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***“Living Under the Evil Pope”:
Paul IV and the Jews in the Chronicle
by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche.***



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In loving memory of Daniela Vaccher

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

List of Abbreviations

b.	busta
cf.	compare
fig.	figure
fol.	folio
fold.	folder
ms.	manuscript
n.d.	no date given
n.n.	no number
n.p.	not paginated
not.	notary
p.	page
pt.	part
r.	<i>recto</i>
reg.	register
t.	tomo
v.	<i>verso</i>
vol.	volume
ACDF	Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Città del Vaticano <i>S.O., St. St.</i> = Sant'Ufficio, Stanza Storica
ACEAn	Archivio della Comunità Ebraica, Ancona
AJA	The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati
ANCM	Archivio Notarile Mandamentale di Civitanova Marche, Archivio di Stato di Macerata
ASC	Archivio Storico Capitolino, Roma <i>Cam. Cap.</i> = Camera Capitolina <i>cat.</i> = catena <i>cred.</i> = credenzzone <i>stragr.</i> = stragrande
ASCm	Archivio Storico Comunale, Civitanova Marche
ASM	Archivio di Stato, Macerata
ASP	Archivio di Stato, Pesaro
ASR	Archivio di Stato, Roma

ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Città del Vaticano
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano <i>Barb. Lat.</i> = Fondo Barberiniano Latino <i>Borg. Lat.</i> = Fondo Borgiano Latino <i>Cappon.</i> = Fondo Capponiano <i>Urb. Lat.</i> = Fondo Urbinate Latino <i>Vat. Lat.</i> = Fondo Vaticano Latino
CAHJP	The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani</i> , Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960 –
<i>DSI</i>	<i>Dizionario Storico dell'Inquisizione</i> , 4 vols., ed. Adriano Prosperi in collaboration with Vincenzo Lavenia and John Tedeschi (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010)
NLI	National Library of Israel, Jerusalem
PASTOR	Ludwig von Pastor, <i>The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources</i> , 40 vols., trans. Ernest Graf et al. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., 1891-1953)
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des Études Juives</i> , Paris: Société des Études Juives, 1880 –
SONNE	<i>Me-Pavolo ha-revi'ì ad Pius he-ḥamishì. Croniqah ivrit min ha-me'ah ha-shesh esreh</i> , ed. Isaiah Sonne (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1954), 3-93

Bibliographical Notes

Bible

Unless otherwise stated, quotations from the Hebrew Bible follow the *JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh*, second edition (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1999).

Babylonian Talmud (BT)

Unless otherwise stated, quotations from the Babylonian Talmud follow the edition by Isidore Epstein (London: Soncino Press, 1935-48).

NOTES ON CURRENCY, MEASURES, AND TIME

Currency

In Rome:*

scudo = 100 *baiocchi* (money of account)
scudo d'oro (Paul IV) = 2,3 *fiorini*
giulio or *paolo* = 10 *baiocchi*
grosso = 5 *baiocchi*
baiocco = 1/100 of a *scudo*
quattrino = 1/5 of a *baiocco*

In the Marche:

ducato = 1 *fiorino* (of Florence)
fiorino = 40 *bolognini*
bolognino = 6 *quattrini*

Measures*

braccio da tela (cloth measure) = 0,63614 m = 2 feet or 24 inches
miglio romano (Roman mile) = 1489,479 m = 0,9255 miles

Time

Before the introduction of the Gregorian calendar (1582), Italian time-keeping as well as half of the Roman Empire relied on the Julian calendar “with a fixed sequence of twelve months, a 365-day year, and an extra day every four years.”¹ The names of the months are derived from the old Roman calendar: January is the first month and the last is December. In the Middle Ages, monastic daytime was regulated by canonical hours of prayer which entailed eight main hours, “beginning with Matins (around 2:00 a.m.) and ending with Compline, after sunset.”² By the time of the period that is covered in this study, canonical hours were announced with the ringing of the bells in Rome. Moreover, “Italian hours were counted from sunset, from one to twenty-four.”³

The Jewish calendar – based on a lunisolar system of twelve months – starts with the month of Nisan, in the spring, though the Jewish New Year, *Rosh ha-Shanah*, occurs in the month of Tishri (usually corresponding to September or early October in the Christian calendar). Days run from sunset to the next sunset and the weekdays start with Sunday (*Yom Rishon*) and proceed to Saturday (*Shabbat*).

A conversion of Julian dates to Jewish dates and vice versa has been made possible thanks to one of the calendar converters that may be found on the internet.⁴

*Source: Angelo Martini, *Manuale di metrologia ossia misure, pesi e monete in uso attualmente e anticamente presso tutti i popoli* (Turin, 1883).

¹ Sacha Stern, *Calendars in Antiquity: Empires, States, and Societies* (Oxford, 2012), 3.

² James R. Ginther, “Divine Office”, *The Westminster Handbook to Medieval Theology* (Louisville, 2009): 54.

³ Katherine Egleton, “Clocks and Timekeeping”, in *Medieval Science, Technology, and Medicine: An Encyclopedia*, eds. Thomas F. Glick, Steven John Livesey, Faith Wallis (New York-London, 2005): 127.

⁴ “CalendarHome”, last modified March 13, 2017, <http://www.calendarhome.com>

TRANSLITERATION FROM HEBREW

א	’ – not transliterated at the beginning of the word
ב	b
ב	v
ג, ג	g
ד, ד	d
ה	h
ו	w – when not a vowel
ז	z
ח	ḥ
ט	t
י	y – when not a vowel, and at the end of words – i
כ	k
כ, כ	kh
ל	l
מ, מ	m
נ, נ	n
ס	s
ע	‘
פ	p
פ, פ	f/ph
צ, צ	ṣ
ק	q
ר	r
ש	s
שׁ	sh
ת	t
ת	th

The names of places are given in their English form (i.e. Jerusalem and not Yerushalayim) or in Italian. The names of biblical figures as well as people mentioned in the chronicle are also presented in their everyday English form (i.e. Moses and not Mosheh; Benjamin Neḥemiah and not Benyamin Neḥemyah; Paul IV and not Paolo IV); “Kabbalah” is transliterated with *k* instead of *q*. Hebrew and Italian words are usually written in italics, followed by their English meaning in brackets.

POPE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH (16TH CENT.)

1492-1503	Alexander VI	Rodrigo Borgia (Roderic Llançol de Borja)
1503	Pius III	Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini
1503-13	Julius II	Giuliano della Rovere
1513-21	Leo X	Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici
1522-3	Adrian VI	Adriaan Floriszoon Boeyens d'Edel
1523-34	Clement VII	Giulio di Giuliano de' Medici
1534-49	Paul III	Alessandro Farnese
1550-5	Julius III	Giovanni Maria Ciocchi del Monte
1555	Marcellus II	Marcello Cervini
1555-9	Paul IV	Giovanni (Gian) Pietro Carafa
1559-65	Pius IV	Giovanni Angelo de' Medici
1566-72	Pius V	Michele Ghislieri
1572-85	Gregory XIII	Ugo Boncompagni
1585-90	Sixtus V	Felice Peretti
1590	Urban VII	Giovanni Battista Castagna
1590-1	Gregory XIV	Niccolò Sfondrati
1591	Innocent IX	Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti
1592-1605	Clement VIII	Ippolito Aldobrandini

Introduction

The figure of Gian Pietro Carafa (1476-1559) – co-founder of the Theatine order, Archbishop of Naples, grand inquisitor of the Roman Inquisition, tireless supporter of the intransigent faction against the spread of Lutheran ideas and heretical movements in Italy, and finally pope of the Catholic Church with the name of Paul IV (1555-9) – was of great interest both to his contemporaries and to subsequent generations.

The austere disposition of the octogenarian pope, his inflexibility, and his strong nature are clearly shown in the extant representations of him (see figs. 4 and 5). The political and religious choices of his pontificate – such as the repression of heresy and simony, the imposition of severe anti-Jewish provisions, the war against Charles V and Philip II, the strengthening of the Roman Inquisition, and so on – contributed to the early formation of several judgements on his figure and pontificate. At his death (August 18, 1559), the populace of Rome rose and tore down his statue on the Campidoglio, while irreverent and violent *pasquinate* mocked the dead pope.⁵ Immediately afterwards, a decree of the *Populus Romanus* ordered the destruction of the memory of Paul IV and his family by erasing and cutting down the Carafa coat of arms all over Rome. Over the span of a few years, his successor, Pius IV (and then later Pius V) rehabilitated Paul IV's image, identifying his nephews as responsible for many crimes and finally sentencing them to death.

Throughout history, biographers, chroniclers, and pamphleteers were divided between depicting Paul IV either as a “saintly pope” or as an “ignoble pontiff.”⁶ On the one hand, authors like Alessandro Pallantieri and Niccolò Franco engaged in writing satirical and extremely critical invectives against the pope and his nephews (for which they were both sentenced to death by Pius V). Though the historian Onofrio Panvinio left contradictory judgements in the different versions of his additions to the *Vitae Pontificum* by Bartolomeo Platina, his original considerations on Paul IV were largely negative.⁷ On the other hand, Cardinal Antonio Carafa, first by writing an apology in reaction to the relation of the Venetian ambassador Bernardo Navagero and later by publishing the last indulgent version of Panvinio's work, tried to establish the figure of

⁵ Cf. Massimo Firpo, “Pasquinate romane del Cinquecento”, *Rivista storica italiana* 96 (1984), 619.

⁶ Alberto Aubert, *Paolo IV. Politica, Inquisizione e storiografia* (Florence: 1999), 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 167-78.

Paul IV as a “saint and reformer pope.”⁸ The most successful biography for the hagiographical rehabilitation of Gian Pietro Carafa is without doubt the seventeenth century work *Vita et gesti di Gio. Pietro Caraffa* by the Theatine monk Antonio Caracciolo. Other writings, such as the *Storia della guerra degli spagnuoli contro papa Paolo IV* by Pietro Nores and the *Storia di Paolo IV, Pontefice Massimo* by Bartolomeo Carrara (alias Carlo Bromato), were also published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Stendhal dedicated an entire novel of his *Chroniques italiennes* to the episode of the killing by the pope’s nephew, Giovanni Carafa, of his wife Violante and her alleged lover, the nobleman Marcello Capece.⁹ As demonstrated by the publishing phenomena *Q* (1999) and *Altai* (2009) from the pen of the collective Luther Blissett (later Wu Ming), interest in Paul IV and the age of the Counter-Reformation is more alive than ever.¹⁰

Indeed, in the last decades, a considerable number of academic publications and research projects has contributed to a more in-depth reflection on his pontificate as well as the historiographical, political, and religious judgments surrounding him. It is worth naming, for example, the studies by Alberto Aubert (already partially mentioned above)¹¹ and Massimo Firpo’s publications on Paul IV’s involvement in the development and strengthening of the Congregation of the Sacred Inquisition.¹² In recent years, new studies have filled the numerous gaps in our knowledge of Pope Carafa and his pontificate, from the creation of the Clerics Regular (Theatines)¹³ to the

⁸ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁹ The novel entitled *La Duchesse de Palliano* appeared first in the *Revue des deux mondes* 15 (1838); on the work and the historical background, see Ottavia Niccoli, “Stendhal e la duchessa di Paliano. Passioni e rituali”. In *La trama del tempo: reti di saperi, autonomie culturali, tradizioni. Studi in onore di Sergio Bertelli*, ed. Roberto Mancini (Rome, 2005), 205-25.

¹⁰ First published in Bologna in 1999, *Q* became soon a bestseller. It was reprinted in fourteen editions and translated from Italian into more than ten different languages among which Czech, Korean, Portuguese (Brazilian), Polish, Russian and Turkish (*Altai* was translated only in English in 2013). For information about the Luther Blissett Project and the collective Wu Ming, see the official blog: <http://www.wumingfoundation.com/giap/che-cose-la-wu-ming-foundation/>.

¹¹ See note 2. From the same author, see also: “Alle origini della Controriforma. Studi e problemi su Paolo IV”, *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 12 (1986), 305-55.

¹² Among his extensive bibliography on the topic, see Massimo Firpo, *La presa di potere dell’Inquisizione romana, 1550-1553* (Rome-Bari, 2014).

¹³ Cf. Andrea Vanni, «*Fare diligente inquisitione*». *Gian Pietro Carafa e le origini dei chierici regolari teatini* (Rome: 2010) and now from the same author also: *Gaetano Thiene. Spiritualità, politica, santità* (Rome, 2016).

establishment of institutions such as the *Sacro Consiglio* and the *audientia publica*.¹⁴ As far as the international academic background is concerned, scholars have mainly focused on the events that happened immediately after Paul IV's death and during the *sede vacante* – that is to say the period between the death of a pope and the election of his successor.¹⁵ Furthermore, a seminar on Paul IV took place very recently in Rome.¹⁶

Gian Pietro Carafa's pontificate was particularly harsh for the Jews dwelling in the Papal States, to the extent that it is often considered to be one of the darkest pages in the history of Italian Jewry.¹⁷ Before and during his pontificate, many events embittered the lives of Italian Jews, such as the establishment of the Roman Inquisition, the prohibition and the burning of the Talmud, the issue of the bull *Cum nimis absurdum* which led to the establishment of the ghetto in Rome, the burning of twenty-six Portuguese *marranos* in Ancona, and the creation of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary rich bibliography on the history of the Jews in Italy, some problematic issues still need to be better understood. Since Jewish history has mostly been studied as the history of a minority in relation to the majority Christian society, the Jews often remain in the background as mere passive spectators of a game played by the Catholic Church (and, more generally, by Christians).¹⁸ Information is often filtered through accounts of wider history, and in this way many aspects of Jewish economic, political, social, cultural, and religious life are only known indirectly rather than through Jewish sources. This is undoubtedly also linked to the lack of use of the Hebrew sources, which are not easily accessible, or, in many cases, unavailable because they have not been preserved. Concerning the sixteenth century, the situation is fortunately more reassuring. Besides the historiographical debate on what was called the

¹⁴ See Giampiero Brunelli, *Il Sacro Consiglio di Paolo IV* (Rome, 2011); Id., “Un falso storiografico: la ‘Congregazione del Terrore degli Ufficiali’ di Paolo IV”, *Società e Storia* 151 (2016): 1-32.

¹⁵ On the riots happened in Rome after Paul IV's death and his vacancy, see John M. Hunt, “Violence and Vengeance in the Vacant See”, in Id., *The Vacant See in Early Modern Rome. A Social History of the Papal Interregnum* (Leiden-Boston, 2016). Regarding the trial of Paul IV's nephews during Pius IV's pontificate, see Miles Pattenden, *Pius IV and the Fall of the Carafa. Nepotism and Papal Authority in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Oxford, 2013).

¹⁶ The seminar “Fe y espiritualidad en el pontificado de Paulo IV” held on October 6, 2016 at the Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología, Rome.

¹⁷ Cf. Abraham Berliner, *Storia degli ebrei di Roma: dall'antichità allo smantellamento del ghetto*, trans. Aldo Audisio (Rome, 1992), 164.

¹⁸ This is, for instance, the position expressed by Giovanni Levi, “Gli ebrei in Italia. Una discussione degli Annali della Storia d'Italia Einaudi”, *Zakhor* 2 (1998), 167-74.

“Golden Age” of Jewish historiography,¹⁹ Yosef H. Yerushalmi has noted that at least ten major historical works were produced by Jews in this century in reaction to the expulsions from the Iberian Peninsula. In a footnote, he also recalled “the chronicle of personal and general Jewish troubles in the Papal States by Benjamin Neḥemiah b. Elnatan, published by I. Sonne as *Mi-Pavlo ha-rebi'i ad Pius ha-ḥamishi*.”²⁰

More than three years ago – while I was writing my PhD proposal – I would never have imagined carrying out a research project over three continents on the basis of this single brief footnote. The chronicle by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche was already known to the public familiar with Hebrew thanks to Isaiah Sonne (1887-1960), who published the manuscript for the very first time in 1930-1 along with a historical introduction and critical notes.²¹ However, as Sonne mysteriously hinted in his introduction, he only had the opportunity to look at the manuscript for a short time, and for this reason he copied it “hastily and mechanically.”²² The Galician scholar also omitted other important details concerning, for example, the finding of the manuscript or details of its ownership. As it has been possible to discover, manuscript Heb. B 750 (8°894), preserved at the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem, belonged to the German Jewish collector Siegmund Nauheim (1879-1935), who donated his collection of manuscripts and rare books to the library. The manuscript, which is not an autograph but rather a nineteenth century copy, bears the title: *Divre ha-yamim shel ha-apifior Pavolo ha-revi'i ha-niqra Teatino*, which

¹⁹ The definition originates from the title of an article by Robert Bonfil, “How Golden was the Age of the Renaissance in Jewish Historiography?”, *History and Theory* 27/4 (1988), 78-102 in which he rejected Yosef H. Yerushalmi’s interpretation. Using the words of the American historian, “the resurgence of Jewish historical writing in the sixteenth century was without parallel earlier in the Middle Ages” (Yosef H. Yerushalmi, *Zakhor. Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, Seattle, 1982, 57). On the contrary, Bonfil demonstrated the existence of Jewish historiography in the Middle Ages and identified the sixteenth century rather with the “swan’s song of medieval Jewish historiography” (Robert Bonfil, “Jewish Attitudes toward History and Historical Writing in Pre-Modern Times”, *Jewish History* 11/1, 1997, 8. See also: *Id.*, “Esiste una storiografia ebraica medioevale?”, in *Aspetti della storiografia ebraica. Atti del V Congresso Internazionale dell’AISG, S. Miniato, 7-10 novembre 1983* (Rome, 1987), 227-48.

²⁰ Yerushalmi, *Zakhor. Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, 135, note 10.

²¹ Isaiah Sonne, “Une source nouvelle pour l’histoire des marranes d’Ancône”, *REJ* 89 (1930): 360-80; Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan, “Chronicle of Pope Paul IV, Known as the Theatine”, ed. Isaiah Sonne, *Tarbiz* 2 (1930-1): 331-76; 477-502 [in Hebrew], then republished within an anthology of others Hebrew works and excerpts which cover the pontificates from Paul IV (1555-9) to Pius V (1566-72) in *From Paul IV to Pius V. A Hebrew Chronicle of the Sixteenth-Century*, ed. Isaiah Sonne (Jerusalem, 1954), 3-93.

²² Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan, “Chronicle of Pope Paul IV, Known as the Theatine”, *Tarbiz* 2 (1930-1): 331.

means “Chronicle of Pope Paul IV, Known as the Theatine” by Benjamin Nehemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche.

Until now, the evidence concerning this extremely rich source and its author has been very scant and fragmentary. The sparse information about the Jewish community of Civitanova Marche was provided by two articles by Werther Angelini.²³ Based on the archival documentation, he shed some light on the Jewish group dwelling in the city, particularly focusing on the author known by the Italian name of Guglielmo di Diodato, who was an agent of the main bank in Civitanova but who also conducted his own family business. The chronicle by Benjamin Nehemiah ben Elnathan/Guglielmo di Diodato was occasionally mentioned by scholars, but it has not been studied in its entirety until today.

Divided into eight chapters, the work presents the sequence of events that happened during Paul IV’s pontificate (1555-9), from the issue of the bull *Cum nimis absurdum* (July 14, 1555), which marked a turning point into the history of Jewish-Christian relations, to his death, touching upon the first years of Pius IV’s pontificate. General history is combined with the more personal story of the author, who was arrested towards the end of Paul IV’s pontificate along with other five Jews from Civitanova and taken to Rome to be imprisoned and judged by the Inquisition.

There are many questions and problems concerning several aspects of the work. For example: when did Benjamin/Guglielmo write the work and why? How precise and credible is the account? Can the chronicle be considered as a mere diary of an Italian Jew recounting the personal troubles experienced during the years of the “evil pope,” or rather as a historical narrative in the proper sense of term?

Starting from these questions, it seemed necessary to produce an in-depth analysis of the text and to compare the information given by the author with a wider variety of sources: archival documentation, Hebrew works, Catholic historical writings, and extensive secondary literature. The archival research was conducted in many places and archives between Rome (State Archives and Capitol Archives), the Vatican (Secret Vatican Archives, Apostolic Vatican Library, Archives of the Congregation of the Doctrine for the Faith), the Marche (Communal Archives of Civitanova Marche, State

²³ Cf. Werther Angelini, “Gli ebrei a Civitanova Marche negli anni centrali del Cinquecento”, *Studi Maceratesi* 22 (Macerata, 1989): 371-92; *Id.*, “Ancora degli ebrei in Civitanova e di alcune vicende civitanovesi degli anni 1550-60”, *Civitanova. Immagini e storie* 3 (1992): 107-20.

Archives of Macerata, State Archives of Pesaro), Jerusalem (Jewish National Library of Israel; Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People), Cincinnati (American Jewish Archives), and New York (Jewish Theological Seminary).

The thesis is divided into three main sections. The first part (“The Historical Context”) is split into two distinct chapters. The first aims to reconstruct the historical background in which the author lived and worked. Through the analysis of the archival material (above all, notarial deeds) it was possible to shed some light on the Jewish experience in Civitanova Marche. From the establishment of the first Jewish banker in the city at the end of the fifteenth century up until the departure of the main Jewish group from the city during the second half of the sixteenth century (a few years before the final expulsion from the Papal State in 1569), the sources allowed me to investigate several aspects (economic, demographical, social, and cultural) of Jewish life in the city. Of course, this is just an introduction to the Jewish community of Civitanova Marche, which does not claim to be exhaustive but rather is functional to the aim of the thesis. The second chapter is entirely devoted to a closer study of the author and his chronicle through an examination of the structure, style, and language of the text along with a brief reflection on the genre of Hebrew chronicles in the framework of sixteenth century historiography.

The second part of the thesis (corresponding to chapters 3-6) deals with the historical analysis of Paul IV’s pontificate through the commentary of the Hebrew chronicle and its comparison to other Hebrew writings such as the *Emeq ha-bakha* by Joseph ha-Cohen, the *Shalsholet ha-Kabbalah* by Gedaliah ibn Yaḥyah, and others. More particularly, the third chapter gives an analysis of the first three chapters of the chronicle concerning Paul IV’s election, the issue of *Cum nimis absurdum*, the repression of the Portuguese *conversos* in Ancona, and the burning at the stake of twenty-five (or twenty-six) of them in 1556. Chapter four focuses on the government of the State of the Church between its centre and periphery, discussing the strengthening of the Inquisition under Pope Carafa, his war against Charles V and his son Philip II, the exile of the Carafa nephews at the beginning of 1559, the creation of the *Sacro Consiglio*, and finally the administration of the Marca in which the author lived. All of these topics are narrated by Benjamin ben Elnathan in the fourth chapter of his chronicle (and part of the fifth). From here onwards, the events recounted correspond to

the more personal experience of the author in Civitanova Marche. In the fifth, sixth, and part of the seventh chapters of his chronicle (discussed in chapter five of this thesis), he wrote about the anti-Jewish feeling in the city and the subsequent arrest of six Jews – among whom were himself and his brother Samuel. Arrested in Civitanova, the small group was taken to Rome via the regions of Marche, Umbria, and Lazio. Once arrived in the Eternal City, the Jews were first imprisoned in Corte Savella (or Curia Savelli), then brought to the court of the Inquisition at Ripetta. The descriptions of the journey and the dungeons and other details regarding people and daily life in Rome make the chronicle an extraordinary source. Last but not least, chapter six recalls the events reported by the author in the last two chapters of the chronicle, from the death of the pope and the rebellion of the populace in Rome (August 18, 1559) to the first years of Pius IV's pontificate and the sentencing of the Carafas (March 1561).

The third and last section of this work consists of a revised edition of the Hebrew text and the first unabridged English translation of it, along with footnotes and a minimal apparatus to the Hebrew. A concise introduction illustrates the information on the manuscript transmission and Isaiah Sonne's edition, which it was possible to discover thanks to research periods spent in the archives in Jerusalem and the U.S. Finally, there follow some considerations on the text which will hopefully help to develop further research paths towards a better understanding and a more in-depth knowledge of sixteenth century Jewish historical writing.

PART ONE

The Historical Context

CHAPTER ONE

The Jews in Civitanova Marche (15th – 16th cent.)

A fiddler on the roof...sounds crazy, no?
But here, in our little village of Anatevka,
You might say every one of us is a fiddler on the roof.
Trying to scratch out a pleasant,
Simple tune without breaking his neck.
It isn't easy. You may ask,
'Why do we stay up there if it's so dangerous?'
Well, we stay because Anatevka is our home.
And how do we keep our balance?
That I can tell you in one word!
Tradition!

(*Fiddler on the Roof*, act I, scene I)

With these words, Tevye, the poor Jewish milkman protagonist of the famous film *Fiddler on the Roof* (1971),¹ opens his speech describing the living conditions of the Jews in a small village in the Russian Empire in 1905. Like a fiddler on the roof in a Chagall painting, Tevye and the Jews of Anatevka struggle for their lives in a majority Christian society where episodes of antisemitism are starting to appear. It is not easy. When, in the opening scene of the film, the Jews ask the rabbi whether there is a proper blessing for the Tzar, he replies: “A blessing for the Tzar? Of course! May God bless and keep the Tzar far away from us!” And he was absolutely right. When, at the end of the plot, the Tzar decrees the expulsion of the Jews from Anatevka, the world built by Tevye and the others – a world anchored in traditions but also accepting of modern ideas (such as the possibility of Tevye’s daughters marrying the men they love and not those proposed by the local matchmaker) – instantly shatters into a thousand pieces. The story of Tevye is not only a story of his personal struggles, but it also more widely reflects the story of a *pogrom*.

With some obvious differences, the chronicle of Paul IV’s pontificate by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche is also a narrative of the conflictual coexistence of Jews and Christians. The set of the plot is not twentieth-

¹ Based on Scholem Aleichem’s Yiddish novel *Tevye der Milkhiker* (1894), known in English as *Tevye the Milkman* or *Tevye and His Daughters*, the plot was turned into a successful musical which was performed for the first time on Broadway in 1964. The 1971 film directed by Norman Jewison is an adaptation of the Broadway musical.

century Imperial Russia, but the periphery of the Papal States in the middle of the sixteenth century. The Pope – and not the Tzar – issues the anti-Jewish provisions of the bull *Cum nimis absurdum* (1555). The law was only the first of the three “infamous bulls”² – according to Attilio Milano’s definition – which significantly embittered the lives of the Jews and contributed to the spread of hatred and violence in Italy. In the span of a few decades, first *Hebraeorum gens sola* (1569) and then *Caeca et obdurata* (1593) decreed the final expulsion of the Jews from the whole territory of the Church, with the exceptions of Rome, Ancona, and Avignon.³

Before approaching the reading and analysis of the exceptional chronicle by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan, a reflection on the historical context of Civitanova Marche – in which the author lived and worked – seems to be necessary. Several aspects (economic, social, religious, and cultural) will be considered in this chapter to define the Jewish community in Civitanova, from the establishment of the first moneylenders in the city to the end of the Jewish experience in the second half of the sixteenth century. Some other topics, such as the reading and circulation of Jewish books and the actions of neophytes and other individuals against the Jews, will be discussed more in detail in the following chapters.

1.1. The Jews in the Economic Framework of Civitanova Marche.

1.1.1. The Origins of the Jewish Presence and the Opening of the First “Banks.”

On the basis of Pauline and Augustinian tradition, the presence of the Jews in Christian society was not only tolerated, but was also necessary. The Jews, with their errors and sins, had to play the role of witnesses to the victory of the Christian faith as their “presence sustained the balance – a concept central to medieval thought – between belief and disbelief, reward and punishment.”⁴ Thanks to their juridical status, the Jews were allowed to reside in the lands and to practice their religion amidst both privileges

² Attilio Milano, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia*, 2nd edition (Turin, 1992), 244-62.

³ For the application of those bulls in the Marca, see Claudia Colletta, “Centro e periferia. Da Paolo IV a Clemente VIII: la politica papale del secondo Cinquecento e gli ebrei delle Marche”. In *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Marche* 106 (2001-3), 185-210.

⁴ Kenneth Stow, *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe* (Cambridge-London, 1992), 4.

and discriminations.⁵ The *condotte* – special contracts stipulated by the rulers of the cities and the Jewish moneylenders for a limited period of time – regulated both the duties and the rights of bankers. Among the privileges were right of residence, freedom of worship, the maintenance of a synagogue and a Jewish cemetery, and some other concessions (for example, allowance of the ritual slaughter of animals, exemption from wearing distinctive badges, permission to employ Christian midwives, and so on).⁶

During the Middle Ages, the Church fought against lending money at interest (indicated by *foenus* or usury), which was practiced both by Jews and Christians.⁷ While the latter were harshly condemned by the Church, the former had permission to run their loan banks in the city, though with severe restrictions on the rate of interest.⁸

Between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Jews gradually gained almost exclusive access to the business.⁹ When the statutes enacted in Rome in 1363 (which remained in force until 1521) forbade the Jews from lending money, a great number of Roman-Jewish merchants and moneylenders moved with their families from the Eternal City to the north. The “migratory stream” of Roman Jews (*Judei de Urbe*) has been discussed for the case of Umbria, where, with the support of the Roman Curia, they

⁵ See Simonsohn, “La condizione giuridica degli ebrei nell’Italia centrale e settentrionale (secoli XII-XVI)”, 103.

⁶ Cf. Ermanno Loevinson, “La concession des banques des prêts aus Juifs par les Papes du XVIe et XVIIe siècles”, *Revue des Études Juives* 92-5 (1932-1933); Ariel Toaff, *The Jews in Umbria*, vol. 1, (Leiden-New York-Köln, 1993), xvii; Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, vol. 7, (Toronto, 1991), 435-6; *Id.*, “La condizione giuridica degli ebrei nell’Italia centrale e settentrionale (secoli XII-XVI)”, 105-6.

⁷ Episodes of violence sometimes took place in Italian cities in relation to the preaching of the Franciscan friars. On this topic, see Giacomo Todeschini, “Oeconomica francescana. Proposte di una nuova lettura delle fonti dell’etica economica medievale”, *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 12/1 (1976), 15-77; *Id.*, *Merci e denaro nella riflessione ebraica e nella definizione cristiana dell’usura alla fine del Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1989); Steven J. MacMichael and Susan E. Myers (eds.), *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Leiden-Boston, 2004); Giuseppe Capriotti, *Lo scorpione sul petto. Iconografia antiebraica tra XV e XVI secolo alla periferia dello Stato pontificio* (Rome, 2014). On the contrary, moneylending was not perceived by the Jews as immoral or negative: Ariel Toaff, “Testi ebraici relative all’usura dalla fine del XV secolo agli esordi del XVII secolo”. In *Credito e usura fra teologia, diritto e amministrazione. Linguaggi a confronto (sec. XII-XVI)*, eds. Diego Quagliani, Giacomo Todeschini and Gian Maria Varanini (Rome: École française de Rome, 2005), 103-13.

⁸ Canon 67 (*De usuris Iudeaeorum*) of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) forbade the Jews from charging “oppressive and excessive interest” (*graves et immoderatae usurae*). See Simonsohn, “La condizione giuridica degli ebrei nell’Italia centrale e settentrionale (secoli XII-XVI)”, 98. On the origins and development of the Jewish loan banks concurrently to the Christian ones (which would lead to the creation of the modern banks), see Giacomo Todeschini, *La banca e il ghetto. Una storia italiana* (Rome-Bari, 2016).

⁹ Cf. Michele Luzzati, “Banchi e insediamenti ebraici nell’Italia centro-settentrionale fra tardo Medioevo e inizi dell’Età moderna”, *Storia d’Italia, Annali, Gli ebrei in Italia*, vol. 1, *Dall’alto Medioevo all’età dei ghetti*, ed. Corrado Vivanti, (Turin, 1996), 179.

were invited by the rulers of those communes to integrate into the local credit market, using their capital in cooperation with or instead of the great business houses of Tuscany and Lombardy. The migratory stream of Roman Jews significantly involved Umbria, establishing communities which, as time went by, became more numerous in an area where Jews had always been absent or where their presence had been transitory or sporadic.¹⁰

More or less simultaneously, a great number of Jews arrived in central and northern Italy from all directions: from France and Germany from the north, after the expulsions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; from Spain and Portugal from the west, which expelled them in 1492 and 1496-7 respectively; and from the Kingdom of Naples from the south, after the expulsions in 1494-6, 1510, 1514, and finally 1541.¹¹ While the majority preferred to sail towards the Levant under the protection of the Ottoman Empire, many remained in the Italian Peninsula. Yet by the end of the Middle Ages, the French Jews had mainly settled in the northwest of Italy, the Germans in the northeast, while many Jews of Sephardic origins (Spanish and Portuguese) could be found in Ferrara, Ancona, Venice, Verona, and Livorno.¹² The once-flourishing Jewish communities of southern Italy had thus ceased to exist.

Either by looking for new places to conduct their businesses or because they had been summoned by the local authorities to bring ready money into the cities, the newcomers facilitated the establishment of many Jewish communities in central and northern-central Italy. Many studies have examined the distribution of Jews in the Papal States and their banks, which were particularly numerous in the regions of Umbria and Marche.¹³

¹⁰ Ariel Toaff, *The Jews in Umbria*, vol. 1, xxv. See more recently Marina Caffiero, *Storia degli ebrei nell'Italia moderna. Dal Rinascimento alla Restaurazione*, (Rome, 2014), 21-2.

¹¹ On the expulsions of the Jews from the Kingdom of Naples: Nicola Ferorelli, *Gli ebrei nell'Italia meridionale. Dall'età romana al secolo XVIII* (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 2007, anastatic reprint); Milano, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia*, 229-36.

¹² Cf. Shlomo Simonsohn, "La condizione giuridica degli ebrei nell'Italia centrale e settentrionale (secoli XII-XVI)", in *Storia d'Italia. Annali 11, Gli ebrei in Italia*, vol. 1, *Dall'alto Medioevo all'età dei ghetti*, ed. Corrado Vivanti (Turin, 1996), 97.

¹³ The bibliography on this argument is very extensive; among the most up-to-date studies, see Simonetta Saffiotti Bernardi, "Gli ebrei e le Marche nei secc. XIV-XVI: bilancio di studi, prospettive di ricerca". In *Aspetti e problemi della presenza ebraica nell'Italia centro-settentrionale*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano, (Rome, 1983), 227-72; Viviana Bonazzoli, *Il prestito ebraico nelle economie cittadine delle Marche fra '200 e '400, Quaderni monografici di Proposte e ricerche 8* (1990); Sergio Anselmi and Viviana Bonazzoli (eds.), *La presenza ebraica nelle Marche. Secoli XIII-XX, Quaderni monografici di Proposte e ricerche 14* (1993); Michele Luzzati, "Banchi e insediamenti ebraici nell'Italia centro-settentrionale fra tardo Medioevo e inizi dell'Età moderna", 175-235; Alessandra Veronese, *Una famiglia di banchieri ebrei tra XIV e XVI secolo: i da Volterra. Reti di credito nell'Italia del Rinascimento* (Pisa: 1998); Luca Andreoni, "Dare credito alle città. L'attività di due prestatori ebrei nella Marca di metà

Trade and further businesses on the Adriatic coast and the closest hinterland attracted many Jews. Cities like Ancona, the main port of the Papal States and centre of an important Jewish community, or Recanati, where a trade fair took place every year, became points of attraction and the locations of many Jewish settlements.

Thanks to its strategic position – on the top of a hill, next to the main communication routes (very close to Macerata and Recanati), and furnished with a fortified port from the end of the thirteenth century – Civitanova Marche also represented, to a lesser extent, a pole of aggregation for traders and moneylenders.¹⁴

The appearance of a Jewish moneylender in the city is documented only at the end of the fifteenth century, quite late when compared to other cities in the Marca.¹⁵

Notarial records from Civitanova Marche¹⁶ as well as other documents from the Archivio Segreto Vaticano – collected by Shlomo Simonsohn in his monumental work *The Apostolic See and the Jews* – trace the lives and actions of several individuals in Civitanova from the first half of the fifteenth century, when the city was under the dominion of the da Varano family.

Cinquecento”. In *Atti del XLII Convegno di studi maceratesi (Abbadia di Fiastra – Tolentino, 28-29 novembre 2009)*, *Studi maceratesi* 45 (2011), 333-66; *Id.*, “Perché non si habbia più a tribulare. Gli ebrei della Marca fra spazi economici e conflitti giudiziari intorno alla metà del XVI secolo”. In *Gli ebrei nello Stato della Chiesa. Insediamenti e mobilità (secoli XIV-XVIII)*, eds. Marina Caffiero and Anna Esposito (Padua, 2012), 109-47; Michaël Gasperoni, “I banchieri ebrei nel Ducato di Urbino tra Cinque e Seicento”. In *Gli ebrei nello Stato della Chiesa. Insediamenti e mobilità (secoli XIV-XVIII)*, 149-61; Mafalda Toniazzi, “Dalle Marche alla Toscana: l’espansione dei banchieri ebrei da Camerino”. In *Produzioni e commerci nelle province dello Stato pontificio: imprenditori, mercanti, reti (secoli XIV-XVI)*, ed. Emanuela Di Stefano, *Quaderni monografici di Proposte e ricerche* 38 (2013), 30-9; Luca Andreoni and Marco Moroni (eds.), *Gli ebrei e le Marche: ricerche, prospettive, didattica*, monographic issue of *Marca/Marche. Rivista di storia regionale* 3 (2014).

¹⁴ Known by the name of *Cluana* since the pre-Roman age, during the Middle Ages Civitanova Marche was involved in the conflict between the Pope and the Emperor, like other cities in the Marca Anconitana. It fell under the dominion of noble families such as the houses of Sforza, Malatesta, and da Varano, and halfway through the fourteenth century it was amongst the *civitates immediate subiectae* to the Apostolic See. On the origins of the city and its name, see Giuseppe Gaetani, *Istoria di Civitanova nel Piceno composta da Giuseppe Gaetani* (Macerata, 1740) and Giovanni Marangoni, *Delle memorie sagre, e civili dell’antica città di Novana, oggi Civitanova nella provincia del Piceno* (Rome, 1743). The communal statutes were approved in 1477, and printed in 1567, cf. *Statuta inclitae Terrae Civitanovae* (Ancona, 1567).

¹⁵ Cf. Gino Luzzatto, *I banchieri ebrei in Urbino in età ducale. Appunti di storia economica con appendice di documenti* (Bologna, 1902), 23.

¹⁶ See, for example, the registers of the notaries Antolini, Fagiani, Credenziati, Pellicani, Centofiorini and Ercole Ugulati, preserved in ASMC and *Atti consiliari*, vol. 164 in ASCM.

In 1408, Pope Gregory XII assigned the income of taxes imposed that year on Jewish communities and cities under their dominion to Rodolfo da Varano and his sons Gentilpandolfo and Berardo, in exchange for the service of 220 soldiers.¹⁷

In the first half of the fifteenth century, the Jewish banker Samuele di Elia, native of Civitanova Marche, was living in Cascia, in Umbria.¹⁸ It was only in 1476 that, due to the lack of ready money, the municipal council of Civitanova Marche invited Angelo di Aleuccio da Recanati to come to Civitanova and operate a loan bank there.¹⁹ Among the privileges granted by the *condotta* for the limited time of fifteen years were the right of residence in Civitanova for him and his family, the right to practice Judaism, and the right not to lend money on *Shabbat*. Moreover, Angelo was exempted from the payment of taxes and had a monopoly on business in the city.²⁰

The stabilisation of a more numerous group of Jewish families is documented only from the first half of the sixteenth century onwards, when other moneylenders arrived in Civitanova and opened their loan banks. As we will see in the next section, the fifteenth century – particularly between 1550-60, when the city was under the rule of Giuliano Cesarini²¹ – constituted the best moment for the Jews of Civitanova Marche.²²

¹⁷ Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, doc. 579.

¹⁸ Cf. Toaff, *The Jews in Umbria*, docs. 1328, 1625, 1721, 1729, 1734, 1735, 1736.

¹⁹ ASCM, *Atti consiliari*, vol. 173, January 28, 1476, fols. 119r-121v.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Pope Julius III conceded Civitanova as a fief to Giuliano Cesarini, a member of one of the wealthiest Roman families, who had lent to 14,000 *scudi* to the Apostolic Chamber. The loan was more of an endowment, since the Apostolic See never returned the money. Consequently, the fief of Civitanova Marche and the nearby city of Montecosaro were assigned to Cesarini up until the third generation of his descendants (ASCM, *Pergamene*, November 4, 1560), and this was extended *in infinitum* by Pius IV in 1560. In the same year, Civitanova and Montecosaro were turned into a marquisate, and, in 1585, into a duchy. They remained under the authority of the Cesarini family until 1808, when the Marca was annexed to the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy. For the history of Civitanova and the Cesarini family, see: Alfonso Ceccarelli, *Dell'istoria di Casa Cesarina*, Rome, 1579 (manuscript in ASR, *Fondo Sforza Cesarini*, Parte I, b. 89, n° 12); Jacopo Lauro, *Civitas Nova in Piceno. Delineatio et descriptio* (Rome: 1630); Nicola Ratti, *Della famiglia Sforza*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1794); Teodoro Amayden, *Storia delle famiglie romane*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1910), 299 ff.; Aldo Bassi, *Il feudo Cesarini e la rivolta di popolo a Montecosaro nella Marca d'Ancona* (Montecosaro, 1980); Giacomo Boccanera, "Civitanova e la signoria Da Varano di Camerino". In *La fascia costiera della Marca. Atti del XVI Convegno di studi maceratesi (Civitanova Marche, 29-30 novembre 1980)*, *Studi Maceratesi* 16 (1982), 203-14; Dante Cecchi, "Civitanova feudo della nobile famiglia Cesarini". In *La fascia costiera della Marca. Atti del XVI Convegno di studi maceratesi (Civitanova Marche, 29-30 novembre 1980)*, *Studi Maceratesi* 16 (1982), 215-245; Aldo Bassi, *A Montecosaro della Marca nell'anno 1568* (Montecosaro, 1991); Alfredo Maulo, "La disavventura del signor Giuliano, padrone di Montecosaro". In http://ducatocezarini.it/wpcontent/uploads/La_disavventura_del_signor_Giuliano_padrone_di_Montecosaro_2v.pdf; Thomas Cohen, "The Death of Abramo of Montecosaro", *Jewish History* 19 (2005), 245-85; Lothar Sickel, *Der Romgedanke in der Selbstdarstellung der Familie Cesarini im Rom des 16.*

1.1.2. Networks of Credit: Moneylending, Trade, Craftsmanship, and Other Jewish Businesses.

During the first half of the sixteenth century, the most prominent bankers – whose activity stands out in the notarial deeds – are the business partners Angelo di Vitale da Camerino (at other times his origin is indicated as Trevi) and Michele di Abramo *Teutonicus* (that is to say from Germany), who received permission to open a loan bank in 1530, later renewed for five further years.²³ As testified by the notarial deeds of those years, another loan bank was handled by Ventura di Mosè and his brother-in-law Laudadio di Isacco da Ascoli.

Around loan banks circulated many other people, engaged as agents – indicated as *agentes*, *factores*, or *foeneratores* – who were responsible for collecting money, pawns, and deposits, also outside the walls of the city. Among the agents of Angelo di Vitale and Michele di Abramo, we find Daniele di Benedetto da Montelupone and Leone di Abramo da Fermo, brother of Michele.²⁴ The latter seems also to be a creditor of several individuals in Ancona and Macerata and also of the municipal council of Civitanova Marche, which owed him the considerable amount of 1135 *fiorini*.²⁵

Class endogamy was very widespread and wealthy families often struggled to maintain their social status through marriage, which was first and foremost a business deal. A good marriage helped members of families to protect their holdings and also to strengthen their businesses through collaborations. It is not so bizarre that the moneylender Giuseppe Viviani *Teutonicus* married his daughter Sara to the above-mentioned Michele di Abramo – who was also German – with whom he conducted business.²⁶

As has been said above, it was undoubtedly during the time of the strengthening of Cesarini's power in the mid-sixteenth century that the activity of the

Jahrhunderts (Rome, 2007); Alvise Manni, "Civitanova ducale: i Cesarini fra XVI e XIX secolo", *Atti del XLV Convegno di studi maceratesi (Abbadia di Fiastra, Tolentino, 28-29 novembre 2009)*, *Studi Maceratesi* 45 (2011), 217-30.

²² Cf. Werther Angelini, "Gli ebrei a Civitanova Marche negli anni centrali del Cinquecento", *Studi Maceratesi* 22 (1989): 372.

²³ Cf. Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, docs. 1486, 1572, 1668, 1734.

²⁴ For example, it is possible to follow their activities in the records of the notaries Cenio Centofiorini, vols. 90 (1542), 91 (1543), Ercole Ugulati, vols. 93 (1532-1539), 94 (1540-1541), 95 (1542-1543), 96 (1544), 97 (1545-1549), Angelo Pellicani, vol. 104 (1543-1543).

²⁵ ASCM, *Atti consiliari*, vol. 192, March 20, 1550, fols. 10r-v; May 10, 1550, fol. 69r.

²⁶ This appears from Giuseppe Viviani's will in ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ciriaco Ugulati, reg. 110, November 27, 1550, n.p., as well as in other notarial deeds from those years.

Jewish loan banks rapidly increased. During this period, Guglielmo di Diodato (Benjamin son of Elnathan) – the author of a Hebrew chronicle on Paul IV’s pontificate (1555-9), the object of this study – was the main agent of Angelo di Vitale and Michele di Abramo.

His father, Diodato di Emanuele (Elnathan son of Emanuel) da Campli, probably arrived in Civitanova after the final expulsion of the Jews in 1540-1 from the Kingdom of Naples. The provenance of the same Guglielmo is often indicated as Campli (his father’s city) or Cellino – probably to identify him with Cellino Attanasio – today both in the province of Teramo, in Abruzzo, which at that time were in the Kingdom of Naples.²⁷

The earliest appearance of Diodato di Emanuele in Civitanova’s documentation does indeed date back to 1542, when he bought a house *in quarterio portae sancti angeli* for the price of 110 *scudi*.²⁸ Furthermore, it seems he had obtained a *condotta* to open a loan bank in Civitanova in 1543,²⁹ and his name appears preceded by the title of *magister* several times. This honorific might refer to his high position in the community, or more likely to his profession. Besides his business as a moneylender, it seems that he was also involved in trading textiles³⁰ along with his sons, Guglielmo/Benjamin and Samuele. The latter was also the owner of a workshop (*bottega*), where he was probably engaged in weaving cloth and garments to be sold both in Civitanova and outside the city, such as at the annual fair in Recanati, which was a very special occasion for merchants from Marche and Umbria.³¹ In 1558, a certain Agostino son of Francesco

²⁷ Several publications are devoted to the study of the Jewish presence in Abruzzo: see for example: Ferorelli, *Gli ebrei nell’Italia meridionale*; Cesare Colafemmina, “Documenti per la storia degli ebrei in Abruzzo (I)”, *Sefer Yuhasin* 1(1985), 2-7; *Id.*, “Documenti per la storia degli ebrei in Abruzzo (II)”, *Sefer Yuhasin* 3 (1987), 81-90; *Id.*, “Documenti per la storia degli ebrei in Abruzzo (III)”, *Sefer Yuhasin* 13 (1997), 9-21; Maria Rita Berardi, “Per la storia della presenza ebraica in Abruzzo e nel Molise tra Medioevo e prima età moderna: dalla storiografia alle fonti”. In *L’ebraismo dell’Italia peninsulare dalle origini al 1541. Società, economia, cultura. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio organizzato dall’Università degli Studi della Basilicata in occasione del Decennale della sua istituzione (Potenza-Venosa, 20-24 settembre 1992)*, eds. Cosimo Damiano Fonseca et al. (Galatina, 1996), 269-96.

²⁸ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Cenio Centofiorini, reg. 90, October 20, 1542, fols. 346r-347r. A Guglielmo appears in the records of 1540, but he should rather be identified with a homonymous son of Angelo; see ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ercole Ugulati, reg. 94, fols. 25v-26r. As it appears from ASMC, ANCM, Not. Cenio Centofiorini, reg. 92, July 28, 1544, fols. 207r-208v, he had died before July 1544.

²⁹ Cf. Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, doc. 2276.

³⁰ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Angelo Pellicani, reg. 104, February 2, 1543, fol. 16r.

³¹ “In 1480, a Jewish merchant from the Marches could scarcely contain his enthusiasm at the approach of the Recanati fair, and he shared his emotions with a friend, writing to him in Hebrew: ‘In the midst of my sorrows, I am consoled by the thought that the time of abundance and remission of debts is upon us – the Recanati fair, where the redemption of the earth will be proclaimed...and we shall be able

was charged for having stolen some cordovans, caps, and gloves from Samuele's workshop and dividing the booty with other Christians.³² According to the accounts of Piermatteo Celso, depositary of the Apostolic Chamber in Civitanova, in February 1556, Samuele received 5 *fiorini* for 28 *braccia di tela* used for some canvas, used to produce *impannate* – windows made of wood and covered with linen – for the Palace.³³ Exactly one year later, he received 5 more *fiorini* for the production of three more *impannate*.³⁴

Other Jews of Civitanova seem to have been particularly active in the manufacture and sale of garments and fabrics: on February 25, 1551, the tailor Angelo³⁵ received a payment of 16 *bolognini* for the production of an *impannata* for the chamber of the Podestà.³⁶ On January 28, 1562, the municipal council assigned 4½ *fiorini* to the same Angelo (who is given the title of *magister*) for having sewed four cloaks for the Priors of Civitanova.³⁷ Mosè di Ventura was also paid for having produced an *impannata a gelosia* – likely a jalousie window which allowed one to see without being seen – for the palace of the council.³⁸ Furthermore, Abramo di Ventura is described as *sutor hebreus*, that is to say “tailor.”³⁹ The same Guglielmo/Benjamin sold garments⁴⁰ and exchanged a vegetable garden for a *camora vestem muliebrem velluti cremisini cum duabus listis broccati aurei*, a red velvet dress with two strips of gold brocade.⁴¹

Regarding the business of loan banks, it is possible to follow the actions of the main moneylenders in the city, the above-mentioned Angelo di Vitale and Michele di Abramo, by reading the records of the notaries Giacomo Angelini and Ercole and Ciriaco Ugulati. We are mostly dealing with small consumption credit loans of modest amounts, usually inferior to 100 *fiorini*, purchases, payments of deposits, exchanges,

to select good-quality wares’ ”, see Ariel Toaff, *Love, Work and Death. Jewish Life in Medieval Umbria*, trans. Judith Landry (London-Portland, Oregon, 1998), 203.

³² ASCM, *Atti civili e criminali*, vol. 87; ASR, *Camerale III*, Parte I, *Comuni*, b. 801 (Civitanova), fasc. 4, fol. 10r.

³³ ASR, *Camerale III*, Parte I, *Comuni*, b. 801 (Civitanova), fasc. 2, fol. 2v.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, fasc. 5, fol. 6r.

³⁵ He is probably the tailor Mordekhai (the name is often italianised with Angelo) who escaped to Venice, quoted in the chronicle; see below 247.

³⁶ ASCM, *Entrata ed uscita*, reg. 297, fol. 105v.

³⁷ ASCM, *Bollettari*, reg. 154, fol. 99r.

³⁸ ASR, *Camerale III*, Parte I, *Comuni*, b. 801 (Civitanova), fasc. 2, fol. 6v and fasc. 5, fol. 19r.

³⁹ ASMC, *Curia generale della Marca, Registri della Curia generale della Marca*, fasc. 70/5, May 11, 1559, fol. 44v.

⁴⁰ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Valerio Isilerii, reg. 106.

⁴¹ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ciriaco Ugulati, reg. 116, January 10, 1554, fols. 34v-35r.

*etc.*⁴² The interest rate – indicated in general terms as *usuris* – is not specified. However, an agreement on the terms and conditions of moneylending was signed by the representatives of the Marca and the *Universitas hebraeorum* in 1553, and in 1557 Cardinal Carlo Carafa ordered the Governor of the Marca to fix the interest rate at 12%.⁴³ Among the acts regarding notable amounts of money, it has been possible to find a loan of 1,000 *fiorini* to the lord of the city, the above-mentioned Giualiano Cesarini, to whom Pope Julius III conceded Civitanova (and then later Montecosaro) as a fief after Cesarini donated 14,000 *fiorini* to the Apostolic Chamber in 1551.⁴⁴

Guglielmo di Diodato was the intermediary of this important transaction on behalf of Angelo di Vitale and Michele di Abramo.⁴⁵ As rightly affirmed by Werther Angelini, in his capacity of agent Guglielmo was the economic and political keystone of the loan bank of Angelo di Vitale and Michele di Abramo,⁴⁶ but he was also the leader of his own family business. The many notarial acts document that he lent money on his own or in association with his brother Samuele; he also sold garments and beasts of burden (mostly horses and donkeys). His many businesses and interests were not limited within the compass of Civitanova, but also extended to adjacent cities such as Macerata as well as other more distant centres such as Ancona.

Of course, moneylending was not the only business run by the Jews of Civitanova Marche, though it is the best documented. As for the case of Diodato di Emanuele, moneylenders were merchants first of all and ran their businesses together. From a first glance at the notarial records and ledgers of the municipal council – which record the city’s incoming and outgoing payments – we can learn something more about the other businesses operated by the Jewish group in Civitanova.

The rural environment facilitated businesses related to the products of the soil. It is not rare to find Jews who owned fields and vineyards; in 1554, for instance, Isacco “Scaccia” di Moscione bought a vineyard from Bergamon da Servigliano, resident in Civitanova.⁴⁷ Others sold animals – horses, donkeys, and lambs – or gave them in

⁴² See Angelini, “Gli ebrei a Civitanova in anni centrali del Cinquecento”, 377.

⁴³ Cf. Pio Cartechini, “La miscellanea notarile dell’Archivio di Stato di Macerata”, *Atti del III Convegno di Studi Maceratesi, Camerino, 26 Novembre 1967, Studi Maceratesi* 3 (1968), 98-99.

⁴⁴ See Cecchi, “Civitanova feudo della nobile famiglia Cesarini”,

⁴⁵ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ciriaco Ugulati, reg. 115, April 18, 1553, fols. 68r-v.

⁴⁶ Cf. Angelini, “Gli ebrei a Civitanova in anni centrali del Cinquecento”, 381.

⁴⁷ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ciriaco Ugulati, reg. 116, April 1554, fol. 52.

agistment.⁴⁸ In 1550, the municipal council paid the Jew Leone for having provided 50 lambs for the Observant friars of Civitanova.⁴⁹

Several individuals were hired by the municipal council to carry out various commissions: Mosè “Pappardella” – who is also mentioned in the chronicle by Guglielmo/Benjamin ben Elnathan – was sent to Montesanto (today Potenza Picena, in the province of Macerata) to deliver some letters in 1551, and two years later to Recanati, to sell grain on behalf of Civitanova.⁵⁰ Eliseo (or Aliseo) was also sent to Rome from the municipal council in order to deliver some letters to Giuliano Cesarini.⁵¹ Another curious indication is the payment of 1 *fiorino* and 20 *bolognini* to the musician Raffaele da Belforte for having played on the occasion of the celebration of Santa Maria Apparente, protector of Civitanova Marche (along with San Marone), in 1552.⁵²

The arbitrariness and limits of the sources do not help to shed light on several aspects, for example, the role played by women. As we will see in the next section, a few exceptions regard supposedly high-ranking women, members of a moneylender’s family. Before beginning this topic, a brief description of the Jewish community of Civitanova Marche seems necessary.

1.2. *The Universitas Hebraeorum of Civitanova Marche.*

1.2.1. *The Synagogue and Other Jewish Spaces*

In his study on the Jews of Umbria, Ariel Toaff has stressed that

the notarial documents enlighten us on aspects of the Jews’ daily life and on their relationships with the Christians. On the other hand, the same documents leave the cultural production and the religious life of the Jewish communities mostly in the shade. Local councils, notaries and their clients did not deem it necessary to deal

⁴⁸ The agistment or *soccida* refers to “the taking of another person’s cattle into one’s own ground to be fed, for a consideration to be paid by the owner. The person who receives the cattle is called an agister,” John Bouvier, *A Law Dictionary, Adapted to the Constitution and Laws of the United States*. “Agistment.” Retrieved March 21, 2017 from <http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/agistment>

⁴⁹ ASCM, *Entrata ed uscita*, vol. 297, fol. 81r.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, fols. 107r;

⁵¹ ASCM, *Bollettari*, vol. 154, fol. 49r.

⁵² ASCM, *Entrata ed uscita*, vol. 297, fol. 74r. According to the Catholic tradition, the Virgin Mary appeared (hence the name *Apparente*) three times in 1411 to a poor farmer of Civitanova called Vico Salimbene and indicated to him where to build a sanctuary to honour her. See Marangoni, *Delle memorie sagre, e civili dell’antica città di Novana, oggi Civitanova nella provincia del Piceno*, 123-4.

with such aspects, although they were important. Despite such limitations, the archival documentation seems to us essential for picturing the historical presence of the Jews in Umbria. Jewish literary sources, whether published or not, enabled us to complete such an outlook, providing us with elements, even with its objective limitations, may be useful to people who devote themselves to the history of the Jews of Umbria and of Italy in general.⁵³

The situation for Civitanova is not dissimilar, and in order to learn something about the internal organisation of the Jewish community as well as some social and cultural aspects of the daily lives of the Jews in the city, we must look once again at the Christian documentation. Some other details provided by the chronicle by Guglielmo di Diodato/Benjamin ben Elnathan help us – where possible – to integrate the information given by the archival sources.

The appearance of what may be called the “community” dates back to September 20, 1554, when a group of thirteen Jews asked for recognition of the borders of the Jewish cemetery, adjacent the field of a Christian cemetery.⁵⁴ The importance of the document lies not only in the information it gives about the position of the Jewish cemetery and the request to respect the burial place, but even more in the identification of the thirteen Jews – Laudadio di Isacco, Guglielmo di Diodato, Mosè di Ventura, Angelo di Raffaele, Isacco di Moscione, Emanuele di Aleuccio, Vitale di Raffaele, Prospero di Guglielmo, Samuele di Diodato, Salomone di Bonanno, Mosè di Samuele, Zaccaria di Mosè di Matassa, and Mosè di Piccione – as representatives of the *Universitas hebraeorum* of Civitanova Marche in the presence of the notary Giacomo Angelini. The signature of the act in the synagogue (*sinagoga dictorum hebraeorum in quarterio portae pauli*) is also important.

One of the first requests made by the Jews to the municipal authorities “as soon as they settled in any one place was for permission to gather in prayer and hold their religious services,” i.e. the establishment of a synagogue.⁵⁵ When the moneylender Angelo di Aleuccio da Recanati was summoned to open a bank in Civitanova in 1476, it was probable that the synagogue did not exist, and it was possibly only opened after the establishment and arrival of other Jewish families. In such cases, when the Jewish presence was very limited in the territory “and it was therefore impossible to establish a

⁵³ Toaff, *The Jews in Umbria*, vol. 1, ix.

⁵⁴ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Giacomo Angelini, reg. 154, September 20, 1554, fols. 243r-244r.

⁵⁵ Toaff, *Love, Work and Death. Jewish Life in Umbria*, 84.

synagogue in the official sense, Jews were still granted the right to choose a place where they could pray.”⁵⁶ This does not show up in the *condotta* found in the communal archives of Civitanova Marche. Reading the document, it is only possible to understand that Angelo asked the municipal council to grant him some privileges to dwell safely in the city. Besides the economic terms and conditions of his business, the *condotta* allows him, his family, and his future descendants to keep and observe the Jewish faith and to avoid lending money or doing other business on Saturdays or other Jewish holidays.⁵⁷ Moreover, the Jews were protected from the harassments that they usually suffered from Christians on Good Friday. The requirement for Jews not to leave their houses during Holy Week (especially Good Friday) was very old.⁵⁸ On the basis of Church canons, municipal and local authorities ordered them “to keep their windows and doors closed on Good Friday and not to leave their homes during Holy Week for whatever reason.”⁵⁹

It is very likely that the Jews mostly dwelled in the area near the synagogue in the neighbourhood of Porta S. Paolo, as Guglielmo/Benjamin also noted in his chronicle. Following the account, in 1558 they were ordered to “leave their houses next to the synagogue, which had been the house of prayer since the earliest days, and to dwell by the rubbish dump.”⁶⁰ However, as far as it is possible to understand from the notarial acts, the same Guglielmo/Benjamin and his family did not live near the synagogue, but in another neighbourhood (Porta S. Angelo).⁶¹

From an architectural point of view, synagogues probably had a modest exterior so that they “would not emulate remotely the splendor of the churches, cathedrals and basilicas.”⁶² In the case of the Civitanova synagogue, we only know of the existence of a stairway leading to the main entrance.⁶³

References to the synagogue were found in a small series of wills signed by the notary Ciriaco Ugulati.⁶⁴ The acts had legal value but, of course, they also had a

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ ASCM, *Atti consiliari*, vol. 173, January 28, 1476, fol. 119r.

⁵⁸ See Benjamin Ravid, “Curfew Time in the Ghetto of Venice”. In *Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, eds. Ellen E. Kittell and Thomas F. Madden (Urbana-Chicago, 1999), 260-1.

⁵⁹ Cesare Colafemmina, *The Jews in Calabria* (Leiden-Boston, 2012), 15. Toaff illustrated the rites of violence (the so called “holy *sassaiola*”) performed by Christians against Jews during Holy Week in the cities of Umbria, see his *Love, Work and Death. Jewish Life in Medieval Umbria*, 179-86.

⁶⁰ See below 217.

⁶¹ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Cenizio Centofiorini, reg. 90, October 20, 1542, fols. 346r-347r.

⁶² Toaff, *Love, Work and Death. Jewish Life in Medieval Umbria*, 86.

⁶³ ASCM, *Atti civili e criminali*, vol. 87, April 4, 1558, n.p.

⁶⁴ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ciriaco Ugulati, reg. 110, n.p.

religious purpose, as the testator “expressed his desire to be buried in the Jewish cemetery, acknowledged his sins, and redeemed them through appropriate bequests.”⁶⁵ Donations frequently concerned sacred ornaments and ritual objects as well as distributions of money and clothes to the poor. The will of Smeralda, mother of Guglielmo di Diodato, provides evidence of such bequests. The woman, after having expressed her desire to be buried in the Jewish cemetery following the Jewish custom, commands her sons Guglielmo and Samuele to give her woollen garments to the needy, leaving a black one for her burial. Among her other requests, she also orders them to light a lamp in the synagogue in her memory for the period of one year; moreover, she bequeaths a silver *opertorium* (perhaps a lampstand) and some chains for a lamp that she used to have in her house.⁶⁶ Leone di Abramo left a parchment *Torah* manuscript to the synagogue of Fermo, his native town.⁶⁷

Other times the donations consisted simply of amounts of money. Abramo di Michele di Abramo, for example, bequeathed 30 *fiorini* to the synagogue of Civitanova Marche to be placed in the *quppah*, the money chest in which funds for the needy were collected. A further 20 *fiorini* was given to the synagogues of Ancona and Recanati.⁶⁸

Through these bequests, the notable testators reaffirmed their social status and earned prayers for their souls once deceased.

The synagogue or *schola* was the house of prayer, but it was also the place in which the community gathered together to make important decisions (such as, as we will see at the end of this chapter, the sale of the synagogue), to assign the members' shares in the communal taxes, and to elect their representatives.

⁶⁵ Toaff, *Love, Work and Death. Jewish Life in Medieval Umbria*, 41.

⁶⁶ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ciriaco Ugulati, reg. 110, October 17, 1554, n.p.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, March 21, 1551, n.p.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, April 28, 1554, n.p.

1.2.2. Family, Dowries, and Inheritance.⁶⁹

The study of the evolution of notarial practice and private writings in relation to the integration of the Jews in the local jurisdictional contexts can help historians to shed some light on Jewish communities and their members. In the absence of internal sources, such as *ketubbot*, *mohel* books, and cemetery lists, for example, the notarial acts represent the only sources for these goals.

Regarding the case of Civitanova, it is hard to estimate the number of members of the Jewish community. Initial research based on the notarial documentation from the first half of the sixteenth century suggests between 50 and 100 men and around 40 women, but these numbers do not reflect the reality due to the partial nature of notarial sources. Among these documents, dowries and wills constitute the privileged sources of information on social aspects of Jewish life.

Recent studies on the Jewish dowry have stressed its role and economic value in Jewish society, particularly focusing on networks and the role of the woman in the family and trying to answer several questions,⁷⁰ such as: what were the relationships between the family property and the dowry? Can the dowry be considered as a marker of the family's wealth? How did the payment and the restitution – if one of the two spouses died – of the dowry occur? What were the provisions of the marriage contract? What was the dowry composed of and how was it used?

For the case of Civitanova, notarial documentation concerning the dowries represents a very small part of the notarial corpus. In analysing the documents for the years 1532-74, indeed, it has only been possible to find 14 dotal agreements (*confessiones dotis*), which cover the years 1541-59. Indirect references to dowries also emerge in wills as well as in economic contracts. Notwithstanding the paucity of the

⁶⁹ The paragraph is a re-elaborated version of my paper “Sara, Smeralda, Stella, Regina e le altre. Donne ebrae a Civitanova Marche negli anni centrali del Cinquecento” presented on the occasion of the international conference *Doter pour transmettre? Une histoire économique et sociale de la famille juive (XVe-XIXe siècle)*, held at the École Française de Rome on December 10-11, 2015.

⁷⁰ Among the most recent publications on the theme: Isabelle Chabot, *La Dette des familles. Femmes, lignage et patrimoine à Florence aux XIVe et XVe siècle* (Rome, 2011); Beatrice Zucca Micheletto, “À quoi sert la dot? Aliénations dotalles, économie familiale et stratégies des couples à Turin au XVIIIe siècle”, *Annales des Démographie Historique* 121/1 (2011), 161-86; Agnese Maria Cuccia, *Lo scrigno di famiglia. La dote a Torino nel Settecento* (Pisa, 2014); Julius Kirshner, *Marriage, Dowry and Citizenship in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Toronto, 2015); Michaël Gasperoni, “La misura della dote. Alcune riflessioni sulla storia della famiglia ebraica nello Stato della Chiesa in età moderna”. In *Vicino al focolare e oltre. Spazi pubblici e privati, fisici e virtuali della donna ebrea in Italia (sec. XV-XX)*, ed. Laura Graziani Secchieri (Florence, 2015), 175-216.

dossier, it is possible to depict some aspects of the Jewish family and the role of women in Civitanova.

Marriage – especially between members of two wealthy families – was “an extremely important form of investment, and like all investments, it had its attendant risks.”⁷¹ The dowry was brought by the bride to her husband and often invested in the latter’s business or in a bank. As Michaël Gasperoni has recently pointed out, the dowry and its restitution was often a cause of disputes, and for this reason, the restitution of the dowries of the family women – daughters, sisters, and wives – was often one of the provisions in the head of the family’s will.⁷²

Amongst the records of the notary Ciriaco Ugulati, it has been possible to find a small folder of wills including four Jewish wills from the years 1550-4, belonging to three men (Giuseppe Viviani, Leone di Abramo, Abramo di Michele) and one woman (Smeralda).⁷³ All four documents show the attention of the testators towards the conservation and transfer of the dowries of the women of the family. The above-mentioned Leone di Abramo, after requesting burial in the usual place for the Jews in Civitanova according to the Jewish custom, urged his heirs to return the dowry of 300 *fiorini* to his wife Rosa, which was deposited at the bank of Sabbatuccio di Elia da Monterubbiano with the provision that she would be allowed to have the money six months after his death.⁷⁴ Moreover, he commanded that items and ornaments – linen, tablecloths, cloaks, shrouds, golden and copper vases, and golden rings – be equally divided among Rosa and his brothers Giuseppe and Angelo. The widow would also receive their feather-bed, her garments – which were probably included in her dowry trousseau – and other ornaments accumulated during the years of their marriage.⁷⁵

The man was the administrator of the dowry, but the real owner was the woman, so that in the event of her husband’s death or a divorce – which is allowed in Judaism – the dowry was returned to the woman. The restitution of the dowry protected the woman’s sustenance and allowed her to get married again, depositing it into her new

⁷¹ Toaff, *Love, Work and Death. Jewish Life in Medieval Umbria*, 14.

⁷² Gasperoni, “La misura della dote. Alcune riflessioni sulla storia della famiglia ebraica nello Stato della Chiesa in età moderna”, 183.

⁷³ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ciriaco Ugulati, reg. 110.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, March 21, 1551, n.p.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*: “it[em] reliquit eidem domine Rose cubile plumen et omnia opimenta et fulcimenta ipsius cubilis sive anacliteris in quo ipse testator cubare et obdormire solitus fuit et modo assolet. Item reliquit supra dicte domine Rose eius uxori omnes eius vestes muliebres quas ipsa habet in presentiarum una cum omnibus aliis ornamentis et aliis [...]”.

husband's hands. This is our case: cross-referencing Leone's will (dated March 1551) with other notarial deeds, it appears that ten months later – clearly after Leone's death and the limit of time imposed by the latter – Rosa received her 300 *fiorini* and gave it to her new husband, the moneylender Laudadio di Isacco.⁷⁶

As it appears from the agreements, the dowry was composed of ready money and also the trousseau and wedding presents. In 1541, Regina brought a dowry estimated at 70 *scudi d'oro* in linen, rings, and furnishings that her husband, Emanuele di Aleuccio da Lanciano, promised to return to her in case of divorce. To protect her dowry and her husband's business, the woman spontaneously donated her dowry to her sons through a living-will donation (*donatio inter vivos*).⁷⁷ However, in most cases, dowries were destined for the women of the family. The only will belonging to a woman that it has been possible to find in the State Archive of Macerata moves in this direction. The testator, the above-mentioned Smeralda, bequeaths the house of her late husband, Diodato di Emanuele, to their granddaughter Onorata, daughter of Samuele.

After examining the small sample of dowries, it is possible to make a few remarks. First of all, as has already been observed, the registration of the dowry varied from city to city.⁷⁸ The *confessiones dotis* (documents with which bridegrooms declared the receipt of dowries from their wives' families) found in the State Archive of Macerata reflect the general trend of other cities in the Marca. After the wedding was consummated (*matrimonio copulato*), the notary recorded a single act valid both as a marriage contract and as an acknowledgment of the dowry receipt.

We do not know whether the spouses preferred to go to the notary of the bridegroom's city of residence (like in the Duchy of Urbino, for example) or elsewhere. As far as it has been possible to understand for the case of Civitanova, in six out of fourteen cases the bridegroom was native to Civitanova (or his family had resided in the city for several years or decades). Only four brides were from Civitanova, while the others were from other cities of the Marca, or from the Kingdom of Naples (the origin of four others is unknown):

⁷⁶ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ercole Ugulati, reg. 99, January 13, 1552, fols. 23r-24v.

⁷⁷ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ercole Ugulati, reg. 94, September 23, 1541, fols. 223r-v.

⁷⁸ Michaël Gasperoni, "La misura della dote. Alcune riflessioni sulla storia della famiglia ebraica nello Stato della Chiesa in età moderna", 177.

	Bridegrooms	Brides
Civitanova	6	4
Ascoli	1	1
Montalboddo (Ostra)	1	0
Montesanto (Potenza Picena)	0	1
Morrovalle	2	1
Pesaro	0	1
Lanciano	1	2
Penne	2	0
Rome	1	0
Unknown	0	4
Total	14	14

Tab. 1: origin of the spouses.

The information provided by the notaries is often very limited, and we barely know the names of the spouses and the dowry amounts. The largest dowry belonged to Anna, (daughter of the above-mentioned moneylender Michele di Abramo and Sara) who brought 535 *scudi d'oro* to her husband, Isacco di Lazzaro da Montalboddo.⁷⁹

The dowry – quite poor when compared to other cities in Marche and Umbria⁸⁰ – was composed of 400 *scudi d'oro* in cash, an estimated 80 in garments, a dower of 40 (*tosefet* in Hebrew),⁸¹ and another additional 15.⁸²

300 *scudi d'oro* of the dowry was a bequest of Anna's brother, the above-mentioned Abramo di Michele, who left donations to synagogues (see above) and several women: 300 *scudi d'oro* to his sister Anna; 300 *scudi d'oro* to another sister also called Anna, the wife of Conforto da Recanati (in addition to her dowry, which was provided by their father, the moneylender Michele di Abramo); and 300 *scudi d'oro* to another sister called Bella. He also bequeathed 32 *fiorini* to a maid named Anna and 15 *scudi d'oro* to Bellabruna, daughter of a Vitale da Ancona. Finally, he gave to his mother Sara (or Sarra) the authority to dispose of all movable and immovable properties located in both Civitanova and Montecosaro.⁸³

⁷⁹ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ciriaco Ugulati, reg. 110, April 28, 1554, n.p.

⁸⁰ Cf. Toaff, *Love, Work and Death. Jewish Life in Medieval Umbria*, 23-5.

⁸¹ The *tosefet* was a dower (*mohar*), “a small sum that varied depending on whether the bride was a virgin or not (widows and divorced women did not receive the *mohar*). [...] The two sums were merged to form the totality of the assets managed by the husband. If a woman died before her husband, both the dowry and the dower passed to him”, see Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers. The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven-London, 2009), 135.

⁸² ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ciriaco Ugulati, reg. 110, April 28, 1554, n.p.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

It is generally acknowledged that from the Middle Ages Jewish women (widows in particular) had significant freedom and autonomy within the social and economic *milieu*.⁸⁴ The case of Civitanova is not so distant from the Roman background which has been studied by many scholars.⁸⁵ Amongst the women of the Jewish group in Civitanova clearly emerges the above-mentioned Sara, widow of the banker Michele di Abramo. She is guardian and administrator of her sons by Michele, and she is appointed as sole heir both by her father Giuseppe Viviani (she is also the executor of his will) and her son Abramo di Michele.⁸⁶ It seems that she did not remarry after her husband died but – as it appears from the sources – she shared the house with another man, the above-mentioned Angelo di Vitale, business partner of her late husband. She went before the notary in order to organise some works in the house, for instance the construction of an arch and the digging out of a water cistern. Daughter of a moneylender, then wife of the main moneylender in Civitanova, she was also herself involved in the management of her husband's loan bank in Montecosaro. Certainly, Sara was well educated, as “religious education for girls in premodern Jewish societies focused on domestic responsibilities, which also included managing business transactions, especially moneylending.”⁸⁷ Stella di Daniele, the wife of our author, also appears in a notarial deed as a creditor of two Christians for the amount of 37 *fiorini*.⁸⁸

However, of course, these are very exceptional cases, as both the women belonged to very wealthy or wealthy Jewish families. References to “normal” women are very rare, so it is quite impossible to reconstruct their lives on the basis of notarial sources.

⁸⁴ See, for example, Miriam Davide, “Il ruolo economico delle donne nelle comunità ebraiche di Trieste e Treviso”, *Zakhor. Rivista di storia degli ebrei d'Italia* 7 (2004), 192-221.

⁸⁵ For example, Kenneth Stow – Sara Debenedetti Stow, “Donne ebreë a Roma nell'età del ghetto”, *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 52/1 (1986), 63-103; 105-16; Marina Caffiero, “I diritti della patria potestà: madri ebreë e convertite a Roma in età moderna”. In *Donne nella storia degli ebrei d'Italia, Atti del IX Convegno internazionale “Italia Judaica” (Lucca, 6-9 giugno 2005)*, eds. Michele Luzzati and Cristina Galasso, (Florence, 2007), 279-93.

⁸⁶ See the testaments preserved in ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ciriaco Ugulati, reg. 110.

⁸⁷ Judith R. Baskin, “Jewish Private Life: Gender, Marriage and the Lives of Women”. In *The Cambridge Guide to Jewish History, Religion and Culture*, eds. Judith R. Baskin and Kenneth Seeskin (New York, 2010), 366.

⁸⁸ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ciriaco Ugulati, reg. 112, April 23, 1550, fol. 93r.

1.3. Relations and Conflicts in Communal Everyday Life.

1.3.1. Observant Preaching and the Rise of the Monte di Pietà (1556).

Born in the second half of the fifteenth century after the preaching of the Franciscan friars – particularly the Observant friars, who constituted the radical wing⁸⁹ – against usury, the *Monti di Pietà* spread like wildfire all over the regions of Umbria and the Marca between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁹⁰ If on the one side moneylending was permitted to the Jews in order to help the needy classes and to protect the Christians from the sin of usury, on the other, Franciscan propaganda used this as moral and theological justification in a social sense. This pious institution in fact “was meant to put an end to the iniquitous usury of the Jews by replacing them in the small loans sector, which was directed toward the poorer segments of the population, among which they had hitherto enjoyed a sanctioned and almost total monopoly.”⁹¹

The erection of the *Monti di Pietà* was usually preceded by the preaching of a Franciscan friar in the city and a debate in the municipal council “to discuss the annulment of the Jews’ moneylending charter, their removal from the city and the foundation of a *Monte di Pietà*, using capital created out of public and charity founds.”⁹² The opening of the *Monte di Pietà* in Civitanova dates back to 1556, quite late: on March 15, the proposal for the foundation of a *Monte* was one item on the agenda of the municipal council (*si videtur faciendus Mons pietatis, et quomodo*).⁹³ The proposal was strongly welcomed (thirty council members in favour, only one against) so that the pious institution could help the miserable and needy, because the Jews were used to lending money at interest.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ For example, see the recent James D. Mixson and Bert Roest (eds.), *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond* (Leiden-Boston, 2015).

⁹⁰ The first *Monti di Pietà* were established in Perugia (1462), Orvieto and Gubbio (1463), Terni (1464), and Monterubbiano (1465). Between 1462 and 1474, around 30 *Monti* were erected in Umbria and the Marca, exceeding the number of those previously instituted all over Italy, see Viviana Bonazzoli, “Banchi ebraici. Monti di pietà, Monti frumentari in area umbro-marchigiana: un insieme di temi aperti”, *Quaderni di Cheiron* 10 (1999), 181-214, in particular 191-2. See also Velia Bellagamba, “Monti di pietà”. In *La Marca e le sue istituzioni al tempo di Sisto V*, ed. Pio Cartechini (Rome, 1991), 291-302.

⁹¹ Toaff, “Jews, Franciscans, and the first *Monti di Pietà* in Italy (1462-1500)”. In *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, eds. Susan E. Myers and Steven J. MacMichael, 239.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 240.

⁹³ ASCM, *Atti consiliari*, vol. 193, March 15, 1556, fol. 22r. A monographic study on the *Monte di Pietà* of Civitanova has not already been published.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 22v: “Super ultima proposita consuluit, quum pium sit, pauperibus ac miserabilibus personas benefacere, eorumque erudis et calamitatibus, ac inopia misereri, ex quo Hebrei pecuniam sub fænore dent minime [...] fiat Sacer Montis pietatis ad subventionem Pauperum, miserabiliumque

On May 5, another decree issued by the municipal council ratified the foundation of the *Monte di Pietà*, entrusting its management to Giovanni Caro, brother of the humanist and poet Annibale, and providing him with the initial stock of capital amounting to 570 *fiorini*.⁹⁵ The documentation concerning the operation and maintenance of the *Monte di Pietà* only begins in 1558.⁹⁶ The economic success of the *Monti di pietà* in the Marche was destined to be very limited and slow since the local communities continued to turn to the Jews for several reasons. First of all, the *Monti di pietà* followed the same pattern as the Jewish loan banks, but did not impose a fixed interest rate; thus in many cases they found themselves in precarious financial conditions. Moreover, the *Monti di Pietà* could only lend small amounts of money (between 2 and 20 *fiorini*), so the Christian population frequently turned to the Jewish banks in order to obtain higher sums.⁹⁷ Another difference concerns the management: since the *Monti di Pietà* were subordinated to the authority of the municipal council, requests for payment extensions were rather difficult, whereas the Jewish moneylenders seemed to be more liberal not only in terms of time but also because they would accept items that were susceptible to deterioration (such as woollen clothes) as deposits.⁹⁸ Moreover, the workdays of a *Monte* were usually reduced to only two or three a week.⁹⁹ Episodes of maladministration were also not infrequent.

The abbot Marangoni stressed that the first convent of Franciscan friars in Civitanova, named after Mary Magdalen, was established during the papacy of Gregory IX (1227-41) and consecrated in 1399. In 1512, the Church of San Tommaso was

personarum [...]”. Referring to this decree, Marangoni wrote in his history of Civitanova that “per sovvenimento de’ Poveri giudicò espedito questo Pubblico, venire all’erezzione del sagra Monte della Pietà; e perché nel 1556 si riconobbe una compassionevole miseria ne’ Poveri, cagionata ancora della renitenza degli Ebrei in formare pegni, si pensò maturamente nel Consiglio delli 15 Marzo di esso anno a’ rimedj di tale indigenza” (Marangoni, *Delle memorie sagre, e civili dell’antica città di Novana, oggi Civitanova nella provincia del Piceno*, 193-4).

⁹⁵ ASCM, *Atti consiliari*, vol. 193, May 5, 1556, fols. 34v-35r.

⁹⁶ For this reason, 1558 was wrongly deemed to be the date of its foundation, see Viviana Bonazzoli, “Banchi ebraici. Monti di pietà, Monti frumentari in area umbro-marchigiana: un insieme di temi aperti,” 212. The registers of the *Monte di Pietà* (vols. 140-8), preserved in ASCM, cover the years 1558-1853, when it was replaced with the modern lending institutions. In part of the first accounting volume (vol. 140), it is possible to note some accounts regarding a number of Jews (Leone of Abramo, Ventura of Mosè, and Eliseo son of Consula). For the activity of the *Monte di Pietà*, see also: ASC, *Atti consiliari*, vol. 193.

⁹⁷ Léon Poliakov, *I banchieri ebrei e la Santa Sede dal XIII al XVII secolo*, trans. Paola Mele (Rome, 1974), 172-3.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 173.

incorporated into this Convent.¹⁰⁰ Other churches, such as the Sanctuary of Santa Maria Apparente, the Collegiate Church of San Paolo, the Church of San Marone, and the Convent of the Augustinian Order – all located in Civitanova – were important poles of attraction in the area. The convent of the Observant Friars (Santa Maria del Monte di Fogliano) and the monastery of Santa Chiara were just outside Civitanova; the Capuchin Friars settled there in 1550.¹⁰¹

As shown by the archival sources, in November 1558, the municipal council appointed a *concionatore*, most likely a preacher to preach to the Jews, clearly to give sermons against moneylending and encourage their conversion to Christianity.¹⁰² As we will see, neophytes were present in the city: for example, Giovan Battista Buonamici (born Aharon ben Menaḥem), one of the Jews' oppressors according to Benjamin's chronicle seems to have converted to Christianity after the enactment of *Cum nimis absurdum*.

Unfortunately, the documents do not say more. From his side, Benjamin notes in his chronicle that a friar was involved in the arrest of six Civitanova Jews (among whom were Benjamin himself and his brother). Achille di Marchionne da Montecchio, who was the treasurer of the municipal council and later officer of the *Monte di Pietà* (twice, in 1559 and later in 1576) and others, wrote a letter of accusation against the Jews to Michele Ghislieri (then Pope Pius V), who was at the head of the Roman Inquisition. Among the alleged crimes of the Jews was their attempt to convert a Franciscan friar – a certain Ambrogio – to Judaism, promising him money and new clothes to go to Jerusalem.¹⁰³

The establishment of the *Monte di Pietà* had something of an impact on the activity of Jewish loan banks and marked a turning point in the relations between Christians and Jews in everyday city life.

¹⁰⁰ Marangoni, *Delle memorie sagre, e civili dell'antica città di Novana, oggi Civitanova nella provincia del Piceno*, 157-61.

¹⁰¹ Gaetano Moroni took this information from the works on Civitanova by Giovanni Marangoni, Giuseppe Gaetani, and other authors of local historical works, see Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, vol. 40 (Venice, 1846), 252-3.

¹⁰² ASCM, *Atti consiliari*, vol. 193, November 13, 1558, fol. 114v.

¹⁰³ See below 243.

1.3.2. Crisis and Fall of the Jewish Community.

The application of the anti-Jewish measures contained in *Cum nimis absurdum* (July 15, 1555) very soon caused catastrophic consequences throughout all the Papal States, such as the establishment of the *ghettos* in Rome and Ancona, the burning at the stake of the Portuguese *conversos* in the Doric city in 1556, the imposition of the badge, and other strict limitations. However, this process was not homogeneous and tended to be slower in the peripheral areas.

As we will see in more detail in chapter five, the years 1558-9 represented a crisis for the Jewish group dwelling in Civitanova. The chronicle by Benjamin ben Elnathan also confirms the climate of precariousness and fear felt by the Jews in the Marche and above all in Civitanova.

The establishment of the Franciscan friars and the subsequent erection of the *Monti di Pietà* and the issue of several decrees jeopardised the coexistence of the Jews among the majority Christian society. However, the first anti-Jewish decrees were issued a little earlier. Yet in 1556 the municipal council voted to deny the Jews permission to ritually slaughter animals – *asciattare*, *asciactare*, or *assiattare*, from the Hebrew *sheḥitah* – in the public slaughterhouse of Civitanova. Moreover, they were not allowed to sell the rejects and residue of kosher meat to Christians.¹⁰⁴

Consumption of kosher meat was fundamental for Jews, and was among the basic provisions granted by local authorities to the Jews dwelling in a city. The Jews' reaction was not long in coming: they sent a plea to the municipal council, asking that the heavy decree be revoked, but in vain.¹⁰⁵

The condition of selling slaughtered animals to Christian clients “protected the Jews from the danger that the price of kosher meat might be higher than the general level fixed by the victualling laws.”¹⁰⁶ Besides forcing the Jews to adapt their houses into slaughterhouses (at least the house of a *shoḥet*, a professional butcher), the

¹⁰⁴ ASCM, *Atti consiliari*, vol. 193, May 10, 1556, fols. 36r-37r. On the similar situation in Ancona, see Luca Andreoni, “«Potersi cibare secondo il rito ebraico». Conflitti economici e consumi alimentari in ghetto: il caso di Ancona in età moderna”. In *Testimonianze della cultura ebraica: ricerca, valorizzazione, digitale. Il progetto Judaica Europea*, eds. Giuseppe Capriotti and Pierluigi Feliciati (Macerata, 2011), 65-113. For a particular case involving the Jewish butchers of Rome in the second half of the sixteenth century, see Serena Di Nepi, “Aronitto, Monteritoni, Muccinello e gli altri. I macellai e la carne nella comunità ebraica di Roma nella seconda metà del Cinquecento”, *Zakhor* 9 (2006): 79-92.

¹⁰⁵ ASCM, *Atti consiliari*, vol. 193, July 1, 1556, fol. 49r.

¹⁰⁶ Toaff, *Love, Work and Death. Jewish Life in Medieval Umbria*, 62.

prohibition imposed by the municipal council meant relevant economic damage for the Jews.

Another anti-Jewish decree followed in November 1558: the Jews were required to leave their homes located near to churches and Christian houses and move close to the city walls, close to the Porta S. Angelo.¹⁰⁷ This is also confirmed by Benjamin's account, which dedicated the fifth chapter of the chronicle to describing the hostility of some individuals towards the Jews. According to the account, the above-mentioned Achille di Marchionne convinced both a large part of the citizenry and the municipal council to expel the Jews from the centre, forcing them to live by the rubbish dump.¹⁰⁸ The decree also reiterated the economic restrictions as well as other points of *Cum nimis absurdum* (which we will see in the third chapter), like the prohibition of Jews hiring Christian maids or servants, the forbidding of Jewish women to engage Christian women in conversation, and making it illegal for Jews to work in Christian houses.

Notwithstanding the opposition of part of the population, the balance was definitely broken, and conflicts between the Jewish group and the majority Christian population critically increased between 1558 and 1559. We have evidence of this from the judiciary sources and the registration of the *taxae maleficiorum*, the fines which were imposed for criminal offences committed by individuals.

The climate of tension and the production of accusations orchestrated by Achille di Marchionne, the neophyte Giovan Battista, and other accomplices – as in Benjamin's chronicle – led to the arrest of six Civitanova Jews in July 1559. Released after the Pope's death (August 18, 1559), the Jews returned to their houses and probably continued to conduct their lives, despite ups and downs.

Though the election of Pius IV (1559-65) marked a reversal in the Church's attitude towards the Jews, restoring a limited calm, a decree of expulsion came for the Jews of Civitanova in 1562.¹⁰⁹ The motivation for this is not very clear, and the act does not help us to investigate the circumstances. A further analysis of archival documents and local historical sources will help to shed some light on this issue. What is certain is that in that summer, the Jewish group gathered together in the synagogue to discuss a

¹⁰⁷ ASCM, *Atti consiliari*, vol. 193, November 20, 1558, fols. 115v-116r.

¹⁰⁸ See below 217.

¹⁰⁹ ASCM, *Atti consiliari*, vol. 194, January 17, 1562, fol. 197r.

fundamental matter. The representatives of the *Universitas hebraeorum* – Laudadio di Isacco, Isacco di Lazzarino da Montalboddo, Angelo di Raffaele, Mosè di Guglielmo, Raffaele di Mosè, Isacco di Moscione, Vitale di Vitale “Bicchino,” Vitaluccio di Emanuele, Mosè di Vitaluccio, Prospero di Guglielmo, Giacobbe di Moscione, Laudadio di Salvatore, and Fanzio di Mosè – appeared in the presence of the notary to record the sale of the synagogue and its furnishings as well as the Jewish cemetery (see doc. 3).¹¹⁰ The name of Benjamin/Guglielmo does not appear in the list as he left the city before August 1562, after selling his house that June.¹¹¹

However, it is possible that one moneylender, Vitaluccio di Emanuele, and his family were allowed to remain in order to grant ready money in the city, besides the *Monte di Pietà*. The bull *Hebraeorum gens sola* (1569) by Pius V finally decreed the expulsion of the Jews from the Papal States.

Civitanova once more had to face the need for ready money, and about half a century later, in 1613 the municipal council discussed and approved in a single day the summoning of a Jewish moneylender to the city, who was able to lend money at an interest rate of 12%.¹¹² Despite what happened at the end of the fifteenth century, the opening of a Jewish loan bank was not a sign of the flowering of a Jewish community around the moneylender. We do not have specific information about a Jewish ghetto, but if we look at the earliest map of Civitanova by the Flemish engraver Giacomo Lauro (fig. 3), the Jewish neighbourhood – today corresponding to Vicolo della Luna in Civitanova Alta (see fig. 6 and 7) – is indicated as *vicolo delli hebrei*, that is to say the “Jews’ alley.”

Apparently, at the beginning of the century, Civitanova saw the birth of the poet and kabbalist Mahallel ben Shabbetai Hallelyah, but, because of the many sufferings experienced during his youth, he was forced to wander to various places before he finally arrived in Ancona, where he was appointed rabbi in 1660 and where, among other things, he came into contact with the followers of the mystic and kabbalist Shabbetai Zevi (1621-76) who, among other things, proclaimed himself to be the

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, August 6, 1562, fol. 86r.

¹¹¹ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ciriaco Ugulati, reg. 121, June 9, 1562, fols. 70r-73r.

¹¹² ASCM, *Atti consiliari*, vol. 197, March 18, 1613, fol. 189v: “per sovvenire a bisogni delle genti della nostra terra, che quivi venghi ad habitare un Hebreo Banchiere che dia denari con risposta di 12 per cento l’anno, a terrieri, e di scudi 18 per cento a forestieri, con licentia però dei Sig.ri Superiori di Roma”.

messiah.¹¹³ Without any doubt, after 1569 many Jews of the Marca moved to live in Ancona and Pesaro. The finding of family names such as Cittanova and Civitanova among the papers and registers of the Jewish community of Ancona for the nineteenth century would be explained by the lasting permanence of one or more families in the city who took the name from their place of origin.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Cf. Marco Mortara, *Mazkeret hakhme Italyah. Indice alfabetico dei Rabbini e Scrittori Israeliti di Cose Giudaiche in Italia* (Padua, 1886), 13; Abraham David, “Mahallel ben Shabbetai Hallelyah”, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd edition, vol. 13, eds. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik (Detroit, 2007), 358; Gershom Scholem, “Sabbatian documents on R. Natan ha-Azati from the archives of R. Mahalle Hallelyah of Ancona”. In *Harry Austryn Wolfson Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*. Hebrew section (Jerusalem, 1965), 225-41 [in Hebrew]. On the works by Mahalle ben Shabbetai Hallelyah, see the bibliography cited by Abraham David but also *Hebraica Ambrosiana. A Catalogue of Undescribed Hebrew Manuscripts in the Ambrosiana Library*, eds. Aldo Luzzatto and Luisa Mortara Ottolenghi, 2 vols. (Milan, 1972).

¹¹⁴ On the surname Cittanova, see for example the *Stato degl'individui dell'Università israelitica di Ancona (1830-33)* in ACEAn and also ACDF, *St. St. TT-3g, Censimento della popolazione al maggio 1853*, n.p. Some other sparse information are in CAHJP, IT-An/116, *Copia de' certificati rilasciati dal Segretario del 177. 5600. 1839*.

CHAPTER TWO

***The Chronicle of Pope Paul IV, Known as the Theatine* by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche (16th cent.)**

2.1. The Author and His Work between Fiction and History

In 1943, a novel inspired by William's Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* was published by Ari Ibn-Zahav (1888-1971) under the title *Shylock, the Jew of Venice*. Five years later, the book was translated into English as *Jessica, My Daughter* and adapted for the theatre as the play *Shylock and His Daughter*.¹ The author set the scene in Venice in precisely 1559, the last year of Paul IV's pontificate. The novel is permeated by many historical events, such as, for example, the burning at the stake of the Portuguese *marranos* in Ancona.

The Shakespearean plot is greatly twisted and the characters undergo important changes or are completely invented. It is curious that among the non-original characters of the Bard's play "our" Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche also appears. A certain Samuel Morro – a character invented by Ibn-Zahav – son of one of the *marranos* who died in Ancona in 1556 and who was destined to serve in the galleys himself, manages to escape and leave the Marca thanks to Shylock's help. Once arrived in Venice, he is appointed as a Hebrew teacher for Shylock's daughter, Jessica. Yet in the first chapter, talking with Shylock about the importance of having good teachers, Morro says that he was taught in his childhood by Rabbi Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan before "he was called from Ancona to a position of honor at Civitanova," and that he was then taught law, Latin, and astronomy by "Rabbi Shlomo Yehya [...] who was one of the most noble of the martyrs of Ancona."² During his lessons to Shylock's daughter,

Don Samuel taught Jessica the Scriptures, and especially the Hebrew language of that period from letters which he received. He used to read her the communications of Rabbi Benjamin Nehemiah, who wrote to him from Civitanova, because of the trenchant style, and

¹ Ari Ibn-Zahav, *Jessica, My Daughter*, trans. Julian Meltzer (New York, 1948).

² *Ibid.*, 9.

even copied the letters he sent to his teacher and friends at Capod'Istria to read out to her.³

How did Ibn-Zahav come to insert Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche into his novel? As pointed out in a very recent publication, the writer's interest in Italian-Jewish history, and more specifically in *The Merchant of Venice*, was linked "to his anguish over the rise of European fascism."⁴ The novel and play were the results of a longer project undertaken by the author. As can be read on the back cover of the 1948 edition of the book, Ibn-Zahav "wrote *Jessica, My Daughter* in the belief that the Nuremberg Laws of Hitler were very like those Roman Laws of Paul IV."⁵ Of course – as Edna Nahshon stresses – Ibn-Zahav was inspired by the cultural environment of his age, and his interest in

The Merchant of Venice may have been piqued by the 1930 publication of Cecil Roth's *History of the Jews of Venice*, by the 1933 publication of the Hebrew translation of Ludwig Lewisohn's *The Last Days of Shylock*, and by the 1936 Habima production of the play.⁶

His friendship with Umberto Cassuto at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem might also have influenced Ibn-Zahav in some way. What the American scholar has not underlined is that the chronicle by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche, edited by Isaiah Sonne (who was also an acquaintance of Cassuto), was released in those years and that Ibn-Zahav knew it very well.⁷ The appearance of Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche is anything but limited to a few quotations in the novel. If we read the whole book carefully, it is clear that Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan's chronicle on Paul IV is the main source on which Ibn-Zahav based his *Jessica, My Daughter*, besides, of course, the original version of *The Merchant of Venice* by William Shakespeare (written around 1596-8).

The entire plot is built around the sufferings of the Jews of Civitanova, the arrest of Benjamin and five other Jews of the city, and their imprisonment at Ripetta in Rome until Paul IV's death, following the narrative of Benjamin's work.

³ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁴ Edna Nahshon, "New York City, 1947: A Season for Shylocks". In *Wrestling with Shylock: Jewish Responses to The Merchant of Venice*, eds. Edna Nahshon and Michael Shapiro (Cambridge, 2017), 161.

⁵ See note 1.

⁶ Nahshon, "New York, 1947: A Season for Shylocks", 160.

⁷ Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan, "Chronicle of Pope Paul IV, Known as the Theatine," ed. Isaiah Sonne, *Tarbiz* 2 (1930-1): 331-76, 477-502 [in Hebrew], republished in *From Paul IV to Pius V. A Hebrew Chronicle of the Sixteenth-Century* (Jerusalem, 1954) [in Hebrew], 3-93.

When Esther (a character invented by Ibn-Zahav), a woman of Civitanova, arrives in Venice looking for Samuel Morro, she informs him and Shylock that Rabbi Benjamin and five other Jews have been arrested and taken to Rome. She speaks about the evil deeds performed against the Jews by Achille di Montecchio and the neophyte Giovan Battista and about how these wicked people have managed to ruin the Jewish-Christian relationships in the city. The woman asks Rabbi Benjamin's former pupil for help, adding that she had promised Benjamin's wife and sons to bring this message to Morro in Venice. After a long debate, Shylock comes to the decision to send Jessica, his beautiful only daughter, to Rome to plead with Cardinal Alessandrino and Michele Ghislieri (who was the head of the Roman Inquisition) to release Samuel Morro's teacher, Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan, and the five other Jews of Civitanova Marche. After several vicissitudes, Jessica finally arrives in the Eternal City, where her expectations of the city are completely dashed by the sight of the Jewish ghetto. She meets rabbis and also struggles with cardinals and ambassadors in order to meet with Benjamin and the Jews of Civitanova, who are in the Inquisition prison. When she is finally allowed to see them, she addresses words of comfort to Benjamin and the others, saying that she will help them to discover the reasons why they were brought there. Upon her arrival in Venice, disheartened by the conditions of the Jews, she escapes from her father's house, and for the love of the Christian Lorenzo, she converts to Christianity, also supported by Portia and Antonio. In the meantime, the news of Paul IV's death spreads from city to city, and after a while, Morro receives a letter from Benjamin in which he describes his release and the rebellion of the Roman people at the death of the pontiff. The epistle is actually a long excerpt from the chronicle itself.

A comparison with the archival documentation and the *Chronicle of Pope Paul IV* can immediately dismantle the creative and witty plot imagined by Ibn-Zahav.⁸ First of all, Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan, also known by the Italian name of Guglielmo di Diodato, appears in the archival documentation of Civitanova Marche from the first half of the sixteenth century in relation to his work as an agent of the moneylenders Angelo di Vitale and Michele di Abramo. He was also the leader of his own family businesses along with his brother Samuele. He certainly played a central role in Civitanova Marche and was among the most influential individuals of the Jewish group

⁸ Also, Milano supposed that Benjamin was the Chief Rabbi or a sort of high administrator of the Jewish group in Civitanova Marche; see Attilio Milano, "Benjamin Neḥemjah", *DBI* 8 (1966): 501-2.

as a representative of the community, but he was not the Chief Rabbi of the city as in *Jessica, My Daughter*. As he wrote in the *ḥatimah* – epilogue – of his chronicle on Paul IV, he also did not hail from Ancona, but rather from the Kingdom of Naples:

And also in this generation, we were expelled from the Kingdom of Naples, and we came under the rule of the pope, who exhausted us, and we were not left alone: we received a double punishment, and they took our assets through taxes and rates. During the days of Paul IV, the tragedy of slavery was added, [among which there was the] injury of ownership on our necks [because of] the injustice of the laws [contained in] the bull.⁹

His family probably moved to the Marca after the expulsion of the Jews from the Kingdom of Naples in 1541. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Benjamin's father Diodato di Emanuele (Elnathan of Emanuel) appears in the archival sources as hailing from Campli in the Kingdom of Naples (today in the province of Teramo, Abruzzo) and had established himself and his family in Civitanova by 1542 at the latest (see par. 1.1.2). Several times, Benjamin is indicated in the sources as himself hailing from Cellino (today Cellino Attanasio, in the province of Teramo); this means that he was probably born there, perhaps after his father had relocated from Campli.

The archival sources also help us in the identification of other members of his family. Benjamin's brother Samuele di Diodato (Samuel of Elnathan) appears in both the archival documentation because of his business (see par. 1.1.2) and the chronicle, according to which he was involved in the events that led to the conflict between the Jewish group and the majority Christian society in Civitanova and finally to the arrest of six Jews (among whom were the author and himself).

The finding of his mother's will and other few documents (see par. 1.2.2.) gives a little information about the women of Benjamin's family: his mother Smeralda, his wife Stella di Daniele, and his niece Onorata, Samuele's daughter. Ibn-Zahav's novel hints at Benjamin's sons, whom it is not possible to identify with certainty as there were other men in Civitanova called Guglielmo: Prospero di Guglielmo and Mosè di Guglielmo appear in the archival documentation of Civitanova Marche in the mid-sixteenth century (see chapter 1). We also do not know the age of our chronicler at the time of his arrest and whether he had sons. His brother Samuel, who is claimed to be a young Jew in the chronicle, was already the father of a girl, Onorata.

⁹ See below 281.

As we have seen above, the Jewish group seemed to have left Civitanova Marche and it may be that they then relocated to bigger centres such as Ancona, Pesaro, and Urbino. The moneylender of Civitanova, Angelo di Vitale (for whom Benjamin worked) moved to Urbino, as can be seen from his will.¹⁰ A Master Guglielmo from Civitanova appears as a witness to a notarial deed recorded in Pesaro in 1579, according to which he was married to a woman called Ricca, daughter of Angelo from Roccacontrada.¹¹ Unfortunately, in this case we are also unable to say whether the person mentioned by the notary is the same Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan who had relocated from Civitanova to Pesaro and married another woman, perhaps after his wife (the above-mentioned Stella di Daniele) had died, or a different man of the same name.

2.2. Narrative Structure, Sources, Language, and Style

The *Chronicle of Pope Paul IV, Known as the Theatine* by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan is a unique work in its genre. Besides recounting his own particular vicissitudes, the author recalls events related both to Jewish and to non-Jewish history. The text – which is a fundamental source for the reconstruction of the conditions of the Jews dwelling in the Marca during Paul IV’s pontificate – offers a number of fresh descriptions and details about different issues.

It is arranged into eight chapters, followed by an epilogue (*ḥatimah*), and can ideally be divided into two main parts: Sonne spoke about a “pyramidal structure of the chronicle” which goes from the general to the particular.¹² The first part – made up of the first four chapters and the beginning of the fifth – recalls the “troubles and sufferings that befell the sons of our people during the time of [Paul IV’s] rule, the evil pontificate,”¹³ as well as “the wars and achievements of Pope Paul IV,” such as the war with the Kings of Spain, Charles V and his son Philip II.¹⁴

¹⁰ ASP, *Archivio notarile di Pesaro*, Not. Antonio Ubaldi, b. 1243, fol. 76v-82r.

¹¹ ASP, *Archivio notarile di Pesaro*, Not. Giovanni Giagnoli, b. 769, fol. 34r. I thank Michaël Gasperoni for this reference.

¹² SONNE, 4.

¹³ See below 201.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

On the other side, the second part (chapters 5-8) reflects in more detail on “troubles that happened to us, the Jews living in Civitanova,”¹⁵ with special reference to the case that happened in July 1559 which led to the arrest of the author and five other Jews.

As we will see in more detail in the second part of this study (chapters 3-6), Benjamin devotes the first three chapters of the chronicle to describing the change in papal policy towards the Jews from the election of the Theatine Gian Pietro Carafa (May 1555) as Vicar of Christ onwards, focusing particularly the issue of *Cum nimis absurdum* (July 14, 1555) and the burning at the stake of the *marranos* in Ancona (1556). He then moves on to depicting other topics, such as the reorganisation of the Roman Inquisition under Paul IV, the war with Charles V and Philip II, and the government of the Marca, providing some information on the living conditions of the Jews dwelling there. The second half of the work begins with the fifth chapter, in which Benjamin introduces the events which led to the arrest and imprisonment of six Jews of Civitanova (including the author) in the court of the Roman Inquisition at Ripetta until the Pope’s death (August 18, 1559).

Hatred insinuated itself within the walls of the city where Christians and Jews had been living in peace thanks to the actions of the tax collector Achille da Montecchio, the neophyte Giovan Battista Buonamici (born Aharon ben Menahem), the poet and humanist Annibal Caro, and a few members of the municipal council. Achille’s request to move the Jews and their synagogue far away from the Christians’ houses and churches led the municipal council to issue a decree ordering the Jews to be moved close to the rubbish dump, along with other anti-Jewish provisions. It was a clear sign that for the first time, after about one hundred years of the coexistence of Christians and Jews in Civitanova Marche, something has changed. Nevertheless, the chronicle does not fail to report the opposition of the majority of the population to the application of this decree, as well as the protection offered to the Jews by the governor-general of the Marca, Loreto Lauro, and his messenger. Moreover, the dishonest publication of certain orders by Cardinal Ghislieri concerning moneylending and credits by Achille and his accomplices was at the root of a violent argument between Achille and Samuel, Benjamin’s brother.

¹⁵ See below 217.

Notwithstanding the appeasement between the two men, Achille and the neophyte Giovan Battista “decided to harm the Jews, in particular the above-mentioned Samuel and all his family,”¹⁶ and after they secretly sent a letter to Cardinal Ghislieri denouncing the Jews of Civitanova for several crimes, the latter replied asking them to specify the names of the guilty. Chapter 6 focuses on the arrest of six Jews – among whom were Benjamin and his brother Samuel – out of the eight charged by the Inquisition.

The author provides extraordinary and detailed descriptions of their journey from Civitanova to Rome in July 1559 (see par. 5.2) and their imprisonment first at Curia Savelli and then in the court of the Inquisition at Ripetta for about a month until Paul IV’s death (see chapter 6). The end of chapter 7 and chapter 8 are entirely devoted to the account of the pope’s mortal illness and the many events that happened after his death: the uprising of the Roman people, the destruction of the prisons and release of the prisoners, the burning of Ripetta, the mockery and ruin of Paul IV’s statue on the Capitol Hill, the erasing of the Carafa coat of arms, the pope’s funeral, the return of the Jews to their homes in Civitanova, and the opening of the *conclave*. The account ends with the election of Pius IV (December 25, 1559) and the fact that “all the people rejoiced at his pontificate, because he declared that he would restore mercy to all the people in the country and allow them to rest from the heavy travails that they had been suffering and console them of the sorrow and troubles that Paul IV had caused them.”¹⁷ The Jews particularly put their hopes in him because they desired the abolition of *Cum nimis absurdum*. Since the chronicle closes with Carafa’s trial (March 5, 1561), and for other reasons that we will explain in more detail a little further on (see par. 6.3), it is possible to hypothesise that the chronicle was completed at the latest by February 1562.

As already noted by Sonne, the two parts which make up the chronicle were not written in one go, but rather at two different times.¹⁸ It may be possible that the first four chapters were written while Paul IV was still alive, while the remaining chapters were written after his death, at the beginning of Pius IV’s pontificate. The original project of the work was probably different, and this will explain why, in the table of

¹⁶ See below 223.

¹⁷ See below 273.

¹⁸ SONNE, 7.

contents that precedes the body of the text, only the first four chapters appear on the list.¹⁹

Benjamin was not only a spectator of the events, but also an actor. At several points in his account, he states that his main source is direct or indirect experience of the events. For instance, he states that he saw with his own eyes both the corpse of the converted Portuguese Jew who committed suicide by throwing himself from a window of the Ancona prison and the blood on the threshold of the Court of the Inquisition during the uprising of the Roman populace at Paul IV's death.²⁰ At the end of chapter 7, he reveals the aim of his work more openly:

Since God wanted to redeem us through Pope Paul IV's death, [who died] with his heart impure, who did not die like the rest of humanity. Since there were no false accusations before him [the pope], I felt obliged to write a memorial of the things we experienced without any additions or defects, describing only the truth and recounting what my eyes saw and my ears heard and what my friends testified [about what I have said]; also, today there are witnesses in Rome, and if it is not as I am saying, they will say that I am a liar to my face, because they are still living now. Therefore, be aware that what I have written as a memorial is the simple truth: these things and miracles happened as I have recounted, no more, no less; go and observe the acts of God because He made everything beautiful in His time, may His Name be Blessed forever.²¹

As we will see in the next section, remembrance is a moral obligation and a necessity for the Jews. The author insists that his account is genuine and based on his personal experience (“what my eyes saw and my ears have heard”) as well as the testimonies of his friends and acquaintances.

Regarding Paul IV's statue on the Capitol Hill, which was seriously damaged by the angry populace in August 1559, Benjamin writes that he and the other Jews, after being released from the prison, they saw “its disgrace with our own eyes.”²² He speaks similarly about the body of the dead pope, “the oppressor of the Jews, his carcass defeated and cast in a cradle on the soil” in the court of St. Peter.²³ This last statement appears rather problematic, since, as far the other sources say, Paul IV “was buried at

¹⁹ See below 171.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 189.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 253.

²² *Ibid.*, 263.

²³ *Ibid.*, 265.

night on August 19th in St. Peter's, near the tomb of Innocent VIII, as deep as possible, and a guard set over it, for fear of an outbreak of the part of the people."²⁴

Since Benjamin completed his account after Paul IV's death, likely during the first years of Pius IV's pontificate, any gaps in his knowledge were probably filled by other sources which may have been available to him, such as the *avvisi di Roma* (or from other Italian cities): manuscript newsletters, gazettes written by ambassadors, messengers, or agents, or bought by them from gazetteers in order to inform their princes and masters about political and social life in Rome, both generally and at the papal court in particular.²⁵ It is possible that these kinds of sources as well as other chronicles (see par. 6.3) were circulating in Italy in manuscript after Paul IV's death.

Unfortunately, we do not know the details of Benjamin's education and reading. From a first glimpse at his account, it is clear that he was a man deeply influenced by a religious environment. He makes many references to biblical texts: particularly the Psalms, but also the books of Exodus, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and others. The *ḥatimah* – a *potpourri* of biblical quotations from Deuteronomy 28, Psalms, Isaiah, Ezekiel 39, and Amos 9 used to explain the story of their persecution under Paul IV's time – distinctly proves the author's knowledge of the Bible.

The sorrow at the burning of the Jewish books preserved at Ripetta – which had been confiscated by the Inquisition over the years – following Paul IV's death is also a clue to the author's sensibility and cultured nature:

They brought wood and set fire to the building, and all the books and letters which were inside it. I was upset because of this; I felt upset, for because of our great sins, many books that were burned there were sacred books which had been taken from the hands of the Jews in Rome and left there in the prison in a room full [of books], and in the middle of the [Palace of] the Inquisition, everything was burned, because the whole palace was burned.²⁶

²⁴ PASTOR, 416.

²⁵ An amazing collection of 75 manuscript books of *avvisi* for the years 1554-1648 is preserved in the *Fondo Urbinato Latino* at the Apostolic Vatican Library: BAV, *Urbinate latini*, 1038-1112. On the *Avvisi di Roma*: Cesare D'Onofrio, "Gli Avvisi di Roma dal 1554 al 1605", *Studi Romani* 10/5 (1962): 529-48; Mario Infelise, "Roman *Avvisi*: Information and Politics in the Seventeenth-Century". In *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia, trans. (Cambridge, 2002), 212-28. For a more complete overview on the development and organisation of communication and information networks in Italy and the Mediterranean area in the early modern era, see Johann Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses: une histoire de l'information entre Italie et Méditerranée, XVIe-XVIIe siècles* (Rome, 2013).

²⁶ See below 263.

Furthermore, it is worth recalling that even after the invention of the printing press, books were still considered luxury items, affordable only by the very rich.²⁷ In any case, it has been proved that the literacy rate in Renaissance Italian Jewry was quite high, comparable to that of the Christian scholars and sometimes overtaking it.²⁸ The majority of the texts read were liturgical works, rabbinical and ritual works, or exegetical commentaries. The holding and circulation of manuscripts in a small centre such as Civitanova in the middle of the sixteenth century indicate at least two aspects worthy of note: on one side, the economic and material value of the manuscripts, and on the other, the writings of interest for the Jews. It is quite difficult to sketch the cultural profile of the Jewish community of Civitanova Marche because the sources at our disposal only shed indirect light on a few elements, although they are at least useful for making us aware of some of the works that were circulating halfway through the sixteenth century. On March 16, 1553, Mosè di Matassa and Guglielmo di Diodato declared that they had received a Bible in deposit from a man named Salvatore di Daniele, a resident of Montesanto (today Potenza Picena, in the province of Macerata).²⁹ According to the detailed description provided by the notary, it seems that the exemplar was particularly fine, covered in red velvet cloth with a strip of gold brocade.³⁰ Mosè and Guglielmo promised to return the Bible to Salvatore after five years, indemnifying it for the amount of 25 golden *scudi*. They solemnly promised to return it at that time unblemished and without any signs of deterioration.³¹

Another act signed by the notary Fabio Savi on May 12, 1558 concerns the selling of a Bible by the same Salvatore di Daniele, who acted in the name and on behalf of him and his wife Diamante. He sold the book to Guglielmo di Diodato, Raffaele di Mosè, Emanuele di Vitaluccio, Laudadio di Isacco, and Angelo di Raffaele, representatives of the *Universitas Hebraeorum* of Civitanova in the presence and with

²⁷ Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, 147.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ In his article on the Jewish presence in Civitanova, Werther Angelini clearly made a mistake, naming Salvatore di Samuele instead of Salvatore di Daniele, see Werther Angelini, “Gli ebrei a Civitanova negli anni centrali del Cinquecento”, 376.

³⁰ ASM, ANCM, Not. Ciriaco Ugulati, reg. 115, March 15, 1553, fol. 59r.: “[...] eius liber dictum biblia seu Test[amentu]m Vetus copertorio seu opimento velluti cremisini cum lista broccati aurei”.

³¹ *Ibid.*: “[...] et tandem opertum more hebraico quem quidem liber presenti depositarii et quilibet eorum in solidum promiserunt eidem Salvato ut s. presenti velle reddere et cum effectu restituere hinc ad quinquennium proximum futurum omni exceptioni et cavillationi remotis et reddere non maculatum neque in aliqua sui presente vitiatum et deteriorationis eidem Salvato reficere omnia”.

the permission, will, and authority (*cum presentia, consensus, voluntate et auctoritate*) of Ventura di Mosè and the absent Samuele, represented by his brother Guglielmo, who were at that time the *sindaci* or *priori* (administrators, procurators) of the Jewish community. The book in question was a parchment manuscript of the Bible – *Sefer torà latine vero testamentum vetus* – written in Hebrew characters and wrapped in a fine crimson garment.³²

Once again, the economic indication can help us in evaluating the material value of the object: the manuscript was sold for the notable amount of 50 florins, which, as we have seen before, was the average value of a dowry. Moreover, in another act we read about the sale of another Hebrew Bible from Angelo di Vitale to the Jewish community for the sum of 10 florins, which was once again represented by Guglielmo.³³

The circulation of books in private houses and in community life had a significant role in the building and preservation of Jewish identity. Unlike in Catholicism, in Jewish tradition reading the Bible and religious texts was considered as a religious ritual, a *mišwah*. For this reason and because of the “sacralization of the book” in the Middle Ages, the book acquired magical-religious meanings, turning into a sacred relic.³⁴ Because of this aspect, Jewish books were esteemed as particularly dangerous in the eyes of Christians; above all by the Inquisition, which had strict control over Jewish writings. Naturally, the Jews repeatedly asked the Inquisition to return their confiscated books because of their value (religious, material, economic, and emotional) and for their practical use.

Not so infrequently, neophytes also began legal cases against their relatives for the possession of familial Bibles.³⁵ The attachment of the Jewish-turned-Christian neophytes to their Hebrew books (even after their baptism) has been the object of several studies conducted in recent years.³⁶ The interesting reference to some books

³² ASM, ANCM, Not. Fabio Savi, reg. 161, May 12, 1558, fol. 158v.: “[...] unum librum in carta membrana hebraice scriptum et cohoptum seu vestitum uno pallio velluti cremosini nuncupatum hebraice sefer torà latine vero testamentum vetus cum omnibus et cum omni iure ad habendum tenendum et possidendum et quicquid dicte universitati hebreorum dicte terre Civitanove perpetuo in future”.

³³ *Ibid.*, fols. 157bis r-v.

³⁴ Cf. Robert Bonfil, “La lettura nelle comunità ebraiche dell’Europa occidentale in età medievale”, *Storia della lettura nel mondo occidentale*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (Rome-Bari, 1995), 155-97.

³⁵ On this topic, I would refer to Luca Andreoni, “Gli ebrei di Ancona e i loro libri: controllo inquisitoriale, identità culturale, valore economico (XVIII secolo)”, *Società e Storia* (forthcoming).

³⁶ See, for example, Danièle Iancu-Agou, “Les livres inventoriés à Gérone aux lendemains de la dispute de Tortose (1414-1415)”, *Materia Giudaica* 6/2 (2001): 167-82; *Id.*, “Les élites lettrées juives

belonging to a neophyte in Civitanova Marche becomes more meaningful if the books in question are Kabbalistic works. On January 4, 1552, Guglielmo and Samuele di Diodato paid 6 *scudi d'oro* to the neophyte Giulio Marcello Signoretti, born Isaac Selà da Campobasso, for two books “de Caballa m. vocatur *Sciaara hora* et alium declarati sint conventum *Sefer Gazera* che vol dire *la dechiaratione de la creatione del mondo* qui sunt descripti in carta membrana.”³⁷ Unfortunately, it is not clear whether the books were foreclosed by Diodato (Guglielmo and Samuele’s father) or whether the neophyte seized them from Diodato’s hands. What is certain is that something had happened in the previous years, because the notarial record is a deed of compromise before arbiters. In any case, the most interesting aspect for the purposes of our speculation is the reference to the two manuscripts mentioned above. The first book is to be identified as the *Sha’are Orah* (i.e. *Gates of Light*) or *Sefer ha-Orah* by the Spanish kabbalist Joseph ben Abraham Gikatilla (1248-1305), pupil of Abraham Abulafia. The *Sha’are Orah* is undoubtedly Gikatilla’s major work: strongly influenced by the *Zohar* (i.e. *Book of Splendor*), the work is an account of Kabbalah symbolism.³⁸ The other book is clearly the *Sefer Yeşirah* (i.e. *Book of Creation* or *Book of the Formation*), one of the essential and most ancient Kabbalistic works, whose authorship was ascribed to Rabbi Akiva. The content of the work is the explanation of the ten *sefirot* and the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet in the divine act of creation.³⁹ In Italy, the Kabbalah was already widespread among the upper classes by the end of the fifteenth century, but it manifested itself with more and more emphasis between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, especially during the crucial years of the establishment of the ghettos after the issues of the bull *Cum nimis absurdum* by Paul IV (1555).⁴⁰

dans l’espace catalano-occitan (XVe siècle)”. In *Perpignan. L’histoire des Juifs dans la ville (XIIe – XXe siècles): Recueil des communications du colloque* (Perpignan, 2003), 63-72; Marina Caffiero, *Legami pericolosi. Ebrei e cristiani tra eresia, libri proibiti e stregoneria* (Turin, 2012). For a case that happened in Ancona in the nineteenth century, see the previous note.

³⁷ ASM, ANCM, Not. Ercole Ugulati, reg. 99, January 4, 1552, fol. 3r.

³⁸ The *editio princeps* of the work appeared in 1561 in Mantua and Riva di Trento. For an English translation with an introduction, see Joseph Gikatilla, *Gates of Light. Sha’are Orah*, ed. and trans. Avi Weinstein (Walnut Creek, 1998).

³⁹ Like the *Sha’are Orah*, the *Sefer Yeşirah* was also printed for the first time in Mantua in 1561. See Aryeh Kaplan, *Sefer Yetzirah. The Book of Creation. Revised Edition* (Boston, 1997).

⁴⁰ Cf. Marina Caffiero, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia*, 132. On the diffusion and fortune of Kabbalah in Renaissance Italy, see at least Moshe, Idel, “Major Currents in Italian Kabbalah between 1560-1660”. In *Italia Judaica. Gli ebrei in Italia tra Rinascimento ed Età barocca. Atti del II Convegno internazionale, Genova, 10-15 giugno 1984* (Rome, 1986), 243-62; Robert Bonfil, “Change in the Cultural Patterns of a Jewish Society in Crisis: Italian Jewry at the Close of the Sixteenth Century”, *Jewish History* 3 (1988):

Without doubt, the Kabbalah was a vehicle for Jewish culture among the majority Christian society, and if, on one hand, it had great fortune in the cultural and erudite environments of Renaissance Italy, promoting the interest of Christian Hebraists⁴¹ such as Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, for example, on the other hand, its magical and superstitious features aroused the suspicion of the Catholic Church, above all of the Roman Inquisition. Born in 1542 with the bull *Licet ab initio* by Paul III, the Sacred Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition very soon began to be concerned with Jewish matters (and especially Jewish books), employing strict control all over the Papal States. As is well known, after the burning of the Talmud in Campo de' Fiori in Rome (1553) there followed a large number of requisitions and burnings of the hateful book throughout the Papal States and the rest of Italy. Special commissioners were sent to the peripheries by the Inquisition to find the Talmud and to extirpate the dangers of blasphemy and heresy. This is also what happened to the Jewish community of Civitanova when the Roman commissioner Marco Antonio Luzzi was sent to inquire about the Talmud in Civitanova and Montecosaro in November 1554. In order to protect themselves from future requisitions, the Jews requested a legal statement that he had not found any copies of the suspected book in their houses.⁴²

In any case, as proved by the quotations in the chronicle, besides the above-mentioned Kabbalistic works Benjamin clearly knew the Babylonian Talmud as well as the *midrashim*. The influences of the *Megillat Esther* (to which we will return in the next pages), as well as the *Sefer Yosippon* and the commentary on Habbakuk, are also present in the work. Sonne particularly highlighted that both the *Yosippon* and the chronicle end with a quotation from Ezekiel 39:25 (although Benjamin also adds text from Amos).

From a stylistic point of view, Benjamin's chronicle is distinguished by a simple and spontaneous way of writing which indirectly reflects his nature as a moneylender and businessman living on the periphery of the Papal States in the

11-30; Yaacob Dweck, *The Scandal of Kabbalah: Leon Modena, Jewish Mysticism, Early Modern Venice* (Princeton, 2011).

⁴¹ On this aspect, see François Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1963) and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart, 2012-4).

⁴² ASM, ANCM, Not. Ciriaco Ugulati, reg. 116, November 10, 1554, fol. 165r: “[...] dixit et palam manifestus fuit se exactissima indagine perquisivisse domos et libros omnium et singulorum hebreos dicta terrae Civitanovae et Monti Causarii et non invenisse aliquem detinentem dictos libros sed omnes ipsos nitidos pariter et Sanctissimae Ecclesiae Apostolicae obedientes in cuius rei fide rogavit mei notarii”.

sixteenth century, although he proves to be well versed in the Hebrew writings. Indeed, the chronicle is written in a style which combines the Hebrew syntax and morphology of the Sacred Texts with the addition of Italian vernacular words (always written in Hebrew characters). He prefers to use a third-person narrative, and only rarely speaks in the first person. The presence of imperatives and sentences addressed to the reader should also be highlighted.

2.3. *The Legacy of Amalek and the Writing of History.*

In reading the *Chronicle of Pope Paul IV* by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan, the reader should pose several questions. First of all, why did a Jewish moneylender from the periphery of the Papal States write such a detailed chronicle on Carafa's pontificate? What was the meaning and the goal of his writing? How should we consider the literary genre of this chronicle?

Sonne rightly included Benjamin's chronicle in the tradition of the local Purims, in which are recounted the hardships and the following miraculous salvations which befell certain Jewish communities (persecutions, wars, earthquakes, epidemic diseases, *etc.*), families, or individuals.⁴³ The *megillah* ("scroll") of Esther – on which local Purims are modelled – recalls the story of the Jews during the reign of the Persian king Ahasuerus and the salvation of the former from the latter's evil counsellor, Haman. The Jews still remember those events today on the feast of Purim, "a carnivalesque holiday of reversal that celebrates the triumph of the Jews, during the days of Mordecai and Esther, over the genocidal plot of their archenemy Haman, who was hanged on the gallows that he had planned for Mordecai."⁴⁴

Unlike the scrolls from the local Purims, the *Chronicle of Pope Paul IV* is characterised by an impartial and precise account of events not closely related to Jewish history. As we will see in the next chapters, Benjamin wanted to give a complete overview of Paul IV's pontificate, focusing on many aspects such as the war with Spain,

⁴³ SONNE, 3. On local Purims, see Cecil Roth, "Some Revolutionary Purims (1790-1801)", *Hebrew Union College Annual* 10 (1935): 451-82; Amedeo Spagnoletto (ed.), *Il «Purim» di Roma del 1793. «Moed» di piombo* (Rome, 1997); Elliott Horowitz, *Reckless Rites. Purim and the Legacy of Jewish Violence* (Princeton, 2006), 279-316; "Purims, Special", *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, second edition, vol. 16: 743-4. On the alleged special Purim of Rome in 1555, see par. 3.1.

⁴⁴ Horowitz, *Reckless Rites. Purim and the Legacy of Jewish Violence*, 4.

the modes of operation of the Roman Inquisition, and the administration of the prisons in Rome. All these features, added to the accuracy and extensiveness of the details, make the text a reliable historical source.

Our author does not refrain from describing Paul IV as “evil” and a “devil,” or from including him “in the company of evil with Balaam and Amalek.”⁴⁵ Moreover, he associates both the cardinal-nephew, Carlo Carafa, and the neophyte of Civitanova Marche, Giovan Battista Buonamici – who was involved in the anti-Jewish actions against the Jews of the city – with the above-mentioned Haman, who is referred to in the book of Esther as an Agagite, a descendant of the Amalekite king Agag.

These negative images – particularly Amalek and Haman – were destined for great success in Jewish literature from rabbinical times until the present day, and were often identified with contemporary enemies of the Jews, including Pope Gregory I, Tzar Alexander III, Hitler, Yasser Arafat, and Donald Trump.⁴⁶ While the non-Israelite prophet Balaam was generally counted as a villain because he had cursed the people of Israel (Numbers 22-24), the figure of Haman was one of the most common epithets used to indicate the enemies of the Jews, and has taken on different forms over the centuries.⁴⁷

The reference to Amalek takes on a specific importance in the chronicle. Amalek and his people (the Amalekites) represent the first enemy the Israelites “encountered in their forty-year trek through the desert” after their exodus from Egypt.⁴⁸ The attack by Amalek at Rephidim was the first war experienced by Israel, under the guidance of Moses, and the victory marked a shift in the history of the Jewish people. For this reason, God ordered Moses: *Inscribe this in a document as a reminder, and read it aloud to Joshua: I will utterly blot out the memory of Amalek from under heaven!*⁴⁹ This commandment to remembrance is also noted in Deuteronomy 25: *Remember what*

⁴⁵ See below 251.

⁴⁶ See for instance, Josef Stern, “Maimonides on Amalek. Self-Corrective Mechanisms, and the War against Idolatry”. In *Judaism and Modernity: The Religious Philosophy of David Hartman*, eds. David Hartman and Jonathan W. Malino (Farnham, 2004), 359-92; Johann Maier, *Kriegsrecht und Friedensordnung in jüdischer Tradition* (Stuttgart, 2000), 120-1; Elliott Horowitz, *Reckless Rites*, esp. chapters 4 and 5. For the interpretations on the first four mentioned in the list, see Horowitz, *Reckless Rites*, introduction and chapters 4 and 5; on the latter, see the post by Rabbi Neil Hirsch, “Amalek in Every Generation”, March 18, 2016, in: <http://www.hevreh.org/amalek-in-every-generation/>

⁴⁷ Horowitz, *Reckless Rites*, see chapter 4.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁴⁹ Exodus 17:14.

*Amalek did to you on your journey, after you left Egypt [...] you shall blot out the memory of Amalek from under heaven. Do not forget!*⁵⁰

How is it possible to blot out the remembrance of Amalek by not forgetting him? The writing of history, and in particular non-Jewish history, could help in this direction. Benjamin was probably aware of this, and he firmly expresses the goal of his text several times, linking it to a moral commandment: “I felt obliged to write a memorial of the things we experienced without any additions or defects” or “I must write a memorial about part of his [Paul IV’s] wars against King Philip.”⁵¹ After all, memory is something of an act of aggression.⁵²

At the same time, Benjamin works to annihilate the pope and his family, repeatedly cursing them (especially the pope) with Jewish formulas such as “may his name and memory be blotted out” and “may his evil name be blotted out.” The oblivion was not only intended metaphorically: the order to destroy the Carafa family’s coat of arms given by the municipal council of Rome on August 20, 1559 is interpreted by Benjamin as following the biblical commandment in Deuteronomy 25:19.⁵³

The chronicle was not destined for a large public – also because the critical comments and cursing towards Paul IV and his family would have caused it to be censored or condemned – but rather for the author’s family members, “the future generations and people from distant lands [so that] they will know what happened during the days of Paul IV” and “raise their children to know about it, as a testimony of all that [God] did for our fathers and for us, the miracles and wonders.”⁵⁴

Several features may be found also in the many early modern chronicles recounting the experience of the Sephardic diaspora.⁵⁵ These tragic events and the oppression of the Jews could not be ignored by authors such Abraham Zacuto, Solomon Ibn Verga, Samuel Usque and Joseph ha-Cohen, who

⁵⁰ Deuteronomy 25:17-19. The commandment to blot out the memory of Amalek appears also in 1 Samuel 15:2-3.

⁵¹ See below 201.

⁵² Cf. Horowitz, *Reckless Rites*, 110.

⁵³ See below 265.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 253.

⁵⁵ Among the extensive bibliography, we refer only to Yosef H. Yerushalmi, *Zakhor. Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle, 1992) and Robert Bonfil, “Jewish Attitudes toward History and Historical Writing in Pre-Modern Times”, *Jewish History* 11/1, 1997, 8. See also: *Id.*, “Esiste una storiografia ebraica medioevale?”. In *Aspetti della storiografia ebraica. Atti del V Congresso Internazionale dell’AISG, S. Miniato, 7-10 novembre 1983* (Rome, 1987), 227-48.

by adding the tales of persecution to their chronicles wished to express their growing anger; others in anguished expressions showed their hatred for Christianity in whose name wanton acts were committed, or desired in this manner to educate in the spirit of those martyred in all times.⁵⁶

Without dwelling on what has been called the “lachrymose conception of Jewish history”⁵⁷ here, we recall that, according to Jewish authors of chronicles, history had a pedagogical role in supporting the study of the *Mishnah* and the *Torah* and, more generally, in satisfying the curiosity of young people.⁵⁸ Moreover, history was conceived as a weapon against the Christian polemics, but, at the same time, it also contributed to establishing a dialogue with them.⁵⁹ Last but not least, it was a source of comfort in exile, relief from suffering, a symbol of the identity of the Jewish people in the diaspora.⁶⁰

Although Benjamin follows the *topoi* of medieval and early modern Jewish historiography – for example, explaining the hardships suffered by the Jews in Italy during Paul IV’s pontificate as the result of Israel’s sins and stating that salvation is only operated by God because of his mercy⁶¹ or because of his messianic expectations in the *ḥatimah* – he does not offer a lachrymose account of the events that happened during Paul IV’s pontificate.

As an analysis of the text will show in the next chapters, the *Chronicle of Pope Paul IV* represents somehow a further step towards a new and more mature historical consciousness. Despite “history became a value in Jewish consciousness, and the

⁵⁶ Abraham David, “R. Gedalya Ibn Yahya’s *Shalshet haKabbalah* (“Chain of Tradition”). A Chapter in Medieval Jewish Historiography”, *Immanuel* 12 (1981), 60-76, see 67.

⁵⁷ Salo W. Baron, *A Historical and Religious History of the Jews*, vol. 2 (New York, 1937), 31.

⁵⁸ On this aspect, the Spanish astronomer and astrologer Abraham Zacuto, author – among other things – of the *Sefer Yuhasin* (i.e. *Book of Genealogies*), writes: “With this account I want to satisfy the desire of the sons of our people who want to know all the things that were written by the Christians, that is to say the more general things such as what happened in Jerusalem and Israel, in Italy, Greece, Egypt, Babylon, Turkey [...]”; cf. Abraham Zacuto, *Liber Juchassin sive Lexicon Biographicum et Historicum [...] compilatum ab illustri Rabbi Abraham Zacuti*, ed. Zwi H. Filipowski (London-Edinburgh, 1857), 231b. The translation from Hebrew is mine.

⁵⁹ Cf. Jacqueline Genot-Bismuth “L’argument de l’histoire dans la tradition espagnole de polémique judéo-chrétienne d’Isidore de Seville à Isaac Abravanel et Abraham Zacuto”. In *From Iberia to Diaspora: Studies in Sephardic History and Culture*, eds. Yedida K. Stillman and Norman A. Stillman (Leiden-New York-Köln, 1999), 200-1: “Tous ont clair conscience en Espagne que le récit du passé, exaltant le peuple qui en est le héros, a pour mission d’affirmer la légitimité et la prééminence d’une confession sur les autres puisqu’autant alors confession et nation coïncident. L’arme n’est d’ailleurs pas nouvelle [...] Le recours à l’histoire – nous dirions mieux l’historiographie – est donc le recours à une arme de combat”.

⁶⁰ Cf. Eleazar Gutwirth, “The Historian’s Origins and Genealogies: The *Sefer Yuhasin*”, *Hispania Judaica Bulletin* 6 (2008): 81.

⁶¹ See, for example, the introduction of the *Sefer Yuhasin* (1452) by Abraham Zacuto.

philological and historical study of Jewish tradition in antiquity came to be seen as an expression of emancipation [...] only in the nineteenth century by the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*,⁶² most of the premises for a new conception of history were already set in the early modern era.⁶³

⁶² Giuseppe Veltri, *Renaissance Philosophy in Jewish Garb. Foundations and Challenges in Judaism on the Eve of Modernity* (Leiden-Boston, 2009), 73-96, see 96.

⁶³ On the interpretations of Renaissance and Baroque historiography, see at least Robert Bonfil, “How Golden was the Age of the Renaissance in Jewish Historiography?”, *History and Theory* 27/4 (1988), 78-102. On the conception of history by Azariah de’ Rossi, author of the *Me’or Enayim*, who “is considered the “Father of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*,” a revolutionary, from an age unable to appreciate him” (Veltri, *Renaissance Philosophy in Jewish Garb*, 95), see Giuseppe Veltri, “The Humanist Sense of History and the Jewish Idea of Tradition: Azariah de’ Rossi’s Critique of Philo Alexandrinus”, *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 2 (1995): 372-93; *Id.*, *Renaissance Philosophy in Jewish Garb. Foundations and Challenges in Judaism on the Eve of Modernity*.

PART TWO

*Paul IV and the Jews in the Chronicle by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan
from Civitanova Marche: An Analysis*

CHAPTER THREE

Paul IV and Papal Policy Towards the Jews.

3.1. Marcellus II and the Alleged Blood Libel Against the Jews of Rome.

Rome, May 1, 1555: after only three weeks of his pontificate, the poor health of Marcello Cervini – who had ascended to the throne of St. Peter with the name of Marcellus II on April 9 – exacerbated and caused his death from an apoplectic stroke. Born in 1501 in Montefano in the province of Macerata in the Marche, he received a good education from his father, and, thanks to the latter's connections, he entered the court of the newly elected Pope Paul III (1534-49).¹ After a brilliant career as a man of culture and diplomacy, he obtained the title of cardinal and, on the death of Julius III, his candidacy in the conclave as Peter's successor was warmly supported by the influential Cardinal Carafa (the future Paul IV), finally resulting in his election. His previous involvement in the Congregation of the Roman Inquisition – established by Paul III with the bull *Licet ab initio* (1542) – and in the convocation of the Council of Trent (1545) orientated his brief pontificate towards the direction of austerity and the correction of abuses and heresy.

Writing about Pope Cervini, Benjamin Neḥemiah says that “though he reigned for only twenty-three days, his name is well remembered because he performed a great salvation for Israel.”² Concerning the first point, if we consider the extremes of his reign – the day of his election (April 9, 1555) and the date of his death (he died in the night between April 30 and May 1) – the account is certainly correct. Isaiah Sonne, who first published the chronicle in 1930, linked the second point to the deliverance from the alleged blood libel that apparently struck the Jewish community of Rome during Marcellus II's pontificate.³ A discrete number of independent Jewish sources refer, with

¹ For a biographical profile of Marcellus II, see Giampiero Brunelli, “Marcello II”, *DBI* 69 (2007): 502-10 and *PASTOR*, 1-55 and the annexed bibliography.

² See below 173.

³ SONNE, p. 24, note 8. On the case and its interpretations, see Anna Foa, “Il gioco del proselitismo: politica delle conversioni e controllo della violenza nella Roma del Cinquecento”. In *Ebrei e cristiani nell'Italia medievale e moderna: conversioni, scambi e contrasti, Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale dell'AIISG, S. Miniato, 4-6 novembre 1986*, eds. Michele Luzzati, Michele Olivari, and Alessandra Veronese (Rome, 1988), 155-69, and more recently Serena Di Nepi, *Sopravvivere al ghetto. Per una storia sociale della comunità ebraica nella Roma del Cinquecento* (Rome, 2013), see in particular 51-75.

some significant variations, to the episode of the finding of the crucified body of a little boy of about three or four years old, tortured and cruelly killed, in the Campo Santo Teutonico.⁴ Because of its proximity to Easter, the Jews were believed to have been responsible for this unspeakable murder. It seems that Cardinal Alessandro Farnese⁵ promptly helped them, exposing the poor child's corpse and looking for his parents or relatives among the Roman population. Joseph ha-Cohen, who wrote his *Emeq ha-bakha* (= *The Vale of Tears*) immediately after the event, states that the perpetrator of the crime was a Spanish man who took the child into custody from his father before his death. In agreement with his lover, a Spanish prostitute, the man tortured the child, cruelly killed him, and carried him to the Campo Santo in secret.⁶ Notwithstanding the identification of the murderers, when Ḥananel (Graziadio) da Foligno – a Jewish convert to Christianity by the name of Alessandro Franceschi, who, among other things, played a leading role in the burning of the Talmud in Rome in 1553⁷ – “heard this, he was angered and he preached even greater persecution against the Jews.”⁸ According to Joseph ha-Cohen's account, after the pope's death, Cardinal Farnese ordered the execution of the Spanish couple.⁹ Other sources which discuss the episode are a brief list of memories by Abraham ben Daniel da Modena and a seventeenth-century handwritten marginal note by Abraham Joseph Salomon Graziano in a printed version of the *Shalsholet ha-Kabbalah* by Gedaliah Ibn Yaḥyah.¹⁰

According to Graziano, the annotation is a paraphrase of a manuscript scroll written in Rome – the *Iggeret nesim* (= *Letter of Miracles*) – a copy of which was found

⁴ “Holy field”; the German cemetery in Rome, located beside St. Peter's Basilica, so called because of the tradition that the soil had been brought back from Eretz-Israel.

⁵ Cf. Stefano Andretta, “Farnese, Alessandro”, *DBI* 45 (1995): 52-65.

⁶ Cf. Joseph ha-Cohen, *The Vale of Tears (Emek habakha)*, trans. and ed. Harry S. May (The Hague, 1971), 89-90.

⁷ On Ḥananel (Graziadio) da Foligno and his anti-Jewish proselytism, see David Ruderman, “A Jewish Apologetic Treatise from Sixteenth Century Bologna.” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 1 (1979): 253-76; Shlomo Simonsohn, “Alcuni noti convertiti ebrei del Rinascimento”. In *Ebrei e cristiani nell'Italia medievale e moderna: conversioni, scambi e contrasti, Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale dell'AIISG, S. Miniato, 4-6 novembre 1986*, eds. Michele Luzzati, Michele Olivari, and Alessandra Veronese (Rome, 1988), 93-104.

⁸ Joseph ha-Cohen, *The Vale of Tears*, 90.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 90-1.

¹⁰ Cf. Abraham David, “The Letter of Miracles. The Scroll of the Second Purim in Rome in [5]315”. In *Italia. Studi e ricerche sulla storia, la cultura e la letteratura degli ebrei d'Italia* 13-15 (2001), 109-17 [in Hebrew]. The annotation by Graziano was first published in David Kaufmann, “Delivrance des juifs de Rome en l'année 1555”, *REJ* 4 (1882): 88-97 and then in SONNE, 103-5. The *editio princeps* of *Shalsholet ha-Kabbalah* (= *Chain of Tradition*) was printed in Venice in 1587 for Giovanni di Gara.

by Rachel Nissan and published by Abraham David.¹¹ Both the note by Graziano and the *Iggeret* offer different versions of the episode to that described in the *Emeq habakha*.

The first difference is in the identification of the murderer with a certain Doctor Sulim, a Spanish physician who took the child into custody from his mother (and not from his father, as in Joseph ha-Cohen's account) before his death. According to the two texts, the murder was committed by the man without help from the woman. Moreover, the blood accusation on 3rd of Iyyar (April 24) only hit the Jews after the zealous activity of the neophyte, and it was immediately nipped in the bud by Pope Marcellus II. Cardinal Farnese is not mentioned at all. The newly elected Pope Paul IV gave the order to execute Doctor Sulim at the beginning of his pontificate.¹²

Like the scroll of Esther, the event recalls a story of salvation. Serena Di Nepi, who has recently reflected on the alleged blood libel of Rome – already the object of a study by Anna Foa – has proposed a new interpretation of the episode based on archival documents found in the Archivio di Stato di Roma.¹³ Analysing the judiciary sources of the time, she found no cases of murders involving the Jewish community and Christian children. The account of the finding of the little boy in the Campo Santo and the subsequent accusation of the Jews originated from another case (the Solis trial), which happened in Rome during the days of Marcellus II and Paul IV. The child's murderer was his father, the Spanish doctor Domenico de Solis (not Sulim), who, after the child's mother's death, took custody of him and killed him in a moment of rage. He then carried the body to the Campo Santo (but did not crucify him), where it was found by the watchman and recognised by one of Solis' acquaintances, and Solis was arrested and executed during Paul IV's pontificate. The rumours circulating in Rome after the finding of the child in the Campo Santo might have influenced the collective imagination, especially given its proximity to Easter and the fact that it took place in a moment of social instability, as the papal vacancy was. How the Jewish sources came to

¹¹ David, "The Letter of Miracles. The Scroll of the Second Purim in Rome in [5]315", 109-17.

¹² For the text of the *Iggeret nesim*, see David, "The Letter of Miracles. The Scroll of the Second Purim in Rome in [5]315", 114-7; for Graziano's annotation, Kaufmann, "Delivrance des juifs de Rome en l'année 1555", 94-97 and SONNE, 103-5.

¹³ The sources from the Archivio di Stato di Roma on the trials of Solis and Sforzo were presented for the first time in Serena Di Nepi, *Sopravvivere al ghetto. Per una storia sociale della comunità ebraica nella Roma del Cinquecento*; see also Foa, "Il gioco del proselitismo: politica delle conversioni e controllo della violenza nella Roma del Cinquecento".

the knowledge of the alleged blood libel and why they formulated or accepted it without verifying it is not known.¹⁴

Our author, Benjamin, who lived during those days and was in Rome in 1559, seems to follow the *Iggeret nesim*, on which Graziano based his annotation, with his laconic mention of Marcellus II. Whether the alleged blood libel affected the Jewish community of Rome in 1555 or whether it was merely imagined at a certain point, the account of the *Iggeret nesim* (and the text offered by Graziano) and Joseph ha-Cohen represents a crisis and its solution.¹⁵

The answer might be found in the unstable situation in the city of Rome between Marcellus II's vacancy and Paul IV's election. As proposed by Di Nepi, the myth of persecution and the alleged blood libel might have helped the Jews to understand the events which followed: the establishment of the ghetto and the papal policy towards the Jews between acts of violence and protection.¹⁶

3.2. Paul IV's Election.

On the same day that Marcellus II died, the governor of Rome immediately issued a *bando* (decree) to forbid wagers on the papal election.¹⁷ Among the many events on which the people of Rome placed bets, the election of a new pope was undoubtedly the most exciting.¹⁸ The cardinals gathered together in the conclave to elect the new successor to Peter.¹⁹ The election of the octogenarian Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa on May 23 surprised many people.²⁰ Despite his old age, the newly elected pope was in full

¹⁴ Cf. Di Nepi, *Sopravvivere al ghetto*, 66.

¹⁵ Cf. Foa, "Il gioco del proselitismo", 166.

¹⁶ Cf. Di Nepi, *Sopravvivere al ghetto*, 73.

¹⁷ ASR, *Tribunale criminale del governatore, Atti di cancelleria*, b. 1, April 9, 1555, fol. 35r. The *bando* was reiterated on May 2, see fol. 36r.

¹⁸ John Hunt dedicated a short paper to the topic, analysing the situation in the sixteenth century, see his "Betting on the Papal Election in Sixteenth-Century Rome," *Occasional Paper Series* 32 (Las Vegas, 2015).

¹⁹ The sources on the conclave that elected Paul IV are reported in PASTOR, 56-65 and Antonio Santosuosso, "An Account of the Election of Paul IV to the Pontificate", *Renaissance Quarterly* 31/4 (1978): 486-498.

²⁰ Pastor says that the necessary majority of two-thirds in the conclave was reached on the morning of May 23; the election was confirmed by "unanimous adoration" at noon (see PASTOR, 64). Benjamin states that the election happened on the 4th of Siwan (May 24), while Joseph ha-Cohen anticipates it to the 22nd. Also, another source reported by Pastor testifies that the news of the election spread on May 22, see PASTOR, 63, note 1.

possession of his physical and mental faculties: “tall, skinny, all nerves and bones, he seemed not to touch the ground when he walked,”²¹ “it was said that he had never taken any medicine in his life [...] out of his deeply sunk dark eyes there shone the glow of the fires of southern Italy.”²² A member of one of the most powerful and noble Neapolitan families, Gian Pietro Carafa was born in Sant’Angelo a Scala or perhaps Capriglia (both in the Kingdom of Naples, today in the province of Avellino, in Campania) on June 28, 1476, to Giovanni Antonio and Vittoria Camponeschi.²³ At the beginning of the chronicle on Paul IV, Benjamin says that the Neapolitan Carafa family had slandered the Jews in the past:

When King Fernando of the House of Aragon began to reign in Naples, one of the older members of the House of Carafa, who was a counsellor to the king and who had been one of the first to settle in the kingdom, asked the king to expel all the Jews who [lived] in the lands of his kingdom, falsely accusing them. The prince and the queen were convinced by his words, but through God’s mercy towards His people, the king did not want to listen; he refused him, so he [the counsellor] went away from him disappointed.²⁴

The king was Ferdinand I of Aragon (1424-94) – also known as Fernando or Ferrante – while the member of the Carafa family mentioned here has not been identified. It seems that in 1443, King Alfonso V of Aragon, Ferdinand I’s father, held a Jewish prisoner of Giovanni Carafa at the baptismal font and bestowed his name upon him.²⁵ Other Jewish sources of the time agree on the piety and justice of Ferdinand I towards the Jews: Joseph ha-Cohen stresses that both Ferdinand I and his son Alfonso II were tolerant of the Jews living in the Kingdom of Naples, many of whom were exiles from Spain.²⁶ Also, Eliyahu Capsali, in his chronicle on the Jews of Venice, refers to him as a righteous man among the nations.²⁷ The Christian sources also refer to his benevolent

²¹ Santosuosso, “An Account of the Election of Paul IV to the Pontificate”, 486.

²² PASTOR, 65.

²³ For general references on Gian Pietro Carafa and his pontificate, see Alberto Aubert, “Paolo IV”, *Enciclopedia dei papi*, vol. 3 (Rome, 2000), 128-142; Id., “Paolo IV”, *DBI* 81 (2014): 107-13. Daniele Santarelli, “Paolo IV”, *DSI*, vol. 3, 1164-1166; PASTOR, vol. 14, 56-494.

²⁴ See below 173.

²⁵ This information, from a document preserved in the State Archives of Naples, was published in Camillo Minieri Riccio, “Alcuni fatti di Alfonso I d’Aragona dal 15 aprile 1437 al 31 di maggio 1458”, *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* VI/2 (1881): 240.

²⁶ Joseph ha-Cohen, *The Vale of Tears*, 73.

²⁷ Eliyahu Capsali from Candia (ca. 1483-after 1555) is the author of the Hebrew works *Divre ha-yamim le-malkhut Venešyah* (1517) and *Seder Eliyahu Zuta* (1523), both published in a modern edition: *Seder Eliyahu Zuta (History of the Ottomans and of Venice and that of the Jews in Turkey, Spain and*

attitude towards the Jews.²⁸ The expulsion of the Jews from the Kingdom of Naples occurred only after 1494 with the coming of Charles VIII and the French occupation of Naples at the very beginning of Ferdinand II's reign (1495-6).

As recorded by some contemporary chroniclers, a decree of expulsion was enacted in 1496 because of popular discontent.²⁹ It seems that no expulsions from the Kingdom of Naples took place during Ferdinand I's reign, so it is possible that Benjamin and the other sources refer to the expulsions happened at the end of the century. Ferdinand's son, Alfonso II, followed the same tolerant policy and, as it appears from will, he admonished his son Ferdinand II to respect the charters made with the Jews, to reduce – if excessive and dishonest – the interest rates but also to impose the distinctive badge.³⁰

Now, turning back to Pope Carafa, some biographical details will be useful in order to contextualise his character and religious sensibility. After having received a religious education and sacred orders, he was introduced into the Roman Curia by his uncle, Cardinal Oliviero Carafa. As highlighted by the Catholic historian Ludwig von Pastor

For sixty years Gian Pietro had devoted all the gifts of his intellect, the strength of his iron will, and the firmness of a character which brooked no opposition to one aim alone: to infuse new life into the authority, the power, the purity and the dignity of the Church, which was now sorely beset by enemies, both from within and without.³¹

For this purpose, in 1524, together with Gaetano dei Conti di Thiene (canonised by Clement X in 1671),³² he founded the Congregation of Clerics Regular or Theatines,³³

Venice), eds. Aryeh Shmuelevitz, Shlomo Simonsohn, and Meir Benayahu, 3 vols. (Jerusalem, 1975-1983) [in Hebrew].

²⁸ “Nos tamen ipsos iudeos et quemlibet ipsorum amamus atque diligimus, et ipsis iudeis et cuilibet eorum favori et auxilio semper fuimus et erimus”. This source from the State Archives of Naples, dated 1476, was published in Ferorelli, *Gli ebrei nell'Italia meridionale. Dall'età romana al secolo XVIII*, 191.

²⁹ Cf. Giacomo Gallo, *Diurnali di Giacomo Gallo e tre scritture pubbliche dell'anno 1495* (Naples, 1846), 28; Notar Giacomo, *Cronica di Napoli*, ed. Paolo Garzilli (Naples, 1845), 203; Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 1 ed. Federico Stefani (Venice, 1879), 32.

³⁰ Gallo, *Diurnali*, 39: “Più vole, et comanda detto Signor Re che'l predetto suo Primogenito co'l tempo faccia rivedere, et riconoscere tutti Privilegi concessi alli Judei per la bona memoria del Signor Re Padre di Sua Maestà, et per Sua Maestà, e tutti quelli Privilegi, quali paressero esorbitanti dell'honestate, tanto delo andare detti Judei senza signo, quanto dela quantitate dell'usure che recepono, quant'ogni altra cosa, la quale in bona conscientia paresse dismisurata, et inhonesta, non li debbia confermare, immó le debbia emendare, et moderare, e ridurre a termine di honestate”.

³¹ PASTOR, 71.

³² See the recent volume by Andrea Vanni, *Gaetano Thiene. Spiritualità, politica, santità* (Rome, 2016). From the same author, on the foundation and development of the Congregation of Clerics Regular

based on the apostolic vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty. Even after he was elected cardinal in 1536, Carafa did not abandon the strictness of his life, but rather worked hard to strengthen the Roman Inquisition, established by Paul III with the bull *Licet ab initio* (July 21, 1542).

After the solemn coronation and a splendid banquet on May 26, at which he “intended to make an impression on the Romans, who were dazzled by the outward pomp and lavishness,”³⁴ Paul IV immediately started to work on his project for the moral reformation of the Church and Christianity. To fulfil this mission, he needed to count on a trustworthy and efficient governmental team. It was thus that the young Carlo Carafa (1517 or 1519-61), son of the pope’s brother Giovanni Alfonso, Count of Montorio, was elected Cardinal-Nephew in the consistory on June 7.³⁵ In the second chapter of his chronicle, Benjamin reports the date and the information that Paul IV wanted to be surrounded by his family and acquaintances.³⁶ According to our author, Cardinal Carafa played a prominent role in the beginning of his uncle’s pontificate, becoming the most important person in the papal court after the pope himself.³⁷ The other Jewish sources do not seem to mention Cardinal Carafa at all.

Among Paul IV’s first actions in government should be recalled the enactment of the anti-Jewish bull *Cum nimis absurdum* (July 14, 1555), to which Benjamin dedicates the entire first chapter of his chronicle on Paul IV and upon which we will linger in the following section.

or Theatines, «*Fare diligente inquisitione*». *Gian Pietro Carafa e le origini dei chierici regolari teatini* (Rome, 2010).

³³ The name comes from *Theate*, the Latin name of the city of Chieti, in the kingdom of Naples (today in Abruzzo) of which Gian Pietro Carafa was bishop from 1505.

³⁴ PASTOR, 73-74.

³⁵ Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentiori aevi*, vol. 3 (Münster, 1923), 34. On Carlo Carafa, see Adriano Prosperi, “Carafa, Carlo”, *DBI* 19 (1976): 497-509.

³⁶ See below 179 and ff.

³⁷ Sonne affirmed that Cardinal Carafa was the real ruler in the first years of Paul IV’s pontificate and that the latter was a mere instrument in his nephew’s hands, cf. Isaiah Sonne, “La politica di Paolo IV verso gli ebrei”, *L’idea sionistica* 1/9-10 (1931): 11-5, in particular 13.

3.3. “Since it is absurd...”

Former Grand Inquisitor and head of the “intransigent” party at the Council of Trent, Pope Carafa began his pontificate by applying his political and religious agenda against heretics and infidels. According to the new pope, because of their insolence, the Jews who dwelt in Rome and in the remainder of the Papal States had to be separated from the majority Christian society and to observe a consistent number of other severe restrictions. The provisions contained in the bull were anything but new. The exceptionality of this papal law consisted rather in the systematic collection and publication of all previous papal legislation against the Jews, which was to be rigorously implemented for their conversion.³⁸ Moreover, the novelty of the bull was the requirement for all Jews living in the Papal States to live within the limited bounds of a ghetto. In his *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy 1555-1593*, Kenneth Stow linked the enactment of the strict *Cum nimis absurdum* to the expectations of Paul IV, who desired the conversion of the Jews.³⁹ The pope had certainly had in mind the Augustinian “sweetness of lips” for promoting conversion, and he definitely “identified with this goal; but following the example of Benedict XIII, he disdained a method based on kindness.”⁴⁰ Yet thirty years before *Cum nimis absurdum* (and only three years before the establishment of the Venetian ghetto),⁴¹ another important document conveyed the ideological premise for the sixteenth-century reform of the Church’s policy towards the Jews. The *Libellus ad Leonem X* (1513), written by two Camuldulense monks, Paolo (Tommaso) Giustiniani and Pietro (Vincenzo) Querini, proposed a detailed program for the reform of the Church with strong aspirations for the

³⁸ Cf. Kenneth Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy 1555-1593* (New York, 1977), 167: “Paul IV reedicted a number of long-standing Jewry canons. He declared that he was reedicting these canons for the purpose of making the Jews realize that the prophecies of Jewish servitude had indeed been fulfilled. He further implied that once the Jews had come to this realization, they would convert”. See also Benjamin Ravid, “Cum Nimis Absurdum and the Ancona Auto-da-Fé Revisited: Their Impact on Venice and Some Wider Reflections”, *Jewish History* 26/1-2 (2012): 85-100.

³⁹ Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, see chapters 1 and 10, *passim*.

⁴⁰ *Id.*, “The Proper Meaning of Cum Nimis Absurdum”, *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 71/4 (1981): 251.

⁴¹ On the ghetto and the Jews in Venice see at least: Gaetano Cozzi (ed.), *Gli ebrei a Venezia (secoli XIV-XVIII)*, *Atti del Convegno internazionale, Venezia, Isola di S. Giorgio Maggiore, 5-10 giugno 1983*, (Milan, 1986); Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini, *Processi del S. Uffizio di Venezia contro ebrei e giudaizzanti*, (Florence, 1980-1999); Riccardo Calimani, *Storia del ghetto di Venezia* (Milan, 2001).

conversions of Jews, Muslims, and the populations of the newly discovered countries.⁴² According to the *Libellus*, segregation and strict manners were the only possible approach for the baptism of infidels.⁴³ Another strategy claimed by Stow as an action aimed towards the conversion of the Jews was the burning of the Talmud (1553), in which Gian Pietro Carafa played a prominent role as cardinal-inquisitor.⁴⁴ The conversion policy of the Church marked by a real “obsession”⁴⁵ – as defined by Marina Caffiero – promoted the creation of other spaces of segregation, such as, for instance, the house for Jewish converts to Christianity in Rome, the *Casa dei Catecumeni*, established in 1542.⁴⁶ The creation of separate spaces within the territory of the Papal States represented the perfect solution between expulsion and conversion. In this way, “Jews were admitted and tolerated, especially in Rome, but while waiting for their conversion, they were temporarily expelled from everyday life in the city.”⁴⁷

Returning to *Cum nimis absurdum*, David Berger refused Stow’s interpretation on the basis of textual proofs, arguing that there is no mention of conversion in the bull and that the Jews were subjected to severe restrictions rather because it was “their appropriate treatment in the light of their rightful place in a Christian world.”⁴⁸ Notwithstanding the criticism of scholars, *Cum nimis absurdum* marked a turning point in the change of papal policy towards the Jews.

The text is divided into fifteen paragraphs – corresponding to the restrictions imposed on the Jews – and it is preceded by a preamble explaining the reasons which led the pope to enact the strict decree:

⁴² Among the more recent studies on the *Libellus* see: *Pluralism and Identity Formation in the Catholic World: from the ‘Libellus ad Leonem X’ (1513) to the Council of Trent*, eds. Bert Roest and Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, *Franciscan Studies* 71 (2013); Giuseppe Alberigo, “Sul ‘Libellus ad Leonem X’ degli eremiti camaldolesi Vincenzo Querini e Tommaso Giustiniani”. In *Humanisme et Église en Italie et en France méridionale: XVe. siècle-milieu du XVIe. siècle*, ed. Patrick Gilli (Rome, 2004), 349-59; Serena Di Nepi, “Un’anticipazione del ghetto? Modelli di conversione e strategie di proselitismo nel Libellus del 1513”. In *Conversos, marrani e nuove comunità ebraiche in età moderna. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi organizzato dal Museo Nazionale dell’Ebraismo Italiano e della Shoah, Ferrara, 28-29 aprile 2014*, ed. Myriam Silvera (Florence, 2015), 93-109.

⁴³ Cf. Di Nepi, “Un’anticipazione del ghetto?”, 108.

⁴⁴ Cf. Kenneth Stow, “The Burning of the Talmud in 1553”. In *The Light of Sixteenth Century Catholic Attitudes towards the Talmud*, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Histoire* 34 (1972): 438.

⁴⁵ Marina Caffiero, *Storia degli ebrei nell’Italia moderna. Dal Rinascimento alla Restaurazione* (Rome, 2014), 102.

⁴⁶ On its origins and development, see Marina Caffiero, *Battesimi forzati. Storie di ebrei, cristiani e convertiti nella Roma dei papi* (Rome, 2004).

⁴⁷ Caffiero, *Storia degli ebrei nell’Italia moderna*, 102. The translation from Italian is mine.

⁴⁸ See David Berger, “Cum Nimis Absurdum and Conversion of the Jews”, *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 70/1 (1979): 46.

Since it is absurd and improper that Jews – whose own guilt has consigned them to perpetual servitude – under the pretext that Christian piety receives them and tolerates their presence should be ingrates to Christians, so that they attempt to exchange the servitude they owe to Christians for dominion over them; we – to whose notice it has lately come that these Jews in our dear cities, holdings and territories of the Holy Roman Church, have erupted into insolence: they presume not only to dwell side by side with Christians and near their churches, with no distinct habit to separate them, but even to erect homes in the more noble sections and streets of the cities, holdings and territories where they dwell, and to buy and possess fixed property, and to have nurses, housemaids, and other hired Christian servants, and to perpetrate many other things in ignominy and contempt of the Christian name – considering that the Roman Church tolerates the Jews in testimony of the true Christian faith and to the end [*ad hoc, ut*] that they, led by the piety and kindness of the Apostolic See, should at length recognize their errors and make all haste to arrive at the true light of the Catholic faith, and thereby [*propterea*] to agree that, as long as they persist in their errors, they should recognize through experience that they have been made slaves while Christians have been made free through Jesus Christ, God and our Lord, and that it is iniquitous that the children of the free woman should serve the children of the maid-servant.⁴⁹

Recalling the Pauline allegory of Hagar and Sarah – respectively symbolising the Jewish people and the New Covenant established with God through his son Jesus – the bull wanted to claim Jewish theological inferiority and the necessity for Christendom to re-establish its supremacy over the errors and insolence of the Jews.⁵⁰

The premise is not only theological: the Jews who for a long time had been tolerated and permitted to reside in the Papal States for economic purposes had become more and more insolent, dwelling next to the Christians (and even to their churches) and breaking many of the rules imposed on them. The insolence of the Jews is a recurring theme in the Jewish sources as well. Benjamin links the submission of the Jews under Paul IV's domination to the sins of Israel and to the Jewish attitude in the diaspora:

This happened because God had seen the many sins [of Israel], so He changed His heart and hated His people because they had become arrogant in exile. And God had made them prosperous and they relied on their wealth, securely sitting in their treasury, in their courts and in their castles: [when] one went to his own vineyard, and another to his

⁴⁹ The text and translation of *Cum nimis absurdum* is published in Kenneth Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy 1555-1593*, 291-298. The original text of the bull in Latin is in *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanorum pontificum*, vol. 6 (Turin, 1860), 498-500.

⁵⁰ The text hints at the Epistle to the Galatians 4:22-31 which refers to Genesis 16, according to which the Egyptian Hagar, Sarah's maid, gave Abraham a son called Ishmael. God promised Abraham that his wife, the 90-year-old Sarah, would have a child (Isaac) as a symbol of their covenant.

own field, they carried their money and gold with them, and they did not remember God, nor did they set aside time [to study] the *Torah*; they annulled the *Torah*.⁵¹

Almost identical is the description offered in a letter from the *marranos* of Pesaro to the Levantine Jews in Turkey, published by Kaufmann, as well as other sources such as the *Liwyat Hen* by Immanuel Benevento.⁵² For this reason, the Jews dwelling in the Papal States were required to sell their property and go to live away from the Christians in two or three locations – or as many as were necessary – assigned by the pope and his ministers and representatives in the lands under his dominion. Moreover, these places were to possess only one entrance and exit. Even though there was no mention of the word *ghetto*⁵³ – which was used for the first time in the bull *Dudum a felicitis* (February 27, 1562) by Pius V in relation to the Jewish quarter in Rome – it is clear that the main objective of the first paragraph of *Cum nimis absurdum* was physical segregation. However, the practice was very different from the theory. The study of ghettos in early modern Italy has extensively demonstrated that official legislations were often circumvented. The same ghetto in Rome, for example, hosted five different synagogues, although they were all in a single building (today in Piazza delle Cinque Scole).⁵⁴

Although they differ in some respects, the Jewish sources which discuss the measures introduced by the bull are Benjamin ben Elnathan and the above-mentioned Joseph ha-Cohen, Gedaliah Ibn Yahyah, and Immanuel Benevento. While the Latin text of the bull consists of fifteen paragraphs, the author of the *Shalshet ha-Kabbalah* notes eighteen measures, while Benjamin only notes thirteen because some of them are collected together. The order to separate the Jews from the majority of the population in Benjamin's chronicle corresponds to the third paragraph of the bull, which merely says

⁵¹ See below 175.

⁵² See David Kaufmann, "Deux lettres nouvelles des marranes de Pesaro aux Levantins touchant l'interruption des affaires avec Ancona", *REJ* 31 (1895): 232-9; Simon Bernfeld, *Sefer ha-Dema'ot*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1924), 329. Immanuel ben Yequiel Benevento, *Liwyat Hen* (Mantua, 1557). The introduction and the lament for the burning of the Talmud contained in the *Liwyat Hen* were republished in SONNE, 110-6.

⁵³ The first *serraglio* was established in 1516 in Venice. On the different etymological interpretations of the word *ghetto*, see for example Josef Sermoneta, "Sull'origine della parola «ghetto»". In *Studi sull'ebraismo italiano in memoria di Cecil Roth*, ed. Elio Toaff (Rome, 1974), 187-201; Sandra Debenedetti Stow, "The Etymology of 'Ghetto': New Evidence from Rome" *Jewish History* 6/1-2 (1992): 79-85.

⁵⁴ For an overview of the social life in and outside Italian ghettos, see Stephanie Siegmund, "La vita nei ghetti". In *Storia d'Italia. Annali. Gli ebrei in Italia*, vol. 1, *Dall'alto Medioevo all'età dei ghetti*, ed. Corrado Vivanti (Turin, 1996), 845-92.

that the Jews must live separately from Christians in one or two different areas.⁵⁵ In his *Emeq ha-bakha*, Joseph ha-Cohen informs the readers that there were two different places in Rome in which worship was permitted, while in Bologna there was only one (called *Inferno*, “Hell” in Italian).⁵⁶

The first paragraph in Benjamin’s chronicle concerns the prohibition of Jews having more than one synagogue in the city and the order to destroy additional synagogues in cases where there was more than one.⁵⁷ This measure actually corresponds to the second paragraph of the Latin text of the bull, which is more detailed: not only were the Jews restricted to worshiping in only one synagogue, but they also could not build new ones or possess any property.⁵⁸ It seems that the properties owned by Jews were valued at 500,000 *scudi* and sold for a fifth of their real value.⁵⁹ This second part on private ownership corresponds to the fourth paragraph in Benjamin’s chronicle, which adds information about the order for the Jews who owned fields or vineyards to sell them to Christians within four months,⁶⁰ while Gedaliah reports a time limit of six months.

Moreover, *Cum nimis absurdum* decreed that in order to be identified (*ut pro iudaies ubique dignoscantur*) Jewish men were required to wear a hat, while women were required to wear another distinctive sign. There has been a debate throughout several centuries as to the colour of it.⁶¹ The bull indeed indicates an unclear colour (*glauci coloris*), which was sometimes interpreted as yellow and sometimes as red, green, or blue.⁶² It is possible that the ambiguous indication was meant to allow for freedom of interpretation. Only in 1566 did Pope Pius V establish that *color glaucis* meant yellow.⁶³ Before this clarification, it was not that rare to find different

⁵⁵ See below 175.

⁵⁶ Joseph ha-Cohen, *The Vale of Tears*, 91. On the name of the ghetto in Bologna, see PASTOR, 273, note 3.

⁵⁷ See below 175.

⁵⁸ “Et in singulis civitatibus, terris et locis in quibus habitaverint, unicam tantum synagogam in loco solito habeant, nec aliam de novo construere, aut bona immobilia possidere possint. Quinimmo omnes eorum synagogas, praeter unam tantum demoliri et devastare. Ac bona immobilia, quae ad praesens possident, infra tempus eis per ipsos magistratus praesignandum, christianis vendere”.

⁵⁹ Cf. Milano, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia*, 249.

⁶⁰ See below 175.

⁶¹ See Massimo Moretti, “*Glauci coloris*. Gli ebrei nell’iconografia sacra di età moderna”, *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 19 (2011): 29-64.

⁶² See the bibliography cited in Capriotti, *Lo scorpione sul petto. Iconografia antiebraica tra XV e XVI secolo alla periferia dello Stato pontificio*, 16, note 23.

⁶³ Cf. Moretti, “*Glauci coloris*. Gli ebrei nell’iconografia sacra di età moderna”, 32-3.

instructions on the colour, which changed from region to region. It seems that the colour chosen in Rome and Venice was yellow, while in Umbria it was green.⁶⁴ It may be possible that green was also the colour imposed on the Jews of the Marche, as Benjamin stresses.⁶⁵ The imposition of the distinctive badge was not new, since it was introduced by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Sometimes the badge could be a hat or a special cloak, and women also wore earrings, similarly to prostitutes, in order to be identified.⁶⁶ The element of novelty introduced by the anti-Jewish legislation of Paul IV was rather the strict application of the decree to all the Jews living in the Papal States, without any exceptions:

Nor may they be excused from wearing the hat or marking on the pretext of rank, eminence, or privilege; nor may they acquire and absolution or dispensation through the ecclesiastical chamberlain, clerics of the Apostolic Camera and other persons presiding there, or through legates and vice-legates of the Apostolic See.⁶⁷

Among the fifteen measures contained in the bull, this one was particularly unpopular among the Jews, who remembered it as one of the most important and terrible conditions. In 1559, David d'Ascoli printed the *Apologia Hebraeorum*, an apologetic writing in support of the Jews against Paul IV and *Cum nimis absurdum* which had enforced the Jewish badge. For this reason, he was arrested and imprisoned for a long time.⁶⁸ The same was the case in the annotation by Graziano⁶⁹ and in the letter from the Jewish community of Cori (a town of the Roman countryside) to the remainder of the Italian Jewish communities.⁷⁰

Without a doubt, the restrictions of the law affected the economic field the most. From that time, Jews were forbidden to trade food such as grain and barley (or

⁶⁴ In Umbria, the green color was widespread even before *Cum nimis absurdum*'s enactment: Toaff, *Love, Work and Death*, 173-9.

⁶⁵ See below 175.

⁶⁶ See Diane Owen Hughes, "Distinguishing Signs: Earrings, Jews, and Franciscan Rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance City", *Past and Present* 112 (1986): 3-50.

⁶⁷ Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555-1593*, 295-6.

⁶⁸ Giovanni Cinelli Calvoli, *Biblioteca volante di Giovanni Cinelli Calvoli continuata dal dottor Dionigi Andrea Sancassani, edizione seconda*, vol. 1, (Venice, 1734): 34-5: "Ascoli (David d'). Apologia Hebraeorum Autore David d'Ascoli Argentorati 1559. Mandò fuori questo pertinacissimo Ebreo questa Scrittura a favore de' suoi Giudei contro il Bando fatto da Papa Paolo IV. contenente, che gli Ebrei a differenza de' Cristiani portassero il Cappello di colore aranciato. La Scrittura è però erudita, ma egli ne fu punito con lunga prigionia".

⁶⁹ SONNE, 26, note 12.

⁷⁰ See David Kaufmann, "Don Joseph Nassi, Founder of Colonies in the Holy Land, and the Community of Cori in the Campagna", *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 2/3 (1890): 291-310. An excerpt of the text was republished in SONNE, 176-9.

other foodstuffs), but could only carry on the *sola arte strazzariae seu cenciariae*, the trade in second-hand clothes and rags.⁷¹ Benjamin, who reports this order in his fifth paragraph (in the original text of the bull, it is the ninth), specifies that the Jews were forbidden to trade wheat, wine, oil, or any other items for human consumption and to sell them to Christians.⁷² Similarly, the Jews were restricted in carrying out other business: for example, Jewish physicians, even when summoned and requested, could not take care of Christians,⁷³ and Jews could not hire Christian nurses, maids, or male servants.⁷⁴ Moreover, the Jews (and their employers) were forbidden to work in public on Sundays or other holidays commanded by the Church.⁷⁵ Again, in this case reality differed from the text of *Cum nimis absurdum*. Outside the walls of the ghetto, during the day Jews participated in the economic and social lives of the cities insofar as they were able to negotiate their rights and spaces of inclusion in their society.⁷⁶

Some other tough measures aimed to regulate moneylending:

In their computations and accounting, months must be composed of thirty fully completed days, and days that do not add up to the number thirty must be computed not as full months, but only as the actual number of days that have elapsed—and they [the Jews] may demand repayment only according to the number of days, not according to the rate for completed months. Pledges temporarily given them as collateral for their money, they may not sell for eighteen months, unless [otherwise] agreed upon prior to the day on which the pledges were actually given. After eighteen months have passed, if the Jews sell these pledges, all receipts over and above the value of the original loan must be made over to the owner of the pledge [*i.e.* the original borrower].⁷⁷

⁷¹ “Iudaei quoque praefati sola arte strazzariae, seu cenciariae (ut vulgo dicitur) contenti, aliquam mercaturam frumenti vel hordei, aut aliarum rerum usui humano necessarium facere”.

⁷² See below 175.

⁷³ It is §10: “Et qui ex eis medici fuerint, etiam vocati et rogati, ad curam christianorum accedere aut illi interesse nequeant”; in the chronicle by Benjamin is the eight one.

⁷⁴ It corresponds to §4 of the bull: “Nutrices quoque seu ancillas aut alias utriusque sexus servientes christianos habere, vel eorum infants per mulieres christianas lactari ac nutriri facere” while Benjamin refers to it in the §6 and §7.

⁷⁵ It is §5: “Seu dominicis vel aliis de praecepto Ecclesiae festis diebus in publico laborare aut laborari facere”. Benjamin only says “holidays” (§12).

⁷⁶ For some examples, see Siegmund, “La vita nei ghetti”, 854-61.

⁷⁷ Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, 296; it corresponds to §12 of the Latin text and to §11 in Benjamin’s chronicle.

Moreover, their accounting books had to be in Latin or Italian, otherwise they were not considered liable against Christians.⁷⁸ This last measure is missing in Benjamin's account, which conversely adds information on the interest rate on money loans, fixed at 12% per year, not specified in the bull.⁷⁹ This particular imposition damaged the moneylenders, who until that point had been lending money with an interest rate of 20%. Furthermore, the bull ordered the Jews not to oppress Christians, and to stipulate mock contracts with them.⁸⁰

Equally dramatic were the measures intended to destroy the social relations between Jews and Christians and finally to separate them from each other. For this purpose, (even) poor Christians were forbidden to address Jews as lord or master.⁸¹ According to Benjamin, it was not even possible to address Jews with the title of *messere* ("sir") – which had been used in Italy since the Middle Ages to indicate dignity and reverence – in the synagogue. Therefore, this means that this restriction affected not only Christians, but also the Jews themselves.

Jews were also required not to entertain or dine with Christians or to enter into close relations with them:⁸² once the ghetto was established and the bull applied, every opportunity for contact had to be eliminated. In any case, Paul IV's expectations were not fully realised, as demonstrated by many studies based on rich archival documentation from different cities.⁸³ Of course, *Cum nimis absurdum* dramatically harmed the Jewish groups residing in Rome (and in the remainder of the Papal States) and their relations with the majority Christian society as well. But not entirely.

Finally, according to Benjamin, the harshest measure was the revocation of all previous charters and privileges conceded to the Jews by previous popes: from then on, all the Jews were to strictly observe the communal laws issued in the cities in which

⁷⁸ The order corresponds to §8: "Nec in libris rationum et computorum, quae cum christianis pro tempore habebunt, aliis, quam latinis literis et alio quam vulgari italico sermone, uti possint et si utantur, libri huiusmodi contra christianos fidem faciant".

⁷⁹ Sonne writes in a footnote that 12% was a very common rate at that time, based on a quotation from the work *Le-Kol Hafeš* (Venice, 1552) by Eliezer Melli, see SONNE, 27, note 24.

⁸⁰ "Seu christianos quoquo modo gravare, aut contractos fictos vel simulatos celebrare" (§6). It is not reported by Benjamin.

⁸¹ "Nec se a pauperibus christianis dominos vocari patiantur" (§11).

⁸² "Seu cum ipsis christianis ludere aut comedere vel familiaritatem seu conversationem habere nullatenus praesumant" (§7).

⁸³ See the already cited Siegmund, "La vita nei ghetti", 845-892. See at least Luciano Allegra, *Identità in bilico. Il ghetto di Torino nel Settecento* (Turin, 1996); Caffiero, *Legami pericolosi. Ebrei e cristiani tra eresia, libri proibiti e stregoneria* (Turin, 2012); Di Nepi, *Sopravvivere al ghetto* (Rome, 2013).

they lived, under the penalty of corporal punishments and the requisition of their assets – Benjamin adds – “similarly to the way rebels in a reign are punished.” This last measure summarises the more extensive dispositions of the bull, contained in paragraphs 13-15:

13. They will be held to observe without exception all statutes of the cities, holdings, and territories in which they dwell that give advantage to [lit. concern the favor of] Christians [over Jews].

14. And if they transgress the above in any way, either by us, or by our vicar, or by others deputized by us in the city, or by those ritories, they should be punished according to the nature of the transgression, either as rebels or perpetrators of the crime of *lese majeste*, and as those who have renounced their allegiance to the entire Christian people, in accordance with the determination made by us or the vicars, deputies, and magistrates.

15. Notwithstanding the apostolic constitutions and ordinations and whatever apostolic tolerations, privileges or indults conceded to those Jews through any of our predecessors, the Roman pontiffs, or legates of that See, or chamberlains of this Roman Church, or clerics of the Apostolic Camera or others presiding there, under whatever decree or edict and with whatever limitations - even limitations of limitations, and other more valid and unusual clauses, and equally with other decrees and invalidations, indeed, by our own action and from our clear knowledge and by the plenitude of apostolic power, and even by approbations, and so too by changes which have been renewed and approved repeatedly -with respect to all the foregoing, as well as with respect to anything whatsoever to the contrary [to this letter], even if in place of a general abrogation concerning them and all their stipulations a special, specific, express, and individual mention or whatever other expression has had to be made or some carefully chosen form has had to be retained, for each and every word and not only for the general clauses themselves important, we, in this place, both specifically and expressly, abrogate decrees of this kind, even if word for word, with nothing at all omitted and the traditional form preserved in them they have been inserted [into this present letter], having expressed clearly in this letter that these decrees should otherwise remain in force.⁸⁴

Accepted with scepticism at first by the Roman Jews, as they thought it was a temporary legislation during Carafa’s pontificate, the bull was gradually and more-or-less strictly applied all over the Papal States. By the end of July 1555, it was already possible to see Jews wearing the yellow hat or distinctive badge in Rome. Three months later, the construction of the fortified walls of the ghetto was ordered at the expense of

⁸⁴ Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, 297-8.

the Jews themselves. As recorded by Benjamin, special commissioners were sent from Rome to the periphery of the state in order to verify the accurate application of the law, from the selling of property to the prohibition of trade in foodstuffs to the management of moneylending. This is what happened in Campagna and Umbria and particularly in Spoleto, where the commissioner, a certain Bernardino Campello, confiscated all the Jews' assets and imprisoned them.⁸⁵ According to the account, this commissioner was also active in Benevento in the Kingdom of Naples, where he tortured and plundered the whole community. The existence of two homonymous individuals, both from Spoleto, is proven by some evidence: the first Bernardino Campello (1594-1676), historian and humanist, was the author of a chronicle about Spoleto, while the second worked for the Holy Office of Spoleto in the eighteenth century.⁸⁶ It seems that other members of this powerful family were involved in the local Inquisition yet. It is possible that the Bernardino Campello mentioned by Benjamin was a descendant of the family which was living in Spoleto in the sixteenth century.⁸⁷

As far as Benevento is concerned, there are no clear references at our disposal. According to the account of the Spanish Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, it seems that two hundred Jews were living in the city in 1165.⁸⁸ Benevento was famous from the thirteenth century on because it was believed to be the gathering place of witches, who regularly met at the Walnut Tree to celebrate their diabolical *sabbaths*. The friars' preaching – particularly that of the observant friar Bernardino da Siena – and the publication of the *Malleus maleficarum* (1486), a book of instructions on how to recognise witches, instigated witch hunts in Benevento and, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, sorcery trials ended with the burning at the stake of three women.⁸⁹ About fifty years later, the new target of the Inquisition – reorganised and strengthened

⁸⁵ See below 177 and ff.

⁸⁶ On Bernardino Campello, author of the *Historie di Spoleti* (Spoleto, 1672), see Angela Dillon Bussi, "Bernardino Campello", *DBI* 17 (1974): 475-8. Regarding the information about the involvement of the family in the Holy Office of Spoleto, I am grateful to Roberto Nini.

⁸⁷ The family archive, whose documentation extends from the sixteenth century to 1960, is preserved in the Spoleto branch of the Archivio di Stato di Perugia. An investigation of the papers would be helpful for learning more details about the family and eventually to find evidence about the papal commissioner Bernardino Campello mentioned in Benjamin's chronicle.

⁸⁸ Cesare Colafemmina, "L'itinerario pugliese di Beniamino da Tudela", *Archivio storico pugliese* 28 (1975): 97. On the Jewish presence in Benevento from the eleventh-century to their expulsion, see also *Id.*, "Gli ebrei in Benevento", *Italia Judaica VI. Gli ebrei nello Stato pontificio fino al ghetto* (Rome, 1998): 204-27.

⁸⁹ Cf. Andrea Del Col, *L'Inquisizione in Italia. Dal XII al XXI secolo* (Milan, 2006), 199.

by Paul IV – was the large and ancient Jewish community, whose history is documented by a few place names such as the churches of S. Nazario *a Judeca*, S. Gennaro *a Judeca*, and S. Stefano *de Judeca*, close to the *giudecca*, the Jewish quarter (then called the ghetto).⁹⁰ Episodes of conversions in reaction to *Cum nimis absurdum* were documented by Cesare Colafemmina.⁹¹ However, it was only in 1569, after the publication of the anti-Jewish bull by Pius V, *Hebraeorum gens sola*, that the Jews were forced to choose between baptism and expulsion from the Papal States, with the exception of Rome and Ancona: twenty-seven of them were finally baptised as Christians in the first week of July.⁹² The change of the church's name from S. Stefano *de Judeca* to S. Stefano *de Neophitis* appears a remarkable fact. There are no references to the number of those who left the city.

Of course, the case of Benevento was not isolated: episodes of conversion occurred throughout Italy in the sixteenth century. Benjamin recounts, for example, the episode in which seventeen Jews from Morrovalle (twelve kilometres from Civitanova Marche) converted on a single occasion.⁹³ He also adds the information that no Jews remained there. The situation was dramatic and depressing all over the Papal States, and the Jews who refused baptism glimpsed a means of salvation: fleeing to Turkey or to the Duchies of Ferrara and Urbino. The Duchy of Urbino, which was under the rule of the Della Rovere family, resisted the imposition until 1631, when Francesco Maria II della Rovere died and it was annexed to the Papal States. Three years later, Jewish ghettos were established in Urbino, Pesaro, and Senigallia.⁹⁴ Likewise, in tolerant Ferrara, the situation changed when the duchy fell under the influence of the papacy; a Jewish ghetto was established there in 1624.⁹⁵

In the span of few decades, the many once-flourishing Jewish settlements in central-northern Italy had disappeared. In the remainder of the Papal States, Benjamin goes on, “it is impossible to find a city without converts” because

⁹⁰ Stefano Borgia, *Memorie storiche della pontificia città di Benevento dal secolo VIII al secolo XVIII divise in tre parti, raccolte, ed illustrate da Stefano Borgia*, 2 vol. (Rome, 1764), 178.

⁹¹ Colafemmina, “Gli ebrei in Benevento”, 224-5.

⁹² BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 6184 pt. 1, Letter of the catechumens to Cardinal Sirleto, June 6, 1569, fol. 13r; Letter of the consuls of Benevento to Cardinal Sirleto, June 29, 1569, fols. 14r; 21r-23r.

⁹³ See below 179.

⁹⁴ See at least Claudia Colletta, *La comunità tollerata: aspetti di vita materiale del ghetto di Pesaro dal 1631 al 1860* (Pesaro, 2006).

⁹⁵ On the institution of the ghetto in Ferrara, see Simonetta M. Bondoni and Giulio Busi (eds.), *Cultura ebraica in Emilia-Romagna* (Rimini, 1987), 45.

The law of the bull caused the Jews fear and anxiety so that the rich people, who were in the Marca and Umbria and other lands of the Papal States, tried to escape, carrying with them few of their goods and money. They took with them whatever they could; they led most of their people in the country where they lived and forcefully rested there. They walked in the lands of the Duke of Urbino and the Duke of Ferrara with tenth of their property because most of them were lost. They are there until today.⁹⁶

Very similar are the accounts by Gedaliah Ibn Yahyah – whose family was expelled from Ravenna and forced to wander from city to city until 1562, resulting in the economic loss of 10,000 florins⁹⁷ –, Joseph ha-Cohen,⁹⁸ and Immanuel Benevento.⁹⁹

3.4. *The Burning at the Stake of the Portuguese Marranos in Ancona (1556).*

The gradual application of *Cum nimis absurdum* throughout the Papal States was clear evidence that, with the election of the new pope, things were going to change, and not only for the Jews. Animated by the spirit of a moral reformation and intent on eradicating abuses and heresy in Rome and in the whole Church,¹⁰⁰ Paul IV wanted to put an end, once and for all, to the outrageous affair of the Portuguese *marranos* dwelling in Ancona.

Undoubtedly, their *auto da fé* (“act of faith”), their burning at the stake which took place in the Adriatic city between April and June 1556 and which was one of the most tragic episodes in the history of Italian Jewry, gave rise to a very extensive literature both in the sixteenth century and later on. Several elegies – *qinot* in Hebrew – memorialise the tragic fate of the twenty-four martyrs, such as, for instance, the elegy by Jacob Fano of Ferrara beginning with the words of Psalm 137:5, *Oy, im eshkaḥekh Yerushalayim (If I forget you, Oh Jerusalem)*,¹⁰¹ or that of Salomon Ḥazan from

⁹⁶ See below 179.

⁹⁷ Cf. Abraham David, “Gedalia ibn Yahia, auteur de Shalshet ha-Qabbalah”, *Revue des études juives* 153 (1994): 113.

⁹⁸ Joseph ha-Cohen, *The Vale of Tears*, 93: “The hands of the Israelites became limp and they became fearful [...] Israel was then like a frightened deer, and many of the weaklings among the Faithful were alienated from the Lord, the God of Israel, in those days”.

⁹⁹ SONNE, 115.

¹⁰⁰ However, as Paul IV was openly hostile to Charles V, he refused to call a new session of the Council of Trent (after the last one in 1551-2) in Protestant territory.

¹⁰¹ Printed immediately after the event in his poetic and satirical work *Shilte ha-gibborim* by Solomon Usque (Ferrara, 1556). The work “came to the attention of Cardinal Michele Ghislieri (later Pope Pius V)

Ancona.¹⁰² The elegy *Shevì almanah bet-avikh* (*Stay as a widow in your father's house*) by Mordekhai ben Yehudah of Blanes¹⁰³ seems to have been recited in the Sephardic synagogue in Pesaro during the morning services of the 9th of Av, the annual fast day in Judaism on which Jews commemorate and mourn the destruction of the First Temple and Jerusalem.¹⁰⁴ Another composition was written by David Abraham Vivanti (1806-76), Chief Rabbi of Ancona, to be recited in the synagogue of the city during the days preceding the 9th of Av.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, the events of 1556 were remembered in rabbinical literature,¹⁰⁶ and, of course, in the contemporary chronicles, not only from the Jewish perspective. The *Annali di Ancona*, a contemporary chronicle compiled by the notary Bartolomeo Alfei, reported the *marranos'* burning at the stake, underlying their heroism and devotion.¹⁰⁷ The attempt by Cesare Garibaldi to deny the event at the end of the nineteenth century inaugurated a lively historiographical debate and a rich season of studies.¹⁰⁸ Although the events are fairly well known, it seems useful at this point to recall them in order to make a comparison between the chronicle by Benjamin ben

who, on account of the elegy, ordered the book to be burned and both the author and printer to be punished. The book was sent to the flames, so that it is exceedingly rare, and the press closed [...]" (Marvin Heller, *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book: An Abridged Thesaurus*, Leiden, 2014), xxvi.

¹⁰² Published for the first time by Adolf Neubauer in *Ha-Levanon* 5 (1868): 344 ff., then reprinted by Bernfeld, *Sefer ha-Dema'ot*, vol. 2, 277-350. The Italian version of the elegy was reproduced by Cecil Roth in "Un'elegia giudeo-italiana sui martiri d'Ancona (1556-7)", *La Rassegna Mensile d'Israel* 16/6-8 (1950): 147-56.

¹⁰³ The elegy was published by Kaufmann along with another elegy (*Mi yemallel gevurot ha-Shem*). Cf. David Kaufmann, "Les 24 martyrs d'Ancone", *REJ* 31 (1895): 222-30; Hayim Rosenberg, "Elégie de Mordekhai ben Yehouda di Blanes sur les 24 martyrs d'Ancône", *REJ* 89 (1931): 166-8.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Roth, "Un'elegia giudeo-italiana sui martiri d'Ancona (1556-7)", 148.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Hayim Rosenberg, *Saggio degli scritti degli eccellentissimi rabbini David Abraham Vivanti ed Isacco Raffaele Tedeschi* (Casale Monferrato, 1929): 79-80.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *Id.*, "Alcuni documenti riguardanti i marrani portoghesi in Ancona", *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 10/7-8 (1935): 306, note 1.

¹⁰⁷ Renata Segre, "Nuovi documenti sui marrani d'Ancona (1555-1559)", *Michael* 9 (1985): 230.

¹⁰⁸ In chronological order: Cesare Garibaldi, *Un asserto autodafè sotto Paolo IV* (Bologna, 1876); Cesare Feroso, "Di alcuni ebrei portoghesi in Ancona sotto Paolo IV", *Archivio storico per le Marche e l'Umbria* 1 (1884): 659-709; David Kaufmann, "Les martyrs d'Ancone", *REJ* 11 (1885): 149-56; Paul Grunebaum, "Un episode de l'histoire des juifs d'Ancone", *REJ* 28 (1894): 142-6; David Kaufmann, "Les 24 martyrs d'Ancone", *REJ* 31 (1895): 222-30; Isaiah Sonne, "Une source nouvelle pour l'histoire des martyrs d'Ancône", *REJ* 89 (1930): 360-80; Hayim Rosenberg, "Elégie de Mordekhai ben Yehouda di Blanes sur les 24 martyrs d'Ancône", *REJ* 89 (1931): 166-8; *Id.*, "Alcuni documenti riguardanti i marrani portoghesi in Ancona", *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 10/7-8 (1935): 306-23; Cecil Roth, "Un'elegia giudeo-italiana sui martiri di Ancona (1556-7)", *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 16/6-8 (1950): 147-56; Ariel Toaff, "Nuova luce sui marrani di Ancona (1556)". In *Studi sull'ebraismo italiano: in memoria di Cecil Roth*, ed. Elio Toaff (Rome, 1974): 261-80; Renata Segre, "Nuovi documenti sui marrani d'Ancona (1555-1559)", 130-233; Shlomo Simonsohn, "Marranos in Ancona Under Papal Protection", *Michael* 9 (1985): 234-67; Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini, "Ancora sui giudaizzanti portoghesi di Ancona (1556): condanna e riconciliazione", *Zakhor* 5 (2001-2002): 39-51.

Elnathan and the other Jewish and Christian sources, quoting – where necessary – some excerpts from the English translation.

After thousands of Jews were expelled from Castile in 1492 because of the promulgation of the edicts by the *Reyes Católicos* Ferdinando of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, many of them escaped from Spain and settled in Portugal, where they remained until 1496. Indeed, at the end of that year, King Manuel I of Portugal ordered all the Jews and Muslims living in his realm to leave Portugal within ten months or to convert to Christianity, on pain of death and the loss of all their properties. Notwithstanding this edict, one year later the Jews were not allowed to leave: in March 1497, the king ordered the forced conversion of all the children aged between four and fourteen, and a few months later, the adults suffered the same fate.¹⁰⁹ However, the Muslims finally obtained permission to leave. The dramatic events following the expulsions from Spain and Portugal were recounted by many Jewish authors of the time, such as Abraham Zacuto, Abraham ben Salomon de Torrutiel, Salomon Usque, Eliyahu Capsali, Solomon Ibn Verga, Joseph ha-Cohen, and Gedaliah Ibn Yahyah.¹¹⁰

The forced conversion, which involved around 70,000 Jews, had significant consequences for the economy and society. While some of them were gradually assimilated into the rest of the population, many *conversos* or *crístãos novos* (the New Christians) secretly kept the religion of their fathers in their households (these were the so-called “crypto-Jews,” “Judaizers,” also known as *marranos*, with a negative connotation). The spread of crypto-Judaism was made possible by the absence of the Inquisition in Portugal, which was only established in 1536.

If at first the Crown prevented the migration of the *conversos*, closing the borders of the kingdom and promoting the full and sincere acceptance of the new faith,

¹⁰⁹ On the topic, see for example: Giuseppe, Marcocci, “«...per capillos adductos ad pillam». Il dibattito cinquecentesco sulla validità del battesimo forzato degli ebrei in Portogallo (1496-1497)”. In *Salvezza delle anime, disciplina dei corpi. Un seminario sulla storia del battesimo*, ed. Adriano Prosperi (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2006), 339-423; François Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims from Portugal. King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance, 1496-7* (Leiden, 2007). On the conversion of Muslims, for example, see Isabelle Poutrin, *Convertir les Musulmans, Espagne, 1492-1609* (Paris, 2012) and Bruno Pomara Saverino, “Presenze silenziose. I moriscos di fronte al Sant’Uffizio romano (1610-1636)”, *Quaderni storici* 144/3 (2013): 715-44.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims from Portugal*, 14-7; Yosef H. Yerushalmi, “Clio and the Jews: Reflections on Jewish Historiography in the Sixteenth Century”, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 46/47, Jubilee Volume pt. 2 (1979-1980): 607-38 (then in *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*, ed. David B. Ruderman, New York-London, 1992, 191-218); *Id.*, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle, 1982); Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Madison, 1995).

following the *pogrom* originated against them in 1506, the New Christians asked the king for permission to leave. A year later, some of them managed to leave and seek shelter in Muslim countries, while the majority remained in the kingdom. Other migratory waves took place clandestinely some years later, particularly from 1522 onwards, when the borders were closed again.¹¹¹ The New Christians thus settled elsewhere in Europe: Antwerp, Amsterdam, Venice, Tuscany, Piedmont, Ferrara, and Ancona.¹¹²

After Ancona became a papal dominion in the same year, a safe-conduct of 1532 guaranteed free passage and settlement in the city for the Levantine-Jewish merchants, as well as Turks, Greeks, and Sephardic Jews.¹¹³ Even though the charter avoided the matter of the New Christians, their unclear identity and the impossibility of distinguishing them among the Portuguese and Levantine immigrants facilitated their settlement in the city. The privileges accorded to the Levantines were then expanded in December 1534, thanks to another safe-conduct by Paul III addressed more widely to foreign merchants even if they were Turks, Jews, or other infidels, with their wives, children, and merchandise. Moreover, they were exempted from wearing the distinctive badge.¹¹⁴

Hence, Italian Jews, Levantine and Portuguese Jews, and also Ashkenazic Jews, who had dwelt in Northern Italy since the Middle Ages, ended up living together in Ancona, and their cohabitation was not always peaceful due to rivalry between the groups.

The establishment of a contract for the foundation of a Portuguese loan-bank in 1549 between the municipal council and the *Nação Portuguesa* (the “Portuguese nation”) – represented by Doctor Barbosio, Doctor Caravon, Isaac Robes, Joseph

¹¹¹ Cf. Anna Foa, *The Jews of Europe After the Black Death*, trans. Andrea Grover (Berkeley, 2000), 105.

¹¹² For Rome, see the recent volume by James W. Nelson Novoa, *Being the Nação Portuguesa in the Eternal City. New Christian Lives in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Toronto-Peterborough, 2014).

¹¹³ Cf. Shlomo Simonsohn, “Marranos in Ancona Under Papal Protection”, *Michael* 9 (1985): 234-67; Aron Di Leone Leoni, “Per una storia della nazione portoghese ad Ancona e Pesaro”. In *L'identità dissimulata. Giudaizzanti iberici nell'Europa cristiana dell'età moderna*, ed. Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini (Florence: Olschki, 2000): 27-97, see 28-9; Bernard D. Cooperman, “Portuguese Conversos in Ancona: Jewish Political Activity in Early Modern Italy”, *In Iberia and Beyond: Hispanic Jews Between Cultures*, edited by Id. (Newark, 1998): 297-352; Luca Andreoni, “Privilegi mercantili e minoranze ebraiche: levantini ad Ancona nel XVI secolo”, *Gli ebrei e le Marche: ricerche, prospettive, didattica*, monographic issue of *Marca/Marche. Rivista di storia regionale* 3 (2014): 51-68.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Simonsohn, “Marranos in Ancona Under Papal Protection”, 235.

Brudo, and Abraham Papo – marked the beginning of the Portuguese leadership in the economy of the seaport town.¹¹⁵ Several other instructions by Pope Paul III (1547, 1549) and his successor Julius III (1553) extended the rights to exemption from taxes (including the *vigesime*),¹¹⁶ freedom of trade and business in Ancona and in the territory of the Papal States, exemption from wearing the badge, and so on. In 1553, Julius III, formally recognising the *Universitas Hebraeorum Portugallensium Lusitanorum seu Portugallensium*, abrogated the tax exemption, but in return reconfirmed all the other rights and privileges of the Portuguese Jews and explicitly extended them to the New Christians.¹¹⁷

The papal instructions – aimed at developing the economic and commercial growth and development of Ancona – contributed to the tolerance of the New Christians’ reversion to the religion of their fathers and to building a sense of security “which was to be abruptly and dramatically disrupted by Pope Paul IV.”¹¹⁸

Indeed, after Giovanni Pietro Carafa ascended to the papal throne, the municipal council of Ancona proclaimed three days of solemn processions and sent two legates – Angelo Ferretti and Ser Giovanni di Ser Calisto Trionfi – to Rome to vow obedience to the new pope.¹¹⁹ The diplomatic mission is curiously depicted by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan, who underlines the prominent role of the cardinal-nephew:

During Paul IV’s pontificate [when he sat on the throne of his kingdom] when Cardinal Carafa was before him at the gates of the court, all the ambassadors of the lands came before them and asked what the terms and conditions were for their people and their lands, as was the custom when there was a new king. And back then Ancona – the glorious city which is situated on the shores of the Marca, whose merchants are ambassadors and notable men from far away, from the East and the West and from the Northern lands, who carry their many goods in ships at sea – [this city] also sent messengers to the pope in order to ask him to reconfirm the general terms, and the details [of those terms]. They particularly asked for reconfirmation of the terms

¹¹⁵ Cf. Hayim Rosenberg, “Alcuni documenti riguardanti i marrani portoghesi in Ancona”, 306-23; Viviana Bonazzoli, “Ebrei italiani, portoghesi, levantini sulla piazza commerciale di Ancona intorno alla metà del Cinquecento”. In *Gli ebrei a Venezia, secoli XIV-XVIII*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi (Milan, 1987), 727-70.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Simonsohn, “Marranos in Ancona Under Papal Protection”, 237.

¹¹⁷ The document issued by Julius III on February 17, 1553, was published by Simonsohn in “Marranos in Ancona Under Papal Protection”, 264-7. See also Renata Segre, “Nuovi documenti sui marrani d’Ancona (1555-1559)”, 131-2.

¹¹⁸ Simonsohn, “Marranos in Ancona Under Papal Protection”, 242.

¹¹⁹ Segre, “Nuovi documenti sui marrani d’Ancona (1555-1559)”, 130.

and security of the beloved Sephardic people called Portuguese, who had left their homeland, Portugal, and come to Italy to worship God, the Lord of Israel. [They came] to keep and observe the Law of our God, similarly to their brothers the Jews who lived there. They [the ambassadors] asked permission on their behalf [the Portuguese] to dwell safely there and to keep the Law of Moses, servant of God, similarly to how it had been during the pontificates of Paul III and Julius III who had reigned before him. They obtained this confirmation from Cardinal Carafa, and the Portuguese Jews safely settled in the city of Ancona and in other parts of the region of the Marca. [They settled there] until the sixth month, that is to say the month of Elul, which is called *Agosto* in Italian, which was the fourth month of Paul IV's pontificate.¹²⁰

As it was customary to send ambassadors to pledge obedience after the coronation of a new pope or new ruler, Ancona sent its legates so that the privileges guaranteed by Paul IV's predecessors to the Portuguese nation, including the New Christians – here called “Sephardic people” (from the ancient Hebrew name for Spain, *Sepharad*), indicating more generally exiles from both Spain and Portugal could be reconfirmed. According to Benjamin's account, the Cardinal-Nephew, Carlo Carafa, reconfirmed the privileges previously guaranteed to the Jews by Paul III and Julius III. The other Jewish sources do not reflect on him at all. Joseph ha-Cohen mentioned him, saying that Paul IV sent for his nephew in a moment of rage, ordering all the houses in Rome belong to Jews to be burnt, and that the latter tried in vain to dissuade him until Cardinal Farnese discouraged him from it.¹²¹ Summarising this information – which does not appear in any other sources – Isaiah Sonne concluded that, according to this account, Carlo Carafa was a mere instrument in the hands of his uncle and Cardinal Farnese, but it was rather the opposite, since the pope gave his nephew his blind trust at the beginning of his pontificate.¹²² As we will see later on, Cardinal Carafa's behaviour led Paul IV to deny him his unconditional confidence and to exile his nephew and other family members from the papal court and from Rome at the beginning of 1559.

The reconfirmation of the rights and privileges of the Portuguese should not be taken for granted, however. Indeed, the new pope disregarded the policy of Paul III and Julius III on the matter, and recognised the *marranos* not as Jews but rather as apostates.

¹²⁰ See below 181.

¹²¹ Cf. Isaiah Sonne, “La politica di Paolo IV verso gli ebrei”, 13. The episode is reported by Joseph ha-Cohen, *The Vale of Tears*: 91-2.

¹²² Sonne, “La politica di Paolo IV verso gli ebrei”, 13.

As a matter of fact, the baptism they had received in the Iberian Peninsula, although forced, had efficacy *ex opere operato* in making them real Christians.¹²³

To solve the problem as fast as possible, the pope appointed a special commissioner, who was sent to Ancona from Rome: on July 26, 1555, twelve days after *Cum nimis absurdum* was issued, the Neapolitan jurist Giovanni Vincenzo Falangonio was appointed for this task.¹²⁴ It is possible that this commissioner was close to the pope's patronage and that he played a significant role in preventing the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in the Kingdom of Naples.¹²⁵ Regarding the date of his appointment, Benjamin says that Falangonio began his office in the Jewish month of Elul, which corresponded to August, "the fourth month of Paul IV's pontificate."¹²⁶ Also, Gedaliah Ibn Yahyah states that a commissioner (without any mention of a name) was sent to Ancona in the second half of Elul.¹²⁷ As Paul IV wrote to the Duke of Genoa on December 11, 1555, Falangonio was effectively sent to Ancona in July.¹²⁸ However, it is possible that he only arrived in the Marche in August, and that the authors of the Jewish sources did not know that he had been appointed at the end of July.

Falangonio's arrival in Ancona is compared by Benjamin, not without reason, to a gliding eagle:¹²⁹ after only a couple of weeks, the *marranos* were arrested and their property confiscated. Between August and November, forty-eight inventories (from a total of fifty-one individuals) with lists of the people's belongings were compiled. These inventories, published by Renata Segre about thirty years ago, still represent an extraordinary source in the absence of records of the trials of the Inquisition, and they help to reconstruct the *marranos*' identities and their material culture as well as many

¹²³ On the effectiveness of forced baptism of Jews in Portugal, see Marcocci, "«...per capillos adductos ad pillam». Il dibattito cinquecentesco sulla validità del battesimo forzato degli ebrei in Portogallo (1496-1497)", 339-423. On the practice of forced baptisms in early-modern Rome, see Marina Caffiero, *Battesimi forzati. Storie di ebrei, cristiani e convertiti nella Roma dei papi*.

¹²⁴ The decree appointing Falangonio as commissioner on the Jews of the Marca is preserved in ASV, *Arm. XLII*, vol. 6, fols. 196r-198v.

¹²⁵ The information is given by Vincenzo Lavenia, "Giudici, eretici, infedeli. Per una storia dell'Inquisizione nella Marca nella prima età moderna", *Giornale di storia* 6 (2011): 1-35, see 18, note 96.

¹²⁶ See below 181.

¹²⁷ SONNE, 32, note 5.

¹²⁸ Isaiah Sonne, "Une source nouvelle pour l'histoire des martyrs d'Ancône", *REJ* 89 (1930): 360-80, see 375. The letter in question, preserved in ASV, *Arm. XLIV*, vol. 4, fols. 155-6, was published in Moritz Stern, *Urkundliche Beiträge über die Stellung der Päpste zu den Juden mit Benutzung des Päpstlichen Geheimarchivs zu Rom*, vol. 1 (Kiel, 1893): 114-5.

¹²⁹ See below 183.

other aspects.¹³⁰ Benjamin clearly refers to these documents when he writes that the property of the Portuguese Jews of Ancona was listed as a memorial to be taken from the Apostolic Chamber.¹³¹

It is possible that the arrests took place from August 2 onwards, and that by the end of the month, the *marranos* had confessed under torture to having been baptised in Portugal.¹³² Falangonio's mission was not only to annihilate them, but also to ascertain the proper application of *Cum nimis absurdum* and its provisions by the Jews living in the Marca.¹³³ The bull, addressing the Jews (not the *marranos*) who were living in the whole territory under papal supremacy, was reaffirmed by the *breve* (a papal document) sent from Rome to the vice-legate of the Marca on August 19.¹³⁴

The commissioner could certainly have counted on the support of a multitude of officials and messengers, not in only in Ancona, as Benjamin informs us.¹³⁵ The major issue was represented by the credits collected by the Jews over the years, so the commissioner

ordered the Italian Jews, the inhabitants of the land, to look into and to go over their bills with a fine-tooth comb, their account books, and the interest rates of the recent years, in order to punish them with a pecuniary penalty and to bring back their transgressions and return them to [their Christian] owners, as it seemed good and right to his eyes.¹³⁶

At the same time other officials in several cities obliged the Jews to pay their debts and temporarily confiscated their account books (in which their credits and loans were noted) and their property until the issue of the final sentence.¹³⁷ The operation against the Jews is recorded in other Jewish sources: David de' Pomis notes in the introduction

¹³⁰ The inventories are in ASR, *Camerali I*, Tesoreria Provinciale della Marca, reg. 107 (*Conto delle somme riscosse e pagate da Valerio Amani depositario delle condanne e delle confische fatti agli ebrei di Ancona ed agli Ebrei portoghesi ivi dimoranti 1555-56*) and published in Renata Segre, "Nuovi documenti sui marrani d'Ancona (1555-1559)", 160-232. More in particular on the inventories of the belongings of the two physicians Francisco Barbosio and Amatus Lusitanus, and the apothecary Joseph Molkho, see António Manuel Lopes Andrade and Hugo Miguel Crespo, "Os inventários dos bens de Amato Lusitano, Francisco Barbosa e Joseph Molcho, em Ancona, na fuga à Inquisição", *Ágora. Estudos Clássicos em Debate* 14/1 (2012): 45-90.

¹³¹ See below 183.

¹³² Segre, "Nuovi documenti sui marrani d'Ancona (1555-1559)", 136-7.

¹³³ Writing to the Duke of Genoa, Paul IV wrote: "[...] misimus illuc Joannem Vincentium Fallangonium Neapolitanum, nostrum et sedis apostolicae commissarium, ut omnia haec cognosceret diligenter ac tam Hebreos ipsos, quam Lusitanos" (Stern, *Urkundliche Beiträge*, 114).

¹³⁴ ASV, *Arm. XLII*, vol. 6, fols. 267r-v.

¹³⁵ See below 183.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 185.

to his *Ṣemaḥ David* that the commissioners were sent “against us [the Jews] [...] and they ruined whatever they found in our houses.”¹³⁸ A similar account is reported in the above-mentioned letter from the Jewish community of Cori, published by Kaufmann.¹³⁹

Shortly afterwards, the pope appointed Cesare della Nave, jurist and apostolic protonotary from Bologna, to support Falangonio in his task.¹⁴⁰ According to Benjamin’s account, the efforts of the two commissioners, besides worsening the condition of the Portuguese *marranos*, caused the uprising of several individuals against the Jews in the Marca: in Macerata, for example, Giovanni Battista Bracconi, Federico Mariotti, Gasparino and their acquaintances are well known to have been hostile to the Jews.¹⁴¹ Bracconi graduated in law from the Studium Generale Maceratense – which was founded in 1540 by Paul III – and was a very well-known lawyer and professor of law.¹⁴² The second man mentioned by our author, Federico Mariotti, was certainly a collaborator of Commissioner Falangonio, as his name appears in the inventories of the belongings of Abram Ingesta – a Portuguese moneylender resident in Montolmo (today Corridonia, in the province of Macerata) dated August 27, 1555 – and two other men, Isac Peschera and Jacob Olanda.¹⁴³ The last one is more difficult to identify: a Camillo Gasparino seems to have been a canon of the church of Macerata, responsible for the exaction of taxes, and another Bernardino Gasparino appears in the archival documentation as general procurator of the Curia for the province of the Marca.¹⁴⁴

The establishment of Inquisition commissioners and their officials, collaborators, and acquaintances fostered the proliferation of anti-Jewish slanderers in

¹³⁸ David de’ Pomis, *Ṣemaḥ David* (Venice, 1587), introduction, n.p. The translation from Hebrew is mine.

¹³⁹ Kaufmann, “Don Joseph Nassi, Founder of Colonies in the Holy Land, and the Community of Cori in the Campagna”, 306.

¹⁴⁰ Sonne transcribed his name as “Della Nava,” because he based it on information from Gedaliah Ibn Yahyah that anyway should be read “Della Nave” (and not “Della Nava”). In the *Sefer ha-Dema’ot* by Brenfeld it is found as “Glibi” (or “Glebe”, “Glebi?”); also, Feroso was mistaken in calling the commissioner “Galnaba,” probably on the basis of the Krakow edition (1596) of the *Shalsholet ha-Kabbalah*. Cf. SONNE, 34, note 13. The papal decree is in ASV, *Arm. XLII*, vol. 6, fols. 290r-291v).

¹⁴¹ See below 185.

¹⁴² On the University of Macerata and juridical education: Raffaele Foglietti, *Cenni storici sull’università di Macerata* (Macerata, 1878), 42; 98; Marta Materni, “The Viterban Studium of the sixteenth century: an educational experiment of the Italian Renaissance”, *History of Universities* 25/2 ed. Mordechai Feingold (Oxford, 2011), 1-50, especially pp. 4 and 45, note 82; Luigi Lacchè, “Giuristi e cultura giuridica nella Marca ai tempi di Alberico Gentili. Spunti per una riflessione”. In *Atti dei Convegni nel quarto centenario della morte. Le Marche al tempo di Alberico Gentili: religione, politica, cultura*, (Milan, 2012), 231-260.

¹⁴³ Segre, “Nuovi documenti sui marrani d’Ancona (1555-1559)”, 204-9.

¹⁴⁴ Both these names are frequently mentioned in the registers of the *Miscellanea notarile*, ASMC.

many Italian cities and villages, which caused episodes of violence and forced Jewish families – and sometimes larger groups – to leave their lands in order to seek shelter in more secure places; for instance, in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁵ Frightened and confused because of the uncertain situation, some Jews converted to Christianity in order to save at least “their houses, their fields and their vineyards.”¹⁴⁶ Benjamin informs us of the conversion of seventeen Jews from Morrovalle and Macerata as well as from another location, probably Servigliano, in the province of Fermo.¹⁴⁷ The situation for those Jews who remained in the cities is depicted as utterly miserable and distressing. We will reflect a little further on the case of Civitanova, but now let us return to the issue of the Portuguese *marranos*.

The municipal council of Ancona, aware of the serious economic damage for the port and the entire city represented by the arrest of the Portuguese *marranos* (most of whom were merchants, traders, and moneylenders), sent a diplomatic mission rushing to Rome to implore for their release before the pope. As soon as he understood the pope’s intentions, Giovanni Trionfi – the legate sent from Ancona – abandoned the mission for the rescue of the *marranos* and made every effort to plead the cause of the Italian and Levantine Jews who, thanks to a *breve* issued by Paul IV on September 23, were allowed to resume their trading business, including the provision for the annual fairs.¹⁴⁸ Benjamin blamed the pope, saying that the ambassadors sent from Ancona (there is no mention of Trionfi) tried to speak to the pope, probably showing some copies of the charters of privileges guaranteed to the Portuguese nation by his predecessors, but that he did not want to listen to them.¹⁴⁹

To avoid any potential trouble, the pope transferred, with a solemn ceremony, the fate of the *marranos* into the hands of the Holy Office, responsible for matters concerning the faith and orthodoxy.¹⁵⁰ With this document, the pope finally declared his intention to punish the *marranos* because, after having received baptism in Portugal, they had returned to Judaism, indicated as “a rite and superstition” (*ritum et*

¹⁴⁵ Benjamin writes indeed that several Jews escaped from the Marche and sailed to Turkey; see below 185.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ ASV, *Arm. XLII*, vol. 6, fols. 351r-352v.

¹⁴⁹ See below 187.

¹⁵⁰ ASV, *Arm. XLII*, vol. 6, October 4, 1555, fols. 383r-v.

superstitionem judaice perfidie),¹⁵¹ and, for this reason, they had to be considered as apostates or even as *relapsi*.¹⁵² Moreover, he denied the possibility of paying a financial penalty for their release, revoked all privileges guaranteed in the past, and formally entrusted the governor of the Marca and the commissioners to arrest the other suspected *marranos* who were still free, to punish all of them as apostates, and to confiscate their assets.¹⁵³

The sources refer to different numbers of Portuguese *marranos* who were arrested: the author of the *Shalshélet ha-Kabbalah* says that they were eighty-three men and one elderly woman,¹⁵⁴ while Pastor states that “twelve of these, and according to other authorities, twenty-four, were burned, forty-two others, who were less guilty, succeeded, by paying considerable sums, in getting the death sentence commuted to the punishment of the galleys for life” (so, in total they were fifty-four or a maximum of sixty-six).¹⁵⁵ Benjamin writes that the Portuguese *marranos* in the Ancona prison numbered more than eighty and that some of their wives (not only one elderly woman) were with them, but he did not know their number.¹⁵⁶ Among them, Benjamin continues, “thirty people who were men of valour and God-fearing escaped” thanks to Commissioner Falangonio because “[God] put it into the heart of Falangonio, one of the commissioners, to save some of them.”¹⁵⁷ After having escaped with the *marranos*’ possessions, which were destined for the Apostolic Chamber, the commissioner was then arrested in Genoa on December 1555, but he escaped again on the way to his trial in Rome.¹⁵⁸

In a letter to the Duke of Ferrara dated December 31, 1555, the ambassador, Giuliano Grandi, informed his lord that a Neapolitan who had been sent as commissioner to Ancona – where the Portuguese *marranos* and Jews gave him 16,000 *ducati* – had escaped to Genoa after allowing some of the *marranos* and Jews to escape

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² An apostate is one who denies his faith, while a relapse is one who falls into error or heresy after having retracted. Cf. Adriano Prosperi, *Eresie e devozioni: la religione italiana in età moderna*, vol. 2 (Rome, 2010), 220.

¹⁵³ Cf. Segre, 141 and notes 28-9; Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini, “Ancora sui marrani portoghesi di Ancona (1556): condanna e rinconciliazione”, *Zakhor* 5 (2001-2002): 39-51, see 43-4.

¹⁵⁴ SONNE, 35, note 20.

¹⁵⁵ PASTOR, 275.

¹⁵⁶ See below 185.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 187.

¹⁵⁸ ASV, *Arm. XLIV*, vol. 4, fols. 163r-v, published in Stern, *Urkundliche Beiträge*, 114-5.

from prison and seek shelter in Pesaro with their goods.¹⁵⁹ Neither the other Jewish sources nor the Christian sources make any mention of Falangonio's involvement in the escape of the prisoners.

Who were the Portuguese people who managed to escape from prison in Ancona? Sonne proposed a hypothesis about a couple of them. In the introduction of his *Lequte Shikḥah u-Peah*, printed in Ferrara in 1556, Abraham ben Yehudah Elimelekh stresses that he was imprisoned and that he escaped through a window; his journey lasted several days until he arrived in Pesaro and from there, he continued to Ferrara.¹⁶⁰ Several pieces of evidence such as the proximity of Ancona to Pesaro and the author's reference to a burning – probably to be identified with the burning of the Talmud in Ancona in 1554, to which the elegy by Immanuel Benevento is dedicated – led the historian to identify Abraham ben Yehudah Elimelekh as one of the escaped Jews.¹⁶¹ According to Sonne, also among those arrested was Ḥayim Ibn Ḥason, reviser of the work *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, attributed to Perez the tosafist and printed in Ferrara in 1558.¹⁶² In the introduction, Ibn Ḥason explicitly declares having been among those who escaped from Ancona; Sonne argued that he was probably among the Levantine Jews who obtained exile following the request made by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent to the municipal council of Ancona.¹⁶³ Finally, two other men, simply recalled as Reuven and Shimon, were remembered in the *responsa* by Rabbi Joseph ben Leb, a Turkish talmudist appointed teacher at the *yeshiva* founded in Constantinople by Gracia Nasi, a figure to whom we will return very soon.¹⁶⁴

After Falangonio, another commissioner was then charged with replacing him: the Venetian protonotary Gaspare Dotti was appointed governor of the Holy House of Loreto by Julius III in 1551 and commissioner of the Roman Inquisition in Ancona,

¹⁵⁹ Cesare Ferroso, "Di alcuni ebrei portoghesi giustiziati in Ancona sotto Paolo IV", *Archivio storico per le Marche e l'Umbria* 1 (1884): 692-9: "Un Napolitano che fu mandato commissario in Ancona, et havea buscato da quelli marrani et hebrei XVI/m ducati con pretesto di accordare le cose loro con N.o Sig.re se né fuggito a Genova, et havendolo risaputo il Card. Caraffa havea fatto scrivere a questi Signori di Genova per nome di Nostro Signore [...] [Falangonio] havea adito ad alcuni di andarsene a Pesaro con molte loro facoltà d'importantia".

¹⁶⁰ Abraham ben Yehudah Elimelekh, *Liqute Shikḥah u-Pe'ah* (Ferrara, 1556), introduction, n.p.

¹⁶¹ Cf. SONNE, 36, note 24.

¹⁶² Cf. Efraim Gottlieb, "Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut", *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 13: 305-6.

¹⁶³ Sonne referred to the work as *Ma'arekhet Elohim*, see SONNE, 37, note 24. In the introduction to his *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* (Ferrara, 1558), n.p., Ibn Ḥason affirmed to have escaped from Ancona.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Yehoshua Horowitz, "Lev (Lab; Leb), Joseph ben David ibn", *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 12: 676. Cf. SONNE, 37, note 24.

where it seems he was still active in 1554.¹⁶⁵ In the middle of November 1555, this commissioner was sent to Pesaro on a diplomatic mission to ask Duke Guidobaldo II della Rovere to consign all the *marranos* who had escaped from Ancona to the Duchy of Urbino to the Inquisition.¹⁶⁶ The request was denied by the Duke because of the previous permissions guaranteed for the tolerance of the Jews in his state. On his return to Ancona, the commissioner had to face another serious problem: the Sultan had sent his ambassador to the city in order to save the *marranos* and their assets, threatening the prosperity of Ancona's businesses with the Levant.¹⁶⁷ After several ups and downs, Dotti was removed from his office because of his inability to keep control in Ancona, and he was replaced by the Dominican Vincenzo da Lugo in March 1556.¹⁶⁸ Gaspare Dotti is not mentioned by our author at all: after having heard about Falangonio's escape, Paul IV entrusted the other commissioner, Cesare della Nave, to guard the rest of the Portuguese prisoners, ordering to him to "torture them with harsh, painful, and bitter torments until they were dead."¹⁶⁹

At the end of that *annus terribilis*, it was clear that the *marranos*' situation was utterly desperate. Another diplomatic mission was sent to Rome from Ancona because of the complaints of many merchants claiming rights on their properties confiscated along with the *marranos*' belongings. Since the pope did not want to relent and release them, the ambassador of Ancona asked that their trial at least be transferred to Macerata or elsewhere because the *corda* – to which the *marranos* were subjected in order to make them confess their real identities – frightened the Levantine people in the city and negatively influenced the merchants' business.¹⁷⁰ The results of this mission were rather poor, and the pope only reconfirmed the old privileges to the Levantine Jews.¹⁷¹ After a long debate,¹⁷² the Roman Congregation of the Holy Office finally determined the fate of the *marranos*, sentencing them to death. The sources disagree about the number of *marranos* who were burned in Ancona in the Campo della Mostra (today the Piazza

¹⁶⁵ On Dotti, see Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, vol. 39 (1840), 240; Lavenia, "Giudici, eretici, infedeli. Per una storia dell'Inquisizione nella Marca nella prima età moderna", 16-9 and note 88; Segre, "Nuovi documenti sui marrani d'Ancona (1555-1559)", 143.

¹⁶⁶ Segre, "Nuovi documenti sui marrani d'Ancona (1555-1559)", 143.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 144.

¹⁶⁸ Ioly Zorattini, "Ancora sui marrani portoghesi di Ancona (1556): condanna e riconciliazione", 44.

¹⁶⁹ See below 187.

¹⁷⁰ Rosenberg, "Alcuni documenti riguardanti i marrani portoghesi in Ancona", 314-5.

¹⁷¹ Segre, "Nuovi documenti sui marrani d'Ancona (1555-1559)", 146.

¹⁷² Ioly Zorattini, "Ancora sui marrani portoghesi di Ancona (1556): condanna e riconciliazione", 44-7.

Malatesta) between April and June 1556. Bartolomeo Alfei, a contemporary chronicler from Ancona, indicates twenty-six, among whom were also some Christian women married to Jews.¹⁷³ Joseph ha-Cohen¹⁷⁴ and Salomon Ḥazan¹⁷⁵ say that they were twenty-four men and one elderly woman, while Gedaliah Ibn Yaḥyah¹⁷⁶ speaks of twenty-three men and one elderly woman. In addition to these should also be counted a man who committed suicide, jumping out of one of the windows of the prison: Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan, who affirms having seen the poor remains of his corpse with his own eyes, did not want to write his name. This gap is filled thanks to Amatus Lusitanus – an eminent physician who managed to escape before the sentence of death was issued – who speaks of a surgeon called David Romero, who died after having thrown himself from one of the windows of the prison.¹⁷⁷ According to Benjamin’s account, the corpse lay on the ground for one day and one night, after which the Jews obtained permission to pick him up and bury him in the Jewish cemetery.¹⁷⁸ Even more heartbreaking are the descriptions of the burnings at the stake. Once again, Benjamin’s account stands out for its detailed narration: on 3rd of Iyyar 5316 (April 13, 1556), Shimon ben Menaḥem, Joseph Guascon, Samuel Guascon, Abraham Falcon, and one elderly woman named Meyora were strangled and burned at the stake; two days later it was the turn of Isaac Naḥmias and Salomon Alguades (or Algbaish?), and on Shabbat 8th of Iyyar (April 18), the same horrible fate happened to six more of them: Moses Paggio, Salomon Pinto, Joseph Molkho, Abraham Sirolia (or Sirolio), David Naḥash, and Abraham Mosoro (or Morro).¹⁷⁹ The names of those sentenced to death appear in the Jewish sources with several variants, due to the different names that are sometimes used to indicate the same person; we will not reflect on this aspect here.¹⁸⁰ After the burning of the first twelve, according to Benjamin, the Sultan sent another letter to Ancona in order to save the other prisoners. Among the Levantine Jews,

¹⁷³ Segre, “Nuovi documenti sui marrani d’Ancona (1555-1559)”, 147.

¹⁷⁴ Joseph ha-Cohen, *The Vale of Tears*: 92.

¹⁷⁵ Salomon Ḥazan from Ancona is the author of an elegy on the burning at the stake of the Portuguese *marranos*, published for the first time by Adolf Neubauer in *Ha-Levanon* 5 (1868): 344 ff., then reprinted by Bernfeld: *Sefer ha-Dema’ot*, vol. II, 277-350. The Italian version of the elegy was reproduced by Cecil Roth, “Un’elegia giudeo-italiana sui martiri d’Ancona (1556-7)”, *La Rassegna Mensile d’Israel* 16/6-8 (1950): 147-56.

¹⁷⁶ SONNE, 37, note 7.

¹⁷⁷ Segre, “Nuovi documenti sui marrani d’Ancona (1555-1559)”, 147 note 41.

¹⁷⁸ See below 189.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 191.

¹⁸⁰ For the different variants of the names, see SONNE: 41-2, notes 15-28.

captured by mistake because they were thought to be *marranos*, there were also the agents of the influential Gracia Nasi, who was baptised with the name of Beatrice de Luna Mendes and who then returned to Judaism in Constantinople.¹⁸¹ In fact, the Sultan addressed two letters – the first to the pope, the second to the governor of the Marca – asking them to release the men and all the goods imported from the Levant to Ancona, again threatening the economy of the city. The letters only reached their destination at the end of April, when the first twelve *marranos* had already been burned.¹⁸² The pope’s reply to Suleiman on June 1 was clear: the goods would be returned, but the men – with the exception of those recognisable as Levantines – must be punished and die because they were apostates.¹⁸³ Benjamin was probably not aware of this reply, since he writes only that Paul IV did not want to listen to the Turkish ambassadors and so did not withdraw the death sentence for the other twelve prisoners.¹⁸⁴ While Gracia Nasi, with her nephew Don Joseph and the Jewish community of Constantinople, were organising the boycott of the port of Ancona,¹⁸⁵ transferring all the traffic to the small port of Pesaro, on the 26th of Tammuz (corresponding to July 4), the other twelve *marranos* were burned.¹⁸⁶ There are only eleven names reported by the author: Moses Barzillon (or Barcellon?), David Reuben, Solomon (Shlomo) Yahyah, David Micario (Sicario? Saqueria?), Joseph Vardai, Joseph Papo, Jacob Cohen, Jacob Montalban, Abraham Loco (or Lobo), Jacob Mosso (or Morro), and Abraham Cohen.¹⁸⁷ Sonne proposed that

¹⁸¹ On the fascinating figure of Gracia Nasi and her role in the tragic events that happened in Ancona between 1555 and 1556, see Cecil Roth: *Dona Gracia of the House of the Nasi* (Philadelphia, 1977) and, more recently in Italian context: Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, “Beatrice de Luna, vedova Mendes, alias Donna Gracia Nasi: un’ebrea influente (1510-1569 c.a.)”. In *Rinascimento al femminile*, ed. Ottavia Niccoli (Rome-Bari, 1991), 83-116. As a first step, Sonne identified Jacob Mosso or Morro, an agent of Gracia Nasi, with the man who committed suicide, see Sonne, “Une source nouvelle pour l’histoire des martyrs d’Ancône”: 366-7. This hypothesis has since been rejected by other scholars, cf. Rosenberg: 317, note 1.

¹⁸² Rosenberg, “Alcuni documenti riguardanti i marrani portoghesi in Ancona”, 318. The information provided by Rosenberg about the residence of Benjamin ben Elnathan in Ancona is clearly wrong; if it is true that he saw the corpse of the dead man (David Romero) and that he was an eye-witness of the burning at the stake of the Portuguese *marranos* as he stresses in his chronicle, we can assume he was temporarily (for a month or more) in the city, likely because of some business linked to the bank loan of Angelo di Vitale and Michele di Abramo or for other interests.

¹⁸³ The document was published in Paul Grunebaum, “Un episode de l’histoire des juifs d’Ancône”, 142-3.

¹⁸⁴ See below 191.

¹⁸⁵ The boycott of Ancona organised by Gracia Nasi caused an internal conflict in the Jewish society; on this issue, see Marc Saperstein, “Martyrs, Merchants and Rabbis: Jewish Communal Conflict as Reflected in the Responsa on the Boycott of Ancona”, *Jewish Social Studies* 43 (1981): 215-28.

¹⁸⁶ See below 191-2.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

the missing man is to be found in the name of “David Reuben,” stressing that it would be better to read “David [and] Reuben,”¹⁸⁸ but it would be easier to identify him with a certain Joseph Oheb, remembered in the elegy by Salomon Hazan.¹⁸⁹

Apparently there belonged to this second group those who, even under torture, did not confess to having been baptised in Portugal, and it is possible that they were burned only after their situation was clarified by a decree issued by the Congregation of the Holy Office on April 30.¹⁹⁰ Also, Benjamin states that when the twenty-four men and an elderly woman named Meyora were sentenced to death, they were given the possibility of forswearing the Jewish faith and being reconciled with the Church, avoiding meeting their deaths at the stake. However, they replied very resolutely: “No, for we will die for the Sanctification of the Name of the Lord – may He be Blessed! – and for the *Torah* of the Lord our God, and we will not desecrate the covenant that we agreed upon with Him.”¹⁹¹

Our author stresses that he was an eye-witness of the events, or at least of the burning of the last *marranos*, which took place in Tammuz. He describes the procedure of their execution, saying that they were burned in pairs: while the first one was hung on a tree and burned, the second one watched. The horrible scene caused them to desire a quick death for the Sanctification of the Name of God. Benjamin ben Elnathan dedicates one of the most poetic and touching pages of his chronicle on Paul IV precisely to the *Qiddush ha-Shem*:

All of them were pious people, holy people who gave their lives for the Sanctification of God, and when they passed by to go to the place where they were supposed to be burned, they were whispering in their mouths about the unity of God. Some of them knew how to speak Italian well, and they spoke to each other in Italian and used their mouths to fill the ears of the people of the land, saying that they were

¹⁸⁸ Sonne, “Une source nouvelle pour l’histoire des martyrs d’Ancône”, 362.

¹⁸⁹ Roth, “Un’ elegia giudeo-italiana sui martiri d’Ancona (1556-7)”, 154.

¹⁹⁰ “Die ultima Aprilis 1556. In congregatione sancti domini nostri et dominorum cardinalium sanctus dominus noster Paulus papa quartus mandavit, statuit et ordinavit, quod consistit (?) legitime, quoscunque Portugenses seu Lusitanos in Portugallia seu Lusitania permansisse et inde discessisse et in Italiam venisse, ubi reperiantur esse Judaei sive Judizasse, condemnentur tanquam apostatae a fide, prout de iure similes apostatae condemnari et puniri debent; non obstante quod fuerint expositi torturae seu tormentis, quae sustinendo negaverint se fuisse baptizatos vel Christiane vixisse aut Christiana opera egisse vel sacramenta ecclesiastica percepisse, cum iam pro liquido et clare a sancta fede compertum sit et habeatur a sexaginta annis vel circa, quod nullus Hebraeus tolleratus fuerit habitare in Lusitania seu Portugallia, nisi fuerint baptizati et vixerint Christiane. Et ita servari mandavit, statuit et ordinavit omni meliori modo” (Stern, *Urkundliche Beiträge über die Stellung der Päpste*, 116-7).

¹⁹¹ See below 191.

choosing such a death with all their hearts and souls for the sake of God's unity.¹⁹²

Benjamin heard the last words of Rabbi Solomon Yahyah – who is remembered as “a very important man with a clear and eloquent manner of speaking”¹⁹³ – and recorded them in the chronicle:

Burn me, you many ministers and notable men of the land, because I am sentenced to death not because I have sinned and not because of evil things I have done against God and men, but rather because I held the *Torah* of my ancestors to unify the name of the God of Israel, because God is the Lord in Heaven and Earth and there is no other God than Him. Regarding the Sanctification of the Name: I sacrifice myself for the Sanctification of His Name and I beg Him to bind up my soul in the bond of eternal life; may He have vengeance for the blood of His servants on those who are fighting against them. He will pour out his fury and anger upon them.¹⁹⁴

The chronicler added that this pious man “sacrificed himself as innocent victim” to fulfil what it is written in Deuteronomy 6: “*You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your might.*”¹⁹⁵ The description of the other *marranos* approaching the place of the stake “whispering in their mouths about the unity of God [...] and saying that they were choosing such a death with all their hearts and souls for the sake of God's unity,”¹⁹⁶ is clearly referencing the prayer *Shema Israel*.¹⁹⁷ After having recited the blessing “commanding us to sanctify the Name,”¹⁹⁸ Solomon Yahyah finally threw himself into the fire with joy. The information about him is very scant: it seems that he was in the patronage of the Abravanel family because of business relations and that his wife, Ora Baruch, managed to escape with two children, Joseph and Samuel, and settled in Ferrara.¹⁹⁹ The names of the twenty-four *marranos* and the words of Yahyah are also in the elegy, published by Kaufmann in 1895, it might

¹⁹² See below 193.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ Deuteronomy 6:5. This verse is included in the *Shema Israel* (“Hear, O Israel”), the centrepiece of the morning and evening prayer services.

¹⁹⁶ See below 193.

¹⁹⁷ *Shema Israel* (“Hear, O Israel”) is the centrepiece of the morning and evening prayer services.

¹⁹⁸ In Hebrew: ברכת אשר קדשנו במצותיו וציוונו על קידוש השם. Sonne stressed that there are no traces of this blessing in the Jewish martyrology. Cf. SONNE, 43, note 31.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. SONNE, 159-61; Di Leone Leoni, “Per una storia della nazione portoghese ad Ancona e Pesaro”, 70.

be possible that the *qinah* by Mordechai ben Yehudah of Blanes was already known at that time and our chronicler became familiar with it after 1556.²⁰⁰

Another group of *marranos* managed to avoid death at the stake by denying the Jewish faith, and they were sentenced to row in the galleys. In this case, the sources also differ on the number of individuals involved: twenty-seven for Benjamin,²⁰¹ thirty-eight for Joseph ha-Cohen.²⁰² According to the surviving documentation in the Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, fourteen prisoners had already decided to forswear by December 1555 and were sentenced to the galleys. Their names were Doctor Francisco Barboso, Doctor del Porto, Abraam Francese, Levi Sanctus, Abraam Balu, Jacobus Cohen, Moyses Benser, Isac Eleger, Salomon Erghes (or Ergas), Abraam Erghes (or Ergas), Davit Galego, Jacob Toro (or Torro), Juda Attaser, and Joseph Falconus (Joseph Oef Falcon).²⁰³ With the exception of Francisco Barbosio, who was exempted from the penalty because of his fame, these people (and perhaps other individuals whose names were not recorded) were sent to Malta, where they were intended to be enslaved in the galleys. As penitents – according to Benjamin’s account – they were required to wear the penitential cloth, a green garment with some red symbols, in order to be recognised by the Christians.

Passing by the Kingdom of Naples, taking advantage of the darkness in the night, and perhaps thanks to the complicity of the official of the Knights of Malta responsible for their transfer from Ancona to Malta, they managed to escape and arrived in Ferrara, where some of them sailed towards the Ottoman Empire.²⁰⁴ In Ancona – where it seems that other people were still imprisoned in September 1556²⁰⁵ – the wearing of the green coat was also mandatory. According to Benjamin’s account, the Portuguese physician Francisco Barbosio, who was considered an eminent and wise man not only among the Jews but also in the Christian *milieu* (so much so that he had the trust of Commissioner Della Nave as well as of the municipal council),²⁰⁶ was allowed to stay in Ancona, to practice his art and observe the Christian faith on

²⁰⁰ Kaufmann, “Les 24 martyrs d’Ancone”, 222-30.

²⁰¹ See below 189.

²⁰² Joseph ha-Cohen, *The Vale of Tears*, 92.

²⁰³ Ioly Zorattini, “Ancora sui marrani portoghesi di Ancona (1556): condanna e rinconciliazione”, 47.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 50-1.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ See below 195.

condition that he wear the green coat.²⁰⁷ However, after a couple of days he decided to abandon the city in secret and fled to Turkey, as did his wife, who managed to escape “before their sentence was issued” thanks to the help of a servant, a young man from Civitanova (the name is omitted), and together they sailed towards Salonika.²⁰⁸ Besides the last *marranos* who were still in prison, only the goods which had been confiscated by the commissioners and their officials, as well as the *marranos*’ credits to be cashed, remained in Ancona. The Apostolic Chamber appointed Francesco Tomasi to fulfil this task: Benjamin does not make any mention of his name, but he refers to this activity, saying in general terms that

the Christians took the wealth of the Portuguese and sent it to the Apostolic Chamber. They also collected the bills of their loans, a great and enormous fortune of silver, gold, pearls, gems, goods, and jewels that is impossible to describe because there was so much of it.²⁰⁹

After that, Commissioner Cesare Della Nave returned to Rome. Now that the Portuguese *marranos* had finally been extirpated from Ancona, his mission could be said to be complete, and the will of the pope fulfilled. But this was only the first step of Paul IV’s project for the moral reformation of the Church.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 197.

CHAPTER FOUR

Between Centre and Periphery of the State of the Church.

4.1. The Strengthening of the Roman Inquisition

The deepest and strongest desire of the newly elected pope was unquestionably the image of a pure and saintly Church, and he did not fail to show his determination to achieve this aim from the very beginning of his pontificate. Even before he was appointed Vicar of Christ, Gian Pietro Carafa operated as an indefatigable servant of the Congregation of the Roman Inquisition, which was established by Paul III with the bull *Licet ab initio* (July 21, 1542).¹ Already in the previous decades in his capacity as bishop of Chieti and co-founder and superior of the Theatine order, Carafa gave proof of his sensibility towards the reform of mores within the Church as well as the repression of Lutheran ideas and heretical movements in Italy.² As recalled in the Theatine historiography, for instance, Paul III chose him to be part of the commission – chaired by Gasparo Contarini – that drew up the *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia* (1536-7), a booklet on the abuses and corruption of the Church and its moral reformation.³

Carafa's particular attitudes and zeal earned him the position of head of the new congregation, established in 1542, of which he himself was a promoter. Though strongly renovated and further developed, the tribunal was not entirely new, but had its

¹ Also known as Sant'Uffizio (Holy Office), in 1908 the Congregation was reorganised and renamed "Congregation of the Holy Office" by Pius X. Approaching the end of Vatican II in 1965, Paul VI redefined the tasks of the organisation of the Holy Office, also changing its name to "Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith" (which is its current name).

² On the foundation and development of the Theatine order, see Andrea Vanni, «*Fare diligente inquisitione*». *Gian Pietro Carafa e le origini dei chierici regolari teatini*, and Id., *Gaetano Thiene. Spiritualità, politica, santità*.

³ Though it remained only on paper, *Consilium* represented a landmark in the history of Catholic Church; the text of *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia* is published in *Concilium Tridentinum. Diariorum, actorum, epistolarum, tractatum nova collectio*, ed. Sebastian Merkle et al., vol. 12 (Freiburg, 1966), 131-45. On Contarini and the document, see Gigliola Fragnito, *Gasparo Contarini. Un magistrato veneziano al servizio della Cristianità* (Florence, 1988); Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini. Venice, Rome, and Reform* (Berkeley, 1993); Alberto Aubert, *Il «Consilium de emendanda ecclesia». Riforma della Chiesa e propaganda religiosa nel Cinquecento. Testo latino. Traduzione italiana a fronte* (Rome, 2008).

basis in the medieval institution and assumed the character of a “Roman” Inquisition, independent from the tribunals established in Spain (1478) and Portugal (1536).⁴

As soon as Cardinal Carafa ascended to the papal throne, he devoted special attention to the congregation, making every effort to strengthen it further. As remembered by our chronicler

During the days of the wicked Paul IV, he strengthened the power of the Inquisition established in Rome by the popes preceding him. In the past, there had been wise, old, and intelligent men at the head [of the Inquisition]. During Julius III’s pontificate, two other [cardinals] were added, reaching the number of seven.⁵

When Giovanni Maria Ciocchi del Monte was elected pope (February 7, 1550) taking the name of Julius III, there were five cardinal inquisitors: Carafa, Álvarez de Toledo, Cervini (the future Marcellus II), Sfondrati, and Pio da Carpi. In 1550, Julius III appointed two new cardinals – Crescenzi and Verallo – to join the Inquisition, and two years later, Cardinals Pighini and Puteo also became members of the Inquisition, replacing Cardinals Sfondrati and Crescenzi who had died in 1550 and 1552 respectively. When Paul IV came to power (May 1555), there were only four cardinals belonging to the congregation (Álvarez de Toledo, Pio da Carpi, Verallo, and Puteo).⁶ However, in the space of few years, their number was greatly increased: in autumn 1556 five new cardinals – Medici (the future Pius IV), Scotti, Rebiba, Reumano, and Capizucchi – joined the other three prelates (Verallo died in 1555), so the group reached the number of eight.⁷ Not yet satisfied, the pope added more cardinals – Rosario, his relative Diomede Carafa, Dolera, Ghislieri (the future Pius V), Pacheco, Saraceni, Savelli, and the *camerlengo* Guido Ascanio Sforza di Santa Fiora – so that by autumn 1557 the congregation had reached the number of fifteen.⁸ For his part, Benjamin states

⁴ On the origins and development of the Roman Inquisition in early modern Italy: Andrea Del Col and Giovanna Paolin (eds.), *L’Inquisizione romana in Italia nell’età moderna. Archivi, problemi di metodo e nuove ricerche. Atti del seminario internazionale, Trieste, 18-20 maggio 1988* (Rome, 1991); John A. Tedeschi, *Il giudice e l’eretico: studi sull’Inquisizione romana*, trans. Stefano Galli (Milan, 1997); Adriano Prosperi, *L’Inquisizione romana. Letture e ricerche* (Rome, 2003); Stephan Wendehorst, *The Roman Inquisition, the Index and the Jews. Contexts, Sources, and Perspectives* (Leiden, 2004); Andrea Del Col, *L’Inquisizione in Italia Dal XII al XXI secolo* (Milan, 2006); Massimo Firpo, *La presa di potere dell’Inquisizione romana, 1550-1553* (Rome-Bari, 2014).

⁵ See below 197-8.

⁶ PASTOR, 262.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 264.

⁸ The document cited by Pastor does not mention the names of Pio da Carpi (who was still alive) and Trivulzio, who was appointed on October 10, 1557.

that Paul IV only added six cardinals, reaching a total of thirteen, and that he appointed more cardinals on a second occasion so that their total number was sixteen.⁹ By way of exception, at the end of 1558, the seventeen-year-old Cardinal Alfonso Carafa, son of the pope's brother Antonio, was also admitted to the weekly meetings of the congregation to which only elder cardinals were usually admitted.¹⁰

Paul IV's reforms considerably affected the reorganisation of the tribunal, not only with the increase in the number of inquisitors, but also in the formal redefinition of its duties. Indeed, the jurisdiction of the Roman Inquisition was impressively expanded, and the inquisitors had to deal with the punishment of a long list of crimes: blasphemy, apostasy, sodomy, simony, magic and witchcraft, and the celebration of mass without ordination.¹¹ Episodes of intolerance against Jews and the Greek Orthodox communities also increased, as well as the control of prohibited books with the creation of the first printed index (approved in 1558 and published in 1559), the *Index librorum prohibitorum*.¹² Criminals and political rebels were also persecuted and arrested.

On October 1, 1555, after reigning for a few months, former inquisitor Carafa assigned precedence on matters of faith to the Holy Office over all other Roman congregations, and he personally took part in the weekly meetings, fixed on Thursdays from April 1556 onwards.¹³ Since the establishment of the Holy Office, Dominican friars had had a leading role in the repression and punishment of heretics because of their extensive experience in theology and jurisprudence as well as their way of life.¹⁴ Also, Franciscan friars, particularly the Minors Conventual, hastily attended to the inquisitorial duties, sometimes coming into conflict with the Dominicans. The order of preachers, founded in 1215 by Domenico of Guzmán, was particularly dear and

⁹ See below 201.

¹⁰ Cf. Adriano Prosperi, "Carafa, Alfonso", *DBI* 19 (1976): 473-6; On his figure: Romeo De Maio, *Alfonso Carafa. Cardinale di Napoli, 1540-1565* (Città del Vaticano, 1961).

¹¹ Some of Paul IV's decisions were not confirmed by his successors, for example, simony and sodomy returned to being under the influence of ordinary tribunals; Cf. Giovanni Romeo, *L'Inquisizione nell'Italia moderna* (Rome-Bari, 2009), 39.

¹² *Ibid.*, 15-17. On the lists of books prohibited by the Catholic Church, see the fundamental study by Jesus Martinez de Bujanda (ed.), *Index des livres interdits*, 11 vols. (Sherbrooke-Geneva, 1984-2006); Gigliola Fragnito, "L'applicazione dell'indice dei libri proibiti di Clemente VIII", *Archivio Storico Italiano* 159 (2001): 107-49; Mario Infelise, *Gli indici dei libri proibiti* (Rome-Bari, 2015).

¹³ Ludwig von Pastor, *Allgemeine Dekrete der Römischen Inquisition aus den Jahren 1555-1597* (Freiburg, 1912), 15-7; PASTOR, 263.

¹⁴ On the involvement of the Dominican order in the Roman Inquisition in the mid-sixteenth century, see Firpo, *La presa di potere dell'Inquisizione romana, 1550-1553*, chapter 4.

“beloved by the Pope,”¹⁵ who soon proved his feelings and affection by appointing Dominican friars to high ranks of the congregation.

The Dominican friar Michele Ghislieri (1504-72), who was raised to commissary general of the Holy Office by Julius III, was indeed confirmed in this position by Paul IV, who moreover elevated him to the rank of bishop of Sutri and Nepi (September 4, 1556).¹⁶ However, the pope “took care not to withdraw him entirely from his former activities,” and since “the office of commissary-general of the Inquisition could not be united to that of a bishop, Ghislieri was appointed prefect of the palace of the Inquisition.”¹⁷ This Dominican friar of humble origins, hailing from Bosco Marengo in the periphery of the Duchy of Milan, was destined for a brilliant career which led him from the front line of the defence of Catholic orthodoxy to the papal throne and then to the honours of the altar.¹⁸ Paul IV strengthened his authority even further, giving him the purple on March 15, 1557 and assigning to him the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, residence of the Dominicans in Rome until this day. Ghislieri, also known by the title of Cardinal Alessandrino because of his hometown in the province of Alessandria, became one of the most influential men at the papal court, even more than Carlo Carafa, who was the cardinal-nephew, and also the State secretary. According to Benjamin’s words, this was possible because Ghislieri and the pope “agreed on everything, and they matched one another, one heart and one soul for both”: for this reason, “almost all of the papal business was in the hands of Cardinal Alessandrino, with a small part in the hands of Cardinal Carafa.”¹⁹ Ghislieri’s ascent was sealed on December 14, 1558, when he was appointed *inquisitor maior et perpetuus*, meaning grand inquisitor for life.²⁰

As also noted by our Jewish source, another friar called Tommaso, who was acquainted with Cardinal Ghislieri, was admitted to the tribunal.²¹ Tommaso Scotti da Vigevano (1491-1566), who also belonged to the Dominican order, was summoned to

¹⁵ See below 199.

¹⁶ Paolo Alessandro Maffei, *Vita di S. Pio Quinto sommo pontefice dell’ordine de’ predicatori* (Venice, 1712), 26.

¹⁷ PASTOR, 271, see also Maffei, *Vita di S. Pio Quinto*, 27.

¹⁸ On Ghislieri as inquisitor and then pope, see Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza. Inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Turin, 1996), 146-153; Simona Feci, “Pio V, santo”. In *Enciclopedia dei papi* (Rome, 2000).

¹⁹ See below 201.

²⁰ PASTOR, 271.

²¹ See below 201.

Rome on June 1, 1553 in order to assist Commissary General Ghislieri, and after the latter became a bishop, Scotti replaced him in his previous position.²² Although the pope appointed special judges under his direct control, Scotti and Ghislieri played an important role in some famous trials, such as those against Vittore Soranzo, Giovanni Morone, and Pietro Carnesecchi.²³ With the arrest of Cardinal Morone and the annulment of Cardinal Pole's legation in England, the "spiritual" faction suffered a harsh blow.²⁴

As we have seen above, the competencies of the Roman Inquisition were strongly increased and the cardinal inquisitors "had powers to proceed against anyone whose opinions appeared to be open to suspicion, even against bishops, archbishops and patriarchs."²⁵ Among the prisoners encountered by Benjamin in the prisons at Ripetta, there were "important people and notable ministers" as well as preachers, comforters, canons, priests, friars, abbots, counts, *etc.* (see chapter 5).²⁶

The supremacy of the tribunal was also ample from a geographical point of view, since it extended outside the areas of Rome and the Papal States. Those suspected of heresy were thus taken to Rome and arrested in the Court of the Inquisition to be questioned and sentenced: our chronicler affirms that inquiries could take one or two years, but other well-known cases – as those mentioned above – proved to be of an even longer duration.²⁷ Just to mention some details about the procedures of the Inquisition, we will follow the words of our author:

Their task was to investigate and to inquire into their faith, to argue with the heretics called *eretici* in their language, and to sentence those [heretics], to arrest them and torment them with sufferings and

²² On Tommaso Scotti see: Andrea Del Col, "Commissario del Sant'Uffizio, Italia", *DSI*, vol. 1, 351; John Tedeschi, "Scotti, Tommaso", *DSI*, vol. 3, 1401-2. He was injured during the uprising of the Roman populace at the pope's death (August 18, 1559), but he survived and was then elevated to the rank of bishop of Terni in 1565, one year before his death, see Herman H. Schwedt, *Die Anfänge der Römischen Inquisition. Kardinäle und Konsultoren 1542 bis 1600* (Freiburg, 2013), 233. Hereafter, "Schwedt".

²³ The original papers of the trials were edited by Massimo Firpo and Dario Marcato: *I processi inquisitoriali di Pietro Carnesecchi (1555-1567). Edizione critica*, 2 vols. (Città del Vaticano, 1998-2000); *I processi inquisitoriali di Vittore Soranzo (1550-1558). Edizione critica*, 2 vols. (Città del Vaticano, 2004); *Il processo inquisitoriale del cardinal Giovanni Morone. Nuova edizione critica*, 3 vols. (Città del Vaticano, 2011-2015).

²⁴ On Reginald Pole and the spiritual circle under his influence at Viterbo: Thomas F. Mayer, "Pole, Reginald", *DSI*, vol. 3, 1227-9; Massimo Firpo, *Inquisizione romana e Controriforma. Studi sul cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509-1580) e il suo processo d'eresia. Nuova edizione rivista ed ampliata* (Brescia, 2005).

²⁵ PASTOR, 269.

²⁶ See below 241.

²⁷ See here, note 23.

humiliate them publicly until every one of them wished to return to their faith with all his heart. And if one of them was to rebel and his heart was heavy and [he decided] to remain within the false faith, then they would sentence him to death and burn him. This was the law of the Inquisition.²⁸

Without entering into details, scholars of the Roman Inquisition debated the procedures and practices of the congregation for a long time, speaking of a “black legend” (*leyenda nigra*) and a “pink legend” (*leyenda rosada*) of the Inquisition.²⁹ There were indeed several judgements which underlined its particular mildness in opposition to the Spanish Inquisition. The Augustinian friar Girolamo Seripando, for instance, described the tribunal under Paul III as “moderate and mild” before experiencing Gian Pietro Carafa’s inhuman methods.³⁰ Gaetano Moroni (1802-83), author of a remarkable work on the history of the Church – the *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, in 103 volumes – used apologetic tones, affirming that the Roman Inquisition was “extremely gentle and paternal,”³¹ not only in Rome, but also in the rest of the Italian states.

As Prospero reasonably warned, although the inquisitors behaved with integrity and good faith for the accused’s sake, this does not mean that they replaced a “black legend” of the Inquisition with a pink one, or that we should forget the episodes of inhumanity caused by means of the inquisitorial tribunals.³²

4.2. *The War with Spain*

According to Paul IV’s project, the reformation of the Church needed to go in two directions: first towards the inside, watching over the orthodoxy and purity of the

²⁸ See below 199.

²⁹ Cf. Prospero, “L’Inquisizione romana e gli ebrei”. In *L’Inquisizione e gli ebrei in Italia*, ed. Michele Luzzati (Rome-Bari, 1994), 75; Id., *L’Inquisizione romana. Letture e ricerche*, 27; 95.

³⁰ Cf. Firpo, *La presa di potere dell’Inquisizione romana, 1550-1553*, 56-7.

³¹ Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, vol. 36 (1846), 46: “Dolcissima e paterna fu sempre la condotta tenuta dal tribunale di Roma”.

³² Prospero, *L’Inquisizione romana. Letture e ricerche*, 27: “La scoperta che i giudici di quel tribunale agivano sforzandosi in buona fede di fare correttamente il loro lavoro, e che spesso riuscivano ad arginare ondate di sospetti e di intolleranza, che la loro procedura era rigorosa, che non desideravano far soffrire gli imputati, non significa sostituire alla «*leyenda nigra*» una «*leyenda rosada*» né dimenticare la disumanità delle cose che avvennero per opera di quegli uomini e di quei tribunali. Non c’è più niente di demoniaco, tutto appare fin troppo umano, ma non per questo cambia la disumana realtà di una lunga pagina della storia passata”.

millennial institution, then towards the outside, controlling the individuals not belonging to Christianity (such as the Jews) and repressing the heretical movements.

Pope Carafa's anti-imperial and anti-Spanish feelings further enhanced when Emperor Charles V, represented by his brother Ferdinand, signed a peace treaty with the Lutheran princes at Augsburg (September 25, 1555).³³ The solution to the wars of religion which shattered the first half of the sixteenth century was thus expressed by the principle *cuius regio, eius religio* ("whose realm, his religion") which allowed the princes and the free cities of the Holy Roman Empire to choose between Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism as the official confession of their states.³⁴ The reconciliation policy the emperor desired was interpreted by the pope as a clear incentive for the spread of Lutheranism, and so an attack on the Catholic Church. Moreover, in Charles's abdication in favour of his brother Ferdinand without having first received permission from Rome, Paul IV "saw [...] a serious encroachment upon his rights."³⁵

Besides these political and religious reasons, the pope's hatred was also strictly personal, since in 1549 Charles V had claimed a veto over Carafa's candidacy as archbishop of Naples as recounted by the pope himself to the Venetian ambassador Bernardo Navagero.³⁶ Moreover, the emperor had vainly tried to prevent his election to the throne of St. Peter. Benjamin curiously connects the cause of his hatred to an episode that had occurred in Naples, when Charles V had allegedly killed the pope's brother with a sword "as was the custom for the rebels of the reign."³⁷ This information is not confirmed by any other source.

As soon as Carafa came to power, he became aware of the need to strengthen the anti-Hapsburg coalition, although Charles V – in the words of the chronicler – was "old and sick, closed in the rooms of his castle in Augusta."³⁸ The emperor was actually only fifty-five years old, but after a very long reign over the "empire in which the sun

³³ On Gian Pietro Carafa's hatred towards the Spanish and, in particular, Charles V, see Massimo Firpo, *Inquisizione romana e Controriforma. Studi sul cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509-1580) e il suo processo d'eresia*, 313-9; Elena Bonora, *Aspettando l'imperatore. Principi italiani tra il papa e Carlo V* (Turin, 2014).

³⁴ For a summary on the wars of religion in the sixteenth century, see Corrado Vivanti, *Le guerre di religione nel Cinquecento* (Rome-Bari, 2007).

³⁵ PASTOR, 110.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 447.

³⁷ See below 201.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

never sets”³⁹ and many wars, Charles V “was worn out by trouble and illness,”⁴⁰ and between 1555 and 1556 he abdicated first the government of Netherlands and then the kingdom of Spain in favour of his son, Philip II. In 1556, he also abdicated the empire in favour of his brother Ferdinand I. Until his death in 1558, Charles V spent his last years not in Augsburg, as reported by Benjamin, but in the monastery of Yuste in Extremadura, Spain, where he retired and died.⁴¹ A series of events beginning with the theft of two papal galleys in the port of Civitavecchia by means of the Sforza di Santa Fiora family, supporters of the emperor, caused the consolidation of the two opposing factions: from one side, the pope and the King Henry II of France, the Neapolitan exiles faithful to France, and the opponents of the Medici in Florence; from the other side, Charles V, represented by Philip II and Ferdinand I, and the noble Roman Orsini, Colonna, and Cesarini families, supporters of the Spanish party.⁴²

A clash was inevitable, even more so given that now Paul IV held “the title of pope, his rage was burning inside him against him [Charles] and also his son Philip and all the ministers and those below them following their commands who were under his government.”⁴³ In 1556, Cardinal Sforza di Santa Fiora and Camillo Colonna were arrested, while his relative, Marcantonio Colonna, managed to escape first to Paliano, then to Naples. Notwithstanding the pope’s order, Giovanna d’Aragona, mother of Marcantonio (and, Benjamin adds, his wife and daughters), left Rome in disguise “wearing worn and patched [old] dresses and old shoes on their feet,”⁴⁴ taking advantage of the celebrations held in honour of Giovanni Carafa’s appointment as captain general of the Church.⁴⁵ Giuliano Cesarini, suspected of being an accomplice of this escape, was also arrested and taken to the prisons at Castel Sant’Angelo, while the captain of Porta San Lorenzo, through which the women had escaped, was hanged and the soldiers of the guard were condemned to row in the galleys.⁴⁶ Marcantonio was thus declared excommunicated and his possessions were confiscated: on May 10, 1556, the

³⁹ The Spanish expression *el imperio en el que nunca se pone el sol* refers to the geographical extension of the Holy Roman Empire in the age of Charles V.

⁴⁰ PASTOR, 110.

⁴¹ Cf. Stefania Pastore, *Il Vangelo e la spada. L’Inquisizione di Castiglia e i suoi critici, 1460-1598* (Rome, 2003), 3.

⁴² Alberto Aubert, “Paolo IV, papa”, *DBI* 81 (2014): 107-13.

⁴³ See below 203.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ PASTOR, 110-1.

⁴⁶ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1038, Rome, January 21, 1556, fol. 121r.

pope bestowed the fortress of Paliano, which belonged to Marcantonio, on his nephew Giovanni Carafa, Count of Montorio, who took the title of Duke of Paliano.⁴⁷ Also, Cesarini's dominions such as "the Rocca Sinibalda in the countryside and Civitanova – the land of his residency – and Montecosaro"⁴⁸ were redistributed: Rocca Sinibalda came back under the authority of the Holy See, while the fiscal Desiderio Guidoni was sent as commissary to take control of Civitanova and Montecosaro, helped by his lieutenant Leandro Buonamici.⁴⁹

Paliano and other cities such as Genazzano and Rocca di Papa, which had previously been under Colonna's supremacy, were seized by the papal army and further fortified, as recalled by our chronicler:

When Marcantonio heard that the Pope had taken his land and sent his army from his lands in the Kingdom of Naples, he and the company of his friends from the Colonna [faction] left Rome and went to fight the guards of those cities, but they did not [succeed] because the Pope ordered the ministers of the lands under his power to fight him [Marcantonio] fiercely.⁵⁰

Notwithstanding the many opportunities offered by the Spanish Crown (in the person of the viceroy of Naples, the Duke of Alba) to avoid the war, the pope did not have any intention of renouncing his fight against Charles V and Philip II, who were accused of being "heretical, schismatics and damned by God, from the seed of Jews and *marranos*, dregs of the world."⁵¹ The die was cast and both formations were strengthening their alliances before the impending struggle. Carlo Carafa was indeed sent to France on an important diplomatic mission, sailing from Civitavecchia on May 21 with 10,000 *scudi* in cash and a company made up of 250 people.⁵²

⁴⁷ PASTOR, 121.

⁴⁸ See below 205.

⁴⁹ Alfredo Maulo, "La disavventura del signor Giuliano, padrone di Montecosaro". In *Montecosaro. Percorsi di storia* (Montecosaro, 1995), 9.

⁵⁰ See below 205.

⁵¹ These words pronounced by Paul IV were reported by the Venetian ambassador Bernardo Navagero in his *Relazione di Roma* (1558): "Di questa cupidità e permissione di eretici dell'Imperatore, ne sono piene tutte le mie lettere; siccome anco son piene, che mai parlava di Sua Maestà e della nazione spagnuola, che non li chiamasse eretici, scismatici e maledetti da Dio, seme di giudei e di marrani, feccia del mondo [...]"; Cf. Bernardo Navagero, *Relazione di Roma*, ed. Eugenio Albèri, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, 2nd series, vol. 3 (Florence, 1846), 388-9.

⁵² PASTOR, 124. Our author was clearly mistaken, as he confused Michele Ghislieri with Carlo Carafa as being responsible for the diplomatic mission in France: "A great challenge for *fra* Michele came in the month of March [5]317 [1557], when he made an attempt to unite the Pope with the King of France⁵² in order to fight King Philip of Spain, son of Emperor Charles V" (see below 201).

Colonna “asked for help King Philip’s lieutenant in Naples, who was the Duke of Alba, and he begged him to help him with the permission of the king.”⁵³ After having gathered the troops at the borders of the Papal States, the Duke of Alba and his generals, among whom was Marcantonio Colonna, crossed them in the first days of September 1556 and captured many cities south of Rome (Frosinone, Veroli, Bauco, Anagni, Piperno, Terracina, Acuto, Fumone, Ferentino, and Alatri).⁵⁴ As reported by our author, “they chased them and conquered many cities which belonged to the pope and captured the passageways which were on the shore of Rome.”⁵⁵ A negotiation was organised between the factions, but without success, so on November 18, after a siege of many days, Ostia – “which is a region of Rome near the sea” where “grain, wine, and oil, directed to Rome”⁵⁶ arrived from various places – was conquered by the Spanish army, depriving the Eternal City of its connection with the sea.

As recounted by Benjamin, the Jews living in the cities conquered by the Duke of Alba were not spared from the insolence of the troops as “they were captured,” while their money and assets were taken so they were left “without anything” and “wandering.”⁵⁷ When Cardinal Carafa returned from France, an incredible state of confusion was also prevailing in Rome. The diplomatic mission aimed at reinforcing the previous pacts between the pope and Henry II and to send soldiers and money to Italy had had a positive result. It was thus that the King of France sent “15,000 infantrymen and 4,000 horsemen from France, Switzerland, and Gascony”⁵⁸ commanded by the Duke of Guise. The first 15,000 from Gascony sailed with Carlo Carafa and arrived in Rome on September 15, 1556, causing fear and concern among the inhabitants of the Eternal City so that, quoting from Massarelli’s diary, Pastor wrote that “the women have received permission to leave the city, while the men, who are obliged to remain, are bringing all their valuables into a place of safety.”⁵⁹ Benjamin states that the French army only arrived in spring 1557, “passing by Lombardia, and from Lombardia to

⁵³ See below 205.

⁵⁴ PASTOR, 139.

⁵⁵ See below 205.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁵⁹ PASTOR, 141. Nores reported that the Duke of Guise was followed by 12,000 infantrymen, made up of 5,000 Frenchmen and 7,000 men from Switzerland and Gascony. The cavalry was composed of 400 men-at-arms and 800 cavalymen, see Pietro Nores, *Storia della guerra di Paolo IV contro gli Spagnoli*, 161.

Romagna, and from there to the Marca.”⁶⁰ The Duchy of Milan and the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza, ruled at that time by the Farnese and Gonzaga families, were indeed under the power of Charles V.

For his part, the pope appointed ten cardinals “from the French group” and “who hated the Emperor”⁶¹ in the consistory held on March 15, 1557; their names were Taddeo Gaddi, Antonio Trivulzio, Lorenzo Strozzi, Virgilio Rosario, Jean Bertrand, Michele Ghislieri, Clemente Dolera, Alfonso Carafa, Vitellozzo Vitelli, and Giovanni Battista Consiglieri.⁶² However, the election of the prelates and the Duke of Guise’s reports concerning the lack of money for the troops, supplies for the army, and the disorganisation in Rome did not satisfy Henry II’s wishes.⁶³

The army was located in Romagna and the Marca – which were under the pope’s supremacy – “in order to enter the Kingdom of Naples through the territory of the Tronto River.”⁶⁴ As also noted by Sonne, the information provided by the Hebrew chronicle reveals the author’s intricate knowledge of the military strategy adopted by both formations during the war.⁶⁵ The Duke of Guise’s goal was to remove the Duke of Alba’s army from the environs of Rome, while the latter prepared infantry and cavalry

in expectation of a war, which took place in the territory of the Tronto River around Civitella, and continued for four months, because the army of the Pope and the French crossed the river and entered the border of the Kingdom of Naples under the power of King Philip. They conquered small cities and the town of Civitella was under siege.⁶⁶

From April 24 onwards, the city of Civitella del Tronto, located on the frontier between the Marca (belonging to the Papal States) and the Kingdom of Naples, resisted the siege thanks to its fortification by the Duke of Alba and the “enthusiasm of the inhabitants [...] for the defense.”⁶⁷ The war continued weakly for several months, until, on August 23, the Duke of Guise was ordered to return to France after the Spanish army defeated the French on another war front at St. Quintin (August 10, 1557). “Many [soldiers] from both the armies fell in the battle” at Civitella del Tronto and “among the French, many

⁶⁰ According to Nores, they arrived in the first days of January (p. 161).

⁶¹ See below 207.

⁶² Konrad Eubel et al., *Hierarchia catholica Medii et Recentiori Aevii*, vol. 3 (Münster, 1923), 35-6.

⁶³ Cf. Bernardo Navagero, *Relazione di Roma*, 397.

⁶⁴ See below 207.

⁶⁵ SONNE, 53, note 41.

⁶⁶ See below 207.

⁶⁷ PASTOR, 158.

died, including many from diseases,”⁶⁸ our chronicler informs us. Moreover, this time the Jews who were dwelling in those territories “were injured, humiliated by the armies and some of them were taken as prisoners.”⁶⁹ When the Duke of Guise left with the remainder of his troops, Paul IV was forced, despite his misgivings, to enter into peace negotiations to avoid a siege in Rome: on September 8, Cardinal Carafa, accompanied by Cardinals Sforza di Santa Fiora and Vitelli and thanks the mediation of Venice, met the Duke of Alba at Cave to reach an agreement. The treaty was finally signed on September 12 – as reported by Benjamin – settling the following conditions: “that each and every man would return to his property; that the cities which they had taken during the war would be returned to those to whom they belonged; and that all the ministers imprisoned by the pope would be released.”⁷⁰ Moreover, Philip II had to make an act of submission to the pope, while the latter “promised to receive the Spanish king once more as a good and obedient son, to give up the French alliance, and to remain neutral.”⁷¹ The cities conquered by the Duke of Alba and his army had to be returned to the pope, and the punishments imposed on the rebels of the Papal States had to be withdrawn, with the exception of those pronounced against Marcantonio Colonna, the Marquis of Bagno, and some others. According to a secret treaty signed by Carlo Carafa, unbeknownst to his uncle the pope, Marcantonio Colonna was saved, while Paliano, after Giovanni Carafa was compensated for the loss, had to be monitored by one of King Philip’s men.⁷²

After the consistory held on September 20, all the people who had been imprisoned in Castel Sant’Angelo for their support of Marcantonio Colonna and the Spanish kings were released from captivity, and among them – Benjamin underlines – was also Giuliano Cesarini.⁷³ He reacquired his fiefs only later, and through a *breve* issued on November 10, 1560, Pius IV also assigned him the title of Marquis.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ See below 207.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ A complete list of the conditions which led to the agreement signed on September 12, 1557 is in Nores, *Storia della guerra di Paolo IV contro gli Spagnoli*, 215-7.

⁷¹ PASTOR, 167.

⁷² Franca Petrucci, “Colonna, Marcantonio”, *DBI* 27 (1982): 368-83. Paliano was finally given in the hands of a certain Bernardino Carbone who had to take an oath of allegiance both to Paul IV and Philip II, see Nores, *Storia della guerra di Paolo IV contro gli Spagnoli*, 216.

⁷³ See below 209.

⁷⁴ Dante Cecchi, “Civitanova feudo della nobile famiglia Cesarini”, *Studi maceratesi* 16 (1982), 219.

Just two days after the signing of the peace treaty at Cave, another disaster hit the inhabitants of Rome: the Tiber broke its banks and flooded, inundating not only the city but also “the nearby cities which were close to the river.”⁷⁵ Houses, vineyards, fields – everything was destroyed: the inhabitants who sought refuge on the roofs of their houses were carried away by the river, “the low houses and the basements were filled with water, several people and animals died,” and, according to our source, only the Jews and their livestock were miraculously untouched by the catastrophe.⁷⁶ There are numerous chronicles and descriptions of this terrible event: Andrea Bacci highlighted its exceptionality, saying that the inundation lasted for four or five days and the inhabitants of some parts of Rome were forced to move by boat.⁷⁷ This is also confirmed by Benjamin, who stresses that the water also reached “the stairs of the courtyard of St. Peter’s, making the city of Rome a basin without fish so that it was necessary to travel in little boats and skiffs in order to move from house to house and from neighbourhood to neighbourhood.”⁷⁸

Huge and heavy damages were observed after the inundation: some bridges were completely destroyed; churches, buildings, houses, and possessions were ruined or seriously damaged; nine mills were also destroyed, and mud covered all the streets and parts of the city. An *avviso* of September 18, 1557 reports that it was not possible to harvest the grapes and that the inundation had ruined grain, fodder, rye-grass, wine, and other foodstuffs, causing damage of inestimable value.⁷⁹ Hence, “a famine came over the land for many days so that grain, oil, wine, and other foodstuffs had to be imported from far-away lands, because the millstones were also destroyed in the flood.”⁸⁰

The impossibility of finding bread in Rome and, more generally, the spread of famine is constantly highlighted in many *avvisi di Roma* from September 1557 until

⁷⁵ See below 209.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* This is also emphasised in the opening of the narration of the flood: “And now observe the miracle which was in the country in those days [...]”.

⁷⁷ Andrea Bacci, *Del Tevere, della natura, e bontà dell'acqua, e delle inondazioni, dedicato all'Inclito Popolo Romano* (Venice, 1576), 255: “si ancora rispetto allo spatio, che durò, perché, dove ordinariamente queste inondationi solevano calare in termini di trenta, ò cinquanta hore, al più lungo, questa durò li quattro, e cinque giorni, che in molti luoghi per Roma convenne andar sempre per barchette”.

⁷⁸ See below 209.

⁷⁹ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1038, Rome, September 18, 1557, fol. 265r: “Tutte le vigne dove ha mondato non si possono vendemiar, et l’uva se infragida. Del grano, biada, oglio, vino, et molte altre cose quanto sia il danno, non si può estimar. In modo che hora ogni pasto bisogna andar alla taverna, sin che le cose pigliano forma che possa gir per la Città et comprar altrove”.

⁸⁰ See below 209.

June 1558.⁸¹ The descriptions of those terrible months are in evident contrast with those of the sumptuous banquets given by the pope in May 1558 for the celebration of his fourth year of election:

The pope gave two banquets for cardinals and ambassadors from France, Venice, Florence, and Urbino [...] the first banquet was on [May] 23 in memory of his election. The second one was on [May] 26 in memory of his coronation. The first time, thirty cardinals were present, and the second twenty-eight. The service was extremely sumptuous, because besides the food there were some statues, longer than an arm's length, which were made of sugar; they were painted and golden. They had some perfumes in their hands and some of them jetted out scented water. Despite it being noon, lighted candles were on the table. [...] Fruit jelly and other condiments were very delicious [...] all of this was accompanied by other delicacies [...]⁸²

Because of the serious damages caused by the inundation, the peace treaty signed at Cave was only announced in the consistory on September 20, after the Duke of Alba had come to Rome the previous day to beg pardon from Paul IV and reconcile with him.⁸³ The inhabitants of Rome could finally rejoice at the end of the war, with the exception of the Jews – according to Benjamin – because the intention of the Church “was to oppress and humiliate them following the end of the war.”⁸⁴ We will come back to this a little further on.

4.3. The Exile of the Carafas and the Creation of the Sacro Consiglio.

The end of the war with Spain marked an overturning of political alliances. While the Duke of Alba was solemnly received in Carlo Carafa's apartments, the Duke of Guise – emissary of the King of France – was dismissed with detachment.⁸⁵ During his diplomatic mission to sign the peace treaty between Spain and France, the cardinal-nephew, who was predominantly responsible for his uncle's anti-Hapsburg policy – as he himself claimed –, tried to build important and useful acquaintances for his own ambitious projects.⁸⁶

⁸¹ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1038, fols. 265r; 275r; 287r; 289r; 291r; 292r; 319r.

⁸² *Ibid.*, May 28, 1558, fol. 311r. The translation from Italian is mine.

⁸³ PASTOR, 170-1.

⁸⁴ See below 209.

⁸⁵ Adriano Prospero, “Carafa, Carlo”, *DBI* 19 (1976): 497-509.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

In opposition to the asceticism practiced by his inflexible uncle, Carlo Carafa was known for the hunts, games, and pleasures which characterised his life.⁸⁷ As the pope's age increased and the time for choosing his ideal successor approached, the enemies of the cardinal-nephew arose and denounced his libertinism and profligate behaviour to his uncle. Beginning in August 1558, several episodes involving Carlo Carafa – including a fight which happened on January 1, 1559, between Marcello Capece and Giovanni Ludovico, Cardinal da Carpi's brother, over a courtesan called Martuccia⁸⁸ – led the pope to make serious provisions. Once gathered at the weekly Thursday meeting of the Inquisition, Paul IV complained to the cardinals who had concealed this and other cases from him and compelled them to inform him about all the “disorders” committed by his nephew.⁸⁹ First the denunciation of a Theatine (whose name is not known) and then a complaint from the Florentine ambassador Gianfigliuzzi – to whom Carlo Carafa had denied a papal audience – opened Paul IV's eyes, who began inquiries on his account. The information reported by the Theatine Geremia Isachino, confirmed by Cardinal Ghislieri (who was also reproached because he had not informed the pope of the scandals), constituted sufficient proof.

It was thus that the pope executed a series of punishments, first twice refusing to give audience to his nephew (January 9 and 12, 1559), depriving him of the apartment in Torre Borgia (January 17), and then denying him attendance at the consistory (January 23).⁹⁰ On January 27, 1559 all the cardinals, with the exception of Carlo, gathered in consistory because the pope had something to say. According to Pastor's vivid and passionate account, Paul IV “called God to witness that he had not had the faintest idea of the wicked lives of his relatives, that he had had a ‘veil before his eyes’ since the beginning of his reign, and had always been deceived; he would now, however, cleanse his house.”⁹¹ On that day, he ordered all his nephews – with the exception of the young cardinal Alfonso – to leave Rome within twelve days and deprived them of their offices and possessions. In this way, Carlo lost everything (the

⁸⁷ Many *avvisi* report his interest in hunting: BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1038, October 15, 1558, fol. 344v; December 24, 1558, fol. 354r; December 3, 1558, fol. 355v; January 7, 1559, fol. 362r. According to the *avviso* of December 3, 1558, the Carafa family possessed more than 1,300 dogs; Cardinal Carafa owned 400 of them.

⁸⁸ The episode is recounted in the diary of the Roman citizen Vincenzo Bello; see for instance ASV, *Fondo Borghese*, serie I, n. 633; ASV, *Fondo Pio*, n. 29, fols. 199v-200r.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 199v.

⁹⁰ PASTOR, 224.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 225.

legation of Bologna and above all his supremacy in the political affairs of the Holy See and the State of the Church) but the title of cardinal; Giovanni was deprived of the title of captain general of the Church and other offices, but was allowed to retain the Duchy of Paliano; Antonio lost control of the Leonine City and the command of the papal guards, and Diomede, Giovanni's son, was deprived of his office of castellan of Castel Sant'Angelo.⁹² Benjamin summarises all this simply saying that "the pope was angry with Cardinal Carafa, his brother and relatives, because God had had mercy on us and avenged us"; for this reason, he "expelled them from his court and from Rome and removed their authority from their hands."⁹³ Before the expiration of the twelve days' time limit for leaving Rome that the pope had imposed on his nephews, Carlo was exiled to Civita Lavinia, while his brothers Antonio and Giovanni, with their wives and children, repaired to their fiefs of Montebello and Gallese.

Now that the pope's nephews had left, the council of state had to be reorganised. The noble Roman Camillo Orsini⁹⁴ was given the command of the papal army, and Ferrante di Sangro was appointed lieutenant to assist him.⁹⁵ At the same time, the pope ordered the secretary of state, the secretary of the *brevi*, the deputy of the Apostolic Chamber, the governor of Rome, and the datary that they were no longer to obey Cardinal Carafa and his other nephews.⁹⁶ Cardinal Vitelli, who was close to Carafa brothers, was also ordered to leave his apartments in the Vatican within two hours, and the pope ordered a box to be made through which the cardinals and other people in the Vatican could secretly inform him about things that were going on.⁹⁷

The pope soon took steps to bridge the lack of power caused by the exile of his nephews. With the issue of the *motu proprio Cum nos ingravescente* (February 3, 1559), which ratified the decisions taken in the consistory of January 31, the pope created a new institution for the government of the Church called *Sacro Consiglio*.⁹⁸ The administrative body was led by "three counsellors, trustworthy and well-known

⁹² *Ibid.*, 226.

⁹³ See below 213.

⁹⁴ Cf. Giampiero Brunelli, "Orsini, Camillo", *DBI* 79 (2013): 626-9.

⁹⁵ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, Rome, January 28, 1559, fol. 4r.

⁹⁶ *Id.*, *Il Sacro Consiglio di Paolo IV* (Rome, 2011), 51.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 4v.

⁹⁸ The *motu proprio* is preserved under the title of *De deputatione Reverendissimorum Tranen. et de Spoletino ad audiendas et decidendas omnes causas totius Status Ecclesiastici*, in *Bullae omnes, Brevia, & Motus proprii sanctissimi domini nostri D. Pauli divina providentia Papae Quarti* (Rome, 1559), fol. 46r. On this particular institution and its competencies, see Brunelli, *Il Sacro Consiglio di Paolo IV*.

men, two of whom were cardinals,”⁹⁹ that is to say the above-mentioned Camillo Orsini and Cardinals Bernardino Scotti and Virgilio Rosario.¹⁰⁰ The three officials, who were also assisted by Alvise Lippomano, Ugo Boncompagni, Salvatore Pacino, and the secretary Angelo Massarelli, were given ample duties and authority all over the territory of Rome and the remainder of the Papal States, including the functions of the supreme court and justice.¹⁰¹

The first task on the agenda of the new council was, as Sonne also rightly noted, “to clean the offices from the men of the faction and friends of Cardinal Carafa.”¹⁰² This “cleaning action” does not only have a metaphorical meaning, as the same pontiff “went to the rooms in Torre Borgia where [Cardinal] Carafa had been before and poured holy water there, saying that they needed to be blessed, as evil spirits dwelt there.”¹⁰³

The climate of austerity was thus restored, not without complaints in the court about Paul IV’s desire to forbid hunts, masquerades, and balls, so that at the end of January 1559 – approaching the feast of Carnival – the anonymous authors of the *avvisi* lamented that seemed to be “in the middle of Lent.”¹⁰⁴ The reorganisation of the administration and justice system affected the complex bureaucracy of the State of the Church from the centre to its periphery. The *Sacro Consiglio* had “power and authority [...] to issue decrees [for] the governors of the provinces, and to place and summon other people under them as they saw fit.”¹⁰⁵ The vice-legates, governors, and officials of the provinces appointed by Carlo Carafa were indeed removed from their offices and replaced by men trusted by the pope. This also happened in the Marca, as Benjamin recounts in the fifth chapter of his chronicle.

⁹⁹ See below 215.

¹⁰⁰ Camillo Orsini died on April 8, 1559 and was replaced by Giovan Antonio Orsini. Sonne confused Cardinal Rosario with Cardinal Reuman, cf. SONNE, 57, note 5.

¹⁰¹ Brunelli, *Il Sacro Consiglio di Paolo IV*, 52.

¹⁰² SONNE, 57, note 6.

¹⁰³ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, February 4, 1559, fol. 8r: “[...] Sua Santità andando nelle stanze di Torre Borgia dove stava Caraffa, gli diede l’acqua santa, dicendo che havevano bisogno di esser benedette, poi che vi havevano habitato dentro i spiriti del demonio”. The English translation is mine.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, January 21, 1559, fol. 4r: “La settimana passata si cominciò a fare la caccia de porci singiali et lepori, et si doveva farne delle altre al solito, ma tutto è stato prohibito, et così anche il mascararsi, et il balare, di modo che qui si sta senza una allegrezza al mondo, come s’el fusse de meza quaresima”. The English translation is mine.

¹⁰⁵ See below 215.

4.4. *The Government of the Marca and Its Jews (1557-9)*

As we have seen in the first chapter, the State of the Church (or Papal States) constituted an extensive territory. The Marca, also known as the Marca d'Ancona – as it was called before the Congress of Vienna (1814-5) – occupied a large part of the Papal States and was strongly characterised by an irregular urban development that slowed its process of regionalisation.¹⁰⁶

Though we could not find poles comparable to Rome, centres such as Macerata, which was where the governor and the bishop resided, and Ancona (from the nineteenth century on) were capable of raising themselves as important centres in the region.¹⁰⁷ From the sixteenth century onwards, many cities (*immediatae subiectae*) obtained permission to establish political-administrative districts with their own governors, directly subject to Rome.¹⁰⁸ The Holy See did not send a cardinal legate as in the past, but a simple prelate, who took the title of governor-general of the Marca, to be resident in Macerata, and whose authority was greater than that of the other governors in the region because he administered an entire province.¹⁰⁹ The power of the governor-general of the Marca extended from the issuing of general decrees to the jurisdiction of the territory, but he could also intervene in judiciary matters concerning the administration of those cities under the other governors' dominion. The governor-general of the Marca therefore had supremacy over the province and was responsible for the control of the entire administration. A lieutenant was appointed to assist him in his office.

After this brief clarification, we can look again at the information reported by our Benjamin, trying to better contextualise the episodes narrated in his chronicle. “In the fourth year of Paul IV's pontificate” – Benjamin writes in the opening of the fifth chapter of the chronicle – “on 7th Shevat [5]319 [January 15, 1559] [...] Cesare

¹⁰⁶ For a reflection on the political and territorial structure of the Marca and its functioning, see Dante Cecchi, “Dagli Stati signorili all'età postunitaria: le giurisdizioni amministrative in età moderna”. In *Economia e società: le Marche tra XV e XX secolo*, ed. Sergio Anselmi (Bologna, 1978), 61-92; Bandino Giacomo Zenobi, “I caratteri della distrettuazione di antico regime nella Marca pontificia”. In *Scritti storici in memoria di Enzo Piscitelli*, ed. Renzo Paci (Macerata, 1982), 61-106; Roberto Volpi, *Le regioni introvabili. Centralizzazione e regionalizzazione dello Stato pontificio* (Bologna, 1983); Donatella Fioretti, “Persistenze e mutamenti dal periodo giacobino all'Unità”. In *Storia d'Italia. Le Regioni*, vol. 6, *Le Marche*, ed. Sergio Anselmi (Turin, 1987), 36-119.

¹⁰⁷ On this aspect, see Rosario Pavia and Ercole Sori, *Ancona* (Rome-Bari, 1990).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Fioretti, “Persistenze e mutamenti dal periodo giacobino all'Unità”, 38.

¹⁰⁹ Pio Cartechini (ed.), *Guida dell'Archivio di Stato di Macerata* (Rome, 1983), 696-7; *Id.*, “Legati e governatori generali della Marca”. In *La Marca e le sue istituzioni*, 80-1.

Brancaccio from Naples, who was relative of the Carafa was governor of the Marca.”¹¹⁰ Brancaccio, born into one of the most illustrious families of the Neapolitan aristocracy, completed his studies in law (also achieving the title of notary) and Paul IV summoned him to Rome in 1555, after he had fled to France where he had been in the service of the king since at least 1552.¹¹¹

Thanks to the protection offered by Cardinal Carafa, Brancaccio was appointed governor of Rome and protonotary apostolic by Paul IV in 1556, although he did not hold any ecclesiastical office; his contemporaries depicted him as corrupt, a sodomite, and an assassin.¹¹² After a few months of government in Rome, the pope sent him to France as a messenger to Henry II’s court. He returned to Rome in August 1557, and one month later he was appointed superintendent of the State of the Church, among the closest collaborators of Carlo Carafa. Because of the French defeat at St. Quintin (August 10, 1557) and the coming of the Duke of Alba to Rome, as a rebel from the kingdom of Naples Brancaccio could not be safe in Rome: for this reason, on October 22, Cardinal Carafa appointed him governor-general of the Marca and transferred him to Macerata. The archive of the governor of the Marca in the State Archives of Macerata only begins in 1616, and no information above the previous documentation is known.¹¹³ However, some details could emerge from the analysis of the local archives preserved in the many cities which were under the authority of the governor-general of the Marca. In the historical archives of Civitanova Marche, for instance, it is possible to find a collection of letters and orders from 1556 to 1808 concerning the governor’s office and the administration of the city.¹¹⁴ There are no shortage of provisions against the Jews, particularly against usury. Yet at the beginning of 1557, Brancaccio’s predecessor, Camillo Mentuati, bishop of Satriano and governor of the Marca, ordered the region’s Jewish moneylenders to take their account books to Macerata, where the governor’s residence was, within ten days on penalty of the annulment of all of their credits.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ See below 211. On his figure: BAV, *Borg. Lat.* 884, fol. 95r; Roberto Zapperi, “Brancaccio, Cesare”, *DBI* 13 (1971): 769-73; Christopher Weber, *Legati e governatori dello Stato pontificio, 1550-1809* (Rome, 1994), 285.

¹¹¹ Cf. Zapperi, “Brancaccio, Cesare”.

¹¹² René Ancel, *Nonciatures de France*, vol. 1 *Nonciatures de Paul IV avec les dernières années de Jules III et de Marcel II, Nonciatures de Sebastiano Gualterio et de Cesare Brancatio* (Paris, 1909), xxv-xxxiii.

¹¹³ Pio Cartechini (ed.), *Guida dell’Archivio di Stato di Macerata*, 697.

¹¹⁴ ASCM, *Lettere patenti ed ordini dei superiori (1556-1808)*, 267.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, February 5, 1557, fols. 35v-36r.

Moreover, the order assigned supreme authority to the governor-general of the Marca in this matter, preventing local authorities or judges from intervening in civil lawsuits between Jews and Christians.¹¹⁶

A further step was taken in September of the same year: Cardinal Carafa imposed a limit of 12 % on the interest rate – which was not specified in *Cum nimis absurdum*, contrary to what Benjamin stressed in the first chapter of his chronicle – in order “to restrain the insatiable voraciousness of the Jews” (see doc. 2).¹¹⁷ The prohibition of collecting credits at a higher interest rate was valid both for the bonds signed before the publication of the bull (July 14, 1555) and afterwards. This episode is also recorded by Benjamin at the end of the narration of the war with Spain:

But joy was not promised to the sons of our people, because their [of the Christians, the Church] intention was to oppress and humiliate them following the end of the war. So they returned to make their lives bitter with the issuing of the rules contained in the bull in order to take payments as ordered to the treasury of the Pope and his relatives. In addition, they also seized their assets, took their treasures, and despised them and left them with nothing. The oppressors chased the Jews to look at their old bills to return the change of their interests, which were collected at more than the rate of 12% in such a way that the returned money became a large account. The Jews were deprived of all their possessions and remained with nothing but their bodies and a few of the bonds that were hard for them to collect.¹¹⁸

These actions against Jewish moneylenders in the Marca were not new, but had already begun a couple of years before, when Paul IV came to power and appointed Vincenzo Falangonio – as we have seen before – commissioner over the Jews and the Portuguese *marranos* of Ancona.¹¹⁹

In August 1555, following the first confiscations of the *marranos*' assets, the commissioner invited the Christian citizens of Ancona and the Marca to denounce damages and injuries received from the Jews of the land. Moreover, notaries were requested to deliver all the documents concerning moneylending and businesses which had been established between Christians and Jews over the last twenty years within six

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, March 26, 1557, fol. 38r.

¹¹⁷ ASMC, *Miscellanea notarile*, b. 3, fasc. 3, September 21, 1557. The translation is mine.

¹¹⁸ See below 209.

¹¹⁹ Renata Segre, “L’espulsione degli ebrei dalle Marche”, trans. Luca Andreoni, in *Marca/Marche. Rivista di storia regionale* 3, eds. Luca Andreoni and Marco Moroni (2014), 155-68.

days in order to check the bonds' lawfulness.¹²⁰ The Jews tried to retrieve their account back during Paul IV's pontificate, and during Brancaccio's government, as it is possible to see from Benjamin's account, anti-Jewish provisions strongly increased. Since Brancaccio also wanted to destroy "the remainder of the assets belonging to the Jews who lived in the Marca that have survived the previous persecutions,"¹²¹ he did not delay in expressing his intentions.

The chronicler indeed writes that at the end of 1558, the governor ordered all the Jews of the province to follow him to Ancona: many fled because they were afraid, but others went after him, and once they arrived there, he ordered them to pay the remainder of a fine imposed on the Jews "from the time of the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo," that is to say Ranuccio Farnese, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria, who was legate in the Marca between 1546 and 1547.¹²²

The *Universitas Hebraeorum* of the Marca indeed appears at the top of the list of communities paying the *vigesima* in the Papal States in 1555.¹²³ The *vigesima*, first imposed by Pius II in 1459, "was to run for a Triennium (a three year period), based on an assessment of *beni et reddito*, and payment was to be in semi-annual installments."¹²⁴ Taxation was reformed over the course of a century, and from Paul III's pontificate onwards the Jews were compelled to pay an annual *vigesima*; moreover, another extraordinary levy was added in 1542.¹²⁵ The *vigesima* was again extended to three years, as Paul III "had concluded that a steady revenue would be more profitable and secure over a long period than the perilous venture of an occasional grand mulct."¹²⁶

A new system of direct taxes – the triennial subsidy (*sussidio triennale*) – was imposed by the Church on all the cities, feuds, and territories administered by religious congregations. Besides this communal fee, the Jews were also required to pay the above-mentioned *vigesima* as well as other taxes. For example, in 1554 Paul III imposed a tax of 2,500 *scudi* on the 115 synagogues of the Papal States for the

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 158.

¹²¹ See below 211.

¹²² He was given the legation of the Marca and Ancona in 1546; Julius III reconfirmed the legation of the Marca in 1550; Cf. Fragnito, "Farnese, Ranuccio", *DBI* 45 (1995): 148-60.

¹²³ Cf. Segre, "L'espulsione degli ebrei delle Marche", 158.

¹²⁴ Kenneth Stow, *Taxation, Community and State. The Jews and the Fiscal Foundations of the Early Modern Papal State* (Stuttgart, 1982), 5.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 10-1.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

maintenance of the Casa dei Catecumeni.¹²⁷ When the Jews were finally expelled from the Papal States in 1593, the community in Rome had to bear the whole amount, which was then reduced to 800 *scudi* in 1604.¹²⁸ Moreover, the *Universitas* of Rome was also burdened with the annual tax for the carnival games of Agone and Testaccio in Rome.¹²⁹

It is difficult to give a complete sketch of the application and collection of taxes for these years. As Kenneth Stow has shown, it seems that in the years 1551-2, 212,593 *scudi* was collected because of triennial imposts, among which “the Jews paid 7,919 sc., the clergy 72,374 sc. and the general imposts, to which the Jews and the clergy too, for that matter, contributed, yielded 132,300 sc.”¹³⁰ Concerning the *sussidio triennale*, after 1572 the cities of the Marca were required to pay 60,000 *scudi*, of which 800 was payable by Civitanova.¹³¹ In 1555, the Jews of the Marca paid 3,000 *scudi* on a total of 10,730 *scudi* imposed on the Jews of the Papal States for the payment of the *vigesima*, while in October 1556 the Jews of the Marca and Cardinal Carafa agreed upon the payment of 10,000 *scudi* more.¹³² As it seems, it happened that “the communities of Umbria-Spoleto and the Marca had not paid the Vigesima for many years.”¹³³

According to Benjamin, when Governor Brancaccio ordered the Jews of the Marca to pay the remainder of the taxes at the end of 1558, the amount was incredibly high. Using these words, Brancaccio threatened the Jews:

I found in the [books of] memoirs that he punished you and all of your communities by making you pay 150,000 golden *scudi*, but you have

¹²⁷ See Marina Caffiero, “I diritti degli ebrei. Le rivendicazioni della comunità romana alle soglie della Rivoluzione”. In *Diversità e minoranze nel Settecento. Atti del seminario di Santa Margherita Ligure, 2-4 giugno 2003*, eds. Marina Formica and Alberto Postigliola (Rome, 2006), 161.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ On this tax, see Attilio Milano, *Il ghetto di Roma: illustrazioni storiche* (Rome, 1964), 130-1; on the Carnival games and the Jews in Rome, see Martine Boiteux, “Les Juifs dans le Carnaval de la Rome moderne (XVe-XVIIe siècles)”, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes* 88 (1976): 745-87; Marina Caffiero, “Spazi urbani e scene rituali dell'ebraismo romano in età moderna”. In *Judei de Urbe. Roma e i suoi ebrei: una storia secolare. Atti del convegno, Archivio di Stato di Roma, 7-9 novembre 2005*, eds. Marina Caffiero and Anna Esposito (Rome, 2011), 14-22; *Id.*, *Legami pericolosi*, 369-75.

¹³⁰ Stow, *Taxation, Community and State*, 18.

¹³¹ *Instrumento. Capitoli, e conventioni sopra lo appalto della tesaureria, e salara della Marcha* (Rome, 1572): “Imposizione del sussidio triennale nella Provincia della Marca per la somma di scudi sessanta milia d'Oro de Paolo undeci per scudo, da riscotersi dal Thesoriere della Marca per haverne a dare conto ogni sei mesi in Camera Apostolica”.

¹³² Cf. Segre, “L'espulsione degli ebrei delle Marche”, 158.

¹³³ Stow, *Taxation, Community and State*, 28.

only paid approximately 60,000 [*scudi*]. Now I wish to collect other 60,000 [*scudi*]. So, where [is the money]? Bring your properties, silver or gold, as I command you, and do not refuse, lest I harm you and imprison you until you are sentenced to bring your money to my treasury, and you will be imprisoned with little bread and scant water.¹³⁴

At this stage of my research, it was not possible to find any evidence about the details concerning this particular episode reported by our author, but it is not to be excluded that further information will be discovered through a closer examination of the archival documentation. At the moment, the only elements at our disposal are provided by the chronicle itself, since Benjamin also narrated the sequence of events following the governor's order. As the Jews became impoverished because of the several confiscations made by previous papal treasurers, and above all because of the application of *Cum nimis absurdum*, it is plausible that they were not able to fulfil Brancaccio's request. Moreover, according to Benjamin's account, this order was also not considered suitable by the municipal council of Civitanova: once the Jews had informed the governor that they could (and would) not pay the remainder of the taxes, he ordered the arrest of a number of Jews (more than fifteen, one of whom was our author) who are probably to be identified with the representatives of the communities of the Marca. Some others managed to escape, so Brancaccio "ordered [his men] to steal their possessions, to take their assets and properties, and to despise them; he robbed them from a thread to the shoelace of a sandal, and he took all of their belongings."¹³⁵ Their assets were then sold and the money collected was taken to Macerata, to the governor's treasury. The Jews taken by Brancaccio in Ancona were imprisoned for about seven days and then transferred to the prison in Macerata for five or eight further days.¹³⁶ After the Jews sent a messenger to Brancaccio to beg him to release them because of the cold and strictness of the prison in wintertime, the governor released the Jews, ordering them not to leave Macerata until they had paid the requested amount. Two Jews finally took the duty of paying all the money upon themselves and, as Benjamin writes, this happened in the middle of February 1559. In general, the episode narrated by Benjamin would challenge Stow's affirmation, according to whom "rather than concerning himself with the unpaid Twentieths in the Marche, Paul IV, in 1557,

¹³⁴ See below 211-3.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 213.

¹³⁶ The Hebrew letter indicating the number is not clear in the manuscript, see below 213.

insisted on a composition for excesses and violations of the restrictions of *Cum nimis*.”¹³⁷

During that time, after the Carafa nephews had been expelled from Rome by their uncle (see par. 4.3), Brancaccio, like other officers who were acquainted with Carlo Carafa, was removed from his office on March 6 and Loreto Lauro, a protonotary from a noble family in Spoleto, was appointed in his stead. As soon as the latter arrived in Macerata, he arrested Cesare Brancaccio and his lieutenant Sante Canaglione and consigned them to the priors of the city on March 9.¹³⁸ Arrested for corruption, theft, fraud, and the appropriation of the heretics’ assets, Brancaccio was imprisoned in the Palace of the Curia Generale della Legazione in Macerata and then transferred to the Rocca of Ancona, from whence he was released a few months later; then he seized the abbey of Savigny and he was killed by the Huguenots in 1564.¹³⁹

As Benjamin states in his account, he and the other arrested Jews “came back to our houses for Purim,”¹⁴⁰ that is to say 14th of Adar, corresponding to February 21 in the Julian calendar. We do not exactly know when the new governor arrived in Macerata, but it might be possible that our author deliberately anticipated the release of the Jews of three weeks, with the aim of explaining this event as a Purim miracle: “glory and praise to God our Saviour for the miracles and wonders He worked for us during those days in that time.”¹⁴¹

After the Sacred College of Cardinals, writing to Loreto Lauro, said that it was strange that the Jews were compelled to return the interest taken before the issue of *Cum nimis absurdum*, in the end the supreme authority on the matter was assigned to Cardinal Michele Ghislieri who, through a decree of July 1559, reaffirmed the limit of the interest rate to 12%.¹⁴²

As we will see in the following chapter, the salvation of the Jews of the Marca – and in particular of those dwelling in Civitanova – was anything but durable.

¹³⁷ Stow, *Taxation, Community and State*, 29.

¹³⁸ BAV, *Borg. Lat.* 884, fol. 35r. Benjamin says this happened on February 17.

¹³⁹ Cf. Segre, “L’espulsione degli ebrei delle Marche”, 159.

¹⁴⁰ See below 215.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² Cf. Segre, “L’espulsione degli ebrei delle Marche”, 159.

CHAPTER FIVE

From Civitanova Marche to Rome: Benjamin and the Others.

5.1. “Dangerous Bonds”: Neophytes, Slanderers, and “Jewish Dogs.”

It is known that “behind many of the episodes against Jews, we find (then as always) the actions of a Jew-turned-Christian neophyte,”¹ who, after having converted to Christianity, made every effort to win their ex-coreligionists to the new faith. Some famous cases of neophytes – like the above-mentioned Ḥananel da Foligno in Rome (see par. 3.1) – have been already brought to light by historians.²

In the case of Civitanova, it seems that a neophyte (mentioned by Benjamin in the third and fifth chapters of his chronicle) was among the leaders of the anti-Jewish faction which caused the arrest of six Jews of Civitanova and their imprisonment in Rome between July and August 1559. Born Aharon ben Menahem, he was baptised with the name of Giovan Battista Buonamici.³ If we accept the information given by Benjamin, who wrote that he was not able to cope with the hardships inflicted on the Jews,⁴ it is highly possible that he converted after July 1555, when *Cum nimis absurdum* was enacted. However, the application of the bull was not immediate, so it may be that the conversion happened a few years later. I assume that he converted in 1557 or at the beginning of 1558, as it appears in a register of the municipal council of Civitanova that Giovan Battista (Giovanbattista or Giambattista) “Jew baptised” claimed the tax-exemption – that was one of the privileges restricted to neophytes – on February 6, 1558.⁵ Four days later, the authorities granted him tax exemption from all

¹ Robert Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1994), 118.

² Cf. Shlomo Simonsohn, “Some Well-Known Jewish Converts During the Renaissance”, *REJ* 148/1-2 (1989): 17-52.

³ The name Giovan Battista was very widespread among the neophytes. François Secret suggested identifying this Giovan Battista Buonamici with the neophyte Giovan Battista mentioned in the polemical work *Fascicolo delle vanità giudaiche* (Ancona, 1583), written by the Dominican friar Antonino Stabili. However, this hypothesis seems weak to me, mainly because there is no mention of Civitanova in this work. See François Secret, “Notes sur les hébraisants chrétiens de la Renaissance”, *REJ* 124 (1965): 176. I would also refer to Martina Mampieri, “The Jews and Their Doubts: Anti-Jewish Polemics in the *Fascicolo delle vanità giudaiche* by Antonino Stabili (1583)”. In *Yearbook of the Maimonides Centre for Advanced Studies* 1, ed. Giuseppe Veltri (Berlin, 2016), 59-75.

⁴ See below 197.

⁵ ASCM, *Atti consiliari*, vol. 193, February 6, 1558, fols. 80v-81r.

taxes for ten years.⁶ Already in 1542, Paul III had granted many privileges to the Jews who converted to Christianity through the bull *Cupientes Iudaeos* which – among other benefits – gave them the right to keep their property as well as the rights to citizenship and inheritance.⁷

According to Benjamin, the neophyte Giovan Battista was “an evil man, a devil, a bastard, an oppressor and persecutor” of the Jews, and after he became apostate, he became “a stumbling block and an obstacle” to them.⁸ The author insists that Giovan Battista was an evil man because of his hypocritical behaviour: on the one hand, after his conversion he pretended to be a friend of the Jews, using flattering speech and convincing them of his friendship, but on the other hand “his heart was full of abominations.”⁹ As the days passed by – Benjamin continues – he used his speech to harm the Jews and “his damnation became greater and greater.”¹⁰ For this reason, Benjamin compared him to the biblical Haman, the evil minister of the Persian king Ahasuerus, whose defeat by Esther is celebrated at the feast of Purim.¹¹ Like Haman, who used his eloquent manner of speaking to destroy the Jews, Giovan Battista’s talkativeness caused the ruin of the Jews of Civitanova and – according to Benjamin – the killing of some “pure souls.”¹² This reference is probably not meant literally, but rather refers to a more spiritual death, that is to say the conversion to Christianity of other members of the community. We are aware at least of two other neophytes: Isaac Selà of Campobasso, who took the name of Marcello Signoretti, as it appears from the archival documentation,¹³ and Moses of Samuel alias “Pappardella,” mentioned in Benjamin’s chronicle as the main accused among the eight Jews of Civitanova, charged with blasphemy and insults against the Christian faith.¹⁴ In February 1557, the governor-general of the Marca, Camillo Mentuati, prohibited to pay all the debts to

⁶ *Ibid.*, February 10, 1558, fols. 81r-v.

⁷ Anna Foa, “*Limpieza Versus Mission: Church, Religious Orders, and Conversion in the Sixteenth Century*”. In *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, eds. Steven J. MacMichael and Susan E. Myers (Leiden-Boston, 2004), 310.

⁸ See below 197.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ See par. 2.4.

¹² See below 197.

¹³ ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ercole Ugulati, reg. 99, January 2, 1552, fol. 3r.

¹⁴ See below 237-239.

neophytes Jacopo Gilardini and his son Ascanio, who were baptised by the vice-legate of Macerata, Ascanio Gilardini di Amelia.¹⁵

What were the abominable actions against the Jews performed by this Giovan Battista Buonamici? If we search the judiciary sources, preserved in the historical archives of Civitanova, it is possible to find something. According to the testimonies of an innkeeper, dated November 1558, two Jews called Abramo di Ventura da Macerata and Desiderio di Manuele da Montecosaro were sitting and eating in the inn when Giovan Battista Buonamici entered and began to walk around them.¹⁶ He then addressed them in Hebrew, and the innkeeper told the judge that he was unable to understand what they were talking about. According to the testimony, one of the Jews laughed at the neophyte's words, saying that Giovan Battista knew nothing. The neophyte replied that he knew more than him because he was a Christian and enlightened by the faith of Christ.¹⁷ The innkeeper also added that Giovan Battista pushed the Jews to convert and accused them of insulting the Christian faith. The neophyte continued by saying that he wished to have some Jews of Civitanova burnt.¹⁸ Just two years earlier, the burning at the stake of the Portuguese *marranos* in Ancona had taken place. After one of the two replied, saying that what Giovan Battista was saying was not true, the latter addressed him by calling him *marrano* (even though he was not baptised) and ordered the innkeeper to drive the Jews out of the inn, referring to them as "dogs." The Jews finally replied by saying that they were not dogs. The words transformed into actions and the neophyte and the Jews began a clash with knives and punches.

The metaphor of the Jews as dogs, besides recalling the Shakespearean dialogue between Shylock and Antonio, follows the structure of another episode that happened in Civitanova recounted in Benjamin's chronicle. One of the protagonists of the fight this time was not the neophyte Giovan Battista, but his fellow Achille di Marchionne da Montecchio, mentioned in the fifth chapter of the chronicle.¹⁹ Hailing from Montecchio – a small village in the province of Macerata, today called Treia – he

¹⁵ Cf. Werther Angelini, "Ancora degli ebrei in Civitanova e di alcune vicende civitanovesi degli anni 1550-60", *Civitanova. Immagini e storie* 3 (1992): 107-20, see 109.

¹⁶ ASCM, *Atti civili e criminali*, b. 87, November 6 and 22, 1558, n.p.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*: "Giovan Battista respondeva che ne sapeva più di lui ch'esso era christiano et che havea la luce di Christo dicendoli per ogni modo: "Un dì ne voglio far abbrusiar un paro de questa terra [...] marano che voi dir de la fede de Christo tu?". Lo giudoro disse: "Ne menti per la gola ch'io dica male de la fede de Christo".

¹⁹ See below 217.

moved to Civitanova, where he was appointed tax collector (*camerlengo*) by the municipal council in April 1559.²⁰ Moreover, he was an official of the Monte di Pietà for the years 1559 and 1576 (see par. 1.3.1.).²¹ Like Giovan Battista, according to our author Achille was also “evil [...] and enemy of the Jews since his youth; his tongue was flattering and evil, and he hated the Jews.” First of all, Benjamin writes that following his arrival in Civitanova, he began a violent campaign against the Jewish group, which had been well established in the city for at least a century. In particular, he tried to convince the Christian population to expel the Jews from Civitanova and to isolate them in the area where the garbage was collected, outside the walls of the city. There is no specific mention of a ghetto, but it is clear that Achille’s intention was to identify a separate place for the Jews to live, apart from Christian society. Very often, Jewish ghettos were located in the unhealthy areas of the city in close proximity to rubbish dumps or rivers, where the Jews were restricted to living in poor sanitary conditions.

The prostitutes, who were required to wear a distinctive sign like the Jews, were gradually expelled from the cities as well.²² In the rules of the city of Urbino (*Statuta civitatis Urbini*, 1556), the prostitutes were restricted to living in an isolated area; this provision is followed by the paragraph concerning the Jewish neighbourhood (*Androne de Giudei*).²³ The attempt made by Pius V (the former grand inquisitor Michele Ghislieri) to expel the prostitutes from Rome (1566) was not successful because it encountered the dissatisfaction of the population, who were worried about the effects of this edict on the economy and public order in Rome.²⁴ Two years later, the prostitutes were finally restricted to the area of the river port of Ripetta.

On his return to Civitanova, Achille’s speech and actions had a strong influence on part of the citizenry, including some notable men (like the poet and

²⁰ In ASCM, *Libro dei camerlenghi, Riscossioni*, b. 128, we read: “In Dei nomine amen [...] da notare tutta l’intrata della mag.ca comunità de Civitanova nel tempo dell’officio del Camerlengato de ser Achille Marchionni da Montecchio e ciò dal primo de aprile 1559 sin al fin del suo officio”. Benjamin states that he started his office during the fourth year of Paul IV’s pontificate, see below 211.

²¹ ASCM, *Monte di pietà*, vol. 140, fols. 251r and ff.; 260r.

²² On the link between Jews and prostitutes, see Diane Owen Hughes, “Distinguishing Signs: Earrings, Jews, and Franciscan Rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance City”, 3-50.

²³ *Statuti del commune di Urbino di cose straordinarie tradotti di latino in volgare* (Pesaro, 1559), libro 5, rub. XXXI.

²⁴ A plea was sent to the pope for Jews and prostitutes to be tolerated in the Holy City, see BAV, *Urb. Lat. 879 pt. 2, Epistola a N. S.re Papa Pio V.to nella quale si essorta S.S.tà a tollerare in Roma gli Hebrei, et le Cortigiane*, August, 13, 1566, fols. 330r-334v.

humanist Annibal Caro), and members of the municipal council. The official's wish – that is to say, to expel the Jews from the city – became reality: Benjamin says that a decree was issued so that the Jews were required to leave their houses close to the synagogue, established a long time ago, and to go to dwell by the rubbish dump. Many further orders – according to Benjamin – were given to the Jews, such as the prohibition of Jews buying foodstuffs at the market before noon or selling fruit and vegetables in the Jewish neighbourhood.²⁵ These two orders clearly recall the ninth paragraph of *Cum nimis absurdum* (see par. 3.3.). Looking at the archival documentation for the years 1558-9, as we have seen, a decree was issued by the municipal council on November 1558.²⁶

As it is not possible to reconstruct the whole sequence of events through the extant archival documentation, we need to rely on the account of our chronicler. After having heard about the order of expulsion, the Jews went to Macerata, where they appeared before the Governor of the Marca, the above-mentioned Loreto Lauro, to ask him to cancel the edict of expulsion issued by the municipal council.²⁷

To resolve the matter, the governor asked both the Jews and the municipal council to send their ambassadors to Macerata and to appear before him.²⁸ The chosen representatives – the tax collector Achille and some other unnamed delegates, standing for the Jews – referred their arguments to the governor, who

was angered by Achille's [words] and spoke harshly to him; he ordered the people of the city not to plot against the Jews, in small or large [matters], until he had sent a trustworthy man to Civitanova to conduct an inquiry into the cause of this quarrel and to give a just verdict.²⁹

According to Benjamin's account:

In those days, Cardinal Alessandrino wrote a letter to the Governor of the Marca on behalf of the pope telling him not to allow the Jews living in the region to collect credits unless they gave collateral and guaranteed that they would not take silver or gold outside of the country and that they would be judged with all the people who required the interest rate or old credits from them. When the Jews

²⁵ See below 217.

²⁶ See par. 1.3.2.

²⁷ See below 217.

²⁸ Unfortunately, the records concerning the office of the Governor of the Marca have not survived for the years under examination (they only begin in 1616). The documentation relating to the Governor of the Marca (1616-1794) is preserved in ASMC, *Governatore generale della Marca di Ancona*.

²⁹ See below 219.

heard about this evil thing, they begged the governor to delay the application of the letter until they had sent [a delegate] to Rome to the pope to ask him the reasons for this, in the hope that his sentence would be dismissed. This was so that he [the pope] could fulfil the conditions and promises that were written in the bill through the important people who were appointed by him to deal with the Jews so that they could collect their loans.³⁰

Once again, the governor seemed to be in favour of the Jews and suggested that they wear the distinctive badge and write down a memorial, written “in eloquent language,” to be submitted to the pope with the promise that the order would not be published until the return of their ambassador from Rome. However, Achille became aware of this, and, perhaps thanks to the help of an accomplice, came into possession of a copy of Cardinal Alessandrino’s letter. Now we come to the heart of the account. During the night, Achille displayed the letter at the bottom of the staircase in the marketplace in order to make the cardinal’s order manifest and to persuade the citizens not to pay their debts to the Jews. After an inquiry, the Jews identified the person responsible for this evil action as the neophyte Giovan Battista. Samuel ben Elnathan, brother of the chronicler, “one the young Jews”³¹ of Civitanova, found him and turned to him, saying:

“What did you mean by doing this evil thing? Didn’t you know that the governor gave the Jews the time to order the matter and did not want to publish the letter before the end of the time that he allowed [us]?” Achille replied to him with arrogance and spite: “How dare you to speak to a man like me? Go away, dead dog!” Samuel replied to Achille – may his name and memory be blotted out! – in front of the other people who were with him: “I am not a dog, I am a Jew, and both I and my words are just and correct.” Achille answered, saying to him: “You are a dog and all the Jews are dogs.” Samuel replied: “You are speaking lies, and I am an honest person. You were lying when you called me dog.”³²

Again, the image of dogs. And again, the same narrative structure as that of the fight in the inn between the neophyte Giovan Battista and the two Jews. The image of the Jews as insatiable and voracious as dogs (because of usury) endures in Catholic thought from

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Neither the chronicle nor the archival documentation provides information about his age (and Benjamin’s), but it is known that he was the father of a girl called Onorata, mentioned in the will of Smeralda, Benjamin and Samuel’s mother: ASMC, ANCM, Not. Ciriaco Ugulati, reg. 110, October 17, 1554, n.p.

³² See below 221.

the early stages of Christianity to modernity, having echoes at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.³³

The fight between Achille and Samuel ended with the latter's arrest: the judge of Civitanova imprisoned Samuel, but he was not harmed "as Achille and the officers had requested."³⁴ The judge sent a letter informing the governor about what had happened between Achille and the young Jew, saying that the former was asking for a harsher punishment for the latter. For their part, the Jews sent a notable man before the governor to plead in Samuel's favour. Once again, the governor intervened in favour of the Jews, replying that he knew that Achille was an evil person and that "he had turned the thing around with his articulate tongue"; for this reason, he decided to send a commissioner from his court to Civitanova in order "to bring justice and punish the evil."³⁵ The governor's commissioner is described by Benjamin as "a righteous and honest man": after making an enquiry and not finding any fault among the Jews, some notable men of the city worked to establish peace between Samuel and Achille, who, however, secretly kept his hatred in his heart. Before coming back to Macerata, the commissioner also made a thorough inspection of the Jewish neighbourhood and the area by the rubbish dump where the municipal council wanted to transfer the Jews and ordered the authorities not to harass the Jews with further orders.

At this point in Benjamin's account, we again find the neophyte Giovan Battista: after peace was made between the two disputants and following the (probable) departure of the governor's commissioner, Achille and Giovan Battista gathered to destroy the Jews of Civitanova, particularly Benjamin and Samuel's family. With the conspiracy of one of the members of the municipal council (whose name is not mentioned), they sent a letter to Cardinal Alessandrino, asking him to expel the Jews from the city once and for all and to exile them to an isolated place outside Civitanova, because the presence of the Jews was "sinful" for the Christians' souls.³⁶

This document might have been extremely vague, because the cardinal replied asking for more details and wanting to know the names of the Jews who were accused of insulting the Christian faith. The persecutors replied to the cardinal's letter: the die

³³ Cf. Kenneth Stow, *Jewish Dogs: An Image and Its Interpreters. Continuity in the Catholic-Jewish Encounter* (Stanford, 2006).

³⁴ See below 221.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ See below 223.

was cast and the names of eight Jews were listed in the reply. Shortly afterwards, they would know their fate.

5.2. The Arrest and Imprisonment of the Jews of Civitanova.

The author of the chronicle provides us with an extraordinary narration of the arrest and imprisonment of the eight Jews of Civitanova Marche (among whom were Benjamin and his brother Samuel). The abundance of information on dates (sometimes relative either to the Jewish calendar or to the Christian one, other times to both), places, and persons – on which we will reflect in this section – strengthen the thesis on Benjamin's authorship and his intention to leave the most accurate account possible, a book of memoirs – as he writes at the end of the seventh chapter – “so that the future generations may know about it and raise their children to know about it, as a testimony of all that [God] did for our fathers and for us, the miracles and wonders [...]”³⁷

Besides their ideological and pedagogical goals, the last chapters of the chronicle (particularly the sixth and seventh) represent an incredible source because they shed light on the inner workings of the inquisitorial apparatus between the centre and the periphery of the Papal States from an internal Jewish point of view. Moreover, the chronicler also offers important details, not known before, on the Jewish communities in the territory of Umbria and the Marca, encountered by the author and the other Jews of Civitanova during their transfer to the prisons of the Inquisition in Rome.

On 18th of Tammuz, that is to say June 23, a formal order was issued to arrest the Jews prosecuted by Achille and his fellows: in a letter sent to the judge of Civitanova, Cardinal Ghislieri, who was at the head of the Roman Inquisition, ordered him to arrest the eight Jews and to imprison them until further notice. Their names were written in a postscript of the letter: Rabbi Yehoshua bar Moses and his son Rabbi Moses; Rabbi Mahallel bar Isaac³⁸ and his son Salomon; Rabbi Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan and his brother; Moses called “Pappardella,” and Abraham Cohen. On

³⁷ See below 253.

³⁸ Sonne stressed he was an ancestor of the poet and kabbalist Mahallel Shabbetai Hallelya mentioned at the end of chapter 1. SONNE, 63, note 1.

June 26, the judge arrested them all, with the exception of Abraham Cohen, who managed to escape and sail with his wife from Ancona towards the Ottoman Empire, as he was informed by the neophyte Giovan Battista who was the brother of the latter's mother.

Following the narrative, it is possible to understand that the Jewish community was well established and respected in the city, while only a small faction, represented by the tax-collector Achille, the neophyte Giovan Battista Buonamici, and a few members of the municipal council, promoted the expulsion of the Jews from the city.

When news of the arrest of the six Jews had spread, the population reacted against this order, querying Achille and reminding him that he was a stranger, accusing him of having come to Civitanova to impose his law. At the sight of the Jews, the population then divided into two groups, one standing with them, the other with Achille. A notable man named Federico Tofinio, a member of the municipal council³⁹ and a dignitary close to Giuliano Cesarini, Duke of Civitanova, was sent to Rome to plead in favour of the Jews before Cardinal Alessandrino with some letters written by the municipal council and the judge. The diplomatic mission failed, however, because Achille and his accomplices had already sent some letters criticising the Jews to the cardinal, even though the latter, as stressed by Benjamin, did not believe the accusations against the Jewish group. As it appears from the many letters received and sent by the Sacro Consiglio (see par. 4.3), Michele Ghislieri was in charge of the matter of Jewish usuries. In the agenda from July 5, 1559, we find a note “to talk with Cardinal Alessandrino about the letter written against the Jews of the Marca.”⁴⁰

The same Ghislieri – according to the chronicle – received the above-mentioned Federico Tofinio as a messenger from the Jews and replied to him that in order for them to have a fair trial, it would be better for it to take place in Rome instead of Civitanova. After the cardinal had sent a letter to the Governor of the Marca, a group of six horsemen headed by a captain (called *barisello* in Italian by Benjamin)⁴¹ arrived in Civitanova and arrested the Jews on July 8: the text reports “the 4th of the month of

³⁹ His name appears in the list of its members in ASCM, *Atti consiliari*, vol. 192, fol. 2r.

⁴⁰ ASV, *Fondo Borghese*, serie I, n. 289 (*Lettere e decreti del Sacro Consiglio di Paolo IV, 1559*), fol. 596v.

⁴¹ A *barisello* (also called *bargello*, *bariscello*, or *barricello*) was a captain at the head of a group of *birri*, men deputed to execute orders concerning justice in Rome and throughout the whole of the Papal States; cf. Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, vol. 5 (1840), 248.

Av, which was the 8th July.”⁴² The 4th of Av actually corresponds to July 8 in the Julian calendar, so it is highly probable that this was a mistake by the author, or perhaps by the anonymous copyist. As it appears from the registers of the revenues and expenses of the municipal council, a *balivo curiale*, that is to say a delegate of the Roman Curia, received a salary of sixteen *bolognini* on July 8.⁴³ Among the miscellaneous expenses of the municipal council, there is also the original copy of a letter criticising the Jews.⁴⁴

Benjamin states that the *barisello* and his company arrived in Civitanova “at the first light of the morning” to take the Jews from the judge’s custody and transfer them to Rome; the Jews were also required to pay the *barisello* and his men with their “grain, bread and all kinds of food.”⁴⁵ Knowledge of the mode of operation of these troops and their payment is rather limited for the early modern period.⁴⁶

Moses called “Pappardella,” who was supposed to be taken to Rome, was not caught by the *barisello* “because in the letter that the cardinal had sent, it was written that there were six Jewish prisoners in Civitanova, and they thought that Moses was unimportant and worthless in their eyes because he was poor and dressed in dirty clothes.”⁴⁷

When the six Jews were taken from the prison, the people of Civitanova, particularly the notable men, again intervened in their favour, asking the *barisello* to remove their chains and not to treat them as oarsmen (*galeotti*). From this point, Benjamin begins a detailed description of his journey from Civitanova to Rome, which covered around 230 kilometres (fig. 11) in total and lasted, according his account, nine days from July 8 to 16, 1559. Important routes of communication such as the Via Laurentana (fig. 10) and the Via Flaminia allowed merchants and pilgrims to move

⁴² See below 229.

⁴³ ASCM, *Bollettari*, vol. 154, July, 8, 1559, fol. 75v.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 76r.

⁴⁵ See below 229.

⁴⁶ For what concerns the Italian case, see Livio Antonielli and Claudio Donati (eds.), *Corpi armati e ordine pubblico in Italia (XVI-XIX sec.)*. Seminario di studi, Castello Visconti di San Vito, Somma Lombardo, 10-11 novembre 2000 (Soveria Mannelli, 2003); Michele Di Sivo, “Rinnoviamo l’ordine già dato: il controllo sui birri a Roma in antico regime”. In *La polizia in Italia e in Europa. Punto sugli studi e prospettive di ricerca*, ed. Livio Antonielli (Soveria Mannelli, 2006): 13-24; Irene Fosi, *Papal Justice. Subjects and Courts in the Papal State, 1500-1750*, trans. Thomas V. Cohen (Washington, 2011).

⁴⁷ See below 229.

between Rome and the many cities of the Marca, such as Loreto, where a sanctuary had been established since the Middle Ages.⁴⁸

Taken through the streets without chains, the Jews of Civitanova were taken to Macerata, the location of the governor's residence, where they encountered the aforementioned Federico Mariotti (see par. 3.4), who was involved in the confiscation of the *marranos*' goods in Ancona between 1555 and 1556. This man, who was "one of the Jews' oppressors," commanded the *barisello* to link the Jews in chains, and they remained in the prisons of Macerata for several days. They were then taken to Camerino, about 45 kilometres from Macerata. The jurisdiction of the *barisello* of Camerino overlaps with that of the *barisello* who transferred the Jews from Civitanova to Macerata and from Macerata to Camerino. Indeed, the first one ordered that the Jews be untied and intervened in their favour, informing the local Jewish community of the presence of the six Jews of Civitanova in the prisons of Camerino.⁴⁹ The city had in fact had a well-established Jewish community since the beginning of the fifteenth century, from whose name derives that of the Camerino family, active between the Marca and Florence between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁵⁰ Benjamin states that the Jews of Camerino provided "grains, bread, and all kinds of food" and also lent the Civitanova Jews some money, because when they were arrested they had not been allowed to take anything with them due to the rush. After a day, the Jews of Civitanova continued their journey to Rome, without chains. Before arriving in Foligno, they stopped in a little village close by, which I assume must be transcribed as "Sostino" (סושטינו) and not "Sestino" (סישטנו) as it appears in the text. Sestino is in fact located in Tuscany, while Sostino is in the province of Foligno, on the road from Camerino. This village had been well known since the Middle Ages for the presence of guesthouses and inns, which offered accommodation and refreshments to the many pilgrims going to Loreto and

⁴⁸ From the fourteenth century onwards, Loreto was a popular place of pilgrimage because, the house of the Virgin Mary (from here the name of Basilica of the Holy House, in Italian, *Santa Casa di Loreto*) was believed to be translated by the angels from Nazareth to Croatia, and from there to Recanati, and finally to Loreto. For the history of the church and the pilgrimages to Loreto through the centuries, see for example Floriano Grimaldi, *Pellegrini e pellegrinaggi a Loreto nei secoli XIV-XVIII* (Florence, 2001).

⁴⁹ See below 229.

⁵⁰ Cf. Mafalda Toniazzi, *I Da Camerino. Una famiglia ebraica italiana fra Trecento e Cinquecento* (Florence, 2015). On the Jews of Camerino see also Toaff, *The Jews in Umbria, passim*.

Rome.⁵¹ According to Benjamin's account, they arrived there at night, so they slept and were taken to Foligno the next day, where they were given into the hands of the local court. From there, they were then conveyed to Spoleto (around 30 kilometres from Foligno). The narrative highlights an interesting point: despite the men of the court of Foligno giving the order to bring the Jews to Spoleto in chains, Benjamin and his companions managed to remain unchained by paying the amount of 30 [*scudi* ?].⁵²

The overlapping of courts and orders took place in almost every city encountered from Civitanova to Rome: arriving in Spoleto at night, the Jews were taken into the custody of the city court and imprisoned in the prison at Spoleto fortress, which, according to Benjamin, "was very deep underground."⁵³ The prisons mentioned in the chronicle must be identified as the dungeons of the Rocca Albornoziata, a fortress built at the end of the fourteenth century at the behest of Pope Innocent VI who wanted to re-establish the papal authority over the Papal States during the Avignon Papacy. The construction owes its name to the Spanish Cardinal Egidio Albornoz (ca. 1310-67), who was legate and general vicar of the pope in the State of the Church.⁵⁴ The other detail Benjamin mentions is that they remained there for a day, sitting in the prison, praying and crying, and that a day later, which was the 9th of Av (corresponding to July 13), they were taken to Terni. The mourning of the Jews is not only to be connected with their condition, but also and especially with the occasion of the fast day Tisha B'Av (9th of Av), the saddest day in the Jewish calendar. On this day, Jews traditionally fast and remember the *hurban*, the destruction of the First Temple by the Babylonians (586 B.C.E.) and the Second Temple by the Romans (70 C.E.), and also various other calamities in Jewish history such as the defeat of Bar-Kokhba's revolt (133 C.E.) and the expulsion from Spain (1492).⁵⁵ Like Shabbat, Jewish holidays also officially begin at sunset on the previous night, so the prayer the Jews were reciting in prison was part of the evening service. The verse recalled by our author – [*By the rivers of Babylon*]

⁵¹ Cf. Mario Sensi, *Vita di pietà e vita civile di un altopiano tra Umbria e Marche, secc. XI-XVI* (Rome, 1984); *Id.*, "Tipologia e funzioni dei santuari nell'Italia centrale". In *I santuari cristiani d'Italia: Bilancio del censimento e proposte interpretative*, ed. André Vauchez (Rome, 2007), 93.

⁵² There is an omission in the manuscript.

⁵³ See below 231.

⁵⁴ On his figure and the *Constitutiones aegidiane* (1357), see Eugenio Duprè Theseider, "Albornoz, Egidio de", *DBI* 2 (1960): 45-53.

⁵⁵ Cf. Adin Steinsaltz, *Change and Renewal. The Essence of the Jewish Holidays, Festivals and Days of Remembrance*, trans. Daniel Haberman, ed. Yehudit Shabta (New Milford-Jerusalem, 2011), 355-7.

There we sat down, sat and wept (Psalms 137:1) – which recalls the captivity of the Jewish people in Babylon generally opens the evening service of Tisha B’Av.

According to the account, the next day the Jews were assigned to a *barisello* who was “a notable [man] and loved the Jews” and who took them to Terni, 30 kilometres from Spoleto. Once they had arrived there, the *barisello* brought the six Jews to “a pleasant prison, a very clean place,”⁵⁶ and summoned the Jews of Terni.⁵⁷ They brought their coreligionists of Civitanova “cooked food and good wine to restore” their souls and their spirits “from the long journey [...] and from the poorness of the fast” as well as “more beds” to put in the prison.⁵⁸ Most likely, this happened after sunset, when Tisha B’Av was over and they were allowed to eat again.

At this point in the narration, Benjamin reveals more details that can help us to better understand the role of the *barisello*: first of all, as we have already seen from the beginning of the journey, it seems that there were several *bariselli*, more captains who led the Jews from city to city and consigned them to the local courts. As we have seen before, the *barisello* who came to Civitanova to bring the Jews to Macerata was accompanied by five or six horsemen, one for each of the Jews arrested. Besides the reference to chains, Benjamin does not mention further details regarding their transfer, but it is highly probable that they walked on average 30 kilometres a day, which was the usual daily distance covered by the pilgrims in eight hours.⁵⁹ Leaving Terni, the Jews seeing

the *barisello*’s compassion for us and that he was loving and loyal to the Jews, we whispered to him and asked him to perform an act of grace of God towards us by coming with us to Rome and not giving us over to the court of Narni and the rest of the cities which were on the way, because we were willing to make a pact to follow him in a truthful and faithful way and not turn right or left from his command.⁶⁰

This agreement between the Jews and the captain, however, was reached by promising him a fee. According to the account, the *barisello* then replied with loving words and reassured the Jews, saying that he would receive whatever they decided to give to him

⁵⁶ See below 231.

⁵⁷ The Jewish presence in Terni dates back to the end of the thirteenth century when the first moneylenders settled in the city, see for example Ariel Toaff, “Commercio del denaro ed ebrei romani a Terni (1296-1299)”. In *Annuario di Studi Ebraici* 10 (1980-4), 247-90; *Id.*, *The Jews in Umbria, passim*.

⁵⁸ See below 231.

⁵⁹ Cf. Grimaldi, *Pellegrini e pellegrinaggi a Loreto nei secoli XIV-XVIII*, 84.

⁶⁰ See below 231-233.

and that God had never abandoned them, even in their present time of suffering. Then he took two servants and invited the Jews to follow him to Narni, where they arrived on horseback (this time Benjamin provides this information) on Friday afternoon, before the coming of Shabbat. They stopped there to eat some bread and then asked the *barisello* not to keep them there because they wished to arrive in Civita Castellana (about 30 kilometres from Narni) as soon as possible before Shabbat. Again, they rode horses, following the captain and his servants. According to Benjamin's account, the *barisello* trusted the Jews so much that he ordered one of the two servants to go back on his way, saying that the Jews were loyal and did not require guarding.

The six Jews gave proof of their loyalty shortly afterwards; when passing Borghetto – a small town on the road to Civita Castellana – they experienced a storm “with thunders and hail and heavy rain [...] because of the great heat of the month of Av.”⁶¹ Benjamin underlines that they had the chance to escape and disarm the guards, but that they did not do so because they did not want “to break the covenant that we made with him [the *barisello*], and we did not lie in our faith, because we put our trust in God; He helped us and He would redeem us as it seemed good and right to Him to do.”⁶² After the storm, which lasted two hours, the Jews and their guards continued their journey and “miraculously” arrived at their lodging in Civita Castellana before the coming of Shabbat. Our author describes the passing of Shabbat 11th of Av (July 15) “peacefully, quietly, restfully, and happily there.”⁶³ Benjamin stresses that they celebrated the Jewish festival day in the lodgings where “there was a table, a made bed, and a lighted candle, as is the custom of free people,” because of the *barisello*'s compassion and above all because of God “who gave us grace and kindness in the eyes of everyone who saw us.”⁶⁴

Before arriving in Rome twelve miles (i.e. about 18 kilometres) away from the destination, the group rested in Castelnuovo⁶⁵ and the *barisello* allowed the Jews to send a man to Rome before them in order to inform their acquaintances from the Roman Jewish community of their imminent incarceration in the prisons of the Inquisition. On

⁶¹ See below 233.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ See below 235.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Today Castelnuovo di Porto, in the province of Rome.

July 16, they finally arrived in Rome and the Jews of Civitanova were first taken to the prisons of Curia Savelli (also known as Corte Savella).

The prison was named after the Savelli family, which held the title of Marshals of the Church and owned the prisons from 1375.⁶⁶ Benjamin states that famous prisoners were imprisoned at Curia Savelli, and in fact, “its jurisdiction was circumscribed to lay curials, men attached to the Roman curia (*romanam curiam sequentes*),”⁶⁷ and, as it appears from the remaining documentation, crimes such as “acts of aggression or verbal attacks, usually wounds inflicted to repay some blow to the honor of a person, family, or class.”⁶⁸ In the sixteenth century, the administration of justice in Rome (and the whole of the Papal States) was complex and well articulated into a wide network of courts and jurisdictions, which often overlapped. Every tribunal had its prisons,⁶⁹ but sometimes smaller prisons like Curia Savelli were used to house the accused awaiting trial under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Rome, whose main jail was Tor di Nona.

This is also confirmed by an episode related by our chronicler. Having arrived in Rome, the Jews were taken to the Curia Savelli prisons on July 16, and a day later they were transferred to Ripetta to the prisons of the Inquisition, which was the tribunal intended to judge all crimes connected to faith. Despite his short stay in the first jail, Benjamin provides some important details. First of all, he says that one of the guards of the Curia Savelli prison “was in charge of giving bread and [other] food to the notable prisoners who were there.”⁷⁰ Benjamin and the other Jews of Civitanova refused food – most likely because it was not kosher – so the guard punished them by taking them to

⁶⁶ The Marshal of the Holy Roman Church (*Maresciallo di Santa Romana Chiesa*) had custody of the *conclave* (the formal meeting of the cardinals for electing the new pope) and the task of defending it during the vacancy of the Holy See; Cf. Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, vol. 42 (1847), 271; Niccolò Del Re, “La Curia Savella”, *Studi Romani* 5 (1957): 390-400; *Id.*, *Il maresciallo di Santa Romana Chiesa custode del conclave* (Rome, 1962).

⁶⁷ Fosi, *Papal Justice. Subjects and Courts in the Papal State, 1500-1750*, 31.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ In the second half of the sixteenth century, there were six prisons in Rome: Campidoglio (under the jurisdiction of the tribunal of the senator), Curia Savelli (tribunal of the marshal of the Roman Church), Borgo (tribunal of the Governor of Borgo), Tor di Nona (tribunal of the Governor of Rome), Ripa, and Castel Sant’Angelo, which were smaller and used in cases of emergency or as deposits; see Vincenzo Paglia, *La Pietà dei carcerati: confraternite e società a Roma nei secoli XVI-XVIII* (Rome, 1980), 24. Curia Savelli, Borgo, and Tor di Nona were closed while new prisons were built in via Giulia (the *Carceri Nuove*) between the years 1652-7, see Michele Di Sivo, “Il braccio dei tribunali: birri e carceri a Roma tra Cinque e Seicento”, *La giustizia dello stato pontificio in età moderna. Atti del Convegno di studi, Roma, 9-10 aprile 2010*, ed. Maria Rosa De Simone (Rome, 2011), 264.

⁷⁰ See below 237.

the dungeons of the prisons which used to be called *Inferno*, “Hell” in Italian, where criminals condemned to life imprisonment or death were kept. This information is important for at least two reasons: as the prison officer who was charged with distributing food to some of the prisoners was the keeper of the prisons, and his tasks also included maintaining the prisons, preventing the escape of the prisoners, and responsibility for their safety,⁷¹ it might be the case that the guard mentioned by our chronicler was indeed the keeper of Curia Savelli. The second detail concerns the isolation of some prisoners in a separate part of the prisons, which must have been particularly terrifying or dark if it was known as “hell.” The story becomes even more interesting when Benjamin meets a Christian acquaintance imprisoned there, a certain Captain Federico da Montegranaro.⁷² Unfortunately, the documentation produced by the different Roman courts relative to the administration of the prisons and their prisoners is rather late (it begins from the end of the eighteenth century). The information we have comes from other authorities and institutions which played a role of some importance within the prisons: the *Congregazione della visita* (“Congregation of the visit”), a confraternity which had the task of visiting and assisting the prisoners in Rome at least twice a year; the *Camera Capitolina* (“Capitol Chamber”), which was responsible for the municipal administration of Rome, and the *Camera Apostolica* (Apostolic Chamber), as well as the hospitals and the confraternities which had custody of the prisons.⁷³ Indeed, looking through the papers of the above-mentioned *Congregazione della visita* in the archives of the *Tribunale criminale del Governatore* (“Tribunal of the Governor of Rome”), it has been possible to find the Federico da Montegranaro mentioned by the chronicler. The judiciary sources help us in reconstructing his imprisonment and his release: this Federico is mentioned in Latin as *capitaneus aromatarius*, meaning that he was a man-at-arms but also a spice merchant; his name appears in the acts of the *Congregazione della visita*, who visited the prisons several

⁷¹ Cf. Michele Di Sivo, “Sulle carceri dei tribunali penali a Roma: Campidoglio e Tor di Nona”, *Carceri, carcerieri e carcerati. Dall’antico regime all’Ottocento (Seminario di studi, Castello Visconti di San Vito, Somma Lombardo, 14-15 dicembre 2001)*, ed. Livio Antonielli (Soveria Mannelli, 2006), 14.

⁷² Montegranaro is located 15 kilometres southwest of Civitanova, in the province of Fermo, which was the place of residence of the archbishop.

⁷³ Di Sivo, “Sulle carceri dei tribunali penali a Roma: Campidoglio e Tor di Nona”, 12. On the *Congregazione della visita*, see Paglia, *La Pietà dei carcerati* and Carlo Cirillo Fornili, *Delinquenti e carcerati a Roma alla metà del ‘600. Opera dei Papi nella riforma carceraria* (Rome, 1991).

times and recorded his presence at Curia Savelli from December 1558 to June 1559.⁷⁴ According to the sources of his trial, Federico spontaneously appeared in the presence of the court in Rome after a certain Gaspare Conventati and other enemies instigated the revocation of the clemency that Federico had received for some crimes committed in his youth.⁷⁵ From the questions addressed to the accused, it seems that these crimes concerned the sexual sphere (the rape of a woman, worsened by the charge of sodomy) and the finding of two arquebuses in his house. New suspicions arose regarding his knowledge of a 14-year-old boy from Montegranaro.⁷⁶ In the early modern period, imprisonment did not have the meaning it has now; firstly because it lasted as long as it took for the accused to come to trial until the judge's sentence, usually given in five days for minor crimes and thirty days or more for more serious matters.⁷⁷ The second difference concerned the organisation of the prisons into different sections, as it also appears from the information provided by Benjamin. The prisoners, who paid for their own imprisonment, were placed *ad largam* (the main area of the prisons divided into several sections, in which the prisoners were located on the basis of their assets), in the dungeons, or in the area called *galeotta*, reserved for those waiting to be transferred to the galleys.⁷⁸ Clearly, Federico of Montegranaro appeared before the court of Curia Savelli pre-emptively, hoping for a short trial, but the reality was rather different, since he remained in prison for a period of about eight months, apparently due to the laziness of the two judges. When Benjamin and the other Jews of Civitanova were taken to Curia Savelli (on July 16, 1559), Federico was still in prison, and at the death of Paul IV (August 18), he was not released with the other prisoners in Rome. He probably asked to remain in prison until the issue of his sentence, fearing a worsening of his situation. He was finally released on September 5, 1559.⁷⁹

According to our chronicler's account, when the Jews were taken to Curia Savelli they sent for two Jews living in Rome, a certain Rabbi Yehudah ha-Na'aman and Rabbi Ḥayyim of Capua: the first man is indicated by Benjamin as the *murshah*, the

⁷⁴ ASR, *Tribunale criminale del governatore, Congregazione della visita alle carceri*, b. 70.

⁷⁵ ASR, *Tribunale criminale del governatore, Costituti*, b. 61, fols. 108v-110v; *Atti di cancelleria, Registri di sentenze*, b. 2, fols. 21v-22r; *Registrazioni d'atti*, b. 38, fols. 35r; 42r-v; 50r. I owe my gratitude to Michele Di Sivo, who helped me to read these archival sources.

⁷⁶ See *Costituti*.

⁷⁷ Di Sivo, "Sulle carceri dei tribunali penali a Roma: Campidoglio e Tor di Nona", 12.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁷⁹ See *Registrazioni d'atti*.

“representative of the community of the Marca,”⁸⁰ and was identified by Isaiah Sonne as Yehudah bar Shabbetai, *sofer* of the Jewish community of Rome, who represented the Jews of Ancona (and the rest of the communities in the Marca) at the congress of the Italian Jewish communities held in Ferrara in 1554 along with Elia ben Salomon Corcos.⁸¹ The other, Ḥayyim of Capua, is the Ḥayyim Anaw ben Jacob of Capua listed among the members of the council of the Jewish community of Rome in 1554⁸² and also among the *parnasim* or *fattori* (people responsible for administration) of the community who appointed Elia Corcos to pay a fine of 1000 *scudi* on behalf of the Jews of Rome to the vicar because the neophyte Andrea del Monte found a book (a commentary on Ibn Ezra) in the Ashkenazi synagogue which had been forbidden by the Inquisition.⁸³

In their capacity as representatives of the Jews of the Marca, these two men mentioned by Benjamin were probably required – according to the account – to deliver some letters to their families in Civitanova.⁸⁴ On the same day, the *barisello* went to plead for them before Cardinal Ghislieri, the grand inquisitor, and related the names of the Jews arrested in Civitanova. When he became aware that Pappardella had not been brought to Rome, “he took it very badly” and declared that he was actually the most important, since he was accused of blasphemy against the Christian faith.⁸⁵ After having expressed his anger, the cardinal informed the *barisello* of his intention to bring the Jews of Civitanova to trial quickly and to visit them in prison the day after. The chronicler states that they remained in Curia Savelli for only a day and then were transferred to Ripetta, where the court of the Inquisition was.

⁸⁰ See below 237.

⁸¹ SONNE, 70, note 29. Several congresses took place from the Middle Ages on in various Italian cities (Bologna, Ravenna, Forlì, Recanati, Ferrara, Rome), with a frequency of ten years in the beginning, which was later reduced to five. The goal of the congresses was to discuss particular issues concerning the administration of the internal life of the Jewish communities. Cf. Isaiah Sonne, “I Congressi delle Comunità Israelitiche italiane nei secoli XIV-XVI ed il Sinodo dei quattro paesi in Polonia”, *L’idea sionistica* (1931): 3-19; Abraham Berliner, *Censur und Confiscation hebräischer Bücher im Kirchenstaate. Auf Grund der Inquisitions-Akten in der Vaticana und Vallicelliana* (Berlin, 1891), 5. The congress of Ferrara (June 21, 1554) particularly focused on the preventive censorship of the Talmud and other Jewish books in the aftermath of the publication of the bull *Cum sicut nuper* (May 29, 1554) by Julius III, which ordered the burning of the Talmud. On this matter, see Guido Dall’Olio, “Libri ebraici e Inquisizione a Bologna”, *La cultura ebraica a Bologna tra Medioevo e Rinascimento. Atti del convegno internazionale, (Bologna, 9 aprile 2000)*, ed. by Mauro Perani (Florence, 2002): 89-90.

⁸² See Vogelstein-Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, vol. 2, 420.

⁸³ Cf. Berliner, *Censur und Confiscation*: 4-5. On this specific episode, see also Kenneth Stow, *The Jews in Rome*, vol. 1, 1536-1551 (Leiden-New York-Köln, 1995), xli.

⁸⁴ See below 237.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

5.3. *The Prisons of the Inquisition at Ripetta.*

As noted by Pastor and also by Paul IV's contemporaries, "nothing lay so near to the heart of Paul IV as his Inquisition."⁸⁶ The renovation of a building (the Palazzo Borghese, close to the Church of S. Rocco, near to the Tiber River) in Via di Ripetta for the sum of 12,000 *scudi* and the establishment of the prisons there date back precisely to Paul IV's pontificate. Furthermore, the pope "invested this house with all the privileges enjoyed by the palaces of the pope and the cardinals and gave the officials exemption of taxes."⁸⁷

The prisons soon became the symbol of Paul IV's oppression and terror, and at his death (as we will see in the next section), they caused anger and resentment in the Roman people, who went to burn them and the other jails in Rome and to free the prisoners.⁸⁸ Other buildings were also used by the Congregation of the Roman Inquisition (Holy Office or, in Italian, Sant'Uffizio) for their official gatherings and reading of the sentences, such as the convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, for instance.⁸⁹ The residence of the Dominican order, after Paul IV's death the noble Roman Giuliano Cesarini saved it from being attacked by the citizens, who wanted to burn the church and convent and to kill the friars because it "was one of those places destined to the Congregation of Sant'Uffizio and it was inhabited by them."⁹⁰ Moreover, other sources of the time state that there was also a prison for heretics at Santa Maria sopra Minerva.⁹¹ Following the burning of the prisons at Ripetta in 1559,

⁸⁶ PASTOR, 263.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 264.

⁸⁸ The account of the vacancy of the Holy See after Paul IV's death is reported in many Roman chronicles and historical works, which will be analysed in the next section. On Ripetta, see for instance Paolo Alessandro Maffei, *Vita di S. Pio V sommo pontefice dell'Ordine dei Predicatori* (Rome, 1712), 391.

⁸⁹ In the chronicle of the Roman citizen Cola Colleine (*Diario di Cola Colleine Romano del Rione di Trastevere dal 1521 al 1561*), it is written that on September 4, 1553 a preacher called Montalcino, his companion, and a velvet weaver were burnt because they were Lutherans; their sentence to death was read at the Minerva, see ASC, *Camera Capitolina*, cred. XIV, t. 7, cat. 1156, fol. 22v.

⁹⁰ Nicola Ratti, *Della famiglia Sforza*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1795), 260: "Trasportato il popolo Romano dal furore, e dall'odio concepito contro il Papa defonto, e contro la di lui casa, tra gli altri vituperevoli eccessi, ai quali si abbandonò fu quello di voler incendiare la Chiesa e Convento della Minerva come uno de' luoghi destinati alla Congregazione del S. Offizio, ed abitato da quei Religiosi, a quali è affidata la principal cura di quel Tribunale. La tristissima scena si sarebbe immancabilmente rappresentata se Giuliano Cesarini non si fosse opposto al popolo furibondo, che già avea appressato alla Chiesa, ed al Convento suddetti le fascine, e altre materie combustibili [...]". The translation from Italian is mine.

⁹¹ See ASV, *Fondo Pio*, n. 29 (*Diario di diverse attioni notabili successe nel tempo del Pontificato di Papa Paolo IIII cominciando adi primo di settembre 1558 fin la morte di detto Pontefice*), fol. 225r;

Pius V bought Palazzo Pucci in 1566 (behind the Colonnade of St. Peter, near Porta Cavalleggeri), which was enlarged and adapted to become the location of the congregation until this day.⁹²

The sources of the time rarely describe the conditions of the prisoners at Ripetta. It seems that the jail must have been very hot in summer, as Pietro Carnesecchi wrote in a letter to Giulia Gonzaga that the prisoners there “are cool as in a furnace.”⁹³ Another famous prisoner, Guillaume Postel, complained of their filthiness and also “bemoaned his condition as annihilation more miserable and pitiable than death of the body.”⁹⁴

Benjamin’s chronicle reveals important details about the more general management of the prison, the organisation of the spaces, and the people involved. The Inquisition building at Ripetta was organised into “thirty-two courtyards that are connected to one another, and in the middle of the courtyards, there are gardens and orchards.”⁹⁵ In one of these courtyards, which was apparently the most beautiful, lived the Dominican friar Tommaso Scotti da Vigevano (1491-1566)⁹⁶ – who was appointed general commissioner of the Roman Inquisition after Michele Ghislieri was elected cardinal in 1557 – and Giovan Battista Bizzone (?-1568), first assessor of the congregation, appointed in 1553.⁹⁷ The court was also inhabited by the minister of the prison, the commissioners, and the notaries “who write the Inquisition’s letters.” As far as we know, Claudio Della Valle (?-1577),⁹⁸ who was notary of the Inquisition during the pontificates of Paul IV and later Pius IV, lived outside the Inquisition building at

ASC, *Camera Capitolina*, cred. XIV, t. 91, cat. 1240 (*Historia manoscritta del Pontificato di Paolo Quarto e Guerra, che hebbe con Filippo Secondo Re di Spagna*), fol. 459r.

⁹² Its name was officially changed to Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith by Paul VI’s *motu proprio Integrae servandae* (1965). The building today hosts, among other things, the historical archives of the Holy Congregation (ACDF).

⁹³ Cf. Massimo Firpo and Dario Marcatto (eds.), *I processi inquisitoriali di Pietro Carnesecchi (1557-1567)*, vol. 2, *Il processo sotto Pio V, 1566-1567* (Città del Vaticano, 2000), 376.

⁹⁴ Marion L. Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel. Prophet of the Restitution of All Things* (The Hague, 1981), 129.

⁹⁵ See below 239.

⁹⁶ Cf. Tedeschi, “Scotti, Tommaso”, *DSI*, vol. 3: 1401-2; Schwedt, 233.

⁹⁷ Cf. Schwedt, 80. The assessor was the secretary of the Congregation, usually a doctor *in utroque iure*; see Andrea Del Col, “Assessore”, *DSI*, vol. 1, 107.

⁹⁸ Born in Flanders, Della Valle had come to dwell in Rome by 1541 with his wife Margherita Simay and was member of the confraternite of Santa Maria dell’Anima where the German and Flemish community was (the Collegio Teutonico). He obtained Roman citizenship in 1550, see ASC, *Archivio della Camera Capitolina*, Cred. IV, t. 62, cat. 307 (*Memoriali dei cittadini romani creati, 1558-1572*), fol. 178r. He first served as notary of the Governor of Rome and was later appointed notary of the Roman Inquisition. Cf. Massimo Firpo-Dario Marcatto, *Il processo inquisitoriale del cardinal Giovanni Morone*, vol. 1 (Città del Vaticano, 2011), 72-3; Schwedt: 260-1.

Ripetta. As recounted in the *avvisi di Roma*, on August 19, after having released the prisoners from Ripetta and the other prisons in the city, the Roman people also went to the house of Claudio della Valle, *notaro dell'Inquisitione* (“notary of the Inquisition”) to kill him, but did not find him, so they burn his house together with all the books and papers concerning the criminal trials.⁹⁹ Very likely, Della Valle did not conduct the notarial activity in the court of the Inquisition on his own, but he could perhaps rely on quite a number of scribes, who, if we base ourselves on the information provided by the chronicler, dwelled at Ripetta.

Continuing with the description, Benjamin writes that on the side of each courtyard there were small cells “with transparent windows blocked by iron nets,” in which two pairs of prisoners who – as he says – “did not know each other, although they would consult and talk with one another” were usually imprisoned.¹⁰⁰

The information regarding the sharing of one cell by four people is also confirmed by other sources: the Augustinian preacher Andrea Ghetti da Volterra, who was arrested by the Inquisition in 1555 for his heretical propositions, was brought to Ripetta in the same cell as the prisoners Bartolomeo Spadafora, Mario Galeota, and Gian Francesco Verdura, all suspected of heresy because of their relations with the group of “spirituals” and the circle of Juan de Valdés in Naples.¹⁰¹ Bartolomeo Spadafora is expressly mentioned by the chronicler along with Guillaume Postel, whose name in the chronicle (פישטילן) was misinterpreted by Sonne, who identified him as the Benedictine monk, humanist, linguist, and poet Onorato Fascitelli (1502-64).¹⁰²

Describing the prisoners imprisoned at Ripetta, Benjamin says that during their permanence there were a

few notable men [...], ministers, preachers (*predicatori*), comforters (*confessori*), canons (*canonici*) and men of high rank [...] two bishops, a few abbots (*abati*), and two others called counts (*conti*), and

⁹⁹ BAV, *Urb. lat.* 1039, Rome, August 19, 1559, fol. 71v, Rome: “Sonn’anch’andati li populi a casa di m. Claudio della Valle, notaro dell’Inquisitione, et se lo trovavano l’haveriano trattato male, l’hanno tolto tutte le scritture, et bruciate, hann’anche bruciato molti libri et processi criminali [...]”. A book of miscellaneous acts signed by Claudio Della Valle can be found in ASC, *Archivio Urbano*, sezione I, Not. Claudius de Valle (1532-1574).

¹⁰⁰ See below 241.

¹⁰¹ See Firpo, *Il processo inquisitoriale del Cardinal Giovanni Morone. Il Compendio* (Rome, 1995), 256.

¹⁰² Cf. SONNE, 72, note 11. On Onorato Fascitelli, see Floriana Calitti, “Fascitelli, Onorato”, *DBI*, vol. 45 (1995): 228-31.

many ministers and notable men [...]. there were also priests (*preti*) and friars (*frati*) and many wise men and other people there.¹⁰³

Among these people, two of them were distinguished because “they were able to speak Hebrew and” – as recounted by Benjamin – “they were praying using the Holy tongue and reciting the Psalms in Hebrew all day long.”¹⁰⁴ The first one is the above-mentioned Bartolomeo Spadafora (born around 1520, died 1566), who was a Sicilian noble from Messina, close to Cardinal Reginald Pole, exponent of the “spirituals” group. Suspected of heresy because of his friendship with Pole and other “dangerous” people such as Pietro Carnesecchi and Giulia Gonzaga, Spadafora managed to escape from the Spanish Inquisition in 1547 but, after Carafa’s election to the papal throne, he was captured and taken to the prisons of the Inquisition in Rome in 1556.¹⁰⁵

The other, Guillaume Postel (1510-81), has been depicted as one of the most incredible personalities of the Renaissance, and he was the author of countless works influenced by his eclecticism and his idea of the “establishment of universal political and religious Harmony through the proposed conversion of the East and political lobbying of sovereigns.”¹⁰⁶ Benjamin emphasises this, saying that he was “a great man of wisdom, knowledgeable in the Law of Moses; he was sharp and he could speak the Sacred Language.”¹⁰⁷ It seems that he had learned Hebrew on his own by borrowing a grammar book and a psalter from the Jews of Paris.¹⁰⁸ After several vicissitudes, he arrived in Rome, where he joined the Society of Jesus in 1544 under the direction of its founder Ignatius of Loyola, who was impressed by Postel’s erudition and piety.¹⁰⁹ Due to his ideas about Church reform, his belief that he had received a prophetic call from God, his heterodox ideas, and his proximity to rabbinical sources and the other Hebrew authors that he used to read, he was expelled from the order. During his time in Rome, he deepened his knowledge of the Kabbalah, and it might have been at this point that he

¹⁰³ See below 241.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Salvatore Caponetto, “Bartolomeo Spadafora e la riforma protestante in Sicilia nel secolo XVI”, *Rinascimento* 7 (1956): 219-341; *La Riforma protestante nell’Italia del Cinquecento* (Turin, 1992), *passim*.

¹⁰⁶ Robert J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation. The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament* (Leiden-Boston, 2007), 134. On his extraordinary life and literary production, see François Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1963); Marion L. Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel. Prophet of the Restitution of All Things*; Paolo Simoncelli, *La lingua di Adamo. Guillaume Postel tra accademici e fuoriusciti fiorentini* (Florence, 1984).

¹⁰⁷ See below 241.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel. Prophet of the Restitution of All Things*, 8-9.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 59.

became acquainted with the spiritual circle of Cardinal Pole, whom he certainly knew several years later.¹¹⁰ He travelled to Venice, Basel, the Levant, Paris, and Vienna, until he was arrested in Venice in 1555 and taken to Rome to be judged for heresy by the Roman Inquisition. Benjamin states that these two prisoners had been at Ripetta for five years or more, so his calculation is almost exact.

Both Spadafora and Postel were released by the Roman people after Paul IV's death. According to the author, at that time the number of prisoners at Ripetta amounted to 102, sixty-two of whom were imprisoned in twenty-six cells in the dungeons of the prison and about forty in the courtyards. Other sources offer different numbers of prisoners. The Venetian ambassador Alvise Mocenigo, writing to the doge and the Venetian Senate, affirmed that at the pope's death on August 18, 1559, about sixty men were imprisoned at Ripetta.¹¹¹

The Theatine Carlo Bromato (*alias* Bartolomeo Carrara), an eighteenth-century biographer of Paul IV, wrote that at the time of the tumults in Rome there were seventy-two heretics imprisoned at Ripetta, among whom forty-two were heresiarchs, that is to say "masters of error."¹¹² These forty-two men, because of their major crimes, were probably imprisoned in the dungeons of the prison which, according to Benjamin, hosted sixty-two men. The mention of forty-two heretics can also be found in a brief handwritten note in the Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.¹¹³ The number thus varies between sixty and 102 prisoners, allocated in the dungeons and the courtyards of the building in twenty-six rooms, as stressed in the chronicle.

Some further information concerning the administration of the prisons: as we have seen for Curia Savelli, "the minister of the guards had the keys to those rooms, and every day in the morning and evening he would open the gate of each room twice, once to bring food and beverages for the prisoners and the second time to return to collect the

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹¹¹ See Luigi Amabile, *Il Santo Ufficio della Inquisizione in Napoli*, vol. 1 (Città di Castello, 1892), 141. The original text is preserved in the State Archives of Venice.

¹¹² Carlo Bromato, *Storia di Paolo IV, pontefice massimo*, vol. 2 (Ravenna, 1753), 577. The translation is mine.

¹¹³ ACDF, *St. St. I 4-a (Collectanea scripturarum ad Sacram Inquisitionem)*, fol. 22r: "S. Offizio. Che nella sede vacante di Paolo IV quando il popolo romano abrugiò e saccheggiò il Palazzo dell'Inquisizione che era a Ripetta, si trova notato in una Relat[ione] di Ludovico Monaldeschi da Orvieto che abbrugiarono tutte le scritture e così non è meraviglia se ne manchino molte. Dice il medesimo che con le accette rompersero le porte e levassero di carcere prigionieri e che fra essi n'erano 42 heresiarchi".

dirty dishes.”¹¹⁴ Moreover, “every two days, in the evening, the guards of the prison would remove any dirt from the rooms.”¹¹⁵

Special attention was devoted to the diet of the prisoners, who, as it seems from the account, “would consume their food and wine in pairs, refined semolina, good wine and water and compote.”¹¹⁶ Meat was only served on particular days, according to the Catholic custom which forbade its consumption on Fridays and on the eve of feasts; “on the days that meat cannot be eaten, they gave them [the prisoners] fish and salty food, vegetables, and fruit.”¹¹⁷ Notwithstanding the variety, from semolina to fruit desserts, the food at Ripetta was not kosher at all, and the Jews of Civitanova refused to eat it, as they did at Curia Savelli.¹¹⁸ As it seems from the account, they asked their “brothers” – probably the Jews of the Roman community – to bring “kosher food or cooked compote,” as the Jews of Camerino and Terni did during their journey from the Marca to their imprisonment in Rome.¹¹⁹ Apparently, their request was rejected by the Inquisition, but “despite this” – Benjamin writes – “we were not tempted by the Gentiles’ cooking or food.”¹²⁰ The only food accepted by the Jews was probably the bread that they used to eat “every evening, when joy came into the courtyard because we [...] would gather together and then all the prisoners would talk to one another, one to his friend, another to his close neighbour.”¹²¹

Besides the physical description of the prisons and the living conditions of its prisoners, Benjamin also recalls the personal story of his imprisonment together with his brother Samuel and the other Jews of Civitanova mentioned before. According to his account, they consulted on which strategy to adopt in regard of their *disamina* – that is to say their close examination by the court of the Inquisition.¹²² The day after their arrival at Ripetta (which was probably July 18), a guard divided them into pairs and into three different cells: Yehoshua with Mahallel, Samuel with Salomon, and Moses with the author, Benjamin. They remained there in this way for twelve days because “this is the custom of the Inquisition.” The chronicler repeats several times that they did not

¹¹⁴ See below 241.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ See below 243.

¹¹⁸ See below 237.

¹¹⁹ See below 229-231.

¹²⁰ See below 243.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² See below 239.

know the accusation for which they had been brought to Rome, which was the reason why they desired to meet with the judge in order to end their imprisonment as soon as possible. Their first appearance before the judge of the Inquisition took place on Shabbat 25th of Av, which corresponds to July 29; since the author later speaks of “Friday evening,” it is better to argue that the meeting was on July 28 and not 29.

In any case, on that occasion they were interrogated about the accusations formulated by Achille da Montecchio and his companions on behalf of the Council of Civitanova: Yehoshua, Mahallel, and Benjamin were accused of having tried to convert a Franciscan friar – a certain Ambrogio – to Judaism, providing him with money and new clothes to go to Eretz Israel; moreover, Yehoshua was charged with having thrown a stone at a sacred icon.¹²³ From the account, it does not seem that Samuel, Solomon, and Moses were charged with other crimes, but it is possible that they were arrested only to give their testimony during the trial. As we have said before, imprisonment was not intended to punish the prisoners, but rather to guard them and the witnesses until the end of the trial and the issue of their sentence.¹²⁴ The accusations with which the Jews of Civitanova were charged were generally widespread from the Middle Ages on.

Relying on Pastor (and the literature and archival materials quoted by him), Sonne argued that the Franciscan friar called Ambrogio, mentioned in the chronicle, might be identified as Ambrogio de Cavoli (or Cavalli) from Milan, a heretic hanged and burnt at Campo de’ Fiori in Rome on June 15, 1556.¹²⁵ The historian was certainly right in saying that there is no mention of this friar in the trial because he had already died, but the point is that the archival documentation concerning the trial did not escape destruction in the tumults of August 1559. Even if we accept Sonne’s interpretation, there is no link between the Jews of Civitanova and Ambrogio of Milan who, as far as we know, never circulated in the area of the Marca. Moreover, Cavalli did not belong to the Franciscan order, but to the Augustinian one. It is more probable that the chronicler is rather referring to a local friar from Civitanova or Macerata, whose identity has yet to be revealed.

Unfortunately, all of the documentation regarding the trials of the Inquisition before 1559 was smuggled out or burnt by the Roman citizens, with the exception of the

¹²³ See below 243-245.

¹²⁴ Cf. Di Sivo, “Il braccio del tribunale: birri e carceri a Roma tra Cinque e Seicento”, 261.

¹²⁵ PASTOR, 261.

general decrees of the Roman Inquisition and a few other documents. This series of decrees, preserved in the Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith under the heading of *Decreta Sancti Officii*, constitutes the concise notes of the notary about the decisions taken by the cardinals inquisitors who gathered every Thursday in the congregation chaired by the pope.¹²⁶ Between July and August 1559, that is to say during the month in which Benjamin and the other Jews of Civitanova were imprisoned at Ripetta, the congregation gathered every Thursday (July 6, 13, 20, 27; August 3, 10, 17), pausing at the death of Pope Carafa (August 18).¹²⁷ Browsing the *Decreta*, the names of some known prisoners like the above-mentioned Bartolomeo Spadafora and Guillaume Postel emerge, but there is no trace of the six Jews of Civitanova.

According to Benjamin's account, after having been questioned about their accusations on July 28, the Jews were then divided into separate cells, the author by himself and the others with some Christian prisoners. The chronicler mentions an old man, a notable from Lucca, who was in the neighbouring cell, saying: "he showed me his face sometimes and comforted me with his words, the words of a wise, graceful man. After eight days, he became sick, and he and his servant, who was in prison to serve him, were taken out of there and they led him to another house belonging to his relatives in Rome to be guarded until he was healed."¹²⁸ Unfortunately, at this stage of the research it has not been possible to identify this man.

On August 11, the Jews of Civitanova appeared once again before the *procurator* or *advocatus fiscalis* (in Italian, *fiscale*), who supported the accusation and was responsible for the inquiry. Although there is no mention of names in the chronicle, it is known that Sebastiano Attracino and Pietro Belo were in charge of this office in 1559.¹²⁹

The author writes that he and the other Jews were questioned about their testimony and afterwards were brought back to the cells; three days later, on August 14, the lawyer Alfonso Villanova¹³⁰ – whose name also appears in some other famous trials

¹²⁶ Cf. Andrea Del Col, *L'Inquisizione romana: metodologia delle fonti e storia istituzionale* (Trieste, 2000), 122.

¹²⁷ ACDF, *St. St., Decreta S.O.*, vol. 2 (1559-1563).

¹²⁸ See below 245.

¹²⁹ Cf. Schwedt, 284.

¹³⁰ On the involvement of this lawyer in other famous trials see, for example, Massimo Firpo and Dario Marcatto, *Lorenzo Davidico (1513-1574) e il suo processo inquisitoriale*, vol. 2, *Il processo inquisitoriale di Lorenzo Davidico (1555-1560). Edizione critica*, ed. Dario Marcatto (Florence, 1992),

during the same years – was assigned to their defence. As it appears from the *Decreta*, Villanova was already in charge as *procurator pauperum* – that is to say “chief defender” – for the Roman Inquisition by 1553.¹³¹

The Jews consulted with the lawyer “about what to argue and how to respond to the false accusations.”¹³² Recalling these facts, I think it can be possible to explain the lack of information in the *Decreta* by the short period of imprisonment of the Jewish group from Civitanova. As it seems from the chronicle itself, no relevant decisions were taken by the congregation regarding the Jews, since their case was just beginning to be prepared at the time of the pope’s death.

82; *Eidem, Il processo inquisitoriale del cardinal Giovanni Morone. Nuova edizione critica*, vol. 1, *Processo d’accusa* (Rome, 2011), 1281, note 1.

¹³¹ Cf. Firpo-Marcatto (eds), *Il processo inquisitoriale del cardinal Giovanni Morone. Nuova edizione critica*, vol. 1, *Processo d’accusa*, 1281, note 1. On the figure and role of the *procurator pauperum*, see Fornili, *Delinquenti e carcerati a Roma alla metà del ‘600*, 112-4.

¹³² See below 245.

CHAPTER SIX

From Paul IV “the Evil” to Pius IV “the Merciful.”

6.1. *Sickness and Death of Paul IV*

As far as we know, the only medical dispatch which survives in the documentation is a Latin report by the physician Agostino Ricchi, the *archiatra* (“pope’s physician”) who, using apologetic tones, justifies Paul IV’s behaviour as being caused by his health problems.¹ The account of Pope Carafa’s deathly illness is recounted in some archival documents, such as the above-mentioned *avvisi di Roma*, which, despite their brevity, can be considered a kind of medical bulletin. Yet at the beginning of March 1558, “the Pope suffered from a great catarrh” and in August of the same year, erysipelas (an inflammatory skin disease) affected one of his legs so that he was compelled to use a walking stick.²

His health bitterly worsened in late August and September: the physicians examined him and declared that he had had a fever for some time; moreover, he suffered from a bleeding (caused by the erysipelas) which took away his appetite. Fainting and general weakness forced him to stay in bed, but

the same evening, His Beatitude had dinner in the company of two cardinals, and on Tuesday he gave the usual public consultation, albeit briefly. On Thursday, he only attended the meeting of the Inquisition for half an hour, and it was known that he had suffered greatly and that he had not yet recovered his strength and appetite. However, he went to the Belvedere, partly taken, partly walking, and now he shows himself to be pleased with the company of some cardinals of his household at table [...] in any case, his old age and the season [...] leads to doubts that the pope will recover.³

The situation appeared so critical that rumours of the pope’s death were widespread in Rome, and the cavalry was summoned to protect the buildings from a possible uprising of the Roman populace. The pope “received Communion from the Cardinal of Pisa very

¹ The account of Agostino Ricchi is preserved in BAV, *Barb. Lat.* 2567, fols. 26r-27v (*Ad Ill.mus atque R.mus D.D. Alphonsum Carafam Car.i Neap.m Augustini Ricchi in Hystoriam Egrotationis Pauli Quarti Pont.is Max.i Prefatio*).

² BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1038, pt. A, Rome, March 12, 1558, fol. 292v; Rome, August 13, 1558, fol. 330v.

³ *Ibid.*, Rome, September 3, 1558, fol. 337v. The translation from Italian is mine.

devoutly and said that he did not want to die [...] but that he had decided to take something for the health of his body, as they wished, which he had not wanted to do before.”⁴ After some days, he recovered a little, and in the city, conflicting news was circulating as to whether the pope was still alive or not.

The portrait that emerges from the narrative emphasises the strong nature of the pope, who is remembered in the biographical writings for his moral integrity, intransigence, and doctrine.⁵

On September 10, the talking statue Pasquino spoke once more, voicing a satirical commentary, a *pasquinata* (“pasquinade” in English), on the health of Pope Carafa and the alleged prophecy of his death: the pope was not close to death but – as it had been prophesied – he was supposed to live for seven more years in order to reform his Church, “to remove the Turks and the Lutherans from their errors and to lead the herd into the fold because he is the shepherd” (doc. 4).⁶ The same is confirmed in the *avviso*, dated September 24:

The pope [...] first visited the Church of St. Peter on foot [...] then he climbed into an open litter until he reached Aracoeli, where he walked up the stairs with only the help of his walking stick, something which surprised everybody a little. The next day, he went to St. Mary Major and then to St. Sylvester to his Theatines, where he remained, and he is still now there taking a break, and it seems that he is very well [...] it is thought that he can live for more than seven years, as it was said some years ago [...] His Holiness has undeceived the world, which held him more dead than alive.⁷

No other details are known regarding this prophecy, but in all likelihood, it was an astrological prediction. The only source which says more on this particular aspect is the chronicle by Benjamin ben Elnathan. Writing about the last days of Gian Pietro Carafa

⁴ *Ibid.*, Rome, September 10, 1558, fol. 333v.

⁵ Carlo Bromato, *Storia di Paolo IV pontefice massimo*, vol. 2 (Ravenna, 1753), 575.

⁶ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1038, pt. A, Rome, September 10, 1558, fol. 340r. The translation from Italian is mine. Like the other talking statues in Rome (known as Marforio, il Babuino, il Facchino, l’Abate Luigi, and Madama Lucrezia), from the sixteenth century on, Pasquino was the repository of anonymous satirical compositions, commenting on events and prominent personalities in Rome. Behind the satirical activity of the statue, located between Piazza Navona and Via dell’Anima (today Piazza di Pasquino), were authors such as Pietro Aretino and Niccolò Franco (the latter was executed in 1566 during Pius V’s reign for having written a libel against Paul IV entitled *Commento sopra la vita et costume di Gio. Pietro Carafa*). On Pasquino and the pasquinades: Massimo Firpo, “Pasquinate romane del Cinquecento”, *Rivista storica italiana* 2 (1984): 600-621; Chrysa Damianaki, Paolo Procaccioli, Angelo Romano (eds.), *Ex marmore. Pasquini, pasquinisti, pasquinate nell’Europa moderna. Atti del colloquio internazionale, Lecce-Otranto, 17-19 novembre 2005* (Rome, 2006); Anthony Grafton, Glenn W. Most, Salvatore Settis (eds.), *The Classical Tradition* (Cambridge-London, 2010), 693-4.

⁷ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1038, pt. A, Rome, September 24, 1558, fol. 339r-v.

in August 1559, our chronicler says that the populace of Rome remembered the prediction of an astrologer who predicted that Paul IV's pontificate would last for fifty months, that is to say more than four years.⁸ The poetic description provided by Benjamin of the almost-dead Paul IV looking at the moon to check whether or not it was full is extremely interesting, and not only from a literary point of view:

At midnight, he got out of his bed and looked up to the sky, checking the moon to see whether it was full to calculate whether the moment of opposition [had arrived], and he saw that it was no longer full. Then he was relieved, because he thought that the dangerous moment had passed. He returned to his bed and fell asleep, and his sickness worsened.⁹

The presence of astrologers at the papal court is well attested for the early modern period. Summoned in order to make predictions about the papacy, they spoke more or less openly, sometimes working for the purposes of propaganda, like Luca Gaurico, Paul III's astrologer.¹⁰ On the other hand, predictions could also arise spontaneously to reach the ears of the court and the pope himself, causing disorder and anxiety. It is possible that an astrological prediction indicating the duration of Carafa's pontificate – whether for four or seven years – not requested by the pope and his entourage could reasonably have been the cause of the sharp condemnation of astrology and astrologers by Paul IV. Indeed, in 1556 he ordered the expulsion of all astrologers from the Papal States; the Council of Trent and then the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (“List of Prohibited Books”) of 1559 condemned all books concerning divination and astrology, and this ban was reiterated by the bull *Coeli et terrae Creator Deus* by Sixtus V in 1586.¹¹ Medical knowledge was itself strongly influenced by the disposition of the stars and planets, as well as the phases of the moon and the appearance of extraordinary signs (such as comets). As may be read in the *avvisi*, the pope's physicians related the worsening of his sickness to lunar mutations,¹² and the rumour of his death spread in Rome after a comet appeared in the sky over the Vatican on June 17, 1559.¹³

⁸ See below 253.

⁹ See below 255.

¹⁰ Cf. Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *Morte e elezione del papa. Norme, riti e conflitti. L'Età moderna* (Rome, 2013), 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, Rome, February 4, 1559, fol. 6v; Rome, June 24, 1559, fol. 55r.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Rome, June 17, 1559, fol. 53r.

With the exception of a single episode in November 1558, the octogenarian pope seemed to have recovered, until his sickness worsened again in February 1559. All the accounts of the time agree on the cause of this deterioration: embittered by the corrupt and licentious behaviour of his nephews, on January 31 (and then on February 3 through the *motu proprio Cum Nos ingravescente*), the pope deprived them of their authority and then ordered them to leave Rome with their wives and children within the space of twelve days.¹⁴ He could neither eat nor sleep, the reason being that “he had problems with constipation and anxiety which made sleep impossible for him; in any case, with a little bit of *manna* (= a sweet substance used in medicine for its laxative properties), he was liberated, so he came back to his duties.¹⁵

Notwithstanding the opposition of the physicians, who were concerned with his serious health conditions, Paul IV attended the services of Candlemas – the traditional rite with which the Catholic Church celebrates the presentation of Jesus at the Temple, falling on February 2 – and Ash Wednesday, the first day of Lent.¹⁶ His strong and austere temperament naturally led him to disobey the physicians’ exhortation to rest and to refrain from fasting during Lent.¹⁷ Similarly, he did not miss the meetings of the Inquisition, or the public and private consultations that the popes would give the population, the cardinals, and so on.

These kinds of sources also highlight his psychological condition, alternating between anger and melancholy because of his nephews, sadness for Camillo Orsini’s death, and pain, but also cheerfulness and relief. His zealous activity was temporarily interrupted at the beginning of March 1559, when the physicians cauterised the leg affected by erysipelas.¹⁸ After a few days, he went back to attending the meetings of the Inquisition, speaking more and more vehemently against his nephews, and he celebrated mass at Easter.¹⁹ Nevertheless, in May, his medical conditions worsened again: when he took part in the mass of the Ascension (May 6), he appeared “more afflicted and

¹⁴ The information is reported both in the *avvisi* (BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, Rome, January 28-February 4, fols. 4r-6v,) and in the chronicle by the Roman Vincenzo Belli, of which there are many handwritten copies with a few variants, see for example ASV, *Fondo Borghese*, serie I, n. 633, fols. (263r-287r) 272r-296r; ASV, *Fondo Pio* n. 29, fols. 185r-228r; BAV, *Barb. Lat.* 12282, fol. 1r-43r; ASC, *Cam. Cap.*, cred. XIV, t. 7, cat. 1156, fols. 208r-237v.

¹⁵ ASV, *Fondo Pio* n. 29, fols. 202r-v.

¹⁶ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, Rome, February 4, 1559, fol. 6r; Rome, February 11, 1559, fol. 7r.

¹⁷ ASV, *Carte Farnesiane* n. 2, n.d., fol. 223v.

¹⁸ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, Rome, March 4, 1559, fol. 12r.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

consumed than ever, and the colour of his face, which used to be lively, seemed livid.” And again: “it is known that he is wearing out like a candle [...] but he did not have any intention of dying, because he wished to achieve many other things.”²⁰

On the occasion of the celebration of his election:

He went to the chapel, where the mass was sung, and then he gave a wonderful banquet for all the cardinals. His Holiness, who was at the head of the table as usual, showed cheerfulness, and since his banquets are distinguished from those of his predecessors’, besides the different kinds of food, there were many sugar statues, beautiful in their appearance, which were given to all the cardinals. On Friday, to commemorate his coronation, a banquet of fish was given, more sumptuous than the first one, because of the variety of food; there was also dolphin [meat]. At night, the Castello (= Castel Sant’Angelo) let off beautiful fireworks [...] in the last banquet on Friday His Holiness argued in favour of peace for the good of Christianity and for the Council which was wished by the princes [...] and exhorted all to pray for his convalescence and his long life [...] now he feels that he is recovering his strength because he allowed [the physicians] to cauterise his leg so that the bad fluids – which affected him – would flow away [...] This reasoning of his was undoubtedly more sweet than the delicacies and sugar eaten at table.²¹

However, the operation did not have the expected results, and at the beginning of June, the pope suffered from a swollen stomach; in any case, he made every effort to appear in good health. Furthermore, the physician took care of his leg, since he was promised a salary of 1,500 *scudi* a year.²² Once again, the pope did not want to miss his weekly appointments, so he attended the meeting of the Inquisition but “he stayed only for a little while because he could not stand, and from that time he felt terrible. But they said that he rested yesterday night and his stomach is well, which gives hope to the physicians.”²³

Rumours about the pope’s death were circulating again in Rome on June 17, and because of the disease in his leg and the dropsy, two other physicians were summoned to help the doctor while he disputed with them, quoting from Avicenna and Galen.²⁴ Five days later, the pope gathered the meeting of the Inquisition in his room;

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Rome, May 6, 1559, fol. 30v.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Rome, May 27, 1559, fol. 44v-45r.

²² *Ibid.*, Rome, June 3, 1559, fol. 47v.

²³ *Ibid.*, Rome, June 17, 1559, fol. 52r.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Rome, June 24, 1559, fol. 55r. On the different physicians who took care of Paul IV’s health, see Gaetano Marini, *Degli archiatri pontifici nel quale sono i supplimenti e le correzioni all’opera del Mandosio* (Rome, 1784), *passim*.

on that occasion, he praised Philip II for his proceedings against the Lutherans in Spain and reminded everybody “how much he had the extirpation of heresy at heart.”²⁵

Abdominal cramping exacerbated his condition and the bleeding in his leg forced him to remain in his room; the author of the *avvisi* says that he was given a life expectancy of fifteen days and that soon the cardinals would be compelled to gather in the *conclave* in order to elect the new Vicar of Christ.²⁶

The pope’s health continued to decline and despite the July heat, he felt so cold that he ordered a fire to be lit in his room. Since the young Alfonso Carafa (1540-65) – one of the few family members who had not been expelled from Rome at the beginning of 1559²⁷ – could not stand the high temperature, he was removed from his duty of reciting the breviary with the pope, and Geremia Isachino, the Theatine superior of the convent of S. Silvestro at Monte Cavallo, replaced him in this office.²⁸ The *avvisi* noted the singularity of the pope’s sickness, saying:

It is astonishing and almost miraculous, this sickness of the pope, who despite all his bodily sufferings, retains his mental powers as if he would reach the same as Peter; although he suffers from dropsy and he has swollen testicles, urinary stones, a swollen and paralysed leg [...] catarrh [...], he himself still has hope, and says that he will reach his father’s age, who lived for twelve years in a similar condition and who died as a centenarian.²⁹

Also, this time Paul IV did not want to abandon his office, so he received cardinals, signed pleas, attended the Inquisition meeting, and held a special consultation with the cardinal inquisitors. Believing himself to be recovered from his sickness, he decided to make a pilgrimage to the sanctuary of the Madonna of Loreto in August, so he ordered litters to be prepared, one of which was provided with a stove.³⁰ Once again, he regained his strength and went to the Belvedere, attended the Inquisition meetings (one of which was held in his room), and gathered two consistories.

Benjamin Nehemiah ben Elnathan, who was aware of the pope’s health conditions – perhaps either thanks to the circulation of these relations and gazettes

²⁵ *Ibid.* This quotation is from PASTOR, 412.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Rome, July 1, 1559, fol. 57r.

²⁷ Son of Antonio Carafa and nephew of the pope and the Duke of Montebello, Alfonso was appointed cardinal at the age of seventeen in 1557 and a year later was admitted to the Congregation of the Inquisition, see Adriano Prosperi, “Carafa, Alfonso”, *DBI* 19 (1976): 473-6.

²⁸ This information is reported in PASTOR, 412, without the source.

²⁹ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, Rome, July 8, 1559, fol. 58v.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

which appeared after Paul IV's death or because he had heard some rumours in Rome – summarises the ups and downs, writing that the pope “got sick many times but he always recovered” and that in summer “his sickness was so grievous that his shins and thighs swelled up, and in addition he had an intestinal disease with bleeding.”³¹ Already in the previous year, in the summer of 1558, Paul IV's health had been unstable and he had been near death; however, he recovered and, according to the account of an anonymous pamphleteer, the pope and cardinals visited the seven pilgrimage churches of Rome to thank God for the pope's recovery.³² The *avviso* curiously hinted that “Cardinal Carafa, Cardinal Vitellio, and the Duke of Paliano [...] brought birds with them to fly in order to entertain the pope on the route.”³³

The *avvisi*, along with the relation of Ricchi the physician, reveal many details on both the psychological and the physical conditions of the pope. Ricchi particularly lingered on his diet, saying that the very end of Gian Pietro Carafa's life was hastened since he did not consume meat or any other nutritious food for three days.³⁴ A little information on his dietary restrictions is reported in Benjamin's chronicle.

To dropsy, embittered by the great heat of August, were added vomiting and fever; after suffering for eight days, Gian Pietro Carafa finally died on August 18.³⁵ And now we arrive at Benjamin's chronicle, which provides new and important details which do not appear in the other sources. First of all, the call to the Cardinal of Santa Fiora during the night between August 17 and 18. Guido Ascanio Sforza was in fact – as remembered by our author – the *camerlengo*, “the deputy” of the pope, whose duty was to replace the deceased pope immediately after his death and to rule in his stead. According to the custom, the pope's familiars and servants needed to summon him when his death was approaching.³⁶ Once Cardinal Sforza arrived there and saw that the

³¹ See below 253-255.

³² BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1038, Rome, September 3, 1558, fol. 338r; September 24, 1558, fols. 339r-v. The seven pilgrimage churches of Rome are St. Peter's Basilica, the Basilica of St. Paul Outside-the-Walls, the Basilica of St. John Lateran, the Basilica of St. Mary Major, the Basilica of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, the Basilica of St. Lawrence Outside-the-Walls, and the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Divine Love (since 2000, instead of St. Sebastian Outside-the-Walls). The pious devotion, which covers about 20 kilometres, began in the mid-sixteenth century thanks to St. Filippo Neri (1515-95).

³³ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1038, Rome, September 3, 1558, fol. 338r. As it appears from the expenses for the pope and his house, papal grooms fed and took care of common linnets (in Italian, *fanelli*); see for instance ASR, *Camerale I, Tesoreria segreta*, bb. 1296; 1297; 1298.

³⁴ BAV, *Barb. Lat.* 2567, fol. 26.

³⁵ ASV, *Fondo Borghese*, serie I, n. 633, fol. 294r.

³⁶ See below 255.

pope was almost dead, he sent messages to all the cardinals, especially those who were not in Rome, but only hinted at Paul IV's desperate condition. Benjamin also concurs with the Court's attempt to keep the pope's sickness secret, writing that "his relatives and household concealed the fact that he was sick from the cardinals and the rest of the people until the night of the 15th of Elul [August 18], when he fainted at midnight."³⁷

As recounted in the relations of the vacancy of the Holy See, the populace of Rome – "who wished the pope's death" because of the many and severe restrictions imposed by him – arose and, led by their curiosity as to whether he had really died or not, ran to St. Peter's. However, once they arrived there, they were repelled by the Swiss Guards.³⁸ Nonetheless, the populace did not want to move, because "on August 18 at noon, the cardinals were seen running to the palace like messengers do, followed also by servants, carriages, and litters."³⁹ According to the source, the cardinals were directly summoned to his bedside by the pope himself, because "he wanted to speak with them and talk about some essential matters."⁴⁰ The *camerlengo* is not mentioned at all at this point, and a little further on it is said that he did not go the palace, but had remained in his bed because he had gout and fever and so could only attend to his offices at a later time.⁴¹ Also, another letter attests the pope's desire to gather all the cardinals in his room at noon.⁴² Pope Carafa received extreme unction at 8 a.m. on August 18 and the meeting of the cardinals was set at 1 p.m. on the same day, but when they finally appeared in his presence, Paul IV was unable to speak and his voice was hardly audible.⁴³ Other sources reported, on the contrary, that before he died the pope "made a beautiful discourse saying that he was not able to gather a consistory because he was really suffering and, in case of death, he will beg them to elect a respectable man

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1736, fols. 179-237 (*De vari successi nella sede vacante seguiti a Roma dopo la morte di Paolo 4^o*), see fols. 180-182. Copies of the another relation entitled *Alcune cose occorse a Roma nella sede vacante di Paolo IIII notate da un Romano, e notate diligentemente* are, for instance, in ASV, *Misc. Arm.* II, n. 29, fols. 285r-294v; ASV, *Fondo Pio* n. 7, fols. 98v-103r and ASC, *Cam. Cap.*, cred. XIV, t. 7, cat. 1156, fols. 238r-244r.

³⁹ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1736, fol. 182.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 185.

⁴² The report of the ambassador of Bologna Giovanni Aldrovandi, preserved in the State Archives of Bologna is quoted in PASTOR, 414, note 3.

⁴³ ASC, *Cam. Cap.*, cred. XIV, t. 91, cat. 1240, fols. 1r-574v (*Historia manoscritta del Pontificato di Paolo Quarto e Guerra, che hebbe con Filippo Secondo Re di Spagna*); see fols. 457r-458r.

[...]” in a short time;⁴⁴ moreover, “he recommended the affairs of the Church to the Cardinals, particularly the Inquisition and the building of St. Peter’s.”⁴⁵

There is no trace of these recommendations in Benjamin’s chronicle, but the scant information he does provide is of great interest. Indeed, he writes that the pope fainted in the night and that when “his spirit returned to him, and he weakly began to speak, his words were barely heard. Then the *camerlengo* spoke to him and begged him to allow Cardinal Carafa [...] to return in order to find him before his spirit left him”. Paul IV replied and gave his agreement. Cardinal Sforza immediately sent for Cardinal Carafa, who was outside of Rome, in the city of Marino.⁴⁶ This information does not appear in any other sources, neither the relations nor the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century historiographical works on Paul IV. On the contrary, other chronicles and works are divided between his reluctance to meet his nephews (particularly Carlo Carafa) and the impediment to Cardinal Carafa being at his uncle’s bedside.

In one of the relations on the vacant see mentioned above, which – among other things – gives several details of the pope’s last words and actions, it was not the *camerlengo* who asked the pope whether he should call his nephews or not, but Cardinal Farnese.⁴⁷ Paul IV simply replied that he did not want to be afflicted any longer and that “he did not want to say more”; after that, he asked the cardinals to give him the crucified Christ because he wanted to die “with Jesus and Mary.”⁴⁸ The order to forbid entrance to his bedside is explicit in the *Diario* of Cola Colleine. Here, we read that when the cardinal learned of his uncle’s desperate health conditions, he arrived in Rome from Marino at 9.45 p.m. (one hour before the pope’s death) with his entourage, but he was then stopped by the papal army and detained outside the palace for almost an hour.⁴⁹ Carlo Bromato (pseudonym of Bartolomeo Carrara), the author of an eighteenth-

⁴⁴ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1736, fol. 186.

⁴⁵ PASTOR, 414, especially note 3. With the issue of the bull *Cum ex apostolatus officio* (February 15, 1559) and this last recommendation to the cardinals, the pope wanted to make it impossible for Cardinal Giovanni Morone to be elected in the *conclave* after him. This is also remarked on in BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, Rome, April 8, 1559, fol. 24r; cf. Visceglia, 33; 155. On Giovanni Morone and his trial: Massimo Firpo, *Inquisizione romana e Controriforma. Studi sul cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509-1580) e il suo processo d'eresia* (Brescia: 2005; first edition: 1992); Massimo Firpo, Dario Marcatto, *Il processo inquisitoriale del cardinal Giovanni Morone. Nuova edizione critica*, 3 vols. (Città del Vaticano: 2011-2015; first edition, 6 vols., Rome: 1981-1995).

⁴⁶ See below 257.

⁴⁷ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1736, fol. 187.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ ASC, *Cam. Cap.*, cred. XIV, t. 7, cat. 1156, fol. 38r.

century biography of Paul IV, writes instead that, notwithstanding the opposition of some cardinals, the cardinal-nephew was summoned, and when he arrived, he was allowed to enter the palace in order to reconcile himself with his uncle. However, at the very last moment, before entering the room, Father Geremia Isachino, who knew the pope's desire to keep his nephews away from him, prevented Carlo from sitting at his uncle's bedside.⁵⁰ In the Hebrew chronicle by Benjamin, the cardinal also did not manage to see the pope, but for another reason: Carlo Carafa, who is compared to the biblical Haman (see par. 2.3.), returned to Rome followed by 200 horsemen, but in the same instant that "he set his feet on the threshold of the room where his uncle lay, his bestial spirit passed away."⁵¹ The source emphasises their failed reunion, saying that neither the cardinal nor the pope "that wicked man" had the opportunity to see each other.⁵² Whether the author took this version from an unknown chronicle or whether it was just the result of his imagination, I think it can be argued that this detail is used here with an ideological nuance. Precisely because of their sins, the wicked pope and his nephew Carlo/Haman did not manage to meet one last time. Paul IV's harshness also justifies his horrible and singular death which – the chronicler exaggerates – was not "like the rest of humanity."⁵³ The death of the evil pope who "died as a dog abandoned to lie in its kennel" signified for Benjamin the redemption of the Jews, who turned to praise God.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, the populace oppressed by the four years of Carafa's papacy inaugurated one of the most violent periods of vacancy in the history of the Holy See.

6.2. *The Vacancy of the Holy See*

Even before Paul IV died, his death was celebrated both by Jews and Christians. As recounted by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan, the news of the pope's death reached him and the other prisoners at Ripetta before he died.⁵⁵ However, the papal guards concealed the rumours of the uprising of the populace in the city from the dying

⁵⁰ Bromato, *Storia di Paolo IV pontefice massimo*, vol. 2, 572.

⁵¹ See below 257.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ See below 253.

⁵⁴ See below 251.

⁵⁵ See below 257.

Carafa.⁵⁶ Although the sequence of events that happened in the vacant see between the pontificates of Paul IV and Pius IV (August 18 – December 25, 1559) has been the object of several studies in recent historiography,⁵⁷ it will be useful to recall them at this stage in order to integrate them into the information provided by the chronicle by Benjamin Neḥemiah, who states here and elsewhere that he was an eye-witness to the events.

All the chronicles and diaries agree in varying levels of detail that the uprising of the Roman populace had already started by the morning of August 18. As was the custom at the pope's death, the rule of Rome was taken by the *Popolo Romano*, that is to say the civic government of the city located at Campidoglio (Capitoline Hill). As in a recent study on the vacancy of the Holy See in early modern Rome, this place was one of the "politicized spaces of protest during Rome's *sede vacante*."⁵⁸ Gathered together on the morning of August 18, the general council, represented by the senator, the three conservators, and the *caporioni*,⁵⁹ resolved to open all the jails, including the prisons of the Inquisition at Ripetta where the heretics were detained. While most of the sources give few details about the leaders of the popular revolt, a diary on the vacant see by Vincenzo Belli refers to a long list of names;⁶⁰ Benjamin only mentions the noble "Cencio Capizucchi and his companions."⁶¹ The Romans moved to open the prisons of Tor di Nona, Corte Savella, and Campidoglio (Benjamin does not refer to Tor di Nona). According to the Hebrew chronicle, at this point the Roman people gathered together in

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *Morte e elezione del papa*; John M. Hunt, "The Pope's Two Souls and the Space of Ritual Protest during Rome's *Sede Vacante*, 1559-1644". In *The Sacralization of Space and Behavior in the Early Modern World: Studies and Sources*, ed. Jennifer Mara DeSilva (Aldershot, 2015), 177-196, and now Id., *The Vacant See in Early Modern Rome. A Social History of the Papal Interregnum* (Leiden-Boston, 2016), 132-73.

⁵⁸ John M. Hunt, "The Pope's Two Souls and the Space of Ritual Protest during Rome's *Sede Vacante*, 1559-1644", 179.

⁵⁹ Leaders of the *rioni*, the fourteen regions of Rome: Monti, Trevi, Colonna, Campo Marzio, Ponte, Parione, Regola, Sant'Eustachio, Pigna, Campitelli, Sant'Angelo, Ripa, Borgo, and Trastevere. For the senators, conservators, and *caporioni* in charge in 1559, see Cesare De Dominicus, *Senatori, Conservatori, Caporioni e loro Priori e Lista d'oro delle famiglie dirigenti, secc. X-XIX* (Rome, 2009).

⁶⁰ "Io Vincenzo Bello, ci viddi Cencio Capizucca a cavallo, e Luca Peto, Girolamo Altieri e Titta Maddalena, Emilio Altieri, il Capitan Gio. Battista da Macerata, et in un cocchio certi Gentilomini che fu detto fussero li conservatori di Roma, Pirro Taro, Giovan Batt[ist]a Cecchino e Panfilio Porcaro altrimenti Palino" (ASV, *Misc. Arm.* II, n. 29, fols. 287r-v).

⁶¹ Belonging to a famous noble family, Cencio Capizucchi (1525-75) fought for Paul IV in the war against Spain and was loyal to him during his lifetime; however, at his death he participated in the uprising of the Roman populace against the works and memory of the deceased pope. For this, he was arrested, but later pardoned by the new pope Pius IV. Cf. Mirella Giansante, "Capizucchi, Cencio", *DBI* 18 (1975): 566-8.

Campidoglio again in order to decide what to do with the heretics imprisoned at Ripetta. After a long debate, they unanimously resolved to free them all, without hinting at the oath of loyalty to the Roman Church and the Catholic faith mentioned by other sources.⁶²

The Court of the Inquisition near the port of Ripetta was not a mere physical place, but was rather the symbol of Paul IV's oppression in the imagination of the Roman populace. The complete destruction and burning of the building is a clue to the anger and resentment it caused by strengthening the Sacred Congregation during Carafa's pontificate. Benjamin does not hesitate to compare the Court at Ripetta to "the house of evil and *the wild goats will leap about* (Isaiah 13:21)."⁶³ With the destruction of the building, the Roman populace meant not only to assault the memory of the hated inquisitorial proceedings, but also the memory of the pope himself. Benjamin states that about 3,000 men stormed the palace of the Inquisition and that when they entered, they wounded the Commissioner of the Congregation, the Dominican friar Tommaso Scotti, in the head and arm with a sword, but that he managed to escape.⁶⁴ Also, his secretary, fra Sebastiano Cavalli, received a head wound, and Benjamin asserts that he saw his blood on the threshold of the building. Regarding the other people in the building, the sources disagree: while our chronicler stresses that the judge and ministers of the prison escaped via the roofs, Belli argues that Giovan Battista Bizzone was beaten, imprisoned, and then released by the Roman people.⁶⁵ All the prisoners were then freed. The general narrative of the vacant see and the deeds committed by the Romans at this point meet the account of our author, who reports the dialogue between himself and the noble Roman who released him, emphasising the love of the Christian towards the Jews and his determination in rescuing him.⁶⁶

Before the whole building was set on fire, all the prisoners – whose number (as we have seen in par. 5.3) varies between sixty and 102 in the sources – were saved and all the provisions in the building (wine, grain, fodder, money, and other items) were looted. On that occasion, part of the original documentation concerning the trial records

⁶² Hunt, "The Pope's Two Souls", 184.

⁶³ See below 259.

⁶⁴ See par. 5.3., 127 ff. On the contrary, in the diary by Vincenzo Belli, it is said that he was stabbed to death, see ASV, *Misc. Arm.* II, n. 29, fol. 286v.

⁶⁵ ASV, *Misc. Arm.* II, n. 29, fol. 286v.

⁶⁶ See below 261-2.

and the letters of the Inquisition was also lost forever. The loss is even greater if we consider that this includes the books confiscated from heretics and the Jews, in particular as a consequence of the first *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (“List of Prohibited Books”) issued by Paul IV in 1559. The burning of the books particularly upset the author, who writes that

they brought wood and set fire to the building, and all the books and letters which were inside it. I was upset because of this; I felt upset, for because of our great sins, many books that were burned there were sacred books which had been taken from the hands of the Jews in Rome and left there in the prison in a room full [of books], and in the middle of the [Palace of] the Inquisition, everything was burned, because the whole palace was burned: its trees, its statues, and everything that was inside it, on Shabbat 15th of Elul [5]319 [August 18, 1559] in the sixth hour of the day, that is to say at the eighteenth hour [in the afternoon].⁶⁷

However, Ripetta was not the only place assaulted by the Romans. Indeed, after they had burnt the Court of the Inquisition and released its prisoners, they went to the Dominican convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, which was used for the gatherings of the Inquisition and readings of the sentences and which was another prison for heretics (par. 5.3). The assault on the convent and church, inhabited by the Dominican friars, was prevented, however, by the noble Giuliano Cesarini. Not content with destroying Ripetta and scaring the Dominican friars, during the night between August 18 and 19, the Roman people went to another monastery – which was not identified – which was established in Rome by the pope’s sister (Maria Carafa), cast out the nuns who were there, and damaged it “because they wanted no trace of their deeds to remain.”⁶⁸

The same fate befell Campidoglio, where the statue in honour of Paul IV was seriously damaged by the people on that same day, already on the morning of August 18. As recounted by Benjamin and the other sources, before heading to Ripetta, the populace pounced on the statue of Paul IV in the Hall of the Conservators at Campidoglio. Statues of popes were usually erected there by the Roman civic authorities “in the hope of gaining papal patronage”⁶⁹ or to pay homage to the pontiff for some special merits. The erection of a statue of Paul IV was decreed by the Camera

⁶⁷ See below 263.

⁶⁸ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, August 19, 1559, fol. 71r. Benjamin does not make any mention of the assaults on these two places, but he does say that after the burning of Ripetta, the Romans returned home, see below 263.

⁶⁹ Hunt, “The Pope’s Two Souls”, 180.

Capitolina on October 16, 1555 after extensive praise of the pope for having abolished the meat tax and other taxes, for having increased the conservators' powers, and for having confirmed the privileges of the *Popolo Romano*.⁷⁰ The marble statue created by the Florentine sculptor Vincenzo de' Rossi, a pupil of Baccio Bandinelli, seems to have been extremely rich and decorated with fine stone. According to Benjamin's account, it amounted to the remarkable sum of 22,000 *scudi*, and – he adds – “it was more adorned than all the statues of the popes in Rome.”⁷¹ The only source which specifies the amount paid to the sculptor for the creation of the statue is a letter dated August 23 from the Roman Giovanni Vicellino to an anonymous recipient. We read here that “the *Senato* and *Popolo Romano ad perpetuam rei memoria* erected a beautiful pure white marble statue, representing the genuine image of the pope, which cost 3,000 *scudi*.”⁷² Other sources do not suggest this, but they generally agree on the high quality of the marble and the uniqueness of the sculpture.⁷³ If we look at the documentation from the Camera Capitolina, we are aware of the complaints addressed from de' Rossi to the civic authorities, who never paid him his full wage.⁷⁴ As it seems, since he decorated the statue with precious ornamentation without the express request of the civic authorities, the sculptor only received 700 *scudi*, which explains why he asked to be allowed at least to remove the fine marble he had used to ornament it. After some years of work and dispute, the statue was finally inaugurated on the eve of St. John's Day (June 23, 1559) with fireworks,⁷⁵ and just a few months later it was almost totally destroyed. At the sight of the statue in the Hall of the Conservators, the populace did not make any distinction between the pope and his image. With some variants, the sources

⁷⁰ ASC, *Cam. Cap.*, cred. I, t. 20, cat. 20 (*Decreti di Consigli, Magistrati e cittadini romani (1551-1560)*), October 16, 1555, fols. 104r-107r; cred. I, t. 36, cat. 0036 (*Registri di Decreti di Consigli, Magistrati e cittadini romani, 1551-1557*), October 16, 1555, fols. 841 ff; Visceglia, *Morte e elezione del papa*, 72 and 93 n. 49. On the realization and destruction of the statue see Carlo Pietrangeli, “Tre statue papali nel Palazzo Nuovo del Campidoglio”, *Strenna dei romanisti* 24 (1963): 347-51; Regine Schaellart, “Das Kapitolinische Ehrenmal für Papst Paul IV Carafa von Vincenzo de' Rossi: eine Spurensuche”, *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 37 (2006) [2008]: 223-94.

⁷¹ See below 259.

⁷² Vogelstein-Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, vol. 2, 423.

⁷³ Panvinio says that the statue was made of fine marble and that its cost was very great, while Caracciolo affirms that it was a very big and beautiful statue, Cf. Onofrio Panvinio, *Historia delle vite dei sommi pontefici dal Salvatore nostro sino a Clemente VIII scritta da Battista Platina* (Venice, 1594), 290r; Schaellart, “Das Kapitolinische Ehrenmal für Papst Paul IV Carafa”, 276.

⁷⁴ ASC, *Cam. Cap.*, cred. I, t. 20, cat. 20, November 5, 1558, fol. 183v; cred. I, t. 9, cat. 9 (*Matricole di consigli. Minute di verbali di sedute di Consiglio ed altri atti delle magistrature capitoline, 1558-1560*), April 27, 1559, fols. 85r-v; June 6, 1559, fol. 104r.

⁷⁵ ASC, *Cam. Cap.*, cred. XIV, t. 7, cat. 1156, fol. 38r.

describe in detail the ritual execution of the “marble Carafa”: a stonecutter first cut off the nose and the ears, then the face was stained with mud and excrement, and finally the right hand was cut and the fingers of the left hand removed.⁷⁶

While the *caporioni* were summoned to restore order in their regions through a decree of the Camera Capitolina,⁷⁷ the mockery of the statue lasted for several days. The papal tiara was damaged, and after a Jew called Elia covered the head of the statue with his yellow hat – imposed on the Jews in the Papal States by *Cum nimis absurdum* (1555) – the head was cut from the body and thrown through one of the windows of the Hall of the Conservators (see fig. 14 and doc. 5).⁷⁸ On this last detail, several historians (Sonne included) have expressed their scepticism, since neither Joseph ha-Cohen nor Benjamin mention the action of this Jew.⁷⁹ Some variants report the presence of an executioner and the reading of a public sentence: “Tyrant, this is the reward for your deeds!”⁸⁰ After this, children dragged it through the streets and markets of the city: according to Benjamin, as far as the area of via del Pellegrino, covering a distance of a mile and a half.⁸¹ As in Dante’s *Inferno* in which the damned souls are punished with a similar or contrasting sin (the *legge del contrappasso*), Paul IV’s statue (and the pope himself) were also condemned to the same fate as the heretics fiercely persecuted by him during his lifetime. It is relevant that the head mocked by the children and the rest of populace was taken to the Campo de’ Fiori and Piazza di Ponte, where executions and burnings at the stake of heretics and other criminals took place. The detail about the yellow hat goes in the same direction: Paul IV, who had forced the Jews to wear the distinctive badge and the yellow hat, is now called the “Jewish pope” and despised by the Jews themselves. Moreover, when the Romans took the head to Campo de’ Fiori, they wanted to burn it, as was the custom for heretics, but they were prevented from

⁷⁶ The other sources report almost the same description (but without mentioning the hands and fingers of the statue), see for example BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, August 26, 1559, fol. 74v.

⁷⁷ ASC, *Cam. Cap.*, cred. I, t. 6, cat. 6 (*Decreti in sede vacante, 1555-1570*), fol. 45v.

⁷⁸ The Jew’s gesture did not find unanimous approval among those present, least of all among the cardinals, which explains why Elia was sentenced to death and hanged at the beginning of the conclave, see BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1736 (*Relatione della Giustitia fatta essecutare nella sede vacante di Paolo 4° d’Elia Hebreo temerario che cacciatosi la berretta sua di testa e la pose in testa del Pontefice nel publico salone di Campidoglio*), fols. 239-42.

⁷⁹ SONNE, 84, note 22. Joseph ha-Cohen only reported that “His statue was dragged through the streets of Rome, was thrown into the water, and he was mocked and became the object of ridicule and barbs in the midst of the nations”, see Joseph ha-Cohen, *The Vale of Tears*, 97.

⁸⁰ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, August 26, 1559, fol. 74v.

⁸¹ See below 265.

doing so.⁸² After two (other sources report three or four) days, the conservator Giovan Battista Salviati paid certain men among the populace two *giulii* to throw the statue's head into the Tiber River.⁸³ As was rightly pointed out, this action represents the symbolic dethronement of a ritually slaughtered tyrant, an inverse ceremony in which the coronation is replaced by decapitation and the triumphal procession by the dragging of the head and finally its casting into the water.⁸⁴

As far as the trunk (which remained at Campidoglio) is concerned, a decree issued on August 21 allowed the sculptor de' Rossi (and his brother) to remove the fine stone added to honour Paul IV's image, for which he was not paid by the Camera Capitolina.⁸⁵ The statue was despised and buried in the garden of the Hall of the Conservators at Campidoglio, where it was found in the seventeenth century, as we may read in the diary of a contemporary written in 1645.⁸⁶

The *damnatio memoriae* was also extended to the family of the deceased pope, and – as we will see a little further on – particularly to his nephews. Another decree issued by the *Popolo Romano* on August 20 ordered the total destruction of the coat of arms of the Carafa family, obligating all the inhabitants to remove it in the timespan of a day “from the houses, courtyards, markets, streets, and from all the places where it was painted or engraved.”⁸⁷ As remembered by our chronicler, the decree was printed and affixed to the walls of the city for its immediate effect and to warn transgressors of the severe punishments: declaration of rebels to the government of Rome and the burning and ransacking of their houses.⁸⁸ The family coat of arms was thus removed from both private and public places, such as from the church doors of Santa Maria sopra Minerva and Santa Maria della Pace, erected by Cardinal Oliviero Carafa (1430-1511), Paul IV's

⁸² This information is contained in the relation of Cardinal Montino del Monte to Guidobaldo II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, Ms. 374, vol. 2, fol. 111r, Biblioteca Oliveriana (Pesaro).

⁸³ ASV, *Misc. Arm.* II, n. 29, fol. 291r. The head was later recovered, restored, and finally placed in the museum of Castel Sant'Angelo, where it still is today.

⁸⁴ Cf. Sergio Bertelli, *Il corpo del re: sacralità del potere nell'Europa medievale e moderna* (Florence, 1990), 210-33.

⁸⁵ ASC, *Cam. Cap.*, cred. I, t. 6, cat. 6, fol. 48r.

⁸⁶ Giacinto Giglio, *Diario romano, 1608-1670*, ed. Giuseppe Ricciotti (Rome, 1958), 271.

⁸⁷ See below, 265. See also BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, fol. 75v (*Copia del bando contra quelli che terran in Roma l'arme di Casa Caraffa*).

⁸⁸ See below, 265. This is also confirmed by the author of another chronicle (the *Historia manoscritta del Pontificato di Paolo Quarto e Guerra, che hebbe con Filippo Secondo Re di Spagna*), who claims that he saw the *bando*, that is to say the order, “in large letters [...] covering the space of one page,” see ASC, *Cam. Cap.*, cred. XIV, t. 91, cat. 1240, fol. 461r.

uncle, as well as from the Carafa Chapel in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.⁸⁹ On that day and the next— writes Benjamin — “no coats of arms of the Carafa family remained anywhere in Rome, either openly or hidden.”⁹⁰ According to the author — who frequently turns to the authority of the biblical text — the demolition of the statue and the pope’s coat of arms fulfil the words of Exodus 17:14: *I will utterly blot out the memory of Amalek from under heaven!* As we have seen, the reference to Amalek is rather important for understanding the purpose of Benjamin’s chronicle (see par. 2.3).

During those days, Rome, not without reason, was compared to the forest of Baccano, near Bracciano, which was a hideout for bandits and criminals.⁹¹ Besides tearing down the memory of the pope and his family, the Roman people committed every kind of excess: stealing bread and other foodstuffs, robbing churches, raping virgin women, etc.⁹² Anger also affected some private citizens, such as the notary of the Inquisition, the above-mentioned Claudio della Valle (see par. 5.3), and Giovanni da Nepi, the depositary of the extraordinary revenues of the Apostolic Chamber.⁹³ Several pasquinades appeared in those days mocking the dead pope and his memory.⁹⁴ Also, the Jews rejoiced at this: after Benjamin and his companions were released from Ripetta, they were hosted by a Jewish widow; they gathered together at her home and praised God.⁹⁵ On August 19, the Jews went to see the damaged statue at Campidoglio and then returned to the widow’s house. That day, which was a Saturday, was intended as a new Passover by the author: just as Israel was freed by God with the defeat of the Pharaoh and his men, with the death of the evil pope the Jews could begin to live in freedom.

⁸⁹ ASV, *Misc. Arm.* II n. 29, fols. 289r-v; see also the relation of Luigi Mocenigo in *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, ed. Eugenio Albèri, 2nd series, vol. 10, (Florence, 1857), 38.

⁹⁰ A coat of arms was found in 1911 during construction work on a new school in via Stefano Porcari (very close to St. Peter’s), then transferred to the *Tabularium* (the ancient location of the archives in the Imperial period in which the acts and official documents were preserved), see ASC, *Comune moderno-postunitario, Commissioni, Commissione archeologica*, Carteggio, 8^o quinquennio (1911-1915), b. 36, fasc. 62.

⁹¹ “Relazione di Luigi Mocenigo”, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, ed. Eugenio Albèri, vol. 10, 38.

⁹² BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1736, fols. 179-237.

⁹³ Biblioteca Oliveriana, Ms. 374, vol. 2, Cardinal Montino del Monte to Guidobaldo II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, August 21, 1559, fol. 111r. Also, the properties of other people such as Ludovico Savelli and Carlo Carafa were robbed, see ASV, *Misc. Arm.* II, n. 29, fols. 289v-290v.

⁹⁴ Two pasquinades (*Pasquillus in statuam marmoream Pauli quarti* and *Ad Paulum quartum Pontifice*), which date back to after 1559, were gathered in the *avvisi*, see BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, fol. 76r. On Pasquino during the vacant see after Paul IV’s death, cf. Firpo, “Pasquinate romane del Cinquecento”; Francesco Gori, “Papa Paolo IV ed i Carafa suoi nipoti. Pasquinate contro la memoria di Paolo IV ed i Caraffeschi”, *Archivio storico, artistico, archeologico e letterario della città e provincia di Roma* 2 (1877): 170-206.

⁹⁵ See below 263.

After having prayed and thanked God in the synagogue in Rome, the Jews of Civitanova went to the Court of St. Peter, where Benjamin stresses that he saw the pope's corpse, which was not honoured like those of the other popes. The sources on this aspect are very few and quite concise.⁹⁶ The *avvisi* say that the rites for Paul's funeral began on Wednesday 23 and lasted nine days (the so-called *novendiali*), but "the body of the pope was in St. Peter's for only three or four hours, protected by the guards because they feared that the populace would bring him out and drag him through the city."⁹⁷ Moreover, because of this fear, "the cardinals could not perform [the funeral] according to custom and sing the psalms and requiem for the funeral of the pope."⁹⁸ The catafalque exposed to the Romans was little and covered with a golden cloth which had belonged to Cardinal Santi Quattro Coronati with his coat of arms, with yellow torches on the other side.⁹⁹ All these details are also confirmed by our chronicler, who remarks on the singularity of Paul IV's death and vacant see:

There were lit torches next to his head and feet and two men who had been his servants [were before him] guarding his carcass. However, they did not honour his death in accordance with the law [as they had done] for other popes, when people came to kiss their feet for three days in a row and watched over them there all day and all night and then buried them with great honour [with a] *funerale superbissimo*.¹⁰⁰ They did not do so for this impure-hearted dead dog Paul IV, because the people wanted to throw his carcass in the Tiber River. For this reason, his relatives buried him after Shabbat had ended in the middle of the night in the dark and in secret, lest the people delay them.¹⁰¹

Whether Benjamin really saw the corpse or not, the information about the pope's burial on the night of August 19 seems to be correct: the pope was buried in St. Peter's "in a humble sepulchre of bricks,"¹⁰² "near the tomb of Innocent VIII, as deep as possible, and a guard was set over it, for fear of an outbreak on the part of the people."¹⁰³

⁹⁶ The master of ceremonies Giovanni Francesco Firmano notes very briefly: "mortuus, in eadem camera in qua obierat, fuit scissus, mundatus et indutus consuetis paramentis" (*Acta selecta caeremonialia Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae*, ed. Giovanni Battista Gattico, vol. 1, Rome, 1753, 447).

⁹⁷ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, August 26, 1559, fol. 74v.

⁹⁸ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1736, fol. 200.

⁹⁹ Visceglia, *Morte e elezione del papa*, 104.

¹⁰⁰ "Grand funeral".

¹⁰¹ See below 265.

¹⁰² BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1736, fol. 194.

¹⁰³ PASTOR, 416. His remains were translated on October 2, 1566 to the family chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva by Pius V.

The testimony of our chronicler – who reiterates his direct experience of the days following Paul IV’s death – incorporates the information provided by the other sources. Before all the cardinals arrived in Rome to gather in *conclave*, the government of the city was still in the hands of the conservators and the other civic authorities. Several decrees were issued and many actions were committed by the Romans: the prisons of Castel Sant’Angelo were opened and Cardinal Giovanni Morone was released, and the lands and properties seized by the Carafa family were reassigned to their legitimate owners. Among these actions was the return of the fief of Civitanova to Giuliano Cesarini.¹⁰⁴ A rumour about the Roman people’s intention to capture and kill Carlo Carafa spread throughout the city;¹⁰⁵ however, Giuliano Cesarini and the *camerlengo* reminded the populace that “it was a crime to spill the blood of cardinals.”¹⁰⁶ We will return to this in the next section on Carafa’s trial.

Before leaving Rome in order to return to Civitanova, Benjamin and the others were received by Cardinal Alessandrino, Michele Ghislieri, asking him to write and sign a letter addressed to the authorities of Civitanova so that they would believe that they had not escaped from Ripetta, but had rather been released. Unfortunately, no other sources could confirm this. Cesarini, whose lordship over Civitanova had been restored, also comforted them, saying that they should go back to their houses and families in peace and that once they arrived there, they would find his messenger sent by him to take control of the city. Moreover, he told them he would help them to inform their families about the sufferings that they had experienced in Rome.¹⁰⁷ Again, we are not able to compare this source with other manuscripts or printed documentation; however, it is certain that, as an agent of the bank owned by Michele di Abramo and Angelo di Vitale, Benjamin knew Giuliano Cesarini personally, as he had lent him the remarkable amount of 14,000 *scudi* in 1551.¹⁰⁸ According to the narrative, after the Jews of Civitanova met with Cardinal Ghislieri and Giuliano Cesarini on Monday (August 21), they left for Civitanova the next day, arriving there on Friday 25 before the coming of Shabbat. Assuming that they rode horses from Rome to Civitanova on the *via Lauretana*

¹⁰⁴ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, August 26, 1559, fol. 75r.

¹⁰⁵ See below, 269. The rumor is in BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, September 2, 1559, fol. 78r. We will return to this in the next section on Carafa’s trial.

¹⁰⁶ See below 269.

¹⁰⁷ See below 271.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Werther Angelini, “Ancora degli ebrei in Civitanova e di alcune vicende civitanovesi degli anni 1550-60”, 107-8.

– the route travelled by pilgrims going between Loreto and Rome – it seems reasonable that they could have covered a distance of about 230 kilometres in four days (about 57,5 kilometres per day).¹⁰⁹

In the meantime, notable men who had been exiled from Rome during Paul IV's papacy, such as Ascanio della Corgna and Marcantonio Colonna, returned to the city, and Cardinal Morone was released from his prison in Castel Sant'Angelo. The civic authorities slowly restored order in Rome through the issue of new decrees and strengthening measures to prevent other outbreaks and to administer Rome for the entire duration of the vacant see. The punishments and admonitions of the rebels contributed to calming the agitators and the angry populace. In this climate, the *Popolo Romano* justified the behaviour of the oppressed people and reaffirmed its submission to the Sacred College of Cardinals in the hope that the future pope would forgive the excesses that had happened during the vacant see.¹¹⁰ The *conclave* had not started by then, but bets concerning the next pope were circulating in Rome even before all the cardinals had arrived in the city.¹¹¹

At the end of the *novendiali* with the Mass of St. Spirit on September 5, the cardinals gathered together and the doors of the *conclave* were finally locked.

6.3. Pius IV's Election and the Fall of the House of Carafa

The *conclave*, which lasted 112 days, one of the longest in the history of the Catholic Church, was not easy at all: the cardinals and conclavists (the cardinals' assistants permitted to enter the *conclave* in order to assist them) were restricted in a narrow and

¹⁰⁹ Under favourable conditions (good roads, normal weather, full forage), a horse could cover an average distance of 10 miles (16 kilometres) per hour, for a total of 35 miles (56 kilometres) per day, see *Tactical Principles and Logistics for Cavalry*, (Fort Riley, Kansas, 1937), 199. An unweighted horse was able to cover 71 kilometres per day: *Biblioteca italiana o sia Giornale di letteratura, scienze ed arti compilato da vari letterati* 7 (1817): 504. Yet in 1479, it was covered the distance of 356 kilometres between Valencia and Barcelona in only three days, see Eleazar Gutwirth, "Hebrew Letters, Hispanic Mail: Communication among Fourteenth-Century Aragon Jewry". In *Communication in the Jewish Diaspora. The Pre-Modern World*, ed. Sophia Menache (Leiden-New York-Köln, 1996), 274.

¹¹⁰ ASC, *Cam. Cap.*, cred. I, t. 6, cat. 6, fol. 61r.

¹¹¹ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, August 19, 1559, fol. 72r.

unsanitary place with little food and they risked getting illnesses, which explains why an exception was made allowing twelve servants to enter the place in order to clean it.¹¹²

The forty-seven cardinals – as also recalled by our chronicler – “were divided into three groups, and each group selected a candidate.”¹¹³ The divisions mentioned by Benjamin refer to the three “souls” of the conclave: the French faction, composed of sixteen cardinals under the direction of Cardinals Ippolito d’Este and Luise de Guise; the Spanish group (seventeen cardinals), headed by the *camerlengo* Guido Ascanio Sforza and the Bishop of Trent, Cristoforo Madruzzo, and finally the supporters of the deceased pope’s family, numbering fourteen, represented by Cardinals Carlo Carafa and Alessandro Farnese.¹¹⁴ The French candidates for the papacy were d’Este, Gonzaga, and Tournon, while the Spanish faction (pressured by King Philip II) voted for Carpi, Morone, Puteo, Medici, and Dolera. In this complex and dangerous game for the throne, Carlo Carafa played all his cards in order to strengthen his position, and he could count on the Italian cardinals created by his uncle; therefore, he supported Carpi and Gonzaga as his candidates.¹¹⁵ While the *Popolo Romano* organised a civic procession to the Church of the Aracoeli in order to hasten the election of a good pope, inside the Vatican buildings, three months after the *conclave*’s opening, the cardinals still needed to reach an agreement.

With the approach of Christmas, the election reached a turning point, and each faction chose their own candidate: Cesi for the French, while the Spanish supported Medici, who was finally also favoured by Carafa. On December 25, the cardinals finally reached an agreement on Giovanni Angelo Medici di Marignano (1499-1565), who took the name of Pius IV “because he wished to be what the name signified.”¹¹⁶ The following day, his election was confirmed and all the cardinals went to St. Peter’s to pay

¹¹² Cf. Elena Bonora, *Roma 1564. La congiura contro il papa* (Rome-Bari, 2011), 57.

¹¹³ See below 271.

¹¹⁴ PASTOR, vol. 15, 13-5.

¹¹⁵ We are not focusing here on the description of the entire *conclave*, whose course is fully recounted in PASTOR, vol. 15, 6-61. The last two days are also recounted by Onofrio Panvinio, who was invited to enter the *conclave* on December 24 to act as Cardinal Farnese’s confessor; on Pius IV’s biography by Panvinio, see Alberto Aubert, *Paolo IV. Politica, Inquisizione, storiografia* (Florence, 1999), particularly 167-86 and Stefan Bauer, “Historiographical Transition from Renaissance to Counter-Reformation. The Case of Onofrio Panvinio (1530-1568)”. In *The Historiography of Transition. Critical Phases in the Development of Modernity (1494-1973)*, eds. Paolo Pombeni and Ralph Nisbet (New York-London, 2016): 75-90, see in particular 83.

¹¹⁶ PASTOR, vol. 15, 61-2.

homage to the new pope as usual. Benjamin refers to this confirmation, held on December 26.

Pius IV's election to the Papal throne was a cause of joy for the Roman populace, and it was even greater when he announced "that he would secure peace, justice, and an ample supply of provisions to the Eternal City."¹¹⁷

With these words, Benjamin illustrates the reaction to his election:

All the people rejoiced at his pontificate, because he declared that he would restore mercy to all the people in the country and allow them to rest from the heavy travails that they had been suffering and console them of the sorrow and troubles that Paul IV had caused them.¹¹⁸

Moreover, the pope forgave the abuses during the vacant see, but asked the Senate to pay for the damages caused by the angry populace in Rome.

Even though he was a strong supporter of the moral reform of the Church like his predecessor, Pius IV adopted milder measures than those applied by Paul IV. On this, Pastor noted that "the moderate and sober attitude which he had always adopted, gave promise of a peaceful pontificate which would heal the wounds inflicted by the war and the exaggerated severity of the late Pope."¹¹⁹ A significant revolution in juridical terms changed the administration of justice in Rome and the whole of the Papal States, as well as the duties of bishops and cardinals. The Council of Trent was convened for the third and last time by the newly elected pope, and the power of the Inquisition was substantially reshaped.¹²⁰ Joseph ha-Cohen narrates that after his election "the leaders of the Jews also visited him to pay their respects and complained on that occasion about all the bad things the Theatine had committed against them. He consoled them, spoke to them in friendly terms, and they took leave greatly relieved."¹²¹ Also, Benjamin says that the pope "said he would have mercy on the remainder of the Jews who were sighing and moaning for shortness of breath and for the heavy travails that [Pope] Paul and all the men obeying him had caused them."¹²² Ha-Cohen's source –

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹¹⁸ See below 273.

¹¹⁹ PASTOR, vol. 15, 83.

¹²⁰ On the conflict between the Roman Inquisition and the Council of Trent, see Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza. Inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Turin, 1996), 132-4 and Alain Tallon, "Le Concile de Trente et l'Inquisition Romaine", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 106 (1994), 129-59.

¹²¹ Joseph ha-Cohen, *The Vale of Tears*, 98.

¹²² See below 273.

as stressed by the same author – comes from Rome, perhaps a letter from a Roman Jew; it may be possible that Benjamin also received this information from his Roman acquaintances or through other unknown sources.

What is clear is that both Jewish authors agree on the mercy of the new pope, who was not only Pius because of his name.¹²³ Although he did not abolish *Cum nimis absurdum* as the Jews wished,¹²⁴ Pius IV diminished the strictness of the measures contained in the bull, beginning with some concessions. For example, as remembered by Benjamin, “a sign of his compassion”¹²⁵ was that the Jews were allowed to wear black hats (like the Christians) while they were walking in the streets. This concession was the object of a document (*breve*) dated August 8, 1561 and reiterated by the bull *Dudum a felicis*, issued on February 27, 1562.¹²⁶ Besides giving permission not to wear the distinctive sign, this last provision enabled the Jews to buy and own property (though with some limitations) and to hold workshops outside the ghetto. Moreover, it was established that rent paid by the Jews to Christian owners should remain unchanged, so that they could not take advantage of their tenants. All the limitations concerning foodstuffs contained in *Cum nimis absurdum* were suspended.¹²⁷ Benjamin does not refer to these measures at all. Similarly, there is no mention of the permission to print the Talmud, allowed by the new *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* issued by Pius IV in 1564. This suggests that Benjamin probably finished his writing between August 1561 and February 1562.

The chronicler is well informed about the the Carafas *affaire*, recounting the events from their arrest until their execution in the last pages of the chronicle. After Paul IV’s death and the attempt made by the populace to kill Carlo Carafa, we have seen that he played a relevant role in the election of a candidate close to Philip II.¹²⁸ Notwithstanding the support given to Pope Medici, on June 7, 1560, the warrant for their arrest reached Paul IV’s nephews like lightning out of a clear sky.

¹²³ The English “pious” derives from the Latin “pius,” which indicates devotion; however, the adjective was also used to mean “compassionate,” “merciful,” “sympathetic,” and “benign,” cf. Giovanni Marinelli, *Dittionario di tutte le voci italiane, usate da’ migliori scrittori antichi, et moderni* (Venice, 1568), 34v.

¹²⁴ See below 273.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ The text of the bull is in *Bullarium Romanum*, t. 7, pt. 3, 167-71.

¹²⁷ Milano, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia*, 253.

¹²⁸ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1736, fol. 224: “Carafa pretese con questa elettione comprare la buona gratia di Filippo Re di Spagna e di Ferdinando imperatore ma non fu così come egli si diederà a credere”.

As stated by our author, after his election, Pius IV ruled against Carlo Carafa, his brother Giovanni, and other relatives “as was the custom of the kings when they came to the reign.”¹²⁹ In fact, the Carafa family had numerous enemies, and among them, as noted by Benjamin, there were very important men who encouraged the pope to judge them.¹³⁰ The accusations against them were the same as those for which they had been expelled by Paul IV: murders, intrigues, abuses, robberies, theft, and other crimes.

Pius IV was only waiting for the return of Giovanni Carafa to Rome to proceed: after having spent the night of June 6 “drinking and indulging themselves in the company of a select group of courtesans,”¹³¹ the Carafa brothers probably believed themselves to be safe, sure of the benevolence of the pope and the cardinal-nephew, Carlo Borromeo. However, Pius IV was anything but “pius” towards his predecessor’s nephews: the next day, when both Carlo and Alfonso Carafa were about to attend the consistory, they were summoned by the pope to a private meeting, but once they arrived there, they were both arrested and taken to the prison of Castel Sant’Angelo. As recalled by Benjamin, besides Carlo and Alfonso, Pius IV also ordered other family members and associates to be captured, such as Carlo’s brothers, Giovanni, Duke of Paliano, and Antonio, Marquise of Montebello (who saved himself because he was in Naples at that time); their nephew Matteo Stendardo; the Count of Alife (Ferrante Diaz-Garlon) who was Giovanni’s brother-in-law, and their notaries, officers and servants.¹³² Very soon, other clients of the Carafas fell into the hands of the pope during this persecution.¹³³

With a *motu proprio* dated July 1, Pius IV appointed the governor of Rome, Girolamo Federici, and the procurator fiscal Alessandro Pallantieri – who were both enemies of Paul IV and the Carafa family – to draw up a formal process against the Carafas. Four days later, with another document, eight cardinals (Cesi, de la Cueva, Saraceno, Puteo, Cicala, Bertrand, della Rovere, and Corner) were nominated to interrogate the suspects.¹³⁴ Benjamin reported that there were only four of them, and

¹²⁹ See below 273.

¹³⁰ Pastor highlights the names of Marcantonio Colonna and the *camerlengo*, Guido Ascanio Sforza, both damaged by “the despotism which the Carafa exercised in Rome during the period of their unlimited influence over Paul IV”, see PASTOR, vol. 15, 135.

¹³¹ Pattenden, *Pius IV and the Fall of the Carafa*, 58 and n. 12.

¹³² See below, 275.

¹³³ Aubert, *Paolo IV. Politica, Inquisizione, storiografia*, 13, note 1.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* 47-8.

without referring to their names, he says that they were “wise men, well-known and righteous.”¹³⁵

Following the examination of witnesses and relevant written materials that were seized from Carlo Carafa’s apartments, “a large number of sacks and chests emblazoned with the papal coat of arms and containing clothes, jewels and over 250,000 *scudi* in ready cash”¹³⁶ were among the possessions confiscated from the young Alfonso. The trial went on for several months and incriminating materials were collected against them. To exacerbate their already fragile condition, there was also the proof of the murder of Violante, Giovanni Carafa’s wife, and her alleged lover, Marcello Capece.¹³⁷ Benjamin states in fact that Giovanni Carafa, the Count of Alife (Ferrante Diaz-Garlon), and Leonardo di Cardine, their relative, were executed in the prisons of Tor di Nona for having killed Giovanni’s beautiful wife, the Duchess Violante, who was “falsely accused of several things, and they killed her although she was innocent because she disclosed the bad and evil actions they were doing.”¹³⁸ On August 1559, Violante Carafa was accused of adultery by one of her maids, and after Marcello Capece admitted their liaison under torture, Giovanni stabbed him to death. At first, the woman, who was pregnant, was spared, but because the family, above all Carlo Carafa, then pushed for justice, Giovanni allowed her brother, Ferrante, Count of Alife, and Leonardo di Cardine to kill her and bury her on the night of August 28 in the church of Gallese.¹³⁹ Carlo Carafa was sentenced to death, not only for his involvement in this murder, but rather for other crimes. The licentious conduct and deeds of the former cardinal-nephew were widely known.¹⁴⁰ As noted by our chronicler, he was in fact executed because “he tortured virgins, stole many goods, and performed other shameful deeds through crime and peculation.”¹⁴¹

¹³⁵ See below 275.

¹³⁶ Pattenden, *Pius IV and the Fall of the Carafa*, 63.

¹³⁷ On this matter, cf. Fabio Gori, “Papa Paolo IV ed i Carafa suoi nepoti giudicati con nuovi documenti”, *Archivio storico, artistico, archeologico e letterario della città di Roma* 1 (1875), 245-246.

¹³⁸ See below, 277. On this murder is based Stendhal’s novel *La Duchesse de Palliano*, contained in his *Chroniques italiennes*, first published in 1838.

¹³⁹ Marina Raffaelli Cammarota, “Carafa, Giovanni”, *DBI* 19 (1976): 559.

¹⁴⁰ For example, an *avviso* dated May 13, 1559 stated that a *mariscalco* (blacksmith) from Marino (where Carlo Carafa spent some months of his exile in 1559) had come to Rome saying that the cardinal had kidnapped his daughter through the use of violence, see BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1039, May 13, 1559, fol. 34v.

¹⁴¹ See below 277.

After several months, the trial finally reached a conclusion in the consistory held on March 3, 1561 – which lasted nine hours (of which seven were required for reading the sentence). As stated by Benjamin, “they and the cardinals negotiated their trial from the afternoon until there were stars [in the sky].”¹⁴² Some cardinals tried to mitigate the pope’s intention, but in vain: the consistory formally issued the sentence of death for Carlo Carafa and the others. The sentence was then announced to them by letter, and on the night of March 5, Carlo was woken up and strangled in Castel Sant’Angelo as – Benjamin says – he strangled the Portuguese *marranos* of Ancona.¹⁴³ His body was buried in a temporary location (“unknown” in the chronicle) and then transferred to the family chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva.¹⁴⁴ On the same day, in the prisons of Tor di Nona, Giovanni Carafa, his brother-in-law Ferrante, and Leonardo di Cardine were behead and their corpses (Benjamin reports only their heads) were exposed “from the morning until the afternoon” in the area of Ponte, close to Castel Sant’Angelo, well-known for being one of the locations where justice was served (along with Campo de’ Fiori) in Rome. After that, they were buried. One of the few members of the family spared by Pius IV’s severity was the young Alfonso Carafa, Cardinal of Naples, who was sentenced to pay 100,000 *scudi d’oro* to the Apostolic Chamber.

With justice for the evil nephews, their uncle’s memory could finally be restored and rebuilt by contemporaries and posterity: historiography had yet to be written.

¹⁴² See below 275.

¹⁴³ See below 275-277.

¹⁴⁴ Adriano Prosperi, “Carafa, Carlo”, *DBI* 19 (1976): 509

PART THREE

The Text

Preface to the Edition and the Annotated Translation of the Text

The Manuscript and Isaiah Sonne's Edition

The chronicle of Paul IV's pontificate by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche was brought to the knowledge of the greater public by the Galician scholar Isaiah Sonne (1887-1960), who published an annotated version of the text in Hebrew in 1930-1.¹ The story concerning Sonne's finding of this extraordinary source is anything but clear. As he wrote himself in the introduction, the manuscript booklet came into his hands about half a year before its publication.²

According to Sonne's description of the manuscript that bears the title *Divre ha-yamim shel ha-'apifior Pavolo ha-revi'i ha-niqra Teatino (Chronicle of Pope Paul IV, Known as the Theatine)*, this appears "slim and banal [...] – about fifteen folios on bluish paper – in Italian cursive script from the beginning of the nineteenth-century [...] chock full of mistakes."³ Even more mysterious is the information that he had had only one day to look at the manuscript and that for this reason he had decided to copy it "hastily and mechanically in order to observe it when needed and to check its quality."⁴ Where it was and who allowed the historian to see and copy the manuscript is not known.

Archival research on Sonne's papers and letters conducted at the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, and the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, made it possible to shed some light on this issue.⁵

¹ Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan, "Chronicle of Pope Paul IV, Known as the Theatine," ed. Isaiah Sonne, *Tarbiz* 2 (1930-1): 331-76, 477-502 [in Hebrew]. The translation from Hebrew into English is mine. By the end of 1930, Sonne had released another article about the tragic events of Ancona (see par. 3.4 here), where in 1556 twenty-four Portuguese *marranos* were burnt at the stake because of Paul IV's order. Along with the essay, Sonne published a text in Hebrew (with footnotes in French) corresponding to the second chapter of the chronicle by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche; see Isaiah Sonne, "Une source nouvelle pour l'histoire des martyrs d'Ancône", *Revue des études juives* 89 (1930): 360-80. The entire chronicle, which consists of eight chapters, was then republished in 1954 within an anthology of miscellaneous Hebrew works and excerpts, which cover the pontificates of several popes from Marcellus II (1555) to Pius V (1566-72), see SONNE, 3-93.

² Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan, "Chronicle of Pope Paul IV, Known as the Theatine", 331: לפני חצי שנה בערך הגיעה לידי חוברת רזה ודלה מצידה החיצוני

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ I owe my gratitude to the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, to the Hebrew Union College – Jewish Institute of Religion (Cincinnati) and, in particular, to Mrs. Ina Rae Levy for the award of the "Rabbi Theodore S. Levy Fellowship 2015-6" which allowed me to spend a four-

Between 1930 and 1931, Sonne was living in Florence, where he taught courses on Talmud, the history of Jewish philosophy, and rabbinical literature at the Italian Rabbinical College (Collegio Rabbinico italiano) during the years 1925-6, 1926-7, and 1932-3. Among his extensive papers and correspondence, preserved in Cincinnati, it was possible to find a copy of a letter sent by him to Alexander Marx, who was a history teacher and librarian at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York.⁶ In the missive, Sonne revealed to his colleague that he had come to the knowledge of a chronicle on the history of Pope Paul IV's pontificate just a couple of weeks earlier, and, since he had not been able to purchase the manuscript, he had decided to make a copy of it (see doc. 6). He also expressed his wonder about the fact that no historians and bibliographers had ever hinted about this writing "of extraordinary historical interest" before.¹ Sonne was the owner of an incredible collection – around 700 manuscripts, documents, and old rare books – which was split between the Jewish National Library of Israel and the Ben-Zvi Institute of Jerusalem after his death in 1960.

Among the Sonne papers, there are many letters from scholars, antiquarians, bookshops, and private collectors, as well as Sonne's special requests for certain works addressed to them. As it seems from his correspondence, for instance, he was a loyal customer of the Gonnelli and Gozzini bookshops (both in Florence, the former also an auction house) and Attilio Nardecchia's in Rome. Why did Sonne, as he wrote in his introduction, not manage to purchase the booklet? Perhaps because it was sold to another person in an auction? Or because he was only asked to make an assessment of the manuscript to be sold to a third party?

Sonne certainly did want to hide the information concerning the copy of the manuscript in 1930 deliberately. As he wrote in a footnote, he himself discovered after the proofreading of his article (presumably between the end of 1930 and the first half of 1931) that the manuscript had been purchased by Siegmund Nauheim from Frankfurt-am-Main, after Sonne had seen the manuscript (between the end of July and the

week period in April and May 2016 doing research at the Jacob Rader Marcus Center on MS-513, *Isaiah Sonne Papers (1922-1960)*.

⁶ AJA, MS-513, *Isaiah Sonne Papers*, Isaiah Sonne to Alexander Marx, August 15, 1930, b. 7, fasc. 5. The original letter received by Marx is preserved at the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, Special Collections, *Alexander Marx Papers*, b. 44, fasc. 3.

beginning of August 1930).⁷ There does not seem to have been a connection between the two men.

The information on Siegmund Nauheim (1874-1935) is quite sparse. Born in Zwingenberg, after his parents died when he was a child he grew up in the Jewish orphanage of Frankfurt-am-Main. He then became a proxy at the Schwalbacher & Co. chemical factory in Frankfurt-am-Main as well as a brilliant collector. A large number of Jewish ceremonial objects – around 200 items – such as Ḥannukkah and Shabbat lamps (fig. 18), *qiddush* cups, amulets, *Torah* mantles, *tallitim*, and silver book bindings, mostly purchased during his travels to Italy,⁸ enhance his incredible collection, today preserved in the Jewish Museum of Frankfurt. His fine collection also included old rare printed books and sixteen manuscripts, among which there are *siddurim*, Passover *aggadot*, prayer books, Esther scrolls, a book of the confraternity *Ḥesed we-‘emet* (“Loyalty and Faithfulness”) belonging to Reggio Emilia (1742-77), some other sources for the history of Italian Jewry, and finally the chronicle by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche.⁹

Before his death in 1935, Nauheim – who apart from a sister did not have any heirs – bequeathed his silver Judaica collection to the Museum jüdischer Altertümer (Museum of Jewish Antiquities) in Frankfurt and most of his manuscripts and printed books to the National Library of Israel.¹⁰ He was not, of course, the only private donor during those terrible years following the first Nazi book-burning in Bebelplatz in Berlin (May 10, 1933).¹¹ Unfortunately, the correspondence between the National Library of

⁷ Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan, “Chronicle of Pope Paul IV, Known as the Theatine”, ed. Isaiah Sonne, 331, note 3.

⁸ From a biographical and bibliographical note on the Nauheim papers contained in the folder S2/8638, Institut für Stadtgeschichte Karmeliterkloster, Frankfurt-am-Main, it seems he had owned a house in Milan, where he lived for half a year.

⁹ On Nauheim’s collection at the Jewish Museum of Frankfurt-am-Main, see Guido Schönberger, *Die Sammlung Siegmund Nauheim im Museum jüdischer Altertümer in Frankfurt-am-Main* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1937); Johannes Wachten, *Jewish Museum. Frankfurt am Main* (Munich-Berlin, 2002); Verena Bopp, “Der Fall Nauheim: Raub oder Rettung? Eine Judaica-Sammlung im Museum jüdischer Altertümer”. In *Raub und Restitution. Kulturgut aus jüdischem Besitz von 1933 bis heute*, eds. Inka Bertz and Michael Dorrman (Göttingen, 2008), 135-40.

¹⁰ Nauheim’s will, dated December 19, 1934, is deposited in the archives of the District Court (Amtsgericht) of Frankfurt-am-Main. The list of the manuscripts bequeathed to the Jewish National Library of Israel is in “Library notes and news”, *Kirjath Sepher* 14 (1937-1938): 421-421a [in Hebrew].

¹¹ Among the studies on the rescue of Jewish libraries in Nazi Germany, see for instance Dov Shidorski, “Das Schicksal jüdischer Bibliotheken im Dritten Reich”. In *Bibliotheken während des Nationalsozialismus*, eds. Peter and Manfred Komorowski, pt. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1992), 189-222; *Id.*, *Burning Scrolls and Flying Letters. A History of Book Collections and Libraries in Mandatory Palestine*

Israel and the executors of Nauheim's will do not help us to learn more about the provenance of his books and manuscripts.¹² Nauheim's collection was finally acquired by the National Library of Israel in 1937, where it is still held today.

The manuscript Heb. B 750 (8°894) contains the Hebrew chronicle *Divre ha-yamim shel ha-'apifior Pavolo ha-revi'i ha-niqra Teatino* (*Chronicle of Pope Paul IV, Known as the "Theatine"*) by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche. To this day, no other specimens of the work, including the original, are known. The manuscript is, in fact, an early nineteenth-century copy written in Italian cursive script (12 folios *recto-verso*, 18x25 cm). No information about the tradition or the copy of the text is available. However, a few indications are provided by the note of possession, which is not mentioned at all by Sonne. On the right-hand side of the page, it is possible to read in an elegant Italian handwriting that the owner is Abram Calef and that the manuscript was delivered by Salomone Calef to Rabbi Vivanti on the proviso that the latter would return it to its rightful owner.¹³

The Calef family probably moved from the Levant¹⁴ and settled in Ancona, which in the sixteenth century – besides being the location of an important and old Jewish community – played a fundamental role in the economy and trade of the Papal States with the Ottoman Empire and more generally with the Levant thanks to its harbour. A census of the Jewish community of Ancona taken in 1833 registered a certain Abramo Benedetto Calef, a 58-year-old apothecary, married to Luna and father of Salomone (married to Fortuna), Anselmo, and Rosa.¹⁵ In 1853, his son Salomone was

and of Book Saving Efforts in Europe after the Holocaust (Jerusalem, 2008) [in Hebrew]; Elisabeth Gallas, "Preserving East European Jewish Culture – Lucy Dawidowicz and the Salvage of Books after the Holocaust", *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook* 11 (2012): 73-89; *Id.*, "Materialisiertes Gedächtnis – Zur Rettung und Verteilung geraubter jüdischer Bücher nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg", *Jahrbuch für Exilforschung* 31 (2013): 215-27; Stephanie Mahrer, "Much More than just another Private Collection: The Schocken Library and its Rescue from Nazi Germany in 1935", *Naharaim* 9/1-2 (2015): 4-24;

¹² See Hava Lazar, "Jonah, the Tower, and the Lions: an Eighteenth Century Italian Silver Book Binding", *Journal of Jewish Art* 3-4 (1977): 58.

¹³ NLI, Ms. Heb. 750 (8°894), note of possession: "Di Abram Calef da ridarsi al med[esimo]. Consegnato da Salomone Calef all'Ecc[ellentissimo]mo Sig[no]r Rabb[i]no Vivanti da restituirsi".

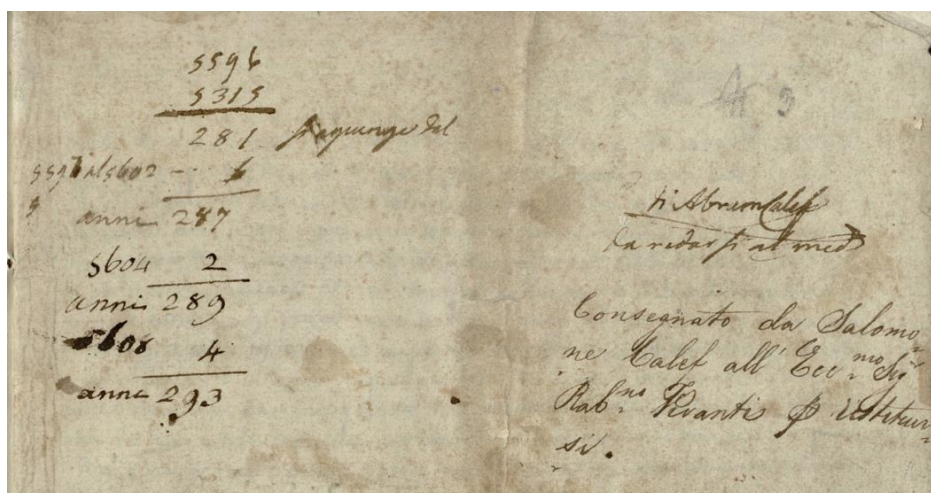
¹⁴ The family name recalls the place name *Haleb*, Aleppo; cfr. Samuele Schaerf, *I cognomi degli ebrei d'Italia con un'appendice su le famiglie nobili ebee d'Italia* (Florence, 1925), 57. As it seems from some archival documents preserved in the State Archives of Rome, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were other Calefs living in the Eternal City: ASR, *Camerale II, Ebrei*, b. 1, fasc. 14 (*Censimento della popolazione ebrea di Roma dall'anno 1796 all'anno suddetto 1817*) and fasc. 15 (*Elenco degli ebrei morti a Roma, 1817, 1829-1848*).

¹⁵ ACEAn, *Stato degl'Individui dell'Università Israelitica d'Ancona il primo Gennaio 1830-1833*. Abramo was first married to Diamante, who died; he then married Luna. Abramo's sons are Diamante,

aged 54, a father of four and registered as a trader.¹⁶ This information is confirmed by another census taken in Ancona in 1851, in which he is recorded as trading silk, leather, cereals, colonial goods, and metals.¹⁷

Two letters found in the archive of the Jewish community reveal that the Calef family experienced a rough period: in October 1823, and again in July 1824, Abramo was repeatedly required by the community to pay some arrears.¹⁸ Abramo Calef died on December 13, 1848, at the age of 76.¹⁹ The Rabbi Vivanti mentioned in the note of possession is without doubt David Abraham Vivanti (1806-76), Chief Rabbi of the Jewish community of Ancona from 1840 until his death.²⁰ Unfortunately, the documentation does not go further.

On the left-hand side, the manuscript bears another important and interesting detail. Some calculations written in the same handwriting indicate an account of the years according to the Jewish calendar:



The first date indicates the Jewish year 5596 – corresponding to the Gregorian year 1836 – and probably refers to the owner’s time or perhaps to the date when the

Salomone, and Anselmo, born in 1792, 1799, and 1805. I thank Luca Andreoni for this information. Some other documents related to the Calef family are in CAHJP, IT/An-116, *Copia de' certificati rilasciati dal Segretario del פ"ק, 5600 (1839)*.

¹⁶ ACDF, S.O., St. St. TT 3-g. According to a register of the Jewish community of Ancona, Salomone Calef, son of Abramo, was born on June 27, 1799, see CAHJP, IT/An-111, *Stato delle anime dell'Università israelitica di Ancona 1800*.

¹⁷ Cf. Evaristo Masi (ed.), *Almanacco statistico della città e provincia di Ancona, dello stato e dell'estero, con l'aggiunta di notizie storiche, morali, commerciali, e marittime* (Bologna, 1851): 131.

¹⁸ ACEAn, *Corrispondenza*, b. 1, fasc. 3-4.

¹⁹ ACEAn, *Registro dei morti (1824-1868)* b. 1, fasc. 1.

²⁰ Cf. Hayyim Rosenberg, *Cenni biografici di alcuni rabbini e letterati della comunità israelitica di Ancona, passim*.

manuscript was copied, while the second one, 5315 (1555), clearly indicates the *terminus post quem* of the events reported in the chronicle, that is to say when Gian Pietro Carafa was elected to St. Peter's throne (May 1555). The account of the years – which stops at 5608 (1848) – may refer to Abramo Calef's death or perhaps to the manuscript's loan to Vivanti. In a letter dated August 17, 1857, addressed to the rabbi of Mantua, Marco Mortara, writing about the events that occurred in Ancona in 1555 and 1556, Vivanti did not make any mention of the chronicle by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan – who conversely devoted the second and third chapters of his chronicle to the *Qiddush ha-Shem* of the Portuguese *marranos* – but only referred to the *Shalsholet ha-Kabbalah* by Gedaliah Ibn Yahyah.²¹

How the manuscript arrived in the Calefs' hands, and from them to the person who showed it to Sonne, is still unknown. It might be possible to hypothesise that, because of their financial troubles, the same Abramo Calef or his son Salomone sold the original manuscript – which had perhaps reached Ancona during the intervening centuries or thanks to the businesses of the Calef family – after making a copy of it. A solution to this enigma still needs to be found, and a further investigation of the archives of private collectors, scholars, librarians, and antiquarians who had personal correspondence with Sonne during those years might hopefully shed some new light on it. Also, more in-depth research on Isaiah Sonne's archive at the National Library of Israel (still to be inventoried) and the Ben-Zvi Institute could help in this direction.

²¹ Cf. Asher Salah, *L'epistolario di Marco Mortara (1815-1894). Un rabbino italiano tra riforma e ortodossia* (Florence, 2012), 225-7.

Notes and Abbreviations

The English translation hereby displayed offers for the very first time an unabridged English translation of the Hebrew chronicle by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche. In the footnotes, it is possible to find references to events and biographical details concerning the individuals mentioned by the author. For a more extensive overview, see chapters three-six.

It has been necessary to reedit the Hebrew text, as besides disregarding variants of *scriptio defectiva* (“defective” spelling without vowels) and *scriptio plena* (“plene” spelling with *matres lectionis*), Isaiah Sonne’s edition presents some omissions and errors. Our text is a slightly revised version of the text. Consistent variants from Sonne’s edition are discussed in the translation footnotes.

Symbols used in the English translation:

[] textual additions and further explanations

Quotations from the Bible are generally taken from the *JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh* (second edition, Philadelphia, 1999). In the English translation, all quotations from the Bible as well as original words in Italian are presented in *italics*. The English translation of the Babylonian Talmud is from *Babylonian Talmud*, ed. Isidore Epstein (London, 1935-48). Due to the high number of biblical references, only direct quotations are pointed out in the main text and footnotes.

The sacred Tetragrammaton is always abbreviated with יה and the names of people and places are standardised according to their common spelling (קרפה is rendered with קארפאה, רומא and not רומה). The punctuation of the Hebrew text reflects the interpretation it was given in the English translation.

HEBREW TEXT AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

בעזרת השם עזרי מעם י' עושה שמים וארץ

דברי הימים

של האפיפיור פאולו רביעי הנקרא טיאטינו

[על ידי בנימין נחמיה בן אלנתן מצ'ויטאנובה מרקה]

לוח למצוא המבוקש מהספר:

פרק ראשון: יסופר בו ראשית ממלכת פאולו רביעי האפיפיור וגזרו הבולה אשר גזר ומה שסבבה ליהודים הבולה ההיא.

פרק שני: יסופר בו התנשאות דון קארלו קאראפה למעלת החשמונת ותפישת הפורטוגיסי ומבכות שאירעו ליהודים איטאליאני.

פרק שלישי: יסופר בו מיתת הפורטוגיסי ומי נמלטו מהם ויספר מאיש צר ומציק שהמיר דתו מצ'ויטאנובה אשר היה לאבן נגף ליהודים הדורים בצ'ויטאנובה.

פרק רביעי: יסופר בו רוממות החקירה ותוקף גבורת המלחמה שעשה האפיפיור עם הקיסר ופיליפו כי עת צרה היה לישראל בעוה"ר הרחמן ירחם על שארית עמו.

With the help of God, my help comes from God, the Maker of heaven and earth.¹

Chronicle of Pope Paul IV, Known as the Theatine.

[by Benjamin Nehemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche]

Table for finding the contents of the book:

Chapter One will recount Paul IV's pontificate and the laws of the *bolla*² issued by him concerning the Jews.

Chapter Two will recount the arrogance of Don Carlo Carafa at his ascent to the cardinalate, the capture of the *Portoghesi*,³ and the confusion that occurred for the Jews *Italiani*.⁴

Chapter Three will recount the deaths [of some] of the Portuguese and also how some of them managed to escape. It will discuss a man, a persecutor and oppressor, who converted to Christianity in Civitanova and who was an obstacle for the Jews dwelling in Civitanova.

Chapter Four will recount the greatness of the Inquisition and the war between the pope and the emperor and Philip. May the merciful God have mercy on His people.

¹ Psalms 121:2. This was omitted by Sonne.

² "Bull".

³ Hereafter, "Portuguese".

⁴ Hereafter, "Italian".

פרק ראשון

ויהי בימי האפיפיור פאוולו ממשפחת קאראפה מעיר נאפולי רבתי
ושמו מלפנים יואן פיירי חשמן טיאטינו היא ממשפחת קאראפה
אשר מימי קדם שמרה שטנה ליהודים. וכשבת על כסא מלכותו של
עיר נאפולי מלך אחד ממלכי בית אראגון פירנאנדו שמו קם אחד 5
מזקני בית קאראפה אשר היה יועץ למלך ומיושבי ראשונה
במלכות ויבקש מאת המלך לגרש את כל היהודים אשר במדינות
מלכותו כי העליל עליהם עלילות דברים. ויטה לדבריו את לב בן
המלך והמלכה רק המלך לא אבה שמוע לדבריו בחמלת ה' על עמו
וימאן לו ויצא מלפניו בפחי נפש. ובשנת חמשת אלפים ושלוש 10
מאות וחמשה עשר לב"ע בחדש השלישי הוא חדש סיון בארבעה
לחדש אחרי מות האפיפיור מרצ'ילו הוא מרצ'ילו ממדינת למרקה
על טוב יזכר שמו בשגם שלא מלך אלא כ"ג יום עשה תשועה
גדולה בישראל כי הוקם על כסא האפיפיורות ברומא נקרא שמו
פאוולו רביעי יש"ו. ובתחילת מלכותו חשב להשפיל קרן עמנו. 15
ועשה והצליח בעוה"ר לדכא תחת רגליו שארית ישראל אשר הם
בגולה תחת ממשלתו. כי ה' הוגה על רוב פשעיה והפך לבו לשנוא
עמו על כי רם לבבם בגולה.

Chapter One

Now this came to pass in the days of Pope Paul [IV], whose previous name was Gian Pietro, the Theatine Cardinal,⁵ of the Carafa family from the great city of Naples. The Carafa family had [repeatedly] slandered the Jews in the past.

When King Fernando of the House of Aragon⁶ began to reign in Naples, one of the older members of the House of Carafa, who was a counsellor to the king and who had been one of the first to settle in the kingdom, asked the king to expel all the Jews who [lived] in the lands of his kingdom, falsely accusing them. The prince and the queen were convinced by his words, but through God's mercy towards His people, the king did not want to listen; he refused him, so he [the counsellor] went away from him disappointed.

In 5315 [1555] in the third month, which was the month of Siwan, on the 4th of the month [May 24],⁷ after the death of Pope Marcellus,⁸ who came from the Marca – though he reigned for only twenty-three days, his name is well remembered because he performed a great salvation for Israel⁹ – Paul IV, may his name and memory be blotted out, was elected to the papal throne in Rome. At the beginning of his pontificate, he thought to humiliate our people. He succeeded in doing so; for our many sins, he oppressed the rest of Israel, who were living in exile under his reign, beneath his feet.

This happened because God had seen the many sins [of Israel], so He changed His heart and hated His people because they had become arrogant in exile.

⁵ Giovanni Pietro or Gian Pietro (or Giampietro) Carafa was born in 1476 in Sant'Angelo a Scala or maybe in Capriglia Irpina (today in the province of Avellino, in Campania) from one of the most powerful and ancient families of the local aristocracy. After having received the religious education and the sacred orders, he was introduced in the Roman Curia by his uncle, the Cardinal Oliviero Carafa. He dedicated his life in the fight against heresy and the Reform of the Church. For this purpose, in 1524, together with Gaetano dei Conti di Thiene (recognized as a saint by the Catholic Church in 1671), he founded the Congregation of Clerics Regular or Theatines based on the apostolic vows of chastity, obedience and poverty. Even after he was elected cardinal in 1536, the Carafa did not abandon the strictness of his life but rather he worked hard to strengthen the Roman Inquisition, established by Paul III in 1542 with the bull *Licet ab initio*. After his activity at the head of the Inquisition, in 1555 the cardinal Carafa succeeded to Marcellus II and he was elected pope at the age of 79. He reigned from May 23, 1555, until August 18, 1559, when he died at the age of 83. Because of the uprising after his death, he was buried in St. Peter and later, transferred to S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome.

⁶ Ferdinand I or Ferrante (1424-1494), son of Alfonso V of Aragon. He was the King of Naples from 1458 until his death.

⁷ On the date of the election, see par. 3.2.

⁸ Marcello Cervini, born in 1501 in Montefano (in the province of Macerata), was elected pope with the name of Marcellus II on April 9, 1555. He reigned for only twenty-two days until May 1, when he succumbed after an apoplectic stroke.

⁹ On the salvation of the Jews of Rome from an alleged blood libel in 1555, see par. 3.1.

ובטחו בעשרם בשבתם לבטח בחדרי משכיותם בחצריהם
ובטירותם זה הולך לכרמו וזה הולך לשדהו כספם וזהבם אתם ואת
ה' לא זכרו לקבוע עתים לתורה בטלו את התורה מעושר. וירם ה'
עליהם שבט מוסר מטה הנוגש במ מלך חדש לחדש עליהם גזרות
5 שונות. וזה החלו לעשות גזר גזרות בכתב רשום הנקרא שמו בולה
נגד היהודים חקוקים בה י"ג גזרות. אשר אין רוב הציבור יכולים
לעמוד בהן. חפצנו לכתבה לזכרון למען ידעו דור אחרון ואנשי
ארץ מרחקים מה הויה היה לנו בימי פאוולו רביעי ואלו הם:

(א) שלא יראה ולא ימצא ליהודים כי אם בית הכנסת אחד בעיר
10 להתפלל בתוכו וכל עיר אשר היו שם בתי כנסיות רבות ישחיתום
ויהרסום וישאירו מהם אחד לבדו.

(ב) שיהיו מחוייבים לעשות כובע ירוק בראשם. והנקבות תשאנה
בראשן מצנפת ירוקה בשבתם בביתם ובלכתם בדרך בשכבם
ובקומם.

15 (ג) שתהיה דירת היודים במקום אחד או בשני מקומות לבל יוכלו
לדור מפוזרים לבין הגויים.

(ד) לבל יהיה ליהודים אחוזת קרקעות או בתים וכל מי שיהיה להם
בית או שדה או כרם יהיה מוכרח למכרו עד לא יעבור עליו ארבעה
חדשים.

20 (ה) שיהיה אסור ליהודים להתעסק בסחורת חטים ושעורים יין
ושמן וכל מיני מאכלות למכרם לגויים. ולא יהיה מותר להם שום
עסקא רק השטראציאריא וצינציריא. [ו] ושלא יוכלו להשתכר
בעבד או אמה גויים.

(ז) שלא יניקו לילדי העברים חלב מיניקות גויות.

They relied on their wealth, securely sitting in their treasury, in their courts and in their castles: [when] one went to his own vineyard, and another to his own field, they carried their money and gold with them, and they did not remember God, nor did they set aside time [to study] the *Torah*; they annulled the *Torah*. Then God raised a “rod of discipline”¹⁰ on them which would oppress them; [God raised] a new king [so that he, the new king] would renew different decrees. And this is what he had begun to do: he ordered [several] measures in a written document called *bolla* against the Jews in which there were thirteen laws.¹¹

Most of the public could not stand these decrees. We wish to write about this as a memorial so that the future generations and people from distant lands will know what happened to us during the days of Paul IV. And these [laws] were:

- 1) That there would not be more than one synagogue in each city in which it was possible to pray, [and] in each city that had many synagogues, [these synagogues] would be destroyed until only one remained;
- 2) That they [the Jews] would be forced to wear green hats on their heads. The women would wear green headdresses while they were sitting in their houses, wherever they walked, and whenever they lay down;
- 3) That the Jews’ apartments would be in only one or two areas, so that they would not be able to live scattered among the Gentiles;
- 4) That the Jews would be forbidden to hold land or houses, [and] anyone who possessed a house, a field, or a vineyard would be forced to sell it within four months;
- 5) That it would be forbidden for Jews to trade in wheat, barley, wine, oil, and all kinds of foodstuffs which [their law allowed them] to sell to Gentiles. Any other business trade would not be permitted to them, except for *strazzeria* and *cenceria*;¹²
- 6) That they could not hire Gentile servants or maids;
- 7) That Gentile women were not to breast-feed Jewish infants;

¹⁰ Cf. Proverbs 22:15.

¹¹ The Author is referring to the bull *Cum nimis absurdum*, issued by Paul IV on July 14, 1555.

¹² “Trade of rags and used textiles”.

ח) שיהיה אסור לרופאים יהודים לרפאות לגויים בין בשכר בין בחנם.

ט) שלא יאכלו העברים עם הגויים לחם ולא יצחקו עמם שום שחוק גם לא יעשו שותפות עם הגוי ולא יהיה להם עמם שום צד התערבות הקרוי בלשונם קונורסאציוני.

5

י) שלא יסכימו ליהודים הנכבדים להקרא מן הגויים בשם מיסירי ולא בשום שם רבנות או אדנות ומרות וכל שהוא הנעלה בשום מקום אפילו בבית הכנסת.

יא) שהמלוים ברבית יקחו י"ב למאה ולא יותר לחשבון שנה תמימה ושכל החדשים יהיו שלמים לענין רבית מל' יום לחדש. ושכל משכנות מגויים הממושכנים ביד ישראל יהיו מחוייבים למכרם בהכרזה ולהשיב את העודף לבעלים.

10

יב) שיהיה אסור ליהודים לעשות מלאכה בימי חגיהם.

יג) והיא הקשה שבכולם לבטל מהיום ההוא ומעלה כל תנאים וקיומים שהיו מימי קדם לזכותם עם הגויים ושהיהודים יהיו משועבדים לשמור חוקי כל עיר ועיר ככל התקנות אשר נתקנו נגדם. והקנס על מי שיעבור על אחת מהגזרות האלה הוא עונש גופו ולצאת נקי מנכסיו כמי שראוי לענוש למורדים במלכות.

15

יד) אלה הם י"ג גזרות הבולה גזרות קשות ורעות שנגזרו עליהם בתחלת מלכות פאולו רביעי. קיימום וקבלום עליהם היהודים שלא בטובתם ומי שעבר על אחת מהן לקח בעונש ממון ויסורים. וכבר לקו ונתיסרו על ככה יהודים רבים במדינת קאמפאניא ומדינת ומבריאה וכל קהל ספוליטו על ידי שוטר אחד בירנארדינו קאמפילו.

20

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8) That Jewish physicians would be forbidden to heal Gentiles, both for payment and for free;

9) That Jews would be forbidden to eat bread with Gentiles. [The Jews] were forbidden to laugh and to play games with them [the Gentiles]. [The Jews were also forbidden] to have partnerships with the Gentiles and to have any kind of interactions called *conversazioni* in their language;¹³

10) That notable Jews were not to be addressed among the Gentiles with the title of *messere*¹⁴ or with any other title indicating authority, lordship, mastery, or overlordship anywhere, not in even in synagogues;

11) That moneylenders were not to charge more than 12% a year, and that all months would be complete in what concerned interest [a month would count] as 30 days per month. [And] that all the Gentiles' pawns that were held by Jewish hands would have to be sold with announcement, and [in the event that there was any surplus] this surplus would have to be returned to the [Gentile] owners;

12) That it would be forbidden for Jews to work during the [Christian] holidays;

13) And the harshest [law] of all was that all previous conditions and ratifications that were in favour of the Jews would be annulled from that day onwards, and that the Jews would be forced to observe each city's laws and regulations that were issued against them. Anyone who transgressed one of these laws would suffer a corporal penalty and be stripped of their belongings, similarly to the way in which rebels in a kingdom were punished.

These were the thirteen rules of the bull; harsh and cruel rules, issued at the beginning of Paul IV's pontificate. The Jews were forced to respect and accept these rules against their will and against their own interests,¹⁵ and anyone who transgressed one of them received a pecuniary penalty and tribulations. Many Jews were already being tormented in the lands of Campania¹⁶ and Umbria, where the whole community of Spoleto was troubled by a commissioner whose name was Bernardino Campello.¹⁷

¹³ "Conversations".

¹⁴ "Sir".

¹⁵ BT, *Shabbat* 88a.

¹⁶ It is probably referring to Campagna, one of the administrative provinces of the Papal States.

¹⁷ On the hypothesis about his identity, see par. 3.3.

שמו ייסרם וענס בכבלי ברזל וירד לנכסיהם. והאחרון הכביד
השוטר ההוא בעיר ביניוינטו אשר במדינת מלכות נאפולי ייסר לכל
הקהל ביסורים והענישם עונש ממון לרוב עד שנתרוששו ולא
הותיר להם שום מחיה. וסבב להם שהמירו דתם כי פחדו פחד שלא
5 יוכלו לעמוד בגזרותיו. אלה כאשר כבר עשו גם במורו די וואלי
עיר קטנה במדינת למרקה שהמירו דתם י"ז נפשות בפעם אחת.
וכל שאר היהודים אשר היו שם ברחו להימלט על נפשם וילכו
לגור באשר מצאו לא נותר מהיהודים בעיר ההיא עד אחד. ובשאר
מדינת של האפיפיור גם כן זעיר שם המירו דתם בימים ההם עד
10 אשר אין עיר אשר אין שם מומר. וגם גזרת הבולה סבבה יראה
ופחד על היהודים עד כי כל העשירים אשר היו במדינת למקרה
ומדינת ומבריא ומדינות אחרות ממשלת האפיפיור נסו להימלט על
נפשם ויקחו מן הבא בידם מעט מזעיר מנכסים ומעות וכספים
שהיה ברושתם. וישאו אתם מעט המושג אצלם ורוב חילם שהיו
15 הוליכו עמם בארץ מגוריהם אשר גרו בה והניחו שם בעל כרחם.
והם הלכו בארצות הדוכוס אורבינו והדוכוס פירארה בעישור
נכסיהם כי רובם ככולם אבדו והנם שם עד היום הזה.

פרק שני

20 בשנת א' להאפיפיור פאוולו רביעי בחדש השני למלכו הוא חדש
תמוז הנקרא בלע"ז יוניו בשבעה לחדש נשא את ראש כל קרוביו
ומיודעיו וישא משאות מאת פניו אליהם ובתוכם הרים וישא את דון
קארלו בן אחיו וישם כתר החשמנות בראשו וקרא שמו חשמן
קאראפה. ויתן לו רשות ושלטנות וכל מלכות בית האפיפיורות

His name caused them tribulations and torture in chains, and he took all of their assets. More recently this commissioner burdened the city of Benevento in the Kingdom of Naples: he tortured the whole community with many tribulations and he punished them with a heavy pecuniary penalty until they became impoverished; he did not leave them [any means of] living. Many of them converted to Christianity because they feared that they would not be able to fulfil his orders. The same thing had already happened in Morrovalle,¹⁸ a little city in the Marca, where seventeen Jews converted to Christianity on a single occasion. The rest of the Jews escaped to save their lives and went to live in other places that they were able to find; not a single Jew remained there.

In the rest of the Papal States, a small number [of Jews] converted to Christianity in those days, so that it was impossible to find a city without converts. The rule of the bull caused the Jews such fear and anxiety that the rich people in the Marca and Umbria and other lands of the Papal States, tried to escape, taking with them few goods and little money. They took with them whatever they could and led most of their people into the countryside, where they lived, and they were forced to stay there reluctantly. They walked into the lands of the duke of Urbino and the duke of Ferrara with a tenth of their properties, because most of them [the properties] were lost, and they are there to this day.

Chapter Two

In the first year of Paul IV's pontificate, in the second month of his reign – that is the month of Tammuz called *Giugno*¹⁹ in the language of the Gentiles – on the 7th day of the month, he [the pope] raised the status of his relatives and acquaintances and took his duty and appointed them, and among them he raised [he gave power to] Don Carlo, the son of his brother, and put a cardinal's crown on his head and named him Cardinal Carafa.²⁰ He gave him the permission, the authority, and the kingdom of the papal court,

¹⁸ In the province of Macerata, 12 kilometres far away from Civitanova Marche.

¹⁹ “June”.

²⁰ Born in 1517 or 1519 from the Count of Montorio, Giovanni Alfonso Carafa (Paul IV's brother) and Caterina Cantelmo. After an undisciplined and lewd youth, Carlo Carafa was elected Cardinal-Nephew and Secretary of State in the consistory of June 7, 1555. His unscrupulous government and excesses caused him the exile from Rome (first in Civita Lavinia, then in Marino) on February 1559. He returned in Rome at Paul IV's death, and on June 1560 was arrested and taken to the prisons of Castel Sant'Angelo with his relative, Cardinal Alfonso Carafa, with many accusations (among which several

על פיו ישק. והיה כי יבוא איש להתחנן לפני האפיפיור או לדרוש
מאתו דבר למשפט לא יבוא אל האפיפיור אל החצר הפנימית כי אם
ברשות החשמן קאראפה כי הוא המשנה במעלת האפיפיורות והוא
המוציא והמביא בימים ההם. כשבת האפיפיור פאוולו על כסא
5 מלכותו והחשמן קאראפה לפניו בשער בית המלכות באו לפניהם
כל שליחי המדינות איש איש ממקומו לבקש מלפניו קיומים ותנאים
איש על עמו ועל ארצו כנהוג בקום מלך חדש על הארץ. ואז
אנקונה העיר המהוללה היושבת על חוף הים המדינת למרקה אשר
סוחריה שרים ונכבדי ארץ מרחקים ממזרח וממערב ומארץ צפון
10 באניות בלב ים מביאים שם סחורותיהם לרוב מאד גם היא שלחה
מלאכים לפניו לבקש מאתו קיום תנאים כלליהם ודקדוקיהם.
ובפרטם בקשו גם קיום תנאים ובטחון על היקרים הספרדים
הקרואים פורטוגיסי אשר עזבו ארץ מולדתם ממדינת פורטוגאלו
ובאו לעבוד את ה' אלקי ישראל בארצות איטאליא לשמור ולעשות
15 את תורת אלקינו ככל אחיהם היהודים תושבי הארץ. ובקשו עליהם
שיוכלו לשבת לבטח ולשמור משמרת תורת משה עבד ה' כאשר
שמרו ועשו בימי האפיפיור פאוולו שלישי יוליו שלישי אשר מלך
לפניו. וכן השיגו מאת החשמן קאראפה הקיומים ההם. וישבו
היהודים הפורטוגיסי בעיר אנקונה ובשאר ארצות מדינת למרקה
20 לבטח עד החדש הששי הוא חדש אלול הנקרא בלשון איטאליאני
אגוסטו הוא החדש הרביעי למלכות פאוולו האפיפיור. ויעבור עליו
רוח קנאה ושנאה על היהודים הפורטוגיסי וחשב לאבדם על אשר
עזבו דתם והעבודה אשר היו עובדים בארץ פורטוגאלו וישבו
למשמרת תורת משה. וגם על היהודים תושבי ארץ איטאליא תחת
25 ממשלת האפיפיור

and everyone would be ruled according to his word.²¹ [And in a case] when someone came to entreat the pope or to ask him for justice, he would not come [directly to the pope], but only into the inner court, if Cardinal Carafa permitted it, because he was second in command to the pontificate and he was in charge in those days.²²

During Paul IV's pontificate [when he sat on the throne of his kingdom] when Cardinal Carafa was before him at the gates of the court, all the ambassadors of the lands came before them and asked what the terms and conditions were for their people and their lands, as was the custom when there was a new king.

And back then Ancona – the glorious city which is situated on the shores of the Marca, whose merchants are ambassadors and notable men from far away, from the East and the West and from the Northern lands, who carry their many goods in ships at sea – [this city] also sent messengers to the pope in order to ask him to reconfirm the general terms, and the details [of those terms]. They particularly asked for reconfirmation of the terms and security of the beloved Sephardic people called *Portoghesi*, who had left their homeland, Portugal, and come to Italy to worship God, the Lord of Israel, to keep and observe the Law of our God, similarly to their brothers the Jews who lived there. They [the ambassadors] asked permission on their behalf [the Portuguese] to dwell safely there and to keep the Law of Moses, servant of God, similarly to how it had been during the pontificates of Paul III and Julius III who had reigned before him.²³ They obtained this confirmation from Cardinal Carafa, and the Portuguese Jews safely settled in the city of Ancona and in other parts of the region of the Marca. [They settled there] until the sixth month, that is to say the month of Elul, which is called *Agosto*²⁴ in Italian, which was the fourth month of Paul IV's pontificate. [At that time] a spirit of jealousy and hatred towards the Portuguese Jews came over the pope, and he was considering annihilating them²⁵ for having left [the Christian] faith and worship that they had adhered to in Portugal and [for] returning to the Law of Moses. And similarly, for the Jews of Italy [who lived] under the rule of the pope, [the

homicides, abuses, rapes). After a long trial which involved all the Carafas nephews, he was strangled on March 5, 1561 and his corpse was transferred to the family chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

²¹ Genesis 41:40.

²² 2 Samuel 5:2.

²³ Paul III (Alessandro Farnese) reigned between 1534 and 1549 while his successor, Julius III (Giovanni Maria Ciocchi del Monte) between 1550 and 1555.

²⁴ "August".

²⁵ Cf. Esther 3:13.

היה קיום בעת ההיא. יען כי שלח עליהם ועלינו שוטר אחד נאפוליטאנו פאלאנגוניו שמו עם פתשגן כתב הניתן מאתו לאסוף אליו מן המדינות כל היהודים הפורטוגיסי ולחקור עליהם לדעת ולתור להודיע ולהודע אם מזרע אנוסים הם ולדונם במשפט מות 5 ושללם לבוז אל גנזי המלך. ועל היהודים איטאלייאני תושבי הארץ גזר לחקור ולבדוק בחורין ובסדקים בכתבי חשבונותיהם וספרי אקפותיהם חשבון הרביתות מכמה שנים שעברו למו ולהענישם בעונש ממון ולהשיב תשלומי האשם המושב לבעליהם כטוב וכישר בעיניו. ויבוא השוטר פאלאנגוניו קל מהרה כאשר ידאה הנשר 10 וישר באנקונה. והרצים יצאו דחופים מלפניו נוגשים אצים אל כל עיר ועיר נגד היהודים איטאלייאני. וירדו לנכסיהם כי כל הון רכושם הנמצא אתם כתבו לזכרון והניחו חתום בחותמו לבל יוכלו בעלי הרכוש ההוא לשלוח ידם עד זמן ועידן. ואסר עליהם לגבות אקפותיהם עד הדת יותן מאתו איך ומה וכמה יגבה מהם. ופתשגן 15 כתב הדת הזאת נקראת על גבי מרומי קרת אה סונו די טרומבה ונכתבה לזכרון בכל עיר ועיר מדינה ומדינה ככתבם וכלשונם ולא יעבור בכל תוקף ואומץ באנדו פיסו. ובהיא שעתא שלחו את ידם באף וחמה על הפורטוגיסי ויתפסו מהם כל היושבים באנקונה איש וביתו ומהיושבים בשאר ערי למרקה. כאשר השיגה ידם ואת כל רכושם כתבו לזכרון להוליכו אל גנזי חדר האפיפירות אשר הם 20 קוראים קאמירה אפוסטוליקה. ועשה והצליח השוטר הנ"ל בשליחותו זה לבדו ימים מספר. ועודנו מתעסק בכך

same danger] existed at that time. He sent a commissioner from Naples whose name was Falangonio²⁶ against both them and us, with a written copy [of a decree] that he had issued to gather all the Portuguese Jews living in those lands in order to investigate them: to discover, inquire, and inform him whether they were *marranos*,²⁷ to condemn them to death, and to rob their bounty [in order to bring it] to the pope's treasury.²⁸ He ordered the Italian Jews, the inhabitants of the land, to look into and to go over their bills with a fine-tooth comb, their account books, and the interest rates of the recent years, in order to punish them with a pecuniary penalty and to bring back their transgressions and return them to [their Christian] owners, as it seemed good and right to his eyes.

Officer Falangonio quickly went straight to Ancona, similarly to the way in which an eagle glides. Other messengers were operating before him; in every city, they ordered the Italian Jews to pay the debts. These messengers familiarized themselves with the Jews' assets, for they noted all of the assets which they had with them and affixed a seal on them to prevent the owners of these assets from getting them for a certain period of time. He forbade them to collect their credits until he had issued a sentence of how, what, and how much he would collect from them.

This issued letter was proclaimed from the highest place [in the city] *a sono di tromba*,²⁹ and it was written for memorial in every city and every country [without the possibility of any change], and nobody could disobey this [law], and it was adopted in the *bando fisso*.³⁰ At the same time, they [the officers] angrily attacked the Portuguese [Jews] and caught those who dwelled in Ancona, them and their families, and in the rest of the cities of the Marca. They also obtained whatever they could take and they noted all of their assets for memorial so that they could take them to the papal treasury, which is called *Camera Apostolica*.³¹ This above-mentioned commissioner quickly succeeded in this mission all by himself in some days. While he was engaged in this [mission],

²⁶ Giovanni Vincenzo Falangonio, jurist from Naples, he was appointed commissioner extraordinary of the Inquisition on July 26, 1555, by Paul IV.

²⁷ In Hebrew, *anusim* that is to say "forced", in reference to the baptism they had received in Portugal.

²⁸ Literally, "the king's treasury".

²⁹ "To trumpet forth".

³⁰ "Fixed ban" (?)

³¹ "Apostolic Chamber". Office of the Roman Curia, responsible of its financial administration.

והנה שוטר אחר שולח אחריו לחזק על ידו צ'יסארי דלא נאוה שמו מעיר בולוניה גם אותו שלח האפיפיור להחזיק במלאכת אבדן הפורטוגיסי ולענות האיטאלייאני. והם שניהם שיום לרעה הקימו עלינו את אויבנו פלילים הלא הם אשר במצ'יראטה העירה יואן באטיסטה ברקוני ופידיריקו מריוטי וגאספרינו וחבריהם צוררי היהודים. מנו אותם נוגשים על עם ה' לעיין עליהם ועל עסקיהם ולכתוב עליהם שטנה בכל שעה ובכל רגע ויקחו מידם את פנקסיהם וספרי אקפותיהם ושטרי הלואתם עד כי היהודים איטאלייאני אשר במדינת למרקה מטה ידם וידל כבודם ולא יכלו לעמוד בתוכחה נגד מבקשי רעתם כי הסבו עליהם כל העם מקצה. ואז הרבה יהודים ברחו להימלט על נפשם ומדלת הארץ ירדו הם באניות וילכו אל ארץ תוגרמה. ובעת ההיא המירו דתם כל אשר עיניהם חסים על ממונם ולא רצו למכור בתיהם שדותיהם וכרמיהם כאשר עשו במורוואלי י"ז נפשות בפעם אחת וחידים במצ'ירטה סירווייליאנו במדינת למרקה. ושאר היהודים יראי ה' וחושבי שמו אשר נשארו לעבוד את ה' במצור ובמצוק בארצות אויביהם היו למרמס תחת כפות רגליהם וממתקוממיהם. ובחיי צער יגון ואנחה כל ימי מלוך עליהם הארור פאוולו רביעי יש"ו כי נוסף עליהם אין רגע בלא נגע ואין פגע בלא חרדה וחלחלה צער ובושת ופגם מדי יום ומדי חדש בחדשו ומדי שבת בשבתו כאשר יעלה זכרונום בפרקים הבאים בעה"ו. ועתה נשוב לספר מהיהודים הפורטוגיסי אשר נתפסו והושמו במשמר בית הסוהר בחצר אנקונה. שמונים אנשים ועמהם גם קצת נשותיהם. לא ידעתי מספרן.

another commissioner was sent to strengthen him. His name was Cesare della Nave³² from the city of Bologna; he was also sent by the pope to fulfil the task of annihilating the Portuguese [Jews] and to torture the Italian [Jews]. Those two commissioners were both evil and caused our enemies to raise against us and judge those of us who were in Macerata – the city of Giovanni Battista Bracconi,³³ Federico Mariotti,³⁴ and Gasparino³⁵ and their acquaintances, the oppressors of the Jews. [The oppressors of the Jews] counted [the account books] of the businesses of the people of God, examined them, and wrote accusations against them [the Jews] constantly.

They [the oppressors] took from their hands [the Jews' hands] their notebooks, their account books, and their bills of loans, until the Italian Jews, who dwelled in the Marca, gave up, and their honour decreased, and they could not face the rebukes of those who wanted to harm them, because they [those who wish them harm] were surrounding them [the Jews]. Then many Jews escaped and left the country in boats; they sailed and arrived in Turkey. During those days, those who feared for their assets converted [to Christianity], because they did not want to sell their houses, their fields, and their vineyards similarly to how those from Morrovalle had done: seventeen of them [of the converted Jews] on one occasion and a few others in Macerata and Servigliano³⁶ in the Marca [also converted]. The rest of the Jews, those who were God-fearing and who contemplated His Name, and who remained to worship Him during the siege and pressure in the countries of their enemies, were crushed under their enemies' feet. [They suffered] a life of grief and sorrow during the time of the accursed Paul IV – may his name and memory be blotted out! – because they [the Jews] did not have a single moment without affliction, anxiety, horror, grief, shame, or injury; [they suffered from it] every day, every month, and every week, as I will describe in the next chapters, with God's help and salvation.

And now we shall turn to speak about the Portuguese Jews who were caught and imprisoned in the jail of the court in Ancona. They were eighty men, some of whom were accompanied by their wives. I do not know how many they were.

³² Protonotary Apostolic from Bologna, appointed by Paul IV commissioner of the Inquisition on the Portuguese Jews for the Province of Marche and Ancona.

³³ Giovanni Bracconi was a well-known lawyer and professor of law at the *Studium Generale Maceratense*.

³⁴ Federico Mariotti was probably a collaborator of Falangonio.

³⁵ He was probably a canon or responsible of the taxes in Macerata.

³⁶ In the province of Fermo.

והשוטרים לוחצים אותם תמיד בכל מיני ענוים וכל עסקיהם בכבדות נוהגים ובאכזריות וגם כי שלחו שרים רבים ונכבדים מאנקונה לבקש עליהם רחמים מלפני האפיפיור. והראו לו קיום בטחונם אשר השיגו מבאי כוחו והנה איננו שומע בקולם. עד כי לא להם מאתו שום תוחלת לטוב רק רע כל היום. ואף גם זאת בהיות 5 כולם הגיעו עד שערי מות ביד לוחציהם לא מאסם ולא געלם לכלותם אלקי אבותם אברהם יצחק ויעקב כי נתן בלב הפאלאגוניו אחד מהשוטרים לשים להם שארית. ועצם עיניו מראות ברעתם עד כי בין כמה פעמים כשגגה היוצאת מלפני השליט ברחו מבית האסירים מתי מספר מהם ובאחרונה ברחו בפעם אחת שלשים 10 אנשים אנשי חיל יראי אלקים. ויברח גם הפאלאגוניו השוטר עמהם לארץ מרחקים. וישאו עמהם כסף וזהב לרוב על כי העניקו לו מרכושם מנה יפה על ככה וברחו ונמלטו בחמלת ה' עליהם כי אל רחום וחנון ה' אלקינו ולא עזבונו יתשלי.

15

פרק שלישי

ויהי בהשמע דבר הפאלאגוניו בחצר האפיפיור ברומא וישלחו צווי ואזהרה אל צ'יסארי דלה נאווה השוטר האחר לשמור משמרת שארית הפורטוגיסי אשר נשארו שם בבית הסוהר. וגם כחמישים 20 ושנים איש ושתי נשים. ויצו עליו לענותם ביסורים רעים וקשים ומרים עד כלותם כי יד ה' נגעה בם. ומאז ניתן רשות למשחית לחבל העברים תחת שבט מוסר אחד לאחד. יתנהו השב רוחם והן אומרים השב וכשובם למוסר אויל הכביד עליהם ידו. וענה בכבל רגלם וימשכם בחבל חבלי מיתה עד יודו בפיהם כפירת דתם 25 ויחיבם למשפט מות. ואז אחד מהם בהתיאשו מפדות בחר מות מחיים למות על קדוש שמו

The commissioners constantly harrassed them with various tortures; they dealt with them aggressively, and they behaved cruelly despite [the Jews] sent many ambassadors and notable men from Ancona to ask the pope for mercy upon them. They showed him [the pope] the confirmations of security which they had received from his proxies, but he [the pope] did not listen to them. They did not have any hope for good from him, only bad all day. Even though they were all there, having arrived at the gate of death in the hands of their oppressors, the God of their Fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob did not give up on them [and did not] annihilate them, because He [God] put it into the heart of Falangonio, one of the commissioners, to save some of them. He closed his eyes to the sight of them [the Jews' transgressions] so that at times, such as a mistake from the governor, a few of them [of the Jews] could escape prison and recently, on one occasion, thirty people who were men of valour and God-fearing escaped. Commissioner Falangonio also escaped with them to far-off lands. They were carrying a lot of silver and gold with them, and they gave him a good portion of their possessions, and they escaped through the mercy of God, because the Lord our God is merciful and compassionate and did not abandon us; may His Name be Blessed forever.

Chapter Three

And when [what had happened] with Falangonio was heard in the papal court in Rome, they sent word of warning and orders to Cesare della Nave, the other commissioner, to guard the rest of the Portuguese [Jews] who remained there in prison. They were fifty-two men and two women. He [the pope] ordered him [Cesare della Nave] to torture them with harsh, painful, and bitter torments until they were dead, because the hand of God had touched them. From that time, permission was given to the commissioner to harm each and every one of the Israelites [with] the “rod of discipline”.³⁷ He would not allow them [the option] to catch their breath as they said, and when they were disciplined, his hand was tougher. He hurt their feet with fetters and pulled with a deadly rope until they confessed the heresy of their religion with their own mouths, and then he sentenced them to death. And then one of them, having given up hope of being redeemed, chose death over life, to die for the Sanctification of the Blessed One – may

³⁷ Cf. Proverbs 22:15.

ית' וית' בראותו כי אי אפשר להנצל ולא רצה למות ביד גויים
במיתה משונה. וישמט מאחד מן החלונות הגבוהות אשר בחצר
מאסרם ויפול לארץ וימת במרירות נפשו נוחו עדן. ויהי שם מת
מוטל לארץ כל הלילה עד הבקר ובאשמורת הבקר הוגד ליהודים
5 תושבי הארץ ויטלו רשות מהשוטר וישאוהו ויקברוהו בקברי
ישראל. יהי רצון שתהיה מיתתו כפרתו וה' יסלח לו תנצב"ה.
ובעוה"ר עיני רואות וחלות כי ראיתי נבלתו מושלכת על הארץ
תחת החלון ההוא מגולגלת בשמלה. וארא וימס לבי ויהי למים כי
מעני חמרמרו עליו ולא חפצתי לכתוב שמו ולא שם חניכתו. האל
10 המרחם יחוס ויחמול עליו ויסלח לו כי כוונתו לטובה למען לא
יחלל בריתו מפני צער היסורין. ברוך היודע אם היה יכול לסבול
וה' הטוב יכפר. וירא השוטר את הדבר הרע הזה ויכבד לבו ויוסף
עליהם שומרים על האסירים ההם. ובראות בית דין הגדול אשר
ברומא כשמוע את השמועה הזאת חתם גזר דינם ופירש ענשם של
15 כ"ד מהם נכתבו ונחתמו שמם למותתם בחנק ושרפה עם זקנה אחת
עמם. וכ"ז הנותרים גזר דינם לשרת בספינות הנקרא גאלירי
במושטות כל ימי חייהם בכבלי ברזל על רגליהם כמשפט השקייאוי
או גאליוטי בתוך הגאלירי. אך בזאת כי אם יעזבו תורת היהודים
וישובו לדתם יסירו מהם הגזר דין ויהיו חופשים היינו ליברי דאלה
20 מורטי אי גאלירי להיות ערלים גמורים.

He be Blessed forever! –, because he saw that it was impossible that he would be saved and he did not want to die an unusual death at the hands of the Gentiles. He jumped out of one of the high windows in the court where they were imprisoned, and he fell to the ground and bitterly died, may his soul rest in Heaven!

He was left there lying on the ground all night until the morning, and early in the morning the Jewish residents of the land were told [about this] and they obtained the commissioner's permission to carry him and bury him in the Jewish cemetery. May his death would be his redemption and the Lord would forgive him! May his soul be bound up in the bond of life! My eyes saw this and were afflicted because I saw his carcass lying on the ground underneath that window and wrapped in a garment. Then I watched; my heart melted and became as water, because my bowels scorched for him, and I did not wish to write his name and not the name of his pupil.³⁸ May the compassionate God have mercy and compassion upon him, and he will forgive him because his intention was for a good [cause], for his covenant will not be desecrated because he harshly suffered. Blessed be He, the One who knows whether he was able to endure, and the good God will forgive him.

Then the commissioner saw the evil thing that had just happened and his heart became heavier, and he added additional sentries to guard those prisoners.

When the High Court of Rome heard this rumour, they [the people of the Court] signed a sentence and they clarified the punishment of twenty-four of them: their names were written and signed to condemn them to death by strangulation and burning at the stake, one of them was an old lady. The other twenty-seven were sentenced to spend the rest of their lives serving as oarsmen on ships called *galere*,³⁹ with iron chains on their feet, as *schivi*⁴⁰ or *galeotti*⁴¹ inside the *galere*. However, if they would abandon the Law of the Jews and return to their faith, the sentence would be removed and they would be free, namely *liberi dalla morte e [dalle] galere*,⁴² and completely Gentiles.⁴³

³⁸ As recorded by Amatus Lusitanus, he has probably to be identified with the surgeon David Romero, see par. 3.4.

³⁹ “Galleys”.

⁴⁰ “Slaves”.

⁴¹ “Galley slaves”.

⁴² “Free from the death and the galleys”.

⁴³ Literally, “uncircumcised”.

ומאז נחתם גזר דינם של הכ"ד למיתה שבו לדבר על לבם לשוב
 לחוקות הגויים ולעזוב תורת משה למען יחיו ולא ימותו מיתה
 משונה. וימאנו ויאמרו לא כי מות נמות על קדושת שמו ית' ולמען
 תורת ה' אלקינו ולא נחלל בריתו אשר כרתנו אתו. ויגיע החדש
 5 השני הוא חדש אייר ויוציאו ליהרג ארבעה מהם ואשה אחת זקנה
 ושמה מיאורה ע"ה ויתלום על העץ וישרפום אחד לאחד. ועד שזה
 נשרף חביריו רואים והיו מתאווים למות גם הם על קדושת ה' ואלה
 שמות האנשים החסידים ההם השרופים בח' אייר בג' לחדש שמעון
 אבן מנחם יוסף גאסקון שמואל גאסקון אברהם פאלקון ומ' מיאורה
 10 הנ"ל ני"ע זצ"ל חלקם בחיים חיי עה"ב. ובחמשה באייר הגיע
 פקודת יצחק נחמיאש ושלמה אלגבאיש וביום ש"ק ח' אייר משה
 פאגיו שלמה פינטו יוסף מולכו אברהם סירולייא דוד נחש אברהם
 משורו. כל אלה י"ב נשרפו בחדש אייר שט"ו לפרקים. ובימים
 ההם כתב שליח המלך תוגר יר"ה אל הציבו מאנקונה לרחם על
 15 פליטת היהודים הפורטוגיסי אשר בבית הסוה ולהציל ממות נפשם.
 וכראות אנשי אנקונה את כתב המלך תוגר ביד א' משרי המלך
 אשר הביאו בידיו בקשו בכל תוקף ואומץ למלאות את רצון המלך.
 וימהרו וישלחו איש א' חשוב להתחנן לפני האפיפיור על
 הפורטוגיסי משום דרכי שלום בין המלך תוגר ובין בני עמם ולא
 20 אבה האפיפיור לשמוע בקולם ולא נסוג אחור משפטו. ויהי בחדש
 תמוז כ"ו לח' [ט"ב] כי שלחו ידם ביי"ב הנשארים. אלה שמותם
 משה ברזילון דוד רובין שלמה יחייא דוד מיקריאו יוסף אדראי
 יוסף פכו יעקב כהן יעקב מונטאלבן אברהם לוכו יעקב מוסו
 אברהם כהן. כולם אנשים חסידים קדושים שמסרו עצמם על קדוש
 25 ה' ומדי עברם ללכת אל המקום המוכן

And since the twenty-four Jews were sentenced to death, they tried to convince them to return to the Law of the Gentiles and to leave the Law of Moses so that they could live and not die an unusual death. They [the twenty-four] refused, and they said: “No, for we will die for the Sanctification of the Name of the Lord – may He be Blessed! – and for the *Torah* of the Lord our God, and we will not desecrate the covenant that we agreed upon with Him.” Then in the second month, which was the month of Iyyar, they executed four of the men and one old lady named Meyora, may peace be upon her, and they hung them on a tree and burned them one by one. One was burned while his friends watched him [burning], and they also desired to die for the Sanctification of God, and these are the names of the pious people who were burnt on the third day of the month of Iyyar [April 13, 1556]: Shimon Ibn Menahem, Joseph Guascon, Samuel Guascon, Abraham Falcon, and the above-mentioned Meyora, may their souls be in Heaven forever and ever. They are part of the life of the world to come! On the 5th day of Iyyar [April 15], the commandment [to kill] Isaac Nahmias and Solomon Algbaish came, and on Shabbat 8th of Iyyar [April 18] [came the commandment to kill] Moses Paggio, Solomon Pinto, Joseph Molkho,⁴⁴ Abraham Sirolia, David Nahash, and Abraham Mosoro. Those twelve were all burned in the month of Iyyar [5]316 [1556] throughout the month. In those days, the messenger of His Royal Highness the King of Turkey,⁴⁵ wrote to the public of Ancona [to ask them] to have mercy on the remainder of the Portuguese Jews who were in prison and to save their souls from death. And when the people of Ancona saw the letter from the King of Turkey in the hand of one of the king’s ministers, who brought it to him, they unequivocally and bravely asked him to fulfil the will of the king. They quickly sent an important man to plead for the Portuguese [Jews] before the pope for the sake of peace between the King of Turkey and their people. The pope did not want to listen to them and he did not withdraw his sentence. So on the 26th of Tammuz [?] [July 4], they killed the other twelve Jews. These are their names: Moses Barzillon (Barcellona?), David Reuben, Solomon Yahyah, David Micario (Sicario?), Joseph [V]ardai, Joseph Papo, Jacob Cohen, Jacob Montalban, Abraham Loco, Jacob Moso, and Abraham Cohen. All of them were pious people, holy people who gave their lives for the Sanctification of God, and when they passed by to go to the place where they were

⁴⁴ He was an apothecary, see par. 3.4.

⁴⁵ Suleiman I the Magnificent (1494-1566).

לשרפתם היו לוחשים בפיהם יחוד ה'. ויחידים מהם המכירים לדבר
איטאלייאנו באר היטב דברו עמם ובפיהם מלאו באזני עם הארץ
לאמר כי הם בוחרים בכל לבם ובכל נפשם מיתה כזאת על יחוד ה'.
ובפרט ר' שלמה יחייא הגדיל לדבר בדברים האלה כי אדם חשוב
5 היה ובעל הלשון צח ומצוחצח. וכשקרוב למקום שימות שם קרא
בקול גדול ויאמר שרפוני שרים רבים ונכבדי ארץ כי לא על אשר
חטאתי קרבוני למשפט מות ולא על רוע מעשים שעשיתי נגד
אלקים ואדם אלה על אשר החזקתי בתורת אבותי ליחד שם ה'
אלקי ישראל כי ה' הוא האלקים בשמים ממעל ובארץ מתחת אין
10 עוד מלבדו. ועל קדושת שמו אני מוסר עצמי למיתה ולפניו אני
מתחנן לאסוף נשמתי בצרור החיים הנצחיים ודם עבדיו יקום מיד
הקמים עליהם לרעה. ישפוך עליהם זעמו וחרון אפו ישיגם.
וככלותו לדבר ויעל ויקרב עצמו כקרבן תמים באהבה רבה לקיים
ואהבת את ה' אלקיך בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך אפי' נוטל את נשפך
15 ובירך ברכת אקב"ו על קידוש השם ויפל עצמו בתוך האש בשמחה
ובגילה. ואלה המשפטים אשר שמו על החסידים האלה בימים ההם
האפיפיור פאוולו רביעי והסרים אל משמעתו לקיים מה שנ' אלמנה
וגר יהרוגו ויתומים ירצחו יגודו על נפש צדיק ודם נקי ירשיעו.
כאשר אפרש באר היטב בס"ד בסוף פ' שמיני הוא סוף חבורי כי
20 על פאוולו הנ"ל יכרת

supposed to be burned, they were whispering in their mouths about the unity of God.⁴⁶ Some of them knew how to speak *Italiano* well, and they spoke to each other in Italian and used their mouths to fill the ears of the people of the land, saying that they were choosing such a death with all their hearts and souls for the sake of God's unity.

Rabbi Solomon Yahyah in particular spoke in such way because he was a very important man with a clear and eloquent manner of speaking. When he approached the place where he was supposed to die, he loudly called out and said: "Burn me, you many ministers and notable men of the land, because I am sentenced to death not because I have sinned and not because of evil things I have done against God and men, but rather because I held the *Torah* of my ancestors to unify the name of the God of Israel, because God is the Lord in Heaven and Earth and there is no other God than Him. Regarding the Sanctification of the Name: I sacrifice myself for the Sanctification of His Name and I beg Him to bind up my soul in the bond of eternal life; may He have vengeance for the blood of His servants on those who are fighting against them. He will pour out his fury and anger upon them." And when he had finished talking, he went up and sacrificed himself as an innocent victim fulfilling [God's commandment] with great love: *And you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your might,*⁴⁷ *even if He takes your soul.*⁴⁸ He spoke the blessing "Who sanctified us by His commandments and commanded us about the Sanctification of God's Name",⁴⁹ and then he happily let himself fall into the fire in joy. And these are the sentences about these pious men in the days of Pope Paul IV and those who obeyed his word to fulfil the verses: *they slay the widow and the stranger, and murder the fatherless*⁵⁰ and *they gather themselves together against the soul of the righteous and condemn the innocent blood.*⁵¹

With the help of God, I will clarify at the end of chapter eight – which is the last chapter of my work – that [Pope] Paul, who is mentioned above, will be cut out and

⁴⁶ They were reciting the *Shema Israel*, ("Hear, O Israel"), the centrepiece of the morning and evening prayer services which begins with the words: "Hear, Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One." They are the last words a Jew is supposed to say prior to death.

⁴⁷ Deuteronomy 6:4 ff.

⁴⁸ BT, *Berakhot*, 61b.

⁴⁹ The Sanctification of (God's) Name, in Hebrew *Qiddush ha-Shem* implies the glorification of God's name and can be displayed in three different ways: martyrdom, exemplary ethical conduct, and prayer.

⁵⁰ Psalms 94:6.

⁵¹ Psalms 94: 21.

ויאבד מארץ זכרו וכל בני ביתו לא נין לו ולא נכד בעמו ולא שארית ושום תקוה לעולם. נאמר כל המזמור ועליהם נתקיים כולו וכבר פירשתי בימים ההם באזני יחידי סגולה מבני עמנו אשר בק"ק צ'יויטאנובה ואחרים זולתם וא"כ נתקיים כולו כאשר פירשתי לא נפל דבר א' ארצה ואזכור להם דברי ויענו כל העם 5 אמן אמן ועתה נשוב לענין הכ"ז אנשים הפורטוגיסי אשר נחתם גזר דינם לשוטט במשוטות תוך הגאלירי. אחרי מות קדושים הנ"ל חלקם בחיים אלו הם ששבו לכפור בתורת משה כדי להנצל מהמות הגופני וחזרו לדתם וילבשו מעיל בעל ארבע כנפות מגוון ירוק ככרתי על כל מלבושיהם ועליו מרוקם סימן אדום בפנים ואחור 10 בעל ד' זוויות למען כל ראוייהם יכירום. וישלחו אותם ע' שומרים דרך מלכות נאפולי להוליכם אל מקום הגאלירי. ויהי בדרך במלון קמו כולם כאריות גברו ויכום ויכתום וימלטו כי נסעו למסעיהם דרך פירארה וקצתם דרך ארץ תוגרמה. רק בעיר אנקונה נשאר א' מהם שמו דוטורי ברבוסו אשר מצא חן בעיני הציבור מאנקונה 15 וביעיני צ'יסארי דלה נאוה השוטר כי היה רופא בקי ואדם חשוב חכם ויודע דעת בינה והשכל. ויאמינו לו לבדו מכולם ע"כ הרשו אותו לשבת באנקונה לעשות מלאכתו ולשמור משמרת דתם אפס כי היה לובש המעיל ירוק על כל מלבושיו ימים מספר. וישב הדוטור ברכוסו באנקונה ימים אחדים ויהי היום ויצא משער העיר 20 בסתר וילך גם הוא אל ארץ תוגרמה וישב למשמרת תורת משה בכל לבו ובכל נפשו. ואשתו היהודית גם היא נמלטה מבית הסוהר טרם נחתם גזר דינם ותנס בחברת משרתו בחור א' נחמד ונעים ונאמן מהיהודים תושבי צ'יויטאנובה אשר נתחכם להוציא ממסגר נפשה ויביאה לארץ תוגרמה עיר סאלוניקו. הרי שנמלטו איש 25 ואשתו בעזרת הבורא וישבו בטח.

annihilated from the earth: his memory and all of his household, not even his great-grandchild and no remainder of him and there will be no hope [for him and his household]. This psalm was speaking about them and it was entirely fulfilled, [as] I have already explained in those days to the outstanding people of our people of the holy community of Civitanova and others besides them, how this psalm was entirely fulfilled so that not a single thing was missing, and I reminded them of my words, and all the people said “Amen, amen!” And now we will return to the issue of the twenty-seven Portuguese people who were sentenced to be oarsmen in the *galere*.

After the deaths of the above-mentioned holy men, some others were still alive [because they had] denied the Law of Moses so that they could be saved from physical death, and they returned to their religion and wore a green garment with four wings on each and every piece of their clothing; on this garment, there was a red sign stitched on the front and back of the clothing, with four corners, so that everyone who saw them would know them. They were sent all the way through the Kingdom of Naples, with guards to take them to the place of the *galere*. While they were heading to their lodging, they rose up like lions [against the guards], they defeated, hit, beat [the guards] and they escaped. They travelled to Ferrara and some of them went to Turkey. Only in the city of Ancona, one of them, whose name was Doctor Barbosio,⁵² remained; he was well-liked by the people of Ancona and in the eyes of Commissioner Cesare della Nave, because he was a skilled physician and a wise and important man; he knew the science of wisdom and intelligence. They trusted him and allowed him to stay in Ancona to practice his art and to observe their religion, on the condition that he wore the green coat on top of all of his clothing for a number of days. Doctor Barbosio dwelled in Ancona for a few days, until one day he secretly left through the town gate, and he also went to Turkey and returned to observing the Law of Moses with all his heart and soul. His wife, who was also Jewish, escaped prison before their sentence was issued, and she escaped in the company of his servant, a nice, pleasant, and loyal young man living among the Jews in Civitanova, who used his wisdom to get her out and bring her to Turkey to the city of Salonika. The man and his wife escaped with the help of the Creator and settled [there] safely.

⁵² Francisco Barbosio (*alias* Hayim Rubio) was a well-known Portuguese physician. Before arriving in Italy (Ferrara and Ancona), he had practiced medicine for eighteen years in the Indies.

אח"כ הדת נתנה על כל רכוש הפורוגיסי להביא אל חדר האפיפיור. ויגבו גם כל שטר מלותיהם הון רב ועצום מכסף וזהב פנינים מרגליות ונכסים ותכשיטים שאין הפה יכולה לדבר כי אין מספר. ויכל צ'יסארי השוטר את המלאכה שאסרה תורה מלאכת מחשבת און ועמל וחמס ושוד וישב לדרכו דרך רומא. ובעת ההיא 5 בצ'יויטאנובה היה איש רע ובליעל נבל וכליבי צר ומציק אשר היה שמו ימח ויסח ויכרת אהרן בן מנחם. איש חנף ומרע רע פעלים. בראותו עת צרה לישראל לא מלאו לבו לעמוד בנסיון ולסבול בתוכחת מוסר שבט הנוגש בו והמיר דתו והלך ונשתמד ויסב את שמו יואן באטיסטה. והיה ליהודים אשר בצ'יויטאנובה לאבן נגף 10 לפוקה ולמכשול יען כי בתחלת ימי המרתו עשה עצמו כאדם כשר ואוהב המון הישראל עד כי קצת מהגויים האמינו לו אבל שבע תועבות בלבו ואח"כ נהפך לאויב נגד היהודים ובכל יום ויום קללתו מרובה היה מזיק להם בלשונו. איש צר ואויב המן הרע הזה לשון רמיה. ובאחרונה הכביד ויעש הרע בעיני ה' ובעיני בני אדם 15 להעליל עליהם עלילות דברים בלשון מדברת גדולות לשון הרע ובכבדות שכמעט סבב הרג ואבדן כמה נפשות נקיים ואביונים כאשר יתבאר בפרקים הבאים אי"ה.

20

פרק רביעי

בימים ההם כשבת האפיפיור פאוולו שם רשעים ירקב על כסא מלכותו חזק את משמרת פקודת החקירה אשר היתה ברומא בימי האפיפיורים אשר היו מלפניו. ומלפנים היו ממונים על המשמרת הזאת חשמנים חכמים ונבונים וישישים. ובימי האפיפיור יולי

25

שלישי

The Christians took the wealth of the Portuguese and sent it to the Apostolic Chamber. They also collected the bills of their loans, a great and enormous fortune of silver, gold, pearls, gems, goods, and jewels that is impossible to describe because there was so much of it. Commissioner Cesare was able to do all the works forbidden by the *Torah*, through iniquitous deeds and violent robbery, [then] he returned to Rome.

In that time in Civitanova, there was an evil man, a devil, a bastard, an oppressor and persecutor called Aharon ben Menaḥem: may his name be blotted out! He was a flattering man, but he committed evil deeds. When he saw the disaster of Israel, his heart could not handle the attempt and to suffer the rod of discipline, he converted to Christianity, became apostate, and changed his name to Giovan Battista.⁵³ He became a stumbling block and an obstacle to the Jews of Civitanova, because in the first days of his conversion, he made himself seem like a man who loved the people of Israel, until some of the Gentiles believed him; but his heart was full of abominations, and then he became an enemy of the Jews, and day by day his damnation became greater and greater: he injured them with his speech. He was an evil man and an enemy like Haman,⁵⁴ who used his speech in a deceitful manner. Lately, his behaviour had become worse and he did evil in the eyes of God and man by falsely accusing the Jews using eloquent speech and evil gossip that almost caused the murder and annihilation of some of the pure souls, as I will clarify in the next chapters, if God wills [it].

Chapter Four

During the days of the wicked Paul IV, he strengthened the power of the Inquisition established in Rome by the popes preceding him. In the past, there had been wise, old, and intelligent men at the head [of the Inquisition]. During Julius III's pontificate, two

⁵³ He probably converted after the enactment of the *Cum nimis absurdum* in the Marca, likely between 1557 and the beginning of 1558, see par. 5.1.

⁵⁴ Evil counsellor of the Persian King Ahasuerus. He attempted to annihilate the Jews dwelling in the empire but his plots were foiled by Esther, the new king's wife who was a Jew herself. The story of the miraculous salvation of the Jews and the hanging of Haman and his ten sons on the gallows, which were prepared for the Jew Mordekhai, is recounted in the Book of Esther, read during the public reading on the feast of Purim on the Jewish month of Adar.

הוסיפו עוד ב' ועלו למספר ז'. ומשמרת פקודתם היתה לחקור ולדרוש באמונת דתם להתווכח עם המינים הנקראים בלשונם איריטיקי ולגזור על המינין ההם ולאסוף אותם אל המשמר ולייסרם ביסורין ולבזותם ברבים עד שישב כל א' מהם רוצה אני לשוב לאמונת דתם בלב שלם. ואם יעמוד במריו האיש ההוא ויכבד את לבו לבלתי לכת לאמונתם הכוזבת אז ידינוהו למשפט מות ובאש ישרפוהו. כזאת היתה משפט החקירה. ופאוולו הרביעי המקולל הזה חזק על ידה והוסיף עוד בה ששה חשמנים ויעלו למספר י"ג. ויפקוד אתם את פראטי מיקילי ליסאנדרינו מכת הפראטי דומיניקאלי היא כת הפרידיקאטורי אשר היה מיודעו ואהובו מלפנים והפקיד אותו תחתיו על משמרת החקירה. וכל אשר עושים שם הוא היה עושה ומאז הפקיד האפיפיור פאוולו את פרא מיקילי על משמרת החקירה גברה ידה ונתגדלה מאד ונתפשט שלטנותה עד כנפות ארץ מרחקים. ולשלוח יד באנשים גדולים ושרים רבים נכבדי ארץ ולהביאם מעיר קצה גבולם תוך עיר רומא ובבואם אספו אותם אל משמר בית הסוהר בחצר החקירה. ומרוב ימים יחקרו בסוף שנה או שנתים ימים ויחתכו דינם כפי שיסכימו חברת החשמנים הממונים ההם עם הסכמת ורשות האפיפיור אשר למות למות ואשר לעונשים ויסורים כאשר יגזרו עליהם כן יהיה וכן יקום. וגם אמנה כי פרא מיקילי הזה הוא המוציא והמביא והמשרה הזאת על שכמו. אחר הדברים האלה גדל האפיפיור פאוולו את פרא מיקילי וישם כתר החשמנות על ראשו וקרא שמו חשמן אליסאנדרינו

other [cardinals] were added, reaching the number of seven.⁵⁵ Their task was to investigate and to inquire into their faith, to argue with the heretics called *eretici*⁵⁶ in their language, and to sentence those [heretics], to arrest them and torment them with sufferings and humiliate them publicly until every one of them wished to return to their faith with all his heart. And if one of them was to rebel and his heart was heavy and [he decided] to remain within the false faith, then they would sentence him to death and burn him. This was the law of the Inquisition. This accursed Paul IV strengthened its power and added six other cardinals, reaching the number of thirteen.⁵⁷ He appointed among them [the thirteen] *frate*⁵⁸ Michele Alessandrino,⁵⁹ from the order of the *frati domenicani*⁶⁰, which is the order of the *predicatori*⁶¹, an order acquainted with and beloved [by the pope]; he appointed him [Michele] under him [to be the leader] of the Inquisition. And he did everything that they used to do there. Since Pope Paul's [IV] appointment of *fra* Michele [to be its head], the power [of the Inquisition] had increased tremendously and its rule was widespread beyond the remotest corners of far-away lands. [The Inquisition's power] could arrest important people and notable ministers and bring them from their cities to Rome, and when they came, they arrested them and imprisoned them in the Court of the Inquisition.

They would investigate them for one or two years and then sentence them according to what the cardinals in charge agreed, with the consent and permission of the pope – *those destined to death, to death*⁶² and those who were to be punished and tortured according to how they had been sentenced – and this is how it was. I will also recount that this *fra* Michele was the mediator and that this duty was his responsibility.

After these things, Pope Paul increased *fra* Michele[’s power] and put a cardinal’s crown on his head and called him “Cardinal Alessandrino”, and he

⁵⁵ Their names were: Carafa (the future Paul IV), Álvarez de Toledo, Cervini (the future Marcellus II), Sfondrati, Pio da Carpi, Crescenzi and Verillo. After the death of Sfondrati (1550) and Crescenzi (1552), Cardinals Pighini and Puteo joined the Inquisition.

⁵⁶ “Heretics”.

⁵⁷ See note 63 here.

⁵⁸ “Friar”.

⁵⁹ Born Antonio Ghislieri in 1504 in a family of humble origins. When he entered the Dominican convent, he took the title of *fra* (= “brother”, “friar”) Michele. He was appointed inquisitor and cardinal (March 18, 1557) by Paul IV. He is often remembered as the “Cardinal Alessandrino” because of his birthplace, Bosco Marengo, in the province of Alessandria, in Piedmont. He was elected pope in 1566 with the name of Pius V, he died in 1572 and canonised by Clement XI in 1712.

⁶⁰ “Dominican friars”.

⁶¹ “Preachers”.

⁶² Jeremiah 15:2.

ויושיבהו לפניו בחצר המלכות להיותו קרוב אל ביתו. ועל פיו ישק כל עמו כי מצא מין את מינו כמוהו כמוהו לב א' ורוח א' לשניהם. שניהם שוים לרעה הם יאבדו. ועל כן מהיום ההוא והלאה כל עסקי האפיפיורות היו ע"י החשמן אליסאנדרינו וקצתם ע"י החשמן קארופה כל ימי פאוולו רביעי. והנה עוד ג' ממונים על פקידת משמרת החקירה בראש שער הרי עלו סך כולם ל"ו. הגם כי הפקיד למשנה תחתיו את פראטי טומאסו מיודעו על משמרה ההיא. ופרשת גדולת פרא מיקילי היתה בחדש מרצו ש"ז בהתקשר האפיפיור עם המלך צרפת להילחם נגד המלך פיליפו בן קארלו הקיסר החמישי. אמר המחבר גם כי לא נתכוונתי בחיבורי זה להזכיר דברי ריבות האפיפיור פאוולו רביעי ומלחמותיו וגבורותיו רק הצרות והתלאות אשר מצאו בני עמנו בימי מלכותו מלכות הרשעה עכ"ז לסבת מה אצטרך לכתוב לזכרון קצת מלחמותיו עם המלך פיליפו. אגב ארחי ולתועלת הנשמך לחבורי זה ואקצר אלעה לשוב לתכלית המכוון וזה ספר מלחמותיו בקיצור. בראשית ממלכת פאוולו רביעי עבר עליו רוח קנאה נגד הקיסר קארלו חמישי עם היותו זקן וחולה סגור בחדרי משכיתו במדינת אגוסטה. כי זכר את אשר עשה לו בנאפולי וכי המית את אחיו בחרב כמשפט למורד במלכות. על כן עתה בעלותו

established his residence in his court so that he would be close to his house. They agreed on everything, and they matched one another, one heart and one soul for both. They were both similar, and they will perish for evil. From that day onwards, almost all of the papal business was in the hands of Cardinal Alessandrino, with a small part in the hands of Cardinal Carafa, during the time of Paul IV. Three other cardinals were added to the guard of the Inquisition, reaching the number of sixteen.⁶³ He⁶⁴ [the Pope?] appointed his acquaintance *fra* Tommaso⁶⁵ to be in this guard under him. A great challenge for *fra* Michele⁶⁶ came in the month of March [5]317 [1557], when he made an attempt to unite the pope with the King of France⁶⁷ in order to fight King Philip of Spain,⁶⁸ son of Emperor Charles V.

The Author says: “Even though it was not my intention in this book to mention the wars and achievements of Pope Paul IV, but only the troubles and sufferings that befell the sons of our people during the time of his rule, the evil pontificate, for this reason I must write a memorial about part of his wars against King Philip. By the way, for the benefit and continuation of this book, I will cut out [some parts] and I will return to the intended purpose, and this is the book of his wars in brief.”

At the beginning of Paul IV’s pontificate, a spirit of jealousy turned him against Emperor Charles V, who was old and sick, enclosed in the rooms of his castle in Augusta.⁶⁹ He [the pope] remembered what he had done to him in Naples, killing his brother with a sword as was the custom for the rebels of the reign. Now that he hold the

⁶³ In Autumn 1556, Cardinals Medici (the future Pius IV), Scotti, Rebiba, Reumano, and Capizucchi were elected to be in the congregation which was composed of eight prelates at that time (Álvarez de Toledo, Pio da Carpi, Puteo, and the newly elected five). Throughout 1557, Paul IV appointed other cardinals like Rosario, Diomede Carafa, Ghislieri (the future Pius V), Pacheco, Saraceni, Savelli, Sforza, reaching the number of fifteen. At the end of 1558, the seventeen-year-old Cardinal Alfonso Carafa (son of Antonio Carafa, the pope’s nephew) was admitted to the weekly meetings of the Inquisition.

⁶⁴ It is not very clear whether the subject refers to the pope or to Cardinal Ghislieri.

⁶⁵ Tommaso Scotti (1491-1566), Dominican friar. He became member of the Inquisition in 1553 to help the General Commissioner of the Inquisition, Michele Ghislieri. On March 1557, he became in turn General Commissioner when Ghislieri was created Cardinal (March 17, 1557). He was wounded in the uprising of the Roman people which led to the destruction of the Palace of the Inquisition at Ripetta on August 18, 1559. He was then reconfirmed in his role by Pius IV. In 1566 Pius V appointed him Bishop of Terni where he died.

⁶⁶ This is a mistake of the author as Carlo Carafa – and not Michele Ghislieri – was in charge of the diplomatic relations with France in the war against Spain.

⁶⁷ Henry II of the House of Valois (1519-59).

⁶⁸ Philip II (1527-98), son of Charles V and the Infanta Isabella of Portugal.

⁶⁹ “Augsburg”, in Bavaria. When Charles V abdicated (1555-6), he divided his huge empire in favour of his brother Ferdinand (who inherited the Holy Roman Empire) and his son Philip (who received Spain and the Netherlands). He retired to the Monastery of Yuste in Extremadura (and not in Augsburg) in 1557, where he died the year later.

במעלת האפיפיורות חמתו בערה בו וגם על המלך פיליפו בנו חרה
אפו ועל כל השרים והפחות הסרים אל משמעתם אשר היו תחת
ממשלתו. ומאז אשר קנא אל הקיסר ופיליפו בנו גלה דעתו ברדפו
אחרי השרים והפחות קולאניסי וקסריים אשר היו ברומא. יען כי
5 שלח לקרא את האדון מרקאנטוניו קולון בערמה לשלוח בו יד וירא
לנפשו וינם בעוד לילה ויצא מרומא וילך אל מדינת מלכות נאפולי
אשר למלך פיליפו. ואחרי כן אמו ואחיותיו ואשתו אשר היו ברומא
עשו גם המה בערמה ותלבשנה שמלות בלות ומטולאות ונעלות
בלות ברגליהן ותצאנה גם הנה כמתנכרות ותלכנה אחרי
10 מרקאנטוניו. וכשמוע פאוולו רביעי כי ברחו וינוסו לנפשם מרקו
אנטוניו ובני ביתו חרה אפו בם וביתר שרי העמודים ויצו לתפוש
את האדון יוליו ציסארינו ואת האדון קאמיללו קולונאה ואחרים
מלבד אלה. ויביאו אותם אל משמר וירד לנכסיהם ויקח את כל
ארצם מידם ועיר פאלייאנו עם המבצר אשר בתוכה אשר היתה
15 עיר מבצר לאדון מרקאנטוניו. הסב אותה לנכדו אשר היה שמו
קונטי דמונטו אוריו ויקרא שמו דוכוס פאליאנו מהיום ההוא ומעלה
ע"ש העיר פאליאנו. ויחזק את בדק העיר והמבצר וישם בה
שומרים לשמרה תחת ממשלת הדוכוס הנזכר. היא ועיירות אחרות
אשר סביבותיה מערי מרקאנטוניו. וגם את ערי האדון יוליאנו
20 צ'יסארינו והמבצר שיניבלדה אשר לו במדינת קאמפאנייה וגם

title of pope, his rage was burning inside him against him [Charles] and also his son Philip and all the ministers and those below them following their commands who were under his government. Since he was jealous of the emperor and his son Philip, he decided to persecute the ministers from the Colonna⁷⁰ and Cesarini families who were in Rome. Using manipulation, he sent to the lord Marcantonio Colonna⁷¹ in order to harm him; he [Colonna] feared for his life and that night he escaped from Rome towards the Kingdom of Naples, which was under the supremacy of King Philip. His mother, his sisters, and his wife, who were in Rome, also played a trick by wearing worn and patched [old] dresses and old shoes on their feet, and escaped in disguise, following Marcantonio.⁷² When Paul IV heard that Marcantonio and the members of his family had escaped, he was angry at them and at their [Colonna's] ministers, so he ordered that lord Giuliano Cesarini⁷³, lord Camillo Colonna⁷⁴ and others be captured. They arrested them and he [the pope] took their assets and their lands, the town of Paliano with a fortress in the city, which was the fortress city of the lord Marcantonio.⁷⁵ He [the pope] assigned this city to his nephew,⁷⁶ the Count of Montorio,⁷⁷ and he became the Duke of Paliano and he elevated the name of the town of Paliano. He strengthened the custody of the town and the fortress and put some guards under the control of the above-mentioned duke. [Paliano] and other towns in the vicinity belonged to Marcantonio. He also took the towns of Giuliano Cesarini and Rocca Sinibalda⁷⁸ in the countryside and

⁷⁰ Literally, “Colonnese”. The Colonna family is an ancient and noble Roman family, descending from the counts of Tusculum (tenth-century). They were supporters of the Spanish faction.

⁷¹ Marcantonio Colonna (1535-84), son of Camillo Colonna and the beautiful Giovanna d’Aragona. He owned many territories and castles that he lost because of his dispute with Paul IV (with the exception of Paliano which was returned to him in 1569). He was admiral of the Church under Pius V.

⁷² They fled in disguise to Tagliacozzo. When Giovanna came back to Rome on June 4, 1560, after Paul IV’s death, she triumphantly entered the city.

⁷³ Giuliano Cesarini (1491-1566), member of an aristocratic Roman family. He received the title of *gonfaloniere* of the Roman people and was lord of several fiefs; among other titles, he was duke and then Marquise of Civitanova Marche and Montecosaro. He was arrested after the escape of the Colonnas’ women because he was suspected to be their accomplice (his wife was Giulia Colonna). He was released after the end of the war with Spain (September 1560) and regained his fiefs in a second moment. At Paul IV’s death (August 18, 1559), he put down the uprising of the Roman people, who wanted to defenestrate the Dominican friars from Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

⁷⁴ Camillo Colonna (?-1558), relative of Marcantonio. He was arrested with Guido Ascanio Sforza di Santa Fiora and released after the galleys taken at Civitavecchia were returned to Paul IV.

⁷⁵ Paliano, in the province of Frosinone, Lazio.

⁷⁶ Literally, “grandson”.

⁷⁷ Giovanni Carafa (?-1561), son of Giovanni Alfonso and Caterina Cantelmo. He inherited the county of Montorio and other territories. When his uncle became Paul IV, he was appointed captain general of the Church and obtained the Duchy of Paliano, which was confiscated to Marcantonio Colonna. He was arrested after Pius IV’s election and was beheaded on March 5, 1561.

⁷⁸ Today in the province of Rieti, Lazio.

צ'יויטאנובה ארץ מגוריו ומונטיקוסארו שתי ערי האדון יוליאנו
במדינת למקרה. לקח אותם מידו וישם בהם שומרים להחזיקם
ברשותו. וכן עשה לכל השרים והפחות אשר היו תחת ממשלתו
מעדת העמודים הסרים למשמעת הקיסר ופיליפו בנו. ויהי כשמוע
5 השר מרקאנטוניו כי האפיפיור לקח את ארצו ויאסוף את כל חילו
מארצות אחוזתו אשר במדינת מלכות נאפולי ויבוא הוא ואחוזת
מרעהו העמודים אשר יצאו מרומא ויצאו להילחם נגד שומרי
העיירות ההן ולא יכלו כי האפיפיור צוה את שרי המדינות אשר
תחת ממשלתו להילחם בו בכל תוקף. ואין אומר השב ויבקש
10 מרקאנטוניו עזר מאת משנה למלך פיליפו אשר בנאפולי ודוקה
דאלבה שמו ויתחנן לפניו להיות בעזרתו ברשיון המלך [מרכוני?]
ויואל הדוכוס משנה למלך להיות אתו ויצאו להילחם בחיל
האפיפיור ויכהו ותגבר ידם ויסבו פניהם חיל האפיפיור. וינוסו
מעיר אל עיר דרך רומא וחיל משנה המלך ומרקאנטוניו. רדפו
15 אחריהם ויתפשו ערים רבות מערי האפיפיור וילכדו גם את
מעברות חוף הים אשר לרומא. ויצרו על אושטיאה המחוז של
רומא אשר בים ימים רבים למנוע את מעבר הדגן תירוש ויצהר
אשר היו הולכים לרומא דרך המחוז ההוא. וילך יד חיל המשנה
הולך וגדל וירוצו ויבואו עד סביבות מדינת רומא העיר רבתי. ואז
20 היתה עת צרה לישראל אשר היו דרים בעיירות ההמה כי הלכו
בשבי לפני חיל המשנה ואת כל חילם שבו. ויבוזו אמנם לקץ ימים
לקחו מידם כסף פדיונם וישלחום ויצאו מידם בעירום ובחוסר כל
והלכו באשר הלכו. וכראות האפיפיור כי לא עצר כח נגד חיל
המלך פיליפו ומארקאנטוניו ויקבוץ את כל חילו אל תוך רומא
25 ויחזק את בדק העיר ויסגור דלתם אין יוצא ואין בא. וישלח את
החשמן קאראפה אל אינריקו מלך צרפת לבוא בקשר אתו להילחם
עם מלך פיליפו ומשנהו. וישמע לקולו המלך צרפת ויאמר לעשות
כן ויקשור קשר אמיץ עם האפיפיור ע"י חשמן קאראפה בתנאי
וברית אשר כרתו ביניהם. וישב ואז האפיפיור עשה

Civitanova – the land of his residency – and Montecosaro, both cities belonging to the lord Giuliano in the Marca. He took them out of his hands and put some guards there to strengthen his authority. And he did this to all the ministers, especially those who were under the government of Colonna who had obeyed the Emperor and his son Philip.

When Marcantonio heard that the pope had taken his land and sent his army from his lands in the Kingdom of Naples, he and the company of his friends from the Colonna [faction] left Rome and went to fight the guards of those cities, but they did not [succeed], because the pope ordered the ministers of the lands under his power to fight him [Marcantonio] fiercely. Marcantonio asked for help from King Philip's lieutenant in Naples, who was the Duke of Alba,⁷⁹ and he begged him to help him with the permission of the king [?] The duke, who was the king's lieutenant, agreed to be on his side, so they went out to fight the army of the pope.⁸⁰ They attacked [the pope's army] and won, and then the pope's army turned around and fled from city to city on the way to Rome, and they were chased by the army of the king's lieutenant and Marcantonio. They chased them and conquered many cities which belonged to the pope and captured the passageways on the shore of Rome.

They besieged and waged war for many days in the territory of Ostia,⁸¹ which is a region of Rome near the sea, in order to prevent the transit of grain, wine, and oil from being directed to Rome through this region. The lieutenant's power increased, so he went quickly and arrived near the great city of Rome. At that time, there was trouble for the Jews who lived in those cities, because they were captured by the lieutenant's army. [The army] despised them and after some days took their money and cast them away, leaving them with nothing, so they [the Jews] were wandering. When the pope saw that the armies of King Philip and Marcantonio were not stopping, he gathered all of his army into Rome, strengthened the guards of the city, and closed the gate: no one could leave, and no one could come in. He sent Cardinal Carafa to King Henry of France to join him in his fight against King Philip and his lieutenant. The King of France agreed to do this and he allied with the pope through Cardinal Carafa on the condition that the pact they had between them be respected. Then the pope appointed

⁷⁹ Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (1507-82), third Duke of Alba.

⁸⁰ The war known with the name of "Salt War" was fought from September 1556 to September 1557.

⁸¹ Located on the Tyrrhenian coast in the territory of Rome.

עשרה חשמנים רובם מכת הצרפתים ומשונאי הקיסר. וזה היה
בחדש מרצו שי"ז ואז נתמנה חשמן פראטי מיקילי אליסאנדרינו
אשר זכרנו שמו למעלה בפנים בראש הפרק. ומכיון שנעשה הקשר
שלח מלך צרפת ט"ו אלף רגל וד' אלפים פרשים מעם צרפתים עם
שביצירי ובאסקוני ובראשם שר צבא המלך צרפת דוקה דגוויסה
שמו. ויבואו באיטאליא בחדש האביב דרך מדינת לומבארדיאה
ומלומביריאה לרומאניא ומשם בלמרקה. וגם האפיפיור הביא חיל
ופרשים מרומאניא ומלומביריאה ויבואו גם המה בלמרקה כדי
להיכנס במלכות נאפולי דרך מעבר נהר טורונטו. וזאת היתה עצה
יעוצה גם להסיר חיל משנה הנ"ל מסביבות רומא. אמנם בהשמע
הדבר לשמנה המלך פיליפו ויוסף גם חיל אחר עצום ממדינות
מלכות אדוניו רגלי ופרשים מלבד החיל אשר לו במדינות
קאמפאניא. ויערכו אתם מערכה לקראת מערכה ותהי מלחמה
ביניהם בעבר נהר טורונטו וסביב עי ציוויטילה ד' חדשים יען כי
חיל האפיפיור והצרפתים עברו הנהר ונכנסו בגבול מלכות נפולי
אשר למלך פיליפו. וילכדו משם עירות קטנות ועיר ציוויטולה בא
במצור. ויפלו במלחמה ההיא מאלה ומאלה רבים אמנם מהצרפתים
מתו הרבה מאד והרבה מתו בחלאים ולא יכלו ללכוד את העיר. וגם
במלחמה ההיא לקו מבני עמנו שהיו דרים בעריהם ותחומם בהיות
חילם לבוז וקצתם הלכו בשבי. ויהי כי ארכו ימי המלחמה וכל א'
מהמחנות על משמרתם עומדות באו בברית שרי צבאות המחנות
במצות שני המלכים ובהסכמת האפיפיור ותשקוט המלחמה.
והצרפתים הלכו להם דרך רומא וישבו באניות אל ארצם. ובתוך
ימים אחדים עשו שלום המלכים שניהם בתנאי שישבו איש

ten cardinals, most of them from the French group who hated the emperor.⁸² This happened in March [5]317 [1557], when the above-mentioned *fra* Michele Alessandrino was elected, as we mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. Because of the connection, the King of France sent 15,000 infantrymen and 4,000 horsemen from France, Switzerland, and Gascony; at the head of the army of the King of France was the Duke of Guise.⁸³ They arrived in Italy in the spring, passing by Lombardia, and from Lombardia to Romagna, and from there to the Marca.⁸⁴ Also, the pope brought his army and horsemen from Romagna and Lombardia, and they too came to the Marca in order to enter the Kingdom of Naples through the territory of the Tronto River.⁸⁵ They had been advised to do this in order to remove the army of the above-mentioned lieutenant which had surrounded Rome. Indeed, when King Philip's lieutenant heard this, he added another large army from the cities of his kingdom, [made up of] infantrymen and horsemen, in addition to his army in Campagna. He prepared them in expectation of a war, which took place in the territory of the Tronto River around Civitella⁸⁶ and continued for four months, because the army of the pope and the French crossed the river and entered the border of the Kingdom of Naples under the power of King Philip. They conquered small cities and the town of Civitella was under siege. Many [soldiers] from both armies fell in battle; indeed, among the French, many died, including many from diseases, so they could not conquer the city. Also in that war, the sons of our people living in those cities and territories were injured, humiliated by the armies, and some of them were taken as prisoners. And when the days of the war dragged on and each of the armies was still standing on guard, the generals of the armies made a treaty, following the order of the two kings and with permission from the pope, and the war ended.

The French went on their way to Rome and returned to their country by ship. In a few days, both kings made peace⁸⁷ under the condition that each and every man would

⁸² In the consistory of March 15, 1557 were created ten cardinals from the French faction, their names are: Gaddi, Trivulzio, Strozzi, Rosario, Bertrand, Ghislieri, Dolera, Carafa, Vitelli, Consiglieri.

⁸³ Francis de Lorraine (1519-63), general of the French army.

⁸⁴ At that time, the Duchy of Milan and the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza were ruled by the Farnese and Gonzaga families respectively, who were both under the influence of the Spanish Crown.

⁸⁵ The Tronto River marked the border between the Marca (which belonged to the Papal States) and the Kingdom of Naples.

⁸⁶ Civitella del Tronto in the Kingdom of Naples, today in the province of Teramo, Abruzzo.

⁸⁷ The treaty of peace was agreed upon on September 12, 1557 at Cave, in the territory of Rome. However, the treaty was signed only two days later.

אל אחוזתו וישובו הערים אשר לקחו במלחמה לאשר לו אחוזת
הארץ כימי קדם ולהוציא ממסגר כל השרים האסירים בבית הסוהר
תחת יד האפיפיור. וכן עשה אחר ימים הוציאם מבית כלא. ובתוכם
האדון יוליאנו צ'יסארינו אמנם ארץ אחוזתם לא השיב להם כל ימי
5 חייו. ועתה ראה פלא אשר היה בארץ בימים ההם תיכף אשר כרתו
ברית שלומם הציף נהר טיבירו בכל קצה עיר רומא אשר סביבות
הנהר. ונתמלאו מים כל בתי השפלה ומרתפיהם וימותו אנשים מתי
מספר ובהמות לרוב רק מבני ישראל ומקניהם לא מת א'. ויגברו
המים הולך וגדול עד כי כסו בתים רבים וילכו המים עד מדרגת
10 חצר ס' פייטרו ותשע עיר רומא כמצולה שאין בה דגים עד כי
הוצרכו ללכת בספינות קטנות ודוגיאות מבית לבית ומשכונה
לשכונה. וישטפו המים הון רב ודגן ומיני מזונות. ויהי רעב בארץ
ימים רבים עד אשר הביאו מארץ ממרחוק דגן שמן ויין ומיני
מזונות כי נתקלקלו גם הריחים בשטף מים רבים. וילכו המים
15 אח"כ הלוך וחסור ולקץ ימים אחדים יבשה הארץ. ואז שמחו
שמחה וגיל על דבר השלום והשקט המלחמה כי כל ימי המבול לא
יכלו לשמוח וגם לפרסם השלום. ולכן שבו אח"כ לשמחתם. אפס
כי לא ערבה שמחתם לבני עמנו כי מכיון שכל מחשבתם עליהם
לדכאם ולהשפילם אחרי אשר שקטה המלחמה. שבו וימררו את
20 חייהם בגזרת נמוסי הבולה ובפרוע פירענות כסדרן להביא אל גנזי
המלך וקרוביו. ושלא כסדרן לבזות את ממונם לשלול שלל ולבז
בו ולהשאיר אותם עירום ועריה. והנוגשים אצים נגד היהודים
לראות חשבונות ישנים ולהשיב את העודף מהריביתות שפרעו
יתירים על י"ב למאה באופן כי האשם המושב נצטרפו לחשבון
25 גדול. ויצאו היהודים נקיים מנכסיהם לא נשאר להם כי אם גוויותם
ומעט מזעיר שטרי חובות אשר הם קשים לגבותם.

return to his property; that the cities which they had taken during the war would be returned to those to whom they belonged; and that all the ministers imprisoned by the pope would be released. And he did so: after some days, he released them from prison. Among them was the lord Giuliano Cesarini; however, he did not return their properties during his [Paul IV's] lifetime. And now observe the miracle which took place in the country in those days: immediately after the signing of the treaty, the river completely flooded the city of Rome and the nearby cities which were close to the river.⁸⁸

The low houses and the basements were filled with water; several people and animals died, and only among the sons of Israel and their livestock did nobody die. It covered many houses and reached the stairs of the courtyard of S. Pietro, making the city of Rome a basin without fish so that it was necessary to travel in little boats and skiffs in order to move from house to house and from neighbourhood to neighbourhood. The water destroyed many possessions as well as grain and foodstuffs. A famine came over the land for many days so that grain, oil, wine, and other foodstuffs had to be imported from far-away lands, because the millstones were also destroyed in the flood.

After that, the water receded and left the earth dry for several days. And the people rejoiced because of the peace and the end of the war; indeed, during the time of the flood, they could not rejoice and peace was not announced.⁸⁹ Then they returned rejoicing. But joy was not promised to the sons of our people, because their [of the Christians, the Church] intention was to oppress and humiliate them following the end of the war. So they returned to make their lives bitter with the issuing of the rules contained in the bull in order to take payments as ordered to the treasury of the pope⁹⁰ and his relatives. In addition, they also seized their assets, took their treasures, and despised them and left them with nothing. The oppressors chased the Jews to look at their old bills to return the change of their interests, which were collected at more than the rate of 12% in such a way that the returned money became a large account.⁹¹ The Jews were deprived of all their possessions and remained with nothing but their bodies and a few of the bonds that were hard for them to collect.

⁸⁸ The flood is recorded by the sources of the time, see par. 4.2.

⁸⁹ Indeed, the peace was announced to the people in the consistory held on September 20, 1557 after the Duke of Alba had gone to Rome to beg pardon from Paul IV and reconcile with him.

⁹⁰ Literally, "the king's treasury".

⁹¹ This is referring to the imposition given by Carlo Carafa to the Jews of the Marca, see doc. 2.

ותלך יד המנגדים הלוך וקשה על היהודים כל ימי פאוולו הרביעי
הארור המקולל.

פרק חמישי

- 5 ובשנת ארבע למלכות פאוולו הרביעי ז' לחדש שבט שי"ט לפ"ק
בהיות מכלכל במדינת למקרה ציסארו ברקאנציו מנאפולי מקרובי
בית קאראפה גם הוא חשב מחשבות להשחית את יתר פליטת ממון
היהודים מלמקרה הנשארת להם מהצרות הקדומות. וישלח ויקרא
לכל היהודים מלמקרה אשר נשארו לגור במדינות ההן ויצו עליהם
10 ללכת אחריו לאנקונה בקנס עונש גדול. ואז קצת מהיהודים
הנאשרים נשמטו א' א' וילכו להם בהחבא וקצתם הלכו כמצותו
לאנקונה והנשארים שם גזר עליהם ללכת אחריו כאיש א' בלבב
שלם. וכשהגיעו לשם גלה להם דעתו לאמר להם דעו כי קנס הוטלו
עליכם מימי קדם בהיות החשמן ס' אנילו מכלכל במדינה הזאת.
15 כאשר מצאתי בזכרונות שהעניש אתכם לכל הקהילות ק"נ אלף
סקודי זהב ואתם לא פרעתם כ"א סמוך לס' אלף. ועתה עלי לגבות
מכם כהנה ס' אלף. א"כ איפה. הבו מקניכם כסף או זהב כאשר
אשית עליכם ואל תסרבו פן יד אשלח בכם ואספתי אתכם אל
משמר עד אשר תקבלו עליכם את הדין ותביאו את הכסף המתוכן
20 אל בית האוצר אשר לי ואתם תאסרו בבית משמרכם

During the days of the damned and accursed Paul IV, the hands of their enemies became tougher and tougher against the Jews.

Chapter Five

In the fourth year of Paul IV's pontificate, on 7th Shevat [5]319⁹² [January 25, 1559] [פ"ק], during the time of Cesare Brancaccio⁹³ of Naples who was a relative of the Carafa family and Governor of the Marca, he began to think once more about destroying the remainder of the assets belonging to the Jews who lived in the Marca that had survived the previous persecutions. He sent [messengers] to call all the Jews of the Marca who remained in those lands and ordered them to follow him to Ancona, lest they be punished with large fines and punishments. Some of the remainder of the Jews disappeared one after the other and went into hiding; some of them, as he ordered, went to Ancona; and those who remained were ordered to follow him full-heartedly as one man. When they arrived there, he revealed his intentions to them, saying: "Know that there has been a financial penalty imposed upon you since the time of the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo,⁹⁴ governor of this region. I found in the [books of] memoirs that he punished you and all of your communities by making you pay 150,000 golden *scudi*, but you have only paid approximately 60,000 [*scudi*]. Now I wish to collect other 60,000 [*scudi*]. So, where [is the money]? Bring your properties, silver or gold, as I command you, and do not refuse, lest I harm you and imprison you until you are sentenced to bring your money to my treasury, and you will be imprisoned with little

⁹² The manuscript bears the year 5317 (1557), while Sonne proposes 1559. This last seems to be more appropriate as Benjamin writes "in the fourth year of Paul IV's pontificate". פ"ק usually refers to *Purim Qatan*, a semi-festive day in the intercalated first month of Adar in a leap year corresponding to a month before the celebration of Purim in the following month Adar.

⁹³ Cesare Brancaccio (around 1515-1564) was acquainted with the family Carafa and protected by Carlo Carafa. He was doctor *in utroque iure*, protonotary apostolic, Governor of Rome, messenger to France by means of Cardinal Carafa; after the coming of the Duke of Alba in Rome, as he was a rebel of the Kingdom of Naples, Carlo Carafa appointed him governor-general of the Marca and he held this position until the beginning of 1559 when the cardinal was banned by Paul IV. Brancaccio was removed from his office on March 6, 1559, and arrested with his lieutenant, Sante Canaglione for many crimes (corruption, theft, fraud, appropriation of the heretics' assets). He was imprisoned in Macerata and then transferred to Ancona, from whence he was released a few months later. He was killed by the Huguenots in France in 1564.

⁹⁴ Ranuccio Farnese (1530-65), brother of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. He was elected Cardinal of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria (from the name of its location close to the fish market at Portico d'Ottavia in Rome where the Jewish ghetto was) in 1546 and he held the title until his death. Ranuccio Farnese was legate of the Marca between 1546 and 1547.

בלחם צר ומים לחץ. ויהי כשמענו את דבריו ונשא עינינו לאבינו
שבשמים ונשב לו מענה רך לאמר כי אין ידינו משגת כי אם תם
הכסף ונשארנו בלתי אם גויותנו בעירום ובחוסר כל מפני ההשבון
וגם אמנה. כי לפי דברי אנשי שכל מבני עירנו לא היה מן הדין
5 שיפרע מאומה ולא יכול לגבות הוא ממנו מה שהניח לנו המכלכל
ההוא בנדבה על צד החסד והחנינה. כשמוע צ'יסארי המקולל
תשובתנו זאת הנצחת ויחר אפו תיכף ומיד בלי צו בזריזות ויצו
ויתנו אותנו אל ב"ה. בקירוב לט"ו אנשים אשר הלכו לפניו
כמצותו והאחרים נסו כאשר שמעו תפישתנו. וישלח צ'יסארי
10 המשחית המכלכל לבתיהם לשלול שלל ולכוז בז לשלוח יד
בממוניהם ונכסיהם ובזה אותם מחוט ועד שרוך נעל ויקח כל אשר
להם. וילכו וימכרו את מטלטליהם ושמלותם כטוב בעיניהם ויביאו
את הכסף לבית גנזי המכלכל ע"י איש א' אשר הופקד לכך מאתו
במצ'יראטה. ואותנו הוציא משם לסוף ז' ימים ויביאנו למצ'יראטה
15 ויתן אותנו אל בית הסוהר ה' ימים. ויהי ביום הששי שלחנו
להתחנן לפניו כי יחוס עלינו פן נמות מפני הקור וצער מאסרנו.
ושלח מלאך ויוציאנו מבית הסוהר ויצו עלינו לבלתי צאת משערי
מצ'יראטה עד נקבל עלינו לפרוע תשלום הסך הנ"ל כרצונו וחפצו.
ונשב במצ'יראטה ימים רבים עד ח' ימים לחדש אדר. וביני ביני
20 שנים מהיהודים ההם קבלו עליהם לפרוע את שקבלו עד שנגאלו כי
שפכנו לבנו בדמעה על לחיינו לפני אדוננו אבינו שבשמים. ונזעק
לה' אלקינו וירא את ענינו ואת עמלנו ואת לחצנו. ובימים ההם
חרה אף האפיפיור על החשמן קאראפה ואחיו וקרוביו מסבת ה'
לרחם עלינו ולנקום את נקמתנו. ויגרש אותם מאת פניו וממדינת
25 רומא ויסר את מטה הממשלה מידם

bread and scant water.”⁹⁵ When we heard his words, we looked up to our Father in Heaven and we turned a soft request towards Him, saying: “We are unable to do [anything], for if the money is gone, we are left with nothing but our naked bodies, because of the taxation and the agreement.” However, according to the wise men of our city, he [Cesare] should not have plundered anything and he should not have collected from us the things that the other governor allowed us with generosity, grace, and compassion.

When the accursed Cesare learned that this was our final answer, he was angry, and, without a decree, he immediately and hastily ordered that we be put in prison. There were approximately fifteen of us who went after him as he commanded; the others fled when they heard about our capture. The accursed Governor Cesare ordered to destroy their houses, to steal their possessions, to take their assets and properties, and to despise them; he robbed them from a thread to the shoelace of a sandal,⁹⁶ and he took all of their belongings. They went to sell their goods and clothes which were appealing to them and brought the money to the governor’s treasury by means of a man in Macerata who was charged with this duty. We were released after seven days and then they brought us to Macerata, and we were imprisoned there for five days.

On the sixth day, we sent [messengers] to beg him [the governor] to have mercy on us, lest we die in the cold and sorrow of our prison. He sent a messenger and had us released from prison, and he ordered us not to leave Macerata until we had fulfilled the above-mentioned payment according to his order and will. We remained in Macerata for several days until the 8th of Adar [February 15, 1559]. In the meantime, two of those Jews [of Macerata?] took upon themselves [the responsibility] of paying [the fine] they had received to redeem us, for we had spilled out our hearts with tears on our cheeks in front of the Lord, our Father in Heaven. We had called out to the Lord our God, and He had seen our sufferings, travails, and oppression.

In those days, the pope was angry with Cardinal Carafa, his brother and relatives, because God had had mercy on us and avenged us. He [the pope] expelled them from his court and from Rome and removed their authority from their hands,⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Cf. Isaiah 30:20.

⁹⁶ Cf. Genesis 14:23.

⁹⁷ After the consistory held on January 27, 1559, Paul IV ordered all his nephews, with the exception of the young Alfonso, to leave Rome in the space of twelve days and deprived them of their offices and possessions: Carlo lost everything (the legation of Bologna, the title of secretary state) but cardinalship;

ויפקוד על כל עסקי הנהגת ממשלתו ג' יועצים אנשים חכמים וידועים ב' מהם חשמנים. ויתן כח ורשות בידם להסיר שלטונם ומכלכלים של המדינות ולהעמיד ולמנות אחרים תחתם כטוב וכישר בעיניהם. ויתן ה' בלב היועצים ההם להסיר את צ'יסארי ברנקאצ'יו ממשלת למקרה וישלחו מכלכל אחר תחתיו למרציו 5 לאורו מעיר ספוליטו וכח ורשות בידו לעשות לצ'יסארי ברנקאצ'יו. ויבא לורטו המכלכל החדש מצ'יראטה ביו"ד לחדש שי"ט ויצוו תיכף ויתפשו את צ'יסארי ברקאצ'יו ואת משנהו. ויאספו אותם אל משמר בית הסוהר ואותנו הוציא משם ויפטור אותנו. ונשב לביתנו בעד ימי הפורים ונת שבח והודאה לאל גואלנו 10 על הנסים ועל הגבורות אשר עשה עמנו בימים ההם בזמן הזה. אח"כ שלח המכלכל את צ'יסארי ואת משנהו אל מבצר אנקונה שהיו שם ימים רבים. ובכל יום ויום הכרוז יוצא עליהם מי שיש לו להתרעם נגדם מעוות הדין או גזל או אונאה ועונש בבית דינם הרשע נגד הדין. וכל מי שיודע ללמד עליהם חובה ילכו לפני 15 המכלכל לורטו הנ"ל ובית דינו שישב את גזילה אשר גזל. לכו חזו מפעלות ה' אשר הוציא ממסגר אסירי עמו ויתן אדם רשע כזה תחתם ויושיעם ביום ההוא מיד מבקשי רעתם. ומי יתן ונשב אל לבבנו חמלת ה' עלינו ונשוב לדבקה בו בכל

entrusting all business concerning the government to three counsellors, trustworthy and well-known men, two of whom were cardinals.⁹⁸ He gave power and authority into their hands to issue decrees [for] the governors of the provinces, and to place and summon other people under them as they saw fit. The Lord spoke to the hearts of [these] counsellors, ordering them to remove Cesare Brancaccio from the government of the Marca, and they sent another governor, Marzio [Loreto] Lauro⁹⁹ from the city of Spoleto, to replace him [Cesare]. He had the power and authority to do to Cesare Brancaccio [whatever he saw fit]. The new Governor Loreto went to Macerata on the 10th¹⁰⁰ of the month of Adar [5]319 [February 17, 1559], and he immediately ordered the arrest of Cesare Brancaccio and his lieutenant.¹⁰¹ They were imprisoned and we were released from there. We came back to our houses for Purim;¹⁰² glory and praise to God our Saviour for the miracles and wonders He worked for us during those days in that time. After that, the governor sent Cesare and his lieutenants to the fortress of Ancona, where they remained for many days. And every single day, the people accused them [Brancaccio and his lieutenant] in public of distortion of justice, robbery, fraud, or punishment in their evil court. Who knew how to explain [to have a claim on Brancaccio and his lieutenant] went before the governor – the above-mentioned Loreto – and his court so he that might return the goods which he [Cesare] had stolen. *Come and see what the Lord has done*,¹⁰³ who took his people out of prison and put evil men under them, and on that day He saved them from those who sought to harm them. If we could only return God's mercy to our hearts, we would return to adhere to Him with all

Giovanni was deprived of the title of captain general of the Church and other offices, but was allowed to retain the Duchy of Paliano; Antonio lost control of the Leonine City and the command of the papal guards; Diomede was deprived of his office of castellan of Castel Sant'Angelo.

⁹⁸ With the issue of the *motuproprio Cum nos ingravescente* (February 3, 1559), Paul IV created a new institution for the government of the Church called *Sacro Consiglio*. Its members were the nobleman Camillo Orsini and the cardinals Bernardino Scotti and Virgilio Rosario. At Camillo's death (April 8, 1559), he was replaced by Giovan Antonio Orsini.

⁹⁹ Marzio or Loreto Lauro, hailing from the city of Spoleto, Umbria, governor-general of the Marca between 1559 and 1560.

¹⁰⁰ Actually, the indication of the date is not clear, it can be 4th or 10th of Adar.

¹⁰¹ The lieutenant's name was Sante Canaglione. The arrest should have taken place on March 6, 1559, instead of February. Brancaccio and his lieutenant were first imprisoned in Macerata, then transferred to Ancona, from where they were released after several months.

¹⁰² Jewish holiday celebrated on the 14th of Adar; it commemorates the deliverance of the Jewish people from the plots of Haman, the evil counsellor of the Persian King Ahasuerus, as recorded in the Book of Esther. According to this information, the Jews should have been released by February 21, 1559 but it seemed that the governor arrived in the Marca only on March 6.

¹⁰³ Cf. Psalms 46:9; 66:5.

לבבנו ובכל נפשנו כי ישוב לשוב עלינו לשוב כאשר שש על
אבותינו. אמר המחבר עד הנה ספרנו מהצרות והתלאות אשר מצאו
בני עמנו בכלל בימי האפיפיור פאוולו רביעי. מכאן ולהבא נספר
הטרדות שעברו עלינו היהודים הדורים בצ'ויטאנובה בפרטות צרות
5 נוספות על אשר לקינו עם בני עמנו בכלל ומכלם הצילנו ה' בהליך.
ברוך ה' אלקי ישראל מן העולם ועד העולם ברוך הגבר אשר יבטח
בה' אנא ה' הושיעה נא. בשנה ההיא היא שנת ארבע למלכות
פאוולו הרביעי שכרו להם אנשי צ'ויטאנובה איש אחד ממונטיקו
אקילי להיות להם גבאי מעולות ומכסי הציבור. ויהי האיש ההוא
10 צר ואויב ליהודים מנעוריו איש לשון חנף ומרע שונא המון
הישראל. ואנחנו חשבנוהו נבזה וחדל אישים כי לא תאר לו ולא
הדר ואין כחו אלא בפיו. ומאז בא לגור בצ'ויטאנובה נתן עינו רעה
ביהודים וחשב לאבדם בלשונו רמיה ולהבאישם ביושבי הארץ
לאמר הן עם בני ישראל רב ועצום לשבת בארץ מה זאת. הבו לכם
15 עצה לגרש אותם מן הארץ תנו להם בתים וישבו בקצה האחרון
מקום הטנופות ובתי האשפות למען ילכו מאתכם כי צר להם
המקום ואתם תשבו בטח. ויהיה כאמרו להם כדברים האלה יום יום
הטה לב קצת ראשי עם הארץ למלאות עצתו. ויגזרו על היהודים
ללכת להם מהבתים אשר הם יושבים שם סמוך לב"ה הוא בית
20 תפילה מימי קדם וללכת לדור בשכונת האשפות. וגזרו גם עליהם
לבלתי יוכלו לקנות מחיתם בשוק עד שעה ששית ביום ומוכרי
פירות וירקות ומיני מזונות הסובבים בעיר לא יוכלו למכור
סחורתם בשכונת היהודים. כל עיקר ועוד גזרות אחרות קשות
ורעות כאלה ויודע הדבר ליהודים וילכו להתחנן על ככה לפני
25 המכלכל על אשר עשו נגדם אנשים במצ'יראטה הוא לוריטו לאורו
אשר זכרנו למעלה ויבקשו מאתו לבטל הגזרות אשר עשו נגדם
אנשי צ'ויטאנובה. לשלוח לפניו איש אחד שלוח מאתם לערוך
לפניו משפט

our hearts and with all our souls so that He could bring joy to us as He brought joy to our fathers.

The Author says: “Until now, we were speaking about the oppressions and torments that befell the sons of our people during the days of Pope Paul IV. From now on, we will talk about the troubles that happened to us, the Jews living in Civitanova, and especially about some persecutions that befell us, from which God saved us. Blessed be God the Lord of Israel for ever, blessed is the one who trusts in God;¹⁰⁴ please Lord, save us!”

During that year, the fourth of Paul IV’s pontificate, the people of Civitanova appointed a man from Montecchio named Achille¹⁰⁵ to be their collector of duties and public taxes. This man was evil and had been an enemy of the Jews since his youth; his tongue was flattering and evil, and he hated the Jews. We thought that he was abominable and banal, without any title, order, or power, except in his mouth. Since his arrival in Civitanova, he had been annoying the Jews and had made them unpopular in the eyes of the people, saying: “More and more Jews are here in our land. [How can we tolerate this?] Expel them from this territory so that they will move to live in a marginal and squalid place by the rubbish dump, so that they will not live with you anymore, because the place will be too strict for them, and you will sit in peace.” And it came to pass that by saying these words day by day, he convinced few of the city counsellors to follow his advice. So they ordered the Jews to leave their houses next to the synagogue, which had been the house of prayer since the earliest days, and to dwell by the rubbish dump.¹⁰⁶ They also ordered them not to buy food at the market before the sixth hour;¹⁰⁷ peddlers selling fruit, vegetables, and other foodstuffs in the city could not sell their wares in the Jewish quarter. Other cruel and wicked orders like these were issued. When the Jews learned of this, they went to Macerata to plead with the governor – who was the above-mentioned Loreto Lauro – about what the people were doing to them, asking him to annul the orders of the council of Civitanova against them. [The governor asked the people of Civitanova] to send a man from them to hold a trial in which he [Lauro]

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Jeremiah 17:7.

¹⁰⁵ Achille di Marchionne was hailing from Montecchio (today Treia, in the province of Macerata). He was treasurer of the municipal council and tax collector and later officer of the Monte di Pietà (1559; 1576).

¹⁰⁶ A decree ordering the Jews to go living outside the city walls is in ASCM, *Atti consiliari*, vol. 193, November 20, 1558, fols. 115v-116r, see par. 1.3.2.

¹⁰⁷ At noon; this order is recalled in the *Cum nimis absurdum*.

ולהגן בעדם ולהצילם ועל מה עשו ככה ליהודים תושבי הארץ.
וליהודים ג"כ גזר לשלוח לפניו איש א' מליץ לסדר טענותיהם
ולעמוד בפרץ נגד עם הארץ. וילכו לפניו שליחי היהודים ואנשי
העיר שלחו את אקילי גבאי שלוחם וידבר בשם הציבור. ופער פיו
5 בדברי נבלות נגד היהודים יכרת ה' שפתי חלקות בפני המכלכל.
והיהודים ענו לו בלשון רכה ודרך כבוד לפני המכלכל. וייטבו
לפניו דברי היהודים ועל אקילי חרה אפו ודבר אתו קשות ויגזור
אומר על אנשי העיר לבל יחדשו נגד היהודים דבר קטן או גדול עד
ישלח הוא איש כלבבו בעיר ציויטאנובה לחקור ולדרוש סבת
10 המריבה הזאת לשפטם משפט צדק. ובימים ההם כתב שלח החשמן
אליסאנדרינו בשם האפיפיור אל המכלכל מלמרקה לבל ירשה
ליהודים אשר במדינה לגבות שטרי הלוותיהם אלה א"כ ישתעבדו
בשטר ונתון ערבות שלא להוציא כסף או זהב חוץ למדינה
ושיעמדו למשפט עם כל אנשים אשר יבקשו מאתם חשבון ריביתות
15 וחשבונות קדומים. כשמוע היודים שמועה רעה כזאת ויתחננו לפני
המכלכל להתמהמה מלמלאות דברי הכתב ההוא עד ישלחו לרומא
לפני מע' האפיפיור למה זה ועל מה זה ואולי יתבטל גזרתו. זאת
למען יקיים להם תנאים וקיומים שחקקו להם בשטר אנשים אנשי
שם הממונים מאתו על עסקי היהודים אשר הרשום לגבות
20 מלוותיהם. ויעש כן המכלכל וצבא יתן להם להציב ציונים ולכתוב
על הספר לסדר צירם עם מימוריאלי בלשון צח לפני האפיפיור
ולשוב לבטח. ועד לא יעבור החים לא יתחדש נגדם מאומה עד כי
ישקיף ה' משמים ויציל צאן מרעיתו. ויוגד הדבר לאקילי צורר
היהודים וישלח ויבא טופס הכתב ההוא וידבק אותו בלילה בגרם
25 המעלות אשר בחצר העצה אשר בשוק בציויטאנובה

would defend and protect them [the Jews] from what they [the people of Civitanova] were doing to the Jews, the residents of the country. In addition, he also ordered to send a man from the Jews who would organize their arguments and defend them [the Jews] against the people of the land.

The messengers from the Jews came before him, and the council of Civitanova sent the tax collector Achille, who spoke on behalf of the council. He opened his mouth and spoke villainous words against the Jews – *May the Lord cut off all flattering lips*¹⁰⁸ – in the presence of the governor. The Jews replied softly and respectfully. The words of the Jews were good in his eyes, and he was angered by Achille’s [words] and spoke harshly to him; he ordered the people of the city not to plot against the Jews, in small or large [matters], until he had sent a trustworthy man to Civitanova to conduct an inquiry into the cause of this quarrel and to give a just verdict. In those days, Cardinal Alessandrino wrote a letter to the Governor of the Marca on behalf of the pope telling him not to allow the Jews living in the region to collect credits unless they gave collateral and guaranteed that they would not take silver or gold outside of the country and that they would go to trial against all the people who required the interest rate or old credits from them.

When the Jews heard about this evil thing, they begged the governor to delay the application of the letter until they had sent [a delegate] to Rome to the pope to ask him the reasons for this, in the hope that his sentence would be dismissed. This was so that he [the pope] could fulfil the conditions and promises that were written in the bill through the important people who were appointed by him to deal with the Jews so that they could collect their loans.

The governor did so, he gave them a messenger¹⁰⁹ to take notes in a book in order to inform their messengers and to write a *memoriale*¹¹⁰ [written] in eloquent language [to be presented] to the pope and to return to be safe. Until the return [of the messenger from Rome], nothing could be done against them, because God would be observing from Heaven and would save His flock. This was reported to Achille, the oppressor of the Jews, who fetched a copy of this letter, and during the night he affixed it at the bottom of the staircase in the courtyard of the town hall in the Civitanova

¹⁰⁸ Psalms 12:4.

¹⁰⁹ Literally, “an army”.

¹¹⁰ “Memorial”.

למען הניא את לב העם שלא יפרעו אקפותיהם ליהודים. הבקר אור
וימצא הכתב דבוק בקיר ולא נודע מי דבקו אפס כי היהודים נתנו
את לבם לחקור ולדרוש בזה וימצא כי אקיל הגבאי ואניבאלי
קרובו אשר גם הוא מצוררי היהודים עשו את הדבר הזה הרע. וילך
5 איש מבחורי היהודים שמואל בכמ' אלנתן שמו וימצא את אקילי
במבוא החצר אשר בשוק ויאמר לו מה ראית כי עשית הדבר הזה.
הלא ידעת כי המכלכל נתן זמן ליהודים לסדר דינם ולא רצה
שהכתב יתפרסם עד מלאות הימים אשר גזר. ויענהו אקילי בגאווה
ובוז מה לך לדבר עם איש כמוני. לך מעלי כלב המת. ויען שמואל
10 לאקילי יש"ו לפני האנשים אשר אתו לא כלב אנכי עברי אנכי
ודברי הלא הם במשפט ודין. וישב אקילי ויאמר לו כלב אתה וכל
היהודים כלבים. ויען שמואל ויאמר לו שקר אתה דובר אדם כשר
אנכי ואתה שקראת לי כלב כזבת בדבריך. כשמוע אקילי הרשע כי
היהודים הכזיבו בפניו ויחר אפו ויספר לפקידים פרנסי הציבור
אשר היו בימים ההם וילכו אתו ויכנעו לפני שופט העיר לחרוק
15 מרה למרור את חייהם ויתחננו לו לשלוח יד ביהודי אשר הכזיב את
אקילי שכירם. וישלח השופט ויקרא לשמואל וכאשר בא לפניו
אסף אותו אל משמר אפס כי יד לא שלח בו לרדותו ביסורין כאשר
בקשו מלפניו אקילי והפקידים. רק אגרת שלח למכלכל מלמקרה
להודיעו הדבר כהוויתו וכי הפקידים אצים עליו לשלוח יד ביהודים
20 לפייס את דעת הצורר אקילי שכירם. וישלחו היהודים גם הם איש
א' חשוב לפני המכלכל להליץ טוב בעד שמואל. וישמע המכלכל
דבריהם ויען ויאמר ידעתי את אקילי ואת רוע לבבו כי הוא סבב
פני הדבר בלשונו חץ שחוט. ועתה לכו לדרככם. אנכי אשלח שוטר
אחד כי הוא איש חכם ונבון לדעת אמיתות הדבר ויצדיק הצדיק
25 וירשיע את הרשע. וישבו המלאכים ויבוא גם השוטר אחריהם
והוא איש תם וישר. ויחקור וידרוש וירא והנה אין ליהודים בזה
עון אשר חט' יען כי להסיר מעליו שם רע אשר הכזיבו לאקילי צוה

marketplace in order to dissuade the hearts of the people from paying their debts to the Jews. The next morning, when the letter was found affixed to the wall and no one knew who had done it, the Jews decided to inquire and investigate into it, and it was found that the tax collector Achille, and Annibale¹¹¹ his relative, who was also among the oppressors of the Jews, had done this evil thing. One of the young Jews, Samuel son of Rabbi Elnathan,¹¹² found Achille at the entrance to the courtyard in the market and said to him: “What did you mean by doing this evil thing? Didn’t you know that the governor gave the Jews the time to order the matter and did not want to publish the letter before the end of the time that he allowed [us]?” Achille replied to him with arrogance and spite: “How dare you to speak to a man like me? Go away, dead dog!” Samuel replied to Achille – may his name and memory be blotted out! – in front of the other people who were with him: “I am not a dog, I am a Jew, and both I and my words are just and correct.” Achille answered, saying to him: “You are a dog and all the Jews are dogs.” Samuel replied: “You are speaking lies, and I am an honest person. You were lying when you called me dog.” When the evil Achille heard that the Jews had called him “liar”, he was angry, and he told this to the officers of the council at that time, who went with him before the judge of the city in order to make the [Jews’] lives bitter and begged him to harm the Jew who had disappointed their employee Achille. The judge summoned Samuel, and when he came before him, he imprisoned him; but he did not harm him cruelly as Achille and the officers had requested. He [the judge] sent a letter to the Governor of the Marca to inform him of what had happened and of how the officers were urging him to punish the Jews in order to appease the oppressor, their employee Achille. In addition, the Jews sent an important man to the governor to defend Samuel. The governor listened to their words and said: “I know Achille and his evil heart, because he has turned the thing around with his articulate tongue. Now go on your way. I will send a commissioner who is wise and intelligent [in judging] the truth to bring justice and punish evil.” The messengers came back and the commissioner after them; he was a righteous and honest man. He conducted an inquiry and [he found out] that the Jews had not committed any crime, but only that [Achille] had wanted to refute the bad name which had been attributed to him by the Jews. He [Achille] was ordered to

¹¹¹ Annibal Caro (1507-66), poet and humanist. His house hosts today the communal historical archives of Civitanova Marche (fig. 8).

¹¹² Samuel ben Elnathan (in Italian, Samuele di Diodato), brother of the author.

ללכת לפני המכלכל ולעמוד לפניו למשפט וגזם עליו ולא פרש
ענשו. ויקומו אנשים מנכבדי ארץ וישימו שלום בין שמואל ובין
אקילי וכל זה היה לפנים יען כי הצרור אקילי בקרבו שם ארבו
והשנאה נשארה טמונה בלבו ויוסף להכביד את לבו נגד כל
היהודים. וילך אח"כ וימצא את יואן באטיסטה בונאמיצ"י הוא אהרן
5 המומר אשר זכרנו שמו בפרק שלישי ימח ויאבד ויכרת נתקבצו.
שניהם ויועצו בסתר עצה נבערה להרע ליהודים ועל כולם לשמואל
הנ"ל ולכל משפחתו. ויראו פנים שוחקות אבל לבם היה רע ומר
כדי להעליל עליהם בלי שום צד הצלה יען כי יסברו היהודים שהם
אוהבים והם שונאים בתכלית השנאה ויעצו עליהם עצות רעות.
10 והשוטר ההוא טרם ישוב לאדוניו במצ'יראטה וירא את שכונת
היהודים אשר דרים שם ואח"כ ראה את שכונת האשפות אשר
אמרו אנשי העיר להושיב שם היהודים. ויבז בעיניו עצתם ויצו
עליהם בשם המכלכל שלא לדבר עוד ליהודים כדברים האלה מטוב
ועד רע. וילך וישב למקומו ויספר למכלכל את כל הדברים אשר
15 עשה וישבחהו. ואקילי ויואן באטיסטה מומר י"ש היתה ידם עם
אנשי בליעל מעם הארץ וידיחו אנשים מאנשי העיר ובראשם פקד
א' מהציבור וכתבו שטנה על היהודים מצ'יויטאנובה בשם הציבור
לפני החשמן אליסאנדרינו לבקש מלפניו לגרש היהודים מעירם או
להושיבם בקצה העיר מקום שאין הגויים מצוים שם. באמרם כי
20 דירת היהודים סמוך לגויים מסבב חטאת לנפשם וירחיבו פיהם פה
דובר נבלה בישראל להוציא דבר שקר ודבר כזב ורמיה קשה על
היהודים לאמר שהם מלעיגים על דתם הכוזבה והרבה דברים
כזבים ושקרים כאלה נגד היהודים באגרת סתומה וחתומה.
25 וישלחוה בסתר אל החשמן אליסאנדרינו והיהודים לא ידעו דבר
יען וביען היו סוברים שהם אוהבים והשנאה טמונה בסתר. ויען
מענה להם החשמן הנ"ל באגרת תשובה בתוכה לפרט להם מעשה
היהודים ולפרש באר היטב בשם מי ומי הם המכזיב את דתם ויד
אשלח בהם.

go in front of the governor to be sentenced and he [the governor] sentenced him, but he did not specify his punishment.

Some notable men intervened to establish peace between Samuel and Achille, and all of this had happened before [the timeframe of this narrative], namely because the hatred remained in the oppressor Achille's heart, and he continued to make his heart heavy against all the Jews.

And then he went and found Giovan Battista Bonamici, the convert Aharon we mentioned in the third chapter: may [his name] be blotted out! They gathered together secretly and decided to harm the Jews, in particular the above-mentioned Samuel and all his family. Their faces were joyful, but their hearts were evil and bitter, [intending] to falsely accuse them so that the Jews would think that they loved them, but [in fact] they completely hated them and wished to give them bad counsel.

Before returning to his lord in Macerata, the commissioner saw the neighbourhood of the Jews where they used to dwell and then he saw the neighbourhood near the rubbish dump where the municipal council wanted to put the Jews. This advice was hateful in his eyes, and he ordered them on behalf of the governor no longer to say such things to the Jews whether good to evil. When he came back to his home, he told the governor all the things he had done, and he [the governor] praised him. Achille and the convert Giovan Battista – may their names perish! – cooperated with wicked people from the country and they corrupted people in the city, mainly one officer of the municipal council, and they wrote an accusation of the Jews of Civitanova on behalf of the council directed to Cardinal Alessandrino, asking him to expel the Jews from their city or to move them to the edge of the city to a place where there were no Gentiles, saying that Jews dwelling near Gentiles would be sinful for their souls. They continued and prolonged their evil deeds against Israel, falsely accusing and speaking harsh lies about the Jews, saying that they were mocking their religion [saying it was false] and other such lies about them in a sealed letter.

They sent it to Cardinal Alessandrino in secret, and the Jews did not know anything about it, thinking that they were on good terms; [however], their hatred was hidden. The above-mentioned Cardinal answered them in a letter asking them to specify the actions of the Jews and to elaborate clearly on who was mocking their faith [so that] they could be harmed [by the Cardinal].

ויקבו לו בשם שמנה אנשים ששה מהם בני טובים מנכבדי ארץ
אנשי מעשה ישרים ותמימים אשר שמו עליהם עלילות דברים
דברי כזבים שקר. ענו במ מהשנאה הגדולה שהיתה טמונה בלב
הרשעים האלה י"ש הוציאו דבר שקר מפיהם ויכתבו אגרת חתומה
5 וישלחוה אל החשמן הנ"ל. והיהודים לא ידעו דבר לא מנה ולא
מקצתה עד נפלה עליהם הרעה פתאום בר מינן וחס וחלילה בעוהר
כאשר יבוא על הכתוב בפרק בפני עצמו.

פרק שישי

10 ובשנת חמש למלכות פאוולו רביעי בחדש תמוז שנת שי"ט לפ"ק
הוא החדש השני למלכות פאוולו אשר הומלך בחדש סיון. וביום
י"ח ל' תמוז שלח החשמן אליסאנדרינו אל השופט בצ'ויטאנובה
לאסוף אל משמר שמונה מהיהודים אשר בצ'ויטאנובה ולהיות אתו
לשמורת עד יגיד לו כוונתו כי לא פורש מה יעשה. ושמות
15 האנשים ההם היו כתובים בתחתית האגרת ההיא וביום כ"א לחדש
תמוז השופט הנ"ל הוציא כלי למעשהו ויאסוף אל משמר את ר'
יהושע בר משה ור' משה בנו ר' מהללאל בר יצחק ור' שלמה בנו
ור' שמואל בר אלנתן ואותי הצעיר בנימין נחמיה בכ"ר אלנתן
מספר הצרות בחבור זה בספר הזכרונות. ומדלות הארץ מוסף אל
20 משפט משה המכונה פפארדילא אשר היה כתוב שמו בראש
הנקובים רשום בתחתית האגרת. ואל השמיני לא בא והוא הפליט
כי לא היה מצאוי אז בעיר. ואח"כ נודע אלינו כי השמיני היה
אברהם כהן אחיו בן אמו של יואן באטיסטה כי הגיד לו הדבר
אח"כ וימלט לנפשו ואחר ימים ירד בספינה א' באנקונה הוא
25 ואשתו וילך אל ארץ קדם מדינות מלכות תוגרמה.

They specified eight people by name, six of them important and notable men, who were honest and righteous; they were falsely accused and the target of their oppressor's hatred, may their names perish! They accused them falsely and they wrote a sealed letter and sent it to the above-mentioned cardinal. The Jews did not know anything about it until the trouble came upon them suddenly – God forbid! – as it will be discussed in a separate chapter.

Chapter Six

It was the fifth year of Paul IV's pontificate, in the month of Tammuz [5]319 [לפ"ק?], which was the second month of his rule since he was crowned in the month of Siwan. On the 18th of Tammuz [June 23, 1559], Cardinal Alessandrino sent [an order] to the judge in Civitanova [ordering him] to imprison eight of the Jews of Civitanova and guard them until [the cardinal] had specified his intention, because it was not clear what was to be done. The names of those people were written at the end of that epistle. On the 21st of Tammuz [June 26], the above-mentioned judge applied his order and arrested Rabbi Yehoshua bar Moses¹¹³ and his son Rabbi Moses,¹¹⁴ Rabbi Mahallel bar Isaac¹¹⁵ and his son Rabbi Solomon,¹¹⁶ Rabbi Samuel bar Elnathan and me, the young Benjamin Nehemiah, son of the respected Rabbi Elnathan, recounting these persecutions in this books of memoirs. From amongst the poor men was added to the trial Moses who was called "Pappardella,"¹¹⁷ whose name was on the top of the list and who was indicated at the bottom of the letter. The eighth person did not come; he escaped because he could not be found in the city.

And then we were informed that the eighth [person] was Abraham Cohen, the brother of Giovanni Battista's mother; [the neophyte Giovanni Battista] told him this, then he escaped and after few days he and his wife took a ship from Ancona, and he went to the land of the East in the Kingdom of Turkey.

¹¹³ In Italian, Salvatore di Mosè.

¹¹⁴ Mosè di Salvatore.

¹¹⁵ Laudadio di Isacco was one of the main moneylenders of the cities besides Angelo di Vitale and Michele di Abramo (for whom our chronicler worked). Sonne stressed he was an ancestor of the poet and kabbalist Mahallel Shabbetai Hallelya (seventeenth-century).

¹¹⁶ Salomone di Laudadio.

¹¹⁷ Mosè di Samuele *alias* "Pappardella".

ביום ההוא הוא יום י"ח לירח תמוז הנקרא בל' איטאלייאני יוניו
 בהשמע בין הגויים תפישתנו וילונו כל העם לאמר על מה ועל מה
 היתה ככה הדבר הרע הזה. ויען אקילי צורר היהודים ויאמר על
 אודות הכתב אשר כתבתי נגדם לחשמן אליסאנדרינו ותתפייסו כי
 5 כך יצאה הגזרה מלפניו ומי יאמר לו מה תעשה. ותשתקו כי טוב
 לכם. כאשר שמעו דבריו אנשים מטובי הארץ ונכבדיה ויחר אפם
 עלה עשן באפם וידברו עמו דברים קשים כגיזים ויאמרו לאמר
 האחד בא לגור בא וישפוט שפוט. מה לך להיכנס בתגר זה. ולא
 גלית את אזנינו ולנו לא קראת. עתה נרע לך מהם. ובעבורם אז
 10 יחלקו עם הארץ אשר היו ברחוב צ'ויטאנובה לחלקים חלק א' היו
 מריבים עם אקילי וצועקים אליו בקול גדול לאמר מדוע ככה עשית
 וחלק א' היה א' אקילי לעזרתו. ותהי המריבה הולכת וקשה ביניהם
 עד שכמעט שלחו ידם להכות אלה את אלה. ואנשים מאלה ומאלה
 ישלחו ידם בערכותיהם ולולי שהיו ברחוב העיר ולפני השופט ובית
 15 דינו היו בעזרתנו נגד אקילי נועצו יחד לשלוח איש אחד מהם
 לרומא להליץ טוב בעדנו לפני החשמן. וישאלו את פיננו לאמר מי
 נשלח. ומי ילך לכם א' בשמנו בכתב כתוב וחתום בשם הציבור
 להליץ בעדכם. ונאמר להם כי ישלחו את פידיריקו טופינוו אדם
 חשוב והוא אוהב נאמן לאדון יוליאנו צ'יסאריני. ויואל ללכת וישא
 20 את כתבים נחתם מאת הציבור ומהשופט לזכותנו. וילך השליח
 במרוצה ועד שלא הגיע לראות פני האדון החשמן כבר קדמוהו
 אגרות אויבינו אשר שלחו צרינו באופן כי ננעלו שערי תפילתו
 אשר היה מתפלל לפסוק דיננו בצ'ויטאנובה לפני שופט העיר ואל
 ירגיזונו לעלות לבית הדין הגדול של רומא. ויספר לפני החשמן
 25 דברי ריבות צוררי היהודים וכי מפני השנאה. הוציאו דבר שקר
 וכזב מפיהם ולמען סבב נזק וצער וצרות ליהודים שונאיהם נגד
 הדין והמשפט. ויען החשמן לפידיריקו גם דעתי נוטה ואני הרואה
 בעין שכלי כי אולי

On the 18th of Tammuz [June 23], called *giugno*¹¹⁸ in the Italian language, the Gentiles heard of our arrest, and all the people complained saying: “Why has this [happened]? Why has this wicked thing happened?” Achille, the Jews’ oppressor, replied: “Regarding the letter I wrote against them [the Jews] to Cardinal Alessandrino: be reconciled among yourselves, because [this was] his order, and who can tell him what he should do? And shut up, because this will benefit you!” When they heard his words, the good people and the notable men of the city were furious; it was as if steam was coming out of their ears, and they spoke to him harshly, saying: “This man came to live in the city and now he wants to rule! What do you mean by entering into this business? You did not reveal [your actions] and you did not call us. Now we will harm you because of them.” Then the people of the land who were in the streets of Civitanova divided into groups, the first group quarrelling with Achille and shouting at him loudly, saying “Why did you do this?” and the second group coming to Achille’s help. The quarrel between them became so great that they were physically violent towards one another. People from both groups set their hands to harm each other, and those who were in the streets of the city and before the judge and his court were in our favour and against Achille; they consulted together [and decided] to send one of them to Rome to speak to the cardinal in our favour. They asked: “Whom should we send? And who will go on our behalf [presenting a signed letter] in the name of the council in order to speak in your favour?” We replied to them that Federico Tofinio¹¹⁹ should be sent; he was an important man, loving and faithful to the lord Giuliano Cesarini. He agreed to go, and he took all of the signed writings from the public and from the judge in order to uphold our rights. Even though the messenger went quickly to see the cardinal, the epistle of our enemies, which had been sent by our rivals, had already arrived. The gates were locked in the face of his plea, he was pleading that the judge in Civitanova would rule in our favour and that they would not upset us by going to the Supreme Court of Rome. And he told the cardinal what the oppressors of the Jews had said, and that the false words they had spoken were the result of hatred [towards the Jews]. They wanted damage and oppression and suffering of the hated Jews against the law and judgment. The cardinal replied to Federico: “I am also inclined to [think] this; I think that perhaps

¹¹⁸ “June”.

¹¹⁹ Federico Tofinio was acquainted with Giuliano Cesarini, he was member of the municipal council of Civitanova in 1550.

אין ליהודים עון אשר חטא וגם אמנה מוטב להם שיקרב משפטם בבית הדין הגדול פה רומא כדי שלא יצא משפט מעוקל. ויכתוב החשמן אל המכלכל מלמרקה אשר בצ'יויטאנובה לשלוח את שליחי ב"ד אשר לו חברת הבראשיללו לקחת אותנו משם ולהביאנו דרך רומא וכן עשה. ויהי היום רע ומר. יום ד' לירח אב 5 שהוא ו' ליוליו באור הבקר באו ו' שליחי ב"ד רוכבי סוסים ויקחו אותנו הששה מיד שופט העיר ויטילו שכרם מממונינו כטוב בעיניהם. ואת משה המכונה פפארדילא הניחו שם במשמר יען כי בכתב ששלח החשמן היה כתוב הששה היהודים האסירים בצ'יויטאנובה והם חשבו כי משה היה טפל ושפל בפנינו יען הוא 10 עני ולבוש בגדים צואים. אבל לא כך היתה כוונת החשמן כי הוא היה עיקר אצלו כאשר מלא בפיו אח"כ. ויהי כראות עם הארץ כי אנחנו מובאים דרך רומא ויכמרו רחמיהם עלינו ורבים מנכבדי ארץ העתירו בעדינו שלא יוליכו אותנו קשורים ואסירים כמנהג הגליאוטי בלכתם בדרך. וישמע לקולם הברישיילו ונהג אותנו בלתי 15 קשורים עד מצ'יראטה אפס כי בהכניסו אותנו שם בב"ה פגע בנו פידיריקו מאריוטי א' מצוררי ישראל ויתרה בהתראה גמורה לברישייללו לבל יוליך אותנו בדרך כ"ם אסירים בחבלי ברזל כמנהג הגאליאוטי בבוזי. ויהי ממחרת ויאסור אותנו שנים שנים כמנהג הקונדאנאטי ויבא אותנו עד קאמרינו אבל בהיותנו סמוך 20 לשער העיר התיר מאסרנו וימסור אותנו בלתי קשורים בידי הברישייללו מקאמרינו. ויוגד ליהודים תושבי קאמרינו כי אנחנו מובאים שם אל בית הסוהר ויתחננו בעדנו לפני השר באופן כי קבל אותנו בסבר פנים יפות והם היהודים נתנו לנו בר ולחם ומזון וכל מיני אכילה. והלוו אותנו מעות להוציא בדרך כי בצאתנו 25 מצ'יויטאנובה לא לקחנו בידינו מאומה כי לא יכלנו להתמהמה כי בחפזון יצאנו. ונלן שם בלילה ההוא ולמחרת באור הבקר לוו אותנו היהודים ההם

the Jews did not transgress, but it is better for them that their judgment will take place in the Supreme Court here in Rome so that it will be fair.”

So the cardinal wrote to the Governor of the Marca, who was in Civitanova to send his messengers of the court, the *barisello*'s¹²⁰ company, to ask him to take us from that place and to bring us to Rome, and this he did.

That day was bad and bitter. It was the 4th of the month of Av, which was the 8th July¹²¹: at first light in the morning, six messengers of the court came riding on horses and took the six of us from the hands of the judge of the city and imposed themselves on us to be paid with our wealth according to their will.

They left Moses “Pappardella” in prison, because in the letter that the cardinal had sent it was written that there were six Jewish prisoners in Civitanova, and they thought that Moses was unimportant and worthless in their eyes because he was poor and dressed in dirty clothes. But that was not the cardinal's intention, because he [Moses Pappardella] was the main accused of us, as we learned later. When the people of the city saw that we were being brought to Rome, they had mercy and compassion upon us; many of the notable people intervened in our favour, asking them not to bring us in chains like *galeotti*¹²² going on their way. The *barisello* listened to their words and took us to Macerata¹²³ unchained, and when he put us in prison, we met Federico Mariotti,¹²⁴ one of the oppressors of Israel, who ordered the *barisello* to bind us in ropes as is the custom with *galeotti*. The next day, he bound us in pairs, as is the custom with *condannati*,¹²⁵ and he brought us to Camerino;¹²⁶ however, when we were close to the gates of the city, he unbound us and gave us unbound into the hands of the *barisello* of Camerino. The *barisello* told the Jewish inhabitants of Camerino that we had been brought to the prison there, and they pleaded for us with the minister so that he would accept us kindly, and they gave us grain, bread, and all kinds of food. They lent us coins to take with us on our way, because when we had left Civitanova we had not taken anything with us, as we could not be delayed because we were leaving so quickly. We slept there that night, and the next day, early in the morning, those Jews escorted us to

¹²⁰ “Sheriff”.

¹²¹ The manuscript says “6th July” but it is mistaken.

¹²² “Galley slaves”.

¹²³ About 25 kilometres far from Civitanova.

¹²⁴ See note 34 here.

¹²⁵ “Condemned”.

¹²⁶ About 45 kilometres far from Macerata.

עד תחומי העיר וימצאו חן בעיני שליחי הב"ד לנהוג אותנו בדרך כבוד בלתי קשורים. ויביאונו דרך פוליניו ולעת ערב כי באנו לסושטינו א' מכפרי פוליניו ונלן שם כי בא השמש בבית א' בחברת הברישיללו וחברתו. ונישן על מיטותינו עד הבוקר ולמחרתו הביאונו לפוליניו. וימסרנו ליד הב"ד אשר שם והם הביאונו עד 5 ספוליטו אפס כי שליחי ב"ד פוליניו עדנו בדרך גזרו לנו לקשור אותנו ונצטרך לתת להם שלשה לבל יקשרונו בכבלי עוני ובזרל. ולעת ערב הגענו לספוליטו וימסרו אותנו לב"ד אשר שם וישימו אותנו בבור אשר הוא במצד ספוליטו והוא בור עמוק תחת לארץ. וקראנו עלינו הפסוק הזה בבור ספוליטו שם ישבנו וגם בכינו וכו'. 10 ולמחרתו שהוא ט' באב הביאונו עד טירני הן אמת כי עשו לנו חסד להוליכנו בלתי קשורים ובנחת ובהשקט. וימסרו אותנו לב"ד אשר שם ויבקשו בל' נא בתחנה ובבקשה בעדנו לב"ד ההוא לרחם עלינו ושיגמול עלינו חסד של אמת. ויקר מקרה אשר הוא טהור כי הברישיללו אשר בטירני היה נכבד ואוהב היהודים ויחמול עלינו 15 ויתן אותנו במשמר ב"ה נאה והדורה מקום טהור ונקי. וישלח ויקרא ליהודים אשר בטירני למען ידברו על לבנו ויעשו לנו טובות הנאה וכן עשו. היהודים הביאו עוד אלינו מיני תבשלים ויין טוב להשיב נפשנו ורוחנו מקוצר רוח של טורח הדרך ועוני הצום ויביאו עוד אלינו מטות ונשב במקום ההוא. וכאשר ראינו חמלת 20 הברישיללו עלינו וכי אוהב נאמן ליהודים היה דברנו באזניו כי יעשה עמנו חסד אל לבוא בחברתנו עד רומא ושלא ימסרנו ביד ב"ד של נארני ושאר העיירות אשר בדרך כי אנחנו נכרות לו ברית באמת ובאמונה ללכת אחריו ושלא נטה ממצותיו ימין ושמאל.

the border of the city, because the court's messengers liked them [so they allowed them] to take us in a respectful way, unbound. They led us along the road to Foligno¹²⁷ in the evening, we had arrived at Sostino,¹²⁸ one of the villages of Foligno, and we were sleeping there when the sun rose on the *barisello* and his company. We slept in our beds until the morning, and the next day they brought us to the court in Foligno. And they [the court] led us [along the road] to Spoleto¹²⁹ while the messengers from the court of Foligno were still on their way; they ordered us to be bound, and we had to give them 3[0] [*scudi?*] so that they would not bind us in iron chains. That evening, we arrived in Spoleto, and they gave us to the court there and put us in the dungeon in the fortress of Spoleto.¹³⁰ The dungeon was very deep underground, and we called upon us this verse there: *There we sat down, sat and wept.*¹³¹

The next day, which was the 9th of Av¹³² [July 13], they brought us to Terni;¹³³ truly, they treated us gracefully as they patiently and quietly led us unchained. They gave us to the court there and pleaded with them to have mercy on us and treat us with faithfulness and truth because the *barisello* of Terni¹³⁴ was [a] notable [man] and loved the Jews, he had mercy upon us, and the court put us in a fitting and pleasant prison, a very clean place. He [the *barisello*] summoned the Jews from Terni so that they could speak to our hearts and do us favours, and so the Jews did this. They brought us more cooked food and good wine to restore our souls and our spirits from the long journey we had had and from the poorness of the fast, and they brought us more beds, and we stayed in that place. And when we saw the *barisello*'s compassion for us and that he was loving and loyal to the Jews, we whispered to him and asked him to perform an act of grace of God towards us by coming with us to Rome and not giving us over to the court of Narni and the rest of the cities which were on the way, because we were willing to make a pact to follow him in a truthful and faithful way and not turn right or left from

¹²⁷ In the province of Perugia, Umbria.

¹²⁸ Sostino is a suburb in the province of Perugia, Umbria. In the Middle Ages was a well-known stopping place for travelers. It is distant 32 kilometres from Camerino.

¹²⁹ About 12 kilometres far from Sostino.

¹³⁰ The Rocca Albornoziana was built from 1359 onwards at the behest of Innocent VI who wanted to reestablish his authority during the Avignon Papacy. It owes its name to the Spanish Cardinal Egidio Albornoz who was sent by the pope to Italy to administer the Papal States.

¹³¹ Psalms 137:1. The *Tisha B'Av* evening service generally begins with the reading of this verse.

¹³² On 9th of Av (*Tisha B'Av*) is a fast day in which the Jews commemorates the destruction of the First and Second Temple in Jerusalem as well as other tragic events happened in Jewish history.

¹³³ About 30 kilometres far from Spoleto.

¹³⁴ Both the manuscript and Sonne's edition bear בערינו which has to be corrected with בטירני.

ובשביל הטובה הזאת נפרע לו שכר מושלם היינו שכר בטולו
כאשר ייטב בעיניו וישית עלינו עד שפ"א כי בדין הוא ישלם ה'
פעולו בעולם הגמול בכלל חסידי אומות העולם יען כי מצאנו חן
בעיניו ויחמול עלינו כאב על בנים. ויען ויאמר כן אעשה כאשר
5 דברתם באזני כי מכיר אני בכם שלא תכזבו בי והטוב בעיניכם
תעשו לתת לי שכרי. אם תרצו ואני אחשוב מתנתכם מעוטה
כמרובה ואני אוהב כלכם כנפשי ואני רוצה לגמול עליכם כי
הקב"ה לא עזב אתכם עוד כל ימי הארץ. ואתם עם בגולה אהובים
למקום ובכל רגע עושה עמכם היינו אומה הישראלית נסים
10 ונפלאות יש"ל. ויהי בבקר ויקח עמו שני אנשים מנערו ויוציאונו
מב"ה ואמר לנו בואו אחרי ונרכב על סוסים. ונלך אחריו עד נארני
ונאכל שם לחם בצהרים. ואותו היום ערב שבת היה ונתחנן לפניו
לבל יתעכב שם למען נוכל להגיע אל המלון בצ'ויטא קאסטילאנה
עד לא יקדש היום וכן עשה. ונרכב ונלך אחריו דרך צ'ויטא
15 קאשטילאנה ויהי בדרך בראותו אותנו נאמנים בהבטחתנו אמר
לאחר מנערו שוב לדרכך כי די לי שיבוא אחיך הוא לבדו לשרתני
בדרך כי היהודים האלה בעלי אמונה הם ואין בידם רמיה ואינם
צריכים שמירה. וישב הנער לדרכו וילך עד בורגיטו וכמעט
שעברנו מבורגיטו וה' נתן קולות וברד וגשם שוטף כבד מאד ונלך
20 להסתר מזרם וממטר אל האטד תחת האילנות אשר בעיר מצד
הדרך. והברישייללו ונערו באו אחרינו ויסתרו גם המה כאשר מצאו
ויתנו את הניתותיהם בידינו להקל מעליהם המשא כי הזמן הולך
וסוער והם היו בלי לבוש ומגן בעד המטר להיות עת החום הגדול
שבחדש אב. ועם שכבר היה לנו אז עת כשר ומקום מוכן לנוס
25 ולהימלט מידו בעת ההיא מ"מ לא חפצנו להפר את הברית אשר
כרתנו אתו ולא שקרנו באמונתנו כי על ה' השלכנו יהבנו ישלח
עזרנו ויגאלנו כטוב וכישר בעיניו. רק את זה עשינו

his command. For this favour, we would pay a complete salary, meaning as much money as he saw fit, until the last coin, because by law God would recompense him as part of being a righteous Gentile, because he liked us and had mercy upon us as a father [has mercy] upon his sons. He replied and said: “I would do what you asked me when you whispered to me, because I recognise that you will not lie to me, and you may do whatever you like to give me my salary. If you wish, I shall consider a small gift to be just the same as a large one, and I love you all as I love my soul, and I want to repay you, because God has not abandoned you in these days. And you are the people in exile; wherever you are, you are loved by that place, and he makes wonders and miracles for you – I mean the Israelite nation – every minute; may His Name be blessed forever!” The next morning, he brought two servants with him, and he took us out of the prison and told us: “Come after me and we will ride the horses.” And we went after him as far as Narni¹³⁵ and we ate bread there in the afternoon. That day was Friday evening, and we begged him not to delay so that we could arrive at the lodgings in Civita Castellana¹³⁶ before the *Shabbat* began, and so he did. We rode and went after him through Civita Castellana. And on the way, when he saw that we were loyal and faithful to our promise, he told one of the servants: “Go back; it is enough for me for your brother to serve me on the way, because these Jews are people of faith: they are not deceitful and they do not need to be guarded.” And the servant went on his way and he accompanied us as far as Borghetto, and when we were almost through Borghetto,¹³⁷ God sent thunders and hail and heavy rain, and we went to hide from it; we hid under thorn bushes and under the trees in the sideway of the city. The *barisello* and his servant came after us and they also hid there, and they put their spears into our hands to make their burden lighter, because the storm was getting stronger and stronger and they were not wearing any covering or protection from the rain because of the great heat of the month of Av. Even though we had an opportune time and a suitable place to escape and run from his hands at that time, we did not want to break the covenant that we had made with him, and we did not lie in our faith, because we put our trust in God; He helped us and He would redeem us as it seemed good and right to Him to do.¹³⁸ We did only this:

¹³⁵ About 13 kilometres far from Terni.

¹³⁶ In the province of Viterbo, Lazio, distant about 30 kilometres from Narni.

¹³⁷ On the way to Civita Castellana (less than 10 kilometres from Civita Castellana).

¹³⁸ Cf. Genesis 19:8; Joshua 9:25.

פרשנו עליהם בכנף מעלינו מפני זרם המטר. ויכלא הגשם לסוף ב' שעות ונסע ללכת ולא יכולנו לעבור היאורים אשר בדרכים כי אם בקושי כי גברו המים על הארץ ונחל שוטף הולך וגדל ועכ"ז יהי שם ה' מבורך שבאנו בעז"י אל המלון בצ'ויטא קאשטילאנה מבעוד יום ע"פ הנס ויגדל חסדו עמנו הברישיללו ויביאנו לבית אכסניא א' ויצו לאשר על הבית להכין המטות ולהדליק המדורה בחדר למען נוכל להנגב ממי המטר ונשב שם כל יום ש"ק שהיה י"א אב בשלוה ונחת במנוחה ושמחה. שולחן ומטה מוצעת ונר דלוק כמנהג בני חורין אשר כן לא יעשה לכל התפושים אשר יגיעו שם כי ישימו אותם תיכף בואם במצד אשר בצ'ויטא קאסטילאנה ושיאסרו עד ישלחו בעדם ב"ד הגדול שברומא. ואנחנו נברך ה' אשר נתנו לחן ולחסד בעיני כל רואינו ונשכם בבקר יום א' שהיה י"ב אב י"ו לוליו ונסע ונלך דרך רומא כי מצ'ויטא קאסטילאנה לרומא מהלך יום קצר. ויהי בהיותנו בדרך ונתחנן לפני הברישיללו כי בהביאו אותנו לרומא יתן אותנו במשמר אל מקום שנוכל לדבר עם איזה יהודי טרם יכניס אותנו אל בית הסוהר מהחקירה שהם סגורים ומסוגרים אין יוצא ואין בא מקום אופל וצלמות. ויבטיחנו לעשות כן ואלה מוסיף ויוסף ויאמר גם את הדבר הזה אעשה לטובתכם אדבר עם החשמן מאמונתכם אשר שמרתם אלי בדרך ובמלון ואליץ בעדכם כאשר יקים ה' בפי. ועד שלא הגענו לרומא מהלך י"ב מילין ונחנה במקום קאשטילנובו ומשם שלחנו איש מלפנינו להודיע ליהודים מיודענו אשר ברומא כי אנחנו מובאים שם לבית הסוהר מהחקירה. ובין העברים הגענו לרומא ויבא אותנו הברישיללו אל משמר קורטה סאוילה מקום

we spread wing over them to protect them from the pouring rain. The rain stopped after two hours, and we went and we could barely cross the rivers on the way because the water had risen to cover the land and the river had swollen, and through all this the name of the Lord would be blessed, and with His help we arrived at the hostel in Civita Castellana in the day, and it was a miracle.¹³⁹ The graceful manner of the *barisello* had grown on us, and he brought us to an inn and ordered the beds to be prepared and a fire to be lit in the room so that we could dry ourselves from the rain, and we spent the whole of the *Shabbat Qodesh*, which was the 11th of Av [July 15], peacefully, quietly, restfully, and happily there. There was a table, a made bed, and a lighted candle, as is the custom of free people; this would not have been done for those arriving there who had been captured, because once they arrive, they put them [in the prison], which is in Civita Castellana, and they are imprisoned until they are sent to the Supreme Court in Rome. And we blessed God, who gave us grace and kindness in the eyes of everyone who saw us, and we woke early on the Sunday morning, which was the 12th of Av, the 16th of *Luglio*,¹⁴⁰ and we went on the way to Rome, because from Civita Castellana to Rome is a very short journey.¹⁴¹ And when we were on the way, we begged the *barisello* that when he brought us into Rome, he would bring us to a place where we could speak to a Jew before he took us to the prison, [because] the [court of the] Inquisition was closed; nobody went out and nobody came in; it was a place of darkness, shadow, and death. And he promised to do so, adding: “I shall do this as well in your favour: I will speak to the cardinal, [and I will inform him of] the faithful way in which you stayed with me on the journey and in the hostel, and I will plead in your favour as God will speak through my mouth.”¹⁴²

And we walked twelve miles to Rome and we rested in a place called Castelnuovo,¹⁴³ and from there we sent a man to the Jews that we knew in Rome [to inform them] that we had been brought to the prison there by the Inquisition. We reached Rome and the *barisello* brought us to the prison of Corte Savella,¹⁴⁴ a place

¹³⁹ Sonne: םהי, instead of סנה.

¹⁴⁰ “July”.

¹⁴¹ About 50 kilometres.

¹⁴² Cf. Deuteronomy 18:15.

¹⁴³ Today corresponding to Castelnuovo di Porto, 25 kilometres far from Civita Castellana and 30 kilometres north of Rome.

¹⁴⁴ Corte Savella or Curia Savelli, located in Regola, was one the main prisons of Rome. It was under the authority of the Savelli family who owned the title of “Marshals of the Holy Roman Church and

אשר האסירים החשובים אסורים שם. וגם אמנה כי א' מהשומרים אשר שם בקורטה סאוילה אשר היה ממונה לתת לחם ומזון ופת בגם לאסירים הנכבדים אשר שם כאשר ראה שלא רצינו להתגאל בפתבגם ולאכול לחם ומחיה עם התפושים ההם האוכלים שם מעדנים ויורידנו בבור ב"ה מקום הנקרא אינפירנו שרוצה לומר שאול תחתיתי מקום שהפושעים היינו קונדאנאטי פיר לא ויטא. נחתם גזר דינם למיתה אסירים שם. ועכ"ז חסדי ה' כי לא תמו ולא כלו רחמיו כי מצאנו שם בתוך האסירים ההם אדם חשוב שהיה חבוש באותו מקום שפל ואפל צלמות ולא סדרים והוא ממדינת למרקה ושמו קאפיטאן פידיריקו ממונטיגראנארא. ויבקש עלינו מאת שר בית הסוהר להעלותינו מגיא צלמות ההוא אל המקום אשר היינו שם בתחלה ויהי בהיותנו שם שלחנו לקרוא להמשכיל כמ"ר יהודה הנאמן מורשה מהקהילות למרקה והמפואר כמ"ר חיים מקאפוא וסדרנו להם מה יעשו בעסקינו. גם כתבנו אגרות ביד שולחינו להביא אל בתינו בצ'ויטאנובה ובתוך זה הזמן הברישייללו אשר הביאנו שם הלך להפיל תחנתנו לפני החשמן אליסאנדרינו. וישאל החשמן לדעת את שמותינו. ויתן לו את שמות הששה אנשים בכתב ויהי כשמוע החשמן כי לא הובא אתנו משה המכונה פפארדילא וירע בעיניו ויאמר העיקר חסר בהם יען כי זה משה האיש אשר דבר סרה לבטא בשפתיו נגד אלקיהם דברים אשר לא ניתנו לאמר דבור מגונה חרופים וגדופים נגד דתם הכוזבת. ויוסף ויאמר גם עליו יעבור כוס. ולאנשים האלה שמעתך ואשימה עיני עליהם לעיין בדינם בזריזות למען

where the important prisoners are kept. I will also testify about one of the guards who was in Corte Savella, who was in charge of giving bread and [other] food to the notable prisoners who were there: when he saw that we did not want to accept [their] food and to eat food for our livelihood with those prisoners who were eating delicacies there, he took us to the basement of the prison, a place called *Inferno*, which means “the bottom of Hell,” a place where the criminals, I mean the *condannati per la vita*,¹⁴⁵ are. This is the place where their sentence is finalized to death while they are prisoners.

With all this, the graces of the Law of God were not over and his mercy was not finished, because we found among those prisoners a very important man who was imprisoned in the same place of darkness, shadow, and death; he was from the Marca and his name was *Capitan*¹⁴⁶ Federico da Montegranaro.¹⁴⁷ He asked the minister of the prisons on our behalf to bring us up from the place of deep darkness, shadow, and death to the place where we had been at first, and when we were there we called the wise Rabbi Yehudah ha-Na’aman,¹⁴⁸ who was the representative of the community of the Marca, and the honourable Hayyim of Capua,¹⁴⁹ and we instructed them how to deal with our affairs. We also wrote letters to send to our homes in Civitanova, and on that day the *barisello* who brought us there went to plead on our behalf to cardinal Alessandrino. The cardinal asked to know our names, and he gave him the names of the six of us in writing. And when the cardinal heard that Moses “Pappardella” had not been brought with us, he took it very badly, and he said: “The main [person] is missing among them,” meaning Moses, who had spoken badly against their God, saying words that are not to be said, blasphemies and imprecations against their false faith. He added: “Anger shall be upon him as well. Regarding these people, I have heard you and I will cast my eyes over them to examine their verdict quickly, so that their prison time will

Perpetual Guardians of the Conclave” since 1375 until the extinction of the family in 1712. Curia Savelli’s prisons were closed in 1652 by Innocent X.

¹⁴⁵ “Sentenced for life”.

¹⁴⁶ “Captain”.

¹⁴⁷ He was a *capitaneus aromatarius* from Montegranaro, distant about 15 kilometres from Civitanova. He was imprisoned at Curia Savelli between 1558 and September 1559; see par. 5.2.

¹⁴⁸ Sonne identified him with Yehudah bar Shabbetai, *sofer* of the Jewish community of Rome and *murshah*, representative of the Jews of Ancona and the Marca at the congress of the Italian communities held in Ferrara in 1554 (along with Eliyahu ben Salomon Corcos); see SONNE, 70, note 29.

¹⁴⁹ Hayyim Anaw ben Jacob of Capua listed among the members of the council of the Jewish community of Rome in 1554. He was also among the *parnasim* or *fattori* of the community who appointed Eliyahu Corcos to pay a fine of 1000 *scudi* on behalf of the Jews of Rome to the vicar because the neophyte Andrea del Monte found a book (a commentary on Ibn Ezra) in the Ashkenazi synagogue which had been forbidden by the Inquisition.

לא יאריך מסארם. רק עתה אלכה למחר הבא אותם אל משמר ב"ה מהחקירה אשר בשכונה של ריפטה כי שם מקום מוכן לב"ד החקירה. ויקוד וישתחוה לפניו ויצא הברישייללו מלפניו וילך לבית מלונו. ואנחנו ישבנו שם בקורטה סאוילה בלילה ההוא.

פרק שביעי

ממחרת שהוא י"ג אב י"ז ליוליו שי"ט ויבוא הברישייללו ויוציאו משם קורטה סאוילה וינהג אותנו בדרך רבים כמטיילים עמו בדרך עד שהגענו לריפטה ושם מסר אותנו לשר ב"ה ויאסוף אותנו אל 5 משמר כולנו יחד בחדר א' מהיום ההוא אחר הצהרים עד הבקר למחרתו. והברישיילו שלווה אותנו שב למקומו אחרי כי פרענו לו שכר טרחו ובטולו וילך מאתנו בשלום. ואנחנו הששה בלילה ההוא נועצנו יחד לאמר איש אל אחיו אל ידבר מעסקי חברו מוטב ועד 10 רע למען שלא להלכד בפח הדיסאמיני כי לא יכולנו לדעת ולהבין על מה אנחנו מובאים אל המקום הזה. ונישן כולנו יחד עד הבקר ויהי בבקר ויבוא השוטר ויפרידנו ויתן את ר' יהושע ור' מהללאל בחדר א' ור' שמואל ור' שלמה בבית א' ור' משה ואותי בנימין בחדר א'. ונשב שם בזווג הזה י"ב ימים. וזה משפט מנהג החקירה. 15 דע כי בית החקירה הם ל"ב הצירות דבוקות זו בזו ובאמצע החצירות ההם גנות ופרדסים. ובמיטב החצר ההוא בית דירת הממונה על החקירה שמו פראטי טומאסו ושם דירת השופט שמו מיסיר יואן באטיסטה ביציוני. ושם ג"כ דרים הסופרים הכותבים מכתבי החקירה. ומצד א' בחצר ההוא מקום דירת שר בית הסוהר והשוטרים מזה. ומזה לחצרות ההם מכל צד יש חדרים קטנים עם 20 חלונות שקופים אטומים ברשתות ברזל. ובכל א' מהחדרים חבושים ב' זווג אסירים אפס כי

not be long. Now I shall go, tomorrow you should bring them to the prison of the Inquisition, which is in the neighbourhood of Ripetta, where the Court of the Inquisition is.” The *barisello* nodded and bowed down; then he left and went back to his lodging. We stayed in Corte Savella that night.

Chapter Seven

The day after this, which was the 13th of Av, July 17 [5]319 [1559], the *barisello* came and took us out from Corte Savella, and he led us with him as if we were travellers until we arrived at Ripetta,¹⁵⁰ and there he gave us to the officer of the prison, who imprisoned all of us in one room from the afternoon of that day until the next morning. The *barisello* who had escorted us returned to his post after we paid him his salary, and he left us peacefully. And we, the six, consulted each other that night, saying one man to his brother not to speak about his friend’s business whether good to bad, so that we will not be caught in the trap of the *disamina*,¹⁵¹ because we didn’t know or understand why we were brought to this place. And we all slept together until the morning, and in the morning the commissioner came and separated us; he put Rabbi Yehoshua and Rabbi Mahallel in one room, Rabbi Samuel and Rabbi Solomon in another room, and Rabbi Moses and me, Benjamin, in a third room. We stayed there in these pairs for twelve days. This is the custom of the Inquisition. Know that the House of the Inquisition consists of thirty-two courtyards that are connected to one another, and in the middle of the courtyards, there are gardens and orchards. The best courtyard was the residence of the person in charge of the Inquisition; his name was *frate Tommaso*.¹⁵² And there was also the judge’s residence; his name was *messer Giovanni Battista Bizzone*.¹⁵³ And the notaries who wrote the Inquisition’s letters also dwelled there. On one side of that courtyard was the residency of the prison’s minister and commissioners. On each side of the courtyards, there were small rooms with transparent windows blocked by iron nets. In each room, two pairs of prisoners were imprisoned, but they did

¹⁵⁰ The Palace of the Inquisition and its prisons were located close to the Church of S. Rocco, near to the Tiber River.

¹⁵¹ “Close examination”.

¹⁵² The above-mentioned Dominica friar Tommasco Scotti.

¹⁵³ Giovan Battista Bizzone (?-1568) was the first assessor of the Roman Inquisition, appointed in 1553.

לא יהיו מכירים זה את זה ויועדים ויועצים ומדברים ביניהם. וביד שר השומרים כל מפתחות החדרים ההם ובכל יום בבקר ובערב הוא פותח שער כל חדר וחדר פעמיים פעם א' להכניס שם מאכל ומשתה לאסירים ופעם שניה חוזר להסיר הכלים המטונפים. ובכל שני ימים בערב באים משרתי ב"ה ומפנים מהחדרים כל טנוף אשר שם. כה משפטם כל הימים יען כי בבתי הסוהר ההם חבושים שם כמה אנשים חשובים שרים ונכבדים ופרידיקאטורי וקונפיסורי וקאנוניצי ואנשי המעלה. ובעת שהיינו אנחנו שם היו חבושים שם ב' הגמונים וכמה אבאטי וב' פחות הקרואים קונטי ושרים רבים ונכבדים גם שם. היו אז ב' אנשים המכירים לדבר עברית והיו מתפללים בלשון הקודש תפילותיהם ואומרים מזמורים מספר תהלים בכל יום בלה"ק. שם האחד בארטאלומיאן ספאדאפורה ושם האחר פושטילו והוא חכם גדול ובקי בתורת משה ובעל לשון הקודש צח ומצוחצח ושניהם היו חבושים שם מימים רבים כמו ה' שנים או יותר. גם שם היו פריטי ופראטי ואנשים רבים וחכמים שעולה מספר כולם לסך ק"ב אנשים היינו כי בבור היו סגורים ס"ב אנשים היינו כי בכ"ו חדרים היו סגורים ס"ב אנשים ובחצרות וב"ה גלויים כמו ארבעים אנשים. ופתבגם ויין משתיהם וארוחת תמיד פת סולת נקיה ויין טוב ומים והלפתן כסדר הימים שאוכלים בהם בשר נותנים להם בשר והימים שאין אוכלים בהם בשר

not know each other, although they would consult and talk with one another. And the minister of the guards had the keys to those rooms, and every day in the morning and evening he would open the gate of each room twice, once to bring food and beverages for the prisoners and the second time to return to collect the dirty dishes. Every two days, in the evening, the guards of the prison would remove any dirt from the rooms. During the days of the trial, it was known that a few notable men were imprisoned in those prisons: ministers, *predicatori*,¹⁵⁴ *confessori*,¹⁵⁵ *canonici*,¹⁵⁶ and men of high rank. While we were there, two bishops, a few *abati*,¹⁵⁷ and two others called *conti*,¹⁵⁸ and many ministers and notables were also imprisoned there. There were also two men who were able to speak Hebrew, and they were praying their prayers using the Holy Tongue and reciting the Psalms in Hebrew all day long. One of them was Bartolomeo Spadafora,¹⁵⁹ and the name of the other one was Postel,¹⁶⁰ who was a great man of wisdom, knowledgeable in the Law of Moses; he was sharp and he could speak the Sacred Language. Both of them had been imprisoned there for many days, about five years or more.

There were also *preti*,¹⁶¹ *frati*,¹⁶² and many wise men and other people there, reaching the number of one hundred and two people: in the basement – where we were – there were sixty-two people imprisoned in twenty-six rooms, while in the courtyards and the prison, there were about forty people. They would consume their food and wine in pairs, refined semolina, good wine and water and compote; on the days that meat could be eaten, they gave them meat, and on the days that meat cannot be eaten, they

¹⁵⁴ “Preachers”.

¹⁵⁵ “Comforters”.

¹⁵⁶ “Canons”.

¹⁵⁷ “Abbots”.

¹⁵⁸ “Counts”.

¹⁵⁹ Bartolomeo Spadafora (ca. 1520-60) was a Sicilian noble from Messina, close to the spiritual circle of Cardinal Pole and Pietro Carnesecchi and Giulia Gonzaga. He was suspected of heresy because of his friendships and escaped from the Spanish Inquisition. He was captured during Paul IV’s pontificate and taken to the prisons of the Inquisition in Rome in 1556. He was released by the Roman people at Paul IV’s death (August 18, 1559).

¹⁶⁰ Guillaume Postel (1510-81) was a French orientalist, cosmographer, mathematician, kabbalist, humanist. Because of some of his ideas (for example, he believed to have received a prophetic call from God) and other heterodox propositions, he was not expelled by the Society of Jesus. He was well versed in the Hebrew language and the Kabbalah, and he was also acquainted with the circle of Reginald Pole. He was arrested in Venice and taken to Rome in 1555 to be judged for heresy. After his releasement at Paul IV’s death, he retired to the convent of Saint-Martin-des-Champs where he died in 1581. Sonne confused him with the Benedictine monk, humanist, linguist, and poet Onorato Fascitelli.

¹⁶¹ “Priests”.

¹⁶² “Friars”.

נותנים להם דגים ומיני מליח וירקות ופירות. ואנחנו נפשינו יבשה
כי לא רצו שיביאו לנו אחינו מזון או לפתן מבושל בטהרה. ואעפ"כ
לא נתגאלנו בבישולי גויים ופתבגם וישבנו שם בהשקט ובבטחה
מקבלים עלינו גזרת הבורא יש"ל מאהבה. ובכל שעה ובכל רגע
5 היינו מתאווים תאוה לאמר מתי נתראה פנים הממונה או השופט
למען נדע על מה אנחנו מובאים אל המקום הזה. ובכל יום ויום
לעת ערב לעת צאת הרינה בחצר ההוא כשאומרים הסבו לאכול
לחם מתקבצים יחד ואז כל האסירים מדברים זה עם זה איש עם
רעתו ואיש עם שכנו הקרוב אל ביתו. ואותה שעה היא שעת מרגוע
10 לאסירים שמספרים זה עם זה מעין המאורע דאגה בלב ישחנה. וכן
שמענו קול דבריהם לאמר כי עסקי המקום ההוא הולכים באריכות
מאד. אז גדל הכאב אל לבנו בזכרנו את בני בתינו אשר עזבנו
בוכים ונאנחים והיינו מתפללים בדמעות על לחיינו לאבינו
שבשמים למהר קץ פדותנו. זו היא בקשתנו אחרי תפילותינו
15 שחרית מנחה וערבית בכוונה נכונה וזו היא שאלת צרכינו איש
בלשונו כאשר שם ה' בפינו ויען כי שערי דמעה לא ננעלו. וידע
אלקים וישמע ה' את קולנו וירא את ענינו ואת עמלנו ואת לחצנו זו
הדחק. ויתן בלב החשמן לגזור אומר אל השופט למהר לדרוש
ולחקור דיננו. ויהי היום ש"ק כ"ה אב וישלח השופט ויביאנו לפניו
20 א' א' ויחקור אותנו הדק היטב על העלילה שהעלילו עלינו לאמר כי
ר' יהושע ור' מהללאל ואני הצעיר בנימין חשבנו לגייר גלח א' מכת
ס' פראנציסקו אשר היה שמו פראטי אמברושי וכי סדרנו לו ללכת
לארץ ישראל ונדרנו לתת לו מעות להוצאת הדרך ופרנסתו ובגד
ללבוש. ור' שמואל ור' שלמה ור' משה חקרו אותם להעיד על ככה.
25 גם חקרו על ר' יהושע באמרם שזרק אבן

gave them fish and salty food, vegetables, and fruit. Our souls were hungry, because they did not allow our brothers to bring us kosher food or cooked compote. Despite this, we were not tempted by the Gentiles' cooking or food, and we sat there quietly and safely, lovingly accepting the orders of God the Creator, may His Name be Blessed forever.

Every hour and every minute we prayed, saying: "When will we see the person in charge or the judge so that we can know why we were brought to this place?" Every evening, when joy came into the courtyard because we were about to eat bread, we would gather together and then all the prisoners would talk to one another, one to his friend, another to his close neighbour. That time was a time of rest for the prisoners who were speaking to one another: *If there is anxiety in a man's mind let him quash it.*¹⁶³

We also heard them saying that the businesses of that place were being prolonged. Then the pain in our hearts became greater and greater when we remembered the members of our households whom we had left crying and weeping. We prayed with tears on our cheeks to our Father in Heaven to end our captivity fast. This was our request and prayer after the *Schaḥarit* prayer, the *Minḥa* [prayer], and the *Aravit*,¹⁶⁴ with pure intention, because this was what we needed, each person in his own language when the Name of the Lord was on his lips because the gates of tears were not closed. God knew and heard our voices, and He had seen our poor situation, travails, and oppression. He put it into the cardinal's heart to sentence us, saying to the judge to hasten and to ask and inquire about our judgment. The day was Shabbat 25th of Av [July 29]; the judge sent [for us] and we were brought in front of him one by one, and he questioned us in detail about the accusations that had been made against us, saying that Rabbi Yehoshua, Rabbi Mahallel, and me, the young Benjamin, had been planning to convert a friar of the order of S. Francesco whose name was *frate* Ambrogio, and that we had organised Eretz Israel for him and made a vow to give him money for his travel expenses, sustenance, and clothes to wear. Rabbi Samuel, Rabbi Solomon, and Rabbi Moses were examined about this, [and they forced them] to give testimony about it. They also questioned Rabbi Yehoshua about this, saying that he had thrown a stone at one of their

¹⁶³ Proverbs 12:25.

¹⁶⁴ They are the names of the three daily prayers (morning, afternoon, evening). The *Aravit* (the evening prayer) is also known also as *Ma'ariv*.

לתמונתם צורת ע"ז. ביום ו' ע"ש פנחס וישם ה' בפי כולנו לאמר
לא היו דברים מעולם ואעפ"י שגם השופט לכל א' וא' כמנהג בית
דין לאיים ולגזם בעת חקירת העדות עכ"ז ה' נצר את לשוננו מרע
ושפתותינו לדבר מאומה. ויכל לחקור אותנו ביום ההוא וישב
אותנו אל בית הסוהר נפרדים זה מזה וכל א' ממנו לבדו עומד אפס
5 כי כל אחי נזדמן להם להיות בחדריהם אסירים גויים בחברתם רק
אני בנימין נחמיה נשארתי לבדי יחידי בחדר שהייתי שם מלפנים.
ואשב שם יחיד ומשתומם כ"ב ימים אשר לא ראיתי רקיע השמים
וגם לא עפר הארץ כי ישבתי שכול וגלמוד תוהה ושם חדר תוך
חדר ולא היה לי שום מרגוע. רק כי היה שכן קרוב אלי זקן א' אדם
10 חשוב מנכבדי ארץ לוקה אשר הייתי מדבר עמו. גם הוא היה
מתראה אלי פנים בפנים לפעמים והיה מנחמני בדבריו דברי פי
חכם חן. אח"כ במשך ח' ימים חלה ויוציאוהו משם הוא ומשרתו
שהיה חבוש עמו לשרתו. ויוליכוהו לבית א' מקרוביו אשר ברומא
15 להיות שם משמר עד רפוא ירפא. נשארתי לבדי מתאנה ובוכה
ומתחנן לפני אבינו שבשמים. וביום ח' אלול הביאו אותנו פעם
אחרת לפני הפיסקאלי לחקור עידותנו ואח"כ השיבו אותנו איש אל
מקומו. וביום י"א אלול נתנו לנו הפרקליט אלפונצו וילילנובה שמו
ויבוא לדבר עמנו ונועצה עמו מה לטעון ולהשיב על עלילותינו.
ונשם דברינו בפיו אפס כי בלעדיו אלקינו ענה את שלומנו וסדר
20 גאולתנו מהרה ית' שמו לעד אכ"ר. בימים ההם משה המכונה
פפארדילא אשר הנחנו תפוש בצ"ויטאנובה כשלקחו אותנו
להביאנו לרומא ואז ראה משה כי הוא

icons that had an idolatrous form. On Friday evening of *Shabbat Pinhas*,¹⁶⁵ God put it into all of our mouths to say that these things did not happen, and despite the fact that the judge was judging each and every one of us according to the custom of the court threatening and exaggerating while investigating witnesses, with of all this, God prevented our tongues from [saying] bad things and our lips [from saying] anything else. And he [the judge of the Inquisition] questioned us that day and brought us back to the prison, separating us from one another, and each and every one of us stood alone; however, my brothers were given the opportunity to be surrounded by Gentile prisoners in their rooms, and only I, Benjamin Nehemiah, remained by myself in the room in which I had previously been. I sat there all by myself wondering how, in twenty-two days, I had seen neither the sky nor the dust of the earth because I was sitting there in that bereaved, lonely, desolate room, and I had not had any rest. I had a close neighbour, an old man, an important notable of Lucca,¹⁶⁶ with whom I had spoken. He showed me his face sometimes and comforted me with his words, the words of a wise, graceful man. After eight days, he became sick, and he and his servant, who was in prison to serve him, were taken out of there. They led him to another house belonging to his relatives in Rome to be guarded until he was healed. I remained alone, crying and weeping, begging before our Lord in Heaven. And on the 8th of Elul [August 11], they brought us before the *fiscale*¹⁶⁷ once more to examine our testimony, and then they brought us back, each person to his own place. On the 11th of Elul [August 14], they assigned us a lawyer, whose name was Alfonso Villanova,¹⁶⁸ and he came to speak to us; we consulted with him about what to argue and how to respond to the false accusations. We put our words in his mouth; even without him [the lawyer], our God answered for our well-being and the order of our quick redemption, Blessed be He! Amen, may His Will be done! In those days, Moses “Pappardella,” who had remained under arrest in Civitanova since they had caught us to bring us to Rome, saw that he

¹⁶⁵ It indicates the Shabbat in which the *Parashat Pinhas* – that is to say the *Torah* portion of Numbers 25:10-30:1 – is read. This portion is read in three weeks from the 17th of Tammuz until the 9th of Av (which corresponded for 1559, to June 22 and July 13 respectively). The information given here by our author is wrong.

¹⁶⁶ I did not manage to identify this person.

¹⁶⁷ Known also as *procuratore* or *avvocato fiscale* (i.e. “procurator general”, “attorney”), he was member of the Congregation of the Inquisition. His task was to formulate the accusations and enquire the accused. At the beginning of the Congregation, this role was led by the procurator of the Apostolic Chamber.

¹⁶⁸ He was already in charge as *procurator pauperum* (“chief defender”) for the Roman Inquisition by 1553. His name appears in some other famous trials in the middle of sixteenth century.

לבדו נשאר ונואש מן הפדות וימס לבו בקרבו וחשב להציל בהמיר
 דתו לדתי הנוצרים. ויהי בחצי הלילה ויקרא לשומר ויאמר לו
 חלום חלם איש או אשה דבר לי בחלום הלילה לאמר שוב לדת
 הנוצרים ותנצל ותמלט מכל פגע רע ויכופר לך חטאת שפתיך. ויהי
 5 בבקר ויצא השומר וידבר כדברים האלה באזני עם הארץ וילכו
 ויאמרו לו עשה ואל וידרו לו נדרים נדבות. ויואל משה לשבת אתם
 להיות לעם אחד ויאמר להם להעשות בו כטוב בעיניהם. ויסירו
 הכובע ירוק מעל ראשו וישימו לו תחתיו כובע שחור ויקראו שמו
 אנגילו שילצו ויחליפו שמלותיו ויוציאוהו מן ב"ה ויביאוהו
 10 וימסרוהו ליד הפראטי של ס' אגוסטינו ללמדו דת הנוצרים וישמחו
 עם הארץ על ככה שמחה גדולה. ויכתבו אגרות בשם הציבור אל
 החשמן אליסאנדרינו להגיד לו הפלא הזה וישתבחו בעיר. אשר כן
 עשו רק כי לא ישרו דבריהם לפני החשמן ויצו לאשר על ביתו
 להשיב לציבור כי לא נכון לעשות כן להאמין לאיש כזה כי מפני
 15 אימת מות. הוציא דברים האלה מפיו ויגזור אומר לשלוח בו יד
 ולהשיב אותו אל משמר ולחזור הכובע ירוק על ראשו ולשלוח
 לרומא ויעשו כן. ויבואו אח"כ שליחי ב"ד ויוציאוהו מן הסוהר
 ללוותו תיכף למסעיו דרך רומא בכבלי ברזל. ויהי בהוציאם אותו
 החוצה ואף עם הארץ חרה ביהודים אשר נשארו לגור
 20 בצ'ויטאנובה באמרם להם אתם גרמתם על משה ככה כי כתבתם
 עליו שטנה לפני החשמן. ויאמרו כל העם לרגום אותם באבנים
 לולי כי יראו לשלוח יד בהם מפני אימת החשמן רק חשבו עליהם
 מחשבות רעות לאבדם ח"ו. ותגבר אז יד צוררי היהודים ויסיפו
 להעליל עליהם עלילות ברשע על ר' מרדכי תופר ועל ר' רפאל כהן
 25 ויבקשו תואנה גם

remained alone, and he was desperate from captivity; his heart melted in him and he considered saving [himself] by converting to Christianity.

And then in the middle of the night, he called the guard and told him that [Moses] had had a dream that a man or a woman spoke to him,¹⁶⁹ saying: “Return to the religion of the Christians and you will be saved, and you will escape from every harm, and you will purify your lips from sin!” In the morning, the guard went to report these words to the ears of the people of the land, who came to say to him: “Do it! Do not delay!”, promising him offerings and donations. Moses agreed to sit with them and to be of one nation with them, and he told them to do to him whatever they saw fit. They removed the green hat from his head and replaced it with a black hat, and they named him Angelo Celso; they changed his clothes, took him out of the prison, and brought him and gave him into the hands of the *frati* of Sant’Agostino to teach him the religion of the Christians, and the people of the land rejoiced about this with great joy. And they wrote letters on behalf of the public to Cardinal Alessandrino telling him about this wonder, and they were praised for this in the city. Their words were not good in the eyes of the cardinal, and he ordered all the people of his household to return him to the public because it was inappropriate to believe such a man just because he had spoken those words when he feared death. He sentenced saying that they should harm him and return him to the prison and replace the green hat on his head and send [him] to Rome, and this they did. Then the messengers of the court came and they took him out of the prison to escort him immediately to Rome in iron chains. When they took him out, the people of the land were angry at the Jews who remained living in Civitanova because they [the Jews] said to them [the people]: “You are responsible for Moses’ situation, because you wrote an accusation to the cardinal against him,” and the people wanted to stone them but did not harm them because they feared the cardinal. They only thought wicked thoughts about annihilating them, God forbid! The [strength] of the Jews’ oppressors’ hands increased, and they evilly continued making false accusations about Rabbi Mordekhai the tailor¹⁷⁰ and Rabbi Raphael Cohen,¹⁷¹ and they sought pretexts [to

¹⁶⁹ Sonne uses the first person: חלום חלמתי איש או אישה דבר לי.

¹⁷⁰ He is probably the same Angelo mentioned in par. 1.1.2.

¹⁷¹ Sonne hypothesized the identification of this Raphael Cohen with a man who married a certain Esther, hailing from the Papal States, on the basis of a *piyyut* (song) written by Eliyahu the Young in 1548. This short composition found by Sonne in the Bodleian Library is published in SONNE, 76, note 23. Raphael Cohen and his wife Esther appear also in the novel by Ibn-Zahav mentioned in par. 2.1.

על יתר הפליטה הנשארת. והאנשים האלה שניהם נסו לקולם ויבוא מרדכי לפני ההגמון אשר בפירמו העירה ויתחנן לפניו להצילו מיד הקמים עליו צדיק דינו לפניו מכל מה שהעלילו כנגדו. ורפאל הכהן הלך לו למסעיו דרך ויניציאה כי שם בני ביתו אשר שלחם שם בראשית התלאות האלה ויבחר לו ללכת הוא וכל אשר לו ויעתק מכל וכל מצ'יויטאנובה. ויהי בעת ההיא ויוסף ה' שנית ידו לענות את שארית עמו בגליל למרקה עד כי בהרבה מקומות בימים ההם היתה יד הרשות הולכת וקשה על היהודים וילחצו את בני ריקינאטי על דבר בית הכנסת שלהם שהיה פתוח חוץ לשכונת היהודים ויאסרום. וילחצום על ככה והק"ק אסקולי העירה תפש המכלכל אשר שם את בני ר' עובדיה ירא משועי הארץ והזקן החשוב ר' מנחם מסולמוני ושותפיהם ומנהיגיהם וישלחו יד ברכושם כספם וזהבם אתם. ויאספו אותם אל משמר מקום אופל וסתרים. אז ראה המכלכל כי העירוניים משם היה עינם חסים על היהודים ויירא פן ימלטום מידו ויוצאים מב"ה בעוד לילה בסתר ויבלום פיהם בעבור שלא יצעקו בעיר ויביאם ביום ש"ק קשורים דרך מצ'יראטה. ויתנום שם אל בית הסוהר ועיניניהם בקושי הולכים והיו שם במצ'יראטה חבושים עד מות האפיפיור פאוולו רביעי שם רשעים ירקב.

make accusations] about the remaining members of the community. These two people both tried to speak, and Mordechai came before the bishop of the city of Fermo¹⁷² and begged him to save him from the hands of his enemies. He was righteous and dealt righteously concerning the accusations which were raised in front of him. Raphael Cohen went on a journey to Venice because his household, whom he had warned at the beginning of those troubles, was [dwelling] there; he chose to go to them with everything he had, and he left Civitanova. At that time, God continued to torture the remainder of His people living in the region of Marca, so that in many places in those days the authorities' hands became tougher towards the Jews, and they oppressed the sons of Recanati regarding their synagogue,¹⁷³ which was open outside the Jewish neighbourhood; they imprisoned and oppressed them. In the holy community of the city of Ascoli, the governor who was there seized the household of Rabbi Obadiah Yare,¹⁷⁴ who was the most important in the country, and the important elder Rabbi Menaḥem me-Salmoni,¹⁷⁵ and their associates and leaders, and they took their assets, their money, and their gold with them. They arrested them [and put them] in a dark, hidden place. Then the governor saw that the inhabitants of the city took pity on the Jews, and he feared that they would escape from his clutches, so he took them out of the prison in secret at night and covered their mouths so that they would not shout in the city, and brought them bound to Macerata on *Shabbat Qodesh*. He put them in prison there, and they could hardly walk, and they were imprisoned in Macerata until the death of Pope Paul IV, may his evil name be blotted out!

¹⁷² Residence of the bishop of the Marca. At that time, Lorenzo Lenti was the archbishop of Fermo from 1549 to 1571; Sonne thought Lenti and the Governor Lauro to be the same person.

¹⁷³ As remembered by Sonne, an episode concerning the synagogue of Recanati is recalled by Joseph ha-Cohen but does not seem to be related to the information given here. According to Joseph ha-Cohen, in 1558, the neophyte fra Filippo stormed into the synagogue of Recanati to desecrate the *aron* on the day of Yom Kippur. After he was driven away by the Jews, he complained and the inhabitants of the city started a fight against the Jews of Recanati who received a severe sentence. See SONNE, 77, note 25.

¹⁷⁴ Sonne stressed that the author is probably referring to the relatives of Obadiah Yare ben Abraham di Bertinoro (ca. 1450-1516), author of a famous commentary on the Mishnah, who is also remembered as the author of three letters, written to his father and brother, which describe his three-year journey (1486-88) to Jerusalem where he lived until his death. However, before moving to Jerusalem in his early thirties, this rabbi lived in Città di Castello and not in Ascoli.

¹⁷⁵ It has not been possible to identify this individual. SONNE, 77: "me-Salmoni". The manuscript bears "me-Sulmoni" or "me-Solmoni", (son) "of Solomon" but can also be read as "from Sulmona".

ובשאר עיירות מלמרקה טורדו וטולטלו היהודים האומללים גולים ומטולטלים בעינוי וצער אסירים כל ימי היותנו במשמר ב"ה. גם היה עתיד לצאת בימים ההם חוקר חדש נגד היהודים אשר תחת כל מלכות האפיפיור להענישם על עברם דת וחק הבולה וגזרות אחרות קשות ורעות לשבי לחרב ולביזה להשמיד להרוג ולאבד זרע היהודים ומי זה אמר ותהי ה' לא צוה כי אף גם זאת בהיותנו בתכלית השפלות כולנו עתידים כצאן לטבחה יובל לא מאסנו ולא געלנו לכלותנו. וישמע ה' את קולנו וירא את ענינו ואת עמלנו וכו'. ויושיענו מצרינו בחדש הששי הוא חדש אלול בט"ו יום בו הוא יום י"ח אגוסטו ש"ט וינגף ה' את פאוולו רביעי וימת ימח שמו וזכרו עם חברת רשעים כמותו ה"ה בלעם ועמלק ואותו. ויושע ה' ביום ההוא את פליטת עמו וצאן מרעיתו אשר היו בסכנה גדולה ועצומה ויקומו עם הארץ אשר ברומא ובראשם נדיבי עם הקצינים והסגנים וישברו את דלתות ב"ה אשר ברומא וגם דלתות החצר בית החקירה ומאסריה פתחו ובריחי ברזל גדעו ואותנו הוציאו משם ביד רמה. וירא ישראל את היד הגדולה אשר עשה ה' ואת האפיפיור מת ככלב מוטל בעריסה. אז ישיר ישראל יודו לה' חסדו והודו לה' כי טוב כל"ח בהלל הגדול בשיר ושבח וזמרה לאל נורא עלילה כי לו נאווה תהילה לעולם.

In the rest of the cities [to which] they were evacuated and transferred,¹⁷⁶ the miserable Jews were exiled and weakened with tortures and sorrow during the entire time that we were imprisoned. A new anti-Jewish inquisitor was supposed to be introduced in the pope's kingdom to punish them for transgressing from their religion, from the laws in the bull, and from other hard and wicked rules; to imprison, to ruin, to plunder, to destroy, massacre, and exterminate the Jews,¹⁷⁷ *unless the Lord willed it? It is not at the word of the Most High,*¹⁷⁸ since even though we were completely humiliated and we were all destined to be *like sheep to the slaughter,*¹⁷⁹ He did not reject us or spurn us so as to destroy us.¹⁸⁰ The Lord heard our voices and saw our misery and our burden etc., and He saved us from our troubles in the sixth month, which was on the 15th of the month of Elul, August 18 [5]319 [1559], when God defeated Paul IV through his death; may his name and memory be blotted out and enumerated in the company of evil with Balaam and Amalek!¹⁸¹

Then on that day, God saved the rest of his people and his flock, which was in great danger, when the people of the land of Rome rose up and, guided by some generous people with the officers and deputies, they broke the gates of the prison in Rome and the gate of the Court of the Palace of the Inquisition and opened its prisons, cutting out the iron bars, and took us out of there triumphantly. And Israel saw the strength of God, and the pope died as a dog abandoned to lie in its kennel. Then Israel sang: *Let them praise the Lord for His steadfast love*¹⁸² and *Praise the Lord; for He is good. His steadfast love is eternal*¹⁸³ in the Great *Hallel*¹⁸⁴ of the psalm with glory and song to God *who is held in awe [by men for His acts],*¹⁸⁵ because [it is fit to sing] glorious praise to Him forever.¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁶ Literally, “טורודי וטולוטלה”. Sonne proposed the reading “Torodi and Tolentino” (טורודי וטולוטלו), probably referring to Trodica and Tolentino, in the Marca but also טורודו וטולטלו. I think this second interpretation makes more sense.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Esther 3:13.

¹⁷⁸ Lamentations 3:37.

¹⁷⁹ Jeremiah 12:3; Psalms 44:23.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Leviticus 26:44.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Numbers 22-24; Exodus 17:14; Deuteronomy 25:17-19; 1 Samuel 15:2-3.

¹⁸² Psalms 107:8.

¹⁸³ Psalms 136:1.

¹⁸⁴ That is to say Psalm 136.

¹⁸⁵ Psalms 66:5.

¹⁸⁶ Psalms 147:1.

ועד אמר המחבר יען כי חפץ ה' לגואלתנו במות האפיפיור פאוולו רביעי שחיק טמיא אשר לא כמות כל האדם מת. וזו היתה סבה מלפניו כי לא נתכנו עלילות על כן ראיתי חובה לעצמי כחק כותבי זכרונות לכתוב הדבר כהויתו בלי תוספת או מגרעת רק האמת אזכירה ואספרה מה שעניי ראו ואזני שמעו וחבירי יעידו עלי גם 5 היום ברומא עידי וסהדי ואם לא איפה כן הוא הלא הם יכזבוני בפני כי חיים כולם היום וקרוב אליהם הדבר מאד ועיניהם הרואות על כן. דעו נא איפה כי מה שאכתוב לזכרון הוא האמת וברור מעשים ונסים כך היו כמו שאספרה אין חסר אין יתר לכו חזו מפעלות ה' כי את הכל עשה יפה בעתו יש"ל. ועתה נתחיל פ' שמיני המסיים 10 למען ידע דור אחרון יקומו ויספרו לבניהם לתת הודאה לשעבר למי שעשה לאבותינו ולנו את כל הנסים והנפלאות כי אילו פינו מלא שירה כים וכו' ואעשה פ' בפ"ע בע"צ.

15

פרק שמיני

מעשה שהיה כך כמו שאכתוב בפרק זה.

כבר היתה שגורה בפי אנשים רבים מאמר תוכן א' מהוברי שמים שהיה אומר כי מלכות פאוולו שם רשעים ירקב תמשך חמשים ירחים ולא יותר. על כן היו מקווים קץ המלוכה הזאת גם היו מחשבים את הקץ כי אלף שנים בעיניהם שעה א' במלוך עליהם בחזקה וביד רמה האפיפיור הרשע ההוא. ויחלה פאוולו האפיפיור פעמים רבות ושב ורפא לו. ובימות הקיץ שי"ט חלה את חליו אשר ימות בה ויכבד עליו חליו עד שנפחו שוקיו וירכיו ונוסף עליו חולי מעים

The Author says: “Since God wanted to redeem us through Pope Paul IV’s death, [who died] with his heart impure, who did not die like the rest of humanity. Since there were no false accusations before him [the pope], I felt obliged to write a memorial of the things we experienced without any additions or defects, describing only the truth and recounting what my eyes saw and my ears heard and what my friends testified [about what I have said]; also, today there are witnesses in Rome, and if it is not as I am saying, they will say that I am a liar to my face, because they are still living now.

Therefore, be aware that what I have written as a memorial is the simple truth: these things and miracles happened¹⁸⁷ as I have recounted, no more, no less; go and observe the acts of God *because He made everything beautiful in His time*,¹⁸⁸ may His Name be Blessed forever.”

Now we shall begin chapter eight, which concludes [the chronicle], so that the future generations may know about it and raise their children to know about it, as a testimony of all that [God] did for our fathers and for us, the miracles and wonders, because *our mouths were as full of song as the sea*,¹⁸⁹ and I will make a chapter about it with the help of [God] my Rock!

Chapter Eight

Everything happened as I will describe in this chapter.

Something that one of the astrologers had said was widespread among many people: that Paul [IV]’s pontificate – may his evil name be blotted out – would last fifty months and no more¹⁹⁰. This is why [they] were hoping for the end of his pontificate, and they calculated the end because every hour of the evil pope was like a thousand years in their eyes, ruling them with a strength and power that was so evil. Pope Paul [IV] became ill many times, but he recovered every time. In the summer of [5]319 [1559], he fell ill with the disease which would [cause] him to die; his sickness was so grievous that his shins and thighs swelled up, and in addition he had an intestinal

¹⁸⁷ Psalms 46:9.

¹⁸⁸ Ecclesiastes 3:11.

¹⁸⁹ BT, *Zeraim*, *Berakhot* 59b; BT, *Moed*, *Taanit*, 6b: “If our mouth were as full of song as the sea, and our tongue with singing like the multitude of its waves etc.”

¹⁹⁰ On this see par. 6.1.

עם יציאת דם. אפס כי בהיותו חזק הטבע וגם לסבת מאכלים טובים
ובריאים ומסעדים בעלי הזנה או כי לא מלאו ימיו האריך חליו עד
ט"ו אלול. ובחצות הלילה קם ממטתו וישא עיניו השמים לראות
במבט הלבנה אם מלאה צבאה אם לרגע הניגוד הוא קץ מלואה וכי
ראה בעין שכלו כי חלף עבר רגע הניגוד. וינחם אל לבו כי חשב
5 כבר עבר הרגע המסוכן. וישב וישכב וירדם ויכבד עליו חליו.
וקרוביו ואנשי ביתו העלם יעלימו מהחשמנים ומאת כל עם הארץ
את דבר החולי עד ליל ט"ו אלול כי נתעלף כבחצות הלילה. ואז
שלחו לקרוא את חשמן ס' פיורי שהוא משנה להאפיפיר נקרא
בלשונם קאמירלינגו ר"ל סגן. ופקודתו זו היא כל ימי חייו אחרי
10 מות כל א' מהאפיפירים הוא משמש בכהונה תחתיו והוא ממלא את
מקומו לשבת בראש כל שאר החשמנים עד יאספון כל החשמנים
מכל מקומות מושבותיהם עד אשר יועדו יחדיו וימנו עליהם
אפיפיר אחר תחתיו. וע"כ חובה היא על קרובי האפיפיר ובני
15 ביתו להודיע לקאמירלינגו כאשר יקרבו ימיו למות למען ישב הוא
על כסאו תיכף וישגיח ויתור לכל הצטרך. ולכן עתה בלילה ההוא
קראו את החשמן קאמירלינגו הנ"ל ויבא וירא את האפיפיר על
פרקי מיתה. וישלח ספרים אל החשמנים מיודעיו אשר חוץ ברומא
אבל הודיע הדברים ברמיזה. אכן נודע הדבר לכל באור הבוקר והיו
20 הכל מחגגים ממיתת האפיפיר וכולם משתוקקים מתי ימות ואבד
שמו בין בני ישראל בין בני אומות העולם כולם פה א' בחשיקה
וחפיצה. ויהי באשמורת הבקר ויפקח האפיפיר את עיניו וישב
רוחו אליו ויחל לדבר בשפה רפה וכמעט דבריו לא היו נשמעים.
וידבר אז אליו החשמן קאמירלינגו ויתחנן לפניו להשיב את החשמן
25 קארופה נכדו אשר שלחו בחיים חייתו מרומא בנוזיפה כאשר
כתבתי למעלה בפ' חמישי למען ימצא החשמן נכדו באת צאת רוחו
ממנו. ואחרי שהרבה להתחנן בנא בל' בקשה ויען האפיפיר יבא
כרצונך תיכף ומיד שלח הקאמירלינגו

disease with bleeding. However, he had a natural strength, and [he ate] good, healthy and nutritious food, and it was not his appointed time to die; his sickness continued until the 15th of Elul [August 18].¹⁹¹ At midnight, he got out of his bed and looked up to the sky, checking the moon to see whether it was full to calculate whether the moment of opposition¹⁹² [had arrived], and he saw that it was no longer full. Then he was relieved, because he thought that the dangerous moment had passed. He returned to his bed and fell asleep, and his sickness worsened. His relatives and household concealed the fact that he was sick from the cardinals and the rest of the people until the night of the 15th of Elul [August 18], when he fainted at midnight. Then they called the Cardinal of Santa Fiora,¹⁹³ who was the pope's lieutenant, called the *camerlengo* in their language, that is to say "deputy." He had a duty to perform after the death of a pope; he fulfilled [the pope's wishes] and replaced [him] sitting at the head of the cardinals until all the cardinals from all the places [of their residence] could gather together and appoint another pope in his place. It was mandatory for his relatives and household to notify the *camerlengo* when he [the pope] was about to die so that he [the *camerlengo*] could immediately assume his throne and supervise and inquire into all the necessary [things]. So that night, they called the above-mentioned *camerlengo*, and he came and saw the pope just before he died. He sent letters¹⁹⁴ to the cardinals he knew who were outside Rome, but he implied these things only briefly.

The morning after, everyone found out what happened, and they celebrated the [impending] death of the pope and enthusiastically desired to know when he would die; his name would perish altogether among the sons of Israel and the Gentiles, they were all of one voice in the desire and longing.

Early in the morning, the pope opened his eyes and his spirit returned to him, and he weakly began to speak; his words were barely heard. Then the *camerlengo* spoke to him and begged him to allow Cardinal Carafa, his nephew, whom he had sent away from Rome in order to rebuke him as I wrote above in chapter five, to return in order to find him before his spirit left him. After his sincere and genuine pleading, the pope agreed [and said]: "He shall come as you wish" and the *camerlengo* immediately sent

¹⁹¹ It was the evening of August 17 but our author counts days following the Jewish account.

¹⁹² The phase of Full Moon when it is on the opposite side of the Earth from the Sun.

¹⁹³ Guido Ascanio Sforza di Santa Fiora (1518-64), Cardinal *camerlengo* of the Roman Church from 1537 and 1564, member of the Inquisition during Paul IV's pontificate.

¹⁹⁴ Literally, "books".

רצים דחופים להביא את החשמן קאראפה במרוצה מן המקום אשר היה שם רחוק מרומא כ"ה מילין ויבוא המן. וישב ביום ההוא החשמן קאראפה לרומא בין הערבים הוא ואחוזת מרעהו רעים וחטאים לנפשות זרע מרעים כמאתים פרשים. וכנוח כפות רגליו על מפתן החדר אשר דודו שוכב שם וימת ויפגר רוחו רוח הבהמית ולא זכה לראותו את החשמן לדודו ולא הבליעל ההוא את נכדו. אלו ואלו הנשרפים גופם בעץ תלוי נפשם באש קלוי וכגון דא צריך להודיע ולהודע כי מקודם אחרי אשר שלח הרצים להביא את החשמן קאראפה ותעבור הרינה בחצר לאמר האפיפיור מת. ויודע הדבר גם בחצר החקירה בבקר השכם גם כי השומרים העלימו ממנו. עכ"ז הקול נשמע בינינו בבית האסירים ונחריש עד יתברר הדבר באמת. ויחלצו אז חושים כל ראשי עם הארץ ושרי פלכי רומא הקרואים קפו ריוני כמנהג במות האפיפיור ובראשם צינצו קפו צוקה וחבריו ויאספו את עם הארץ ויחגרו כלי מלחמתם וילכו וישברו את בית הכלא אשר בפלך קורטה סאוילה ויוציאו את אסיריהם. וישלחום לנפשם ואח"כ הלכו לחצר קאמפיטוליו אשר שם חצר בית מאד היועצים והממונים על ממשלת עם רומאי הקרואים בלשונם קונסרוואטורי. ויפתחו גם ב"ה אשר שם ויוציאו אסיריו מבור וישלחום. ויועדו כל הראשים יחדיו בחצר קאמפיטוליו וילכו ויאספו גם כל שאר היועצים

swift messengers to bring Cardinal Carafa from the place where he was, twenty-five¹⁹⁵ miles' distance from Rome.¹⁹⁶ Then Haman came back. Cardinal Carafa returned to Rome that day at sunset, both him and his entourage,¹⁹⁷ wicked and sinful¹⁹⁸ to other souls, a brood of evildoers¹⁹⁹ of approximately two-hundred horsemen. When he set his feet on the threshold of the room where his uncle lay, his bestial spirit passed away; he [the cardinal] did not have the opportunity to see his uncle, nor did that wicked man [see] his nephew. Both of their burning bodies were hanging on the tree and their souls roasting in the fire²⁰⁰, and such as this was necessary in order to announce and to make known [their demise] since earlier, after he sent the runners to bring Cardinal Carafa back, the singing could already be heard in the courtyard saying: “the pope has died.” This news was also made known in the early morning in the Court of the Inquisition, but the guards concealed it from him [the pope that the people were rejoicing at his death]. Nevertheless, we heard the voices among us in prison, but we remained silent until this fact was known for certain.

Then all the leaders of the people and the ministers of the regions of Rome who are called *caporioni*,²⁰¹ as was the custom at the death of a pope, guided [this time] by Cencio Capizucchi²⁰² and his companions, rose up and gathered the people together and took arms; they went to break open the prison in the region of Corte Savella and release the prisoners.

After that, they went to the Court of Campidoglio, where the counsellors and officers in charge of the government of Rome – who are called *conservatori*²⁰³ in their language – were. They opened the prison which was there and took the prisoners out of the basement of the prison and sent them away. The leaders were gathered together in the Court of Campidoglio; they went and gathered the rest of the counsellors and

¹⁹⁵ Sonne: כ"ב (“twenty-two”).

¹⁹⁶ Cardinal Carafa was in exile in Marino, distant about 23 kilometres from Rome.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Genesis 26,26.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Genesis 13,13.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Isaiah 1,4.

²⁰⁰ The author refers to the hanging of Haman and his ten sons from the gallows which had been prepared for Mordechai; cf. Esther 7:10; 9:12-14.

²⁰¹ “Leaders of the regions” in which Rome was divided (Monti, Trevi, Colonna, Campo Marzio, Ponte, Borgo, Parione, Regola, Sant’Eustachio, Pigna, Campitelli, Sant’Angelo e Ripa).

²⁰² Cencio Capizucchi (1525-75) was a man-at-arms. He fought in the papal army in the war with Spain. Though he was loyal to Paul IV, he at his death he participated in the uprising of the Roman populace against the works and memory of the deceased pope. For this, he was arrested, but later pardoned by the new pope Pius IV.

²⁰³ Both the manuscript and Sonne report “consistory” (קונסיסטוריא).

ויתעצו ויועדו יחדיו מה לעשות לאסירים אשר בחצר החקירה יען
כי בחצר ההוא אסירים שם איזה אנשים אשר יצא עליהם שם
מינות קרואים בלשונם איריטיקי גם היו חבושים שם. אנשים
חשובים ונכבדים אנשי שם והמעלה כנ"ל ומאסרם שם מימים
5 רבים לא נפקדו ע"כ הן ולא ורפיא בידם והדבר היה בספק אצלם
אם לפתוח דלתים ולאמר לאסירים צאו ולאשר בחשך הגלו אם
לאו ותצא מאתם. אחר הויכוח הגדול שהיה ביניהם הסכמה גמורה
ומוחלטת כולם פה א' ובלב א' ואין חולק יען כי מה' היתה זאת
לנקום דם עבדיו ולרחם עלינו לעשות לחצר החקירה השחתה
10 גדולה ולאסיריה כאשר עשו לשאר בתי הסוהר ואסיריהם שבשאר
המקומות ואת חצר החקירה לדון אותה בשרפה גדולה אחרי
הוציאם את האסירים שהיו שם. למען לא יזכר ולא יפקד עוד
המקום ההוא ולא שם לו כי יכרית וישמיד את המקום ההוא לגמרי
כי הוא בית רשע כי השעירים ירקדו שם ומשם יצא משפט מעוקל
15 מעוול וחומץ נגד דת ודין כולו שקר וכזב מקום המשפט שמה
הרשע. ויהי הם טרם יצאו מחצר קמפיטוליו וישאו את עיניהם
ויראו את תמונת פאוולו רביעי מאבן משכית אבן יקרה אשר עשו
לו לכבוד ולתפארת בימים ההם והוציאו בחרושת אבן התמונה
ההוא כ"ב אלף סקודי מחושבים כי לא נעשתה כתמונה ההיא בדור
20 הזה. והיא היתה מהודרת מכל תמונת האפיפיורים אשר ברומא
וכראות אנשי עם הארץ את התמונה זכרו את האפיפיור פאוולו
הרשע וכל המעשים רעים אשר עשה ואשר הצר להם בחייו.
וישלחו בה ידם ושחיתוה כי חטפו את חוטמו מפניו ויטמאו את פניה
בגלל וטיט וצואה ויקצצו את יד ימינה ואצבעות ידה השמאלית
25 וירגמו אותה באבנים. ויצאו משם ויבואו דרך חצר החקירה וילוו
אתם עם רב כשלישת אלפים איש ויבואו ויצבאו על חצר החקירה.
ויצורו עליה וישברו דלתות החצר ויכנסו בתוכה בזרוע נטויה. ויכו
בחרב את פראטי טומאסו הממונה על החקירה זרוע

discussed what to do with the prisoners who were in the Court of the Inquisition, because in this courtyard it was said that the prisoners were heretics, who are called *eretici* in their language. Also, as we said above, there were important and notable men who had been imprisoned there for a long time; this is why they could not decide whether or not to open the gates and to tell the prisoners: ‘*Come out in freedom*’ and to those in darkness ‘*Come into the light*’.²⁰⁴

After a long debate between them, they unanimously agreed, and no one disagreed, because it was [the will of] God to avenge the blood of his servants and to have mercy on us: to destroy the Court of the Inquisition and its guards completely, as they had done to other prisoners and their guards elsewhere, and to sentence this Court of the Inquisition to great fire after they had freed the prisoners who were there. This place would not be remembered or even exist, not even its name, because He would completely destroy and annihilate it, because it was the house of evil and *the wild goats will leap about*,²⁰⁵ and from this place had emerged a twisted and unjust law against religion and law, all lies and falsehood; the place of trial is the place of evil. Then before they left the Court of Campidoglio, they looked up at the image of Paul IV adorned with fine stone, which had been made for him for his honour and glory at that time; they had spent 22,000 *scudi* on the craftsmanship of the stone of that statue, because no such statue had been made in that generation, and it was more adorned than all the statues of the popes in Rome.²⁰⁶ When the people saw the statue, they remembered the evil Pope Paul and all the bad deeds he had done, embittering their lives. They damaged the statue and disfigured it: they removed the nose from its face, they dishonoured its face with clay and excrement, they cut off its right hand and the fingers of its left hand, and they threw rocks at it. They left that place and came through to the Court of the Inquisition. Around 3,000 men were with them; they escorted them and gathered at the Court of the Inquisition. They besieged it and broke the gates of the court, they entered in it *with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm*.²⁰⁷ They struck *frate* Tommaso, the Commissioner of the Inquisition, with a sword, wounding his

²⁰⁴ Isaiah 49:9.

²⁰⁵ Isaiah 13:21.

²⁰⁶ The statue was commissioned by the Camera Capitolina to the Florentine sculptor Vincenzo de’ Rossi on October 16, 1555 after extensive praise of the pope for having abolished certain taxes and for having confirmed the privileges of the *Popolo Romano*. The statue was inaugurated on the eve of St. John’s Day (June 23, 1559) with fireworks.

²⁰⁷ Deuteronomy 26:8.

אף קדקד וינס מוכה להחבא באשר מצא. ואת פרא סרפינו שושבינו
הכו על זרועו ויז מדמם על מפתן חצר החקירה ולפני חצר החקירה
ואנכי ראיתי הדם נשפך על הארץ מדי עברי שם. ושאר בני החצר
גם השופט אשר היה אתם ברחו דרך הגגות וינוסו לנפשם. ואז
5 אנחנו האסירים היינו מדברים בינינו לאמר כי שמענו אשר שברו
עם הארץ את כל בתי הסוהר אשר ברומא ושלחו אסיריהם אמנם
היינו מסופקים פן לא יעשו כן לב"ה מהחקירה. ובזה היינו
מתווכחים זה אומר ככה וזה אומר ככה והנה קול המון העם אשר
נכנסו בחצר ויבואו כל העדה ויגשו לשבור דלתות החדרים אשר
10 האסירים היו חבושים שם ויוציאו האסירים משם ביד רמה. ויבוא
אז א' מהחשובים אשר בתוכם ויואל לשבור דלתות החדר אשר אני
המחבר הייתי חבוש שם ולא יכול כי הדלת היתה קשה ובקיר
החומה בנויה על מלואה במקום צר שלא היה יכול להניף ידו
להכות בדלת. ויפן כה וכה וישקף בעד החלון ויאמר אלי מי אתה
15 ואען ואומר עברי אנכי ואתחנן לפניו להוציא ממסגר נפשי יראתי
כי אמרתי פן ירף ממני ולא יחוס עלי כאשר שמע שאני יהודי. ויען
ויאמר אלי אל תירא יהודי כי אוהב ליהודים מנעורי אנכי והנה
באתי להצילך ולא אנוח ולא אשקוט עד אשלחך חפשי. כשמעי
דבריו ואברכהו ויוסף האיש להכות בדלת ויקרא גם לחביריו לעזור
20 לו ולא יכול לשבור הדלת. וילך וימצא את שר ב"ה והוא זקן וחולה
ולא יכול לברוח ויקח מידו את המפתחות מהחדרים אשר נתנם לו
בדמעות על עיניו ויפתח הדלת ואצא. ויהי כצאתי ואתחנן לפני
האיש ההוא לדרוש ולתור גם בעד אחיי היהודים אשר היו חבושים
בחדרים ולשלחם חפשים פן ח"ו יותרו שם בבית מאסרם. ויאמר
25 אלי אל תירא כי יצאו כולם והדת ניתנה להבעיר הבעירה ולשלוח
אש הדלק המדורה כל הבית הזה הרי תדע בוודאי כי לא ישאר שם
איש א' חבוש ועתה לך המלט

arm and head;²⁰⁸ he run away to hide himself in whatever place he could find. They wounded *fra* Serafino his secretary on his arm,²⁰⁹ and his arm bled on the threshold and before the Court of the Inquisition; I saw the spilled blood on the soil when I passed by there. The rest of the people of the Inquisition and also the judge who was there with them escaped through the roofs and saved themselves. We, the prisoners, began to talk to each other, saying that we had heard that the population had broken open all the prisons in Rome and released their prisoners, but that we doubted that they would do the same to the prison of the Inquisition. We were arguing about this, one saying this and one saying that, when the voices of the population entered the court, the whole council came and approached to break the gates of the cells where the prisoners were imprisoned and released them from there with strength. One of the important men among them came and agreed to break the gates of the cell where I, the author, was imprisoned, but he could not, because the door was strong and built inside the wall in a very narrow space; it was impossible for him to raise his hand and hit the door. Then he looked around and looked through the window and said to me: “Who are you?” And I replied: “I am a Jew,” and I begged him to take me out of there, for I was afraid, because I thought that he would leave me there and that he would not have mercy on me since I was a Jew. He replied, saying to me: “You shall not fear, Jew! For I have loved the Jews since my youth; I came to rescue you and I will not have rest or be silent until I have freed you.” When I heard his words, I blessed him, and the man continued to strike the door; he called his companions to help him, but he could not to break it. He found the officer of the prison, who was old and sick and so could not escape, and he took the keys of the cells from his hand. He gave him [the keys] with tears in his eyes, and he opened the gate and I walked out. When I was out [of the cell], I begged the man, asking him to look for my brothers the Jews who were imprisoned in the other rooms and to release them, lest, God forbid, they remain in prison. He said to me: “Do not worry, because they have all come out; the order was given to set fire to the entire house, so we certainly know that no man remained imprisoned, and you should run

²⁰⁸ Deuteronomy 33:20.

²⁰⁹ Serafino Cavalli (1522-78), Dominican friar. From 1558 he assisted the general commissioner of the Inquisition (*socius commissarii Sancti Officii*), the above-mentioned Tommaso Scotti. Serafino Cavalli was wounded in the uprising of the Roman people on August 18, 1559.

לנפשך פן יאונה נזק או מכשול מן המון העם הזה אשר יבוזו את החצר וישרפוה. ואפן ואצא ובצאתי משער החצר פגעתני את המון העם הרב אשר היו שוללים את החצר. ומביאים האש והעצים ויציתו את הבירה ההיא וכל הספרים והמכתבים אשר היו בתוכה. והנה בזה מר לי כי בעוה"ר נשרפו שם ספרים רבים מספרי הקודש 5 אשר הסירו כבר מיד היהודים אשר ברומא והניחום שם במשמר מלא חדר א' ועוד באמצע החקירה ואז נשרפו כולם גם כי נשרף הבית כולו את עציו ואת אבניו ואת כל אשר בתוכו בו' בשבת ט"ו אלול שי"ט בשעה ששית ביום שהיא שעה י"ח. באותה שעה הוצית הבירה ותוקד בה אש כל היום ההוא עד הערב ומבעוד לילה והאש 10 היה מגיע עד לב השמים. והיינו כולם מתייראים מפני האש הגדול ההוא שהיה הולך ובוער עד מרחוק. ואנחנו הששה היהודים אשר היינו חבושים שם יצאנו חפשים למען חסדי האל כי רחם ה' עלינו למען שמו ית' וית'. ונלך א' א' לנוח בבית אכסניא בית אשה אלמנה ונמצא שם כולנו יחד כי מזרה ישראל קבצנו. ויבואו אז שם כל 15 אוהבינו ומיודעי מגליל למקרה אשר היו ברומא וגם מתושבי רומא וישמחו אותנו שמחה גדולה ונודה לאל אשר גאלנו בשירות ותשבחות. ואחרי אשר נחנו בבית מעט ונצא לשוט ולטייל בארץ ונלך עד חצר קמפיטוליו לראות את תמונת האפיפיור כי סופר לנו נשחתה. ונראה בעינינו את קולנו ונשב לבית המלון לעת הכנסת 20 שבת. וקדש עלינו היום בשמחה גדולה מנוחה ושמחה ליהודים בטובה כפולה מעבדות לחרות כליל שמורים הוא לה'. והעם אשר שרפו את הבירה מהחקירה שבו איש לביתו. ויוודע הדברים האלה בחצר האפיפיור והוא עודנו חי עד השעה העשירית ביום כי לכ"א שעות ומחצה יצא רוחו וישב לאדמתו והבירה הוצתה ליי"ח שעות. 25 ויפקדו שרי הפלכים אשר ברומא הקרואים קאפו ריאוני לשמור הדרכים כנהוג ותשקוט הארץ בלילה ההוא.

away, lest damage or an obstacle set by this crowd prevent [your escape] when they come to loot the court and burn it.”

I turned and left, and when I came through the gate of the courtyard, I met the great crowd damaging the court. They brought wood and set fire to the building, and all the books and letters which were inside it. I was upset because of this; I felt upset, for because of our great sins, many books that were burned there were sacred books which had been taken from the hands of the Jews in Rome and left there in the prison in a room full [of books], and in the middle of the [Palace of] the Inquisition, everything was burned, because the whole palace was burned: its trees, its statues, and everything that was inside it, on Shabbat 15th of Elul [5]319 [August 18, 1559] in the sixth hour of the day, that is to say at the eighteen hour [in the afternoon]. The building was burned at that time, and the fire continued to burn all day long until the evening, and before the night, the fire had reached the sky. We were all afraid of the great fire, which was still burning from a distance. We, the six Jews who were imprisoned there, came out as free men thanks to the Mercy of God, because He had mercy on us, may His Name be praised and blessed forever. We all went to rest in an inn, a widow’s house, and we were all together there because we were all from the seed of Israel, and we were gathered there. Our friends and acquaintances from the Marca who were in Rome and the inhabitants of Rome also came there and rejoiced with us, and we praised God, who had saved us, with songs and praises. After we had rested in the house for a little while, we went out to wander and walk in the area; we went to the Court of Campidoglio to see the statue of the pope, because we were told it had been destroyed. We saw its disgrace with our own eyes and we came back to the inn to celebrate the Shabbat. That day, [God] sanctified us with great joy, rest, and happiness for the Jews and a double gratitude for the Jews, from slavery to freedom as in the night of Passover, which is for God.²¹⁰ The people who burned the building of the Inquisition returned, each person to his own home. The court of the pope found out these things, and he [the pope] who was still alive until the tenth hour of that day,²¹¹ because at 9.30 p.m. his spirit passed away and returned to earth, and the building had been burning from 6 p.m. That night, the ministers of the regions of the city of Rome, who were called *caporioni*, ordered the streets to be supervised as usual, and the city fell silent on that night.

²¹⁰ Cf. Exodus 12:42.

²¹¹ It corresponds to 4 p.m.

ויהי ממחרת יום ש"ק י"ו לירח אלול י"ט אגוסטו ויוועדו יחד עוד ראשי העם בחצר קאמפיטוליו להתועץ על צרכי המדינה וישבו לבזות את תמונת האפיפיור. ויכרתו את ראשו ואת זרועו השמאלי וישלכו את ראשו בעד החלון אל רחוב קאמפיטוליו. ויתעללו בו התינוקות ויגררוהו בשווקים וברחובות עד פלך הנקרא פיליגרינו 5 רחוק מקאמפיטוליו כמו מיל וחצי. והיועצים אשר נאספו ביום ההוא לבית הוועד גזרו אומר למחות ולהשחית ולהשמיד את ציון חותם האפיפיור פאוולו רביעי מן הבתים ומן החצרות מהשווקים ומהרחובות ומכל המקומות אשר היה מצויר או חקוק שם בכותל או באבן משכית לקיים מה שנא' מזה אמחה את זכר עמלק. וכן 10 כתבו הכרזות בדפוס והדביקום ברחובות בכל פינות העיר למחות את ציון רושם חותם בית קאראפה מכל הבתים בקנס ועונש גמור לכל המסרב לקרותו סרבן ומורד לממשלת רומא וביתו ישרף באש ושללו לבזו. וכן עשו כל עם הארץ ביום ההוא וממחרת לא נשאר רושם ציון בית קאראפה בשום מקום ברומא לא בנגלה ולא 15 בנסתר. ביום ההוא יום ש"ק אחר אכילת הבקר ונלך עד חצר ס' פייטרו אשר שם כסא האפיפיורות ונראה שם פאוולו הרביעי צורר היהודים מת כפגר מובס מוטל בעריסה על הארץ. ואבוקות דולקות מראשותיו ומרגלותיו ושם שני אנשים אשר היו משרתיו מלפנים שומרים את נבלתו. אפס כי לא עשו כבוד במותו כחק שאר 20 האפיפיורים שנוהגים לבוא כל עם הארץ לנשק רגליו ג' ימים רצופים אנשי שם עומדים עליו לשומרו כל היום וכל הלילה אח"כ קוברים אותו בכבוד גדול פוניראלי סופירביסימו. אשר לא כן עשו לכלב המת פאוולו רביעי הזה שחיק טמיא יען כי אמרו עם הארץ להשליך נבלתו לנהר טיברו. אשר על כן קרוביו קברוהו ליל מוצאי 25 ש"ק באישון לילה ואפילה בסתר פן יעכבו עליהם עם הארץ. הלא זה הוא סוף קץ ימי חיי פאוולו רביעי הרשע אשר הצר לישראל. ולא כמות כל אדם מת ופקודת כל האפיפיורים לא נפקד עליו

The next day, which was Shabbat, the 16th of the month of Elul, August 19, the leaders of the people gathered together again in the Court of Campidoglio to discuss the needs of the country, and they returned to dishonour the statue of the pope. They cut its head and left arm and threw the head out of a window onto the street of the Campidoglio. Toddlers abused it, dragging it into the markets and streets as far as the region called *Pellegrino*,²¹² about a mile and half's distance from the Campidoglio. The counsellors who were gathered in the council on that day ordered the coat of arms of Pope Paul IV to be erased and removed from the houses, courtyards, markets, streets, and from all other places where it was drawn or engraved, [whether on] walls or fine stone, so as to fulfil what is written: *For I will utterly blot out the remembrance of Amalek.*²¹³ So they printed announcements and affixed them to the streets in every corner of the city, saying that the coat of arms of the Carafa family should be erased from all the houses, with a full fine and punishment for whoever refused to do so, declaring him an objector and a rebel against the government of Rome, and his house would be burned and his assets would be seized. And so all the people of Rome did so on that day and the day after; no coats of arms of the Carafa family remained anywhere in Rome, either openly or hidden. After breakfast on that day, which was Shabbat, we walked to the Court of S. Pietro where the pope's throne is, and we saw Paul IV, the oppressor of the Jews, there, his carcass defeated and cast in a cradle on the soil. There were lit torches next to his head and feet and two men who had been his servants [were before him] guarding his carcass. However, they did not honour his death in accordance with the law [as they had done] for other popes, when people came to kiss their feet for three days in a row and watched over them there all day and all night and then buried them with great honour [with a] *funerale superbissimo*.²¹⁴ They did not do so for this impure-hearted dead dog Paul IV, because the people wanted to throw his carcass in the Tiber River. For this reason, his relatives buried him after Shabbat had ended in the middle of the night in the dark and in secret, lest the people delay them. This was the end of the lifetime of Paul IV, the evil man who persecuted the Jews. He did not die as other men, and the [traditional] arrangements [regarding the burial of a pope] were not

²¹² Close to Campo de' Fiori (in Parione), distant 1,5 kilometres from the Capitoline Hill.

²¹³ Exodus 17:14.

²¹⁴ "Grand funeral".

למען דעת צדקות ה' ברוך דיין אמת והצדק כן יאבדו כל אויביך ה'.
והימים אשר מלך פאוולו רביעי ד' שנים ב' חדשים י"א ימים כי
בד' בסיון שט"ו הומלך ובט"ו באלול שי"ט מת. ונתקיים עליו ועל
ביתו סוף מזמור אל נקמות ה' וישב עליהם אונם וברעתם יצמיתם
5 וכו'. הרי כל משכיל יבין וידע כל המזמור הזה עליו ועל ביתו.
נאמר והנני מבאר איזה פסוקים ממנו בראשי פרקים עמך ה' ידכאו
על הענויים והצרות שהצרו לישראל אלמנה וגר יהרוגו על מיתת
הפורטוגיסי נאמר אשר מסרו עצמם על קדוש שם שמים ברבים
יש"ל. כסא הוות על כסא פאוולו רביעי נאמר יוצר עמל עלי חק על
10 חק גזרת הבולה שחקק נגד היהודים. נאמר יגודו על נפש צדיק ודם
נקי ירשיעו על היהודים שחבשו בבית האסירים על אותה הבולה
ועל עלילות אחרות כאשר עשו לנו היהודים מציויטאנובה אשר
הצרו לנו עד שקצנו בחיינו והגיענו עד שערי מות. ועלינו נאמר מי
יקום לי עם מרעים וכו' לולי ה' עזרתה לי כמעט שכנה דומה נפשי
15 ובסוף ויהי ה' לי למשגב ואלקי לצור מחסי וישב עליהם את אונם
וכו'. המשכיל יבין כי עוד חזון למועד כאשר תמצא כתוב בסוף זה
הפרק השפלת כל קרובי פאוולו רביעי. לכו נרננה לה' נריעה לצור
ישענו נקדמה פניו בתודה בזמירות נריעה לו כי אל גדול ה' ומלך
גדול על כל אלקים. הרי ג' פסוקים אלה הם תודות ושבחות לגואל
20 ישראל כי לא

made for him, so that everyone would know the Justice of God, Blessed is the True Judge. So may all your enemies perish, Lord!²¹⁵

Paul IV reigned for four years, two months, and eleven days, since he was elected on the 4th of Siwan [5]315 [May 24, 1555] and died on the 15th of Elul [5]319 [August 18, 1559]. The psalm about the vengeance of God was fulfilled in him and his family: *And He had brought upon them their own iniquity, and will cut them off in their own evil.*²¹⁶ And every wise man understands and knows that this entire psalm [is said] about him and his household. And here some of the initial verses of it [the psalm] are explained: *They crushed your people, Lord,*²¹⁷ [referring to] the sufferings and tortures suffered by the Jews, and *they slayed the widow and the stranger,*²¹⁸ [referring to] the death of the Portuguese [Jews] who preserved themselves for the Sanctification of the Name, Blessed be He forever. *The seat of the wickedness*²¹⁹ [stands for] the throne of Paul IV, and it was said that *[a seat] which brings on misery by its decrees*²²⁰ [refers to] the issue of the bull against the Jews. It was said: *They gather themselves together against the soul of the righteous and condemn innocent blood,*²²¹ which [refers to] the Jews imprisoned because of the bull and other accusations, as they did to us, the Jews of Civitanova, tormenting us until [we were made] to feel sick of our lives and to approach the gates of death. And it was said about us: *Who will rise up for me against the evil-doers? [...] Unless the Lord had been my help, my soul soon dwelt in silence,*²²² and in the end *the Lord had been my high tower and my God the rock of my refuge and He had brought upon them their own iniquity.*²²³ The wise man *for there is yet prophecy for a set term,*²²⁴ as you will find the humiliation of all Paul IV's relatives at the end of this chapter. *Oh come, let us sing unto the Lord, let us shout for joy to the Rock of our salvation. Let us come before His presence with thanksgiving, let us shout for joy unto Him with psalms. For the Lord is a great God and a great King above all gods.*²²⁵ These three verses are thanksgiving and praises for the Saviour of Israel, because he did not

²¹⁵ Judges 5:31.

²¹⁶ Psalms 94:23.

²¹⁷ Psalms 94:5.

²¹⁸ Psalms 94:6.

²¹⁹ Psalms 94:20.

²²⁰ Psalms 94:20.

²²¹ Psalms 94:21.

²²² Psalms 94:16-17.

²²³ Psalms 94:22-23.

²²⁴ Habakkuk 2:3.

²²⁵ Psalms 95:1-3.

עזבנו בידי אויבינו אשר פדה ממות נפשנו. כאשר עשינו גם אנחנו בשבת ההיא בב"ה ברומא קמנו לקרוא בתורה ונברך לאלקינו בקול רנה וחוגג בפני קהל ועדה קדושה בציבור הגומל לחייבים טובות וקיימנו בעצמנו יודו לה' חסדו ונפלאותיו לבני אדם ועלינו לשבח לאדון הכל וכו' בכל שעה ורגע בימים ההם בזמן הזה. 5 ונכתוב זאת זכרון בספר למען לא נשכח ממנו ומזרעינו כל הימים לכבוד ולתפארת להגדיל ולהאדיר את שם אלקינו ית' וית' שמו לעד אמן נס"ו. ונשב ברומא אח"כ עד יום ב' בשבת י"ח אלול ובימים ההם ראינו בעינינו ובאזנינו שמענו אשר כמה פעמים אמרו וגמרו המון העם לקום על החשמן קאראפה להמיתו רק כי האדון 10 יוליאנו ציסארינו הגין עליו בכל כחו גם החשמן קאמירלינגו עמד בפרץ לפניו והשיב חמת האנשים לבל ישחיתו החשמן ההוא כי אצלם עון פלילי לשפוך דם החשמנים. אפס כי עצור נעצר בחצר ס' פייטרו וישמרו את הבית עליו לבלתי יצא מהחצר ההוא או 15 מרומא עד עמדו לפני עדת החשמנים למשפט ולהשיב האשם או את הגזילה אשר גזל והעושק אשר עשק כל ימי היותו ממונה על משמרת האפיפורות כל ימי חיי דודו י"ש. ביום ההוא י"ח אלול הלכנו להראות פנים לפני החשמן אליסאנדרינו ומצאנו אותו והנה הוא יושב בחדר משכבו אונן ומתאבל על מיתת פאוולו רביעי רבו 20 ואוהבו. ונבקש מלפניו לכתוב בעדנו ולזכותנו ספר החתום מאתו אל המכלכל או אל השופט בצ'ויטאנובה למען יאמינו כי לא בחפזון יצאנו מרומא רק הלכנו לטיול רשות מאשר היה על משמרתנו למען נוכל לשוב לשבת בביתנו לבטח. ויכתוב ויחתום החשמן ככל אות נפשנו ונשתחזה לפניו ויפטור אותנו לשלום. ונלך 25 אח"כ להשתחות לפני

abandon us into the hands of our enemies and he redeemed us from the death of our souls. And we did the same on that Shabbat in the synagogue of Rome: we stood up to read the *Torah* and to bless our God with voices of joy and to celebrate the Blessing of Thanksgiving²²⁶ before the community and the holy council in public, and we fulfilled [the verse]: *Let them give thanks unto the Lord for His mercy and for His wonderful works to the children of men!*²²⁷ and the [prayer] “It is our duty to praise [God], the Master of all,”²²⁸ every hour and every moment during those days at that time. We wrote about it as a memoir in this book so that we will not be forgotten by Him, neither us nor our lineage for all time, to honour and glory, to raise and praise the Name of Our Lord. His Name will be praised forever and ever, amen! After that, we remained in Rome until the Monday [after] Shabbat 18th of Elul [August 21]; during those days, we saw with our own eyes and heard with our own ears many times from a great number of people that they had decided to take Cardinal Carafa in order to kill him, but lord Giuliano Cesarini had protected him with all his strength, and also Cardinal *camerlengo* had prevented a disaster and replied angrily to the people that they should not destroy the cardinal because it was a crime to spill the blood of cardinals. However, he [Cardinal Carafa] was arrested in the Court of S. Pietro and he was supervised in the house so that he could not leave the court or Rome until he stood before the council of cardinals on trial and to be charged for his crimes, the goods he took and the abuses he committed during his days of being in charge of the custody of the papacy during the lifetime of his uncle, may his name be blotted out!

That day, [which was] the 18th of Elul [August 21], we went to meet Cardinal Alessandrino, and we found him sitting in a room on the papal throne, weeping and mourning the death of Paul IV, his master and his beloved. We asked him to write a signed document in our favour and for our rights, [addressed] to the governor or to the judge of Civitanova so that they would believe that we were not leaving Rome hastily, but that we were leaving with the permission of he who had had us in custody so that we could return to dwell safely in our houses. The Cardinal wrote and signed it as we wished, and we bowed before him and he dismissed us in peace. Then we bowed before

²²⁶ *Birkat ha-Gomel* is a thanksgiving blessing recited for one’s deliverance from a life-threatening situation like the recovery from a serious illness or the release from prison.

²²⁷ Psalms 107:8.

²²⁸ In Hebrew, *Aleinu le-shabeaḥ la’Adon ha-kol*. It is the prayer recited at the end of each of the three daily Jewish services.

האדון יוליאנו ציסארינו שרו של צ'יוויטאנובה ויקבלנו בסתר פנים
יפות וידבר על לבנו דברי חן וחסד ורחמים ויאמר לנו לכו לשלום
לבתיכם. כבואכם העירה תמצאו שם בצ'יוויטאנובה הקומיסארי
שליחי אשר שלחתי ללכוד את חזקת העיר ההיא. והוא יהיה לכם
לעזר ולהועיל גם הוא יבשר את בני בתיכם מהצרות אשר ניתן
5 לכם בטרם תבואו אליהם. ובשלישי בשבת שהוא י"ט אלול שמנו
מגמת פנינו לשוב ונסע ובאנו לבתינו בששי בשבת כ"ב אלול
ש"י"ט. ויראו אותנו צוררי ישראל ויתמהו האנשים מאד ויתעצבו
אל לבם ואוהבי היהודים ששו אותנו משוש ויאמרו גם המה כתבו
10 לכם היום הזה לזכרון והודו לה' כי טוב כל"ח. בימים ההם אותו
משה המכונה פפארדילא כבר היה בדרך לבוא לרומא אסור בזיקים
כאשר כתבנו למעלה בפ' ז'. וביום אשר מת האפיפיור פגע בדרך
ארחת אנשים מזויינים אשר היו באים לרומא כי שמעו מיתת
האפיפיור. ויתירו אותו ממאסרו עם האסירים האחרים שהיו באים
15 אתו ויכו את השומרים הנוהגים אותו הכה ופצוע ויפטורו. וילכו
איש לדרכו וילך משה אל ארצות הדוכוס מאורבינו והנו גר פיסארו
עד היום הזה. ויהי אחרי הדברים האלה ויבואו החשמנים מכל
מקומות מושבותיהם אל רומא ויועדו בבית הוודע שלהם הקראוי
בלשונם קונקלאויו למען הקים עליהם אפיפיור אחר כאשר תצא
20 הסכמה ביניהם. ויהי שם ימים רבים כי לא הסכימה דעת כולם כא'
והיו מתחלקים לשלש כתות זה בורר לו א' וזה בורר לו א'. וישבו
כן עד החדש העשירי הוא חדש טבת הנקרא בלשונם דיצימברי
וביום כ"ו דיצימברי הקימו עליהם אפיפיור את החשמן מידיקיננו

lord Giuliano Cesarini, minister of Civitanova, and he received us warmly; he spoke words of grace and mercy to our hearts, saying to us: “Go in peace to your houses. When you will arrive in Civitanova, you will find a *commissario*²²⁹ there, my messenger whom I sent to take control of the city. He will be helpful and useful to you and he will also inform your families of the torture they performed on you before you return to them.” On Tuesday, which was the 19th Elul [August 22], we decided to return; we journeyed and we arrived at our homes on Friday 22th of Elul [5]319 [August 25, 1559]. The oppressors of the Jews saw us; the people were very astonished and sorry in their hearts, and those who loved the Jews rejoiced with us and said: “Also these words were written for you: *This day shall be unto you for a memorial*²³⁰ and *Give thanks to the Lord for He is good. His mercy endures forever.*”²³¹ During those days, Moses “Pappardella” was on his way to Rome chained in handcuffs, as we wrote above in chapter seven.

On the day of the pope’s death, he [Moses “Pappardella”] met a group of armed people on the street who were going to Rome because they had heard about the pope’s death. They freed him and the other prisoners who were with him, and they attacked the guards who led them: they beat, struck, and injured them. They dismissed him and each and every one of them went on his own way. Moses went to the lands of the duke of Urbino, and he still lives in Pesaro today.

After those events, the cardinals came to Rome from all the places where they resided and gathered in their council, called *conclave* in their language, in order to elect another pope above them when an agreement had been reached between them. They were there for many days, because they did not unanimously agree; they were divided into three groups, and each group selected a candidate. So they remained there until the tenth month, which was the month of Tevet, called *Dicembre*²³² in their language, and on the 26th December, they elected Cardinal Me[d]ichino²³³ as pope above them, who

²²⁹ “Commissioner”.

²³⁰ Exodus 12:5.

²³¹ Psalms 136:1.

²³² “December”.

²³³ Giovanni Angelo Medici di Marignano (1499-1565), Archbishop of Ragusa and cardinal, he was protected by Paul III. He was aversed by Paul IV because he sympathized with the Spanish faction during the war. He was elected pope with the name of Pius IV on December 26, 1559 after one of the longest *conclaves* in the history of the Catholic Church (which lasted four months).

ויסב את שמו פיאו רביעי פתרון פיאו רחמן. וישמחו כל העם על
מלכותו כי אמר לשוב ולרחם כל עמי הארץ ולהניחם מעליהם מן
העבודה הקשה אשר עובד בהם. ולנחם אותם מהעצבון והטרדות
אשר טירדם פאוולו רביעי גם אמר לרחם על פליטת ישראל
5 הנאנחים והנאקים מקוצר רוח ומעבודה קשה אשר עבדו בהם
בפרך פאוולו וכל הסרים אל משמעתו. ויצעקו בני ישראל לפני
האפיפיור פיאו יר"ה וינחם אותם וידבר על לבם לאמר גם אתם
תחיינו בהשקט תחת מלכותי. והנה היהודים מקוים ממנו בטול גזרות
הבולה ולרפאות ולגדור פרצות בישראל כי ימצאו חן בעיני
10 האפיפיור פיאו יר"ה. והנה כבר נתן להם רשות לשאת הכובעים
השחורים בדרך כי לא היה כן בימי פאוולו גם זה אות לטובה
מחמלתו עלינו. הן אמת כי עד הנה לא שבנו אל המנוחה והזמן
הולך וסוער עלינו כספנו וזהבנו בידי בעלי ריבינו ואנחנו נקיים
מנכסינו ושני הבצורת באו רעה כבד בארץ. בשנת א' לפיאו
15 האפיפיור יר"ה העיר ה' את רוחו למשפט כמנהג המלכים בעת
בואם למלכות לחקור ולתור ולדרוש במעשה החשמן קאראפה
ואחיו וקרוביו את אשר כבר עשו בחיי פאוולו האפיפיור דודם
אשר הלכו בשרירות לבם הרע ויעשו הרע בעיני אלקים ואדם.
ועתה קמו נגדם אנשי שם מגדולי הדור דוכוס ואפרכוס. ויהיו
20 דבריהם עם האפיפיור יר"ה להעמידם בדין על כל מעשיהם הרעים
ויקבו לו בשם החשמן קאראפה והדוכוס די פאליאנו אשר היו שמם
מלפנים קונטי די מונטוריא ודון אנטוניו אחיו אשר הסב את שמו

changed his name to Pius IV, *patron*²³⁴ Pio the merciful. All the people rejoiced at his pontificate, because he declared that he would restore mercy to all the people in the country and allow them to rest from the heavy travails that they had been suffering and console them of the sorrow and troubles that Paul IV had caused them. He also said he would have mercy on the remainder of the Jews who were sighing and moaning for shortness of breath and for the heavy travails that [Pope] Paul and all the men obeying him had caused them.

The Jews joyfully shouted at Pope Pius – may his glory be exalted – and he comforted them and spoke to their hearts, saying: “Also, you will live in peace under my pontificate.” And here the Jews hoped that he [would cause] the annulment of the bull’s laws and heal and restore the wrongdoings [that had occurred to the Jewish people], because they were liked and had found in grace in the eyes of Pope Pius [IV], may his glory be exalted. He gave them permission to wear black hats in the streets, for this had not been [allowed] during the time of Paul [IV]; this was also a sign of his compassion on us. This is true because until then we had had no rest: time was passing by, our money and gold were in the hands of our creditors, and we were stripped of our assets, and moreover a severe drought had come upon the land.²³⁵

During the first year of Pope Pius [IV] – may his glory be exalted – God awakened his spirit to judge – as was the custom of the kings when they came to the reign –, to inquire and investigate the actions of Cardinal Carafa, his brothers, his relatives, and all that they had done in the past [according to] the arbitrariness of their evil hearts during the life of Pope Paul [IV], their uncle, [doing] evil in the eyes of God and man.

Some important men of the time rose up against them: people with great names who were important in that generation, commanders and governors. They asked the pope – may his glory be exalted – to place them on trial [to pass sentence] on their evil actions, and they named Cardinal Carafa and the Duke of Paliano, who was previously known as the Count of Montorio, and his brother, Don Antonio,²³⁶ who became the

²³⁴ Title used with several meanings; in this case, it might be translated as “protector”, “defender”.

²³⁵ Sonne: כבד מאד, instead of כבד בארץ. It seems that Italy was hit by a drought between May and November 1559, followed the year later by a famine.

²³⁶ Antonio Carafa (?-1588), son of Giovanni Alfonso Carafa, Paul IV’s brother. When his uncle became pope in 1555, he was appointed captain general of the Church and in 1556 he obtained the title of

מרקסי דא מונטיבילו והחשמן דא נאפולי בנו של מרקסי הזה
ומאטיאו סטאנדארדו נכדם הם וסופריהם ושוטריהם ומשרתיהם.
ויצו האפיפיור ויתפשו את החשמן קאראפה והדוכוס די פאליאנו
והקונטי דאליפה גיסו של הדוכוס והחשמן די נאפולי ומקצת
5 שוטריהם ושמשיהם ויאספו אותם אל משמר והאחרים נסו לקולם
וילכו איש לדרכו. בהחבא והארורים האלה היו ימים במשמר
ויפקוד עליהם האפיפיור ד' חשמנים חכמים נבונים וידועים וישרים
לחקור עדותם ולעיין בדינם. ויחקרו עדותם החשמנים השופטים
האלה הדק היטב ימים רבים ויכתבו הפרוצ'יסו והוא ספר זכרון
10 מעשיהם המקולקלים עם עדות מכוון ומקויים. ויהי היום יום ש"ק
י"ג אדר שהוא יום ראשון לחדש מרצו ויאסוף האפיפיור עדת
החשמנים לעשות קונצ'יסטוריא הוא הוועד הכללי ויצו להביא
הפרוצ'יסו ההוא לפנייהם עם חקירת העדים. ויהיו נקראים לפני
האפיפיור והחשמנים ונאשו ונתנו בדין מן הצהרים עד צאת
15 הכוכבים. ויקרא האפיפיור לסופר ויכתוב את גזר דינם בכתב
מפורש סגור וחתום וארכא בחיין יהיב להון עד חדש מרצו. ביום
ההוא הוא רביעי בשבת י"ז אדר במצות האפיפיור יר"ה פתחו
פתשגן כתב הדת וימצא כתוב גזר דינם למיתה. ויצאו שליחי ב"ד
ויבואו בקאסטיל ס' אנגילו הוא הכרך הגדול שברומא מקום אשר
20 הם אסורים שם וימצאו החשמן קאראפה ישן על מטתו.

Marquise of Montebello, and the Cardinal of Naples,²³⁷ son of the marquise, and Matteo Stendardo²³⁸ their nephew, [along with] their notaries, officers, and servants. The pope ordered Cardinal Carafa, the Duke of Paliano, and the Count of Alife,²³⁹ brother-in-law of the duke, the Cardinal of Naples, and few of their officers and servants to be captured, and they gathered them in prison. When they heard their shouts, other people they fled, and each and every one of them went to hide in his own hiding place.

Those cursed were in prison for some time, and the pope appointed four cardinals, [who were] wise men, well-known and righteous, to investigate their testimony and look into their sentencing. The judges investigated the cardinals' testimonies meticulously for several days and wrote the *processo*,²⁴⁰ a book as a memorial of their wicked actions, [based on] this testimony.

On Shabbat 13th of Adar [5321], which was the first day of the month of *Marzo*²⁴¹ [1561], the pope gathered the group of cardinals to make a *concistoro*,²⁴² a general council, and ordered the *processo* to be brought with the investigation of the witnesses. They were called [to appear] before the pope, and they and the cardinals negotiated their trial from the afternoon until there were stars [in the sky]. The pope called the notary, who wrote their sentence in an explicit closed and signed letter; their lives were prolonged until the month of March.

On that day, which was Wednesday 17th of Adar [March 5],²⁴³ for fulfilling the order of the pope – may his glory be exalted – they opened the letter and found the sentence of death that was written in it. The messengers of the court went out and arrived at Castel Sant'Angelo, which was a large region in Rome; this was the place where the prisoners were kept, and they found Cardinal Carafa there sleeping in his bed.

Marquise of Montebello. When Pius IV ordered to arrest him, he was not prisoned because he was in Naples.

²³⁷ Alfonso Carafa (1540-65), son of Antonio Carafa, Paul IV's nephew. He grew up at the papal court and elected cardinal at the age of seventeen by his granduncle in 1557. He was also exceptionally admitted to the Inquisition meetings, which were restricted to elder cardinals. After Pius IV's election, he was arrested and then pardoned. He became bishop of Naples in 1562 where he died three years later at the age of twenty-five.

²³⁸ Matteo Stendardo was a relative of the Carafas.

²³⁹ Ferrante Diaz-Garlon d'Alife, brother of Violante, Giovanni Carafa's wife.

²⁴⁰ "Trial".

²⁴¹ "March".

²⁴² "Consistory".

²⁴³ The manuscript bears *בשבת י"ג אדר* (Shabbat 14th of Adar) which corresponds to Sunday March 2. According to the sources of the time, the Carafas nephews were justiced on the night of March 5, so the date must be changed with Shabbat 17th of Adar which, according to the Jewish account of the day, from the onset of night until after the sunset of the following day, corresponds to the night of March 5.

ויקיצו אותו משנתו ויראו לו את גזר דינו לרעה נכתב ונחתום
לאלתר למיתה וימיתוהו בחנק בלילה ההוא הוא ליל ה' בחצות
הלילה. והנה מת בעונו כי הגדיל לעשות מעשים אשר לא יעשו ענה
בתולות גזל גזלות לרבים ותועבות אחרות עשה. במרד ובמעל תן
5 להם גמול ה' כמעשה ידיהם ויד ה' נגעה בו במידה שמדד ליהודים
הפורטוגיסי אשר המיתם בחנק וגוייתם שרף באש באותה מידה
מדדו לו דנו אל יושב סתר ולא זכה לקבורה הדורה כי לא נראה
גוייתו ולא נודע בברור מקום קבורתו. וילכו אח"כ שליחי ב"ד אל
מאסר טורה די נונה ויוציאו להרג הדוכוס די פאליאנו והקונטי
10 דאליפה גיסו ודון ליאונארדו סופר הדוכוס. ויכרתו את ראשם
בסייף על אשר עשו גם המה הרע בעיני ה' ועם ואנשים ועל אשר
המיתו אשת הדוכוס בזדון לבם ולה אין משפט מות רק שמו לה
עלילות דברים וימיתוהו על לא חמס בכפה כי גלתה מעשיהם
הרעים ומקולקלים אשר המה עושים וע"כ על אודות הנקי אשר
15 שפכו כי עלתה צעקתה לשמים ועל יתר דבריהם המקולקלים אשר
עשו התיזו את ראשם בעוד לילה. ובבוקר השכם הוציאו את
נבלתם אל רחוב העיר מקום הנקרא פונטי וישכיבו גופותיהם
וראשיהם קצוצים בצידם שם פונטי מהבוקר ועד הצהרים ויקברום.
והחשמן דא נאפולי בנו של המרקיסו ענשו אותו מאה אלף סקודי
20 זהב להשיב אל גנזי החדר תחת אשר עשה ולא דנו אותו למיתה כי
חמלו על ילדותו אולי ישוב למוטב וכי עדת החשמנים בקשו עליו
רחמים מלפני האפיפיור. ויעתר להם

They awoke him from his sleep and showed him the sentence they had issued, which was written and sealed, [ordering them] to kill him immediately by strangling him that night, which was the night before Thursday, at midnight. And then he died for his sins, because he had performed actions which are not to be performed: he tortured virgins, stole many goods, and performed other shameful deeds through crime and speculation. *Pay them [according to their deeds, their malicious acts;] according to their handiwork pay them, give them their deserts.*²⁴⁴ The hand of God took him in the measure with which he [the Cardinal] had measured the Portuguese [Jews], strangling [them] to death and burning their bodies in fire; in turn, they measured him [the same way]. They judged him [while he was trying to hide himself], and he was not given a honourable burial, because his body was not seen and his burial place was not clearly known.

After that, the messengers of the court of the prison of Tor di Nona executed the Duke of Paliano and the Count of Alife, his brother-in-law, and Don Leonardo, the duke's notary.²⁴⁵ They cut off their heads with a sword because they had also done wicked deeds in the eyes of God, the nation, and the people, and for maliciously killing the wife of the duke,²⁴⁶ for she was not condemned to death, but was falsely accused of several things, and they killed her although she was innocent. [She was killed] because she had disclosed the wicked and evil things they had done, and this is why her screams were heard in heaven, for they spilled clean [blood] and for the other bad deeds they had done; their heads were cut off that night.

Early in the morning, they put the corpses into the streets of the city in a place called *Ponte*, and they laid their corpses and their severed heads by their sides there in *Ponte* from the morning until the afternoon, and then they buried them.

They punished the Cardinal of Naples, son of the Marquise, [by making him pay] 100,000 gold *scudi* to the treasury of the [Apostolic] Chamber for what he had done, and they did not condemn him to death, because they had mercy on his young age, [thinking that] perhaps he would return to the right path, and because the council of cardinals had asked the pope for mercy upon him. The pope agreed to their request to

²⁴⁴ Psalms 28:4.

²⁴⁵ Leonardo di Cardine.

²⁴⁶ Violante Diaz-Garlon, wife of Giovanni Carafa, was accused of adultery by a maid, and after her lover, Marcello Capece admitted their liaison under torture, he was killed by Giovanni. At first, the woman was spared because pregnant, but the family (especially Carlo Carafa) pushed for justice so Giovanni allowed Violante's brother, Ferrante, and Leonardo di Cardine to kill her on the night of August 28, 1559 and bury her in the church of Gallese.

להוציא ממסגר נפשו רק גזר עליו לבל יצא מפתח ביתו עד זמן
ועידן הרי זה חלק שוסינו וכו'. ברוך דיין האמת והצדק אשר דן את
דיננו ונקם את נקמתנו. וכמעט שתו כוס תנחומים היהודים
האומללים והמדוכאים אשר נשארו עניים ומרודים בעירום ובחוסר
5 כל מפני הגזרות הקשות והרעות אשר גזרו עליהם האנשים
החטאים האלה בנפשותם נפש רשעים זרע מרעים קשר רשעים
ופאוולו האפיפיור דודם ארורים הרשעים. מי שפרע מן הראשונים
הוא יפרע ויכחיד וישמיד את האחרונים אמן. אפס כי עדיין לא
נרפא שברם ולא נגדר פרצות בישראל כי העם לא שב עד המכהו
10 מקוה ישראל מושיעו בעת צרה וממנו יושע ולישועת ה' קוינו כי
ידין ה' את עמו ועל עבדיו יתנחם ישיב נקם לצריו כי יראה כי
אזלת יד ואפס עצור ועזוב כי לא יעזוב ה' את עמו בעבור שמו
הגדול כי הואיל ה' לעשות את עמו ונחלתו ועדת סגולתו כי ירחם
עלינו להשיב את שבותנו לקבץ נפוצותינו בביאת משיח צדקנו
15 במהרה בימינו אכ"ר.

חתימה

אמר המחבר בסוף דבריו בספור הצרות שעברו עלינו עד יבא קץ
גלותנו ויאסוף את פזורנו וישוב ויגיל וישמח עלינו לטוב בביאת
20 משיחנו במהרה בימינו.

take him out of prison, and only sentenced him not to leave the threshold of his house for such and such a time. *Such is the lot of our despoilers.*²⁴⁷

Blessed be the True Judge who judged our judgment and avenged our vengeance! The miserable and depressed Jews – they had almost drunk the cup of consolation²⁴⁸ – remained poor and wretched in their nakedness and lack of possessions because of the heavy and evil rules [of the bull] issued against them by those sinful-hearted men, whose souls were evil, *confederacy of the wicked men*,²⁴⁹ and seed of evilness. These men [include] Pope Paul IV, their uncle, those accursed evil-doers!

He who enacts vengeance from the first [evil doers] will enact vengeance and extinction and will obliterate the last [evil doers],²⁵⁰ amen! However, the crack is not yet healed and the breach is not restored in Israel, *for the people has not turned back to Him who struck it.*²⁵¹ *O Hope of Israel, Its deliverer in time of trouble,*²⁵² they [Israel] *shall be delivered from it,*²⁵³ *for the Lord will vindicate His people and take revenge for His servants,*²⁵⁴ *and wreak vengeance on His foes*²⁵⁵ *when He sees that their might is gone, and neither bound nor free is left,*²⁵⁶ because God did not abandon His people *for the sake of His great, the Lord will never abandon His people, seeing that the Lord undertook to make you His people.*²⁵⁷ He shall make His people His own preferred community, because He will have mercy upon us to restore us and gather us when the Messiah, our righteous one, comes, may it come speedily in our days, amen!

[Epilogue]

[This is what] the Author said at the end of his writing about the sufferings that happened to us before the time of our redemption; He will gather our remainder and He will make us rejoice with the swift coming of our Messiah in our days.

²⁴⁷ Isaiah 17:14.

²⁴⁸ Cf. Jeremiah 16:7.

²⁴⁹ BT, *Sanhedrin* 26a.

²⁵⁰ Cf. *Midrash Tanhuma, Parashat Bo*.

²⁵¹ Isaiah 9:12.

²⁵² Jeremiah 14:8.

²⁵³ Jeremiah 30:7.

²⁵⁴ Deuteronomy 32:36.

²⁵⁵ Deuteronomy 32:43.

²⁵⁶ Deuteronomy 32:36.

²⁵⁷ 1 Samuel 12:22.

כתוב בתורה בצר לך ומצאוך כל הדברים האלה באחרית הימים
ושבת וכו' במשמעות הכתוב הזה שנתקיים בנו כל הפסוקים כך
יתקיים עלינו כל הנחמות שנת נבאו נביאינו לטובה עלינו ויבא מהר
לגאלנו ולפדותנו. נראה כי בסוף הגלות המר והנמהר הזה הוא
5 אחרית הימים יתחדשו צרות ושעבוד מלכיות וכבוד הגלות ככל
אלות הברית הכתובות בספר התורה כאשר שמענו ונדעם כי
אבותינו סיפרו לנו פועל פעל ה' בימיהם ובימינו. בזמן הזה
בהתחדש ובהתעורר שמדות וגלות על גלות החיל הזה אשר כנענים
עד צרפת וגלות ירושלים אשר בספרד וגלות היהודים אשר
10 בפורטוגאלו. בשלשתם לקו בנוע ונד כאשר ינוד הקנה במים. ומה
גם עתה בדור הזה גילינו ממלכות נאפולי ויהי כי באנו תחת
ממשלת האפיפיור יגענו ולא הונח לנו לקינו בכפלים ונטלו ממונינו
במסים וארנונות. ובימי פאוולו הרביעי נוספה עלינו צרת השעבוד
ונתקיימו בנו מכה של תוכחות בעלות על צוארינו עול חוקות
15 הבולה כגון בית תבנה וכו' כרם תטע ולא תחללנו כי בתינו אשר
בנינו וכרמינו הטובים אשר נטענו ושדה אחוזתינו אשר נחלונו
מאבותינו לקחו מידינו. שורך טבוח וכו' כי באסרם עלינו מעשות
אריסות עם הגויים ושדה מגרש אין לנו הרי אבדה מקנינו הבקר
והצאן נתונות לאויבינו. בניך ובנותיך נתונים וכו' אלו הבנים
והבנות אשר יצאו מכלל דתנו ושבו לדת גויי הארץ אשר הם דרים
20 בה. ועינינו רואות וכלות אליהם בעוה"ר כי זה קשה מכולם כי
אבדה נפש יען כי אבדת ממון לא נחשב למאומה לגבי הנפש.

In the *Torah* it is written: *When you are in distress because all these things have befallen you, and, in the end, return to the Lord your God,*²⁵⁸ and these written things are fulfilled and all these verses will be fulfilled for us, all the consolations which our prophets prophesized for our good, and He will come speedily for our salvation and redemption. He will appear at the end of this bitter and hasty exile in the later days; torments will be renewed and the slavery of the monarchy and the burden of the load of exile according to all the curses of the covenant that are written in the *Torah*, *things we have heard and known, that our fathers have told us,*²⁵⁹ *The deeds you performed in their days*²⁶⁰ and in our days. During this time, persecutions were renewed: *And the captivity of this host of the children of Israel, that are among the Canaanites, even unto Zarephath, and the captivity of Jerusalem, that is in Sepharad,*²⁶¹ and the captivity of the Jews in Portugal. In those three exiles, they had to move and wander just as a stem moves in the water. And also in this generation, we were expelled from the Kingdom of Naples, and we came under the rule of the pope, who exhausted us, and we were not left alone: we received a double punishment, and they took our assets through taxes and rates. During the days of Paul IV, the tragedy of slavery was added, [among which there was the] injury of ownership on our necks [because of] the injustice of the laws [contained in] the bull: for instance, *if you build a house [...] if you plant a vineyard, you shall not harvest it,*²⁶² for the houses which we built and the good vineyards we planted, they took the land we had inherited from our fathers from our hands. *Your ox shall be slaughtered [before your eyes],*²⁶³ because they forbade us land tenancy with the Gentiles; we did not have fields, and our livestock was lost, the cattle and the flocks were given to our enemies. *Your sons and your daughters shall be delivered [to another people],*²⁶⁴ these are our sons and daughters who left our faith and came to that of the Gentiles of the land in which they dwelled. *And [our] eyes shall strain for them constantly*²⁶⁵ for our many punishments because – this is the hardest of all – a soul was lost: the loss of money counts as nothing [compared to the loss of] a soul.

²⁵⁸ Deuteronomy 4:30.

²⁵⁹ Psalms 78:3.

²⁶⁰ Psalms 44:2.

²⁶¹ Obadiah 1:20 (JPS, 1917 edition).

²⁶² Deuteronomy 28:30.

²⁶³ Deuteronomy 28:31.

²⁶⁴ Deuteronomy 28:32.

²⁶⁵ Deuteronomy 28:32.

פרי אדמתך וכל יגיעך וכו' אלו הקנסות והעונשים אשר פרענו
לשודדים קומיסאריו שבא עלינו מארץ מרחקים. הגר אשר בקרבך
וכו' זה נתקיים לנו לבלתי השתעבד בעבד או אמה מהגויים ושלא
יקראו ליהודים בשם אדנות ורבנות וכ"ש הנעלה. הוא ילווך וכו'
5 כמשמעו כי הוצרכנו ללוות מהם תחת אשר היו הם לווים ממנו.
ונשארתי במתי מעט וכו' כי רוב היהודים ושועיהם הלכו להם
מהגלילות האלה ומעט מזער אשר נשאר הנה הנם עניים ומרודים.
והפיצך ה' וכו' כי מאותם אשר הלכו לנפשם נתפזרו זעיר שם זער
שם עד לעבר לים. והיו חייך תלואים וכו' ופחדו לילה ויומם אלו
10 היהודים הנשארים בגלילות האלה אשר אינם מאמינים בחייהם
האומרים תמיד מתי אקום ומדד ערב שומר מה מלילה שומר מה
מליל מפחד לבבכם וממראה עיניכם. הרי רובם של תוכחות חזרו
ונשנו עלינו בדור הזה בימי מגורינו מעט ורעים מה לנו עוד
לעצבים כאלה. קומו ונקומה ונשובה עד אלקינו כי קרובה ישועתנו
15 לבא. כה הראנו ה' אלקינו בגאולת מצרים וימת מלך מצרים מצר
ישראל ויאנחו בני ישראל וכו'

[A people you do not know shall eat up] the produce of your soil and all your gains:²⁶⁶ [this stands for] the taxes and punishments that we paid off to the plunderers [and to] the *commissario* who came upon us from far away.

*The stranger in your midst [shall rise above you higher and higher, while you sink lower and lower]*²⁶⁷ refers [to the prohibition] of us having slaves or maids from the Gentiles and [to the prohibition] of calling Jews by names of lordship, authority, and all [other names aiming at their] exaltation.

*He shall be your creditor, [but you shall not be his]*²⁶⁸ means that we were required to borrow from them instead of them borrowing from us.

*You shall be left a scant few,*²⁶⁹ since many Jews and wealthy people [among them] left those regions, and only a small number [of them] remained, who were poor and miserable. *The Lord will scatter you [among all the peoples]*²⁷⁰ [means] that among those who escaped, they were dispersed a little here and a little there as far as the sea. *The life you face shall be precarious [you shall be in terror, night and day],*²⁷¹ [that is to say] the Jews who remained in those regions fearing for their lives and continuously saying: *When shall I rise? But the night is long.*²⁷² *Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?*²⁷³ [In the morning you shall say, “If only it were evening!” and in the evening you shall say, “If only it were morning!”] because of what your heart shall dread and your eyes shall see.²⁷⁴

Most of [these] things we had been warned about recurred over and over on us in this generation during the few and hard days of our destruction. How many other sorrowful [things] are [waiting] for us? *Up! Let us rise up*²⁷⁵ and return to our God, because our salvation is near at hand. Thus the Lord our God showed us through the escape from Egypt: *the King of Egypt died* – the enemy of Israel – and *the Israelites*

²⁶⁶ Deuteronomy 28:33.

²⁶⁷ Deuteronomy 28:43.

²⁶⁸ Deuteronomy 28:44.

²⁶⁹ Deuteronomy 28:62.

²⁷⁰ Deuteronomy 28:64.

²⁷¹ Deuteronomy 28:66.

²⁷² Job 7:4 (JPS, 1917 edition). The manuscript bears מדה הלילה instead of הערב.

²⁷³ Isaiah 21:11.

²⁷⁴ Deuteronomy 28:67.

²⁷⁵ Obadiah 1:1.

ותעל שועתם אל האלקים וישמע את נאקתם וכו'. וכבר אמרו רז"ל
גאולה העתידה כעין גאולת מצרים ומתוך צרה רווח כדאית' בפ'
חלק. א"ר יוחנן אם ראיתי דור שצרות רבות באות עליו חכה לו
שנ' כי יבא כנהר צר וכו' וכתוב בתריה ובא לציון גואל וכו' ועוד
5 כתיב ביחזקאל כטומאתם וכפשעיהם עשיתי אותם ואסתיר פני
מהם וסמיך ליה לכן כה אמר ה' עתה אשיב את שבות יעקב ורחמתי
את בני ישראל וכו'. ועוד כתיב בעמוס כי הגה אנכי מצוה והניעותי
בכל הגויים את בית ישראל כאשר ינוע בכברה ולא יפול צרור
ארצה וסמיך ליה ביום ההוא אקים את סוכת דור הנופלת וכו'
10 ובניתים כימי עולם וכו' ונטעתים על אדמתם ולא ינתשו עוד מעל
אדמתם אשר נתתי להם. אמר ה' י"ר שיהיה כן בעגלא ובזמן קריב
בעתה אחישנה אכי"ר תושלב"ע.

were groaning [...] and their cry for help [from the bondage rose] up to God. [God] heard their moaning.²⁷⁶

Our sages said that the future redemption is similar to the redemption from Egypt from trouble relief,²⁷⁷ as it is said in the *Pereq Heleq*.²⁷⁸ Rabbi Yoḥanan said: *When you see a generation overwhelmed by many troubles as by a river, await him, as it is written, when the enemy shall come in like a flood,*²⁷⁹ and it is written: *He shall come as redeemer to Zion,*²⁸⁰ and also Ezekiel wrote: *When I hid My face from them, I dealt with them according to their uncleanness and their transgressions,*²⁸¹ and afterwards: *Assuredly, thus said the Lord God: I will now restore the fortunes of Jacob and take the whole House of Israel back in love.*²⁸²

And also in Amos it is written: *For I will give the order and shake the House of Israel through all the nations as one shakes [sand] in a sieve, and not a pebble falls to the ground,*²⁸³ and later: *In that day I will set up again the fallen booth of David [...] I will build it firm as in the days of old,*²⁸⁴ and *I will plant them upon their soil, nevermore to be uprooted from the soil I have given them said the Lord your God.*²⁸⁵ May [He] speed it shortly in due time, amen! May it be God's Will! I have finished and completed, Praise the Lord, Creator of the Universe.

²⁷⁶ Exodus 2:23-24.

²⁷⁷ *Midrash Tehillim*, Psalm 22, ed. Solomon Buber (Vilna, 1891), 184.

²⁷⁸ *Pereq Heleq* corresponds to the eleventh chapter of the tractate *Sanhedrin* of Babylonian Talmud.

²⁷⁹ BT, *Sanhedrin* 98a; Isaiah 59:19.

²⁸⁰ Isaiah 59:20.

²⁸¹ Ezekiel 39:24.

²⁸² Ezekiel 39:25.

²⁸³ Amos 9:9.

²⁸⁴ Amos 9:11.

²⁸⁵ Amos 9:15.

Conclusion

As stressed by the French historian Arlette Farge:

The archival material form makes it harder to grasp. It is excessive and overwhelming, like a spring tide, an avalanche, or a flood. This comparison with natural and unpredictable forces is not arbitrary. When working in the archive you will often find yourself thinking of this exploration as a dive, a submersion, perhaps even a drowning.¹

Searching in archives is exactly like being in a *mare magnum* of ink and papers, still more so of people and voices. Despite being difficult, for the historian, the selection of sources sometimes represents his or her only life jacket. After a little floating, a little swimming between hypotheses, considerations, and future research perspectives, it is then possible to reach the landing place called the “conclusion.”

Although with several limitations, the closer investigation of selected archival sources and the translation into English and analysis of the Hebrew *Chronicle of Pope Paul IV, Known as the Theatine* by Benjamin Nehemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche have allowed me not only to shed some light on aspects which have been unclear up until now, but also to open up new unexpected scenarios. The portrait that emerges from the reconstruction of the Jewish experience in sixteenth-century Civitanova is that of a well-established group, playing an important role in the dense networks of social and economic relations, exchanges, and interactions within the broader framework of the majority Christian society. This is also confirmed by the chronicler, who wrote – as much as possible – an impartial account of the events that happened during Paul IV’s pontificate, which was harsh both for Christians and non-Christians. Outside of the actions of neophytes and other anti-Jewish slanderers mentioned in the text, the Christian population seems to have been particularly benevolent towards the Jews. Several times, Benjamin devotes passages of his chronicle to remembering episodes of clemency and friendship demonstrated by Christians – such as the reaction of a large proportion of the inhabitants of Civitanova against the order to arrest the six Jews in 1559, the mercy of the *barisello* who took them to Rome to be imprisoned first at Curia Savelli and then at Ripetta, and again the dialogue between the

¹ Arlette Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, trans. Thomas Scott-Railton (New Haven-London, 2013), 4.

author and the Roman citizen who freed him after Paul IV's death. All these details enable us to see "the other side of the coin" and to rethink Jewish-Christian relations.

Besides being one of the most important individuals in the Jewish group of Civitanova Marche, Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan (in Italian, Guglielmo di Diodato) reveals himself to have been the author of a particularly detailed chronicle. An in-depth analysis and the first unabridged English translation of the Hebrew text have also permitted me to investigate the work closely, proposing a reflection on its intrinsic historical and literary values. Like the early modern Jewish historical writings which were produced in reaction to the expulsions from the Iberian Peninsula, Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan intended to offer his memoir as pedagogical tool, perhaps for the younger members of his family and acquaintances, "the future generations and people from distant lands [so that] they will know what happened during the days of Paul IV" and "raise their children to know about it, as a testimony of all that [God] did for our fathers and for us, the miracles and wonders."²

Combining the historical narrative with his religious sentiments, the author reflects on the contemporary tragedies which befell the Jewish people, such as the burning at the stake of the Portuguese *marranos* in Ancona, the enactment of *Cum nimis absurdum*, the persecution of the Jews of the Papal States, and so on. Although it follows many of the medieval and early modern *topoi* of Jewish historiography, the final portrait given by the chronicle allows us to see the light shining through the cracks, rejecting the conception of Jewish history as entirely lachrymose and marginal. The *Chronicle of Pope Paul IV* is in fact a story of salvation and hope. Of course, the author could not have imagined that the expectations raised by the tolerant policies of the newly elected Pius IV would soon be dashed when, a few years later, the spiritual heir of Pope Carafa, Pius V, expelled all the Jews from the Papal States (1569).

Like the scrolls recording local Purims, the chronicle by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan tells the story of a threat and its miraculous solution, ending with the freedom of the Jews and the punishment of Haman and his household. However, unlike them, he does not focus only on the Jews, but also dedicates ample space to the history of the Gentiles.

² See above 253.

The extraordinary accuracy and extensiveness of detail and description make the chronicle by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan – who was not a mere spectator, but rather a protagonist – a reliable historical source which adds new details on several issues which would otherwise have remained unknown. Due to the lack of archival documentation regarding the Roman Inquisition (which was burnt during the uprising of the Roman populace at Paul IV's death), much of the information about the congregation and its tribunal has been lost forever. If, on the one hand, it has not been possible to find archival sources which confirm the arrest and imprisonment of the Jews of Civitanova Marche between July and August 1559, on the other, the chronicle itself provides fresh descriptions, for example about the spatial organisation of the prisons at Curia Savelli and Ripetta, the administration of the prisons, and the prisoners' diets. The descriptions concerning the journey from Civitanova Marche to Rome and the modalities of transferring prisoners through the Papal States also provide exceptional new details on these topics.

To sum up, the *Chronicle of Pope Paul IV, Known as the Theatine* by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche is without a doubt a remarkable and credible source for the understanding of Italian Jewry as well as Jewish-Christian relations in the Papal States in the age of the “infamous bulls.”³ Although this study has tried to answer the research questions raised in the preliminary stages, some issues still deserve to be better investigated. In future research, a more detailed and complete study of the Jewish presence in Civitanova Marche will help to extend the information which has been outlined here, inserting the Jewish group into the context of the southern area of the Marca, which has not been studied until now. A reflection on the application of the anti-Jewish provisions in the rest of the cities of the Marca during Paul IV's pontificate would allow us to add some knowledge on this particular aspect and to verify the scant information provided by Benjamin (for example, on the sequence of events that happened in Morrovalle, Servigliano, Recanati, and Ascoli). The same applies to tracing the people mentioned in the chronicle whom it was not possible to identify.

Although it has been possible to extend our knowledge of the manuscript, it is still not known where the original specimen is and when and how the copy arrived into

³ Attilio Milano, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia*, 244-62.

the hands of the Calef family in the first half of the nineteenth century. Also, the mystery regarding its finding by Isaiah Sonne in 1930 still needs to be solved. The investigation into his archival fund in the National Library of Israel (which is still in process) and his library, preserved at the Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem, will hopefully reveal more on this matter and, more generally, on the fascinating issue concerning the purchase of manuscripts and old rare books.

Last but not least, a more in-depth study of other Hebrew texts, chronicles, and diaries from the sixteenth century (some of which were partially examined in this thesis) such as, for instance, the diary of David Reuveni, the *Emeq ha-bakha* by Joseph ha-Cohen, the *Shalsholet ha-Kabbalah* by Gedaliah Ibn Yahyah, or the *Me'or Enayim* by Azariah de' Rossi – all of which give an account of the events that happened prior to the expulsion of the Jews from the Papal States (1569) – as well as a number of elegies, will contribute to broadening the reflection on the sense of writing non-Jewish history, focusing in particular on the representations given of popes such as Clement VII, Marcellus II, Paul IV, Pius IV, Pius V, and others. In this way, it will be possible to understand if – and if so, how far – the representation of the papacy changed before and after Paul IV's pontificate.

DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX

1.

[Source: ASMC, *Miscellanea notarile*, b. 3, fasc. 8, n.d., n.p.]

Capitoli

L'habitationi loro in uno, due, overo tre luoghi sciunti e separati dal habitationi di christiani, che habbia una sola entrata e una sola uscita.

Una synagoga sola nel luogo sollito e siano tenuti a destruere l'altre, e più non ne possono edificare di novo.

Non possono possedere beni immobili e quei che gli hanno, se assegna loro termine a venderli, per tutto il prosimo mese di Agosto.

Siano tenuti li maschi portare la beretta e le femme un altro segno patente di color giallo, e si assegna loro termine quattro giorni a metterli suso.

Non possono tenere alli loro servigi, nutrici, servi ne altri servitori christiani.

Non possono nelli giorni festivi di precetto della S.ta Matre Chiesa, lavorare ne far lavorare in publico.

Non possano fare contratti simulati con christiani, ne con loro giocare, magnare, ne haverci conversatione ne familiarità alcuna.

Che siano tenuti di scrivere o fare scrivere li libri delli conti e negocii che hanno con christiani con littere latine e idioma volgare italiano e che altramente scritti non facciano fede alcuna contra christiani.

Che non possino dare ad usura, se non a dodici per cento.

Che non possano fare alcuna mercantia di grani, orgi, olei, ne di nessuna altra cosa necessaria al uso humano, ma che siano contenti, solo della mercatura della stracciarìa o sia cenciaria come si dice volgarmente.

Che li medici anco richiesti non possano intervenire alla cura di christiani.

Che non comporteno essere adimandati da christiani per meseri ne per patroni.

Che nelli conti che hanno da fare con li christiani li mesi siano di trenta giorni intieri.

Che non possano vendere i pegni a loro impegnati se non passati diciotto mesi intieri, e che tutto quello che saranno venduti da vantaggio del credito loro, siano tenuti restituirli a patroni.

Che siano tenuti servare li statuti delle terre concernenti il favore de christiani.

2.

[Source: ASMC, *Miscellanea notarile*, b. 3, fasc. 3, September 21, 1557, n.p.]

Al Molto Reverendo Monsignor come fratello il Vescovo di Satriano Governatore della Marcha

Molto Reverendo Monsignor La Santità di Nostro Signore per reprimere l'insatiabile voracità de' perfidi hebrei usurari, vuole di più, che non è stato dechiarato nella Bolla, che essi non possino per conto di usure, pigliare a christiani più di dodici per cento, per vigore di qualisivoglia contratto ò anticho ò rinovato, tanto prima, quanto doppo la publicatione di detta Bolla. Facendo il conto del primo contratto, et della prima sorte,

anchora che il christiano havesse fatto alcuno pagamento, in qualumche vecchio ò rinovato contratto, non permettendo che selli paghe usura delle Usure. Et essendo questa la mente di Sua Beatitudine, non mancharà V.S. di farle essequire senza replica. E già doverebbe havere bastato per tale essecutione haverla avertita per altre mie. E, me le offero. Da Roma el di 21 di Settembre 1557.

Di V. S. R.

Come fratello il Cardinal Carafa [omisso sigillo]

3.

[Source: ASM, ANCM, Not. Ciriaco Ugulati, reg. 121, August 6, 1562, fols. 86r-87v]

Eodem millesimo indictione et pontificatu die vero Iovis sexta mensis Augusti dicti anni 1562.

Convocata et coadunata Universitate sive Collegio universitatis hebreorum Terre Civitanove in synagoga dicte Terra ut infra positi et confinanti ubi hebrei pro ipsorum sive universitatis predicta negociis pertractandis condonari solint in qua interfuerunt omnes et singuli infrascripti videlicet Laudodeus Isaach de Asculi, Isaac Lazzarini de Monti Bo[n]dii, Angelus Raphaellis, Moyses Guillelmi Raphael Moysis, Isaach Moscioni, Vitalis Vitalis alias Bicchino, Vitalutius Emanuellis, Moyses Vitalutii, Prosperus Guillelmi, Jacob Moscioni, Laudodeus Salvati, Fantius Moysis omnes di Civitanova representantes maiori partiti dictae universitatis et synagoge dicte Terrae. Asservatis prenominati et coadunati discedere ex terra Civitanove et propterea velle vendere omnia et singula bona dicta universitatis communia et synagogham predictam una cum omnibus domibus et aliis massaritiis dicte synagoge ac et terreni ubi eorum cadavera seppelliri consueverant confidentesque multum de bonitate et probitate Laudodei Isaach hebrei de Asculo et Angeli Raphaellis hebrei di Civitanova omnes unanimiter et concorditer sponte et omni meliori modo fecerunt constituerunt creaverunt et ordinaverunt eorum et dicti universitatis ac procuratores actores factores videlicet dictos Laudodeus Isaach et Angelus Raphaellis ibidem presentis et huiusmodi omnes procurationis in se sponte inscripentes et acceptantes ad dicti universitatis nomine vendendum alienandum et in alium seu alios transferrandum dictam synagogham et domos eiusdem una cum omnibus suis massaritiis ac dictum terrenum ubi seppelliri cadavera hebreorum solebant pro preciiis et preciorum nominibus quibus eisdem presentis procuratoribus videbitur et placebit illaque predicta seu precium recipiendum ac habuisse et recepisse confitendum et de toto vel eis quietandum et quietationis instrumentum seu instrumenta faciendum seu fieri facendi cum clausulis et stipulationibus et aliis in similibus apponere solitis et consuetis [...]

Actum in Civitanova in synagoga hebreorum posita in quarterio Porte Pauli iuxta dictis Massis Baptisti Magister comunis et strate comunis et alia datum presentibus Baldassare Ioannis, Baptisti de Contraguerra et Blasio Matthei Perusini alias Biribatti di Civitanova testibus et ego Chyriacus.

4.

[Source: BAV, *Urb. Lat. 1038*, pt. A, *Avviso di Roma*, September 10, 1558, fol. 340r]

Sta male il Papa, et è molto aggravato
Non può mangiare, ha perso tutti i denti
Ha febre, ha flusso, et mille altri accidenti
Dice il vulgo maligno et arrabbiato.
Dice quell'altro tutto appassionato
Sgombrano in furia questi suoi parenti
Il palazzo di panni, ori, et argenti
Questo è pur segno chiar, che gli è spacciato.
O stolti, è tardi corde, se credette
Che non s'habbino da verificare
Omnia que locuti sunt prophete
Sette anni il Papa ancora ha da campare
Et come voi medesimi vedrete
Die far molte opre christiane et rare et ha da riformare
Questa sua chiesa tanto depravata
Et farla tota pulchra immacolata questa guerra arrabbiata
Tra questi domini re ha da finire
Facendoli depor gli sdegni et l'ire al fin fara partire.
Il Turco, e'l Luterano dal su'errore
Per far l'ovile, tal quale è Pastore.

5.

[Source: *Urb. Lat. 1736*, *Relatione della Giustitia fatta essecutare nella sede vacante di Paolo 4° d'Elia Hebreo temerario che cacciatosi la berretta sua di testa e la pose in testa del Pontefice nel publico salone di Campidoglio*, fols. 239-242]

Non parve alli Eminentissimi Porporati, che fosse il dovere, che restasse invenduto l'oltraggio fatto dal suddetto Elia il quale sacrilegamente nel publico salone di Campidoglio alla presenza di tanto Popolo p[ri]ma che l'empietà de ribaldi ponessero la corda al collo alla statua del suddetto Pontefice per maggiormente farlo deridere, levossi la sua berretta gialla di testa, e la pose nella testa del Pontefice con derise di molti che erano andati per l'odio che havevano con la Fameglia Carafa e Pontefice ad aiutare a levarla dal suo posto e renderla maggiormente schernita. Eppure tra quelli ribaldi vi furono persone che presa la berretta dell'ebreo la levarono dalla testa della detta statua e la gettarno fuori dalle finestre con sdegno non ordinario parendogli essere assai l'aggravio dal temerario ebreo commesso. I Cardinali udito un tanto dispreggio fecero promettere un premio a chi avesse dato in potere Elia [...] Furono più gli accusatori che si portarono a darne l'avviso che non fu tardi la Giustitia a catturare il suddetto Elia, il quale benché negasse, non solo fu riconosciuto per la persona e per la berretta istessa, che egli portava esser la medesima posta in testa a la statua del Pontefice ora perciò venne condannato a morte. L'istessa mattina che i cardinali dovevano entrare nel conclave volsero fosse questo impiccato [?] a piedi le scale del Campidoglio, come ancho volsero che quella mattina per atterrire il Popolo fossero fatti morire due capi

tumultuanti i quali oltre le tumultuazioni furono scoperti rei di molti furti commessi in diverse case di Roma l'istesso giorno che morì il Papa, et è ben vero che li suddetti furono fatti morire in forca differente da quella che fu impiccato l'Ebreo. Nel medesimo giorno furono trasmessi al remo da 27 et più persone le quali nel giorno che fu dal Popolo Romano posto editto che ogni uno demolire le armi di casa Carafa, presa questa resolut[ion]e per lassar sfogare, et placar il Popolo, vedendolo sì infuriato che sino havevano gettato dalla fenestra un Padre Domenicano il quale fece resistenza di non far entrare l'infuriato popolo, dove stavano le scritture della Santa Inquisitione havendo ancho i Cardinali fatte diligenze che havevano i fautori di tal eccesso e questi si trasferirono al remo furono complici de suspecti. Fine.

6.

[Source: The Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, *Special collections, Alexander Marx Papers*, b. 44, fasc. 3, Isaiah Sonne to Alexander Marx, August 15, 1930]

Sehr geehrter Professor,

Ich hoffe Sie sind bereits glücklich zurückgekehrt, und bestätige Ihnen den Empfang des Betrages von Doll. 106, wie auch der retournierten Bücher bestens denkend. Ich schicke Ihnen mit gleicher Post das gewünschte Exemplar des 44 zum Traktat Beza, Lublin, 1636. --- Doll. 15

Über meinen Artikel habe ich bis nun keine Mitteilung von der Redaktion des *JQR* bekommen, und ich weiss noch immer nicht, ob sie denselben zu bringen gedenkt. Meine Anfrage diesbezüglich an Dr. Adler von zwei Monaten ist unbeantwortet geblieben. Ich sehe mich daher genötigt Sie hfl. zu ersuchen wenn möglich mir darüber Klarheit verschaffen zu wollen.

Vor einigen Wochen gelang in meine Hand eine kleine Schrift, etwa 15 F°-Bll., die von ausserordentlichem historischem Interesse zu sein scheint (leider was es mir unmöglich dieselbe zu erwerben, und ich musste mich begnügen eine Abschrift für mich zu machen). Die Schrift heisst דברי הימים של האפיפיור פאוולו הרביעי הנקרא טיאטינו

Der Verfasser ist zwar weder am Anfänge noch am Ende angegeben beim Abschreiben jedoch stellte es sich mir heraus, dass der Verfasser eine sonst unbekannte Persönlichkeit, Benjamin Nehemja ben Elnatan aus Civitanova – ein kleiner Ort in der Mark umweit Ancona – ein Zeitgenosse der Ereignisse, zum grössten Teil Augenzeuge war. Er selbst wurde unter Beschuldigung, einem Mönch zum Judentum bekehren gewollt zu haben, im letzten Jahre Paul des IV (1559) ins Inquisitionsgefängnis zu Rom geworfen, und wurde bei der Bestürmung desselben nach dem Tode des Papsts befreit. Die Schrift enthält einem sehr interessanten Abschnitt über die Märtyrer von Ancona, woraus viele unbekannte Umstände hervorgehen. Diesen Abschnitt gedenke ich mit vorangeschicktem Artikel in der *REJ* zu veröffentlichen, wo die meisten Dokumente über dieses Ereignis von D. Kaufmann veröffentlicht wurden. Die Handschrift, welche mir als Vorlage diente, war eine ziemlich späte Abschrift (gegen 1800), und mussten daher mehrere Abschriften davon gemacht worden sein; um so wundert es mich, keine Spur dieser Schrift bei den Bibliographen gefunden zu haben. [...]

Chronology of the Events Recorded in the Chronicle

Jewish Calendar	Julian Calendar	Event
4th of Siwan 5315	May 24, 1555* (May 23)	Paul IV's election.
	June 7	Carlo Carafa is elected cardinal.
Elul 5315	August	The commissioner Falangonio is sent to Ancona to inquire about the Portuguese <i>marranos</i> .
3rd of Iyyar 5316	April 13, 1556	Burning at the stake of Shimon Ibn Menaḥem, Joseph Guascon, Samuel Guascon, Abraham Falcon, and Meyora.
5th of Iyyar	April 15	Burning of Isaac Naḥmias and Solomon Algbaish.
Shabbat 8th of Iyyar	April 18	Burning of Moses Paggio, Solomon Pinto, Joseph Molkho, Abraham Sirolio, David Naḥash, and Abraham Mosoro.
26th of Tammuz	July 4	Burning of the last twelve Portuguese <i>marranos</i> : Moses Barzillon (Barcellona?), David Reuben, Solomon Yahia, David Micario (Sicario?), Joseph [V]ardai, Joseph Papo, Jacob Cohen, Jacob Montalban, Abraham Loco, Jacob Moso, and Abraham Cohen.
	March 1557	Election of ten cardinals from the French faction (among them, Michele Ghislieri).
		Diplomatic mission of Cardinal Carafa to France.
7th of Shevat 5319	January 15, 1559	Cesare Brancaccio is nominated governor of the Marca.
8th of Adar	February 15	Release of the Jews of the Marca from the prison of Macerata.
10th of Adar	February 17	Paul IV expelled his nephews from the court and from Rome. Creation of the Sacro Consiglio. Arrest of Cesare Brancaccio and appointment of Loreto Lauro as governor-general of the Marca.

18th of Tammuz	June 23	Cardinal Ghislieri orders to the judge of Civitanova to arrest eight Jews of Civitanova.
21st of Tammuz	June 26	Arrest of Yehoshua bar Moses and his son Moses, Mahallel bar Isaac and his son Solomon, Samuel and Benjamin Nehemiah sons of Elnathan
4th of Av	July 8, 1559	The six Jews were taken out from the prisons. Departure from Civitanova on the way to Rome. Arrival in Macerata
5th of Av	(July 9)	Transfer from Macerata to Camerino
6th of Av	(July 10)	Rest in Sostino
7th of Av	(July 11)	Transfer from Sostino to Foligno
8th of Av	(July 12)	Transfer from Foligno to Spoleto
9th of Av	July 13	Transfer from Spoleto to Terni
11th of Av	July 15	Transfer from Terni through Civita Castellana. Storm in Borghetta and arrival in Civita Castellana in the evening
12th of Av	July 16	Rest in Castelnuovo and arrival in Rome in the evening. Imprisonment at Corte Savella
13th of Av	July 17	Transfer from Corte Savella to the prisons of the Inquisition at Ripetta
25th of Av	July 29	Interrogatory before the judge of the Inquisition
8th of Elul	August 11	Interrogatory before the <i>fiscale</i>
11th of Elul	August 14	Assignment of a lawyer (Alfonso Villanova)
15th of Elul	August 18	Paul IV's death; uprising of the populace in Rome; releasement of the prisoners; burning of Ripetta; mocking of the statue
16th of Elul	August 19	Gathering of the leaders of the people in the Court of Campidoglio; mocking of the statue
18th of Elul	August 21	Gathering of the Jews with Cardinal Alessandrino
19th of Elul	August 22	Departure from Rome

22nd of Elul	August 25	Arrival in Civitanova before the start of Shabbat
26th of Tevet 5320	December 26, 1559	Pius IV's election
13th of Adar 5321	March 1, 1561	<i>Concistoro</i> and issue of the death sentence for the Carafas nephews and their relatives
17th of Adar	March 5	Justice of Carlo Carafa, Giovanni Carafa, Ferrante d'Alife, and Leonardo di Cardine

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1. Map of the Italian states before 1598.



Figure 1. Principal centres in the region Marche today.



Figure 3. Map of Civitanova Marche by Giacomo Lauro, printed in Joan Blaeu, *Theatrum civitatum et admirandorum Italiae ad aevi veteris & praesentis temporis faciem expressum*, pt. 1 (Amsterdam: ?, 1663).



Figure 4. Portrait of Gian Pietro Carafa (1476-1559), Pope Paul IV from 1555 to 1559. Engraving from Onofrio Panvinio, *XXVII Pontificum Maximorum Elogia et Imagines*, (Rome: Antoine Lafréry, 1568).



Figure 5. Portrait of Paul IV. In the frame on the left side, it is possible to read the verse *Zelo zelatus sum pro Domino Deo exercituum* from 1 Kings 19:10,14 which is also the motto of the Carmelite Order. Engraving from Antonio Caracciolo, *De vita Pauli Quarti Pont. Max.*, (Cologne: Joannis Kinckij, 1612). Courtesy of the Hesburgh Library, University of Notre Dame, Indiana.



Figures 6-7. Entrance of the Jewish neighborhood in Vicolo della Luna and particular of the commemorative plaque installed on January 27, 2014 bearing “once Jewish ghetto of Civitanova Marche”. Ph. credits: Martina Mampieri.





Figure 8.
House of the poet and humanist Annibal Caro, today place of the Historical Communal Archives (Archivio storico comunale di Civitanova Marche, Civitanova Alta).
Ph. Credits: Martina Mampieri.



Figure 9. Panoramic view of the Valle del Chienti. Ph. Credits: Martina Mampieri.



Figure 10. Route of the Via Laetana covering 172 miles (about 277 kilometres). Giuseppe Zagnoni, *Viaggio da Ancona a Roma*, 1790, preserved at the Cartoteca Storica delle Marche, Serra S. Quirico. The places depicted in the map are: Ancona, Camerano, Loreto, Sambucheto, Macerata, Tolentino, Valcimarra, Trave, Seravalle, Case Nuove, Foligno, Vene, Spoleto, Strettura, Terni, Narni, Otricoli, Borghetto, Civita Castellana, Rignano, Castelnuovo, Borghettaccio, Prima Porta, Roma.

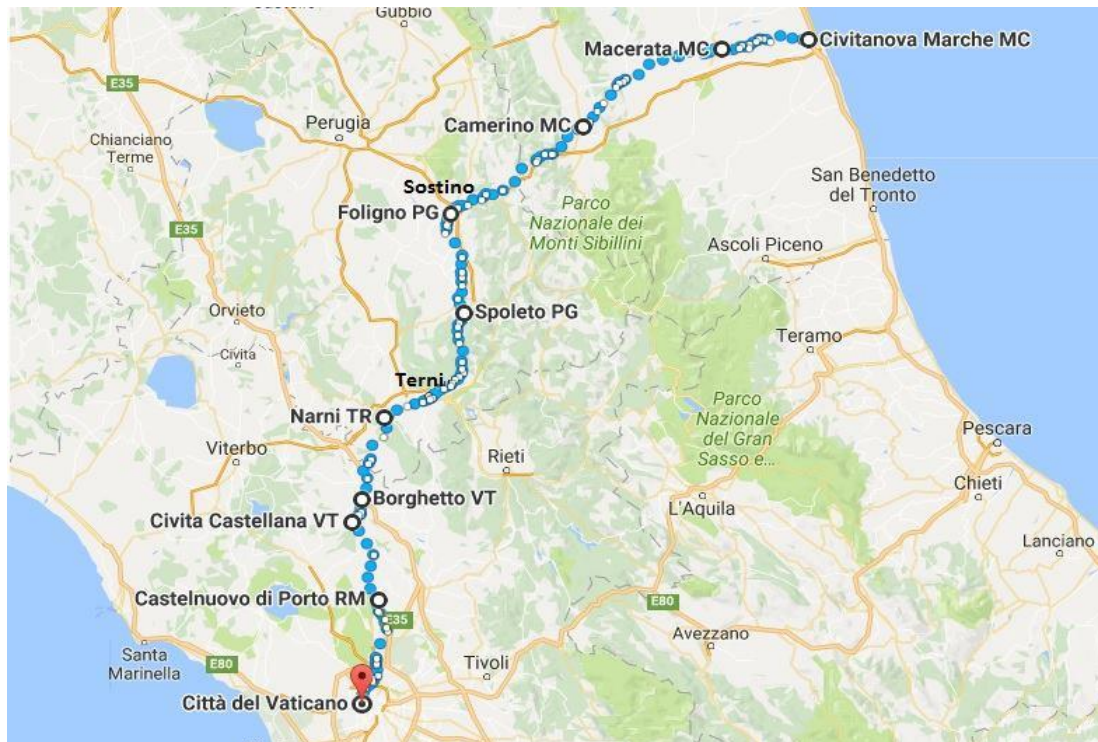


Figure 11. Route of the arrest of the Jews of Civitanova Marche following the narration of the events as recorded by Benjamin Neḥemiah ben Elnathan. The cities encountered between Civitanova and Rome are: Macerata, Camerino, Sostino, Foligno, Spoleto, Terni, Narni, Borghetto, Civita Castellana, and Castelnuovo di Porto.

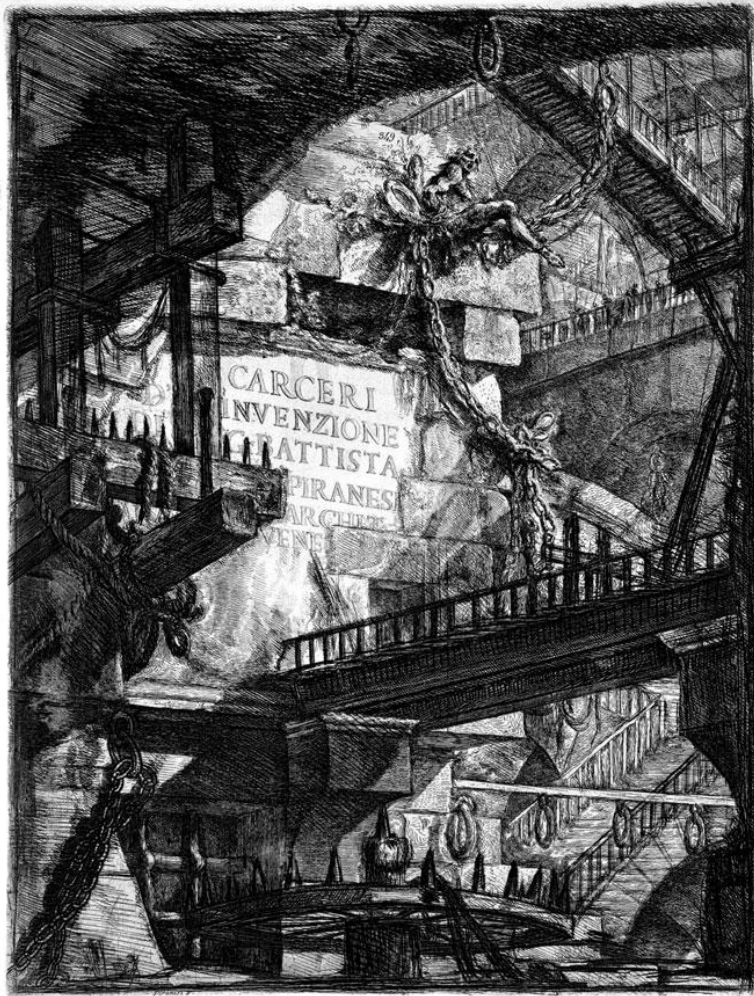


Figure 12.
Giovan Battista Piranesi,
*Title Plate, Imaginary
Prisons (Carceri
d'invenzione)*, 1761.

Figure 13.
Giovan Battista
Piranesi,
*The Pier with
Chains,
Imaginary
Prisons (Carceri
d'invenzione)*,
1761.

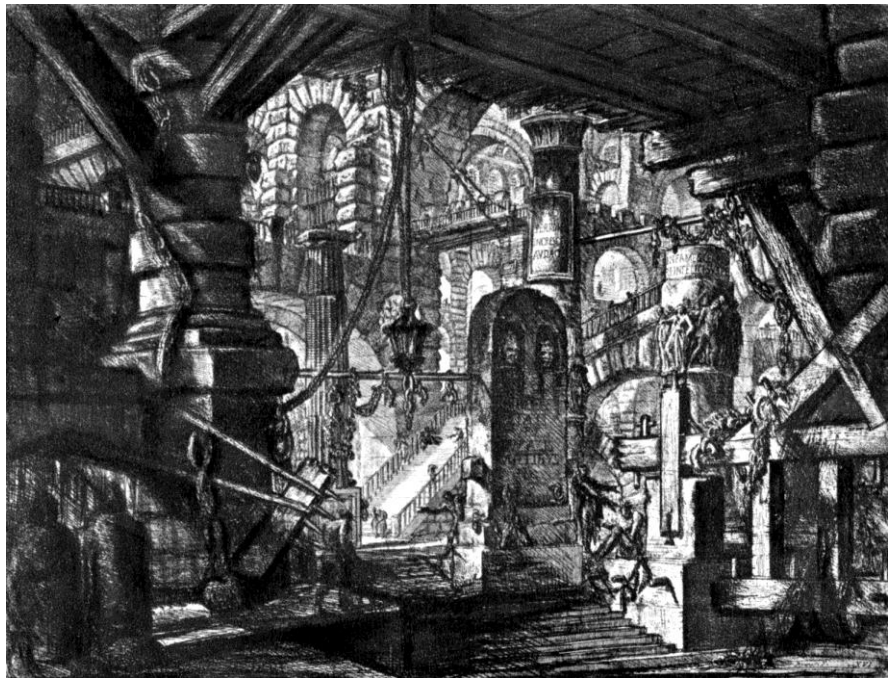


Figure 14. Head of the statue realized by Vincenzo de' Rossi, mocked and vandalised by the Roman people on the Capitoline Hill at the death of the pope (August 18, 1559).



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דברי הימים

אלה האמיתיות מעולו רצע פוקרו טיחט
 לוח אלוהי ברוח חססר
 סוק על סוקו ראשי מלכה מעולו רצע באפפור ונרות
 כצולו אשר נזר ומס סצצול אכול פקול כפי
 א צי ספור ב רבאמה לון קאלו קואפס אלהה במאמה
 ורעשה בעוד טוניס ורעמה ארע אכול מיטאל אכ
 פל סופר ב ארה בעוד טוניס וג נאלו חכס ויסר אהש לר
 ולעק ספור לה תליו טעמ צב אשר פיס אען מק אכולס
 פל ס צלוי טמ צב
 פל סופר ב רועמ כמ קים ועק נרות הולמה שעש פכפוע
 בקיסר ופיו כעל לרס פיס ארע צעכ כמק יחם על אורן אה

וזהו צית בעפפור מעולו חאפמה קואפס הער נעמול רצו
 נשע אלפי ימן פירי חשן טיחט פיה חאפמה קואפס
 אשר מיל קולט שטוב אכול ורעה על כסא ולכוח אשר נחמול
 חק א חלש צב צואען סואטו חקס א חקט צה קואפס ושר
 פיס יעק אלק ותוצב חאטוב בלמה ויבס הערה חלק אנש אה ס
 פכולס אשר צמלעה לחען כ פעלא על פיס עליו לרה ס ויע ארעו
 עם אצן חלק ופולס חן חלק אה מצב שמש ארצו צמלה על
 סמו דאמן ונא חלעו צמ חפס ורעה חלעה לפיס ופא חעוה
 וחאפס ער אצנ צמלס פאש פוה חלס סיון צעוצמ אהלס אהר חמ
 באפפור חולל פוה חולל חלנה ארען על סוכ יצר שמו צעט אה
 חלק סא כן יוס עשפ האועב עולב צעול כ בוקס על כסא כפפוקן
 צוהס נקרא שמו מעולו רצע יט אצמלה חלכח חס אפסל
 קון עמה ועש ופליח צמלה אכא חמה חליו אהר יסוד אשר
 בס צמלס חמה חלמא כ פיה על רוב פשעם וכ פק אצו אעו
 נעמ

Figure 15. Divre ha-yamim shel ha-apifior Pavolo ha-revi'i ha-niqra Teatino (Chronicle of Pope Paul IV Known as 'Teatino') by Benjamin Nehemiah ben Elnathan from Civitanova Marche, NLI, Ms. Heb. 8°984, fol. 1r.

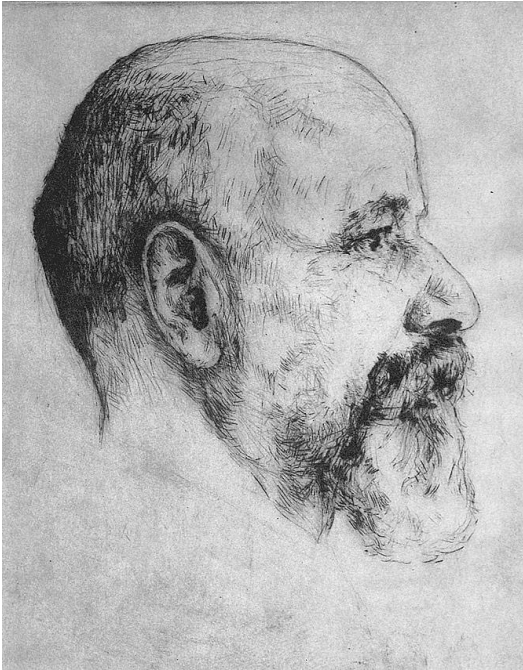


Figure 16.
Portrait of Siegmund Nauheim
(1874-1935). Etching by Jakob
Nussbaum, Frankfurt-am-Main,
1929.
Jewish Museum of Frankfurt.



Figure 17.
Portrait of Isaiah Sonne (1887-1960)



Figure 18.
Hanukkah lamps. Siegmund Nauheim Collection, Jewish Museum of Frankfurt.

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