S. Ivo alla Sapienza, Borromini’s masterpiece (fig. 1), was built in the worst of times. Contracts were signed in December 1642 and the structure was begun in January 1643. It took eighteen months to complete, in rozzo. It was the child, not of peace and prosperity, but of war.

The tax rebellion of a hot-headed feudal nobleman, Duke Odoardo Farnese, was rapidly escalating into what history has come to call the War of Castro. Venice, Modena and Florence allied with Farnese, and Rome was threatened with invasion. We can sense the growing climate of fear in the pages of Gigli’s diary. Castel S. Angelo was stocked with provisions and given a new enceinte in the summer of 1642, while the mura urbane on the Janiculum were planned in July 1641 and put up with amazing speed in 1642 and 1643. In the summer of 1642 papal forces commanded by Taddeo and Antonio Barberini skirmished ineffectively with the Duke of Parma. Household silver was confiscated and melted down in the summer of 1642. The wits said that Rome was already sacked. After a series of defeats of the papal army, ineptly commanded by Taddeo and Antonio Barberini, peace negotiations were undertaken in the first half of 1644.

But Urban VIII was by then a broken man. He died on July 29, 1644. On September 12, 1644, while the conclave was still in session, a contract was signed with the masons to finish the cupola (without the lantern) by the end of October. Three days later Innocent X was elected pope. Both in foreign policy and in art, the dove of peace would drive out the bees of war. As for S. Ivo, this pope would prove no friend of the Barberini or their Hadrianic plaything. It was not until seven years later, two-thirds of the way through his pontificate, that he let Borromini proceed with S. Ivo, and his only contribution to the church was the lantern and spiral.

S. Ivo thus is a classmate, not of Palazzo Barberini or the baldacchino of St. Peter’s, but of the bastions of the Janiculum. Why, we might ask, was money poured into the church when everything else was sacrificed for defense?

The motivation should perhaps be sought not in the papacy’s strength but in its weakness. Finishing the Sapienza was a compensation for some of the glaring faults and omissions of the Barberini reign. It was meant to be one last entry on the positive side of the ledger before the accounts were definitively closed. In particular, S. Ivo was a cultural statement aimed at two people, or rather at two ghosts, Richelieu and Galileo, both of whom died in 1642.

Francesco Barberini was aware that his French rival, Cardinal Richelieu, had immortalized himself through the patronage of the college and library of the Sorbonne. The church of the Sorbonne had been begun by Le Mercier in 1635 and by 1641 it had reached the level of the lantern. Part college chapel, part public basilica, part mausoleum, it offered an example of the power of architecture to glorify a cardinal’s name, regardless of the military record. As the clock ticked down on the Barberini pontificate Cardinal Francesco must have seen that, although it would be impossible to compete with the splendor of Richelieu’s achievement, he could at least insure that the Roman university did not remain disgracefully unfinished. S. Ivo, then, would be Francesco Barberini’s answer to Richelieu’s Sorbonne.

The second ghost that S. Ivo was meant to lay to rest was Galileo, who died on 6 January 1642, nearly blind and still under house-arrest at Arcetri near Florence. Both the pope and...
Cardinal Barberini were relentless to the end in their severity toward the condemned scientist. Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc wrote to Cardinal Francesco twice (5 December 1634 and 31 January 1635) asking for a mitigation of the severity of Galileo’s confinement:

si degnerà far qualche officio per la consolazione d’un buon vecchio settuagenario e poco sano di corpo, la cui memoria difficilmente sarà cancellata nell’avvenire.

He went so far as to worry that the Galileo case would be compared in the future to the persecution of Socrates. Francesco Barberini replied dryly (2 January 1635) that he could not address the issue because he was a cardinal-advisor to the Holy Office. Peiresc worked tirelessly in this cause until his death, writing repeatedly to Cardinal Barberini on matters such as the hydraulic clock, tides, the solstice, and the observation of solar and lunar eclipses, matters that could only have reminded him of Galileo. Still Francesco Barberini never proposed any mitigation, nor would Urban VIII have accepted it.

But Galileo’s death finally freed the regime of an enormous embarrassment. Cardinal Barberini thought that there was still time to demonstrate that the papacy was not hostile to mathematics on principle. What better way to make his case than with a highly mathematical church (fig. 2)?

Here it is useful to focus on the mathematical culture of the Barberini court, and in particular on a Benedictine monk, Fra Benedetto Castelli (1578-1643). This fascinating man forms a bridge between the Barberini, the Sapienza and Borromini. Castelli had entered the Benedictine order in Padua in 1594 and by 1604 he was Galileo’s fervent disciple. The two remained lifelong friends. Hundreds of letters are preserved between them in the national edition of Galileo’s correspondence. Galileo’s Letter to the Grand Duchess Cristina of 1615, his key statement on the relation of science to religion, began as a letter to Castelli.

Castelli’s specialty was hydraulics. Following up on problems Galileo could not solve he invented the concept of velocity of flow. He felt that mathematics unlocked the secrets of rivers and seas, as recondite as those of the stars and planets. Hydraulics was an extraordinarily useful science in flood-prone central Italy. Young Msgr. Maffeo Barberini had twice been sent on diplomatic missions related to flood control, one in 1599 relating to the navigability of the Po near Ferrara and along the border of the papal state and Venice, and another in 1602 to control flooding in the Lago di Trasimeno. So it was natural that when the newly elected Urban VIII wanted a tutor in mathematics for Taddeo Barberini, he chose Benedetto Castelli. Castelli dedicated a book on hydraulics to Taddeo in 1628. He was made reader in mathematics at the Sapienza in 1627 on Francesco Barberini’s recommendation, and he retained the appointment until his death in April 1643.

Working for the Barberini did not mean severing ties with Galileo. On the contrary, Castelli remained intensely loyal to Galileo all during the trial of 1632, and thereafter he desired nothing more than to retire to Florence to attend his aging master in the confinement of Arcetri. But Cardinal Barberini forbade the move. Galileo could not be allowed such company, and Castelli was far too valuable an ornament of the regime.

Benedetto Castelli knew Borromini. Around the time of the planning of S. Ivo in 1642, Borromini tried to investigate Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. It was the great model for churches dedicated to wisdom: “TEMPLUM SANCTAE SOPHIAE / ID EST SAPIENTIAE” (“Temple of Saint Sophia,
that is of Wisdom”), as Borromini wrote on a drawing 10. But Hagia Sophia was extremely difficult to study in this period. Copies of Ciriaco d’Ancona’s plans and sections of the church before the Ottoman conquest were preserved in the great Libro of Giuliano da Sangallo, and we know Borromini studied them. But there was nothing else to go on. No one would succeed in publishing prints of Hagia Sophia before Guillaume-Joseph Grelot’s travel book of 1680, which came out in time to inspire Hawksmoor but not Borromini 11.

So Borromini turned to the next best thing, a church that was assumed to be a copy of Hagia Sophia on Italian soil, San Vitale in Ravenna. We have two pencil drawings by Borromini after San Vitale, not made on site but copied from other drawings brought from Ravenna by none other than Benedetto Castelli. We know this because Borromini tells us directly, writing on the drawings (fig. 3):

Alzata del tempio / di Ravena fatto dell’esarchi di giustiniano / a similitudine di S.ta Sofia / in Costantinopoli avuto / del padre Castello di S.to Paolo 12.

In 1641 Castelli visited Venice to offer the Senate advice on the flooding of the lagoon. San Vitale belonged to Castelli’s order, the Congregazione Cassinense of the Benedictines, and he must have stayed there on his way to and from Venice. This is when he procured plans for Borromini to copy.

Benedetto Castelli is a bridge figure who connects Borromini to mathematics. But the best way to characterize the mathematics that fascinated the Barberini court is gentlemen’s geometry, or to revive a nineteenth-century term, recreative mathematics. Let us listen to Castelli as he describes his encounters with the Barberini entourage. The year is 1631, and he is writing to Galileo from Pesaro, where Antonio Barberini has taken the papal army to occupy the duchy of Urbino. He remarks with wry amusement on the gay times had by the many knights and gentlesfolk in the cardinal’s entourage, while he devoted himself instead to the solution of hundreds of equations. One day he was approached by a group of literate gentlemen who wanted to be taught the principles of geometry:

... fui pregato da una mano di gentiluomini di garbo e litterati di spiegarti i principii della geometria, come feci con mia particolare consolazione, perchè mi incontrai in ingegni non dozzinali, ma in particolare in quattro di quelli buoni, con i quali spesso si fece bononatissima ricordanza del gran merito di V.S.: e mi creda che sono restati stupfatti, e tanto piu quanto che prima erano aversissimi al nome di lei et alle cose sue, delle quali o non sapevano niente affatto, o le bavesano apprese storiaste bene, ma bora sono accoci in altro modo, e intendo che studiano alla ggliarda 13.

Geometry, pursued as a demanding pastime, not so dangerous as astronomy since it pursued hypotheses and not reality, a science becoming the courtier and not threatening theological orthodoxy, in short, courtly geometry, was one of the fairies that bent over the cradle of S. Ivo.

Was the Università della Sapienza a hotbed of Galilean heliocentrism? “Hardly. There were only two Galileans, both on the faculty very briefly, Castelli and his short-lived successor, Gaspare Berti, another scientist who knew Borromini. 14. But these islands of mathematical culture should not mesmerize us about the true nature of education at the Sapienza. The university was primarily a school of law, dominated by the elite corps known as the Avvocati Concistorali. 15. The dominant culture was rhetorical. Lawyers believed in the expressive power of words, especially eloquent Latin orations. They trained students in an allusive language that made a fine accompaniment for heraldry, hieroglyphs and emblems 16.

In 1642, as S. Ivo was being planned, we meet for the first time a young Consistorial Advocate who would be associated with the Sapienza for his whole life, like an Oxford don of the old school. This is Carlo Cartari (1614-97) who would eventually become rector and guide the construction under Alexander VII 16. On December 18, 1642, aged 26 and newly married, Cartari defended his thesis on dowry law in the large, flower-strown aula of the Cancelleria. This was of course the residence of Francesco Barberini, and in spite of the war emergency the ceremony was well attended by cardinals and high prelates as well as Consistorial Advocates. Cartari, properly vested in the purple cappa and doctoral robes, was accompanied in procession by the beadle, Montecatini and Donato. The thesis was simple and the accompanying print simpler still. More florid was Cartari’s Latin discourse, which is recorded in detail in his diary, and is published here for the first time.

It was a brilliant but substanceless encomium of laurel. Laurel crowns the brows of the great but is also an ornament of Jurisprudence, the bulwark of a world rife with the horrors of rebellion and strife. Jurisprudence coerces the violence of evildoers and watches over the safety of the republic; it explains oracles; it opposes calumny, perfidy and vice; it is the safeguard of public felicity. It gives laws to cities and its golden reins are more excellent than the chains of Hercules. Crowns placed on the heads of kings by any other agency than Jurisprudence are sordid. Its ever-verdant symbol is laurel, the symbol also of the wise Urban VIII, evergreen in the coldest winter, the safeguard of wisdom and the ornament of public felicity.

Such rhetoric attracted far more admiration than the mathematical games that Castelli taught gentlemen at the Barberini court. But both rhetoric and mathematics shape the cultural moment that saw the birth of S. Ivo.
We might leave S. Ivo by stripping off all the overlays that have changed the form and meaning of the Barberini church 19. Let us proceed from top to bottom. In 1644, when Urban VIII died, the vault was nearly finished but there was no lantern. That was added by Innocent X in 1652 and was grossly over-scaled, so much so that the fragile Barberini dome began to split apart and had to be belted with a heavy iron chain. There was no spiral and no flaming laurel crown at the top. There were no bridges to the dome, no “ski-slope” buttresses (contrafforti orbiculati), and no ovolo molding made of cherubs’ faces. The buttresses between the six lobes were broad and stark; they were made slender and fussy in the time of Alexander VII. There was no Lamb on a Book with Seven Seals, the symbol of Divina Sapienza from Ripa, which was applied to the principal window under Alexander VII. There was no facade on Piazza S. Eustachio; the gran teatro we see there now was created under Alexander VII. On the inside there was no starburst in the vault, which was still unstuccoed brick and looked much more like its Hadrianic models, such as the “pumpkin” vault in the Villa of Sallust. There were no coretti and no double doors. There was no altarpiece and no floor with its crystalline pattern in black and white marble. There were no bees anywhere.

What was there? There was a dialogue between the concave exedra left behind by Giacomo Della Porta and the powerful convex apses that make up Borromini’s drum. Its six lobes push outward against the buttresses like sacks of water under high pressure. Everyone would have thought of antique rostrums like Minerva Medica, or more precisely, like the fu-
erable convex apses that make up Borromini’s drum. Its six lobes

As the church was far more complex than the outer countenance, would have immediately guessed that he was about to enter a six-lobed interior. But that was not the case at all. He would have been dumbfounded to walk into a space shaped around an equilateral triangle (fig. 4). There are three apses swung from the sides of the triangle, while the three points are cut off by arcs swung in the other direction. The inner being of the church was far more complex than the outer countenance would have led anyone to suppose.

It is a shame that Benedetto Castelli did not live long enough to see this monumental embodiment of courtly geometry. Perhaps he was lucky not to outlive his beloved Galileo by more than fifteen months. Gaspare Berti, the other disciple of Galileo who took his place as professor of mathematics at the Sapienza, died soon after his nomination in 1643. On the other hand, Castari, young and resilient, lived through the wreckage of the Barberini regime and enjoyed a long and distinguished university career. Under the next pope he became dean of the Consistorial Advocates in 1647. He tried to convince Innocent X to continue S. Ivo, but in spite of his efforts it took seven years before the pope’s interest finally caught fire. However, Castari did manage to establish a university archive in 1652-53, which was installed in one of the small hexagonal rooms near S. Ivo, to be precise, the southwest hexagonal room on the piano nobile, where we can imagine him at work under the stucco dove that still survives on the vault. It is to his credit that the university possesses such a fine archive and the documentation on S. Ivo is so full.

Archivist more than author, Castari compiled hundreds of volumes of notes but published very few books. His Ad vocatorum Sacri Consistorii Syllabum (Roma 1656) is a vast bio-bibliographical repertory of the Consistorial Advocates from the fourteenth century to his own day 21. He never managed to complete his magnum opus on the history of the university, De Romano athenaeo 22, but among the material collected for it we find a note to Borromini asking for help with the architect’s own bio-bibliography:

Se altri autori l’abbiano fatta menzione di V.S. oltre Mons. Rasponi, Padre Macedo, e S. Fioravante Martinelli. Quali opere V.S. babbia pensiero di stampare

Cartari kept a diary of work on S. Ivo and spoke often with the architect. One senses a warm rapport 23. It was to Castari that Borromini confided that he wanted to have hidden light over the altar, like Bernini’s Cornaro’s Chapel, and occasionally he would amuse Cartari with vivid illustrations of Vitruvian truths:

Intesi dal cavalier Borromini che l’uomo tanto era alto quanto era largo con le braccia in croce; e fattone poi da me stesso l’esperienza, trovat esser vero

Curiosity, pleasure, rarity, and erudition are the wellsprings of Cartari’s writing, the bulk of which, compilations of notes over many years, remained unpublished. At the time of Cartari’s thesis defense of December 1642, this vast mass of erudition lay far in the future. But it is the young Castari who perhaps gives us the best image for the church the Barberini planned in the war-torn days at the end of the pontificate, as they jockeyed to outshine the ghost of Richelieu and put to rest the specter of Galileo: laurel, symbol of the wise Urban VIII, evergreen in the coldest winter.

Fig. 4. Rome, S. Ivo alla Sapienza, interior.
Appendix

Appendix: Carlo Cartari’s account of his thesis defense in the Palazzo della Cancelleria on 18 December 1642. (Archivio di Stato di Roma, Cartari-Febbi 73, ff. 23v-27v; I am most grateful to Maurizio Campanelli for checking the text and filling many lacunae in my transcription.)

Franciscus Card. Barberinus Cardinales invitat ad Cartharji disputationes

Die Dominiciæ 14 mensis Decembris in Sacello Pontificii, peracto sacro, Franciscus Cardinalis Barberinus caeteros S.R.E. Cardinales, ut meis publicis dispositionibus interesserent, invitavit, porrecto a me die 12 ipsis eminen. mo supplici libello tenoris sequentis.

Emin. mo et Rev. mo Sig. re Quella generosa benignità di V. Em.za, che ha continuatamente moltiplicate gratie in pro di Carlo Cartari, quella istessa di presente si supplica degnarsi nella prossima Cappella d’invitare il Sacro Collegio de’ Sig. ri Cardinali, acciò si compiacciano intervenire alle pubbliche dispute di Conclusioni, che dal medesmo Cartari si sosterranno in Cancellaria giovedì 18 del corrente, giorno destinatogli da V. Em.za, che sarà effetto della sua singolar benignità.

Catharj Disputationes publicae

Die Iovis 18 mensis Decembris hora 19 cum dimidia et domo exiens ad Cancellariae Palatium properavi. Illustri atrium, schala, porticus et maior aula odorum et herbarum in pavimento dispositionem redolentem. Praeclarae aulae parietes circum circa aulaeis aspiciebantur ornati; in principe ipsius facies cathe- dra collocata, peripatema ex auro et serico intertexto cum Roborae gentis insignii ornatis cernienda. Hinc inde in modum spatium testudinariae aulaeis recta erat disposita. In medio aulae quamplures usque ordinates conspiciobantur; primus et secundus cum postergaliis aulaeisque ornatrix, ille pro Auditoribus Rotae, alter pro Advocatis Consistorialibus; tertius absque postergaliis, aulaeis tamen ornatius, pro Advocatis sive pro Urbis Archigymnasiis Professoribus; alii usque ad ingressum aulæ, sine alio ornamento, pro cae- teris curialibus et adstantibus. Ego induxus in aulaeis summo capite, cum alio capite, ad textus explanationem, insidens, devenio. Nota- bilia deinde colligo, ex quibus Conclusiones selegi. Successive ad textus explanationem, insidens, devenio. Nota- bilia deinde colligo, ex quibus Conclusiones selegi. Successive

 Praefatio Pontifex Urbanus Octavus in insignijs utitur. hanc habeo Praefationem, ad laurum alludendo qua Summus Francisci Barberini Cathedram ascendo et stans, capite tecto, pis violaceis, cla‹vario› praecedente. Post adventum Cardinalis Praesules aliosque venientes excepi. Cardinales venerunt in cap- ens, associatus ab Biddellis, Montecatino et Donato, Cardinales, ut vocant, caputium supra sinixtrum humerum tantum defer- teris curialibus et adstantibus. Ego indutus cappa violacea et, alii usque ad ingressum theatris, sine aliquo ornamento, pro cae- sistorialibus; tertius absque postergaliis, aulaeis ornatus, ille pro Auditoribus Rotae, alter pro Advocatis Cons- piciobantur: primus et secundus cum postergaliis aulaeisque usque ad ingressum theatri cardinalium aulaeis contecta erat disposita. Roborae gentis insignijs ornata cernebatur. Hinc inde in modum spatium testudinariae aulæis recta erat disposita. In medio aulae quamplures usque ordinates conspiciobantur; primus et secundus cum postergaliis aulaeisque ornatrix, ille pro Auditoribus Rotae, alter pro Advocatis Consistorialibus; tertius absque postergaliis, aulaeis tamen ornatius, pro Advocatis sive pro Urbis Archigymnasiis Professoribus; alii usque ad ingressum aulæ, sine alio ornamento, pro cae- teris curialibus et adstantibus. Ego induxus in aulaeis summo capite, cum alio capite, ad textus explanationem, insidens, devenio. Nota- bilia deinde colligo, ex quibus Conclusiones selegi. Successive

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Ad nutum Decani surgo. Quinque argumenta, quibus Monte- catinus insurget contra primam, secundam et tertiam Conclu- sionem, audio, repeto, isque respondeo. Iterum Montecatini contra responsiones arguit; ego quinque recentiora argumenta repeto et solvo. Secundo Ferretti insurget quattuor argumentis contra quartam et quintam ex meis Conclusionibus; repeto et solvo argumenta. Tertio Donatus duas ultimas Conclusiones quattuor argumentis impugnat; ego repeto et solvo. Denique cunctis adstantibus has grates rependo.

Gratiarum actio

Dum me tutati estis et coronastis, lauri certe naturam regiam

datus vim et impetum vitiorum fulmina esse supra omnem hor- torem terremoreque tonantis naturae formidanda, non quidem elevatis terrae exhalationibus conflata, sed e tenebris Cociy ti...g...bus vaporibus ad mortuallum perniciem compacta et inter odio rebellantium Deo mentium fabricata? Quas clades calami- tatesque non inferunt Reipublicae haec flagitiorem flumina plane Tartarea? Cuius fortunis parcunt? Cuius non irruptum in vitam? Cuius in domum aerumnas, miseria, funera vasta- tionesque non immittunt? Unicum est contra hos ictus fulmi- neos tutamentum Iurisprudentia, quae dum cuque suum tribuit, alienae nequitiae violentiam coercet ac reprimit, dum sua ex- plicit oracula, quasi tutelares frondes explicat ad Reipublicae securitatem, dum florentem in se viretique Iustitiae calami- niae; perfidae caeterisque vitiorum pestibus opponet, pacem et foelicitatem publicam sospit at ac tuturat. Verum nec minus or- namento eadem est quam praeosidio; si enim laurus corona imperantum est insigne, Iurisprudentia, quae civitatis leges dat, quae Reipublicae moderatuar, quae aureis plane habebant mul to praestantium quod Hercules catenihis mores hominum opera- tionesque dirigat ad Iustitiae semitam, quam decens, quam au- gustum coronamentum capitis Sapientiam est appellandum? Is- sae coronae sordent ac squallent, nis Iustitiae muros iurisque peritiae nutu Regum verticibus imponuntur. Quantum ergo in ipsa iurisprudentia decoris et ornamenti, si ab illa Regum stema ta sua trahunt decora et ornamenta? Quae cum ita sint, non immerito Urbani Octavi Pontificis vere Optimi ac Maximis simve viridantem laurum tamen Iurisprudentiae symbolo mihi selegi, quippe quae supra quam dici possit tenuientur. Cum enim praesidii, quid ordinationem sper- are mihi licuit a Sapientissimo Iustitiae Patrono, quod mihi supra semp expectationemque cumulatum est ab principe non acceperim? Cui quicquid sum acceptum referre debeo, explicare et possim. Rem c nihil architecti Divinae solum Sapientiae fuit et hanc tanti capitis Sapientiam Divinam omnino non discretim, quae haec in me præsidia ad foelicitatem, haec decora ad gloriam et nihil, hoc est et meis tenebris, evo- cavit in hanc lucem amplissimam Romanae Maiestatis? Eadem etiam laurus Barberinorum principum genium prae se fert, quae supra quam dici possit tenuitatem meam per viridantem laurum tanquam Iurisprudentiae symbolum mi-}

THE CULTURAL MOMENT AT THE BEGINNING OF WORK ON S. IVO ALLA SAPIENZA 585
industrius. Latus fatidica est, in cuius foliis sortes mandaban
tur; ego in vobis humanitatis et sapientiae sortes venero, quas
ut mihi gratulatorius accepto beneficio, ita impati grauitarum actione
poterunt non audere, cum Principium indoles gratias malit
serere quam metere.

His peractis, et Cathedra descendo, Bidellis praecedentibus, sin-
serere quam metere. Laurus fatidica est, in cuius folijs sortes man-
dubtus, et ad domum revertor hora vigesima tertia pulsata.

Interfuerunt ex cardinalibus in Urbe praesentibus Lantes, Ro-
ma, S. Honfrut [Antonio Barberini the Elder], Spada, Sacca-
thetus, Spinula, Pamphilii, Roccii, Pallotta, Brancaccius,
Franciottius, Macchiavelii, Bragadinus, Raggius, Caesius,
Verospius, Maculanus, Franciscus Barberinii, Caesarinus,
Gabrielius. Defuertun Cueva, Sabelius, Bentivolus et
Carpinus, mala valetudine detentui. [Added in margin: Albor-
notius, Perretus, Antonius Barberinii, Ubaldus, Ursinus],
et cardinalis Ginettius, qui, cum die praecedenti ad Urbem rever-
sus esset, e domo non exibat.

Ex auditoribus Rotae Dunozettii, Ghistlierius, Peutingerius,
Bichius, Cerrus, Carillus, Rotas, Meltius, Verospius.
Ex advocatis consistorialibus Rubeus decanus, Varesius, Spa-
da, Cecciniius, Cincius, Cultellus, Bayla, Montecatini, Fer-
retus et Donatus.

Ex praesulis quamplures qui in smashis aulaeis ornatis in an-
gulo aulae a parte dextera colloquabant insidiant.

Ex advoca, procuratortibus et amicis numerus (ut dicam ita)
innumerabilis.

Cartharius advocatis invitus

Die Veneris 19 mensis Decemberis singulis advocatos invitus,
siidem in propriis aedibus de interestentia in publici discep-
tationibus gratia egi.