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our Master's messengers, of bearing it in our ministrations in this needful world! His last word to His Church assembled in her representatives was, "Ye shall be witnesses of Me." And time only intensifies the need and power of obedience to that royal order. How, in our preaching, under the blessing of the Holy Spirit, shall we best find out the soul, and win it for our beloved Lord, and build it up in Him? On the one hand, by an unwearied affirmation, thoughtful, loving, confident, of the eternal facts; on the other, by such a presentation of them as shall let all men see that they are *facts to us*.

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ART. II.—FRA PAOLO SARPI.

THE Rev. Alexander Robertson has received a letter of thanks from the King of Italy, through the governor of the Royal Household, for his "Life of Paolo Sarpi," and he has also been honoured with the degree of Doctor bestowed upon him in Scotland for his literary labours. These acts of grace and courtesy are a strong testimony to the value of the work before us,<sup>1</sup> while the first witnesses also to the liberality of the Italian Court. It was high time that Sarpi's Life should be issued in a trustworthy form, drawn from original sources which have been too much overlooked. Sarpi had the honour of being regarded as a dangerous antagonist by that section of the Roman Church which, while it is specially represented by the Jesuits, is far from confined to the members of that society. Consequently his character has been blackened by a free use of the calumny which is regarded in some quarters as justifiable if a good end is to be obtained by its employment. Few men know that in the great Venetian antagonist of the Papacy is to be found the first mathematician, the first metaphysician, the first anatomist, as well as the first statesman and the most learned Churchman of his generation. In 1623 a statue was ordered by his country to be erected to his memory, but it was not till 1892 that it was erected. So long did the persistent enmity of his opponents prevent his merits from being publicly acknowledged. Two years ago this reproach to Venetian slackness was swept away, and Dr. Robertson's story serves as a good pendant to the memorial.

Dr. Robertson divides Sarpi's Life into sections, which

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<sup>1</sup> "Fra Paolo Sarpi, the Greatest of the Venetians," by the Rev. Alexander Robertson, author of "Count Campello and Catholic Reform in Italy" (London: Sampson Low and Co., 1894, pp. 196).

he distinguishes not only by his hero's age, but also by a special characteristic. Thus, from the age of one to eighteen he is "the Scholar," from eighteen to twenty-six "the Professor," from twenty-seven to thirty-six "the Provincial and the Procurator," from thirty-seven to fifty-three "the Scientist and Philosopher," from fifty-four to fifty-five "the Theological Counsellor," at fifty-five "the Martyr," from fifty-six to seventy-one "the Statesman-Author;" in 1623 he died.

It is as theological counsellor of Venice in its struggle with the Papacy, and as the historian of the Council of Trent, that Sarpi has gained his world-wide reputation.

The dispute between the Republic of Venice and the Papal See, which was then held by Paul V., one of the Borghese family, began, like so many other quarrels in which earlier Popes had made themselves conspicuous, with the question of the exemption of ecclesiastics from secular rule and the claim of the Popes to nominate Bishops. With the latter claim Venice made short work. When the Patriarch of Venice died and Paul demanded to nominate his successor, the Senate ordered the immediate investiture of their own nominee. On the other hand, when ecclesiastics as well as the other citizens of Brescia were taxed for the restoration of the ramparts of the city, and when two ecclesiastics of bad life were imprisoned by the authority of the Republic, the Pope angrily remonstrated, and added to his remonstrance a demand that the mortmain laws in force in Venice should be repealed on pain of excommunication and interdict. Sarpi formulated the reply made to the Pope's briefs, which denied his right to interfere with the independence of the Venetian State, whether as to its laws dealing with property or the treatment of its subjects. Thereupon, on April 17, 1606, the Bull of Excommunication and Interdict was issued. By Sarpi's advice, the Republic met the aggression of the Pope by a decree that anyone observing the Bull should incur the penalty of high-treason, and a protest against Papal intrusion was affixed to church doors, signed with the name of Leonardo Donato, "by the grace of God Doge of Venice." All were loyal except the Jesuits, the Theatines and the Franciscans, of whom the first were banished and the others allowed to leave the country. The Pope summoned Sarpi to Rome. Sarpi, knowing that the result would be *la fune o il fuoco*, the rope or the stake, declared himself too much occupied with State affairs to leave Venice, on which the Pope publicly burnt his books, and placed on the Index all books printed or to be printed by his publishers. This was followed by the greater excommunication, to which Paolo Sarpi replied, "If I shall be, as an excommunicated one, separated from your communion, against every law, Divine and

human, I am prepared, by the help of God, to support it with tranquillity, certain that an iniquitous sentence is not able to damage anyone in the sight of God and of His Church." The Pope was defeated by the friar, and on April 18, 1607, he found it necessary unconditionally to remove the interdict. Paul V. was not a man to sit down quietly under such a rebuff. At first he attempted to lure Fra Paolo to Rome "that the Pope might show him honour." The Senate frustrated the Pope's design by forbidding him to leave Venice. The Pope sent two emissaries to hold private interviews with the Frate, in order to compromise him. At Fra Paolo's request the Senate desired that such interviews should be held only in their presence. The Pope could not wait any longer. In September he engaged Rotilio Orlandini and two other bravos, for the sum of eight thousand crowns and an absolution, to go to Venice and murder Fra Paolo. The Venetian Ambassador at Rome, through an informer, learnt the whole plot, and gave information to the Republic, by means of which the three murderers were arrested as soon as they put their foot on Venetian territory. A single failure did not discourage the Curia. There was another bravo in Rome named Ridolfo Poma, known to a worthless priest named Alessandro Franceschi. By Franceschi, Poma was introduced to Cardinal Borghese, and by him to the Pope. The Pope offered him wealth and an absolution if he would assassinate Sarpi. Poma undertook the task, choosing as companions Parasio, Giovanni, Pasquali and a priest named Viti. The Doge and the Senate, warned of impending danger, commanded that Fra Paolo should never pass through any but the widest streets, except he were followed by a body of attendants; but on October 5 there happened to be a fire, which drew away his escort, and the Frate returned to his monastery from the Senate House with one friend, Malipiero, and his servant, Fra Marino. The assassins saw their opportunity. As the three men were crossing the last bridge before their arrival at the monastery, the five bravos dashed upon them, overpowered Malipiero and Fra Marino, and left Fra Paolo for dead with fifteen stiletto stabs, one of which had entered his temple and broken his jawbone, the stiletto being so firmly fixed that it could not be withdrawn by the murderer. The assassins thought their work was done, and fled to the house of the Nuncio. By the Nuncio's help they got safely to the seaside, and were hurried on board a sloop which carried them safely to Ravenna, where they found carriages ready for them, which conveyed them to Ancona. At Ancona they were met by Franceschi, who "took them to the counting-house of Girolamo Scalamonti, the Pope's agent, who paid them to

the Pope's order the sum of a thousand ducats." After visiting the House of Loretto as holy pilgrims, they went on to Rome, and were lodged in the palace of Cardinal Colonna, receiving a pension from the Pope. But the unwelcome news came that, after all, Fra Paolo was not killed, so why should the Pope pay a pension to his murderers? At the end of a year he sent them off to Naples, but there the pension ordered by the Pope was not paid, so they returned to Rome, discontented and menacing, whereupon the Pope seized them and shut them up within the walls of the prison of Civita Vecchia, where they could tell no tales. There Poma lingered for some seven years, dying January 6, 1615.

It need hardly be said that the attempt to assassinate the foremost man in Venice caused first consternation and then fury through the city. The bravos had escaped, but the Nuncio had remained behind. The populace rushed to his palace, and would have burnt him alive in it had they not been controlled by the authorities. Four thousand ducats were offered by the Senate for the capture of Poma, dead or alive; two thousand for the others. The Pope, therefore, gave them special permission to go armed for their security. Fra Paolo himself did not lose his calmness or his charity. When the surgeon lamented over the *stravaganza*, or wide-spreading character of the wound inflicted on him, he playfully whispered with a half-smile, "*stylo Romanæ curiæ;*" *i.e.*, "such as might be expected from the style of the Roman Court," or "from the stiletto of the Roman Court." The severest word that he uttered was, "*Videat Dominus et requirat.*" His good constitution conquered, and the wounded man recovered. The Senate, resolved to take every precaution for the future, ordered that a house should be provided him close to the Doge's palace, in order that he might not have to pass through narrow streets to his monastery, and decreed that "if in future any person or persons be found, of any degree or condition whatsoever, who shall attack in any place or manner whatsoever, without exception, Father Paul, he or they who should kill such a person or persons shall receive the reward of two thousand ducats, and he or they who shall take them alive shall receive four thousand ducats, to be paid immediately, either out of the confiscated property of such persons or out of the public treasury. Further, that whosoever shall inform the Senate of any person or persons coming to Venice with intent to injure the said Father Paul, he shall receive the sum of two thousand ducats, and if the informer be an accomplice he shall receive a pardon" (p. 123). Fra Paolo gratefully declined the honour of a residence near the palace; he would be happier in the familiar monastery. The Senate consented, but only after

they had built him a special staircase and entrance, by which he could pass safely to his gondola. The stiletto which was left in his temple was hung up by him in the church of the monastery.

Once more Paul V. attempted to assassinate Fra Paolo, in the year following his recovery, in consequence of his publishing a book, the title of which was "A Treatise on the Interdict of Pope Paul V., by Fra Paolo Sarpi," in which he shows that it was not legally published, and that for many reasons it was not obligatory on the ecclesiastics to execute it, and that they could not observe it without sin. Fra Bernardo, Fra Francesco, and Fra Antonio were the three new conspirators. They were to receive five thousand scudi each and "Church preferment" if they would take off Fra Paolo by poison. Before the plot could be carried out, Francesco and Antonio were seized by the Venetian authorities and condemned to death, their punishment being changed to banishment, on Paolo's intercession. Fra Bernardo, not having left Papal territory, was safe, and was rewarded by his employer with a Cardinal's hat.

The "Treatise on the Interdict" was only one of a series of works which Sarpi now wrote. Another was on the "Validity of Excommunication." This was followed by a "Consideration of the Censure of Pope Paul V." and a "History of what passed between Pope Paul V. and the Serene Republic of Venice, or the War of Paul V. with the Venetians," and by a "Defence of the Right of Sovereigns against the Excommunications and Interdicts of the Popes." Then came a "History of Benefices" and "The Inquisition in Venice," and treatises on "Sanctuaries" and "Immunity of the Clergy" and "The Jesuits' System of Education;" and last, his great work, "The History of the Council of Trent," on which he had been employed for forty years. Strangely enough, an exact transcript of the author's manuscript of this great work has never yet been published, the book with which we are familiar having been printed from a slightly abridged copy made by Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, and issued by him in London. The original has been lying in the Library of St. Mark, but as long as the Austrian dominion in Venice lasted it was not allowed to be consulted by editors. Its publication is now promised by Professor Teza.

In 1623 the great Venetian died at the age of seventy. He was buried in the church of his monastery, and a public monument was decreed him. But the hatred of Rome pursues the dead as it pursues the living. "We shall not permit that to one excommunicated should be raised a stone or an epitaph of honour in any spot whatever," wrote Urban VIII. "In no shape or form," said the Nuncio, "can our Lord tolerate this

work of impiety." We can well imagine how such arrogance would have been met had Fra Paolo been still *Consultore* to the Senate, but his mantle had fallen on no successor, and a "reconciliation" had been effected between the Papacy and the Republic. So the decree ordering a monument to be erected was allowed to become a dead letter. But this was not all. The Popes, one after another, were resolved on desecrating their antagonist's tomb and scattering his ashes to the winds. Ten times had his friends to move his remains in order to hide their whereabouts and save them from profanation. Built up in a wall, ensconced within an altar, concealed in a private house, deposited secretly in the Library of St. Mark, carried from place to place, at last they were interred by order of the Austrian Government in the Campo Santo of the Island of San Michele. Here they might have rested had not Gregory XVI. been accidentally informed that they were there some twenty years after the interment. Passionately throwing his handkerchief on the table, he cried out, "They have defiled my dear Island of San Michele with the bones of that heretic! He must be taken up and cast among the common bones, that his memory may perish eternally!" The Pope gave his orders to the Patriarch of Venice, the Patriarch to the monks of San Michele, and on All Saints' Day, 1846, when the Venetians went as usual to visit the grave of their friend in the cemetery, it was found that the stone marking the spot where Fra Paolo's remains lay was gone. Search was made with hot haste, and it was found that the remains themselves, protected by a strong stone coffin, were intact. The Austrian police traced the sacrilegious robbers, who were made to restore the slab that they had taken away, and on the night of November 19, 1846, it was replaced on the old spot. There what was mortal of the great Venetian still rests.

On September 20, 1892, his statue, the erection of which had been prevented by Papal intrigue for two hundred and seventy years, was unveiled in the presence of thousands, and handed over to the care of the Syndic of Venice. It stands in the Campo di Santa Fosca, between the Doge's palace and the monastery in which he lived.

It only remains to say that Dr. Robertson has done his work excellently. The book is well timed, well arranged, and well written; already a second edition has been called for.

F. MEYRICK.

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