

## 5 Not Only a “Hibernese” in the *Urbs*

### Luke Wadding and His Entourage in Seventeenth-Century Rome

*Matteo Binasco*

A good – albeit rudimentary – way to highlight the network of collaborators, confreres, friends, and powerful patrons who gravitated around Luke Wadding and his world is to look at the index of names found in the collection of letters edited by the Franciscan historian Brendan Jennings in 1953, which expanded the first calendar published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1906.<sup>1</sup>

Jenning’s volume has three different indexes – persons, places, and subjects – which amount to fifty-seven pages in total. A quick look at the index of persons provides a hint of the great number of the people with whom Wadding and his close confreres were in contact. It consists of thirty-five pages, in which are cited names of prestigious Italian prelates, diplomats, and unknown Irish clerics – such as a certain Father “Jacobus de Hibernia,” who in 1629 seemed to be hosted by Wadding at St Isidore’s.<sup>2</sup> Yet the index conveys only a partial view of the Franciscan’s network, a problem which is likely influenced by the fact that the majority of his correspondence consists of the letters received by the Irishman. Given the wide range of his personal network, this chapter will provide an overview of the main figures with whom Wadding entered in contact, attending mainly to those who played a crucial role for his career and activities.

As pointed out in the introduction, Wadding’s coming to Rome – at mid-December 1618 – was the consequence of a complex patchwork of diplomatic and religious connections between the Spanish monarchy and the Holy See. The Franciscan arrived in the city following his appointment as theological advisor to the extraordinary embassy on the Immaculate Conception which was organized by Philipp III, and which had to petition the pope to define this devotion as a Catholic dogma.<sup>3</sup>

Given that he was educated in the Iberian Peninsula where he felt under the patronage of Antonio De Trejo, the Franciscan vicar general and from 1618 the bishop of Cartagena, it is not surprising that Wadding’s arrival in Rome was placed on an easy footing. This “easy footing” meant that Wadding soon had a favourable reception within the Papal Curia.

During the first period of his Roman life, Wadding could rely on the hospitality provided by the convent of San Pietro in Montorio, which, by that time, was run by his Spanish confreres, and which fully embodied the patronage of the Spanish crown on the city.<sup>4</sup> Wadding's early years in Rome were also favoured by the fact that he could enjoy on the support of two prominent Irish figures of that period: Albert Hugh O'Donnell (1606–1642), second earl of Tyrone, and Florence Conry, his confrere and archbishop of Tuam. In 1619, these two influential Irishmen wrote to Cardinal Fabrizio Verallo (1560–1624), who since 1616 acted as protector of Ireland, in order to request Wadding's appointment as bishop of Waterford. Although their request was never taken into consideration, both these letters depicted – with emphasis – Wadding who was introduced as a man of “nobility, discipline, intelligence,” and who always conducted “a blameless life.”<sup>5</sup>

Beyond being one of the chief theologians in Philip III's embassy, the position of Wadding in Rome was further enhanced by the fact that, while in Spain, he succeeded in gaining the esteem of Benignus of Genoa (1575–1651), minister general of the Franciscan order from 1615 to 1625. It was this latter who, in 1619, charged the Irishman with a prestigious but challenging role: to collect and arrange chronologically enough material to compile a general history of the Franciscans since their foundation. Clearly this task offered Wadding an invaluable opportunity to extend his correspondence to members of different houses and branches of the Franciscan order. In 1632, he declared to Michele Missetti, general of the Franciscan Conventuals, that he intended to search for all relevant information among the Observants, the Conventuals, and the Capuchins in order to have a full understanding of the complex history of the Franciscan order.<sup>6</sup>

During the 1620, Wadding's role within the papal curia increased as he began to sit as consultor or as a *savant* in a series of prominent Roman congregations. This favoured the Franciscan who could expand his network of influential contacts. The Congregation of Rites – established by Sixtus V (1521–1590) in 1588 – was one of the congregations in which the Franciscan acted as adviser, and in particular in the complex matter of the Roman breviary's revision.<sup>7</sup> From mid-July of 1629 until mid-December 1631, with very few exceptions, Wadding participated to the meetings together with other noteworthy Italian theologians such as the Barnabite Bartolomeo Gavanti (1569–1638), the Jesuit Terenzio Alciati (1570–1651), prefect of the Collegio Romano,<sup>8</sup> Ilarione Rancati (1594–1663), and – above all – Cardinal Luigi Caetani (1595–1642) who presided over the commission.<sup>9</sup> One of the most tangible outcomes of Wadding's activity in the revision of the Roman breviary was that he succeeded in inserting the feast of St Patrick in the new liturgical calendar, thus placing the most iconic Irish saint within the global context of early-modern Catholicism.<sup>10</sup>

During the early 1630s, Wadding distinguished himself as one of the most expert and versatile consultants of the Sacred Congregation de “Propaganda Fide” not only on the thorny matters of the Irish church, but also on a variety of other questions such as the Chaldean Baptism, the Theatine Georgian mission, the difficulties of the Greek church, or the dangers faced by the Catholic missionaries active in Japan.<sup>11</sup> His capacity to interact on many fronts played in favour of the Franciscan who could develop firm contacts with the most influential members of the congregation. One of these prelates was Cardinal Roberto Ubaldini (1581–1635), former nuncio in France and one of Propaganda’s first members.<sup>12</sup> It was Wadding himself who, at mid-January 1631, declared to abbot Ferdinando Ughelli (1595–1670), the first scholar who conceived a history of the Italian bishops arranged per diocese,<sup>13</sup> that he frequently went to the Cardinal’s house “on the occasion of the various congregations of Propaganda to which I attend.”<sup>14</sup> Wadding’s capacity to obtain and held so many roles in prestigious congregations thus bypassed the traditional mechanism of patronage which existed in the Rome of the seventeenth century, and which usually privileged Italian clerics over foreigners.<sup>15</sup> According to Francis Harold, Wadding’s nephew, Urban VIII decided to confer all these offices to the Irishman by virtue of the close friendship which existed between Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the Pope’s nephew, and the Waterford Franciscan.<sup>16</sup>

A fascinating feature of Wadding’s personality is that he did not avail of his network of friends and patrons merely to build his own career but used it in order to change the situation of the Irish who resided in the city. Prior to Wadding’s arrival, the Franciscan’s fellow countrymen were a small and uninfluential community amid the myriad of foreign *natio* who resided in Rome.<sup>17</sup> During the early seventeenth century, the Irish in Rome suffered for want of a proper structure – like a college or a national church – which could provide support, and, at the same time, represent them as a distinct community in the Roman context.<sup>18</sup> This absence inevitably contrasted with the English and Scots community that, during the Middle Ages, could rely on their respective hospices, which were transformed in the English and Scots College between the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century.<sup>19</sup> This lack of a dedicated structure emphasized the isolation of the Irish in Rome, resulting in a negative perception of them. A telling example of this was an anonymous and undated memoir addressed to Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, which argued that the founding of an Irish college in Rome would change the negative views on the Irish held by many in the city.<sup>20</sup>

Wadding used his entourage to radically turn things in favour of his fellow countrymen, thus stirring the interest of influential and wealthy figures – both ecclesiastical and lay. The Franciscan’s capacity to move

within and beyond the Papal Curia emerged during the years between 1624 and 1625, when he found himself enmeshed in a series of events that would lead him to establish the first Irish College in Rome. The origins of these events lay in 1621, when a small group of Spanish Discalced Franciscans arrived in Rome with the intention of building a friary dedicated to St Isidore's (1080–1130) who was canonized in 1622. However, the building of the friary soon encountered problems due to escalating expenses, and thus the Spanish Franciscans were forced to leave. According to the account of events written by Harold, Wadding did not play a proactive role in the early stage because it was Benignus of Genoa who decided to invite the Irishman to take over the unfinished friary of St Isidore's in order to complete it. The decision to contact Wadding was motivated by the fact that, according to him, the Irishman had a network of powerful friends who could provide a persistent financial support.<sup>21</sup> Yet a later letter that, 1656, Wadding addressed to Alexander VII proves a completely different picture. In it, the Franciscan clearly stated that it had been he himself who wanted to clear the unfinished friary from the debts in order to establish a college for the Irish province.<sup>22</sup> What seems sure is that the process which brought to the establishment of St Isidore's revealed the influential network developed by Wadding. Amid the prominent figures approached by the Franciscan there were Urban VIII, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and Ruiz Gomez da Silva, duke of Pastrana, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, who all agreed to support the Franciscan.<sup>23</sup>

Officially St Isidore's – the first Irish structure for the training of clergy in Rome – was founded on 13th June 1625. Wadding's capacity to gather around the newborn college a series of benefactors and patrons revealed his dual loyalty towards the Spanish monarchy, and the Papal Curia. The financial support provided to the Franciscan college clearly indicates this aspect because, from 1625 to 1630, almost 20,000 crowns were granted to Wadding in order to ensure the purchase of the site, the completion of the college's structure, and the acquisition of the first books for the library. This consistent financial assistance was given by Urban VIII, the two Cardinals Barberini, Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, his bother Prince Niccolò Ludovisi (1613–1664), King Philip IV (1605–1665), and the Spanish ambassador in Rome.<sup>24</sup> The level of funding provided to St Isidore's allowed the college to develop quickly not only into a proper institution of missionary formation, but also into a prominent centre of scholastic studies.<sup>25</sup> According to the records of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, the parish in which St Isidore's was located, the college had already twenty students enrolled in 1625, a figure that possibly contributed to consider this area as *Isola d'Hibernia* – literally an “Area of Ireland.”<sup>26</sup>

Wadding's ability to win such a high level of patronage was demonstrated by the personalities who regularly attended the college. The records of the theses defended at St Isidore's for the years from 1632 to

1649 are a good means to display the deep connections that the Franciscan had successfully built. During that period twenty-two theses were defended and each of them was dedicated to prominent members of the Holy See, who, most of the time, attended the discussion. The list included Cardinals of high standing like Francesco Barberini, Alonso de la Cueva Benavides y Mendoza-Carrillo (1574–1655), Peter Pázmány (1570–1637), Giulio Roma (1584–1652), and Agostino Spinola Basadone (1597–1649), as well as Nicola Ridolfi (1578–1650), general of the Dominicans from 1629 to 1642 and master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace.<sup>27</sup> The list also mentioned Don Manuel de Moura Cortereal (1590–1651), marques de Castelo Rodrigo, and Prince Jerzy Ossolinsk (1595–1650) respectively Spanish ambassador from 1632 to 1642, and Polish diplomat – in 1633 – in Rome.<sup>28</sup>

The process of foundation of St Isidore's strengthened the prestige of Wadding who, from that moment onwards, developed a series of personal connections with the most influential figures who supported the college's establishment. In particular, the Franciscan established a closer link with Cardinal Ludovisi, who, since 1625, acted as protector of Ireland.<sup>29</sup> For his part the Italian prelate viewed in the Franciscan a trustworthy advisor, who could help him to support the Irish cause both in Ireland and in Rome. The cooperation between the Irishman and Ludovisi became particularly intense when the Cardinal needed advices on the possibility of building a college for the Irish secular clergy in Rome. It is noteworthy that, in the early stage, Ludovisi also sought the support of John Roche (1576–1636), a secular priest, who, since 1621, acted as "agent" in Rome for the Irish bishops.<sup>30</sup> Yet the cooperation between the two was short for, in 1627, Roche returned to Ireland following his appointment as bishop of Ferns. Roche's departure left Wadding in complete charge of the task to establish the first Irish secular college in the city. Given that the only form of support came from the private finances of Ludovisi, Wadding managed to find a small rented house close to St Isidore's, where the secular students would attend the lectures.<sup>31</sup>

One outstanding element which arises from all the founding process of the Irish College, which was opened in early January of 1628, is the deep influence exercised by Wadding over Ludovisi. From the choice of the site to the first college's constitutions, which were written by the Franciscan, everything seems to demonstrate how Wadding acted as the "shadow" of the Cardinal protector.<sup>32</sup> The extent of Wadding's power over the Cardinal was clearly perceived in Rome, but also outside the city. In a letter sent from Madrid in early August 1627, Conry frankly admitted to his confrere that he had "a lot of influence" on Ludovisi.<sup>33</sup> Another demonstration of the Franciscan's influence over the Italian prelate is provided by abbot Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza (1632–1703) – an Italian scholar of the late seventeenth century – who, in his account on the ecclesiastical establishments of Rome, declared that Ludovisi

founded the Irish College “with the persuasions of the father Luke Wadding.”<sup>34</sup> A further proof of the close link which existed between the Franciscan and the Cardinal comes from a letter written by Ludovisi himself to Wadding, in late January 1629. Ludovisi expressed his happiness because “the youth of my college attend with fervour to their studies, and that they should be promptly disposed to the teachings of Your paternity.”<sup>35</sup>

With the death of Cardinal Ludovisi in 1632, Wadding lost a powerful ally and protector. His death somehow affected the Franciscan who began to be embroiled in a series of harsh disputes. Officially the testament of the Cardinal stated that the management of the Irish College had to be transferred to the Jesuits from the Irish Franciscan of St Isidore’s, which, until that moment, had supervised the secular seminary’s activity.<sup>36</sup> From 1632 until early 1635, when the Irish College’s administration was officially handed to the Jesuits, Wadding was targeted by specific accusations.<sup>37</sup> According to an anonymous memorandum, possibly compiled in 1633, and addressed to Antonio Barberini – who since 1632 acted as Cardinal protector of Ireland – Wadding had a detrimental impact on the Irish church due to his outspoken partiality towards the clerics of Old English lineage, and in particular those who came from Munster, his native province.<sup>38</sup> Beyond the supposed discrimination against the fellow countrymen from the Gaelic areas – a problem linked to the provincial issues of the student body which had already beset other Irish Colleges – the document stated that, due to his departure from the island at very early age, Wadding had “no sufficient news from the Kingdom of Ireland,” and that “his correspondents are all in Rome.”<sup>39</sup>

Due to the lack of further evidence, it is difficult to assess who brought these accusations against Wadding. What is sure is that they had no impact on the career of the Franciscan who, during the 1630s and early 1640s, succeeded in expanding the web of his personal networks even outside of Rome. During that period Wadding was contacted not only by his fellow countrymen but also by a series of Italian ecclesiastics who came to identify the Irishman as a lobbyist to promote their interests in the curia, particularly in the Congregation of the Index. The letter that, in 1635, Scipione Agnelli Maffei (1586–1653), bishop of Casale from 1624 to 1653, addressed to Wadding is indicative of how much pressure and expectation was placed on him. In 1635, the bishop wrote to the Franciscan and asked him to “favour more and more strongly” his book.<sup>40</sup> Of almost the same tone was the letter that, in 1640, Remigio della Tripalda, an Italian Franciscan, sent to Wadding. The Italian Franciscan openly hoped that “your very reverend paternity may favour this effort a lot.”<sup>41</sup>

A further indication of how Wadding’s help was considered instrumental is demonstrated by the correspondence that, during the years 1641–1647, he developed with Giovanni Pietro Puricelli (1589–1659),

a secular priest of the Milano's diocese, who was compiling a history on the Umiliati, a monastic order founded in 1201.<sup>42</sup> The letters that Wadding sent to Puricelli in those years reveal once again the prestige gained by the Franciscan in the Roman congregations, and particularly in the Congregation of the Index. In a letter penned to Puricelli in early 1641, the Franciscan frankly declared to have done his best to protect his manuscript from any possible criticism.<sup>43</sup> In another letter written in 1644, Wadding accounted to the secular that some opponents of his book sent some writings to Giovanni Battista de Marini (1597–1669), secretary of the Congregation of the Index. Yet the Franciscan reassured Puricelli stating that “and I esteem that these little, or nothing could do against the book,” and if the Congregation dealt with it soon, he would hasten the publication of the manuscript, which although never concretized.<sup>44</sup>

The intellectual achievements of Wadding played a part in the construction of the Franciscan's network of contacts. His task as the chief compiler of the *Annales* combined with the growing scholarly reputation of St Isidore's brought a series of intellectuals to turn him for advices and information. One of these was Federico Ubaldini (1610–1657), personal secretary of Cardinal Francesco Barberini and intellectual at the service of Urban VIII, who contacted Wadding in order to obtain details on a certain Franciscan poet named *frat'Anastasio di Milano*, whom the Irishman deemed an unsuitable subject for a book.<sup>45</sup>

For his part, Wadding availed of the intellectuals with whom he entered in contact for his pieces of research on ecclesiastical history, but, at the same time, for favouring his confrères who came to Rome. In the first case the correspondence that, in the years 1633–1639, he developed with Pier Maria Campi (1569–1649), a canon of Piacenza's cathedral and author of an extensive ecclesiastical history of his city, indicates that the Franciscan sought to expand his interests well beyond the search for the documents necessary for the compilation of the *Annales Minorum*.<sup>46</sup> In the second case the Irishman used the links with the most influential scholars at the Papal Curia in order to access places – like the Vatican Library – where very few people could be admitted. The undated letter that Wadding addressed to Lucas Holstenius (1596–1661) – the German superintendent of the Vatican Library – is an eloquent sign of the reputation held by the Franciscan. In it, Wadding asked Holstenius to allow the Franciscan provincials, gathered at Rome at general chapter, to see the Vatican Library.<sup>47</sup>

A noteworthy feature which transpires from Wadding's correspondence is the confidence that he had gained amid the prominent members of the Papal Curia. In the case of some Cardinals, the Franciscan had developed such a personal link that went beyond the official correspondence or the meetings to the various congregations which he attended as consultor. Indeed, the Franciscan had direct access to the Cardinals' private residences, where he could gather first-hand information on a

variety of matters. An example of this confidence is provided by the letter that, at mid-April 1632, Wadding addressed to Antonio Caracciolo, consultor of the Congregation of the Index and of the Rites and brother of St Francesco Caracciolo (1563–1608), the founder of the Caracciolines.<sup>48</sup> In his letter, the Franciscan recounted a visit to have visited Cardinal Gaspar de Borja y Velasco (1589–1645) in his private residence, where he had been updated of the growing contrasts between the Spanish ambassador and the viceroy of the Kingdom of Naples.<sup>49</sup>

For certain key figures of the papal curia Wadding developed a strong loyalty. This became evident in the case of the two Cardinals Barberini, Antonio and Francesco. This connection consistently strengthened during the early 1640s, when, due to the outbreak of the Ulster rebellion and the establishment of the Irish Confederates, the relations between Ireland and the Holy See were reinforced.<sup>50</sup> Given his prominent roles in Rome, Wadding soon became the point of contact between the Papal Curia and the Irish Confederation, which, in early December 1642, appointed the Irishman as their official agent in Rome.<sup>51</sup> His appointment fitted within the broader strategy elaborated by the Irish Confederates who established a network of clerical “agents” at the main European Catholic courts in order to seek external recognition and support for their rebellion.<sup>52</sup>

Given his “diplomatic” role, Wadding identified in the Cardinals Barberini, and particularly in Antonio Barberini, the privileged spokesmen for the growing requests of support from Ireland. Despite his lack of a professional diplomatic background, the Irishman displayed a genuine commitment to support the Irish cause by playing a dual role: funnelling updated accounts that he received on the military operations of the Irish insurgents, and lobbying Cardinal Antonio Barberini to fund the Irish cause, and, at the same time, to dispatch an agent to survey the situation on the island.<sup>53</sup> Wadding’s efforts proved successful as, in March 1642, the Cardinal agreed to grant 12,000 crowns to the Irish Confederates, and to favour the appointment of Pierfrancesco Scarampi (1596–1656), an Italian Oratorian Priest as papal agent to Ireland, a decision which would pave the ground to the establishment of the nunciature of Gianbattista Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo (1592–1653) in 1645.<sup>54</sup>

Scarampi’s mission to Ireland was once again a demonstration of Wadding’s ability to use his influence in Rome. A tangible example were the 30,000 crowns which were given to Scarampi, and which the Franciscan had collected from the Barberini, Pamfili, and Spada as well as other Roman noble families.<sup>55</sup> Even after the troubled election of Innocent X (1574–1655) in 1644, which fostered an openly anti-Barberini climate in city, the Franciscan continued to lobby the most prominent prelates of the Papal Curia in order to support the Irish cause. The plea that he submitted to Cardinal Roma at mid-December of 1644 well



displays his commitment to back his fellow countrymen. Indeed, he stated: “it is time in which these 10.000 [crowns] will do and will be worth more than other 100.000 [crowns].” The Franciscan concluded his letter exhorting the cardinal that “I return to beg His Reverence that he admit to His generous and Christian consideration these my pious and clear reasons and, by doing so, he will give example to others to imitate them.”<sup>56</sup>

Despite the exile of the two Barberini to France, Wadding nonetheless retained his solid trust towards the prelates. An indication of the Franciscan’s “blind faith” emerges in a letter, dated early April 1647, addressed to Cardinal Antonio, in which Wadding wrote that he deeply missed him because he had been “such a worthy protector.”<sup>57</sup>

The Irish Confederates’s breakdown and the chaotic situation brought about by Rinuccini’s censures in 1648 did not affect Wadding’s support for the Irish cause. A significant example was the animated appeal that, during the spring of 1648, he drafted to Innocent X through which the Franciscan asked the continuation of papal support for the Irish rebels. There is no evidence to demonstrate if this appeal was consigned to the pope who, although by 1648, displayed no further interest or enthusiasm for the Irish scene.<sup>58</sup>

The dissolution of the Irish Confederates and the failure of Rinuccini’s mission in 1649 were the prelude of gloomy period not only for the Irish Catholics at home but also for Wadding in Rome where, from the late 1640s, he was no longer consulted on Irish affairs. Furthermore, the Irishman was also severely opposed at St Isidore’s where a group of his confrères openly denounced him for Rinuccini’s fiasco and for the disunity among the Irish Confederates.<sup>59</sup> These accusations diminished Wadding’s prestige in Rome who, in a letter written in 1654, defended himself by simply stating that his activity had always been appreciated and that “all the works I did can testify it for me.”<sup>60</sup> This proud statement, imbued somehow with sadness, testified the decline of a powerful man who would die three years later, and who shaped the history of Baroque Rome and early-modern Ireland.

In conclusion, analysis of Wadding’s multi-faceted activity in Rome demonstrates how his network was the platform on which he could develop his exceptional career. The Franciscan’s acumen – combined with his capacity to deal with so many different matters – allowed him to stand out as an exceptional figure able to adapt to a complex and thorny context in which he had to represent and defend, at the same time, Irish, Roman, and Spanish interests. His arrival in Rome was a watershed in the relations between Ireland and the Holy See, which, from that moment, became increasingly dense. Thanks to the friar’s efforts, Irishmen succeeded in escaping anonymity and in integrating themselves into the foreign communities that played a role in the cultural and political life of the city. His multiple identity, which reflected the life of an exile who

left his country at an early age, equipped him with an outstanding capacity to understand the cultural, linguistic, and political “Babel” of seventeenth-century Rome.

## Notes

- 1 Historical Manuscript Commission, ed., *Report on Franciscan Manuscripts Preserved at the Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin* [hereafter in *HMC Franciscan*] (Dublin: Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office by John Falconer, 1906); Brendan Jennings, ed., *Wadding Papers, 1614–38* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1953).
- 2 The only mention of this Father “Jacobus de Hibernia” is found in a letter that Patrick Comerford, bishop of Waterford, send to Wadding on 19 July 1629. See *Wadding Papers*, 299.
- 3 Francis Harold, OFM, *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi* (Quaracchi: Tip. Barbera, Alfani e Venturi, 1931), 3rd ed., 1–22. This account of Wadding's life was first published as a prefix to Harold's work, *Epitome Annalium Waddingi ordinis minorum*; Manuel de Castro, OFM, “Wadding and the Iberian Peninsula,” in *Father Luke Wadding Commemorative Volume*, ed. Franciscan Fathers Dún Mhuire Killiney (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds Ltd, 1957), 140–144; Paolo Broggio, “Un teologo irlandese nella Roma del Seicento: il francescano Luke Wadding,” *Teologia e teologi nella Roma dei Papi (XVI–XVII secolo)*, ed. Paolo Broggio and Francesca Cantù, *Roma moderna e contemporanea* XVIII, no. 1–2 (2010): 151–178; on the harsh context in which the negotiations between Madrid and Rome were carried on, see Paolo Broggio, *La teologia e la politica: controversie dottrinali, Curia romana e monarchia spagnola tra Cinque e Seicento* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 2009); for the broader context of the political relations between the Papal Curia and the Spanish monarchy, see Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *Roma papale e Spagna. Diplomatici, nobili e religiosi tra due corti* (Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 2010).
- 4 The first mention that Wadding resided at the convent of San Pietro in Montorio is found in a letter that Albert Hugh O'Donnell addressed to Cardinal Fabrizio Verrallo in early October 1619. See *Wadding Papers*, 20; on the role and significance of San Pietro in Montorio in early-modern Rome, see Thomas James Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome, 1500–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Flavia Cantatore, *San Pietro in Montorio. La chiesa dei Re Cattolici a Roma* (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 2007); Jack Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto, the Roman Renaissance, and the Spanish Crown* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- 5 Albert Hugh O'Donnell, earl of Tyrconnell, to Fabrizio Verrallo, 7 October 1619, Louvain, in *Wadding Papers*, 20 (“disciplina, ingenium”); [Florence Conry?] to Verrallo, 10 October 1619, Louvain, in *Wadding Papers*, 21 (“irreprehensibilem vitae”).
- 6 Luke Wadding to Michele Misserotti, [1623?], Rome, in Brendan Jennings, “Some Correspondence of Father Luke Wadding, O.F.M.,” in *Coll. Hib.* 2 (1959): 68–70.
- 7 On the role and activities of the Congregation of the Rites, see Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa. Santità, inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2002); for an overview of the history and development of the Papal Curia and the development of the congregations during the early-modern period, see Niccolò del Re, *La Curia Romana. Lineamenti storico-giuridici* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1998), 4th ed; Antonio Menniti

- Ippolito, *Il governo dei papi nell'età moderna. Carriere, gerarchie, organizzazione curiale* (Roma: Viella, 2007); Mario Rosa, *La Curia romana nell'età moderna. Istituzioni, cultura, carriere* (Roma: Viella, 2013).
- 8 The Collegio Romano was officially founded in Rome in 1551. See Ricardo Garcia Villoslada, SJ, *Storia del collegio romano. Dal suo inizio (1551) alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù (1773)* (Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1954); Paolo Broggio, "L'Urbs e il mondo. Note sulla presenza degli stranieri nel Collegio Romano e sugli orizzonti geografici della 'formazione romana' tra XVI e XVII secolo," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 1 (2002): 81–120.
  - 9 Wadding's presence at the meetings of the Congregation of Rites is recorded in BAV, Barb. Lat., MS 6098, fols. 1r–282rv; on the prominence of the Caetani in early-modern Rome, see Luigi Fiorani, ed., *Sermoneta e i Caetani. Dinamiche politiche, sociali e culturali di un territorio tra Medioevo ed età moderna. Atti del convegno (Roma-Sermoneta, 16–19 giugno 1993)*; Adriano Amendola, *I Caetani di Sermoneta: storia artistica di un antico casato tra Roma e l'Europa nel Seicento* (Roma: Campisano Editore, 2010).
  - 10 Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie, "The Most Adaptable of Saints': The Cult of St Patrick in the Seventeenth Century," *Arch. Hib.* 49 (1995): 82–104; Benjamin Hazard, "Luke Wadding and the Breviary of Urban VIII: A Study of the Book Trade between Rome, the Low Countries and the Spanish Empire," *Studia Hibernica* 39 (2014): 87–101.
  - 11 On Wadding's presence at these congregations of Propaganda, see APF, Acta, vol. 7, fols. 180v–182, 307–309; Acta, vol. 10, fols. 79, 114, 156–158v, 160–162, 178v–185, 199–204; vol. 12, fols. 152v–153v, 201–204, 323–324, 365; vol. 12, fols. 152v–153v, 154v–159; 180–183; vol. 16, fols. 9v, 108v; Wadding also took part to the first two meetings of the special theological commission of Propaganda, which was held on 27 June and 18 July 1635. See APF, Acta, vol. 12, fols. 365r–367v.
  - 12 For a biography on the first members of Propaganda, see Joseph Metzler, "Foundation of the Congregation 'de Propaganda Fide' by Gregory XV," in *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum: 350 anni a servizio delle missioni, 1622–1972*, ed. Joseph Metzler (Rom-Wien: Herder, 1971), I/1: 89.
  - 13 Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia sacra sive De episcopis Italiae et insularum adiacentium, rebusque ab iis praeclare gestis, deducta serie ad nostram vsque aetatem. Opus singulare prouincijs 20 distinctum. In quo ecclesiarum origines, urbium conditiones, principum donationes, recondita monumenta in lucem proferuntur* (Romae: apud Bernardinum Tanum, 1644–1662), 9 vols.
  - 14 Wadding to abbot Ferdinando Ughelli, 18 January 1631, St. Isidore's (Rome), BAV, Barb. Lat., MS 6483, fol. 1rv ("perché vado spesso a causa sua con occasione di varie congregazioni de propaganda fide a che assisto.").
  - 15 On the complex mechanisms of patronage which regulated the life of the Papal Curia during the early-modern period, see Renata Ago, *Carriere e clientele nella Roma barocca* (Bari: Laterza, 1990); Peter Partner, *The Pope's Men. The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Alessandro Gnani, "Carriere e Curia Romana: l'Uditorato di Rota (1472–1870)," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 106, no. 1 (1994): 161–202; Irene Fosi, *All'ombra dei Barberini: fedeltà e servizio nella Roma barocca* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1997); Francesco Calcaterra, *La spina nel guanto. Corti e cortigiani nella Roma barocca* (Roma: Gangemi Editore, 2004); Menniti Ippolito, *Il governo dei papi nell'età moderna*; Rosa, *La Curia romana nell'età moderna*.
  - 16 Harold, *Vita Fratris*, 131.

- 17 The historiography on the foreign communities in Rome between the Middle Ages and the early-modern period is extremely developed. For an overview, see the works cited in the footnote no. 28 in the introduction.
- 18 A mysterious church to support the Irish clerics and pilgrims who came to Rome seems to have existed in the early two decades of the fifteenth century. Yet the lack of sources impedes to know what happened of this structure. See Katherine Walsh, "The Roman Career of John Swayne, Archbishop of Armagh, 1418–1439: Plans for an Irish Hospice in Rome," *Seanchas Ard Mhacha. Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society* 11, no. 1 (1983–1984): 1–21.
- 19 Margaret Harvey, *The English in Rome, 1362–1420: Portrait of an Expatriate Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Bernard Linares, "The Origin and the Foundation of the English Hospice," in *The English Hospice in Rome*, ed. The Venerable English College (Leominster: Gracewing, 2005), 15–42; David McRoberts, "The Scottish National Churches in Rome. I-The Medieval Church and Hospice of Sant' Andrea delle Fratte," *Innes Review* 1, no. 2 (1950): 112–116; Michael E. Williams, *The Venerable English College: A History 1579–1979* (London: Associated Catholic Publications, 1979); Mark Dilworth, "Beginnings, 1600–1707," in *The Scots College, Rome, 1600–2000*, ed. Raymond McCluskey (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000), 19–42.
- 20 Anonymous memoir submitted to Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, 1625?, BAV, Barb. Lat., MS 4994, fol. 50r; for the biographical details on Ludovisi's career, see Paolo Broglio and Sabina Brevaglieri, "Ludovisi Ludovico," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2007), 66: 460–467.
- 21 Harold, *Vita Fratris*, 64–65; ACSI, sectio W4, no. (2).
- 22 Letter of Wadding to Alexander VII, St. Isidore's, 18 April 1656, ACSI, Fondo Capranica. I thank Dr Donatella Bellardini and Dr Claudia Costacurta for providing me the details of this outstanding document, which they are currently editing for a forthcoming issue of *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*.
- 23 Harold, *Vita Fratris*, 80; on the establishment and development of the Wadding's library, see the essays of Donatella Bellardini with Claudia Costacurta and John McCafferty in this volume. For an overview, see John MacMahon and McCafferty, "The Wadding Library of Saint Isidore's College, 1622–1700," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 106, no. 1–2 (Ianuarius – Iunius 2013): 97–118.
- 24 Harold, *Vita Fratris*, 80.
- 25 Benjamin Hazard, "Saint Isidore's Franciscan College, Rome: From Centre of Influence to Site of Memory," in *Redes de Nación y espacios de poder: la comunidad irlandesa en España y la América española, 1600–1825*, ed. Óscar Recio Morales (Valencia: Albatros Ediciones, 2012), 103–116.
- 26 Archives of the Vicariate of Rome, Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, Stati d'Anime (1623–1628), vol. 37, fol. 126v.
- 27 On Ridolfi see Daniele Penone OP, *I domenicani nei secoli: panorama storico dell'Ordine dei Frati Predicatori* (Bologna: Edizioni Studio Domenicano, 1998); Massimo Carlo Giannini, "Three General Masters for the Dominican Order: The Ridolfi *Affaire* between International Politics and Faction Struggle at the Papal Court (1642–1644)," in *Papacy, Religious Orders, and International Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Massimo Carlo Giannini (Roma: Viella, 2013), 95–144; see also Massimo Carlo Giannini, *I Domenicani* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2016).
- 28 Brendan Jennings, "Theses Defended at St. Isidore's College, Rome, 1631–1649," *Coll. Hib.* 2 (1959): 96–99.

- 29 Initially Urban VIII decided to appoint Francesco Barberini as Cardinal protector of Ireland in early 1625. However, between February 1625 and October 1626, he was absent from Rome on diplomatic missions to Paris and Madrid. Due to this his place was taken by Ludovisi. See William Maziere Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland, A.D. 1400 to 1875* (Roma: Tipografia della Pace, 1876), I: 224, 269, 282, 309; II: 22, 201–202; Joseph Wodka, *Zur Geschichte der nationalen Protektorate der Kardinale an der römischen Kurie* (Rom: Österreichischen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 1937); Alfred A. Strnad, “Aus der Frühzeit des nationalen Protektorates der Kardinale,” *Kanonistische Abteilung* 50 (1964): 264–271; on the cardinals protector of Ireland, see Katherine Walsh, “The Beginnings of a National Protectorate: Curial Cardinals and the Irish Church in the Fifteenth Century,” *Arch. Hib.* 32 (1974): 72–78; Matteo Binasco, “L’Irlanda e i suoi Cardinali protettori nel Seicento,” in *Gli “Angeli Custodi” delle monarchie. I Cardinali protettori delle nazioni*, ed. Matteo Sanfilippo and Péter Tusor (Viterbo: Edizioni Sette Città, 2018), 153–174.
- 30 Appointment of John Roche as procurator in Rome for certain Irish bishops, 14 June 1622, in *Wadding Papers*, 23–24.
- 31 From the end of November 1625 until early January 1628, four Irish students were hosted as lodgers in the Venerable English College of Rome. Cardinal Ludovisi paid an annual fee of almost eighty-six crowns for each of them. See Archivum Venerabilis Collegi Anglorum de Urbe, Liber 62, p. 236; Liber 103, p. 52; AAV, Archivio Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Armadio IX, protocollo 317, parte IV, no. 1, fols. 458–465; Patrick Corish, “The Beginnings of the Irish College, Rome,” in *The Irish College, Rome and Its World*, ed. Dáire Keogh and Albert McDonnell (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 4; for an analysis of the development of the Irish College, and its financial resources, see Matteo Binasco, “The Early Failures of the Irish College, 1628–78,” in *Forming Catholic Communities. Irish, Scots, and English College Networks in Europe, 1568–1918*, ed. Liam Chambers and Thomas O’Connor (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 169–179; for an overview of the missionary connections between Rome and Ireland in the seventeenth century, see Matteo Binasco, “The ‘Urbs’ and ‘Hibernia’: Missionary Connections between the Irish Community of Rome and Ireland in the Seventeenth Century,” in *Rome and Irish Catholicism in the Atlantic World, 1622–1908* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 113–136.
- 32 For the constitutions of the Irish College drafted by Wadding, see PICR, Liber XXVII, “Institutiones Domus Hibernorum de urbe ab Ill.mo et R.mo Ludovicus Card.le Ludovisio S.R.E Vice-Cancellario, ac Protectore fundator primo die anni MDCXXVIII (1628),” fols. 1r–10r.
- 33 Conry to Wadding, Madrid, 3 August 1627, in *Wadding Papers*, 252 (“tiene mucha mano con el Cardinal Protector.”).
- 34 Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, *Eusevologio Romano overo delle Opere Pie di Roma* (Rome: Domenico Antonio Ercole, 1698), 2nd ed., 254 (“con le persuasioni del Padre Luca.”).
- 35 Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi to Wadding, Bologna, 30 January 1629, in *Wadding Papers*, 284 (“che i giovani del mio collegio attendino con fervore a loro studi et si rendino disposti con ogni prontezza agl’ammaestramenti della paternità vostra.”).
- 36 AAV, Archivio Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Armadio IX, protocollo 293, numero 27, fols. 371–404; PICR, Liber V, fols. 234r–241v, 215r–225r.
- 37 The first mention of Antonio Barberini as Cardinal protector of Ireland is found in a letter that Albert Hugh O’Donnell penned to the prelate. See Albert

- Hugh O'Donnell to Cardinal Antonio Barberini, 22 May 1632, Bruxelles, APF, SOCG, vol.14, fols. 102rv, 107rv.
- 38 Aidan Clarke, *The Old-English in Ireland, 1625–42* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 2nd ed., 24.
- 39 Anonymous memorandum submitted to Cardinal Antonio Barberini, 1633?, Rome?, APF, SOCG, vol. 14, fols. 74r–75v (“nullam notitiam sufficientem habet de regno Hiberniae,” “Testes hujus rei sunt Romae.”).
- 40 Scipione Agnelli Maffi to Wadding, Mantua, 19 January 1635, in Jennings, “Some Correspondence of Father Luke,” 73 (“favorire sempre più caldamente.”).
- 41 Remigio della Tripalda to Wadding, 7 July 1640?, ACSI, sectio W 8, no. 20 (1) (“Vostra paternita molto reverenda puo far assai a favorir questa fatica.”).
- 42 On Puricelli see M. Mazza “Giovanni Pietro Puricelli storico degli Umiliati” (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Università del Sacro Cuore di Milano, 1989–1990); E. M. Gagliardi, “Giovanni Pietro Puricelli e l'erudizione ecclesiastica nella Milano del Seicento” (Unpublished PhD thesis, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, 2010); Simone Schenone, “Frate Mario Pizzi e la decadenza degli Umiliati,” in *Sulle tracce degli Umiliati*, ed. Maria Pia Alberzoni, Annamaria Ambrosioni, and Alfredo Lucioni (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1997), 68–69.
- 43 Wadding to Giovanni Pietro Puricelli, 4 January 1641, Rome, Biblioteca Ambrosiana (hereafter in BA), MS D 115, fol. 15.
- 44 Wadding to Puricelli, 25 June 1644, Rome, BA, MS D115, fol. 132 (“e stimo che quelle poco, o niente potranno fare contra il libro.”); the entire correspondence between Puricelli and Wadding has been edited in Hazard, “Some Unpublished Correspondence of Luke Wadding OFM to Giovanni Pietro Puricelli, Archpriest of San Lorenzo Maggiore, Milan and Pietro di Gallarà,” *Seanchas Ard Mbacha. Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society* 24, no. 1 (2012): 29–45.
- 45 Wadding to Francesco Ubaldini, 17 July 1641, Rome, BAV, Bar. Lat., MS 4000, fol. 110rv.
- 46 The entire correspondence between Campi and Wadding is found in Biblioteca Comunale Passerini-Landi, Manoscritto Pallastrelli 102, cartella V.1. I thank Dr Massimo Baucia for providing me digital copies of this correspondence; on Campi see Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- 47 Wadding to Lucas Holstein, undated, Rome, BAV, Barb. Lat., MS 6483, fols. 101v, 103r; on Holstein's role in the Vatican Library, see Alfredo Serrai, ed., *La biblioteca di Lucas Holstenius* (Udine: Forum, 2000); Sabina Brevaglieri, “Editoria e cultura a Roma nei primi tre decenni del Seicento,” in *Rome et la science moderne. Entre Renaissance et Lumières*, ed. Antonella Romano (Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2009), 257–310.
- 48 For the history of the Caracciolines, see Irene Fosi and Giovanni Pizzorusso, ed., *L'Ordine dei Chierici Regolari Minori (Caracciolini): religione e cultura in età posttridentina: atti del Convegno (Chieti, 11–12 aprile 2008)* (Napoli: Loffredo, 2010).
- 49 Wadding to Antonio Caracciolo, 16 April 1632, Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, MS XIII.B39, fol. 76r; the entire correspondence of Wadding and Caracciolo has been edited and printed in Severino Gori, OFM, “Le lettere inedite di Luca Wadding ad Antonio Caracciolo e la riforma liturgica di Urbano VIII,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 66 (1973): 110–141.
- 50 Micheal Perceval-Maxwell, *The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1994); Brian Mac Cuarta, ed., SJ, *Ulster 1641:*

- Aspects of the Rising* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast, 1997); Micheál Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland, 1642–1649: A Constitutional and Political Analysis* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999).
- 51 Richard Bellings, *History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland. Containing a Narrative of Affairs of Ireland by Richard Bellings, Author of "a Sixth Book to the Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia," Secretary of the Supreme Council of the Irish Confederation: With Correspondence and Documents of the Confederation and of the Administrators of the English Government in Ireland, Contemporary Statements etc. Now for the First Time Published from Original Manuscripts*, ed. John T. Gilbert (Dublin: M.H. Hill & Son, 1882), II: 117–118.
  - 52 Jane Ohlmeyer, "Ireland Independent: Confederate Foreign Policy and International Relations during the mid-Seventeenth Century," in *Ireland from Independence to Occupation, 1641–1660*, ed. Jane Ohlmeyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 91–95.
  - 53 Hugh Burke to Wadding, 29 November 1641, Bruxelles, in *HMC Franciscan*, 109–110; Burke to Wadding, 7 December 1641, Bruxelles, in *HMC Franciscan*, 110–111; Burke to Wadding, 27 December 1641, Bruxelles, in *HMC Franciscan*, 111; Burke to Wadding, 18 January 1642, Bruxelles, in *HMC Franciscan*, 113–114; Wadding to Burke, 22 March 1642, Rome, in *HMC Franciscan*, 127–129; Wadding to Antonio Barberini, January 1642, BAV, Barb. Lat., MS 6483, fol. 4; Wadding to Barberini, February 1642, Rome, BAV, Barb. Lat. MS 6483, fol. 11r; see also Pádraigh Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at War, 1641–1649* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), 51–53.
  - 54 Wadding to Cardinal Antonio Barberini, 4 March 1643, Rome, BAV, Barb. Lat., MS 6483, fol. 47r; on Rinuccini's mission to Ireland, see Tadgh Ó'hannracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland. The Mission of Rinuccini, 1645–1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
  - 55 Charles P. Meehan, *The Confederation of Kilkenny* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1846), 73.
  - 56 Wadding to Cardinal Giulio Roma, 12 December 1644, Rome, Archivio Doria Pamphilj, Archiviolo, busta 196, fols. 328rv–329rv ("ch'è il tempo, nel quale questi 10.000 milia (?) faranno e valeranno piu che altri cento milia; Di nuovo torno a supplicar a v. Ra. Voglia admettere alla sua generosa e Christiana considerazione queste mie chiare e pie ragioni, e facci di maniera, che dia essemplio alli altri de imitarli.").
  - 57 Wadding to Antonio Barberini, Rome, 3 April 1647, BAV, Barb. Lat., MS 6483, fol. 63 ("così buon Protettore.").
  - 58 Appeal of Wadding to Innocent X, 1648, Rome?, in *HMC Franciscan*, 247; Ó'hannracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland*, 207–208.
  - 59 Canice Mooney, "Was Wadding a Patriotic Irishman?" in *Father Luke Wadding Commemorative Volume*, 15–92.
  - 60 Wadding to Pedro Manero, 23 August 1654, Rome, ACSI, Sectio W 8, no. 9 ("Opera quae ego feci testimonium perhibent de me.").