LUKE WADDING, THE IRISH FRANCISCANS, AND GLOBAL CATHOLICISM

Edited by
Matteo Binasco

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This book explores the endeavors and activities of one of the most prominent early modern Irishmen in exile, the Franciscan Luke Wadding. Born in Ireland, educated in the Iberian Peninsula, Wadding arrived in Rome in 1618, where he would die in 1657. In the "Eternal City," the Franciscan emerged as an outstanding theologian, a learned scholar, a diplomat, and a college founder. This innovative collection of chapters brings together a group of international scholars who provide a ground-breaking analysis of the many cultural, political, and religious facets of Wadding's life. They illustrate the challenges and changes faced by an Irishman who emerged as one of the most outstanding global figures of the Catholic Reformation. The volume will attract scholars of the early modern period, early modern Catholicism, and Irish emigration.

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Acknowledgments

Abbreviations

ACSI	Archives of the College of St. Isidore's
ACDF	Archives of the Holy Office, Rome
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
APF	Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide"
Arch. Hib.	*Archivium Hibernicum*
AAV	Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (Vatican Apostolic Archives, formerly Vatican Secret Archives)
Bar. Lat.	Barberini Latini
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican Library)
Coll. Hib.	*Collectanea Hibernica*
d.	died
DIB	*Dictionary of Irish Biography*
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*
fl.	fleurissait
fol.	folio
OFM	Order of the Friars Minors (Franciscans)
OP	Order of the Friars Preacher (Dominicans)
PF	Propaganda Fide
PICR	Archives of the Pontifical Irish College, Rome
r	recto
SJ	Societas Iesu (Jesuits)
SOCG	APF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali
v	verso
Vol.	volume

1   Introduction

Father Luke Wadding — A Multifaced Irishman in a Global World

Matteo Binasco

In 1957, in the opening lines of his bibliographic essay on Luke Wadding, the Irish Franciscan Benignus Millett stated – with a mix of regret and relief – that "there were, and still are, so many aspects of Wadding's life in need of investigation and development that as yet no completely satisfactory biography, from the scientific point of view, is being attempted."[1] In 2008, fifty-one years later after Millett's sharp comment, Thomas O'Connor again stressed how a biography of Wadding would be necessary in order to have a full and proper understanding of the seventeenth century because of "the range of his interests, the depths of his engagements and the wealth of his contacts but also by his extraordinary cultural, ethnic, and political complexity."[2] In 2009, the Irish Franciscan Ignatius Fennessy concluded his biographical entry on Wadding, writing that, in 1659, an Irishman – possibly William Lamport (1611–1659) – sentenced to death in Mexico claimed, in order to impress the court, that he was related to the Waterford Franciscan.[3]

Two seminal issues emerge from the above statements: the first is the exceptional popularity and uniqueness of Wadding; the second is the persistent lack of a scholarly monograph that can embrace the many-sided activity and life of one of the most influential Irishmen of the early-modern period. Of the three biographies cited by Millett in 1957, two were written by historians of the Irish Franciscan province and one by an Italian scholar.[4] To these works he added an analysis on Wadding and St Isidore's, the first structure for missionary formation of the Irish province which was founded in Rome by the Franciscan in 1625.[5] All these works heavily relied on the account of Wadding's life compiled by his nephew and confrère Francis Harold (d.1685), a complex figure who still awaits a fuller investigation.[6]

Millett's statement is still – surprisingly – true if it is set against the background of the current historiography on early-modern Irish Catholicism, and, more broadly, on early-modern Ireland. Like the many thousands of his fellow countrymen – both ecclesiastic and lay – Wadding had to leave his native Ireland and to grow up and live in two different places – first in the Iberian Peninsula and afterwards in Rome – where he had to adapt to a series of different cultural, intellectual, political, and religious contexts.[7]

Any analysis of Wadding must fit within the difficult context of Catholic life in seventeenth-century Ireland. In 1603, when the Waterford Franciscan left his native country, the Nine Years' War had concluded with the completion of the Tudor conquest and the consequent extension of English law all over Ireland. The flight of the Earls in 1607 paved the way for the Ulster plantation which began in 1610, followed, in the same year, by the plantation in the Wexford area. This period was also characterized by a strong anti-Catholic policy that Sir Arthur Chichester (1563–1625), the lord deputy of Ireland from 1605 until 1616, implemented in Ulster.[8] Despite the implementation of the plantations and the anti-Catholic measures, the Franciscan province of Ireland witnessed a phase of expansion from the early 1600 until the late 1640s, when the order had sixty-one houses. Yet the Cromwellian invasion in 1649 and subsequent conquest of Ireland brought a lethal blow to the infrastructure of the Irish province which, in 1663, had about 200 members, a striking difference with the 574 recorded to be in 1639.[9]

In the last thirty years, an impressive amount of scholarship has been produced on the activities and experiences of the Irish emigrants who had to seek refuge on continental Europe, on the Caribbean, and in the Spanish territories in South and Central America between the last decades of the sixteenth century and the second half of the eighteenth century.[10] Yet Wadding has been left somewhat on the margins of all this mass of studies, which devote very few lines to his exilic experience and to his achievements.[11] In some cases, some Irish historians have even argued that his capacity to understand the dramatic events which shattered Ireland from the early 1640s must have been limited due to this early departure from the island, his continental education, and Roman career.[12] There is an undoubted need for scholarly works on Wadding's life. In comparative terms, Benjamin Hazard's recently-published research about Florence Conry (c.1560–1629), Catholic archbishop of Tuam, has improved our understanding of another prominent Irish Franciscan from the period.[13]

The few recent investigations – to name those of Paolo Broggio, Matteo Binasco, Clare Lois Carroll, and Hazard – on Wadding continue to focus on particular aspects of his polyhedric activity.[14] This sort of tightly focused approach is evident too in the most recent monograph of Giovan Battista Fidanza, who has revealed Wadding's role as art patron in the context of the Roman Baroque of the seventeenth century, thus adding a new exciting dimension to the multifaceted career of the Irish Franciscan. His analysis must be fitted within the context of the artistic entourage which gravitated around St Isidore's, a theme which has begun to be unveiled by the recent collection of essays edited by Susanne Kubersky-Piredda.[15]

At present, there is no monograph that takes account of the wide variety of roles played by Wadding during his lifetime, thus demonstrating the harsh challenges connected with any investigation into his multi-layered

character. Given the many roles he played and the fact that he spent most of his life between the Iberian Peninsula and Rome, Wadding's identity seems like the mythic, many-handed Briareus. In a real sense, Wadding's extraordinary career transgresses the neat patterns and categories usually applied to seventeenth-century figures, bypassing the traditional cultural, and political boundaries of the time. His emergence as one of the most outstanding scholars within and outside the Franciscan order was intrinsically linked to his linguistic ability and to the wide network of influential figures – both ecclesiastics and lay – with whom Wadding developed and maintained close contact. Both the above features are well reflected in his correspondence. According to the Irish Franciscan historian Patrick Conlan, the volume of Wadding's currently known correspondence, part of which has been collected and edited, consists of about 700 letters which were written in English, Italian, Latin, and Spanish and which reveal the importance and the magnitude of the Franciscan's correspondents.[16] This may be an underestimate: the real extent of Wadding's correspondence has still to be assessed, particularly in Rome, where some less-known repositories hold unedited material by the Irish Franciscan.

Beyond his extensive documentation in several languages, a further difficulty for a fuller and deeper investigation of Wadding's significance is represented by the fact that he played several influential roles at the Papal Curia. Yet the available literature on his remarkable career in Rome tends to follow the same predictable path. Indeed the focus of research to date has been overwhelmingly on Wadding's activity in three areas: as the chief theologian of the Spanish embassy which, in 1618, king Philip III (1578–1621) sent to Rome to assist in the definition of the thorny theological matter of the Immaculate Conception; his role as founder of the St Isidore's College and cofounder, in 1628, with cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi (1595–1632) of the Irish College; his magisterial scholarly achievements as the chief chronicler of the whole Franciscan order with the production of the first eight volumes of the *Annales Minorum*.[17] This persistent interest in this limited number of roles has somewhat obscured the fact that Wadding exercised other important functions within the Papal Curia, which also demonstrate his talent and versatility. The Franciscan also acted as consultor of the Congregation of the Index. He was a member of the special committee for missionary matters of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide," the Roman ministry founded in 1622 to oversee the missionary activity in Protestant and non-Christian countries. In both the Holy Office and the Congregation of Sacred Rites, he served as consultor, in the latter role as a member of the special commission – set up in 1629 by Urban VIII (1568–1644) – to reform the breviary. Towards the end of his life, he was a member of the theological commission, established by Innocent X (1574–1655) in 1651, to examine and assess the orthodoxy of the five propositions of Cornelius Jansen (1585–1638), bishop of Ypres.[18]

Wadding's capacity to contribute to so many prestigious congregations and commissions is a measure of his reputation with powerful prelates of the Papal Curia like – to name but a few – the almighty Cardinals Antonio Barberini (1607–1671) and Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), Gianbattista Spada (1597–1675), and Camillo Astalli-Pamfili (1616–1663). All these, as a mark of their trust, granted the Franciscan more than 68,000 crowns to support the cause of the Irish Confederates.[19]

Wadding's personality – his charisma combined with his outstanding capacity to play many different roles – must be fitted in the contexts in which the Franciscan lived: the Iberian Peninsula and the Rome of the Catholic Reformation. During his formative years in Portugal and Spain, which by that time were united under the Hapsburg's rule, Wadding became aware of the grandeur and the global extension of the Spanish empire, that was still deemed the ally *par excellence* by the many Irish Catholics who left Ireland in search of a religious haven, and the chance to improve their economic and social conditions.[20] When Wadding arrived in Rome in 1618, Spain's cultural and political influence in the city was at its zenith, although it would dramatically fade in the following decades.[21]

The fact that Wadding's personal and professional itinerary began and unfolded under the aegis of the Spanish monarchy led him to develop a strong loyalty towards the Spanish cause.[22] Yet his loyalty was blended with the cosmopolitan context of the Papal Curia and Rome, which, from the closing of the Council of Trent (1545–1563), emerged as the epicentre of the Catholic Reformation and the stronghold of global Catholicism.[23] As explained by Simon Ditchfield, it was during the pontificate of Gregory XIII (1502–1585) – in the years from 1572 to 1585 – that Rome became the global "hub" of the Catholic world thanks to his massive financial support towards the artistic renovation of the city, and thanks to his strong encouragement to establish a network of dedicated national colleges that had to train learned priests for the areas where Catholicism was under threat.[24]

Given that he was the chief historian of the Franciscan order, Wadding entered in contact with many confrères and ecclesiastics – based in the Italian Peninsula and all over Europe – who contributed to building and shaping his personal view of Catholicism. In that sense Wadding developed a dual perspective: on one side he focused on the local ecclesiastical histories;[25] on the other side he emphasized and praised the "global" outcomes of the Franciscan missionaries, who took the lion's share in the evangelization process in the Americas, Africa, and the Philippines.[26] Despite their rather thin presence, Irish missionaries too participated in this international process of evangelization. A telling experience was that of Wadding's cousin, the Jesuit Michael Wadding (1587–1644) – also known as Miguel Gódinez – who was active for thirty-four years in Mexico.[27]

Wadding's global sense of Catholicism must also be fitted into his cultural and theological world. It is worthwhile noting that the Franciscan

was a renewed and fervent admirer of the medieval theologian John Duns Scotus (1265/66–1308), who at the time was erroneously considered by the Irish Franciscans to be a fellow countryman. Throughout the seventeenth century, Scotism became the core centre of the Irish Franciscans' theological outlook, and Wadding played a pivotal role in promoting his thought. This is demonstrated by the training programme that he set in the founding statutes of St Isidore's. Moreover, beyond directing the first complete edition of Scotus' works, Wadding was instrumental in creating and developing a flourishing school of philosophy and theology professors, from which emerged leading Scotist scholars like Anthony Hickey (1586–1641), John Punch (c.1600–1661), and Bonaventure Baron (1610–1651).[28]

It is hardly surprising that Wadding and his learned entourage at St Isidore's favoured the growth of the Irish Franciscan college which became a seminal cultural "hub," through which a continuous stream of books and manuscripts flowed between Rome and other European cities. Given his uncommon interest for a wide range of themes and periods, Wadding was a tireless builder and promoter of a unique library, which counted about 5,000 volumes in 1655, the year he retired as college librarian. The importance and extent of St Isidore's library had thus a double impact on Wadding and his confrères: on one side it served to remind them that they all belonged to the global and powerful institution that was the Catholic Church; on the other side it brought the Franciscan college more under the influence of the Catholic Reformation, whereas St Anthony's College of Louvain, the first continental institution of the Irish Province, established in 1607, was more concerned with the Protestant Reformation.[29]

Another crucial aspect of Wadding's life and career that must be taken into account is how he succeeded in transforming the Irish community of Rome from an obscure and poorly known group of individuals into a distinct *natio* amid the many foreign communities who had established in the city since the Middle Ages, and during the early-modern period.[30] Indeed, prior to his arrival in 1618, the few "Hibernesi" – the Latin term used to describe visitor of Irish origin – who resided in Rome were an isolated and small group, who had little opportunity to exercise any significant cultural and political influence on either the Papal Curia or the city generally, in contrast to their English, Scottish, and Welsh confreres.[31] Wadding changed that by founding St Isidore's and the Irish College, and successfully lobbying on Irish issues, including the inclusion of St Patrick in the Roman calendar.[32]

All the aspects of Wadding's career, briefly sketched above, demonstrate the intensity of his cultural, political, and theological activity. At the same time, they indicate the intricate web of his personal networks. At first glance the best image that can be applied to the Irish Franciscan is that of a prism, which, hit by the light, produces a kaleidoscope of colours. This means that any investigation on Wadding must necessarily involve a combined multidisciplinary approach that can only very rarely

be adopted in a traditional single-authored biography. In response to this challenge, the present volume calls on a team of international scholars to explore, in a fresh study, Wadding's significance in this time and thereafter. In *Luke Wadding, the Irish Franciscans, and Global Catholicism*, they seek to provide a new, multifaceted understanding of one of the most influential Irishman of the early-modern period.

As the table of contents shows, the volume is concerned with many themes and different periods of Wadding's life. Given the variety of the Irishman's experience, it has been decided that this collection of chapters will adopt a thematic approach, structured in four parts. The first part sets out to reveal the extensive networks which linked Wadding with the Spanish monarchy, and more broadly with the Iberian Peninsula. In the first chapter, Benjamin Hazard demonstrates the relevance of the Franciscan province of Santiago to Wadding and his contemporaries. In addition to the incentive of studying on the continent, Irish candidates for the novitiate and the priesthood were sought after in Spain. To illustrate these links and how the Santiago province assisted in the recovery of the Friars Minor in Ireland, Hazard presents a biographical list of friars identified as Irish in records for the period. This research also considers the connections maintained by Wadding's classmates and confrères in later years, investigating the extent of their influence on subsequent developments in the Irish Franciscan province. In the second chapter, Igor Pérez Tostado examines the role played by Wadding as agent of the Spanish monarchy. His chapter explains how and to what extent his long career in Spanish service allowed him to construct relationships of trust, and the effect of the visible decline of the Spanish monarchy in the mid-seventeenth century over the exile groups that had orbited around it until then.

Part II of the volume explores the "Roman" context in which Wadding built and developed his outstanding career. In the third chapter, Matteo Sanfilippo analyses the context of the foreign communities of Rome, and more broadly of the Italian Peninsula, with which Wadding interacted upon his arrival in the city in 1618. These included a strong Protestant community, often neglected by historians. As material preserved at the archives of the Holy Office and the archives of Propaganda demonstrate, there was a thriving colony of Protestants. By looking at the strategies of various members of the Papal Curia, the chapter considers how and to what extent the Holy See sought to control the immigration of Protestants, and more broadly of foreigners in the Eternal City. In Chapter 4, Matteo Binasco investigates the network of prominent and powerful figures with whom Wadding was in contact. His chapter identifies the key figures behind the Franciscan's network, thus seeking to assess how and to what extent this helped to integrate the Irish community of Rome into the "babel" of the foreign communities who resided in the city.

Part III is devoted to the assessment of the cultural achievements during his Roman career. In Chapter 5, Donatella Bellardini and

Claudia Costacurta closely examine the relation between Wadding and the birth of the archives and library of St Isidore's. Their chapter fits the analysis of the St Isidore's archives and library into the broader context of the Roman libraries and their role in the development of the Italian culture of the sixteenth century and seventeenth century. In Chapter 6, John McCafferty reflects on the fact that Wadding's entire theological, devotional, and historical production is almost never considered as an intellectual whole. His creation of a large lavishly endowed library – still largely extant – underpinned both his own identity and his sense of religious and intellectual mission. His chapter recovers both the programmatic and accidental aspects of his intellectual life by surveying what he read, where he read, where he wrote, and why.

In Chapter 7, Giulia Spoltore will explore the church of St Isidore's, which, under Wadding's patronage, became a significant centre for Roman figurative culture in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, the Franciscan did not act as a simple patron; he was also mediator for some other commissions. This chapter has two key aims: on one hand, it investigates Wadding's relevance in St Isidore's and his relationship with Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–1696), Carlo Maratti (1625–1713), cardinal Camillo Massimo (1620–1677), and the other people circulating in the so-called "Cenacolo pinciano." On the other hand, it focuses on how Wadding's network of scholars was valuable not just for the exchanging of knowledge, manuscripts, and documents, but also for the circulation and patronage of paintings and art works. In Chapter 8, Ian Campbell examines the intellectual *milieu* of the Scotist theologians – Baron, Hickey, and Punch – who gravitated around Wadding. His chapter will explore how and to which extent these thinkers tackled the concepts of human society, property, ownership, and the state, elaborated by Scotus. The chapter will also consider how these theologians were sensitive to criticism of their theological tradition by the Society of Jesus, many of whose members were appalled by aspects of Scotus's doctrine, including the claim that God had in the past revoked various precepts of the natural law. This chapter will sketch Scotist natural law doctrine and the attacks mounted on that doctrine by Jesuit theologians such as Luis de Molina (1535–1600).

Part IV analyses the connections which linked Wadding with his native Ireland. In Chapter 9, Míchéal Mac Craith illustrates how the inscriptions and gravestones of the Ulster earls in the Church of San Pietro in Montorio, which were transcribed in the *Annales*, were used by Wadding. His chapter traces, for the first time, how the Franciscan translated the inscriptions, and how he used them to interpret the exilic experience of the earls, and more broadly of his fellow countrymen. In Chapter 10, Clare Lois Carroll provides another look at Harold's *Vita Waddingi*. The text cries out for analysis in so far as it provides further evidence not only of Wadding's role in supporting the Catholic Confederacy but also of his ongoing correspondence with the Old English Richard Bellings

(1613–1677). This formed the basis for much of what Harold wrote about the conflicts of the 1640s and 1650s in Ireland. The chapter focuses on how Harold's text constructs both the collective experience of the Irish and Wadding's role as exemplary representative of the Irish community in Rome – as the exilic hero, remembered as "Joseph in Egypt."

It is beyond the aspirations of this volume to provide an exhaustive analysis and assessment of Wadding and his achievements. What *Luke Wadding, the Irish Franciscans, and Global Catholicism* does is shed a new light on a complex, and fascinating figure who, obliged to leave his home country, experienced so many of the thorny cultural, political, and religious upheavals of his time. His personal itinerary from the re-mote "Hibernia" to the "great theatre of world" which was the Rome of the seventeenth century forced him to reshape his identity, and to adapt to new contexts, a challenge that, during the early-modern period, was faced by other exiles and remains a challenge for exiles in our own time.

Notes

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29 Benjamin Hazard, "Correspondence from Jean-Baptiste Devenet and Claude Prost, Book Merchant of Lyon, to Fr. Luke Wadding, OFM, 1647–1654," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 104 (2011): 519–545; Hazard, "Saint Isidore's Franciscan College," 110; John MacMahon, OFM, and

John McCafferty, "The Wadding Library of Saint Isidore's College Rome, 1622–1700," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 106, no. 1–2 (Ianuarius-Iunius 2013): 97–117; Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 105; Mary Ann Lyons, "The Role of St. Anthony's College, Louvain, in establishing the Irish Franciscan College Network, 1607–60," in *The Irish Franciscans, 1534–1990*, ed. Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon, OFM, and John McCafferty (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 27–44.

30 The studies on the foreign communities in Rome from the Middle Ages to the late eighteenth century are extremely developed. For an overview, see William Clifford Mass, *The German Community in Renaissance Rome, 1378–1523* (Freiburg: Herder, 1981); Egmont Lee, *Descriptio Urbis. The Roman Census of 1527* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1985); Anna Esposito, *Un'altra Roma. Minoranze nazionali e comunità ebraiche tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Roma: Il Calamo, 1995); Margaret Harvey, *The English in Rome, 1362–1420. Portrait of an Expatriate Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Eleonora Canepari, *Stare in compagnia. Strategie di inurbamento e forme associative nella Roma del Seicento* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino, 2007); Alessandro Serio, "Stranieri e cittadini a Roma fra medioevo ed età moderna (secoli XV–XVI)," in *Il Mediterraneo delle città. Scambi, confronti, culture, rappresentazioni*, ed. Franco Salvatori (Roma: Viella, 2008), 323–341; Irene Fosi, "'Roma patria comune'." Foreigners in Rome in the Early Modern Period," in *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, ed. Jill Burke and Michael Bury (London: Ashgate, 2008), 27–43; Irene Fosi, *Convertire lo straniero. Forestieri e Inquisizione a Roma in età moderna* (Roma: Viella, 2011); Antonio Menniti Ippolito, *Il cimitero acattolico di Roma. La presenza protestante nella città del papa* (Roma: Viella, 2014); James Nelson Nova, *Being Nação in the Eternal City. Portuguese New Christian Lives in Sixteenth Century Rome* (Peterborough: Baywolf Press, 2014); Alexander Koller and Susanne Kubersky-Piredda, ed., *Identità e rappresentazione. Le chiese nazionali a Roma, 1450–1650* (Roma: Campisano, 2016); Antal Molnár, Giovanni Pizzorusso, and Matteo Sanfilippo, ed., *Chiese e nationes a Roma: dalla Scandinavia ai Balcani* (Roma: Viella, 2017); Sara Cabibbo and Alessandro Serra, ed., *Venire a Roma. Restare a Roma. Forestieri e stranieri fra Quattrocento e Settecento* (Roma: Roma TrE-Press, 2017); on the medieval sense of nation, see Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); for a synthesis of longer period, see Matteo Sanfilippo, "Roma, città aperta: luogo di accoglienza, di incontro culturale, di religiosità," available at www.baobaroma.org/pdf/2006/romacittaaperta.pdf.html.

31 For an overview of the Irish in Rome during the sixteenth century, see Matteo Binasco, "Gli esuli irlandesi," 82–86; see also Feargus Ó Fearghail, "Irish Links with Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome," *Seanchas Ard Mhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society* 22, no. 2 (2009): 25–50.

32 Carroll, *Exiles in a Global City*, 218; see also Carroll, "'*Tutte le antiche usanze*': Preserving Irish Culture in Rome," in *Ireland in the Renaissance, c.1540–1660*, ed. Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 138–149.

Part I

Wadding and the Iberian Peninsula

2 Irish Franciscans and the Santiago Province of Spain*

Benjamin Hazard

Introduction

The positive impact that continental Franciscan provinces made on the Order of Friars Minor in Ireland has often been overlooked. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Irishmen joined the order in Spain, France, Lower Germany and Italian Peninsula before their formal incorporation into the province of Ireland. Various Franciscan provinces played an acknowledged part in the progress of St Anthony's College, Leuven, in its first decade.[1] Further examples included the Spanish provinces of Cantabria and Andalusia; the French provinces of Touraine and Poitou, and of Aquitaine; and the Italian provinces of Milano and Terra di Lavoro at Naples.[2] The Spanish province of St James, that is, Santiago de Compostela, helped to train friars who became guardians, preachers, confessors and professed clerics at new Irish houses in the Low Countries, in Italian Peninsula, and on the Franciscan mission to Ireland. For the Tudor and Stuart period, hardly any written testimony relates to the recruitment of mendicants from Ireland and the experiences of individual friars up to and including their ordination.[3] Religious orders on the continent did gather petitions of candidates who wrote to superiors explaining their calling to early-modern missions.[4] These writings helped to refresh the sense of vocation in older confrères, but many such records are no longer extant.[5]

Apart from isolated references, there has hitherto been no detailed enquiry into the relationship between the Santiago province and the Irish friars.[6] Therefore, the following chapter has a twofold purpose. First, it investigates why Luke Wadding and his contemporaries joined the province of Santiago. Details are given about the demand for candidates from Ireland and the influence of friars already within the order, before considering the organisation of new colleges founded by Irish friars. Secondly, this work presents a biographical register to place each friar in their historical context.

The Province of Santiago

From 1232, the Franciscan province of Santiago occupied the north-western part of the Iberian Peninsula.[7] This helps to explain the extent of the province from the north coast to Salamanca, thereby including Galicia, Asturias and León. The province was organised into seven *custodiae* or regions.[8] When exiles from Ireland sailed to Spain, therefore, they often reached land in the Santiago province of the Franciscan order.

In the early 1500s, the Observant Franciscan Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517) implemented extensive reforms of monasteries and religious houses, encouraged new educational initiatives and funded the publication of devotional literature.[9] He was supported in his efforts by the Catholic kings, Ferdinand of Aragon (1452–1516) and Isabel of Castille (1451–1504).[10] The mendicant orders launched successive missionary expeditions to the New World and continued to regard Spain itself as mission territory in the late sixteenth century.[11] The wording of letters written by Irish friars trained in Salamanca clearly reflects this influence.

Thus, the Observant Franciscans were well entrenched and pastorally active in the Iberian Peninsula.[12] Meanwhile, Philip II (1527–1598) extended his authority over the regular clergy by supporting the Observance, suppressing the Conventuals and preventing the Capuchin friars from establishing themselves. This gave the Observants room to expand and flourish. The renewal that this generated caused competition between the existing religious orders and gave free rein to evangelical activity. The Friars Minor enjoyed considerable popularity in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain. Many of the lay faithful belonged to the Third Order of St Francis and were buried in the Franciscan habit. Lope de Vega (1562–1635), for instance, was a Franciscan tertiary and, in his poetry, praised the virtues of their founder.[13]

As was the case in other religious orders, the Franciscan provinces of Spain sought to avoid applicants with Jewish ancestry.[14] With this in mind, Irish aspirants took an oath of *limpieza de sangre*, attesting purity of blood, before entering the novitiate. On seven occasions noted below, novices and priests from Ireland took or witnessed such oaths.[15] The Irish clergy continued their pastoral work in difficult conditions during the late sixteenth century when, historians have consistently maintained, devout relatives and religious superiors sent candidates for the priesthood overseas to be trained.[16] This merits further explanation. Irish friars regularly travelled to England and the continent to pursue further studies. Clothed in the habit, friars of the Santiago province maintained a visible presence in forty-three houses and three university towns, namely Salamanca, Santiago and Oviedo.[17] Beyond its geographical confines in Spain, the province occasionally sent friars to study at Alcalá de Henares.[18]

In his 1587 history of the order, Francesco Gonzaga (1546–1620) wrote that St Francis (1181/1182–1228) sent one of his followers from

Santiago to establish communities in Ireland in 1214.[19] This is the earliest known reference to links between the pilgrim city and Ireland.[20] When recording the origins of the Youghal friary, Wadding referred to historical sources by his confrères Francis Matthews, who agreed with Gonzaga, and Donatus Mooney who did not.[21] Wadding judiciously avoided taking sides. In recent decades, debate has continued, and contemporary historians remain divided. Some contend that the emergence of Irish Franciscan friaries began in Dublin and stemmed from their counterparts in England.[22] In contrast, other historians refuse to exclude potential links between Irish and Spanish friars.[23] Based upon Fitzgerald patronage and burial places, Colmán Ó Clabaigh does not disregard the possibility that Youghal was the first Franciscan friary in Ireland.[24]

The idea that the Irish province was a daughter province of Santiago held more appeal for early-modern friars, perhaps, because of the religious unrest of the times. Consequently, Gonzaga's claim served as a clarion call that would encourage aspirants from Ireland to join the Friars Minor with the Santiago province. This was a mutual arrangement because Catholics from Ireland continued to recognise and venerate the relics of the Apostle James, whereas the pilgrimage route experienced a decline in numbers from Central Europe.[25] Matters deteriorated in 1589 when Sir Francis Drake (1540–1596) raided the nearby port of La Coruña and caused alarm throughout the region.[26] The supportive following from Ireland began when Thomas Fitzgerald joined the Santiago province two years later. Extant wills by Irish testators in La Coruña and Santiago de Compostela record their donations to the Franciscans and Dominicans in Galicia.[27] Whether Old English or Gaelic, a significant number asked to be buried in friaries and in the mendicant habit.

Far from home, Irish migrants in Spain continued their devotion to familiar religious orders. The incidence of surnames such as O'Driscoll, O'Sullivan and Lynch is explained by the settlement of branches of these families in Santiago and La Coruña. For example, Denis O'Driscoll entered the Santiago province because his family found refuge in Galicia after the Nine Years' War (1594–1603).[28] When one considers that he and others grew up in northern Spain, their decision to join the Santiago friars was a logical step to take.

Irish students, such as Eugene Field and Daniel O'Hanglin, studied in the pilgrim city before becoming Franciscans. From 1605, a college founded under the protection of Philip III and Donal O'Sullivan Beare (1561–1613) became known for educating the sons of Munster families. In 1613, the Spanish authorities placed the Irish Jesuit mission in charge whereupon philosophical studies at the Irish College in Santiago were combined with those of theology at the Salamanca College. Florence Conry, who joined the Franciscan province of Santiago in the early 1590s, was vociferous in his opposition.[29]

Salamanca

The decision that many Irish friars took to join the Santiago province can be attributed to its influence at the seat of learning in Salamanca. On joining, friars were exempt from fees because their tuition was supplied by the Franciscans. Each province contributed to the sustenance of its students, with the Franciscan province of Santiago at Salamanca providing access to the friary's library and free lodgings.[30] The rigour of observance had no objection to the acquisition of books and the formation of libraries.[31] The care of books was assigned to novices who cleaned and repaired volumes in the library.[32]

In a large house, novices also completed kitchen tasks and gardening, cleaning and works of charity in the infirmary. The novice master instructed them on Christian doctrine, all the precepts of the rule, and the declarations of Nicholas III (c.1216–1280) and Clement V (1264–1314) on Franciscan regular observance.[33] The friars' studies began each autumn on the feast of St Francis, 4 October, and ran until the solemnity of Pentecost. Lectures could also begin after the feast of the birth of the Virgin Mary, 8 September.[34]

From their arrival onwards, those preparing for the priesthood were expected to participate in and, when necessary, start and lead their fellow friars in vocal prayer.[35] Before obtaining the Bachelor of Arts, friars could contribute to the initial teaching of philosophy and theology in their own province.[36] Nevertheless, it is difficult to arrive at a set plan of studies because the statutes relating to education underwent regular changes. Whenever possible, colleges within the Santiago province observed the Salamanca method for the teaching of theology but the recommended reading in dogmatic, moral and scholastic theology varied over the decades.[37]

Lecturers were required to give more than fifty classes per annum and to attend one another's classes. In return, they were allowed five months' leave each year. Each Franciscan centre of formation consistently included a chief administrator, graduate instructor, master of students, biblical graduate, reader in theology, sublector and general assistant. The sixteenth-century *Constitutiones Alexandrinae* provided friars with an incentive to complete advanced studies by granting masters and doctor the privilege of travelling on horseback, even though this contradicted the third chapter of the rule.[38]

Those aspiring to hold a university chair at Salamanca were expected to have taught grammar, logic, philosophy and theology beforehand. They also needed to have "reached the master's stage" with the endorsement of the chapter general.[39] The appointment to a professorship subsequently happened after two years' biblical studies, a third year taken up with supervising students, developing every subject for two years further and the compilation of two books each year. Luke Wadding, for instance, studied Greek and Hebrew, which was customary in the Santiago province.[40]

As part of the Observance, which according to Wadding was introduced to the Salamanca friary about 1425,[41] the Friars Minor voiced their opposition to the accumulation of academic degrees and professorial titles. During the sixteenth century, they operated their *Studium Generale* at Salamanca independently of the university.[42] At the same time, along with the Dominicans and Augustinians, they retained long-standing concessions to deliver sermons on significant feast days in the varsity calendar. Their concern was that too much attention could be given to study to the detriment of camaraderie and simplicity of life in the order. The matter remained a source of debate for the Franciscans.[43]

Wadding held that functioning separately from the University of Salamanca, only marginalised the Franciscans, thereby depriving the church of capable administrators and learned scholars.[44] While keeping this in mind, he echoed the advice of St Francis and placed prayer foremost among the friars' priorities. At St Isidore's, the college Wadding founded in 1625, he instructed that the time for prayer must be assigned to nothing else: "The friars may contend with studies, but more with the pursuit of holiness lest they quench the spirit of devotion."[45]

Influential Friars

In certain cases, specific friars proved crucial to securing aspirants for the mendicant orders. For example, Wadding encouraged Hugh Ward to join at Salamanca.[46] Those who had already joined could help recruit others, but the rule forbade friars from receiving candidates into the order themselves. However, friars were also forbidden from hindering a suitable candidate from proceeding.[47] The responsibility was, therefore, in the hands of the local minister provincial who could delegate the responsibility to the guardians of specific friaries.

Hernando del Campo and Mateo de Oviedo established a precedent for welcoming Irish recruits. Before serving as minister provincial and definitor general of the order, Del Campo was guardian at Salamanca from 1594 to 1598, 1604 to 1607 and 1613 to 1614. He built new dormitories, restored the choir, renovated the screen of the main chapel and repaired the friary's other chapels.[48] In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, approximately 120 Franciscans dwelt at the friary making it one of the largest in Salamanca. Superiors of the Santiago province made every effort to maintain this strength of numbers.[49] A sign, perhaps, of the standards set for entrants, Florence Conry and eleven of his contemporaries including Hugh MacCaughwell (1571–d.1626) were raised to the episcopacy in later years. According to Wadding, this was unprecedented in the history of the order and was unlikely ever to repeat itself.[50]

Mateo de Oviedo was one of the Scotists at the friary in the 1590s. Aside from the contemporary taste for scholasticism, Irish friars regarded Scotus as an Irishman. In 1593, shortly before Conry and MacCaughwell

entered the novitiate at Salamanca, the Franciscans named Scotus Doctor of the Order. By the end of that century, there was a chair in Scotist theology at Salamanca, thereby placing the Order of Friars Minor and the Order of Preachers on a par at the university. This consolidated the authority of Franciscan theology. Nevertheless, while the friary of St Francis concentrated on the teaching of Scotism, their Dominican counterparts continued to focus on Thomism.[51]

Born at Segovia, Mateo de Oviedo first moved to Salamanca to complete his studies in law, frequenting the Franciscan friary before he took the habit there in 1562. Following courses in theology, he was sent to Ireland on three separate occasions by the papacy and Philip II.[52] Significantly, he also served as a novice master and confessor with the Santiago province. After taking his oath at the University of Salamanca on 18 December 1583, Oviedo became guardian at Santiago de Compostela. Here he professed friars every year from 1584 until 1588. The friary was a short distance from the cathedral which welcomed pilgrims. Elected definitor of the Santiago province in 1588 and 1594, Oviedo was named archbishop of Dublin by the papacy on 31 May 1599.[53] He was consecrated almost twelve months later on 5 May, before being given the pallium for the archdiocese on 21 May 1601.[54]

Leuven and Rome

In the Franciscan mind, the image of a crumbling church is associated with the chapel at San Damiano and with the Basilica of St John Lateran. To find one final answer as to why people like Conry, MacCaughwell and Wadding became Franciscans, we need only look at what they did once they had joined the friars. The Irish Franciscan province continued to recruit but in smaller numbers. Prominent examples include Donatus Mooney and Maurice Dunleavy. Due to the recent loss of five houses, the Irish province became scattered and the number of members was severely depleted.[55] Founding a new college for the Irish Friars Minor was, therefore, a practical necessity. By a statute passed at the chapter general of 1553, every province of the order was required to have houses of grammar, logic, physics, metaphysics and theology with sacred scripture. This was confirmed at the chapter general of 1590. Such importance was placed on this ruling that, in 1621, a province was deemed to lose its status unless it had a college of grammar, another of logic and a third of theology.[56]

After the Council of Trent, the foundation of an institution required a community of not less than twelve or fourteen "in order to secure the best distribution of the necessary employments" of guardian, professors, domestic assistants and priests for pastoral work.[57] In volume two of the *Annales Minorum*, published in 1635, Wadding recorded that "empty houses" in the middle of the fourteenth century left monastic orders

without "masters of regular discipline and seniors of experience."[58] These circumstances meant that aspirants received in religious houses were unable to obtain the necessary formation. Wadding noted that the mendicant orders grew tepid in their practices and negligent in their piety.[59]

At St Anthony's, Leuven, the backbone of the teaching faculty consisted of friars sent from Salamanca. In turn, St Anthony's supplied the staff of St Isidore's in Rome. For the most part, the Leuven faculty was drawn from the Santiago province, such as Hugh MacCaughwell, Thomas McGrath and Hugh Ward. A notable exception was the theologian, Robert Chamberlain of County Louth.[60] Already ordained a priest for the diocese of Armagh and conferred with his doctorate at Salamanca, Chamberlain was forty when he joined the Irish Franciscan province in 1610.

The Franciscan rule points to the necessity of a candidate's "right intention."[61] The response to a religious vocation had to be made voluntarily and guided by free will. In his commentaries on the writings of St Francis, published in 1623, Wadding included the first and second rule for the Friars Minor.[62] This was the earliest printed edition.[63] The requirements for aspirants in the second rule noted the authority of Scotus.[64] When Wadding co-founded the Ludovisian College in Rome, the requisites stated that novices should be in good health in mind and body, born of a legitimate marriage and held in good repute.[65] In addition, students were expected to be baptised and confirmed, good-natured and adaptable, accustomed to humanities and letters, frequently receiving the sacraments and ready to return to Ireland after their studies "to reap the rewards in the vineyard of the Lord."[66] Those seeking admission were required to bring letters of recommendation. Guardians or lectors customarily provided students with written testimonials of their intellectual qualities, but each candidate had to look after their own letters.[67] The scarcity of these sources for contemporary historians illustrates the benefits of recordkeeping within religious orders.

In the absence of unequivocal answers as to why Wadding, Conry and others became friars, the purpose of this chapter is to make deductions and inferences. Each friar's motives were unique. That said, while not trying to adhere to a pre-conceived pattern, several factors were instrumental. These rested upon the candidates' family background and upbringing, the dynamic presence of the Santiago province and the beneficial influence of friars of their own generation.

Biographical Register

The following list relates to friars who were formed in the Santiago province or who had connections with the province in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Recognisable surnames facilitate identification, but this survey is not exhaustive. The numbers are concentrated most between

the late 1590s and 1616. Fifteen Irish friars joined during that period. Thereafter, the Irish province had begun to recover.[68] Between 1614 and 1637, another five Irishmen took the habit at the friary of St Francis in Santiago de Compostela. These friars maintained regular contact with one another and shared in the daily activities of their Spanish counterparts. Extensive resources were available for religious causes in Habsburg Spain and for the clergy of Santiago de Compostela. Fortunately for the Irish Franciscans, this coincided with Tudor and Stuart times.

A hiatus in the numbers occurred until 1679 when Malachy Linnane dwelt at the Santiago friary.[69] Whereas political circumstances in Ireland discouraged aspirants from going abroad after 1650, religious houses were in straitened circumstances from 1679 to 1681 and superiors sent aspirants overseas.[70] As with the 1590s and early 1600s, this created a need for assistance from provinces abroad, including that of Santiago.

An exception appears to have been made for the Irish within the Santiago province because membership was otherwise limited to entrants from the Iberian Peninsula. The Franciscans regarded such support a temporary measure until renewal of the Irish province could take place. The best illustration was St Anthony's College, Leuven, where nine Irish members of the Santiago province were part of the original contingent that arrived in 1607. These friars were canonically incorporated into the Irish province on 14 December 1608.[71] After the move to Leuven, references to the Santiago province are notable by their absence. The new colleges to train novices and students were also fully incorporated into the Irish province.[72] Yet, the cases of Robert Eustace and Francis Tully illustrate the friars' mobility after St Anthony's and St Isidore's were founded.

The highest proportion of Irish residents in the Santiago province came from Munster. The distribution can be explained by the proximity of its ports to northern Spain and by the after-effects of the Nine Years' War. Next, respectively, were Ulster, Connacht and Leinster. An Irish place-name was recorded occasionally but Ireland was often the only reference made to birthplace. The provenance of the surnames indicates that most of these friars were from a Gaelic background. The Irish abroad often rendered their names without the "Mac" or "O" because the prefix was a sign of hereditary nobility reserved for the heads of extended families.[73]

More information survives for those who lived out a priestly vocation than for lay brothers. Jacobo de Castro emphasised the accomplishments of the Santiago province and thereby gave greater prominence to famous friars. Research by Manuel Rodríguez Pazos helped to redress the balance regarding Irish Franciscans. In some cases, these may be the only surviving sources for their lives. Pazos concentrated on novice books noting the reception of the habit and solemn professions at the Santiago friary, and on records of the cathedral chapter of Santiago de

Compostela. He put forward a further two names – Hugo Approvitaire (1630) and Bernardo Standesbosco (1671) – but they are not specifically identified as Irish in records for the period. As their attribution is uncertain, they are omitted here.[74]

Care must be taken to avoid errors. The same first name was often shared within a family from one generation to the next and is not to be confused between namesakes. It is also important not to see these records in isolation. The Cathedral Chapter's proceedings at Santiago de Compostela, for instance, record the names of many pilgrims from overseas with payments made to members of other religious orders and to the diocesan clergy, to men and women of various nationalities and to the laity.

I have collated the details chronologically for each friar and retain the variant spelling of personal names. When it is possible to identify friars from families that kept their own burial grounds at a Franciscan house in Ireland, or whose kinsfolk had a tradition of relatives joining the order, details are given below. The findings show that the Franciscan province of Santiago helped many Irish friars to enter the novitiate and study for the priesthood. This conferred vocations on both provinces and made a vital contribution to the recovery of the Friars Minor in Ireland. Additional investigation may cast light on Irish mendicants who made their profession in the local provinces of other countries.

1 **Thomas Fitzgerald** [Thomas Geraldinus, Tomás Giraldino]. The Fitzgeralds of Desmond founded mendicant friaries in the province of Munster and were attentive in their care until deposed during the dissolution period. After accompanying Thomas White and a group of Irish students from Valladolid to Salamanca, Thomas Fitzgerald joined the Santiago province in 1591. His parents were Edmund Fitzgerald and Eleanor Grise, both of Tralee, the Desmond seat in Co. Kerry.

In 1604, Florence Conry helped Thomas Fitzgerald obtain funds for a chalice and Mass vestments. Fitzgerald became confessor of the Irish at the Spanish court and served as "preacher-general of the order of St Francis," a title given by a province to those who distinguished themselves in the pulpit. Lector of sacred theology at St Anthony's College, Leuven, and commissary visitator of the Irish province, he travelled to Ireland. Fitzgerald was captured at Youghal and detained in Dublin Castle where he died on 12 July 1617. Appropriately for a friar of the Santiago province, his remains were deposited in the cemetery of St James in Dublin, near Kilmainham, outside the walls of the city. He was laid to rest near Conor O'Devany, the Franciscan bishop of Down and Connor executed five years earlier. The titles of two works by Fitzgerald, *De patientia in adversis* and *Speculum periclitantis inter seductores et fictos*, indicate the theological influence of St Augustine.[75]

2 **Florence Conry** [Florentius Conrius, Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire, Florencio Conrio]. Members of his family were benefactors of the Conventual friary at Elphin, Co. Roscommon, where obituaries referred to them being buried "under the protection of God, St Patrick and St Francis." Another of Conry's forebears was laid to rest at the Franciscan friary in Ross Errily, Co. Galway.

Florence Conry was among the first students at the Irish College founded in Salamanca in 1592. After five years, he left and took the habit at the friary of St Francis in the city. Named minister provincial of the Irish Franciscans in 1606, Conry proved instrumental in opening St Anthony's College, Leuven, where he arrived at the end of May 1607. Appointed archbishop of Tuam, Conry became the main Irish mediator in Madrid before returning to Leuven. Immersed in scholarship, he became especially dedicated to the study of St Augustine. In 1626, Conry travelled back to Madrid and died at the friary of San Francisco el Grande on 18 November 1629.[76]

3 **Hugh MacCaughwell** [Aodh Mac Cathmhaoil, Aodh Mac Aingil, Hugo Cavellus, Hugo Cabelo]. Born in 1571 in Downpatrick, Co. Down, he joined the Franciscans at Salamanca where he taught theology. Exceptionally, MacCaughwell was one of twelve novices who completed their year of probation together and all were raised to the episcopate. He and Florence Conry were classmates. As preacher and confessor, MacCaughwell arrived at Leuven in June 1607 and was subsequently incorporated into the Irish province. Guardian at St Anthony's in 1610, 1613 and 1617, he put the college on a sound footing. His book *Scathán Sacramuinthe na hAithrighe* (*Mirror of the Sacrament of Penance*) was printed at St Anthony's in 1618. He read theology at the Ara Coeli friary and at St Isidore's, Rome. In the general chapter of 1621, MacCaughwell was named definitor general being then *custos* of Ireland. His appointment as archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland was confirmed five years later but he died in Rome on 22 September before his departure and was buried in St Isidore's. He was forty-five years of age. He compiled seminal works on Scotism and against Jansenism.[77]

4 **Thomas Stronge** [Thomas Strangus, Tomás Estronge, Tomas Hestronte]. The Stronges were among the principal families of Waterford. While living in the Franciscan friary in Oviedo, Stronge acted as interpreter for the chief magistrate of the principality of Asturias, helping with the arrival of English and Irish Catholics in north-western Spain in 1605. He arrived at St Anthony's as a subdeacon in June 1607. The following year, Stronge accompanied Hugh O'Neill, Rory O'Donnell and a group of their followers southwards from Leuven to Rome.

In May 1608, at about forty years of age, Stronge was in Ireland preparing to set sail with letters for Spain and Flanders. The English State Papers contain a detailed description of his physical

appearance. Spanish reports of 1610 and 1613 referred to Stronge as confessor to Florence Conry. On the latter occasion, Stronge sponsored Diarmaid O'Sullivan Beare in his application to join the military order of Santiago. On his way to the Franciscan general chapter held at Segovia in 1621, Stronge was captured at sea by Turkish pirates. Three years later, agents reported to the Lord Deputy that the intrepid Stronge disguised himself as a merchant to make ready for a Spanish invasion of Ireland. As guardian of the Franciscan friary in Dublin, he edited into English a book on Christian doctrine and also wrote a tract about the stigmata of St Catherine of Siena (1347–1380). He corresponded frequently with Wadding, his cousin in Rome, on behalf of whom he obtained copies of manuscripts from James Ussher and David Rothe. Thomas Stronge died in 1645 during his second term as guardian of Waterford friary.[78]

5 **Thomas McGrath** [Thomas Graius, Tomás Mac Grait, Thomas Macrach, Thomas Chrah]. Professed in Spain, he arrived at St Anthony's in June 1607 as a preacher and confessor and was appointed lecturer before going on the mission to Ireland. The name of "Thomas Macrach preacher of the Order of St ffrancis" occurred in a list of clergy in Co. Tipperary. At this time, he assisted Thomas Fitzgerald in efforts to quell dissent among the secular and regular clergy in Ireland. The McGrath surname was prominent among Friars Minor in the diocese of Clogher and later Co. Tipperary.[79]

6 **Denis Cornelius** [Dionysius Cornelius]. A priest from Ulster, he was among the preachers and confessors who arrived at St Anthony's in June 1607. He served as first novice master and philosophy lector at Leuven.[80]

7 **William Doyne** [Guilieimus Duyn, Guilieimus Duyne, O'Doyne]. Commenced studies at the Irish College in Douai and ordained to the priesthood in the Franciscan province of Santiago, he arrived at St Anthony's College, Leuven, in July 1607. In Irish, Ó Duinn or Ó Doinn, the name was often written O'Doyne in the seventeenth century.[81]

8 **Denis Griffin** [Dionysius Griffaeus, Griffy]. A professed cleric of the Santiago province, he arrived at St Anthony's College, Leuven, in July 1607. Examples of this surname occurred in Co. Clare where Moriarthus Griffin was named guardian of Quin in 1670.[82]

9 **Robert Eustace** [Roberto Eustacio, Robertus Eustachius]. In 1486, Sir Roland Eustace founded an Observant Franciscan friary at Kilcullen, Co. Kildare. The Eustaces and other local families were buried there until the friars were divested of the foundation during the reign of Edward VI (1537–1553).

Robert Eustace took the habit in the Santiago province. After ordination to the priesthood, he arrived at St Anthony's, Leuven, in July 1607. Five years later, then aged about thirty-six, he participated as

a witness in a case brought by the Santiago friary against the heirs of Don Antonio Rodríguez, canon of Santiago de Compostela. On 10 December that year, the cathedral chapter of Santiago de Compostela granted Eustace 200 reales. Other Kildare friars with the surname include Anthony Eustace who was appointed guardian of Castledermot in 1650 and James Eustace who was working as a priest in the parish of Dunmanoge in 1697.[83]

10   **Cornelius O'Driscoll** [Cornelio Drissol]. The Observant Franciscan house on Sherkin Island, Co. Cork, was founded by a branch of the O'Driscolls in the fifteenth century and became their burial place. In 1537, the friary was burnt by Waterford merchants in reprisal for O'Driscoll piracy and, after Kinsale, garrisoned by English soldiers.

Cornelius O'Driscoll, native of Castlehaven, Co. Cork, was "legitimate son of Tadeo Drissol and of Margarita Carty." In La Coruña, his father explained that his property was alienated after Kinsale and his sons had lost their inheritance. Cornelius took the habit in the Santiago friary on 4 March 1612. He left after one month and twenty-two days because he was deemed too young and suffered badly from scabies. However, he may have re-entered later and reached profession. On 15 March 1618, the chapter of Santiago de Compostela gave 100 reales to "Father Friar Cornelio de Griscol" who was going to Ireland. It may well be the same person.[84]

11   **Eugene Field** [Eugenius Feildeus, Eugenius Fildaeus, Eugeneo Fildeo, Owen Field]. From Munster, he studied at the Irish College in Santiago before 1613, joined the Friars Minor and was professed at Salamanca. Field became guardian of St Anthony's, Leuven, where he taught philosophy and theology. For three years from 1618, he served as Irish minister provincial. Field was appointed commissary of the Franciscans in Ireland and became guardian of Sherkin and Timoleague where he died a centenarian on 23 November 1668.[85]

12   **Daniel O'Hanglin** [Ó hAngluinn, Anglim, Hanglio]. From Cork, he studied at the Irish College in Santiago de Compostela, took the Franciscan habit and was to be ordained to the priesthood prior to 1613.[86]

13   **John O'Sullivan** [Juan Soliban]. Bantry friary was built in the O'Sullivan Beare lordship c.1460 and partially destroyed during the Nine Years' War. John O'Sullivan of Bearhaven took the habit in Santiago de Compostela on 16 September 1614. Described in the novice book as "legitimate son of Donal O'Sullivan [Daniel Soliban] and Sadhbh O'Sullivan [Seyf Soliban] residents of Bearhaven," he was professed a year later. They were kinsfolk of the O'Sullivan Beare.[87]

14   **Luke Wadding** [Lucas Waddingus, Lucas a S. Francisco, Luca Vaddingo]. Born in Waterford in 1588, he became the most important Irish figure of his times on the continent. His father was buried in the Waterford friary where the family had a tomb. After professing his vows at Matozinhos, near Oporto in 1605, Luke was ordained in

Vizeu at Easter 1613. He completed his studies at Salamanca where he was incorporated into the Santiago province. He also studied Hebrew at the Alba de Tormes friary and, after a teaching assignment in León, returned to Salamanca. He served as lector and master of students, and was appointed confessor to the Poor Clare convent.

In 1618, Wadding began a long career in Rome when he served as theologian to the Spanish delegation sent to defend the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The embassy was led by Antonio de Trejo y Paniagua, bishop of Cartagena. He, like Wadding, was a Franciscan of the Santiago province at Salamanca. They were accompanied by José Vásquez, commissary of the order, who was guardian of the Santiago friary when Robert Eustace stayed there in 1612.

Paul V (1552–1621) appointed Wadding to the Holy Office in Rome, Gregory XV made him consultor to the Congregation of the Index and Urban VIII named him consultor to Propaganda Fide. Wadding was appointed *quaresimalista*, Lenten preacher, for the papal household. In September 1631, as a member of the commission for the revision of the Breviary, Wadding attended a meeting that supported the idea of St James's mission to Spain. Wadding was elected vice-procurator of the Franciscan curia and vice-commissary of the order. In 1642, the Confederation of Kilkenny appointed him agent and procurator in Rome. He lived there for almost forty years, in which time he founded St Isidore's Franciscan College, the Ludovisian College for Irish secular clergy and, a year before his death, a novitiate at the friary of Our Lady of the Plain, Capranica.

A celebrated scholar, Wadding achieved distinction in history, dogma, oriental languages, controversy and historical criticism. His greatest literary achievement was the *Annales Minorum*. First published in eight volumes, it remains the most valuable source of Franciscan history from its beginnings to the year 1540. Wadding died on 18 November 1657 and was buried in the church of St Isidore's.[88]

15 **Hugh Ward** [Aodh Mac an Bhaird, Hugo Vardaeus, Hugo Bardeo]. From Co. Donegal, his parents were Eoghan Ward and Mary O'Cleary. He studied at the Irish College in Salamanca before being admitted to the Santiago province in 1616 with help from Wadding. Wadding considered Ward "very learned, with admirable facility and special skills in the Irish language." This led him to teach at Paris and St Anthony's where he became guardian in 1626. He compiled many works relating to the Lives of Irish saints and died in Leuven in 1635.[89]

16 **Patrick White** [Patricio Victus, Patricius Vitaeus, Fittaeus, de Faoite]. On 26 April 1616, he took the habit in the Santiago friary described as "native of Rosa which is in the kingdom of Ireland, legitimate son of Guillermo Victus and Maria de Brus, both deceased residents of the place of Rosa." Patrick White was professed as a Franciscan friar at the Santiago friary on 27 April 1617. The surname was

strongly represented in New Ross, County Wexford, and his mother's maiden name "de Brus" may represent a Hispanicisation of the Wexford surname Devereux.[90]

17 **George Woodlock** [George of St Francis, Jorge de San Francisco, Jorge Vodlogo]. On 1 September 1624, he took the habit for choir in the Santiago friary, "legitimate son of Gaspar de Vodlogo and of Maria Leonard, both from the city of *Manapia* [that is, Waterford]." A year later, Woodlock was professed and attested *limpieza de sangre*, giving an assurance that he had no contagious diseases. In this oath, he stated that he was a native of "the city of Vaterfordia of the kingdom of Hyrlanda," exchanging his surname for that of St Francis. In the previous decade, Gaspar, Patrick and Thomas Woodlock were Franciscans maintained by residents of Waterford.[91]

18 **Francis Tully** [Francis a Sancta Maria, Francisco de Santa Maria, Fiachra Ó Maoltuile]. He entered the Santiago province and took the name Francis a Sancta Maria. He succeeded Luke Wadding as professor at the Salamanca friary and held a lectureship in theology for approximately seven years until Wadding called him to Rome in 1625. Tully represented the Irish province at the general chapter that year and was recommended to Ludovisi for advice on Connacht.

   On 25 March 1627, one "P. Fr. Francisco de Santa Maria," discreet of the Santiago friary, witnessed the oath taken by a friar entering the novitiate. The following year, a friar by the same name received 100 reales for the printing of theological conclusions which he dedicated to the cathedral chapter. Though the authorship is unconfirmed, these theological conclusions defended the patronage of the Apostle Santiago and opposed the claim to make St Teresa of Ávila co-patron of Spain.

   In 1629, Tully taught at Toulouse, returned to Rome in the following decade and was raised to higher office in the order. In 1640, aged about forty-four, he contributed to the process that led to Denis O'Driscoll's promotion to the bishopric of Brindisi. A year later, Tully supported James Fleming's application to join the military order of Santiago in Madrid.

   We find Francis Tully back at Santiago in 1645, when "Francisco a Sancta Maria" attested the oath of a novice at the friary of St Francis. The cathedral chapter gave him 100 reales and to another Irish Franciscan, Thomas of St Bonaventure. This may refer to Bonaventure Burke of Connacht. Together, they received missionary faculties from the order's superiors and financial assistance from Philip IV (1605–1665) to go to Ireland.[92]

19 **Cornelius Lynch** [Conor Lincy, Cornelio Lince]. He was a priest who dwelt at the friary of St Francis in Santiago on the Feast of St James, 25 July 1626, when he witnessed the oath of *limpieza de sangre* of a novice. Cornelius Lynch was appointed guardian of the

newly restored friary at Bantry, Co. Cork, in 1639. He served as lector of philosophy in Cavan eight years later.[93]

20 **Anthony O'Reilly** [Antonio Raly]. As a priest at the Santiago friary, he witnessed the oath taken by a novice on 22 October 1630. The Cavan friary was built by Giolla-Iosa Roe O'Reilly in the early fourteenth century. Many of its subsequent guardians were members of the family. The surname was one of the most prominent among the Friars Minor and their patrons in the area known as Bréifne, comprising the counties of Cavan and Leitrim.[94]

21 **Thomas of St Bonaventure** [Thomas a S. Bonaventura, Tomás de San Buenaventura, Burke?]. Known by his name in religion, he was a priest born in Ireland in 1595. Aged thirty-eight on 17 August 1633, he stood as guarantor for Daniel O'Driscoll to join the military order of Santiago. Together with Francis Tully, he requested funds from Philip IV for the mission to Ireland and received certification from the minister general to go. On 22 November 1646, the cathedral chapter of Santiago granted 100 reales to him and to Tully.[95]

22 **Denis O'Driscoll** [Dionysio Odriscol]. Born in Castlehaven, Co. Cork, he took the habit and was professed in the friary at Betanzos in Galicia after his parents sought refuge in La Coruña. An accomplished preacher, he taught theology throughout the Santiago province, was consultor of the Holy Office in Spain and became auxiliary bishop of Sigüenza in 1634. The following year, O'Driscoll "was redeemed from the hands of the Turks in Madrid." Nominated by Philip IV, he was appointed archbishop of Brindisi in the kingdom of Naples where he died on 23 August 1651.[96]

23 **Francis Cantillon** [Francisco Cantolano, Francisco Gantolano]. He lived at the friary of St Francis in Santiago where he signed and witnessed the oath of *limpieza de sangre* that Thomas Conway of Cork took on 27 October 1637. On 23 August 1641, "Father Friar Francisco Cantolano" received 100 reales from the cathedral chapter of Santiago to preach in Ireland.[97]

24 **Thomas Conway** [Tomás Combeo]. He swore his oath of *limpieza de sangre* and took the habit for the choir in the Santiago friary on 27 October 1637. He was "legitimate son of John Conway and Margaret Ponce, residents of the city of Cork in the kingdom of Ireland."[98]

25 **Malachy Linnane** [Malaquias Lenan, Malachias Lenan]. He lived at the Santiago friary in 1679, according to the list of religious that the Father Guardian Friar Lorenzo de la Barrera sent to the provincial chapter of that year. The said Father Malachy attested that he received the habit from the guardian and signed his name by adding his national affiliation, *hiberno*. He was made guardian of Lislaughtin, Co. Kerry, at the middle chapter held in January 1685 and re-elected on 10 May 1716.[99]

Notes

1 Brendan Jennings, ed., *Louvain Papers, 1606–1827* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1968), 20: ("Eo vero progressu huc confluebant fratres partim in Hibernia partim in Hispania, partim in Gallia, partim in provincia Germaniae inferioris professi, ut primi decennii spatio, seu ab anno 1607 usque ad annum 1617 membra hujus collegii facti fratres alibi professi fuerint numero 35.").

2 Gregory Cleary, *Father Luke Wadding and St Isidore's College, Rome: Biographical and Historical Notes and Documents* (Rome: Tipografia del senato del G. Bardi 1925); Jennings, *Louvain Papers, 1606–1827*, 19, 20, 147; Benignus Millett, "Irish Scotists at St. Isidore's College, Rome, in the Seventeenth Century," in *De doctrina Ioannis Duns Scoti*, IV: *Scotismus decursu saeculorum* (Rome: Congressus Scotisticus Internationalis, 1968), 399–419, esp. 407.

3 Benignus Millett, *The Irish Franciscans, 1651–1665* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1964), 391; Colmán Ó Clabaigh, *The Friars in Ireland, 1224–1540* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), 263.

4 Francisco Luis Rico Callado, "La *Imitatio Christi* y los Itinerarios de los Religiosos: Hagiografía y Prácticas Espirituales en la Vocación Religiosa en la España Moderna," *Hispania Sacra* 65 (June 2013): 127–152, esp. 128.

5 Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, "Élection et Vocation: le Choix des Missionnaires dans la Province Jésuite du Portugal à la fin du XVIe siècle," in *Missions Religieuses Modernes.* "*Notre lieu est le monde*," ed. Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Bernard Vincent (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2007), 21–43.

6 Manuel Rodríguez Pazos, "De Nuestro Archivo Compostelano. Religiosos Irlandeses en la Provincia de Santiago," *El Eco Franciscano* 62 (November 1945): 68, 211–212; Declan Downey, "The Irish Contribution to Counter-Reformation Theology in Continental Europe," in *Christianity in Ireland: Revisiting the Story*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw and Dáire Keogh (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 96–108: esp. 104.

7 Heribert Holzapfel, *The History of the Franciscan Order*, translated by Antonine Tibesar and Gervase Brinkmann (Teutopolis: St. Joseph Seminary, 1948), 67–68.

8 A. G. Little, "Review of *Provinciale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Vetustissimum secundum Cod. Vat. 1960* by Conradus Eubel," *English Historical Review* 8 (October 1893): 765–767, esp. 766.

9 Bert Roest, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission c.1220–1650: Cum Scientia sit Donum Dei, Armatura ad Defendendam Sanctam Fidem Catholicam* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 108, 149.

10 James Mixson, "Introduction," in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. James Mixson and Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 4.

11 Bert Roest, "From *Reconquista* to Mission in the Early Modern World," in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. James Mixson and Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 331–361.

12 William Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 15–18.

13 Santo Francisco de Asís, *Obras completas del B.P. San Francisco de Asís: según la Colección del P. Wadingo* (Teruel: Imprenta de la Beneficencia, 1902), 365.

14 Roest, "From *Reconquista* to Mission in the Early Modern World," 351; Declan Downey, "Purity of Blood and Purity of Faith in Early Modern

Ireland," in *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland*, ed. Alan Ford and John McCafferty (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 216–228, esp. 225.

15 Pazos, "De Nuestro Archivo Compostelano," 168, 211.

16 Francis Xavier Martin, *Friar Nugent: An Agent of the Counter Reformation, 1569–1635* (Rome: Capuchin Historical Institute, 1962), 10–11; Colm Lennon, "The Dissolution to the Foundation of St. Anthony's College, Louvain, 1534–1607," in *The Irish Franciscans, 1534–1990*, ed. Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon, and John McCafferty (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 3–26, esp. 14.

17 Manuel de Castro, ed., *Crónica de la Provincia Franciscana de Santiago, 1214–1614, por un franciscano anónimo del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Archivo Ibero Americano, 1971), 42–46, 111–114.

18 Manuel Rodríguez Pazos, *Los Estudios en la Provincia Franciscana de Santiago-Tratado Histórico* (Madrid: Escuelas Profesionales Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, 1967), 241.

19 Ó Clabaigh, *The Friars in Ireland*, 4.

20 On these links, see Bernadette Cunningham, *Medieval Irish Pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2018), 42–45, 82–84.

21 Francis Harold, *Quis primus conventus Franciscanus in Hibernia, à quo Provincia duxit originem* (Dublin: University College, Franciscan Collection (UCD-OFM), D.02/1/205-224, undated).

22 Francis Cotter, *The Friars Minor in Ireland from Their Arrival to 1400* (New York: Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University, 1994), 12–13.

23 Niav Gallagher, "The Irish Franciscan Province: From Foundation to the Aftermath of the Bruce Invasion," in *Franciscan Organization in the Mendicant Context: Formal and Informal Structures of the Friars' Lives and Ministry in the Middle Ages*, ed. Michael Robson and Jens Röhrkasten (Münster: Lit, 2010), 19–42, esp. 24.

24 Ó Clabaigh, *The Friars in Ireland*, 4.

25 Ofelia Rey Castelao, "Los Exiliados Irlandeses en Santiago de Compostela desde fines del XVI a Mediados del XVII," in *Irlanda y la Monarquía Hispánica: Kinsale 1601–2001: Guerra, Política, Exilio y Religión*, ed. Enrique Garcia Hernan, Miguel Angel Bunes, and Oscar Recio Morales (Madrid: Universidad de Alcalá-Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas; 2002), 89–112, esp. 91.

26 María José Rodríguez-Salgado, ed., *Armada 1588–1988: An International Exhibition to Commemorate the Spanish Armada* (London: Penguin Books, 1988), 272, 278.

27 Ciaran O'Scea, "Irish Wills from Galicia, 1592–1666," *Arch. Hib.* 56 (November 2002): 73–131.

28 Jacobo de Castro and Juan Antonio Domínguez, *El Árbol Cronológico de la Provincia de Santiago* (Madrid: Archivo Ibero Americano, 1967), I: 167.

29 Ciaran O'Scea, *Surviving Kinsale: Irish Emigration and Identity Formation in Early Modern Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 41.

30 Manuel de Castro, OFM, *San Francisco de Salamanca y Su Studium Generale* (Santiago de Compostela: Aldecoa, Ediciones, S.A., 1998), 49.

31 Joseph MacMahon and John McCafferty, "The Wadding Library of Saint Isidore's College Rome, 1622–1700," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 106 (June 2013): 97–118, esp. 103.

32 De Castro, *San Francisco de Salamanca*, 49.

33 Pazos, *Los Estudios en la Provincia Franciscana de Santiago*, 93, 124.

34 De Castro, *San Francisco de Salamanca*, 54.

35 Ibid., 55.

36 Ibid., 42, 54–55.

37 Pazos, *Los Estudios en la Provincia Franciscana de Santiago*, 91, 95.

38 De Castro, *San Francisco de Salamanca*, 59.

39 Ibid., 57.

40 Pazos, *Los Estudios en la Provincia Franciscana de Santiago*, 116.

41 Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (Ad Claras Aquas: Quaracchi, 1931–1948), 3rd ed., XI: 1224, 88.

42 De Castro, *San Francisco de Salamanca*, 63.

43 Ibid., 60, 66; Pazos, *Los Estudios en la Provincia Franciscana de Santiago*, 275–281.

44 Holzapfel, *The History of the Franciscan Order*, 372.

45 Cleary, *Father Luke Wadding and St. Isidore's College*, 169 ("Fratres ita studiis incumbant, ut pietati magis, nec devotionis spiritum extinguant. Tempus quod studiis conceditur, iis impedant; Orationi vero tempus orationis et non aliis.").

46 Luke Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (Romae: Ex Typographia Francisci Alberti Tani, 1650), 179.

47 Celsus O'Brien, *The Rule of the Friars Minor – A Brief Commentary* (Dublin: Assisi Press, 1954), 25.

48 De Castro, *San Francisco de Salamanca*, 112–113; Francisco García González, "Mateo de Oviedo, Perhaps Ireland's Greatest Friend of All Time," *Proceedings of the II Conference of SEDERI* (1992): 113–121.

49 Ibid., 110.

50 Manuel de Castro, "Wadding and the Iberian Peninsula," in *Father Luke Wadding: Commemorative Volume*, ed. Franciscan Fathers and Dún Mhuire Killiney (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1957), 119–170, esp. 120.

51 Pazos, *Los Estudios en la Provincia Franciscana de Santiago*, 171, 177.

52 Canice Mooney, OFM, "The Irish Sword and the Franciscan Cowl," *Irish Sword* 1 (1949–53): 80–87, esp. 80.

53 Patrick McBride, "Some Unpublished Letters of Mateo de Oviedo, Archbishop of Dublin," *Reportorium novum* 1 (1955–1956): 91–116, 351–368.

54 Manuel Rodríguez Pazos, "El Convento de San Francisco, de Santiago, y Sus Dos Iglesias, la Actual y la Derruida en 1741," in *Liceo Franciscano. Revista de Estudio e investigacion* no. 94–96 (Enero-Diciembre 1979): 155–156.

55 Jennings, *Louvain Papers*, 18.

56 Pazos, *Los Estudios en la Provincia Franciscana de Santiago*, 31.

57 James Brodrick, *Saint Peter Canisius S.J.* (London: Sheed & Ward 1939), 290.

58 Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, VIII: 25.

59 Ibid.

60 Jennings, "The Irish Franciscan College of St Anthony at Louvain," in *Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, His Associates and St Anthony's College Louvain*, ed. Nollaig Ó Muraíle (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 123–129, esp. 123.

61 O'Brien, *The Rule of the Friars Minor*, 24–25.

62 Luke Wadding, *B.P. Francisci Assisiatis Opuscula: nunc primum collecta, tribus Tomis distincta notis et commentariis asceticis illustrata, per Fr. Lucam Waddingum* (Antwerp: Apud B. Moretum, 1623), 133–185.

63 William Short, "The Rule and Life of the Friars Minor," in *The Cambridge Companion to Francis of Assisi*, ed. Michael Robson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 50–67, esp. 51.

64 Wadding, *B.P. Francisci Assisiatis Opuscula*, 170–171, 178, no. 4.

65 Questions for intending students of the Ludovisian College for Irish secular clergy, *c.*1628 (UCD-OFM, D.01, fol. 751).

66 Ibid. ("suo tempore votum emitter adeundi post studia Hiberniam ad fructificandum in vinea Domini.").

67 Pazos, *Los Estudios en la Provincia Franciscana de Santiago*, 94.

68 Canice Mooney, "The Golden Age of the Irish Franciscans, 1615–50," in *Measgra i gCuimhne Mhichil Ui Chleirigh*, ed. Sylvester O'Brien (Dublin: Assisi Press, 1944), 21–33.

69 Pazos, "De Nuestro Archivo Compostelano," 211.

70 Cathaldus Giblin, ed., *Liber Lovaniensis: A Collection of Irish Franciscan Documents, 1629–1717* (hereafter in *LL*) (Dublin: Clonmore & Reynolds, 1956), xvii–xviii.

71 Jennings, *Louvain Papers*, 18–19.

72 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 220, 223.

73 Eoghan Ó hAnnracháin, "The Use of "Ô" as a *particule nobilaire* in Family Names of the Irish in France," *Irish Sword* 122 (Winter 2016): 391–394.

74 Pazos, "De Nuestro Archivo Compostelano," 168, 211.

75 Wadding, *Annales*, II: 282; IV: 72–73, 379–380; Pazos, "De Nuestro Archivo Compostelano," 211; Hugh Fenning, OP, "Students of the Irish College at Salamanca, 1592–1638," *Arch. Hib.* 62 (November 2009): 9; Benjamin Hazard, *Faith and Patronage: The Political Career of Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire, c.1560–1629* (Dublin: Irish Academy Press, 2010), 49, 72. Certification for James Falvey, 20 November 1606, AGS, E, legajo 1745; Jennings, *Louvain Papers*, v; Brendan Jennings, ed., "Brussels MS. 3947: Donatus Moneyus, De Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci," *Analecta Hibernica* 6 (November 1934): 65, 72, 91; Brendan Jennings, "Brevis Synopsis Provinciae Hiberniae FF. Minorum," *Analecta Hibernica* 6 (November 1934): 177; Clodagh Tait, *Death, Burial and Commemoration in Ireland, 1550–1650* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 54.

76 Edel Bhreathnach, "The Friars and the Vernacular in the Irish Tradition," *Irish Historical Studies* 37 (November 2011): 361; Hazard, *Faith and Patronage*, 168–171.

77 Jacobo de Castro and Juan Antonio Domínguez, *El Árbol Cronológico de la Provincia de Santiago* (Madrid, 1976–1982) I: 121–122; Mícheál Mac Craith, "Mac Cathmhaoil (Mac Aingil), Aodh," in *DIB* V: 828–830.

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79 Jennings, "Brussels MS. 3947," 120; *Louvain Papers*, 19; Patrick Power, "Sundrie Priests and Religious in Waterford, 1610," *Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society* 16 (December 1913): 126; Ó Clabaigh, *The Friars in Ireland*, 190.

80 Jennings, *Louvain Papers*, 19, 20.

81 Ibid., 19, 72.

82 Jennings, *Louvain Papers*, 19; *LL*, 123.

83 Jennings, "Brussels MS. 3947," 85; Jennings, "Brevis Synopsis," 159–160; *LL*, 383; *Louvain Papers*, 19; Pazos, "De Nuestro Archivo Compostelano," 168.

84 Jennings, "Brussels MS. 3947," 66; Jennings, "Brevis Synopsis," 158; O'Scea, "Irish Wills," 75; Pazos, "De Nuestro Archivo Compostelano,"168.

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90 Bríd McGrath, "A Fragment of the Minute Book of the Corporation of New Ross, 1635," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 144 (2014–2015): 107; Pazos, "De Nuestro Archivo Compostelano," 168.

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93 Pazos, "De Nuestro Archivo Compostelano," 168; *LL*, 18, 357.

94 Pazos, "De Nuestro Archivo Compostelano," 168; Ó Clabaigh, *The Friars in Ireland*, 14, 70.

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3   "Learned, Attached and Reliable"

Luke Wadding, Agent of the Spanish Monarchy*

Igor Pérez Tostado

In November 1656, an unusual report reached the council of state. First, it was both serious and odd. It accused a Franciscan born in Ireland of being in reality Jewish from the tribe of Judá. Through his "artifice and magic tricks" and "family spirit," he forced the nephews of the pope, the almighty Antonio and Francesco Cardinals Barberini, "to do illicit things without any qualms and how many evils you can imagine." These included astrology, murder, great darkening of skies, thick clouds that involved a ship, strong winds that sunk another and blew a third to the Barbary Coast. He had also provoked an earthquake in Rome and floods in Spain. In short, he aimed to "disturb the peace of England, put the bishops in fear and destroy religion." All this, added to prophecies, pointed toward the arrival of the final judgment.[1] The report was also unusual for another reason: the accused of all this evil was Luke Wadding.

The councilors who studied the report knew Wadding, although the only time he had been in Madrid had been forty years earlier. Luke was born in Waterford in 1588 and raised there until the death of both of his parents in 1602. He soon proved a gifted student. As a result, one of his many brothers, Matthew, brought him to Lisbon to advance his education. At the time of his arrival, the city on the Tajo was the epicenter of the Portuguese kingdom and its worldwide overseas possessions within Habsburg rule. In September 1604, at sixteen years of age, Wadding entered the Franciscan order in the convent of Matozinhos. The convent, close to Oporto, was under the protection of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.[2] The vicissitudes of these five elements – his Irish links, his intellectual brilliance, Habsburg rule, the Franciscan order and the Immaculate Conception – shaped his whole life. He lived only few years in the Iberian Peninsula: fifteen formative years. He caught the eye of Antonio de Trejo, general of the order, in the Provincial chapter meeting in Lisbon. He was then sent to Salamanca in 1613. He held several teaching positions in north-east Spain until called by Trejo to go with him to Rome. It was only then that he visited, for the sole time in

his life, the Spanish court. When he finally left the Iberian Peninsula in 1618, Wadding was thirty years old and never came back. In Italy, Wadding became a reliable agent of Trejo and later Spanish ambassadors. He served Spanish Franciscans, other members of the Spanish church, the supporters of the Immaculate Conception, Irish clerics and rebels, and Philip IV himself. Of all the people in Rome, why was Wadding sought after for so many Spanish patrons? How could he keep their confidence over decades?

The following pages try to explain the success and limits of Wadding as an agent of the Spanish monarchy. The first section will deal with the problems and risks of patron agent relations in the early modern period. The Spanish representation in Rome faced special challenges that only trust could overcome. Trust reduced risk, managed uncertainty and built social capital. The second addresses how Wadding seized this opportunity to nurture solid patronage relationships. To do so, he worked hard to project a positive image of himself to his patrons in the Spanish Monarchy. He built a solid link with successive Spanish diplomats and cardinals based on trust. At the same time, he was sought after and celebrated by the Curial elites and their institutions. To the horror of the 1656 complaint about him, Wadding is telling "many lies, that despite his apparent sanctity, and the modesty of his letters he is deploying, [...] always going to the Pope and the prelates of his religion with false reports and allegations."[3] The last section deals with the evolution of trust. Over the years, the social, moral, economic and political ties between Wadding and his patrons deepened. On the one hand, this allowed him to expand his activity. On the other, his backing in Madrid by former ambassadors in Rome helped promote him to senior positions. Wadding accomplished all this even if papal-Hispanic relations were as tumultuous as Franciscan and Irish politics. His credit put the Irish Franciscans in Rome at the center of European politics. Yet, he could not transfer his capital of trust to the next generation.

Distance, Information Asymmetry and Agency Costs: The Spanish Monarchy in Rome

Part of Wadding's public life turned around his activity as an agent in Rome for others. The agent, as recent historiography has stressed, is crucial for the distribution of information, power, services and products. To be an agent is not a profession, but a usage in many professional spheres. It is best understood as a series of practices of mediation and representation.[4] A wider understanding of diplomacy has focused on new agents beyond ambassadors and monarchs. This has brought a renewed interest in characters who held minor official positions. They, like Wadding, provided expertise and exerted no small influence over political events.[5]

Distance was one of the main reasons why agents were sought and employed. In the early modern political systems, a physical separation

between the patron and theater of action made delegation necessary. The agent was also in possession of up-to-date local information unavailable to the patron. Mobility was key in the success of an agent even more than his or her professional background. Thus, an immigrant background, like Wadding's, was the most common element among agents.[6] Wadding was not born into aristocracy, nor had his family been in the Spanish king's service. Anyhow, he had many relatives, and one could count many Irish bishops among them. To this he added the contacts provided by the membership of the Franciscan order. On top of that, he also belonged to learned circles and the advocacy of the Immaculate Conception. Thanks to all those networks, Wadding built the foundations of his work as an agent.[7]

Networking alone was not enough for an agent's success. Expertise of various kinds made the use of the agent indispensable. Knowledge of technical subjects and languages singled the best agents. The Papal Curia created a context of ever-changing asymmetric information. Thus, agents had to act in behalf of their patrons with information not available to them. A tricky business in which Wadding proved to be a winner. To do so, he put his overlapping networks at work to get information, which he then applied in his endeavors. Spanish monarchs and councillors were too aware of the difficulties posed by Rome. Yet, the embassy was of supreme importance for both political and symbolic reasons. In the Italian Peninsula, the support or acquiescence of the Pope was vital to maintain the *Pax Hispanica*. In short that meant keeping the discontents with Spanish hegemony down and the French out. Rome was the scenario where the Spanish king preserved his preeminence. It was also the setting in which to defend precedence among Christian rulers. Finally, supportive pontiffs could coat Spanish foreign policy with religious legitimacy.[8]

Of all Spanish embassies, Rome required the greatest amount of subtlety and cunning. Ambassadors there should achieve a careful equilibrium of submission and haughtiness. They had to revere the Pope as head of Christendom but also extol the dignity of the Spanish monarch. Ambassadors honored the Pope, but in actual negotiations showed energy, even stubbornness. The Cardinals' college was also a complex and diverse institution in which to maneuver. Ambassadors maintained good relations with all and provided generous pensions to many. Yet, they could not even trust the Milanese and Neapolitan subjects of the Spanish crown.[9] Spanish ambassadors thought Rome held less trustworthy individuals than any other destination.[10] And yet, the Spanish agents had more businesses to deal with in Rome than in any other court. The many kingdoms of the Habsburg crown generated plenty of economic negotiations. These included the *cruzada*, *subsidio* and *excusado* as well as prebends. Besides the embassy, governors of the Spanish territories employed their own agents.[11] Finally, Spanish ambassadors did not stay long in Rome. Their appointment usually lasted a few years. The Hispanic high aristocracy regarded it as an early step in the *cursus honorum*.

From there they progressed into the government of Italian possessions. Then they would move to higher positions or return to Madrid. Back at the court, they usually sat at royal councils. High ambassador turnover made trusted agents even more necessary. Only they could keep track of the unending Spanish negotiations in the eternal city.

Wadding traveled first to Rome to help advance one of these matters. The definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception dragged on for the rest of his life and much centuries beyond. At the time of Wadding's arrival, Spanish power in the city was at its zenith. During his long stay, he witnessed the challenge and decline of Hispanic influence. So, a symbolic recapitalization was most needed and sought after. That was the core of the Hispanic canonizations and the Immaculate Conception: (re)gain divine protection.[12]

Agents such as Wadding moved forward several projects for more than one patron at the same time. This made it very complicated for patrons to track and control conflicts of interests. The breath, scope and complexity of Wadding's endeavors in Rome were overwhelming. He only dedicated a fraction of his time to Spanish Immaculists, ambassadors and cardinals. Wadding's energy overflowed toward the foundation, fundraising for and dynamization of institutions, historical, theological and devotional writing, training of new scholars and consulting positions within several roman institutions, councils and commissions.

All these elements point to the need for but also the problems with agents in early modern political systems. The interests of the patron and the agent tend not to be the same, a problem known in political science as the principal-agent problem. Furthermore, it was not effective for a patron to send an agent to navigate distant and arcane administrative affairs. It was best to seek reliable agents in *situ* that would commit only part of their time and effort to their cause. Thus, local agents would work for various distant patrons at the same time. The name given by political scientists to this situation is the multiple principle problem. In it, agents juggle their own interests with those not only of one master, but with several conflicting masters' aspirations. Only very wealthy and powerful patrons had exclusive and/or permanent agents.[13]

Although many patrons and projects coexisted in Rome, affairs often languished. Agents could only take intermittent or sporadic action. The use of the same agent was useful and provided continuity, allowing for preserving and reusing when necessary the memory of their past endeavors. A good example of this is again, was Wadding's work in the Immaculate Conception affair. The Roman administration could suppress held Hispanic initiatives back for decades. Cardinals and ambassadors stayed in the city for shorter periods. Thus, Wadding was the go-to person every time negotiations restarted, either in 1621, with the count Monterrey as new ambassador in Rome, or in the 1650s.[14]

Summed up, all these factors caused cumulative costs and severe inefficiencies. If the patron had no way of knowing whether the agent was

serving his best interest, the agent system became unworkable. The solution to this conundrum laid on a metaphysical element of early modern societies and politics, but one with very real consequences. It required one element above all to manage the difficulties posed by distance, information asymmetry and multiple agency costs: trust.

Signaling and Subjective Interpretation: Wadding and the Building of Trust

Laments about agency costs among Spanish ambassadors in Rome were almost as recurrent as complaints over lack of payment. In 1647, the new Spanish ambassador, count Oñate, reporting on a Florentine at the service of the embassy, reflected on how little one could expect of informants in Rome:

> […] handling only their own affairs, and with so little attitude of service that [the embassy] to my understanding ceases to be Florentine; for all that I judge that paying his salary provides him with everything he deserves and to hire another, your majesty, would only be harmful because in this court they are all free agents, not pursuing justice very equitably and not wanting either to suffer or to serve badly, because it is necessary to compensate them and according to the profit, [v] or the damage that only is to be dispensed in perfect equality, Your Majesty will send whatever it is.[15]

Sheer force of money could not overcome the huge agency cost at play in the city of Rome. Oñate knew that increased payment acted as a misplaced incentive and yielded negative returns. Ambassadors could handle the problem tightening and reinforcing the relationship with agents who already had a track record of positive evaluation according to the imperfect information available to the Spanish Monarchy. That is, building trust. A word with multiple meanings and interpretations, trust at its simplest definition is the hope on someone's faithfulness, the confidence on the word of the counterpart.[16] Trust helps to reduce or to eliminate the transaction cost between patron and agent. This meant that the patron's need to dedicate too many resources to control their agents without it. Trust between patron and agent, however, resulted from a complex equation in which the signaling of the agent matched by the subjective performance evaluation by the patrons. This was the case of Wadding.

In Rome, Wadding found plenty of opportunities to support the Spanish Monarchy. A conscience of crisis marked the late sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century in the Spanish Monarchy. The environment was part of the "global crisis" of the seventeenth century marked by natural disasters, military fiascos, plagues, economic problems and popular revolts. The result was an introspective search of

the true meaning and response to the problems.[17] One of the most striking resulting answers was the spread of the popular and elite support for the Immaculist dogma that was perceived as helping to protect Christian societies in an age of disaster and religious compromise.[18]

The popular roots of the movement lay deep. In 1466, the small grouping of settlements known as Villalpando and its land, in Tierra de Campos, present-day Zamora, were the first to vow to defend the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. The document of their sacred vow explains that they had taken this resolution to protect themselves from two wars: the first, the earthly civil war that the kingdom of Castile was enduring between the two sons of Juan II (1405–1454), Enrique IV (1425–1474) and don Alfonso de Castilla (1453–1468). The war tore apart the social fabric of the kingdom and represented a calamity for small places like Villalpando and its inhabitants, who had nothing to win with the struggle and much to lose. The second war was unleashed by heavens against men through pestilence. With their vow, they hoped to get the intercession on the Virgin to end both. They repeated the vow with the same ceremony in 1498 to make a copy of the only existing document but with the same pomp and circumstance, and in 1527, to celebrate the victory of the emperor Charles I (1500–1558) against Francis I of France (1494–1547) at Pavia, with help from the host of Villalpando. The popular interest on the debates around the Immaculate conception and the spread of devotion continued during the sixteenth century.

The spread of the wave of Immaculist devotional declarations took shape at another period of perceived crisis, the second decade of the seventeenth century. A conflict between preachers in Seville in 1614 that incited popular tumults was the spark that spread from Andalusia, in the south of the Iberian Peninsula, touching all places, town and country, and all sort of people, rich and poor, learned and uneducated, starting a frenzy of vows of institutions of all kinds. Between 1617 and 1619, the universities of Seville, Granada, Alcalá, Santiago, Toledo, Zaragoza, Salamanca and Huesca vowed to defend the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception with all their strength. During these years, Immaculist vows became a regular feature in existing religious communities, guilds, brotherhoods whereas new chapels, confraternities were founded, some boasting royal patronage. The Immaculist debate was very much connected with the social and political tensions of the time. Some argue that the craze in Sevilla represented a territorial opposition between the network of the royal favorite Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas (1553–1625), the duke of Lerma in Madrid and the cities of Andalusia, first with Sevilla and its church and later with Granada, centered on the leaden books.[19] The movement peaked when the *cortes* or Parliament of Castile asked permission to the king to profess the vow and took it afterward. This was the exalted context in which a special embassy to Rome to ask for the definition of the doctrine took shape.[20]

Wadding arrived at Rome as a member of Antonio de Trejo's special embassy and kept that link: both with the cardinal while he lived, and with the promotion of the Immaculist dogma while he was alive. Wadding and Trejo collaborated closely in the intense negotiations and debates which began in 1618 and lasted for two years. Trejo returned to his bishopric having failed in his aim and retired from politics. As he would remind the Spanish court short before his own death, it was the definition of the dogma,

> the one that took him out of Spain and kept him in Rome, having sent him the Majesty of Philip 3° and having his Excellency made vow to attend it, until seeing it finished or to finish his days in pursuing it.[21]

Although wary of the ordinary Spanish ambassador, Francisco Fernández de la Cueva (1575–1637), duke of Albuquerque, Wadding helped the new ambassador in the continuation of the Immaculate mission. The Franciscan gained the visibility as one of the intellectual pillars of the Immaculists and thus attracted their support in Spain, becoming one of their agents and collaborating with envoys to Rome. His book on the history of the embassy can also be considered as the great signal he sent to the Spanish Monarchy. It is the work itself, not what he might say in it about himself, that signals his reputation as learned, attached and reliable.[22] In the correspondence with Madrid, still in 1652, his book on the embassy showcased his good deeds "recalling to all for his book on the Holy Legation and for many other things on which his Reverend on the matter of the Conception."[23]

Spanish clerics of lower rank sought the name and influence of Wadding there, hoping that he had the knowledge, prestige and contacts which would help them to succeed in their business. This was the standard procedure in Spain, and this was also how Wadding operated in Rome, offering different services to a diverse array of Spanish correspondents. For example, in the 1630s and 1640s, Wadding served as an agent for specific problems or issues of the Spanish clerics in Rome and with matters relating to his own religious order. It was during the embassy of Monterrey, sent to acknowledge the election to the pro-Spanish cardinal Alessandro Ludovisi as pope Gregory XV, that the four simultaneous canonizations of Spaniards (St Isidore, St Ignatius, St Francis Xavier and St Therese of Avila) took place in Rome, an event celebrated the 12th of March 1622 and the high-water point of Roman-Hispanic *entente*. After the election of Urban VIII, the relationships of successive Spanish ambassadors in Rome and with Roman nuncios in territories under Spanish rule would be increasingly turbulent.[24] The other key of Wadding's career is that he kept good relations both with the Roman curia and with the Spaniards in a period in which the hostility among the two was the norm.

Opportunities for Wadding to put his skills to work in difficult times were not lacking in those decades. One of the high points of diplomatic tension was the second period as interim ambassador of Cardinal Gaspar de Borja in the 1630s, a staunch supporter of Spanish interests in Rome in frontal opposition to cardinal Barberini and simultaneously a heavyweight of curial politics and supporter of Wadding and St Isidore's. Another of his most delicate and conflictive intermediations came during the election of Giovanni Battista Visco da Campagna (1583–1659) as minister general of the Franciscans in 1633. Wadding intervened as an agent in the heated relationships between Philip IV and Urban VIII, besides having a close friendship with Campagna, and receiving the support of relevant anti-Spaniards in Rome.[25] Philip IV himself considered the work of intermediation of the Irish theologian as honest and recognized him as a diligent agent.[26]

The king was only reacting to the continuous positive evaluation that his councilors made of Wadding's activity in Rome. "It will be very worthy of Your clemency to write to this religious man a royal letter out of esteem for his good Zeal." They wrote "so that not only would he be favored, but he would be obliged to attend in that court to all that is presented in this cause [of the Immaculate Conception]." To which the king replied in his own hand, "It's fine and so I sent it."[27] This favored the Irish Franciscan, and, at the same time, it obliged him to serve even more. That is the core logic of the moral economy at play.[28] This subjective performance evaluation by the Spanish Monarchy and its agents toward Wadding translated into positive incentives both immaterial (public praise) and material – support for his endeavors, protection in the face of critics and enemies – in a loop that increased in time. Wadding's social capital and networks expanded as his former Spanish interlocutors in Rome were promoted to the top echelons of the Hispanic administration.

Wadding's Late Years: A Long-Term Perspective on Trust

Each input, either service or reward, was part of a more general continuous update of social, moral and political relationship between patron and agent.[29] The literature on political science considers that, in the long term, trust evolves according to its own dynamic.[30] Wadding's deep-rooted relationship with his patrons crossed a threshold in the 1640s. At the same time, the external pressure and internal crisis and rebellions in the Spanish Monarchy reached a breaking point that put the continued existence of the composite monarchy into question. It is impossible to underestimate the sense of imminent collapse felt in Spanish politics during these years. The best example of the now visible weakness and vulnerability of the Spanish position in Rome was the sending of an extraordinary ambassador in 1642, Pedro Fajardo de Requesens-Zúñiga de

Pimentel (1602–1647), marquis of Los Velez, to prevent pope Urban VIII from accepting an ambassador from the rebellious kingdom of Portugal. The situation in Rome deteriorated into serious street violence involving deaths. The Spanish ambassador claimed that the attack launched against his life the 20th of August 1642 by the henchmen accompanying the Portuguese envoy, the bishop of Lamego, involved the Portuguese, Catalans and French in town, and enjoyed the acquiescence of Cardinal Antonio Barberini.[31] In this same volatile summer of 1642, Wadding began his career as an official diplomatic agent on behalf of the Catholic Confederation of Ireland.[32]

Prior to the 1640s, despite his reputation, his incessant and varied activity and the munificence of the Spanish reward, Wadding had not been part of the Spanish diplomatic game in Rome. Prior to the 1640s, they had never mentioned him in connection with state affairs: either in the surviving correspondence of the Spanish embassy, or in the minutes of the council of state in Madrid.[33] Someone below the rank of Cardinal was rarely considered a relevant actor (or even mentioned) in this kind of documentation which gives a sense of Wadding's newfound position. As Matteo Binasco has rightly argued, Wadding played a seminal role in shaping Rome's policy toward Ireland during the 1640s. Once more, his influence was cemented on trust: that of the Catholic council on him, and the one they believed tied Wadding to the Pope Innocent X and his cardinal-nephew, Camillo Francesco Maria Pamphili.[34]

The belonging of agents to diverse communities could be compatible or troublesome. Wadding's unexpected rise to political visibility in Rome and his search for economic support for the Catholic Confederation in a concerted pan-European diplomatic effort shed a cloud over his relationship with the Spanish Monarchy. Even if Wadding was respected in Madrid, Philip IV and his advisors could only make sense of the Irish conflict in a European context. In the 1640s, that meant a conflict like Portugal, Naples, Sicily, the southern Netherlands or Catalonia: a zero-sum game played against France. In contrast with the Hiberno-Roman-Spanish triangle mastered by Wadding for decades, for Spanish politicians, Irish *Hispanophilia* should not be suspected of *Francophilia*. To make things even worse, the Spanish monarchy had a long tradition of disliking when exiles became independently active in foreign affairs, because that was a source of trouble and put in question the royal protection over them, which demanded obedience in return. While acting as the representative of the Irish Confederates in Rome, Wadding had also to put his energy at work in preventing the implosion of the Confederation, but to little avail.[35]

The watershed of Wadding's intermediary role between the Spanish Monarchy, the Holy See and Confederate Ireland arrived in the spring of 1647. Two years earlier, Owen Roe O'Neill (1585–1649) had sent emissaries to Madrid to test the idea of putting the island formally under

Spanish overlordship, either under direct rule of Philip IV or by offering the crown to his natural son, Juan José of Austria (1629–1679). It was not the first time that someone proposed such an idea in Madrid, but this time it was part of a greater political move resulting of infighting within the Confederation, the parliamentary victory in England and Ireland orbiting around either France or Spain. After the tentative talks in Madrid, the negotiation opened in Rome under the responsibility of the newly arrived Spanish ambassador, Íñigo Vélez de Guevara y Tassis (1597–1658), count of Oñate.[36]

Oñate put in motion a tortuous plan through which the Pope Innocent X was to offer the lordship of Ireland to Philip IV or his natural son. He was to accompany it with enough subsidies to allow him to make effective the new rule. All these tentative negotiations were carried indirectly through a third hand, that is, the Irish Franciscan.[37]According to Oñate, Wadding was using his reputation and his role as spokesperson of the Irish Catholics in Rome to further the ambassador's plan. "It entails much secrecy," Oñate insisted ten days later, "because all hope would vanish if the Pope had any inkling that these thoughts had been proposed to me and the nuncio, the auditor and fra Lucas would be prohibited from doing so."[38]

A gamble too risky and costly for the Spanish ambassador and too desperate for the Irish Franciscan. The answer to Oñate's proposal and the abortion of his plans presented in Madrid on the 16th of July famously stated that "we are no in time to conquer new kingdoms but to recover the lost and maintain our own."[39] Soon the territories of the Spanish Monarchy in the Italian Peninsula were engulfed by internal revolt supported by French intervention, absorbing all remaining resources and energies. The revolt that erupted in Palermo tested to the upmost the resources of the Spanish governor and former Roman ambassador, the marquis of Los Velez. Similarly, another riot in the city of Naples escalated into a full rebellion, requiring the count of Oñate as the replacement of the deposed Spanish viceroy, the duke of Arcos.[40] The events in Naples blew up the last chance for the Irish to get substantial material support from Spain before the political implosion and later military defeat of the Irish Confederation.[41] Amid the debacle, and despite Wadding's success in obtaining economic resources for the Confederation, by the 1650s the standing and reputation of the Irish Franciscan in the Spanish monarchy was laid open to attack.

The first rift with his Spanish patrons appeared not in connection to Ireland, but where it was least expected: in his advocacy of the Immaculate Conception as dogma. Early modern society was corporative and thus Wadding, through his belonging to diverse communities, adopted their rivals per force. Thus, as a Franciscan, Immaculist, Irishman in Europe of Old English background and linked to the Spanish interest in Rome, he adopted several groups as opposed and risked being caught

in their confrontation.[42] Roman, Irish and Immaculist factionalism would not leave Wadding unscathed. In September 1652, father Pedro de Castilla, agent in Rome for the retaking of the negotiations, wrote that "to the Father Vbadingo communicates, and will communicate, using his many letters, although the character of Father Vbadingo is not certain."[43]

Unfortunately for Castilla, he died in less than a month after writing this letter. His death was apparently the result of work exhaustion, not protecting himself of the Roman heat and the grief of not having achieved a definition of the Immaculate Conception dogma. Nothing seems to have endured of Castilla's critique. In fact, the archbishop of Toledo himself, Cardinal Baltasar Moscoso y Belasco y Sandoval (1589–1665), had been writing to Wadding commanding him to help Castilla, praising his many services.[44] In a matter of days, Cardinal Giangiacomo Teodoro Trivulzio (1597–1656) had agreed with Wadding to charge again with the Immaculate Conception, "to look for some things to print, unaffected, in which is the title of Immaculate for having experience, and to have occasion if embarassed to speak again with greater feeling to his Holiness."[45] In the summer of 1653, plans were made to reinforce efforts in Rome with a new extraordinary embassy, this time headed by Pedro de Urbina y Montoya (1585–1663), archbishop of Valencia. While discussing the expert help that would accompany him, it was stated that "It seems not necessary, since in Rome we have the help of Fr. Lucas de Vbadingo, of the same order, of whom all the ministers of H. M. have availed themselves."[46] Less than a year later after the friction with father Castilla, the reputation of Wadding looked as if it were restored.[47] The instructions for the embassy in Rome that would occupy Diego de Aragon Tagliavia (c.1596–1663), duke of Terranova, ordered him to consult with Wadding about everything and anything to do with the Immaculate Conception.[48] Terranova sent Wadding's new book on the Immaculate Conception to Madrid, which was praised by the special Junta and appreciated by the king himself.[49]

The second confrontation arose soon after with the spiteful accusation that opened this chapter. In addition to supernatural accusations against Wadding, it included concrete elements. In 1654, the Irish Franciscan Fray Francisco MacGruaik de Santa María exposed the situation of the Irish Catholics to Philip IV in the name of the clergy and people of Ireland. He made no secret of his adhesion to the faction headed by the former nuncio in Ireland – Giovanni Battista Rinuccini (1592–1653) – blaming the defeat of the Irish Catholics upon Ormond and his Irish and French supporters, among whom he assigned to Wadding a prominent role. He proposed to the Catholic monarch a plan to restore Charles II (1630–1685) through the support of the Catholics of the three kingdoms and the Spanish monarchy.[50] He also made the claims already

mentioned in the introduction, asking for letters of presentation for the Spanish cardinals and ambassador in order to have Wadding removed from Rome.[51]

To the council of state, all this was "an ugly accusation against the said Wadding."[52] MacGruaik de Santa María was unknown in the Spanish court and brought no letters of introduction. It is not a surprise that, even if listened to with attention, the council of state did not take his charges against Wadding too seriously. However, there was another reason for it. The councilors who studied his report were the marquises of Valparaiso and Velada, the counts of Peñaranda and Oñate, the duke of Alba and the archbishop of Zaragoza. Velada had been governor of Milano for three years in the 1640s, and Peñaranda would spend time in Rome en route to his appointment as viceroy of Naples in few years. Yet, he had no direct experience of Roman affairs. Neither did Alba nor Juan Cebrián Pedro (1585–1662), archbishop of Zaragoza. The most expert voice on this affair that day at the council was precisely the count of Oñate, the same who ten years before had directed Wadding's activity in Rome for which MarGruaik was now complaining. That Mac-Gruaik made charges against Wadding worked against his credibility:

> this Proposition, although it was made with intense zeal (in that it can be seen as reparation for the usual rivalry between friars and an attempt to use this against Fr. Luke Wadding), has no basis [for us] to give it hearing regarding the universal state of all things of the monarchy.[53]

This was the last stage of the long-term returns obtained by Wadding out of his relationship with his Hispanic patrons. The position of Spanish ambassador in Rome was usually held for a short time and was a stepping-stone through which the highest Castilian aristocracy progressed in the Italian circuit of command. Even while in Rome, most of them were very well connected in Madrid. For example, the count of Monterrey, twice ambassador in Rome, had close family ties with the royal favorite, the count-duke of Olivares.[54] Once their Italian term was completed, those who had not lost royal favor in the process would usually return to Madrid to positions of influence and authority in the court and the conciliar system. Cardinal Borja y Velasco, reprimanded by the king for his handling of the Rome embassy, was at his return received with full honors and promoted to the seat of Seville first and Toledo later and appointed a member of the council of state. Former ambassadors in Rome provided Wadding with powerful protectors at the Spanish court and councils. Thus, when complaints against the Irish Franciscan reached Madrid during his last years of life, those in the highest position of command in foreign affairs had a personal knowledge and appreciation, and even kept correspondence with the Franciscan who was being accused.

Imprecise and unsubstantiated accusations by obscure newly arrived exiles from Ireland weighted little against the high esteem and good memories of the services provided by the Irish Franciscan. If any reputation had to be cross referenced, it was that of the plaintiff:

> all things being equal, consider the confidence granted fr. Lucas Wadding, for being a person of many letters, and of virtue in Rome, and one who always tried to show affection for the service of H. M.; it may be, that the divisions among the people of Ireland, which have been the ones who facilitated their destruction and facilitated the dominance of that Kingdom by the English, are in large part, the reason for the rivalry that the supplicant displays toward Wadding, although both are of the same ancestry, but in any event, to the council, it does seem that any record can be made of these matters. Still, if H.M. is served, the vicar general of St Francis may be asked to inform H.M., if he knows this religious, the basis of his complaint and warn him, so that he may be given the chance to respond to the charges coming to this court.[55]

However, the Spanish authorities knew that "the public and common fame" of Wadding in Rome was being put into jeopardy.[56] Wadding himself named the vicar general of the Franciscans, fray Julian Pérez, as one of his detractors in a letter to the minister general of the order, Pedro Manero, in which he had to remind him of the public and secret services he had rendered to the order and the minister general.[57] Wadding's assessment of fray Julian as his enemy seems correct, because the vicar general recommended the council of state to get the Irish Franciscan out of Rome:

> It will not be bad to leave Rome before I consider it very convenient, but it cannot be good to bother the authority of His Majesty with something that might have no effect, but I would want to ensure that we act with warmth toward the ambassador when God allows me to arrive in Madrid to speak more.[58]

This was not enough reason still to take any action against the Irish Franciscan. The council of state decided to ask for information from the Spanish ambassador in Rome, but it took no further action. In November of that year, Wadding died.[59]

Conclusion

It is telling that the last report on Wadding sent by the ambassador in Rome almost forty years later after the Irishman's arrival, concerned the Immaculate Conception once again. As we saw, at the request of the

duke of Terranova, the Irish Franciscan had written a little book on the Immaculate to test the waters for a new opening of negotiations. When receiving it, the Junta of the Immaculate Conception reminded the king:

> that the Author is a highly well-known subject in the correspondence from Rome; and in different promotional letters and discussions he has been on the verge of [being elected] cardinal, and he still is; that the Junta has on several occasions made honorary mentions of him to H.M.[60]

The study of Wadding's role as a Spanish agent in Rome is a tiny piece of his multiple dependencies, social ties and moral and political relations that both supported and controlled him. Wadding's success as a political agent was based on a positively reinforced loop of signaling, effective service, and rewards, which reduced agency costs creating trust, an essential ingredient of continuing relationships. In this universe, reputation was the most important asset for an agent, and Wadding built it consistently over the decades, cultivating the trust of consecutive ambassadors in Rome, the Spanish Cardinals and the Roman curia, the Franciscan order and his fellow Irish at home and abroad. The Trust allowed him to overcome the barriers posed by distance, asymmetric information and agency costs in an environment of multiple patrons, loyalties and simultaneous negotiations. It is important to remember, as Guido Möllering argues, that cooperation, relationships or social capital result from trust and should not be confounded with it.[61] The career of the Irishman sheds light on the importance of trust as one key of the functioning of the relationship between political agents and patrons.

Trust between patron and agent was built, translated into action and reward or destroyed in an ever-changing dynamic. Acts of cooperation, service and reward were not onetime-only transactions, but ways of re-actualizing the whole network of social, moral and political relations.[62] Thus, Wadding's role as a Hispanic agent evolved through the decades, changing and adapting opportunistically as the ambassadors in Rome rotated, and Popes' political affiliations shifted. The underlying effect, however, was a growing trust in Wadding as he presented himself as learned, attached to the Spanish interest, and reliable, and the Spanish Monarchy accepted him as such. Despite the bitter critics that the collapse of the Irish Confederation brought to him, he had been without a doubt the most active and most successful of its political agents. That was not mere coincidence. The reason for that is that he could mobilize a huge social capital built over decades and that he had skillfully combined his belonging to different – and often conflicting – communities. In his twilight years, increasingly pressured by rivals within the order and the bitterness of the defeat in Ireland, his impressive past achievements and remaining social capital protected him.

Learning, attachment and reliance are individual attributes, and thus non-transferrable. Despite their past successes, the agent needed to regularly obtain results in order to keep the trust of the correspondents, receive rewards that tied him closer to his patrons and attract new assignments and protectors. The intergenerational transmission of resources for Wadding, as for all other agents, responded to the ambiguities of the social norms, limited information and the subtle compound weight of individual and group strategies.[63] Individuals cannot inherit trust, nor can it be transferred to an institution, it must be built anew. Thus, Wadding's lasting inheritance was his intellectual production and the institutional creation of St Isidore's. In 1657 when his body was buried there, the learning and the trust that cemented his web of contacts and services accompanied him to the grave. Without its founder, as Benjamin Hazard rightly put it, St Isidore's itself drifted from a center of influence to a place of memory.[64]

Notes

1 AGS, Secretaría y Junta de Estado [hereafter E], legajo number [hereafter leg.] 3030, Puntos que contiene el memorial de Fr. Franco Magruaik, November 1657 ("su artificio y astucias mágicas," "espíritu familiar," "hazer cosas ilícitas sin reparo alguno y quantas maldades se pueden imaginar," "perturbar la paz de Ynglaterra, poner en temor a los obispos y acabar de destruir la religión."). Milenarism was a strong current among Franciscan tradition and the Irish within the order. See José Sala Catalá and José Vilchis Reyes, "Apocalíptica Española y empresa misional en los primeros franciscos de México," *Revista de Indias* 45, no. 176 (1985): 421–447; John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970); Benjamin Hazard, "'A New Company of Crusaders Like That of St. John Capistran' – Interaction between Irish Military Units and Franciscan Chaplains: 1579–1654," in *Extranjeros en el ejercito: Militares Irlandeses en la sociedad Española 1580–1818*, ed. Enrique García Hernán and Óscar Recio Morales (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2007), 181–197; Ian S. W. Campbell, "John Punch, Scotist Holy War and the Irish Catholic Revolutionary Tradition in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 77, no. 3 (July 2016): 401–421.

2 Manuel de Castro, "Wadding and the Iberian Península," in *Father Luke Wadding: Commemorative Volume*, ed. Franciscan Fathers Dún Mhuire Killiney (Dublin: Clonmore & Reynolds, 1957), 123; Thomas O'Connor, "Luke Wadding's Network at Home and Abroad," in *The Irish College, Rome, and Its World*, ed. Dáire Keogh and Albert McDonnel (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 14–23.

3 AGS, E, leg. 3030, Puntos que contiene el memorial de Fr. Franco Magruaik, November 1657 ("muchos embustes, que devaxo de la santidad y modestia aparente de sus letras va introduciendo y executando, [...] acudiendo siempre al Papa y a los prelados de su religión con falsas relaciones y cartas supuestas.").

4 Marika Klebusek, "Introduction: Profiling the Early Modern Agent," in *Your Humble Servant: Agents in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Hans Cools, Marika Keblusek, and Badeloch Noldus (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren,

2006), 9–12; Cornelia Hughes Dayton, "Rethinking Agency, Recovering Voices," *American Historical Review* 109, no. 3 (June 2004): 827–843; José Miguel Escribano Páez, "De redes, Agentes y Construcción Imperial. Un Recorrido Historiográfico y un ejercicio de Historia Pequeña," in *Líneas recientes de investigación en Historia Moderna*, ed. Felix Labrador Arroyo (Madrid: Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, 2015), 493–510. See the evolution of the practices in Griet Vermeesch, "Professional Lobbying in Eighteenth-Century Brussels: The Role of Agents in Petitioning the Central Government Institutions in the Habsburg Netherlands," *Journal of Early Modern History* 16 (2012): 95–119.

 5 John Watkins, "Towards a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 1–14; Renzo Sabbatini and Paola Volpini, eds., *Sulla diplomazia in età moderna* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2011); Diana Carrió-Invernizi, ed., *Embajadores culturales: transformaciones y lealtades de la diplomacia Española en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2016); Tracey Sowerby and Jan Hennings, eds., *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c.1410–1800* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

 6 Klebusek, "Introduction," 11–12.

 7 Paolo Broggio, "Teologia, ordini religiosi e rapporti politici: la questione dell'Immacolata Concezione di Maria," *Hispania Sacra* LXV, no. Extra I (January–June 2013): 255–281.

 8 Manuel Rivero Rodríguez, *Diplomacia y relaciones exteriores en la Edad Moderna: de la cristiandad al Sistema europeo* (Madrid: Alianza, 2000), 100–103; Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *Roma papale e Spagna. Diplomatici, nobili e religiosi tra due corti* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2010); Juan Luis Castellano Castellano, "La confesionalización de la Monarquía," in *Sociedad, conflicto y poder en el Antiguo Régimen*, ed. Juan Luis Castellano Castellano (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2013), 273–292; William J. Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A System Approach," *Journal of Modern History* 52 (1982): 452–476; David García Cueto, "Los embajadores de España y el Imperio en Roma y la representación de la Casa de Austria en tiempos de Felipe IV," in *La dinastía de los Austria: las relaciones entre la Monarquía Católica y el Imperio*, ed. José Martínez Millán and Rubén González Cuerva (Madrid: Polifemo, 2011), I: 137–174; Maria Antonietta Visceglia, ed., "Diplomazia e politica della Spagna a Roma. Figure di ambasciatori," special issue of *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 1–3 (2007).

 9 Miguel Ángel Ochoa Brun, *Historia de la diplomacia española* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 2006), VI: 159–161; Miles Pattenden, "Rome as a 'Spanish Avignon'? The Spanish Faction and the Monarchy of Philip II," in *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Images of Iberia*, ed. Piers Baker Bates and Miles Pattenden (London: Routledge, 2016), 63–84.

10 For recent bibliography on the multiplicity and complexity of the tasks of the Spanish ambassadors in the Italian Peninsula, see Michael Jacob Levin, *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth Century Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005); Maximiliano Barrio Gonzalo, "La embajada de España ante al corte de Roma en el siglo XVII," *Studia Historica, Historia Moderna* 31 (2009): 237–273.

11 See especially Antonio José Díaz Rodríguez, "El sistema de agencias curiales de la Monarquía Hispánica en la Roma pontifica," *Chronica Nova* 42 (2016): 51–78; Thomas James Dandelet, *Spanish Rome, 1500–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Ochoa Brun, *Historia de la diplomacia*, VI, 358–360.

12 Wadding acted for seven years as postulator of the beatification of Ramon Llull. See Lorenzo Pérez Martínez, "Fray Lucas Wadding, postulador de la causa de beatificación de Ramon Llull," *Estudios Lulianos* I (1957): 262–268.

13 Antonio J. Díaz Rodríguez, "El hombre práctico en Roma: familia y méritos en la elección de agentes curiales de la Monarquía Hispánica," in *Familias, élites y redes de poder cosmopolitas de la Monarquía Hispánica en la Edad Moderna*, ed. Francisco Sánchez-Montes González, Julián J. Lozano Navarro, and Antonio Jiménez Estrella (Granada: Comares, 2017), 57–79.

14 The Junta of the Immaculate Conception in Madrid registers a halt in their activity between 1626 and 1643. AHN, Consejos [hereafter Cons.], libro [hereafter lib.] 2738, f. 58.

15 AGS, E, leg. 3017, Letter of count of Oñate to Philip IV, 26 July 1647 ("tratando solo de sus combenienzias ni esta en actitud de servir en cossa que no sea lebe ni tanpoco a mi entender deja de ser florentin; Por todo lo qual yo juzgo que pagandosele su sueldo tiene todo lo que mereze y que haçerle V. M. otra mrd no solo sera gastalla oçiossamente pero perjudicial porque como en esta corte son todos libres en no yendo la justiçia muy higual no lo quieren sufrir y sirven mal, para obligar a q los compren y asse segun lo que se espera de provecho, [v] o de daño que solo por lo que se ha de dispensar de la perfecta ygualdad, V. M. mandara lo que fuere […]"); Jeff Worsham and Jay Gatrell, "Multiple Principals, Multiple Signals: A Signalling Approach to Principa-Agent Relations," *Policy Studies Journal* 33, no. 3 (2005): 363–376.

16 Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1611), 232.

17 See Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2013); for an analysis of the debate around the global crisis, see Carla Gardina Pestana, "Special Forum: The Afterlife of Geoffrey Parker's Global Crisis," *Journal of World History* 26, no. 1 (2015): 141–142.

18 Fernando Javier Campese Gallego, "La controversia de la Inmaculada Concepción: un conflicto buscado," in *Realidades conflictivas: Andalucía y América en la España del barroco* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2012), 37–50; Fernando Javier Campese Gallego, "Inmaculada y apocalipsis entre Andalucía y América," in *Andalucía en el mundo Atlántico moderno: agentes y escenarios*, ed. Juan José Iglesias Rodríguez and José Jaime García Bernal (Madrid: Silex, 2016), 665–685.

19 José Domínguez Burdalo and Antonio Sánchez Jiménez, "El Dogma de la inmaculada concepción como arma de confrontación territorial en la Sevilla del siglo XVII," *RILCE. Revista de Filología Hispánica* 26 no. 2 (July–December 2010): 303–324; Antonio Luis Cortés Peña, "Andalucía y la Inmaculada Concepción en el siglo XVII," in *Calderón de la Barca y la España del Barroco*, ed. José Alcalá-Zamora y Queipo del Llano and Ernest Belenguer Cebrià (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2003), I: 401–428. See also Daniel Atienza, "Entintar el papel sin mancha de pecado: la controversia inmaculista y la esfera pública en la España del siglo XVII," in *Familia, Cultura Material y Formas de Poder en la España Moderna*, ed. Máximo García Fernández (Madrid: Fundación Española de Historia Moderna, 2016), 401–412; Daniel Martínez Vilches, "La Inmaculada Concepción en España. Un estado de la cuestión," *'llu, Revista de ciencias de las religiones* 22 (2017): 493–507; Emilio Callado Estela, "El confesor regio fray Luis de Aliaga y la controversia inmaculista," *Hispania Sacra* 68, no. 137 (January–June 2016): 317–326.

20 Juan Mir y Noguera, *La inmaculada concepción* (Madrid: Sáenz de Jubera, Hermanos, 1905), 410–411; José Antonio Peinado Guzmán, "La Monarquía española y el dogma de la Inmaculada concepción: fervor, diplomacia y gestiones a favor de su proclamación en la Edad Moderna," *Chronica Nova* 40 (2014): 247–276.
21 AHN, Cons., lib. 2738, fol. 135 ("la qual le saco de España y le tiene en Roma, haviendolo mandado assi la Mag de Phelipe 3º y haviendo su Rma hecho voto de asistir a ella, hasta verla acavada o acavar sus dias en proseguirla."); Francisco de Asís Martínez Gutiérrez, "Entre el rey católico y el papa: los cardenales españoles durante los valimientos del duque de Lerma y Olivares" (Unpublished PhD Diss., Universidad de Granada, 2017), 141–144.
22 Luke Wadding, *Presbeia, sive Legatio Philippi III. et IV. ad Paulum V. et Gregorium XV. de definienda Controversia immaculatae conceptionis B. Virginis Mariae per Fr. A. a Trejo, etc.* (Louvain: Henrici Hastenii, 1624).
23 AHN, Cons., lib. 2738, fol. 132v–133 ("constando a todos por su libro de Legatione Santa y por otras muchas obras lo que su Rma ha travajado en el punto de la concepcion."); Wadding, *Presbeia, sive Legatio Philippi III. et IV.*
24 Quintín Aldea Vaquero, "La neutralidad de urbano VIII en los años decisivos de la guerra de los treinta años (1628–1632)," *Hispania Sacra* 21, no. 41 (1968): 155–178; Esther Jiménez Pablo, "La canonización de Ignacio de Loyola (1622): lucha de intereses entre Roma, Madrid y París," *Chronica Nova* 42 (2016): 79–102.
25 José M. Pou, "Conflicto diplomático entre Felipe IV y Urbano VIII por la elección del General Fr. Juan de Campaña," *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 30 (1928): 332; Paolo Broggio, "Un teologo irlandese nella Roma del Seicento: il francescano Luke Wadding," *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 18, no. 1–2 (2002): 151–178.
26 AGS, E, leg. 3028, Orden de Felipe IV, 22 October 1655.
27 AHN, Cons., lib. 2738, fol. 260–260v and 273–274 ("Sera muy digno de su clemencia escrivir a este religioso una real carta en estimacion de su buen zelo," "causa con que no solo quedara favorecido sino obligado a asistir en aquella corte a todo lo que se ofreciere en esta sta. causa [de la Inmaculada Concepción]," "esta bien y assi lo he mandado.")
28 Laurence Fontaine, *L'Économie morale: pauvreté, credit et confiance dans l'Éurope préindustrielle* (Paris: Gallimard, 2008), 277–307.
29 Ibid., 281.
30 Jean Ensminger, "Reputation, Trust and the Principal Agent Problem," *Trust in Society* 2 (2001): 185–201.
31 AGS, E, leg. 3006, sin folio [thereafter s.f.], letter of the marquis of Los Velez, 21 August 1641; AGS, E, leg. 3006, no folio, news from Rome for Alonso de Cárdenas, 21 August 1641.
32 Tadgh Ó'Hannracháin, "Irish Diplomatic Missions to Rome during the 1640s," in *Irish Communities in Early-Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), 407.
33 AHN, Ministerio de Exteriores, Fondo Santa Sede [thereafter SS], leg. 57, 58, 59, 60 and 61; AGS, E, Roma, Leg. 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1874, 2994, 2995, 2996, 2997, 2998, 2999, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005.
34 Matteo Binasco, "Luke Wadding and Irish Diplomatic Activity in Seventeenth-Century Diplomacy," *Studi Irlandesi, A Journal of Irish Studies* 6 (2016): 198–199; Matteo Binasco, "A Powerful 'Hibernese': Luke Wadding and His Diplomatic Role in Seventeenth-Century Rome," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 112, no. 1–2 (2017): 178–179.
35 Brian Jackson, "The Construction of Argument: Henry Fitzsimon, John Rider and Religious Controversy in Dublin, 1599–1614," in *British Interventions*

in Early Modern Ireland, ed. Ciaran Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 114–115. It is important to note that the Confederation of Kilkeny took the Immaculate Conception as their patroness. According to Mícheál Mac Craith, this was influenced by Wadding. See Mícheál Mac Craith, "The Franciscan Continental Colleges and the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception," in *Rome and Irish Catholicism in the Atlantic World*, ed. Matteo Binasco (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2019), 137–165.

36 Rafael Valladares, "¿Un reino más para la monarquía?, Felipe IV, Irlanda y la guerra civil inglesa," *Studia Histórica, Historia Moderna* 15 (1996): 270–272.

37 AGS, E, leg. 3017, no folio, letter of the count of Oñate to Philip IV, 3 April 1647.

38 AGS, E, leg. 3017, no folio, letter of the count of Oñate to Philip IV, 18 April 1647 ("Combiene sumo secreto," "porque se desvaneçeria toda esperanza si el Papa tubiese alguna luz de que an sido diligenciados por mi los pensamientos y se le an propuesto y el nuncio, el auditor y fra Lucas quedarian excluydos de la introduçion para haçerlo.").

39 AGS, E, leg. 3017, no folio, consulta of the council of state, 16 July 1647 ("no estamos en tiempo de conquistar nuebos reinos sino de recuperar los perdidos y mantener los propios.").

40 Rosario Villari, *Un sogno di libertà. Napoli nel declino di un impero, 1585–1648* (Milano: Mondadori, 2012); Alain Hugon, *La insurrección de Nápoles, 1647–1648: la construcción del acontecimiento* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2014), Alain Hugon, "Nápoles 1647–1648 en la encrucijada de las revoluciones europeas," *e-Spania,* available at http://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/25690.

41 Igor Pérez Tostado, *Irish Influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008).

42 Campese Gallego, "La controversia de la Inmaculada Concepción," 37–50.

43 AHN, Cons., lib. 2738, fols. 116v–118 ("al Pe Vbadingo comunica, y comunicara, valiendose de sus muchas letras, aunque el natural de Pe Vbadingo es poco seguro.").

44 AHN, Cons., lib. 2738, fols. 132v–133.

45 AHN, Cons., lib. 2738, fols. 140–141v ("que se busquen algunas cosas que imprimir, no afectadas, en que esté el titulo de Inmaculada para hacer experiencia, y tener ocasión si lo embarazaran de hablar de nuevo con mayor sentimiento a su Santidad.").

46 AHN, Cons., lib. 2738, fols. 216–216v ("parece no ser necesario, teniendo en Roma la del Pe Fr. Lucas de Vbadingo, de su misma orden, de quien se han valido casi todos los ministros de S.M.").

47 AHN, Cons., lib. 2738, fols. 116v–118 and 132v–133.

48 AHN, Cons., lib. 2738, fols. 216–216v and 242.

49 AHN, Cons., lib. 2738, fols. 260–260v and 273–273; AGS, E, leg. 3028, no folio, Philip IV to Pedro Coloma, 22 October 1655.

50 AGS, E, leg. 2529, Francisco Magruairk de Santa Maria to Philip IV, 1654; Pérez Tostado, *Irish influence*, 158–162.

51 AGS, E, leg. 3030, no folio, Puntos que contiene el memorial de Fr. Franco Magruaik, November 1657; AGS, E, leg. 3030, s.f., consulta of the council of state, 17 November 1656.

52 AGS, E, leg. 3030, no folio, consulta of the council of state, 17 November 1656 ("una fea acussaçion al dicho Wadingo.").

53 AGS, E, leg. 3029, consulta of the council of state, 20 May 1656 ("esta proposicion, aunque fuesse hecha con muy buen zelo, (en que puede hacerse

reparo por la emulacion ordinaria entre frayles y mostrarse este contra Fr. Lucas Wadingo) no tiene fundamento para darla oidos respecto el estado universal de todas las cosas de la monarquía.").

54 Ángel Rivas Albaladejo, "La embajada extraordinaria del VI conde de Monterrey en Roma (1628–1631): Instrumentos de delegación del poder real y líneas generales de su actuación política," in *À la place du Roy: Vice-rois, gouverneurs et ambassadeurs dans les monarchies française et espagnole (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. Daniel Aznar, Guillaume Hanotin, and Niels F. May (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2015), 87–110.

55 AGS, E, leg. 3030, no folio, consulta of the council of state, 17 November 1656 ("fuera justo, entrar con recato en el crédito de fr. Lucas Wading, por ser persona de muchas letras, y opinión de virtud en Roma, y que siempre a procurado parezer afecto al servicio de V. M.; puede ser, que las parcialidades de los pueblos de Yrlanda, que an sido los que facilitaron su perdición y facilitaron a Yngleses la dominazion de aquel Reyno, sean en mucha parte, motivo de la emulación que el suplicante muestra contra el Wadingo, aunque ambos son de un mismo avito, pero de qualquiera manera, al consejo, no se ocurre, que se pueda tomar por aora ningun expediente, en estas cosas. todavía, si VM fuere servido, podrá pedirse al vicario general de San Fran[-cis]co, que informe a VM, si conoce a este religiosso, el concepto en que le tiene y que advierta, todo lo que se le ofreciere decir cerca de las causas de su venida a esta corte.").

56 AGS, E, leg. 3030, no folio, Julian Pérez to Pedro Coloma, 12 of December 1656 ("la publica y común fama.").

57 Brendan Jennings, "Some Correspondence of Father Luke Wadding, O. F. M.," *Coll. Hib.* 2 (1959): 66–94.

58 AGS, E, leg. 3030, no folio, Pedro Coloma to Julian Pérez, 28 November 1656; AGS, E, leg. 3030, no folio, Julian Pérez to Pedro Coloma, 12 of December 1656 ("Para nada será malo saliese de Roma antes lo juzgare convenientísimo pero no puede ser bueno empeñar la autoridad de su Mag que D gde, en cosa que podría no tener efecto parme de estaría encomendallo al embajador para que obre con calor quando Dios sea servido que yo llegue a Madrid hablare mas.").

59 AGS, E, leg. 3030, no folio, consulta of the council of state, 7 February 1657.

60 AHN, Cons., lib. 2738, fols. 260–260v and 273–273v ("que el Author es un sugeto muy señalado en letras en Roma; y en dibersas promociones ha estado en predicamento de cardenal, y lo esta oy; que la Junta en diversas ocasiones ha hecho honorificas menciones de el a V. M.").

61 Guido Möllering, "The Nature of Trust: From Georg Simmel to a Theory of Expectation, Interpretation and Suspension," *Sociology* 35, no. 2 (2001): 403–420.

62 Fontaine, *L'Économie morale,* 281.

63 Giovanni Levi, *L'eredità immateriale* (Torino: Einaudi, 1985).

64 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: Power strategies Spain and Ireland 1600–1825*, ed. Óscar Recio Morales (Valencia: Albatros, 2012), 112–114.

Part II

Wadding and the Roman Context

4 Discovering Migration in the Seventeenth Century

Propaganda Fide, the Holy Office, and Foreigners

Matteo Sanfilippo

In the last two decades, religious historians have paid increased attention to Protestant travelers in Rome, in particular to those who dissimulated their intention to convert under the guise of tourism.[1] Literature on this topic is now remarkable, both in quantity and in quality. By working on a vast array of archives Italian historian Irene Fosi outlined a view of conversions in early modern Rome.[2] In her study, she explored different historiographical perspectives, and, at the same time, she documented the development of the Roman institutions which attracted Protestants and helped them to convert, and the rise of a network of new converts.[3]

According to Fosi, new converts were not only travelers but also soldiers, workers, and artisans who came to Rome because of their profession. According to contemporaries, they were considered only as foreigners, but in our view they can be deemed as immigrants. This is the first terminological difficulty we must deal with, but it is not the only one. For example, national origins of these immigrants are not carefully stated in documents of that time, because in early modern Rome they were generically labeled as *ultramontanes*, and because they all came from "beyond the mountains" (the Alps). Nobody, not even the Roman bureaucracy, paid attention to their "national" origins when they left the multinational Habsburg Empire.[4] As often when dealing with early modern sources, we should remember that today's historical concerns are very different from the terminology of the early modern period. Therefore, we should never forget that we are tracking migrants who at that time were considered as converts/foreigners/travelers.

In the wake of the Reformation, our Protestant travelers initially stayed away from Rome, fearing Catholic persecution. Yet, in a few decades they resumed their previous habits and visited Rome for a number of reasons: trade, business, tourism, study (universities and colleges, but also archeological or artistic relevant sites) diplomacy, and conversion.[5] A number of them did not want to renounce their religious belief but at the same time

did not want incur a hostile Catholic reaction; therefore, they tried to dissimulate, thus awakening the suspicion of Roman authorities.[6] However, at the end of the sixteenth century the Holy See initiated a careful strategy not only to control but also to convert these visitors.[7]

This strategy was influenced by short-term geo-diplomatic factors and did not evolve in a consistent way. In fact, the geo-diplomatic scene of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries was confused. Moreover, we must consider that in the sixteenth century, even after the rupture of the Reformation, the Roman Church was more intent on converting Muslims and Jews than Protestants, in the Old World as well as in the Eternal City. It took decades before the conversion of Protestants became the most prominent aim. Looking at these decades, we can see how that goal gained in importance.

In 1543, Paul III (1468–1549) conferred on Giovanni da Tornano, rector of St. Giovanni in Mercatello, a church close to Aracoeli, the management of a confraternity for the newly converted. According to the papal bull (*Illius qui*) the confraternity was for former Jews, but its scope could be enlarged to Muslims and other "Infidels." In the following decades, the confraternity extended its field of action with the founding in 1562 of the female Dominican monastery dell'Annunziata close to St. Maria ai Monti, and in 1557 of the College of the Neophytes (Collegio dei Neofiti) close to St. Eustachio, whereas the House of catechumens was still at St. Giovanni in Mercatello.[8] In the following decades, the College went under the protection of the Holy Office because its first head was Giulio Antonio Santori (1532–1602), Cardinal of Santa Severina, then Roman Inquisitor, and later prefect of the Inquisition.[9] During this period, these institutions only partially dealt with migrants, but during the first half of the seventeenth century there was a change of policy.

Under Urban VIII, the three institutions of the confraternity were placed in the same building at the Madonna ai Monti, thanks to the support provided by Antonio Barberini, brother of the pope. The Palazzo dei Neofiti and dei Catecumeni was built in 1635 by Gaspare De Vecchi (1536–1614), and in the meantime the strategy for converting Jews and Muslims was continued.[10] Moreover, the Papal Curia started to think about other conversions. In 1600, Clement VIII (1536–1605) created a Roman Congregation *de iis qui sponte veniunt ad fidem*, aiming also at Protestants, whereas in 1622 Gregory XV (1554–1623) founded the Roman Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" that from 1632 to 1671 was directed by cardinal Antonio Barberini the Younger, nephew of Urban VIII. During the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), Propaganda sought to convert not only Jews and Muslims, but also Protestants and even the inhabitants of Asia and America.[11] In order to carry out the project of converting Jews, Muslims, and Protestants, in 1673 Clement X (1590–1676) founded the Ospizio dei Convertendi (Hospice for the

Converting), which was relocated in a building on Piazza Scossacavalli, near St. Peter's, in 1685.

According to some historians, the efforts of Clement VIII, Urban VIII, and Clement X were not related.[12] However, the documentation contained in the archives of the Holy Office demonstrates that these institutions were linked with each other; moreover, both the Holy Office and Propaganda sought to coordinate them.[13] In this chapter, the foundation of the Ospizio and its rules are examined as a way to demonstrate that it was the final point of a century-long *apprentissage*, during which the Holy See learned not only how to deal with Protestants, but also how to deal with a growing number of migrants.

Fosi and her predecessors worked through the sources in the archives of the Holy Office and the Vatican Archives – in particular the documentation on the Ospizio dei Convertendi – describing this process.[14] Yet their attention was focused on individual figures, even though these same sources provide many details on the presence of many more Protestants in Rome. Thanks to these documents, we can look at the massive presence of Protestant foreigners in seventeenth-century Rome from the perspective adopted by migration studies.[15] Moreover, it is possible to examine and assess how and to what extent Roman bureaucrats had to learn that short- or long-term human mobility was an important aspect of migration.[16]

This migration perspective is essential to understand how tourism, banking, and trading gave birth to enduring foreign communities in Rome. Tourism was a flourishing business in the city for centuries. Indeed, it was one of the seminal reasons for the growing immigrant communities, because travelers looked for hostels and taverns, shops, and even solicitor's offices managed by fellow countrymen.[17] At the same time, traders could stay abroad for decades, passing their business from one generation to another inside the same family. This happened not only in Rome but also in other European towns, in Catholic as well as in Protestant countries.

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, English or German Protestant traders inhabited Rome and other Italians towns for long periods, whereas Italian Catholic traders went to Germany and other Protestant countries for decades, even for generations. These movements crossed religious boundaries and posed the question of religious "reasonable accommodations," even at times when it seemed impossible to find such accommodations.[18] The 1568 and 1593 version of the papal bull *In Coena Domini* – issued annually on Holy Thursday or on Easter Monday, from 1363 to 1770 – and the following documents, *De Italibus habitantibus in partibus haereticorum*, sought to control Protestant travelers and traders in the Italian Peninsula as well as Italian travelers and traders in Protestant countries.[19] For example, Clement VIII's constitution *Cum sicut*, dated 26 July 1596, stated that Italian traders and businessmen abroad could not stay

in city, town, or place, where there is not a church with a parish
priest, or pastor, or a Catholic priest, and where, without any great
danger, they can celebrate and attend the sacred Mass, and all the
other divine offices.[20]

Despite these limitations, Italian traders would not abandon important
marketplaces because of their economic interests and could not be con-
trolled because of their protectors. In fact, a branch abroad of a com-
mercial firm could be a great asset not only to the families owning it, but
also to higher authorities of the respective states.

At the beginning of 1597, Ferdinand I dei Medici (1549–1609), arch-
duke of Florence and cardinal from 1562 to 1589, corresponded with the
already-mentioned Cardinal Santori about Florentines abroad. On 21
January, Ferdinand wrote to his former colleague in the Sacred College
about Luca Torrigiani, a trader in the Lutheran town of Nuremberg. Ac-
cording to the archduke, who was dealing with Sartori using the brusque
tone of an important prince of the church writing to a less prominent fig-
ure, the Torrigiani family was living in the German town since the past
hundred years to the great benefit of the silk industry in Florence and
Lucca. At the same time, they were helping Florence in other fields: for
example, the Torrigiani family bought wheat for their town during the
1590 famine. Ferdinand asked therefore for an exception to the Roman
bulls, drawing attention to two crucial points: the first was that the Tor-
rigiani never lost the Catholic faith; the second – and more important –
was that some of the wheat brought to Florence in 1590 was sold to
Rome at no additional charge.[21] We do not have the Cardinal's answer,
but at the end of March, Ferdinand I wrote again successfully requesting
the same privilege for Filippo Corsini and his family, who were working
as traders in London.[22] In this case too, the archduke stressed that the
Corsini were helping Florence and Rome.

This exchange is very important if compared to another letter written
by the Holy See to the inquisitor in Genoa on 4 April 1597, a few months
earlier. In this case, the Papal authorities were accusing the Genoese
merchants in England of intermarrying with Italian Protestants, and
also buying stable assets together.[23] It is evident that the Genoese situ-
ation in England was more complex, but when crossing religious fron-
tiers, it was important to have strong protectors, as the archduke and
former cardinal of Florence for Florentine merchants abroad. However,
the Genoese traders did not have such protectors and thus were accused
of heresy.[24] Something similar can be detected in the report to Juan
Francisco Pimental (1614–1652), seventh count de Venavente, Spanish
viceroy of Naples, by the Genoese Deodato Gentile (1558–1616), Do-
minican bishop of Caserta and Inquisitor of the city. There the Prot-
estant traders required protection, because they were under attack.[25]
Because these traders were mainly English, we must remember that links

between Rome and "schismatic" England were not strong at the time. Things were somehow different for the German traders who, despite being under Protestant control, were subjects of the Catholic powerful emperor. As the dossiers of the Holy Office indicate, German and even Swiss traders could stay in the Italian Peninsula, thus in marked contrast with the harsh difficulties faced by the English traders.[26]

In the third decade of the seventeenth century, several inquisitors – in Como, Genoa, Florence, Lucca, Milano, Siena, Verona – tried to control Italian traders' settlements in Nuremberg, Augsburg, Hamburg, and other German cities.[27] They were concerned about the proximity to Protestants and feared eventual conversion to Lutheranism. The Italian merchants, however, deemed these cities to be crucial markets which facilitated commerce with Poland, Lithuania, and Russia. In 1623, Italian traders in Germany wrote to the Holy Office in Rome and to the nuncios in Germany and Wien stressing that they could not discard trades which had been established thirty, forty, and even eighty years previously. The merchants stated not only that they had to attend a few Lutheran ceremonies, but also that they attended Catholic masses, and even had a Catholic friar in their houses. At the same time, they wrote to the emperor asking for freedom of worship, probably not expecting a favorable answer, but hoping that this letter would be shown to the Roman authorities. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Italian traders were able to stay in Germany thanks to the lobbying of their protectors, and because of divisions amid the inquisitors. In fact, many of these latter were uncertain as to which strategies they should adopt with the immigrants.

It is often assumed that the members of Holy Office were isolated from the rest of the Papal Curia, but most of the time they also acted as consultants for Propaganda on many fronts. After its foundation in 1622, Propaganda painfully discovered that migrations were a seminal matter for the battle for the faith. After a careful review of communities and countries in the Old and the New World, the geopolitical division on which Propaganda was organized,[28] the members of the congregation realized that mobility could affect their schemes.[29] In addition to the difficulty entailed in neatly applying the decision of Augsburg, *cuius regio eius religio*, in Europe, things were a lot more complicated in the colonial context because Huguenots and other Protestants tried to gain room in Catholic colonies, while Catholics were living in Protestant surroundings. Moreover, due to religious restrictions, migrants were moving from one colony to another, even if they had to cross political borders, as in the case of Irish Catholics moving from English to Spanish or French colonies, especially in the West Indies.

Following these movements of population, Roman bureaucrats discovered that missionaries should not only learn the local language, namely, the language of the local colonial power – but also be proficient in those spoken by the immigrants. This was the case of the Irish missionaries

who operated in the Spanish and French islands of the Caribbean, where they had to hear the confessions of Irish Catholics who did not speak Spanish or French, and who refused to do so.[30] At the end of 1666, the Irish secular priest John Grace was declared by Propaganda *missionarius in America pro sua natione* – missionary in America for his people, even if there was not an Irish colony present.[31] At the same time, Irish migration became relevant not only in the New World[32] but also in the Old World: for example, in France and Spain.[33] Wherever, even in Rome, the Irish asked for their own priests, they were facilitated by the network of Irish colleges which were established on continental Europe between the late sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century.[34]

Similarly, Italian communities abroad wanted their own priests and often this meant that these priests had to come from the same state or even from the same region. In the seventeenth century, a good number of the Italian community in the Polish town of Cracow came from the Marche, a region of the Papal States, and they wanted priests from the same area, whereas Genoese merchants asked for a "Genoese" chapel on the island of Curaçao in the Dutch Antilles.[35] In a few decades, Propaganda learned that both Catholics and Protestants migrated and that every group wanted to be followed by its own clergy.[36] During the seventeenth century, the bureaucrats of Propaganda developed a strategy to cope with migrants who would anticipate their resolutions during and vis-à-vis the great Irish Diaspora of the nineteenth century.[37] This was markedly evident in their discussions about Catholic communities in the Middle East, and in particular in Constantinople, where they considered the option of giving a distinct Catholic parish to every numerous relevant group.[38]

In Rome, the re-structuring of the network aimed not only to help new Catholic converts but also to support Catholic exiles through the newly founded Catholic colleges in Rome. Many of them were established not only for Catholics who sought to study in the Eternal City, but also for young missionaries who hoped to go back to their respective countries. These structures were organized on a "national" base, as it is shown by their names: the German-Hungarian College (1552), the English College (1579), the Scots College (1600), the Irish College (1628).[39] Given their missionary aims, they were coordinated by Propaganda, and thus they became part of the same "global" strategy.[40]

At the same time, Catholic bishops and Roman authorities tried to deal with immigrants, old and new, in the Italian Peninsula. The same period, therefore, witnessed several accommodations not only with Protestants but also with Catholics of Eastern Rite, Jews, and Gypsies.[41] In a way, it was still possible to deal with these communities as a sum of individual entities, trying to avoid a general case about migrants and ethno-religious groups. But as numbers grew in the following decades the situation changed. From the end of the seventeenth century and

throughout the eighteenth century, the conversions from Lutheranism to Catholicism grew among the poorer social classes of those who resided in Rome for work and those who transited through the city. Only a few people came to the city already converted. Amid those who entered the Ospizio dei Convertendi, there were many sailors who had disembarked at Civitavecchia, Naples, Leghorn, and Genoa, who, once they had abjured, re-embarked, and thus their conversion seemed only a mean of getting some support while in Rome. Many were also soldiers, especially Swiss, whereas a few were peasants, students, teachers, and artists. The converts from Protestantism were mainly German, English, Irish, Flemish, Swiss, Swedish, Danes, French, Hungarian, Moldavian, and Romanian, in addition to others who came from areas outside of Europe.[42] Not all of them were Protestant, a number were Muslims because they were listed as "African" or even "Turkish." In fact, some slaves or sailors of Muslim religion, though of different geographical origins, tried to convert and/or to migrate in Rome.[43] There is evidence that some of them were able to integrate and these were enrolled in the city's marriage registers.[44]

The increase in the number of foreigners living in Rome compelled the authorities to make new arrangements at the end of the seventeenth century. For example, in 1671 a letter begged for permission to bury non-Catholic English Christians in a decent place and not "in the infamous place of Muro-torto amid the corpses of the prostitutes." The petitioners stressed that their sovereign back home treated Catholics kindly. The Holy Office answered that it would make provision for special cases, but in the following years its position evolved to grant eventually a cemetery to non-Catholics.[45]

The same happened in Naples. We have seen the difficulties for foreign traders at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the second half of that century, Bernardino Rocci (1627–1680), the Roman nuncio in Naples, wrote that "Many heretics are found in Naples and the main reason for tolerating them is […] to be in the same city on the sea, and to receive from their commerce the benefit of various goods which are transported there." Foreign traders, therefore, became a daily feature in Neapolitan life. As reported by Rocci, Englishmen formed a little England, living all together in the same urban block, whereas Germans heretics were able to reside in the town for decades, one of them even for fifty years.[46]

In this context, Roman authorities not only acknowledged migration and international exchange but started to assess the importance of knowing foreign languages. In 1641, the Holy Office filed a letter complaining that in Como there was only one Capuchin proficient in the German language. According to the writer this was a great problem for checking Protestants in a town that was the "the first frontier town close to the places infected by heresy," and that was at the same time the first stop-over in the journey to conversion in Rome.[47] In fact, the

already-quoted case of a missionary for the Irish in the Caribbean was linked to the idea that every group needed a priest of the same stock and of the same language.

This idea was further developed in a report written for Pope Innocent XI (1611–1689) by monsignor Urbano Cerri (d.1679), secretary of Propaganda.[48] Cerri prepared this report during the years 1676–1679, summarizing documents from the archives of the congregation. He tried to describe Catholic action and development all around the then known world.[49] The larger part was dedicated to Europe, and in this section, there was a long and detailed analysis of the religious situation of the Italian Peninsula. At the beginning of this chapter, Cerri stigmatized Protestant presence there, beginning with the Waldenses in Piedmont. He stated that Piedmont's Catholic bishops were trying to convert these heretics, making use of religious that were "Natives of the Country." The bishops of Piedmont and the bureaucrats of Propaganda were in fact convinced "that they will make greater Progress than others, because they perfectly understand the Language of the Inhabitants, and are well acquainted with their Customs and Manners." The Pope, therefore, accepted this option: "Your Holiness was pleased to order, that for the Time to come Care be taken to sent thither more Missionaries of that Country, than of any other; which (order) has been executed by the Congregation."[50]

After this premise, Cerri started a digression on "hidden heretics" in "Catholic countries." In fact, he was not interested in all the European Catholic countries, but only in the Italian Peninsula. Thus, he listed foreign students attending the University of Padua, foreign merchants selling and buying in Genoa, Leghorn, and Naples, foreign diplomats and tourists visiting Venice and Florence, and auxiliary Spanish troops stationed in Naples and Sicily and coming from Germany, Holland, and Switzerland. According to him, the Holy See tried "with the Help of Inquisition, [...] to suppress and destroy those pestiferous Seeds, lest they should produce a very ill Effect among the ignorant People."[51] But, this attempt did not stop the Protestant infiltration. According to Cerri, the problem of Protestant infiltration was greater in Northern Italian States and towns, because of their geographically proximity to Protestant Countries. Therefore, in Turin it was possible to find many Calvinist merchants from Geneva and heretics from France and Savoy, whereas in Milano there lived and worked many merchants from Switzerland and Germany. Nevertheless, at this point, the secretary of Propaganda inserted a very long statement about the fact that "there is no Town in Italy more frequented by Hereticks and Schismaticks than Rome; where they stay several Months and sometimes several Years."[52]

This declaration is very interesting because it shows how Propaganda's focus was shifting from tourists to immigrants. We can stress the phrasing "they stay several Months and sometimes several Years" because tourists stayed for a while (months), while immigrants usually stayed

longer (years), but in the report there is even more. At the beginning of this chapter of his work, Cerri described the presence of travelers in Rome, paying attention to those of high social level. He declared that in Rome, they

> give up themselves to all the Vices of Youth. Here they make Collections of Satyrical Writings against the Court of Rome, and its Prelate. Here not without a very great Scandal, they can eat Flesh upon prohibited Days. Here they contract Friendship and Familiarity with all Sorts of People and come to The Knowledge of all our Weaknesses.

But, he added, when these gentlemen left the Italian Peninsula, they were not "ill affected towards the Catholick Faith and the Court of Rome." Therefore, their Grand Tour was a good thing for the Church of Rome in many ways. Even if one should consider the fact that many of these young gentlemen were accompanied by "Preachers" and that those ecclesiastics exploited the satirical material collected in Rome to preach against Catholicism, when back in their motherland:

> the most effectual Arguments they make use of to keep their People in Heresy, consist in a Description of our Disorders. They find at Rome, more than anywhere else, Mercenary Copists, Pimps, and other such Wretches, who acquaint them with everything that is amiss. In the Houses of the *Cantarines* [women singers] and Scandalous Women, they have an Opportunity to converse with many Considerable Persons and learn more ill Things than they desire.

According to Cerri, "the Liberty allowed to Foreigners, though Heretics and Infidels, ought not to be condemned," because

> it has been observed in the North [of Europe], that the Persecutions against the Priests, Missionaries and Catholics, never proceed from those who have been in Italy, and particularly at Rome. On the contrary, they protect them, and give them Notice of the Danger, that they may avoid in due time.

Therefore, the presence of Protestant tourists was an asset for the Roman Church, and it only needed a better relationship between them and the Roman priests. In fact, why should the visitors only meet "Common People" speaking against the Church, when they could meet "Learned and Prudent Persons" trying "to instruct them in the Doctrine of the Cathlick church, or, at least, undeceive them as to the Lies and Falsities spread by their Preachers."

At this point, it is evident that the problem was not linked to the growing presence of visitors but to the presence of those others who had lived in Rome for years. The secretary was concerned with the danger of several merchants, innkeepers, artisans, bakers, and booksellers who were not Catholic, even if they lived in the center of Catholicism. His concern was possibly excessive because we find traces of converts – for example in the already-quoted documentation on marriages.[53] There is no evidence of an organized non-Catholic group, at least for the seventeenth century, but a steady Protestant presence would increase in the following century. In that sense, Cerri was foreseeing the future. In any case, his position was ambivalent. Indeed, while fearing the increase of the Protestant presence due to tourism and immigration, he was also trying to understand to what extent it was dangerous.

Notes

1 Luigi Fiorani, ed., *"'Dall'infamia dell'errore al grembo di Santa Chiesa.' Conversioni e strategie della conversione a Roma nell'età moderna,"* monographic issue of *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 10 (1998); Antje Stannek, *"Migration confessionnelle ou pèlerinage? Rapport sur le fonds d'un hospice pour les nouveaux convertis dans les Archives secrètes du Vatican,"* in *Rendre ses Voeux. Les identités pèlerines dans l'Europe moderne (16e-18e siècle)*, ed. Philippe Boutry and Pierre-Antoine Fabre (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 2000), 57–74; Ricarda Matheus, *"Mobilität und Konversion. Überlegungen aus römischer Perspektive,"* Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienische Archiven und Bibliotheken* 85 (2005): 170–213. I thank the late Antonio Menniti Ippolito and Giovanni Pizzorusso for their friendship and their contribution to my reflection.
2 Irene Fosi, *Convertire lo straniero. Forestieri e inquisizione a Roma in età moderna* (Roma: Viella, 2011). This volume is the conclusion of a very long research. See also Polverini Fosi, "Viaggio in Italia e conversioni. Analisi di un binomio," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 30 (1988): 269–288; Irene Fosi, "Percorsi di salvezza: accogliere e convertire nella Roma barocca," in *La storia dei Giubilei*, III: *1600–1750*, ed. Alessandro Zuccari (Firenze: Giunti, 1999), 42–83; Irene Fosi, "Roma e gli Ultramontani. Viaggi, conversioni, identità," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 81 (2001): 351–396; Irene Fosi, "Conversion de voyageurs protestants dans la Rome baroque," *Francia* 60 (2004): 569–578.
3 See the network around Lucas Holstenius, who, while in Rome, oversaw the library of cardinal Francesco Barberini and later of the Vatican Library. Markus Völkel, "Individuelle Konversion und die Rolle der 'famiglia'. Lukas Holstenius (1596–1661) un die deutschen Konvertiten in Umkreis der Kurie," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 67 (1987): 221–281. The Deutsches Historisches Institut in Rome is preparing a digital edition of Holstenius' letters.
4 Karl Rudolf, "Santa Maria dell'Anima, il Campo Santo dei Teutonici e Fiamminghi e la questione delle Nazioni," *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 50 (1980): 75–91; Anna Esposito, "I 'forenses' a Roma nell'età del Rinascimento: aspetti e problemi di una presenza atipica," in *Dentro la città. Stranieri e realtà urbane nell'Europa dei secoli XII–XVII*, ed. Gabriella Rossetti (Napoli: Liguori, 1999), 179–190.

5 Gérard Labrot, *Roma "caput mundi". L'immagine barocca della città santa, 1534–1677* (Napoli: Electa, 1997); Elisabeth Garms and Jörg Garms, "Mito e realtà di Roma nella cultura europea. Viaggio e idea, immagine e immaginazione," in *Storia d'Italia Einaudi, Annali*, V: *Il paesaggio*, ed. Cesare De Seta (Torino: Einaudi, 2000), 651–662; Irene Fosi, "'Roma patria comune'. Foreigners in Rome in the Early Modern Period," in *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, ed. Jill Burke and Michael Bury (London: Ashgate, 2008), 27–43; Antonio Pinelli, *Souvenir. L'industria dell'antico e il Grand Tour a Roma* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2010).

6 Michaela Valente, "Un sondaggio sulla prassi cattolica del nicodemismo: 'Che li scolari tedeschi si debbano tollerare a vivere luteranamente, in secreto però,'" in *Cinquant'anni di storiografia italiana sulla Riforma e i movimenti ereticali in Italia 1950–2000*, ed. Susanna Peyronel (Torino: Società di Studi Valdesi, 2002), 175–216.

7 Irene Fosi, "Procurar a tutt'huomo la conversione degli heretici. Roma e le conversioni nell'Impero nella prima metà del Seicento," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 88 (2009): 336–368.

8 See documents in Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma, Fondo Catecumeni e neofiti.

9 Saverio Ricci, *Il sommo Inquisitore. Giulio Antonio Santori tra autobiografia e storia (1532–1602)* (Roma: Salerno Edizioni, 2002); Serena Di Nepi, "Neofiti," in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, ed. Adriano Prosperi (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010), II: 1112–1113.

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19 Paolo Simoncelli, "Clemente VIII e alcuni provvedimenti del Sant'Uffizio ('De Italibus habitantibus in partibus haereticorum')," *Critica storica* 13 (1976): 129–172; Peter Schmidt, "L'Inquisizione e gli stranieri," in *L'Inquisizione e gli storici: un cantiere aperto, Roma 24–25 giugno 1999* (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2000), 365–372.

20 *Bullarum Diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum* (Augustae Taurinorum: Sebastiano Franco et filiis, 1865), X: 279–280, quotation at 280 ("in civitate, oppido seu loco, ubi aliqua ecclesia cum parocho, vel pastore, seu sacerdote catholico non existat or libere, et sine omni periculo, palam et publice, celebrari et audiri possint sacrosantae missae, et alia divina officia.").

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22 Ibid., fols. 271–272.

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Siebenhüner, "Conversion, Mobility and the Roman Inquisition in Italy around 1600," *Past and Present* 200 (2008): 5–35.

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27 ACDF, Sant'Uffizio, Stanza Storica, M4-C, vol. 1, fols. 1–167 (Italians in Germany, 1623) and fols. 168–691 (end of the sixteenth century, Italians in Germany and Protestant in Italy). See Matteo Sanfilippo, "Le origini dell'emigrazione italiana in Germania," *Il Veltro* XLIX, no. 4–6 (2005): 337–347.

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30 APF, SOCG, vol. 260, fols. 17r–20v.

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47 ACDF, S. Uffizio, Stanza Storica, M 4c, fols. 1012–1013 ("la prima Città di frontiera vicina a' luoghi infetti dell'eresia.").

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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.[1]

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.[2] 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.[3]

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.[4] 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."[5]

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. Cleary 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 Misserotti, 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.[6]

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.[7] 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,[8] Ilarione Rancati (1594–1663), and – above all – Cardinal Luigi Caetani (1595–1642) who presided over the commission.[9] One of the most tangible outcomes of Wadding's activity in the revision of the Roman breviary was that he succeeded in insertion 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.[10]

During the early 1630s, Wadding distinguished himself as one of the most expert and versatile consultors 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.[11] 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.[12] 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,[13] that he frequently went to the Cardinal's house "on the occasion of the various congregations of Propaganda to which I attend."[14] 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.[15] 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.[16]

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.[17] 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.[18] 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.[19] 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.[20]

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.[21] 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.[22] 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.[23]

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.[24] 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.[25] 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."[26]

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 Pàzmàny (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.[27] 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.[28]

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.[29] 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.[30] 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.[31]

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.[32] 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.[33] 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."[34] 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."[35]

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.[36] From 1632 until early 1635, when the Irish College's administration was officially handed to the Jesuits, Wadding was targeted by specific accusations.[37] 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.[38] 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."[39]

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.[40] Of almost the same tone was the letter that, in 1640, Remigio della Tripalda, an Italian Franciscan, send to Wadding. The Italian Franciscan openly hoped that "your very reverend paternity may favour this effort a lot."[41]

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.[42] 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.[43] 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.[44]

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.[45]

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*.[46] 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.[47]

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.[48] 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.[49]

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.[50] 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.[51] 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.[52]

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.[53] 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.[54]

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.[55] 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."[56]

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."[57]

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.[58]

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.[59] 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."[60] 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'Donell 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 Dandelet, *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 Verallo, 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 Italiæ et insularum adiacentium, rebusque ab iis praeclare gestis, deducta serie ad nostram vsque ætatem. 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 Gnavi, "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 Broggio 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: Osterreichischen 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: Edizoni 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 Cardenal 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'Donnel 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 Mhacha. 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 postridentina: 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 millia; 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 essempio 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.").

Part III

The Cultural World of Wadding

6 The Development of Libraries in the Seventeenth Century
Luke Wadding's Library*

Donatella Bellardini and Claudia Costacurta

In the scientific and cultural context of seventeenth-century Europe, Rome and Paris stood out as the major centres of librarianship, not only because of the presence of the Vatican Library (Rome) and the Bibliothèque du Roi (Paris), but also because of the general scientific level as well as the quality and richness of the library holdings. Furthermore, the existence of great libraries presupposes the contemporary presence and diffusion of numerous other smaller libraries. Already from the middle of the sixteenth century, the books/library system underwent a period of great and substantial modifications: the era when library holdings consisted solely of manuscripts was concluding, the nature of library holdings began to change as well as the layout and organization of libraries. The diffusion of the printing press gave a major impulse to the publishing industry and to the market for books, increasing the number of available books as well as the commercial possibilities, thus increasing the number of volumes and the variety of available material.

During the seventeenth century, the arrangement, organization and classification of books became a priority. There was an increasing awareness of the need to catalogue and index the growing number of library holdings in order to locate the various volumes in an efficient manner. Furthermore, it became necessary to exercise control over the content of the volumes from religious, ethical and moral points of view. Attention was therefore given to the creation of topographical and inventorial lists as well as catalogues for librarians, mainly manuscripts, according to author, title, subject, chronology and occasionally according to language. Thus, began the true and proper science of librarianship, cataloguing and bibliographical directories.

In Europe, the seventeenth century represents the "golden age" of libraries both for the almost total recovery of the classical literary patrimony as well as the social and cultural dignity that libraries assumed as people of culture, erudition and specialized scholarship began to frequent them. Turning to the city of Rome, a substantial number of important libraries with valuable collections came to the fore due

to the patronage of noblemen, prosperous intellectuals, rich collectors, cardinals, prelates and representatives of religious orders.

These libraries responded to various needs, from the preservation and diffusion of the learned, classical and humanistic cultural world, to the debates of the Counter-Reformation when the ecclesiastical and biblical tradition of the Catholic Church was being strongly attacked by the Reformers who were basing their arguments on learned, critical and philological examination of the sources. Furthermore, these libraries were instruments that catered for the educational and pastoral needs of the faithful. It suffices to consider the richness and variety of the Roman libraries that belonged to the religious orders, both long established and those of recent origin. One thinks particularly of the Jesuits, the Augustinians with the Biblioteca Angelica, the Oratorians with the Biblioteca Vallicelliana and the Franciscans. One must bear in mind the care and diligence with which these library holdings were organized and arranged, including catalogues that allowed for a rapid location of authors and works. In this variegated and lively Roman cultural context, scholars, bibliophiles, bibliographers and men of culture met together and debated with each other, all completely dedicated to the world of books and to the construction, organization, management and use of these collections – in short what we would now call library management.

In the thirties and forties of the seventeenth century, Rome became the city of major librarians such as Lucas Holstenius, Leone Allacci (1586–1669) and Gabriel Naudé (1600–1653). The latter, moreover, was the great theoretician of modern library science. We also call to mind refined scholars and collectors such as Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588–1657); Paganino Gaudenzi (1595–1649); the Barnabites Cristoforo Giarda (1595–1649); Bartolomeo Gavanti and Giovanni Ambrogio Mazenta (1565–1635); Pope Urban VIII and the two Barberini cardinals, Antonio and Francesco; the Oratorians Giacomo Volponi (1566–1636); Filippo Neri (1515–1595); Cesare Baronio (1538–1607); the Augustinian Fortunato Scacchi (1573/1577–1643); the Jesuit Terenzio Alciati, abbot Costantino Gaetani (1568–1650) from the Biblioteca Aniciana; and the Franciscan Observant Luke Wadding from the library of St Isidore's College.[1] Moreover, the libraries that were constructed and augmented by the religious orders were always and even more than the others, privileged observers of historical investigation: these libraries are not to be judged solely by the great quantities of books they contain but most of all by their bibliographical value, by the cultural choices of which they are an expression.

Entering the specifics of Franciscan libraries, it is necessary to recall the fundamental steps of the order's legislation regarding libraries and their conservation, a question that was approached in different ways by the various Franciscan families. The Conventuals' involvement in this area dates to the thirteenth century, while the Capuchins did not raise the issue

of the formation of their own members until at least 1575. The Reformed and the Observants had characteristics common to the other two.[2]

For the Conventuals, the question is best dealt with in the overall context of poverty, linked in this case with the possession of books and libraries. Already in 1336, Benedict XII (1285–1342) drew up regulations for books in the possession of friars who had died. He decreed that each guardian should have an inventory of these books complied. It must be borne in mind that a book in this period was considered in virtue of its intrinsic economic value and not as an instrument of work.[3] In the Alexandrine Constitutions drawn up between 1501 and 1628, books were considered as objects of value and patrimonial importance, to be considered on the same level as sacred vestments and liturgical furnishings. Accordingly, they were to be included in an annual inventory drawn up by the guardian.

The Capuchins still considered the formations of clerics, required by the council of Trent, as a dangerous infringement of their principles of poverty, especially when it concerned the personal appropriation of books. From the Constitutions of Albacina in 1529 until at least the general chapter of 1575, books only assumed patrimonial importance.[4]

It followed that there were conventual libraries that permitted the use of books while forbidding their personal possession, a practice, however, that was frowned upon. In the Franciscan Reform of the sixteenth century, that of the strictest Observance, the practice was immediately established of holding all the goods of the friars in common, even the books of the novices or of the professed who wanted to adopt the Reform.[5] The *Methodus vivendi* of 1582 decreed that books were to be placed in the conventual library. For all the Franciscan families, it was only after the last decade of the sixteenth century that the post-Tridentine concept of the book as a necessary instrument of work for intellectual formation was accepted and not solely as a precious good of medieval ancestry.[6]

The books inherited by the friars had to be organized and conserved not only with the best possible care but also to facilitate the consultation of works by each individual friar, whether student or preacher, who used them to carry out his ministry or to complete his own *cursus studiorum*. In many normative texts, the idea of the non-alienability of the patrimony of the library is underlined so insistently that we realize that in addition to the conservation of the libraries, there existed a much more pressing problem than simply respecting the prohibition of personal property.

From 1587 onwards, a constitution of Sixtus V was in force that prohibited the impoverishment of the official library of convents belonging to the Observance. The document *Cum sicut accepimus* (1587) railed against the depletion of the collections of religious libraries, prohibiting the taking of volumes even for a brief period out of the library, not only whole volumes, but even parts of volume right down to a single folio. The statutes of 1593 reiterated that the alienation of books was to be

seriously punished. The Sistine constitution was very clear on the redaction of inventories, which the guardian should compile before taking up office, indicating the invoices of the books and the publishing details, not omitting the severity of the penalties to be inflicted on whoever was discovered to be in flagrant violation of these norms.[7]

During the last years of the sixteenth century, inventories started to assume the role of an instrument intimately linked to the library and directed towards the use of the library's patrimony. The statutes of 1601 decreed that there be a library with its inventory in every convent; the key to the library to be held by the guardian or by a brother deputed by him, with the obligation of distributing the books and insisting on the signing of the register for both the loan and the return of each volume; each book to carry the name of the convent in large letters on the outside edge. The person responsible for the alienation of a book to incur excommunication which could not be set aside until the book's return. The Sistine constitution is fundamental for the regulation of all Observant libraries, so much so in the statutes of many provinces, the section pertaining to libraries begins with an explicit reference to *Cum sicut accepimus*. The Counter-Reformation through its arm, the Council of Trent, encouraged the continuing development of *Studia* in the formation of religious with the concomitant necessity of well managed libraries.[8]

The reformed constitutions of Bonaventura Secusio da Caltagirone, minister general from 1593 to 1600, in 1595 went somewhat further than the usual prescriptions in calling for libraries to be kept clean. Shortly afterwards in 1597, the reformed statutes of the Roman province gave much attention to the borrowing of books and the compilation of a "borrowing register" under the care of the guardian so that books would not be lost and that they would be made available to any friar in the convent who needed them. The statutes of 1602, taken up again in 1642, confirmed the need for every convent to have both its own library and inventory, with the key to be held by the guardian or by another friar deputed by him, the key-holder to distribute the books and issue receipts.[9]

In this same period, an investigation of the Congregation of the Index was announced, and this provided a great variety of data on the library holdings of various religious orders between 1599 and 1603.[10] In his capacity as a member of the Roman Inquisition, Cardinal Agostino Vallier (1531–1606) enjoined that a list of all their libraries be sent to Rome by 24 June 1600. These lists were to be drawn up in alphabetical order and according to precise criteria, indicating the name of the author, the place and date of publication, the name of the printers, the subject of the book, and to specify instead if it was a manuscript codex. Moreover, the name of the convent was required, the library or individual friar who had the volume.[11]

The lists of the titles of the books held by the religious of Italian convents and monasteries are contained in the Vatican Latin codices 11266–11326. These were acquired by the Sacred Congregation of the Index of prohibited books, following the publication of the Index of prohibited books by Pope Clement VIII (1536–1605) in 1596. These concern thirty-one male regular orders and contain lists corresponding to the monastic and conventual libraries or books in use by individual friars and monks. Occasionally, the codices contain the list of books belonging to religious women, ecclesiastics and lay people. Among the various hundreds of lists, the Vatican Latin manuscripts 11266–11326 also contain the booklists of the Reformed Franciscans (Observants).

Following the model established during the humanistic period, a library adhered to a set of internal arrangement: holy scripture, early fathers of the church, ecclesiastical writers, theologians, commentaries on canon law, writings pertaining to customs and mores (*moralia*), civil law, philosophy, philology, humanistic literature. The model provided by this "ideal library" was in fact reflected in the organization of Franciscan libraries, including that of St. Isidore's at Capo le Case, founded by Luke Wadding in 1625. Having completed the building of St. Isidore's church, Wadding's primary preoccupation, according to his biographer and nephew Francis Harold, was the creation of a library and archive:

> In the same way Luke, took steps first to set up a library and an archive. These were to be of the utmost importance to Luke and to the other fathers of the college who were always dedicated to teaching and writing.[12]

Filippo De Rossi in his *Portrait of Rome* (1652) bears witness to the existence of a flourishing and important library in St Isidore's College:

> When Pope Gregory XV canonized five saints in 1622, one of whom was St. Isidore, a number of Reformed Friars of St. Francis came from Spain and dedicated the church and monastery that is now present there, where there is a fine library. This saint lived around 1150, and the painting over the high altar is by Sacchi.[13]

Louis Jacob in his Traicté *des plus belles bibliothequès publiques et particulières qui on esté, & qui sont à present dans le monde* (Paris, 1644), the first treatise on the history of libraries, also mentions the Wadding Library. This work was published at the insistence of Naudé, an intimate friend of Jacob, and specified that a library, to be defined as such, needed to comprise at least 4,000 volumes.[14]

In that same year 1664, the apostolic syndic of St Isidore's, Giovanni Pietro Bellori described the characteristics of the library in question in

his *Nota delli musei, librarie, galerie et ornamenti di statue e pitture ne'* *palazzi, delle case e ne' Giardini di Roma*:

> The convent of St. Isidore, and in it the College of the Reformed Irish Fathers of St. Francis. A universal library with manuscripts, most of them pertaining to the Annals of the Order of the Observant Minors, compiled by Fr. Luke Wadding, founder of the said college and library: and today followed by Fr. Lector Francis Harold, a most learned chronicler and librarian.

Regarding the physical ambience of the library, the sources that we have cited refer to the rooms set aside for the first library of the college, located on the third floor of the building, facing Piazza St Isidore's. A more up-to-date description of the library of St Isidore's was given in 1698 by Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza in his *Eusevologio romano* where he devoted an entire chapter to it. In this case the physical environment of the library is different – we are dealing with new rooms overlooking Villa Ludovisi, to contain the bibliographical patrimony of the college, already too numerous for the first rooms that were allocated to it. These were planned by Wadding himself, though he did not live to see them completed:

> He collected such a large quantity of books in the library of the College or convent of his own Nation at Capo le Case, that he founded an ample and most copious library, such as to equal in every other way the most celebrated libraries of the Regulars of Rome, numbering more than five thousand. It is lavishly built the site is beautiful overlooking the splendid Villa Ludovisi, the air is healthy and this library is spacious and very well lit, in which there are volumes pertaining to every field of study, but mainly theologians, interpreters of sacred scripture, of the holy Fathers, of experts in dogma, moral, mystics, historians, canonists, jurists, orators, humanists of every kind of *belles lettres*, and the most excellent writers on religious discipline, all arranged in good order in alphabetical sequence and placed in proper cupboards: and with plentiful indexes to have them immediately to hand. Furthermore, a particular aim of the generous founder was to provide the library, as he did, with books in all languages and nations, that is Hebrew, Chaldean, Greek, Illyrian, German, Spanish, French, Irish, Armenian, Arabic and from every other country and part of the world, so just as these religious were wanderers from their native lands, so that in this academy of foreign languages they could learn to be citizens of the whole world ... For more than a century they have continued the custom already mentioned of Roman libraries, that of embellishing this spacious theatre of books with the images of many persons, whether sons of religion,

or prominent benefactors, or famous men of letters, or worthy of merit because of their labours in the republic of letters. Many excellent subjects and tireless workers for the church have gone out and continue to go out of this College of St. Isidore or reside there for the benefit of this library and for the development of their talents.[15]

Apart altogether from the rooms in the books were located, it is important to remember that the bibliographical heritage of St Isidore's was collected and organized in the first place by the same Irish Franciscan and secondly by his Harold, who continued to follow his directions. It is Harold's biography of his uncle, united with other pieces of evidence that enables us to reconstruct the substance of Wadding's library, including the criteria for its arrangement, the catalogues and the norms regulating consultation and borrowing. The library was exclusively made up of printed books, whereas the manuscripts were conserved in the archives.[16] The books contained in the library made up around 5,000 volumes all told, at least until the death of Wadding. The number is supplied by Harold in his biography, which was composed between 1657 and 1658. The volumes were *in folio* for the most part and belonged to every kind of subject matter. Duplicates were rarely kept and only when they belonged to different editions. Theoretically speaking, duplicates were meant to be exchanged for other books, or sent to the novitiate in Capranica after its foundation in 1656.[17]

As Harold stated:

> He did not bother to fill the shelves with useless volumes (…) but focused solely on those books that were considered necessary and useful for study; around five thousand published volumes of this kind were procured belonging to all realms of learning, mostly in large format, with no duplicates apart from some rare volume belonging to a different edition. Indeed, by his express order, I (Harold) had this duty, if I discovered a duplicate copy, either to exchange it for other works, or to send it to the friars in Capranica.[18]

New acquisitions were made during the years: the volume of books in the library passed the 5,000 mark in 1698. The subjects still pertained to every field of study, but mainly to theology, sacred scripture, patristics, dogmatics, jurisprudence and history, but also to the humanistic disciplines. The books were written in various languages, not only in Latin but also in Hebrew, Chaldean, Greek, Illyrian, German, Spanish, French, Irish, English, Armenian and Arabic.[19] The volumes were subdivided into classes or by subject according to the discipline to which they belonged. The classification was indicated by a letter of the alphabet. The shelf-mark was thus given, in all probability, by a letter indicating the class to which the volume belonged and by the progressive number

of the codex. There was an alphabetical catalogue for authors and a subject catalogue where the different classes were indicated, marked with an alphabetical letter. Within this system the works succeeded each other in numerical order. The subject catalogue, therefore, also functioned as a topographical catalogue.[20]

Among the useful instruments in use in the library there was also a type of bibliographical *repertorium* enumerating the saints, that was drawn up by Harold according to precise instructions dictated by Wadding himself. This bibliographical *repertorium* is actually by definition an instrument made up of selected bibliographical notices, ordered and structured to facilitate the retrieval of the greatest amount possible of the material therein. Such a bibliographical *repertorium* was initially drawn up on loose-leaf sheets, organized alphabetically according to the names of the saints. It was meant to be an international *repertorium*, exhaustive, up to date, specialized and analytic; the names of the saints were accompanied by explicit notes that indicated the miracles, sanctity or religious characteristics for which they were distinguished, and by the authors who discussed them whose works were available in the library, with references to the precise work, volume and folio.[21] Harold not only narrates how tiresome was the compilation of this *repertorium* but also mentions how useful and appreciated it was to the extent that the loose-leaf sheets, as soon as they were put in an orderly form, were then copied in two large volumes. Pope Alexander VII himself had a copy made of them:

> I did this and other great labours; in truth with much difficulty, but with greater joy and even greater gain for the use that first Luke and the others made of them, and then latterly myself: in fact the sheets, after they were arranged, were gathered by the amanuenses into two great hand-written volumes. His Holiness Alexander VII had copies recently made from the exemplars which he is sometimes pleased to consult.[22]

The importance of St Isidore's library during the seventeenth century is underlined not only by the publications that describe it, but most of all by the interest shown by the popes. It was Urban VIII himself who drew up the regulations which he made more restrictive than those originally composed by the Irish friar, ratifying them in an appropriate apostolic letter that was affixed to the doors of the library.[23] It was severely forbidden to remove books under pain of excommunication. It was possible to consult but not to borrow books. Only in two cases were the friars allowed to take books to their own cells: in the case of the fathers the subject matter had to exclusively pertain to their study or to their lectures; for the students, only devotional works of small format or for reading purposes.[24] In both cases, however, they were obliged to write the title

of the volume in the borrowings' register with a view to returning it.[25] This register was held by the librarian as was appropriate. Wadding was firmly convinced of the centrality of the library, understood as a place of work and study, and which he assiduously frequented as long as his illness permitted him.[26]

   In conclusion, Wadding laid out with rigorous clarity the intellectual and moral qualities necessary to take up the duty of librarian:

> For the care and conservation of the library he always wished for the appointment of a young religious, active among the students, and dedicated to knowledge, one that would know how satisfy the requests of those who frequented the library. He usually instructed him personally, directed him in his work, comforted him when he was tired, and kindly exhorted him if he were negligent.[27]

Notes

1 Giuseppe Finocchiaro, *Cesare Baronio e la tipografia dell'Oratorio: impresa e ideologia* (Firenze: L. G. Olschki, 2005); Francesco Petrucci Nardelli, "Il card. Francesco Barberini senior e la stampa a Roma," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 108 (1985): 133–198; Petrucci Nardelli, "Le tipografie e lo 'Studium' nella Roma barocca," in *Roma e lo Studium Urbis: spazio urbano e cultura dal Quattro al Seicento. Atti del Convegno, Roma, 7–10 giugno 1989*, ed. Paolo Cherubini (Roma: Ministero per i bei culturali e ambientali, 1992), 313–322; Giovanni Pizzorusso, "I satelliti di Propaganda Fide: il Collegio Urbano e la Tipografia poliglotta. Note di ricerca su due istituzioni culturali romane nel XVII secolo," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 116, no. 2 (2004): 471–498; Alfredo Serrai, ed., *La biblioteca di Lucas Holstenius* (Udine: Forum, 2000); Edoardo Barbieri and Danilo Zardin, ed., *Libri, biblioteche e cultura nell'Italia del Cinque e Seicento* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2002).

2 Maurizio Sangalli, ed., *Per il Cinquecento religioso italiano: clero, cultura, società: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Siena, 27–30 giugno 2001* (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2001); *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei frati mendicanti, secoli 13.-14.: atti del 32. Convegno internazionale. Assisi, 7–9 ottobre 2004* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2005); Vincenzo Criscuolo, "I cappuccini salernitano-lucani e la cultura," in *I Frati Minori Cappuccini in Basilicata nel Salernitano fra '500 e '600*, ed. Vincenzo Criscuolo (Roma: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 1990), 119–265; Vincenzo Criscuolo, "Il catalogo delle biblioteche dei conventi cappuccini nella provincia di Milano alla fine del Cinquecento," *Laurentianum* 44 (2003): 391–516; Vincenzo Criscuolo, "La biblioteca dei cappuccini ad Arezzo alla fine del '500 (cod. Vat. lat. 11322)," *Atti e memorie della Accademia Petrarca di Lettere, Arti e Scienze* 66 (2004): 401–429; Vincenzo Criscuolo, "La circolazione dei libri e delle idee nella Provincia dei cappuccini di Cosenza fra Cinque e Seicento: la formazione culturale e il catalogo delle biblioteche," *Laurentianum* 47 (2006): 439–571; Costanzo Cargnoni, "Libri e biblioteche dei cappuccini della provincia di Siracusa alla fine del secolo XVI," *Collectanea Franciscana* 77 (2007): 63–151; Roberto Biondi, "'Vi sono certo altri scritti

d'oscurissima interpretatione'. Gli inventari dei *frates strictioris Obser-vantiae* durante l'inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice," *Franciscana* 12 (2010): 214–334; Giovanna Granata, "Books without Borders: The Presence of the European Printing Press in the Italian Religious Libraries at the End of the Sixteenth Century," in *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World*, ed. Matthew McLean and Sara Baker (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 214–238; Roberto Rusconi, "The Devil's Trick. Impossible Editions in the Lists of Titles from the Regular Orders in Italy at the End of the Sixteenth Century," in *Lost Books. Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe*, ed. Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 310–323; see also Roberto Rusconi, "Le biblioteche degli ordini regolari in Italia alla fine del secolo XVI," *Rivista di storia del Cristianesimo* 1 (2004): 189–199; *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini regolari nell'Italia moderna attraverso la documentazione della Congregazione dell'Indice. Atti del convegno internazionale, Macerata, 30 maggio-1°giugno 2006*, ed. Rosa Marisa Borraccini and Roberto Rusconi (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Vaticana, 2006).

3 Iriarte Lázaro, OFM, *Storia del francescanesimo* (Roma: Edizioni dehoniane, 1994), 2nd ed.

4 Mariano D'Alatri, OFM Cap, *I Cappuccini, Storia d'una famiglia francescana* (Roma: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 1994).

5 Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Medieval Franciscan Order* (Rome: The Capuchin Historical Institute, 1987); James D. Mixson and Bert Roest, ed., *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Bert Roest, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission c.1220–1650. Cum scientia sit donum Dei, armature ad defendam sanctam fidem catholicam* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

6 *Methodus viuendi in locis patrum restrictorum seu reformatorum prouinciarum Italiae Ordinis Min. de obser. servandus. Iussu reverendiss. Pt fratris Francisci Gonzagae ejusdem Ordinis generalis ministry* (Romae: apud haeredes Antonij Bladij impressores camerales, 1582).

7 *Statuta, constitutiones, et decreta generalia. Familiae Cismontanae ord. S. Franc. de Obseruantia. Ex decreto gen. cap. Vallisoletani an. D. 1593. celebrati restituta: reuerendiss. P. Bonauenturae Calatayeronen. totius ord. S. Franc. gen. minist. iussu edita* (Placentiae: apud Ioannem Bazachium, 1596), 106, chapter 6.

8 Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

9 *Statuta, Constitutiones et Decreta generalia Familii Cismontanae Ordinis S. Francisci de obseruantia. Ex omnibus eiusdem Ordinis Constitutionibus & Statutis collecta, & restituta iuxta sancitum in Capitulo Generali Romano Anni M.DC.XXXIX … Una cum tabula, & Constitutionibus iditis in eadem Congregatione Generali* (Roma: Ex Typographia Reu. Cam. Apost., 1642), 64, chapter 6.

10 Roberto Rusconi, "Le biblioteche degli ordini religiosi in Italia intorno all'anno 1600 attraverso l'inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice. Problemi e prospettive di una ricerca," in *Libri, biblioteche e cultura nell'Italia del Cinque e Seicento*, ed. Edoardo Barbieri and Danilo Zardin (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2002), 63–84; *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini regolari nell'Italia moderna*.

11 BAV, Vaticani Latini, MS 11296, fols. 123v–124r.

12 Francis Harold, *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi*, 3rd ed. (Quaracchi: Tip. Barbera, Alfani e Venturi, 1931), 76: ("Quemadmodum Lucas, ut fundator et perpetuus curator domus, reliquas ejus officinas conveniente supellectili

sufficienter instruxit, sic post Sacrarium, Bibliothecae in primis et Archivio instruendis, quorum usus tum ipsi praesertim Lucae, tum aliis Collegii Patribus, vel docendo, vel scribendo semper intentis, maximus futurus erat, copiose providit.").

13 Filippo De Rossi, *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (Roma: Apresso Filippo de' Rossi, 1652), 306. Previously other authors mentioned the church and the college of St. Isidore's, but not the library as Pompilio Toti in his *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (Roma: Mascardi, 1638), 301 ("Havendo Papa Gregorio XV, l'anno 1622, canonizzato cinque Santi, tra' quali fu S. Isidoro, vennero di Spagna alcuni Frati di S. Francesco Riformati e quivi gli dedicarono, la presente Chiesa."). Federico Franzini in his *Descrittione di Roma antica e moderna* (Roma: A. Fei, 1643), 784. Identical text is found in Filippo De Rossi in *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (Roma: Francesco Moneta, 1645), 301. Yet in this latter there is no mention of the library, while it already refers to Sacchi's painting over the major altar.

14 Louis Jacob, *Traicté des plus belles bibliothequès publiques et particulières qui on esté, & qui sont à présent dans le monde* (Paris: Rolet le Duc, 1644), 107 ("La Bibliotheque du Convent de S. Isidore des Peres Hibernois del Ordre de S. François, doit sa gloire au P. Luc Wadding Annaliste de son Ordre, qui l'a remplie de tres bons livres en toutes les sciences.").

15 Bartolomeo Piazza, *Eusevologio romano*, 157s (original citation "compilò una così grande quantità di Libri nel Collegio, o Convento della sua medesima Nazione a Capo le Case, che ne fondò un'ampia, e copiosissima Biblioteca, da uguagliarsi ad ogn'altra più celebre de' Regolari di Roma, giunta al numero di sopra cinque mila […].Ella è di Fabrica sontuosa, di sito ameno, corrispondente di prospetto alla vaghissima Villa Ludovisia, & in aria salubre, ampia, e tutta luminosa questa Libreria, in cui sono raccolti Volumi d'ogni materia di Studio, e principalmente di Teologi, & Interpreti della Sacra Scrittura; de' Santi Padri, de' Dogmatici, Morali, Mistici, Istorici, Canonisti, Giurisconsulti; Oratori, Umanisti d'ogni varietà di belle lettere, e de' più eccellenti Scrittori della Disciplina Regolare: tutti distribuiti con bell'ordine in ben disposti Armarij per via d'alfabeto: e con Indici copiosissimi per haverli prontamente alla mano. E fu altresì studio particolare del benéfico Fondatore fornirla, come fece, de' Libri in tutte le lingue, e Nazioni, cioè Ebbraica, Caldea, Greca, Illirica, Tedesca, Spagnuola, Francese; Ibernese, Inglese, Armena, Araba, e d'ogn'altro paese, e parte del Mondo: acciochè si come questi Religiosi sono raminghi dalle loro Patrie; così in questa nobile Accademia di lingue straniere potessero imparare ad essere Cittadini, e Nazionali di tutto il Mondo. […] Adornano di più il Secolo il sopraccennato costume de' Romani nelle loro Librerie, questo spazioso Teatro di Libri le Imagini di molti Personaggi, o Figliuoli della Religione, o segnalati Benefattori, o illustri Letterati, o benemeriti per le loro gloriose fatiche della repubblica Letteraria. Sono usciti, & escono di continuo, o ivi risedono per l'opportuno commodo di questa Libreria, e per il pregio de' loro talenti, da questo Collegio di S. Isidoro molti, & eccellenti Soggetti, indefessi Operarij della Chiesa.").

16 ASV, Congregazione Visita Apostolica, vol. 6, fol. 168 ("Scripture et libri Archivii veteris nullo modo ponantur in Communi Bibliotheca librorum impressorum etiam cum claviculis, vel armariolis clausis, ne ullo modo amoveantur e loco, in quo sunt, donec sit preparatus alius locus iuxta novam Bibliothecam, et ab illa distinctus, in quo libri, et manuscripta commode, et ordinate monentur, et serventur cum unica clave sub custodia Archiviste iuxta dispositionem Brevis a Smo. Domino Nostro desuper editi […]. Datum die 24 Januarii 1664.").

17 This was the convent annexed to the Santuario della Madonna del Piano at Capranica, which, in 1656, Wadding asked to Alexander VII in order to establish a novitiate for young Irishmen. See Patrick Conlan, OFM, *St. Isidore's College, Rome* (Rome: Tipografia S.G.S., 1982), 104–115.

18 Harold, *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi*, 76 ("Neque inutilibus libellis pluteos complere satagebat, qui ad numerum tantum, et ostentationem inserviunt; sed quos ipsius, vel aliorum studijs necessaries utilesque censebat; cuiusmodi comparavit selectorum voluminum omni genere eruditionis typis editorum circiter quinque milia, maiori parte magna, in forma folij, nulla duplicate, sine forte rarum aliquod diversae editionis: id enim ipsius iussu mihi semper incubuit, vt si quem inveniret librum nulla diversitate bis positum hunc e vestigio seponerem, vel cum alijs commutandum, vel postea Capranicensibus mittendum.").

19 Piazza, *Eusevologio romano*, 157s.

20 Harold, *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi*, 76 ("Reliqui suis classibus per alphabeti litteras et codicum numeros distribuuntur […]").

21 Ibid., 76s. ("Considerans Lucas, quam specialis esset utilitas, et frequens necessitas prompte corrigendi eorum vitas, qui santimonia vel singulari pietate illustres essent, tum pro conscribendis Annalibus, tum pro usu Sacrae Congregationis Rituum, in qua Servorum Dei acta ad Canonizationem discutiuntur, et conficiuntur officia peculiaria peregrinorum Sanctorum, in diversis Ecclesiis, Dioecesibus, et religiosis Ordinibus celebranda; in quibus officiis ordinandis ipsius Lucae opera saepius utebatut Sacra Congregatio, tum etiam quod cum antiquorum Sanctorum reliquiae ex Romanis Coemeteriis concederentur, qui illas accipiebant, crebro Lucam accedebant, ut indicaret, ubi vel eorum integrae vitae, vel sparsa notitia haberi posset; hinc mihi tunc juveni Bibliothecae praefecto, tam etsi quotidianis scholarum exercitiis occupato, post ordinatam Bibliothecam, et conscriptos alios indices, imposuit, ut universa Bibliotheca foliatim pervoluta, singularum personarum, quas reperirem, ejusmodi sanctitatis, miraculorum, aut singularis pietatis nota claruisse, nomina describerem, et per alphabetum ordine distribuerem, subscriptis cuilibet iis Auctoribus, quotquot in Bibliotheca nostra ejus notitiam aut notabilem mentionem haberent, adnotato volumine et folio.").

22 Ibid., 77 ("[…] quod etiam, ut alia, praestiti; magno sane meo labore, sed majori voluptate et fructu, magnoque de incepsu sui Lucae et aliorum, hodieque meo: nam schedulae meae, post quam eas ordinatim filis imposui, amanuensis calamo descriptae duo crassa volumina confecerunt, quorum exemplaria nuper sibi describi fecit S. D. N. Alexander VII, cui olim visa placuerunt.").

23 Ibid., 78 ("Etiamsi vero tanta fuerit cura servandi libros, et ex ipsius Pontificii diplomatis praescripto, eiusdem exemplar ad valvas Bibliothecae continuo affixa maneat […].").

24 Ibid, 77s. ("Quod ita observabat Lucas, ut Collegii scholaribus nullum librum concedi permitteret, praeter unum aliquem minoris formae e spiritualibus, cujus lectio animae impinguendae, et asceticae doctrinae prodesset, aut forte alium amoenioris litteraturae; reliquum scholasticis dictatis intentos eos voluit. Imo ipsis Patribus in docendo, vel ad prelum scribendo occupatis non alios libros ad cubicula concedebat, quam eos, qui ex professo tractabant illas materias, quas quisque Patrum conscribebat […].").

25 Apostolic letter of Urban VIII, 18 July 1638, ACSI, Arm. 3 Q1 ("[…] ut libros et quinterna folia eiusmodi e dicta bibliotheca ad eorum cellulas studii ergo asportare possint, dummodo prius in libro, a pro tempore existente Bibliothecario retinendo, libri seu librorum, quo seu quibus uti volent, ut praefertur inscriptionem, ad effectum illum, seu illos Bibliothecae praedictae postea restituendi scribant.").

26 Harold, *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi*, 78 ("Nam dum ipsi per valedutinem dicebat, non alio utebatur musaeo, quam ipsa Bibliotheca, propter varietatem et multitudinem librorum, quae requirebant ejus studia.").

27 Ibid., 77s. ("Religioso Bibliothecae custodiae et obsequiis praefecto, quem semper voluit esse juvenem aliquem ex scholaribus activum, et eruditionis avidum, quique sciret adventantibus satisfacere, ipse plerumque praesens instruebat, dirigebat in opere, et si quando lassum solabatur, si negligentiorem dulciter concitabat.").

7   Luke Wadding

A Life in and for Books

John McCafferty

In 1957 Luke Wadding was an Irish postage stamp. He is still today one of the libraries located in his foundation, St Isidore's College, Rome. He also lends his name to an archive at the Franciscan General Curia. To speak of his being a life in and for books may seem like stating the obvious. He is never seen without a book, books, a pen or an array of shelving. In the largest panel of Emmanuel Da Como's 1672 fresco in the Aula Maxima at St Isidore's, he peers piercingly out from a desk beside a wall of books in a display where every single friar is touching, reading or making a book. He is positioned at the centre of a cloud of witnesses to an Observant Franciscan Catholic reformation.

The readers, writers, scholars, book dealers, editors, theologians and controversialists of St Isidore of Madrid's Irish college are here part of a giant painted testimony to the opportunities of exile.[1] Books as artefacts – whether in every panel of this *hortus conclusus* fresco sequence or in every biography of Wadding – are so pervasive and ubiquitous that it is hard to see the content for the bindings. This is what Wadding overwhelmingly wanted his memory to be. Wadding was by choice, conviction and action a man of books and a man for books. This is a matter worth paying attention to.

An inventory taken at St Isidore's on 23 October 1691 shows how printed books squatted at the heart of the house.[2] There may been 132 books missing from the library of about 5,000 titles but there was a vast stockpile – 1,866 *in toto* – of stacked and packed volumes in quantities ranging from single copy to – at the top end – 240 copies of one Wadding's tracts on the Blessed Virgin. A further 160 assorted and undescribed books were also scattered more generally about the house. The uneven number of copies of Wadding's own works and those of his confreres points to the dealing, swopping, buying and trading initiated by him during his lifetime. In other words, the book business – along with donations and grants – constituted the economic heart of the Franciscan College established by the Waterford friar in 1625. The titles of these inventoried texts point in every direction from Scotist theology to the English-language Catechism of Brother Jacopo Milesio da Pontano,

a Drogheda friar who decided life in Naples was far superior to Louth, to Bonaventure Baron's, a nephew of Wadding, literary panegyrics to language learning manuals.[3]

How did the Irish Franciscan presence in Rome come to be so bookish? Wadding, the founder, was born in Waterford, port city, in the Armada year of 1588. His bones now rest in the crypt of St Isidore's. He died there on 18 November 1657. In 1603, aged 15, Wadding was on board a ship with the eldest of his nine brothers, Matthew. They slipped out of Waterford's harbour, past the Hook Light and south to Portugal. He never returned. There he joined the Irish College in Lisbon as a seminarian. Six months later, he became a novice in the Franciscan friary in Matozinhos, near Oporto.[4]

This migraine-suffering ascetic workaholic was well-connected. By blood and marriage, he was related to a luminous crew of religious, professors and missionaries whose careers spread them out in an arc from Mexico City to Prague. Six further relations were bishops in Ireland between 1601 and 1678. He himself refused many prelacies and is alleged to be the only Irishman ever to gain votes in a papal conclave. His leverage derived from a lucky break since in 1618 he had been chosen as *peritus* or expert on a theological commission funded by Philip III of Spain which was intended to put pressure on Paul V for speedy definition of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. Once there, he never left Rome.[5] Wadding ended up famous, respected and, indeed, much depicted in prints and paintings and frescoes. But what kind of place did the teenager leave behind? How did Waterford, his Old Englishness and his perception of himself as an exile form his career? How did it propel him to books?

When in 1603 Charles Blunt, Lord Deputy Mountjoy (1563–1606), arrived outside the city, he found himself looking at an improvised processional crucifix borne by a vested James White, vicar apostolic of Waterford and Lismore. The viceroy looked him and asked: "What are you?"[6] Waterford, like several other Irish chartered cities had, in the wake of the accession of the new Stuart king James VI and I (1567–1625), leveraged the moments of uncertainty and expectation about the new ruler's religious intentions to temporarily restore Catholicism as the civic cult.[7] Twenty-three years earlier Marmaduke Midleton (d.1593), Church of Ireland's bishop, had this to say:

> Massing in every corner. Rome-runners and friars maintained amongst them. Public wearing of beads and praying upon the same. Worshipping of images and setting them openly in their street doors with ornaments and deckings. Ringing of bells and praying for the dead and dressing their graves diverse times of the year with flower pots and wax candles.[8]

In 1609 the Jesuits reported progress in teaching the city's children provocative Catholic ditties to the dismay of the local "pseudo-ministers."[9]

What did Wadding and his contemporary, the Irish provincial Donatus Mooney, have to say about the religious state of the merchant city? The picture is one of ostensible dissolution. Here's Mooney:

> The convent of Waterford is situated near the wharf where the ships are moored. The church is still intact and is the burial place of many illustrious families. Mass is sometimes celebrated within the walls and sermons delivered but the grounds which once surrounded the convent, and the garden are sadly changed, and the solitude devoted, in former days to religious contemplation, has become the most densely populated portion of the city. The conventual buildings have been turned to secular purposes, the gardens cut up into streets, and houses erected on all sides. The owners of these houses are Catholics, yet they have never sought our permission to hold them. Perhaps because they have been told by other ecclesiastics that they could do so with a safe conscience.[10]

But he also went on to say:

> At present a few of the friars live in the city, in lodgings, as best they may. The inhabitants who belong to Waterford by birth are pious and devout, and generous and well-disposed towards us. They are politic and shrewd in their conduct, but withal steadfast in the Faith.

In other words, while the superstructure was gone, the infrastructure persisted. This was precisely the case with the friary which although officially reconstituted as "Christ's Hospital" – a charitable body providing a vector for Franciscan persistence.[11]

Wadding in *Annales Minorum* s.a. 1240 xxvi wrote:

> is at the mouth of the river Suir, with an excellent harbour, prosperous, well-populated, well-built but more famous for its Christian piety and constancy to the Roman Catholic religion, which makes it all the more beloved and worthier to me as I was born there. Throughout all tribulations and heavy persecutions [Waterford] has stuck with the True Religion … and so merits the eulogy: *Urbs intacta manens* … it is also known as *Parva Roma*.[12]

Wadding's reference to the city's motto of *Urbs intacta manens* was not just a reflex of native pride. When coupled with the sobriquet of *Parva Roma*, it betrayed a semantic shift which was the working out of a slowly moving politico-religious alteration that caught up not only Wadding himself but many of this Old English co-clerics and confreres. *Urbs*

intacta manens had been an assertion of civic pride in an English civility against a Gaelic hinterland as well as being the term used by the first Tudor king Henry VII (1457–1509) for the city's refusal to support the pretender Lambert Simnel (1477–1534) at the end of the fifteenth century. Plantations of New English settlers in Munster and the working out of the Tudor reformations under Henry VIII (1491–1547), Edward VI (1537–1553) and Elizabeth I (1533–1601) had changed all that. Now Waterford's motto, with its faint but pleasing echo of *Virgo Intacta*, was an emblem of the recusancy which had spilled over into a temporary re-appropriation of the city's medieval churches in 1603.

In the *Annales*, Wadding went on to say that his home city was known for its large and elegant friary, crammed with many worthy friars. He identified the founder and moves on to consider which friars are buried in the precincts of the old convent. His writing here is a tightly woven account of the illustrious dead of Waterford in general and his own family in particular – Powers, Barrys, Walshes, Lombards and his own patrilinear Wadding descent.[13] But he also remembered one teenage [*adolescentulus*] experience, which may well be the only thing he ever published about his own life in his native city. He spoke of witnessing the nocturnal exhumation and reburial of the famed John Luker at the old friary site by his confrères, secular clergy and "most pious matrons." The body was intact as well as his habit and his sandals.[14]

This moment combining as it does secrecy, corporate and communal identity with the materially and spiritually charged detail of the habit and sandals may provide a clue to Wadding's fiercely defended decision to enter the Observants. His systematic but jagged defence of the Franciscan order and its intellectual heritage may reflect this Waterford moment in which all the dilemmas and distresses of the Tudor Reformations became manifest in the life of a teenaged merchant's son. His books, fruits of his intellectual preoccupations, may be best understood as writings-out of this night in Waterford.

One of the most frequent words in the 1662 biography of Wadding by his nephew, and successor as shaper of the library and writer of Franciscan history, Francis Harold is *patria* or homeland.[15] It is pretty clear that – and there is not time for it here – Wadding's head remained preoccupied with Irish affairs and those of his native city in his thirty-nine years at Rome. While "Luca Vadingo" as he is in Italian texts say off attempts to have him named as bishop of Waterford and Lismore and, later, a cardinal. His influence with Cardinal Protector Ludovico Ludovisi allowed his cousin Patrick Comerford, an Augustinian, to become bishop of the home diocese in 1629.[16] During the 1640s, he became intimately involved in the devotional life of his own city on two occasions. Addressing Urban VIII, he suggested that St Olaf's church, derelict and now "deserted by everyone except the children who play there," be assigned to the Flemish Catholic traders of Waterford.[17] In

1645 he obtained permission, again from Urban VIII, to transport relics of the martyr St Felix from Rome for "pious adoration" and for swearing on at the Franciscan friary, strengthening the re-entry of the convent into the civic life of the city as a place of solemn contract.[18] There are many St Felixes but this association of Waterford with the vast rediscovery of the early Christian martyrs of the catacombs in his lifetime is a very intimate and direct sign of Wadding's desire to connect the *Urbs Mundi* with the *Urbs Intacta*, the *Parva Roma*.

In 1623 when Wadding published his attempt to fix a canon and an edition of the works of St Francis volume at Antwerp, he pulled no punches in his preface to the reader:

> I tell you frankly this effort of mine, such as it is, for the glory of St. Francis, took its origins from other people's assiduity in decrying him … I desired to place before their eyes the teaching of this holy man, from which it will be seen that he was not as ignorant as they wish to make him, and that he did not hinder his friars from the study of letters, but the he counselled it, no, even clearly ordered it in his Rule, as St Bonaventure asserts.[19]

Wadding's defence of the erudition of the order, also announced in this 1623 preface, was both fecund and sustained – averaging out at more than a volume a year till his death in 1657.[20] Two years after his first book Wadding was entrusted by minister general Benignus of Genoa with establishment of the second continental Irish Franciscan house. Benignus of Genoa, who later retired to St Isidore's and several of whose books are still extant in the library there, had also been a member of the royal delegation on the Immaculate Conception. This flagship house was to have a dual purpose: "litterarum stadium et Franciscanae recollectae domus disciplinam." Yet both its name – San Isidoro – and its location were determined by a Spanish failure.[21] Wadding acquired both real estate and title due to the indebtedness of a Spanish discalced Franciscan hospice or hostel. Twenty-four years later still, in 1649, Pope Innocent X would attend a public theological disputation there – the culmination of a careful strategy of courting curial support for the Irish. His physical presence constituted a personal *imprimatur* for a friary college exclusively staffed by Irish exiles whose intellectual ambitions touched on the deepest spiritual, theological, historical and eschatological preoccupations of what was then the world's largest male religious order – the Observant Franciscans.

Disdainful remarks by friends had prompted Wadding to both defend the *poverello* himself and refute the contention that patched habits clothed patchy intellects. Wadding's vast *Annales Minorum* and his canon of Francis' writings, as well as his *Scriptores Minorum* (1650) – all dedicated to showing that the friars were no rabble religious – propelled

the Irish fathers, as with the Scotus edition, into the heart of the order's official identity. Historiographer-general of the Order, Wadding's title, became an Irish monopoly.[22] Innocent's presence in this "litterarum stadium et Franciscanae recollectae domus disciplinam" was in part the result of a publishing decision taken at the general chapter at Toledo in 1632–1633 which proclaimed Scotus as Doctor of the Order. Giovanni Battista da Campagna, minister general from 1633 to 1639, wanted an edition to rival those of St Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), the Angelic Doctor. He appointed Wadding as overseer of the project. In 1620 Aodh Mac Aingil had already produced a two-volume, one thousand-page, folio edition of the Subtle Doctor's Commentaries on the Sentences. The title page of this book claimed a common nativity for author and editor: John Duns Scotus and Hugo Cavellus Dunensis.[23]

The fervid faith of Irish friars in Scotus' Irishness is normally noted and dismissed as fond imagining of a vain thing. It was an imagining. But it was neither doting nor dreamy; it was a patriotic para-theology with serious intent. Making Duns Scotus Irish released energies which bonded landscape to learning, past to present and the island to the world. Mac Aingil's construction of his subject as an Ulsterman is a tight weave of etymology and imagery. It runs like this. Dún (Down) is a district of Lecale which he translates as *cantredus luminis* or district of light. From this base St Patrick, the "vessel of election," brought the light of the Gospel to the entire island. A Franciscan bishop of Down brought the further light of martyrdom to Ireland in 1613. St Malachy (d.1148), yet another bishop of Down, reformed the Irish church in the eleventh century. At Down St Patrick, St Brigid and St Colmcille (d.615) – the three national patrons – are buried in the same soil. It is now and always has been in the past the fixed tradition of unlearned and learned people alike that Duns is from Down. So, Patrick's place, place of patrons, place of light, nurse of saintly reformers and blessed martyrs is also the "fons et origo" of John Duns Scotus, "Doctor Ordinis Seraphicis," "Doctor Immaculatae Conceptionis" and "Martyr Immaculatae." Scotus' Irishness is no pleasant crotchet. The "genius loci" of Down inserts him into a lineage beginning with a fifth century's apostle whose latest flowering was the friar bishop Cornelius O'Devaney (1533–1612) executed by heretical authorities only seven years earlier.[24]

In 1639 an edition of the Scotus *Opera Omnia* was published at Lyon by the *Patres Hibernis Collegii Romani Sancti Isidori Professoribus*.[25] Volume one features an engraving of the man himself in his study, rapt. He is watched over by *Maria Immaculata*. The shuttered window at the rear opens onto a view of St Isidore's complete with two (probably Irish) recollects caught up in erudite conversation. Apart from two consultant Spaniards, the entire editorial team was Irish, including MacAingil's own students Anthony Hickey and John Punch. Well over sixty percent of the material came from just two men – Mac Aingil and his fifteenth-century

confrere and compatriot Maurice O'Fihely (1460–1513). Readers of this box set not only were given the visual prompt of the Irish college at Rome but were treated through the toponyms of the contributors to an informal gazetteer of the home island – Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Tuam, Down, Armagh. For the remainder of the century, the Irish Franciscan houses at Louvain, Rome and Prague pulsed with thesis after thesis "ad mentem Doctor Subtilis." St Isidore's alone furnished over ninety friars who lectured on Scotus for universities and *studia* all over the continent. Even after the papal ban on discussion of the Immaculate Conception in 1622, defence of Scotus remained a markedly Irish Franciscan concern.

The fresco sequence painted by Fra Emmanuele da Como still extant in the Aula Maxima at St Isidore's is a very layered text containing a labyrinth of in-jokes, puns, slogans and speech bubbles designed to soak and stain the walls with celebration. First, celebration of the *Immaculata* herself, then her Franciscan exponent and exegete the allegedly Irish John Duns Scotus and finally her modern promoters and defenders the exiled Irish friars. This space itself is modelled on a Salamancan original.[26] This is a tribute by Wadding to his Alma Mater. It also points to the fact that Irish infatuation with Scotus was an acquired emotion. It was the consequence of Iberian education. It was not home grown. All Franciscan friars affiliated to Salamanca university vowed to defend the Immaculate Conception and follow the teachings of Scotus. Scotism broke on someone like Wadding who had found his way to the Iberian Peninsula through Irish mercantile networks. As he clearly declared: "I have frequented the three noblest universities of Spain, Coimbra, Salamanca and Alcalá. In each I found chairs of Scotism and masters teaching Scotist doctrine."[27]

Lectures by prominent Spanish Scotists allowed MacAingil and Wadding to synchronize their Irish origins and concerns with their Franciscan vocation and their order's own resurgent intellectual traditions.[28] Exiled Gaelic aristocrats just as happily drew on the legendary history to present themselves as "northern" Spaniards descendants of the Sons of Míl who – spying Ireland from their tower near Compostela – promptly invaded and settled it.[29] Donatus Mooney, first guardian of Louvain, gave Irish Franciscans a parallel origin by repeating Francesco Gonzaga's contention that the Irish province had been founded by companions of St Francis of Assisi who had accompanied him on his supposed pilgrimage to Compostela.[30] Direct sailings from Galicia, it seems, made both Ireland's nobles and Ireland's friars.

All this synthesis was made possible by books. The surviving pre-1700 book stock at the Wadding Library in St Isidore's continues to incarnate the intellectual aspirations of its founder and of his associates because here we find in and on the books, which he collected, edited and published, multiple physical traces of the intellectual vocation sparked by his Waterford upbringing and Portuguese novitiate. That intellectual vocation included the transmission of his own high standards to

the cadre of lecturers, editors, writers and missionaries in the Irish col-
lege dedicated to a Spanish saint. The studious austerity of the college
statutes written by Wadding is clearly aimed at the cultivation of the
highest standards evoked by his allusion to St Bonaventure in his pugna-
cious preface of 1623. In print the dedicatees of Wadding's eight-volume
Annales Minorum parallel the guest lists for disputations on the Pincian
Hill. He started in-house with two ministers general, moving on to the
Viceroy of Sicily, then to the Spanish Ambassador to Urban VIII, then
to Francesco Barberini Cardinal Protector of the Friars Minor, up to
Emperor Ferdinand III (1608–1657), then Ferdinand IV (1633–1654)
and finally Philip IV of Spain. More intimately – and to take just one
example – we see Pope Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi) giving Wadding a
gift of his *Philomathi musae juveniles*, which was published in Paris in
1656, in grateful recognition of his work over many years. Gift-giving
in books mirrored the donations which made the engine of St Isidore's –
Wadding's library – possible in the first place. From the outset Wadding
set about putting together a large collection of works which by the time
he ceased being librarian in 1655 amounted to about 5,000 volumes.[31]

Two Papal letters, one of Urban VIII of 1638 and another of Alexander
VII in 1655, commended and defended the library and, indeed, as late
as 1901 the Papal Curia needed to issue a special licence to move book
stock about because of the provisions of these two seventeenth-century
documents.[32] This was a hugely costly undertaking, but Wadding had
his dedicatees and patrons. The long list of theses defended in Wadding's
own lifetime, expensively printed and often exquisitely adorned with the
baroque iconography of the Catholic reformation, gives a sense of the
degree to which these public exercises were instrumental.[33] Even though
Wadding himself never saw the present library since it and the archive
rooms were completed after his death in 1657, he did supervise and an-
notate the plans for the design of the whole repository.[34] In 1665 Philip
IV of Spain donated 1,000 ducats towards the completion of the library.
Wadding's collection policy was academically astute yet also mindful
of Observant custom and practice. Accordingly, as Harold recorded,
he looked for the best editions of works and exchanged duplicates for
works he did not have and wanted.[35]

The retention of so many duplicates of the works of friar authors as
shown in the 1691 inventory demonstrates that this overall strategy re-
mained at the heart of bookish economics of the college even after his
death. During Wadding's living stewardship, the aim was to create a
comprehensively high-quality collection of the best works available on
the core areas of Scotist thought, Franciscan history and spirituality, the
theological concerns of the counter-reformation and extensive reference
literature on Scripture, religious life, hagiography as well as reading suit-
able for nurture of the spiritual life of the resident community of lectures
and students. The quality of the library ensured its inclusion in contem-
porary guidebooks, in bibliographies and in a steady flow of visitors such

as in 1661 when the Jesuit Bollandists, Godfrey Henschen (1601–1681) and Daniel Papenbroch (1628–1714), spent two days there copying source material.[36] Display through books was critical to Wadding's venture.

Moving deeper into the stock of early books offers more intimate – and these are only samples of what is possible – glimpses into the interior world of Wadding and the community at Isidore's. Wadding and his associates pursued a deliberate and comprehensive collection strategy which is reflected in the publication dates of volumes. Breaking down the current stock by these dates shows that for each of the decades 1601–1610, 1611–1620, 1621–1630, 1631–1640 and 1641–1650 there are over 250 volumes. There are 480 books bearing publication dates between 1611 and 1620 and a further 453 for the decade stretching from 1621 to 1630. This shows very substantial investment in recent literature by the Irish friars at St Isidore's as the library took shape in the first years of foundation. Looking at the 480 books published between 1611 and 1620, it is unsurprising that of these 399 are in Latin, the language of academia, the language of the ecclesiastical administration and the language of liturgy. The next largest grouping – forty-one volumes – are in Spanish. The titles of those forty-one volumes reveal that these are works of the type which would have been used for spiritual reading by individuals. Wadding's statutes stipulate hours of mental prayer. The book stock shows that the interior language of the friars at prayer was very likely to have been Spanish, reflecting, as it happens, their main lines of patronage, their thinking about nationhood and the theological inspiration which fuelled the foundation of St Isidore's in the first place. On one of the twelve books left by the predecessor friars – the word "Hospicio" has been inked through and replaced with a new ownership mark.[37]

That struck-through *Hospicio* volume points to another set of testimonies. Throughout the book stock we see the complex reality of exile location in Rome, Irishness and association with the Recollect or Strict Observance Reform being played out, almost reflexively, as new books were added to the collection.[38] These handwritten library marks, listed below and which have been extracted from volumes across the extant collection at the library in St Isidore's, are worth reading through for the way in books acquired by Wadding and his community became a vehicle for expressions of their self-understanding as a predominantly Irish-born community whose intellectual concerns and scholarly labour were dominated by the global preoccupations of their order.

Early volumes

"del hospicio de S. Isidoro" followed by a second hand which
    reads: "di Roma de min: Hibernesi"
"Biblioth. S Isidori in monte Pincis" [this in Wadding's own
    hand]

Irishness

"applicauit bibliothecae S. Isidori de urbe PP min:
   Hibernorum"
"Ad usum bibliothecae Sti Isidori de urbe PP Hibern"
"Frum Minor Hibern Romae"
"Colegii Romani S. Isidori ffr. Minoru Hibernorum"
"Ad usum Bibl S. Isidori de urbe Frum Minorum Hibernorum"
"Bibliothecae Colegii S. Isidori de urbe PP Hybernorum"
"Ad usum Bibae S. Isid de urbe FF Min: Hib"
"Bibliotheca S. Isidori de Urbe Reverendorum Patrum
   Hibernorum"
"ad usum bibliothecae Sti Isidori de urbe fratrum
   Hibernorum"

The Irish Franciscans as part of the Strict Observance

"Applicatus Bibliothecae de urbe Is. Fr. M. Strictioris
   Observantia Hibern"
"Bibliothecae Collegii Fratrum Min. Strict. Obs. Hib. S. Isidori
   de Urbe"
"ad usum Patrum Hibernorum Recollectorum de Urbe"
"Ad usum bibliothecae Sancti Isidori de urbe Reverendorum
   Patrum Hibernorum de Observ Sancti Patris Francisci"

St. Isidore's as a Roman library

"Bibae S Isidi"
"Ad usum bibliothecae S. Isidori"
"Ad usum bibliotheca S. Isidori FF MM de Urbe Romana"
"ad usum bibliotechae S. Isidori de Urbe"
"bibliothecae colegii divi Isidori de Urbe"
"Bibae Colegii S. Isidori"
"Ad usum collegium Sti Isidori de Urbe"
"Ad usum Frum Mino Collegii S. Isidori"
"Collegii S. Isidori"

Da Como's frescoes focus on both the consumption and production of
books. Notes, quills, loose pieces of paper litter each scene. The arrange-
ment of John Duns Scotus' books and pen in the *Aula* quotes directly
from the Carlo Maratti's portrait. None of the painted friars – not even
the Franciscan archbishop of Dublin Thomas Fleming – has anything

less than two volumes in play.[39] The shelves groan with heaviness of tomes, with mendicant erudition. This is how the community of St Isidore's wanted to present their founder and their enterprise as a great tapestry of bookishness.

Harold made it clear that his uncle was consistently unwilling to have his portrait painted. Indeed in his recent volume Giovan Battista Fidanza makes it clear that the posthumous ubiquity and uniformity of Wadding's image was due to the persuasion of Ercole Ronconi, a lawyer.[40] If paintings of himself were uncharacteristic for Wadding, high-quality illustration of the title pages of his own writings was an enduring characteristic.[41] The 1623 *Opuscula* of Francis and the 1624 ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑ *sive Legatio*, an official history of the embassy to the Holy See to promote the Immaculate Conception of Mary, printed at the Plantin Press in Antwerp and Hastenius in Leuven respectively, have kindred iconography.[42] The *Legatio* engraving is attributed to Cornelis Galle (1576–1650). While the *Opuscula* is unsigned, Galle's close association with the Plantin-Moretus business and the similarity in style, execution and content suggest that direction was given by the Waterford native to the same artist in both instances. On both frontispieces, the author's Irishness precedes his religious affiliation. The Opuscula further notes that he is "Menapiensi," a native of Waterford. Wadding's name is modestly placed but, in both volumes, the Franciscan order itself is tightly braided into a discourse about salvation history, its efflorescence of sanctity, and its regal and Roman allegiances and connections.

At the end of his life Wadding had this to say:

> I have now followed on paper the footsteps of my fellow-religious, who traversed nearly every country in Europe. I found that they filled the earth with the seed of sound doctrine. I then crossed the seas after them to India, the orient, and the countries to the west. There, also, I have traced the good work they accomplished.[43]

This is the last volume of the *Annales Minorum*, the one dedicated to Philip IV, monarch of the New World. Wadding continued, deploying a rhetoric of minorite littleness alongside globe girthing prose:

> O most blessed father Francis. Your sons have done great work for God in many European countries, in the vast provinces of Asia and America, throughout the wide expanse of the New World. I the littlest one in the house of my father for I have called myself your son, plodding away at my little tasks and collecting the scattered documents have tried under your auspices, O Seraphic father, to write of their illustrious deeds and of their apostolic labours.[44]

Friar contemporaries believed that the winged seraph of La Verna had foretold the evangelization of the Americas to St Francis of Assisi. Such an outcome – when friars on the western shores of America faced out to their coworkers in the Philippines and Japan – was freighted with eschatological possibilities.[45] It would be foolish to ignore this strand of thinking, one which strained towards the end times. Wadding willingly weaved his written work into that great work of the salvific Roman communion, ending, as he started out with Francis himself. The Irish Franciscan wrote his life in books: those he published, those he oversaw, those he drafted, those he edited, those he projected, those he caused printed. In all those kinds of books and in his library at St Isidore's, we can see Wadding precisely as he wanted to be seen.

Notes

1 For the most recent assessment of the fresco sequence, see Clare Lois Carroll, "The Transculturation of Exile: Visual Style and Identity in the Frescoes of the Aula Maxima at St. Isidore's," chapter three of Carroll, *Exiles in a Global City. The Irish and Early Modern Rome, 1609–1783* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 89–143.

2 Gregory Cleary, *Father Luke Wadding and St. Isidore's College: Biographical and Historical Notes and Documents* (Roma: Tipografia del Senato G. Bardi, 1925), 234–256.

3 Cleary, *Father Luke Wadding*, 254–256; Jacobus Milesius, *Brevis Catechismus pro hereticis Anglicis, Scotis, et aliis ad Fidem Catholicam et Apostolicam reductis. Ex Romano Cathechismo Latino in Anglicum idioma confectus* (Napoli: Octavius Beltranus, 1635); Bonaventura Baron, *Panegyrici sacro-prophani; sive, orationes rhetoricae miscellaneae* (Romae: sumptibus H. Scheus, typis L. Grignani, 1643). See also 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; Benjamin Hazard, "Correspondence from Jean-Baptiste Devenet and Claude Prost, Book Merchant of Lyon, to Fr. Luke Wadding, OFM, 1647–1654," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 104 (2011): 519–545. It is worth noting that the *Bibliotheca* is not part of the inventory except to note lost assets.

4 Ignatius Fennessy, "Wadding, Luke," in *DNB*, LVI: 643–649; Benignus Millett, "Wadding, Luke," in *DIB*, IX: 680–685; Benignus Millett, "Guide to Material for a Biography of Father Luke Wadding," in *Father Luke Wadding Commemorative Volume*, ed. Franciscan Fathers and Dún Mhuire Killiney (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds Ltd, 1957), 229–62. For a comprehensive bibliography of writings on Wadding, see the "Introduction," to this volume by Matteo Binasco.

5 Fennessy, "Wadding, Luke." See also James Corboy, "The Waddings: An Illustrious Irish Family," *The Irish Monthly* 71, no. 839 (May 1943): 203–208.

6 Anon., ed., "After the Death of Queen Elizabeth," *Duffy's Irish Catholic Magazine* (November 1848): 275 ("Having presented ourselves before his excellency and paid to him all the customary honours in due form he instantly asked me, 'what are you?'. I answered that I was a Christian, a firm Catholic, a servant and most loyal subject of His Majesty King James. He interrogated me closely, not only on the meaning but on the etymology of

that answer, but after having explained myself to the best of my power, I perceived that his passion was rising, and he called me '"traitor'.")

7   A. J. Sheehan, "The Recusancy Revolt of 1603: A Reinterpretation," *Arch. Hib.* 38 (1983): 3–13.

8   William A. Maziere Brady, ed., *State Papers Concerning the Irish Church in the Time of Queen Elizabeth* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1868), 40.

9   ARSI, Ms Anglia 41 i, fol. 38r, Annual Letter for 1607.

10 Brendan Jennings, "Brussels Ms 3947: Donatus Moneyus Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci," *Analecta Hibernica* 6 (1934): 139–191, at 80–81.

11 Ibid., 81; See also John McCafferty, "A mundo valde alieni: Irish Franciscan Responses to the Dissolution of the Monasteries, 1540–1640," *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 19 (2017): 50–63.

12 Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (Quaracchi: Collegio S. Bonaventurae, 1931–33) 3rd ed., III: 51–52.

13 Ibid., III: 53–54.

14 Ibid., III: 52.

15 Francis Harold, *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi* (Quaracchi: Collegio S. Bonaventurae, 1931), 3rd ed., *passim*; Colmán N. Ó Clabaigh, "Harold Francis," in *DIB*, IV: 469–470.

16 Robert Armstrong, "Comerford, Patrick, c.1584–1652," in *DIB*, II: 716.

17 Hazard, "Luke Wadding's Petition to the Papacy on Behalf of Dutch and Flemish Migrants to Ireland, 1641–51," *Analecta Hibernica* 41 (2009): 3–10.

18 ACSI, W8: 30, Instrumentum Corporum S. S. Transmissorum in Hiberniam per P. Wadingum, 1645.

19 Luke Wadding, *B. P. Francisci Assisiatis Opuscula: nunc primum collecta, tribus tomis distincta, notis et commentariis asceticis illustrata* (Antwerp: ex officina Plantiniana, 1623), xlix.

20 Cleary, *Father Luke Wadding*, 53–59; Canice Mooney, "The Writings of Father Luke Wadding, O.F.M.," *Franciscan Studies* XVIII (1958): 225–239. See also Canice Mooney, "The Letters of Luke Wadding," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* LXXXVIII (1957): 396–409.

21 Isidore of Madrid, farmer, canonized with Teresa of Avila, Francesca Romana, Francis Xavier and Philip Neri on 12 March 1622 by Gregory XV. Andrea Sacchi's The Virgin appearing to St. Isidore was placed above the high altar in the autumn of 1630. See Giovan Battista Fidanza, *Luke Wadding's Art: Irish Franciscan Patronage in Seventeenth-Century Rome* (St. Bonaventure University: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2016), 43–57.

22 See Joe MacMahon and John McCafferty, "The Wadding Library of Saint Isidore's College Rome, 1622–1700," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 106 (2013): 97–117.

23 Hugo Cavellus, *F. Joannis Duns Scoti … In primum et secundum [terium et quartum] sententiarum quaestiones subtilissimae* (Antwerp: Jan Van Keerbergen, 1620).

24 Hugo Cavellus, *F. Joannis Duns Scoti*, these extracts are to be found in the first twenty-five columns of the ninety unnumbered pages which open the volume. See Terry Clavin, "O'Devenay, Conor, 1533–1612," in *DIB*, VII: 348–349.

25 Luke Wadding et al., ed., *Ioannis Duns Scoti opera omnia tomis sexdecim distributa: quibus addit praeter praeliminaria suas aliorumque notas, et censuras ad singulos libros* (Lyons, 1639), 16 vols.

26 For the Irish connections with Salamanca, see the essay of Benjamin Hazard in this volume.
27 Manuel de Castro, "Wadding and the Iberian Peninsula," in *Father Luke Wadding Commemorative Volume*, ed. Franciscan Fathers and Dún Mhuire Killiney (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds Ltd, 1957), 119–170, at 157.
28 Joseph MacMahon, "Irish Franciscan Scotists of the Seventeenth Century," *Canterbury Studies in Franciscan History* 2 (2009): 85–112. Martin W. F. Stone, "The Theological and Philosophical Accomplishments of the Irish Franciscans: From Flaithrí Ó Maoilchonaire to Bonaventure Baron," in *The Irish Franciscans, 1534–1990*, ed. Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon, and John McCafferty (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 201–220.
29 Bernadette Cunningham, *The World of Geoffrey Keating* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2000), 122–140. This analysis serves for an introduction to Irish origin myths and their contemporary resonances for seventeenth-century Irish Catholics.
30 "Brussels Ms 3947: Donatus Moneyus Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci," 15.
31 Harold, *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi*, 76. This part of the article draws on MacMahon and McCafferty, "The Wadding Library of Saint Isidore's College." The research on which that article and these conclusions are based is the fruit of a photographic survey undertaken by MacMahon and McCafferty of each title page, all marginalia and ownership marks from over 4,000 printed volumes dating from before 1700. Over 10,000 images were captured. The work was made possible by funding from a UCD President's Research Fellowship awarded to John McCafferty and by the generosity of the then guardian Mícheál Mac Craith as well as the assistance of the then Librarians Dott.ssa Donatella Bellardini and Dott.ssa Claudia Costacurta.
32 ACSI W 4.21: (Urban VIII), W4.22: (Alexander VII), W4.28: (1901, Letter of Cardinal Ferrata).
33 See Brendan Jennings, "Theses defended at St Isidore's College, Rome, 1631–1649," *Coll. Hib.* 2 (1959): 95–104, for a list of cardinals, other ecclesiastics and ambassadors to whom the theses were dedicated and who most likely attended the occasion. Two large bound volumes of the poster size thesis announcements are still extant in the archive of St. Isidore's. During Kenelm Digby's embassy to Rome on behalf of Henrietta Maria to plead for the cause of Charles I with Innocent X in 1645, a Scotist thesis by Iacobus Darceus [James Darcy] was dedicated to him. This example alone shows how sensitive and responsive St. Isidore's publicity drive was in the decades from foundation up to Wadding's death.
34 Benignus Millett, *The Irish Franciscans 1651–1665* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1964), 527; ACSI, W4.3, preserves a contemporary plan of the library featuring Wadding's manuscript hand. It is reproduced in MacMahon and McCafferty, "The Wadding Library of Saint Isidore's College," 117.
35 Harold, *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi*, 76.
36 Fergal Grannell, "Letters of Daniel Papebroch, S.J. to Francis Harold, O.F.M. (1665–1690)," *Archivium Franciscanum Historicum* 59 (1966): 385–455.
37 Ludovico de Miranda, *Ordinis Iudiciarii et de Modo Procedendi in Causis Criminalibus* (Salamanca: Andreas Renaut, 1601).
38 For the whole site as a "lieu de mémoire" see 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.

39 All of the friars are depicted with printed volumes, with the exception of Maurice O'Fihely who is shown with an impressive display of manuscript codices.
40 Fidanza, *Luke Wadding's Art*, 155–160; Donatella Bellardini and Claudia Costacurta, "I volti di Luca Wadding," *Frate Francesco* 2 (2013): 425–439.
41 Fidanza, *Luke Wadding's Art*, 144–145, notes the use of Guillaume Vallet and Etienne Picart for a number of works from 1641 to 1664.
42 Luke Wadding, *B. P. Francisci Assisiatis Opuscula: nunc primum collecta, tribus tomis distincta, notis et commentariis asceticis illustrata* (Antwerp: ex officina Plantiniana, 1623); Luke Wadding, *ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑ sive Legatio Philippi III et IV Catholicorum Regum Hispaniarum ad SS. DD. NN. Paulum V et Gregorium XV. De definienda Controversia Immaculatae Conceptionis B. Virginis Mariae* (Louvain: ex officina Henrici Hastenii, 1624).
43 Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, XVI: 547–548.
44 Ibid., 549.
45 For the classic study of this strand of Franciscan thought, see John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 2nd ed. See also Georges Baudot, *Utopie et Histoire Les premiers Chroniquers de La Civilisation Mexicaine* (Toulouse: Privat, 1977); Steven E. Turley, *Franciscan Spirituality and Mission in New Spain, 1524–1599: Conflict Beneath the Sycamore Tree (Luke 19:1–10)* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

8 Luke Wadding and Scholars for the Arts in Seventeenth-Century Rome*

Giulia Spoltore

The complex network created by Luke Wadding began to be investigated in a much better way since the publication in 1953 of the collection of letters edited by Brendan Jennings. The documents, which are now preserved in the archives of the University College of Dublin, were selected by the Irish historian on the basis of their arguments and chronology.[1]

While Jennings's book is of monumental importance in Wadding's bibliography, it does not fully explain the complex web of relations which the Franciscan established in Rome. In June 1994, the Istituto Svizzero in Rome organized a conference on *The Art of Sant'Isidoro a Capo le Case: Dogma, Diplomacy and Display in Baroque Rome.* The conference proceedings were not published, however, but we can find some trace of them in the bibliography as "forthcoming" in some of Stella Rudolph's articles.[2] She participated in the conference and presented a paper on "Fra Luke Wadding's 'Cenacolo Pinciano' and the rise to fame of Giovan Pietro Bellori and Carlo Maratti, 1651–1657," in which Rudolph tackled the matter for the first time.

In 1990, when Giorgio Morelli analyzed the conspicuous correspondence of Ferdinando Ughelli in the Barberini's collection in the Vatican Library, he stressed as "curiosities" the presence of some request for "judgments on artworks" addressed to the Cistercian abbot.[3] The relation between erudition and arts, however, was not so strange in the seventeenth century. As Ingo Herklotz has demonstrated, the scholars of that period were conscious of a close connection between the arts of the past and their own time.[4] On one hand, the art from previous centuries became a document which was used to confirm history; on the other hand, contemporary art became a device to facilitate historical and theological discussions both in public and in private.[5]

In this regard, an essay by Silvia Ginzburg on Maratti and Bellori is very interesting, as it draws attention to the mutual exchanges between Wadding and other Italian scholars – such as Costantino Gaetani and Pier Maria Campi. She remarks how Bellori and Wadding's friendly relationship was not a turning point, but the natural development of a series

of contacts which the Franciscan established when he arrived in Rome, especially with scholars in the Papal entourage.[6] This aspect is fundamental to understand some moments of Maratti's career and the system of patronage at the middle of the seventeenth century. Given the above aspects, it will be necessary to analyze for the first time what Wadding planned for his church on the Pincian hill and understand how he influenced figurative culture in the Rome of the seventeenth century.

Inside the Walls of St. Isidore's

The organization of the chapels in the church of St. Isidore's reflects Wadding's different interests: his connection with Ireland, Spanish influence, Franciscan spirituality and devotion to the Immaculate Conception. But the current organization is only the outcome of a half century's process of artistic stratification which is possible to read as a testimony to political changes.

The church's construction started before Wadding's arrival on the premises in the summer of 1625. As remarked by Maria Barbara Guerrieri Borsoi, the work on this building had previously begun thanks to the Roman noble Ottaviano Vestri di Barbiano (1577–1626) under the direction of the architect Felice Antonio Casoni (1559–1634). In 1626, the high altar dedicated to St. Isidore's was erected, and it was decorated with an oil on canvas by Andrea Sacchi (1599–1661). The painting was paid for in mid-May of 1626 but was not collocated there until after 1628.[7]

Initially the chapel to the right of the high altar, in *cornu epistolae*, was dedicated to Spanish saints too: St. Peter of Alcantara (1499–1562) and St. Pasquale Baylón (1540–1592),[8] and only afterward to the Immaculate Conception, in 1661 circa. Probably from the beginning the other chapel on the left of the nave was dedicated to St. Francis and St. Patrick. In 2016, Giovan Battista Fidanza rightly pointed out the presence in the convent's garden of a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Mercy and to the Passion financed by Lorenzo Bonincontro in 1633,[9] one of the thirty notaries of Rome and apostolic syndic at St. Isidore's from 1628 to 1632.[10] From the 1650s' Wadding's interest in the church was consistent with the decoration of St. Anna's chapel by Pietro Paolo Ubaldini (1614–1684) under the supervision of Domenico Castelli (1582–1657), and the two chapels painted by Maratti.[11] The chapels were decorated with stories from the life of St. Joseph, between 1653 and 1655, and with episodes from the Passion, from 1655 to 1657, and they are located respectively in *cornu epistolae* and in *cornu evangeli* inside the entrance to the church. An important step of the decorative campaign was the presence of Bellori in Wadding's entourage. Indeed, it was Bellori who introduced the twenty-seven-year-old painter Maratti to Wadding in 1652, after the artist's return from the Marche. Bellori not only involved Maratti in adorning three chapels with frescos and paintings, but also strongly supported him. Indeed, the painter became a crucial artistic

figure for the Franciscan friars.[12] After Wadding's death on 18th November 1657, the decorative campaign continued under the supervision of Francis Harold and Bellori. From 1657 to 1663, the St. Antony's had been painted in the chapel in *cornu evangelii*.[13]

The chapels' planning is self-contained and coherent with Wadding's spiritual and theological interests. On the side where the Gospel was proclaimed, all the chapels contain Franciscan elements: Saints Francis and Anthony, as well as devotion to the *via crucis* in the chapel dedicated to Princess Costanza Pamphili (1627–1665), and episodes from the Passion. If St. Francis represents the *alter Christus*, the presence of St. Anthony provides the Franciscan way to follow the Gospel. The devotion to the Passion is not only a specific Franciscan devotion but also an issue on which Wadding worked intensively when he arrived in Rome. On one hand, he included the *Officium Passionis* in *Opuscola Assisiatis Sancti Francisci* (1623), the first canon of Franciscan literature, thus spreading the practice of this devotion.[14] On the other hand, Wadding collaborated with his friend Antonio Daza Vázquez (fl.1600), the famous Spanish Franciscan historian, on the Italian edition of the *Excercicios espirituales de las ermitas*, published in 1625, in which his confrère produced the first canonical text of the *via crucis*.[15]

On the side where the Epistles were proclaimed, all the chapels are closely related to the Immaculate Conception. From the pontificate of Sixtus V the dates of his pontificate i.e. (1585–1590), and during that of Gregory XV (1621–1623), the devotion to St Joseph and St Anne received growing attention from both popes in order to encourage Marian piety. From the beginning of Christianity, the Epistles represent the main expression of ecclesiastical *magisterium*. This was the only institution able to distinguish good theological propositions from bad and to transform the former into doctrinal statements. Since 1663, all these themes were displayed to the worshippers at St. Isidore's. The last chapels to be concluded in their decoration were those dedicated to St. Anthony's and to the Immaculate Conception. Both were probably in Wadding's original project, but he never saw his church concluded. His nephew, Harold, and his friend Bellori completed the church on his behalf, and probably to the best of their abilities. Artists such as of Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), Maratti and Giovan Domenico Cerrini (1609–1681) were summoned to enhance Wadding's project.[16]

The change of dedication of the first chapel in *cornu epistolae* indicates that a coherent program was established not from the beginning but developed little by little.[17] It is quite probable that Bellori's presence at St. Isidore's was an important factor in this development. Bellori would celebrate himself as the author of the iconographic program in his *Lives* when he mentioned the fresco of *Clemenza* in Altieri's palace (1673).[18] However, he was already a leading figure on the iconography of antiquity in addition to modern painting. In 1645, Bellori published *Icones et segmenta*,[19] and in 1649, anonymously, *Il Bonino ovvero avvertimenti al Tristano intorno agli errori nelle medaglie*.[20] In 1657, he

was cooperating with Leonardo Agostini (1593–1676) on *Le gemme figurate di Leonardo Agostini senese*,[21] and published the *Argomento della Galleria Farnese*.[22] In the first half of 1658, he completed *Notae in numismata tum Ephesia tum aliarum urbium apibus insignita*.[23]

These works were the result of years of research and the natural development of the education he received from Francesco Angeloni (1587–1652).[24] It is worth recalling that paintings and the iconography of frescoes played a seminal role in the *Lives* as well. The iconographic structure is the point of departure from which Bellori usually proceeded to describe works of art.[25] For all these reasons, it is very likely that Bellori was the first who suggested to Wadding that he should redesign his church as a coherent whole within a meaningful theological plan. For his part, Wadding had the necessary background – as a historian and a theologian – to feel this need, tangible evidence of his prominent position both within and outside the Papal Curia. This would also bear witness to his own unique sensibility. In this sense, the church of St. Isidore's, with its frescoes and its paintings, can be deemed Wadding's first authorized biography.

The relationships established by Wadding would favor Maratti as the painter inside and beyond the walls of St. Isidore's. This chapter will analyze some examples of Wadding's approbation of the artist. The first of these concerns the circle of erudite lay people who frequented St. Isidore's and, particularly, Ercole Ronconi. Ronconi was a lawyer, a native of Sigilli in Umbria. In 1653, he became the heir of Flavio Alaleona. He studied at the University of Perugia, where he graduated in law. In 1643, he obtained Roman citizenship, and this explains the reason why he was called "Roman" in the documents.[26] In 1646, the Piedmontese publisher Giovan Francesco Delfini, who had his workshop in Piazza Navona, dedicated one of the editions of the *Relatione di Roma* to Ronconi, which had been written by Girolamo Lunadoro (1575–1642).[27] In the dedicatory letter, we can understand that Ronconi was a prominent figure at the Papal Curia.[28]

The lawyer Ronconi is better known by scholars of library science than by art historians. This is due to the fact that Ronconi left a substantial amount of books and manuscripts to the library of Cardinal Pietro Vito Ottoboni (1610–1691), the future Alexander VIII.[29] This aspect of Ronconi's life demonstrates how his profound culture as a librarian was oriented, as became his profession, to legal doctrines.[30] Bellori himself was perhaps the first to record the arrival of Ronconi's collection in Ottoboni's library in *the Nota delli Musei*:

> Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni. Library in each field of humanities, and mainly law: in it the original repertories, distinct in all legal subjects, of the lawyer Hercole Ronconi, Bartolo of our century,[31] left by him to his Eminence, who also preserves studies of coins and other curiosities.[32]

We know from the lawyer that he had his house near St. Isidore's in Via della Purificazione,[33] like his friend Alaleona.[34] Yet he also held other properties nearby "in order to invest all the money in fruitful occasions,"[35] in part sold to him by the Orsini family in the middle of the seventeenth century.[36] The properties built by Ronconi could yield a lot. This is demonstrated by a letter, dated 6th September 1669, which the French minister of finance, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), addressed to Charles Errard (1606–1689), the court's painter and founder of the Académie de France à Rome. Colbert wrote in his letter:

> As I am determined to secure, as far as possible, the establishment of your Academy, you will be able without difficulty to give me notice of all that you think you will be able to contribute to it and be persuaded that I will gladly give you my help. As for the house which is necessary to you for the said Academy, if you can renew the arrangement for it made by the lawyer Ronconi and if the proprietors are prepared to release it at 8.500 crowns, in Roman money, as you hope will happen, in this case you can buy it. As we must make sure that we have in France all that is beautiful in Italy, you can well imagine that it is a consequence of working ceaselessly to achieve it.[37]

It is possible that Bellori had a relevant role if we consider the parties involved. However, Bellori, as Angela Cipriani has documented, was not a stranger to similar arrangements. As early as 1655, along with other colleagues of the Academy of San Luca, he had been instructed to find "one or two rooms to place the chalks, paintings, and other furnishings of the Academy and to conduct academic studies until our building of the church will be finished." In 1663, in a failed attempt to convince the academics of the need for places in order to study, he offered to pay the rent. This prompted the other artists to do something similar, so that each of them offered a year's painting to be sold for the needs of the Academy.[38]

Maratti portrayed Ronconi in a painting which is now lost, and which is recorded in the life of the painter written by Bellori. The description, shown here, is in a medallion dedicated entirely to the portraiture, which covers the career of the painter. This is included in the story of the life of the painter of Camerano immediately after the trip to Loreto in 1672, and before the commission of the Transitus of St. Joseph, by Eleonora Gonzaga (1598–1655) for the palatine chapel in Wien. The text states:

> We will start from the beginning, and from the time he painted the chapel of St. Isidore's Church of the Minor Observants. He portrayed Friar Luke Wadding, author of the Franciscan Annals, which is available in print, with the pen suspended above the book.

> With this he painted the other portrait of the lawyer Ercole Ronconi, patron of the chapel of St. Joseph in the same Church, an excellent figure in legal doctrine, with his face turned towards us in his most natural appearance.[39]

The text contains some problems which have been partly investigated in an article written in 2013 by Donatella Bellardini and Claudia Costacurta, and which has been used by Fidanza.[40] Further investigation is necessary, however Maratti did not paint only one "chapel of St. Isidore's." Moreover, it is not possible to assess with certainty which of the paintings of God in the three chapels of St. Isidore's the author reports, probably the first in order of time.[41] Furthermore, the portrait of Wadding described by Bellori is not the one which is preserved today in St. Isidore's, and which was reported by Evelina Borea in the apparatus of her notes to the *Lives*. Indeed, that one does not have "The pen suspended over the book."[42] To this testimony we need to add that by Harold who declared that:

> The first and original version [of this portrait], which was painted from life at the instigation of Ercole Ronconi, was formerly preserved in his own study, but is now in that of his nephew [or grandson] Nicola. From this, I [Francis Harold] arranged to have this portrait drawn and engraved, which I have prefixed to my account of [Wadding's] life, and which is, in the opinion of those who know, more accurate.[43]

Therefore, according to the words of Harold, the first portrait of Wadding – which is now lost – that Maratti painted was at Ronconi's request.[44] This corresponds to the one engraved by Etienne Picart (1632–1721) designed by Maratti and which might have been painted between the arrival of Ronconi at St. Isidore's,[45] and the end of 1657.[46] Ronconi's portrait by Maratti is linked to this context, but both in 1976 and 2009 it was considered as an unidentified painting (Figure 8.1).[47] In 1978 Sir Ellis Waterhouse (1905–1985) reviewed an exhibition at the Heim Gallery in London for *The Burlington Magazine*.[48] This review, which has been ignored by scholars, drew attention to one painting which Waterhouse referred to as: "a portrait reasonably called Maratta and fairly plausibly identified as the lawyer, Ercole Ronconi."[49]

The location of this painting is unknown today, but the holdings of the Heim Gallery, purchased from the Getty Research Institute of Los Angeles, preserve a good picture of it.[50] The canvas (96×76 cm) on display at the Heim Gallery, in the catalog, was rightly compared for its style to the *Portrait of a man from Berlin* signed and dated 1663.[51] The painting anticipates the compositional solution of that of Berlin (1663), but when one considers the clearer background, the treatment of the hair

Figure 8.1 Photograph of portrait of lawyer [Ercole Ronconi?], n.d., by Carlo Maratti. Oil on canvas, 96 × 76 cm, unknown location (with permission of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles [910004]).

and the use of a more diffused light, it is very similar, to the *portrait of Cardinal Retz*. This painting is safely dated 1654–1655, and thus the Heim Gallery's painting therefore must be dated to many years later.[52] In 1906, Federico Hermanin (1868–1953) emphasized the stylistic analogies between the *Portrait of a man* in Berlin and the *Portrait of a gentlemen* preserved in Galleria nazionale d'arte antica of Palazzo Corsini.[53] The latter shows similarities both with the painting in Berlin and with that exhibited at the Heim Gallery. The paintings of Heim and Corsini would therefore constitute an important *trait d'union* between the *Portrait of Cardinal Retz* and the group formed by the *Portrait of Andrea Sacchi* in Madrid – accurately dated to 1661–1662 – and the portrait in Berlin dated 1663.[54] With regard to the identification of the man portrayed in the painting exhibited in the Heim Gallery, there is no certainty that he

is Ronconi. However, the attorney's attire and especially the painting's chronology lead us to believe, as Waterhouse suggested, that it is the famous lawyer, Alaleona's heir at St. Isidore's.

Another aspect, that should be considered, has no direct connection with Wadding's actions, but it is crucial in order to understand the birth of the historiography on his figure. The *Epitome Annales Ordinis Minorum*,[55] written by Harold,[56] was an editorial work that involved Bellori and Ronconi as a financial patron.[57] In an undated account book compiled by Harold, that is preserved at the archives of the University College of Dublin, it is written:

> Firstly having being satisfied by Mr. Ercole Ronconi for [the] paper and print of the Epitome of the *Annales*, he will receive three-hundred scudi and fifteen and being equally satisfied by Mr. Dulai one-hundred scudi for the books of the said *Epitome* of the printer and given and sold by him to the said father. In order to pay the debts and for other expenses of his studies and prints the above accounting cash remaining were given to him by hand of Mr. Gio Pietro Bellori apostolic syndic of St. Isidore's convent and part by the said Roncone to his gentlemen received with the approval of the said Bellori syndic.[58]

The "Epitome operation" dates back at least to 1661, when Ronconi was still alive and could finance the work with the considerable sum of 315 scudi, a maneuver that unfolded under Bellori's supervision. The receipt no. 27, dated 1659, which is in the same account book, states: "I to Steph i Picart for the drawing and carving of the p. Luca's portrait placed in the Epitome scudi 20."[59] According to the payment made to the engraver Picart for Wadding's portrait to be included in the book, it is possible to assume that the publishing project "Epitome" began shortly after his death in 1657 with the key aim to remember the leading Irish Franciscan. In a document dated 18th January 1663, it is stated:

> I found to have paid […] from my reverend P. Fr. Aroldo in different accounting entries to the printer for […] Angelo Tinassi scudi 365.[60] Paid by order of the same to Giuseppe Gallina for cash 320 scudi. To Carlo Maratti for the drawing scudi 12. To Gugliemo Valet for the Roma [sic] 31.[61]

Maratti was paid twelve scudi for the design with *Innocenzo III's dream with St. Francis supporting the Church*.[62] This latter was a theme dear to Wadding who already wanted it represented in the frontispieces of the first volumes of the *Annales*. The composition was engraved by Guillaume Vallet (1632–1704), a French engraver, who received thirty-one scudi. At a stylistic level, this frontispiece in folio is very close to

that for the *Fasti Senenses* which was engraved by Vallet in 1662.[63] The drapery is expressed in the same language. Yet, these two prints differ in the way in which the composition is structured. This is possibly due to the different destination and model. The frontispiece which was planned for the *Accademia degli Intronati* displays a series of suggestions from sculpture in entwined cherubs and in the *chiaroscuro* contrast which do not seem to permeate the Franciscan engraving.[64] Moreover, the iconographic models for Innocent's Dream were mostly medieval and they probably inspired Maratti's composition.

The Case of Carlo Maratti in Santa Maria dei Sette Dolori

Beyond the confines of St. Isidore's and following the paintings produced by Maratti in these years, it is possible to trace aspects of Wadding's relations that were ignored by Jennings, and only briefly mentioned by Harold. This aspect emerged in the role played by the Franciscan in another commission for Maratti: the painting for the Basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. On that occasion, it is possible to notice how the friendship with Ilarione Rancati had a significant influence on the choice of painter. The Cistercian abbot decided to entrust the task to Maratti, following Wadding's advice, while the painter was completing the chapel funded by prince Niccolò Ludovisi, at St. Isidore's.[65]

In the years 1655–1656, Maratti received a commission from Camilla Virginia Savelli Farnese (1602–1668)[66] to paint a great canvas with a full-length figure of St Augustine (Figure 8.2) for the chapel in *cornu evangeli* – close to the high altar – in the church of Santa Maria dei Sette Dolori.[67] Bellori mentioned it in his *Lives* after the paragraphs on the chapels' decoration of St. Isidore's. He declared:

> When Alexander VII became pope, a magnificent prince of the art studios, one day while he was having a discussion with Cavaliere Bernini he asked him who were the young men who were showing promise in the field of painting. The cavaliere responded that Carlo held the first place. The pope wished to see something of his work (by his hand) [...] and since he had just completed the painting of St Augustine for the new monastery built by the Duchess of Alatri under S. Pietro in Montorio, Alexander wanted to see this with the mystery of the Most Holy Trinity showing that boy who was trying to empty the sea into a hole with a cup, and pointing out in the air an equilateral triangle, symbol of the three divine persons. When he had the opportunity to bring this painting, he was admitted to the feet of the pope who showed great pleasure and held him in long discourses about painting and offering good and learned opinions about it.[68]

This was the third reference to Bernini that Bellori made in his *Lives*, a deliberate choice in order to underline the greatness of his pupil, Maratti.[69] The painting was possibly completed in 1656, when

Figure 8.2 Vision of St Augustine by Carlo Maratti. Oil on canvas, 250 × 160 cm, church of Santa Maria dei Sette Dolori, Polo Museale del Lazio, Rome (courtesy of the Polo Museale del Lazio – Archivio Fotografico).

Maratti was working on the Ludovisi chapel at St. Isidore's and on the *Adoration of the Magi* for the Basilica of San Marco. Bellori began his description from iconography – the Holy Trinity revealed itself to St Augustine in a vision – and suggested to the reader that, thanks to this painting, Maratti was recognized by the Pope as a great painter. For this reason, Alexander VII (1599–1667) commissioned Maratti to paint the fresco of the *Nativity* in the Gallery of the Quirinal Palace and the *Visitation* for the church of Santa Maria Della Pace. The painting of St Augustine in the church of Santa Maria dei Sette Dolori was a striking display of Maratti's talent in the mid-seventeenth century. Amalia Mezzetti has been the first to rightly point out his familiarity with the paintings of Giovanni Lanfranco (1582–1647).[70] Yet it is appropriate to emphasize here the similarities with Sacchi's painting. Maratti's St Augustine shows similarities with some of Sacchi's masculine figures in the cycle for the dome of the Lateran Baptistery that narrates the *Stories of Saint John the Baptist* (1641–1649). Maratti's St Augustine appears to be modeled to the features of Sacchi's older paintings like Zacharias in the *Birth of the Baptist*, and also the man who enters from the left in *The naming of the Baptist*; the use of light on the foreshortened hands recalls the same method to draw the figure. Finally, the abstract way to express the drapery – hiding its anatomy – draws inspiration from Sacchi's drapery in the paintings previously mentioned.[71] In this painting, Maratti mentioned as his masters Lanfranco and Sacchi, two painters who were directly and indirectly related to Annibale Carracci (1560–1609). This latter, according to Bellori's *Lives*, was the restorer of painting after Mannerism,[72] and subsequently the founder of the new Roman school of painting.[73]

How could Savelli Farnese, a pious noblewoman, be interested in Maratti's painting? At this time, he had completed only two public paintings in Rome as an independent painter, notably the Nativity in the church of San Giuseppe dei Falegnami al Foro in 1650, and the Alaleona chapel in the church of St. Isidore's. His name was probably suggested to the noblewoman. Surely Wadding was aware where the convent of the Augustinian Oblates was established. The building is across the slopes of *mons aureus*, and Wadding stayed in the convent of San Pietro in Montorio when he arrived in Rome in 1618 until his arrival at St. Isidore's in 1625. However, there is no evidence of direct contacts between Wadding and Savelli Farnese during this period.

In order to provide information about this episode, it is necessary to investigate the relationship between the Franciscan and prominent members of the entourage from Lucca in Rome. At the mid-seventeenth century the Marracci brothers were very close to Wadding: Ippolito Marracci (1604–1675),[74] the eldest of the brothers, paid a most beautiful tribute to the Irish friar in his *Bibliotheca Mariana*:

> Lucas Wadding, of the Order of Friars Minor was Irish by nationality, from Waterford; a distinguished investigator of ecclesiastical things; a scholarly professor of Sacred History; the renewed glory of his Minorite family and of the Irish nation; amongst the numerous varied works, some already published, some still to be published, he won great glory for himself and honor for posterity; so, also, he exalted to the maximum the splendor of our Marian library; both in writing and in publishing, his excellent documents manifest his extraordinary devotion to the Blessed Virgin, he still lives in the convent of St. Isidore's in Rome and is working ceaselessly for his seraphic religion, for the whole church, especially with his literary works, life and the integrity of his meritorious habits, in this year 1646 we are writing.[75]

From Lucca, Marracci settled in Rome in 1629, and at least by 1646 he knew Wadding with whom he had common theological interests and a similar position on the Immaculate Conception. Ludovico Marracci (1612–1700), whose artistic studies have not been given due consideration, was an Islamist, closely related to the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" through the Spanish prelate Juan Batista Vives y Marjà (1545–1632), one of the key founders of the Roman dicastery. Marracci became consultant for the Index and the Holy Office along with Wadding and Rancati. With this latter, Marracci also worked on translations from oriental languages.[76]

In 1650, Wadding dedicated his *Annales Scriptores Ordinis minorum* to Cardinal Marco Antonio Franciotti (1592–1666).[77] The Irishman commissioned Giovanni Cesare Testa (1630–1655), an artist from Lucca and nephew of the most famous engraver Pietro Testa (1612–1650), to make an engraving for the frontispiece of the book.[78] Elizabeth Cropper first advanced the hypothesis that the relationship with the engraver must be traced back to the relationship that Wadding had with Cardinal Franciotti, a major client in those years of Pietro Testa.[79] This latter could also find at St. Isidore's a valiant supporter in Cardinal Camillo Massimo (1620–1677), closely involved with the church at least since September 1646, as the accounting books demonstrate.[80] Cardinal Massimo appreciated the landscapes by Testa, as can be seen from his inventories.[81]

Cardinal Franciotti was from Lucca and was part of the Barberini circle.[82] He had been an important patron during the construction of the church of Santa Maria in Campitelli, of which Ippolito Marracci became parish priest in 1635, and where Ludovico Marracci settled since 1645.[83] It is clear that, at the beginning of 1650s, the relations between the artists from Lucca of the Barberini entourage and Wadding were particularly close.

The Augustinian Oblates were under the spiritual care of the priests of the Clerks Regular of the Mother of God at Santa Maria in Campitelli.[84]

Figure 8.3 Portrait of Camilla Virginia Savelli Farnese by Carlo Maratti. Oil on canvas, 73 × 63 cm, convent of Santa Maria dei Sette Dolori, Polo Museale del Lazio, Rome (courtesy of the Polo Museale del Lazio – Archivio Fotografico).

Before Francesco Guinigi became Savelli Farnese's confessor in 1665,[85] Ludovico Marracci fulfilled this role, probably between his arrival in the city and 1665.[86] When Savelli Farnese looked for a painter to produce a painting for her new church and for the devotion of her nuns, Marracci had the necessary contacts to find the most promising painter in Rome, thus suggesting the name of Maratti.

As previously mentioned, Maratti grasped the opportunity to express the full potential of his painting. This was not a fortuitous episode, but rather the outcome of an accurate screening that he chose this painting to be submitted to Alexander VII. Savelli Farnese also ordered from Maratti a half-length portrait of herself (Figure 8.3). Maria Giulia Barberini has recently removed the painting from the catalogue of the artist. The painting that she discussed as original is kept at the reception of the Donna Camilla Savelli Hotel that today occupies part of the former convent.[87]

However, that painting is a copy of the original that is preserved in a room near the church that functions as a sacristy. The portrait shows thick brushstrokes very similar to Wadding's portrait by Maratti in St. Isidore's, and the depiction of St Augustine's face on the canvas in the church. This seems to suggest not only the same author, but also the same chronology.

The case of Santa Maria dei Sette Dolori sheds some light on the need to deepen Wadding's relationships not only by relying on archival evidence such as letters, but also by reconstructing the context in which the Franciscan friar was living. In conclusion, this chapter has revealed that the reconsideration of the system of patronage and the role of artworks as documents are two essential elements for a much better understanding and assessment of Wadding's artistic and cultural entourage in Rome.

Notes

1 See Brendan Jennings, OFM, ed., *Wadding Papers, 1614–38* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1953), VIII; see also Matteo Binasco's introduction to this volume.
2 Stella Rudolph, "Premessa ad un'indagine sul mecenatismo del cardinale Alderano Cybo, devoto dell'Immacolata nonché parziale a Guercino e a Maratti," *Bollettino dei musei comunali di Roma* 8 (1994): 5–31, in particular 13, note no. 11; Stella Rudolph, "Mezzo secolo di diplomazia internazionale, fra realtà ed allegoria, nelle opere del pittore Carlo Maratti," in *The Diplomacy of Art. Artistic Creation and Politics in Seicento Italy. Papers from a Colloquium Held at the Villa Spelman, Florence 1998*, ed. Elizabeth Cropper (Bologna: Nuova Alfa editoriale, 2000), 195–228, in particular 198.
3 Giorgio Morelli, "Monumenta Ferdinandi Ughelli Barb. Lat. 3204–3249," *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 4 (1990): 243–280, 257.
4 Ingo Herklotz, *La Roma degli antiquari: cultura e erudizione tra Cinquecento e Settecento* (Roma: De Luca editori d'arte, 2012); Ingo Herklotz, *Apes urbanae. Eruditi, mecenati e artisti nella Roma del Seicento* (Città di Castello: Luoghi Interiori, 2017).
5 Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950): 285–315.
6 Silvia Ginzburg, "I caratteri della scuola romana in Maratti e in Bellori," in *Maratti e l'Europa*, ed. Liliana Barroero, Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, and Sebastian Schütze (Roma: Campisano, 2015), 25–51.
7 Donatella Bellardini and Claudia Costacurta, "Visitatio ecclesie S. Isidori die 25 augusti 1628. La fabbrica dei frati minori irlandesi a Roma," *Archivium Francescanum Historicum* 106 (2013): 599–606. On the role of Giovan Pietro Bellori, see Donatella Bellardini and Claudia Costacurta, "Giovan Pietro Bellori (1613–1696). Sindaco Apostolico del Collegio S. Isidoro," *Archivium Francescanum Historicum* 107 (2014): 175–184; Ginzburg, "I caratteri della scuola romana in Maratti e in Bellori," 33–37; Giovan Battista Fidanza, *Luke Wadding's Art. Irish Franciscan Patronage in Seventeenth-Century Rome* (New York: Franciscan Institute publications, 2017), 83–91.

8 Bellardini and Costacurta, "Visitatio ecclesiae S. Isidori," 601, 604.

9 Fidanza, *Luke Wadding's Art*, 183.

10 Francis Harold, *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi* (Grottaferrata: Quaracchi editori, 1931), 3rd ed., 67; Patrick Conlan, *S. Isidore's College, Rome* (Roma: Tipografia S.G.S, 1982), 22.

11 James G. Harper, "The Barberini Chapel at Sant'Isidoro and the Submemoration of the Architect Domenico Castelli," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, ed. Machtelt Israëls and Louis Alexander Waldman (Milano: Officina Libraria, 2013), I: 610–621.

12 Fidanza, *Luke Wadding's Art*, 144–145.

13 Silvia Mattina, "Gian Domenico Cerrini e la cappella di Sant'Antonio," in *Il Collegio di Sant'Isidoro. Laboratorio artistico e crocevia d'idee nella Roma del Seicento*, ed. Susanne Kubersky-Piredda (Roma: Campisano, 2018), 183–194.

14 Pietro Mocciaro, "La penna del santo: l'edizione dei B. P. Francisci Opuscula di Luke Wadding (1623)," *Franciscana. Bollettino della Società internazionale di studi francescani* 14 (2012): 205–254.

15 Benedikt Mertens, OFM, "Exercicios spirituales de las ermitas. Metamorfosi di un'opera di Antonio Daza (edizioni 1625–1682)," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 110 (2017): 627–656. On this argument, see also Giulia Spoltore, "Possibili modelli algardiani nella cappella Ludovisi di Carlo Maratti," in *Il Collegio di Sant'Isidoro. Laboratorio artistico e crocevia d'idee*, 164, note no. 11. I'm grateful to Father Benedikt Mertens for sharing with me his thoughts on this matter.

16 Bellori knew the Cerrini's *oeuvre*. He mentioned it in *Nota delli Musei* in the Giovanni Simone Ruggeri's collection in via Giulia. See Giovan Pietro Bellori *Nota delli musei, librerie, galerie et ornamenti di statue e pitture ne' palazzi, nelle case e ne' giardini di Roma* (Roma: Biagio Deversin & Felice Cesaretti, 1664), 49.

17 The dedication of the Bonincontro chapel to Our Lady of Mercy, and also to the Passion, is a further argument in favor of this hypothesis; indeed, it is unlikely that Wadding, from the beginning, decided to dedicate two chapels to the Passion. See here note no. 9.

18 Sabrina Leps, "Maratti, Bellori e l'affresco della Clemenza in Palazzo Altieri," in *Maratti e l'Europa*, ed. Liliana Barroero, Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, and Sebastian Schütze (Roma: Campisano, 2015), 67–84.

19 François Perrier, *Icones et segmenta illustrium e marmore tabularum quae Romae adhuc extant a Francisco Perrier delineata, incisa et ad antiquam formam lapideis exemplaribus passim collapsis restituta* (Paris: Perrier's widow and Francois Poilly, 1645).

20 Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Il Bonino overo avvertimenti al Tristano intorno agli errori nelle medaglie, nel primo tomo de' i suoi commentari historici* (Roma, 1645).

21 Leonardo Agostini, *Le gemme antiche figurate di Leonardo Agostini senese* (Roma: Dragondelli, 1657).

22 Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Argomento della Galeria Farnese dipinta da Annibale Carracci, disegnata e intagliata da Carlo Cesi. Nel quale spiegansi e riduconsi allegoricamente alla moralità le Favole Poetiche in essa rappresentate* (Roma: Mascardi, 1657).

23 Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Notae in numismata tum Ephesia tum aliarum urbium apibus insignita* (Roma: Varesij, 1658).

24 Carlo Gasparri, "L'antico nella mostra," in *L'Idea del Bello. Viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, catalogo della mostra, ed. Evelina Borea and Carlo Gasparri (Roma: Edizioni De Luca, 2000), I, XXV–XXXII.

25 On Bellori as iconologist, see Stefano Pierguidi, "Ordinando varie favole ad un fine. Sulle 'ekphrasis' di Giovan Pietro Bellori degli affreschi di Annibale Carracci e Raffaello," *Barockberichte* 64 (2016): 7–15; Stefano Pierguidi, "E se noi riconosciamo bene la mente dell'Artefice: Bellori e la nascita dell'iconologia come (fallace) scienza interpretativa," in *Cesare Ripa un die Begriffsbilder der Frhüen Neuzeit*, *Tagung über Cesare Ripa und die Begriffsbilder der Frühen Neuzeit, die vom 24. bis 25. September 2009 an der Universität Heidelberg stattfand*, ed. Cornelia Logemann and Michael Timann (Zürich: Diaphanes, 2011), 221–240.

26 For Ronconi's origins and his arrival in Rome, see Fidanza, *Luke Wadding's Art*, 160. See also Lodovico Jacobilli, *Di Nocera nell'Umbria, e sua diocesi e cronologia de' Vescovi di essa città* (Foligno: Agostino Alterij, 1653), 50–52.

27 Francesco Barberi, *Il libro italiano del Seicento* (Roma: Gela reprint's, 1985), I: 101–102; II: 23; Saverio Franchi, *Le impressioni sceniche. Dizionario bio-bibliografico degli editori e stampatori romani e laziali di testi drammatici e libretti per musica dal 1579 al 1800* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1994), I: 201–205. On the relationship between Delfini and the De Rossi family, see Aloisio Antinori, "Rappresentare Roma moderna: la stamperia De Rossi alla Pace tra industria del libro e cultura architettonica (1648–1738)," in *Studio d'architettura civile: gli atlanti di architettura moderna e la diffusione dei modelli romani nell'Europa del Settecento*, ed. Aloisio Antinori (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 2013), 11–69, in particular 12–13 and 63 note no. 10. Girolamo Lunadoro, *Relatione della corte di Roma, e de' riti da osservarsi in essa, e de' suoi magistrati, & offitij, con la loro distinta giuriditione. Dal sig. cavalier Girolamo Lunadoro già data in luce. E di nuovo accresciuta, & ampliata in quest'ultima impressione. E dedicata al molto Illustre e molto Eccellente Signore, il Signor Ercole Ronconi* (Bracciano: Andrea Fei, 1646).

28 The importance of Ronconi in Rome, as doctor of legal disciplines, is obtained from Giovan Battista De Luca's posthumous life written by Giovanni Antonio Thomati. Giovanni Battista De Luca is better known and studied actor of the Roman Court. On De Luca, see *Alla riscoperta del Cardinal Giovan Battista De Luca giureconsulto*, ed. Raffaele Coppola and Ezio M. Lavoràno (Venosa: Osanna edizioni, 2016); Annamaria Santangelo, *La toga e la porpora. Quattro biografie di Giovan Battista De Luca* (Venosa: Osanna edizioni, 1991), 55–56; Carlo Maratti would paint a full-length portrait of De Luca dating 1681–1683. See Anna Grelle Iusco, *Arte in Basilicata: rinvenimenti e restauri* (Roma: De Luca, 1981), 125; Angelica Petrocelli, "Carlo Maratta e il cardinal venosino Giovanni Battista de Luca: le commissioni per la cattedrale di Venosa," *Bollettino storico della Basilicata* 21 (2006): 69–92.

29 Bellori, *Nota delli musei,* 37–38; the *Eusevologio* written by Piazza depends on Bellori's *Nota*. See Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, *Eusevologio Romano overo delle Opere Pie di Roma* (Rome: Domenico Antonio Ercole, 1698), 2nd ed., 119–120; Gaetano Marini, Angelo Mai, and Costantino Ruggieri, *Memorie istoriche degli archivi della Santa sede e della Biblioteca Ottoboniana* (Roma: Tipografia Vaticana, 1825), 48–50.

30 Books on legal and spiritual subjects belonging to Ercole Ronconi are now preserved at the National Library of Italy in Rome. As can be seen from the signature on the front pages, they passed to at least two different institutions: the convent of Santa Maria della Scala and the College of the Society of Jesus.

31 Here Bellori refers to the jurist Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1313/1314–1357), a well-known author of repertoires. See Francesco Calasso, *Bartolo da*

Sassoferrato, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (hereafter in *DBI*) (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1964), VI: 640–669.

32 Further information is from the *Nota delli Musei*, in fact "varie lettere già della Libreria dell'Avvocato Ronconi" are indicated as Abbot Brocchi's property. See Bellori, *Nota delli musei,* 14 ("Cardinale Pietro Ottoboni. Libreria in ogni studio di lettere, et principalmente iurisprudentia: in essa li Repertori originali, distinti in tutte le materie legali, dell'Avvocato Hercole Ronconi, Bartolo del nostro secolo, da esso lasciati a sua Eminenza, la quale conserva anche studio di medaglie e altre curiosità"). From a document dated 20th April 1666, the abbot Brocchi obtained by inheritance, through Cristoforo Ronconi, the part then registered by Bellori, negotiating a financial agreement with the other heirs of Ronconi, his nephews Francesco and Nicola. See Archivio di Stato di Roma, Trenta notai capitolini, ufficio 1, serie testamenti, 1661, fols. 304r–317v. Naturally, all these links found in favor of the Bellorian autograph of the text questioned by Margaret Daly Davis in favor of an attribution to Fioravante Martinelli. See Margaret Daly Davis, "Giovan Pietro Bellori and the 'Nota delli musei, librerie, galerie, et ornamenti di statue e pitture ne' palazzi, nelle case, e ne' giardini di Roma' (1664): Modern Libraries and Ancient Painting in Seicento Rome," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 68 (2005): 191–233.

33 ASR, Notai del Tribunale dell'Auditor Camerae, ufficio 7, vol. 5005, fols. 304r–305r, 316r–317r, document cited in Fidanza, *Luke Wadding's Art* 160 note no. 31.

34 Harold, *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi*, 69–70.

35 Giovan Battista De Luca, *Theatrum veritatis et iustitiae. De servitutibus* (Venezia: typographia Balleoniana, 1698), 3rd ed., IV: 13 ("Ex motivo tutius investiendi pecunias in occasiones fructiferas.").

36 On Ercole Ronconi's home and others his proprieties, see De Luca, *Theatrum veritatis et iustitiae*, 113–115; Gino Gorla and Antonio Tizzano, "Un 'trittico' di interesse attuale sull'urbanistica romana fra i secoli XVII–XVIII," *Il Foro italiano* 102 (1977): 2–32, 22–24; Beniamino Caravita di Toritto, and Gino Gorla, "Riflessi delle strutture edilizie e dei 'mores' su problemi concernenti le case nella giurisprudenza fra i secoli XVI–XIX (brevi cenni sul secolo XX)," *Il Foro italiano* 101 (1978): 93–112, in particular 98, note no. 20.

37 Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., *Correspondance des directeurs de L'Académie de France a Rome avec les surintendants des bâtiments (1666–1694)* (Paris: Charavay, 1887), I: 23–24 ("Comme je suis dans la résolution de fortifier, autant qu'il se pourra, l'establissement de vostre Académie, vous pourrez sans difficulté me donner avis de tout ce que vous croirez pouvoir y contribuer et estre persuadé que j'y donneray volontiers les mains. Quant à la maison qui vous est nécessaire pour ladite Académie, si vous pouvez renouer le traité de celle de l'Avocat Ronconi et que les propriétaires se relaschent à 8.500 écus, monnoye de Rome, comme on vous le fait espérer, en ce cas, vous pouvez l'acheter. Comme nous devons faire en sorte d'avoir en France tout ce qu'il y a de beau en Italie, vous jugez bien qu'il est de conséquence de travailler incessamment pour y parvenir […]"); see also Emmanuel Coquery, *Charles Errard (ca. 1601–1689). La noblesse du décor* (Paris: Arthena, 2013), 175.

38 Angela Cipriani, "Bellori ovvero l'Accademia," in *L'Idea del Bello. Viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, II, 480–482, in particular 480 ("una o due stanze per riporvi li gessi, quadri et altre suppellettili dell'Accademia e per esercitarvi li Studij accademici fino a tanto che sarà finita la nostra fabrica di Chiesa.").

39 Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le Vite de' pittori scultori e architetti moderni*, ed. Evelina Borea, Giovanni Previtali, and Tomaso Montanari (Torino: Einaudi, 2009), 2nd ed., II: 604 ("Cominceremo da' primi, e dal tempo ch'ei dipinse la cappella di Sant'Isidoro Chiesa de' Minori osservanti. Ritrasse il padre fra Luca Wadingo autore degli Annali francescani, che si vede in stampa, con la penna sospesa sopra il libro. Con questo dipinse l'altro ritratto dell'avvocato Ercole Ronconi padrone della cappella di San Giuseppe nella medesima Chiesa, soggetto sublime nella dottrina legale, e questo si volge in faccia, nell'aspetto suo naturalissimo.").

40 Donatella Bellardini and Claudia Costacurta, "I volti di Luca Wadding," *Frate Francesco. Rivista di cultura francescana* 79 (2013): 425–439; Fidanza, *Luke Wadding's Art*, 155–177.

41 Bellardini and Costacurta reasonably report that the chapel could be that of St. Joseph.

42 Bellori, *Le Vite de' pittori scultori e architetti moderni*, II, 604, note no. 2 ("because in fact that he does not have the pen suspended over the book.").

43 Harold, *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi*, 146 ("Prima et originalis, quae Herculis Ronconii cura ex ipso corpore depicta fuit, in ipsius quondam, nunc Nicolai nepotis Musaeo servatur, ex qua ego [Francis Harold] delineari desculpique feci, quam huic ipsius vitae praefiigo, peritorium judicio, veriorem eius effigiem.").

44 Harold's testimony confirms that the painting did not remain in St. Isidore's convent since after the death of Ronconi, it appeared in the collection of Nicola Fazi, Ronconi's nephew and heir. Subsequently, any information about the painting is lost.

45 It is difficult to establish with certainty when Ronconi entered St. Isidore's entourage, but certainly it was not on the Alaleona legacy. He already appeared in the accounting books in February 1649. See University College Dublin Archives, OFM, MS C64, fol. 25r.

46 There is the "Maratti delineavit" in the etching; however, it does not report the "Maratti pinxit." On these questions, see also Fidanza, *Luke Wadding's Art*, 156.

47 Bellori, *Le Vite de' pittori scultori e architetti moderni*, II, 604, note no. 3.

48 The E.K.W. stands for Ellis Kirkham Waterhouse (1905–1985).

49 E.K. Waterhouse, "Baroque art at the Heim Gallery," *The Burlington Magazine* 905 (1978): 554–556.

50 Getty Research Institute of Los Angeles, Heim Gallery, box 118, folder 32.

51 *The Baroque in Italy. Paintings and sculptures 1600–1720*, London Heim Gallery, 15 June–25 August 1928, London, no. 17. Berlin painting's inventory number: 426A; inscription text: "Aetatis suae XXIV/et III mens/in Roma 1663/C.M.F." See Mezzetti, *Contributi a Carlo Maratti*, 296, 319; Linda B. Parshall, *Picture Gallery Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz: Catalogue of Paintings; 13th–18th Century* (Berlin: Hartmann, 1978), 255; Francesco Petrucci, *Pittura di ritratto a Roma. Il Seicento* (Roma: Budai, 2008), III, 337.

52 Rudolph, *Ritratto di Jean-François-Paul de Gondi, cardinale di Retz, in abito vescovile*, cat. no. 2, in *L'Idea del Bello. Viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, 2000, II, 460.

53 Federico Hermanin, "Un ritratto della Galleria nazionale di Roma," *L'Arte* 9 (1906): 127–130; Alessandro Cosma, "Ritratto di gentiluomo," cat. no. 41, in *Da Rubens a Maratta. Le meraviglie del barocco nelle Marche. Catalogo della mostra (Osimo, 29 giugno–15 dicembre 2013)*, II: *Osimo e la marca di Ancona*, ed. Vittorio Sgarbi and Stefano Papetti (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editoriale, 2013), 150–151, with previous bibliography.

54   Stella Rudolph, *Ritratto di Andrea Sacchi*, cat. no. 11, in *L'Idea del Bello. Viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, II, 490–491.

55   Francis Harold, *Epitome Annalis Ordinis Minorum* (Roma: Tinassi, 1662).

56   Francis Harold was born in Limerick in the early seventeenth century. After his training at St. Isidore's, he was sent to teach in Prague, Wien and Graz. In 1651, he returned to Rome where he took the role of lecturer and librarian, assisting Wadding in his studies. On 12th April 1655, he was named "chronicler of the order," as his uncle, a role which was later confirmed by Clement X on 5th January 1671 and renewed 8th May 1675 with the right to dispose of an amanuensis for his work as annalist. Harold was an internationally renowned scholar. This is shown by a dense correspondence of thirty-three letters sent between 1665 and 1690 with Daniel Papebroch, the pupil of Jean Bolland (d.1665), who was one of the major compilers of the eighteen volumes of *Acta Sanctorum*. On Harold, see Gregory Cleary, *Luke Wadding and St. Isidore's College, Rome: Biographical and Historical Notes and Documents* (Roma: Tipografia del senato G. Bardi 1925), 108–112; Benignus Millett, *The Irish Franciscans 1651–1665* (Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1964), passim; Fegal Grannell, "Letters of Daniel Papebroch, S.J. to Francis Harold, O.F.M. (1665–1690)," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 59 (1966): 385–455.

57   Ronconi, "ejus [of Wadding] veri amici" financed the funeral inscription in the church. See Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese ed altri edificii di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai nostri giorni* (Roma: Ludovico Cecchini, 1877), IX: 10.

58   UCD-OFM D.18.01 ("Inprimis essendo stati sodesfati [sic] dal Sig. Ercole Roncone per carta e stampa dell'epitome [sic] d'Annali da detto avra [sic] scudi trecento e quindici ed essendo parim.te sodesfati dal Sig.r Dottor Dulai scudi cento per libri di detta Epitome proprij de dello [sic] stampatore et da lui dati e venduti al detto padre. Per pagar questi debiti e per far altre spese del suoi studi e stampe li furono date le partite di sotto rimanenza e spesa per mano del Sig.r Gio: Pietro Bellori Sindico Ap.lico del convento di S. Isidoro e parte dal d.to Roncone a suoi sig.ri ricevuti con consenso del detto Sigr Bellori Sindico.").

59   UCD-OFM D.18.01 ("Io a Steph.i Picart per disegno ed intaglio del ritratto del p. Luca posto nel Epitome scudi 20.").

60   UCD-OFM D.18.01 ("Trovo haver pagato de […] del m.to R.do P. Fr Aroldo in diverse partite allo stampatore per […] Angelo Tinassi scudi 365 m.ta.")

61   UCD-OFM D.18.01. ("Pagato per ordine dello stesso a Giuseppe Gallina per m.ta 320 scudi." "A Carlo Marati per il disegno scudi 12. A Guglielmo Valet per il *Rima* [sic] 31.").

62   The engraving was published simultaneously and independently by Stephan Albl and Fidanza. See Stephan Albl, "La cappella Alaleona in Sant'Isidoro. Maratti, Bellori e l'inizio di 'un virtuoso legame di amicizia'," in *Maratti e la sua fortuna, atti del convegno, Roma, 12–13 maggio 2014*, ed. Sibille Ebert-Schifferer and Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò (Roma: Campisano, 2016), 30; Fidanza, *Luke Wadding's Art*, 154; Donatella Bellardini and Claudia Costacurta, however, were the first to discover the print and inform the scholars of it. It should also be remembered that in 1978 Stella Rudolph, studying the engravings from Maratti's drawings, read in the list by Le Blanc "François supportant une église en ruines: C. Marat. In-fol." The scholar linked the engraving to the Wadding's circle but did not trace the print in Harold's book. See Stella Rudolph, "The Toribio illustrations and some Considerations on Engravings after Carlo Maratti," *Antologia di belle*

arti II, no. 7–8 (1978): 200, note 13; Charles Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes* (Paris: Émile Bouillon, 1890), IV: 91, note 56.

63 Jennifer Montagu, "Canini versus Maratti: two version of a frontispiece," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1983): 123–128, see also the catalogue sheet by Annalisa Pezzo, *Alessandro VII Chigi (1599–1667). Il Papa senese di Roma moderna*, ed. A. Angelini, M. Butzek, and B. Sani (Siena: Maschietto & Musolino, 2000), 178–179.

64 The Accademia degli Intronati was an academy founded by members of the aristocracy of Siena between 1525 and 1527. See Marcello Marcucci, "Accademia Senese degli Intronati," in *Accademie e istituzioni culturali in Toscana*, ed. Francesco Adorno (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1988), 454; Gerolamo Pallini, "Accademie senesi: tramonto e alba di una *respublica literaria*," in *The Italian Academies 1525–1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, ed. Jane E. Everson, Denis V Reidy, and Lisa Sampson (Cambridge: Modern Humanities Research Association and Routledge, 2016), 53–61.

65 On this argument, see Giulia Spoltore, "Luke Wadding, Ilarione Rancati e la famiglia Ludovisi per un'impresa editoriale: la Vita del B. Nicolò Albergati (1652–1654)," in *Studi sulle dinamiche della circolazione di persone, oggetti ed idee. Ricerche dottorali in storia, territorio e patrimonio culturale dell'Università Roma Tre*, ed. Francesco Carta, Silvia Omenetto, and Giulia Spoltore (Roma: RomaTrE-press, 2020), forthcoming.

66 There is an urgent need for new studies on this noblewoman. Most references to her fall between the realms of hagiography and historical research. See Mario Bosi, *La serva di Dio Camilla Virginia Savelli Farnese: fondatrice del monastero e della chiesa delle Oblate Agostiniane di Santa Maria dei Sette Dolori* (Roma: Tipografia delle Mantellate, 1953); Matteo Marcattili, *Da ricca che era… Serva di Dio Camilla Virginia Savelli, Duchessa di Latera e fondatrice del monastero di Santa Maria de'Sette Dolori in Roma* (Acquapendente: Tipografia Ambrosini, 2013); Maria Agnese Pascalizi, *Il cammino spirituale della Serva di Dio Camilla Virginia Savelli Farnese* (Acquapendente: Tipografia Ambrosini, 2014); Dario Busolini, "Savelli, Camilla Virginia," in *DBI*, XC: 756–757.

67 Bosi, *La serva di Dio*.

68 Bellori, *Le Vite de' pittori scultori e architetti moderni*, II, 582–583 ("Succeduto intanto il pontificato d'Alessandro settimo prencipe [sic] magnifico nelle fabbriche, un giorno avendo egli discorso col cavalier Bernino l'interrogò de' giovani, che promettevano riuscita nella pittura. Il cavaliere rispose che Carlo teneva il primo luogo. Volle il papa veder qualche cosa di sua mano […] ed avendo egli in quel tempo terminato il quadro di Sant'Agostino per lo nuovo monastero edificato dalla duchessa di Alatri sotto San Pietro in Montorio, volle Alessandro veder questo ancora col mistero della Santissima Trinità, espressovi quel fanciullo che con la tazza pretende votare il mare entro una buca, accennando in aria il triangolo equilatero simbolo delle tre persone divine. Con occasione di portar questo quadro, fu ammesso ai piedi del papa, che ne mostrò gran compiacimento e lo trattenne in lunghi discorsi di pittura proferendo buoni ed eruditi sensi su di essa.").

69 The first in Lives of Anton van Dyck, and the second in that of Maratti when he described the chapel dedicated to the Immaculate in St. Isidore's. See Bellori, *Le Vite de' pittori scultori e architetti moderni*, I: 279; II: 582.

70 Amalia Mezzetti, "Contributi a Carlo Maratti," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 4 (1955): 253–354.

71 Ann Sutherland Harris, *Andrea Sacchi: Complete Edition of the Paintings with a Critical Catalogue* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977), 87–89; Claudia Tempesta, "Le storie del Battista in San Giovanni in fonte," in *Andrea Sacchi*

(1599–1661). Catalogo della mostra tenutasi a Nettuno nel 1999–2000, ed. Rosanna Barbiellini Amidei, Livia Carloni, and Claudia Tempesta (Roma: De Luca, 1999), 45–52.

72 Bellori, *Le Vite de' pittori scultori e architetti moderni*, I, 7.

73 Ginzburg, "I caratteri della scuola romana in Maratti e in Bellori," 25–33.

74 On Ippolito Marracci see *L'Immacolata Madre di Dio nel Seicento. apporti teologici e spirituali di Ippolito Marracci nel IV centenario della nascita (1604), atti del XIV Colloquio Internazionale di Mariologia*, ed. Davide Carbonaro, Francesco Petrillo, and Stefano De Fiores (Roma: AMI, 2006); Lisa Saracco, "Marracci, Ippolito," in *DBI*, LXX: 700–702; Stefano Pierguidi, "Alessandro VII, Raffaello Vanni e Ippolito Marracci. La ricostruzione di Santa Maria in Campitelli," *Studi di Storia dell'Arte* 25 (2014): 161–166. For the broader context in which Marracci and the translators operated, see Giovanni Pizzorusso, "La preparazione linguistica e controversistica dei missionari per l'Oriente islamico: scuole, testi, e insegnanti a Roma e in Italia," in *L'Islam visto da Occidente: Cultura e religione del Seicento europeo di fronte all'Islam*, ed. Bernard Heyberger and others (Milano: Marietti, 2009), 253–288; Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Filippo Guadagnoli, i caracciolini, e lo studio delle lingue orientali e della controversia con l'Islam nel XVII secolo," *Studi Medievali e Moderni* 27 (2010): 245–278.

75 Ippolito Marracci, *Bibliotheca Mariana* (Romae, 1648), II: 45–46 ("LUCAS WADDINGUS, Ordinis Minorum natione Hibernus, Patriâ Manapiensis; praeclarus Ecclesiarum rerum Indagator; sacrae Historiae eruditissimus Professor; Minoritanae aequè familiae, ac Hibernicae Patriae suae inclitum decus; intèr multa, variaquè Opera, partim edita, partim edenda, quibus ingente sibi gloriam, honoremquè apud posteros parturivit; magnum quoquè Marianae Nostrae Bibliothecae splendorem attulit; eximiaequè in Deiparam pietatis suae illustria documenta praebuit; scribendo, edendoquè. […]. Vivit adhuc Romae in Conventu S. Isidori & de suâ Seraphicâ Religione, totaquè Ecclesiâ, tum litterarijs laboribus, tum Vitae, morumquè integritate benemeriti non cessat, anno quo haec scribimus 1646"); for further evidence about this relationship, see also the *approbation* written by Ippolito Marracci for *Epitome Annalium Ordinis Minorum*. See Francis Harold, *Epitome Annalium Ordinis Minorum* (Roma: Tinassi, 1662); Harold, *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi*, 64.

76 See Lisa Saracco, "Marracci, Ludovico," in *DBI*; *Il Corano e il pontefice. Ludovico Marracci fra cultura islamica e Curia papale*, ed. Gian Luca D'Errico (Roma: Carocci editore, 2015), with previous bibliography.

77 Wadding dedicated another book to Franciotti in 1657 (the dedicatory letter is dated 13th April 1657). See *Vita S. Anselmi episcopi lucensis* with engravings based on the drawings by Carlo Maratti. On those dates both Pietro Testa and his nephew were already dead. Giovanni Cesare Testa's chronology is still uncertain but it is no longer documented after 1655. However, Paolo Bellini's hypothesis of fixing the date of birth in 1640 remains unsustainable. See Paolo Bellini, "Giovanni Cesare Testa," *Print collector. Il conoscitore di stampe* 7 (1976): 15–34.

78 Ibid.

79 Elizabeth Cropper, *Ideal of Painting. Pietro Testa Düsseldorf Notebook* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 39.

80 Spoltore, "Possibili modelli algardiani," 149–168, 168, note no. 65.

81 Massimo Pomponi, "La collezione del cardinal Massimo e l'inventario del 1677," in *Camillo Massimo. Collezionista di antichità. Fonti e materiali*, ed. Marco Buonocore (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1996), 91–157, in particular 92; on the correspondence of Cardinal Camillo Massimo, see

also Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, "Note biografiche attraverso una spigolatura dell'Archivio Massimo," in *La collezione del cardinal Massimo*, 27–44; see Lisa Beaven, *An Ardent Patron. Cardinal Camillo Massimo and His Antiquarian and Artistic Circle: Giovan Pietro Bellori, Claude Lorrain, Nicolas Poussin, Diego Velázquez* (London: Hollberton, 2010), 287–288.

82 Dario Busolini, "Franciotti, Marco Antonio," in *DBI*, L: 162–163.

83 Franciotti consecrated the church on 3rd May 1648. See Rudolph Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi and the Roman Architecture of full Baroque," *The Art Bulletin* 19 (1937): 242–313.

84 Bosi, *S. Maria*, 79.

85 Carlo Antonio Erra, *Memorie de' religiosi per pietà, e dottrina insigni della Congregazione della Madre di Dio* (Roma: Grossi, 1760), 22.

86 Ibid., 58.

87 Maria Giulia Barberini, and Cristiano Giometti ed., *Tre cardinali e un monumento: viaggio nella Roma del Seicento tra devozione e arte* (Roma: Campisano, 2014), 134–135.

9   The Wadding Circle and the History of Political Thought

Ian Campbell

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the *status quaestionis* on the relationship between Luke Wadding's circle of friends and collaborators, and the history of political discourse or political theory. Thanks to the pioneering studies of Canice Mooney and Patrick Corish, recently reinforced by Clare Lois Carroll, the fundamental elements of Wadding's relationship to Irish politics now seem relatively clear. During the 1640s, Wadding sought Catholic victory in Ireland, within the framework of Stuart sovereignty. But the theology which Wadding and his colleagues at Rome taught and printed also took up a range of positions on wider political matters. One of Wadding's most important scholarly allies, John Punch, explored natural law and positive law, the rights of princes and the rights of parents, the private lives of slaves, and indeed the problem of holy war itself. Yet, the modern liberal sceptic, who sees the political category as inherently secular, might ask whether real political discourse, and the discussion of truly political theories, could take place within the Wadding circle, or whether the notion of ascribing political theory to these seventeenth-century theologians might be entirely anachronistic. It will be argued here that it is indeed possible to identify truly political theories of human life within wider Christian theologies such as those taught at the College of St Isidore. The question nonetheless remains a worthwhile one because the theory of religious war taught by Punch in St Isidore's during the 1640s was so radical as to place the Christian category of the political itself under strain.

Neither the practical political positions nor the political theories of Irish Catholic churchmen have attracted the sustained attention of those Irish historians standing in the liberal tradition, searching for the seeds of a distinctively Irish secularism buried deep in the unpromising soil of the seventeenth century. For example, Aidan Clarke's elegant study of the Old English in Ireland explored the historical irony of the adhesion of this group of Catholics, born in Ireland, to the English and unionist cause on the island. Clarke argued that the majority of the Old English were content to exist in a state of divided loyalty between Pope and king in the early seventeenth century and treated ecclesiastical intellectuals like Wadding as largely unimportant but occasionally disruptive outliers. Wadding and his kind, wrote Clarke, had left Ireland when

very young, and their continental education and Roman experiences had equipped them very poorly to understand the balance of loyalties which was so important to their Old English relatives. They were too far away, and had too little directly at stake, to appreciate all those complications so vital to those still living in Ireland.[1]

Those scholars, often exceptionally learned, who have stood in Ireland's Catholic and nationalist tradition of history-writing, have found Wadding problematic for quite different reasons. On the one hand, Wadding possessed many of the attributes of a great Irishman, and indeed a great Irish Franciscan; on the other hand, he was the agent of the Supreme Council of the Catholic Confederates of Ireland at Rome, at a time when the papal nuncio accredited to that confederation excommunicated most of its leadership. This excommunication split the Irish Catholic Church into what looked very like its old medieval components of the church among the English and the church among the Irish. It was difficult to paint this as a positive moment in the unfolding of the Irish national spirit and the development of the modern Irish nation. What was more, Wadding was peripherally implicated in a ham-fisted attempt by friars aligned to, if not instructed by, the Protestant James Butler (1610–1688), earl, marquis, and later duke of Ormond, to split the Irish Franciscan province into two. These were the concerns that prompted the Franciscan linguist and historian, Canice Mooney, to entitle his 1957 study of Wadding's politics "Was Luke Wadding a Patriotic Irishman?"[2] This was the first essay in a collection edited by the friars of the Franciscan house of studies, Dún Mhuire, for the three hundredth anniversary of Wadding's death. While Mooney's title might have been provocative, there was nothing philistine about his study; he was a highly skilled and cosmopolitan scholar whose entry in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography* describes a fruitful academic career. Drawing on the archives in Simancas, Dublin, and Rome, as well as the widest range of printed materials, Mooney subjected even the most severe contemporary accusations against Wadding to sober analysis, all carefully placed in the context of the changing relationships among the European powers. Some of these accusations were strange and extreme: a memorandum submitted to the Spanish council of state in 1656 by his confrere Francis Magruairk accused Wadding of practising very advanced forms of black magic (including the use of familiar spirits, weather magic, and prophecy). Somewhat more conventional were the accusations advanced by the authors of the *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, Richard O'Ferrall and Robert O'Connell. They claimed that from 1646 Wadding had undermined the papal nuncio, Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, in Rome, and betrayed confidential information about his nunciature to those who favoured an ignoble and heretical accommodation with the marquis of Ormond and Stuart royal power. Mooney carefully defused the greater number of the accusations developed by O'Ferrall and O'Connell, explaining

Wadding's actions, and occasional misjudgements, through his generally consistent belief that there was no practical alternative to Stuart monarchy in Ireland, that the condition of the Irish church would have to be improved within that framework, and that (here Wadding differed from the Ormondists) this improvement would have to be radical and entirely congruent with Roman orthodoxy. Mooney capped this with a subtle and yet still accessible treatment of what it might have meant to be a patriotic Irishman in the seventeenth century. Mooney, broadly committed to a nationalist teleology, wrote that Wadding was "far in advance of most of his fellow Anglo-Irishmen," but at the same time warned:

> Let no ardent patriot of today require Luke Wadding, great lover of his country that he was, to have been an Irish republican, a modern separatist, still less expect him to have been an inveterate Anglophobe or an irreconcilable enemy of the English crown.[3]

Mooney sought to educate his readers in the traumatic birth of the modern Irish nation, which he held to be a mixture of "two races," English and Irish.

Patrick Corish's analysis of Wadding's political commitments was first broadcast on Radio Éireann on 17 November 1957 and belonged broadly to the same commemorative effort that had prompted Mooney's article.[4] This was a more chronological and less problem-based account of Wadding's interactions with the Confederation. Corish was more openly critical of Rinuccini's resort to excommunication in 1648 than Mooney, but his interpretation of Wadding's role was broadly similar. On the question of whether Wadding had betrayed the nuncio's secrets to the Ormondists, Corish wrote that "information given in, say, 1646 or 1647, in the hope of bringing people together, could, in 1649, when the parties were irreconcilable, be interpreted as evidence of having always been a party man."[5] Corish's own nationalism too was similar; he concluded by arguing that Wadding had seen the future of the Irish nation more clearly than his contemporaries. Waterford, Corish wrote, had taught Wadding the "Anglo-Irish world, Spain and the Franciscans had opened up the old Gaelic order, all three and Rome especially had shown him the Catholicism of the Counter-Reformation," thus equipping the Franciscan with the three chief sources of the modern Irish nation.[6]

Clare Lois Carroll's recent study, *Exiles in a Global City*, engages in learned dialogue with this earlier tradition. Carroll offered a study of Wadding's *Annales Minorum* – eight volumes printed at Lyons and Rome between 1625 and 1654 – which emphasised the relationship between the national and the imperial in Wadding's history. Carroll described Wadding's dedications to Spanish noblemen and the Emperor Ferdinand IV as offering an insight into his conception of the global

mission of the Franciscans and the church as a whole and argued that Wadding's account of Ireland could only be understood in this global framework. Carroll's overall aim is to argue that Irish nationality was one in which experiences of exile were formative, thus providing deep cultural resources for the construction of a liberal, open, and global nation today.

The place that Wadding's politics enjoys in recent Italian scholarship is rather different. Works like Paolo Broggio's *La teologia e la politica* operate in a historiography grappling with the confessionalisation thesis, which holds that Christianity made a major contribution to the modern state, contradicting the conventional Anglophone liberal account in which the establishment of the modern state was contingent on the Enlightenment's removal of Christianity from politics.[7] However, in some variations of this thesis, religion itself becomes a mere function of state power – a means by which elites gained control of populations. Broggio was especially conscious of Bruno Neveu's argument that nineteenth-century historians of Christianity had felt it necessary to distance themselves from theology in order to secure their positions in the modern, secular university, which could result in a history of the Church understood as nothing more than the play of simple material interests.[8] Broggio's *La teologia e la politica* thus insists on the interaction of political and theological elements in doctrinal controversies in Rome in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Luke Wadding, as both a theologian and a powerful ecclesiastical politician, played an important part in Broggio's depiction of the theological context in which the diplomatic and political struggles of the Spanish monarchy and the Papacy over the Immaculate Conception took place.

Broggio developed this analysis further in an ancillary article which emphasised Wadding's service to the Spanish monarchy during initial period in Rome.[9] Wadding had arrived in Rome on 17 December 1618 as a member of the household of Antonio de Trejo, bishop of Cartagena, chosen by King Philip III of Spain as ambassador extraordinary to press the Roman curia for the final definition of the Immaculate Conception. For the Papal Curia, this embassy constituted an unwarranted secular interference in a question of purely doctrinal character, properly a papal competence alone. Broggio argues that Wadding's account of this embassy, *ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑ*, printed at Louvain in 1624 with the assistance of Florence Conry, was shot through with Spanish regalism, exalting the unique power of the king of Spain in ecclesiastical affairs over that of the pope. Broggio argues that both in this book, and in a series of other interventions in Rome in the 1620s, Wadding defended the position that Philip III's interventions in the spiritual sphere were not anomalous, but rather entirely necessary for the safeguarding of the Spanish state. Yet, Broggio also insists that during the later 1620s and into the 1630s Wadding distanced himself from his Spanish regalism and became an

accomplished curialist, frequently defending papal power against its detractors during his service for the Congregation of Rites, the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide," the Holy Office, and the Index, as well as the commission on Jansenism, and the committees for Irish affairs, and for the reform of the liturgy. Broggio sees Wadding's work for the Congregation of the Index as the most important of these duties in accommodating the Irish friar to Roman norms. However, Broggio believed that Wadding never entirely shed his identity as one of the king of Spain's servants in Rome.

Wadding's wider theological commitments, distinct from the bare ecclesiastical politics of the Immaculate Conception and Jansenism, have not received analysis in this existing scholarly literature. With regard to Jansenism, there is agreement among scholars like Lucien Ceyssens, Thomas O'Connor, and Broggio that Wadding adopted an Augustinian, or at least anti-Jesuit, position during the early part of the Jansenist controversy, one that was strong enough, combined with the meddling of Philip IV, to see him temporarily suspended from the commission on Jansenism in 1651.[10]

Nevertheless, we lack a study that describes Wadding's soteriological commitments in as much depth as his ecclesiastical-political ones. It is possible to agree with Broggio that most of Wadding's prestige in Rome accrued to him from his work as the annalist of the Franciscans, and Carroll has taken steps to expose the scale and ambition of that effort. But Wadding was also assigned the task of editing the first *Opera Omnia* of John Duns Scotus in 1636; a fourteenth-century theologian who, over the course of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, become the Franciscan theologian above all others in the order. It was Scotus who was thought best suited to help young friars, across most of the Franciscan family, and defend their way of being religious. The Scotus edition that was finally printed at Lyon in 1639 was accompanied by commentaries composed for the project by Anthony Hickey (Hiqueus) and John Punch (Poncius), including also commentaries previously published by Aodh Mac Cathmhaoil (Cavellus) and Francesco Licheto (1450/1475–1520) (Lychetus), former minister general of the Observants.[11] These long commentaries were not just explications of Scotus's text: they were active, and often aggressive, defences of Scotus against his enemies, especially Dominicans and Jesuits. Moreover, these commentaries adapted thirteenth and fourteenth theologies to modern circumstances, filing and polishing doctrines so that they better served the church, or part of the church, in that moment. And these texts and commentaries offered their readers an account of Scotus's vision of the nature of human excellence in society, an account of the relationship between divine law, natural law, and human law, and a treatment of the rights and responsibilities of princes, families, and the Church. Traditional nationalism will tend to distract scholars from the study of these

important doctrines, because the traditional nationalist will organise all of Wadding's political thinking around the problem of the Irish nation, its essence and development, neglecting wider discussion of the nature of the human political community itself.

However, one might argue that it is totally anachronistic to look for "political thought" or "political theory" in these theological works. It could be said that because the worldview of Wadding and his Roman colleagues knew no secular sphere, all aspects of human life were subordinated to religion, and abstracting from their theology a few mentions of earthly kings and kingdoms can yield only a distorted account of their assumptions, aims, methods, and desires, and will tell us nothing about the wider culture. The essence of this argument is that theologians were not secular and therefore were not political; they were not modern, did not contribute to or anticipate modernity, and therefore are unworthy of historical study. In response to arguments of this kind, Annabel Brett has written that there is no doubt that scholastics like Wadding did think of human life as orientated towards certain ends, the most important of which was union with God. But Brett went on, as heirs to ancient thought about politics, thought which had formed a significant part of their early educations in the classics, these scholastics were all too aware that humans could conceive of other purposes and ends to human life apart from God. Those seventeenth-century scholastics who followed St Thomas Aquinas were quite clear that humans had valid natural ends, distinct from supernatural ones, which God wished them to pursue.[12] This is the crucial point: a Christian who believed that humans had natural capacities and natural purposes, found in creation but distinct from God's direct gift and God's direct command, did have a politics. The corollary of this was that a Christian who believed in the natural human capacity for political life would also admit that non-Christians, whether pagans or heretics, were capable of valid and lawful political activity. Did Wadding's circle possess a political category, and political theories, in this sense?

There is no doubt that members of Wadding's circle sometimes described human life in just the same way as those they called Thomists. For example, Punch, writing in the massive textbook of Scotist theology that he published in Paris in 1652, and which seems very likely to have been informed by his earlier teaching in Rome, carefully explained that *dominium* or lordship had a two-fold sense: one being dominium in the sense of jurisdiction, "the power of governing subjects," the other being dominium in the sense of property, "the power which one has of disposing of a thing on one's own part."[13] Then in the tract "On justice and right" that Punch added to the end of this textbook, Punch asked whether "Infidels, sinners, children before the use of reason, and the

insane, might be capable of dominium?"[14] He responded that it was certainly the case that dominium both of property and of jurisdiction, both civil and ecclesiastical, could be held without the virtues of faith and charity, and that this had been defined at the Council of Constance (1414–1418) against John Wyclif (1331–1384).[15] The English heresiarch had argued in his *De civili dominio* of 1376–1378 that civil dominion or lordship was confined to those who were predestined to eternal life; and no obedience was owed to those sinners in a state of mortal sin who were predestined to hell. He wrote: "No one has natural lordship for the time when he sins mortally."[16] For Wyclif certainly, there was no politics as it was known either in the classical world, or in the liberal, post-Enlightenment one. This was the doctrine, summed up as "Nobody is a civil lord or a prelate or a bishop while he is in mortal sin," that the Council of Constance condemned on 4 May 1415.[17] Punch may have known the detailed refutation of Wyclif by Thomas Netter (c.1375–1430), *Doctrinale Fidei Ecclesiae Catholicae contra Wiclevistas et Hussitas*, printed at Venice in 1571; more likely the Irishman simply borrowed from the *Controversiae* of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), first printed at Ingolstadt between 1586 and 1589.[18]

Bellarmine wrote against Wyclif that it was easy to prove that there was *principatum*, sovereignty or empire, even in the wicked.[19] Bellarmine pointed to several proofs from authorities: biblical texts which indicated that the power even of evil kings had come from God, the decision of the Council of Constance, and St Augustine's argument in the *City of God* that God had given empire even to the pagan emperors of Rome, to both the most agreeable and the most cruel. But Bellarmine also offered a proof from reason:

> For the foundation of lordship is not grace but nature; for man because made in the image of God, is next gifted with mind and reason, therefore lords it over inferior things, as can be deduced from the first chapter of Genesis: but nature remains in unbelievers, although they lack grace, and therefore they possess true lordship. Additionally, since grace and justice are entirely hidden, and no-one knows of himself or of another whether he might be truly just, if grace were the title of lordship, it would follow that no lordship could be certain. From which would be born unbelievable confusion and disturbance among humans. Nor do the arguments of those who ground lordship in grace conclude otherwise.[20]

Bellarmine returned to these problems when treating the conditions necessary for just war shortly after. A just war required legitimate authority, a just cause, good intention and a compatible method. The first thing Bellarmine mentioned about just cause was that sin in general (including

things like heresy) could never provide just cause for the declaration of war: such a declaration could only be grounded in the warding off of an injury:

> The reason for this is because the prince is not a judge unless of humans subject to him, therefore he cannot punish any sins whatsoever of other people, but only that which falls to the detriment of the people subject to him; for even if he is not the ordained judge of the other people, he is nevertheless defender of his own people, and for reason of this necessity he is made in a certain way judge of those who do his own people an injury, so that he can thus punish them by the sword.[21]

There could thus be no ground for the secular prince to declare war on heretics not his subjects, unless they had done him or his subjects some kind of direct injury. For Bellarmine, punitive action against heretical princes was thus something to be left to the pope, and his indirect deposing power. Although the pope had no purely temporal power, Bellarmine wrote, he nevertheless had, with a view to the highest spiritual good, "the power of disposing of the temporal things of all Christians."[22] Bellarmine added:

> It is not lawful for Christians to tolerate an unbelieving or heretical king, if this king strives to draw his subjects into his heresy or unbelief; and to judge whether the king is drawing his subjects towards heresy pertains to the pope, to whom is entrusted the care of religion. Therefore, the pope is to judge whether the king must be deposed or not deposed.[23]

For Bellarmine then, there could be no just rebellion or no just war against Protestant monarchs, for sole reason of their Protestantism, without the pope's judgement. In his textbook of 1652, Punch endorsed several of the positions that were fundamental to Bellarmine and to Jesuit political thought more generally. Insisting that non-Christians and heretics did indeed possess true *dominium*, he wrote:

> This position is proved further from that, which Christ himself says in Matthew 23, that to Caesar must be given that which is Caesar's, although Caesar was an infidel, and consequently without faith and charity. There is also this reason: because otherwise the commonwealth would be badly provided for, since it would be uncertain, who possessed faith and charity; and since, if as often as a lord were to sin mortally, it would be just for a subject to disobey him, it would disturb commonwealths beyond measure.[24]

Thus far, Punch was happy to endorse Bellarmine's conclusions and the conclusions of Jesuit political thought in general. Both Punch and Bellarmine seem to have believed that dominium or lordship was independent of grace or God's love, and that unbelievers could possess real lordship that Christians were generally obliged to respect. This means that both Bellarmine and Punch saw a real political category in which humans might legitimately act, separate to a degree from God's direct command. To this extent, Punch's Scotism was just the same as Bellarmine's Thomism.

Yet, the way Punch's natural category functioned was rather different to that of Bellarmine. Thomists typically established the content of the natural law by considering the ends or purposes for which God had created humans: he had created them to preserve their own lives, and so there was a natural law against murder and suicide; he had created them to preserve their species, which meant that marriage belonged to the natural law; he had created them to live together in political society and worship God, which founded the state in natural law.[25]

Bellarmine expressed this slightly less technically, saying that there were three grades of natural precepts – the first of which was impressed in the hearts of humans so that by the light of reason alone some things were judged just by all, such as the good is to be desired, the evil shunned, life is to be conserved by food and drink, offspring are to be propagated and educated to conserve the human race, God is to be worshipped, and that one should not do to another what one would not want done to oneself. The second level of natural law was simply deduced from the first and was summarised in the Ten Commandments, or Decalogue. Since God is to be worshipped, it follows that idols must not be worshipped; since one should not do to another what one would not have done to oneself, it follows that one should not kill or steal, and so on. The third level of natural law was deduced from the first precepts in a way that was not purely necessary and not completely evident, and was labelled the *ius gentium* or right of peoples.[26] Elsewhere, and in an authentically Thomist way, Bellarmine mentioned that when humans perceived the natural law they were participating in God's eternal law, an expression of God's own natural essence.[27]

Accounts of natural law such as these, which spoke of humans pursuing natural ends impressed in them by God, or which located the natural law in natural reason, seemed to Scotus to rob humans of their freedom, so that they were no more than slaves to these things imposed on them by God, which in turn meant that could not justly be punished for their sins.[28] Punch advanced this definition: "Natural law consists in the compatibility or incompatibility which certain actions have to natural reason independently of the positive law of God or of his creatures."[29] Punch did not make natural law effectively the same thing as natural reason, as Bellarmine had, but neither did he reduce natural law

to God's command, as those he labelled "Nominalists," which would have included theologians like William of Ockham (1285–1347), had done.[30] Bellarmine's natural law theory was focused on the purposes for which God had created humanity, hence his concern in the first level of natural law with food, drink, and the upbringing of children. Punch attended more to the fact that the one thing humans could be sure of was that God must not be dishonoured, which was true on the basis of what all humans knew about God and could not be revoked even by God himself. This was the heart of natural law. Other commands of the natural law, such as the prohibition on the killing of the innocent, the prohibition of adultery, and so on, could be, and indeed had in the past been revoked by God. Thus, Punch's natural law was not interlocked with this-worldly human purposes as Bellarmine's had been.

Scotist natural law, and the natural law theory that Punch advanced in his textbook, was less capacious and wide-ranging than that of the Thomists, and Scotus's view of marriage provides a good example of this. St Thomas Aquinas had argued that marriage belonged to the natural law, whereas Scotus argued that it belonged to the natural law only in the secondary sense. And Scotus thought that in the case of slaves, the natural law of marriage was weaker than the slave's natural obligation to give everyone what they deserved – in this case the obligation to give his or her master his or her labour. And Scotus did not believe, in any case, that the conservation of the human species really required every human to procreate.[31] This meant that, by contrast with the Thomists, Scotus could see nothing strictly unjust about the separation and selling off of slave families; he used the example of sending a husband to Africa and a wife to France.

Punch adhered to the general Scotist line on marriage. Like Scotus, Punch insisted that marriage belonged to the natural law only in the second, lesser sense. When treating the nature of marriage in his textbook, he wrote:

> Marriage, as it is a contract, very much conforms to the law of nature, but it is not of the law of nature strictly speaking, thus namely, so that by the law of nature anyone, from the whole community of humans, would be bound to enter into marriage.[32]

Punch wrote that it conformed to the law of nature, because as an insoluble contract it was conducive to the increase of the human race, the good education of children, and the avoidance of many inconveniences, which would arise if the contract were soluble. But it was not part of the natural law on the basis of the terms themselves (the criterion for strict sense natural law), nor could it be deduced from those evident principles on the basis of the terms, for although it might be a command of the law of nature that humans should multiply themselves for the preservation of

the human species and their mutual advantage, and even though entering into a contract might make procreation and the upbringing of children easier, this did not imply an obligation to an insoluble contract, because all the advantages of marriage to the human race, to the individuals, and to the commonwealth might be fulfilled through a contract limited to a certain number of years.[33] As marriage was not rationally necessary in the same way that honouring God was necessary, it belonged to a lesser category of natural law.

Punch turned to slave marriages later in his 1652 textbook. He wrote that slaves had the power (*potestas*) to get married, even though their masters might be unwilling. But he disagreed with the Jesuit theologian Cardinal Juan de Lugo (1583–1660) that this was because marriage was one of the "goods of the body" guaranteed by natural law.[34] Punch pointed out that one could be deprived of the power to marry just as one could lawfully be deprived of one's liberty. But Punch admitted reluctantly that it was a common judgement that the lord who forbade his slaves to marry sinned, at least (he mentioned in passing) regarding Christian slaves. Punch also asked whether a master might sell his slave a long distance away from his wife. Punch first wrote that it would be against charity or love to do this. Then he ran through a series of practical examples which ran parallel to cases that De Lugo had treated. If the slave had been married before he had been captured in a just war, then the master might lawfully sell him away as a general part of his punishment. Likewise, if the slave had sold himself into slavery. But if his wife had not consented to this sale, then it would inflict an injustice on the wife to sell her husband away. The slave who sold himself into slavery with the consent of his wife might be sold away, because such circumstances were to be expected. The slave who got married with his master's consent might not be sold away, because then it might be supposed that the master had renounced his rights. Finally, Punch argued that he who sold himself into slavery so that he might be sold in turn where the master wished, who married without warning his master, might still be sold on by the master. These examples illustrate that, for Punch, marriage was considered just one kind of contract among many, and often less important than the master's property right.[35] Nevertheless, on this question of the rights of slaves with regard to marriage, the Scotist natural law theory to which Punch adhered did not make his final positions on slavery really very different from that of a Jesuit like de Lugo.

Scotist natural law also informed Punch's position on the forced evangelisation of Jewish children, and on this point Jesuits and Scotists did stand opposed. Scotus had argued that it was wrong to imagine that the natural rights of parents in their children precluded the baptism of Jewish children. This natural right, according to Scotus, meant that it would be wrong for private individuals to baptise the children; but he continued, as the purpose of the prince was to reconcile clashing rights,

so the Christian prince should recognise that God's right in the children was greater than the parents' natural right. Therefore, the prince should confiscate and baptise the children. Scotus added the yet more alarming suggestion that the parents might as well be baptised by force at the same time, and that if it were thought necessary for some Jews to be preserved so that the prophecy of St Paul might be fulfilled and a remnant of Jews might be saved at the end of the world, then a small population of these people could be maintained on an island somewhere.[36] Punch endorsed Scotus unambiguously:

> The children of infidels' subject to Christian princes, whether as citizens or as slaves, can be baptised without the parents' consent; when it seems reasonable that an equivalent harm will not proceed from this action. This is the opinion of the Subtle Doctor, book four question nine, against St Thomas and the more recent theologians generally.[37]

Punch confirmed his argument with a reference to 1 Maccabees 2, in which the Jewish leader Mattathias commanded that children captured in war be circumcised, which was the figure of baptism under the Old Law. But Punch devoted more time to analogies from the prince's obligations in civil affairs to his obligations in religious affairs. Just as the prince, wrote Punch, was obliged to use force on those negligent parents to provide for their children, and could go so far as separating parents from children in order to protect them, so all the more the prince should look to procuring for the children's spiritual good, as necessary as baptism, stepping in so that the parents do not kill their children spiritually by absence of baptism and by bad upbringing in unbelief. The prince, Punch went on, could invade all sorts of natural rights to prevent subjects abusing those rights, as when someone expended family resources to the detriment of the wider family. Punch concluded:

> Parents impeding the baptism of their children abuse their right that they have in their children, which right does not extend to such great detriment to the children, but rather tends towards their good; and although those parents might think that impeding the baptism of those children might be for the good of the children, out of the ignorance of their unbelief; nevertheless the Prince knows that it falls to their great detriment: therefore he can force them, lest, impeding the baptism, they should abuse their right in their children to their notable detriment.[38]

As he developed his position, Punch went on to argue that it was by the law of nature that parents were obliged to secure the baptism of their children, dismissing as totally inadequate Thomist distinctions between

nature and grace. Punch's compressed but thorough defence of holy war was also totally different to anything advanced by the Jesuits or Thomists. The relevant arguments were contained in a disputation dealing with the vices opposed to the virtue of Charity. The disputation was divided into questions, and the questions into conclusions. The second question in this disputation asked whether war was licit, and on account of what cause. Five conclusions argued that war was indeed licit, even among Christians, that the cause of going to war must be proportional to the harm that would be created by the war, that rebellion was a sufficient cause of waging war (and here Punch endorsed the pope's indirect deposing power), that it was licit to use war to force unbelievers to undergo evangelisation, and that war against one's own king was lawful especially when he made laws against the true religion (and here Punch explained that this justified wars fought by Irish Catholics against the kings of England). The third question asked who might declare war, and three conclusions determined that even parts of commonwealths (rather than whole commonwealths) could defend themselves by war if required. Question four dealt with the quality of knowledge of just cause that was required before going to war, question five defended the slaughter of those civilians who were associated with those who had undertaken an unjust war (the massacres of Protestants in Ireland seem to have been in Punch's mind), and question six defended the role of military chaplains serving with Catholic troops.[39]

Punch's conclusion on forced evangelisation very much recalled the techniques that he had probably seen applied to the Jews of Rome:

> it is lawful by war, when other means do not avail, to force unbelievers and much more heretics to such a condition, that they should not impede the preaching, and instruction, by which they might be converted to the faith, and also to force them to gather to hear that instruction.

The Roman Ghetto, a twenty-minute walk from St Isidore's College, had been established in 1555 and attendance at Christian sermons was compulsory for its residents from 1584.[40] Punch justified the invasion of the natural rights of unbelieving princes in just the same way that he had justified the invasion of Jewish parents:

> Because by the command to love our neighbour we ought to procure the good necessary to him for eternal life, and bring to this task whatever licit necessary means; but the good of faith is necessary to salvation, and in this case war is the necessary and indeed licit means; for if war were licit for procuring goods of much less importance, how much more is it licit to procure a greater good.[41]

Punch then immediately applied this to Ireland, arguing that the education of children of the Catholic nobility in Protestant households was the same as killing them spiritually, a prospect that demanded even violent pre-emptive action.[42] Punch's fifth conclusion was that subjects had a most just cause of undertaking war against their own king when he made laws which harmed the commonwealth, and this was true on the basis of natural law. The commonwealth could not grant the king the right to harm it even if it had wanted to. Thus, wrote Punch:

> It is obvious from this that, since the most unjust penal laws had been spread by the heretical kings of England against Catholics in their dominions on account of the exercise of the Catholic faith and since those laws fall to the great temporal prejudice of those Catholics, when they cannot counteract that harm by any other means, Catholics can provide for themselves by war, when there is a well-founded hope, that without more grave or equivalent harms, they might do so; and they may do this on account of merely temporal harm; but much more on account of that harm conjoined with the spiritual.[43]

No other Stuart subject, including the most radical of Protestants, produced a theory of holy war as thorough and elaborate as that advanced by John Punch.

It is possible to suggest the month in which Punch first began to teach these doctrines in St Isidore's. In the course of laying out his theory of holy war in his textbook of 1652, Punch often referred his reader to his commentaries for details; so immediately after making his first statement on the validity of a war fought for evangelisation he wrote "I have cited the authors for and against this conclusion in my previous Commentary."[44] Punch did not mean the commentary he had contributed to the 1639 edition of Scotus (which did not contain such material); he meant the then unpublished commentaries on Scotus probably first composed as lectures for the students of St Isidore's. These were only finally printed in 1661, the year of Punch's death, and they did indeed contain the same arguments on religious war as the textbook, but in a more thoroughly developed form. And in these 1661 commentaries, Punch referred to the war in Ireland, "happily undertaken now about a year ago," which, since the war in Ireland began in October 1641, indicates that Punch first delivered this material in lectures in October 1642.[45]

But it would be wrong to presume that everyone in the college of St Isidore's agreed with Punch on this framing of the Irish war. On 25 March 1642, Wadding wrote to his confrere Hugh Burke (also Bourke or De Burgo), who was then resident in Flanders and heavily engaged in the organisation of military aid for the Irish Catholic cause; in November

1642, the Confederate Catholics would formally appoint Burke their representative to emperor Ferdinand III and other Catholic authorities in northern Europe.[46] Wadding wrote, as he often did to Irish friends, in Spanish, occasionally flecked with Italian. The main purpose of the letter was to tell Burke that the Irish could not hope for much help from Rome, and to urge him to get all the aid he could, especially artillery, from King Philip IV of Spain. Wadding added a gentle warning to Burke that the doctrines of Cornelius Jansen were not being received in Rome with the approval that Burke might have expected and mentioned that John Punch's philosophy textbooks were currently being printed. But, as previously indicated by Mooney, the letter's purpose was to impress upon Burke that further aid from Rome was not only impracticable, but positively undesirable:

> It would not be appropriate that the pope should declare himself because by acting on his own account, he would make it a war purely of religion, and the Protestants who are now allied to the Catholics would forsake them and remain deaf to their burden, and it will render the king and queen shipwrecked, without the influence and favour that one might expect even over the Protestants in favour of this side against the Puritans. Well, you already know Father how hateful even the shadow or name of the pope is to any sect of heretics, and so in the time of the Geraldines and the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, Pope Gregory XIII, Clement VIII, and Paul V helped them by means of the arms of the Catholic princes, especially those of Spain, in order to make the business less hateful and the process of assistance easier.[47]

When Wadding wrote "se declare," he probably meant declare himself merely by providing aid, but may also have had in mind the provision of papal indulgences for Catholic soldiers, which would have made the Irish war far more like a traditional crusade. Wadding did not address the question here of whether all religious wars were right or wrong – though he does seem to have thought that papal endorsement was, at least in the British and Irish context, the most important mark of holy war. But his statement on the identification of the Irish war as one of religion could hardly have been clearer, or more practical. As Wadding saw it, denying the true dominium of Protestants over their property and authority was not advantageous.

The significance of Wadding to the politics of the mid-seventeenth-century Irish Catholic Church, and consequently to the politics of the Catholic Confederation, has been established by scholars who have made the history of that Church their specialism. But to isolate discussion of Irish politics in St Isidore's during the 1640s not only from the politics of global Catholicism, as emphasised recently by Carroll, but also from

the more basic political questions debated in the college would be a grave error. Members of Wadding's circle like John Punch did advance what we should recognise as political theories – theories that are nevertheless rather different to those generally included within the canon of the history of political thought. The Scotists set out from different fundamental problems, developing their distinctive political theory from questions about God's ability to abrogate the natural law, questions about the family lives of slaves, and questions about the rights of Jews. Moreover, it would certainly have seemed to a Thomist like Bellarmine that Punch's endorsement of wars fought for the sake of religion brought the political category itself into question. These problems, which mattered very much to the remarkably talented circle assembled around Wadding in Rome, cannot be understood in an Irish national context alone: they must be analysed in relation to the wider field of seventeenth-century Catholic intellectual culture.

Notes

1 Aidan Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland, 1625–42* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 2nd ed., 9, 21–25.
2 Canice Mooney, "Was Wadding a Patriotic Irishman," in *Father Luke Wadding: Commemorative Volume*, ed. Franciscan Fathers, Dún Mhuire (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1957), 15–92.
3 Ibid., 87.
4 Patrick J. Corish, "Father Luke Wadding and the Irish Nation," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th service, 88, no. 6 (1957): 377–395.
5 Ibid., 393.
6 Ibid., 395.
7 Paolo Broggio, *La Teologia e La Politica: Controversie Dottrinali, Curia Romana e Monarchia Spagnola tra Cinque e Seicento* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2009).
8 Bruno Neveu, *L'Erreur et Son Juge: Remarques sur Les Censures Doctrinales à L'Époque Moderne* (Napoli: Bibliopolis, 1993), 12–14; Bruno Neveu, "Juge suprême et docteur infaillible: Le pontificat romain de la bulle *In eminenti* (1643) à la bulle *Auctorem fidei* (1794)," in *Erudition et Religion aux XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles* (Paris : Éditions Albin Michel S. A., 1994), 385–450.
9 Paolo Broggio, "Un teologo irlandese nella Roma del Seicento: il francescano Luke Wadding," *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea* 18, no. 1–2 (2010): 151–178.
10 Ibid., 176; Thomas O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists 1600–70: Religion and Politics in Flanders, France, Ireland and Rome* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 72, 226–228; Lucien Ceyssens, "Florence Conry, Hugh de Burgo, Luke Wadding and Jansenism," in *Father Luke Wadding: Commemorative Volume*, ed. Franciscan Fathers Dún Mhuire (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1957), 295–404.
11 John Duns Scotus, *Opera Omnia*, 12 tomes in 13 vols (Lyon, 1639); Charles Balić, OFM, "Wadding the Scotist," in *Father Luke Wadding: Commemorative Volume*, ed. Franciscan Fathers Dún Mhuire (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1957), 463–507.

12 Annabel Brett, "Political Philosophy," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Philosophy*, ed. A. S. McGrade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 276–299.

13 John Punch, *Integer Theologiae Cursus ad Mentem Scoti* (Paris: Antonius Bertier, 1652), 277 (when citing early printed books, I will indicate page, folio, or column numbers) ("unum jurisdictionis, quae est potestas gubernandi subditos… alterum proprietatis… est potestas quam habet quis ad disponendum de re ex eo.").

14 Ibid., 741.

15 Ibid.

16 John Wyclif, "On Civil Lordship (Selections)," in *The Cambridge Translations of Medieval Philosophical Texts*, II: *Ethics and Political Philosophy*, ed. Arthur Stephen McGrade, John Kilcullen, and Matthew Kempshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 587–654, at 621. Note the controversy over the importance of this doctrine. See Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), II: 546–549; Anne Hudson and Anthony Kenny, "Wyclif [Wycliffe], John [called Doctor Evangelicus] (d. 1384), Theologian, Philosopher, and Religious Reformer," *DNB*, accessed 12 October 2018, available at http://www.oxforddnb.com.

17 *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils,* I: *Nicaea I to Lateran V*, ed. Norman Tanner (Georgetown: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 411–413 ("unum jurisdictionis, quae est potestas gubernandi subditos… alterum proprietatis… est potestas quam habet quis ad disponendum de re ex eo.").

18 Antony Kenny, "The Accursed Memory: The Counter Reformation Reputation of John Wyclif," in *Wyclif in His Times*, ed. Antony Kenny (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 147–168. Note the bibliography in Stefania Tutino, *Empire of Souls: Robert Bellarmine and the Christian Commonwealth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). I have used Robertus Bellarminus, *Disputationum… de Controversiis Christianae Fidei* (Ingolstadt: Adamus Sartorius, 1601), 4 vols.

19 Bellarminus, *Disputationum… de Controversiis Christianae Fidei*, II, bk. 3, chap. 8, col. 642.

20 Ibid., col. 643 ("Nam dominii fundamentum non est gratia, sed natura; homo enim quia factus est ad imaginem Dei, proinde mente ac ratione praeditus est, ideo dominatur rebus inferioribus, ut ex primo capitolo Genesis deduci potest: at natura in infidelibus manet, licet gratia careant, igitur et dominia vera habere possunt. Ad haec cum gratia et iustitia sit occultissima, et nemo sciat de se, vel de altro, an sit vere iustus, si gratia esset titulus dominiorum, sequeretur, nullum dominium esse certum. Ex quo nasceretur incredibilis confusio et perturbatio inter homines. Neque argumenta eorum aliquid concludunt.").

21 Ibid., II, bk 3, chap. 15, col. 665 ("Ratio autem huius est, quia princeps non est iudex, nisi hominum sibi subditorum, ergo non potest quaecunque peccata aliorum hominum punire, sed solum ea, quae cedunt in detrimentum populi sibi subiecti; nam etsi non est iudex ordinarius aliorum, est tamen defensor suorum, et ratione huius necessitatis efficitur etiam quodammodo iudex eorum, qui suis iniuriam fecerunt, ita ut possit eos gladio punire.").

22 Ibid., vol. 1, Lib. 5, Cap. 6, col. 1079 ("Potestatem disponendi de temporalibus rebus omnium Christianorum.").

23 Ibid., vol. 1, bk 5, chap. 7, col. 1084 ("Non licet Christianis tolerare Regem infidelium, aut haereticum, si ille conetur pertrahere subditos ad suam haeresim, vel infidelitatem, at iudicare, an Rex pertrahat ad haeresim, nec ne,

pertinet ad Pontificem, cui est commissa cura religionis: ergo Pontificis est iudicare, Regem esse deponendum, vel non deponendum.").

24 Punch, *Integer Theologiae Cursus*, 741 ("Probatur vlterius ex eo, quod Christus ipse Matthaeo 23 dicat Caesari reddenda, quae Caesaris, quamuis fuerit infidelis; et consequentur sine fide, ac charitate. Ratio etiam est; quia alias male prouidereur Reipublicae cum incertum esset, quinam haberent fidem et charitatem; et cum, si quoties domini peccarent mortaliter, si fas esset subditis non obedire, nimium perturbaret Respublicas.").

25 Thomas Aquinas, *Opera Omnia, cum… Commentariis partim Thomae de Vio Cajetani, et partim Francisci Ferrariensis* (Venice, 1593–4), 1st Part of the 2nd Part, qu. 94, art. 2.

26 Bellarminus, *Disputationum… de Controversiis Christianae Fidei*, II, bk 1, chap. 29, cols 405–406.

27 Ibid., lib. 3, chap. 11, col. 648.

28 Hannes Möhle, "Scotus's Theory of Natural Law," in *The Cambridge Companion to Duns Scotus*, ed. Thomas Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 312–331.

29 Punch, *Integer Theologiae Cursus ad Mentem Scoti*, 290 ("Lex naturalis consistit in conuenientia, aut disconuenientia, quam habent actiones alique ad naturam rationalem independenter a lege positiua Dei, aut creaturae.").

30 Ibid.

31 Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 1st Part of the 2nd Part, qu. 94, art. 2 and 3, *Supplementum Tertiae Pars*, qu. 41, art. 1; Scotus, *Opera Omnia*, tome 9, *Quaestiones in Lib. IV Sententiarum*, dist. 36, qu. 1, p. 756.

32 Punch, *Integer Theologiae Cursus ad Mentem Scoti*, 290, ("Matrimonium, ut est contractus, est valde conforme legi naturae, sed non est de lege naturae stricte loquendo, ita scilicet, ut ex lege naturae teneatur ullus illus inire ex tota hominum communitate.").

33 Ibid.

34 Juan de Lugo, *De Iustitia et Iure* (Lyons: Petrus Prostus, 1642), I, dist. 3, section 2, 44; Punch, *Integer Theologiae Cursus ad Mentem Scoti*, 742.

35 Ibid.

36 Scotus, *Opera Omnia*, tome 8, *Quaestiones in Lib. IV Sententiarum*, dist. 4, qu. 9, 75–280; Elsa Marmursztejn and Sylvain Piron, "Duns Scot et la Politique. Pouvoir du prince et Conversion des Juifs," in *Duns Scot à Paris, 1302–2002*, ed. O. Boulnois et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 21–62.

37 Punch, *Integer Theologiae Cursus ad Mentem Scoti*, 569 ("Filii infidelium principibus Christianis, tam civiliter, quam serviliter subiectorum, possunt invitis parentibus licite baptizari; quando rationabiliter constat, quod inde non proveniat aequale damnum. Haec est Doctoris 4. distincto 4. quaestio 9. contra D. Thomam, ac Recentiores communiter.").

38 Punch, *Integer Theologiae Cursus ad Mentem Scoti*, 570, ("Parentes impedientes baptismum filii abutuntur iure, quod habent in illos, quod ius non se extendit ad tam magnum detrimentum filii; sed totius tendit in bonum ipsius ; et licet illi existiment impedire baptismum cedere in bonum filii, ex ignorantia suae infidelitatis ; tamen Princeps cognoscit, quod id cedat in magnum detrimentum filii : ergo potest cogere ipsos, ne, impediendo baptismum, abutantur iure suo in filios ad tam notabile detrimentum eorum.").

39 Punch, *Integer Theologiae Cursus ad Mentem Scoti*, 403–408.

40 Marina Caffiero, *Forced Baptisms: Histories of Jews, Christians, and Converts in Papal Rome*, translated by L. G. Cochrane (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

41 Punch, *Integer Theologiae Cursus ad Mentem Scoti*, 404 ("Quia ex praecepto de dilectione proximi debemus procurare bonum necessarium ipsi ad

vitam aeternam, et ad hoc applicare necessaria media quaecumque licita; sed bonum fidei est tale; et bellum in casu conclusionis est medium necessarium, et quidem licitum; si enim sit licitum medium ad procuranda bona minoris momenti, quanto magis ad maiora bona.").

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., 405 ("Hinc patet, cum iniustissimae fuerint leges poenales, latae per Reges haereticos Angliae contra Catholicos in suis dominiis, propter exercitium Religionis Catholicae, et cum illae leges cesserint in magnum praeiudicium temporale ipsorum, quando alia ratione non possent illi damno occurrere, Catholicos potuisse bello sibi providere, quando bene fundata spes esset, quod sine gravioribus, aut aequiualentibus damnis, id facere possent; et hoc ob ipsum damnum temporale; sed multo magis ob illud, et damnum spirituale coniunctum.").

44 Punch, *Integer Theologiae Cursus ad Mentem Scoti*, 404 ("Authores pro et contra hanc conclusionem citavi in meo Commentario supra.").

45 John Punch, *Commentarii theologici* (Paris: Simeon Piget, 1661), IV: 336, ("iam ab uno circiter anno feliciter susceptam.").

46 The letter's addressee is unnamed, but Mooney judged this person to be Hugh Burke, which seems highly likely. Canice Mooney, "The Letters of Luke Wadding," in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th ser., 88 (1957): 396–409, at 407–408; Robert Armstrong, "Burke (Bourke, De Burgo), Hugh," in *DIB*, available at http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a1194.

47 Luke Wadding to Hugh Burke, 25 March 1642, Rome, Wadding Archive, folder D4.1, 307–311, at 307–308, University College Dublin Archives ("No conviene che el Papa se declare, porque haciendolo y tomando esto a su cuenta se haca guerra meramente de religion, y los Protestantes que stan aora unidos con los Catholicos los desampasaran, y deyaran sordo al peso a los Catholicos, y quedara el Rey y Reyna derelictos sin la fuerza y calor que se espara todavia de los Protestantes en favor d'esta parte contra los Puritanos, pues ya sabe Usted Padre que con qualquiera secta d'estos herejes sola la sombra o nombre del Papa es odioso. Y cosi en las occasiones passadas de los Geraldinos y Condes de Tyron y Tirconel, Gregorio 13, Clemente 8, y Paulo 5 los han assistido con las armas de los Principes Catholicos particularmente d'espana, para hacer el negocio menos odioso, y el soccerno mas facil."). I would like to thank Dr Benjamin Hazard for his learned advice on Wadding's Spanish.

Part IV

Wadding and Ireland

10 Wadding and the Irish Tombs in San Pietro in Montorio*

Mícheál Mac Craith

The Roman church of San Pietro in Montorio, perched majestically on the Gianiculum Hill, attracts hundreds if not thousands of visitors every year. Some come to enjoy the panoramic view of the Eternal City unfolding before them from the church's piazza. Others are attracted by the artwork of Sebastiano del Piombo (1485–1547), Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) and Francesco Baratta (1590–1666), not to mention the splendour of the Tempietto by Bramante (1444–1514) in the adjacent cloister, justly acclaimed as the jewel of the Renaissance. For Irish visitors, however, this is a site of special significance in that it contains the gravestones of the Ulster princes who died in exile after the so-called "Flight" of the Earls: Rory O'Donnell (Rudhraighe Ó Domhnaill) (b.1575), Earl of Tyrconnell who died in 1608, his brother Cafarr who died the following year, Hugh O'Neill (c.1580), Baron of Dungannon and son of the great Hugh O'Neill (Aodh Ó Néill) who died in 1609 and the great Hugh O'Neill (c.1540) himself, Earl of Tyrone, who died in 1616. These tombs are no small part of the attraction and indeed of the enigma of San Pietro in Montorio.

   Rome suffered the ravages of war on three occasions between the end of the eighteenth and the middle of the nineteenth century, 1798, 1809 and 1849, and we have valuable testimony concerning the damage inflicted on the church during the French invasions of 1798 and 1849. In the final chapter of his biography of Beatrice Cenci (1577–1599), buried in St Pietro in Montorio after her beheading for parricide in 1599, Corrado Ricci (1858–1934) cites a number of examples of the disturbances that followed the creation of the Roman republic by French revolutionary forces in 1798:

> The sepulchre of Beatrice Cenci remained intact until the month of May, 1798, when the furious and barbarous Roman Republicans drove out the Franciscan monks, and, as in many other churches,

> devastated all the pavements of the church and choir to extract from
> the tombs their leaden coffins that report said were there. Thus, the
> bones and ashes of all the dead buried in this church were scattered
> and confused, and at present no trace of them remains. We have
> been assured by the son of one of those furious Republicans who
> directed the sacrilege, that Beatrice's head was in a silver basin,
> inside the coffin, and resting on her breast.[1]

Ricci also quotes from Carlo Falconieri's (1806–1891) biography of the
artist Vincenzo Camuccini (1771–1844), published in Rome in 1875,
citing it as the most reliable testimony, coming from an authoritative
eye-witness:

> … one day he (Camuccini) was at San Pietro in Montorio studying
> 'The Transfiguration' (they had already deprived the church of
> its use for worship and had assigned it for some other purpose).
> He heard the street door open and saw a throng of people surge
> forward, whose ringleader was a French sculptor, a Republican, one
> of the madmen of the Mountain. Our artist ran to see what the
> reason for the uproar was. He was thunderstruck and appalled to
> see that they were tearing open tombs, penetrating graves; horrible
> to state, a decree commanded that they should melt all the leaden
> coffins they could find, even by sacrilegiously laying waste the bones
> of the dead, in order to make cannon balls and to scatter death
> throughout Europe. … In this fanatical tumult, it was not long ere
> those malefactors, opening the first tomb, that of Beatrice Cenci,
> discovered there—oh, horrid sight! - a headless skeleton covered
> with black weeds. The severed skull stood beside it; it was laid in a
> silver vessel and was also covered with a black veil which, at a touch,
> crumbled into dust.

> "Poor Beatrice!" was Camuccini's cry;

> and with a bursting heart he told the rabble in a few words the cruel
> tale of that unfortunate lady. Some of them were impressed; but the
> French sculptor, to provoke a laugh, held the skull aloft, and dan-
> dling it in his hands, carried it off with him.[2]

While Ricci's priority was to describe the desecration of the tomb of
Beatrice Cenci, it is quite probable, though not subject to confirmation,
that a similar fate befell the graves of the Ulster princes. While Cenci's
grave remained unmarked because of her status as an executed crimi-
nal, it is believed that she was buried in the choir of the church behind
the high altar.[3] Given the proximity of the Ulster graves to the high
altar, this increases the likelihood that they also were disturbed in the
general brouhaha.

In 1843 James Molyneux Caulfield (1820–1892), third earl of Charlemont, lord lieutenant of County Tyrone, travelled to Rome to examine the Irish grave monuments in San Pietro in Montorio. A lineal descendent of the Earl of Tyrconnell through his maternal grandmother's line, Molyneux was appalled at the condition of the monuments. Having procured copies of the originals from the archives of San Pietro in Montorio, he raised money from the Irish community in Rome to pay for the restoration of the gravestones. John Hogan (1800–1858), the neoclassical sculptor, was based in Rome during 1843–1844. Commissioned by Molyneux to carry out the restoration, Hogan delegated the task of renewing the inscriptions and repairing the inlays to his Italian assistant, Restaldi. The latter worked on the project from April to June 1844 and Hogan was more than happy with Restaldi's execution.[4]

The Gianiculum was to become the centre of fierce fighting between French forces supporting the papacy and the supporters of the Roman Republic between April and July 1849. Used as a hospital for the wounded, San Pietro in Montorio became ironically known to the Romans as "San Pietro in mortorio (mortuary)." French bombardments did extensive damage to the choir, apse, nave and belfry of the church while the photographs shot by Stefano Lecchi, marking a new era in war reporting, bore graphic testimony to the extent of the destruction.[5] The reconstruction work was funded by a very generous subvention from Pope Pius IX (1792–1878) and entrusted to Virginio Vespignani (1808–1882). Parts of the belfry had to be destroyed and rebuilt, and the brick floor of the church was replaced with marble slabs.[6] These substantial alterations to the floor must have impacted negatively on the conditions of the Irish graves and their inscriptions.

Patrick Francis Moran (1830–1911), vice-rector of the Irish College in Rome from 1856 to 1866, had reason to visit San Pietro in Montorio in the course of his research on the history of the archbishops of Dublin since the Reformation. He was particularly interested in gathering information on Archbishop Eugene Matthews (Eoghan Mag Mathghamhna, 1574–1623) who died in Rome in 1623 and was buried in San Pietro in Montorio. Moran consulted the archives of the church but was somewhat remiss in his copying of the material contained therein.

> This volume was already in type, when we were fortunate enough to meet with the original epitaph which marked the last resting place of the illustrious Archbishop Matthews.…It was in this church that the last princes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell were interred. In the second row of tombs with which the pavement of the church is lined, the Irish traveller will find, without any difficulty, the epitaph of Hugh, baron of Dungannon, who died in September 1609, and of the two O'Donnells, who died in the autumn of 1608. It is known that Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, was also interred here; but hitherto his tomb has been sought for in vain. The archives of

the adjoining monastery, however, have at length come to our aid. The last great Irish chieftain expired in the Palazzo Salviati, on the 20th of July 1616, and the register of San Pietro-in-Montorio marks the 24th of July 1616, as the days on which his remains were, with princely, pomp, laid within its vaults. This same register tells us that his epitaph, now wholly obliterated, held the first place in the third row of tombs which mark the pavement of the church, and that it consisted of the simple record.

<div align="center">
D.O.M.\
HIC QUIESCUNT OSSA\
HUGONIS PRINCIPIS O'NEILL
</div>

It was alongside the tomb of Hugh O'Neill that Eugene Matthews, archbishop of Dublin, reposed in death. His epitaph, says the register of the church, holds *the second place in the third row of tombs*. The slab which corresponds with this indication now only retains some faint traces of letters here and there, it being impossible to decipher even one word of its original inscription. Here again the church register comes to our aid; it tells us that the following was the inscription on Dr Matthews' tomb:

D.O.M. EUGENIO MATTHEI, ARCHIEPISCOPO DUBLINENSI DOCTRINAE CLARITATE NATALIUM SPLENDORE, FIDE IN DEUM PIETATE IN PATRIAM SINGULARI QUI POSTQUAM SOLLICITI PASTORIS, DIUTURNO AC DIFFICILI TEMPORE IN HIBERNIA, NUMEROS OMNES ADIMPLESSET, SUB GREGORIO XV., ROMAM VENIT, UBI AB OPTIMO PONTIFICE BENIGNE HABITUS, DUM PATRIAE SUAE NEGOTIA PROMOVERET, EXTREMUM DIEM CLAUSIT KAL. SEPT. 1623.

Thus, as Dr Matthews was closely allied by blood with the families of Tyrone and Tyrconnell; as he, in youth, shared with them the perils of the Catholic camp; as, when bishop of Clogher, he enjoyed with them the hospitality of the great pontiff, Paul V, in the Salviati Palace, in Rome; so was he destined to be united with them in death, and to repose with them beneath the shadow of St Peter's dome, amidst the sanctuaries and shrines of the Eternal City.[7]

Given that Moran's appendix contains the first information on the Irish graves since the restoration of the church following the 1849 bombardments, it bears quoting in full. A number of comments are, nonetheless, called for. From the research carried out by Fearghus Ó Fearghail and Kieran Troy, we now know that Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, died in the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia on 20 July 1616 and was solemnly buried in San Pietro in Montorio.[8] We also know from Ó Fearghail's research that O'Neill was buried the following day, and not on 24 July as claimed by Moran.[9] Given that his book was already at the printers when he wrote his final appendix, some of Moran's errors

may be due to haste, faulty memory or even printers' mistakes. As well as stressing the closeness of the links between O'Neill and Matthews in the final appendix, Moran equally emphasizes them in the course of his work, noting that Matthews was actually residing with O'Neill in Rome when his translation from Clogher to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin was announced in May 1611.[10]

Four years after the appearance of Moran's book, Charles P. Meehan (1812–1890) published the first edition of his famous work, *The Fate and Fortunes of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone*. In his preface Meehan recalled that his interest in the Ulster princes was first activated when visiting San Pietro in Montorio during his student years in the Irish College in Rome between 1828 and 1835. It is interesting that he mentioned the gravestones of Rory and Cafarr O'Donnell, that of Hugh O'Neill, baron of Dungannon, but not that of Aodh Ó Néill, Hugh O'Neill his father. One can only conclude that the latter gravestone had already gone missing before the depredations of 1849, and thus was no longer extant during Restaldi's restorations. Towards the end of the book, the author gives an elaborate description of the funeral of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone on 21 July 1616, but without citing any sources.[11] He concludes this description with O'Neill's epitaph, again without citing a source: "D.O.M. HIC. QUIESCUNT. UGONIS. PRINCIPIS. O'NEILL. OSSA."[12]

The level of disagreement between Meehan's version and Moran's is remarkable, all the more so, given that the epitaph contains just one single sentence. At the beginning of a lengthy appendix, Meehan transcribed the epitaphs on the other gravestones and introduced them as follows:

> The following are the epitaphs on the tombs of the baron of Dungannon and the O'Donnells. That of O'Neill, given in page 446, is not visible now; but there can be no doubt that the flag-stone has been reversed in repairing the pavement of the church. Some patriotic Irishman, it is hoped, will have it replaced.[13]

In concluding the third edition of his work in 1886, Meehan made a most pertinent observation on the rebuilding of the floor of the church:

> … the venerable and learned Father Russell of the Order of St. Dominic, visited Montorio, and found the workmen, employed to repair the damage which the church had sustained during the late siege, about to saw the stones in flags, for flooring the sacred edifice. He represented the matter to the proper authorities, who at once commanded that the stones should be laid down again in the exact sites from which they had been removed. To this fortunate interposition we are indebted to the existence of those sepulchral monuments; and henceforth, the Irish pilgrim, visiting the holy edifice that contains them, will recall that fact, and bless the patriotic sentiment which preserved such hallowed fragments of our

history, graven with a pen of iron. Heaven grant that objects so dear to Ireland may never again be disturbed, till the archangel's trumpet breaks the sleep of the dead.[14]

Fr. Russell was a member of the Irish Dominican community of San Clemente, but it seems that his good offices succeeded in salvaging only two of the gravestones, that of the great O'Neill having disappeared at an earlier stage. Given Meehan's plea for some patriotic Irishman to have the stone replaced, it is surprising that it took almost eighty years before his call was heeded. The breakthrough came when the aforementioned Fearghus Ó Fearghail consulted Gasparo Alveri's *Roma in ogni stato* (1664) and found included in the section on St Pietro in Montorio both the location of O'Neill's grave and the inscription on the tombstone: "D.O.M. HUGONIS PRINCIPIS ONELLI OSSA."

This was pithy, indeed, and at variance with both Moran and Meehan. On a visit to San Pietro in Montorio in 1988, Ó Fearghail met with the church's archivist Padre Cipriani, who showed him a typed transcript he had made of an eighteenth-century manuscript that contained material dating back to 1608: *Memorie Istoriche del Convento di St. Pietro in Montorio*. The information gleaned here corroborated that contained in Alveri's *Roma in ogni stato*. One year later, the late cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich and Ó Fearghail went back to San Pietro in Montorio and made arrangements with the guardian to have the original inscription put on a small slab over the location of Hugh O'Neill's grave.[15]

Despite his satisfaction that Meehan's wish was finally realized, Ó Fearghail was perturbed at the contrast between the brevity of the great O'Neill's epitaph and the elaborate inscriptions found on the other two gravestones. Spanish concerns at not offending England may have been responsible for this. Ó Fearghail surmised that O'Neill's tomb may have lain unmarked for some time after his burial on 21 July 1616 and proposed that Luke Wadding was the person responsible for adding the inscription during his sojourn in St Pietro in Montorio from 1619 to 1625. Drawing attention to a footnote by Meehan in the 1886 edition of his work, Ó Fearghail took up his suggestion that Tyrone's remains may have been translated elsewhere seven years after his death. Meehan based his intuition on a note written in Latin on a fly-leaf at the end of the *Martyrology of Donegal* and ascribed by him to John Colgan who died in Louvain in 1658. The entry, translated by J. H. Todd, reads as follows:

In San Peter's, Montorio, at Rome, when seven years after his death, the translation of the most excellent Lord, the Earl of Tyrone, took place from the Sepulchure of the Apostles, both his hands were found perfect. At beholding which the guardian, Peter de Roma, exclaimed. Behold, says he, those blessed hands, which were often washed in the blood of heretics, and in their own sweat for the faith and for his country.[16]

Given Archbishop Matthews' kinship with O'Neill, not to mention his devotion to his cause, it was only natural that he should have been buried alongside the Earl of Tyrone. O'Neill's remains were necessarily disturbed while the preparations for Matthews' burial were under way, with part of the skeleton, the hands in particular, coming to light.[17] Ó Fearghail proposed that the term *translatio* refers to the reburial in ceremonial fashion of O'Neill's bones, and not to the transfer of his remains to another location. This would have been the ideal opportunity for Wadding to have an inscription placed on the Earl of Tyrone's grave.[18]

Carelessness in transcription, memory loss or misguided attempts at improvement are the most likely explanations for the differences between Moran's and Meehan's versions of O'Neill's epitaph and that recorded by Alveri. While Ó Fearghail's essay was focused on the Earl of Tyrone's tomb, and not those of the other Ulster nobles, the contrast between the elaborate inscriptions on the tombs of the latter, doubtlessly crafted according to Tyrone's instructions, and the pithy epitaph on his own tomb warrants some discussion. In a letter to Philip III dated 29 July 1616, cardinal Gaspar de Borja y Velasco, Spanish ambassador in Rome, referred as follows to O'Neill's funeral:

> As the Earl left no funds for his burial, the Cardinal spent what was necessary at the expense of the Embassy, having heard that the Conde de Castro acted in this manner when a son of the Earl of Tiron died there; but in doing this he endeavoured to cover what appearances might cause difficulties in the relations of Your Majesty with the King of England … the Cardinal begs your Majesty to be pleased to approve what he has done.[19]

Seven years previously the aforementioned Conde de Castro wrote to the Spanish council of state concerning the demise of Hugh O'Neill, baron of Dungannon:

> Within the last few days the eldest son of the Earl of Tiron has died here. Having considered, when the Earl of Tirconel died the Marques de Aytona gave his sister 300 crowns and that this occasion was of more considerable moment than the other, I took it upon myself to send the Earl of Tiron 400 crowns towards the expense of the funeral on behalf of his Majesty for it seemed proper to do this and I believe it would please his Majesty.[20]

The difference between the 1609 missive and that of 1616 is remarkable. The death of Tyrone's son and heir was important, and the right thing must be done, whereas the death of the father merited little more than human decency, the overriding concern being not to cause offence to the

king of England. It was this fear of ruffling English feathers that caused the authorities to leave O'Neill's grave unmarked, an omission that was only rectified when Wadding arrived in San Pietro in Montorio.

In 2017 Elizabeth FitzPatrick published the finding of a survey she undertook of the Irish funerary monuments in San Pietro in Montorio. In the course of her research, FitzPatrick made extensive use of Gaspero Alveri's *Roma in ogni stato* (1664), already mentioned. His account of San Pietro in Montorio occurs between pages 307 and 321 in the second part of his work. Recording ninety inscriptions in all from the late sixteenth century to 1654, only thirty of which are still extant, Alveri confirmed that the Irish tombstones are more or less in the same positions into which they were originally placed. Furthermore, he recorded the epitaph both for Hugh O'Neill and Eugene Matthews – that of the former subsequently lost, that of the latter misplaced.[21] Analysing the memorial of Rory and Cafarr O'Donnell in forensic detail, Fitzpatrick notes that the north and south borders are both separate from the ledger, and suggests that they were added during Wadding's period of residency in San Pietro in Montorio.[22] Coming to the inscription, FitzPatrick observes some discrepancies between Alveri's transcription and that made by Restaldi in 1844. The most significant of these relates to Rory O'Donnell's age at the time of his death. Whereas Alveri records AETATIS VERO ANNO XXX, Restaldi reads AETATIS SVAE XXXIII, making O'Donnell thirty-three years old instead of thirty. Given that the inscriptions were quite eroded by 1844 when Restaldi was working, with some letters already indecipherable, a certain amount of guesswork may have been necessary. The fact that the northern and southern edges seem to have been trimmed most likely during the post-1849 repairs may also account for some of the minor discrepancies.[23]

Turning to the gravestone of Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon, Fitz-Patrick notes that the three border segments enclosing the west, north and east sides of the slab, while pertaining to the seventeenth century, did not belong to the original monument. The fact that they are shorter than the slab around which they were placed may indicate that they were initially positioned round the tombstone of the Earl of Tyrone.[24] As regards the inscription, there is very little difference between Alveri and Restaldi, whereas Meehan in 1886 introduced some spelling changes of his own. Dealing with the lost memorial stone of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, recorded by Alveri, FitzPatrick is more or less in agreement with Ó Fearghail, though she seems to take *translatio* meaning burial in another place, rather than reburial in the same place as suggested by Ó Fearghail.[25]

Despite the plausible speculation by both Ó Fearghail and FitzPatrick regarding Wadding's contribution in enhancing the Irish tombs, it has eluded both scholars that the Irish friar himself recorded the inscriptions. Commissioned by his minister general in 1619 to write a history of the Franciscan order, Wadding published his *Annales Minorum*, a work

of eight folio volumes, between 1625 and 1654. Tome Six, published in Lyons in 1648, is the volume relevant to our discussion. Shortly after beginning his account of the history of San Pietro in Montorio under the year 1472, Wadding characteristically jumps from the annalistic year to the contemporary one, informing his readers on page 767 that the pavement of the church contains the burial places of various cardinals and princes and that he has decided to print the inscriptions lest the memory of the deceased should perish. The five cardinals whose epitaphs are recorded by Wadding, following the order in which he names them, are Roberto de' Nobili (1553–1559), Domenico Toschi (1599–1620), Antonio Fabiano del Monte (1511–1533), Giovanni Ricci (1551–1574) and Fulvio Giulio della Corgna (1551–1583).[26]

Pope Julius III (1550–1555) commissioned Vasari to design a funerary monument in the chapel of the right-hand transept of San Pietro in Montorio for his uncle cardinal Antonio. The chapel of St Paul developed into a family burial chapel and eventually became known as the del Monte chapel. The rich, novel and highly costly architecture, with its lavish use of marble, was designed by Vasari, under Michelangelo's supervision. Vasari worked with Ammanati, who was responsible for the personification of religion and justice in the tabernacles, and the effigies of Antonio and Fabiano del Monte.[27]

Cardinal della Corgna is also buried in the del Monte Chapel. Cardinal Roberto de'Nobili, grand-nephew of Julius III, made a cardinal at the age of twelve, is buried in the external right pilaster of the chapel. Cardinal Giovanni Ricci acquired the chapel in the left-hand transept of San Pietro in Montorio, directly opposite the del Monte Chapel, in 1556 and entrusted the design to Daniele da Volterra, closely modelling it on the architectural scheme of the del Monte Chapel. Michaelangelo contributed to the design, and the sculptures of Saints Peter and Paul were executed after Daniele's death (1566) by Leonardo Sormani (1550–1590), while the altarpiece with the Baptism of Christ was painted by Daniele's collaborator, Michele Alberti.[28] Cardinal Giovanni Ricci is buried in this chapel.

Given that Wadding's transcriptions were published sixteen years earlier than those by Alveri, pages 768–769 merit particularly close reading. To the best of my knowledge, Canice Mooney is the only scholar to have adverted to these transcriptions, in a seminal article written sixty years ago, "Was Wadding a patriotic Irishman?"[29] Mooney, unfortunately, is quite pithy in his comments, and, even more unfortunately, does not transcribe the inscriptions:

> When treating of the Franciscan church of San Pietro in Montorio in Rome, he (Wadding) prints the inscriptions from the tombs of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, who with some members of their family are buried there. The earls were controversial figures.

To the Old Irish Catholics they were heroes, patriots, martyrs; to the English and Anglo-Irish Protestants they were rebels, traitors, and papist plotters. Many Anglo-Irish Catholics had their misgivings, even though the earls had been aided by the Catholic King and patronized by the pope. They viewed with apprehension the prospects of an O'Neill hegemony or All-Ireland lordship. Wadding has no comment to make at this place in the Annals except to explain that he is printing the inscriptions lest the memory of the cardinals and princes buried there should perish.[30]

Our first priority then is to give Wadding's text and transcriptions in the original Latin, followed by my own translation into English as it follows: "In templi pavimento prope sacellum S. Sepulchri D.O.M. HVGONIS MAGNI ONELLI PRINCIS COMITIS TYRONIAE OSSA. On the floor of the church beside the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre."[31] "To God, the Best and Greatest. The bones of Prince Hugh the Great O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone."

> Ibidem è regione altaris maioris.
> D.O.M. Hugoni Baroni de Donganan, Hugonis magni Onelli Principis, et Comitis Tyroniae primogenito, Patrem et Rodericum Comitem Tirconellia avunculum pro fide Catholica quam multos annos haereticos in Hibernia fortiter defenderant, relictis statibus suis, sponte exulantes ad communem Catholicorum asylum, vrbem Romam pro sua singulari in Deum et parentes pietate secuto, cuius immatura mors spem de eo restaurandae aliquando in illis partibus Catholicae religionis, ob eius insignes animi et corporis dotes ab omnibus conceptam abstulit, ac dicto Roderico avunculo fato simili absumpto coniunxit. Occidit tam suis, quam toti curiae flebilis, IX. Kal.Oct. MDCIX aetatis suae XXIV.

This is translated as:

> In the same place in the vicinity of the high altar.
> To Hugh, the Best and Greatest. To Hugh, Baron of Dungannon, first-born son of Prince Hugh the great O'Neill, count of Tyrone who with his father and uncle Rory, Earl of Tyrconnell, left their own states and of their own accord went into exile for the Catholic faith which they defended for many years against the heretics in Ireland., coming to the common haven of Catholics, the city of Rome, because of his own distinctive piety towards God and his family. His premature death put an end to the hope that the Catholic faith would one day be restored by him in those parts because of the great gifts of body and soul that all had perceived in him. He joined his aforesaid uncle Rory in a similar fate. He died on 23 October 1609 at the age of twenty-four, wept for not only by his own relations but also by the whole court.

The other transcription says:

Ibidem

D.O.M. Roderico Principi Odonalliae, Comiti Tyrconallia in Hybernia, qui pro religione Catholica gravissimis defunctus periculis is sago pariter et toga constantissimus cultor et defensor Apostol.Rom. fidei pro qua tuenda et conservanda, e patria profectus, lustratis in Italia, Gallia, Belgio praecipuis Sanctorum monumentis, atque ibidem Principum Christianorum singulari amore et honore, Sanctiss. etiam P. ac D. Pauli PP. V. paterno affectu suceptus in maximis Catholicorum votis de felici eius reditu summum dolorem attulit suis et maerormem omnibus in hac vrbe ordinib. Immature morte, quam obiit III. Kal. Sextiles an. Sal. M.D. CVIII. Aetatis vero an. XXX. Quem mox secutus eodem tramite, vt eadem cum eo beatitate frueretur, Calfurnius frater, pericolorum et exilij socius, in summa spe et expectatione bonorum de eius nobilitate animi, quam virtus et optima indoles exornavit, sui reliquit desiderium, et moestitiam coexulibus XVIII. Kal. Oct. proxime sequentis, anno aetatis XXV. Vtrumque antecessit aetate et fati ordine frater primogenitus, Hugo Princeps, quem pie et Catholice pro fide et patria cogitantem Philippus III. Hispaniarum Rex et vivum benevole amplexus, et in viridi aetate mortuum, honorifice funerandum curavit Vallisoleti in Hispania IV. Id. Septemb. An. Sal. M.D.C.II.

This translates as:

In the same place To God, the Best and Greatest. To Prince Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell in Ireland, who died for the Catholic faith under the greatest dangers in both war and peace, a most constant promoter and defender of the Roman apostolic faith. He left his native land to protect and preserve it and visited the chief monuments of the saints in Italy, France and Belgium and the chief princes there received him with singular love and honour and even the most holy father and lord Pope Paul V received him with fatherly affection. With the best wishes of Catholics for his happy return, his untimely death brought the greatest sorrow to his relations and grief to all ranks in this city. He died 30 July in the year of salvation 1608, thirty years of age. His brother Cafarr soon followed him on the same path that he might have the same happiness with him, his companion in dangers and exile, in the highest hope and expectation of good things because of his nobility of soul which the highest virtue and traits of character had adorned. He left his desire and sorrow to his fellow exiles on the 14th of September of the following year at the age of twenty-five. Prince Hugh, the first-born brother went before them in age and order of fate. King Philip of Spain warmly welcomed him when he was alive, and he was piously

contemplating both the Catholic faith and the fatherland. When he died in his prime, he saw to it that he should be honourably buried in Valladolid in Spain on 30 August in the year of Salvation 1602.

Our first observation is that Wadding's version of the inscription on the Earl of Tyrone's tomb is substantially different from that recorded by Alveri. Furthermore, it accords with the description of Tyrone that is given on the tombstone of Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon, the earl's firstborn. Given that the father would presumably have had some input into his son's epitaph, one could presume that this was the way Hugh O'Neill senior would have preferred to describe himself. It is also noteworthy that Wadding records Tyrone's inscription in capital letters, whereas the other Irish inscriptions are in lower case and italics.

Of further interest is the fact that there is no mention at all of Eugene Matthews. As a mere archbishop, despite being a kinsman and supporter of Hugh O'Neill, and even though he was actually living with O'Neill in Rome at the time of his translation from Clogher to Dublin, he could not pass muster with princes of church and state. Indeed, one could be forgiven for thinking that Wadding's primary motive was solely to ensure the remembrance of the Irish princes, whereas recalling the cardinals was just a decoy or smokescreen to give the impression of objectivity. Moreover, Wadding was not interested in transcribing the Baron of Dungannon's epitaph exactly as it is recorded on the gravestone. Whereas Alveri and Restaldi record a transcription in twenty-two short lines, Wadding was more concerned with the content than the form, omitting the coat of arms and compressing the content into just ten lines. Furthermore, he introduced a number of commas which do not appear in the other two versions, but these commas, while aiding interpretation, may also be seen as forcing a particular interpretation.

Where Alveri reads, "pro fide Catholica qvam mvltos annos Contra Haereticos in Hybernia Fortiter defenderant relictis Statibus suis sponte exulantes ad Commvnem Catholicorvum azilum vrbem Romam," Wadding gives: "Pro fide Catholica quam multos annos haereticos in Hibernia fortiter defenderant, relictis statibus suis, sponte exulantes ad communem Catholicorum asylum, vrbem Romam."

The insertion of the commas after *suis* and before *vrbem Romam* emphasizes the word *sponte* and inclines the reader to consider the so-called "Flight of the Earls," as a voluntary decision for the sake of the faith. Wadding was not the first Irish Franciscan writer in the seventeenth century to struggle with his interpretation of this event. Donatus Mooney, provincial of the Irish Franciscans between 1615 and 1618, compiling his *De Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci* in Leuven in 1617–1618, accepts the term *fuga*, but underlined the involuntary nature of the episode: "*fugam capere ex Hybernia … coacti sunt*.," they were forced to flee from Ireland.[32] Mooney also underlined that

broken promises were the cause of the flight: *frustrati omnibus pollicitis*, they were deceived by all the promises.[33] Underlining the close relations between the O'Donnells and the Franciscans, Mooney pointed out that the Earl of Tyrconnell intended to restore the convent of Donegal which was destroyed during the Nine Years' War. On discovering, however, that the English were plotting against his life, he had no option but to resort to flight along with Hugh O'Neill, *spem in sola fuga collocans*, setting his hope only in flight.[34]

Once more the involuntary nature of the Ulster princes' departure for the continent is underlined. A further comment by Mooney reinforces the coercion involved in the Ulster princes' departure for the continent:

> Principes Catholici Hiberniae videntes non stari promissis sibi in articulis pacis, et capitibus suis pericula imminere, fugerunt ex Hiberniae mense Septembri, et in Hispaniam ire cupientes, adversis ventis delati sunt in Normaniam mense Octobri, inde in Belgiam, ubi Lovanii hiemarunt, sed primo vere Romam profecti sunt.

This translates as:

> When the Catholic princes of Ireland saw that the promises made to them in the peace accord were not being kept, and that danger was threatening their lives, they fled out of Ireland in the month of September with the intention of going to Spain. They were borne by contrary winds to Normandy in the month of October, from thence to Belgium where they spent the winter in Leuven. But in the spring the proceeded to Rome.[35]

What makes the contrast between Mooney and Wadding in this instance all the more intriguing is the fact that *De Provincia Hiberniae* was one of the sources actually used by Wadding for the Irish material that he included in his *Annales Minorum*.[36] Granted one could argue that while the voluntary nature of the Ulster princes' journey is already implied in the original inscription, nevertheless, Wadding's judicious use of commas makes it much more explicit. It bears noting that the positive attitude towards exile reflected in the wording of the inscription is anticipated in a changed attitude towards exile among Dutch Catholics in the 1580s. Whereas exile had been looked on unfavourably or at least ambiguously by Catholics during the early stages of the Dutch revolt, by 1580 Johannes Costerius, a Catholic priest from Oudenaarde in Flanders, could present exile as a laudable strategy "where committed Catholics could show their true allegiance to the Church of Rome and to the King of Spain."[37] This positive attitude has to be countered, however, by the evidence of Hugh O'Neill's letters to Spain in the final years of his life seeking permission to return home, stating on 15 March 1615, that he

would "rather go forward to an honourable death rather than end our lives in miserable exile."[38] There are some minor spelling discrepancies between Wadding and Alveri, such as *asylum* instead of *azilum*, but these do not pertain to the substance of the epitaph.

Turning now to the O'Donnell gravestone, once again the main difference between Wadding and Alveri is Wadding's compression of the thirty-seven short lines on the slab to eighteen lines on the page, and his use of italic lower-case script throughout, whereas Alveri uses three different sizes of lettering. Wadding and Alveri both agree against Restaldi in giving Rory O'Donnell's age at the time of his death as thirty years compared with thirty-three. This epitaph reflects even more strongly than that of the baron of Dungannon the positive attitude towards exile that marked the attitude of Dutch Catholics referred to above. However, given the stress on returning home to restore the faith in Ireland, both epitaphs could also be seen as a protest against Spanish policy that was firmly set against permitting the exiles' return.

While the sentiments expressed in the two inscriptions are doubtlessly those of the great O'Neill, the actual Latin wording was most likely crafted by one of the clerics in his entourage. Given the wealth of geographical detail in the O'Donnell epitaph, one would think immediately of the Franciscan Florence Conry (Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire). The friar accompanied Red Hugh O'Donnell (Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill) to Spain after the battle of Kinsale in an attempt to gain further military and financial aid. He attended him on his deathbed in Simancas and witnessed his will.[39] Furthermore, having founded St Anthony's College for the Irish Franciscans in Leuven in May 1607, he went to Douai to greet Hugh O'Neill and his entourage on 22 October and acted as his adviser and interpreter throughout the winter. He accompanied the exiles on their journey from Leuven to Rome in the spring of 1608 and remained in Rome for over a year. Following his nomination by O'Neill in March 1609, Conry was consecrated Archbishop of Tuam in the church of Santo Spirito in Sassia on 3 May 1609.[40] Unable to return to Ireland because of his proscription by the authorities, the archbishop was sent to Spain to further O'Neill's interests at the royal court. He arrived in Madrid in the third week of July.[41]

Given Conry's presence among the Irish exiles from late October 1607 to June 1609, and the pivotal role he played as adviser and interpreter to Hugh O'Neill, the archbishop of Tuam would have been the obvious candidate to compose the funerary inscriptions for Rory and Cafarr O'Donnell. As he was already in Madrid by the time Hugh, baron of Dungannon, died in September 1609, the latter's epitaph must have been composed by somebody else. One would think of Peter Lombard (1554–1625), titular Archbishop of Armagh, who welcomed the Ulster princes to Rome in 1608 and shared a residence with O'Neill for a period of time. It is not possible to say whether

the subsequent estrangement between the two because of their diverging political views had happened by September 1609.[42]

We now have to confront the substantial difference between Wadding's version of the Earl of Tyrone's epitaph and that given by Alveri. We have already noted that Wadding's description accords with that given in the baron of Dungannon's epitaph, reflecting most likely how Tyrone preferred himself to be described. One possible explanation for the discrepancy is that Wadding's version was the original one but it was replaced at the behest of the Spanish ambassador in Rome by Alveri's version sometime between Wadding's death in November 1657 and the publication of Alveri's work in 1664. This hypothesis, nonetheless, seems to be highly unlikely. A second possibility is that Wadding simply erred, confusing the description of Tyrone in his son's epitaph with the pithier version of the original. Is it feasible, however, that a meticulous historian of Wadding's calibre would err about a matter so intimately involved in Ireland's history as the death of the Ulster princes? The possibility of error seems even more implausible, given that Wadding himself lived in San Pietro in Montorio for six years and seems to have been himself involved in enhancing the funerary monuments of the Ulster princes and in arranging the gravestone for the great O'Neill. A third suggestion is that Wadding and the Spanish authorities were in dispute over the wording of O'Neill's epitaph, with the Spaniards ultimately prevailing. If the latter opted for the more neutral version on the grave slab, Wadding was able to use his own version in the *Annales*. If there were any remaining quibbles about the simplicity of O'Neill's epitaph, one could point to that of Cardinal Toschi, the created titular Cardinal of San Pietro in Montorio in 1599. We should bear in mind that Toschi was no ordinary cardinal, falling short as he did by just two votes of gaining the necessary two-thirds majority in the papal conclave of 1605 that finally elected Camillo Borghese as Paul V.[43] He died in 1620 and was buried in the middle of the choir of the church with the simple inscription, now long lost: "M.DC.XX. DOMINICI CARD. TYSCHI OSSA."

The contrast between the grandeur of the del Monte and Ricci funerary monuments and the austere simplicity of Toschi's memorial could not be starker. The very same contrast can be made between the grandeur of the former monuments and Hugh O'Neill's memorial, particularly in the Alveri version, only marginally less so in Wadding's version. It may be significant that of the ten dignitaries whose inscriptions are recorded by Wadding, Toschi's and O'Neill's are the only ones given in block capitals. What was considered good enough for Cardinal Toschi could well have been considered good enough for Hugh O'Neill. When the time came for O'Neill's epitaph to be written, it can hardly have been lost on Wadding that but for the two missing votes, Toschi would have been their host when the Irish exiles arrived in Rome.

I made one final attempt to explain the discrepancy between the two O'Neill inscriptions. The English traveller John Gent Raymond visited Italy in 1646–1647 and published *An itinerary contayning a voyage, made through Italy, in the yeare 1646, and 1647. Illustrated with divers figures of antiquities, London, printed for Humphrey Moseley (1648)*. His visit to Rome included San Pietro in Montorio:

> From thence wee went into the Transtevere, saw first Mon|torio, formerly the Janiculum, and the Chappell where (ut aiunt) Saint Peter was crucifi|fied. In the Church lies buried the Count Tiron Oneille of Ire|land, who comming to Rome in devotion dyed, very poore, yet for his good service in the Catholique Cause, hath a Tombestone with this Inscrip|tion.[44]

Unfortunately, Raymond's transcription gave the first four lines of Rory O'Donnell's epitaph instead of Hugh O'Neill's, thus dashing our hopes for a solution to this conundrum. While the grave of Beatrice Cenci, Rome's *femme fatale* of the late sixteenth century, is both unknown and unmarked, that of the great Hugh O'Neill, though known, has two contenders for his epitaph. Such is the enigma of San Pietro in Montorio.

Notes

1 Corrado Ricci, *Beatrice Cenci*, translated from the Italian by Morris Bishop and Henry Longan Stuart (New York: Liverbright Inc. Publishers, 1933), 268–269.
2 Carlo Falconieri, *Vita di Vincenzo Cammuccini* (Roma: Stabilimenti Tipografico Italiano, 1875), 309–310, quoted by Ricci, *Beatrice Cenci*, 269–270.
3 Ricci, *Beatrice Cenci*, 268.
4 Elizabeth FitzPatrick, "Memorialising Gaelic Ireland: The Curious Case of the Ballyshannon Fragments and the Irish Monuments at San Pietro in Montorio, Rome," in *The Flight of the Earls Imeacht na nIarlaí*, ed. David Finegan, Éamonn Ó Ciardha, and Marie-Claire Peters (Derry: Guildhall Press, 2010), 288–289.
5 Antonella Ranaldi, "I disastri dell'assedio del 1849," in *Il Gianicolo il colle "aureo" della cultura internazionale, della sacralità e della memoria*, ed. Carla Benocci and Marcello Fagiolo (Roma: Editoriale Artemide Srl, 2016), 219.
6 Flavia Cantatore, *San Pietro in Montorio La chiesa dei Re Cattolici a Roma* (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 2007), 131; Flavia Cantatore, "La Spagna si affaccia su Roma: S. Pietro in Montorio," in *Il Gianicolo il colle "aureo" della cultura internazionale, della sacralità e della memoria*, ed. Carla Benocci and Marcello Fagiolo (Roma: Editoriale Artemide Srl, 2016), 252.
7 Patrick Francis Moran, *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin since the Reformation* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1864), Appendix no. XXIV, 465–466. Moran does not cite evidence for his statement that Matthews resided in the same palace with Hugh O'Neill during his sojourn in Rome.

8 Fearghus Ó Fearghail and Kieran Troy, "The 'Flight of the Earls': New Light from a Roman Necrology," *Ossory, Laois and Leinster* 4 (2010): 73–74, 104. Nineteenth-century commentators, starting with Moran, claim that the Palazzo Salviati was Ó Neill's residence in Rome. Since Paul Walsh published his edition of Tadhg Ó Cianáin's narrative in 1916, scholars have opted for the Palazzo dei Penitenzieri, now the Hotel Columbus on Via della Conciliazione. Ó Fearghail, however, opts for the Palazzo Salviati on the basis of a remark made by Ó Cianáin that the Irish princes' residence was close to the church of St. Onofrio. Such was the popularity of St. Onofrio, however, that a new road linking it with St. Peter's basilica was constructed in 1588. See Mariano Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma dal Secolo IV al XIX* (Roma: Edizioni del Pasquino, 1891), 659; Christian Hülsen, *Le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1927), 542. This would leave the Palazzo dei Penitenzieri as close to St. Onofrio as the Palazzo Salviati. Further research needs to be done before a final decision can be made on the exact location of the Irish exiles' place of residence in Rome.

9 Ó Fearghail, "The tomb of Hugh O'Neill in San Pietro in Montorio in Rome," *Seanchas Ard Mhacha* 22, no. 1 (2007–2008): 73.

10 Moran, *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin since the Reformation*, 237–238.

11 The *Liber Mortuorum* of Santo Spirito in Sassia states that O'Neill was buried solemnly in San Pietro In Montorio. Ó Fearghail and Troy commented that of all the entries they examined between 1591 and 1640, Ó Néill's was but one of two entries that referred to a solemn burial. See Ó Fearghail, "The 'Flight of the Earls'," 104, note 129.

12 Charles P. Meehan, *The Fame and Fortunes of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone and Rory O'Donnel, Earl of Tyrconnell* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1868), 445–446.

13 Ibid., 477.

14 Meehan, *The Fame and Fortunes of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone and Rory O'Donnel, Earl of Tyrconnell* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1886), 3rd ed., 340.

15 Ó Fearghail, "The Tomb of Hugh O'Neill," 72–76.

16 Meehan, *The Fame and Fortunes of Hugh O'Neill*, 316–317; Ó Fearghail, "The Tomb of Hugh O'Neill," 81–82.

17 That the baron of Dungannon's tomb was also disturbed at the same time as that of his father is indicated by a poem composed by Hugh MacCaughwell (Aodh Mac Aingil) who had arrived in Rome by 22 July 1623 to teach theology in the Franciscan convent of Ara Coeli. While the poem, *A fhir fhéchus uaid an cnáimh*, O man who gazes on the skull, is a typical reflection on the transient nature of worldly glory, its originality and poignancy lies in the fact that the speaker is the skull of young Hugh O'Neill, and that his addressee is none other than Mac Aingil himself, his former tutor in Ireland in the 1590s. See Paul Walsh, *Gleanings from Irish Manuscripts* (Dublin: At the sign of the Three Candles, 1933), 96–107; Cuthbert Mhág Craith, ofm, *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr* (Bhaile Átha Cliath: Institiúid Árd-Léinn Bhaile, 1967), I: 171–177; Anraí Mac Giolla Comhaill, *Bráithrín Bocht ó Dhún Aodh Mac Aingil* (Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar Tta, 1985), 120–123; Tomás Ó Cléirigh, *Aodh Mac Aingil agus an Scoil Nua-Ghaeilge i Lobháin* (An Gúm: Báile Átha Cliath, 1985), 86–89.

18 Ó Fearghail, "The Tomb of Hugh O'Neill," 82–83.

19 Micheline Kerney Walsh, *"Destruction by Peace" Hugh O'Neill after Kinsale: Glanconcadhain 1602 – Rome 1616* (Monaghan: Cumann Seanchais Ard Mhacha, 1986), 375.

20 Ibid., 251–252.
21 FitzPatrick, "The Exilic Burial Place of a Gaelic Irish Community at San Pietro in Montorio, Rome," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 85 (2017): 215.
22 Ibid., 221.
23 Ibid., 223.
24 Ibid., 226.
25 Ibid., 229.
26 Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (Lyons: Claudii du-Four, 1648), VI: 767–768.
27 Clare Robertson, "Phoenix Romanus: Rome 1534–1565," in *Rome Artistic Centres of the Renaissance*, ed. Marcia B. Page (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 220; Cantatore, *San Pietro in Montorio*, 115–116.
28 Robertson, "Phoenix Romanus," 222; Cantatore, *San Pietro in Montorio*, 117.
29 Canice Mooney, "Was Wadding a Patriotic Irishman?" in *Father Luke Wadding Commemorative Volume*, ed. Franciscan Fathers and Dún Mhuire, Killiney (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds Ltd, 1958), 15–92.
30 Ibid., 79.
31 The Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, the fourth chapel on the left, is known today as the Chapel of the Pietà. This chapel was commissioned by Pietro Cuside (Cussida), a Spanish diplomat stationed in Rome between 1615 and 1620. See Cantatore, *San Pietro in Montorio*, 123.
32 Brendan Jennings, "Brussels MS. 3947: DONATUS MONEYUS, DE PROVINCIA HIBERNIAE S. FRANCISCII," *Analecta Hibernica* 6 (November 1934): 17.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid., 41.
35 Ibid., 119.
36 Colmán Ó Clabaigh, *The Franciscans in Ireland, 1400–1534* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 18; Clare Lois Carroll, *Exiles in a Global City. The Irish and Early Modern Rome, 1609–1783* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 55.
37 Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 49–50.
38 Kerney Walsh, *"Destruction by Peace,"* 357.
39 Benjamin Hazard, *Faith and Patronage the Political Career of Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire c.1560–1629* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010), 35–37.
40 Ibid., 55–59.
41 Ibid., 79.
42 Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, "Lombard, Peter (c.1554–1625)," in *RIA Dictionary of Irish Biography*, V: *Kane-McGuinness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 553–556, 564.
43 Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, *The History of the Popes* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd, 1937), XXV: *Leo XI and Paul V. (1605–1621),* 28–37, especially 36.
44 John Gent Raymond, *An Itinerary: Contayning a Voyage, made through Italy, in the Yeare 1646, and 1647. Illustrated with Divers Figures of Antiquities. Never before published. / By Jo: Raymond* (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1648), 165.

11   The *Vita Waddingi* and the Memory of Confederate and Cromwellian Ireland

Clare Lois Carroll

In 1662, just five years after the death of Luke Wadding, his nephew Francis Harold, also a Franciscan and lecturer in theology at St. Isidore's, published a biography of his celebrated uncle. The *Vita Waddingi*, or Life of Wadding, was part of a summary or collection of extracts from the eight-volume *Annales Minorum*.[1] In an address to the text's dedicatee cardinal Niccolò Ludovisi, Harold explains how he had completed the work on this "*Epitome*" of the *Annales* that had been begun but hardly finished by his confrère Ludovico Cavalli. The biography was ready to send to the censors Bernard Barry, lecturer emeritus in theology, and John Heslenan, guardian of St. Isidore's, and Francesco a Setia, who approved it in September 1658. This might explain in part why most of the text, though printed in 1662, makes little or no mention of the Restoration of the Stuarts, although the dedication to Ludovisi is dated 15 May 1662. Harold's descriptions of Ireland are firmly rooted in the 1640s and 1650s.

Significant parts of this ninety-four-page text in folio format serve as a kind of memorial of this period – including the condition of Wadding's family there, and the historian's own role as an agent of the Confederacy. At the same time, Harold's biography of Wadding places his uncle's life within the perspective of the longer history of Ireland, within the framework of a historiography that simultaneously justifies the Confederate uprising of the 1640s and the continued needs of the Irish exile community in Europe, as well as their relationship with the survivors of the conflict. Significantly, Harold's narrative of the outbreak of the war closely follows Richard Bellings' *History of the Irish Confederation*, a text which was written only after the Restoration of Charles II (1630–1685) and is assumed to have had little circulation before its publication in the nineteenth century.[2]

Bellings, however, was surely amassing the materials for his history throughout his career. Indeed, in his history he mentions his time in Rome as ambassador for the Confederacy as well as documents that he shared with Wadding, whom the entire Council repeatedly praised and expressed their reliance upon.[3] Although I have not been able to find a paper trail linking Bellings to Harold, I would argue that it is very likely

that some of Bellings' ideas about the conflict of the 1640s circulated either orally or in letters before his actual writing of the history. The *Vita* is informed by two perspectives on the 1640s. First, it is a memoir of exile, imbued with a personal and biographical perspective, and second it is a documented history, informed by eyewitness sources, whether oral or written, coming from Ireland to Rome. An examination of the text through both these frames reveals Harold's attempts to recuperate the reputation of his celebrated uncle by establishing the losses that he and his family had suffered through exile, his efforts on behalf of the Confederacy, and the high esteem that he was held in by Bellings. This recuperation is effected in such a way as to produce an advantageous position for the Irish Franciscans of St. Isidore's at the moment of the Restoration.

The second chapter of the *Vita* concerns Wadding's parents and early years in his native Waterford. The city is recalled as the site not of the Elizabethan wars of his childhood but rather of the more recent conflicts of the 1640s and 1650s. Waterford warrants mention for its hospitality to the ministers of the Apostolic See, Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, and Pier Francesco Scarampi. Among those worthy locals responsible for the munificent reception pride of place goes to "Thomas Wadding … the cousin of our Luke."[4] These Roman clerics, according to Harold, enjoyed their stay at Wadding's "city house" and "rural villa," and he had moreover provided them with "horses and beyond that money."[5] Harold continues: "the suitability of his house, his splendid conversation and his very virtue these men praised in their letters not once or lightly."[6] Behind this emphasis on the praise of Wadding's paternal cousin may be an attempt to recuperate the Franciscan cleric's reputation which at the end of his life had been tarnished in a number of different ways. Old Irish students from St. Isidore's complained that Wadding had been too partial to his fellow Old English Munstermen, or at least this is what the royalist and renegade Franciscan Peter Walsh (1614/1618?–1688) claimed in his *Irish Remonstrance*.[7] From the opposite end of the political spectrum, the pro-Rinuccini Old Irish authors of the *Commentarius Rinuccinianus* denounced Wadding for aiding and abetting Bellings and the Old English faction by sending them information from Rome. On top of this, these chroniclers of the Confederacy blamed Wadding for inspiring the Papal criticism of Rinuccini's excommunicating those who signed the Ormond Peace, as documented in a letter from Cardinal Giulio Roma of 24 August 1648.[8] If the *Vita Waddingi* can be seen as presenting propaganda counter to the damaging view of Wadding portrayed in the *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, Harold's comments about the warm welcome the nuncio received in Waterford can still be corroborated. As Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin has noted, "Rinuccini's blanket criticism of the Old English did not prevent him from enthusiastically praising the fidelity of the inhabitants of Galway and Waterford."[9]

Harold's account goes considerably beyond a recuperation of Wadding's reputation, however, and becomes a personal testimony to the sacrifices that those loyal to Rome suffered in the 1650s. Fast forwarding to a time beyond Rinuccini's stay in Waterford, which he left for Rome in February 1649, Harold proceeds to relate what happened to Thomas Wadding's family in the aftermath of the defeat of the Confederacy:

> when the state of the Catholic Irish had been brought down to the extreme, by the ministers of the Tyrant Cromwell; on account of their Roman Catholic faith in God and fidelity to the King, they were deprived of their ancestral properties.[10]

Harold explains how "many had urged" that Thomas Wadding and his offspring "remain at home, so that they might have hope of recovering at least a ... portion of their status."[11] Despite this advice, these cousins made the radical decision of leaving Ireland. Motivating this move, as Harold puts it, was "the prospect of lacking the sustenance of Christ's sacraments, nor at any time being far from the grave danger and temptation of selling out the true faith."[12] In other words, from Thomas Wadding's perspective the restoration of status and land meant the danger of apostasy. To gain material sustenance, he believed his sons would ultimately have to give up spiritual sustenance. Thomas Wadding

> preferred that his son be a sharer in the exile and subsequent hardships which an old man suffers in France, having contempt for possessions, rather than to live as a youth amongst heretics exposed to the dangers of relinquishing faith and customs.[13]

Harold closes this chapter with a reference to his sources: "He himself and his sons related these things in heavy letters, full of old-fashioned piety and constant faith."[14] The author stops short of giving more details and instead makes the reader imagine even worse suffering: "on account of the need for brevity, I do not describe this [further]" because "it would elicit the tears and pity of the Christian reader."[15]

The Thomas Wadding referred to by Harold in the context of Rinuccini's visit to Waterford is also mentioned in the account of the papal nuncio's embassy in Ireland in the *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, as "knight and civic counselor" ("equite et advocato civico").[16] Since Harold refers to Thomas Wadding as "our Luke's paternal cousin" ("Lucae nostri patruelis"), one would assume that he is referring to the child of his father Walter Wadding's brother. This cousin then could be the son of his uncle Thomas Wadding, mayor of Waterford in 1596, who had four sons: Peter, Michael, Luke, and Thomas, at least three of

whom – Peter, Michael, and Luke – were Jesuits. The next paragraph singles out both Peter and Luke among "men renowned in doctrine and religion" in "the family of Waterford Waddings."[17] Peter is described as having "besides humane letters and Philosophy twice taught Theology for an entire sixteen years at Louvain and Prague," and Luke as a "well known authority in theological science and jurisprudence among those at Madrid."[18] The exile of Luke's uncle Thomas Wadding's sons in the wake of the Nine Years War is emblematic of other forced departures related by Harold as caused by Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658). Luke's uncle Thomas and his sons Peter and Michael had all died by the time of Francis Harold's account of Thomas Wadding entertaining Rinuccini in 1648. Thomas Wadding's death is related in the first volume of the *Annales minorum*, printed well before the time of Rinuccini's visit.[19] Peter Wadding, chancellor of the University of Prague, died in Antwerp in 1644, and his brother Michael, who as a missionary is said to have converted the Basiroas tribe of Northern Mexico, died in Mexico City also in 1644.[20] The Thomas Wadding mentioned by Harold in the *Vita Waddingi* is either their brother or possibly another cousin of the same name.[21]

The Thomas Wadding who appears in Harold's account of Rinuccini's visit of 1648 may well have been the same person referred to in the Civil Survey of 1654–1656, a prominent Irish Catholic landowner in Waterford who had 1,280 acres at Kilbarry, whose lands at the restoration were granted to Sir George Lane.[22] This Thomas Wadding may also have been a cousin of Luke Wadding, and related to the family of Dr. Luke Wadding (c.1628–1691), bishop of Ferns.[23] If so, he would have been giving up a great deal by going into exile to preserve his faith. This is the burden of Harold's narration: the family was civically prominent and wealthy enough to host and support the papal nuncio, but in the wake of the "tyrant Cromwell" they were deprived of their status and land. The second reference to Cromwell in the text comes in chapter VIII, in a passage about Richard Synnott, Luke Wadding's fellow Franciscan and companion in his studies in Portugal and Spain.

> Richard [Synnott] … served as Guardian of the Irish Friars of this College of St. Isidore's, shortly afterwards he returned to his own country, having been tortured by the heretic soldiers of the Tyrant Cromwell, and having been weakened by extreme suffering, for the cause of the Roman faith he met his death.[24]

Synnott was one of those seven Franciscans who is reported to have been killed on 11 October 1649 by the troops of Cromwell when they attacked Wexford.[25] Historians today dispute whether Cromwell ordered

the massacre of civilians, and yet concede that whether officially ordered or not, the civilian death toll in Wexford was close to 1,500.[26]

Both the story of Thomas Wadding's son's exile prompted by the danger of losing his faith, and the story of Richard Synnott's loss of life for his faith are part of Harold's larger view of Irish history in which the Irish ever loyal to Rome have suffered at the hands of English heretics. In a chapter on the causes of the war, Harold takes a long view, going back to 1092. He maintains that "the Irish nation which had always been governed by its own hereditary kings and laws … was placed under the rule of Rome and the Apostolic See" during the time of Urban II (c.1040–1099).[27] This allows him to portray the handing over of Ireland to English rule by Pope Adrian IV (1100–1159) as a betrayal.[28] The consequences of this English rule have been that the "Irish have suffered injuries of natural liberty, honor, fortune, and fame from the ministers of the English king."[29] And yet through it all the Irish have called upon both "the kings themselves and the Roman pontiffs" for "assistance."[30] Harold insists upon the loyalty of the Irish to the English crown and their refraining from war as long as "the English kings promised reverence to the Holy See."[31] The "yoke" of English rule weighed heavily upon the Irish when "King Henry VIII withdrew from due obedience to the Church" and "a hodgepodge of various heresies occupied England and Scotland."[32] He singles out the reign of Elizabeth as especially difficult for exacting "heavy financial penalties … confiscation of goods" and for making the Irish "incapable of holding public office," and "deprived of their hereditary lands."[33] In a list of trials that include "the foreign intruders and plantations" and "the pillaging of Churches and monasteries," the most extreme is saved for last: the "ecclesiastical persons, venerable priests and Catholics" who were

> captured, imprisoned, mocked, in chains, on the cross, poisoned, at the stake, … and even with the[ir] head[s] decapitated and publicly exposed … from the highpoints of the gates of the city, and the pinnacles of the towers.[34]

Given that public Catholic education is forbidden and heavy penalties are imposed upon the laity who do not attend protestant services, "it is not surprising," as Harold writes, "that poor Irish scholars are often seen outside their country."[35] Like Thomas Wadding who preferred that his son leave Ireland and undergo poverty rather than lose his faith, the Irish, according to Harold, find that "they prefer to go begging as exiles, so that they might be educated in genuine religion."[36]

The theme of exile which runs throughout the work reaches its most iconic moment in the section about two thirds of the way through the

text devoted to Wadding's politics and work for Ireland. Harold likens Wadding to one of the great exilic heroes of the Jews in Egypt. He writes:

> I do not know any Irishman outside of the home country during the calamities which the Irish, largely after the defection of Henry the eighth, suffered because of the Catholic faith, who served the afflicted Irish of every order whether at home or as exiles abroad, than this poor Franciscan friar: therefore, it would not be inept for anyone to say that for the Irish in the rest of Europe Luke Wadding was like Joseph in Egypt for the Hebrews.[37]

The choice of Joseph is apt because of Wadding's subtlety, and ability to ingratiate himself with people in the highest circles. As Harold stresses about his politically canny uncle:

> he was not led by blind fury in patriotism but by a judicious spirit, through which he was able to do good, so that it took away nothing from his work, either just necessity or honest intension demanded; particularly toward these personages, whom he knew of the noble class, or those who were distinguished because of their own ability.[38]

This is the picture of a man who was learned, diplomatic, and cautious, able to communicate with the members of the intelligentsia – one recognizable in Bellings' letter to him of 9 December 1642, where he wrote: "the Protestant Primate, Ussher, hath often spoke of you unto me, and at all times with great applause of your abilities."[39] They corresponded but always by way of an intermediary who concealed Wadding's identity. Bellings, who served as secretary to the Confederacy, and their ambassador to Rome in 1644–1645, also plays a role in Harold's biography.

   Harold's chapter entitled "The Causes of the Irish War" reads as if it had been taken from the pages of Gilbert's edited account of Bellings' *History of the Irish Confederation*. Given that Bellings corresponded with Wadding and met with him in Rome, and that they shared some documents with each other, it makes sense that Harold's account of the reasons for the war would closely follow Bellings' account. According to Harold, the reasons for the decision of the Irish Catholics to go to war start with their fear over the reprisals against them by Parliament, rumors of a Scots army about to move against them, and most significantly the atrocities committed by Sir Charles Coote (1610–1661):

> they rounded up the remaining men, with the cunning pretext of service to the king, against whom rather they intrigued, with the false necessity of repressing the rebellion, with the orders having been given by Charles Coote, … they began to devastate Munster by sword and by fire with pillaging and murders, without taking into consideration either reason of sex or age or matter of innocence.[40]

In Bellings' account, we find the exact same formulation for the causes of the war, including Coote's outrages against the Irish people that were so cleverly disguised behind trumped up legal warrants:

> Sundry of your Majestie's loyal subjects near Dublin and elsewhere here were, though not well, lately murdered in their beds and many hanged by martial law without cause by Sir Charles Coote and others here, by colour of paper warrants of your said Justices, and said warrants being wholly against the fundamental laws of this realm.[41]

Furthermore, Bellings also points to the very same aggressive strategies of fire and sword that caused the Irish to wage a war of self-defense: "they caused divers of their troopes and bands to burn, pillage and waste the country, and particularly the lands and goods of some of your best subjects."[42] Harold cites these very reasons behind the outbreak of the war:

> Therefore the Irish Catholics, experienced leaders and men of noble rank, were moved not by vain terrors, or by anything of less magnitude, than that the ax would be applied to the root or truly to the neck, that they would be obliterated root and branch; nor having any hope of a remedy from the King, who endured the practices of the Puritan faction in England and Scotland.[43]

This was self-defense, and accordingly Harold argues that those who pursued the war thought in the theological terms of just war: "they were bound by the law of nature, that their own defense in arms, which they did not have, must be acted upon. They were fighting with stones, with poles, with cudgels, hostile missiles."[44] Bellings supports this notion of the Irish not having sufficient arms: "though we being destitute of weapons and armes, wanted ability and meanes to make defence against them."[45]

   As Harold argues, the Irish response to aggression was not a hasty action but one that had been well considered by "Theologians and Jurists" by whom "matters were weighed carefully & declared openly in the synod of national bishops."[46] Similarly, Bellings describes the war as a lawfully waged, by reason of self-defense: "This cruell and lawless proceeding drove divers of your subjects to take up arms in their own defence."[47] Bellings explains that the General Remonstrance gave testimony to the world that

> they take up armes as well for the defence and advancement of your royal Crowne, your just prerogatives and rights, as for the general safeguard and liberties, religion, possessions, estates and person of us your most faithful subjects, the Catholiques of this your realm of Ireland.[48]

Like Bellings, Harold also notes that the Irish Confederates fought on behalf of the king as well as their own rights:

> on behalf of the laws of His Royal Majesty, and of his rights and privileges, and of the defense of the Irish Nation from the present danger of extermination, and from the unjust and violent oppression of its natural liberty, and the immunity of the Irish clergy and people.[49]

Having argued that the declaration of the war was "just, and legitimate," Harold then introduces his uncle Wadding into the story as the choice of Irish Catholics to represent them in Rome. Harold praises his uncle's ability to get Ireland recognized diplomatically – resulting in Urban VIII's choice of Scarampi as representative and then Innocent X's appointment of Rinuccini as papal nuncio, all attributed to Wadding's urging of Ireland's suit to the Cardinals and the Popes.

Harold also details Wadding's success as a fund raiser noting "the industry" with which he amassed "a pious contribution of money for the support of the Catholics" that exceeded "the total of over twenty-six thousand scudi," and when the year after Rinuccini was sent to Ireland the "Auditors of the Nunciature gave another sum in subsidy of the Catholic war in honor of the Nuncio."[50] Perhaps most remarkable is the absolute control that Harold claims Wadding had over finances. The process through which Wadding amassed the funds and had them transferred from Rome to Ireland is described in some detail:

> In fact, in the City, among various Cardinals & Prelates, he raised through his own effort a pious contribution of money for the sake of the support of Catholics, from which he furnished appropriate aid on various occasions, but always through the hands of public Ministers, in such a way that, from whatever place any sum was allotted to him, he allowed no other person to receive it therefrom, than a Banker of good repute so that they [i.e., the bankers], by means of letters of exchange in Belgium or in France, following the guidance of the Ministers of the Apostolic See in those places, might take care that that sum be turned to those uses of the Irish Catholics, which appeared to these same Ministers by virtue of their various circumstances the most needful or suitable.[51]

Contrary to the rules of the order forbidding the friars to deal directly with finances, the Franciscan "accepted documentation of all moneys, exacted a rationale of expenses, and was prudent in the dispensing of expenses."[52] This insistence on his financial management lines up well with recent scholarship that shows how Wadding kept an account in the

Monte di Pietà used by him to pay artists and artisans for their work on the chapels of the Church of St. Isidore's.[53]

The crucial political controversies of the Confederacy, however, are left opaque.[54] Harold's relation of the division among the Confederates walks a tightrope which seems deftly balanced so as not to undermine Bellings' role in representing the peace party side of the Confederacy, or to come out too strongly either for or against Rinuccini's condemnation of it. Harold reports:

> The Irish were divided among themselves in the rivalry of power, thus some preferring the zeal of Religion reckoned that the matter should be pursued to the end through arms; while others on account of the appearance of prudence argued that under certain conditions peace should be made with the enemy.[55]

Harold eschews adopting a strongly partisan perspective. While he does refer to the pro-treaty position as merely promoting "the appearance of prudence," when it comes to explaining the downfall of the Confederacy, he portrays both sides as culpable: "With distrust growing little by little, then both sides were diminished and with men dispersed, they brought both themselves and their country, by God's secret judgment, into a worse state than it was before."[56] While there is a nod in favor of those who refused the peace – "God permitting that the constancy of the Faithful was still being proved stronger,"[57] still there is no mention of Rinuccini's accusations against Wadding or Wadding's conciliatory letters to Rinuccini. Indeed, Rinuccini's exit from Ireland is described with a kind of calm detachment: "on account of the confusion of matters the Nuncio returned to the City."[58] There is no judgment of Rinuccini, nor directly of the pro-treaty party. It is from Wadding's strangely detached perspective that the account of the war ends: "& Luke having been instructed of the state of things in various letters, ceased his past work, offering to the Lord of hosts, the further care of things."[59] Harold gives the Papal Nuncio such a minor role in comparison to Wadding that one is left with the impression that it was the Irish Franciscan and not the papal ambassador who was almost solely responsible for aid from Rome to the Confederacy.

In the chapter that follows Rinuccini's return from Ireland, Harold repeatedly quotes Bellings as the most reliable source on Wadding's conduct in his representation of the Confederates in Rome. Harold cites a letter to Wadding from the leaders of the Confederate Council, including Mountgarrett, Gormanston, Darcy, and Bellings, notably all in the Old English faction, in anticipation of his applying "his zeal and industry" to this "great negotiation": "It is necessary for us to admit that without you our affairs falter."[60] And beyond this, Harold again musters Bellings'

opinion to establish his uncle's reputation: In another place also Bellings secretary to the Council, by order of the same Council, gave the following judgment:

> No mediocre place do you merit in the estimation of your Country, who so prudently … accomplished control over our affairs and calamities. Further for the cause of the Country of your care, with the spur of further continuation I did not want your services to diminish.[61]

These citations of Bellings are of course in part due to his position as secretary of the Confederate Council, and, thus, the author of so many of its documents. At the same time, these references to both Bellings and the other members of the Old English faction might be included to have a favorable impact on Old English readers, and indeed to express the sympathy of Wadding and his nephew with the Old English faction. Given the date of the *Vita Waddingi*'s first printing, 1662, it is tempting to view these references to Bellings as an attempt to have an impact on those who might now, because of the restitution of Catholic lands, be in a position to offer either political or patronage support to St. Isidore's. During the same year the *Vita Waddingi* was printed, the Act of Settlement of 1662, partially overturning the Act of Settlement of 1652, was put into effect. Ormonde as Lord Deputy of Ireland rewarded Bellings' loyalty by allowing him to recover his confiscated estates.[62] While steering clear of Bellings' overt criticism of Rinuccini, Harold seems to be knowingly allying himself with the Old English historian's authority and standing.[63]

Harold's very few publications in the thirty-two years during which he lived beyond the death of his illustrious uncle might cause one to wonder why the hive of scholarly activity that had occurred under Wadding's direction at St. Isidore's largely fell apart after his death. Did the community lack the industry, the direction, or the political and financial savvy of their leader, or was he so tightly in control of the reins of power that they were never given the chance to learn how to assume them? Or was it simply the case that Harold, unlike Wadding, did not have the resources to support the level of research and publication that his uncle had maintained? Indeed, the very contested nature of his uncle's legacy itself appears to have been the object of much of Harold's attention as we can see in the pages of the *Vita Waddingi*.

To try to build up a picture of St. Isidore's in the wake of Wadding's death and to locate and explain the documentary evidence that would account for Harold's defense of Wadding are projects for future research. Harold's accounts of the conditions of the Irish at the time of the Cromwellian wars and of Wadding's role in the Confederacy represent the needs of the community at St. Isidore's, and the Irish exiles in Europe more generally. The *Vita Waddingi* bears further comparison with other

contemporary documents to corroborate its claims and thus to assess the degree to which both Wadding and his nephew allied themselves with Bellings. By casting Wadding as an exile, the savior of the Irish Confederates, and an ally of Bellings, Harold appears to have been attempting not only to address the attacks not just upon his uncle, but also to recalibrate the political alliances and patronage connections of St. Isidore's in relation to the changing political climate both in London and in Rome at the time of his text's publication.

Notes

1 Francis Harold, *Epitome annalium Ordinis Minorum* (Rome: Tinassi, 1662).

2 Toby Barnard, "Sir Richard Bellings, a Catholic Courtier and Diplomat from Seventeenth-Century Ireland," in *Reshaping Ireland: Colonization and Its Consequences 1550–1700*, ed. Brian MacCuarta, SJ (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), 326. See also Deana Rankin, "History, Romance and the Writings of Richard Bellings," in *Between Spenser and Swift: English Writing in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 191–229. For a thoughtful analysis of Bellings's moral and political authority of the Old English, see Raymond Gillespie, "The Social Thought of Richard Bellings," in *Kingdoms in Crisis*, ed. Micheàl Ó Siochrú (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 212–228.

3 John T. Gilbert, ed., *History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland* (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1882). See for example the letters of the Council signed by Bellings urging Pope Urban VIII and Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini to make Luke Wadding a Cardinal (vol. III: 186–189; IV: xxii); the audience with Innocent X at which both Bellings and Wadding were present (vol. IV: xxi–xxii); the memorial, annotated by Wadding, in which Bellings describes the pope as having understood Charles I's reasons for not wanting the Catholic religion to be publicly practiced due to the pressure from his subjects in England (VII: 4). The two sources of Gilbert's edition of Bellings' *History* are: Trinity College Dublin, MS 747, which is a partial autograph, and BL. Add MS. 4763 fols. 36–89, Add MS 4189, fols. 399–438.

4 Francis Harold, "Vita Waddingi," in *Annales Minorum*, ed. Joseph Maria Fonseca (Rome: Bernabo, 1731), ii ("Thomae Waddingi, Lucae nostri patruelis."). I have checked the 1731 edition against that of 1662. Hereafter cited as Harold, "Vita Waddingi." See *Epitome annalium*, 9.

5 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," ii ("urbanum domum, & villam ruralem … equos insuper pecunias."). See *Epitome annalium*, 9.

6 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," ii ("cujus aedium commoditates & splendida convivia atque ipsius viri virtutem illi suis litteris non semel aut leviter laudant."). See *Epitome annalium*, 9.

7 See Canice Mooney, "Was Wadding a Patriotic Irishman'," in *Father Luke Wadding Commemorative Volume*, ed. Franciscan Fathers Dún Mhuire Killiney (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1957), 63–64, citing Peter Walsh, *Irish Remonstrance*, 1st treatise, 592–593.

8 Mooney, "Was Wadding a Patriotic Irishman?" 48–49, 56; Richard O'Ferrall and Robert O'Connell, *Commentarius Rinucinnianus, de Sedis Apostolice Legatione ad Foederatos Hiberniae Catholicos per Annos 1645–9*, ed. Stanislaus Kavanagh (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1932–49), IV: 236–249. (Hereafter in *Com. Rin.*)

9 Giovanni Aiazzi, *Nunziatura in Irlanda di Monsignor Gio. Baptista Rinuccini Arcivescovo di Fermo negli anni 1645 a 1649* (Firenze: Dalla Tipografia Piatti, 1844), 433; Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland: The Mission of Rinuccini, 1645–1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 214.

10 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," ii ("quando Catholicorum Hiberniae rebus ad extrema deductis, per Cromwelli Tyranni ministros, Catholicae Romanae fidei in Deum, & fidelitatis erga Regem causa, avitis possessionibus privatus."). See *Epitome annalium*, 9.

11 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," ii ("multi suaderent domi manendum esse, spe certa honestam saltem sui status portionem recuperandi."). See *Epitome annalium*, 9.

12 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," ii ("cum tamen adverteret sibi filioque defuturum Christi Sacramentorum pabulum, nec unquam defore periculum gravium tentationum deferendae verae fidei."). See *Epitome annalium*, 9.

13 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," ii ("maluit filium exilii & consequentium aerumnarum, quas hodie senex in Gallia patitur, contemptis possessionibus participem esse, quam juvenem inter haereticos expositum relinquere periculis fidei vel morum."). See *Epitome annalium*, 9.

14 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," iii ("Graves ipsius & filii, doctasque utriusque de his rebus epistolas, & prisca pietate fideique constantia plenas."). See *Epitome annalium*, 9.

15 Harold, iii ("brevitatis causa hoc non describo alioquin Christiano lectori lacrymas pietatis elicituras."). See *Epitome annalium*, 9.

16 O'Ferrall and O'Connell, *Com. Rin.*, III: 532.

17 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," iii ("praeterea sola haec Waterfordiensum Waddingorum familia tot simul habuit nostra memoria viros doctrina & religione clarus.").

18 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," iii ("qui praeter humaniora, Philosophiam bis & totos XVI. Annos Theologima Lovanii & Pragae … Theologica scientia, civili prudenta, & conspicua inter Madridentes auctoritate insignis.").

19 *Annales Minorum* vol. iii (1722), 47; see Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (Lyon: Devenet, 1647), I: 566.

20 See *DIB*, IX.

21 According to *Com. Rin*, III: 217: Walter, Peter, Thomas, Michael and Luke were all "in nostra Societate … quinque germani fratres Waddingi."

22 Irish Manuscripts Commission, *The Civil Survey A.D. 1654–56 County of Waterford* (Dublin: The Stationery Office, 1942), VI: 190.

23 Gabriel O'C. Redmond, "Dr. French Bishop of Ferns," *Journal of the Waterford & South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society* 4 (1898): 243–244.

24 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," vii ("Richardus … hujus Collegii sancti Isidori Fratrum Hibernorum Guardianus officio functus, postmodum in patria sua, religiosi & catholici concionatoris officiis intentus, a Cromwelli tyranni haereticis satellitibus extremo supplico affectus, Romanae fidei causa mortem obivit."). See *Epitome annalium*, 11.

25 Denis Murphy, *Cromwell in Ireland: A History of Cromwell's Irish Campaign* (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1883), 164, quoting "Brevis Synopsis Hiberniae FF. Regularis Observantiae auctore Fr. Francisco Ward," taken from a narrative written by Francis Stafford guardian of the Franciscan Convent, Wexford. MS in the Arundel Library, Stonyhurst. See Fergal Grannell, *The Franciscans in Wexford* (Wexford: John English & Co., 1980); James O'Boyle, *Irish Colleges in the Continent* (Dublin: Brown and Nolan, 1935).

26 James Scott Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan 1999), 98: "Cromwell … made no efforts to regain control and enforce discipline until after the slaughter of at least 1,500 soldiers and townsmen." "There are many more references to the deaths of women and children at Wexford than at Drogheda and this fact is difficult to ignore," as noted in Tom Reilly, *Cromwell: An Honorable Enemy* (Dingle: Brandon, 1999), 191. Pádraig Lenihan reminds us that "uncontrolled murder, rape, and pillage" characterized the "sacking" of towns, as in the case of Drogheda and Wexford, as opposed to the "negotiated surrender terms" that took place in Clonmel. See Pádraig Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at War* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), 168.

27 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," cxxiii ("Et enim Hibernica natio ab initio semper libera fuit, suisque patriis regibus, legibusque gubernata, donec propria sponte se ipsam subdidit Romano Pontifici & eius Apostolicae Sedi quod anno MXCII sub Urbano II factum referunt Annales Hiberniae: ad deinde ab Adriano papa IV certis conditionibus tradita fuit domino Henrici II. Regis Angliae."). As his source Harold cites the "Annals of Ireland."

28 For the notion that the bull *Laudabiliter* was invalid, see the historiographical tradition from O'Sullivan Beare, through to Geoffrey Keating and John Lynch, and the *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, described by Ian Campbell in *Renaissance Humanism and Ethnicity before Race* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 84.

29 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," cxxiii ("a Regis Ministris Anglicanae nationis, illa sua naturalis libertatis, honoris, fortunarum & famae damna continuo tollararent Hiberni.").

30 Ibid., cxxiii ("& a Regibus ipsis & a Romanis Ponticifibus remedia postulare.").

31 Ibid., cxxiii ("numquam tamen communi ceterorum assensu bellatum fuit, aut Hibernica natio recessit a fidelitate, quam Regibus Angliae propter Sedis Apostolicae reverentiam semel promisit.").

32 Ibid., cxxiii ("cum Henricus VIII. Rex ab obedientia Ecclesiae & Romano Pontific debita recessit, atque hujus scismatis occasione variarum haeresum colluvies Angliam et Scotiam occupavit … tunc Hibernis gravatum est jugum.").

33 Ibid., cxxiii–cxxiv ("graves mulctae pecuniarum, confiscationes bonorum, … publicorum munerum, vilium etiam officiorum in civitate vel castris … privationis haereditatum.").

34 Ibid., cxxiv ("intrusionum, alienatium, plantationum, Templorum Coenobiorumque direptiones, … Ecclesiasticarum personarum & venerabilium Praelatorum & Catholicorum his ullatenus faventiam capturae, carceres, ludibria, vincula, patibula, toxica, rogi; aliaquae varia supplicia, & crudeles mortes, imo defunctorum cadaverum lanienae, lixationes, adustiones, & publica expositio decollatorum capitum ac partium discerptarum ad alitissimas urbis portarum, turriumque pinas.")

35 Ibid., cxxiv ("si tot videantur studiosi pauperes Hiberni extra Patriam.").

36 Ibid., cxxiv ("malunt potius exules mendicare, ut sincerum Religionum edocti.").

37 Ibid., cxvi ("nescierim, quis alius Hibernus extra Patriam in calamitatibus, quas Hiberni, maxime post Henrici VIII Angliae Regis defectionem, propter Catholicam fidem hucusque patiuntur, plus profuerint omnium Ordinum Hibernis seu domi afflictus, seu foris exulibus quam iste pauper Minorita: propterea non inepte quispiam dixerit talem quodammodo Hibernis fuisse Lucam Waddingam in reliqua Europa, qualis fuit Hebraeis Josephus in Aegypto.").

38 Ibid., cxvi ("Necque fatuo affectu, vel caeca furia in patriotas ferebatur, sed ex animo judicioque, quibus poterat, benefaciebat, idque tam indifferenter, ut operam suam nulli unquam subtraxerit, quum vel justa necessitas, vel praetensionis honestas postularet; in illis praesertim personis, quas vel generis nobilitate, vel propria virtute dignos cognoscebat.").

39 Gilbert, *History of the Irish Confederation*, 123.

40 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," cxxvi ("Et quo ad id reliquos cogerent, astuto praetextu obsequii Regis, cui potius insidiabantur, & reprimendae rebellionis falsa necessitate, datis mandatis Carolo Coote … & Moniam ferro & flamma praedis, & caedibus devastare coeperunt, nulla habita ratione sexus vel aetatis, rei vel innocui, fedelis aut rebellis.").

41 Gilbert, *History of the Irish Confederation*, 238.

42 Ibid.

43 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," cxxvi ("Experti igitur Catholicae Proceres, & viri Nobiles Hiberni, non vanis terroribus, aut minis tantum modo secum agi, sed securim ad radicem, seu verius ad cervicem applicari, ut stirpitus delerentur; nec ullam habentes spem praesentis remedii a Rege, qui easdem Puritanae factionis artes in Anglia & Scotia patiebatur.").

44 Ibid., cxxvi ("tunc lege naturae constricti sunt, ad sui ipsorum defensionem armis, quae non habebant, aggrediendam. Cumque aliquandia, lapidus, perticis, verubus & fustibus dimicarent, hostilia tela & munitiones paulatim adepti.").

45 Gilbert, *History of the Irish Confederation*, 239.

46 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," cxxvi ("convocatis animarum Praesulibus, & qui Theologicis Jurisque facultatibus apprime pollebant, res graviter examinata fuit, & in plena Nationali Episcoporu Synodo declaratum, bellum ob causas mox referendas justum legitimumque esse.").

47 Gilbert, *History of the Irish Confederation*, 238.

48 Ibid., 240.

49 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," cxxvii ("pro Regiae Majestatis jurium justarumque praerogativarum, proque Nationis Hibernicae defensione a praesenti periculo exterminii, & ab injusta & violenta oppressione naturalis suae libertatis, & immunitatis Catholicae Cleri popoulusque.").

50 Ibid., cxxix, cxxxiii ("piam pecuniarum collectam pro Catholicorum subsidio propria industria faciebat … curavit Lucas tradi viginti sex milla scutorum ex illa collecta, quam ipse pro pia causa faciebat, & post annum redeunti … dedit aliam summam in belli Catholici subidium ad Nunciam deferendeum.").

51 Ibid., cxxix ("In Urbe vero, inter Cardinales aliquos, & Praelatos, piam pecuniarum collectam pro Catholicorum subsidio propria industria faciebat, ex qua pro variis occasionibus opportuna subministrabat auxilia, sed semper per publicorum Ministrorum manus, ita ut quo loco summa aliqua ipsi assignabatur, non alium eam inde accipere permitteret, quam aliquem noti nominis Collybistam, qui illam per litteras cambii seu in Belgio, seu in Gallia, juxta Sedis Apostolicae in iis locis Ministrorum directionem, in eos Hiberorum Catholicorum usus converti curarent, qui iisdem ministris pro rerum varietate maxime necessarii vel opportuni viderentur.").

52 Ibid., cxxix ("Ipse vero Lucas acceptae pecunia tabulas, & expensae rationem ab ipsis exigebat.").

53 Giovan Battista Fidanza, *Luke Wadding's Art: Irish Franciscan Patronage in Seventeenth-Century Rome* (St. Bonaventure University: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2016).

54 For an excellent article explaining the controversies among the peace party, the moderate position of Nicholas Plunkett and Roebuck Lynch, and the

straightforwardly clerical position of the supporters of Rinuccini, see Ó hAnnracháin, "Confederate Political and Religious Allegiance among the Confederate Catholics of Ireland," *The English Historical Review* 119, no. 483 (2004): 851–872.

55 Harold, "Vita Waddingi," cxxxiv ("Sed interim ipsi Hiberni virtutem aemulatione inter se ipsos divisi, dum alii, Religionis zelum praeferentes, rem armis ad extrema prosequendam censerent; alii praetextu prudentiae certis conditionibus cum hoste paciscendum contenderent.").

56 Ibid., cxxxiv ("crescente paulatim diffidentia, dum utrique dispersis viribus diminuerentur, se ipsos & Patriam, occulto Dei judicio, in pejorem statum deduxerunt, quam antea fuit.").

57 Ibid., cxxxiv ("permittente Deo, ut Fidelium constantia adhuc fortius probaretur.").

58 Ibid., cxxxiv ("qua rerum turbatione Nuncius in Urbem reversus est.").

59 Ibid., cxxxiv ("& Lucas rei statum per variorum litteris edoctus, praeteritam operam suam offerens Domino exercituum, ab ulteriori rerum procuratione cessavit.").

60 Ibid., cxxxiv ("absque te res nostrae claudicarent.").

61 Ibid., cxxxiv ("Alias etiam Bellingus Concilio a secretis, ipsius Concilii jussione, in hanc sententiam dedit. Non mediocrum locum in aestimatione Patriam tuae meritus es, qui tam provide bene quidem electos illos paternos nostros, nostrarum rerum & calamitatum compotes effeceris. Porre sollicitudinis tuae in Patria causa, continuationis ulteriori stimulo nollem tua merita diminuere.").

62 Alfred Webb, *A Compendium of Irish Biography* (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1878), 16.

63 On Bellings' criticisms of Rinuccini, see Gillespie, "The Social Thought of Richard Bellings," 222, 227, particularly his "dictatorship after the Roman manner." See Gilbert, *History of the Irish Confederates*, VII: 2; Rankin, "History, Romance and the Writings of Richard Bellings," 215–219.

12 Conclusion

Matteo Binasco

At first glance the common *fil rouge* which seems to weave all the chapters of this volume is the persistent complexity of Luke Wadding. The wide array of problems and themes covered by the authors in their chapters strengthen the impression that Wadding can be really deemed the Irish Briareus of the seventeenth century. The identity of the Irishman underwent a constant and dramatic series of changes which were linked to his exilic experience. Though thousands of other Irishmen faced this challenge, Wadding's personal itinerary from Ireland to the Iberian Peninsula, and from there to Rome was made more challenging by his deep involvement in crucial – and often thorny – political and theological roles.

A quick glimpse at Wadding's career demonstrates how he obtained prominent roles at a very early age; indeed, it was between 1618 and 1642, when Wadding was respectively thirty and forty-two years old, that the Franciscan came to be definitely appreciated as a well-known scholar, a renowned theologian, the founder of the first two Irish colleges in Rome, and the most influential Irishman at the Papal Curia. All these aspects put a growing responsibility on Wadding who had to elaborate a multiple set of identities which changed according to the contexts in which he had to operate. In that sense this volume has sought to unveil and assess how and to which extent the contexts in which Wadding lived would influence his activities, his life, and his identities.

The first context where Wadding began to elaborate and develop his identity was the Iberian Peninsula. As stressed in the introduction, Wadding arrived there in the early years of the seventeenth century, when the Spanish monarchy was the principal defender of the Catholic orthodoxy, and the most extended and important European empire in the world. This context, heavily influenced by the Catholic Reformation and in which Wadding was educated, nourished the loyalty that the Franciscan would develop and keep towards the Spanish monarchy. Yet, Wadding's formative years in the Iberian Peninsula have remained unknown.[1] The groundbreaking chapter by Benjamin Hazard has finally demonstrated how and through which networks Wadding arrived in the Franciscan province of Santiago de Compostela. By focusing on Wadding as well as on the other Irish friars who enrolled in that

province, his analysis has carefully reconstructed the mechanism of selection and recruitment, the formation they received, and how this period of training had a relevant influence on the subsequent career of the Waterford friar and his confreres. The strong links between Wadding and the Spanish monarchy developed along a well-established path. As the recent studies have illustrated, his experience was somehow like that of other Irish migrants who, during the first half of the seventeenth century, could integrate in the host society thanks to the support provided by the Spanish kings.[2] In the case of Wadding his training in the Iberian Peninsula brought him to develop a form of loyalty, but also of "trust." As explained by Igor Pérez Tostado, Wadding's trust was a powerful means through which the Franciscan constructed his fame as a reliable "agent" in Rome by the Spanish authorities. Through his correspondence, the Franciscan increased the flow of information between the Eternal City and Madrid, thus contributing to spread the vision of a solid imperial monarchy.

The second part of this volume concentrates on the Roman context which Wadding found upon his arrival in the city in 1618, and how he began to develop his impressive network of patronage. Though his coming to Rome fitted within the strategy of a prominent theological embassy, Wadding was among the many thousands of "foreigners" who visited and then remained to live in the *Urbe*. As explained by Matteo Sanfilippo, Rome and more broadly other major cities of the Italian Peninsula like Naples also attracted Protestants. His research has indicated that, contrary to what it might be erroneously believed, the authorities of the Holy See developed a certain form of tolerance towards these *ultramontanes*, while simultaneously carrying out a strategy of conversion through the establishment of dedicated structures like the Collegio dei Neofiti or the Ospizio Apostolico dei Convertendi, which aimed to incorporate them into the Catholic Church.[3]

A noteworthy feature of Wadding's career in Rome was his capacity to build a strong network of prominent figures with whom he cooperated and with whom he forged fruitful links. Matteo Binasco's chapter sheds light on part of this network which included wealthy cardinals and influential ambassadors. His chapter stresses two seminal issues of Wadding's network: on one hand he availed of it in order to obtain key roles in important congregations of the Papal Curia; on the other hand, the Franciscan used his personal entourage in order to increase, through the construction of two Irish colleges, the visibility and the prestige of the Irish community in Rome, thus fitting it in the cosmopolitan context of the city.

The chapters contained in the part on the cultural world of Wadding convey a complex but interesting picture on how and to which extent the Franciscan's multifaceted identity was mirrored in the development of the library at St Isidore's, but also in the artistic and theological entourage which gravitated around the college and the church. As explained

by Donatella Bellardini and Claudia Costacurta, the construction of the Wadding's library at St Isidore's must be necessarily linked to the broader context of the development of libraries in Rome and Europe. Indeed, when the Irishman began to organize the library in new Franciscan college, he laid out a series of precise rules which had already been defined in the Reformed branch of the Franciscan order between the sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth century. It is no wonder that Wadding's library had a crucial importance for shaping the history of both the Irish Province and the Franciscan order. John McCafferty's chapter has demonstrated that all the process of writing, editing, and collecting books carried out by Wadding reveals a clear personal itinerary which was influenced by the salvific message of his own order and by the global outreach of early-modern Catholicism.

Beyond being a learned scholar and an outstanding library builder, the Waterford Franciscan had a seminal role in the development of an "artistic circle" at St Isidore's. Giulia Spoltore's chapter has shed light on the hitherto obscure network that linked Wadding with the most prominent painters of the Roman Baroque. Her analysis has proved that the Irishman was capable to move in the complex and tricky context of art patronage of seventeenth-century Rome, thus demonstrating that his personal network is far from being completely known. A most important aspect of Wadding's importance lies in the fact that he successfully established a school of outstanding Scotist theologians at St Isidore's. By focusing on the figures of Bonaventure Baron and John Punch, the chapter of Ian Campbell has provided a much better understanding of the political thoughts on thorny issues like natural law and holy war which were debated in the Scotist circle of the Franciscan college.

The last part of the volume has sought to assess the links between Wadding and his native home country. In this regard the chapter of Mícheál Mac Craith has explained how the Franciscan related to his exilic experience. By looking at the gravestones of the Ulster earls at San Pietro in Montorio, his chapter has illustrated that Wadding was quite sympathetic towards the exilic experience of the prominent Ulstermen, thus demonstrating his ability to overcome the traditional conflicts which opposed those of Old English origin against those from the Gaelic's stock. The chapter of Clare Lois Carroll has displayed how the *Vita Fratis Wadding*, written by Francis Harold, is a crucial source which needs to be reconsidered in order to fully understand the real extent of the political stance assumed by Wadding during the turbulent years of the Irish Confederation. Moreover, her chapter stresses the need for more detailed research on Harold, and on his role as heir of Wadding's legacy.

It would be impossible – and presumptuous – to claim that the chapters of this volume have provided a definitive answer to all the questions pertaining to Wadding, and to his multifaceted activity. One

obvious reason for that is that, up until now, only a certain amount of the documentation on the Irish Franciscan has been fully exploited. This is not surprising if we consider the wide range of activities in which Wadding was involved as well as the variety of people with whom he was in contact. This mass of material needs to be combined with other sources in Italy, notably the archives of the Franciscan convents, in Ireland, Portugal, Spain, and the Czech Republic. This latter is an area which calls for a new investigation given the role played by Wadding in the establishment of the Irish Franciscan College of Prague in 1629.[4] The richness of the material preserved in the above places can further expand our knowledge on Wadding by responding to new challenging but stimulating interrogatives. For example, did Wadding seek to develop any links with the prominent members of the English and Scots communities of Rome? What was his view on the Roman congregations, and particularly on the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" and its strategy for Ireland? How did the community of St Isidore's evolve in the period which followed the death of Wadding? What was Wadding's view of the Papal Curia and, more broadly, of the Eternal City? How did he consider his own order and all the different branches within it?

This volume does hope to have set a new research agenda and, at the same time, to have provided a much better comprehension of Wadding's figure. Despite Harold's description of his uncle as a very modest person, Wadding's fame and legacy is a tangible aspect that has remained constant from the seventeenth century up until our own times.[5] Two telling cases are sufficient to demonstrate this – the first is the letter that Patrick Comerford, bishop of Waterford, sent to Wadding in late February 1629 addressing him as follows: "O unconquerable Briareos, O Giant of the Hundred Hands."[6] The second example was the plan elaborated by the Franciscan historian Gerolamo Gobulovich (1865–1941) who, in the early 1900s, wanted to establish a journal which would be called *Analecta Waddingiana* with the key aim to become the most important scholarly platform for anyone studying all the themes pertaining to Franciscanism. Though the title was changed in *Archivum Franciscanum historicum*, Gobulovich's plan has been fulfilled as this remains the most renowned journal of Franciscan studies amid the academic community.[7]

Beyond his scholarly achievements and the multiple roles that he held, Wadding remains a fascinating figure to investigate for his personal experience. His eyes, as they are portrayed in the painting preserved at St Isidore's, reveal an incredible kaleidoscope of stories but, above all, they describe the journey – with all its radical changes and perils – which begun in 1603, when a scared boy left a remote island located in the North Atlantic, and which concluded in 1657, when a mature and well-respected man died in the epicentre of global Catholicism.[8]

Notes

1 See Manuel de Castro, "Wadding and the Iberian Peninsula," in *Father Luke Wadding Commemorative Volume*, ed. Franciscan Fathers Dún Mhuire Killiney (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds Ltd, 1957), 119–170.

2 For the bibliography, see the works cited in footnote no. 8 in the introduction.

3 For the presence of Irish Protestants in the Ospizio dei Convertendi, see Clare Lois Carroll, "Irish Protestants in the Theatre of the World: The Apostolic Hospice for the Converting, Rome, 1677–1745," in *Rome and Irish Catholicism in the Atlantic World, 1622–1908*, ed. Matteo Binasco (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 167–187; see also chapter three of her *Exiles in a Global City. The Irish and Early Modern Rome, 1609–1783* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 209–231.

4 Brendan Jennings, "Irish Franciscan Documents: Prague 1," *Arch. Hib.* 9 (1942): 173–294; Jan Pařez, "The Irish Franciscans in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Prague," in *Irish Migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602–1820*, ed. Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 104–117; Jan Pařez, and Hedvika Kucharová, *The Irish Franciscans in Prague 1629–1786* (Charles University: Karolinum Press, 2015).

5 Francis Harold, *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi* (Quaracchi: Tip. Barbera, Alfani e Venturi, 1931), 3rd ed., 148–151.

6 Patrick Comerford to Luke Wadding, 29 February 1629, Waterford, in Brendan Jennings, ed., *Wadding Papers, 1614–38* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1953), 344 ("O invincible Briareo! O centimano.").

7 See Francisco Víctor Sánchez, "Gobulovich, Girolamo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, available at http:// treccani.it/enciclopedia/ girolamo-golubovich_(Dizionario-Biografico)/. I thank Dr Giulia Spoltore for suggesting me this point.

8 For an overview of this concept of global Catholicism, see Simon Ditchfield, "Decentering the Catholic Reformation: Papacy and Peoples in the Early Modern World," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 101 (2010): 186–208; Giuseppe Marcocci, Aliocha Maldavsky, Wietse de Boer, and Ilaria Pavan, eds., *Space and Conversion in Global Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Alison Forrestal and Séan Alexander Smith, eds., *The Frontiers of Mission: Perspectives on Early Modern Missionary Catholicism* (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, ed., *A Companion to Early Modern Catholic Global Missions* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); Ian Linden, *Global Catholicism: Diversity and Change since Vatican II* (London: Hurst, 2009); Ian Linden, *Global Catholicism: Pluralism and Renewal in a World Church* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011); John T. McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World: How an Embattled Religious Order Made Modern Catholicism Global* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016); Stephen J. C. Andes and Julia G. Youn, eds., *Local Church, Global Church: Catholic Activism in Latin America from Rerum Novarum to Vatican II* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2016).

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Mícheál Mac Craith is a Franciscan priest who lectured in Modern Irish at the National University of Ireland, Galway, from 1977 until 2011. From 1997 until his retirement, he held the established chair of Modern Irish. Interested in the Renaissance, Counter-Reformation literature, Irish communities in exile in the early modern period, Jacobitism, Ossianism, and contemporary Gaelic literature, he has published extensively in these areas. His books include an analysis of the foreign influences on Gaelic courtly love poetry (1989), and a study of the poetry of Máirtín Ó Direáin (1993). He was guardian of St. Isidore's College from 2011 to 2017. Now based in the Franciscan House of Studies in Killiney, Co. Dublin, he spent the Fall Semester 2018 as visiting professor in the Keough Naughton Institute for Irish Studies, University of Notre Dame.

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Igor Pérez Tostado is a senior lecturer at Universidad Pablo Olavide de Seville, Spain. He obtained his PhD at the European University Institute in Florence (2004). His present research deals with exiles and the Spanish monarchy, and the Irish in the Iberian Atlantic. His publications include *Irish Influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century* (Four Courts Press, 2008), *Ireland and the Iberian Atlantic* (edited with Enrique García Hernan, 2010), and *Los Exiliados del Rey de España* (edited with José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez, 2015). His forthcoming book *Anglo-Spanish Relations during the English Civil Wars. Assassination, War, and Diplomacy in Early-Modern Europe* will be published by Bloomsbury Publishing in 2020.

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* Due to the high number of their mentions in the text, the entries Ireland, Rome, Spain and Wadding Luke are not included in this index.