and provision is made for the

publication in all churches, cathedrals, colleges, cities, &c. It is dated, Madrid, June 15, 1707, signed by the Inquisitor, and by Don Antonio Alvarez de la Puente, Secretary of the King and the Council. I add an observation relative to this Index from a MS. account of a projected Index for the Austrian Netherlands, the substance of which will be given in its place, and in it from the *Avis* of the Privy Council of Brussels. *Et pour montrer qu'il est très difficile d'examiner les livres, et de discerner s'ils doivent être condamnés ou pas, on n'a qu'à prendre recours à l'Index Expurgatorius d'Espagne, émané dernièrement en l'an 1707, où se trouvent plusieurs livres approuvés, que Rome a condamné, et de même plusieurs condamnés par les Inquisiteurs, que la Ste. Congrégation n'a pas trouvé convenir de proscrire.*—Fol. 470.

I introduce here, out of the chronological order, what purports to be a Supplement to the preceding Index; but from the distance of time at which it was separately published—thirty-two years—and from its bulk, being sixty-three pages, and in folio, issuing likewise from a new Inquisitor-General, it deserves to be considered as an additional Index. It is entitled, SUPLEMENTO a el INDICE EXPURGATORIO, *que se publico en veinte y seis de Junio del año de 1707. Por el santo Tri-*

bunal de la Santa General Inquisicion. Ponense en este Suplemento todos los Libros prohibitos, ó mandados expurgar desde el dicho dia hasta este presente año de 1739, &c. En Madrid. En la Oficina de Joseph Gonzalez, &c. M.DCC.XXXIX. The Edict which gives authority to the work is by DON ANDRES DE ORBE Y LARRIATEGUI, Archbishop, Inquisitor General, &c. It contains only the necessary matter. The contents of the book are none of them of striking interest. The whole of the Bull *Unigenitus* is inserted, pp. 38—47, as it is indeed in the subsequent Spanish Index of 1747. With the copy which I possess are bound up two separate Edicts in folio, each condemning several works, the first dated Sept. 6, 1739; the other, June 13, 1741. *Rapin's* History of England, in French, and *Calmet's* History of the Old and New Testament, are condemned in the last.

An unobtrusive Roman Index appeared in 1711, under sanction of the name of Clemens XI. P. O. M., from the Apostolic Press. It has no prefatory matter, nor any peculiarity, unless the following condemnation may appear such—*Censura Sac. Facultatis Theologicæ Parisien. in Librum, cui Titulus est: Amadæi Guimenii Lomaensis, olim primarii Sacræ Theologiæ Professoris*

Opusculum, singularia universæ fere Theologiæ Moralis complectens, &c.

There is a work, in two duodecimo volumes, published at Namur and Liege, in 1714, by le P. JEAN BAPTISTE HANNOT, *Recollet, Lecteur en Théologie, &c., avec approbation*, with this title: INDEX ou Catalogue des principaux Livres condamnés, &c. It is simply a selection without authority, directed principally against *Jansenism*, but containing some later decrees of importance. The author is a zealous advocate for the Marian idolatry, and assigns as the cause of his present labour, a defective Index published at Rome, under the name of the Master of the Sacred Palace, a Dominican*, which was corrected afterwards by the pope, and in which were contained

* What this Index, or Appendix, for such is the dubious way in which it is named, may be, I am quite at a loss. It must, if at all, be found between the years 1681 and 1714, but most probably near the former, when, as we shall afterwards see, the work of *la Mère d'Agreda* was condemned. The circumstance of the first *Appendix* to the Index of 1704, which starts from 1681, being called *Unica*, and repeated in Hannot, under the title of *unica fidelis*, with implied reference to the other, containing the offensive condemnation, as *infidelis*, seems to point this out as the intended substitute; and there is reason to apprehend that the first Index, or Appendix, was effectually suppressed, because it was *too faithful*. Papal writers study to give no light upon such subjects; and this, perhaps, is one of the instances in which they have almost completely succeeded in their efforts at concealment. They would have done so perfectly, but for the officious censoriousness of the present partisan.

condemnations of the *Office of the Immaculate Conception*, and of some works of *la Mère Marie de Jesus, dite d' Agreda*—works which, as he proceeds, instead of being condemned, are highly esteemed, at Rome; and he extracts from a brief of Paul V. a passage, in which the pontiff denies his condemnation of the office, and adds, *neque enim imminuere ullo pacto voluimus Deiparæ cultum, sed potius, quoad ejus fieri poterit, augere et amplificare.*

One of the small Roman Indexes was printed at Rome, 1716, according to *Struvius**; 1717, according to *Peignot*.

One issued at Prague deserves more express notice, from the place of its publication. INDEX LIBRORUM PROHIBITORUM INNOC. XI. P. M., *jussu editus usque ad Annum 1681. Eidem accedit in fine Appendix usque ad mensem Junii 1704. Juxta Exemplar Romanum Recusus Pragæ, in Aula Regia, apud Josephum Antonium. Schelhart, Archi-Episcopalem Typographum 1726. Sumptibus Pauli Lochner, Bibliopolæ Norimbergensis. 8vo.* There is a second Appendix to 1716. This, however, was not the first effort of Bohemian zeal in the proscription of heresy: its obedience to papal injunction took place, as we

* *Fischer's* edition, p. 827.

have seen, in 1596; for, in the year 1568, that resolute bigot, Pius V., in a letter to the Archbishop of Prague, among other measures very urgently enforced, proceeds,—*Præterea curare te oportet, ut in urbe Pragâ, aliisque Bohemiæ locis habeantur indices sive catalogi eorum librorum, quorum lectio prohibita fuit, ut Catholici noscant, a quibus libris abstinere debeant* *.

Another of *Bohemia*, and more original, appeared in 1729, in 12mo. The title is—*CLAVIS hæresin claudens et aperiens*. The rest, translated into Latin, is, *Clavis doctrinas hæreticas ad intelligendam reserans, et ad extirpandum claudens: sive*

* *Apostolicarum Pii Quinti Pont. Max. Epistolarum Libri Quinque. Nunc primum in lucem editi operâ et curâ FRANCISCI GOUBAU. Ant. 1640. p. 96.* This is a work of undoubted genuineness, and of great importance in other respects, particularly as exhibiting the unintermitted and urgent efforts of the writer, during the whole six years of his pontificate, to stimulate the French monarch, Charles IX., and his mother more especially, to the extirpation of heresy—a course of instruction from which they proved in due time that they had well profited. The authenticity of these letters is confirmed, beyond the reach of controversy, by CIACONI *Vitt. Pontt., &c.*, ed. ult., Tom. iii., col. 1016, and more particularly by GABUTI *de Vita, &c.*, PII V., Romæ, fol., 1605, pp. 242, 3, who intended himself to have published them, but was prevented by death. A considerable portion indeed of these letters, translated into Italian, is appended to CATENA's *Life of Pius*, in Italian. Pp. 221 et seq.

It may just be added, that Benedict XIII., by a Bull, dated Aug. 21, 1727, put restrictions upon the absence from Rome of the Consultors of the Congregation of the Index; as, from that cause, inexpert ones sometimes took the place, and performed the duty, of the regular and expert. See *Bull. Mag.*

Index librorum quorundam decipientium, scandalosorum, suspectorum et prohibitorum, præmissa ratione, qua libri mali et noxii inquiri et extirpari possint. Reginæ Hradecii (Koenigsgraetz). The principal books contained in it are *German* and *Bohemian*: there are but few *Latin**.

* STRUVII Biblioth. ed. *Jugler*, pp. 1658, 9.

CHAPTER V.

AUSTRIAN-BELGIC Index, manuscript and unpublished, prepared for the Netherlands, 1735, et seq.—Bossuet and his Exposition—Roman Indexes, 1744 and 1750—SPANISH Index, Prohibitory and *Expurgatory*, 1747—ROMAN Indexes, 1758 and 1786—SWEDISH History of Prohibited Books, 1764—AUSTRIAN Indexes from 1763 to 1778—Giornale Ecclesiastico from 1785 to 1793—SPANISH Indice Ultimo, 1790, and Supplemento, 1805—Subsequent censorial operations—Present force of the Bull in Cœna Domini—ROMAN Indexes, 1806 and 1819—Parisian edition, 1826; of Brussels, 1828—GALLICAN Catalogue and Arrets, 1827—Separate Decrees—Works non-condemned by the authors and patrons of the Papal Indexes—Roman Liturgical books.

WE are now called upon to revisit a country to which we have long been strangers, but which took the lead with great energy and perseverance in the productions which form the subject of this volume—the Netherlands. Something like a preparation appeared in a slight and unauthorized work, just noticed, published at Namur. But more formal and resolute efforts began to be made about the time to which our chronology has brought us; and, although eventually abortive, they discover in the circumstances so much of the genuine spirit of the great power by which such efforts are animated and sustained—so much of the ambition, the encroachment, and the savage intolerance of the papal system operating by its

most congenial instruments, Inquisitions and Jesuits—that our attention, although rather extended, will be well rewarded, by directing it to the specimen about to be exhibited. The principal materials of the detail are derived from two manuscript volumes in folio in my possession, which, from the last date contained in them, appear to have been written about the year 1766. But being written in different hands, and before the whole was put into binding, portions may have been, and probably were, executed, soon after the first date, which is 1735*. The title is—*CATALOGUS PRELIMINARIS donec amplior sequatur, Quorundam Librorum tum prohibitorum tum noxiorum, aut Periculosorum et Proscriptorum e BELGIO AUSTRIACO, pro Informatione ac Directione deputatorum ad Librorum examen, Censuram, approbationem, &c., nec non pro Cautela, et Regula Typographorum, Bibliopolarum, aliorumque Rei Litterariæ studiosorum, universorumque Lectorum in Belgio Austriaco.* Then follows an *INSTRUCTIO SUMMARIA*, consisting of fourteen paragraphs of General Rules, which we shall have to recur to. The body of the Index immediately succeeds, under this title: *INSTRUCTIO SPECIFICA, sive Cato-*

* Mr. William Baynes, Paternoster-row, of whom I purchased the MS., believes that it came from the Library of the Abbey of Tongerlo, in Brabant.

logus, ac designatio quorundam Librorum tum prohibitorum tum noxiorum, aut periculosorum et proscriptorum e Belgio Austriaco, qui plerumque propriis, quantum fieri potuit, titulis, et ordine alphabetico proponuntur. **MONITUM.** *Libri qui hic proscribuntur in uno aut altero idiomate, censeri debent proscripti in quocunque alio idiomate sint impressi nisi omnino constet de illorum correctione et Legitima approbatione; idem statuendum de Variis ejusmodi Librorum Editionibus.* It is peculiar to this Index to separate from the titles of the books condemned, the grounds upon which they are condemned, in a distinct list, which follows and refers to the former by *numbers*, under the title, **QUALIFICATIONES ET CENSURÆ LIBRORUM.** There is an addition of *Omitted Books.* The remainder of the volumes consists of documents relative to the project, of which a part has been published in the *Supplementum* to the Collection of the Works of Z. B. van ESPEN; in fol.; printed at Brussels, 1768. This author indeed, though not living at the time, was in a peculiar manner connected with the whole undertaking. He was among the most formidable opponents whom the Jesuits had to encounter. But we must go a little to the origin of things. The Netherlands, the most prolific field of literal wars, was the same of the theologic one between the Jesuits and Jansen-

ists. Jansenius was a bishop in that country, and Quesnel, who adopted and rendered popular his peculiar opinions, retired to the same, and was so attractive to some, and so formidable to others, as to give his name to a new sect, called, after him, Quesnelism. It was not probable that their near, indeed intermixed, neighbours, the Jesuits, would long continue a cordial concord with their old opponents; and, flushed with the victory which they had obtained by the papal condemnation of the hostile doctrines, a victory of which they had good reason to repent, they would not want the will, at least, and the endeavour, to put these troublesome enemies in chains. Towards the close of a *Life*, subjoined to the supplemental volume of the great Jurist who has been alluded to, we learn that the persecution which drove a man of eighty-two to seek refuge in another country, terminated in its natural consequence, his death, which happened in 1728. This was the signal for his enemies to make their grand effort; and no means appeared so eligible and likely to succeed as that of forming a new catalogue of prohibited books, in which should be inserted the works of Van Espen. This they did in the very year immediately succeeding his death; and they had so much influence with the Governness, as to procure a placard, of June 25, 1729,

authorising the work, which, however, was effectually resisted for the time by the Council of Brabant. The authors were not discouraged; and, in the year 1735, produced the new catalogue which is now before us. It is said to have been compiled by Father *Wouters*, a Jesuit, and by M. *Hoynck van Papendrecht*, Archpriest of Malines.

The best general notion which can be given of this Index will be supplied by transcribing the *Instructio Summaria*, which is very peculiar and original.

INSTRUCTIO SUMMARIA.

Paragraphus 1^s.

Continens regulas confectas per Patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos, et auctoritate SS. D. N. Pii IV, Pont. Max. comprobatos, atque ex mandato Regiæ Catholicæ Majestatis Philippi II. publicatas.

Regula prima.

Libri omnes, &c. &c. [inserantur Regulæ decem quas indicis vocamus.]

Volumus et mandamus omnibus et singulis ad quos pertinet, ut circa librorum comprobationem, impressionem, venditionem, retentionem, et usum exactissime observantur et observari curentur regulæ indicis Consilii Tridentini et Gubernatorum Belgii, præsertim vero juxta Mandatum Philippi Secundi Hispaniarum Regis expressum in Litteris, 15th Feb. 1569.

§^s 2^s.

Per decretum nostrum datum in nostra Civitate Bruxellensi die 15 Jun. 1729. §^o. 4^o. generatim proscripsimus et hoc novo nostro mandato iterum proscribimus omnes Libros, et singulos qui sunt prohibiti per Indicem Sacri Concilii Tridentini et per approbatum a Philippo Rege Elenchum Librorum prohibitorum factum. Madriti, 1624 *.

§^s 3.

Inter libros noxios et proscriptos e Belgio Austriaco haberi volumus omnes et singulos qui veluti tales interdicti sunt tam per edicta varia Caroli Vⁱ, quæ extant in Libro 1^o Edict. Fland. Fol. 88, 103, 107, 113, 122, 140, 145, et 147, quam per Edicta Philippi IIⁱ. et per Librorum Catalogum ejusque Appendicem, ac Indicem Expurgatorium ejusdem Regis Catholici jussu et autoritate concinnatos 15 Feb. 1569, et 31 Julii, 1571.

§^s 4.

Inter libros proscriptos censi debent tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti Biblia omnia Latina, Græca, Flandrica, et Gallica quæ in Indice Philippi II., et aliorum principum enumerantur. Deinde proscripta sunt et omnino proscribuntur, Biblia Hæreticorum operâ impressa, vel eorundem annotationibus, argumentis, summariis scholiis et indicibus referta. Item Biblia omnia, et Bibliorum Summaria, ac compendia etiam historica vulgari quocunque idiomate sine debita approbatione conscripta, juxta reg. 3. ind. Conc. Trid. et in Indice fol. 72, 73, 74, et 75, in ind. rom. fol. 30, secundum edicta principum Belgii data 14. 8bris 1529, 7, 8bris 1531, 22. 7bris 1540, 12.

* Both the Council of Brabant, and the Privy Council of Brussels are wonderfully perplexed to find out what Index or Elenchus is intended. And no wonder, for not the least trace of such an one is discoverable; and yet it is hard to suppose it a sheer mistake.

7bris 1544, in Lib. 1^o. Edict. Fland. fol. 107, 113, 122, 129. Alia quædam Biblia in hac patria magis nota suis propriis titulis et idiomate dabit Instructio Specifica ordine Alphabetico.

§^s 5.

De genere itidem proscriptorum sunt libri omnes, quæcunque folia quocunque idiomate impressa contra Constitutiones Romanorum Pontificum, Pii Vⁱ. *Ex omnibus afflictionibus*, &c. Urbani VIIIⁱ. *In eminenti*, &c. Innocentii Xⁱ. *cum occasione*, &c. Alexandri VIIⁱ. *ad sacram*, &c. et Formulæ ab eodem Pontifice præscriptum, et Clementis Xⁱ. *Vineam Domini Sabaoth*, &c. *Unigenitus Dei Filius*, et ejusdem Epistolam *Pastoralis Officii*, &c., juxta antiquos et receptos Ecclesiæ Canones, et edicta principum adversus oppugnatores doctrinæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ, ac speciatim juxta Constitutiones et Decreta varia Pontificum jam supra nominatorum necnon secundum Edicta Philippi IVⁱ. 28 Feb. 1651. Leopoldi Archiducis, 28 Feb. 1651. Caroli IIⁱ. 30 Apr. 1667. 20 xbris 1697, et 22 Martii 1700, denique secundum intentionem et voluntatem Augustissimi nostri Imperatoris Caroli VIⁱ. expressam in litteris datis ad Episcopos Belgii die 16 Maii, 1723, ad Principem Eugenium et iterum ad eosdem Episcopos Belgii, die 26 Maii, 1723, &c.

§^s 6.

Juxta Pontificum Constitutiones et Principum Edicta Superiori paragrapho citata proscribuntur Opera Michaelis Baii, doctoris Lovaniensis; Liber Cornelii Jansenii Episcopi Iprensis, cui titulus *Augustinus*, &c. Libri et Opuscula Paschasii Quesnelli, contra Const. Aplicam, et pro Clero Ultrajectino, omniaque alia scripta et folia quæ in defensionem damnatæ istorum autorum doctrinæ quocunque idiomate conscripta sunt vel imposterum scribentur.

§^s. 7.

Proscripti sunt et proscribimus omnes libros qui contra Sanctam Sedem prodierunt in favorem Archi-Episcopi Sebastiani, Episcopi Babiloniensis, prætensi Ultrajectensis Capituli, et aliorum refractoriorum Hollandiæ, utpote variis variorum Pontificum constitutionibus et Decretis damnatos.

§^s. 8.

Libri omnes, Conciones, Disputationes, Tractatus, Theses, &c., contra Immaculatam beatæ Mariæ Virginis Conceptionem, juxta Ind. Rom. Fol. 175. Item folia omnia contra Scapulare Divæ Virginis, Indulgentias Portiunculæ, Reliquias S. S^m., &c., in quibus Hæretico spiritu exsibilantur approbatæ ab Ecclesia piorum hominum devotiones. Proscribuntur etiam Libri omnes, et Libelli famosi, Pasquilli et Satyræ, necnon Imagines in quibus ludibrio vel contemtu puncta Fidei Catholicæ, Romanæ Ecclesiæ, vel ejus Superiores exponuntur, item omnes in quibus detrahitur famæ, et honori personarum, utriusque status, tam Ecclesiastici quam Civilis, juxta Ind. Conc. Trid. Fol. 217, &c., accedunt Edicta Principum quæ data sunt die 8 Maii, 1521; in lib. 1^o edict^m Flandriæ fol. 101, 14 8bris, 1529; ibid. fol. 109, 22 7bris, 1540; ibid. fol. 124, 1 Maii, 1566, in Lib. 2. edict. Fland. fol. 22, 19 Feb. 1593; ibid. fol. 17, et hæc sæpissime postmodum fuerunt renovata nuperrime vero per edictum nostrum datum Bruxellis, die 22 Feb., 1727.

§^s. 9.

Proscribuntur libri omnes, et quæcunque folia quocunque idiomate edita qui fideles exhortantur ad promiscuam Sacrarum litterarum Lectionem et eam necessariam esse docent, juxta Reg. 4, Ind. Conc. Trid. et edicta principum pro observatione ejusdem Concilii, data die 11 Julii, 1565, præcipue vero die 14 8bris, 1529, in Libro 1^o Edict. Flandriæ.

§^s. 10.

Inter proscriptos e Belgio Austriaco haberi debent, libri omnes qui res lascivas, seu obscœnas tractant, narrent aut docent, item Imagines similia exhibentes, sive hæ separatim sint impressæ sive in Libros sparsim compactæ, secundum Regulam 7, Concilii Tridentini, et Edictum datum 18 xbris, 1565, die 15 Feb., 1569, et 26 7bris, 1665. Item 25 7bris, 1550, in Lib. edict. Flandriæ, fol. 186, 22 Feb. 1727.

§^s. 11.

Omnino proscribimus Libros omnes, qui eo collimant, ut novum excitent, aut veterem renouent conflictum jurisdictionis, inter Potestatem Ecclesiasticam et Civilem.

§^s. 12.

Libri omnes, libelli, scripta, &c., in quibus duella defenduntur, et approbantur, juxta Concil. Trid^m. in quo Duellorum detestabilis usus proscribitur et per Edictum Regium die 14 Martii, 1636, et in Indice Romano, fol. 82.

§^s. 13.

Proscribuntur præterea Theses Theologicæ, Philosophicæ, et aliæ quæcunque in quibus amussim non fuerunt observati Sex primi paragraphi, quos in hac materia observandos declaravimus in mandato nostro in Civitate Bruxellensi dato die 9 Julii, 1731.

§^s. 14.

Denique proscriptos esse volumus Libros, Libellos, et Folia omnia, sub quocunque titulo, quocunque idiomate, et quacunque in materia, Theologica, Politica, Juridica, Historica, &c., sunt conscripta, in quorum compositione, et venditione non fuerunt observata quæ in Concilio Trid. atque a Summis Pontificibus requisita sunt, quæque Principes Belgii, [vel] ejus Governatores observari exactissime se velle decla-

rarunt in Edictis suis datis die 17 Dec., 1544; in Lib. 1^o. Edict. Flandriæ, fol. 129, 30 Junii, 1546; ibid. fol. 134, die 29 Apr., 1550; ibid. fol. 157, die 19 Maii, 1570. In Lib. 2, Edict. Flandriæ, fol. 8, et Prædecessorum nostrorum mandata renovavimus duobus aliis decretis datis iterum in civitate nostra Bruxellensi die 25 mensis Junii, anno 1729, et 9 Julii, 1731.

It will be easily supposed, from the character of this introductory piece, and from the preceding observations, as well as the title of the whole, that the Index has a particular, and indeed principal, regard to Jansenism and its descendent sects, whether with or without a distinct name. And it is the fact: although at the same time the parent principles of Jesuitism, devoted attachment to the Italian church, and the exaltation of the ecclesiastic above the civil power, are by no means lost sight of. The work consists, as its authors or defenders assert, of 2268 articles, which is a moderate number, particularly if it include the numerous repetitions of the same work under different titles, which occur in it. Although as intolerant as may be supposed, the production is respectably executed. It is hardly necessary to adduce particulars. Yet there is one, which ought not to be overlooked; for who would have expected to find in these ranks the name of Bossuet

—Bossuet, the eagle of Meaux, the *Malleus Hæreticorum*? But here we have the condemnation in plain terms, and without any ceremony. *Defensio declarationis celeberrimæ quam de Potestate ecclesiastica sanxit Clerus Gallicanus 19 Martii, 1682, ab Illus. ac Rev. Jacobo Benigno Bossuet Meldensi Episcopo ex speciali jussu Ludovici Magni Scripta*, 2 vol. in 4to. *Luxemburgi*, 1730.

The document which immediately follows, and which is found in the second Appendix, prefixed to the Supplemental volume of Van Espen's works, with some others to be noticed in their place, is, the *Project of a Placard* to authorize the new catalogue by Charles (VI.) Emperor of Germany. It purports, that the Cardinal, Archbishop of Malines, and the Bishops of Bruges, Gand, Antwerp, and Ipres, having observed the increasing and irresistible diffusion of heretical writings, had devised and composed the Catalogue presented to him, as the most effectual remedy; and that, having consulted with his sister, his Lieutenant and Governess-General of the Netherlands, he had ordained as follows, in Thirty-three Articles. The first enjoins the publication of the Catalogue with the present ordonnance. The second forbids the selling, &c., of the condemned books under pain of ——. It is hardly necessary to specify the others, which authorize the most

minute and vexatious visitations of booksellers' shops, &c., and interfere in the most tyrannical manner with public sales of books, and, in fact, and in one word, introduce the most rigorous practice of the Inquisition with all its barbarizing consequences. The printed copy has the date, 24th Dec., 1735.

By a letter of the Governess, which is not printed, and is dated Sept. 24, 1735, this project is referred to the Council of Brabant for its advice.

That advice is given at considerable length, and appears in the Appendix which has already been referred to. It exposes very effectually the arbitrary and unjust character of a great portion of the censures in the proposed Index, and the Rules annexed to it, as well as the Ordonnance with which it was intended to be accompanied; more especially objecting to the imposition of the Tridentine Rules. The argument, however, which represents the Expurgatory Belgic Index of 1571 as qualifying and restraining the Prohibitory one previously issued in 1569, hardly appears to be conclusive. It is, indeed, simply local; and does not affect the general train of reasoning. The document concludes with recommending a reference to the other councils of the provinces.

Dated 12 Jan., 1736. Some small documents are added at the end.

The editors of the Appendix which we have had occasion to refer to so frequently, affirm that all the councils agreed in the same view of the affair; and that the *Consultum* of that of Brabant was followed by those of the *Privy Council* of Brussels and the Grand Council of Malines. 'The two last,' they add, 'are said to be more extended: but we have not been able to procure them.'

In my MS. the next piece which occurs is that very desideratum, the *Avis du Conseil Privé*. It certainly is much longer and more definite than that of Brabant. It occupies from fol. 310 to 473. This council goes much over the same ground as that of Brabant: but when it comes to the Catalogue itself it is more elaborate and explicit, proposing certain modifications, which, in its opinion, would render the work unobjectionable. It suggests a triple division of the books specified—1, of those absolutely condemned; 2, of those which may be allowed till farther examination and decision; 3, of those allowed absolutely. It then proceeds to every item in order, classing them according to the proposed division. The criticisms, generally speaking, are judicious. In the

last paragraph on the letter G, we have the following important observation. *Il seroit inutile de répéter, que dans tout le dit Catalogue on ne trouve pas condamné un seul livre de ceux qui ont voulu attribuer aux Papes ce pouvoir illimité, à l'égard des Princes séculiers, ce qui prouve encore le nécessité qu'il y a de maintenir les auteurs, qui à cet égard ont soutenu les droits des Princes**. It is remarkable that, in fol. 445, the members of the council declare, that the author of the Index is unknown to them. They do not therefore suppose that the alleged authors are the real. The manner in which they vindicate some works of imagination, denounced in the Catalogue, fol. 448, does not impress a notion, to say the least of it, of the rigidity of their morality. The difficulty of correction, when it comes to the execution, and the necessity in such cases of re-impression, are insisted upon; and it is roundly asserted, with respect to books absolutely bad, that no decisive opinion has been found possible, either in their own or any other country. They conclude by recommending to Her Serene Highness, that if any new Catalogue should be judged necessary, it should include only books of the first class, and that the project should be altered according to their sug-

* This was a common and just complaint: it was made by Fra Paolo, in a part of his *Discorso* on the Inquisition, which has been referred to.

gestions. *Ainsi avisé au Conseil Privé de sa Majesté Impériale et Catholique, tenu à Bruxelles le 1736.*

To the Council of Brabant, the Governess, Marie Elisabeth, replies, that she is resolved to adopt the Catalogue proposed by the Privy Council, and hopes that no more difficulties will be interposed. She vindicates the part and station taken by the ecclesiastics, as being a province peculiarly their own, and admitted as such by their sovereign, Philip IV. She expresses herself indignant at the observation, that the attempt of the bishops only tended to introduce the Roman Inquisition into the country, and that the extreme rigour of the old placards produced rebellions, which, on the contrary, as she affirms, they alone were able to suppress. This letter, in the Index, or Table of Contents, of my MS., is said to have been dictated by the compilers and authors of the Catalogue, profiting by the influence of Father Amiot, Jesuit, and Confessor of Marie Elisabeth, over the mind of that princess.

There follows a letter, relative to the last, by some ministers whom Her Serene Highness consulted upon this subject. It is ably written, and is principally employed in vindicating the University of Louvain from the aspersions cast upon it; in exposing the encroachments of the ecclesiastics

concerned; and in impressing the impolicy of suffering such a document to appear with the sanction of the name and authority of the august personage whom they are addressing.

There is another letter from the same persons, insisting upon the necessity of promulgation by the civil power, in order to give force to the decrees and constitutions of councils and sovereign pontiffs.

All these remonstrances notwithstanding, the Governess was prevailed upon to direct a command to the Council of Brabant to publish the Catalogue with the omission of the articles objected to, and which were to be the subject of future examination, and to watch over the appearance of new publications; concluding, that the authors of the Catalogue acted with her entire concurrence. The writer of the Index of this MS. states, that the letter produced no effect, and that, in spite of all the efforts of the individuals who made them, the Catalogue never obtained a legal sanction. It remains, therefore, as nothing more than a monument of the will, and of what would have been the act, had there been the power. *Inceptus clamor frustratur hiantes.*

There are several other pieces in these volumes connected with the main subject, particularly regulations relative to sales of books, and the intro-

duction of the Index of Benedict XIV. of 1758, in which were condemned some of Van Espen's works, and of which the circulation was prohibited in the provinces. Some, not all, of these are in the supplemental volume to Van Espen's works, in Appendix I.

The insertion of the name of Bossuet, which has been noticed, is an invitation which can hardly be resisted (although at the place it would have occasioned too great an interruption) of inquiring into the extraordinary predicament of this author, relative to another work of much more celebrity than that condemned in the abortive Index of Flanders—I mean, *Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique, &c.* For the *Defensio* he had *one* narrow escape, which has been specified; and *another* will be recorded in the future pages of this work, at no great distance. But it was not intended to be generally known, or indeed known at all, that a somewhat similar jeopardy awaited the *Exposition*; a work which, being intended to furnish the best reason to a French Marshal for a meditated transition from the Calvinistic to the Roman faith, was constructed with dexterous accommodation to the existing case, and was eminently fitted for general adoption in similar cases. It was designed so to be; and it appeared at the critical time which needed such

an engine. An attempt, long in contemplation and preparation with the monarch and papal clergy of France, to effect what they called the reunion of the Protestants, was drawing towards the fatal accomplishment in which it finally issued; for, although fair means were intended, it was no necessary consequence with the speculators that the opposite should be refused, if the former failed. In very expressive language of their own, we are instructed that charity is furnished with a *wholesome mordacity** when the case requires. But it would be less trouble and less odium, should the method of seduction succeed. This method required—all those softened and delusive exhibitions of doctrine; all those insidious and pliable terms, phrases, and reasonings; all those pathetic complaints of misrepresentation; all those encouragements of an opinion, that the character of their church was changed and meliorated—fatal as the opinion would be to their cause, were they so imprudent as to assert or admit it themselves; which were put in actual execution, not only in France, but, simultaneously, in evident concert, and to the same object, in our own country,

* The circular letter of the General Assembly of the Clergy of France, in 1682, to all the Bishops, on this very subject observes, that although they are not ignorant, contigisse interdum, ut qui per misericordiæ lenitatem allici recusassent, per *salubrem* caritatis quasi *mordacitatem* compellerentur, &c. *Procès Verbal*, &c., en 1681 et 1682, p. 194.

under the reign of the infatuated James; and which, we may proceed to say, have for some years been reacted, and are now being reacted, in the British dominions, where the *Exposition* of Bossuet has found an exact counterpart in the *Declaration of the [ROMAN] Catholic Bishops, the Vicars Apostolic, and their Coadjutors, in Great Britain* *. The Roman Church has a game to play, and a difficult one it is, between diminished claims and increased subjects on the one hand, and increased claims and diminished subjects on the other; and this dilemma will, in a good measure, account for many of her otherwise inexplicable acts in general, and for the extraordinary reception of the Gallican prelate's book in particular. This and other circumstances connected with the production, will render a rather detailed account of it both interesting and useful. In order to avoid multiplied references, I premise, that my principal authorities upon the subject are—the editions of the *Exposition* itself; the *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England*, by Archbishop Wake; with the *two Defences* opposed to what is likewise an important authority, *A Vindication of Bossuet's Exposition*; and a *Reply to Wake, Permissu Superiorum*, London,

* See the proof in KENNEY'S convincing, and therefore valuable, *Facts and Documents*, &c., 1827.

Printed by *Henry Hills*, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, for his Houshold and Chappel, 1686, 1687. The author is reported to be the Rev. John Johnstone, Ord. S. Bened.; and the tracts are peculiarly valuable, as containing two exculpatory letters by the then Bishop of Meaux himself, together with English versions of both. The work, whose fate and character I propose to explain, was written for the personal benefit of Marshal Turenne; and some MS. copies were taken about the year 1667. Four years after, in the *early part* of the year, the *first printed* edition made its transitory appearance. It was suppressed, and not intended to be known; and, for that purpose, was replaced at the end of the same year by what was *avowed* to be the first printed edition. The reason of this attempt was, the alleged and unconfuted allegation of a *censure* by the Doctors of the Sorbonne, and the necessity of alterations, which could not in prudence be allowed to *appear*. But, fortunately, the attempt did not succeed. Dr. Wake obtained a copy of the suppressed edition, imperfect indeed, but supplied in the defective portions, which were not considerable, by a manuscript transcript from a perfect copy in the possession of the family of Turenne. The Doctor has stated the fact, and exhibited several instances of variation in matters of im-

portance between the suppressed and acknowledged first edition*. To this the French Bishop, in the first letter with which he has supplied his Vindicator, replies, that he had never applied to the Sorbonne for its approbation; which, indeed, was neither necessary to be asserted, nor was asserted; and that the ‘treatise being at first given in writing to some particular persons for their instruction, many copies of it were dispersed, and *it was printed* without his order or knowledge,’—and this, after having declared, ‘I never did publish, nor cause to be printed any other edition but that which is in the hands of every one, to which I never *added* nor diminished one syllable.’ In the French it is, *à laquelle je n’ai jamais ni osté ni diminué une syllable.* The letter is dated *à Meaux, 6 Avril, 1686.* Of this, the Protestant has made the natural advantage. Another letter, therefore, from the Bishop, and a *Reply* of his Vindicator were necessary. The *letter* is here, as in the former case, the most important, because it is the most authentic document; and I will give it its whole effect, by quoting entire what it has on the subject before us. ‘I continue still to say, there never was any edition of my book owned

* The fact, exactly as stated by Wake, with the collation of the *real* and *nominal* first edition, was published by BRUEYS, then a Protestant, in his *Réponse au livre, &c.* Quevilly, 1672.

and avowed by me, but that which is now every where spread abroad, and translated into so many languages. But if somebody has been pleased to tack the King's Approbation and Privilege, with the name of *Cramoisy*, to some other edition, it is but a weak argument to give the lie to what I say. But what if I had made some additions* to a printed impression, before it was made public; what if I had corrected in it what I thought fit, or, if they please, altogether changed it? What consequence can they draw from thence against me upon account of those alterations? Let us put the case also, if they please, that somebody should have been so vainly curious as to take the trouble to find out this impression before I had thus corrected it; who has ever undertaken to quarrel with an author for such trifles? Is it not plain, that such men as take so much pains to publish such foolish things, seek not the truth, but to juggle and perplex the world with tricks? After all, Reverend Father, if they still continue to talk of these observations, which do not deserve so much as to be reflected on, and that you judge it profitable, for

* This is a very delusive translation. The French is *ajousté des cartons*; which signifies to cancel a leaf, as Wake has observed. In *Carrière's Dict.*, the word is thus explained: *feuille d'impression qu'on refait à cause de quelque changement; cancel.* At least where *doctrine* is concerned, a true son of Romanism knows well the difference between addition and alteration.

the conviction of opiniators, to have an attestation of the *Sorbonne*, to make it appear that their approbation was not so much as demanded to my book, or that it was not at all submitted to their censure, you may answer with assurance, that they will send it in the most authentic form that contentious spirits can desire. This to the first objection.' The Bishop was charged, that he would not venture to publish the work according to the first draught; and this is his answer! He goes on to admit, that there may be found 'in the edition * which he did not approve, some things not agreeing word for word with the true one;' but, he contends, the variation affects the style only, 'and not at all the substance of the Faith.' This is simple assertion against counter-evidence: and can it be supposed, that so resolute a Romanist would encounter the bare discredit of change without a solid reason? The letter is dated May 13, 1687. The Replier, however, has thought fit to lend a helping hand in the difficulty; and we shall see how he has mended it. 'Let us suppose for a moment, if he' (his opponent) 'will, that what he says were true; that the Bishop of Meaux's *Manuscript* † was defective in some

* In the French the word is plural—probably by mistake.

† The Italics used in this quotation are mine, and made simply to save observations.

points, and differently expressed from what it is now in others ; suppose the Bishop had *permitted an impression to be made*, or (as Cardinal Peron is said to have done, and which *it may be* was all the Bishop did) had *caused a dozen or fourteen copies to be printed off*, to shew them to his friends before he would put the last hand to his book ; nay (if you will), let us suppose, that some of the Doctors of Sorbonne were of the number of those friends to whom he communicated those copies, and that they had made some corrections, observations, or additions ; what is all that (as the Bishop says) to the book as it is at present ? We send them not to the manuscript, nor to the first impression, (*if a few such copies could be properly called an impression*,) but to the book as it is now printed and approved of, as containing the doctrine of the Catholic Church.—Preface to the Reply, § 9. The unwillingness to admit a disavowed first edition, and the incautious allowance of twelve or fourteen copies, is ludicrously prominent ; and the simple reader will feel some surprise to be called upon to believe, that a fact so carefully concealed, and inch by inch denied, while denial appeared tenable, is esteemed by those who have so exerted themselves to be of no consequence whatever.

BARBIER, in his *Dict. des Ouv. Anon et Pseud.*,

under the title *Exposition, &c.*, tome i., pp. 279, &c., confirms what is admitted above, and informs us, that Wake's copy is now in the Archiepiscopal library at Lambeth. He mentions another as in possession of Mercier, l'Abbé Saint Leger, containing 174 pages*, enriched with notes by Bossuet. The third known copy he states as belonging to M. Debure, senior. He adds an account of a most foolish mistake for a Frenchman and a man of letters, in the instance of the Abbé Rive, who supposed himself possessed of one of these rarities, which proved to be a copy of the second edition in 1673. Barbier indeed has added a mistake of his own in giving to the first edition (the acknowledged one, so I always number them) at page 185, fourth line from the top after the word *Dieu*, the addition which exists in subsequent editions *pour conduire tout le troupeau dans ses voyes*. It certainly is wanting in my copy of the first nominal edition.

That edition appeared in the end of the same year, 1671, accompanied with the approbation of the Archbishop of Rheims and ten Bishops, and with the royal licence, dated August, registered November, and *achevé d'imprimer pour la pre-*

* In Brueys' *Réponse, &c.*, the pages appear to be by calculation from the last-mentioned, compared with the acknowledged first edition, about 172.—See *Avertissement*, § 20.

mière fois le premier Decembre, 1671 *; but without any approbation of the Sorbonne, and, what is more, *without any APPROBATION of the POPE.* The volume has 189 pages.

The second edition, as has been stated, issued in 1673; the third, mentioned in Bossuet's first letter, in 1676; the fourth in 1680 †, of which some account will be necessary.

This edition has several important peculiarities. It is preceded by a laboured *Avertissement*, and if not by the attestation of the Sorbonne, which may be accounted for variously, by the long sought, and at last obtained, *Approbation* (as it is called) of the Pope—not Clemens X., who was not to be won to that act of grace, but his successor, Innocent XI. Several other approbations of high officials in the Roman church are added, to silence the whispers that the holy see was not quite favourable. The *Avertissement* was written sufficiently early, to allow the hope, that the secret might yet be kept of there being anything more than several copies *in manuscript* of the Exposition before the first acknowledged edition; and to permit the bold assertion, that le livre fut im-

* This appears to be mere form, and not intended to deceive, though really a falsehood.

† Walch, in his *Biblioth. Theol.*, makes the date 1679, which is of no consequence. It could not be earlier, as appears by the date of the Pope's *Breve*. Both may be right.

primé pour la PREMIERE fois sur la FIN de l'année 1671. This assertion cannot be explained like the official form of a printer's licence. It will, it must, be understood in its literal sense, which the Bishop knew to be false. The writer expatiates upon the marks of approbation which his work had received from Rome, and affirms of it, il a enfin esté approuvé par le Pape mesme de la manière la plus authentique et la plus expresse qu'on püst attendre. This assertion is repeated in nearly the same terms. We shall see, in time, to what it amounts. He likewise details, with apparent triumph, the different translations of his work into English, Irish, Latin, Flemish, German, and particularly Italian. To this last he naturally assigns the chief value, as coming from Rome; and supported by various Italian testimonials. The praise which he bestows upon the exactitude of its execution is significant and intelligible—où un seul mot mal rendu pouvoit gaster tout l'Ouvrage. If it would not have occupied too much space I should with pleasure have examined rather minutely the eight testimonials, with which the author has fortified himself, in addition to that in the first edition, from Italian Cardinals, the Master of the Sacred Palace, the head Librarian of the Vatican, and others; in most of which the approbation is pretty dexterously measured. But

one, and the principal, cannot be dismissed without some observation, the fruit of about ten years' patient expectation, the *Breve* of his Holiness, INNOCENT XI.* And let the reader carefully weigh the terms in which the assumed and boasted approbation is expressed. *Libellus de Catholicæ Fidei Expositione a Fraternitate tua compositus, nobisque oblatus ea doctrina eaque methodo ac prudentia scriptus est, ut perspicua brevitate legentes doceat et extorquere possit etiam ab invitis Catholicæ veritatis confessionem. Itaque non solum a nobis commendari, sed ab omnibus legi, atque in pretio haberi meretur. Ex eo sane non mediocres in orthodoxæ Fidei propagationem, quæ nos præcipue cura intentos ac sollicitos habet, utilitates redundaturas, Deo bene juvante, confidimus; &c.* Here it will be obvious, that the whole amount of the *commendation* is the ability discovered in the work, and its aptitude to overturn heresy and procure converts. I note and repeat the word *commendation*; for it can escape none, how cautiously the word *approbation*, in any form, is avoided. The other instance of dexterity in the *Breve* concerns *doctrine*. It was a main object with the Expositor to obtain papal sanction in this respect: and certain it is the word *doctrina*

* Dated Jan. 4, 1679.

is used, but in a sense at best ambiguous, and, according to the natural construction, signifying *learning* only. No wonder his holiness, after escaping so successfully, started off with agile satisfaction to the safe subjects, the preceptorship to the Dauphin, and the writer's devotedness to the Roman see. And let it not be supposed, that this Expositor of the Faith was not aware of the *reserve* of the Pontiff; for in the French translation given of this, as of the other, documents, the point of *doctrine* in the desired sense is intended to be secured by *separating* it from the other predicates thus: *contient une doctrine, et est composé avec une methode, &c. propre, &c.** And the consciousness of the translator is still more perceptible, with respect to the omitted *approbation*, by giving, as a version of *commendari*, *loué et approuvé de Nous †*. And now let the Bishop of Meaux's friends make the best they can of the pontifical approbation, 'so express that no one can any longer doubt that his book contains the pure doctrine of the Church and of the Holy

* The English translation of 1685 of course does the same; although with the original before the author.

† See LAVAL, *Hist. of Reformation in France*, vol. iv., book viii., pp. 1167, 8, where the Reformers are stated to have been forbidden by a decree of government in 1679, to publish any book without 'Attestation and Certificate, because they pretended, that Ministers had no right to *approve*, but only to *certify*.'

See*!' I have only to remark on the body of the work, that the last section but one, which treats of the authority of the pope after the words, *Il suffit de reconnoître un Chéf établi de Dieu*, adds for the first time, I believe, in this edition, (for the Italian translation of 1678 has it not) *pour conduire tout le troupeau dans ses voyes*. What purpose this figurative and ambiguous sentence was to serve, except its *ambiguity*, which, *at the time*, was of some importance, I am really at a loss to understand. In the Catalogue of Authors immediately after the Preface, in the Vindicator's Reply, is noticed a fifth edition of the Exposition in 1681. The Bishop of Meaux's first letter mentions an edition in 1686, with *une seconde Approbation très Authentique du Pape*, which seems, by the Catalogue appended to the Vindication, to be the ninth. Much more on the subject of this strange production may be seen and read to advantage, especially in the present state of things, in Wake's admirable Treatises; who

* In page thirty-eight of the Avertissement is found the assertion, *qu'en priant les saints, nous les prions SEULEMENT de prier pour nous, &c.* Is this possible? or can the words be received as anything less than a deliberate falsehood, uttered with the intention to deceive, when Romanists, of all men, best know, how many prayers in their Missal and Breviary are directed to saints, to obtain blessings for their worshippers *through their merits and intercession*, and the Virgin Mary is solicited *directly for the bestowal of spiritual benefits*? I notice this explanation the more particularly, because, although a most dishonest, it is yet a most common one.

has not failed to exhibit in all its shameless nakedness, what he calls the *Old Popery* and *New Popery* of the Church of Rome. And here we may dismiss the plausible, but superficial work, of one of the most brutal persecutors of modern times, and the more odious for his hypocritical affectation of lenity.

One of the 8vo. Roman Indexes appeared in 1744, but with additions to 1750. It was published by BENEDICT XIV., but before the publication of his very important *Constitutio*, which appears, and will be considered, in the next Roman edition. The copy in my possession, which seems to be perfect, is peculiar in the want of all the customary prefatory pieces except the *Regulæ*. It has likewise the honourable distinction of having received, for the first time, the just condemnation (the original decree of which I have, dated April 17, 1744) of the infamous work of the Jesuit *Benzi*, Append. p. 564, with another work in vindication of the former, *Ritrattazione*, &c. p. 567. The first is one of those palliations of sin produced by prefixing the diminishing preposition *sub*, of which Papism, and particularly its quintessence, Jesuitism, appears to be judicially enamoured. The author, although in a MS. Revocation (which I suppose to be genuine) bound up with other tracts on the subject in the volume before me,

he specifies the offensive passages particularly condemned, yet in another piece, where he, or his advocate for him, expresses penitence and submission to his sentence, like his predecessor Moya, at the same time insolently justifies his offence. He was severely but justly handled by the respectable Dominican, D. Concina, who was stigmatized as a *Rigorist*. The *Ritrattazione*, &c. is a fictitious recantation put into the mouth of this conscientious man, who is made to address the reader, *Fra Concina convertito al Pietoso Lettore*, and to accuse himself, point by point, of wilful misrepresentation and untruth. Some account of the controversy may be seen in Coudrette's *Hist. de la Comp. de Jesus*, and in the *English History of the Jesuits*, where it appears that Mr. Dallas is not ashamed of advocating the morality of the unprincipled Jesuit.

At present we are called to the last gigantic Index of Spain. LLORENTE states, that the charge of composing this new edition was imposed upon the Jesuits *Casani* and *Carasco*, by D. Francis *Perez del Prado*, Inquisitor General; but that they were not authorized for the work by the Council of the Supreme: that complaints were made to the council, which could not overcome the influence of the royal confessor, who, being a Jesuit himself, favoured his order; that the pope

remonstrated on account of the condemnation of Cardinal Noris, and only prevailed when another confessor succeeded ; that the prohibition of some works of John de Palafox was revoked by the Inquisitor General, whose character as a critic may be ascertained by his lamentation over the age, ‘ that some had carried their audacity to such an execrable extremity, as to desire to read the holy scripture in the vulgar tongue, without any fear of encountering the most mortal poison *.’ But the importance of the subject requires a more ample detail ; and happily that is supplied by the same historian in a subsequent part of his work †. A council having been assembled by Charles III., in 1768, the object of which was to inquire into the Inquisition and particularly the prohibition of books by that tribunal, a report was made, that the usurpation by the Inquisition of this office formerly belonging to diocesan bishops was one of the sources of the prevailing ignorance of the nation, and of the negligence generally complained of in the treatment of books. After charging this body with partiality and injustice in the execution of this office, express reference is made to the Index of 1747, which we are about to describe. Casani and Carasco, the two Jesuits employed to

* *Histoire de l’Inquisition*, &c. Tome i. pp. 480, 1.

† Tome ii. pp. 484—490.

compile it, are accused of falsifying and confounding everything so shamelessly as to require, if not the suppression, the reformation of a society, which only exercised its authority to the injury of the state, of morality, and of Christianity. The Expurgatory of Spain, it adds, is more hostile to the rights of the sovereign and the instruction of the people than the Index of Rome. Certain rules are then proposed for the regulation of future censures; and it is particularly recommended, that they should be submitted to the royal inspection and approbation. The king wished to have the opinion of his minister of justice; who, in 1776, wrote from Aranjuez to D. Philip Bertrand, bishop of Salamanca, then Inquisitor General, approving much the project of a new and corrected Index formed by him. In the last Expurgatory, he writes, confided in 1747 to two Jesuits by the bishop of Teruel, a thousand absurdities were committed. But the most intolerable part was the Appendix, consisting of authors denominated Jansenists, derived from the *Bibliothèque Janseniste* of Father Colonia, a Jesuit, and of which, instead of condemning the book itself, as Benedict XIV. afterwards did in his Index of 1758, it has transferred the contents into its own pages. The writer then refers to the brief of the Pope just mentioned to obtain the

erasure of some works of Cardinal Noris from the Index, which was not effected till after ten years, five letters to the king, and the dismissal of his confessor, P. Rabago *. At that time the writer, as he proceeds to declare, himself applied to Mgr. Quintano, Inquisitor General and Royal Confessor, and obtained a decree purporting, *that the works of Noris had neither been condemned, nor censured, nor denounced by the holy office*—a declaration, he justly adds, little creditable to the tribunal. This Quintano confessed to the king, Dec. 23, 1757, that the late Index was the work of two Jesuits, who had compiled it without the knowledge of his predecessor or of the council of the Inquisition, and exclaimed against their perfidy and artifice, although from obligations a partisan of the order—an acknowledgment, which nothing but the force of truth could have extorted. The minister then proceeded to apply for a like indulgence to other condemned authors: but it was judged a compliment of policy to the pope not to erase more names than he had specially requested. The letter concludes with reprobating the late Catalogue, as opening a door to reprisals, to the spirit of party, and to the progress of ignorance. It will be seen how far this extended introductory account of the Expurgatory Index about to be

* Of this affair we shall have more to say.

examined, and of the accuracy of which no fair doubt can be entertained, is confirmed by the contents of the volumes themselves. They are thus entitled : INDEX LIBRORUM PROHIBITORUM AC EXPURGANDORUM NOVISSIMUS. *Pro universis Hispaniarum Regnis Serenissimi FERDINANDI VI. Regis Catholici, hac ultima editione Illust^{mi}. ac Rev^{mi}. D. D. FRANCISCI PEREZ DE PRADO, Supremi Præsidis, et in Hispaniarum, ac Indiarum Regnis Inquisitionis Generalis jussu noviter auctus, et luculenter, ac vigilantissime correctus. De consilio Supremi Senatus Inquisitionis Generalis juxta exemplar excusus. Adjectis nunc ad calcem quamplurimis Bajanorum, Quietistarum, et Jansenistarum libris.* Matrili : Ex Calcographia Emanuelis Fernandez. Anno Dñi. MDCCXLVII. 2 Tom. fol. These two volumes contain about 1200 pages. They open with the Edict of the author of the last edition, followed by the one preceding it. We have, then, that of the present author ; who produces the old tale of the increase of heretical books rendering necessary a new and enlarged Index, which should embody the separate edicts passed, as occasion required, up to the present time. Both the last Inquisitorial Editors seem content to abide by the argument of their predecessor, in 1640, which indeed is as good as any thing which the cause admits. In the next document he acknowledges

his obligations to the two Jesuits, who have been named, and whose signature he requires, to ensure to the printer his exclusive sale of the work. They are both dated in Aug. 1746. The *Reglas*, &c. present no apparent variation from the two last editions. The substance of the work is the same for form, but enlarged in quantity. All these Indexes answer the purpose of references to some of the best parts, and, in various instances, to the only good or valuable parts, of the works intended to be corrected by their expunction. The reader will recollect the observation of Bp. Barlow to this effect, near the beginning of these pages. J. BAPT. POZA keeps his place in the body of the work in the present edition. The *protestant reprint* likewise of the last edition but one, in 1667, has naturally found a place. But the circumstance in this Index most entitled to attention, and which has already been alluded to, is the insertion and subsequent erasure of some works of *Cardinal Noris*, in that extraordinary and objectionable portion appended to the work, the *Catalogo* of Jansenistic books. The erasure or dismissal of the article is rendered visible (at least in my edition) by the cancelled leaf, pages 1103, 4, the latter of which contains the letter H, where the works would appear under this title — *Historia Pelagiana et Dissertatio super*

quintam synodum œcumenicam edita e Claræ Memorix Henrico Cardinali Norisio sui ordinis Religioso. From the want of a line in each page of the leaf, this article would appear to have occupied four lines of the column*. It is of the more importance to produce this instance, since the remonstrance which it provoked the pope to direct to the Inquisitor General at the time, the Archbishop of Compostella, the year after the publication of the Index, 1748, will reflect considerable light upon the principles which governed, and the manner in which were executed, the censures contained in these literary proscriptions. I quote from a MS. copy of the brief of Benedict XIV.: it occurs, however, in the Supplement of the Bullarium of that pope, ed. Mechlin, 1827. He states the offence committed by the Spanish Expurgators against the Cardinal as having come to his knowledge; and remonstrates with dignity and gentleness. He reminds the Inquisitor of the instances of prudent *economy* and abstinence from the rigour of the law observed by the church when occasion required. He specifies *Tillemont* and the *Vitæ Sanctorum*; and dwells at some

* The article is given as to be obliterated in the Spanish *Indice Ultimo* of 1790, which is to be examined, and in the account of which the whole article will be adduced. It appears under the name of *Noris*; but this could not have been the case in the original insertion, as the page decisively proves.

length upon an anonymous work, but known to proceed from the celebrated *Bossuet*, written at the command of his sovereign, which could hardly find its equal in hostility to the infallibility of the Pontiff, to his superiority to every general council, and to his indirect right over the temporal rights of supreme princes. The proscription of this work was seriously contemplated under his predecessor, but was finally abandoned, not only on account of the merit of the author in other respects, but from a terror of new dissensions*. These instances are closed by a pathetic amplification of the trial to which the writer's forbearance was put, by the works of the learned and laborious *Muratori*. It is of no adequate importance to examine the vindication of the proscribed Cardinal: the illustration of pontifical prudence, or economy, where the interests of the Roman Church are concerned, is the point to which it most behoves us

* The original deserves to be transcribed. Difficile profecto est aliud opus reperire, quod æque adversetur doctrinæ extra Galliam ubique receptæ de Summi Pontificis ex cathedra loquentis infallibilitate, de ejus Excellentia supra quodcunque Oecumenicum Concilium, de ejus Jure indirecto, si potissimum Religionis et Ecclesiæ commodum exiget, super juribus temporalibus Supremorum Principum. Tempore felicis recordationis Clementis XII. nostri immediati Predecessoris serio actum est de opere proscribendo, et tandem conclusum fuit, ut a proscriptione abstereretur, nedum ob memoriam autoris ex tot aliis capitibus de Religione bene meriti, sed ob justum novorum dissidiorum timorem. The Belgic Censors, we have seen, had no such scruple.

to direct our attention. And the principles here exhibited are probably those which regulated both the Index just before noticed, and that to be next more particularly examined, of this occupant of the papal chair. It only remains to be observed, concerning the Index which we are dismissing, that there are always Supplements in these works, of matter accumulating while they are in the press.

Another of the uniform volumes of Rome now engages our attention. It is of the date of 1758, with the usual title, by authority of BENEDICTUS XIV. One peculiarity of this edition is its omission of the last of Clemens VIII.'s observations concerning *Bodinus*. But that which most eminently and importantly distinguishes it is the appearance, for the first time, of S. D. N. BENEDICTI Papæ XIV. *Constitutio qua Methodus præscribitur in examine, et proscriptione Librorum servanda*. To which are to be added certain important *Decrees* upon the same subject. The introductory Brief of the pope, dated Dec. 23, 1757, presents nothing requiring notice; and the same may be said of the preface of Fr. T. A. RICCHINIUS, Secretary of the Congregation of the Index. Then occur the Rules, &c., as in the immediately preceding edition, with one addition

of some importance, in various bearings, by the present pope. It is appended to Clemens VIII.'s observations on the fourth Trent Rule concerning the Bible; and is as follows: 'If versions of this Bible (the Vulgate) into the vulgar tongue are approved by the Apostolic See, or are published with annotations drawn from the holy fathers of the church, or from learned and catholic men, they are allowed. *Decr. Sacr. Congr. Ind. 13 Junii 1757.*' The conditions, it will readily be observed, keep the concession under sufficient control. The *Constitutio*, which we now approach, after giving some account of the two Congregations, and vindicating the care and integrity of that of the Inquisition, from personal knowledge, states, as the foundation of the new and elaborate regulations now published, the complaints,—unjust ones indeed,—which had been urged against the tribunals, as performing their office rashly and perfunctorily: his holiness therefore had thought it expedient, by this instrument, to establish firm and certain rules for the future direction of the censors. They are, as it appears, minute, judicious, and calculated to give satisfaction to writers of the Roman communion; but too long to detail, being obvious, and contained in all the subsequent editions. There had been complaints

(and pretty loud ones from *Poza* and *Raynaud* * in particular), of being condemned *unheard*: this is redressed for the future. Five Rules are then laid down for the direction of the Relators and Consultors: but the main one, which they are to have before their eyes, is—‘the dogmas of the holy church, and the common doctrine of Catholics, which is contained in the Decrees of the General Councils, in the Constitutions of the Roman Pontiffs, and in the consent of the orthodox fathers and of the learned †;’ allowing liberty as to other points. There is a passage relative to such points, which is worth transcribing, being on good authority, at least not Protestant. It refers to certain controversialists in the catholic church, who mutually abuse each other, *magno quidem bonorum scandalo, hæreticorum vero contemptu, qui digladiantibus inter de Catholicis, seque*

* This author, in his *Erotemata*, has not only complained of the injustice of the Roman Censors, but likewise presumed to suggest Rules for the future direction of their criticisms. In his *Gemitus Columbæ*, which is appended to the work, and announces its own subject sufficiently, there occurs an ingenious exemplification, or parody, adopted from *Poza*, of the style of these critics, in a fictitious critique on the Apostle’s Creed, in every article of which is discovered some latent and insidious heresy. The work created its author matter for fresh *Groans*; being soon condemned by the assailed censors. *Decret. Jun. 10, 1659.* I have read, that the most applicable and biting parody is omitted in subsequent editions.

† *Ecclesiæ sanctæ dogmata, et communem Catholicorum doctrinam, quæ Conciliorum generalium decretis, Romanorum Pontificum Constitutionibus, et Orthodoxorum Patrum, atque Doctorum consensu continentur, unice præ oculis habeant.*

mutuo lacerantibus plane triumphant. They have a right to triumph, when those who make their pretended unity a main pillar of their arrogance and barbarity, cannot conceal their own internal dissensions. The rest is of no great importance. The date is, Septimo Idus (9th) Julii, 1753 *. Then follow—*DECRETA de Libris prohibitis, nec in Indice nominatim expressis.* These guilty people never feel themselves safe. They had power enough by their general rules before: but they cannot satisfy themselves without something more explicit. They would condemn, not authors only, but subjects (*materias*). We have, therefore, four sections. The *first* condemns all heretical books, all apologies, bibles, calendars, martyrologies, catechisms, dictionaries. The *second* condemns tracts for or against the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, the controversies between the seculars and regulars in England, in which the bishop of Chalcedon bore a part, Jansenism, the doctrine of a bicepital origin of the Roman church †, or uniting, without subordinating, St. Paul to St. Peter, &c. The *third* condemns Images of a different form and dress from the catholic, &c. &c.

* This constitution was published separately at Rome in the year in which it was made, 1753. I have a copy.

† Which, however, was the fact, if Irenæus, Eusebius, and Epiphanius, are to be trusted. See their testimonies brought together, in PEARSONI *de Serie & Successione &c. inter Opera Posthuma*, Diss. 1, cap. vi., §. i., ii.

Indulgencies of various sorts and ages by wholesale; but those of Leo X. to St. Birgit are spared. The *fourth* condemns unorthodox forms of exorcism, all litanies but the most antient, all alterations of the Missal after the edict of Pius V., particular Rites, and modern Rosaries in derogation of the authentic Rosary sacred to God and the blessed Virgin Mary, without the authority of the Roman see.

In the body of the work we may observe the first and cautious omission of the article *Indices et syllabi omnes, &c.*; and the continued presence of *Poza*, and his works, in defiance of the authority of the Spanish Index. But the article which perhaps deserves most attention is *Bibliothèque Janséniste, ou Catalogue alphabétique des Livres Jansenistes, Quésnellistes*, Bajanistes, ou suspects de ces erreurs*. Decr., 20 Sept., 1749. This, it will be recollected, is the work which supplied the materials of the Anti-Jansenist Appendix in the last Spanish Index; and is an additional and remarkable instance of the flat opposition between the doctrinal and legislative documents of two leading divisions of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, one, indivisible and infallible †.

* The letter *l* is certainly very uselessly doubled in this name.

† I have, and therefore mention, a Roman edition of the year 1770, which bears on its title the name of Benedict XIV., although Clemens XIII.

The next Roman Index was published under the auspices of Pius VI. in 1786. The Secretary of the Index, Fr. HYAC. MARIA BONFILIUS, in his preface, refers, not to the immediately preceding, but to that of 1758, as the last. This preface is the only thing new, excepting, as the writer details, some trifling improvement in the arrangement of the names. There are appendixes reaching to 1806. I should have said that Benedict's, and other, as well as this, Index, are adorned with a frontispiece, representing the burning of the magical books of the Ephesians, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, xix., 19, 20,—an obvious coincidence truly! * Possibly, however, as much might

succeeded in 1769. It has nothing additional, except three appendixes; the second carrying on the index to the year of the title, 1770; and the third, with a fresh set of pages, to 1779. And this, in fact, is the reason given in the next index for not considering it as a fresh index, but rather as a republication, to which might be attached the appendixes above-mentioned. The Index, however, itself is really a distinct and separate edition.

* It may not be improper to mention, although not a Papal or Romanistic production, an account of the Prohibitions of books in Sweden, as contained in what purports to be an Academical Exercise—D. D. HISTORIA LIBRORUM PROHIBITORUM in Suecia. Cujus specimen primum, consensu Ampl. Senat. Philos. Upsal. publicæ disputationi submitunt Samuel J. Alnander, Philos. Magister et Docens, et Petrus Kendahl, Stipend. Reg. Ostrogothi, in Auditorio Carolino D. viii. Junii. Anni MDCCLXIII. H. P. M. S. Upsaliæ. 4to. This tract recognizes three sources of the power of prohibiting books—the Royal Senate, mentioned in the title-page; the Divines of Upsal; and the royal authority by Edict. A few works of the sixteenth century are just noted, as having been condemned: those which are particularly described are of the following century, and are, in number, thirty. Some are upon political subjects only. There

be discovered in another part of what is equally esteemed scripture by the Romanist, 1 Macc. i. 56—58. ‘And when they had rent in pieces the books of the law, which they found, they burnt them with fire. And wheresoever was found with any the book of the testament, or if any consented to the law, the king’s commandment was, that they should put him to death. Thus did they by their authority unto the Israelites every month, to as many as were found in the cities*.’

There is another more legitimate object of our research : but one which would hardly be claimed by any party, although it proceeded from the capital of the then German empire. I have in my possession six small Supplements to an Austrian Index, which must have preceded, numbered from *one to six*, for the years 1763 to 1768, inclusive ; and a complete Index for the last year, entitled *CATALOGUS Librorum Commissione Cæs. Reg. Aulica Prohibitorum*. Vienne MDCCLXVIII. Prostat in officina Libraria Kaliwodiana. Another edition followed, with an addition to the title—*Editio nova. Cum Privilegio S. C. R. Apost. Majestatis*. Wien (Vienna) 1774. 12mo. Another I will barely notice, as it lies before me, varying apparently very little from the two former. It is ‘printed Viennæ, Austriæ, typis Geroldianis, 1776, and has two Supplements, for 1777 and 1778. This may be enough concerning such Indexes as Austria has given us. From whatever particular author or authority they proceeded, they stand upon their own naked merits ; for they have nothing whatever introductory. One peculiarity is, the frequent denunciation of English books, plays and novels in particular. Of Melancthon, only two works are condemned. Perhaps this forbearance may be explained by the constitution of the Aulic Council, composed, as it is, of an equal number of Romanists and Protestants, although the president is the former. The *Enchiridion Juris Ecclesiastici Austriaci*, by RÆCHBERGER, 1809, being the present ecclesiastic law of Austria, declares, that the Index of Trent has no force in that country. See Appendix to Report from Select Committee concerning the Laws in Foreign States respecting Roman Catholic subjects, 1816, p. 89.

* How closely tyrants follow in the same footsteps on this subject has

It will be proper here to introduce some notice of a Weekly Journal which was edited at Rome, under the title *Giornale Ecclesiastico*, each number, as it appeared, consisting of one folio sheet, and the whole, when collected and completed, forming thirteen volumes, extending over the period from July, 1785, to the end of June, 1798. Its general character is that of a review of books, accompanied with various information and the intelligence of the day; in the latter portion more particularly discovering the *intimacy* between *Rome* and *Ireland*, during the course of the pub-

appeared in the person of Domitian, and in the motto of this work. But our Roman brethren have a still more correct precedent in the imperial mode of conducting polemics under Diocletian. In the *Acta S^{ci} Felicis ep. & mart.* copied by RUINART from Baluzius, Misc. a certain Edict is announced in these words: Diocletiano octies et Maximiniano septies, Consulibus, Augustis, exivit Edictum Imperatorum et Cæsarum super omnem faciem terræ; et propositum est per colonias et civitates Principibus et Magistratibus, suo cuique loco, ut Libros Deificos peterent de manu Episcoporum et Presbyterorum. This Edict was in the present instance put in execution by question and answer, as follows—Libros Deificos habetis—Habemus—Date illos igni aduri. Of the existence and execution of this Edict there are many and incontrovertible testimonies. Several are collected by MOSHEIM in his *Commentarii*, &c. The very circumstance of persons accused, after the persecution, of delivering up the sacred volume, and doubtless many religious writings beside the scriptures, under the name of *Traditors*, is of itself a decisive proof of the general fact. The remonstrance, therefore, of ARNOBIUS, near the end of his fourth book, had some reason: Nam nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerint dari? The compilers and approvers of the Roman Indexes will perform a service of some prowess if they will shew why the same remonstrance may not be made by many, if not most, of those who are stationed in their damnatory catalogues.

lication. But the circumstance which connects the work with the discussion in these pages, is, that for the period of thirteen years which it embraces, it presents the *Decrees* issued by the official authorities of Rome against such books as were offensive to the Roman see. They begin with the year 1786, the date of the Index which we have just described ; and the first work which meets its condemnation, (and which was just noticed in the first Appendix of the above Index,) is one which appeared without a name, but was known to be written by an author of some celebrity, EYBEL. The little work was published at a very critical time, when Pius VI., alarmed at the reformations effected and contemplated by Joseph II., in Austria, had determined upon, and announced, a personal interview with the monarch in his capital. Before the intention could be executed, which was done in 1782, in the same year, and at Vienna, was published the work of Eybel ; the effect of which, in defeating the object of the papal visit, was so sensibly and sorely felt, that his spiritual majesty vented its indignation by a condemnation, not in the ordinary form, but in a long and elaborate constitution, after consultation in fact with theologians and general inquisitors, but in his own name, *motu proprio*, and combating in detail the argument of a work, which,

besides its first effect, could not be very palatable to him, in its continued tendency to reduce the papal character and pretensions to their just dimensions. The title of Eybel's work, which was written in German, was, *Was ist der Pabst?* repeated in Greek and Latin. What the object, and effect of the work was, soon appears from the words of the condemnation itself. Having stigmatized the author as one of the known enemies of the apostolic see, the document proceeds, *qui nempe audito nuncio itineris a Nobis Religionis causa suscepti, Libellum suis Popularibus obtrudere properavit, hac inverecunda inscriptione: Quid est Papa? Quo plenum illud pietatis studium, quod adventus Nostri expectatio commoverat, restingueret, ipsumque decus Pontificiæ Dignitatis, in Sacerdotalis Ordinis invidiam, popularisque cætus contemptum adduceret.* It ends with the usual thunder against readers, retainers, and printers of the work, namely excommunication, the absolution or relaxation of which is reserved to the pope, except in the article of death. Rome, Nov. 28, 1786. Tomo ii. 1786, 7, pp. 103, &c. In the third volume, for 1787, 8, p. 84, there occurs, in Italian, the prohibition of *Gazzette di Firenze*, &c. *Dato dal Palazzo Quirinale di 14 Ottobre, 1787*, which should seem to have proceeded from the *Magister S. Palatii*; and at p. 286, is a re-

gular Decree of the Congregation of the Index, condemning *twenty-four* different works. In the next volume, p. 87, is a papal brief of some length condemning *Il Trionfo della Fede*, &c. ; at p. 188 the Cong. of the Inquisition proscribes *Discorso Istorico Politico*, &c. ; and at 289 that of the Index twelve works, of which that relating to Pistoia, and the *Pensées de Pascal* with Voltaire's notes, are the most observable. The fifth volume, 1790, at p. 152, has a decree of the Cong. of the Index prohibiting *ten pernicious* works ; *Tamburini* is the most obnoxious name. In the seventh volume, 1792, the only condemnation which occurs is one by the Inquisition at Madrid, of the same *Tamburini*, p. 120. The next volume for the next year, at pp. 23, 4, furnishes us with a list of *seventeen* works proscribed by the Cong. of the Index : none are of particular importance. Vol. ix., pp. 145—7, contains an account of a Dogmatic Constitution issued by the pope against a formidable *council*, that of *Pistoia*, celebrated in 1786. The memoirs of the life of De Ricci sufficiently explain the offence. At p. 64 of the next volume, we find in the number of condemned books *Marcelli Prælectiones* ; and at p. 111, a list of *fifteen*, some condemned before, and one separately condemned in the next decree. That is found in vol. xi., 1796, p. 44, and the work is

Esame della Riflessioni Teologiche, &c. Di G. B. Guadagnini: at p. 132 *five* works, of no general interest, are devoted to condemnation. The list of these prohibitory decrees terminates with the twelfth volume, 1797, in which, at pp. 131, 2, *twenty-two* works are specified, one an *Analysis of the Council of Pistoia*, and the nine last *Satze*, or theological Positions in German. It deserves to be remarked, that in various portions of this respectable Italian Journal, refutations are attempted of several of the works condemned, particularly the productions of Pistoia, most of them ingenious, and as conclusive as the nature of the case would admit.

Our chronology brings us to the last effort of Spain, INDICE ULTIMO. It professes only to be an *Abridgment*, and appeared in 1790, in quarto. LLORENTE, concerning this Index, writes, that *D. Augustin Rubin de Cevallos* charged *D. J. Castellot*, a secular priest, to prepare a new Index, which was executed and published without the consent, and even in spite of the opposition of the supreme council. His predecessor had assented to the proposal that no books should be included but those found in the Index of Benedict XIV. which comprehended only absolute, not suspected, heretics. He died, and his successor followed his own counsel, or rather submitted to

that of a weak chaplain. This Index, continues the historian, is now in force ; but particular prohibitions have been decreed since*. The work itself is entitled : *INDICE ULTIMO de los Libros prohibidos y mandados expurgar : Para todos los Reynos y Señorios del Catolico Rey de las Españas, el Señor Dom CARLOS IV. Contiene en resumen todos los Libros puestos en el Indice Expurgatorio del año 1747, y en los Edictos posteriores, asta fin de Diciembre de 1789. Formado y arreglado con toda claridad y diligencia, por mandado del Excm. Sr. D. AGUSTIN RUBIN DE CEVALLOS, Inquisidor General, y Señores del Supremo Consejo de la Santa General Inquisicion : impresso de su orden, con arreglo al Exemplar visto y aprobado por dicho Supremo Consejo. En Madrid : En la Imprenta de Don Antonio de Sancha. Año de MCCCXC.* It has the prefatory matter of the three preceding editions. The only matter of that kind which is peculiar is the Edict of the Editor, beginning at p. 12. After a due amplification concerning human malice and pestilent novelties, and stating the fact that condemned works had been published in the country under plea of ignorance that they were so, and that the last Index had become rare, the Inquisitor professes his

* Ubi supra, pp. 481, 2.

determination, with the advice of the council, to publish an Abridgment, or alphabetic Compendium, which should comprehend, not only the contents of the Index of 1747, but likewise all the works which had been prohibited, or sentenced to expurgation in fore-cited Edicts to Dec. 13, 1789. This would close the door to the excesses of printers and booksellers, as well as private persons, and prevent the evils consequent upon the introduction of such pernicious commodities into the kingdom. The rest is official. Date, Madrid, Dec. 26, 1789. For the credit, as far as it goes, of this Index, and of the nation to which it belongs, *Regla V.* deserves to be particularly noticed, as a relaxation of former intolerance, with respect to vernacular translations of the Scriptures. After much reflexion, the Inquisitor and his assistants profess themselves so sensible of the benefit to be derived to the faithful from the perusal of the Sacred Text, that, referring to the declaration to the same purpose by Benedict XIV., to be found at page 242 of the present work, they likewise permit Versions of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, with the same qualifications as there specified*. Those qualifications make the matter safe.

* The reader shall have the whole of it in the original. *Habiendose meditado y reflexionado mucho el contenido de la Regla V. del Indice*

One article in this Index, which has been promised, deserves insertion. Noris (P. M. Henric.) *Historia Pelagiana, et Dissertatio de Synodo 5, œcumenica.* Y en Francés: *Histoire du Pélagianisme, avec une Dissertation, &c.* Por Edicto de 28 Enero de 1758. se mandó quitar dicha His-

Expurgatorio antiguo, por la que con justisimas causas que ocurrían al tiempo de su formacion, se prohibió la impresion y lectura de las Versiones á Lengua vulgar de los Libros Sagrados, con mas extension que la que comprende la Regla IV. del Indice del Concilio (cuyas causas han cesado ya por la variedad de los tiempos), y considerando por otra parte la utilidad que puede seguirse á los Fieles de la instruccion que ofrecen muchas Obras y Versiones del Texto Sagrado, que asta ahora se han mirado como comprendidas en dicha Regla V.: se declara deberse entender esta reducida á los terminos precisos de la IV. del Indice del Concilio, con la declaracion que dió a ella la Sagrada Congregacion en 13 de Junio de 1757, aprobada por la Santidad de Benedicto XIV. de feliz recordacion, y practicamente autorizada por N. S. P. Pio VI. en el elogio y recommendacion que hace en Breve de 17 de Marzo de 1778 de la Traduccion hecha en Lengua Toscana por el sabio Autor Antonio Martini. Y en esta conformidad, se permiten las Versiones de la Biblia en Lengua vulgar, con tal que sean aprobadas por la Silla Apostolica, ó dadas á luz por Autores Catolicos con Anotaciones de los Santos Padres de la Iglesia, ó Doctores Catolicos, que remuevan todo peligro de mala inteligencia: pero sin que entienda levantada dicha prohibicion respecto de aquellas Traducciones en que falten las sobredichas circunstancias. But the reader should have the benefit of a note in M'CRUE'S *Hist. of Progress and Suppression of the Ref. in Spain.* 'The prohibition of Bibles in the Spanish language was erased from the Index by an edict dated 20 Dec. 1782, and yet the Inquisition of Seville, by a general edict promulgated 1 Feb., 1790, commanded all such Bibles to be denounced. This might be an oversight; but it is certain that the Index still contains a prohibition of two books, upon the ground, that they point out the advantages of reading the Scriptures. Nor was it the intention of the Inquisition to give the Bible to the common people; and accordingly it is printed in such a form as to confine it to the wealthy.'— P. 380.

toria del fol. 1104. del Suplemento del *Expurgatorio* de 1747, y se prohibieron todos los *Libros, Papeles, Cartas*, imprs. ó ms. con dicha ocasion, y que nadie escribiera en pró ni en contra. This is certainly an extraordinary notice. It will be in the recollection of the reader, that, after much and long remonstrance, the condemnation of certain works of this Cardinal, in the preceding Spanish Index, was withdrawn by the same authority which inserted it. Now, the natural method in a subsequent Index, which professed to be a summary only, and refers constantly to its predecessor, as of ultimate authority, would have been to omit altogether an article which the former had thought right to erase. Or, were it judged expedient to record the edict which produced the erasure, as every article standing in these damnatory catalogues, by its very front and position, purports to be a condemned one, it certainly ought not to have been the one whose condemnation was meant to be reversed; but, on the contrary, should have been the work itself, the Index referring to the article which was thus solemnly declared to have been in fault. As the matter now stands, the passage has the effect (and correspondent intention may be inferred in all cases of obvious knowledge) of republishing and perpetuating a condemnation, which the compilers of

the present Index might choose to suppose, or believe others to suppose, was withdrawn without sufficient foundation, and even against the judgment and wishes of those who from circumstances were prevailed upon to adopt the resolution. This Index has two Appendixes, and is of more use for reference than all the former, as having rejected the division into three classes, and having observed the order of a single alphabet.

To this *Indice* a Supplement was published with this title: *SUPLEMENTO al Índice Expurgatorio de Año de 1790, que contiene los Libros Prohibidos y mandados expurgar en todos los Reynos y Señorios del Católico Rey de España el Sr. D. Carlos IV., desde el Edicto de 13 de Diciembre del Año de 1789, hasta el 25 de Agosto de 1805. Madrid, en la Imprenta real Año de 1805. 4to, p. 57.* In the Preface is contained an Edict of the Inquisitor-General, Don Felipe Bertran, 7 May, 1782, in which he complains of the abuse of licences, and restrains them; and, in order to enforce the main object of the institution, charges all Confessors, secular and regular, and especially those who have the cure of souls, to inquire of their penitents, more particularly in Lent, whether they possess any of the denounced books, and, if that be the case, to inflict the appointed penance; apprising them, at the same time, that absolution

from the offence is reserved to the Inquisitor-General. The principal articles occurring in this supplement are the literary produce of the French Revolution; and under *Biblia* are repeated the contents of the *V. Regla*, which has just been transcribed.

A letter of M. GREGOIRE, Bishop of Blois, to DON RAMON-JOSEPH DE ARCE, Inquisitor-General of Spain, dated Feb. 27, 1798, and prefixed to the French abridgment of Llorente's History of the Inquisition of Spain, will, by a short extract, carry on our information respecting the progress of literary proscriptions in that unhappy country. Charging the holy office with attempting to destroy the union between the two countries, he adds—*J'en découvre la preuve dans le Diario de Madrid, du 9 Décembre dernier, où si trouve insérée une liste d'ouvrages condamnés. A la vérité, la plupart de ces écrits sont souillés par le blasphème ou la lubricité; mais dans l'article des livres prohibidos in totum, l'ouvrage intitulé: Etat moral, physique et politique de la Maison de Savoie, est frappé de censures, comme présentant une série de propositions contraires à la souveraineté, la noblesse, et le clergé de Savoie, etc.*

At a period a little advancing on the preceding, some light is thrown upon our subject by a portion of VILLERS'S *Essay on the Spirit and Influence of*

the Reformation of Luther, which obtained the prize on the question proposed by the French Institute in 1802. I use the English translation of 1805 ; and there I find, pp. 290—2, after an expression of just indignation against some severe restrictions upon books by a Pontiff who equally signalized himself by his fulminations against Luther and his licence of Ariosto ; and after the observation that France herself, although so tenacious of her liberties, was not free from the charge of literary intolerance, the words following : ‘ In Spain, in Italy, and Austria, the prohibitions and censures went much farther ; and in those countries impose many shackles on the liberty of writing and thinking. Several of the governments in the south of Germany renew, from time to time, those salutary regulations against the reading of books written by *heretics*, or bold speculators (*les esprits forts*). The works of Rousseau, of Voltaire, of Helvetius, of Diderot, &c. are kept under lock and key in the public libraries ; and it is expressly ordered ‘ that they shall not be communicated to any person, but those who engage to refute them.’ These are the words themselves of a very recent edict. A professor of an university of Bavaria was deprived of his employment a few years before the revolution in France, for having required that a copy of Bayle’s critical dictionary

should be placed in the common library. These facts, and an immense number of others, which are repeated every day, characterize the spirit of Catholicism in regard to the propagation of knowledge, and the liberality of instruction. The maxim of the middle ages is yet preserved in those countries in all the vigour in which it is possible to preserve it in the present times; 'to retain the minds of men on certain subjects in complete stupidity; to keep them as much as possible empty, that they may be afterwards filled with any thing which is found agreeable, and that superstition may find a convenient reception.' Has any pope as yet retracted the bull *In Cæna Domini*, by which were excommunicated all persons who should read any books composed by heretics? It is very proper to ask, *retracted*; for mere intermission or discontinuance is not sufficient*. Neither is it an available reply to

* In a work written by a Roman Catholic, Count FERDINAND DAL POZZO, *Catholicism in Austria, &c.*, occurs the following passage. 'The Bull *In Cæna Domini* contains a series of the most absurd pretensions. The reading of this bull, which was usually performed every year at Rome on Holy Thursday, was suspended by order of Clement XIV., to avoid offending crowned heads. But the bull itself was not revoked. Permission is still granted in the present day to absolve in cases reserved in this bull,—no unequivocal proof that it is still considered as in vigour: were the times favourable, I think it would be read again.' Pp. 182, 3. Emancipationists, learn from an Emancipationist. Cardinal ERSKINE declares the bull to be 'implicitly in vigour in all its extension,' and 'a public declaration to preserve his (the pope's) rights.' Quoted from the Parliamentary Report

the foregoing charge, that, in the cases particularly alleged, the power may have been legitimately and beneficially exercised. There cannot be the least doubt, that in such hands the power was generally exercised *as usual*; and that presumed heretics were the frequent, if not principal victims.

The Roman Index of 1806 has no variation from the last, in 1786, except the addition in the title—*et sub P10 SEPTIMO ad annum usque MDCCCVI. continuatus*. The very preface of the Secretary is precisely the same. The Index itself *appears* to be the same: few persons are qualified to speak more positively; nor indeed is it necessary.

The year 1815 displays, in relapsed Spain,

concerning R. Cath. in foreign countries, 1816, by Sir ROB. H. INGLIS, *Speeches*, pp. 172, 3. In the Eighth Report on Irish Education, 1826, p. 256, is the following question and answer by Dr. Sleven, Prefect of the Dunboyne Establishment, 'What should prevent the present Pope or his successor publishing it' (the bull *In Cœna Domini*) 'next year?—It depends entirely on his option,' &c. In POTTER'S *Vie de S. de Ricci*, Tome iii., p. 308, the author gives as a reason of a large extract from a memoir of *Rucellai* on the bull *In Cœna Domini*, *parce que la Bulle In Cœna Domini est actuellement invoquée par la cour de Rome; parce qu'elle la regarde comme toujours existante dans sa première force; parce qu'elle accorde, encore aujourd'hui, à ses ministres, le pouvoir d'absoudre ceux qui auroient la foiblesse de croire qu'ils en ont encouru les censures.* Again, p. 466, Rome confère *encore aujourd'hui* le pouvoir d'absoudre les cas réservés par la bulle *In Cœna Domini*. The edition I quote is that of Bruxelles, 1826, 18mo.

another monument of bigotry, in a document issuing from the restored Inquisitor General. It appears in the *Diario of Madrid*, 28, 29, 30, and 31, July, 1815; and contains, after the accustomed edict, a *List of prohibited books*, extending from page 36 to 67, *i.e.*, about thirty octavo pages, as exhibited in that authentic and very valuable work, *The Inquisition Unmasked, &c.*, by D. ANTONIO PUIGBLANCH. English translation, 1816, 2 vols., vol. i., *Preliminary Remarks*. The condemned works are exclusively Spanish, and their character may readily be inferred without particular description. Anything that is not Rome, or Spain, and intolerance, is intolerable in Spain. The original work of Puigblanch has, of course, its position.

The next edition of the Roman Index was published in 1819; of which the first information possessed by me was derived from the masterly and convincing 'Speech of Sir R. H. Inglis, Bart., in the House of Commons, May 10, 1825, on the Third Reading of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill,' published separately at different times, and lastly, together with the other triumphant speech on the same subject, delivered May 9, 1828, and with very important improvements, in the year 1828. I have, however, since that time, by actual inspection of the volume, which has been

kindly afforded me by its possessor, and subsequently by obtaining a copy myself, been enabled to give a more minute account of it: *INDEX Librorum Prohibitorum Sanctissimi Domini nostri PII SEPTIMI Pontificis Maximi Jussu editus*. Romæ MDCCCXIX. Ex Typographia Rev. Cameræ Apostolicæ. Cum Summi Pontificis Privilegio. 8vo. There will not be found much in this volume to distinguish it from its predecessors. The Address to the 'Catholic Reader,' by the Editor, is the only article of novelty in the prefatory matter, and is repeated in the reprint of Paris, 1826, of which an account will immediately follow. The Editor is FR. ALEX. ANGELICUS BARDANI, of the order of St. Dominic and Secretary of the Congregation of the Index. It contains nothing remarkable, commencing with a congratulation of the piety which had exhausted the edition of 1786, without any mention of the intermediate, although evidently distinct, edition of 1806, and detailing some of the unimportant regulations observed in compiling the present one.

Among the articles peculiar to this edition, and to be found in the Appendix, p. 343, one of the most remarkable is, what we should have expected to find under the name of the author, but stands as follows:—'Defence of the ancient Faith, in

four volumes; or a full Exposition of the Christian Religion. In a series of Controversial Sermons. By the Rev. Peter Gandolphy, Priest of the Catholic Church. Vol. i, ii, iii, iv. Latinè verò: *Defensio antiquæ Fidei, sive totius Christianæ Religionis pluribus Sermonibus Controversialibus*, auctore Rev. Presbytero Petro Gandolphy. Item. An Exposition of Liturgy, or a book of common Prayers. And Administration of Sacraments with other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, for the use of all Christians in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Edited by the Rev. Peter Gandolphy, Author of Defence of the ancient Faith. Latine vero: *Expositio Liturgiæ sive liber communium precum et Administrationis Sacramentorum cum aliis Ritibus, et Ceremoniis Ecclesiæ pro omnibus Christi Fidelibus in regno unito Magnæ Britanniæ, et Irlandiæ*. Una cum testificatione seu Epistola quadam alterius Auctoris (*qui tamen eandem Epistolam deinde laudabiliter retractavit*), sive conjunctim, sive seorsim impressa, quæ incipit: **OMNIBUS, ET SINGULIS**, etc. Anglicè et Latinè scripta, et Romæ, data 13 Novembris 1816, in qua temerè et falsò asseritur dicta Opera **AMPLAM APPROBATIONEM A SEDE APOSTOLICA OBTINUISSE. DECR. 27 Julii, 1818.** The approbation alluded to is that of the master of the

sacred palace, employing P. Damiani, master of sacred theology, and F. J. O'Finan, professor of sacred scripture, as versed in the English language, and whose respective approbations are dated at Rome, June 18, and 20, 1816. But Ireland had expectations, and an *economy* was expedient*.

In my edition, to which are added, two Appendixes and two Decrees, the publication of the last being dated Sept. 6, 1822, each of them pretty capacious, the second Appendix so much so as to be arranged alphabetically, there are some remarkable articles peculiar to that edition. To pass over the *Nuovo Testamento*, of which the whole Decree will subsequently be given at length, and *Italie, par* LADY MORGAN; the closing portion of the last Decree is employed in denouncing *seven works in English*, relating to papal controversy in North America. 'An Address to the Congregation of St. Mary's Church Philadelphia'—'Continuation of an Address,' &c.—'The Opinion of the Rt. Rev. D. John Rico on the Difference,' &c.—'The Opinion,' &c.—'Address of the Committee,' &c.—'Address of the Right Rev. the Bishop of Pennsylvania,' &c. This is a sufficient proof that his Holiness of Rome does not

* See KENNEY'S *Facts and Documents*, &c., end. .

consider the transatlantic regions as aliene from his charge, and that neither does he despair of finding his censures respected in the western world.

The last edition of this Index has some peculiarity. It is not printed or published at Rome, but at Paris. It is thus entitled, *CATALOGUE des Ouvrages mis à l'Index, contenant le nom de tous les Livres condamnés par la Cour de Rome, depuis l'Invention de l'Imprimerie jusqu'en 1825, avec les dates des Decrets de leur condamnation. Seconde édition, Paris, chez Edouard Garnot, Libraire, &c. 1826, 12.* It is preceded by an *Avis de l'Editeur*, in which an account is given of the Congregation of the Index at Rome, referring to an Italian work published on the subject in 1800, and to the work of Catalani, of which the reader will remember use has been made in the beginning of the present performance. It adds, that the books comprehended in this Index are what were prohibited by Pius VI. and VII., to which are added, all known to have been since censured *sous l'heureux gouvernement de l'Eglise universelle par N. T. S. Père le Pape Leon XII.* It may be observed, that the Constitution of Benedict XIV. and the addresses of the secretaries of preceding editions of the Index are given both in the original and in the French translations. What authority this Index may have

in France, separate from that which every genuine subject of the papacy must allow to its admitted head, is perhaps optional. But a trial of its influence appears, at the present juncture, to have been worth making. The articles which this Index contains of a date posterior to that of the last Decree in the Roman Index of 1819, Sept. 6, 1822, are so few and comparatively unimportant, the orthography likewise is so barbarously violated, that it will hardly be necessary to insert a complete list of the additional condemnations, which had been kindly prepared for me by a friend, on the supposition, that all the entries subsequent to the year 1819 were unpublished.

The Gallican church, indeed, professes not to receive the Indexes published at Rome ; and, as far as those catalogues interfere with her *Liberties*, this is, doubtless, the fact. But those liberties chiefly concern the *temporal* claims of the papacy. Its *spiritual* injunctions, or the judgment given in this, or any other way, with respect to doctrine, no subject, if a true one, in however qualified a sense, can consistently resist. And it is well known, that the order of Jesuits, now resuming their original powers, are determined and zealous assertors of the entire claims of their principal. On no other principle can the publication of a

Roman Index in Paris, and, as we shall see, in Brussels likewise, be explained.

A smaller, but more genuine, document of this description, was published in the year following, 1827, in Paris, entitled *CATALOGUE des ouvrages condamnés depuis 1814, jusqu'à ce jour* (1^{er} Septembre, 1827), *suivi du texte des jugemens et arrêts insérés au Moniteur*, Paris, &c., 1827, 18mo., pp. 71 for the books, 64 for the arrêts. It is proper to be observed, that these censures are *conformément à l'article 26 de la Loi du 26 Mai*, 1819, and that the works condemned are generally immoral ones.

We ought not to omit the notice of an evident reimpression of the Paris Index of 1826, at Bruxelles in 1828, in an octavo form; no variation is observable, but that of omitting the last paragraph of the *Avis de l'Editeur*, which merely announced the addition of the decrees subsequent to the Index reprinted, and which are yet inserted in the edition of Bruxelles.

On arriving at the conclusion of these Papal and Romanistic documents, whether issuing from Rome, or from any other place in communion with her church, it may not be improper, nor without some inferences of importance, to notice some of the authors and works, which still continue to be proscribed by the bishop and church of

Rome. These, with the accompanying documents, which are carefully repeated, will discover, not merely the old and obsolete, but the present and existing, principles, spirit and conduct of a power, which some permit themselves to believe is altered and improved. The same Rules, with an addition of more intolerant rigour, are in force now, as existed in the comparatively barbarous age of the Council of Trent. The articles which meet us in the most modern Catalogues of Rome, to name but a few, are—BACON, *Franciscus*; BEVEREGIUS, *Gulielmus*; BINGHAM, *Josephus*; BURNET, *Gilbert*; CAVE; CLAMENGIIS (*de*); DUPIN; ESPENCÆUS *; FRANCUS, *Daniel*; GUICCIARDINI; LIMBORCH; LOCKE; MAIMBOURG; MILTON; PROVINCIALI (*le*); ROBERTSON, *Charles V.*; Salignac FENELON; SCAPULA; *Storia della deeadenza, &c.* (*Gibbon* †); THUANUS; WALTON *Brianus*. BIBLIA *Sacra Polyglotta*. To these we must add all the Reformers of this and other countries; and, perhaps, the greater part of the good and wise of every age and country. It is not, therefore, the extent of the

* What brought him here is evident. He had not acquired the ingenuity of regarding the *Taxæ Canc. & Pæn.* as ‘*Fees of Office.*’ See his Commentary on the Epistle to Titus, i. 7, Digressio 2da, Par. 1568, pp. 67, 8. The passage is given in *Taxatio Papalis*, p. 50.

† I insert this name rather as a curiosity. Neither the impiety nor the impure profligacy of the writer would offend the Roman censors, were there nothing in the work more nearly touching them. Why does not the name of *Buffon* appear in the later Indexes? Why is not that of *Casa* restored?

truth, to say, that a *good* library might be formed from the books condemned by the papal Indexes—they would furnish an almost *perfect* one—perfect indeed for all the purposes of absolute and abundant utility; although such works would be wanting as the Complutensian Polyglott; some other Biblical works; editions, particularly the Benedictine, of the Fathers; histories and accounts of modern Roman affairs—collections of Bulls, Councils, &c. &c. Still, however, a perfect library might be furnished from the volumes which Rome has prohibited. The question may probably have suggested itself to the reader, particularly if he have examined any single Index himself, how it has happened, that so few *English* books, prolific as this island is in offensive and formidable heresy, have found a place in these Palladiums of Roman slavery. The fact is, the literary products of this country have only come in contact, or collision, with the Italian, by means of translations; as appears by the particular works of Swift, Tillotson, Sherlock, Robertson, Gibbon, and some others which occur in the Indexes, and by the late increased notice of English literature arising from the miserable circumstances of Ireland, and from certain contests in North America. These prohibitory and expurgatory instruments could only be obeyed and put in exe-

cution effectually among the subjects of the papal government; and to have provoked hostilities with every heretical community would have extended their warfare, with no prospect of advantage, and much of the contrary.—Some of the reflexions which force themselves upon the mind, and demand to be heard, must be deferred for a moment.

Nothing now remains of an historical character than just to notice a few of the original Decrees, in the possession of the writer, as they were separately published, on one side of a single sheet generally, sometimes on more. The first is of the date of Dec. 7, 1690, condemning Thirty-one Propositions, which are specified. That which follows is far more important: it is dated June 21, 1681, with a Cardinal's seal, condemning the *Mystica Ciudad*, &c. of *Sor Maria de Agreda*, &c., which, strangely enough, Hannot, in his Index, denies to have been condemned. We might need a Jesuit here, could we not explain the matter without one. The veracity of this theologian secures barely the chance of an escape from the possibility of his ignorance respecting the fact. The fact is, this profane or insane effusion of a Spanish Nun was condemned on its first appearance by the Doctors of the Sorbonne, and soon after, by the Pope himself, as appears by this

decree. The Franciscans, however, by their clamours induced the Spanish Monarch to intercede in behalf of a book, which was really their own, and upon which they had bestowed great labour. The consequence was, that the pope suspended his decree, and it has certainly either never been brought into any subsequent Index, or, if it has, as may be suspected, has been suppressed. An account of the whole affair has been given by Calmet in *Une Traité des Visions* *. The Decree is so singular and important that I am induced to give it at length.

DECRETUM. Feria V. die 26 Junii, 1681. In generali Congregatione G. Romanæ, & Universalis Inquisitionis habita in Palatio Apostolico apud Sanctum Petrum coram Sanctissimo D. N. D. INNOCENTIO divina providentia Papa XI. ac Eminentissimis & Reverendissimis Dominis S. R. E. Cardinalibus in tota Republica Christiana contra hæreticam pravitatem Generalibus inquisitoribus a S. Sede Apostolica specialiter deputatis.

Prodiit idiomate Hispanico impressum opus in tres partes, et quatuor tomos divisum, quorum tamen duo in inscriptione habent—Primera parte ;

* See *Memoirs concerning the Portugeze Inquisition*, &c. London, 1679, pp. 167—170 ; or the whole Twelfth Letter. ANTONIO, *Bib. Hisp.* is favourable to the pretensions of the Sister, and consequently very reserved. Tom. iv., pp. 87, 8.

sed alter eorum continet, præter dedicatorem, approbationes, et prologum integrum, etiam relationem vitæ Auctricis infrascriptæ, nam alias omnibus, et singulis eadem inscriptio præfigitur talis.

Mystica Ciudad de Dios, milagro de su omnipotencia, y abismo de la Gracia, Historia Divina, y fida de la Vergen Madre de Dios, Reyna, y Señora nuestra Maria Santísima restauradora de la culpa de Eva, y medianera de la gracia. Manifestada en estos ultimos siglos por la misma Señora a su Esclava Sor Maria de Jesus, Abadesa de el Convento de la Inmaculada Conception, de la Villa de Agreda, de la Provincia de Burgos de la regular observancia de N. S. P. S. Francisco, para nueva lux del Mundo, alegria de la Iglesia Catolica, y confianza de los mortales, con privilegio. En Madrid, por Bernardo de Villa-Diego. Año de 1670.

Cujus operis omnes præfatas partes, ac tomos Sanctissimus D. N. D. INNOCENTIUS PP. XI. auditis Eminentissimorum, et Reverendissimorum Dominorum Cardinalium prædictorum notis, prohibendum esse sanxit, quemadmodum præsentis Decreto damnat ac prohibet; ita ut nemini, cujusvis conditionis, ac gradus illos legere, vel retinere liceat, vel imprimere, vel imprimi facere, sub pœnis in Sac. Concilio Tridentino, et in Indice

librorum prohibitorum contentis. Districtèque mandat, ut ab unoquoque eorum, quem habere contigerit, vel omnes, vel aliquam ex prædictis partibus, ac tomis, à præsentis Decreti notitia statim sub eisdem pœnis ad Ordinarios, vel Inquisitores deferantur, eisque consignentur, non obstantibus in contrarium quibuscunque.

Franciscus Riccardus Sanctæ Romanæ, et
Universalis Inquisitionis Not.

Loco † sigilli.

Die 4 Augusti, 1681, supradictum Decretum affixum, et publicatum fuit ad valvas Basilicæ Principis Apostolorum, Palatii S. officii, et in aliis locis solitis, et consuetis Urbis per me Franciscum Perinum SS. D. N. Papæ, et Sanctiss. Inquisitionis Cursorem.

Juxta Exemplar ROMÆ, Ex Typographia Reverendæ Cameræ Apostolicæ, MDCLXXXI.

The inscription on the seal is, SEB ANT COM
TANERIUS ABB S MARIÆ.

The next Decree is in Spanish and Dutch, on two leaves printed on both sides, issued by the Inquisition of Toledo, Nov. 14, 1695, against several volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*, printed at Antwerp. Another, which has been noticed, is of the date April 17, 1744, against the infamous doctrine of the Jesuit, Benzi. Two others are of the years 1815 and 1817; the first of the Con-

gregation of the Inquisition, the other of that of the Index. The books condemned by them are neither of notoriety nor importance. I will add one other, in the same form, which is both extraordinary and important, and of which I am indebted for the sight to Sir Robert H. Inglis.

DECRETUM. FERIA II. DIE 17 JANUARIII, MDCCCXX. SACRA CONGREGATIO EMINENTISSIMORUM AC REVERENDISSIMORUM S. ROMANÆ ECCLESIAE CARDINALIUM a SANCTISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO PIO PAPA SEPTIMO, sanctaque sede Apostolica Indici Librorum pravæ Doctrinæ, eorundemque proscriptioni, expurgationi ac permissioni in Universa Christiana Republica Præpositorum et Delegatorum, habita in Palatio Apostolico Quirinali, damnavit et damnat, proscripsit proscribitque, vel alias damnata atque proscripta in Indicem Librorum prohibitorum referri mandavit et mandat opera quæ sequuntur.

Nuovo Testamento secondo la Volgata tradotto in Lingua Italiana da Monsig. Antonio Martini, Arcivescovo di Firenze. Livorno, 1818, *Decr.* 6 *Septembr.* 1819.=Idem Italia 1817, *Decr.* 17 *Januar.* 1820.=Item=Il Nuovo Testamento del Nostro Signor Gesù Cristo=Edizione Stereotipo Shatklewel: dai Torchi di T. Rutt. 1813, *Decr.* eod.: =Juxta Decreta S. Congr. Indicis 13 *Jun.* 1767 et 23 *Jun.* 1817.

Seven other works are proscribed with this, one on Medical Jurisprudence, one on Physiology. The document then proceeds—*Itaque nemo cujuscunque gradus et conditionis prædicta Opera damnata, atque proscripta, quocumque loco, et quocumque idiomate, aut in posterum edere, aut edita legere, vel retinere audeat, sed Locorum Ordinariis, aut hæreticæ pravitatis Inquisitoribus ea tradere teneatur, sub pænis in Indice Librorum vetitorum indictis.*

Quibus SANCTISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO PIO PAPÆ SEPTIMO, per me infrascriptum secretarium relatis, SANCTITAS SUA Decretum probavit, et promulgari præcepit. In quorum fidem, &c. Datum Romæ die

Michael Cardinalis de Petro Præfectus.

Loco † Sigilli.

Fr. Alexander Angelicus Bandani Ord. Præd. Soc. Congr. Indicis Secretarius. *Die 31 Januarii, 1820, supradictum Decretum affixum, et publicatum, &c.*

ROMÆ EX TYPOGRAPHIA REV. CAMERÆ APOSTOLICÆ, 1820.

At the close of this historical and critical detail of the condemning Indexes of Rome, it is no unnatural reference to advert to the close of the Council, to which the greater part of the Indexes owe their origin. In the concluding acclamations,

and the last, a CARDINAL (the Cardinal of Lorraine) exclaims,

Anathema cunctis hæreticis.

RESPONSIO PATRUM.

Anathema, Anathema.

The curses of Rome are better than her blessings.

It may serve, as contrasts often very effectually do, to illustrate the subject of the present discussion, if we direct our view, for a moment, to what Romanism approves and recommends, as well as what she condemns, in the republic of letters. All the performances of her strictly obedient sons are, of course, objects of her favour. But, as something more distinct and tangible, I would here point the attention of the reader particularly to the *Catalogue* of books published by the accredited 'Catholic Printers and Publishers,' as they are called, KEATING and BROWN, Duke-street, London, in the annual publication, the 'Laity's Directory,' by authority of the Vicars Apostolic in England. There, among several, both harmless and useful in their way, and which are therefore often used as decoys in the first instance, articles prepared for the Protestant market, containing the exoteric, in contradistinction from the esoteric, doctrine of the Italian Church, he will meet with a large collection, of different

forms, distinguished by such anile folly and superstition, such low malevolence, such self-destructive and atrocious falsehoods, and such general perversion of religious truth, that, however revolting the necessity, it is impossible to resist the conviction, that such things were not, and are not, believed or in sincerity approved, either by those who wrote them, or by those who now are thus obliged to sanction them. In justification of these charges, of the seriousness of which I am fully aware, I select the following—Bp. CHALLONER'S *Garden of the Soul; Devotion and office of the Sacred Heart of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.,** *Primer, or Office of the Blessed Virgin; Luther's Conference with the Devil*, and another to the same purpose; *Official Memoirs of the Juridical Examination into the Authenticity of the Miraculous Events which happened at Rome in the Years 1796, 7, including the Decree of Approbation, &c. with an Account of similar Prodigies which occurred about the same time at Ancona, and other places in Italy. Translated from the French, compared with the original Italian of Sig. Gio. Marchetti, Apostolic Examiner of the Clergy and President del Jesu.* By the Rev^d. B. RAYMENT; † and

* The Rev. Blanco White's extracts from this disgraceful work, in his *Practical and Internal Evidence against (Roman) Catholicism*, have rendered the character of the book notorious.

† I give the title at length, as that of one of the most disgraceful exhi-

CHALLONER'S *Roman Catholic's Reasons why he cannot conform, &c.* The spiritual slavery to which the learned, and particularly the pious, part of the Latin community are subject, and of which

bitions of Roman superstition and imposture, which has ventured publicly to appear in an English form. The miracles are neither more nor less than certain openings and shuttings, and different movements, of the eyes of various pictures and statues of the Madonna, at the eventful period abovementioned. They began at Ancona and other places; but Rome soon determined that they should not have the prior, or exclusive, or chief, honour; and evidently appears to be jealous as to the priority. The species of miracle is not difficult of production, and has not been unfrequently exhibited. In *Misson's Voyages*, English ed. 1714, vol. i. p. 130, there is an account of our Lady of Newburgh, an old wooden statue, which was made to perform this miracle by the devotion of a Capuchin, who, 'in the midst of his groans, suddenly cried out, *Miracle!* and protested that the good Lady had moved her eyes, and looked on him.' In the *Christian Examiner and Ch. of Ireland Mag.*, is a communication from Naples dated Dec. 30, 1826, giving an account of a Coronation of the Image of the Virgin Mary, in the church of Gesu Vecchio. The writer, who was likewise a spectator, caught the enthusiasm of the crowd at a critical point of its explosion, and 'for a moment,' he writes, 'I thought I saw the Royal Divinity animated, and nod and smile;' &c. I quote, however, from the *Protestant Guardian*, vol. i. p. 58. A chief peculiarity of the work here particularly noticed is the minute and extended juridical form, which would almost force a novice in Papal romance to believe it must be true; it is profusely ornamented with plates. If the reader wish to understand the *fidelity* of the Roman school in translating and '*comparing*,' he may consult the Italian original, in the fourteenth section of the Preliminary Discourse, where, after the mention of two previous miracles, similar to those recorded in the body of the work, the first at Brescia, 1524, the other at Pistoia, 1666, the benefit, which, by the original author, is represented as derived to the church simply, by the Council of Trent, in '*the effectual reform of (alas!) her too corrupt practices*,' is, in the translation, parried and neutralized by the *gratuitous* introduction of the names Luther and Calvin. Other similar instances occur in the same section.

the production and circulation of such works is a most humiliating evidence, calls for the deep commiseration of every Christian heart. But they are harnessed to the car of their Idolatry * ; and

* How can Rome expect that Protestants and others should withdraw the charge of Idolatry, when, to omit all other and more antient evidences, divine worship (if *direct* prayer for *spiritual* blessings be such) is so expressly appointed to be paid to the Virgin Mary, in a book written by a late Vicar Apostolic of Rome in this country, R. Challoner, D.D. and printed by what are called the 'Catholic booksellers,' Keating and Brown, so late as 1816, and largely dispersed by authorized bodies at the present time? See pp. 296—8, of that edition.

' A HYMN TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

Ave Maris Stella.

Hail thou resplendent star, &c.
 Negotiate our peace,
 And cancel Eva's wrong.
 Loosen the sinner's hands,
 All evils drive away ;
 Bring light unto the blind,
 And for all graces pray.
 Exert the mother's care,
 And us thy children own,
 To him convey our prayer,
 Who chose to be thy Son, &c.
 Our lusts and passious quell,
 And make us mild and chaste.
 Preserve our lives unstain'd,
 And guard us in our way ; &c.

The celebrated *Stabat Mater* contains lines equally idolatrous. But I stop at the eighth and three following of the lines quoted above, to state what is the original—*Monstra te esse matrem, Sumat per te preces*—evidently, by the force of the words and the context, meaning, exert thy maternal authority. And in Queen Mary's *Primer*, of 1555, printed by J. Waylande, now before me, Signature B (6th) verso, it is honestly translated, 'Shewe thyself to be a mother'—it follows—'So that he accepte our petition.' It

knowing or unknowing, willing or unwilling, with or against conscience, while they continue true

will not be thought that time has improved the honesty : and yet since this was written it has in part, for in the English *Vespers*, 1828, pp. 109, 110, the translation is

‘Thyself a mother shew,
May he receive thy prayer.’

But does ‘thy’ express *per te*? But enough remains; and I simply add the Prayer, which begins, in the ‘Garden,’ &c. ‘THE LITANY OF OUR LADY OF LORETTO. *Antiem*, We fly to thy patronage. O holy Mother of God, despise not our petitions in our necessities, but deliver us from all dangers, O ever glorious and blessed Virgin.’

What are we now to say to the frequent and confident declaration of the Romanists, in apology for their worship of the Virgin—*we ONLY pray to her to pray for us*? It is only necessary further to observe, in order to preclude objection, that the Hymn given above in part, occurs, in the original, in the ROMAN BREVIARY (that, for instance, which I am now consulting, Antwerp, 1619, 4to.), as often as eight times, beginning at the *Proprium Sanctorum*, in Festo Conceptionis, Dec. 8. I have a word to add about *adoring the host*. In any Roman edition of the Canon of the Mass, the Rubric after consecration directs the priest in these words—*Hostiam consecratam genuflexus adorat*. Nothing can govern *hostiam* but *adorat*. But in the English Roman Missal printed by the authorized printers in 1815, this is rendered, p. xxxv., ‘*After pronouncing the words of Consecration, the Priest kneeling, adores and elevates the sacred host.*’ By inserting the word *elevate*, and omitting commas after *adore*, and *elevate*, which would determine the construction and the sense, the effect is produced of making the word *adore* intransitive and ambiguous.

I am happy in the opportunity which the subject of this note supplies of uniting my acknowledgments with those of every friend of Protestantism to the learned, acute, and eloquent R. SOUTHEY, Esq., for his invaluable efforts in that righteous cause. I refer particularly to his *Vindiciæ Ecc. Ang.*, and therein more especially to Letter X. in that work. I am likewise by the same subject reminded of the important services of another triumphant defender of true religion against the corruptions of a perverted one, whom I have the satisfaction of numbering among my friends, the REV. JOHN GARBETT, in his able and decisive work, *The Nullity of the*

and faithful to their service, they must proceed and draw. Do the sons of Romanism in this

Roman Faith, &c., and, for the reader's gratification, as well as my own, subjoin the following forcible confirmation of the sentiment delivered above—'Believing the accusation of the Church of England to be as true as it is decisive, and holding the Church of Rome to be idolatrous, I should tremble not to avow it. If mistaken, it is a mistake I hold in common with the thousands who, in the devastated vales of Piedmont, in the fires of Britain, in the desolation of the Netherlands, and wherever persecution "found them out," sealed the sincerity of their belief with their blood. I hold it in common with Hall, and Usher, and Field, and Morton, and Barrow, and Taylor, and Chillingworth, and Burnet, and Bull, and Leighton, and Stillingfleet, and Tillotson, and Wake, and Secker, and Horsley, and Porteus; in short, with almost every name, good, great, and venerable, which the United Church presents.' Pp. 365, 6. The illusion on the subject of idolatry is kept up by not attending to Bp. Taylor's distinction between *material* and *formal* idolatry—the *act* and the *intention of the agent*. In the second, Romanists *may* be guilty; in the first, they *must* be. *Lib. of Prophesying*, § xx. Another illusion, which will justify the heathen as well as themselves, is to make an absence of all regard to the Supreme God a necessary ingredient of idolatry. But Wake has completely driven them from this subterfuge. I should like to add a passage or two from the *Theatrum Jesuiticum* by Idefonso de S. Thomas (an assumed name), a Dominican, occurring in the *Morale Pratique des Jesuites*, Tom. ii., where, in answer to the plea of the necessity of disguise for their idolatrous compliances, the author ascribes such conduct to ignorance or laxity; 'for,' adds he, 'the habit of a Bonze naturally implies the worship of idols, and is consequently a profession of idolatry: ce qu'aucun Théologien ne croit permis, tout Chrétien ne pouvant user de signes extérieurs, qui soient une marque du culte des Idoles, non pas même sous prétexte de la conversion des Ames.' § i. He again charges them with suffering the Mandarins to offer idolatrous sacrifices, provided a little cross be concealed in the hand, or under the altar of the idol, and the intention be directed to the adoration of the cross. § v. But even allowing this apology, he asks, is not the external action, in which they unite with the idolaters, profane? and, if such concurrence is forbidden in their ceremonies, because they are the marks and professions of idolatry, how much more are sacrifices forbidden, although consisting but in external ceremonies? § vi. *Quam temere!*

country consider what they owe to a Protestant Government, which shelters them from the tyranny, and moderates the absurdities in much of the ceremonial, of their own religion ?

A regular and chronological examination, likewise, of the Roman—*Breviaries, Missals, Manuals, Horæ, &c.*, particularly those of our own country, or, which amounts to nearly the same, of *Salisbury*, would be a present of essential value, both as, in that respect, abundantly justifying our reformation, and as elucidating the history and contents of our national liturgy*; which, however, is no

* Fox has in some degree done this in his *Acts, &c.*; but not with sufficient precision. He has given large extracts from Queen Mary's *Primer*, at the beginning of her reign. From the following subjoined specimen, however, imperfect as it is, the reader may perceive what I desire.

It is proposed to examine and describe, in some particulars, the doctrine and religious practice of Rome, as it is discovered in two of the authorized *Rituals* of this country, or of *Salisbury*, containing, as usual, the Offices of Baptism, Confirmation, the Lord's Supper, Matrimony, Visitation of the Sick, &c., adopted as the national Formulary, in the reigns of Henry VIII. and his daughter Mary I. These æras, the first, of the incipient and imperfect Reformation, the second, of the re-establishment, after that Reformation had attained a more perfect form, of the doctrine and superstition of Rome, are peculiarly adapted to discover the real nature of that which at the time was triumphantly represented by its adherents as the *Old Doctrine*. What that Old Doctrine was these books will shew.

In conducting this examination, as in all other matters of charge or controversy with our Roman brethren, some precision is advisable, and must therefore be borne. The Jury will be challenged by the prisoner, if for no other reason, for the good one that he is tolerably sure beforehand that they cannot return a verdict of acquittal. The witnesses are not

more liable to exception for retaining what is good, and either is, or may be presumed to be,

likely to receive more indulgence; and woe to the luckless wight who in any instance miscalls a place, mistakes a date, or forgets a name.

Our first witness is, in our opinion at least, unimpeachable. His name, quality, and abode, are as follows:—*Manuale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum. Jam denuo Antverpie impressum: et a multis erratis et mēdis quibus scatebat repurgatum ac emunctissime vindicatum. Anno dñi. MCCCCXLII.* The colophon is imperfect, and has nothing peculiar in it but the name of the printer, *Christophorus Ruremundensis*, with the date repeated. It is in 4to. and has 200 foll.

The other witness is—*Manuale ad usum percelebris ecclesie Sarisburiensis. Londini recenter impressū, necnō multis mendis tersum atq. emūdatum. Londini. Anno Domini 1554.* The colophon contains no additional information. The book is a 4to. and contains 168 foll. It is of a larger form and fuller page than the first.

The first is not contained in the extensive catalogue of Liturgic books, principally of Salisbury, in *Gough's British Topography*, under *Wiltshire*, Vol. ii.: but the second, which he there describes, is the identical copy now before me, and which formerly belonged to Herbert, and to Baker, both whose autographs appear in rather copious notes.

I beg to premise that it is not my object to give a complete or extended description of these works, which, in the portions richly deserving remark, would far exceed the limits of a note. All which my purpose, as will be seen, requires, is to select some of the more prominent and observable particulars. I therefore, beginning with the first, forbear all comment respecting the superstition with which it starts—the *Benedictio Salis et Aque*. Nor do I rest upon the curious passages out of the few in *English*, fol. 2, where, in the *Benedictio fontis*, the father and mother of the child to be baptized are required to *hepe it from fyer and water; and other perels to the age of vii. yere: &c.* Neither do I dwell upon the rubric after the prayer, under the title *De secundis nuptiis*, fol. lxxvi. verso, farther than to notice the recognition of the use of the *cup* in the Lord's Supper: *Post missam benedicatur panis et vinum vel aliud quid potabile in vasculo et gustent in nomine domini sacerdote dicente, Dominus nobiscum.* There immediately follow some prayers referring to a ceremony strangely objectionable; and which was objected to by the Spanish Bishops at the Council of Trent, as *Schelhorn*,

antient and original, than are our canonical Scriptures, for having in like manner disengaged them-

in his Amæn. Hist. Ecc. &c., Tom. ii., p. 587, has recorded. The place where I shall first seriously detain myself and the reader is in the *Canon*, at fol. lxxxix, where the rubric instructs the Priest how he is to conduct himself relative to the elevation of the host. Before the consecration he is to elevate it but a little, so as not to be seen by the people; for if it be then elevated and shewn to the people, as is done by some foolish priests (*fatui sacerdotes*), they cause the people to commit idolatry, by adoring simple bread as the body of Christ; and in this they sin—*faciunt populū idololatrare adorando panem purū tanq; corpus xpi*. The *fatui* and *stulti sacerdotes* came under correction again for certain errors. But this is not the point. This passage renders it indisputable, that what is called *adoration* is adoration in the proper and strict sense of the word; it is that divine honour which is only, in the estimation of the Roman Church, not *idolatry*, because it is directed to the actual person of Christ in a corporal sense. What then is the act which the Church of Rome enjoins on her members and subjects, if Transubstantiation be not true, but idolatry, by her own shewing? There can be no escape from this conclusion; the Romanistic adoration of the host is proper adoration and proper idolatry.

In the *Order for visiting the sick*, at fol. 104, after the confession of the sick person, the priest waives the injunction of any penance, but prescribes certain alms to be performed either by him or his executors; and then grants a variety of indulgencies, with the merit of all his good deeds, which, united with the passion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the merits of the blessed and glorious Virgin Mary and all other saints, and the suffrages of the Holy Catholic Church, shall procure the remission of all his sins, to the increase of his merits and the attainment of eternal rewards. Then follows the absolution in form. In case of the recovery of the sick person, notwithstanding this plenary absolution, there is a reserve for particular offences, for which he is to confess to the individual who has the authority of absolution; otherwise he relapses into his original state. We shall have to remark an addition here in the Manual of Mary's reign. Under the head of *Extreme Unction* there is an article so gross and disgusting that we cannot farther allude to it than to say, that it exists *totidem verbis* in Queen Mary's Manual, and that it was necessary to alter it, as will be seen, in future Manuals. At the close of the volume under

selves from the less censurable mass of human addition under which they were in part smothered, to appear in their pure and native divinity.

consideration, fol. 198, is an article which emphatically pronounces the Church of Rome to be clear of the imputation of being absorbed by spiritual views. It is an Instruction respecting the form of making a Will, and these are the items. *Item dictus testator de bonis a deo sibi collatis ob remedium anime sue legavit fabrice vel luminarie predicte ecclesie quinq; sol. turon.* *Item curato totidem.* *Item vicaria, xii. d. turon.* *Item clerico sex d. turon.* *Item fabrice ecclie bte marie scti flori ii. sol. vi. d. turon.* *Item elemosyne ejuadem ecclesie xii. d. turon, &c.* There is yet one further article to be noticed, as connected with the book before me. It does not necessarily belong to it, as being a MS. addition of some former possessor. On the blank verse of the title-page is the following MS., which purports to be of the age of Queen Mary, and for particular use at that time. It is as follows:—

‘ The forme off absolucion in privat cofession.

‘ Our Lorde Jesus Christ absolve you: and by the apostolyke authoritie to me graunted and commytted: I absolve you ffrom the sentences of excommunication and ffrom all other censures and paynes: into the which you be fallen: by reason of heresy: or scisme: or any otherwyse: and I restore you unto the unities off our holy mother churche and to the communion off all sacramentes dispensyng with you ffor all maner of irregularitie: and by the same authoritie I absolve you ffrom all your synnes: In the name off the ffather: and off the sonne: and off the holy ghost amen.

‘ I Thomas Hengood pson off Halton. In the yere off our Lord god a^o dⁱ m^o ccccc^o lv^{to}.’

This form was necessary for individual priests in order to the reconciling of individual converts from Protestantism to Popery in the reign of Philip and Mary, and I transcribe it for the purpose of confirming the accuracy of Fox, (if that were at all necessary,) who has given it, with scarcely any variation, as proceeding from Boner, who was authorized to declare the reconciliation of England to the Roman See¹.

In the revival of the papal liturgies and rituals in all their forms under the princes just named, the second of the two works which we undertook to examine bears a conspicuous place. But since it is a pretty accurate re-

¹ Acts and Monuments, &c., vol. iii., p. 152 of the last edition.

impression of the preceding one, as most of the others were of those in use during the reign, at least the prior part of the reign of Henry VIII., it will be unnecessary to repeat what has already been said. There is one addition which was promised under the title of the *Order for the visitation of the sick*. It is as follows:—*Si infirmus bullā habeat apostolicā de plene absolutione et remissione oīm peccator' suorū semel in articulo mortis cōcessum: tunc primo legat sacerdos effectū bulle: deinde ceteris peractis (ut pdictū est) fiat ejus absolutio sub hac forma*. And then follows the form, which, as usual, signifies everything or nothing, as may suit.

In the close of these observations upon the Ritual, to which our poor forefathers were subjected, I beg to refer to two modern editions, for substance, of the same work, for purposes, which are of some importance. The first is *Rituale Romanum Pauli V. Pont. Max. Jussu editum*, &c. Antverpiæ, ex Architypographia Plantiniana, MDCCLIV, 8vo. This Ritual is confirmed by a brief of Clemens XI.; and the only purpose for which I refer to it is, to observe, that the offensive circumstance in the article of *Extreme Unction* is there asserted, or directed, to be *always in part omitted*. Pp. 81, 2. This intimation is so strictly observed, that in the other work of the kind to be noticed, all reference whatever to the subject is passed over. These silent withdrawals divulge something.

But to introduce the other work, which more nearly concerns this country, and the subjects of the Italian Church resident among us. The volume alluded to is published by the accredited papal booksellers in London, and by higher authority, as we shall state. The title is:—*Ordo administrandi sacramenta, et alia, &c. in Missione Anglicana; ex Rituali Romano, Jussu Pauli Quinti edito extractus: Nonnullis adjectis ex Antiquo Rituali Anglicano*. Londini: Typis Keating, Brown et Keating, Typograph. Reverendissim. Vic. Apost. &c. 1812. 12.—At p. 171, we read *Auctoritate Vicariorum Apostolicorum*, 1789. This little volume would of itself supply matter for various important observations, carefully accommodated, as it is, to the necessity of its appearance, and yet retaining in principle enough of its essential character, to discover what is the constitution of genuine Romanism. It is not, however, consistent with my present intention to enter into any such detail. I confine myself simply to some observations on two points. The first occurs in the *Form of reconciling a Convert*, pp. 56, &c., where it appears that the convert is required to profess his new Faith, in the form of the Oath, or Creed, of Pius IV. This appears to be a modern regulation, since it is not enjoined in the Roman Pontifical. But it is well adapted to bind the soul at the critical point of its conversion. The second point to be

noticed is the *Form of Absolution* in the case of Penitents, p. 54, which, at the close, runs thus: *Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi, merita beatæ Mariæ virginis, et omnium sanctorum, quicquid boni feceris, et mali sustinueris, sint tibi in remissionem peccatorum, augmentum gratiæ, et præmium vitæ æternæ. Amen.* This, for substance, has been given in English in the account of the first Manual: but here we have what is in practice, and in this country, at the present day. Upon this simple statement I only wish to propose the inquiry, with what face but his own could Dr. Doyle, or can any of those who chuse to think, or at least speak, as he does, affirm, that the Absolution of the Church of England and the Absolution of the Church of Rome are the same?

A similar examination of other ecclesiastic Formularies in this country before the Reformation, would, I am persuaded, be information to many, instruction to more, and an acceptable present to all, who value the civil and religious liberty, together with the pure Christian doctrines, of the Reformed Church of this united empire.

CHAPTER VI.

REFLEXIONS and inferences from the foregoing details—Fallacy of the attempt to destroy propositions in the *index*, which are yet found in the *text*, of an author—Pliability of the Fathers in papal hands—Principles of the Indexes still in force, and their tendency—The injury or destruction to reformed Christianity where these principles prevail and are acted upon — Confession — Inquisition — Persecution — Duty of non-papal governments to resist the claim to power of the professors of the above principles—Various sophistic reasonings in support of such claim—Creed and Oath of Pius IV.—its feudality—Fenelon—his sentiments of Indulgences and reading the Scriptures—Real Emancipation—Persecutions of Queen Mary, and Executions of Queen Elizabeth—Opinion of a R. C. secular priest, respecting the latter—*Europæ Speculum*.

FROM the foregoing details, many reflexions of importance arise. Perhaps none is more obtrusive than the difficulty in which the authors and defenders of the Indexes found themselves, to escape the imputation of censuring and correcting the writings of those who are eminently and usually called the *Fathers*. The Church of Rome, founding her own authority principally upon the paramount authority, and what must afford even a plausible foundation for it, consent of these writers, not only among themselves, but (which is the principal matter) with those who claim them, as to points of faith at least; and some material disagreements being extant between their views

of such doctrines, and those of their presumed successors, in some parts of their works,—disagreements either unknown or disregarded, when no enemy, of will and power enough to display them to the world, or be attended to, appeared,—it became a matter of great importance and delicacy, now that such an enemy was in the field, to deprive him of the formidable arms which such a circumstance evidently put into his hands. And truly, it must be allowed, they did not forget the serpent. For, when direct denial of plain fact would not pass as formerly, the objectionable passages, which their enemy had taken care to make conspicuous in Indexes, in these Indexes, of another description, they took equal care to select, as the especial and exclusive object of their attack—not only as being the identical propositions most annoying to them, but, more particularly as giving them the opportunity, which they most desired, of destroying *them*, without appearing to offer any violence to the *Father* in whose text they were found, and from whose text they were transferred. Thus, in some measure, they saved *appearances*, but nothing more: the fallacy was palpable. They had indeed done the same thing with the Scriptures themselves*. Even one who should

* I will extract a specimen of this kind of criticism from the only Expurgatory Index of Rome, Brasichellen's (but it exactly copies from that of

be considered as their own, J. B. POZA, a genuine Jesuit, has, in his Apology, directly accused them

Spain, in 1584), on the *Biblia Rob. Stephani*, in the Index. And I give it entire.

Ex Indice horum Bibliorum, in libros Veteris & Novi Testamenti, deleantur subjectæ propositiones, tanquam suspectæ.

Civitas abducta a fiducia in Deum comburenda, & cives occidendi.

Credendo in Christum remittuntur peccata.

Credens Christo non morietur in æternum.

Dierum delectus nullus apud fideles.

Dives vix cognoscit Evangelium.

Fide accipitur Spiritus sanctus.

Fide purificantur corda.

De Judæis sunt fere omnia, quæ in Evangeliiis, & Epistolis, scripta leguntur.

Imagines prohibet Deus fieri ut adoremus, & coram eis incurvemur.

Propter justitiam cordis nihil tribuit Deus.

Justitia in nobis nulla.

Justificamur fide in Christum.

Justitia nostra Christus.

Justitia ex operibus nulla.

Justus coram Deo nemo.

In requiem ingressuri credentes.

Non propter opera liberati sumus.

Resipiscere omnes desiderat Deus.

Resipiscentia donum Dei.

Resipiscentia Israelis.

Verbum Dei solum faciendum.

Uxorem habeat unusquisque.

It is surprising the first sentence was not allowed to pass. The reasons for blotting, in the rest, are pretty plain. The offence of *resipiscentia* is its substitution for *pœnitentia*, with its modern and spurious meaning. *Mornay*, in his edition of the Spanish Index, 1601, has prefixed a short specimen of the same kind of dealing with the Indexes of the *Fathers*; in which it will be observed, as may likewise have been, from instances in the preceding pages, that the doctrines which are the chief objects of antipathy are those which express the peculiarly Protestant one of Justification by Faith alone—*articulus*, said Luther, *stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*.

of the fact, and proved it too; although his charge only refers to the one Roman Expurgatory Index*. It was indeed retaliation, but that does not alter the truth. FRANCUS, as might be expected, has more fully substantiated the charge†. But indeed, where the Correctors were allowed by a rule of Pope Clemens VIII., as they plainly were, to suppose a *fraus hæreticorum* wherever they chose, and that would be wherever any thing offensive occurred, and make an amendment accordingly; for which plausible reasons might easily be fabricated (to say nothing of all the other rules, which were mainly directed to put the press entirely in the power of the correctors)—how, if we may calculate upon human nature, and as it appears in the sons of Romanism, can it be imagined that such facilities would not be improved? But the Jesuit, GRETSER, is a little more honest on this subject than most of his brethren; and, by apologizing for the fact, in the celebrated case of Bertram's book, admits it. His argument is

* Apol. fol. 31—33. This work is an apology, and called so in the work itself: but its only title is, *Sanctissimo Domino D. N. Urbano Papæ Octavo. Cognatio Cantabrica, Johannis Baptistæ Poza, è Societate Jesu, in Causa tomi primi Elucidarii*. Printed in 1631. But the proof of the fact above stated is given more fully in the account of Brasichellen's Index, in the present work.

† *De Indicibus*, &c., pp. 213—7. Add JAMES'S *Corruption*, &c. throughout.

worth something. ‘Although,’ says he, ‘Bertram be prohibited, I deny that a Father is prohibited. For he is called a Father of the Church who feeds and nourishes it with salutary doctrine, who being placed over the family of the Lord, gives it its *portion of corn in due season*. If, therefore, instead of the food of salutary doctrine, and the portion of corn, he offer and distribute cockle and tares, and the burs and briars of perverse doctrines, so far he is not a father, but a step-father—not a doctor, but a seductor*.’ If such logic had always been allowed and acted upon, Papal Rome would not now be standing. But only observe: the church is governed by the fathers; and whether they are fathers or not, and how far so, is to be determined by the church—nay, according to this argument, by the private judgment of individuals. But this writer, a little before, has represented Catholic authors so modest as to submit to the church, or the pope; and ‘who therefore,’ he asks triumphantly, ‘is so stupid, as not to see that the church, or sovereign pontiff, while he reviews the lucubrations of his sons, and, where need is, corrects them, performs a service grateful to the

* Dum prohibetur Bertramus, nego prohiberi patrem: Nam ecclesiæ pater ille dicitur qui ecclesiam salutari doctrina alit et pascit—Jam ergo si pro salutiferæ doctrinæ pabulo—offerat et admetiatur lolium—eatenus non pater sed vitricus; non doctor sed seductor: &c. *De Jure, &c.*, p. 328.

authors, and a work useful to posterity*?' In one respect, therefore, these good men are fathers, in another they are sons, at the will, and for the accommodation, of those who pretend to be their descendents and servants. Francus has a whole chapter, the viiith, on what he entitles—*Two Specimens of Papistic Cunning—Versutiæ Papisticæ*—the one is, the ingenuity of correcting the fathers through Indexes, the other, the prohibition of immoral books, which, where done, was evidently meant for a blind, lest the reader should be tempted to imagine that the Roman church looked to nothing but her own interest. It certainly was necessary that his mind should be diverted from such a suspicion, since none could be more natural. But, reverting to the pliability of the fathers in the plastic hands of their professed friends, I cannot omit the observation, that the power or privilege of making any thing out of any thing, as respects what ought to be more inflexible, the meaning and authority of Councils, was never so outrageously exercised as in the Evidence given by the ruling ecclesiastics and others of the Italian sect in Ireland, before Select Committees of the houses of Parliament in the years 1824 and 1825, and which is so luminously exposed in the DIGEST OF THAT EVIDENCE, by the

* *De Jure*, pp. 320, 1.

Revv. W. Phelan and M. O'Sullivan*. It there appears that the rulers of the Roman church have in such a sense the power of binding and loosing; that just what passages, and for what time, the laws of their religion shall do the one or the other, is exactly and entirely dependent upon their supreme pleasure.

It is likewise a fair, if not necessary, but certainly a very important, inference, from the productions, on which our researches have been employed, that, where knowledge is supposed, which can seldom be doubted, what the Indexes do not condemn they approve and sanction. It therefore follows, that the authority, which is the

* 'A work which every man desirous of forming an impartial and conscientious opinion upon the subject of Catholicism, as connected with England and Ireland, should make familiar to his mind.' Rev. BLANCO WHITE'S *Letter to C. Butler, Esq.*, p. 20. This author needs not my praise. There is another work, published in 1825, with the title, *The Evidence taken before the Select Committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons appointed in the Sessions of 1824 and 1825, to inquire into the State of Ireland*, than which a more dishonest one has not lately issued from the press. Who would not, at the first reading of the title, conclude, that the *whole* evidence were given? If the moderate bulk of the volume corrected that misapprehension, he would at least assure himself that a *selection* was made from both sides of the great question. What must be his surprise, and something more, when, on consulting the volume itself, he finds that it contains only *part* of the evidence; that there is nothing like impartial selection; but that *ALL IS ON ONE SIDE*? No wonder that such a book should make conversions of a certain sort of protestants. The later advertisements have prudently altered the title to *Evidence, &c.*, and, after the word *Commons*, added, *by the Irish Catholic Bishops, Mr. O'Connell, and other Witnesses*. But the original imposition remains in the unaltered title-page of the volume itself.

highest in the Roman church, from which those Indexes issue, must be understood to approve and sanction all those doctrines or assertions, in writers of her own communion, which her condemning decrees have failed to proscribe or expurgate. And this observation, which is founded in evident justice, will at all times operate as an extinguisher on the evasive pretence, that any particular doctrines, or assertions, extant in pontifical writers, which it may not be possible, or convenient, to recognize and justify, are the sentiments of private individuals, for which the church, whose subjects they are, is slightly, if at all, responsible*.

* In combating this ordinary and obvious subterfuge Bishop Taylor has justly observed, that the doctrine of Rome is not to be sought in the Decrees of her Councils *alone*—‘it is hard to suppose or expect that the innumerable cases of conscience, which a whole trade of lawyers and divines amongst them have made, can be entered into the records of Councils and public decrees. In these cases we are to consider, who teaches them? Their gravest doctors in the face of the sun, under the intuition of authority in the public conduct of souls, in their allowed sermons, in their books licensed by a curious and inquisitive authority, not passing from them, but by warrant from several hands entrusted to examine them, *ne fides ecclesie aliquid detrimenti patiatur.*’ *Dissuasive from Popery.* Part i., ch. ii., sect. i. See likewise Sir Robert H. Inglis’s *Speeches on the Roman Catholic Question*, pp. 22—25. Ed. 1828. There is no end to exposing the simplicity (to call it no worse) of the Commissioners reporting on the State of Ireland in 1825. In the examination of the Rev. M. O’Sullivan, April 26, where the negative argument from the omissions in the Index *Expurgatorius* (as it is there called) is adverted to, the Rev. Catechumen having answered, that, in the case of such a man, and writer, as Cardinal Bellarmine, the omission amounted to an approbation, the acute

On the whole, and to approach more general inferences—when it is considered, that heresy, or any deviation whatever from the church of Rome, is the main object, against which the Indexes are directed, and that such heresy or deviation is regarded by that church as no less than spiritual treason, we shall at once perceive the intimate connexion of the subject of our examination with the dominion and tyranny of the papal power. When again we consider, that the particular subjects of the prohibitions in the Indexes form the principal materials of confession, and that one of them, the Neapolitan, included in a work expressly upon the subject of confession, is given for the professed purpose of assisting the confessor in his inquiries, we shall become equally sensible, into how close contact every son and daughter of the papacy comes with his or her spiritual superiors, and how hopeless must be every purpose of concealment*. And when we still further con-

catechist without ceremony infers, ‘*Then you understand by the Index Expurgatorius, not only a negative condemnation of all the books contained in it, but a positive affirmation of the principles of all the books not contained in it?*’ A man of common sense could give but one answer. But with respect to Bellarmine, it is important to be observed, that the temporary continuance of his name in the Index of Sixtus V. for not affirming the *direct* power of the pope in temporals is a strong confirmation of the papal claim to that effect.

* ‘I have seen,’ says Sir Edwin Sandys, ‘in their printed instructions for Confession, the having or reading of books forbidden, set in rank

sider, that these documents, discovering so openly and resolutely the spirit and principles of Romanism, are not an old and dead letter, but at this moment in full life and vigour—that they do not lie dormant in antiquated and neglected volumes, but, after being renewed from time to time, have been more than once republished in this very age, with no abatement of their barbarous intolerance; we may with fairness infer, that there is no radical and real improvement in a system which cannot change, and therefore can never reform. All the enmity, therefore, to evangelic truth, all the selfishness, dishonesty and injustice, all the real illiberality and bigotry, all the arrogance and spirit of domination, of which these Indexes are standing and impishable monuments, are by her own deliberate act fixed upon the present character and pretensions of the Roman usurpation. It does not indeed appear that

amongst the sins against the first commandment.' *Europæ Speculum, or a View*, &c. p. 131. Hagæ Comitum, 1629. This representation is confirmed by Fra Paolo Sarpi, in his *Discorso dell' Inquisit.*, already referred to, where, speaking of the effect intended to be given to the different prohibitory decrees issuing from Rome, he writes: *Quest' Indice si manda a gl' Inquisitori, che per mezzo de Confessori li facciano haver quell' esecuzione che possono.* p. 167. So, in the *Suplemento* to the last Spanish Index published in 1805, the Edict of the Inquisitor General cited in the Preface requires all Confessors, secular and regular, especially those who have the cure of souls, to examine their penitents respecting the possession of prohibited books, and in case of offence, to impose due penance, and to impress upon them that absolution is reserved to the Inquisitor General.

death was denounced as the penalty of the simple possession, or reading, of the prohibited books; except in the instances mentioned by Fox and Llorente of the brutal bigot, Philip II., of Spain; but, in the ulterior proceedings of the court from which most of the prohibitions emanated, this either led to, or constituted, the proof which subjected to death—the most cruel death. We cannot wonder then, with all these circumstances in view, that the Indexes should formerly have been, and should still be, as in their nature they are, powerful instruments either of obstructing or of destroying religious truth. And, accordingly, a very competent witness, the chaplain of that Philip who was consort to our queen Mary I., of sanguinary memory, has declared his opinion, that to this, with other causes, was to be ascribed the purification of Spain from heretics *. It was not the prohibition, but the deaths produced by it, to which this effect is to be assigned. The Inquisition carried on the work for which it had

* ALFONSO A CASTRO, in his work, *De justa hæreticorum punitione*, first published in 1547, the date of his Dedication to Charles V. writes, In Hispania multos hæreticorum libros speciatim nominatos prohibuerunt inquisitores hæreticorum, qui diligentem circa hanc rem adhibent inquisitionem, et mea opera aliquando usi sunt ad perscrutandas universitatis Salmanticensis publicas bibliothecas. Et ob hanc causam inter alias, tam repurgata persistit ab hæreticis Hispania. p. 228, verso. Ed. Venetiis, 1549.

itself made the preparations; and perpetrated those national and legalized murders, which in the shortest and accidentally selected portions of their endless details, as conveyed even by the perpetrators, inspire minds not eminently sensitive with a horror and indignation against the infernal agents, which nothing but an intense act of faith and resignation can allay. Let any one, for instance, read—not the large and particular accounts of the martyrdoms in England, but—that which Dr. M. GEDDES, in his valuable collection of *Miscellaneous Tracts*, has given of an *Act of Faith* in Lisbon, in the year 1682, of which he was himself a witness, when, no doubt, as in Spain, the Inquisition took care that nothing performed within its walls should transpire, and the gag was employed to prevent any address between them and the act of execution, and contemplate simply the visible exhibition, when the *dogs beards are to be made*, by thrusting flaming furzes into their faces, which is always accompanied by loud acclamations of joy; when, by contrivance, the victims are placed so high above the flames, that they are really roasted, not burnt, to death; and the intervening cry, *Misericordia por amor de Dios*,—the whole beheld, as the author repeats in this instance, with such transports of joy and

satisfaction* as are shewn on no other occasion, by a people who are yet accustomed tenderly to lament other executions, and he will involuntarily strive to relieve his sickening spirit with the scriptural exclamation, which the relater has used as his motto, ‘How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?’ *The Spanish Protestant Martyrology* of the same writer, which follows, and which the ecclesiastical historian Mosheim has thought of so much value as to translate into his own classic Latin, may be consulted as a specimen of the same character and to the same effect †. And no one who considers the

* With surprise and horror I have met with a confirmation of this fiendish practice, as it may be called, in the *History of the Crusades against the Albigenses, &c.*, translated from SISMONDE DE SISMONDI’S *General History of the French*, where, p. 77, the Pilgrims are reported to have collected their prisoners, heretics, ‘and burned them alive with the utmost joy:’ again, p. 78, ‘the pilgrims seizing nearly sixty heretics burned them with infinite joy:’ and p. 106, ‘seven heretics,’ says the Monk of Citeaux, ‘were seized by our pilgrims and burned with unspeakable joy.’ All this written with approbation and exultation by the agents themselves!

† The following is an account of a presumed heretic executed, by the sentence of laymen, at *Valencia*, July 31, with several of the forms of the infamous *Auto de Fe*. *Courier*, Sept. 2, 1826.

‘(From the *Etoile*, dated Thursday. PARIS, Aug. 29.)—A deplorable event took place at Valencia, on the 31st of July, without the slightest knowledge on the part of the Spanish Government. A man, who had been convicted of heresy, was executed in that city with several of the forms of the ancient *Auto de Fe*. It is, however, important to observe, that the Ecclesiastical Judges in this affair made no declaration of the heresy until after numerous attempts, by conference, to bring back to the Unity of the

natural consequence of *such days*, and of their *not being shortened*, will wonder, that the fire of evangelic truth, according to the metaphor of its

Faith, which is part of the law of Spain, the unhappy man, accused of preaching novel doctrines. It was a tribunal of Laymen, who, applying the laws against heresy, pronounced sentence of death. It is a grievous matter that such spectacles should be now exhibited in Spain, after so long a time has elapsed without an instance of similar severity. We think, as do all men who are penetrated with the genuine spirit of Christianity, that a religion of love, and of light, ought to reign by conviction, and not by terror. We lately cited the authority of the oracles of religion in the first ages of the Church, the following are the opinions of the age of Louis XIV.—an age which is so often represented as one of intolerance and persecution. “Fear (says FLEURY in his *Institution au droit Ecclésiastique*, in speaking of the Inquisition) is better adapted to form hypocrites than genuine Christians. Always to interpret all the penal laws according to the letter, is to render religion odious, and may lead us to the perpetration of great wickedness under a pretence of justice. We esteem, in France, as one of the principal points of our liberty, our not having received those new laws, and those new tribunals, which are so little conformable with the antient spirit of the church.”

I transcribe likewise the following articles from the *St. James's Chronicle*, of Sept. 7—9, 1826. ‘Popery proceeds in Spain, with a firm step, to recover all her ancient terrible authority. At Valencia, where a schoolmaster was lately hanged for heresy, a Jew has been since burned for Judaism, *redeunt Saturnia regna*. The golden age of the Inquisition is rapidly returning.’—‘Extract of a private letter, received at Paris from Madrid:—“The human sacrifices which Rome abolished, in her treaty with Carthage, have been revived at Valencia. The secret prisons of the Apostoliques are filled with heretics, consisting of witches and magicians, accused of being connected with the devil. In short, the priestcraft have the satisfaction to light up again the funeral pile. To the present time they were contented with forcing the Jews to frequent their churches, and to assist in their catholic ceremonies, which was in itself an absurdity, they being strangers to that religion; and now in this enlightened age they have condemned some of them to be burnt to death. For a long time past they have been informed at Madrid, that an Auto de Fe would soon

enemies, was instantly and perfectly quenched in Spain and other countries*. The historian, in his preface, has referred to two Spanish autho-

take place. The brotherhood of St. Hermandad took the road to Valencia, followed by numbers of associates, to sacrifice the unfortunate Hebrew. All the thieves and assassins surrounded the pile, carrying the banners of the Inquisition and St. Dominic, preceded by monks, singing the psalms of David. Between them was placed their unfortunate victim, who was clad in a round frock, upon which were painted various devils, having on his head a pasteboard cap, decorated with flames of fire. He was escorted by two Dominican friars, who complimented him upon his being about to be burned for the salvation of his soul; and, previously to his ascending the faggots, they embraced him. The wretched man having been gagged and tied down, the torch was applied, and the torturers surrounded the pile, singing hymns to drown his cries." The same account appears in the Gentleman's Magazine for Sept. 1826, p. 263. It must be obvious, that no more in these than in many other extracts occurring in this work do I hold myself answerable for the justice of the sentiments or reasonings which they contain. I adduce them simply for the facts.

* On what subject might not unity be obtained by such means? Those who are not intimidated to compliance, are put out of the way, and their dissent annihilated. *Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*—(vel unitatem?) *Tac. Agric. xxx.* One word more, however, with respect to Romish unity, as connected with *private judgment*. If the unity, whatever articles it may respect, be constituted of the *agreeing* private judgments of the individuals uniting, it is a *real* unity. If it be constituted of their *disagreeing*, but submitting, private judgments, it is a *false* unity, or none at all. And even if, *submitting*, they renounce (as far as possible and in that respect) their private judgments, those judgments must be consulted and *determine* the obligation of such submission. So that however the *position* of private judgment may be changed, its *existence* and *determining authority somewhere* is not more a *right* than a *necessity*. But, indeed, we do injustice to Rome, if we deny her to be as indulgent as need be to private judgment, and abundantly tolerant of her own disunions—when her interest is not concerned—'only' (as Stillingfleet has not unaptly observed) 'what others call different persuasions, they call *school points*; and what others call *divisions*, they call *disputes*: the case is the same with their church and others, only they have softer names for the differences

rities for proof of this fact. The first is the *Historia Pontifical*; and although he does not mention the author, it is doubtless GONÇALO DE ILLESCAS, the first edition of whose work is prohibited in the Spanish Indexes of 1570 and 1583, but it was afterwards purified and allowed. What edition the Dr. used does not appear. But his testimony, as adduced, is decisive, that the number and quality of the converts from Romanism were so considerable, that, had the remedy been delayed but a few months, all Spain had been in a flame*. The other writer is PARAMO, who, in his *History of the Inquisition* †, and in the place,

among themselves; and think none bad enough for those who cast off the pope's authority, and plead for a reformation.' *Idolatry of the Church of Rome*, p. 396, or ch. v., § 14. This *system of softening* on one side and *hardening* on the other will perform wonders.

* I should have been induced to transcribe almost the whole of that detailed and important section, part ii., pp. 723—6, from the edition of Madrid 1613, in the Bodleian Library, in which the historian asserts the fact, and various circumstances connected with it, with infatuated openness, had it not been presented almost entire by M'Crie, in his valuable history of the fate of the Reformation in Spain.

† The title is—*De Origine et Progressu Officii Sanctæ Inquisitionis, ejusque dignitate et utilitate, De Romani Pontificis potestate et delegata Inquisitorum: Edicto Fidei, et ordine judiciario Sancti Officii, quæstiones decem. Libri Tres. Autore Ludovico a PARAMO Boroxensi Archidiacono et Canonico Legionensi, Regniq; Siciliæ Inquisitore. Matriti, ex Typographia Regia, MDCXCIX. Fol.* One of the ornaments of the title-page is a ferocious female brandishing a sword. The volume before me is curious as having the certificate of its having been amended conformably to the Index of 1632, signed by a name full of involutions. Only one place is altered, p. 888, in a Bull of Paul III. *sacramentis ab ecclesia institutis, to sacramentis a Christo institutis.* A future Index thought it would be smaller, and more prudent,

which should have been pointed out, Lib. ii. Tit. 3, cap. 5, writes, that, but for the efforts of the holy Tribunal, a great conflagration had been excited in Spain; and, after relating several of its executions, particularly that of Charles V.'s chaplain, with occasional admissions of the extended and rapid progress of heresy and heretics, he concludes—and let this nation think of it, when she comes to her name—*His omnibus fit, ut fides Catholica pura, inviolataque jam pridem apud nos custodiatur: quod si pari diligentia, autoritate, et potestate in cæteris Christianorum regnis, provinciisque factum esset, longe alia profecto nunc esset Christianæ reipublicæ facies, quam quæ hodie in Germania, Gallia, Anglia, Hibernia, Scotia, et aliis nationibus fædissima cernitur; &c.* Diffe-

alteration, to change *ab* for *in*. I suspect the error was the Infallible's, if indeed *he* thought it an error. Peignot says, that the work of Paramo was quietly, *sans éclat*, suppressed by the holy office, which, indeed, had reason to be ashamed, and afraid too, of its progeny. *Livres condamnés, &c.*, tome ii. p. 25. There is another work, and, naturally enough, of very rare occurrence, which affords considerable confirmation, as well as supplies much additional matter to the relation, of Geddes: it is the work of a contemporary of the acts recorded—REGINALDI GONSALVI MONTANI *Sanctæ Inquisitionis Hispanicæ artes aliquot detectæ, ac palam tractatæ, &c.* Heidelb. 1567, 8. But the part of it which immediately refers to the subject is that, *de Martyribus quibusdam Protestantium in Hispania*. This is inserted in GERDESII *Scrinium Antiq.*, &c. Groning. 1755, tom. iv. pp. 581-662. The whole work has been translated into French, English, and Dutch, and has deservedly supplied the Historian of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain with a leading, and, perhaps, the most important portion of the facts composing that invaluable production.

rent indeed would have been the face of poor England, if the diabolic Philip had not been mercifully removed from this country to do the work of his father in his own. It was almost too much to expect, that so explicit and voluntary an admission as that just adduced with respect to Spain should be found with respect to Italy, although the fortunes of the Reformation in both countries were so perfectly analogous; but a writer, whose devotedness to the interests and credit of his church can never be questioned, the papal historian of the last of her councils, Cardinal Pallavicino, in an eulogy upon the Pontiff Paul IV., for his zealous attachment to the inquisition, has assigned the preservation of Italy from the infection of presumed heresy to the activity of the holy tribunal. *D' eterna lode lo fà degno il tribunal del' Inquisizione, che dal zelo di lui e prima in autorità di consigliere, e poscia in podestà di principe, riconosce il presente suo vigor nell' Italia, e dal quale riconosce l' Italia la conservata integrità della sua fede**.

* Concil. di Trento, ii. p. 128, or parte ii. l. xiv. c. ix. § 5. I owe this reference to the valuable and well-timed *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, by the Rev. HENRY SOAMES, vol. iv. p. 573. It is but justice to that acute writer to subjoin his observation upon it. 'This passage is worthy of remark, probably even more on account of its concluding clause, than of its testimony to Paul's love for the inquisition. It is, undoubtedly, an important admission from a Cardinal and a Jesuit, that without the systematic use of death and torture, Italy herself would have

It is scarcely possible for the mind, which contemplates with interest either the general prosperity of nations or the establishment of pure Christianity, not to propose to itself the question, how far a religious system, with such inclinations, with such resources, and so little restrained by any principles in the use of them, as is that of the church of Rome, can with prudence or justice be entrusted with any power whatever to injure, by any community not professing the same creed and

embraced the Reformation.' To the testimony of Pallavicino we may add that of the interesting biographer of Paul IV., who inserts a long epistle written by the Theatine Regular Clergy of the time, in commendation of the Pope; and, at pp. 70, 71, they do not forget the Inquisition, by means of which *adeo fides Catholica instaurata est, ut Hæreticum virus, quod in ipsa Italia passim serpebat, extinctum, multique eo correpti sanati sint.* At great expense the Pope built an ample office. *Nec quidem immerito. Scit enim Optimus Pontifex id maximi referre ad conservandam in omni Italia Orthodoxam Religionem.* This is contemporary evidence, the letter being dated 1559. The apprehensions for Italy are amply detailed by the author, pp. 98, 99; and, as respects Naples in particular, in the subjoined *Vita Thienæi*, pp. 239—242. The manner in which the popular feeling was expressed upon the death of this inquisitorial pontiff is generally known: but the description given by this writer has in it something remarkable. *In obitu Pauli cum vésano furore carceres Sanctæ Inquisitionis effracti fuissent, hæretici ad LXXII. inter quos multi heresiarchæ erant, veluti totidem Tartaræ Eumenides, inde proruperunt. Uti Vincentius Bellus in Diario suo scriptum reliquit; Ut hinc conjicere quisque possit, quam magnum exitium viventis Pauli severitas improbitati attulerit.* CARACCIOLI *Collectanea de Vita Pauli IV.*, p. 102. The Inquisition has always been deservedly dear to the apostles of Rome: but it may be some information to the Protestant reader to learn from *Paramo*, that the holy office originated in paradise, and is traceable in all the succeeding ages of the Jewish and Christian history.

admitting its authority, or adverse to both, as, by its very name, every Protestant state must be. Little sagacity is required to discover, that in exact proportion as it confers or increases that power, in the same it injures, if it does not destroy, but in all cases tends to destroy, its own constitution. It certainly is not pretended, that individual religion must be extinguished, even by the absolute triumph of Romanism and its wildest riot in blood: but this will never justify a protestant government in exposing its subjects and the general christianity to such a trial and hazard*. The secure and peaceable profession of the reformed faith is the object which it should most anxiously endeavour to maintain; and if any secular temptation prevail with it to surrender this object, the uncorrupt portion of the nation, in accordance with truth itself, and therefore with awful authority, will pronounce it guilty. When will a protestant legislature open its eyes to the serpent, which it is continuing to cherish at Stonyhurst, which in foreign countries, *scotched, not killed*, is discovering its unconquerable vitality in this, and will soon discover its venom, in the apostasy of those, whom its artifices have beguiled, its wealth

* Otherwise, from the position, that 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church,' might, with equal plausibility, be inferred the duty, either of *courting*, or of *inflicting* persecution.

bribed, or its power overawed*? Nothing but power reveals what the Papacy really is : it can assume—it is its interest and practice to assume, every disguise—the appearance even of the character most opposite to itself—while impotent. But let the season of prosperity breathe upon it, and the dead lion will become a living and furious one. A great portion of its destructive strength lies, and has always lain, in what prophecy has emphatically denominated its DECEIVABLENESS OF UNRIGHTEOUSNESS. The great Sorceress sits upon her seven hills, dealing out her drugs and potions to the infatuated nations and sovereigns of the earth. Assisted by the wisdom of her superior teacher, she mixes the ingredients of her cup with exact accommodation to the inclinations and tastes of those whom she would seduce, intimidate, or ruin ; and the records of history mournfully proclaim her extensive—her almost universal—success. We mistake if we imagine that all this has past by : *that* very opinion revives its existence. There is reason to question, whether the poison has not already entered the veins of some who fancy themselves most free. Nor is there anything highly absurd in the apprehension, that the papal religion may continue its progress,

* What execution will be given to the conclusion of the *healing* Act remains to be proved.

until it prevail again extensively in this country. In its peculiarity, it is eminently a *religion of nature*, armed with all those fierce energies, as well as those irresistible delusions, by which the superstitions of heathenism, both ancient and modern, have laid prostrate the souls of their victims; and recommended more artfully and effectually than in any other invented faith, by supplying the grand *desideratum* of vitiated humanity—a religion by proxy.

In logic, and logic is necessary in the determination of the merits of every cause, nothing is more deceptive than generalities. It is almost a proverb, *Dolus latet in generalibus**. General propositions constitute the materials and instruments of Metaphysics. Some adoption of this mode of conceiving and expressing our notions is almost unavoidable; and if it be done with judgment and honesty it is highly serviceable, particularly in economizing time. But these are edged weapons, and most unsafe in the hands of either the injudicious or the designing. The reason is obvious. Every general proposition contains in itself a number, greater or less, but generally large, of particular propositions. If these latter deviate in quantity or kind from what ought to be

* Or, as it is sometimes given, *Dolus versatur in generalibus*.

comprehended in the former, a fallacy ensues ; and the argument or inference founded upon any combination of the general propositions, or indeed terms which imply propositions, is vitious and false. But this is not perceived without more labour or discrimination than many can, or will, employ. Hence the advantage to an artful disputant in the use of general expressions, and in proportion as the conclusion which he intends is opposed to truth or probability. And hence the reason why the advocates of Roman delusion discover so much partiality for general terms and general reasoning. What is their employment of the general terms, *Tradition, Sacrament, Penance, Church,* and numberless others, but instances of this kind of sophistry*? How much of the execution effected by their dialectics in the use of the last term, *church,* is to be ascribed to the vague and overwhelming notion of—the constitution, the obligation, the advantage, or the danger and ruin, included in, or connected with, it; and which vary essentially from the particulars contained in the

* A curious confirmation of this artifice is preserved by FULLER in his catalogue of about one hundred words which Gardiner was anxious, in the New Translation of the Bible, should remain untranslated. *Church Hist.* under the year 1540, where he writes, ‘ Transcribed with my own hand out of the Records of Canterbury.’ Generalization was the substance and artifice of the *Method* adopted by the Gallican bishops for the intended confutation and conversion of the *pretended* Reformed about the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

scriptural use of the term*! A distinct distribution of the term into the particulars which compose it, and a deliberate contemplation of the latter, would at once dissipate the delusion, and shew, either that the disputants, where the subject is disputed, are thinking and talking about different things, or that the sophister is building without rule or line. By favour, however, of the indolence or incapacity of the world in general, his sophistry very frequently succeeds, and is received as incontrovertible truth. A directly contrary method is sometimes adopted, and with the same delusive effect: it is, when some striking feature of a subject is seized, enlarged, shaped, and coloured, in such a way as to secure a certain conclusion; although that conclusion may be, and often is, at direct variance with the main merits of the question. Partial similitude is peculiarly serviceable to the friends of the Roman, as well as

* 'When you come to dispute of the Church with them, see that you agree first under your hands of the Definition of that Church of which you dispute. And when you call them to define it, you will find them in a wood, you will little think how many several things it is that they call [*the Church,*]' &c. 'So that if you do but force them to define and explain what they mean by the Church, you will either cause them to open their nakedness, or find them all to pieces about the very subject of the Dispute.' BAXTER'S *Key for Catholics, to open the Jugling of the Jesuits,* &c. pp. 73, 4. We shall hear more from this author soon. In the mean time, and constantly, let us hear in mind the importance of Definition—Definition. It is the *experimentum crucis* for sophistry.

the enemies of our church, who do not always remind themselves so precisely as they might, that in many cases *degree* makes all the difference, and that a drunkard or glutton may essentially and morally differ from a sober man, although their meat and drink, for quality, may be exactly the same. I might add, in conjunction with these, the power, through the interminable extent of the fields of controversy, of protracting a debate to any intended length; and, with this advantage, similar to that of a suit in chancery, of concealing a defeat for any period which may be desirable*.

* MILTON, in his Tract, *Of True Religion, &c. against the Growth of Popery*, near the beginning, expresses his reason for *limiting* the range of his argument, in these analogous terms. 'I will not now enter into the labyrinth of Councils and Fathers,—an entangled wood which the papists love to fight in, not with the hope of victory, but to obscure the shame of an open overthrow.' In conformity with this is the regular and approved method, under favour of the same advantage—the extent and density of *the wood*—of diverting the discussion from the *main* point to incidental ones which may produce confusion. Mr. FABER, in his last work, *Some Account of Mr. Husenbeth's Attempt to assist the Bishop of Strasbourg; with Notices of his Remarkable Adventures in the Perilous Field of Criticism*, has exposed this artifice with his usual felicity. 'So far as my observation extends, it is the invariable plan of Latin Controvertists to draw away the attention of their readers from the main question to anything which may serve the purpose of embarrassment and perplexity,' p. 4. Mr. Faber, however, has, in his own irresistible way, demonstrated the confusion which awaits the pontificals, even in this wood itself, when the contest is pursued to an issue. Never was foe and assailant so completely routed and demolished as the Bishop, successively of Aire and Strasbourg, by the Rector of Long Newton; and the two Squires, who have flown to his succour, have fared no better than their Knight.

Nor must we allow ourselves to pass over another potent engine of deception—suppression. It is hardly conceivable, how much of the effect of absolute falsehood is often produced by simply not telling *the whole truth*. I must request permission to add one more; and it shall be done upon the testimony of the writer who has subjoined to a reimpression of the Epistle prefixed by William Watson, secular priest, to the *Important Considerations*, published in the name of some of his brethren, a Postscript containing the following statement. ‘Among other arts made use of’ by the Jesuits, one is, the ‘drawing such a wild and extravagant character of a Jesuit, as no man’ ‘ever yet fixed upon them; and then under that colour taking upon him,’ the vindicator, ‘boldly to assert their innocence,’ &c.* This is exactly the art and fallacy of GOTHER in his *Papist Misrepresented and Represented*—to overstate, to deny, and then to *understate* and exclaim *Misrepresentation! Calumny!* And is this art and fallacy now fallen into desuetude?

By artifices such as these, but more especially by the one first described, as a leading one, have

* See *Epistle General, as Preface to Important Considerations*, first published in 1601, and republished elsewhere, and in GIBSON’s *Preservative*, &c. vol. iii., Tit. xiii. The reference is to *Vindication of Saint Ignatius*, by WILLIAM DARRELL.

the votaries of Rome at all times contrived to cast a mantle of plausibility over their character, their acts; and their claims; and in more instances than might have been expected they have prevailed. So complete, indeed, has been their success, that the advocates, who may likewise be called, in a modified sense, converts to the Roman cause, have adopted the very style of reasoning which distinguishes their clients, and appear to be hardly more than the organs through which are conveyed the voices of the latter.

They urge equality of rights, without allowing themselves or others to understand, in what a right consists, and that equal rights must be suspended on equal conditions; that the condition of allegiance cannot be performed when the paramount allegiance of the conscience is forestalled and possessed by a foreign power; for nothing, or next to nothing, then remains, in the absence of prudential considerations; notwithstanding the evanescent distinction of spiritual and temporal*.

* ' If priests and their partisans be only listened to, they will tell you,—that there cannot exist a divided allegiance and obedience towards two powers, spiritual and temporal—that it should be entire towards the Sovereign in temporal matters, and entire towards the Pope in spiritual ones. Can there be a clearer principle, they will say? But proceed to the practical application of these principles, and it will then be seen what disputes will arise! As to the term *temporal*, its meaning varies among these different parties. One of them represents everything as spiritual: ecclesiastical property is spiritual; ecclesiastical persons are spiritual also: hence immu-

If indeed that power were not an ambitious one, or were accustomed to exercise a gentle and liberal sway, or were likely to look with a not unfriendly eye upon those who, through flames, had escaped its iron grasp, a divided allegiance would part with its main objection. But we know how the case stands. We know what are the real bonds and obligations of the Romanist; the Creed and Oath of Pius IV., embracing folios, and the Episcopal oath (as truly *feudal* as canonical) of allegiance to the Pope, with its persecuting clause, which, if withdrawn from peculiar circumstances, by a change of circumstances may be restored*.

nities, both personal and real; hence also the jurisdiction of the Church in civil and criminal matters. In marriage, the sacrament ought to be principally considered; from which it is inferred, that marriage should be regulated by ecclesiastical laws. Finally, every human act may be the subject matter of a sin: there are divine precepts and ecclesiastical laws for every matter: thus the aim of priests is to make themselves masters of everything, when they can.' It would not readily be imagined, that this is a quotation from an honest and intelligent Romanist: but the fact is, it is found in *Catholicism in Austria*, by Count FERD. DAL POZZO, p. 182. He is, it is true, a resolute defender of what may be called the *Austrian Liberties*.

* See *Episcopal Oath of Allegiance, &c.* By CATHOLICUS—of which I acknowledge myself the author. The feudal character of this latter oath is at once evident upon comparing it with any which is strictly and exclusively so; as well as from the general and distinguishing character of the whole papal polity, as described by a very competent judge. 'The mode of government which Rome still maintains in this kingdom, and from which in no kingdom it ever departed but when driven to it by hard necessity, draws very near to that feudal system of polity, to which the nations of Europe were once subject. It contained one sovereign or suzeraine

They, further, press upon us the ingenious argument, that by perpetuating disabilities and exclusions, with the public disgrace ensuing, we furnish

monarch, in whose hands was lodged the *supremum dominium*, and this he apportioned out to a descending series of vassals, who, all holding of him *in capite*, returned him *service* for the *benefice* they received, in honours, jurisdiction, or lands. And to this service they were bound by gratitude, which an oath of *fealty* also strengthened.—The application of the system to the *sovereign* power of the pontiff, and to a chain of descending vassalage in archbishops, bishops, and the inferior orders in the ministry, is direct and palpable.’ *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Catholic Religion in England, &c.* By the REV. JOSEPH BERINGTON. P. 275. To affirm the oath above alluded to to be that of *canonical obedience only* is to defy palpable truth; and *that* obedience cannot be otherwise than *divided*, in the most unfavourable sense and degree, as heretical rulers are concerned, which gives the soul and conscience to a foreign, spiritual sovereign, and what remains alone to the actual, temporal one. CATALANI, the Commentator on the Roman Pontificale, published in 1738, in three volumes, folio, Tom. i., pp. 178 and seq., has plainly declared, that the first oath of this kind, by the Patriarch of Aquileia to Gregory VII., in 1079, ‘expressed, not only a profession of *canonical obedience*, but an OATH OF FEALTY *not unlike that which VASSALS took to their DIRECT LORDS*’—sed etiam juramentum fidelitatis non absimile illi quod Dominis suis directia Vassalli præstabant. § II. And in § IV., he adduces Florens as asserting, that the three first articles rather extended beyond those in the original oath—fuisse desumptos ex Titulo v. et vi. Fendorum Lib. II. In conformity with this representation is that of Count F. DAL Pozzo in his *Catholicism in Austria*, pp. 183—188. In a MS. collection in my possession, from the Cassano Library, which has the general title, *Investituræ et Capitulationes Summorum Pontificum*, there occur—An Oath of Charles V. and Joanna his mother, professing *plenum homagium, et vaxallagium* to Clemens VII. for the kingdom of Sicily, which contains many of the clauses, and in the same terms, which are found in the later and longer form of the episcopal oath, the schismatic and heretic not being forgotten, whom, donec convertantur, persequentur et invadent.—Another of the king of Sicily and his procurator to Julius III., exactly in the same style, engaging that each, instead of assisting heretics, eos, juxta posse suum,

them with a bond of union, and strengthen the point of honour, which alone, in many instances, they contend, attaches the adherents of Rome to her communion; and that these, removed, converts would fall into the lap of Protestantism like the ripe fruit of an overloaded tree when shaken by the breeze. But it does not occur to these reasoners, that, if the principle be universal, as in their use of it it certainly is, it is equally cogent as applied to any class or description of men; and it will then appear, that in our system of internal government, as a nation, like most other nations, we have taken exactly the wrong course; and that the best thing we can now do, is to abolish our statute-book and common law, our courts of justice, our judges and magistrates, and above all, pains and penalties, disabilities and exclusions of every description. There is more speciousness than correctness in the common observation, that opposition increases strength by calling forth obstinacy. It is often the case; but not always. And indeed this would be found out by legislators, if it were the fact. Certain it is, as we have already observed, that the opposition

donec convertantur, persequetur et impugnet—and *Infendatio facta per Bonifacium P.P. VIII. de Regno Sardinia, &c.*, comprehending an oath almost perfectly agreeing with the episcopal one. And the highest authorities in the papal hierarchy of Ireland could, when tempted by an obvious interest, declare on oath, that this oath is of canonical obedience only!

to the progress of the reformation in Spain and Italy did not promote it*. Killing indeed is decisive work; and had it proceeded in this nation, what would have been the event is among the secrets of Omniscience. But if the plan recommended be indeed, although not at first sight apparently, yet in fact, and to some second sights demonstrably, so great a benefit to the Protestant cause, and so, slowly and secretly indeed, but

* See, on this important and interesting subject, the valuable, but posthumous and imperfect work of DAN. GERDES, entitled *Specimen Italiæ Reformatae*, &c. Lugd. Bat. 1765, 4to. On a subject of which no regular history exists, and of which the best now to be collected must consist of fragments derived from incidental notices of all descriptions; it being the policy and practice of the enemies of true Christianity, who in this instance were the victors, to suppress, as much as possible, the memory and very name of those whom they overbore and immolated (for those who were condemned by the Inquisition were considered, according to our author's observation, *as if they had not been born*), agreeably to the spirit of that article in the *Instructio* of CLEMENS VIII., prefixed to his *Index*, De Correct. § ii. *Itemque epitheta honorifica, et omnia in laudem hæreticorum dicta deleantur*, and amplified with much intensity in the Spanish *Index* of 1640, *Advertencias*, &c. v.—it is matter of surprise, that a work so satisfactory could be compiled: and the reader, with the author, will have enjoyed the appearance of another work on the same subject (embracing the kindred events in Spain) by an author, so able to do it justice as Dr. THOMAS M'CRUE. The volume which accomplishes one portion of this object has appeared, and certainly has not disappointed the high expectations which were previously formed of the research and general ability with which it would be executed. Gerdes's work, however, is not superseded. The sister-work of the Scottish historian on the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain has likewise appeared; and, if it be not better written than the former, certainly possesses more unity and interest.

surely, ruinous to the Roman, how is it, that among the numberless adherents of the papacy, who are not usually suspected of ignorance or indifference as respects the interests, the stability and advancement of their religion, they should yet, in this instance, discover such unaccountable obtuseness of understanding, as to foresee none of these calamities, but even hail them, and with their utmost power promote their accomplishment? That they should feel no objection to the prevalence of the opinion is no matter of surprise. The surprise really is, that such an opinion should prevail*. It may be permitted just to observe, with respect to exclusions, and more especially that which seems to be most felt, exclusion from seats in Parliament: that when the clergy, who may be equally able with any layman, and without cure; when all under age, who are often better qualified than their elders in all necessary acquirements; when persons of insufficient fortune, which certainly is an inferior disqualification; and when women, whose capacities are not less than those of some men, and who may be sovereigns—are all excluded from the legislature, it is out of all reason

* I had written these remarks on this strange argument before I had read the convincing, solemn, and energetic conclusion of Mr. Townsend's *Accusations of History against the Church of Rome*, directed against the same argument. Pp. 502 to the end, of edition 1826.

for those to complain of the same exclusion, who are themselves the authors of it, while they voluntarily submit their better part to a foreign tyranny. Another sophism obtruded upon us, is, that we do little honour to our Protestantism by seeming to fear a contest with Romanism on equal terms. And if the subject were matter of simple argument, this would be true. For the argument we fear nothing. But we strongly suspect, that were one of our instructors to encounter a robber or assassin, he would feel little consolation in having on his side the best of the argument on the morality of robbery or murder ; and much less would he think it incumbent upon him to present either the one or the other with a pistol, if destitute of that important weapon. Neither would he, it may be presumed, be induced, even by his own logic, to abandon the exclusive system, so odious and insulting as it is represented by those whom it mainly affects, of locking, bolting and barring his doors, or of contributing for a watch to his street, at night. In fact, those, who regard some means as unlawful, are only on equal terms with an enemy, who regards all as lawful, by having the power, and using it, of preventing those means from coming within his reach. What is a syllogism or a demonstration against a sword or a faggot, a crusade or an Armada, a massacre or

an *Auto de fe*?* As little of truth, integrity, or wisdom, likewise, is there in selecting and proposing, as a specimen of Romanism, indi-

* There is something more of practical intelligence in the views of RICHARD BAXTER on this subject than is discoverable in the published futilities of some who would be understood to be his admirers and imitators. In his acute and now valuable *Key for Catholics, to open the Jugling of the Jesuits*, London, 1659, &c., is a passage, from which they might have acquired wisdom, but must now be contented only to receive rebuke.

‘If the Papists can but get into the saddle, either by deceiving the Rulers or Commanders, or by bringing foreign force against us, they will give us leave to dispute, and write, and preach against them, and laugh at us that will stand *talking* only, while they are *working*: And when the sword is in their hand, they will soon answer all our arguments with a fagot, a hatchet, or halter; *Smithfield* confuted the Protestants, whom both the Universities could not confute. Their Inquisition is a school where they dispute more advantageously than in Academies. Though all the learned men in the world could not confute the poor Albigenses, Waldenses, and Bohemians, yet, by these iron arguments, they had men who presently stopt the mouths of many thousands, if not hundred thousands of them, even as the Mahometans confute the Christians. A strappado is a knotty argument. In how few days did they confute 30,000 Protestants in and about Paris, till they left them not (on earth) a word to say? In how few weeks space did the ignorant *Irish* thus stop the mouths of many thousand Protestants? Even in *Ulster* alone, as is strongly conjectured, by testimony on oath, about an 150,000 men were mortally silenced: Alas! we now find that the poor Irish commonly know but little more of Christ, but that he is a better man of the two than *St. Patrick*; and therefore how long might they have been before they could have silenced so many Protestants any other way? There is nothing like *stone dead*, with a Papist. They love not to tire themselves with disputes, when the business may be sooner and more successfully dispatched.

‘Well, seeing this is the way which they are resolved on, and no peaceable motions will serve for the preventing it, all men that have care of the Church and cause of Jesus Christ, and the happiness of their posterity, have cause to stand on watch and guard; not to be cruel to them (leave that fo

viduals of that persuasion, whose character and conduct are excellent and amiable, and whose very creed appears to be nearly unexception-

themselves), but to be secured from their cruelty. I should be abundantly more earnest than I am, to press all men to such a patience and submission in causes of Religion, as leaves all to God alone, but that we all see how the Papists are still at the door with the *swords* in their hand, and watching for an opportunity to break in. And if in modesty we stand still and let them alone, they will give us free leave when they have the day, to call them traitors, or perfidious, or what we please. Let losers talk; Let them have the rule, and then make the best you can of your arguments. If they can once get *England* and other Protestant countries into the case of *Spain* and *Italy*, their treachery shall not be cast in their teeth, for they will leave none alive and at liberty to do it. When we see in good sadness that it is Navies and Armies, and stabbing of Kings and Powder-plots, and Massacres which we have to dispute against, it is time to be able to answer them in their own way, or we lose the day. It is not a good cause, or wit, or learning, or honesty, that will then serve turns. I know God is all-sufficient for his Church, and in him must be our trust; but he requireth us to expect his blessing in the use of lawful probable means. He can give us corn without plowing and sowing; but we have little reason to forbear these and expect it. He can convert men without preaching; but yet the blessing of God doth presuppose *Paul's* planting, and *Apollos'* watering. He can rule and defend us without Magistrates, but it is not his appointed way. And he can save us from deceitful bloody men, without our care, and vigilancy, and resistance; but it is not his ordinary appointed course in which he would have us look to him for deliverance. And, therefore, in the name of God, let Princes and Parliaments be vigilant; for they watch for the outward security of the Church and Common-wealth, (as Ministers do for our spiritual welfare) as those who must give account. And let the people take heed what Parliament or Magistrates they choose; and let all that love the Gospel, and the prosperity of the Christian world, and of their posterity, have their eyes in their head, and take heed of that bloody hand, which hath in *England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Savoy, Low-countries, Germany, Bohemia, &c.*, already spent so many streams of Christian blood.' Pp. 360—2. In answer to such arguments, we are sometimes reminded (perhaps in mockery)

able. This is the very fallacy: either the religion is suppressed and disguised, or it is more or less contradicted; and the individuals, instead of being real Romanists, are so far real Protestants*. And the very circumstance, that the

that 'Truth is mighty, and will prevail'—I presume, as it did in Italy and Spain, when the Reformation was suppressed in those countries, and in France, when Dragoons were appointed defenders of the Gallican Faith.

During the present march of intellectual libertinism, and in order to complete the career of emancipation so happily begun, if—*servetur ad imum*, &c.—I should not altogether despair, that a petition from the involuntary tenants of certain mansions, supposed to be necessary to public security, would be candidly admitted, and that a motion for a general gaol-release need not anticipate unanimous rejection.

* Who is not mortified and ashamed to find the illustrious, but (be it remembered) *condemned*, FENELON, reduced to the necessity by his church of issuing a *Mandate* to prepare his flock for the beneficial acceptance of the indulgences of a Jubilee, and furnishing the only instance, known to a diligent inquirer, of the specific, and lowest quantum of, alms necessary for that purpose? The fact was denied by two eminent Roman Theologians to the Minister of the Hague, C. CHAIS. 'Je la tient pourtant,' he adds, 'de très bonne main, & j'ose actuellement en parler avec confiance, après ce que j'ai lu dans le Recueil des Mandemens du grand Archevêque de Cambrai, l'illustre Fenelon. Entre ces Mandemens est celui qu'il donna en 1707 à l'occasion du Jubilé que Clement XI. avoit publié pour obtenir du Ciel le retour de la paix. Le plus sage et le plus pieux des Evêques s'y exprime ainsi. *Au reste, comme il faut, selon la Bulle, faire quelque aumône, nous reglons que chaque particulier qui ne sera pas dans une impuissance véritable, donnera au moins trois sols pour les pauvres malades, exhortans tous ceux qui sont dans état de donner davantage de le faire à proportion de leurs facultés.*' The reference is, '*Recueil des Mandemens de Messire François de Salignac de la Motte Fenelon, &c. Paris, 1713, page 75.*' *Lettres sur les Jubilés, &c. Par CHARLES CHAIS, pp. 830, 1.* The passage may be found in the collected edition of the Archbishop's Works, Paris, 1817, &c., tome xviii., p. 512. I observe, that the precise sum to be given, as alms, is specified in the *Bolla de la Cruzada de Urbano VIII.*, as

excellence which they possess is the genuine growth of our faith, is most perversely and un-

it appears in the *Voyages du P. LABAT*, at the end of the first volume, where, after the purchaser's name, it is added, *disteis in peso de plata ensayada, que es la limosna que avemos tassada, &c.* I have in my possession a copy of one of these Bulls, *para el Principado de Cataluña* for the year 1828; and although it has some prudential variations from the former, it still ventures to state the amount, (which, as Labat affirms, is the *minimum*,) immediately after the name, which is inserted in writing, and is, *Josepha Casanes*. That statement, immediately following, is, *scontribuistei con la limosna de siete sueldos y tres dineros de ardites, moneda catalana, &c.* In this Bula of the late Pope Leo XII., there are, at the end, enumerated the days on which souls may be liberated from purgatory—*Dias en que se puede sacar anima de purgatorio*. The disgraceful submission of the above-named eminent Romanist to the heresy of his church, in justifying the withholding of the scriptures from the people, is substantiated, and justly reprobated, by Mr. BLAIR, in his *Letters on the Revival of Popery*, Letter xxiii. pp. 152, 3. The piece containing the doctrine is a Letter to the Bp. of Arras, entitled, *Sur la Lecture de l'Écriture Sainte en langue Vulgaire*, in the collection of his works, tome iii., pp. 381—413. The argument is, that originally the liberty was allowed in full; that with increasing degeneracy restraint became necessary; that the necessity began to manifest itself with the Vaudois and Albigenses, and the subsequent heretics, Wicliff, Luther, and Calvin—all supported by sufficiently abundant authorities of the times, and even by the Roman Index, though nominally disallowed in France, and the whole is fitly comprised in the concluding sentence—*Enfin, il ne faut donner l'Écriture qu'à ceux qui, ne la recevant que des mains de l'Église, ne veulent y chercher que le sens de l'Église même*. If the writer had included in his hypothesis the degeneracy of the clergy, of Rome in particular, his conclusions upon the subject would have been different and juster. It might easily be anticipated, what use would be made of this perverse argument, and the authority of the individual who has condescended to use it. I have before me an Italian translation of the Letter by GIUSEPPE BRUNATI Prete, printed at Brescia, 1824, with notes. The principal object of those notes is, to apply the argument in opposition to the Bible Societies, whether British or Foreign; and they record, with exultation, its efficacy to that effect, both in the original language, and in the different languages, into which it has been translated. The notes,

graciously converted into an argument to its injury. Thus is charity made to defeat herself by being exercised on objects inversely as their

which are pretty extended, and distinguished by ability, discover, as we have before had an opportunity of observing, both the intimate knowledge and the lively interest of Italy, in what is going forward in Britain and Ireland with respect to religion. The translator quite concurs, and exults, in the opposition given to the Bible Society by individuals in this country. Some of these opponents may feel fortified by the following information of their faithful coadjutor. *Oggidi cresce, si sostiene, e propagasi l' incredulità coll' ajuto della Bibbia*, mi scrisse l' anno andato un dotto Ecclesiastico, che ora è onorato tra le prima dignità della Chiesa, p. 48. Neither the original author nor the translator and annotator have adduced, as they might have done, a very worthy authority for the conduct of their church—Mahomet. *Versutus ille pessimus astuto consilio libros veteris et novi testamenti suis sequacibus non reliquit legendos, nec etiam disputationem permisit iniquam faciendam, ne hac occasione sua falsitas detegeretur. Fasciculus Temporum ad ann. 714.* The author was WARNERUS ROLWINK, a Carthusian monk. The fact, which is the more striking as well as painful, for being exhibited in the instance of such a person as Fenelon, of the uniform and necessary hostility of genuine Romanism to the diffusion and knowledge of the Scriptures, is justly and forcibly substantiated in *Antichrist, Papal, Protestant, and Infidel. An Estimate of the Religion of the times: comprising a View of the Origin and Genius of the Roman Catholic Religion, and of its Identity with every form of nominal Christianity.* By the Rev. JOHN RILAND, pp. 209, &c. The main and supremely important object of the work is, to prove the utter insignificance of merely nominal Christianity; and, in concurrence with Mr. ROSE's *State of Protestantism in Germany*, demonstrates, that the simple name of Protestant confers no necessary superiority over professors of the religion against which their opponents protested and protest. The present work has no immediate bearing upon a distinction, which, however, ought always to be assumed; and any comparison instituted between the two denominations of Christianity should, in justice, be confined to the genuine and direct tendency or effect of each; when it will possibly appear, that the unchristian Protestant and the christian Romanist are each produced in equal opposition to their respective principles.

merits. Thus does truth suffer in the house, and at the hands, of her professed friends.

All this, and much more, of such unnatural reasoning and conduct might be easily, and indeed most easily, accounted for, on the supposition of either perfect ignorance, or perfect indifference for the Christianity, which, with the necessary addition of protestant to the name, this favoured nation professes. Of the principal agents, and first-movers, in the anti-protestant party, this, or even worse, might probably with truth be affirmed. *Tros Rutulusve* is their motto. But of some this certainly is not the fact: and their case is for that reason more the matter of lamentation. In real protestants we expect and may require, not only the profession, but an ardent love, of the purified religion with which their country is blessed; and we cordially participate in the indignant and honourable feeling, with which Mr. Wilberforce stigmatizes Dr. Robertson's 'phlegmatic account of the reformation; a subject which,' he justly adds, 'we should have thought likely to excite in any one, who united the character of a Christian Divine with that of an Historian, some warmth of pious gratitude for the good providence of God *.'

* *Practical View*, &c. ed. 1797, pp. 386, 7, Note.

Neither is our concurrence less sincere with the late judicious and profound Dean Milner. ‘I own it is with much pain, and awful foreboding of consequences, that I have observed some of our wisest and most enlightened statesmen appear to entertain such sentiments of the present state of the Roman Catholic religion as to me are wholly unaccountable, except on the hypothesis, either of almost a total ignorance of both the religious and political parts of the Papal system; or, certainly, of an irreverent contempt and carelessness respecting the one, and a dangerous misconception of the other*.’ Were I disposed to fortify these sentiments by other authority, I should select a work professedly written upon the subject some years ago, and never refuted or even plausibly answered. I mean, the *Revival of Popery, in Letters addressed to William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. by the late WILLIAM BLAIR, Esq.*; and it would certainly be well for the nation, if those who find time to legislate, would likewise find time to qualify themselves, by proper information, to do so without injury to interests, of which they are the

* *Sermons*, vol. i. pp. 30, 1. He had before written, ‘Several persons, and even some of our leading Senators, suppose that Popery has long since been abundantly meliorated. But I wish they may not be nearer the truth, who think that the spirit of Protestantism has sadly degenerated.’ *Church of Christ*, vol. iv. Preface to Second Part.

hereditary and elected guardians. For services which might thus be rendered it is but the mockery of a compensation, to coalesce with a party, insufficient when in power, except for an insulated act which may be overrated, and frequently vexatious when out of power. Neither ought gratitude for a great, but certainly limited, service, to be carried to such a point of apparent obsequiousness, as to induce those, who may consider themselves under its obligation, to join in the illiberal clamour raised against the clergy, for their exertions in a cause, in which, whether they have, or can have, greater interest than their fellow-protestants or not, they have certainly as good a judgment, and possibly one which need not fear comparison with that of the wisest of their opponents. To say the least, it is hardly decorous even to appear to adopt the principle of a sect, infamous, as well as notorious, for its brutal intolerance; and to deny to the authorized Christian instructors of the empire, that right of being heard by the legislature, on a subject peculiarly within their province, which is secured to some in the class of the humblest subjects of the British dominions on any.

The reflexions which have thus naturally arisen from the preceding inquiry, whatever their aspect, have so little of hostility in them, that it is the most fervent wish and prayer of him who has felt

himself bound to make them, that the subjects of a *system*, against which singly his antipathy is directed, may discover the fallacy and iniquity of that system; and by a generous, but certainly difficult, effort, effect for themselves, as it is in their power to do, the real EMANCIPATION which they need. Let them examine the subject impartially and resolutely; and the event, with the Divine Blessing, will be, that their chains, their worst chains, their spiritual chains, will fall at their feet; and, besides the best of blessings, the spiritual ones suited to such a deliverance, they will no longer feel it a point of conscience to be bad subjects; but while they give to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, they will give to God—not to the Pope—the things which are God's. It will then be no longer necessary to treat them as more than half foreigners: but the capacity and performance of an undivided obedience will open the door to every privilege which a grateful nation can grant to faithful subjects; and all their fellow-subjects, who understand their duty, will embrace them with cordial affection as their brethren*. There is not a future fact, of which I feel

* I do not feel it necessary to accommodate this or any of the preceding passages, to the papal revolution of 1829, because I wish it to stand as a record of an unchanged opinion; and it remains yet to be proved by the event, even as far as that fallacious argument may be allowed, whether any

better authority to be satisfied, and in the view of which I believe most intelligent persons will unite with me, than this—that were the whole of the

thing like the same result can be effected in any other way, or in the unchristian and unphilosophical one which has been attempted.

Were it not too much to require, I should be glad, that, on this subject, the legislative utterers of some such expressions as the following, not much more than a year old, would be content not to dismiss them entirely from their recollection—*The regeneration of Ireland—Religious discord no more, and the most valuable benefit rendered by Parliament for the last century—A pledge of tranquillity to be remembered at solemn meetings, and hours of conviviality—Train of blessings, sursum corda!—Blessings of domestic peace and universal harmony—March of intellect a security—Benefit of increased vigilance in the pastors of the national church*—(such as by parity of circumstances would be derived to a shepherd and his flock by a gratuitous introduction of wolves into the fold.) And certainly the least grateful reception of the Protestant petitions was that, which in the lower house deduced from their cogency and number an argument for the safety with which they might be denied. Had the opponents been as wise as the defendants of the papal claims, they would have petitioned, not *against*, but *for* them.

But perhaps disappointment in the object proposed is the most suitable rebuke which Providence can give to measures avowedly originating in the principles of General Expediency—principles, which have provoked the strong and victorious reprobation of the eloquent Mr. Gisborne, in his *Principles of Moral Philosophy, &c.*, 1798. In page 23 of that edition, he writes—‘Persons of the opposite description’ (to well-disposed minds) ‘who may find it convenient to affect a sense of virtue, will gladly profess a principle which authorises them to depart, at their own discretion, from the most positive rules of morality; teaches them that every unbending precept, however generally received, is founded on false and contracted views of things; and thus promises them a plausible and never-failing defence for any measures, which they may chuse to adopt.’ Again, page 38—‘The supreme magistrate’ (and the argument applies to any inferior officer *in power*) ‘can scarcely meet with a principle more likely to mislead himself; nor need he wish for one more convenient, when he is desirous of imposing upon others. If he be a good man, conscious of the purity of

records of history, ecclesiastic in particular, intervening between the establishment of Christianity and the present time, annihilated, and nothing

his views, and strongly impressed with a conviction of the blessings which would arise from the success of his plans; how easily will it vindicate to his own satisfaction any line of conduct which he may wish to pursue! If he be ambitious and designing, it will never fail to supply him with specious reasoning, with which he may dazzle or blind a large proportion at least of his subjects, and prevent them from opposing with firmness and vigour those schemes against the public liberty, which, either by bold encroachment or by insidious machinations, he is attempting to carry into effect.' In page 41, he asks 'Was it not' (the principle of Expediency) 'the foundation of the abominable doctrines of the Jesuits; of their intriguing counsels as politicians, their unchristian compliances as Missionaries?' The *Christian Observer* likewise, vol. iii., for 1804, pp. 95, &c., in the Review of a Fast Sermon, by Robert Hall, in which that energetic writer combats what the Reviewer justly calls 'the fashionable but mischievous system of expediency,' introduces the author as affirming, 'Should it' (the principal of expediency) 'ever become popular,' &c., 'no imagination can pourtray, no mind can grasp its horrors.'

The Act, which received the royal assent April 13, 1829, from that time became a law of the realm, and it is, doubtless, a Christian duty conscientiously to submit to it as such, and as a national judgment justly merited. But it is no Christian duty not to consider a judgment as an evil—it is no Christian duty to believe, that an Act of Parliament alters the moral quality of any measure, and that, by its magic touch, all *that* treachery and artifice, that utter disregard to religion, that contempt of public opinion and petition, with which the measure in the act of carrying it was distinguished, are annihilated and converted into something justifiable and even laudable. This will never be a Christian duty, till it is such to call evil good and good evil. Never will it be a duty to regard this papal act with any other feelings substantially than those with which Christians regarded the acts of the parliaments of Mary I. For submission, we need not the officious and interested admonition of those who have aided and abetted in inflicting the judgment: submission is not approbation.

I wish those individuals, who defend their approbation and support of the papal measure, or even neutrality, by professing strong, and it may be

remaining but the authorized records of that religion, the Scriptures of the New Covenant, not an individual of those, who now adhere with the most bigoted and pertinacious attachment to the dogmas and practices of the Latin church, would deduce from such source any system of religion in almost the slightest degree resembling that which he now embraces ; and, were such a system, in that insulated way, proposed to him, could or would do otherwise than, both at the instant and after deliberation, reject the absurd and pernicious compound, as most opposite, and most disgraceful, to the pure religion, which the authentic documents of Christianity exhibit. And what is there in the intervening documents to make the difference ? Many of these, indeed, we are far from distrusting or undervaluing ; but we would gladly surrender them all, provided the rest were abandoned, provided we could be fairly rid of the pes-

sincere, abhorrence of papism, may not be found to elevate with one hand what they depress with the other. If they have advocated the cause by representing it as simply a *political* question, and yet reprobate the interference particularly of Christian ministers in questions of that description, they fall themselves under the lash of their own censure ; and that which they attempt, most unjustly, to inflict upon their opponents for the imputed absence of *religious* considerations in their opposition to the act in question, is, to say the least of it, a charge not distinguished by consistency. But of the whole transaction, whatever be its merits or demerits, there are many, I believe, who agree with me, that they are all divided between the deceivers and the deceived.

tiferous mass of doctrinal error and absurdity introduced by those misguided and deceitful men, who, in succeeding ages, gradually declining from the pure faith, at length corrupted it, to the extent which the world contemplates with wonder and dismay in the modern church of Rome.

Against the dogmatic part of the Roman corruption sufficient means of defence may be found in weapons of the same character. But the brute force, the sanguinary intolerance and encroachment, which is an equally essential part of the system, is only to be effectually opposed by having, and keeping, its power under strict and irresistible restraint. It may seem ungracious to reiterate an admonition, which is avowedly founded upon so odious an imputation. But, however ungracious, it is necessary. It cannot be otherwise, when attempts are still made, and from quarters to which they do the least honour, to equalize the imputation, by asserting that all sects have persecuted. And it must be admitted, that where respective numbers, respective kinds, respective principles, with or against, of persecution, make no difference, the equalization may be established without much difficulty. But if, and when, these circumstances are allowed any approach to their due weight in the estimate, he who does not see an essential and immeasurable difference between

the Anti-Christian Roman persecutions and all others, except indeed the heathen ones, which are likewise Roman, and should almost go to the same account, must have bidden a decisive farewell both to common sense and common honesty. I may likewise be permitted the additional observation, with relation to what comes nearer home, our own country, that he, who, for one instant, can place the executions of Elizabeth and the martyrdoms of Mary, one against the other in the same scales, must, for that instant, have abandoned all perception of equity or proportion in his estimate of moral actions*. The proposal, therefore,

* The calumnies in this respect against Elizabeth, so willingly entertained and so grudgingly surrendered by many *professed* protestants, need not a more effectual refutation than that afforded by a small and scarce but highly valuable work by a Roman Catholic Secular Priest. It is entitled *Important Considerations which ought to move all true and sound Catholicks, who are not wholly Jesuited, to acknowledge without all Equivoations, Ambiguities, or Shiftings, that the Proceedings of her Majesty and of the State with them, since the beginning of her Highness' Reign, have been both mild and mercifull.* To this is prefixed an *Epistle General instead of Preface*, among other things, 'to shew what it is, which the Secular Priests intend by this ensuing Discourse.' Signed W. W. The date of the original edition is 1601. Dodd, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, makes it 8vo. ; nor does he scruple, as he need not, to give it to William Watson. In the *Epistle* the writer mentions certain *Quodlibets* about to be published by him; and they were published in 1603 with the name, William Watson, at the close, acknowledging the latter work as his own. Now, in that work he frequently refers to the *Considerations*, and freely makes himself responsible for, not only the *Epistle*, but likewise the whole work, affirming it, for matter, to be a *joint* production, but *in accidental form and outward phrase directly his own*, p. 352. The *Considerations* were reprinted, by

of mutual silence, however equitable in sound, is one which cannot be listened to.

Before I conclude, there are two passages of

themselves, in 1678 and 1688; the Epistle, separately likewise in Bp. Gibson's Collection, vol. iii. Tit. xiii., pp. 145, &c. Now, although the title alone speaks straightly enough to the point, the whole work abounds in statements so relevant and important, especially as containing the deliberate declaration of a *body* of ecclesiastics, that a few points shall be distinctly exhibited. I quote from the last edition, *A Collection of several Treatises*, including this, beginning at p. 31; and pp. 32, 3, contain the acknowledgment of the subscribers, that if the later laws with the occasions, the practice, and publications of the Jesuits for the subversion of the Queen and her kingdom, be considered, it may rather be wondered that they are alive, than that they have been thus proceeded with. P. 34 produces the confession of Parsons and Creswell addressing her Majesty, '*In the beginning of thy Kingdom thou didst deal something more gently with Catholics: none were then urged by thee, or pressed either to thy sect, or to the denial of their Faith. All things (indeed) did seem to proceed in a far milder course, no great complaints were heard of:*' &c. P. 38 states, that the execution of the law 'was not so tragical, as many since have written and reported of it,' and p. 50, 'not by many degrees so extreme, as the Jesuits and that crew have falsely written and reported of it.' The work proceeds to state, that in 1580 entered into the kingdom Campion and Parsons; and Watson, R. C. Bp. of Lincoln, predicted the enactment of sharper laws: the subscribers acknowledge some of the body to have been tainted with Rebellion, and while they plead for the innocence of the seminary priests, they add, with simplicity and justice, 'Marry to say the truth, as we have confessed before, how could either her Majesty or the State know so much? They had great cause as Politick persons, to suspect the worst.' P. 43 confirms the answers given by the suspected to certain political questions, and states one as declaring that, as concerns faith, he should, in case of invasion, think himself bound to side with the pope. But I must cease: I wish the whole work were read; and it richly deserves reprinting in the present liberal, illiberal age. I must add, that in the work of SANDERS, *de Origine ac Progressu Schis. Ang.*, which purports to give the history of the reigns from Hen. VIII. to Eliz., in that of *Sanctissima Maria*, excepting the death of Cranmer, whom *comburi*

some length from a work of considerable profundity, which I am anxious to lay before the reader. The title of the work, which has already been referred to, is, *EUROPÆ SPECULUM, or a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Western Parts of the World, wherein the Roman Religion and the pregnant Policies of the Church of Rome to support the same are notably displayed: with some other memorable discoveries and memorations, never before till now published according to the Author's Original Copy. Multum diuque desideratum.* Hagæ-Comitis. 1629. 4to. The author, although not named, is known to be Sir EDWIN SANDYS. The first of these passages contains a professed consideration of that which is the identical subject of the present work. And the advantage proposed by the exhibition of it in this place is, to show in what light the measures pursued by the Latin church relative to books were regarded

Oxonii jussit, there is no reference to a single instance of capital punishment for religion! Editions differ: I refer to the first, Cologne 1585. After all this, what shall we say of *Concertatio Ecclesia in Anglia; Eocles. Ang. Trophæa*; and *Theatrum Crudel. Hæret.*? What shall we say of the English work derived, for the most part, and professedly, from the first of those very disputable, or rather mendacious sources, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, &c. without the name of any author, but ascribed by Berington to the R. C. Bp. CHALLONER? It is, indeed, acknowledged as the production of that Romanist, in his life by Barnard. For a just understanding of the History of England, and of the conduct of Queen Elizabeth and her ministers, I beg to recommend the able history of Turner, who has, with truth and discrimination, sought the history of England out of England.

by an intelligent politician at so early a period (that of 1599, the date given in the dedicatory address to Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury), and when but a small number of the Indexes can have appeared. It will likewise be seen, what degree of concurrence exists between the sentiments of a most acute observer and judge of such subjects, and those delivered in the preceding pages. And it may serve as an additional recommendation of the passage to be produced, that Francus, in his work on the Indexes, took the pains to translate it into Latin, that his readers might not want the gratification and information which it conveys*.

‘ But the Papacy at this day, taught by woful experience what damage this licence of writing among themselves hath done them ; and that their speeches are not only weapons in the hands of

* It is much to the credit of this writer, and this work in particular, that although condemned in an Italian translation by a Decree of 1627, which has secured him a place in the Roman Index ever since, his accuracy is admitted, and his authority appealed to, by the very learned, and, for a Romanist, liberal J. B. THIERS, *Dr. en Théologie*, &c., in his *Traité des Superstitions*, &c: Tome iv., pp. 189, 90, in proof of the existence of those enormous pardons, or indulgences, of thousands of years, which are found in various monuments of papal Rome, and which our author professes it *difficult* (he might as well have said *impossible*) to reconcile with the denial of the facts. They never would have been denied, had not the Protestants spoiled the trade, and made the speculation, in some cases, a losing, if not a ruinous one. For this and other offences, however, the well-meaning Frenchman has been conducted to the literary gibbet of his church.

their adversaries, but eye-sores and stumbling-blocks also to their remaining friends: under show of PURGING the world from the infection of all wicked and corrupt BOOKS and passages, which are either against religion or against honesty and good manners, for which two purposes they have their several officers, who indeed do blot out much impiousness and filth, and therein well deserve both to be commended and imitated, (whereto the Venetians add also a third, to let nothing pass that may be justly offensive to princes,) have in truth withal pared and lopped off whatsoever in a manner their watchful eyes could observe, either free in disclosing their abuses and corruptions, or saucy in construing their drifts and practices, or dishonourable to the clergy, or undutiful to the papacy. These editions only authorized, all other are disallowed, called in, consumed; with threats to whosoever shall presume to keep them: that no speech, no writing, no evidence of times past, no discourse of things present, in sum, nothing whatsoever may sound aught but holiness, honour, purity, integrity to the unspotted spouse of *Christ*, and to his unerring Vicar; to the Mistress of Churches, to the Father of Princes. But as it falleth out now and then, that wisdom and good fortune are to the ruin of them that too much follow them, by drawing men sometimes upon a

presumption of their wit and cunning in contrivements, and of their good success withal in one attempt, to adventure upon another still of yet more subtile invention, and more dangerous execution, which doth break in the end with the very fineness itself, and overwhelm them with the difficulties: so it is to be thought, that their prosperous success in pruning and pluming those later writers, effected with good ease and no very great clamour, as having some reason, and doing really some good, was it that did breed in them a higher conceit, that it was possible to work the like conclusion in writers of elder times, yea in the Fathers themselves, and in all other monuments of reverend antiquity. And the opinion of possibility redoubling their desire brought forth in fine those *Indices Expurgatorii*, whereof I suppose they are now not a little ashamed, they having by misfortune light into their adversaries' hands, from whom they desired by all means to conceal them; where they remain as a monument to the judgment of the world of their everlasting reproach and ignominy. These purging *Indices* are of divers sorts: some work not above eight hundred years upwards; other venture much higher, even to the prime of the church. The effect is, that forasmuch as there were so many passages in the Fathers and other antient ecclesiastical writers, which their adver-

saries producing in averment of their opinions, they were not able but by tricks and shifts of wit to reply to, to ease themselves henceforth in great part of that wit-labour (a quality indeed perhaps more commendable in some other trade than in divinity, where verity should only sway, where the love of the truth should subject or extinguish wholly all other passions; and the eye of the mind fixed attentively upon that object, should disturn from the regarding of other motives whatsoever); some assemblies of their divines, with consent no doubt of their redoubted superiors and sovereigns, have delivered express order, that in the impressions of those authors which hereafter should be made, the scandalous places there named should be clean left out: which, perhaps, though in this present age would have smally prevailed to the reclaiming of their adversaries, yet would have been great assurance for the retaining of their own, to whom no other books must have been granted, Yea, and perhaps time and industry, which eat even through marbles, extinguishing or getting into their hands all former editions, and for any new to be set out by their adversaries there is no great fear, whose books being discurrent in all Catholic countries, their want of means requisite to utter an impression would dishearten them from the charge: the mouth of antiquity should be

thoroughly *shut up* from uttering any syllable or sound against them. Then lastly, by adding words where opportunity and pretence might serve, and by drawing in the marginal notes and glosses of their friars into the text of the Fathers, as in some of them they have already very handsomely begun, the mouth of antiquity should be also *opened* for them. There remained then only the rectifying of St. PAUL (whose turn, in all likelihood, if ever, should be the next), and other places of Scripture, whose authority being set beneath the church's already, it were no such great matter to submit it also to her gentle and moderate censures; especially for so good an intent as the weeding out of heresies, and the preserving of the faith Catholic in her purity and glory. But above all other, the second Commandment (as the Protestants, Grecians, and Jews reckon it) were like to abide it; which already in their vulgar Catechisms is discarded, as words superfluous, or at leastwise as unfit or unnecessary for these times. And then, without an angel sent down from heaven, no means to control or gainsay them in anything. But these are but the dreams, perhaps, of some over-passionate desires, at leastwise not likely to take place in our times. But what is it which the opinions of the non-possibility of erring, of the necessary assistance of God's

Spirit in their consistories, of authority unlimited, of power both to dispense with God's law in this world, and to alter his arrests and judgments in the other, (for thereunto do their pardons to them in purgatory extend ;) what is it which these so high and so fertile opinions are not able to engender, and do not powerfully enforce to execute? —carrying men away headlong with this raging conceit, that whatsoever they do by the Pope's they do by God's own commandment, whose Lieutenant he is on earth by a commission of his own penning, that is to say, with absolute and unrestrained jurisdiction ; that whatsoever they do for advancement of his see and sceptre, they do it for the upholding of the church of CHRIST, and for the salvation of men's souls, which out of his obedience do undoubtedly perish. And verily it seems no causeless doubt or fear, that these humours and faces, so forward, so adventurous, to alter and chastise with palpable partiality the works of former times in an age which hath so many jealous eyes on their fingers, so many mouths open to publish their shame, such store of copies to restore and repair whatsoever they should presume to maim or deprave ; that in former ages, when there were few copies, small difficulties, no enemies ; as it is found by certain and irrefragable arguments, that many bastard writings were forged

in their favour, and fathered on honest men who never begat them; so also they might, beside other their choppings and changings, puttings in and puttings out, suppress many good and antient evidences, which they perceived were not greatly for their purpose to be extant. But of all other in reforming and purifying of authors, the care and diligence of this Pope* doth far exceed; who, not content with that which hath been done in that kind before him, nor thinking things yet so bright as they should be, causeth much to be perused and scoured over anew: yea, and it is thought will cashier some worthy authors, who as yet, though with cuts and gashes, hold rank among them. And for a further terror not to retain books prohibited, I have seen in their printed instructions for confession, the having or reading of books forbidden set in rank amongst the sins against the first Commandment. And for further provision, the Jews (who have generally not any other trades than frippery and usury, loan of money and old stuff) are inhibited in many places the meddling any more with books, for fear lest through error or desire of lucre they might do them prejudice. Neither is it lawful in Italy to carry books about from one place to another, without allowance of

* Clemens VIII. See his Index of 1596.

them from the Inquisitors, or search by their authorities. Wherein as, I confess, they have neglected nothing which the wit of man in this kind could possibly devise ; so yet may it be doubted, that as too much wiping doth in the end draw blood with it, and soil more than before, so this too rigorous cutting of all authors' tongues, leaving nothing which may savour any freedom of spirit, or give any satisfaction for understanding times past, may raise such a longing for the right authors in the minds of all men, as may encourage the Protestants to reprint them in their first entireness, having hope given to vent them, although in secret. These have I observed for the complots and practices of the Roman Church and Papacy, not doubting but they may have many more and much finer than I can dream of. And yet, in the surveying of these altogether, methinks they are such and so essential in their proof, that it causeth me in generality of good desire to wish, that either the cause which they strive to maintain were better, or their policies whereby they maintain it were not so good*.'

The other passage from the same author is of a more general character, but intimately connected with the subject of the foregoing pages, and

* Pp. 127—132.

slightly anticipated in some of the particulars : but the whole is so just, so profound and so important, that, although it has already and recently been brought before the public in Dr. HALES'S valuable work on *The Origin and Purity of the Primitive Church of the British Isles, &c.*, I think it not unsuitable to the present times in particular, to give it such additional circulation as its insertion in this work may obtain for it.

‘ This being the main ground-work of their policy, and the general means to build and establish it in the minds of all men ; the particular ways they hold to RAVISH ALL AFFECTIONS AND TO FIT EACH HUMOUR (which their jurisdiction and power, being but persuasive and voluntary, they principally regard), are well-nigh infinite ; there being not anything either sacred or profane, no virtue nor vice almost, no things of how contrary condition soever, which they make not in some sort to serve that turn ; that each fancy may be satisfied, and each appetite find what to feed on. Whatsoever either wealth can sway with the lovers, or voluntary poverty with the despisers, of the world ; what honour with the ambitious ; what obedience with the humble ; what great employment with stirring and mettled spirits ; what perpetual quiet with heavy and restive bodies ; what content the pleasant nature can take in pas-

times and jollity ; what contrariwise the austere mind in discipline and rigour ; what love either chastity can raise in the pure, or voluptuousness in the dissolute ; what allurements are in knowledge to draw the contemplative, or in actions of state to possess the practic dispositions ; what with the hopeful prerogative of reward can work ; what errors, doubts and dangers with the fearful ; what change of vows with the rash, of estate with the inconstant ; what pardons with the faulty, or supplies with the defective ; what miracles with the credulous ; what visions with the fantastical ; what gorgeousness of shews with the vulgar and simple ; what multitude of ceremonies with the superstitious and ignorant ; what prayer with the devout ; what with the charitable works of piety ; what rules of higher perfection with elevated affections ; what dispensing with breach of all rules with men of lawless conditions ;—in sum, what thing soever can prevail with any man, either for himself to pursue or at leastwise to love, reverence, or honour in another (for even therein also man's nature receiveth great satisfaction) ; the same is found with them, not as in other places of the world, by casualty blended without order, and of necessity, but sorted in great part into several professions, countenanced with reputation, honoured with prerogatives, facilitated with pro-

visions and yearly maintenance, and either (as the better things) advanced with expectation of reward, or borne with, how bad soever, with sweet and silent permission. What pomp, what riot, to that of their Cardinals? what severity of life comparable to their Hermits and Capuchins? who wealthier than their Prelates? who poorer by vow and profession than their Mendicants? On the one side of the street a Cloister of Virgins; on the other a sty of Courtezans, with public toleration: this day all in Masks with all looseness and foolery; to-morrow all in Processions, whipping themselves till the blood follow. On one door an Excommunication throwing to Hell all transgressors; on another a Jubilee or full discharge from all transgression: who learned in all kind of Sciences than their Jesuits? what thing more ignorant than their ordinary Mass-Priests? What Prince so able to prefer his servants and followers as the POPE, and in so great multitude? Who able to take deeper or readier revenge on his enemies? what pride equal unto his, making Kings kiss his pantofle? what humility, greater than his, shriving himself daily on his knees to an ordinary Priest? who difficulter in dispatch of causes to the greatest? who easier in giving audience to the meanest? where greater rigour in the world in exacting

the observation of the Church-Laws? where less care or conscience of the Commandments of God? To taste flesh on a Friday, where suspicion might fasten, were a matter for the Inquisition; whereas, on the other side, the Sunday is one of their greatest market-days.—To conclude; never State, never Government in the world, so strangely compacted of infinite contrarieties, all tending to entertain the several humours of all men, and to work what kind of effects soever they shall desire; where rigour and remissness, cruelty and lenity, are so combined, that, with neglect of the Church, to stir aught, is a sin unpardonable; whereas, with duty towards the Church, and by intercession for her allowance, with respective attendance of her pleasure, no law almost of God or nature so sacred, which one way or other they find not means to dispense with, or at leastwise permit the breach of by connivance and without disturbance.*'

* Pp. 34—37. It has been thought best to modernize the spelling, and rectify, or at least improve, the punctuation.

APPENDIX.

It will serve materially to illustrate and confirm the preceding detail and discussion, if we add some notice of, and extracts from, the most recent official declarations of the Roman See, relative to the Holy Scriptures—the most important object of the damnatory works which have been examined,—and the general permission to read them in the vernacular languages, into which they have been translated. It will hence be conjectured with tolerable certainty, of what value are the apparent concessions of Benedict XIV. in the Roman Index, as noticed p. 241, and of the latest Spanish Index, given p. 254. The conditions certainly are sufficiently strict to keep the permission under all the control which could be desired. And in what way and degree that control has been actually exercised will clearly appear from the documents to be partially produced.

The first are two Papal Briefs, issued by the late pope, Pius VII.; the first to IGNATIUS, Archbishop of GNEZN, Primate of Poland, dated June 29, 1816; the other to STANISLAUS, Archbishop of MOHILEFF (or Mohilow), in Russia, dated Sept. 3, 1816; both from Rome. They are to be read in an English translation, which I use, in Mr. BLAIR'S *Letters on the Revival of Popery*, Letter xx.

It may be observed generally, that they are both expressly directed against the *Bible Societies* extending themselves at the time in those respective countries.

The first contains the following sentences :—‘ We have been truly shocked at this most crafty device by which the very foundations of religion are undermined ’—as a remedy to this ‘ pestilence,’ ‘ this defilement of the faith, most dangerous to souls,’ ‘ we again and again exhort you, that whatever you can achieve by power, provide for by counsel, or effect by authority, you will daily execute with the utmost earnestness.’ It then repeats the Rules of the Tridentine Index, No. II., III., IV., and the Decree of the Congregation of the Index published by Benedict XIV., and already referred to. It is irksome to proceed with the senseless declamation of this document, which, as ever, evades all precision and definition, and flounders in vague and convenient generalities.

The other Brief, which is longer, is so much to the same purpose and in the same style, that the reader, with hardly any other assistance, may pretty correctly imagine its substance ; and he will, therefore, hardly regret the want of any further notice of it ; although it is certainly desirable that such things should be preserved somewhere.

But the document to which we now proceed is of far greater solemnity and importance, being one and the first of the late pope, LEO XII.—his ENCYCLICAL LETTER, as it is called, published, according to established custom, on his accession to the pontificate. The extracts which will be given are taken from the edition under sanction of the papal hierarchy in Ireland, accompanied

by their PASTORAL INSTRUCTIONS, and printed and published in Dublin, by Richard Coyne, 1824. It is addressed to the Roman Patriarchs, Primate, Archbishops, and Bishops, and contains the following passages:—

‘But how numerous and how severe are the contests, which have arisen, and arise almost daily, against the Catholic Religion in these our times! Who, thinking on them, and revolving them in his mind, can refrain from tears!’

After some remarks about ‘spark,’ ‘flame,’ and ‘leaven,’ the elevated writer adds, ‘But wherefore these remarks? A certain sect, not unknown certainly to you, usurping to itself undeservedly the name of Philosophy, has raked from the ashes disorderly crowds of almost every error. This sect, exhibiting the meek appearance of piety and liberality, professes *Latitudinarianism* or *Indifferentism*,’ &c. &c. And now let the reader carefully notice the infamous change endeavoured to be passed upon him, by classing under this head the subject following. ‘You are aware, Venerable Brethren, that a certain Society, commonly called *the Bible Society*, strolls with effrontery throughout the world; which Society, contemning the traditions of the holy fathers, and contrary to the well-known decree of the Council of Trent*, labours with all its might, and by every means to translate—or rather to pervert—the Holy Bible, into the vulgar languages of every nation; from which proceeding it is greatly to be feared, that what is ascertained to have happened as to some passages, may

* Sess. 4 de Ed. et usu Sac. Lib.

occur with regard to others ; to wit : “ that by a perverse interpretation, the Gospel of Christ be turned into a human Gospel, or, what is still worse, into the Gospel of the Devil*!” To avert this plague, our predecessors published many ordinances ; and, in his latter days, Pius VII. of blessed memory, sent two briefs—one to Ignatius, &c., as noticed above, and this may serve to expose the temerity or dishonesty of those who have doubted their authenticity. But the pope proceeds— ‘ We also, Venerable Brethren, in conformity with our apostolic duty, exhort you to turn away your flock, by all means, from these poisonous pastures. Reprove, beseech, be instant in season and out of season, in all patience and doctrine, that the faithful intrusted to you (adhering strictly to the rules of our Congregation of the Index) be persuaded, that if the Sacred Scriptures be every where indiscriminately published, more evil than advantage will arise thence, on account of the rashness of men.’

‘ Behold then, Venerable Brethren, the tendency of this Society, which moreover, to attain its ends, leaves nothing untried ; for not only does it print its translations, but also, wandering through the towns and cities, it delights in distributing them amongst the crowd. Nay, to allure the minds of the simple, at one time it sells them, at another, with an insidious liberality, it bestows them.’ ‘ Again, therefore, we exhort you, that your courage fail not. The power of temporal princes will, we trust in the Lord, come to your assistance, whose interest, as reason

* S. Hier. in Cap. i. Ep. ad Gal.

and experience show, is concerned when the authority of the Church is questioned ;' &c. A very intelligible intimation, and, in favourable times, fitted to produce a Crusade.

Dated Rome, May 3, 1824.

I subjoin the original of some of the foregoing passages. Quanta vero, et quam sæva nostris hisce temporibus surrexere, et ferme quotidie surgunt adversus Catholicam Religionem certamina! Quis ea recolendo, ac meditando lacrymas teneat?

Secta quædam, Vobis certe non ignota, Philosophiæ nomen immerito sibi usurpans, &c. Hæc siquidem blandam pietatis et liberalitatis speciem præ se ferens *Tollerantismum* (sic enim aiunt) seu *Indifferentiam* profitur, &c. Non vos latet, VV. FF. Societatem quandam dictam vulgo *Biblicam*, per totum orbem audacter vagari, &c. Ad quam pestem avertendam, &c. Nos quoque pro Apostolico Nostro munere hortamur vos, VV. FF., ut gregem vestrum a lethiferis hisce pascuis amovere omnimode satagatis. &c. En, VV. FF., quo hæc spectat Societas, quæ insuper ut impii voti fiat compos nil intentatum relinquit. Non enim tantummodo versiones suas, &c.

Iterum ergo hortamur Vos, ut animo non concidatis. Aderit vobis, certe in Domino confidimus, Sæcularium Principum potestas, &c.

The ' Pastoral Instructions by the R. C.' (Roman Catholic) ' Archbishops and Bishops,' are a worthy echo of the Instructions of their Head. And that is saying quite enough. For, in truth, it is hardly possible to conceive anything more awful and revolting, than the union and

antithesis of the solemn and the ludicrous, of arrogance and humility, of truth and falsehood, of extravagant professions and almost unavoidable consciousness of hypocrisy, observable in this, as well as in almost every other papal document,— all tending to, and centering in, one point, the preservation and aggrandizement of, what falsely assumes to be, the Holy and Only Catholic Church ; which, indeed, has done her best that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her, by taking them into her alliance ; and Satan, she may trust, will not cast out Satan. Her destruction—for her reformation has been so long and obstinately resisted that it has become hopeless—will come from another quarter ; and the most charitable counsel we can give her members is, to come out from the midst of her in time.

The reader should be apprized of the discussion on the same subject as occupies this volume by Bp. TAYLOR, in the Second Part of his *Dissuasive from Popery*, Book I., Section VI., entitled, ‘ Of the Expurgatory Indices of the Roman Church ;’ or, in the complete collection and edition of his Works by the late lamented Bishop of Calcutta, vol. x. pp. 495—507. The acquaintance of that acute and laborious writer with the Roman Indexes was indeed contracted, and, in a great measure, secondary. His arguments, however, are conclusive, and eminently important ; particularly those, by which he establishes the charge of altering, or expurgating, the Text itself of the Fathers. I must indeed express my doubt relative to the passage, which has been adduced by others, of SIXTUS SENENSIS, in the Dedication of his *Bibliotheca Sancta* to Pius V. ; where the pontiff is com-

plimented for expurgating and emaculating the writings of the fathers, contaminated and poisoned by the heretics ; and I had myself declined using it in an appropriate place, because it occurred, that the serpentine dexterity, which we have to encounter, might explain the expression, of a purification from the additions of heretics, in *Prefaces, Notes, Indexes, &c.* The other proofs of the Bishop are incapable of such evasion, and will stand for reference, whenever the advocates of Rome have the assurance to call the facts supported by them in question.

As a subject closely connected with that of the preceding pages, and of great importance in itself, being that of the sacred scriptures, I beg to direct the notice of the reader to a certain edition of the New Testament in French, printed at Bourdeaux in 1686. For the first distinct intelligence respecting this version we are indebted to an elaborate and most satisfactory Tract of Bp. KIDDER in 1690, entitled *Reflections on a French Testament, printed at Bourdeaux, An. Dom. MDCLXXXVI.* &c. And the present age is nearly as much indebted to the Rev. Dr. H. COTTON, for a republication of it with a prefixed *Memoir* in 1827, Lond. Cochran. The editor states the extreme rarity of the volume in question ; but informs us of the existence of Five Copies in the British Empire, England and Ireland, and fortunately in places from which they are not likely to wander or be abstracted. It will be recollected, that at the end of 1685, the Edict of Nantes was revoked ; and the immediately subsequent period was diligently employed in *various methods* for the reunion of the *pretended reformed*. And among these, with no neglect of the rest, a much esteemed one was a *duly*

prepared version of the New Testament. Mr. BUTLER, by way of contradicting the charge against his church as averse to the dissemination of the Scriptures, in his *Book of the Roman Catholic Church*, pp. 183, 4, reminds his readers, on the authority of Bausset, in his *Life of Bossuet*, that, 'at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, fifty thousand copies of a French translation of the New Testament were, *at the recommendation of BOSSUET*, distributed among the converted Protestants, *by order of Louis XIV.*' They were, his original informs us, the translation of Père Amelotte, with which were associated as many copies of the translated Missal. Now, among a multitude of important *peculiarities* displayed by Kidder in the Bourdeaux edition, there are three eminent above the rest for discovering the express mention of the MASS, of PURGATORY, and of the ROMAN FAITH, in the New Testament.

Acts xiii. 2. What we render 'as they ministered to the Lord,' this version renders OR COMME ILS AFFROYENT AU SEIGNEUR LE SACRIFICE DE LA MESSE—or, *they sacrificed unto the Lord the sacrifice of the Mass.* 1 Cor. iii. 15. Where the Apostle writes of them who shall be saved 'as by fire,' this version has, PAR LE FEU DE PURGATOIRE—*by the fire of Purgatory.* 1 Tim. iv. 1. 'In the latter times,' says St. Paul, 'some shall depart from the faith,' DE LA FOY ROMAINE—*from the Roman faith*, say the authors of this translation. It matters nothing whether the present translator was the inventor of such versions, or whether he adopted them from Veron, or other predecessors—the religious dishonesty is the same.

Papism, however, knows how to retaliate ; and perhaps

its most specious charge is that of translating, in our authorized version, δ by *and*, in 1 Cor. xi. 27, for the supposed purpose of guarding against the doctrine of Half-Communion. Dr. Milner has repeated the charge, with his usual want of knowledge, or integrity, or both. For, in the first place, the reading $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is supported by the Uncial MSS., the Alexandrine, and the Clermont, with two others, several of the ancient versions, and even (which is cited neither by Wetstein nor by Griesbach) the Vulgate in the Complutensian Polyglott. Of Latin versions, both MS. and printed in the earliest age of printing, the number exhibiting the same reading is very considerable. But if the disjunctive particle between the *bread* and the *wine* be the preferable reading, when the copulative is that used between the same words following each other almost as closely as possible three distinct times, and the meaning in the fourth, if the disjunctive be admitted, can amount to no more than that, if the unworthiness occur *either* in the eating or the drinking, guilt ensues,—what is all that to the legality of half-communion or denying both kinds to any class of the Christian church? This subject may be seen ably discussed by Mr. Blair, at the end of his *Revival of Popery*. Some of my arguments rest upon his authority—a comparison will shew which. Some of our opponents of the Italian communion are honourable men: but is it not sickening to have to deal with such opponents as these?

For my own part, I should have been well satisfied that our translators had used the word *or*; and I may be allowed to express the opinion, that in the present passion

for innovation, when motion is not unfrequently mistaken for progress, *that* passion could scarcely select a more beneficial indulgence, or one which the Church of England more urgently demands, than *an entire revision of her authorised translation of the Scriptures*. Let a reader but of moderate discernment reflect upon the single class of *varied renderings of the same word in near position*,—as Rom. xv. 4, 5, *comfort* and *consolation*; 12, 13, *trust* and *hope*; 1 Tim. i. 15, 16; *chief* and *first*; Acts xvii., *Areopagus* and *Marshall*; Matt. xxv., ult. *everlasting* and *eternal*,—with the improper and misleading translation of *grace* for *favour*; of *comforter* for *advocate*, in John xiv. 16, 26, xv. 26, and xvi. 7; of *testament* for *covenant*, particularly in Heb. ix. 16, 17, not to mention abundance of others; and, although it is not asserted that there is no force in the arguments against such a revision, they will appear to sink into insignificance when compared with those in favour of it.

It may afford some useful illustration of the subject of this work to observe, that among many other specimens producible, the Bodleian library affords a signal one of the execution of the directions of the Papal Index in a copy of GESNER'S *Bibliotheca*, edited by Simler, fol. 1574. The pages 485—488, containing an account of Luther and others, with their works, have been cut away, and the lower part of the last of these pages so dexterously united, that the very catchword answers, and only the thickness of the pasted portion betrays the abstraction. The articles of Philip Melancthon, Martin Bucer, Jo. Œcolampadius, Th. Beza are completely erased; although H. Zuingle is untouched. One work, however,

of Calvin is spared, *Comment. in Senecam de Clementia*, and likewise, of Melancthon, the classical portions.

The Paris edition of the Roman Index in 1826, described in its proper place, and being professedly a second edition, made its first appearance in *Le Propagateur*, vol. v., Paris, imp. Ecc. de Beauce-Rusard, Hotel Palatin, pres Saint Sulpice, 1825. The *second* edition is fictitious, being the same as the first, excepting the two leaves of the title. See p. 266 et seq.

ERRATA.

- Page 44, l. 9 from bottom, for *jom* read *jam*.
111, l. 6 and 7, for *Sum. Pont.* read *Summi Pontificis*.
119, l. 1, before *In* insert, Under the article.
— l. 21, for *CLEMENS* read *Clemens*.
120, l. 3 from bottom, *dele a*.
121, l. 13, for *nel* read *vel*.
122, l. 7, for and read *&*.
— l. 8 from bottom, for *et* read *and*.
191, l. 19, for [second] *sensu* read *connexione*.
194, l. 15, for *DIDACE* read *DIDACO*.
271, the Decree of 1690 should be placed after the next.
325, l. 10, for *scontribuistei* read *contribuisteis*.
332, l. 12, for *principal* read *principle*.
335, l. 6 from bottom, for 1603 read 1602.
337, l. 10 from bottom, for *ecclesia* read *ecclesia*.

The author, although fully aware, as his citations must have made him, when he discussed the *Exposition* of BOSSUET, pp. 218 et seq., that the subject had been elaborately considered in BAUSSET'S *Life* of that prelate, Versailles 1814, tome i., pp. 467—505, had neglected to consult the work, from a presentiment which has been sufficiently confirmed by subsequent perusal, that it would contain none but those plausible and inefficient arguments, which offer themselves abundantly to an able writer, and readily impose upon credulous and favourable readers. Other readers, to re-establish the palpable truth, need only to recur to the victorious statement of le Docteur *Whake*, whom the biographer certainly never read; or to the preceding pages, in which no qualification is rendered necessary by the information of L'ANCIEN EVEQUE D'ALAIS. It has simply given *authority* to the ascription of the *Vindication* and *Reply*, written against Wake, to an English Benedictine of the name of JOHNSTON.

I must not, however, omit to acknowledge another piece of information contained in a note, p. 489, which states, (and I presume correctly,) that there was a second *tirage* of the first acknowledged edition in the same month and year, December and 1671, in which was added, for the first time, the passage *pour conduire*, &c. This will explain and rectify a very excusable oversight and mistatement in pp. 226 and 231 of this work. Barbier ought to have known and mentioned so curious a fact.

I N D E X.

- ABSOLUTION** (Romish), form of, in private confession, in the age of Queen Mary, 286, *note*. The form of absolution of penitents, *now* in use, 288
- Act of Faith*, at Lisbon, notice of the celebration of, 300. And of another at Valencia, 301—303, *notes*
- Adoration* of the Host, in the mass, 281, *note*
- Æneæ Sylvii Commentarii*, prohibited by the author when he became Pope Pius II., 49, 50.
- Albigenses*, cruelties practised against, 301, *note*
- Alnander* (Samuel J.), *Historia Librorum prohibitorum in Suecica*, notice of, 246
- Ambrose*, the works of, altered, expunged, and added to, by the Romanists, 84, 85, *notes*
- Anastasius Nicænus*, specimens of the expurgations of, 119
- Anglican Lists* of prohibited books from 1520 to 1558, 16—22
- Antonius Melissa*, curious emendation of, 123, 124
- Athanasius*, condemned articles in the indexes to the works of, 143
- Augustine*, condemned articles in the indexes to the works of, 144
- Austrian-Belgic Index*, manuscript and unpublished, prepared for the Netherlands in 1735, analysis of, 203—206. Copy of the *Instructio Summaria*, prohibiting various works, 206—211. Documents and proceedings of the governess of the Netherlands and the council of Brabant respecting the publication of this index, 212—217.
- Austrian Indexes* from 1763 to 1778, notice of, 247, *note*
- Auto de Fé*. See *Act of Faith*.
- BARLOW**, Bishop, observations of, on the use of expurgatory indexes, 5, *note*
- Baxter* (Richard), advice of, against the papists, 322, 323, *notes*
- Belgic Indexes* of prohibited books from 1539 to 1550, account of, 30—34. From 1568 to 1570, 73—76. Expurgatory Index of 1571, 77—82. This Index prohibited to be possessed by any one, or even to be copied, 79. Notice of important reprints of it, by Francis Junius, in 1586, 83—86. And by John Pappus, in 1599, 86. In 1609, 87. And in 1611, 88. In 1714, 198, 199
- Bellarmino's* (Cardinal) *Disputationes* prohibited by Sixtus V., 104. His resentment against that pope, 105. Mistakes of his biographers, on the condemnation of his work, 106, and *note**
- Bertram's* Treatise *de Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, how explained by the Romanists, 80—82. Curious observation of Gretser, on the prohibition of his writings, 293
- Benedict XIV.*, Pope, remonstrance of, with the Spanish expurgators, for condemning the *Historia Pelagiana* of Cardinal Noris, 239. Reason assigned by him for not condemning a work of Bossuet's, 240. Abstract of his decree prefixed to the Roman Index of 1757, 241—245
- Berington's* (Rev. Joseph) interpretation of the oath of Pope Pius IV. refuted, 317
- Bible*, necessity of a revision of the English version of, 360. That version falsely charged with corruption, 359. The rule of the

- Roman Index of prohibited books respecting the reading of it, 64. The Bible when allowed to be read by written permission, 65. Penalty on booksellers selling Bibles unauthorized by the Romish church, 65. An edition of, in Italian, printed by order of Pope Sixtus V., but subsequently suppressed, 109, 110, *notes*. Propositions of Quesnel, concerning the reading of the Bible, prohibited by the Bull *Unigenitus*, 192, 193, *note*. Lamentation of a Spanish Inquisitor General in 1747, on account of reading the Bible in the vulgar tongue, 234. Versions of, permitted by Benedict XIV., under certain restrictions, 245. And by the editor of the Spanish Index in 1790, 254. Though only the wealthy can procure it, 255, *note*. Articles in the *Index* of Robert Stephens's edition of the Bible, proscribed in the Roman Index, 291, *note*
- Bible-Society*, opposition of papists to, 326, *note*. Notice of the briefs of pope Pius VII. against, 351, 352. Extracts from the encyclical letter of pope Leo XII. against the society, 353—355. His instructions re-echoed by the pastoral instructions of the Romish Archbishops and Bishops in Ireland, 355, 356
- Bigne* (Margarinus de la), expurgations of his *Bibliotheca Patrum*, 118, 119
- Bohemian* Indexes of prohibited Books in 1726 and 1729, notice of, 199—201
- Books*, supposed heretical, the condemnation of, to whom entrusted by the Romish Church, 10—12. Origin of book-censures, 13, *note*. List of those prohibited in England, 19, 20. And in the catalogue of Giovanni della Casa, 27, 28. Account of the burning of them in the 16th century, 52, 53, *notes*. Rules of the Roman Index of prohibited books, 63—71. Specimen of the *Purification* of books, printed at the papal press, 109, *note*. Regulations of Clement VIII. concerning the prohibition, correction, and printing of books, 113, 114. Forms of licenses for reading heretical books, 136, 137, *notes*. Observations on the books published by the Romish booksellers in London, 277—283. The having or reading of prohibited books forbidden, made an offence against the first commandment, 298, *note*
- Bossuet* (Jacobi Benigni), *Defensio Declarationis de potestate ecclesiastica* condemned, 212. Circumstances which led to the writing of his *Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique*, 218—220. The real first edition of it suppressed, 221. Discrepancies detected by Dr. Wake, between it and the acknowledged first edition, 221. Proceedings of Bossuet in consequence of this detection, 222. His lame excuses, 222—225. Notices of various editions of the *Exposition*, 226, 227. Especially of the fourth, 227, 228. Tardy commendation of it by Innocent XI. 229. Remarks thereon, *ibid.* 230, 231
- Boxhornius* (Henricus), confession of, of the alterations made in the Spanish Index, 85, *note*
- Brasichellen* (Jo. Maria), preface of, to his *Index Librorum Expurgandorum*, 116. Opposition caused by its publication, 117. Specimens of his expurgations, 118—128. Observations on his Index by Fra Paolo, 128, *note*. Important observations on it by Zobelius, 129, 130, *notes*. Notice of counterfeit editions of it, 131. Extreme rarity of it, 132
- Bull*, popish, *In Cœna Domini*, account of, 40, 41. Prohibited in Portugal, 163. Still in force, 260 and *note*. Propositions condemned by the Bull *Unigenitus*, 192, 193, *notes*. Notice of the bull of deposition issued against Queen Elizabeth, by Pius V. *Pref.* xiv, xv.
- Butler* (Charles), admits the ignorance of Romanists, respecting prohibitory and expurgatory in-

- dexes, *Pref.* ix. His ignorance of the two last clauses of Pius IVth's creed, xxix, *note*
- CAJETAN (Cardinal), works of, fraudulently altered in the Spanish Index of 1612, 141, 142
- Capiferrei* (Francisci Magdaleni), *Elenchus Librorum Prohibitorum*, notice of, 169, 170, 171
- Capuccini* (Gregorius), *Enchiridion Ecclesiasticum*, account of, 95—97. His Index of prohibited books, itself prohibited in the Spanish Index of 1612, 140
- Cardanus* (Hieronymus), censure of, in the Roman Index, 126.
- Casa* (Giovanni della), account of his *Catalogo de' Libri Condannati*, 25—27. Extract from it, 27, 28. Notes thereon by Vergerio, 29. The Poems of Casa prohibited by Paul IV., 46; and again by Sixtus V., 104
- Charles V.*, Emperor, Mandement of, in 1546, against alleged heretical books, 30. Commands the University of Louvain to prepare a catalogue of such books, 31. A second catalogue commanded by him in 1549, 32
- Chrysostom*, observations on the expurgation of the indexes to his works, 144, 145
- Church of Rome*, policy of, to obtain power over the world, 1—3. Conduct of, in issuing Expurgatory and Prohibitory Indexes, vindicated by Gretser, 8, 9. Cared nothing about her infamy, 16. Her doctrines not confined to the decrees of councils, 296, *note*. Observations on her policy in the issuing of Prohibitory and Expurgatory Indexes, 338—345; and on her general policy, 346—349. Her unfounded assumption of the title, 'Catholic,' *Pref.* xxxii
- Clement VIII.* (Pope), account of the Expurgatory Index of, 111, 112. His directions respecting the prohibition, correction, and impression of books, 113, 114. Notice of reprints of the Clementine Index, 115
- Cæna Domini*, the Papal Bull, so termed, account of, 40—42. Proved to be still in force, 260 and *note*
- Colonia* (Dominique de) *Bibliothèque Janséniste* of, adopted as part of the Spanish Index in 1747, 235. *Condemned* in the Roman Index of 1758, 245
- Confession*, Romish form of absolution in, 286, *note*
- Congregation of the Inquisition*, instituted by Sixtus V., 98, 99. Entrusted with the condemnation of supposed heretical books, 10; and also the congregation of the Index, 12. The condemnation of books by this congregation, frequently the work of a single consultor, *ibid.* Its prohibitions declared to be respected by all Romanists, *Pref.* xvii
- Consilium de emendandâ Ecclesiâ*, notice of, 48, 49, *note*
- Council of Trent*, proceedings of, in relation to prohibited books, 59—61. The Index of Pius IV., published in pursuance of its recommendation, 61, 62. Concluding anathemas of, 276, 277
- DALMEIDA (George) Archbishop of Lisbon, notice of his Index of prohibited books, 88, 89
- Decree of Innocent XI.*, prohibiting the *Mystica Ciudad de Dios* of Maria de Agreda, 272—274; and of Pius VII., prohibiting various editions of the New Testament, and other works, 275, 276
- Definitions*, evasive, of the Romanists, exposed, 312 and *note*
- Duarenus* (Francis), censure of in the Roman Index, 126
- ELIZABETH (Queen), character of, vindicated by a Romanist secular priest, 335, 336, *notes*. Notice of the Bull of Deposition issued against her by Pius V., *Pref.* xiv, xv
- Emancipation*, real, of the Romanists in Great Britain and Ireland, observations on, 330—334
- English version of the Bible*, charge of misrendering 1 Cor. xi. 27, re-

- futed, 359. Necessity of a revision of it, 360
- Erasmus* (Desiderius), writings of, prohibited, 47. Extract from brief of Leo X. to him, commending his edition of the New Testament, 47. Curious note thereon, in a Spanish Index, published in 1612, 48
- Evidence* before the Houses of Lords and Commons, on the state of Ireland, remarks on, 295, 296, *notes*
- Expediency*, dangerous tendency of, 331, *note*
- Expurgatory Indexes*, definition of, 4. The earlier editions of these Indexes, why withheld from publicity, *ibid.*, 5. The use of Expurgatory Indexes, 5, *note*. The Index Expurgatorius, said to be of no authority in Ireland, *Pref.* ix. For particular Expurgatory Indexes, see the article *Spanish, Roman, &c.*, in this Index
- Eybel's Treatise, Was ist der Pabst?* powerful effect of in Germany, 249. Condemned by Pope Pius VI., 250
- FALSIFICATIONS** of the New Testament, in the French version printed at Bourdeaux, 358
- Fathers of the Church*, writings of, how treated by the Papal correctors, 292—295
- Fenelon's* Explication des Maximes des Saints, condemnation of, 191, 192. His sentiments on indulgences, 324, *note*; and on reading the Scriptures, 325, *note*
- Forsterius* (Joannes), Expurgations of his Hebrew Lexicon, 126
- Francus* (Daniel), *De Papistarum Indicibus, &c.*, notice of, 7
- GALILEO**, condemnation of, at Rome, for his philosophical opinions, 176, *note*
- Gallican Indexes* of prohibited books, from 1544 to 1551, 34, 35. Gallican Catalogue and Arrêts, published in 1827, 268
- Gandolphy's* (Peter) 'Defence of the ancient Faith,' condemned at Rome, 264, 265
- Garbett* (Rev. John), observations of, on the idolatry of the Romish Church, 282, *note*
- Gee's* (Rev. Dr.) edition of Parsons's 'Memorial of the Reformation in England,' notice of, *Pref.* xviii—xx
- Gelasius de duabus Naturis*, expurgations of, 121, 122
- Geneva*, books sent from into France, seized by the Papists, 56, 57
- Gesner's Bibliotheca*, mutilation of, by the Romish expurgators, 360
- Giornale Ecclesiastico*, from 1785 to 1798, notice of, 248; and of the books condemned in the Papal decrees inserted in that work, 249—252
- God*, the appellation of, blasphemously given to Leo X., 24, *note*
- Gretser*, the Jesuit's defence of the Romish Church, in her biblical censures, 8, 9. His abuse of Vergerio, 52. Curious remarks of, on the fathers of the church, 293
- Guimenii* (Amadæi), *Theologia Moralis*, condemned, 184
- HANNOT** (Jean Baptiste), *Index des Livres Condamnés*, notice of, 198, 199
- Harlai*, Archbishop of Paris, account of the Index of prohibited books issued by, 188, *note*
- Heretic*, account of the burning of a presumed one, at Valencia, 301, 302, *notes*
- Heretical books*. See *Books*.
- Hymn*, idolatrous, to the Virgin Mary, translation of, 280, *note*. Remarks on it, *ibid.*, 281, *note*
- IDOLATRY**, defended in the Roman Index, 123. The idolatry of the Romish Church proved, 280, 281, 282, *notes*
- Imprimatur* of books, origin of, 13, *note*
- Indexes*, Prohibitory and Expurgatory, defined, 3. Particular account of Prohibitory Indexes, 3, 4; and of Expurgatory Indexes, 4—6. Notices of the works of Francus and James on the Romish Indexes, 7, 8. The conduct of the Romish Church in issuing these Indexes vindicated by Gretser, 9. Loose references in these Indexes, 147, 148. The Romish Indexes a guide

- to the formation of a good library, 269, 270. Fallacy of the attempts to destroy propositions in the index which yet are found in the text of an author, 289, 290. The principles of the Indexes still in force, and their tendency, 295, 296. The injury or destruction to reformed Christianity where these principles prevail, 297, 298. Duty of non-papal governments to resist the claims to power of those principles, 307—310. Ignorance of Romanists respecting the existence of the Expurgatory and Prohibitory Indexes, *Pref.* vii—ix. For accounts of particular Indexes, see the articles *Anglican, Austrian, Belgic, Roman, Spanish, &c.*, in this index
- Indulgences*, recent origin of, 127. Their rapid increase, *ibid.* Lowest price for which they were to be had in 1707, 324, *note*
- Innocent XI.*, his commendation of Bossuet's Exposition, 229. Remarks thereon, *ibid.*, 230, 231. His decree condemning the *Mystica Ciudad de Dios* of Maria de Agreda, 272—274
- Innocent XII.* (Pope), condemnation by, of Fenelon's *Explication des Maximes des Saints*, 191
- Inquisition*, notice of the congregation of, 10. When instituted, 99. The power of condemning supposed heretical books committed to it, 10
- Ireland*, the Expurgatory Index said to be of no authority in, *Pref.* ix
- JAMES I.** (King), his *Apologia pro juramento fidelitatis* condemned in the Portuguese and Spanish Indexes, 160, 161
- James* (Thomas), on the mystery of the *Indices Expurgatorii*, notice of, 7, 8; and of his *Index Generalis Librorum Prohibitorum*, 164
- Jansenius* (A. C.), propositions of, condemned at Rome, 176, 177, *notes*
- Jesuits*, hatred of against Sixtus V. accounted for, 105, 106, *notes*. Censures of their morality and theology, 182—186. Their connivance at idolatrous practices in China, 282, *note*. Their artifices exposed, 314. The Jesuits required to have a copy of the Prohibitory and Expurgatory Index in the library of every institution, *Pref.* xi
- Jew*, account of the burning of one at Valencia, 302, 303, *notes*
- Jonas Aurelianensis*, censure of, for opposing image-worship, 123
- Junius* (Francis), account of his reprint, in 1586, of the Belgian Index of 1571, 83—86. His account of the alterations and additions made in the Lyons edition of the works of Ambrose, 84, *note*
- KIDDER'S** (Bishop) Reflections on the French Testament printed at Bourdeaux, notice of, 357
- Kirchmaer*, or *Naogeorgus* (Thomas), notice of his reprint of the Roman Prohibitory Index of 1559, 50. His verses on the origin and progress of the Reformation, 51
- LATERAN** Council sanctions ordinance against alleged heretical books, 22
- Leo X.* (Pope), abstract of his ordinance against pretended heretical books, 22. Transcript of it, 23, 24, *notes*. Blasphemously styled a God, 24, *note*. Extract from his brief in favour of Erasmus's edition of the New Testament, 47. Remark thereon, 48
- Leo XII.* (Pope), encyclical letter of, and Pastoral Instructions indebted to Gretser for the only display of learning, 9, 10, *note* †. Extracts from his encyclical letter denouncing the Bible Society, 353—355.
- Licence*, to Sir Thomas More, for reading heretical books, 136, 137, *notes*; and to Dr. Andrew Sall, 137, *note*
- Lisbon*, notice of an *Auto de Fé* at, 300
- Liturgical Books* of the Romish Church, examination of, 283—288, *notes*
- Louvain*, University at, the doctors of, commanded to prepare a Catalogue of prohibited books, 30. Notice of their Catalogue printed in

- 1546, *ibid.*, 31; and of their Catalogues in 1549, 32; and in 1550, *ibid.*, 33, 34
- Luther* (Martin), writings of, denounced by Cardinal Wolsey, 17; and by the doctors of Louvain, *ibid.* note. Falsehood respecting his death in the Spanish Index of 1632, 167; and by the Sicilian inquisitor, Paramo, *ibid.* notes. Observations on his Colloquia Mensalia, 168, note
- MANRIQ**; (Thomas), notice of his *Collatio Censuræ in Glossas juris Canonici*, 86, 87, notes
- Manuale in usum Ecclesiæ Sarum*, analysis of, with remarks, 284—286, notes
- Marcus* the Hermit, curious emendation of, 123
- Mary* (Queen), sanguinary proclamation of, against the possessors of alleged heretical books, 21, 22
- Master* of the Sacred Palace, office of, 11. The power of condemning supposed heretical books entrusted to him, *ibid.*
- Milner* (Dr. John, *Vicar Apostolic*), charge of, against the English Protestant version of the Bible, refuted, 359
- Miracles*, pretended, of the Romish Church, notice of some, 279, note
- Montanus* (Benedictus Arias), account of the Expurgatory Index compiled by, 78—80; and of various reprints of it by Junius and Pappus, 83—88
- Montanus* (Reginaldus Gonsalvus), notice of his work on the Inquisition, 305, note
- NAOGEORGUS**. See *Kirchmaer*
- Neapolitan* Expurgatory Index of 1588, account of, 95—97
- New Testament*, falsifications of, detected in the French version printed at Bourdeaux, 358
- Noris* (Cardinal), remonstrance of Pope Benedict XIV. against the Spanish expurgators for condemning the work of, 239
- OATH** of Pope Pius IV., feudal nature of, demonstrated, 316—318, and notes
- Ordo administrandi Sacramenta in Missione Anglicanâ*, strictures on, 287
- PAPISTS**, impressive caution of Baxter against, 322, 323, notes
- Pappus* (John), account of his edition of the Belgic Expurgatory Index of 1571, 86. Notice of subsequent reprints of his edition, 87, 88
- Paramo* (Ludovicus à), notice of his treatise de Origine, &c., Inquisitionis, 304, note
- Paris*, Parliament of, arrêt of, in 1685, against Protestant books, 188, note
- Paris*, University of, its zeal against heresy, 34. Notice of its first Catalogue of proscribed books in 1544, *ibid.* Of its second Catalogue in 1551, 35
- Parsons* (Robert), the Jesuit, notice of his Memorial of the Reformation in England, *Pref.*, xviii—xxi
- Pascal*, intolerant sentiments of, against Protestants, 177, 178, notes
- Paschasius*, correction of, in the Roman Index, 124, 125
- Paul IV.* (Pope), account of the Prohibitory Index published under his authority, 42—50
- Penitents*, form of absolution of, in the age of Queen Mary, 286, note. The form now in use in the Anglo-Romish Church, 288
- Persecution* of alleged heretics in Portugal, 300. Of the Albigenses, 301, note. In Spain, 301—303, notes
- Petrarch*, certain sonnets of, prohibited in the Spanish Index, 91. Extract from one of them, 92
- Philip II.*, sanguinary decree of, against persons having prohibited books, 53
- Photius*, Bishop of Constantinople, censured in the Roman Index, 125
- Pius IV.*, account of the Index of prohibited books published by his command, 61, 62. Mr. Berington's elucidation of the oath of Pius IV. 316, 317, note. Its feudality proved, 317, 318, note. Trans-

- lation of the two last clauses of his creed, *Pref.* xxix., *note*
- Pius V.**, Pope, anecdote of, 56. His efforts for the extirpation of literary heresy, 77, *note*. Notice of his Letters, 200, *note*. Dispensed with the English Romanists observing his bull of deposition against Queen Elizabeth, *Pref.* xiii. Remarks on his policy, xiii., xiv.
- Pius VI.**, Pope, notice of the Index published under the auspices of, 246, 247. His chagrin at the publication of Eybel's treatise, *Was ist der Pabst?* 249, 250. Condemns it, and various other works, 250—252
- Pius VII.**, decree of, prohibiting various editions of the New Testament and other works, 275, 276. Notice of his briefs against the Bible Society, 351, 352
- Polish Index Librorum Prohibitorum**, notice of, 154
- Popes** claimed the right of condemning supposed heretical books, 12. The artifices of Popish advocates exposed, 314—316, and *notes*. Hostility of popery to the circulation of the Scriptures, 325, 326, *notes*
- Portuguese Prohibitory Indexes** of 1581, notice of, 88, 89. Analysis of the Index of 1624, 158—163
- Pozzo** (Count Ferdinand dal), observations of, on the operation of the bull *In Cœna Domini*, 260, *note*. On the artifices and evasions of the partisans of Popery, 315, 316, *notes*
- Proclamation** of Henry VIII. against persons having alleged heretical books, 20. Sanguinary proclamation of Philip and Mary, 21, 22
- Prohibitory Indexes**, definition of, 3, 4. Proceedings at the Council of Trent in relation to prohibited books, 59—61. Translation of the 'Rules of the Index,' published by command of Pius IV., 63—71. For particular Prohibitory Indexes, see the articles *Anglican, Austrian, Belgic, Roman, Spanish, &c.*, in this Index
- Protestants**, observations on the lukewarmness and indifference of, 327, 328
- QUESNEL**, propositions of, concerning the Scriptures, condemned by Pope Clement XI., 192, 193, *notes*
- Quiroga's** (Cardinal) *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, account of, 90—92; and of his *Index Librorum Expurgatorum*, 93. Notice of reprints of it, 94
- RAYMENT** (Rev. B.), Notice of his translation of *Official Memoirs of Miraculous Events, &c.*, in Italy, 278, and *note* 279
- Reformation**, origin and progress of, poetically described, 51. The Reformation in Spain, quashed by the flames of the Inquisition, 305, 306
- Reformers**, works of, prohibited in England, 17, 18. List of, 19, 20. Sanguinary proclamation of Philip and Mary against persons having their works, 21, 22
- Reimann's** notice of a supposed Expurgatory Index printed at Venice, 24, 25
- Ritual** of the Romish Church, observations on, 287, *note*
- Rome**, see *Church of Rome*.
- Roman Indexes** of prohibited books from 1549 to 1554, account of, 35—38. Analysis of the Index of 1559, 42—50. Notice of the reprint of it by Kirchmaer, 50, 51. Index of Pius IV., 61, 62. Transcript of its rules, 63—71. Roman Index of Sixtus V., 1590, 99—108. Of Clement VIII., 1596, 109—114. Notice of reprints of it, 115. Of Brasichellen, 1607, 116—128. Notice of a counterfeit edition of it, 131, 132. Various decrees relative to the Roman Index, from 1601 to 1637, 155—158. Analysis of the Prohibitory Index of 1664, 174—179; and of 1665, 179, 180. Notice of Prohibitory Indexes between 1670 and 1704, 189, 190. Of the Index of 1711, 197, 198; of 1716, 17, 199. Of the Indexes of 1744 and 1750, 232, 233. Of the Index of 1758, 241—245; of 1786, 246, 247; of 1806, 261; of 1819, 263—265; account of the Parisian reprint of it in 1826, 266, 267, 361; 2 B

- and of the Brussels edition in 1828, 268
- Romanists*, claims of to power to be resisted by non-papal governments, 307—310. Exposure of the sophistical reasonings of the advocates of those claims, 310—327
- Rules of the Index of prohibited books*, 63—71
- SA (Emanuel), censure of, in the Roman Index, 125
- Sall (Dr. Andrew), licence to, for reading heretical books, 137, *note*
- Sandoval (Bernard de), *Index Librorum Prohibitorum et Expurgatorum*, 134. Notice of a reprint of it at Geneva, 135. Analysis of it, 135—151
- Sandys (Sir Edwin), observations of, on the policy of the Papists in compiling Expurgatory and Prohibitory Indexes, 338—345; and on the general policy of the Romish Church, 346—349
- Sarpi (Paolo), remarks of, on the Roman decrees relative to the Index, 156, 157
- Sarum, Examination of the *Manuale in usum Ecclesiæ Sarum*, 284—286
- Scriptures*, see *Bible*.
- Sixtus V., Pope, institutes the Congregation of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, 99. Publication of his Index, *ibid.* He sets aside all previous Indexes, 100. Analysis of his rules, 101—103. Notices of works condemned in his Index, 104—106. Causes of its rarity, 107, 108. The hatred of the Jesuits against Sixtus accounted for, 105, *note*. Probable cause of his death, 106, *note*, 110, *note*. An Italian version of the Bible put forth by him, but subsequently suppressed, 109, 110, *notes*
- Sophistry* of the reasonings alleged in support of the claims of Papists to power exposed, 310—327
- Spain, the purgation of from heretics accomplished by fire, 299, 300. The Reformation there quashed by the same means, 303, 306
- Spanish Index of Prohibited Books of 1559*, account of, 53—55. Of the Index of 1583, 90—92. Expurgatory Index of 1584, 93. Notice of the reprints of it in 1601, 1609, and 1611, 93, 94. Index, Expurgatory and Prohibitory, of 1612, 134, 135; reprinted by Turretin in 1619, 135. Analysis of it, 135—151. Transcript of manuscript notes in a copy of the original edition, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, 152—154. Instances of petty expurgations in this Index, 149, 150, 151, *notes*. Index, Prohibitory and Expurgatory, of 1632, 165—169. Index of 1640 and 1662, 171. Account of the reprint of it in 1667, with additional decreta, 171—173. Of the Prohibitory and Expurgatory Index of 1707, 194—196; and of the Supplement to it in 1739, 196, 197. Index, Prohibitory and Expurgatory, in 1747, 237—241. Circumstances which preceded the compilation of that Index, 233—236. Account of the Spanish Index of 1790, 252—257; and of the Supplement to it, published in 1785, 257, 258. Subsequent censorial operations in Spain, 258, 259, 262
- Stephens's (Robert) edition of the Bible, articles in the index of, proscribed by the Roman Index, 291, *note*
- Sweden, notice of a History of Books prohibited in, 246, *note*
- TAXÆ, infamous, of the Court and Church of Rome, notice of, 76, *note*
- Testament*, see *New Testament*.
- Texts of the New Testament falsified in the French version printed at Bourdeaux* :—
- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------|
| Acts xiii. 2 | 358 |
| 1 Cor. iii. 15 | <i>ibid.</i> |
| 1 Tim. iv. 1 | <i>ibid.</i> |
- Theresa, Saint, legendary anecdote of, 55
- Tonstal (Cuthbert), Bishop of London, licence of, for reading heretical books, 136, 137, *notes*
- Torquemada, auto de fé of books by, 97
- Townley (Rev. Dr.), observations of,

- on the origin of book-censures, 13, *note*. His translation of the 'Rules of the Index,' 63—71
- Transubstantiation* compared to creation, 121
- Trent*, see *Council of Trent*.
- UNITY, pretended, of the Romish Church, strictures on, 303, *note*
- VALDES' (Ferdinand de), *Catalogus Librorum Prohibitorum*, 53; account of it, with anecdote of St. Theresa, 54, 55
- Valencia*, account of the burning of a presumed heretic at, 301—303, *notes*
- Venice*, notice of a supposed Prohibitory Index printed at, 25
- Vergerio* (Peter Paul), extract by, from a catalogue of prohibited books, 27, 28. His observations thereon, 29. Account of his reprint of the Roman Index of 1559, 36. His notice of preceding Indexes, 37—40, *note*. His account of the reasons why the titles of cardinals, whose works were prohibited, are announced *without* their titles, 37, *note*. Abused by Gretser, 52
- Victorius Pictaviensis*, expurgation of, in the Roman Index, 119
- Virgilius* (Polydorus) expurgations of the writings of, 127
- Virgin Mary*, notice of fictitious miracles ascribed to, 279, *note*. Translation of an idolatrous hymn to, 280, *note*. Remarks thereon, *ibid.* 281
- WAKE (Archbishop) discovers the suppressed first edition of Bossuet's 'Exposition,' 221. Account of the controversy which arose out of it, 222—225
- Wallis* (Dr.), note of, relative to the Spanish Index of 1612, 151, 152
- Wanley* (Humphrey), note of, relating to the Spanish Index of 1612, 152, 153
- Warham*, Archbishop of Canterbury, condemnation of alleged heretical books by, 18
- Watson* (William), a Romish secular priest, vindication by, of the character and measures of Queen Elizabeth, 335, 336, *notes*. His attestation to Parson's scheme for suppressing books in England, *Pref.* xxii.
- Wolsey*, Cardinal, decree of, against Luther's works, 17
- ZAPATA (Antoni), *Index Librorum Prohibitorum et Expurgatorum*, analysis of, 165—169
- Zobehus*, observations of, on the Expurgatory Index of Brasichellen, 129, 130, *note*
- Zuingeri* (Theodori) *Theatrum Vitæ Humanæ*, censured and condemned in the Spanish Index Expurgatorum, 145, 146

LONDON :
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES,
Stamford Street.

