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GUILLAUME CALAFAT

## THE GALLICAN AND JANSENIST ROOTS OF JEAN FREDERIC BERNARD AND BERNARD PICART'S VISION OF THE INQUISITION

In 1815, Joseph de Maistre, one of the major thinkers of the counterrevolution, offered this comment about the images of the Inquisition that appeared in the second volume of Jean Frederic Bernard and Bernard Picart's *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (1723–43): "Let the Protestant *burin* of Bernard Picart exert itself as much as it will in tracing for us hideous representations of real or imaginary tortures inflicted by the judges of the Inquisition—all that signifies nothing, or can only be applied to the king of Spain."<sup>1</sup>

For Maistre, the Protestant faith of the authors of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*—in particular that of the engraver, Bernard Picart—implicitly invalidated the criticism of the Inquisition they developed at the end of their second volume, in the section titled "Eclaircissements sur les *Mémoires historiques pour servir à l'histoire des Inquisitions*" (or, in the English-language edition, "Illustration of the *Historical Memoirs Relating to the Inquisition*"), which follows Louis-Ellies Du Pin's *Mémoires historiques pour servir à l'histoire des Inquisitions* (1716; Historical memoirs relating to the history of the Inquisitions), the text of which is reprinted in full in the volume.<sup>2</sup> However, Maistre was wrong about the direct influence of Protestantism on the "Eclaircissements." For this text, Bernard synthesized ideas and extracts from several works: the second edition of the *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa* (1688; Account of the Inquisition of Goa) by the French doctor Charles Dellon, *Historia Inquisitionis* (1692; History of the Inquisition) by the Remonstrant<sup>3</sup> Philippus van Limborch, *Histoire de l'Inquisition et son origine* (1693; History of the Inquisition and its origins) by the Gallican abbé Jacques Marsollier, and, of course, Du Pin's *Mémoires historiques*.<sup>4</sup> In other words, three of Bernard's four main sources on the Inquisition were written by Roman Catholics. Moreover, as I shall show, Picart availed himself of models in these Catholic works in creating the engravings in volume 2 regarding the Inquisition.

In this study, I focus on the role of sources long neglected in the history of radical thought during the last decades of the seventeenth century, namely, works by Gallican and Jansenist writers.<sup>5</sup> Linking such writers to the radical Enlightenment might seem paradoxical. They were often high-ranking figures in the Roman Catholic Church; moreover, they lived in France during Louis XIV's reign, at a time when the French king stood for warmongering absolutism and religious intolerance. However, by the turn of the century, the internecine quarrels of the French clergy and the evolution of French royal policy toward Rome had created conditions for the development of a significant corpus of Gallican and Jansenist texts written in

Previous spread  
Detail of figure 4, p. 298

just the kind of satirical tone that would appeal to men such as Bernard and Picart. As a result, the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* can be read as the product of an unspoken political alliance in the 1720s between French Gallicano-Jansenists and Huguenots in the Dutch Republic.

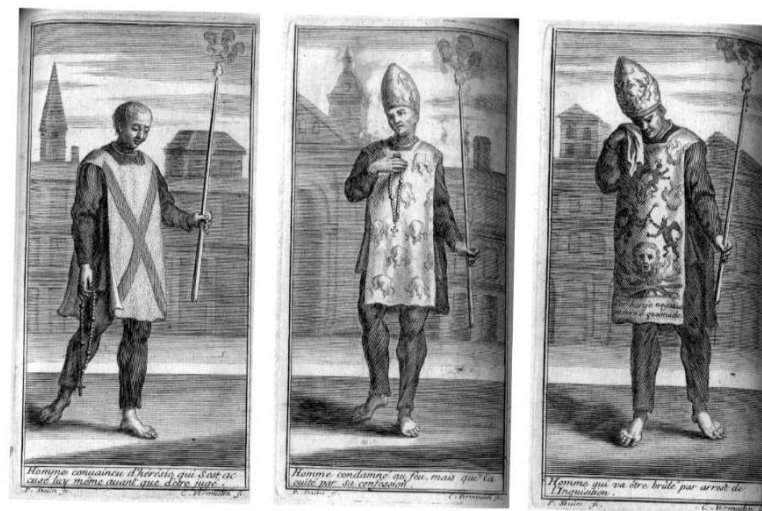
#### Against the Pope: The Inquisition as Unifying Subject

The Inquisition gave all the authors cited by Bernard and Picart a common target. Each of them subscribed to the idea that the worldly power of the Roman Catholic Church undermined the church's essential spiritual functions. Certainly—and this is the case for van Limborch and Marsollier, above all—some authors turned their attack on the king of Spain, opposition to Catholic Spain being common both in the Protestant Dutch Republic and in France. But all of them mainly denounced the participation of Roman Catholic clergy in sham trials convened by papal authority. And their attack on the ecclesiastical hierarchy focused on its highest earthly representative: the pope.

#### Gallicans against the Pope: Dellon and Marsollier

"As elaborated in the late Middle Ages, by royal jurists and Sorbonne theologians in reaction to the papacy's claims to temporal dominion, Gallicanism upheld both the temporal independence of the monarchy and the spiritual independence of the Gallican Church in their respective relations with the papacy."<sup>6</sup> So, more than by its religious or doctrinal positions, Gallicanism was characterized by the political stands it took. Gallicans defended the independence of the French episcopate against Rome, and, from the 1670s to the 1690s, they had the crucial support of Louis XIV. Indeed, the French king had significant problems with Pope Innocent XI, initially because Louis insisted, as of 1682, on appointing Gallican bishops and then because in 1688 he seized the papal territory of Avignon in order to emphasize his seriousness regarding his royal prerogatives; when Innocent died in 1689, the king was on the verge of being excommunicated.

What did this conflict have to do with the Inquisition? The Inquisition served to highlight the potential for abuse of ecclesiastical power within the church at a time when the French king was trying to portray himself as yet another victim of papal overreaching. Dellon's *Relation* was published first in 1687 in Leiden (by Daniel Gaasbeek), then in 1688 in Paris (by the Dutch publisher Daniel Horthemels), with a royal privilege to print from the French crown and the influential support of the French bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, leader of the Gallicans.<sup>7</sup> The number of translations (it quickly appeared in English, Dutch, and German) and editions (eight before 1700) shows that writings critical of the Inquisition could attract a large readership at the end of the seventeenth century. Dellon's book constituted a seminal work for two reasons. For one, it was the first publication by a French Catholic to present the Inquisition in explicitly critical terms. A physician and a friend of Bossuet, Dellon had traveled as an adventurer to India, where a false accusation by the governor of Daman landed him in the dungeons of the Portuguese Inquisition in Goa for two years. His *Relation* vividly describes the arbitrary nature



of this court's proceedings and, in particular, the false confessions extracted by the Dominican inquisitors.

For another, the French edition of 1688 was the first book to publish illustrations of the workings of the Inquisition. Cornelis Vermeulen contributed nine engravings, after drawings by Pierre Paul Sevin. Five depict the stages of an Inquisition—namely, examination of the accused by the Inquisition, procession to the auto-da-fé, the auto-da-fé (ceremony in which the Inquisition pronounced judgment), procession to execution, execution by the secular authorities—and three portray convicted male heretics wearing the basic types of *sambenitos* (tunics decorated with signs of punishment for heresy) (fig. 1); an engraving of the emblem of the Inquisition is included as well.<sup>8</sup> It is worth noting that Sevin and Vermeulen were both official artists in the service of Louis XIV. Their images of the Inquisition were reproduced until the end of the eighteenth century and remained fundamental documents for historical research about the Holy Office. So it was from inside the Catholic world, and in a Catholic country, that a virulent attack was mounted against the Inquisition.

Nevertheless, Protestants did not seek an alliance with Gallicans at this time, in part because they viewed Dellon's text as a deliberate distraction from the horrors introduced by Louis XIV's revocation, in 1685, of the Edict of Nantes, which had granted a large measure of religious liberty to French Protestants since 1598. In the *Nouvelles de la république des lettres* (News of the republic of letters), published in Amsterdam, Jean Barrin suggested that the French censors had let Dellon's *Relation* pass for just this reason: "It is pleasant to inform [readers] that [Dellon's book] was

Fig. 1. Cornelis Vermeulen (Flemish, ca. 1644–ca. 1708), after Pierre Paul Sevin (French, 1650–1710). Convicted heretics wearing *sambenitos* indicating one who, left to right, repented before sentencing, recanted after sentencing, or remains impenitent. From Charles Dellon, *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa* (Paris: Daniel Horthemels, 1688), after p. 246.

printed in Paris with royal privilege. . . . But it should be recognized that the gentlemen approvers of books [(censors)] did not let this one pass without some reason. They, by all appearances, wanted to show that, however terrible the Roman Catholic Church's conduct is in France, it is nothing compared to what happens in Goa and in other places where the Inquisition is set up."<sup>9</sup> A short review published in the Paris edition of the *Journal des sçavans* (Journal of scholars) seemed to bear them out: Dellon's *Relation* shows that France is a country governed by "sound reason and natural equity."<sup>10</sup> At the end of the 1680s, then, readers likely considered Dellon's book more as an argument for the relative moderation of Louis XIV's religious policy, compared to the policies of his Spanish and Portuguese counterparts, than as an attack against the pope.

Some five years after the publication of Dellon's *Relation*, Jacques Marsollier, the Gallican archdeacon of Uzès, decided to produce a history of the Inquisition and its origins. His *Histoire* included large sections translated from the just-published *Historia Inquisitionis* by the Dutch Protestant Philippus van Limborch. Of necessity, Marsollier's book was printed clandestinely, in a small format (duodecimo, or about 7 inches high by 4½ inches wide), and without illustrations. Nonetheless, as a good Gallican, Marsollier did not fail to praise the "wisdom" and the "equity" of Louis XIV because France did not have an inquisitorial tribunal.<sup>11</sup> Marsollier's chief target was Louis XIV's adversary, the pope (then Innocent XII). In the "Eclaircissements," Bernard wrote about Marsollier's work, "a Book was published under the Title of *The History of the Inquisition and its Origin*. This Work, which was pretended to be printed at *Colen* [(Cologne)], considers the Inquisition as the principal Strength of the See of *Rome*."<sup>12</sup>

Marsollier's text defended Louis XIV against the pope using almost the same strategy as Dellon's *Relation* of 1688. But Marsollier's *Histoire* was published in 1693, the year in which Innocent XII, after much negotiation, agreed to invest the bishops Louis XIV had appointed if the French king would disavow the Gallican articles of 1682. As Louis XIV drew closer to Rome, Gallican liberties suffered.<sup>13</sup> Consequently, Marsollier's work had to be published outside of France, and successive editions of Dellon's book lost the royal privilege and had to be printed clandestinely. Indeed, when it was republished in 1709, after the author's death, the new edition bore the false imprint "Les héritiers de Pierre Marteau" in Cologne. This imprint was used by various Dutch publishers to keep their identities secret, and Du Pin (whose *Mémoires historiques* included an excerpt from Dellon's text), and consequently Picart and Bernard, used this last version of Dellon's *Relation*.<sup>14</sup> As all this suggests, following Dellon's lead in 1693, as Marsollier did, and following his lead in the 1720s, when Bernard and Picart did, meant very different things, given the French political shift at the end of the seventeenth century: Dellon's book appeared more radical and more controversial at the beginning of the eighteenth century, after Louis XIV had adopted his new ultramontane position, that is, his policy of support for papal authority.

### Jansenists against the Pope: Du Pin

Jansenists, with their pro-Augustinian and anti-Jesuit polemics, were always in the papacy's bad graces, and officially so as of the papal bulls *Cum Occasione* of 1653 and *Ad Sacram* of 1656. However, in the 1680s, they were relatively powerful and well positioned in Paris. Although their influence did not diminish substantially during the eighteenth century, the beginning of the century opened a new, and less propitious, era. In 1705, Pope Clement XI issued the bull *Vineam Domini* condemning recent positions taken by Jansenists; in 1711, Louis XVI ordered the destruction of the Jansenist abbey of Cistercian nuns Port-Royal des Champs; and in 1713, the king commanded the clergy to accept the papal bull *Unigenitus*, which condemned 101 propositions by the French Jansenist theologian Pasquier Quesnel. By pursuing these ultramontane policies, the king inadvertently brought Gallicans and Jansenists together; the union of the French king and the pope threatened both groups and consequently strengthened the links between them.<sup>15</sup>

One year after the death of Louis XIV in 1715, Du Pin published, anonymously, his *Mémoires historiques*. Its two duodecimo volumes, which contained a total of nine illustrations, carried the false imprint "Cologne, chez Denys Slebus, Proche de la Cathédrale."<sup>16</sup> Du Pin was a Gallican theologian with close ties to Parisian Jansenist circles. He signed, and may have coauthored, the so-called *cas de conscience* (matter of conscience) of 1702, which stipulated that the pope did not have the power to decide questions of doctrinal fact, in particular, whether any given book contained errors against faith or liturgy. After the bull *Vineam Domini* condemned the *cas de conscience*, Du Pin's Jansenist tendencies became more pronounced. After *Unigenitus* was issued in 1713, he became an "appealer" who petitioned for the bull's abrogation, a position that made him anti-Jesuit, since many saw the hand of the Jesuits behind *Unigenitus*. Despite the paucity of details regarding the lives of Marsollier and Dellon, it seems likely that they too had Jansenist sympathies. Dellon's case is particularly intriguing. Brought up in the Gallican tradition, he drew closer to the Jansenists, perhaps because of the destruction of Port-Royal, where he had friends. Charles Amiel and Anne Lima argue that Dellon's natural curiosity led him to Jansenist, or even Protestant, circles, a direction reinforced by the company he kept, which included the Condé and Conti families and his publisher Daniel Horthemels, all of whom were aligned with the Jansenists.<sup>17</sup>

Du Pin's *Mémoires historiques* offered excerpts from both Dellon's and Marsollier's works—although, perhaps under the shock of Louis XIV's anti-Jansenist policies, Du Pin deleted Marsollier's praises of the king.<sup>18</sup> Most of the images in Du Pin's *Mémoires historiques* were engravings after illustrations in Dellon's and van Limborch's books,<sup>19</sup> though their quality suffered because of the small format of Du Pin's volumes. The engraver, who is unfortunately unnamed, added three images that historians usually attribute to Picart, namely, the depictions of torture by Spanish inquisitors (fig. 2), the punishment of the condemned, and three women dressed in *sambenitos* (fig. 3). Picart is unlikely to have devised ("invented") or even engraved ("sculpted") these images for Du Pin's volumes: not only is his name absent from the *Mémoires historiques* but he signed all five plates of engravings depicting the Inquisition in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* "B. Picart sculpt.



dir. 1722," which indicates that he supervised the making of the images but without claiming credit for designing, drawing, or cutting them himself (see figs. 5, 6).<sup>20</sup>

All in all, the writings and biographies of Dellon, Marsollier, and Du Pin suggest that Bernard and Picart drew their sources from the philo-Jansenist trend within Gallicanism. Moreover, they turned to them at a time when their texts had a newly radical tinge or a heightened radicalism due to changing royal policies. An additional factor was the reaction of the Vatican, which placed Dellon's book on the church's *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Index of forbidden works) in 1690 and Marsollier's (as well as van Limborch's) in 1694, shortly after Louis XIV's rapprochement with Innocent XII. Such attempts at suppression brought greater notoriety and may well have contributed to their reuse and even to a different reception as texts.

#### Bernard and Picart's Gallicano-Jansenist Choice

Bernard and Picart were very particular about their sources. When Bernard could not find a text that said what he wanted to say on a subject, he wrote his own. He (alone or with his collaborators) seems to have composed virtually all the text on Roman Catholicism in volumes 1 and 2 that precedes the section on the Inquisition in volume 2. Similarly, Picart seems to have searched out all the relevant engravings he could, and when dissatisfied with his options, as with the images of Jewish customs and ceremonies, he created his own, based on either close study of textual sources or personal observation. The Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam, for example, is a place that Picart himself visited, and the accuracy of his engraving of its splendid interior is evident even today to visitors to the synagogue (fig. 4). A conjunction of circumstances and motives led the authors of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* to use Du Pin's book as their prime source for their presentation of the Inquisition.

#### Bernard, Picart, and Jansenism

There was an essential experiential and intellectual affinity between Bernard and Picart, on one side, and French Jansenists, on the other. First, they shared the double experience of religious persecution and exile. Bernard was still a young child in 1685 when his Calvinist family fled from southern France to Amsterdam after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and Picart—born in 1673 and raised as a Catholic in Paris—witnessed firsthand the political struggles against Jansenism in France at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In these years, orthodox Catholic theologians increasingly emphasized the analogy between Protestantism and Jansenism, calling Jansenists "rehashed Calvinists" (*Calvinistes rebouillis*), and like the Huguenots, French Jansenist leaders began to seek refuge in the Dutch Republic, in their case in the Catholic south, or in neighboring Flanders. Second, starting in the mid-seventeenth century Protestants and Jansenists frequently joined forces in the publishing business. On the one hand, Jansenists used Protestant publishers' networks, like those of Elzevier (who most likely invented the false "Pierre Marteau" imprint), to clandestinely print and distribute pro-Jansenist texts.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, Protestant publishers made available a range of works that cast doubt on the

Fig. 2.  
Maniere de donner la question et torture, dans le souterain de l'Inquisition de Madrid  
From Louis-Ellies Du Pin, *Mémoires historiques pour servir à l'histoire des Inquisitions*, vol. 1 (Cologne: Denys Siebus... 1716), p. 189

Fig. 3.  
Portraits de 3 femmes et filles condamnées par l'Inquisition d'Espagne  
From Louis-Ellies Du Pin, *Mémoires historiques pour servir à l'histoire des Inquisitions*, vol. 2 (Cologne: Denys Siebus... 1716), p. 119



Fig. 4.  
Bernard Picart  
*La dedicace de la synagogue des  
Juifs portugais, à Amsterdam*  
From [Jean Frederic Bernard,  
*Cérémonies et coutumes  
religieuses de tous les peuples  
du monde*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam:  
J. F. Bernard, 1723), "Troisième  
dissertation sur les cérémonies  
des Juifs," after p. 100

authority of the Roman Catholic Church. When Bernard, a Huguenot publisher, inserted Du Pin's text into the second volume of the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, he was not only extending the potential readership for Du Pin's work but also strengthening the links between Protestants and Jansenists.

Bernard's historiographical "Eclaircissements" of Du Pin's work, which followed the latter in volume 2 of the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, likewise strengthened those links. This section cites a series of exemplary figures in the struggle against papal absolutism, including the Italian cleric Paolo Sarpi, who criticized Pope Paul V's interference in Venetian affairs in print, and Pierre Bayle, the Huguenot critic of Catholic dogma and other authoritarian ideologies.<sup>22</sup> More surprising is the number of Jansenist texts mentioned in Bernard's historiographical overview. He praises, for example, the writings of Pasquier Quesnel and Adrien Baillet: "Nothing can be of such bad Consequence... as the Works of the Casuists; but then the Inquisitors never attack these Authors, but on the contrary, spend all their Fury against such Pieces as have met with the most universal Approbation:... the Reflections of Father Quesnel, Baillet's Lives of the Saints...; these are the Books which the Inquisitors commit to the Flames."<sup>23</sup> Quesnel's *Réflexions morales* (1692; Thoughts on morality) and Baillet's *Les vies des saints* (1701; Lives of the saints) were leading Jansenist books. Indeed, the tenants set forth in Quesnel's work were the

chief target of the bull *Unigenitus*. Bernard's attention to Jansenist texts supports the idea of a philosophical affinity between Bernard, Picart, and Jansenists.

We could even conjecture that Picart, who converted to Calvinism while in France, was very close to or even moved in Jansenist circles in Paris and that he brought Jansenist works with him when he came to the Netherlands. It must be said, however, that the short text about Jansenists "Dogmes suivis par les Jansenistes" (or "The Fundamental Opinions of the Jansenists") in volume 1 of the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* is not particularly sympathetic. Moreover, according to Danièle Pregardien, the engraver turned toward Protestantism after reading Jean Claude's *Réponse aux deux traités intitulés La perpétuité de la foy de l'Église catholique touchant l'Eucharistie* (1665; Response to two treatises titled *The Perpetuity of the Faith of the Catholic Church on the Eucharist*), a Protestant text refuting assertions by the leading Jansenists Antoine Arnauld and Pierre Nicole.<sup>24</sup> The anecdotal evidence is not conclusive, but we do know that a Protestant-Jansenist entente was established at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Indeed, the opening chapter of Dale Van Kley's *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution* is titled "From Calvin to Quesnel," showing the strong theological and political connections between the two forms of Christianity.<sup>25</sup> Victims of the persecutions of the Roman Catholic Church became allies at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and those political links were not only for the elite, who might benefit from de facto toleration: as Van Key argues, "many of the remarks recorded by Lieutenant General [of Police] Hérault's agents in the streets hint at a certain appropriation of the tragic history of French Protestantism by popular Parisian Jansenism, which, perhaps persuaded by the experience of persecution, pointed toward Jansenist-Protestant entente."<sup>26</sup>

The entente is further suggested by the frontispiece to volume 1 of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*—one of the most important and most discussed engravings in the entire work (see p. 16, fig. 1). At the middle right of the image, behind the allegory of the Roman Catholic Church (the female figure wearing the papal tiara), a bishop is shown recoiling from a sheet of paper that bears the words "Bulla Unigenitus" and is held up by a Jesuit priest, who wears a wide-brimmed black hat. The bishop, whose reaction suggests that he has Jansenist leanings, is illuminated by the same bright light as the woman in white, symbol of the Christian faith, who holds an open Bible. By contrast, the Jesuit stands in the shadow, like the upper half of the figure of the Catholic Church. The frontispiece cannot prove that Picart was sympathetic to the Jansenists, but it does show, at least, an evident interest in the Jansenist question after the papal bull of 1713.<sup>27</sup>

Connections between Jansenists and Protestants were thus stronger in the 1720s than in the 1680s, when their common struggle against the so-called Court of Rome could unite them across disparate political and religious tendencies. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Jansenist periodical *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* (Ecclesiastical news) would even laud the civil tolerance of Protestants, offering the theological justification that if God failed to interest heterodox or schismatic individuals, it was useless for humans to employ coercive force.<sup>28</sup> However, in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, Bernard and Picart went further still.



#### Bernard and Picart's Editorial and Philosophical Positioning

As stated in the "Eclaircissements sur les *Mémoires historiques*," the Inquisition's role in the Roman Catholic Church "was of too important a Nature not to be treated in the *French Tongue*."<sup>29</sup> Du Pin's history of the Inquisition was particularly useful to Bernard because, as it was written in French, there was no need to translate it. His *Mémoires historiques* drew not only on a historical work (van Limborch as translated and excerpted by Marsollier) but also on a personal narrative (Dellon). As Bernard observed, "M. Dellon, a *French Physician*, printed a Narrative of his Sufferings in the Inquisition of *Goa*, which sold prodigiously; and indeed the Public is very fond of such Relations."<sup>30</sup> Just as Bernard and Picart took advantage of the folio format of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* to present beautiful engravings that complemented the text and added to the material value of the work as a whole, they also understood that reprinting controversial texts such as Du Pin's would attract readers for their work.<sup>31</sup>

At the same time, because the author was French and Catholic, Du Pin's work could appear more impartial, or at least more credible, on the subject of the Inquisition than a critique by a Dutch Protestant such as van Limborch. Indeed, Bernard carefully frames van Limborch's work by pointing out in his "Eclaircissements" that even though Marsollier "has extracted Part of this Book [(*Histoire de l'Inquisition*)] from the Treatise [by van Limborch] above-mentioned, nevertheless, from several Passages in it, we may conclude it was written by a *Roman Catholic*."<sup>32</sup> Similarly stressing the Catholicism of Du Pin improved the credibility of his *Mémoires historiques* and justified its wholesale inclusion in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*.

Bernard and Picart did not hesitate to cite documents from Roman Catholic sources to build their case against the Inquisition. For example, they reprint in the "Eclaircissements" the "thirty-nine famous Chapters or Statutes, by which the Inquisition is now govern'd in all the Dominions of the Republic of *Venice*." These are followed by a page of historical analysis lauding the wisdom of the Republic of Venice in repeatedly acting to "prevent the Court of *Rome* from usurping an absolute Authority over the Inquisition at *Venice*."<sup>33</sup> Not only did the authors use Marsollier's text as a foundation for their presentation but they supplemented it with a leading Italian text opposing Rome's widening secular aspirations, Paolo Sarpi's *Discorso dell'origine, forma, leggi ed uso dell'Ufficio dell'Inquisitione nella città, e dominio di Venetia* (1638; Discourse on the origins, form, laws and usages of the Office of the Inquisition in the city and state of Venice). In 1607, Sarpi and the Venetian Republic were excommunicated and the republic's dominions placed under papal interdict. His cogent polemics against the pope and in support of Venice's position made Sarpi one of the symbols of the opposition to the papacy.<sup>34</sup>

Bernard also spends time on the auto-da-fé by Miguel de Molinos, citing the account written by a Protestant Englishman, Gilbert Burnet,<sup>35</sup> as well as Molinos's own response to his famous condemnation for heresy in Rome in 1687.<sup>36</sup> Bernard's commentary on this passage focused on explaining the role of politics and ecclesiastical venality in Molinos's case. In addition, he used it to show that an auto-da-fé could take different forms in different places, comparing the practices of the

Spanish, Goan, and Roman Inquisitions. Molinos's case recalled a key historical moment from the end of the seventeenth century and served as an example of the types of behavior seen during, and in reaction to, the Inquisition. Bernard thus complemented the abundant descriptions of the Spanish and Goan Inquisitions in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* not only with Marsollier's and Sarpi's accounts but also with an Italian story that widened the readers' perspective on the activities of the Holy Office.

Bernard worked with the same purpose when he placed a previously unpublished report of an auto-da-fé in Lisbon in 1707 at the very end of the "Eclaircissements." He said that this document appears "in order to complete the Relation of the Proceedings of the Inquisition."<sup>37</sup> As Bernard and Picart's overall aim was to produce an exhaustive account of contemporary religious practices, the choice of an auto-da-fé in Lisbon further enlarged the geographical description of the Inquisition; the reader now had a document about the Portuguese Inquisition that bore out the engraving titled *Suplice des condamnés* (The executions) (see fig. 6, bottom).<sup>38</sup> The report backed up both the historical analysis and the punishments depicted in the engravings: actual names, ages, professions, and accusations against the condemned were proofs that the *Mémoires historiques* and the "Eclaircissements" told the truth. Bernard was certainly conscious of the polemical impact of ending the volume about the Roman Catholic Church with the names of four individuals whom the Inquisition burned at the stake.<sup>39</sup> The account of the Inquisition concluded the section on Catholics, and the bloody epilogue on the auto-da-fé becomes a metaphor for Rome's abuses and its intrusion into realms of judgment better reserved to secular magistrates. The sequencing of the images and the insertion of documents served a rhetorical purpose as well: the descriptions of those condemned by the Inquisition in Lisbon in 1707—supposing that the book was actually read sequentially—were the last words in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* related to the actions of the Roman Catholic Church. Bernard and Picart wanted to enlighten readers, certainly, but they also wanted to convince them: the doctrines of Rome led to the abuses of the Inquisition.

In the 1720s, when Bernard and Picart produced volumes 1 and 2, religious toleration was a very important issue. Already in the 1690s, John Locke's and Bayle's antiauthoritarian and liberal ideas had provoked widespread discussion, and Locke, in particular, was a clear inspiration for van Limborch's *Historia Inquisitionis*. Bayle too inspired *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*; the superstitions such as overly zealous Marian devotion denounced in Bernard and Picart's work represented the principal enemy of toleration: "Bayle has justly observed in his Dictionary, that these very Inquisitors who exercise so much Severity against the most edifying Pieces [by Quesnel and Baillet, for instance], have not taken the least Notice of the frantic Notions of *Beata Maria d'Agreda*, who, having a crazy Imagination, arising from an ill-grounded Devotion, wrote Things injurious to the Majesty of the Creator."<sup>40</sup>

Knowing the writings of Bayle on superstition, Bernard could also criticize Du Pin's work. On page 4 of the *Mémoires historiques*, Du Pin gave four justifications for the temporal punishment of heretics. He argued that the law and severe sentences worked to curb the civil disorder likely to result from "Disputes on religious Topics,"

the corruption of the Christian Church, blasphemy, and, finally, a general lack of Christian education (heretics could be saved if given proper instruction). Bernard agreed with him on the first point, explaining that when "the Anabaptists took up Arms, seized upon *Munster*, and set up a Kingdom in that Place in opposition to the lawful Sovereign, they became guilty, and merited the Havock that was made among them."<sup>41</sup> But Bernard fully disagreed with the other justifications, primarily on the grounds that "the word HERETIC is so much abused, that it is made to signify nothing at all," adding that "The most extravagant Sectaries look upon all as Heretics who do not allow of their idle Dreams."<sup>42</sup> The word *heretic*, according to him, necessarily entailed abuses and injustice. Bernard instead lauded religious toleration; when Anabaptists "contented themselves with worshipping God in such a Manner as they thought would be most agreeable to him. . . ., the Authority of punishing an Anabaptist for his private Opinions immediately ceased."<sup>43</sup> The criticism of Du Pin reveals an important ideological divide between Dutch Protestants, many of whom had been influenced by enlightened ideas, and French Jansenists, whose major publications spoke unfavorably of Locke's ideas and influence.

#### From Opposition to the Roman Catholic Church to Opposition to Torture

Bernard and Picart could use writings from a Gallicano-Jansenist perspective on the arbitrary nature of papal power as a stepping stone to a more fundamental criticism of any form of interference by the Roman Catholic Church in secular affairs. In his general preface to *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, Bernard had argued that churches and ecclesiastical institutions, the guardians of religious tradition, contributed to giving a "wrong idea . . . of Divinity and its attributes" when they purported to be able to mediate between man and God.<sup>44</sup> Thus, Bernard and Picart advocated the separation of church and state, and the "Eclaircissements" of volume 2 offered a defense of secular politics against the worldly power of the church. Consequently, Bernard and Picart may be considered as "anti-Christian," at least in the definition of Silvia Berti, which refers to "the attack on the ecclesiastical establishment and the corruption of the priesthood."<sup>45</sup> By the 1720s, the Inquisition could unite all "anti-Christians" who formed the core of the Enlightenment. Berti's analysis of the "crisis of the European mind" (described by Paul Hazard in 1935) concludes, "it was that generation's examination of the evangelical message's inspiring moral principles, coupled with their growing indignation at the Roman Church's and the monarchic power's persecution of the Huguenots and Jansenists, which constituted a determining cause of the subversive and anti-Christian character of their cultural experience."<sup>46</sup>

Picart's images captured and intensified his generation's indignation. Bernard and Picart did not use all the images they had at their disposal in sources about the Inquisition. They seem to have carefully chosen them to show, chronologically, the different stages of the inquisitorial procedure. The first two images, a pair of half-page engravings drawn by Picart in 1722 and inserted after page 26 of the *Mémoires historiques*, relate to the questioning of a suspected heretic (fig. 5). The engraving at the top of Picart's folio plate depicts an interrogation after Schoonebeek's engraving for van Limborch's text. The scene seems rather civilized and the image almost

"official" in nature; we see the prisoner, the Dominican inquisitor, and a secretary in a large, formal room with a massive crucifix. Juxtaposed with this ostensibly benign scene is an engraving of inquisitorial torture, after an engraving in Du Pin's book (see fig. 2). It shows the three ways utilized by inquisitors to extort confessions: torture by fire, by waterboarding, and by strappado. An inquisitor supervises the interrogations, while a physician is present to stop the tormentors when a prisoner's life is endangered; the inquisitors do not want torture to kill the prisoners. We can see here juxtaposed the soft and the violent ways of questioning practiced by the Inquisition: above, a "civilized" interrogation; below, the "Place of Torments."<sup>47</sup> The reader necessarily connected these images depicting the cunning injustice and the outright physical violence of the Holy Office.

The second and the third set of engravings, inserted after pages 28 and 64 of the *Mémoires historiques*, deal with the processions and rituals that followed the questioning. The one set presented, on top, an auto-da-fé held in public in Madrid in 1680 and, below, a procession of the Inquisition at Goa. The upper image is after an engraving in Du Pin's book that reproduced the official painting made for the king of Spain by Francisco Rizi in 1683.<sup>48</sup> The lower image is after an engraving by Vermeulen for Dellon's account. In the Goan procession appear not only the Dominican inquisitors but also the three types of the condemned: those who have escaped the flames by making a confession before sentencing, those who have escaped the flames by confession after sentencing, and those to be burned. The third set illustrates, on top, an auto-da-fé held by the Inquisition of Goa and, below, the burning of heretics, very likely in Lisbon (fig. 6). The upper image, inspired by Vermeulen's engraving in Dellon's account, shows that while the Spanish auto-da-fé took place in a square in the open air, in Goa the auto-da-fé took place in the cathedral.<sup>49</sup> The lower image is another violent image after an engraving in Du Pin's book.<sup>50</sup> The juxtaposition of the solemnity of the cathedral and the brutality of the executions produces the same effect as the earlier juxtaposition of verbal interrogation and physical torture. It is interesting to notice that Du Pin did not specify that the executions took place in Lisbon; instead, the title of his engraving is generic: "Presentation of Those Who are Condemned to the Flames by the Inquisitions."<sup>51</sup> Bernard and Picart clearly chose to link the image to the document about the auto-da-fé in 1707 inserted at the very end of the second volume.

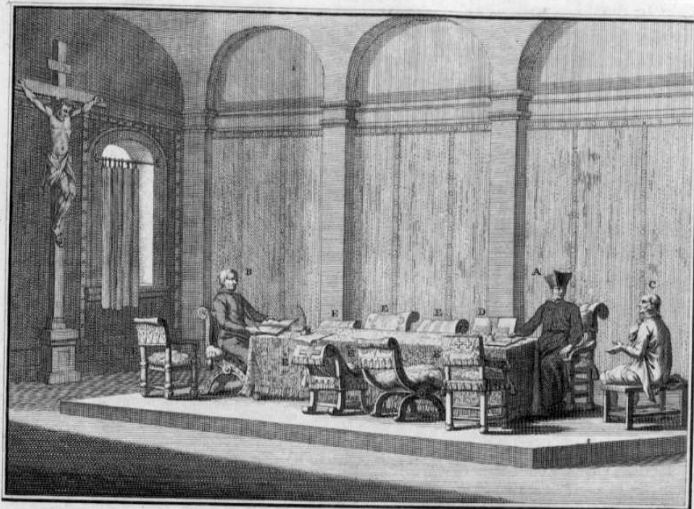
Picart's images of processions and rituals depicted the large number of persons involved; the crowds witnessing the procession of Goa and the executions in Lisbon portrayed the public role assumed by the Inquisitions: processions, autos-da-fé, and executions were both religious and morbid spectacles. This fact was particularly emphasized in the execution scene, in which the engraver included dozens of miniaturized, anonymous onlookers on foot and on horseback. Francisco Bethencourt has noted that the engravings in Dellon's and van Limborch's works "stress the public display of the victims rather than the symbolic presence of the inquisitors."<sup>52</sup> Perhaps Du Pin and Picart wanted to link the public display of victims with the punitive role of inquisitors and clerics, who are depicted in the foreground of the execution scene. The chronologically arranged stages of the Inquisition, from the secret questioning of suspected heretics to the public burning of the condemned,

Following spread

**Fig. 5.**  
Bernard Picart  
*La sale de l'Inquisition and  
Diverses manieres dont le St.  
Office fait donner la question*  
From [Jean Frederic Bernard,] *Cérémonies et coutumes  
religieuses de tous les peuples  
du monde*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam:  
J. F. Bernard, 1723), "Mémoires  
historiques pour servir à  
l'histoire des Inquisitions,"  
after p. 26

**Fig. 6.**  
Bernard Picart  
*L'auto-da-fé, ou l'acte de foi and  
Suplice des condamnés*  
From [Jean Frederic Bernard,] *Cérémonies et coutumes  
religieuses de tous les peuples  
du monde*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam:  
J. F. Bernard, 1723), "Mémoires  
historiques pour servir à  
l'histoire des Inquisitions,"  
after p. 64

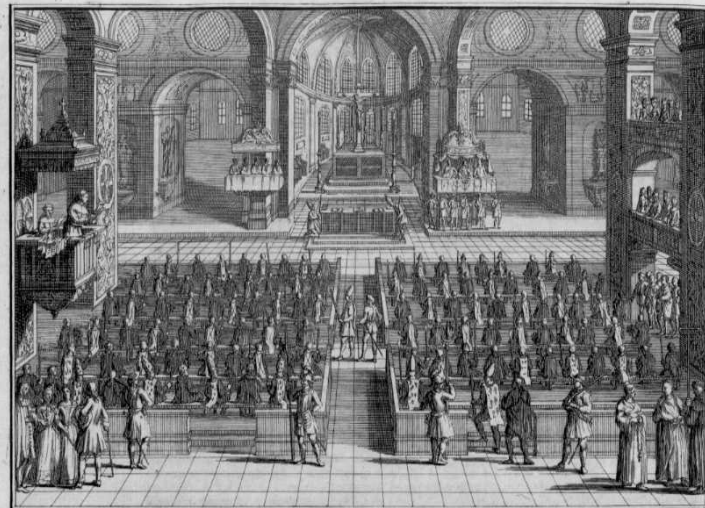




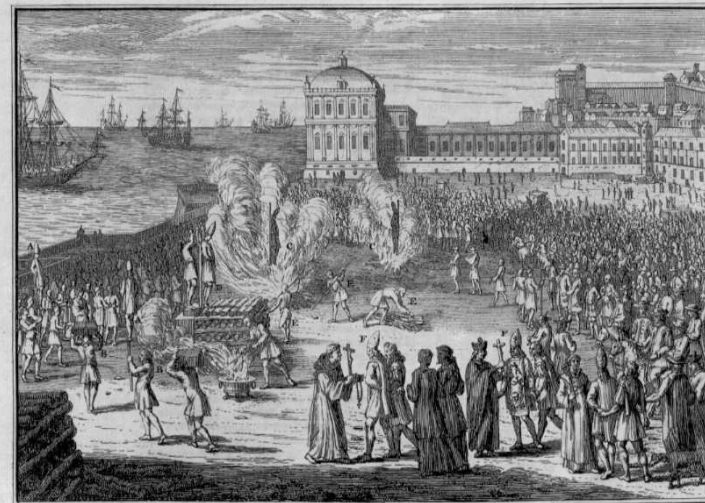
*La SALE de L'INQUISITION.*



*Diverses Manieres dont le S<sup>t</sup> OFFICE, fait donner la QUESTION.*



*L'AUTO-DA-FÉ, ou l'Acte de Foi.*



*Spectacle des Condamnez.*

illustrated both the violence of the Holy Office and its penchant for ritual. These practices should outrage and offend the intellectual elites—and consequently the reader of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*.

In the “Eclaircissements,” Bernard and Picart provided eight additional quarter-page images, grouped on two pages inserted after page 96, that stand in contrast to those of the crowded processions and inquisitorial ceremonies. Three of these depict single male figures clad in different *sambenitos* according to the three types of condemnation, after Vermeulen’s engravings for Dellon’s text. Those images of the reconciled and of the condemned were famous; van Limborch and Du Pin inserted variations in their books as well. According to Bethencourt, those images gave “a new emphasis to the notion of the miscreants as martyrs.”<sup>53</sup> Indeed, the man about to be burned appears to be drying his tears. Picart pairs each condemned man with a condemned woman wearing the corresponding *sambenito*; the inquisitors condemned woman as well as men.<sup>54</sup> Those images were taken from Du Pin’s book (see fig. 3), and Picart did not change the settings even as he skillfully isolated the figures themselves. In Du Pin’s work, the three men and the three women were gathered, respectively, in two engravings; Picart rearranged them such that on the first page after page 96 are depicted, at the top, a man and a woman who have escaped the flames by their confession after condemnation and, at the bottom, a woman and a man who are to be burned. On the second page after page 96 are depicted, at the top, the standards of the Spanish and the Goan Inquisition, taken from van Limborch’s book, and, at the bottom, a man and a woman (a nun) who made a confession before being judged.

We can therefore distinguish two sets of engravings about the Inquisition in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*: first, the representations of the inquisitorial system, shown as heavily ritualized and communal; second, the images of individuals, the isolated and saddened martyrs. Bernard and Picart chose a systematic display that gave a lurid picture of the institution, on the one hand, and a benign one of its victims, on the other. The crowd, ignorant and slavish, was opposed to the individuals, who represented principled opposition. We might well connect this dichotomy to the Roman Catholic Church’s opposition to Jansenists and Protestants, the objects of persecution by Rome who, in both cases, had many martyrs. Thus, Bernard and Picart, like other early modern texts about the Inquisition, first gave the general history of the institution and then an example of its abuses: Du Pin put Marsollier’s text about the origins of the Inquisition before Dellon’s account.

Finally, a note on the persuasive use of emotion and Picart’s images of the Inquisition. Images were used in the early modern period both for emotive expression of ideas and for persuasion: *memoria et suasoria*.<sup>55</sup> Text was used to convince the mind; images persuaded the heart. The metaphors explored by William MacGregor in “The Authority of Prints” could be employed here to describe the effect created by Picart’s images of torture and execution, which still make a strong impression and are “engraved” or “impressed” deeply on the viewer’s mind.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, the tears of those condemned to be burned were an important vehicle for creating empathy for the victims of the Inquisition. Tears constituted marks

of sincerity in the new sensibility of the eighteenth century, showing not only the innocence but also the humanity of those condemned. As Bethencourt explains, “The subjects of institutionalized torture, and execution by burning... were emphasized” in Du Pin and Picart, “because they constituted part of the contemporary debate about penal law.”<sup>57</sup> This enlightened stance resonated with the apparent weakness of the condemned as detailed in the text. In the explanation Bernard offers for the first interrogation scene, he states that “a Christian Philosopher [(Jean de La Bruyère)] of our Age said, That *Torture* is a wonderful Invention, perfectly well adapted to ruin innocent Persons of weak Constitutions; and to save the Guilty, provided they are but strong and vigorous.”<sup>58</sup> Bernard reflected here the opinion of “several learned Lawyers” that led in the next generation to Cesare Beccaria and his masterpiece on the reform of criminal justice, *Dei delitti e delle pene* (1764; On crimes and punishments).<sup>59</sup> The engravings supervised by Picart accordingly conveyed and “printed” on the mind the main lesson to be drawn from the Inquisition, namely, the futility of torture in getting to truth and the absurdity of ritual for masking violence.<sup>60</sup>

#### Conclusion

Bernard and Picart’s sources participated in a political and ideological network, a network of shared interests. The policy of the papacy at the beginning of the eighteenth century undeniably accounts for a considerable number of followers of the Enlightenment, albeit with ramifications that differed across countries and religious circles. Sometimes, as *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* suggests, my enemies’ enemies are my friends. Its use of Jansenist texts reveals that quarrels between Protestants and Jansenists, heated in the 1670s and 1680s, seemed to simmer down in the 1720s and 1730s, thus permitting a sort of intellectual and perhaps even political entente that united them in the struggle against papal authority. Gallicano-Jansenist texts, both Catholic and critical, were choice sources in the fight against the temporal abuses of the church. Likewise, the ultramontane policy of Louis XIV at the beginning of eighteenth century contributed to the emergence of seminal texts for the defense of religious tolerance and other Enlightenment ideals. The Holy Office consequently became the central enemy targeted by a new intellectual “party of humanity,” which knew firsthand the absolutist persecutions perpetrated by both the Roman Catholic Church and the French king. In this fight, both Bernard’s text and Picart’s images cast the papacy and its inquisitorial arm as a force for evil. The Inquisition became a symbol for the abuse and usurpation of secular authority, for religious intolerance, and, finally, for the essential absurdity of punishing the body for supposed flaws of the spirit.

#### Notes

1. Joseph de Maistre, *Lettres à un gentilhomme russe sur l’Inquisition espagnole* (Lyon: Louis Lesne, 1844), letter 2; English version is adapted from the translation by Aeneas McD. Dawson, *Letters to a Russian Gentleman on the Spanish Inquisition* (London: C. Dolman, 1851), as prepared by Richard Lebrun and posted 8 March

- 2002: [http://www.umanitoba.ca/faculties/arts/history/links/maistre/spanish\\_inquisition.html](http://www.umanitoba.ca/faculties/arts/history/links/maistre/spanish_inquisition.html) (27 January 2009).
2. [Jean Frederic Bernard,] *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, 9 vols. (Amsterdam: J.F. Bernard, 1723–43), 21–71 (*Mémoires historiques pour servir à l'histoire des Inquisitions*), 73–104 (“Eclaircissements sur les *Mémoires historiques pour servir à l'histoire des Inquisitions*”) = [Jean Frederic Bernard,] *The Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Various Nations of the Known World*, 7 vols. (London: printed by William Jackson, 1734), 2:197–331 (*Historical Memoirs Relating to the Inquisition*), 331–64 (“Illustration of the *Historical Memoirs Relating to the Inquisition*”).
  3. A Remonstrant is a Dutch Protestant who, following the views of Jacobus Arminius, diverges from the strict Calvinist teaching on predestination.
  4. Charles Dellon, *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa* (Paris: Daniel Horthemels, 1688); Philippus van Limborch, *Historia Inquisitionis* (Amsterdam: H. Westenium, 1692) (published in English in 1731 as *The History of the Inquisition*, trans. Samuel Chandler); Jacques Marsollier, *Histoire de l'Inquisition et son origine* (Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1693); and Louis-Ellies Du Pin, *Mémoires historiques pour servir à l'histoire des Inquisitions, enrichis de plusieurs figures* (Cologne: Denys Slebus, 1716).
  5. Gallican apologists advocated a complex set of ecclesiastical and political practices that restricted papal authority—in favor of the king in temporal and civil matters, in favor of an ecumenical council and the bishops of each national church in spiritual matters. Ultramontane apologists, by contrast, tended chiefly to extreme views in favor of papal authority and absolute papal supremacy and infallibility.
 

The doctrines of Jansenism, which emphasized predestination and denied free will in the acceptance of divine grace, were condemned as heretical by several popes, including Urban VIII in 1642 and Innocent X in 1653. Jansenism capitalized on the suspicion of many devout Roman Catholics that the call of the Gospels to a devout and holy life was compromised in the moral theology and penitential practices of the church.
  6. Dale K. Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560–1791* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1996), 34.
  7. Regarding Dellon and his legacy, see the excellent edition by Charles Amiel and Anne Lima: Charles Dellon, *L'Inquisition de Goa: La relation de Charles Dellon (1687)*, ed. Charles Amiel and Anne Lima (Paris: Éditions Chandeigne, 1997), 25. Note that the first version (1687) was published without engravings and its text was stripped of anything that did not mention the Inquisition: it appears to be a forgery of the authorized version of 1688.
  8. For more on Sevin and Vermeulen, see Dellon, *L'Inquisition de Goa* (note 7), 28.
  9. Pierre Bayle, ed., *Nouvelles de la république des lettres: Mois de janvier 1688*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam: David Mortier, 1716), 13–14; the French original is quoted in Dellon, *L'Inquisition de Goa* (note 7), 99. For more on Vermeulen, see Inger Leemans, this volume, 35–58.
  10. Unsigned review of *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*, by Charles Dellon, *Journal des sçavans*, 22 December 1687, 96; the French original is quoted in Dellon, *L'Inquisition de Goa* (note 7), 97.

11. On Marsollier's praise of Louis XIV's wisdom and equity, see the review of Dellon's *Relation* (note 10), 96. For examples of Marsollier's open support of Louis XIV, see page 433 of his *Histoire de l'Inquisition* (note 4), as well as this passage, on page 153: Kings and people are enemies of violence and constraint alike, and they are not lacking besides other means for preserving and restoring the purity of faith. These means, though softer and more adapted to the genius of the nation and to the ancient spirit of the church, are nevertheless efficient. Unquestionable proof of this is given by LOUIS THE GREAT'S conduct in relation to the heretics of his realm, since it is commonly known that he is able to do whatever he wants against them, and that they can be made to obey by whatever means he chooses, but without spilling blood, without employing the torments, tortures, and all the violent means that make the Inquisition detested everywhere. He single-handedly won more heretics over to Catholicism than the church did for centuries by using cruelties that we are going to describe.
12. [Bernard,] *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* (note 2), 2:74 = [Bernard,] *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* (note 2), 2:332–33.
13. François Lebrun, *La puissance et la guerre: 1661–1715* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1997), 219, 257.
14. See Dellon, *L'Inquisition de Goa* (note 7), 107.
15. See Van Kley, *Religious Origins* (note 6), 75–134. See also Catherine Maire, *De la cause de Dieu à la cause de la Nation: Le jansénisme au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1998); and Monique Cottret, *Jansénismes et Lumières: Pour un autre XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1998), 195–214.
16. Cologne was often used as the place of publication in false imprints in the eighteenth century. This Catholic town became the place conventionally listed by francophone publishers that were probably actually located in Amsterdam, Leiden, Brussels, or Rouen and without royal privileges to import into France. For more on the famous Pierre Marteau imprint, see <http://www.pierre-marteau.com> (27 January 2009).
17. See Dellon, *L'Inquisition de Goa* (note 7), 59.
18. In the first volume of the *Mémoires historiques*, Du Pin just copies from Marsollier's text (without ever citing it); see, for example, Du Pin, *Mémoires historiques* (note 4), “De l'origine, de l'établissement et du progrès de l'Inquisition,” 1:32–52.
19. For more on Schoonebeek, who engraved the images in van Limborch's work, see [http://www.codart.nl/?page\\_id=87](http://www.codart.nl/?page_id=87) (27 January 2009).
20. For Picart's plates relating to the Inquisition, see [Bernard,] *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* (note 2), vol. 2, after pp. 26, 28, 64, 96.
21. Henri-Jean Martin, “Le refuge hollandais: Des jansénistes aux réformés,” in Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin, eds., *Histoire de l'édition française*, vol. 2, *Le livre triomphant, 1660–1830* (Paris: Promodis, 1984), 312.
22. [Bernard,] *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* (note 2), 2:78 (Fra-Paolo), 95 (Bayle). Bernard and Picart owned Bayle's *Pensées diverses écrites à un docteur de Sorbonne, à l'occasion de la comète qui parut en 1680*, published in 1682; and Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, first published in 1697; see *Catalogue de livres curieux tant en français qu'en latin etc., parmi lesquels il y en a beaucoup enrichis*

- d'estampes choisies, et des premières épreuves, rassemblés par feu M. Bernard Picart célèbre dessinateur (Amsterdam: J. F. Bernard & Salomon Schouten, 1733), 2, 53, 78, 102; and *Catalogue du fonds de libraire de feu Jean Frédéric Bernard, consistant en un bel assortiment de livres latins et français parmi lesquels il y a plusieurs bonnes copies dont la vente se fera entre les libraires le 24 juillet 1747 et jours suivants* (Amsterdam: Pierre Humbert & Zoon, S. & P. Schouten & Marc Michel Rey, 1747), 18, 71. I consulted Lynn Hunt and Margaret Jacob's photocopies of these auction catalogs.
23. [Bernard,] *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* (note 2), 2:354.
  24. Danièle Pregardien, "L'iconographie des *Cérémonies et coutumes* de B. Picart," in Daniel Droixhe and Pol-P. Gossiaux, eds., *L'homme des Lumières et la découverte de l'autre* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1985), 186.
  25. Van Kley, *Religious Origins* (note 6), 15–74.
  26. Van Kley, *Religious Origins* (note 6), 101.
  27. See [Bernard,] *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* (note 2), vol. 1, before title page. The caption, printed under the image, explains, "un Jesuite presente la BULLE UNI-GÉNITUS à un Evêque, qui, par son action, semble la refuser" (a Jesuit shows the bull *Unigenitus* to a bishop, who, by his action, seems to repudiate it). The frontispiece is lacking from the English translation.
  28. Annie Flandreau, "La tolérance civile des protestants vue par les *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* (1749–1790)," in *Port-Royal et les protestants: Actes du colloque... à Montpellier, du 25 au 27 septembre 1997*, *Chroniques de Port-Royal*, no. 47 (Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1998), 450.
  29. [Bernard,] *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* (note 2), 2:332.
  30. [Bernard,] *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* (note 2), 2:333.
  31. See Anne Sauvy, "Livres contrefaits et livres interdits," in Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin, eds., *Histoire de l'édition française*, vol. 2, *Le livre triomphant, 1660–1830* (Paris: Promodis, 1984), 119.
  32. [Bernard,] *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* (note 2), 2:333.
  33. [Bernard,] *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* (note 2), 2:344, 345.
  34. See, for example, David Wootton, *Paolo Sarpi: Between Renaissance and Enlightenment* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983), in which the author argues that Sarpi was an atheist (placing him in the context of Pierre Charron and Gabriel Naudé).
  35. Gilbert Burnet, *Trois lettres touchant l'état présent d'Italie, écrites en l'année 1678: La première regarde l'affaire de Molinos et des quietistes; la seconde, l'Inquisition, et l'état de la religion; la troisième regarde la politique, et les intérêts de quelques États d'Italie; pour servir de supplément aux Lettres du docteur Burnet*, trans. Jean Cornand de La Croze (Cologne: Pierre du Marteau, 1688). Burnet (1643–1715) was a Scottish theologian, Whig and very anti-Catholic, and bishop of Salisbury. Jean Cornand de La Croze (ca. 1650–1705) was a French Huguenot who moved to Amsterdam after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was a friend of Swiss Protestant theologian Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736), who was also a very close friend of the Remonstrant Philippus van Limborch.
  36. Molinos (1628–96) was considered the leader of quietists. Born in Spain, he went to Rome in 1663. After the publication of his book *Guida spirituale* (Spiritual guide) in 1675, he gained a great number of followers, especially among the literati, with the result that Jesuits and Dominicans began to find him dangerous. Louis XIV and the Gallican Church also urged Rome to condemn quietism, because of its influence in the French court. Molinos was sentenced to life imprisonment for heresy, and after his death, the Spanish theologian became very popular in English and French Protestant circles, in which he was regarded as a symbol of an enlightened man and as a victim of the Jesuits and of the arbitrary nature of the Roman Catholic Church.
  37. [Bernard,] *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* (note 2), 2:356.
  38. [Bernard,] *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* (note 2), 2:66 = [Bernard,] *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* (note 2), 2:322.
  39. [Bernard,] *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* (note 2), 2:104 = [Bernard,] *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* (note 2), 2:364.
  40. [Bernard,] *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* (note 2), 2:354. Maria de Agreda's *La mística ciudad de Dios* (1670) had been put on the Index Librorum Prohibitorum in 1681 by the Roman Inquisition but at the behest of Charles II, king of Spain, the decree did not apply in Spain.
  41. [Bernard,] *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* (note 2), 2:335.
  42. [Bernard,] *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* (note 2), 2:336.
  43. [Bernard,] *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* (note 2), 2:335.
  44. [Bernard,] *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* (note 2), "Préface générale," 1:ii; the English translation omits this preface.
  45. Silvia Berti, "At the Roots of Unbelief," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56 (1995): 563.
  46. Berti, "At the Roots" (note 45), 563.
  47. [Bernard,] *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* (note 2), 2:92 = [Bernard,] *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* (note 2), 2:351.
  48. Francisco Rizi (Spanish, 1614–85), *Auto-da-fé on Plaza Major in 1680*, 1683, oil on canvas, 277 × 438 cm (109 × 172½ in.), Madrid, Museo del Prado.
  49. The last public auto-da-fé in Spain took place in 1691. Bernard and Picart certainly knew that, but the presence of the king was very interesting and showed links between the king of Spain and the inquisitors. For the Goan auto-da-fé, see Dellon, *L'Inquisition de Goa* (note 7), 35–40.
  50. There was indeed an image of execution in Dellon's *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*, but many of its details are markedly different.
  51. Du Pin, *Mémoires historiques* (note 4), 2:335.
  52. Francisco Bethencourt, "The Auto da Fé: Ritual and Imagery," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992): 165.
  53. Bethencourt, "Auto da Fé" (note 52), 165.
  54. See Nathan Wachtel, *La foi du souvenir: Labyrinthes marranes* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2001), 107–60.
  55. See Alain-Marie Bassy, "Le texte et l'image," in Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin, eds., *Histoire de l'édition française*, vol. 2, *Le livre triomphant, 1660–1830* (Paris: Promodis, 1984), 140–61.
  56. William B. MacGregor, "The Authority of Prints: An Early Modern Perspective," *Art History* 22 (1999): 389–421.
  57. Bethencourt, "Auto da Fé" (note 52), 167.

58. [Bernard,] *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* (note 2), 2:92 = [Bernard,] *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* (note 2), 2:350.

59. [Bernard,] *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* (note 2), 2:350.

60. In Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, eds., *Encyclopédie; ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Paris: Briasson [etc.], 1751–80; reprint, Stuttgart: Friedrich Fommann, 1966–67), s.v. "Inquisition," 8:775, the Inquisition was described in severe terms and the role of images clearly played an important part:

An Asian who arrived in Madrid on the day of such an execution would not know whether it was a celebration, a religious festival, a sacrifice, or a slaughter; and it is all that together. Kings, whose mere presence is sufficient to pardon a criminal elsewhere, enhance the spectacle, from a seat less elevated than the inquisitor's, and watch their subjects expiring in the flames. One reproached Moncezuma for immolating captives to his gods; what would he have said if he had seen an auto-da-fé?

This description by Louis de Jaucourt (1704–80) is a true indictment of the Holy Office. Jaucourt's text precisely depicted rituals in Bernard and Picart's way.

Furthermore, the comparison with Moncezuma reminds one of the purpose of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*: the Inquisition was a barbaric institution, and Holy Office put European civilization into perspective, according to Jaucourt: "If in the future anyone dares to say that in the eighteenth century, all the peoples of Europe were refined, the Inquisition may be cited to prove that they were mainly barbarians" (p. 776).