

# Introduction

This book explores two areas of interest: the Papal Inquisition in Modena and the status of Jews in an early modern Italian duchy. Its purpose is to deepen existing insights into the role of the former and thus lead to a better understanding of how an Inquisitorial court assumed jurisdiction over a practising Jewish community in the seventeenth century. In recent years, a significant number of publications and conferences has reflected increasing interest in the history of the Inquisition. However, efforts to identify individual Jews (who had no relation to *conversos* – that is, Jews who forcibly or out of choice had converted to Christianity – either as former *conversos* themselves or as those who gave *conversos* returning to Judaism aid and comfort), and understand the issues confronting them in the Inquisition are just beginning to be considered.<sup>1</sup> Scholars have in the past tended to group trials of Jews and *conversos* in Italy together and to see these two groups as being treated as one and the same by the Inquisition.

This book argues that trials of the two groups are different because the ecclesiastical tribunals viewed *conversos* as heretics but Jews as infidels. It emphasizes the fundamental disparity in Inquisitorial procedure regarding Jews, as well as the evidence examined, especially in Modena where the Duke did not have the power during the period in question to reject Inquisitorial trial procedure, and uses the detailed testimony to be found in Inquisitorial trial transcripts to analyse Jewish interaction with Christian society in an early modern community.

The Archivio di Stato in Modena houses a complete Inquisitorial archive, a ‘unicum’ as Paolo Prodi has termed it, perhaps the most extant register of any Roman Holy Office, due to the sheer extent and ‘organic unity’ of its records of trials, account books, collection of edicts, and correspondence with Rome, from the end of the sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth.<sup>2</sup> The Holy Office in Modena, which served the duchy, as did its neighbouring Holy Office in Reggio (both set up in 1598), contains details of at least 393 *processi* of practising Jews (8% of the total number) covering the period from the post-Tridentine Inquisition’s establishment to its demise in 1785, compared with some 4,829

of Christians, a collection unmatched by any other Inquisitorial archive in Italy.<sup>3</sup>

This book concentrates on Inquisitorial activity during the first 40 years of the history of the tribunal in Modena, from 1598 to 1638, the year of the Jews' enclosure in the ghetto, the period which historians have argued was the most active in the Inquisition's history.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, by 1638 Inquisitors had fully developed their techniques for identifying, prosecuting and condemning offenders and their supporters, which enabled a degree of standardization of trial proceedings. In these 40 years there were 186 proceedings against Jews, compared to approximately 1,678 against Christians, meaning that 10% of trials carried out by the Holy Office were against Jews, and on average five proceedings were conducted against members of the Jewish community each year.

In these 186 *processi* there were approximately 325 Jewish suspects. Interestingly, proportionately fewer of the proceedings were against Jewish women (34 or 10%, compared with 310, or 18%, for Christians). This was because few Jewish women were accused of practising sorcery or malefic magic, which were common charges against Christian women, especially at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup> When in December 1638 the ghetto was established the number of trials of Jews brought before the Modenese Inquisition fell to approximately one a year for two reasons. First, the Christian community became more conscious of the physical and religious boundaries demanded by the Church and, second, social segregation meant that Jews had less opportunity to violate the ecclesiastical regulations.<sup>6</sup>

A meeting of the International Symposium on the Inquisition held in the Vatican in October 1998 produced a final report which maintained that the Spanish Inquisition was not as terrible as had been previously believed, claiming that fewer than 2% of those interviewed by the Inquisition had been turned over to the secular powers for execution, whereas in contrast Portuguese studies have continued to confirm the ferocity of the Inquisition there.<sup>7</sup> In Italy research on the Roman Inquisition and its activities is still in progress. From the late 1970s to the early 1990s research on the Roman Inquisition centered more on trials than statistics, such as heresy, judaizing, witchcraft and possession of prohibited books.<sup>8</sup> From the 1990s, comprehensive studies began with John Tedeschi's groundbreaking work *The Prosecution of Heresy*, followed by that of François Bethencourt, who made a salient attempt to contrast the Roman Inquisition with that of the Spanish and Portuguese on all fronts including trial procedure, bureaucracy, *autos da fé* and the Inquisitions' respective emblems.<sup>9</sup> From that time, Italian historians, including Adriano Prosperi, Paolo Prodi, Peyronel Rambaldi, Giovanni Romeo, Massimo Firpo, Vincenzo Lavenia and Maria Pia Fantini, have furthered our knowledge of the tribunal. Adriano Prosperi's work in particular concerned the church, which in the post-Tridentine period became a social, cultural and moral institution, establishing norms of individual and collective

behaviour.<sup>10</sup> More important in terms of Inquisitorial history is the work of Andrea del Col, in particular his 2009 landmark study which confirmed not only the institutional weakness of the Inquisition but also the variety of Inquisitorial practice within the Italian peninsula.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, his work is the first to argue that the prosecution of professing Jews had a definitive place in the history of the institution in early modern Italy. Christopher Black's 2009 work has recently enabled the English-speaking world to understand the actions of the Inquisition in Italy, and furthers the argument that the Inquisition was a creative and didactic institution. His meticulous attention to detail is admirable.<sup>12</sup> The three-volume encyclopedia of the Inquisition published in 2010 by the *Edizioni della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa* under the auspices of the major research project directed by Adriano Prosperi, and co-edited by Prosperi and Tedeschi, has engaged dozens of scholars since 2006, and will be a significant aid to further research.<sup>13</sup>

Works that have touched on the Papal Inquisition in Italy and professing Jews include the 14 lectures from the international conference *L'Inquisizione e gli ebrei in Italia* held in Livorno in 1992, which were published in a volume edited by Michele Luzzati.<sup>14</sup> Yet both this work and the ground-breaking research of Brian Pullan's *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition in Venice 1550–1670* mainly concentrate on the trials of *conversos* and neophytes rather than practising Jews. Wendehorst's *Roman Inquisition*, the culmination of a series of workshops on the theme in 2001 and 2002, as well as including the conclusions drawn from the first viewings of the archives of the Vatican's Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, which opened its doors to scholars in 1998, raises many questions that historians need to keep in mind when researching the topic but offers few answers.<sup>15</sup> A further collection of essays as a result of the conference *Le inquisizioni cristiane e gli ebrei* in Rome in December 2001, which dealt with both judaizing and professing Jews, has interesting contributions by Renata Segre and Guido Dall'Olio, on trials of professing Jews in Pesaro and in Ferrara respectively, although no study of trials in Modena.<sup>16</sup> Marina Caffiero's book on forced baptism in Rome has enlightened scholars about the strategies of the Congregation of the Holy Office to forcibly convert professing Jews in Rome during the eighteenth century.<sup>17</sup> However, despite these numerous studies, no historian has as yet categorically studied the prosecution of practising Jews in Italy before a Papal Inquisition in order to understand the effect of such prosecution upon the Jewish community and its interaction with neighbouring Christians.

The specific question of Jews and the Inquisition in Modena has been examined by a number of historians, in particular Andrea Balletti, Albano Biondi, Romano Canosa, Mauro Perani, Federica Francesconi and Maria Pia Balboni. Balletti's work in 1930 offered an important introduction to Jewish life in Modena from medieval to modern times, and made some primary refer-

ences to the Inquisition's jurisdiction over Jews.<sup>18</sup> Biondi worked more on the structure of the Papal Inquisition in Modena, touching upon the Inquisition's treatment of Jewish–Christian interaction and the way formal Catholic doctrine regarded Jews at the start of the modern era.<sup>19</sup> He described the close relationship between Jews and Christians in Modena and the attraction of Christians to Jewish customs and rituals, and discussed the case of Christian women from Livorno who worked as servants in the houses of wealthy Jews in Modena and were as a consequence brought before the Inquisition for having adopted certain Jewish rituals. (This was not judaizing in the explicit sense, but they had a sufficient patina of Jewishness to attract the Inquisition's attention.) Canosa has described several *processi* of Modenese Jews, as well as those of Jews before other tribunals, but without comment or broader observation.<sup>20</sup> Mauro Perani and more recently Federica Francesconi have used Inquisitorial trials to decipher the literary focus and culture of Modenese Jews and the censoring of Jewish books by the tribunal.<sup>21</sup> Maria Pia Balboni's recent monograph on the Jews of Finale provides an enlightening study on the history of the Jews in the small town in the duchy of Modena.<sup>22</sup>

In effect this study continues where these scholars have stopped and primarily analyses the *processi* of an Inquisitorial tribunal to further our understanding of Jewish–Christian interaction in the early modern period. In Modena, Jews were accused of a number of offences, which included employing Christian servants and wetnurses, irreverently cursing, dissuading other Jews from being baptized, desecrating Christian images, disturbing Christian prayer, fraternizing with Christians, possessing prohibited books, proselytizing, obstructing the work of the Holy Office, building synagogues without licences, sexual intercourse with Christians, abusing the Christian sacraments, threatening neophytes, *maleficio*, astrology and divination. Most of these offences, the Inquisition argued, had been committed by Jews during their daily contact with Christians.

Nevertheless, the use of *processi* for historical research continues to remain contentious for cautious historians, since these sources contain testimonies which focus on the transgressive experience of events rather than the real one. A close look at the historiography of the Inquisition and crime reveals that, since some of the most polemical writings began in the nineteenth century, historians have analysed the prosecution and activities of law courts from the standpoint of many needs and interests.<sup>23</sup> At first scholars interested in the role of religion in both public and private life pointed to the persecution of minority faiths in the name of orthodoxy, its political role as a tool of the authoritarian state and the extent to which it contributed to Spain's political, cultural and economic decline.<sup>24</sup> Then, in the twentieth century, as religious conviction declined, historians began to study the records of legal tribunals to gather statistics and understand the extent of their activities. In his monumental four-volume work *A History*

*of the Inquisition in Spain* of 1922, Henry Charles Lea contested the traditional apologetic approach of previous Inquisitorial historians, to produce a systematic critical study of the Inquisition's role and effect. In the later twentieth century, scholars such as Carlo Ginzburg, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Guido Ruggiero, Natalie Zemon Davis and Daniel Lord Smail studied trials in various secular and ecclesiastical archives across Europe using sophisticated modes of analysis that combined anthropological and historical methods.<sup>25</sup> Trial transcripts which had previously been used to compile the inventories of the proceedings began to yield compelling stories of the behaviour and thoughts of ordinary people. These scholars trusted the meticulous note-taking of Inquisitorial notaries who compiled the trial dossiers, accepting them as sources that produced facts and knowledge that was considered authentic. Such studies by influential historians continue to be published and these works exhibit less concern for the limitations of what these documents reveal than determination by these scholars to uncover not only the workings of the judicial institutions, but the makings of the transgressing society that gave rise to such prosecutions.

There is still, however, serious criticism of this type of historical research.<sup>26</sup> Two Italian historians, Mario Sbriccoli and Eduardo Grendi, have taken opposite sides, the former maintaining that criminal records are highly formulated texts that can only provide historians with the history and statistics of legal institutions, the latter arguing that trials bring to light the religious, social and cultural practices of suspects and witnesses which jurists sought to regulate.<sup>27</sup> A compromise position, and one which seems more acceptable, is taken by Andrea Del Col, who maintains that trial proceedings remain incomplete records which it is the historian's duty to use in conjunction with extrajudicial sources which allow a wider understanding of the tribunal's history.<sup>28</sup> There can be no doubt, as Del Col argues, that using Inquisitorial trial transcripts as primary sources brings several problems, particularly concerning how the text should be read and understood.<sup>29</sup> The Inquisitorial courtroom, after all, was a place of tension and conflict. The Inquisitor demanded information from a position of power and control. His suspects or witnesses remained unsure of the extent of his knowledge and whether he knew of facts they wished to hide or avoid confronting. The trial document contains information introduced by three categories of persons – delators, suspects and witnesses – all of whom had reasons both to lie and to tell the truth.<sup>30</sup> It is therefore questionable whether historians can learn the whole truth about them, the relations between them and the offence that was allegedly committed. Having been obliged to remain in prison for weeks or months during a long investigation and then being exposed to threatening questions, suspects were understandably anxious and stressed; they spoke under the constraints of authority, which meant that the threat of punishment and fear of torture conditioned what they said. Delators and witnesses, too, framed their

answers within constraints set by the procedures of the court, the categories of legal thought, and the wider circumstances of the alleged offence and its investigation. Their narrative combines perception, memory and articulation, reproducing facts, but modifying them, adapting them to their situation and purposes, depending on their relationships with the authorities, their adversary and the group to which they belonged.<sup>31</sup> As a result, the historian must not take the testimony of the delator, suspect or witness at face value. The Inquisitor was often seeking information on events that had taken place months or even years ago; it would be surprising if witnesses were able to give complete, balanced and accurate answers to every question. Inconsistencies and even misinterpretations are only to be expected.

If, however, these problems can be surmounted, and a level of decoding achieved, the trial becomes a mechanism which makes accessible many surprising facets of the population. Trials certainly reveal how the Inquisition affected the daily life of the community, the offences of which people were accused, and the sorts of punishments given, but they also allow a historian searching for social contact between Jews and Christians to decode and garner this information, since details of daily living – the scope of interaction, the places of meeting and the types of relationships – filter through testimonies often more easily than polemic non-conformist beliefs or complex *maleficio* spells.

The notarial proceedings of the trials, which purport to record testimony verbatim, provide extraordinarily rich images of daily life, concerns, anxieties and interaction between Jew and Christian, uncovering who said what to whom and how particular people absorbed and communicated information. The transcript records not just the obviously central deeds of delators and suspects but the behaviour of witnesses, neighbours, family, friends and enemies. As a result, the historian discovers traces of behaviour that emanate from various levels of society and are viewed from multiple perspectives. Trial records give access to the lives of people on all social levels.

Moreover, this is often the only source the historian has to show that a particular form of offence has taken place; no local chronicler or secular court notary knew enough of the details of the Inquisitorial investigations to comment. Except for the account by Rabbi Yishmael Hanina of his torture by the Bolognese Inquisition in 1568 and the description of the Inquisition's prisons in Rome by Benjamin Ben Elnatan of Civitanova around the same time, no Jewish record of an Inquisitorial trial has as yet been discovered.<sup>32</sup> Inquisitors held private interrogations; the Inquisitorial judges were ecclesiastics whose professional sense of secrecy and loyalty was based on their commitment to eradicate heresy and deviance, and the Inquisitorial court notaries were forbidden to comment on their work. These documents therefore provide important information about a private tribunal and the authority it held over a local Jewish community.

The study of these trials is based on three facets of the complex and multi-layered text of Inquisitorial trials – the judicial aspect, the biographical aspect, and inter-community interaction.

### Judicial aspect

The procedures of the Inquisitorial courtroom are reconstructed and the assumption by the Inquisition of the authority to prosecute practising Jews in early modern Italy is investigated. In medieval times Inquisitorial procedure in both ecclesiastical and lay courts had been concerned specifically with Christians, dealing with issues of canon law, in particular the right to regulate the lives of Christians ‘from the cradle to the grave’, and criminal jurisdiction.<sup>33</sup> Although in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries highly respected authorities such as Thomas Aquinas and Nicolau Eymeric had argued that in principle the Inquisition was entitled to judge practising Jews who had never been baptized, it is unlikely that this occurred regularly in the late Middle Ages. The Modenese records provide the earliest known evidence of a branch of the Roman Inquisition attempting systematically to discipline a Jewish community.

The Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office was founded in 1542 with the bull *Licet ab initio*. By the 1560s and 1570s official tribunals controlled by a centrally organized bureaucratic structure operated through most of Italy. These tribunals established firmer boundaries between Catholics and infidels. Jews, who had become more permanent inhabitants of many Italian states and duchies, began to face segregation and ghettoization in allocated areas of cities where they lived. As a result, Inquisitorial jurisdiction over Jews helped to further its own goal of ‘disciplining’ Catholic society, the term successfully adopted by Paolo Prodi and Adriano Prospero in their work on the Papal Inquisition, although as Wietse de Boer has succinctly argued, whether this was achieved in reality is still questionable.<sup>34</sup>

The Inquisitorial court in Modena did not have the cohesive judicial structure, authority, funding or ability to develop and shape legal doctrine on the Jews and their position in Christian society. The trials instead hint at the tensions produced by local enforcement of canon law on the one hand and the growing strength of ducal jurisdiction and secular law on the other. These trials from the beginning of the seventeenth century provide important information about the daily monitoring of Jews by different authorities in the duchy, suggesting that this task was increasingly entrusted to secular and ecclesiastical courts, until the final abolition of the Inquisition by Duke Ercole III on 6 September 1785.

None of the Jews involved in the trials were put to death by the Inquisition in Modena, the sentence in most cases being a monetary fine (which was

paid either by the individual or by a collection among the Jewish community).<sup>35</sup> This leads to the question whether local Jews actually feared the Inquisition or whether they, especially those far from communal power, simply saw it as just another court to which they might turn in the event of dispute with the local Jewish community. In Modena Jews were never granted the right to set up their own law courts, but as in Rome could appoint their own Jewish arbiters. Disputes, whether involving Jews and Christians or just Jews, were settled by compromise between arbiters, sometimes Christian, sometimes Jewish, and then, in order to make them enforceable, the agreements were brought to official lay notaries. But it is interesting to note that on occasions Jews themselves as well as neophytes – Jews who had recently converted to Christianity – used the Inquisition to denounce practising Jews. Why did these marginalized individuals choose the Inquisition as the court they believed would listen to their case?<sup>36</sup>

### Biographical aspect

Another aspect of the trials which is of interest is the profiles of the individual Jews summoned before the Inquisition, who found themselves at odds with the criteria for Jewish behaviour sanctioned by the Church. Although most of them did not put pen to paper, their personal testimonies as recorded by the court notaries constitute an important type of oral text not found in other sources. They came from all levels of Jewish society, wealthy bankers, shopkeepers, mattress-makers and prostitutes.

A full analysis of the 186 trials combines the disciplines of history, anthropology and gender studies to provide an understanding of these Jews and their situations, as well as, when possible, of their Christian neighbours who denounced them. The testimonies of delators, suspects and witnesses are not the stories of their lives from before the time of the offence as much as judicial tales based on what the records of investigations and prosecutions reveal about the offence. Moreover, trial investigations were not standardized – not all Jews were required to give details of their marital and family status, their address and their place of origin – which makes it impossible to gather the important facts and statistics that are required. It also makes it impossible to assume, since Jews often had identical names, that one particular Jew is the same suspect as another in a different *processo*. Once the trial is over the individuals disappear, unless of course they are summoned again or appear in other extant records. It is not always possible to know whether Jews returned to their community in Modena after receiving punishments and absolutions, or went to live somewhere else.



### Inter-community interaction

The final aspect of these trials which is investigated is the critical interweaving of relations, the encounter between members of the Christian and Jewish communities, which is their essence. A study will be made of the dynamics of the social and cultural relationships between Jewish and Christian communities in Modena in the early seventeenth century. What degree of physical proximity was there between Christians and Jews? Did specific economic relationships affect matters in any way? At a time when subjects were expected to declare their religious allegiances so that the state might supervise them effectively, were ordinary people anxious to maintain visible distinctions between the Jewish outsiders and themselves, or was this imposed from above by magistrates or clergy? The answers to these questions can be found by examining in detail the various testimonies given by Christians and Jews in these trials.

The book is divided into three parts. The first, comprising Chapters 1 and 2, deals with the Inquisition as a judicial body and its disciplining of Jews in the duchy of Modena. Chapter 1 sets the Inquisition and the Jewish community in their social and political contexts and concentrates on a survey of the methodology of the Inquisition, charting the way the court came to judge Jews. At issue are the attitudes towards practising Jews and the sort of prosecution they were subjected to. Chapter 2 concentrates on Inquisitorial trial procedure and clarifies procedural adjustments made by the Inquisition in its treatment of Jews, the main strands of its trial procedure, and the ways in which these factors shaped the material the Inquisition produced. Statistics show the number of Jews who were tried, the type of offence and the sorts of punishments they faced. The chapter ends with an assessment of the deepened insights into the role of the Inquisition in Jewish life and how the increasing jurisdiction of this ecclesiastical court affected Modenese life in the early modern period.

The second part of the book, containing Chapters 3 and 4, focuses on the types of offences for which Jews were tried more often than others in the duchy, that of hiring Christian servants and blasphemy. Chapter 3 examines the interaction between Jews and Christians in a Jewish household, particularly the employment of Christian wetnurses and servants in contravention of ecclesiastical regulations, revealing Christians entering the homes of Jews without hesitation, the encounter and communication between Jewish masters and Christian servants, and the support that the latter gave to the former when they (the Jews) were put on trial. Chapter 4 examines trials in which Jews were accused of profane swearing, or heretical blasphemy (*bestemmia hereticale* as it was labelled by the Inquisition) in public, on the streets, in *piazze* or shops. Examination of these offences reveals, among other things, that the Modenese Inquisition was a tribunal to which Jews on occasion had recourse against their co-religionists.

These proceedings for blasphemy therefore give an important opportunity for studying discipline, community and individual identity.

The third part contains three micro-historical studies, examining individual trial proceedings for dissuading others from being baptized, disturbing Christian ceremonies and proselytizing, reading them in light of the previous analysis and in relation to the other trials of the period which dealt with the same offences. The *processi* on which they are based were chosen because they are exceptionally well documented or give special insights into Jewish–Christian interaction in the duchy of Modena. Near the beginning of each chapter, the trial or trials of the Jews who committed these offences are described in detail, as there is intrinsic value in presenting this material *in extenso* since the trials are not otherwise available other than in their original archival manuscripts. The original Italian or Latin is provided in footnotes if it is difficult to translate literally or has technicalities which cannot be easily turned into English. Chapter 5 deals with the fascinating *processo* against the wealthy Jewish banker Viviano Sanguinetti, who was accused of dissuading his daughter from being baptized in 1602. It uncovers a romance that took place mostly in the traditional Italian setting of a window balcony, between the wealthy young Jewess Miriana Sanguinetti and her Christian admirer, and requires a new analysis of the reasons why, and the circumstances in which, Jews would choose to convert to Catholicism. Most scholars have argued that the main reasons were poverty and faith, but here it was the romantic dream of a wealthy young Jewess that led her into a dangerous flirtation with a Christian, halted eventually by her own intelligence rather than her emotional family ties.

Chapters 6 and 7 analyse trials that report tensions between Jews and Christians during a clash of festivals – Passover and Holy Week, and Purim and Holy Week respectively. Any incident during Lent, let alone Holy Week, was taken very seriously by the Holy Office. Chapter 6 studies the continuous disturbances that a group of Jews created in their *castello* in 1604 in the small town of Soliera, within earshot of the local church during church offices. An attempt is made to understand why the Jews would chose by a process of amalgamation and illusion, to act as though they themselves were the defiant insiders at Easter time and not the Christians.

Chapter 7 focuses on a trial in which a Jewish banker, Moisè de Modena, well respected in the community (Christian as well as Jewish), decided in 1625 to make a stand against a couple of constables and refuse them the customary ‘protection money’ which they asked for during the festival of Purim. This event provided the shaky foundation for their charge of proselytizing. De Modena faced persistent Inquisitorial prosecution but chose also to hire Christian legal counsel to defend him. The trial raises questions about Jews who were able to handle their defence and work behind the scenes during Inquisitorial prosecu-

tion to ensure their acquittal, as well as the process of gift-giving as a specific social practice between Jews and Christians during the Jews' 'carnavalesque' Purim, which in this particular year fell in Holy Week.

The geographical areas studied here are the city capital of Modena and the small towns and rural settlements around it such as Carpi, Castelfranco, Correggio, Finale (now Finale Emilia), Formigine, Marano (now Maranello), Mirandola, Nonantola, San Felice, Sassuolo, Soliera, Spezzano, Spilamberto and Vignola, where the families of bankers and other businessmen lived.<sup>37</sup> Jews from these communities were indicted and called to the Inquisition for prosecution. But knowledge about the communities is limited due to the scarcity of sources, both in the Archivio di Stato di Modena and the Jewish community archives. Jews living in these areas were not forced into the ghetto in 1638, which housed only those Jews living in the city-capital.<sup>38</sup>

The prosecution of practising Jews in Italy by a Papal Inquisition is a subject hitherto largely unanalysed that demands further exploration and integration into the better-known history of both the Inquisition and the Jews in an early modern Italian duchy. An analysis of Inquisitorial documents in the light of other extrajudicial sources regarding Jewish life in Modena provides insight into an important aspect of social relations in an early modern political and social community.

### Notes

- 1 See Stephan Wendehorst (ed.), *The Roman Inquisition, the Index and the Jews: Contexts, Sources and Perspectives* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2004).
- 2 See the preface by Paolo Prodi in Giuseppe Trenti, *I Processi del Tribunale dell'Inquisizione di Modena: Inventario Generale Analitico 1489–1874* (Modena: Aedes Muratoriana, 2003), p. v. On the correspondence of the Modenese Inquisition with the Congregation of the Holy Office, see Grazia Biondi, 'Le lettere della Sacra Congregazione Romana del Santo Ufficio all'Inquisizione di Modena; note in margine a un regesto', *Schifanoia*, 4 (1987), 93–107.
- 3 On the number of *processi* in the archives, see Trenti, *I Processi*, p. 46. Trenti gives a total for the 245 buste from 1489 to 1784 of 5,185 trial pamphlets and 6,070 individual cases. This final number does not seem to take account of the 194 trial proceedings against Jews in the Archivio di Stato di Modena (from now on abbreviated as ASMo) *Causae Hebreorum*. Regarding the number of proceedings against professing Jews, Albano Biondi notes in his article 'Gli ebrei e l'Inquisizione negli stati Estensi', in Michele Luzzati (ed.), *L'Inquisizione e gli ebrei in Italia* (Rome: Laterza, 1994), pp. 265–85, 280, that in the seven buste of the ASMo, entitled *Causae Hebreorum*, there are 195 booklets of proceedings against Jews from 1599 to 1670. In fact on my count there were 194, of which four were either against Christians or specifically against neophytes, in which no professing Jews appeared – ASMoFICH 245 f.64; ASMoFICH 245 f.66; ASMoFICH 246 f.1; and ASMoFICH 247 f.20. The Italian term *processo* does not always mean a trial in the English sense; it was rather an inquiry which resulted in a court drawing up a dossier. Some *processi* consist of little more than a denunciation and one or two witness statements, while others are very large collections of documents which include formal accusations, defence pleadings and sentences. For a survey of the number of trials against Jews in other areas, see William Monter and John Tedeschi, 'Towards a Statistical Profile of the Italian Inquisitions', in Gustav Henningsen and John Tedeschi in association with Charles Amiel (eds.), *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe. Studies on Sources and Methods* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), p. 136. The Holy Office in Reggio was abolished in 1780.

- 4 See Andrea del Col, 'I documenti del Sant'Uffizio come fonti per la storia istituzionale e la storia degli inquisiti', *Cromohs: Cyber Review of Modern Historiography*, 10, 2005 unpaginated at [www.cromohs.unifi.it](http://www.cromohs.unifi.it); Andrea del Col, *L'Inquisizione in Italia dal XII al XXI secolo* (Milan: Mondadori, 2006), 776, 782; and Christopher F. Black, *The Italian Inquisition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 135.
- 5 See Mary O'Neil, 'Magical Healing, Love Magic and the Inquisition in Late Sixteenth-Century Modena', in Stephen Haliczzer (ed.), *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 88–113; and William Monter, 'Women and the Italian Inquisitions', in Mary Beth Rose (ed.), *Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Literary and Historical Perspectives* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986), pp. 73–87.
- 6 The perception of space and identity for Jews was very different in a pre-ghetto society. Once the ghetto was erected, it became not only the enclosure and living space of the Jews but also their place of work, recreation and refreshment.
- 7 The Portuguese historian H.P. Salomon emphasizes that the monarchy was continually a moving force of the Inquisition during its 185 years from 1536 to 1721. See Herman Prins Saloman, 'New Light on the Portuguese Inquisition: The Second Reply to the Archbishop of Cranganor' *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 5 (1971), 178–86. See also Robert Rowland, 'L'Inquisizione Portoghese e gli Ebrei', in Michele Luzzati (ed.), *L'Inquisizione e gli ebrei in Italia* (Rome: Laterza, 1994), pp. 47–66, in particular 55–7; and Edouard Roditi 'The Making of Jews, or the Inquisition in Portugal', *Judaism*, 19 (1970), 435–43.
- 8 Studies of heresy trials include Carlo Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi: Il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500* (Torino: Einaudi, 1976); John Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Henry Ansgar Kelly, 'Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy: Misconceptions and Abuses', *Church History*, 58 (1989), 439–51. Works on judaizing trials include that of Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini, who has published 14 volumes of mainly *converso* trials executed by the Venetian Inquisition in *Processi del S. Uffizio di Venezia contro ebrei e giudaizzanti* (Florence: Olschiki, 1980–99). Brian Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice 1550–1670* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983) has evaluated these trials synthetically. See also Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini (ed.), *L'Identità dissimulata. Giudaizzanti iberici nell'Europa Cristiana dell'età moderna* (Florence: Olschki, 2000); and Peter Mazur, 'Negotiating with the Inquisition. Conversos, the Holy Office and the Viceroy of Naples, 1569–1582', *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, 20 (2007), 41–56. For studies on witchcraft trials, see Richard Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture 1300–1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles, Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); Giovanni Romeo, *Inquisitori, esorcisti e streghe nell'Italia della Controriforma* (Florence: Sansoni, 1990); See also Ruth Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice 1550–1650* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); Carlo Ginzburg, 'Witchcraft and Popular Piety: Notes on a Modenese Trial of 1519', in *Clues, Myths and the Historical Method*, trans. John and Anne C. Tedeschi (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), pp. 165–70. On the confiscation of Jewish books, see Mauro Perani, 'Confisca e censura di libri ebraici a Modena fra Cinque e Seicento', in Michele Luzzati (ed.), *L'Inquisizione e gli ebrei in Italia* (Rome: Laterza, 1994), pp. 287–320. On the confiscation of heretical books see Paul Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977); and John Tedeschi, *The Prosecution of Heresy, Collected Studies on the Inquisition in Early Modern Italy* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991) Chapters 8–11; Federica Francesconi, 'Dangerous Readings in Early-Modern Modena: Negotiating Jewish Culture in an Italian Key', in Joseph Hacker and Adam Shear (eds), *The Jewish Books: Material Texts and Comparative Contexts* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming 2010); and Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, *The Censor, the Editor, and the Text: The Catholic Church and the Shaping of the Jewish Canon in the Sixteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 52.
- 9 François Bethencourt, *L'Inquisition à l'époque moderne: Espagne, Italie, Portugal XV–XIX siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1995), p. 198. His work has now been translated into English and includes

- a new introduction outlining some of the historiographical developments since the book was first published. See Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478–1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- 10 Adriano Prosperi, 'L'Inquisizione: verso una nuova immagine?', *Critica Storica*, 25 (1988), 119–45; Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza, Inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1996); and Adriano Prosperi, 'L'inquisitore come confessore', in Paolo Prodi (ed.), *Disciplina dell'anima, disciplina del corpo e disciplina della società tra medioevo ed età moderna: Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico. Quaderno 40* (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 1994), pp. 187–224.
  - 11 del Col, *L'Inquisizione in Italia*.
  - 12 Black, *Italian Inquisition*.
  - 13 Adriano Prosperi, Vincenzo Lavenia and John Tedeschi (eds), *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2010).
  - 14 Michele Luzzati (ed.), *L'Inquisizione e gli ebrei in Italia* (Rome: Laterza, 1994). One of the papers, that by Robert Rowland, addressed the question of the Portuguese Inquisition and the Jews, see 'L'Inquisizione portoghese e gli ebrei', in Luzzati (ed.), *L'Inquisizione*, pp. 47–66.
  - 15 See also Stephan Wendehorst's article, 'The Roman Inquisition, the Index and the Jews: Sources and Perspectives for Research', *Jewish History*, 17 (2003), pp. 55–76.
  - 16 Giuseppe Galasso (ed.), *Le Inquisizioni cristiane e gli ebrei: tavola rotonda nell'ambito della Conferenza annuale di ricerca, Roma, 20–21 Dicembre 2001* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003).
  - 17 Marina Caffiero, *Battesimi forzati: Storie di ebrei, cristiani e convertiti nella Roma dei papi* (Rome: Viella, 2004).
  - 18 Andrea Balletti, *Gli Ebrei e gli Estensi* (Reggio-Emilia: Anonima Poligrafica, 1930).
  - 19 See Biondi, 'Gli ebrei e l'Inquisizione.'
  - 20 See Romano Canosa, 'L'Inquisizione e gli Ebrei', in *Storia dell'Inquisizione in Italia dalla metà del Cinquecento alla fine del Settecento*, vol. I, *Modena* (Rome: Sapere 2000, 1986), pp. 34–57. See also Romano Canosa's descriptions of trials against Jews in different states in *Storia dell'Inquisizione in Italia dalla metà del Cinquecento alla fine del Settecento*, vol. I–V (Rome: Sapere 2000, 1987–90). In three of the five volumes there is at least one chapter dealing with various Inquisitorial trials of Jews. See vol. I (Modena), 132–7; vol. II (Venice), 86–98, and vol. III (Turin and Genoa), 157–71.
  - 21 Perani, 'Confisca e censura', pp. 287–320, and Francesconi, 'Dangerous Readings'.
  - 22 Maria Pia Balboni, *Gli Ebrei del Finale Emilia nel Cinquecento e nel Seicento* (Florence: Giuntina, 2005).
  - 23 See John A. Tedeschi (ed.), *The Italian Reformation of the Sixteenth Century and the Diffusion of Renaissance Culture: A Bibliography of the Secondary Literature, ca. 1750–1997* (Ferrara: Strumenti (Istituto di studi rinascimentali), 2000); Johan Tollebeek's recent work: *Writing the Inquisition in Europe and America: The Correspondence between Henry Charles Lea and Paul Fredericq (1888–1908)* (Brussels: Koninklijke Commissie Voor Geschiedenis, 2004); and Bethencourt's new introduction in *Inquisition*, pp. 7–16.
  - 24 See, for example, the work of the Spaniard Juan Antonio Llorente, who in 1813 wrote his most celebrated work *Historia crítica de la Inquisición española* (Madrid, 1822). The American historian William Prescott in his *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), originally published in 1837 followed Llorente's line of argument by drawing attention to the repressive actions of the Inquisition.
  - 25 Carlo Ginzburg, *I Benandanti: ricerche sulla stregoneria e sui culti agrari tra Cinquecento e Seicento* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1966); and *Il formaggio e i vermi*; Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: Village Occitan de 1294 à 1324* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975); Guido Ruggiero, *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage and Power at the End of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987) and Daniel Lord Smail, *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity and Legal Culture in Marseilles 1264–1423* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2003). Excellent more recent examples are Richard L.

- Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); and Sara T. Nalle, *Mad for God: Bartolomé Sánchez: The Secret Messiah of Cardenete* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001).
- 26 See Andrea del Col, 'I criteri dello storico nell'uso delle fonti inquisitoriali moderne', in *L'Inquisizione romana: metodologia delle fonti e storia istituzionale. Atti del Seminario internazionale, Monte-reale Valcellina, Circolo culturale Menocchio, 23–24 settembre 1999*, a cura di A. del Col and G. Paolin (Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2000), pp. 51–72; and del Col, 'I documenti del Sant'Uffizio'.
  - 27 Mario Sbriccoli, 'Fonti giudiziarie e fonti giuridiche. Riflessioni sulla fase attuale degli studi di storia del crimine e della giustizia criminale', *Quaderni Storici*, 99 (1998), 491–501; and Eduardo Grendi, 'Sulla "storia criminale": risposta a Mario Sbriccoli', *Quaderni storici*, 73 (1990), 267–75.
  - 28 Andrea del Col, 'I processi dell'Inquisizione come fonte: considerazioni diplomatiche e storiche', *Annuario dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea*, 35–6 (1983–84), 29–49.
  - 29 For a discussion of the problems, see John Tedeschi, 'Inquisitorial Sources and Their Uses', in *The Prosecution of Heresy*, pp. 47–88; and Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero (eds.), *History from Crime* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), pp. vii–xviii.
  - 30 The person who denounced an offence to the Inquisition was not technically an accuser but a delator. The delator did not personally undertake to prove the case and suffer penalties if he or she failed, but handed over the case to the Inquisition, which then decided whether to act on it. The delator was almost always protected by anonymity.
  - 31 On the importance of memory and memory loss see Daniel Schachter, *Searching for Memory: The Brain, the Mind and the Past* (New York: Basic Books, 1996).
  - 32 On Rabbi Yishmael Hanina, see Aaron Jelinek, 'Investigations on Christian Matters and Answers Concerning the Abuses of the Neophyte Alesandro di Foligno in November 1568 by Rabbi Ishmael Haninah da Valmontone', *HaShahar*, 2 (1871), 17–23 (in Hebrew); and David Ruderman, 'A Jewish Apologetic Treatise from Sixteenth-Century Bologna', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 50 (1979), 254–5. On Benjamin Ben Elnatan of Civitanova, see Isaiaha Sonne, *From Paul IV to Pius V* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1954), pp. 71–6. Elnatan provides us with a rich commentary on life in an Inquisitorial prison, the number of rooms, the court-yards, the number of prisoners and the behaviour of the guards.
  - 33 See James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law (MedievalWorld)* (London: Longman, 1995), pp. 71 and 75.
  - 34 See Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza*; Paolo Prodi, *Una storia della giustizia: Dal pluralismo dei fori al moderno dualismo tra coscienza e diritto* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2000); and Wietse de Boer, 'Social discipline in Italy: Peregrinations of a Historical Paradigm', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte / Archive for Reformation History*, 94 (2003), 294–307.
  - 35 See ASMoFIP 1 f.9. The first Christian heretic to be condemned to death but not executed was Mario Magnavacca in 1566, while the Inquisition in Modena was still a vicariate. See ASMoFIP 201 f.8. The last time the death penalty was enforced was in 1727, on the spinner Vincenzo Pellicciari, who was executed for sacrilegious acts and uttering heretical statements.
  - 36 Kenneth Stow, *Theater of Acculturation: The Roman Ghetto in the Sixteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), p. 59.
  - 37 Jews were not allowed to own or farm land in these smaller areas. For details regarding the Jewish bankers who lived in each of the small principalities, see Balletti, *Gli Ebrei*, pp. 66–7.
  - 38 See for example the case of Finale, in Balboni, *Gli Ebrei*, p. 210. Jews were not ghettoized here until 1736.