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For Jacques Grès-Gayer

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## Preface

The idea for a volume of essays dedicated to the Italian Renaissance first occurred to me fifteen years ago when I was teaching the literature and cultural history of the period to American undergraduates. My students and I were frequently in need of a synthetic presentation of subjects critical for understanding the texts or objects being studied but which were outside either the scope of their preparation or my expertise, and there was at the time no up-to-date resource pitched at the right level that might have helped to address these lacunae. Since then several useful books have appeared that examine many of the central concerns of the Italian Renaissance, some written by single authors and others organized as collections of essays (see "Renaissances," my introduction to this volume), each bearing the disciplinary imprint of their authors or editors. This Companion reflects the literary, linguistic, and historical interests of its editor, but the aim here has been to provide a broad framework for the interdisciplinary study of the Italian Renaissance, with contributions from scholars at various stages of their careers who represent the disparate traditions of Anglo-American and Italian scholarship. The volume has been conceived with advanced undergraduate and graduate students in the English-speaking world in mind, but as these essays are more than mere summaries of existing scholarship it is hoped that they will have something to offer both to professionals working in Italian Renaissance studies and related fields and to general readers interested in the period.

While the initial impetus for this *Companion* arose from teaching, the actual form the book has taken owes a great deal to the enormously stimulating environment of Villa I Tatti, the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies in Florence, where I and many of this volume's authors have had the privilege and pleasure of being fellows.

#### xviii Preface

Constituted by a widely diverse and ever-expanding global community of scholars, I Tatti has played a crucial role over the last fifty years in the promotion and renewal of Italian Renaissance studies through its fellowship program for junior scholars, sabbaticals for senior scholars and museum curators, publications, conferences, concerts, and innovative initatives such as the one that brought sixteen Chinese scholars to Florence in the summer of 2013 for a three-week seminar examining the "Unity of the Arts in Renaissance Italy." I owe a particular debt to Katharine Park, who as Acting Director of I Tatti during the second half of my fellowship year patiently worked through several versions of the initial proposal for this Companion, greatly improving it in countless ways large and small. Thanks are also due to former Director Joseph Connors for encouraging me to apply (and reapply) for an I Tatti fellowship in the first place; and to current Director Lino Pertile for his advice with regard to this project, and for the hospitality he and Anna Bensted so generously extend to former fellows. Michael Rocke and his excellent staff have built the unparalleled library collection at I Tatti into the finest dedicated resource anywhere in the world for the study of the Italian Renaissance.

Collaborative ventures pose particular challenges to all involved, and this Companion has seen its fair share of difficulties and delays. I am especially grateful for the forbearance and understanding of both my contributors and Sarah Stanton, our editor at Cambridge University Press. Thanks also to Fleur Jones, Rebecca Taylor, Anna Lowe, and Jonathan Ratcliffe at Cambridge and to our copy-editor Anna Hodson for their attentive work in producing the volume; thanks as well to Rebecca Frankel for her assistance in preparing the index, and to Eugenio Refini for his diligent editing of it. For their help, advice, recommendations and/or moral support with regard to various aspects of this project, I would also like to thank Dario Tessicini, Frances Andrews, Monica Calabritto, Agata Pincelli, Alessandra Petrina, Massimo Scalabrini, Paul Gehl, Gerry Milligan, David Lummus, Mary Therese Martinez, Nancy Durling, Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, Raúl Martinez-Martinez, Daniel Zolli, Louise George Clubb, Lucinda Byatt, Ilaria Andreoli, Giovanni Carlo Federico Villa, and Maria Luisa di Rinaldis. Special thanks are due to Giorgio Alberti; and to Stephen Orgel, my best editor and most exigent critic, who has carefully read the entire manuscript (some parts of it more than once).

Note on money

It is difficult to provide precise modern equivalents for earlier monetary values. The tangle of currencies and unstable economic markers resulting from the political and administrative fragmentation of the Italian peninsula and its islands in the period of the Renaissance make the task particularly problematic. But some sense of what the principal instruments of financial exchange were worth at the time is useful for understanding the costs of goods and services mentioned in the essays in this volume and its bibliography.

Coins were struck all over Italy in *zecche* [mints] regulated by the particular authority to which they were accountable, whether republics, duchies, lordships, and feudal principalities, the Papal States, or the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia.<sup>1</sup> Gold coins were primarily used in large transactions, while silver-based and billon coins (like the *soldo di piccioli* in Florence) were mainly used for smaller everyday payments. However, over the course of the sixteenth century exchange rates between gold and silver coins fluctuated constantly. There were also virtual systems of coinage, moneys of account based on the *lira* and made up of 20 *soldi*, 240 *denari*. These "ghost moneys" only appeared in account books and never in anyone's purse.<sup>2</sup> The gold coins most commonly cited here are the Venetian *ducato*, the Florentine *florin* (replaced by the *scudo* in 1530),<sup>3</sup> and the papal *scudo*,<sup>4</sup> each with its own fixed local value that fluctuated with time. In Venice between 1517 and 1573, for instance,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Travaini (2007). Notwithstanding the close controls, counterfeit was a constant worry, or seen from another perspective, a tempting opportunity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Goldthwaite (2009) 611.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cipolla (1989) 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Guidi Bruscoli (2007) xiii.

#### xx Note on money

1 gold *ducato* varied in value from roughly 6 to 8 *lire*;<sup>5</sup> and in Florence throughout the sixteenth century 1 *florin* was worth 140 *soldi*, although its real purchasing power was halved over the same period.<sup>6</sup>

To translate these figures into more easily understandable terms: 1 Florentine *florin* would have provided fourteen days of an unskilled worker's stipend in 1500, but only seven days in 1600;<sup>7</sup> "in 1536 [1] *scudo* would buy twenty-eight chickens or fifty kilograms of flour and represented one week's wages for a master builder";<sup>8</sup> a document from Pavia in 1547 specifies that the rent of a house for the eight-month academic year accommodating five students, meals, and the wages and maintenance of two servants cost 192 *lire* (28 Venetian *ducati*) per student;<sup>9</sup> an unbound copy of the first edition of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1516) cost 1 *lira*; and the total labor costs for the construction of Villa Farnese at Caprarola (completed in the 1570s) was 25,855.80 *scudi*.<sup>10</sup>

### Acknowledgment

Thanks to Lucy Byatt for her suggestions and improvements to this note.

- <sup>5</sup> Birnbaum (2003) 121. <sup>6</sup> Goldthwaite (2009) 612. <sup>7</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>8</sup> Hollingsworth (2004) xii. <sup>9</sup> Grendler (2002) 167–68.
- <sup>10</sup> See in this volume, respectively, Richardson, "Publication," Chapter 7, 171; and Wyatt, "Technologies," Chapter 5, 130.

# Timeline

1282	War of the "Sicilian Vespers" drives French Angevin colon- izers from Sicily; they are replaced by Aragonese rulers, the first sign of the Spanish presence in Italy that will come to dominate the territory in the latter period of the Renaissance.
1297–1323	Reform of the Venetian <i>Maggior Consiglio</i> , the principal polit- ical organ of the city–republic responsible for electing the Doge, magistrates, and other civic officials, and consisting exclusively of all male members of the aristocracy.
1303–05	Dante Alighieri writes <i>De vulgari eloquentia</i> (incomplete); Giotto and his workshop fresco the Cappella Scrovegni in Padua.
1309–77	Papacy moves its seat to Avignon, in southern France.
1327–74 (c.)	Petrarch writes and rewrites his cycle of vernacular poems, the <i>Canzoniere</i> (also known as <i>Le rime sparse</i> or the <i>Rerum vulgarium fragmenta</i> ).
1340s (c.)	First recorded use of gunpowder-based firearms, imported from Asia, in Italy.
1341	Petrarch crowned Poet Laureate in Rome, after a three-day examination conducted by Robert of Anjou, King of Naples.
1347-53	Black Death ravages Europe, killing roughly one-third of the population of the continent.
1347–80	Catherine of Siena, Dominican mystic, fought for the reforma- tion of the church and return of papacy to Rome.
1347–51	Cola di Rienzo is acclaimed Tribune in Rome in an attempt to re-establish a form of ancient republican government in the city.
1349–74	Giovanni Boccaccio writes his vernacular <i>Decameron</i> and, among many other works in Italian and Latin, compiles his encyclopedia of classical mythology, the <i>Genealogia deorum</i> <i>gentilium</i> .
1365–80	Giovanni Dondi designs and builds his "planetarium."

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Timeline

1377-1417	Great (Western) Schism, which saw the papacy divided into
	two, and then three, competing factions.
1395–1402	Gian Galezzo Visconti is Duke of Milan.
1397	Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, a banker with close ties to the
	papacy, returns to Florence from Rome to establish the bank
	that would guarantee the future wealth and status of his
	descendants.
1401	Lorenzo Ghiberti awarded commission to cast doors for the
-	baptistery of cathedral in Florence.
1417	Poggio Bracciolini "rediscovers" a manuscript of Lucretius' De
	rerum natura.
1420–36	Filippo Brunelleschi plans and constructs the dome of the
	cathedral in Florence.
1420	Pope Martin V (Ottone Colonna) brings the papacy back to Rome.
1423	Vittorino da Feltre establishes his Latin grammar school in
	Mantua.
1424–27	Masaccio and Masolino fresco the Church of the Carmine in
	Florence.
1429	Cosimo de' Medici inherits the family bank and begins the
	consolidation of Medici power in Florence.
1432–1502	The "Ufficiali di notte," a tribunal established in Florence to
	adjudicate accusations of homosexual sodomy.
1434	Pope Eugene IV (Gabriele Condulmer) forced to abandon
	Rome due to local political instability; he manages to bring
1110	the papacy definitively back to Rome only in 1443. Lorenzo Valla writes De falso ementita Costantini donatione
1440	<i>declamatio</i> – exposing the document claimed for centuries to
	justify the church's temporal authority as a forgery; Donatello
	casts his bronze David for the courtyard of Palazzo Medici in
	Florence.
1442	Alfonso V of Aragon is crowned Alfonso I, King of Naples,
	linking the political destinies of Sicily and the Kingdom of
	Naples to the Spanish Aragonese.
1443-57	Leon Battista Alberti writes his architectural treatise, De re
	aedificatoria.
1447	Francesco Sforza seizes power in Milan; election of Pope
	Nicholas V (Tommaso Parentucelli), who initiates the monu-
	mental reconstruction of Rome.
1452–71	Construction of the Triumphal Arch of Alfonso I at Castel Nuovo
	in Naples.
1453	Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, after which many
	Greek-speaking intellectuals immigrate to Italy together with
-	their libraries.
1458	Election of Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini).
1465–82	Luciano Lauredana and Francesco di Giorgio Martini build
	the Palazzo Ducale for Federico da Montefeltro in Urbino.

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Timeline xxiii

116= 6=	Cormone Conrad Sweenhourn and Arnold Dannartz actablish
1465–67	Germans Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz establish first known printing press in Italy, at the Benedictine monastery
	of Subiaco outside of Rome.
1465-77	Francesco di Giorgio Martini compiles his reflections on tech-
1465-77	nologal developments, the <i>Codicetto</i> .
1469	Lorenzo de' Medici, "The Magnificent," assumes control of his
1409	family's interests, and, de facto, those of Florence.
1471	Election of Pope Sixtus IV (Francesco della Rovere). Major
	building continues in Rome, including the Sistine Chapel
	and the Vatican Library (formally constituted in 1475).
1474	Isabella d'Este born in Ferrara; Flavio Biondo publishes his
	geography of Italy, Italia illustrata; and Marsilio Ficino com-
	pletes his Theologia platonica (published in 1482).
1472–75 (c.)	Andrea Mantegna paints his <i>Lamentation over the Dead Christ</i> .
1478	"Pazzi Conspiracy" in Florence that wounded Lorenzo de'
-1/-	Medici and killed his brother Giuliano.
1480 (c.)	Piero della Francesca writes his treatise on visual perspective,
	De prospectiva pingendi.
1480	Angelo Poliziano's version of the Orpheus myth, Orfeo, staged
	with designs by Leonardo da Vinci in Mantua (an earlier date,
	1473, has been suggested by some scholars).
14805	Gubbio Studiolo realized by the workshop of Giuliano da
	Maiano after designs by Francesco di Giorgio Martini.
1480–81	Ottoman siege of Otranto that threatened a Muslim invasion
	of the Italian peninsula, repelled by various Italian contin-
	gents and troops of the Hungarian humanist king Matthias
	Corvinus, cut short by the premature death of the sultan
	Mahomet II.
1482	Francesco Berlinghieri publishes his Septe giornate della geogra-
	fia, the first comprehensive effort to modernize Ptolemy's
	ancient geography; Sixtus IV authorizes the dissection of
	human cadavers for medical research.
1486	Pico della Mirandola publishes his controversial 900 theses
	dedicated to philosophical questions.
1491–1507	Giovanni Pontano, Neapolitan humanist, publishes his five
1400	Dialogi (Charon, Antonius, Actius, Aegidius, and Asinus). Election of Pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia); Columbus
1492	sails west; death of Lorenzo de' Medici.
1494	Descent into Italy of the French King Charles VIII, initiating a
1494	period of extreme political instability on the Italian peninsula
	that would last until 1559 with the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis;
	Luca Pacioli publishes his mathematical treatise Summa de arith-
	metica, geometria, proportioni e proportionalità e della divina proportione.
1494–98	Dominican friar Girolamo Savonarola becomes effective leader
	of Florence, at the end of which time he is publicly hanged
	and burned as a heretic.

xxiv	Timeline	
	1495	Matteo Maria Boiardo's incomplete Orlando innamorato published posthumously.
	1495–98	Aldus Manutius publishes in Greek the complete works of Aristotle in Venice.
	1497–1502	Filippino Lippi frescoes the Strozzi Chapel in the Church of Santa Maria Novella, Florence.
	1498	Leonardo da Vinci paints his <i>Last Supper</i> in the refectory of the Convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan.
	1498–1512	Florentine Republic re-established; Niccolò Machiavelli appointed secretary to the Second Chancellery (for internal and military affairs).
	1499	The <i>Hypnerotomachia Poliphili</i> , an anonymous prose romance (Francesco Colonna may be the author) written in a hybrid language and among the most highly prized books of the early period of Italian printing, published by Aldus Manutius' press in Venice.
	1501	Ottaviano Petrucci publishes the <i>Harmonice Musices Odhecaton</i> , a collection of ninety-six polyphonic pieces, a landmark in the printing of music.
	1501–04	Michelangelo's <i>David</i> , originally intended for the roofline of the Florence cathedral, placed in front of the administrative seat of the Florentine republic, Palazzo Vecchio.
	1503	Election of Pope Julius II (Giuliano della Rovere).
	1504	Amerigo Vespucci publishes <i>Mundus novus</i> , an account of his four journeys to the West Indies and Brazil; the Kingdom of Naples assimilated into the Spanish Hapsburg empire.
	1506	The ancient Hellenistic monumental statue-set of <i>Laocoön and his Sons</i> unearthed in Rome.
	1506–1615	St. Peter's Basilica in Rome rebuilt by numerous architects.
	1507–24	Baldassare Castiglione writes his treatise of the ideal courtly life, <i>Il libro del cortegiano</i> (published in 1528).
	1508	Bologna conquered by Julius II.
	1508–09	Ludovico Ariosto writes his vernacular comedies <i>Cassaria</i> and <i>I suppositi</i> , modeled after works of the ancient Roman playwrights Plautus and Terence.
	1508–12	Michelangelo frescoes ceiling of the Sistine Chapel.
	1509	Republic of Venice defeated in the Battle of Agnadello by the League of Cambrai consisting of the papacy allied with the major European powers, exposing vulnerabilities in Venetian control over its mainland territories.
	1509–11	Raphael frescoes the Vatican <i>Stanza della Segnatura</i> .
	1512–14 (c.)	Giovanni Bellini paints the Feast of the Gods.
	1513	Machiavelli begins work on the <i>Discorsi</i> (finished by 1519 but not printed until 1531) and writes <i>Il principe</i> (printed in 1532); election of Pope Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici), following the restitution of the Medici in Florence the previous year.

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Timeline

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1516	First edition of Ludovico Ariosto's Orlando furioso, subsequently
1310	enlarged and published in a second edition in 1521, further
	expanded and adapted in the now-standard Tuscan dialect and
	issued definitively in 1532; Giovan Francesco Fortunio pub-
	lishes his Regole grammaticali della volgar lingua, the first printed
	Italian grammar; Pietro Pomponazzi publishes <i>De immortalitate</i>
	animae, arguing against the immortality of the soul.
1521	Teofilo Folengo publishes his macaronic mock-epic Baldus.
1521–36	Gian Giacomo Acaya transforms the feudal settlement of
	Segine (near Lecce) into the fortified town of Acaya.
1523-34	Papacy of Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici).
1524	Marcantonio Raimondi publishes his erotic engravings (sub-
	sequently destroyed on order of Clement VII) known as I modi
	after (lost) images of Giulio Romano for which Pietro Aretino
	wrote accompanying sonnets.
1525	Battle of Pavia between France and the Holy Roman Empire,
	after which French claims on Italy end with the French king
	Francis I taken prisoner; Pietro Bembo publishes Le prose della
_	volgar lingua.
1525–26	Aldine press in Venice publishes the ancient medical texts of
1-0-	Galen and Hippocrates in Greek. Sack of Rome by troops of Hapsburg Holy Roman Emperor
1527	Charles V.
1530	The Paduan physician Girolamo Fracastoro publishes his
1330	poem dealing with syphilis, Syphilis sive Morbus Gallicus, a
	disease that had first appeared in Europe in the late fifteenth
	century and may have been brought to Italy with the French
	invasion in the 1490s.
1534	Election of Pope Paul III (Alessandro Farnese).
1534-35	Lorenzo Lotto paints his Annunciation for the Confraternity of
	Merchants in Recanati.
1536–41	Michelangelo frescoes The Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel.
1538	Vittoria Colonna's Rime printed.
1542	Creation of the Holy Office, the administrative center of the
	Roman Inquisition.
1543	First edition of Il beneficio di Cristo (issued anonymously but
	written by Benedetto Fontanini) – the most influential text of
	the Italian "Reformation" – published in Venice.
1545-63	Council of Trent, the Catholic counter-offensive to the Prot-
	estant Reformation.
1547	Tullia d'Aragona publishes her <i>Rime</i> . Giovanni della Casa, Papal Nuncio to the Republic of Venice,
1549	compiles the first Italian Index of Forbidden Books (his treatise
	on social customs, <i>Il Galateo</i> , is published posthumously in 1558);
	Laura Terracina publishes her chivalric romance in dialogue with
	Ariosto, the Discorso sopra tutti i primi canti dell' "Orlando furioso."

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Timeline

1550	Giorgio Vasari publishes the first edition of his survey of the
-55-	Italian visual arts, the Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e
	architettori (expanded and reissued in 1568).
15505 (c.)	Cristoforo Sabbadino writes his treatise dealing with the tech-
	nological and ecological challenges facing the Venetian lagoon,
	the Trattato delle acque (unpublished in the period).
1550-59	Gian Battista Ramusio publishes the three volumes of his collec-
	tion of accounts of the voyages of discovery, Navigazioni et viaggi,
	from Marco Polo through Vespucci and including the explor-
	ation of Africa (printed together with maps of Giacomo Gastaldi).
1551	Leandro Alberti publishes his Descrittione di tutta Italia, the first
	geography of Italy to include Sicily and Sardinia.
1552	Giovanni Filippo Ingrassia, a Sicilian physician and public
	health official, publishes De tumoribus praeter naturam, docu-
	menting his earlier discovery that the human brain could host
	tumors.
1554	First three parts of Matteo Bandello's Novelle, the most
	important collection of short narrative fiction since Boccac-
	cio's Decameron, published (a fourth part was issued posthu-
	mously in 1573).
1555	Election of Pope Paul IV (Gian Pietro Carafa).
1556–73	Vignola (Jacopo Barozzi) designs and builds Villa Farnese at
	Caprarola.
1558	Gioseffo Zarlino publishes his influential treatise of music theory, the <i>Istitutioni harmoniche</i> .
1550	Papal Index of Forbidden Books established; first anthology of
1559	verse by women poets, the <i>Rime diverse d'alcune nobilissime et</i>
	virtuosissime donne, published in Lucca; Cosimo I de' Medici,
	Duke of Florence since 1537, named Grand Duke of Tuscany
	by Pope Pius IV (Giovanni Angelo Medici di Marignano).
1560	Giovanni della Porta founds the "Academia Secretorum Nat-
0	urae" in Naples, one of the earliest learned societies in Europe
	dedicated to the natural sciences; Laura Battiferri publishes
	the Primo libro dell'opere toscane, a collection of her own poetry
	and that of a group of male correspondents.
1561	Alessandro Citolini publishes his encyclopedic dictionary of
	the knowledge of the world, La tipocosmia; posthumous publi-
	cation of Francesco Guicciardini's Historia d'Italia, a devastating
	critique of Italian politics between 1492 and 1532.
1562	Isabella Andreini, the most famous actress of the "Commedia
	dell'arte" and a prolific poet, born in Padua.
1564	Death of Michelangelo.
1566	Election of Pope Pius V (Antonio Ghislieri).
1569	Girolamo Mercuriale publishes his treatise on physical exer-
	cise, De arte gymnastica.

Timeline xxvii

1570	Andrea Palladio publishes his architectural treatise, the <i>Quattro libri di architettura</i> .
1571	Battle of Lepanto in which for the first time a league of European Christian allies prevailed over Turkish forces at sea.
1574	Stefano Guazzo publishes <i>Della civil conversazione</i> , a "courtesy" manual dealing with education, family life, and social practices.
1575	Veronica Franco publishes her colletion of poems, Terze rime.
1580–81	Torquato Tasso publishes Aminta, a widely imitated pastoral
	play, and his equally influential epic poem, La Gerusalemme liberata.
1580-83	Ignazio Danti supervises the painting of frescoes of maps of
	Italian territories in the Vatican Gallery of Maps.
1582-85	Renegade Dominican friar Giordano Bruno writes and pub-
	lishes in London six Italian dialogues dealing with a wide
	range of controversial philosophical and cosmological issues,
	including the heliocentric universe and the infinity of worlds.
1584	Installation of the Fontana Pretoria in Palermo, originally
	built by Francesco Camilliani in 1554 for the Florentine villa
	of Don Pedro di Toledo.
1585	Inauguration of the Teatro Olimpico, designed by Andrea
	Palladio, in Vicenza.
1588	Giovanni Botero publishes his treatise on cities, Della grandezza
	e magnificenza delle città.
1589	Elaborate musical <i>intermezzi</i> staged between the acts of Giro-
	lamo Bargagli's comedy <i>La pellegrina</i> in a theater constructed
	within the Uffizi Palace in Florence for the wedding celebra-
	tions of Grand Duke Ferdinand I and Christine of Lorraine.
1593	Antonio Possevino's Biblioteca selecta forcefully reasserts the
	relationship of Aristotelianism and Catholic doctrine, subor-
	dinating all philosophical thinking to the teaching magister- ium of the church.
1708	
1598	John Florio, son of an Italian religious exile, publishes in London <i>A Worlde of Words</i> , an Italian–English dictionary and
	the most comprehensive lexicon of the Italian language to
	date (a second, greatly expanded edition, Queen Anna's New
	World of Words, is published in 1611); Ferrara loses its inde-
	pendence to the papacy.
1600	Giordano Bruno executed by the Roman Inquisition.
1000	Sioraano Brano executed by the Roman inquisition.