

Early Modern Workshop 2007

# Jewish Consumption and Material Culture in the Early Modern Period



4<sup>th</sup> Annual Workshop

August 19-21, 2007

Joseph and Rebecca Meyerhoff Center for Jewish Studies

University of Maryland

College Park, Maryland, US

## Workshop Program

### *“Jewish Consumption and Material Culture in the Early Modern Period”*

**Sunday, August 19, 2007,**

**5pm** Reception at the University of Maryland

**6 pm** Keynote Address: Paula Findlen, Stanford University, "Possessions: The Material Culture of Early Modern Italy"

The keynote address will use the question of collecting objects in early modern Italy to discuss the broader context of other kinds of possessions and recent trends in exploring material culture.

**Monday, August 20, 2007**

Morning:

**9:30-10:40** Shalom Sabar, *The Image of the Jewish Wedding in the Works of Eighteenth Century German Hebraists* (Page 7)

A relatively considerable number of images pertaining to the Jewish wedding survived from medieval to early modern Germany. These are to be found in Hebrew illuminated manuscripts, illustrated books of customs (Minhagim-Bücher), decorated Torah binders (Wimpeln), and selected wedding artifacts. However, the most captivating and curious visual evidence on the various stages and customs of the Jewish wedding in Germany is not found in Jewish sources but in the work of eighteenth century Christian Hebraists. Despite the clear anti-Semitic overtones in their work, the images inserted in their books provide rare and significant insights into Jewish practices, folk beliefs and traditions, interior views and intimate moments, and other rare glimpses into Jewish life in contemporary Germany.

**10:40-10:50** COFFEE BREAK

**10:50-12** Limor Mintz-Manor, *The Phoenix, the Exodus and the Temple - Construction of Self Identity in the Sephardic Jewish Congregation of Amsterdam in the Early Modern Period* (Page 16)

My presentation investigates the symbols of the Sephardic congregation in Amsterdam, mainly the Phoenix and the Pelican that symbolize the resurrection of Jesus in catholic Christianity, alongside the unique exegesis by several congregants of the Exodus narrative. The analysis of the symbols, images and the architecture of the congregation's

synagogue, shows that they had played a major role in the construction of the "new" identity of the congregation. By utilizing them the congregation established the "resurrection" narrative of the Sephardic Jewry and its new beginning in Amsterdam. The rich cultural background of these symbols and images, both in the Iberian world and in the Netherlands, enabled the community's members to interweave their Iberian-Christian past with their Jewish present and to integrate into the Dutch society of the Early Modern period.

## **12-1:30 LUNCH BREAK**

**1:30-2:40** Vivian Mann, *Beakers of the Burial Society of Worms* (images on-line only)

Although there is literature on the impact of the discovery of the Americas on the European silver supply and the production works in silver, no one has examined its impact on the commissioning of silver by hevrot, particularly the Hevrah Kaddisha, both for their own use and as donations to the synagogue. This paper will examine in what ways Jewish patronage was similar to those of guilds and Christian confraternities and it what ways they differed.

Engraved on two silver beakers belonging to Burial Society of Worms; 2nd Object: (Title) Torah Crown, (Author) Joachim Huebener (ca. 1705-1780) of Berlin, (Date) 1779 (Place) Synagogue, Schottland (near Danzig), Germany (Publisher) Jewish Museum, New York (D 61)

## **2:40-2:50 COFFEE BREAK**

**2:50 -4** Rachel Greenblatt, *The Zaks Parokhet from Prague (1602): Sacred Object, Local Liturgy, and Familial Memory* (Page 25)

The Zaks parokhet, donated to Prague's Altneuschul by Nathan, known as Karpel Zaks and his wife Hadasi in 1602, provides a framework through which to view the intersection of liturgy, memory and material culture in one early modern Jewish community. The parokhet's role as a memorial to its donor is not apparent, however, by examining the object in isolation. In seeking to understand this Torah curtain's meaning for its donor and the worshippers who used it, I consider its graphic and material design, contemporaneous texts and additional ceremonial objects from Prague and its environs, with particular concern to the memorial functions of each. While little evidence exists to inform of us of how the Zaks parokhet may have differed in these regards from its medieval predecessors, inscriptions from objects dating from later periods attest to changes that occurred as early as the latter part of the seventeenth century and continued into later modern times.

**6:00** Dinner

**Tuesday, August 21, 2007**

**9-10:10** Flora Cassen, *The Possessions of Two Italian Jews at the End of the 16th Century* ((Page 30)

The brothers Lazaro and Angelo Nantua were moneylenders in Gavi, a town under Genoese dominion, during the second half of the sixteenth century. In 1592, Angelo got into a violent argument with the chancellor of the town. This incident started a series of legal proceedings against the brothers that went on for years. The two documents I choose are (1) an inventory of all their possessions made in 1592 by order of the doge in Genoa (2) a letter written by the local podesta in which he complains that they do not wear the yellow hat and gives a detailed description of their outfit.

**10:10-10:20** COFFEE BREAK

**10:20-11:30** Benjamin Ravid, Brandeis University  
*The Estates of a Jewish Merchant and of a Rabbi in Seventeenth Century Venice* (Page 53)

As is well known, the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV; Venetian State Archives) is among the largest in Europe, and contains much material dealing with the Jews of Venice. This includes inventories of the estates of Jews compiled for the purposes of implementing the will of the deceased, and very fortunately two inventories of the estates of arguably the two most prominent Jews of the first half of the sixteenth century, representing two completely different types of Jews, both of whom have been the subject of considerable scholarly attention, have been located and published in the original Italian. One of these is that of the great commercial entrepreneur Daniel Rodriga (d. 1603), who was the key figure in obtaining the first charter which enabled Levantine and Ponentine Jewish merchants to settle in Venice with unique commercial privileges, while the second individual is Rabbi Leon Modena (1571-1648), arguably the most prolific author of his times, concerning whom much information has been preserved.

My intention is to examine these two inventories in the contexts of the lives and professional activities of Rodriga and Modena, the situation of the Jews of Venice, and the Venetian material culture of the times to see whether any tentative conclusions can be drawn that shed new light on the condition of the Jews of Venice. I realize that two serious questions immediately arise: first, how typical were Rodriga and Modena, and second, certain items - presumably of economic value - could have been removed from the estate before the inventory was compiled. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that the proposed investigation will be of some value and most importantly, lead to further research along these lines.

**11:30-11:40 COFFEE BREAK**

**11:40-12:50** Miriam Bodian, *An Inventory of an Inquisitorial Prisoner's Possessions* (Page 71)

The presentation will describe how an inventory of an inquisitorial prisoner's possessions, routinely drawn up at the time of a prisoner's arrest, throws light on the material circumstances and consumption patterns of the prisoner and his/her family, as well as on the material milieu he/she inhabited. The inventory is that of Francisco Maldonado de Silva, a physician in the Viceroyalty of Peru, drawn up at the time of his arrest for judaizing in 1627.

**12:50-2:15 LUNCH BREAK**

**2:15-3:25** Nadia Zeldes, *Symbolic Clothes - Marginality and otherness of Jews and New Christians as reflected by their dress in two Christian texts, one from the late fifteenth century and the other from the sixteenth century* (Page 82)

The presentation will be based on excerpts from two Sicilian historiographical works: *Delle origini e vicende di Palermo* by Pietro Ransano, written ca. 1471 and T. Fazello's *De rebus siculis, decades duae*, published in 1558.

**3:25-3:30 BREAK****3:30-4:30**

Magda Teter, *Material Possessions and Religious Boundaries in Early Modern Poland* (100)

The 1719 trial of two Jews from Brest (Brześć) accused of breaking into a Bernardine church and robbing a tomb of a prominent noble woman raises questions of material possessions and religious boundaries. Among things stolen were textiles and golden and silver ornaments used in wrapping the coffin of the deceased woman. They were also one of the reasons that the robbery was discovered and the Jews were caught: some months following the robbery daughters of the two Jewish robbers were spotted wearing some of the stolen textiles and ornaments. This case is certainly notorious but it is not the only example of Jewish use of objects and textiles stolen from churches. Neither is Jewish use of "Christian" objects an example of one-directional transgression on religious boundaries and norms. Criminal records also show Christians stealing and wearing and using clothes that had been owned by Jews. This presentation is based predominantly on the Decree from the Lithuanian Tribunal regarding the Brześć trial but will be supplemented with excerpts from other trials as well.

**4:30-4:45 COFFEE BREAK****4:45-6:15 Round Table Discussion****6:30 PM DINNER**

## Description

The fourth annual Early Modern Workshop in Jewish History, tentatively entitled “Jewish Consumption and Material Culture in the Early Modern Period,” will take place at the University of Maryland at College Park beginning on the evening of Sunday, August 19, 2007 and will conclude on Tuesday evening on August 21, 2006.

The topic of material culture within Jewish historiography has only been explored in the context of ancient Jewish history. Unlike early modern European history, or early American history, both of which have been studied from the perspective of material culture and consumption, Jewish history has been predominantly based on texts. Scholars of early modern Jewish history have tended to see the *minhagim* (customs) and responsa literatures as a particularly valuable source of information about daily life, but have tended to focus on specific data rather than to explore the significance of Jewish material culture. There are of course well known sources such as memoirs (see the recently published edition of Gluckel of Hameln's memoir by Chava Turniansky), travel accounts, and the "ethnographic" descriptions of non-Jewish observers such as the Buxtorfs (father and son) and converts from Judaism such as Samuel Nahmias (Giulio Morosini, *Via della Fede*). It is only recently that questions of the transformation of Jewish culture through consumption and material culture have been raised, by scholars such as Elliott Horowitz, Zeev Gris, Shifra Baruchson, Shalom Sabar, or in art history Vivian Mann and Richard Cohen. This workshop intends to open up a new venue for inquiry in this field and, in the process, foster links between historians and museums and their curators. The types of questions we might address in the 2007 workshop include:

- Is there a specifically Jewish material culture? Are there specifically Jewish patterns of consumption?
- How do objects of Jewish daily life (housing, clothing, food, ritual objects) compare to similar categories of objects in non-Jewish daily life?
- Do objects of consumption serve as indications of Jewish social status both within the community and vis-a-vis the outside? What do material possessions and consumption tell about social and personal values at different strata of society?
- Did Jews intentionally seek to distinguish themselves from non-Jews through consumption and material objects? To what extent can the material objects and patterns of consumption be seen as markers of acculturation?

Other areas that might include questions of foods, the use of weapons by Jews, the representation of Jews and their way of life in art, the role of ideology in the interpretation of the significance ascribed by historians to material objects (this is stressed by archaeologists). Housing is a special category that we already dealt with to some extent in the sessions in 2005 in the workshop on Jews and Urban Space, but housing may be considered also from a non-urban perspective, and may also be addressed more generally within discussions on material culture as space: How is Jewish space defined and marked? In this context one may consider architectural space: synagogues (much work has been done in Italy and Germany, and Poland), housing, as well as ornamentation.

## Images of Betrothal, Wedding and Divorce in the Works of the Christian Hebraists Bodenschatz and Kirchner

**Shalom Sabar**

A relatively considerable number of images pertaining to the Jewish wedding survived from medieval to early modern Germany. These are to be found in Hebrew illuminated manuscripts, illustrated books of customs (*Minhagim-Bücher*), decorated Torah binders (*Wimpeln*), and selected wedding artifacts. However, the most captivating and curious visual evidence on the various stages and customs of the Jewish wedding in Germany is not found in Jewish sources but in the work of eighteenth century Christian Hebraists. Despite the clear anti-Semitic overtones in their work, the images inserted in their books provide rare and significant insights into Jewish practices, folk beliefs and traditions, interior views and intimate moments, and other rare glimpses into Jewish life in contemporary Germany.

List of Images:

### **PART I) Images 1-7 – from:**

Paul Christian Kirchner, *Jüdisches Ceremoniel...*, Nürnberg, 1724.

- No. 1) Betrothal
- No. 2) The Wedding Procession
- No. 3) The *Chuppah*
- No. 4) Breaking the Glass
- No. 5) Ritual Bath
- No. 6) Divorce Ceremonies
- No. 7) The *Chalitza* Ceremony

### **PART II) Images 8-14 – from:**

Johann Christoph Georg. Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden, sonderlich derer in Deutchland*, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1748-49.

- No. 8) Ritual Bath
- No. 9) Betrothal
- No. 10) The Wedding Procession
- No. 11) The *Chuppah*
- No. 12) Breaking the Glass
- No. 13) Divorce Ceremonies
- No. 14) The *Chalitza* Ceremony
- No. 15) A *Get*





Betrothal - Paul Christian Kirchner, **Jüdisches Ceremoniel...**, Nürnberg, 1724.

aus der Ue-  
rament halten/  
Um den Mit-  
ie Braut durch  
daben sind  
vorsingen/wie  
sie

durch sein eigen  
daare geflochten,  
es getanzt. Er  
scientiam suam  
um diese Aufzüh-  
ieffen sie daraus.  
Und (Göt)  
anier, wie heut  
en noch weiter,  
id der Eva selbst  
habe ihnen den  
worden, ver-  
in der Lust-oder  
d), und die Gu-  
machen und das

monie des Flech-  
beobachtet, habe  
elche sie flechten,  
ie singen, da un-  
sicht siset, und  
t solcher Ernst-  
Beider in Cons-  
weinen vllken.



The Wedding Procession - Paul Christian Kirchner, **Jüdisches Ceremoniel...**, Nürnberg, 1724.





The *Chuppah* - Paul Christian Kirchner, *Jüdisches Ceremoniel...*, Nürnberg, 1724.



Breaking the Glass - Paul Christian Kirchner, *Jüdisches Ceremoniel...*, Nürnberg, 1724.





Ritual Bath - Paul Christian Kirchner, **Jüdisches Ceremoniel...**, Nürnberg, 1724.



Divorce Ceremonies - Paul Christian Kirchner, **Jüdisches Ceremoniel...**, Nürnberg, 1724.





The *Choliza* Ceremony Ritual Bath- Paul Christian Kirchner, **Jüdisches Ceremoniel...**, Nürnberg, 1724.



Ritual Bath - Johann Christoph Georg Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden, sonderlich derer in Deutschland, Frankfurt and Leipzig*, 1748-49.



Betrothal - Johann Christoph Georg. Bodenschatz, Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden, sonderlich derer in Deutchland, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1748-49.



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The *Chuppah* - Johann Christoph Georg. Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden, sonderlich derer in Deutchland, Frankfurt and Leipzig*, 1748-49.



Breaking the Glass - Johann Christoph Georg. Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden, sonderlich derer in Deutchland, Frankfurt and Leipzig*, 1748-49.

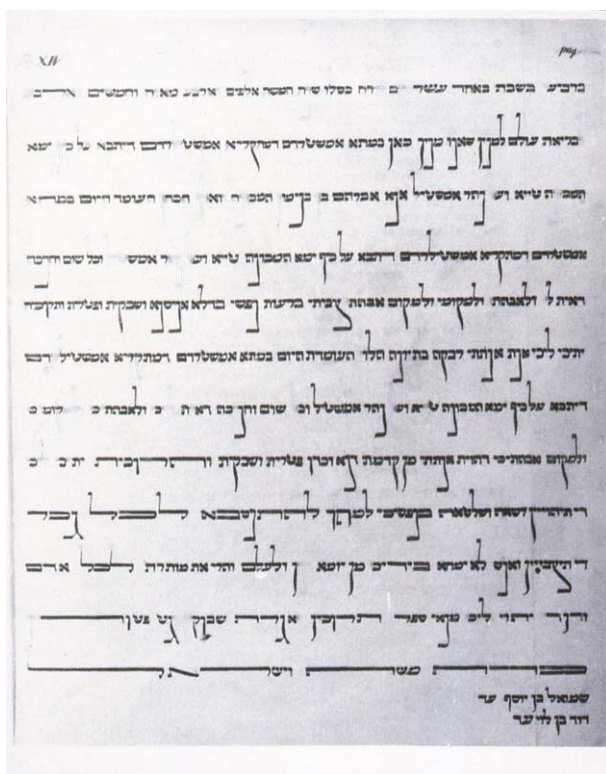


Divorce Ceremonies - Johann Christoph Georg. Bodenschatz, Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden, sonderlich derer in Deutschland, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1748-



49. The Chalitzah Ceremony - Johann Christoph Georg. Bodenschatz, Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden, sonderlich derer in Deutschland, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1748-49.





A *Get* - Johann Christoph Georg Bodenschatz, Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden, sonderlich derer in Deutschland, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1748-49.

## Poems in Memory of *Converso* Martyrs, 1655

Limor Mintz-Manor

### Introduction:

The book *Praises that zealous [men] dedicated for the pleasant memory of Abraham Nunez Bernal, who was burned alive sanctifying the Name of his Creator in Cordova on May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5415* that was published in Amsterdam in approximately 1655, includes many poems in Spanish written by elite members of the Sephardic community in the city. The book was dedicated to the memory of two *Conversos*, relatives of a community member in Amsterdam, that were sentenced by the Spanish Inquisition and burned at the stake in Cordoba.

In the following poems (as well as others in this book) the legendary phoenix is used as a metaphor for the martyrs, who chose to die while keeping their Jewish faith. This symbolic Martyrdom associated with the phoenix was widespread in the writings of the members of the community. The phoenix appears in other texts and images of the community in several contexts symbolizing martyrdom, resurrection and revival.

### The original text (in Spanish):

#### Title:

*Elogios Que zelozos dedicaron A La Felice memoria de Abraham Nunez Bernal, Que fue quemado vivo santificando el Nombre de su Criador en Cordova a 3 de Mayo 5415* [Amsterdam].

#### Text:

[p.40]

Del Señor

DANIEL DE RIBERA

[...]

[p.41] Diosse allí por offendida

La tiranía frustrada  
 Viendo que del polvo y nada  
 Saca Abraham immortal vida;  
 Y entre la llama crecida  
 Tanto apuró su verdad.  
 Que ya sin dificultad  
 (como oro limpio en Crizol)  
 De terreno pasó a Sol,  
 De Sol, á Divinidad.

Mas que Mucho si glorioso  
 Entró al certamen valiente,  
 Y del sacrificio ardiente,  
 Salió Phenix prodigioso;  
 Tan ufano y tan zeloso  
 Deseó de se abrasar.  
 Que en el se sacrificar  
 Entre el incendio y desvelos  
 Dió que notar que admirar. [...]

[p.49]

Del Señor

SEMUEL DE CRASTO

Aquí vive un ser divino,  
 El zelo y la fortaleza,  
 La constancia, y la firmeza,  
 Del celeste premio digno ;  
 El que por justo camino,  
 Como el fenix se abraso,  
 De a donde resucitó,

Dexando en el mundo fama,  
 Otro Elias, que en la llama  
 Triumphando al cielo subió.

**Library:**

Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, University of Amsterdam. exemplar RON A-5479 (Ros. 19 G 53)

**The English translation:**

Title:

*Praises that zealous [men] dedicated for the pleasant memory of Abraham Nunez Bernal, who was burned alive sanctifying the Name of his Creator in Cordova on May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5415 [=1655] [Amsterdam]*

Text:

[p.40]

By Mr.

Daniel de Ribera

[...]

[p.41] The frustrated tyranny

was there offended

seeing that from dust and nothingness

Abraham obtained immortal life;

and amidst the great flame

his truth was so consumed

that without difficulty

(like pure gold in the crucible)

he turned from earthly (being) into the sun,

from sun to Divinity.

More than much as gloriously  
 (he) bravely entered the contest  
 and from the burning sacrifice  
 came out a prodigious phoenix;  
 So proudly and so piously  
 did he wish to burn himself  
 that in the self-sacrifice  
 between fire and devotion  
 produced note and admiration. [...]

[p.49]

By Mr.

Samuel de Crasto

Here lives a divine,  
 the zeal and the fortitude,  
 the constancy and the firmness  
 of the noble celestial award;  
 He, who through the right path  
 like the phoenix, was burned  
 from where he was resurrected,  
 leaving his fame (behind) in the world,  
 Another Elijah, who in the flame  
 triumphantly went up to the sky.



## Description of the Sephardic Synagogue in Amsterdam, 1675

**Limor Mintz-Manor**

### **Introduction:**

The description of the newly built Sephardic synagogue in Amsterdam appears in the prologue to a collection of sermons, which were delivered during the celebration of the inauguration of the synagogue in 1675. The prologue, that was composed by the publisher David de Castro Tartaz, describes the circumstances that led to the erection of the new synagogue and the preparations that were undertaken in order to fulfill the project. The author describes the interior design of the synagogue and comments on various aspects of the celebrations. In this account, as well as in other sermons in the collection, there are several references to the resemblance between the synagogue and the Temple in Jerusalem. Indeed, the synagogue's architecture was influenced by a renowned seventeenth century model of the Temple, and this similarity conceals the hope of the congregates for individual and communal redemption as "New Jews" in Amsterdam.

### **The original text (in Portuguese):**

#### Title:

*Sermoes que pregaraõ os Doctos Ingenios do K.K. de Talmud Torah, desta Cidade de Amsterdam, No alegre Estreamento, & Publica celebridade da Fabrica que se consagrou a Deos, para Caza de Oraçaõ, cuja entrada se festejou em Sabbath Nahamú Anno 5435. Estampado Em Amsterdam. Em caza & a custa de David De Castro Tartaz. Anno 5435 [1675].*

#### Text:

Prologo a o Lector

[...] [p.iii] Toda a oraçaõ acõpanharaõ hymnos, & Cantos mais celebres, & por imitar o



Estreamento do Sagrado Templo, se tomou 8 dias de festividade, sempre com a mesma solemnidade acompanhado cada dia de hum Sermaõ, dos Ingenios mais doctos de Cõgrega, q' saõ estes q'aqui te offereço, amigo Lector ahy verás o fruto de nossa Illustre Nação, verás o Senhor nosso Haham como Mestre, dar principio a elegancia taõ conceptuoza, & seus Dignis Discipulos Orando conceptuozamenten elegantes: Certificote Benevolo lector q'mais parecoaõ estes dias Pascuas com liberdades de Templo, q'Festas de catividade em húa Esnoga, pessote me agradeças naõ o trabalho, q'naõ soy meu, senaõ o dezejo de te communicar este bem, & por que te concidero aynda algo escrupulozo, por que vés a pintura da Esnoga, sem entender sua architectura, quero em todo darte o gosto, explicandote seus modelos.

Pintarte discreto Lector, todas as particularidades, que a constituem Magnifica, seria impertinente a Relação, só te asseguro he do mais luzido da cidade, espacioza, & clara por dentro, perfeyta & vistoza por fora, circundada de hum fermozo Pateo com suas Galerias o modo de hum Muro que a arodea. neste está o apozento dos Senhores do Mahamad, seis Cazas dos Medrassim, duas para os Hazanim, & húa para o guardeaõ, tudo na dianteyra; Nos lados, corredores có Colunas para passear; Comprende a Esnoga de longo, 130. pees; De largo, 100. pees; De Altura, do chaõ athe a Abobeda, 70. pees; Tem tres portas, & da principal faz admiravel prespectiva, por que se notaõ tres Abobedas, de que se forma todo o Edificio, as quaes, as dos lados se sestentaõ nas paredes, & a do meyo, em quarto Pilares de pedra; De cada lado tem húa Galeria para assento das mulheres, que sustentaõ seis Colunas de cada parte.

Pendem cinco andamios de magnificos Lampadarios, (com seus dibuxos dourados na Abobeda,) & em taõ boa quantidade, que fazem o numero de 800. luzes. Tem á Thebá de Pao de Jacarandá muy costozo, com seus lavores de Cobre, adornos de [p.iv] arame, seu corredor, & nos cantos com Pilares, em cuya dianteyra [esta] pegado do mesmo Pao o curiozo assento do Senhor nosso Haham; Defronte está o admiral Hehal, todo de Pao do mais curiozo de Jacarandá, (o qual prezentou o muy Nobre Senhor Mosseh Curiel, com tanta liberalidade, que em aplauzo de todos, foca quazi a obra em seu nome) taõ

Sumptuofo, que compite feo artifício, com o melhor de toda Fabrica, todo forrado de taõ curiofo adorno, que propriamente parece Palacio, & arodeado de admiraveis Colunas, arameta com o bizaro de hum quadro, & o galhardo de fuas Colunas, donde imitando as taboas de pedra, eítão húas de pao com os déz Mandamentos, taõ grave & cufofo, que enleva a adiante húa Galeria, que toda o arrodea. [...] David de Caftro Tartaz.

### **Library:**

Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, Amsterdam. exemplar ROG A-757 ( Ros. 20 F 15 )

### **The English translation:**

#### Title:

*Sermons which were delivered by the Talented Scholars of the Kahal Kadosh [=Holy Congregation] Talmud Torah, in the city of Amsterdam, for the merry inauguration, and public celebration of the building that was dedicated to God, as a house of prayer, for which festivities commenced on Sabbath Nahamu. . Year 5435 [=1675]. Published in Amsterdam. In the house and at the expense of David De Caftro Tartaz. Year 5435.*

#### Text:

##### Prologue for the Reader

[...] [p.iii] The entire prayer was accompanied by hymns and the moft famous fongs, and for the imitation of the inauguration of the f acred Temple, which lafted eight days of feftivities, always with the f ame folemnity, each day accompanied by a f ermon given by the moft talented fcholars of the congregation, which are offered to you here. Friend Reader, here you will fee the fruit of our diftinguifhed Nation<sup>1</sup>, you will fee the noble our Haham<sup>2</sup> as Mafter, giving beginning to elegance fo conceptual and [you will fee] his worthy difciples praying with elegance of concept. I attest to you, kind reader, that it [=this celebration] f eems more like the days of Pafover [celebrated] with liberty in the

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1 A term ufed by the weftern Sephardic Jews to fignify the Iberian Jews together with the *Conversos*.

2 A member of the rabbinical court.

Temple than celebrations of captivity in a Esnoga [=synagogue]<sup>3</sup>. I beg you not to thank this work [=book], which is not mine, but I only desired to inform you about this good, because I regard you highly. And because you see the image of the Esnoga<sup>4</sup> without understanding its architecture, I want in sum to give you pleasure, by explaining to you its models.

To portray for you, discreet reader, all the details that magnificently constitute it, would be impertinent to the report. I [can] only assure you that it is the most illuminative of the city, spacious and bright inside, perfect and striking from the outside, surrounded by a beautiful patio with galleries surrounding it like a wall. In it, is the residence of the nobles of the Mahamad<sup>5</sup>, six rooms for the school, two for the Hazanim [=Cantors] and one for the guardian, all in the front. Beside are corridors with columns for passage which include the Esnoga's length : 130 feet, width 100 feet, (and) its height from the ground till the vault [= vaulted ceiling] [is] 70 feet. It has three doors, and an admirable view from the the main entrance, due to the three vaults that form the whole building. And these [vaults] at the sides are supported by walls, and these in the middle [are supported] by four pillars of stone. Each one has a gallery for the women to sit, which is supported by six columns in each part.

Five trusses of magnificent chandeliers hang, (with their golden drawing on the vault) and in abundance, that they reach the number of 800 candles. There is a Theba [=platform] made from very expensive Jacaranda<sup>6</sup> wood, with its [cover] copper needlework, adorned with [p.iv] metal. In front of [the platform's] corridor [that leads to] the corners with the pillars, is a curious chair of the Mister, our Haham [made of] the same wood. Opposite the admirable Hehal [=Holy Ark], completely made of wood of the most curious Jacaranda, (gifted by the very noble Mister Mosseh Curiel, with so much generosity, that he received everyone's applause, almost naming the work after him) so

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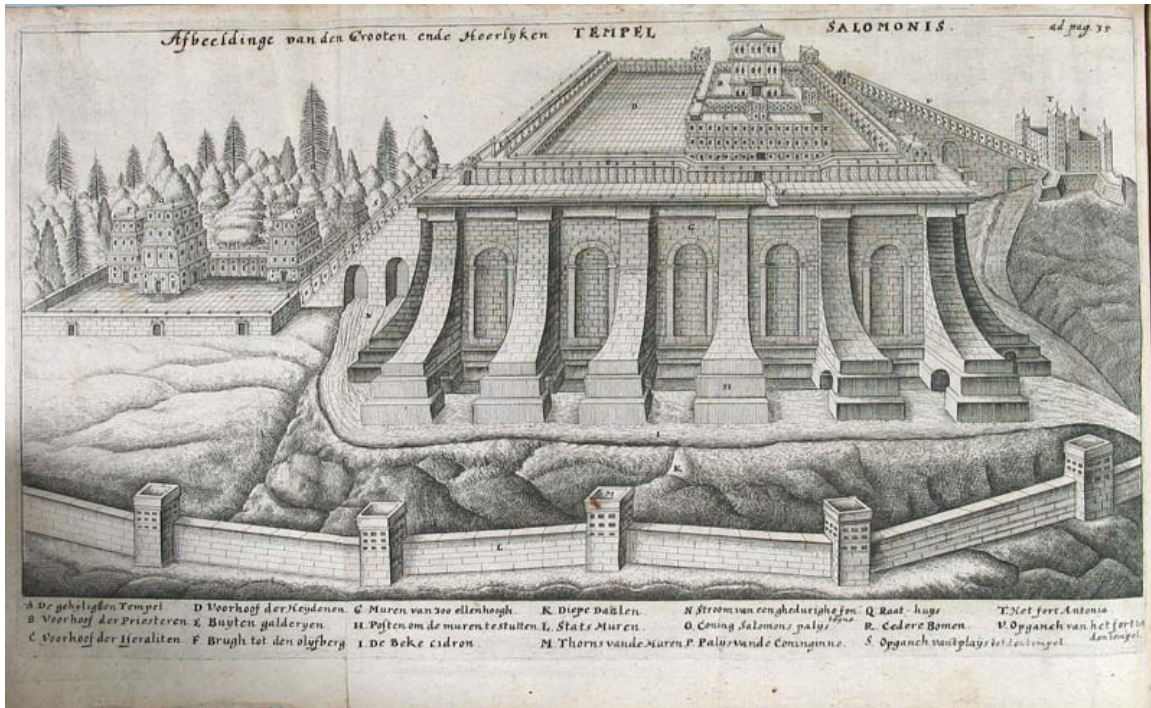
3 This term used not only as a synagogue in general, but frequently refers to the new synagogue of the community.

4 Four pages of this book contain eight etchings of the synagogue.

5 The term refers to the governing body of a community in the western Sephardic diaspora.

6 Brazilian wood.

gorgeous, that it competes in artifice with the best of the entire building, completely covered with such curious decoration, that it properly looks like a Palace, and surrounded by admirable columns, decorated with unusual [plantlike] embossment, and the gallantness of its columns. Imitating the stone's tablet, there is a wooden [plate of] the ten commandments, so grand and costly, that it is illuminating the Gallery opposite it, which is surrounding it. [...] David de Castro Tartaz.



Solomon's Temple - Jacobi Leoniti Hebraei, *Libellus Effigiei Templi Salomonis*, Amsterdam 1650

**The Zaks Parokhet from Prague (1602):  
Sacred Object, Local Liturgy, and Familial Memory**

**Rachel Greenblatt**

Ms. Jewish Museum of Prague 113, p. 35a (no. 188, second half):  
"קונטרס בית כנסת אלטנוישול בפראג"

Also known as "The Altneuschul Memorbuch"

יזכור אלקים את נשמת הראש והמנהיג קצין עם לקהילתינו הקדושה פה פראג אשר רוב ימי חייו על האדמה עסק בצרכי הצבור באמונה ובהשתדלותו נכנס בעובי הקורה בעתי' מסוכני'. הוא אשר הביא בית אלקינו לכבוד ולתפארת ס"ת [ספר תורה] עם גלילי כסף ופרוכת ושאר תשמישי קדושה העולי' לכמה מאות ועשאים קודש: רגלו עמדה במישור ודרך ישרה הנעלה כמר נתן בר יששכר ז"ל נקרא קערפל זק ז"ל: ובעבור שחתנו האלוף הר"ר אבינאדב (!) דוד נתן צדקה בעד הזכרת נשמתו עולמית בשכר זה תנצב"ה [תהא נשמתו צרורה בצרור החיים] של אי"ו [אברהם יצחק ויעקב] שרה רבקה רחל ולאה ועם שער צדיקים וצדקניות הטהורי' שבגן עדן ונאמר אמן.

May God remember the soul of the leader, 'ruler of the people'<sup>7</sup> of our holy community here in Prague, who spent most of his days on earth attending to the needs of the public in [good] faith, and [thanks to] his lobbying [they] found shelter in dangerous times. It is he who with honor and glory brought to the house of our Lord a Torah scroll with rods of silver, a Torah curtain and the rest of the holy accoutrements, costing several hundred, and sanctified them. His foot stood on level ground<sup>8</sup> and [went on] a straight path. The honorable Rabbi Nathan son of Issachar ז"ל called Karpel Zak ז"ל. And because his son-in-law the Rabbi Avinadav (*sic*) David gave charity for the eternal memory of his soul, by this merit may his soul be bound in the bond of life of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah and with the rest of the pure, righteous [men and women] who are in the Garden of Eden. And let us say 'Amen.'

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<sup>7</sup> Isaiah 3:7.

<sup>8</sup> Psalms 26:12.

Ms. Jewish Museum of Prague 82, title page (preceding p. 1):

*Pinkas Hazkarat Neshamot*, Pinkas Synagogue (1801).

לידע ולהודיע: מה ראו על ככה. לתקן פנקס חדש הזכרות נשמת הקדושים אשר בארץ המה ז"ל. אשר נדבו לבם להביא כלי קדש ובגדי קדש לזכרון בהיכל יי: והתנו בפירוש להזכיר נשמותיהם בשבתות ובי"ט. ובאמת בפנקס ההזכרות שהיה מקדם בבה"כ פינחס משנת ת'ס"א ל" במגילת ספר כתוב עליהם כל מה שנדרו ונדבו. ועד הנה היה ש"ץ מזכיר בפנקס הנ"ל. אמנם מתוך שכתב שם באריכות מה שנדרו וזה הוא ללא צורך להזכיר כי כלפי שמיא גליא. וגם הוא טרחא דצבורא וגם היה בלתי אפשר להזכיר בשבת א' כי אם ב' או ג' הזכרות וע"י זה אי אפשר להחזיר חלילה תוך שנה אחת. כי בלא"ה [בלאו הכי] יש כמה שבתות בשנה שאינן מזכירין נשמות. וגם לא היה אפשר לעשות שום סימן באיזה מקום סיים החזון בשבת זה. ואיה מקומו להתחיל חזון האחר בשבת הבא. גלל כן התנדבו יחידי סגולה בבה"כ הנ"ל ונעשה פנקס הלז בסימני' ובמצריו. בתחלה נתחלק מספר הזכרות לחלקים בסימן א' ב' חלק ידוע לכל שבת במיצר מפסיק ביניהם. ויתד תהי' לך לסימן לסוגר ופותח. ובמקום שקבוע היתד של כסף שם מתחיל החזון בשבת ההוא. וכאשר סיים החלק המיוחד לשבת זה אזי ינתן הנ"ל במיצר שאחריו וע"י זה נתקנו כל הקלקולים. וכדי ליפות הדבר כתבנו בתוכו כל מה ששייך ונצרך להחזון באותו שעה. והמקום יהיה בעזרינו. וישלח לנו משיחנו במהרה בימינו אמן: נתחדש ע"י אלופים גבאים ומבוררים ונדבת מיחידי סגולה דבה"כ פינחס בראש חדש אלול בשנת ת'ק"ס"א לפ"ק. נאום יהודא ליב גראף [סופר] ס'ת'ם' בפראג.

To inform and to notify:

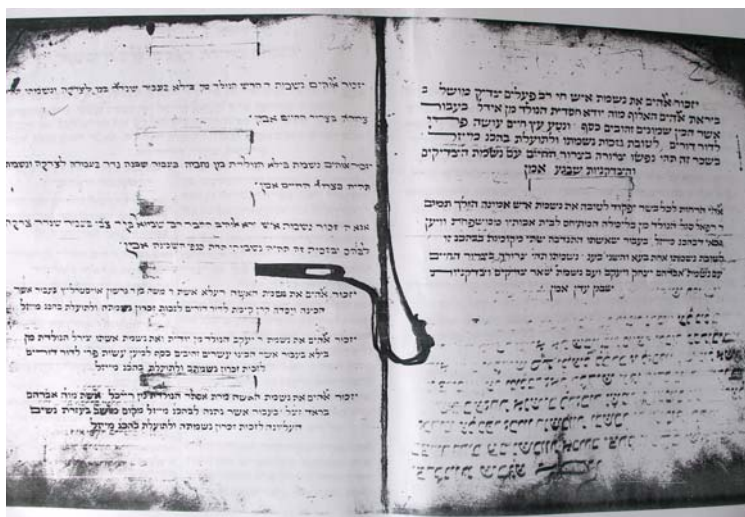
And [because] of what they had seen:<sup>9</sup> [they decided] to institute a new *pinkas hazkarat neshamot hakedoshim* (notebook of commemorations for the holy souls) who are in the earth, may their memory be for a blessing. Who gave of their hearts and brought sacred vessels and sacred vestments as a memory in the sanctuary of the Lord. And they made an explicit condition that their souls (i.e., their names) be remembered on Sabbath and festivals. And indeed, in the *pinkas hazkarot* that was previously in the Pinkas Synagogue from the year 5461 (1701), a book in the form of a scroll, was written about them everything that they vowed and that they donated. And until now the cantor would recite from that *pinkas*. However, they wrote there at great length what they vowed (i.e., donated), and it is not necessary to recite [all] this, for it is clear to heaven. And it was a great inconvenience to the congregation, and it was also impossible to recite more than two or three *hazkarot* on a single Sabbath. Because of this, it was impossible – God forbid – to complete the entire *pinkas* in a single year. And it was also impossible to make any sign [indicating] where the cantor concluded on a particular Sabbath, and

<sup>9</sup> Esther 9:26. My translation is based on *New JPS*. An alternative, based, for instance, on the quotation of the verse in *Talmud Bavli: The Schottenstein Edition* (New York, 1991), Tractate Megillah, p. 19a, might read, "And for what [reason] did they see [fit to act] this way?"



where another cantor should begin the following week. Because of this, individuals of unique qualities donated to this synagogue to make this *pinkas* with signs and narrow slots.<sup>10</sup> At the outset, the *hazkarot* were divided into [paragraphs], marked “a,” “b,” [and so on], a defined portion for each Sabbath with a line of separations between them. And a needle will be as a sign to close and to open. So that the cantor the following Sabbath will begin in the place where the silver needle is fixed. And when he has finished the special portion for that Sabbath, then he will put [the needle] in the slot following it, and in this manner, all the mistakes have been corrected. And in order to beautify it, we wrote inside [the *pinkas*] everything that belongs and is needed by the cantor at that hour (i.e., at that point in the service). May God be as our helper, and send his messiah quickly in our days, Amen. Renewed by officers, functionaries and assessors, and donated by individuals of unique qualities of the Pinkas Synagogue on the New Moon of Elul in the year 5561 (1801). So states Judah Leib Graf, scribe in Prague.

Illustration:



Ms. JMP 73, *Pinkas hazkarat neshamot* of the Meisel Synagogue, 19<sup>th</sup> century, pp. 23b-24a, showing the needle used by the cantor to mark where he finished his weekly recitation of the *hazkarot*, so that the following week's cantor would know where to begin

<sup>10</sup> Slots were formed by attaching a narrow piece of paper on top of the manuscript, fixed at the top and the bottom and open in the middle, so that a needle could be inserted horizontally.





## The Possessions of Two Italian Jews at the End of the 16th Century

Flora Cassen

2/23/1592: Inventory of the belongings of Lazaro Nantua (A. S. Genoa, Senato, Litterarum, n. 553)

p.1

In Nomine Domini. Presentes est inventarium rerum et bonorum mobilium repertorium in domo solite habitationis Lazarini Nantue hebrei in presenti loco Gavii facti per m. d. Jd<sup>m</sup> Bap<sup>tam</sup> Graminnam potestatore di loci, de ordine serenissimi senatus, cuius ut infra.

**Primo in sala d<sup>e</sup> domus** uno libro di sedosi quinterni nel quale principio et fine si lie aposto li nome et cognome di mi notaio di mia manu propria; Item un altro libro di quinterni diece col d<sup>o</sup> mio nome et cognome; Item un altro libro de quinterni diece col d<sup>o</sup> mio nome et cognome; Item un altro libro de quinterni diece col d<sup>o</sup> mio nome et cognome; Item un altro libro de quinterni otto col d<sup>o</sup> mio nome et cognome

**Item in una camera** una cassa ossa forsero di noce ne laquale vie denere le infrascripte videlicet casa che otto tra di pano et giameloto senza maniche tale quale

Item uno sendale de taffeta nero da donna

Item friolo di giameloto n<sup>o</sup> tre

Item para tre de calsoni de grandoto di poca valuta

Item una banda de taffeta rossa da soldato

Item un altro simile forsero dove e dentro le infrascripte cose primo mondilli quatro recamati di setta de diversi colori

Item colareto da homo con sue solite n<sup>o</sup> otto

Item camise dodesi da homo senza colaro de tella de lino

Item un altra camisa como supra

Item camise de dona n<sup>o</sup> 17 sine disette

Item un altra camisa da donna n<sup>o</sup> 7 senza butto

Item lensoli sette di stoppa et lino

Item uno scagnetto di noce con diversi mazzi di lettere quale si sono missa nela sudetta prosima cassa osia forsero

Item una lettera con le sue colonne di noce con due straponte sacone et moschetto col suo cusino da letto longo doi orgeri con doi lensoli, coperte tre di lana, una verde et due rosse

Item una sachetta da camora

Item una spada

**Item in un altra camera de la madre de detto Lazarino**

uno forsero di noce dentro esso lensoli dodesi di lino

p.2

Item tovaglie da tavola diece tra di stoppa et di lino

Item tovaglini cinquantaquattro tra di stoppa et di lino

Item scrinete quatordesi tradi stopa e di lino

Item tovagliole tra recamate et non n° trentanove

Item macame n° tre

Item in detta camera un altra cassa dipinta con dentro

primo tovaglie n° quatro tra di stoppa et di lino con  
altre straze de nium valore le straze

Item in detta camera un altro forsero di noce con dentro

lenzoli di stoppa et lino n° undesi

Item tovaglie di lino et stoppa n° sette

Item una lettera con le sue collone di noce col sacone una

strapponta due coperte bianche di lana doi lensoli uno cusino  
longo et uno orgiero con il suo capusero di tella

Item doi ferri de rub et l'uno in circa del speparmo secondo

dice Angellino hebreo impegno

**Item in la cucina de detta casa** pezi di stagno inpiati n° 19 intondi n° 26

Item bronzi n° tre d'una segia l'uno; item doi mezani di meggia

segia in circa l'uno; item un altro piccolo

Item uno calderollo de due segie in circa un altro de mesa

segia et un altra piccola

Item doi segolini da cava tato di ramo

Item padelle quatro da torta di ramo

Item padelini tre da torta di ramo

Item uno tiano di ramo

Item due lecarde de ramo

Item due bacalle di ramo

Item uno scola liciete di ramo

Item coperchi nove di ramo

Item candelleri n° sette di lottone

**Item in detta casa in sala** una tavola col suo tapeto

Item cadreghe sei da homo

Item cadreghe otto da donna

p.3

Item scabelli tredesi

Item una credenza de noce

Item una bacille grande suli trepiedi di ferro con

uno stagnone de ramo

Item uno archibuso da rotta quale dice angellino

hebreo essere dil fattore del Illustre signor hectore spinola

Item una spada – Item uno tavolino

**Item nela stanza daleo verso la strada publica**

uno forsero di noce con dentro robbe di poco valore

In un altro simile forsero dentro doi braldi da donna

Item uno forsero os sia coffano fodrato di corio co dentro pezeti

de tella sei de palmi doi sino in sei luno

Item un altro forsero nel quale ni sono gorgiere quindesi

da donne; item camise da dona n° nove tale quale

Item due maschare nere da dona

Item uno paro de pranolle da dona

Item un altro forsero o sia coffano fodrato di corio

dentro scosali quarto; item camise tre da homo

Item una camisa da donna senza busto

Item una pistola da ruota

Item meze pesse de tella de lino n° sette

Item falde cinque de camise da donna

Item uno letto cioe una lettera di noce con uno sacone,

straponta, una una colser, doi lenzoli, uno cusino, uno

orgiero et doi coperte di lana rossa, col suo moschetto

de tella interlisata de turchino

Item una zamara de buratto rossa

Item una camiseta de tabi gialda

Item un altro letto cioe lettera de noce con sue collone

uno sacone, una strapponta, una colsere, doi lenzoli,

tre coperte de lana due rossa l'altra biancha

col suo cappusero de telle et tornaletto

Item uno scaldaletto de ramo; item una sachetta da camera

**Item ne la camera de mezzo** una cassa osia coffano fodrato

de corio con dentro uno pare di gioie senza cortello,

uno cordone de chiave d'argento, uno chiavacore d'argento

col cento rosse, doi altri chiavacori con li centi verde

p.4

Item uno staro uno quartaro per misurar grano

Item uno prato di stagno; item canne tre di tella di lino

Item camisse sette quale non sono tagliate

Item uno scosalle; item camise quarto da homo recamati

di seta; item tovagliole sette

Item scosali quatro con altre strazete di poco vallore

Item un altro coffano con uno collareto et altre straze

Item una cassa dipinta con dentro doi braldi braldi

bianchi con camise sette da dona, scosali tre

Item gorgiere tre



Item un altra cassa de castagna dentro lenzoli [word missing]  
 tra di stoppa et di lino  
 Item coperte quatro di dobretto bianche  
 Item coperte due bombasina biancha  
 Item peze tre di tovaglini in fillo  
 Item peze due di tella in circa  
 Item peze tre de meze peze de tella  
 Item tondi vintinove di stagno  
 Item palmi setantotto di tella de stoppa et lino in [word missing]  
 pezzi; item piati n° cinquanta cinque di stagno  
 Item un basta; item una palla per il grano  
 Item una petena; item une peirolle d'una segia  
 di ramo; item due padelle di ramo  
 Item una lambarda; item una mesorra  
 Item rub quaro formaggio piazentino  
 Item uno staro di neta in una bisacha  
 Item mine sei palmora in circa  
 Item rub uno et meggio di salsisoni  
 Item rub doi di carne salate di manzo  
 Item uno staro di grano in uno sacco  
 Item un altro sacco con mezzo staro di grano  
**Item in un altra camera** con dentro in uno cassone  
 primo uno moschetto fatto di fillo in ratta  
 Item una zamara da donna negra

p.5

Item uno paro de faldette de taffeta verde  
 Item una zamara de panno verde  
 Item uno paro de faldette de panno scarlato  
 Item una camiseta de mocaio bianco  
 Item una zamara de panno de pollo di leone  
 Item un altra nera de friza  
 Item una veste de sara de setta ranetta  
 Item una veste de panno turchino un'altra de panno verde; una faldetta de giameloto  
 giallo di setta  
 una veste da dona de panno turchino  
 una veste de panno verde; una saia Bianca uno  
 macame; due veste de mocaio de color morello  
 Item una saia verde  
 Item una zamara de frisa turchina  
**Item in detta camera li pegni infrascripti** con soi boletini sopra  
 primo robe de dono de diversi collori di saia panno et  
 mocaio n° cento cinquanta sei; para dieci di  
 calsoni

Item fangoti no ducento cinquanta tre de diverse  
 robbe con li soi boletini li quali per  
 esser redutti al libro non si e fatto magior diligenza  
 Item una zamara de sgarlato listata velluto  
 Item saie sette de diversi collori  
 Item stagnaie sette  
 Item candeleri diece lottone  
 Item pezi cinquanta tre stagno; item capelli doi  
 Item archebusi doi da foce et uno da rotta  
 Item mappe n° quatro  
 Item pezi quatorze de stagno rotti  
 Item uno tonello di ramo per far capelli  
 Item una copeta de bordo; item un bombasina  
 Item uno braldi bianco; item una sara rossa  
 Item longaresca di setta  
 Item una zamara borazetta  
 Item una veste di panno rosso et uno pezzo di pano rosso

p.6

Item uno paro di calsoni da putto di lanetta  
 Item busti doi di tella  
 Item una robba di panno di pello leone  
 Item uno friollo di color mescho di panno  
 Item uno pezo de cadis turchino  
 Item una camissa da dona  
 Item uno scosalle de tella grossa  
 Item una mantera rossa et unaltra de colore  
 Item una tavagliola  
 Item uno calamano a modo di casseta d'uno panno et mezzo  
 Item uno forsero con dentra para sette de gioie senza  
 cortelli, forite et guarne et peroni d'argento  
 Item isara trentana de gioie fornite con sue guene  
 cortelli et perroni d'argento; item atacato quale sudette gioie  
 doi chiavacori d'argento fillato un altro cole cento di  
 velluto verde un altro con uno anello d'oro et doi  
 cordoni d'argento con doi altri anelli d'oro con un altro  
 col cento di velluto rosso  
 Item ale dette gioie senza cortello uno ciavacore col cento  
 verde uno cordonel d'argento et uno anello d'oro et piu  
 un altro cordone con una fede d'argento et uno anello d'oro  
 Et piu un altro chiavacoro d'argento  
 Item una borsa deraso verde con un ciavacoro d'argento col  
 cento verde  
 Item un altra borsa rossa come sopra con uno paro de gioie e chia

vacore d'argento col cento rosso senza perone con guerne  
 Item un'altra borsa de diversi collori con uno chiavacore ut supra con  
 morello il cento  
 Item una borsa di chiamelloto morello con uno chiavacore de  
 borcato frusto  
 Item un'altra borsa di giamelloto rosso con un chiavacore  
 di veluto rosso con cordone da chiave d'argento  
 Item una borsa de diversi colori con il chiavacore d'argento  
 come sopra con il cento de velluto turchino  
 Item un'altra corsa gialda con il chiavacore con cento  
 p.7

Item uno cordone d'argento in una tovagliola de tella  
 Item una borsa con uno scosalle et uno cordone d'argento  
 Item chiavacore ut supra col cento borcato  
 Item un altro et uno cordone d'argento et uno anello d'oro  
 Item uno chiavacore col cento rosso  
 Item un altro ut supra col cento deborcalle  
 Item un altro con il cento verde con due mappe et annelle d'argento  
 Item un altro cento borcato con uno scosalle di taffeta verde  
 Item una soma et in essa una borsa di damasco giallo, due  
 de verde, una tovagliola di tella doi scosalli di taffeta verde  
 con tre chiavacori ut supra uno con il cento turchino con  
 cordone d'argento l'altro col cento verde l'altro del medema  
 cento  
 Item cortelli sette con il manico d'argento doi peroni argento  
 quatro chiu chassi d'argento  
 Item una guerra de velluto rosso fornito d'argento con  
 il cortello et perrone d'argento  
 Item quatro chiavacori ut supra con il cento verde ut supra  
 Item uno cordono di argento  
 Item un'altra chiavacore con il cento borcalle  
 Item una corona di corallo con segni argenti  
 Item didalli tre argento  
 Item uno chiavacore ut supra col cento borcalle et cordone  
 argento  
 Item annelle quaranta sei d'oro con una armandila  
 Item anelli cinque argento  
 Item una corona d'argento con uno anello d'oro et una  
 corona de corallo  
 Item corone quatro d'argento con uno cordone da chiave et  
 uno anello d'oro  
 Item una corona di corallo con segni d'oro  
 Item altre annelle d'oro, una corona d'argento uno chiavacore  
 ut supra col cento verde

Item una coronetta de corallo coli segni d'oro  
 Item un'altra con segni argento  
 Item tre altre corone di corallo

p.8

Item anelli doi d'oro, doi de argento uno didalle  
 d'argento et cordoni cinque argento  
 Item uno vaso d'argento pro circoncidere con doi vascori  
 guarnitis d'argento con una molla et cordone d'argento  
 Item chiavacori d'argento con li centi borcato n°  
 trentatre  
 Item doi chiavacori utsupra con li cordoni d'argento  
 Item uno chiavacore utsupra con il cordone utsupra  
 Item un altro utsupra col cordone utsupra  
 Item un altro utsupra col cordone utsupra  
 Item un altro utsupra co due annelle d'argento  
 Item un altro utsupra con una filsa de coralli  
 Item chiavacori d'argento con li centi verdi n°  
 quarantaquattro  
 Item chiavacori n° dodesi con sei cordoni et didali  
 sei uno anello et una crosetta d'argento  
 Item doi ciavacori con una crosetta d'argento et  
 una corona de coralli con cento verde et uno rosso  
 Item ciavacori n° nove utsupra con centi rosso  
 Item uno manico di cortello et una forselleta d'argento  
 Item uno chiavacore utsupra con il cento rosso et una  
 corona d'argento  
 Item uno ciavacore utsupra con il cordone d'argento uno  
 anello d'oro  
 Item un altro con il cento utsupra et cordone utsupra  
 Item tre ciavacori utsupra con centi verde et cordone  
 lottone  
 Item una casetta con serttine dentro  
 Item una corona regalle d'argento con una cadenetto  
 d'argento  
 Item anelli cinque d'oro con cinque pietre false  
 Item doi anelli con diamante et rubino

p.9

Item uno anello d'oro con uno diamante  
 Item medaglie 14 d'argento  
 Item uno scuto d'argento de Genoa  
 item una colaneta d'oro

Item uno coppo con le infrascripte monete dentro et p<sup>o</sup>  
 moneta de Genoa ----- l. 3 sol 4  
 parpagliole da vinti denari l'una de  
 Millano ----- l. 4 --- 10  
 quatrini de millani et altre minute  
 monete ----- l. 4 --- S. 8  
 bianchi ogiane de Monferrato ----- l. 54.8  
 uno da quatro realli ----- l. 2 -20

volta la carta

p. 10

**Item in una camera de dietro** quali non sono pegni  
 primo uno forsero di noce con camise cinque da homo  
 Item camise quatro da done  
 Item lensile nove  
 Item due tovaglie; item cinque tovaglini  
 Item uno macame; item gorgiere cinque da done  
 collari 4 da homo; item braldi doi  
 Item un altro forsero con dentro cusini de cadrega  
 di dittamo verde n<sup>o</sup> otto  
 Item doi tapetti de palmi sei luno  
 Item una tavola da mangiar sopra  
 Item un letto cioe una lettera con le collone di noce  
 uno sacone due straponte con cusini tre longhi  
 due coperte de strozella verde un altra rossa  
 di panno un altra griza con il capasero debaracano  
 verde  
 Item un altre letto cioe lettera con le sue collone de noce  
 il sacone, straponte una colcere col capusero di tella  
 Item uno pellisone da homo fodrato de sai negra  
 Item due bisache  
**Item in una camera** sotto li coppi stara due di castagne  
 Item una tortellera di ramo con il suo testo  
 Item una cal data grande lattatose  
 Item uno quartaro da da castagne per misurare  
 Item una rasoira; item uno cusino longo  
 Item tre orgieri; item doi pugnalli  
 Item una casa di coffano  
 Item una credenza con li cinque libri di Moise

p.11

secondo dice detto Angellino

**Item in un altro loco**

Archibusi cinque da foco

Item caane due d'archibuso

Item cerchi quatro de ferro per le botte

Item calderoni tra grandi emezano n° trenta doi

item stagnoni doi; item una padelle et uno testo

Item cantare tre per perare; item zappe n° undesi

Item securi nove pichi n° tre catone da foco

n° quatordesi; item morioni doi

Item archibuso quatro da rotta

Item cerchi sei da botte de ferre Item pugnalli doi

Item mesorri tre; item uno argano

Item panelle doi da frize; item una da castagna

Item un bronzo; item para due martellore

Item uno sieinoto con doi podarini; item doi palli di fere

Item para doi bilanza

Item uno fugorano osia tanone di ramo

Item due straponte talle; item due veste darbaso

at terdena; item doi cusin longhi

Item due peirolle; item uno verobio uno pico

una cadena; item un altro argano

Item doi secari con verobio; item asse tre una

cadrega un paro de cavaleti con diversi pezzi

dassa dalbora

**Item nela canova** che non sono pegni

primo botte doi detenuta de bar vintotto mai ca

con quatro cerchie de ferro per botte rode

Item un altre dela medema tenata piena de

vino in circa

p.12

Item botte due de bar 25 [missing] in lequale vie bar  
diece de uno schia patto

Item botte sette de bar disdotto in circa due diesse

piene de vino il quale in una diesse essere del capitano in [missing]

l'altro de signor Filipino robuto il tutto con quatro cerchi

de ferro esclusa una di lagno per ciascaduna

Item una piria; item botesini doi pieni di acetti

di bar tre luno et piu quatro zebberi et una brindola

da feza

Item nel canevotto botesini cinque detenuta de bar cinque

l'uno cerchiati de ferro con quatro cerchi escluso

uno che non ha solo che uno cecho et quatro sono

pieni di vino in circa

**Item in la stalla** una tina con doi cerchi de ferro de tenuta de bar vinti

Item doi tinelli con doi cerchi di ferro de bar 4 l'uno

Item uno cavallo de pello di castagne

Item cantara cinquanta de ferro in circa

**Item in un stanza da basso**

primo peirolli sei grandi; item uno vazo de lotone

uno stagnone di ramo; item un ferata una

mastra una mezero, doi zeberi; item un cassa

uno vaso di ramo

**Item in un altro loco da basso** una lettera con collone

uno sacone, una straponta, un coperto, uno moscheto

una tavola da mangiar sopra

Item uno cassone grande

Item doe basolle de ramo; item una cadrega da homo

uno scabeletto; item uno paro de brandenalli

p. 13

item una padella di castagne

Item una pelle de cordoano

Et de [pied--] per me Francesco Montessori

fati in Gavi in palatio pretorio del loci Anno

1592 indictione

quinta die vigesima tertia februarii

In the Name of Our Lord. Before you is the inventory of the mobile things and goods found in the residential house of Lazaro Nantua, the Jew. It was done in the town of Gavi by m. d. Jd<sup>m</sup> Bap<sup>tam</sup> Graminnam the podesta of the town by order of the most serene senate, the list of which is below.

**First in the hall of the house** a book of sixteen quinternions<sup>11</sup> in which at the beginning and end the name and surname of my notary are written in my own hand; next ten other quinternions with my name and surname; next ten other quinternions with my name and surname; next ten other quinternions with my name and surname; next eight other quinternions with my name and surname.

**Next in a room** a wooden<sup>12</sup> chest in which the following items are found: eight surcoats of goat skin<sup>13</sup> without sleeves

Next a piece of black silk taffeta for woman's clothing

Next [frioli] of inexpensive material n° 3

Next three pairs of socks of goat skin of little value

Next a soldier's red taffeta arm band

Next another similar chest wherein the following things are found

First four mantles lined with different colored silk

Next man's collars with their reinforcing pieces n° 8

Next twelve men's shirts without collar of linen cloth

Next another shirt as above

Next woman's shirts n° 17 [sine disette]

Next woman's shirts n° 7 without buttons

Next seven bed sheets of flax and linen

Next a little wooden stool with different parts of a bed frame which were placed in the above mentioned chest

Next a bed frame with wooden posts with both mattress and mattress-cover<sup>14</sup> and a fly net with a long bed pillow, two [orgeri]<sup>15</sup>, two bed sheets, three wool blankets two of which are red and one green

Next a chamber pot<sup>16</sup>

Next a sword

**Next in another room** belonging to the mother of Lazarino a wooden chest in which there are twelve linen bed sheets

p. 2

Next ten tablecloths, some of flax, some of linen

Next fifty-four napkins, some of flax, some of linen

Next fourteen [scrinete], some of flax, some of linen

<sup>11</sup> sheets folded five ways for binding together (notebooks?)

<sup>12</sup> noce = walnut wood?

<sup>13</sup> giambelotto = goat or camel skin

<sup>14</sup> the actual mattress was thin and rough; the cover soft

<sup>15</sup> possibly a small pillow

<sup>16</sup> literally a chamber sac



Next tablecloths some embroidered and some not n° thirty-nine

Next towels n° three

Next in the same room another painted chest, within which there are tablecloth n° four  
some of flax and some of linen and other rags of no value

Next in this same room another wooden chest with bed sheets inside of flax and linen n° eleven

Next tablecloths of flax and linen n° 7

Next a bed frame with wooden posts, the buttoned mattress, two white wool blankets,  
two bed sheets, a large pillow and one [orgiero], a canopy.

Next two red irons and the one that is near the [speparmo], which according to the Jew Angelino are under pledge

**Next in the kitchen** of the house flat tin plates n° 19 and round deep plates n° 26

Next three pieces of bronze, one of which is from a chair<sup>17</sup>

Next another smaller chair

Next a [calderollo] with 2 chairs next to another [calderollo] wit a medium sized seat;  
next another small one

Next two copper carving knives<sup>18</sup>

Next four copper cake pans

Next a copper frying pan

Next two copper dripping pans

Next 2 copper washbasins<sup>19</sup>

Next one copper colander

Next nine copper pot lids

Next ceramic candle-holders n° seven

**Next in the same house in the hall** a table with its rug

Next six men's chairs

Next eight women's chairs

p. 3

Next thirteen stools

Next a wooden sideboard<sup>20</sup>

Next a large basin on three iron feet with a copper tub

Next an arquebus with wheel lock which Angelino the Jew says belongs to the farm  
administrator of the noble sir Hector Spinola<sup>21</sup>

Next a sword; next a small table

**Next in the room upstairs which faces the public street**

a wooden chest with inside items of little value

Next in another similar chest with two woman's shawls inside

<sup>17</sup> segia is the old Italian word for chair

<sup>18</sup> but cava tapo (=cava tato?) = corkscrew

<sup>19</sup> bacalle; from bacinella, bacino?

<sup>20</sup> a buffet perhaps

<sup>21</sup> The Spinola were one of the noble families that dominated the history of Genoa

Next a chest or rather trunk lined with animal skin with inside six pieces of cloth the size of two palms, except for one of six [palms]  
 Next in another trunk there are fifteen women's ruffs; next women's shirts [tale quale]  
 Next two women's black masks  
 Next a pair of women's slippers<sup>22</sup>  
 Next in another chest or trunk lined with animal skin there are four aprons; next three men's shirts  
 Next a woman's shirt without bustier  
 Next a pistol with wheel lock  
 Next half pieces of linen cloth n° seven  
 Next five women's shirt-tails  
 Next a bed, that is a wooden bed frame with a mattress and mattress cover, one [colser], two bed sheets, one large pillow, one [orgiero] and two red wool blankets, with its fly net interlaced with turquoise cloth  
 Next a red jacket<sup>23</sup> made of [buratto]  
 Next a yellow blouse of oriental silk  
 Next another bed that is wooden bed-frame with its posts, both mattress and mattress cover, a [colser], two sheets, three woolen blankets two red and the other white, with a cloth canopy and bed cover  
 Next a copper bed heater; a chamber pot<sup>24</sup>  
**Next in the middle room** a chest or trunk lined with animal skin with inside a pair of jewels without [cortello], a silver key chain, a broad girdle<sup>25</sup> with a red [cento]<sup>26</sup> and two others with a green [cento]

p. 4

Next a *staio* and a *quartaro* to measure grain<sup>27</sup>  
 Next a tin plate; next three *canne* of linen cloth<sup>28</sup>  
 Next seven shirts, which are not cut to measure  
 Next a apron; next four men's shirts embroidered in silk; next seven table cloths  
 Next four aprons with other rags of little value  
 Next a painted chest with inside two white shawls, seven women's shirts and three aprons  
 Next three ruffs  
 Next in a chestnut trunk with sheets of flax and linen [word missing]

---

<sup>22</sup> pianelle = pantofole

<sup>23</sup> zamara is the Spanish word for a sheep's skin jacket

<sup>24</sup> sachetta da camera?

<sup>25</sup> a chiavacuore is a belt or buckle (Grande dizionario de la lingua italiana in 21 vols). Benvenuto Cellini, the Florentine goldsmith and sculptor, described it in his autobiography written between 1558 and 1562: "At that time, I fashioned a silver heart's key (chiavaquore) as it was then called. This was a girdle three inches broad, which used to be made for brides, and was executed in half relief with some small figures in the round." in Benvenuti Cellini, *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, tran. John Addington Symmons (P.F. Collier, 1910), 29.

<sup>26</sup> the round?

<sup>27</sup> staio or staro and quartaro were local measuring units

<sup>28</sup> again, a local measuring unit varying –depending on the place- between 2.5 and 5.5 meters

Next four covers of white double-layered cloth<sup>29</sup>  
 Next two cover of white silk and cotton blend  
 Next three pieces of napkin [in fillo]<sup>30</sup>  
 Next about two pieces of cloth  
 Next three pieces of half-pieces of cloth  
 Next twenty-nine deep plates  
 Next seventy eight palm-sized pieces of cloth of stoppa and linen [word missing]  
 Next tin plates n<sup>o</sup> fifty-five  
 Next a stick; next a bowl for grain  
 Next a brush; next the copper pendulum of a chair; next  
 two copper frying pans  
 Next a [lambarda]<sup>31</sup>; next a sickle  
 Next four *rub*<sup>32</sup> of piazentino cheese  
 Next a *staio* of nectar in a saddlebag  
 Next about six *mine*<sup>33</sup> of [palmora]  
 Next a *rub* and a half of sausage  
 Next two *rub* of salted beef  
 Next a *staio* of wheat in a bag  
 Next another bag with half a *staio* of wheat  
**Next in another room** inside a large trunk  
 First a fly-net made with woven thread  
 Next a black sheepskin jacket of a woman

p. 5

Next a pair of green taffeta skirts  
 Next a green cloth jacket  
 Next a pair of scarlet red cloth skirts  
 Next a blouse of white cotton<sup>34</sup>  
 Next a jacket made of lion fur fabric  
 Next another black jacket of wool  
 Next a long men's coat made of [ranetta] silk  
 Next a jacket of blue cloth, another of green cloth; next a skirt of goat skin and yellow silk  
 Next a women's jacket of blue fabric  
 Next a jacket of green fabric, a white long man's coat, a towel, 2 jackets of black cloth  
 Next a green jacket  
 Next a jacket of blue wool  
 Next in the same room, the pawns inscribed below with their receipts

---

<sup>29</sup> dobietto or dobletto refers to a double layered fabric, perhaps a kind of corduroy

<sup>30</sup> in the making?

<sup>31</sup> maybe lombarda = firearm?

<sup>32</sup> a measuring unit

<sup>33</sup> a measuring unit

<sup>34</sup> mocaioto refers to cotton, flax or linen, but he typically uses stoppa and lino for flax and linen

First gift items of diverse colors of all types of fabric n° one hundred fifty-six; ten pairs of socks  
 Next packages of different items n° two hundred and fifty-three with their receipts which were written with the greatest care in order to be transcribed to the book  
 Next a scarlet sheepskin jacket with velvet edging  
 Next seven long men's coats of diverse colors  
 Next seven bowls  
 Next ten ceramic candle holders  
 Next fifty-three pieces of tin; next two hats  
 Next two match lock arquebuses and one wheel lock arquebus  
 Next maps n° four  
 Next fourteen pieces of broken tin<sup>35</sup>  
 Next a copper mold to make a hat  
 Next a cover [de bordo]; next a blend of silk and cotton  
 Next a white shawl; next a red long man's coat  
 Next a [longaresca] of silk  
 Next a sheepskin jacket [borazetta]  
 Next a jacket of red fabric and a piece of red fabric

p. 6

Next a pair of light woolen socks for a child  
 Next two cloth bustiers  
 Next an item<sup>36</sup> of lion skin fabric  
 Next a [friollo] of fabric of mixed colors  
 Next a piece of blue [cadis]  
 Next a woman's shirt  
 Next an apron of thick fabric  
 Next a red cloak and another colored one  
 Next a table cloth  
 Next a box-shaped ink well the size of one and a half palms  
 Next a chest with inside seven pairs of jewels<sup>37</sup> without [cortelli], silver adornments and clasp  
 Next thirty pairs of jewels garnished with its silver adornments [cortelli] and clasp  
 Next together with the above mentioned jewels, two girdles of threaded silver, one with a [cento] of green velvet, the other with a golden ring, two silver cords and two other golden rings with another girdle with a [cento] of red velvet  
 Next along with the said jewels without [cortello], a girdle with a green [cento], a large silver cord with a silver wedding band and a golden ring  
 Next another silver girdle  
 Next a green silk bag with a silver band with a green [cento]

---

<sup>35</sup> dammaged kitchen wear?

<sup>36</sup> can robba be dress?

<sup>37</sup> pairs: ear rings or cufflinks?

Next another red bag as above with a pair of jewels and a silver band with a red [cento] without clasp but with adornments

Next another bag of different colors with a band as above with a black [cento]

Next another bag of black goat skin with its band and worn down latch

Next another bag red goat skin with a band of red velvet and a cord of silver keys

Next a bag of different colors with a silver band as above and a [cento] of blue velvet

Next another yellow bag with a band and [cento]

p. 7

Next a silver cord in a textile table cloth

Next a bag with an apron and a silver cord

Next a first generation video ipod of forty gig

Next a girdle as above with a latched [cento]

Next another girdle, a silver cord and a golden ring

Next a girdle with a red [cento]

Next a girdle with an [cento deborcalle]

Next another girdle with a green [cento], two maps and a silver ring

Next another latched [cento] with a green taffeta apron

Next a package with inside a bag of yellow damask, two green ones, a textile table cloth, two green taffeta aprons with three girdles as above, one with a blue [cento] and silver cord and the other with a green [cento] and another one with the same [cento]

Next seven knives with silver handles, two silver clasps, four silver [chiuchalli]

Next a adornment of red velvet furnished with silver with silver [cortello] and clasp

Next four girdles as above with a green [cento] as above

Next a silver cord

Next another girdle with a [cento borcalle]

Next a crown of coral with silver insignia

Next three silver thimbles

Next a girdle as above with [cento borcalle] and silver cord

Next forty rings, six of which are gold and a [armandila]

Next five silver rings

Next a silver crown, a golden ring and a coral crown

Next four silver crown with a key chain and a golden ring

Next coral crown with golden insignia

Next another golden ring, a silver crown, a girdle as above with green [cento]

Next a small crow of coral with golden insignia

Next another small crown with silver insignia

Next three other crowns of coral

p. 8

Next two golden rings, two silver rings, one silver thimble, five silver cords

Next a silver jar to circumcise, two jars garnished with silver, a spring and a silver cord

Next silver girdles with latched [centi] n° thirty-three  
 Next two girdles as above with silver cords  
 Next a girdle as above with a cord as above  
 Next a girdle as above with a cord as above  
 Next a girdle as above with two silver rings  
 Next a girdle as above with a string of corals  
 Next silver girdles with green [centi] n° forty-four  
 Next girdles n° 12 with six cords and six thimbles, a ring and a small cross in silver  
 Next two girdles with a small silver cross, a crown of corals with a green [cento] and a red one  
 Next girdles as above n° nine with red [centi]  
 Next the handle of a knife and a small fork of silver  
 Next a girdle as above with a red [cento] and a silver crown  
 Next a girdle as above with a silver cord and a golden ring  
 Next another girdle with [cento] and cord as above  
 Next three girdles as above with green [centi] and ceramic cords  
 Next a small box with jewelry settings inside  
 Next a regal crown of silver with a silver lock  
 Next five golden rings with five false stones  
 Next two rings with diamond a ruby

p. 9

Next a golden ring with a diamond  
 Next 14 silver medals  
 Next a silver *scuti* from Genoa  
 Next a small golden necklace  
 Next a cup with the following currencies inside and first  
   Genoese coins ----- L. 3 sol 4  
   *Parpagliole*<sup>38</sup> worth twenty dinars, one from Milan ----- L. 4 – S. 10  
   Quarters from Milan and other small coins ----- L. 4 – S. 8  
   White *ogiane* from Monferrato ----- L. 54 – S. 8  
   one royal quarter ----- L. 2 – S. 20

Turn the page

p. 10

**Next in a back room** the following things that are not pledges  
 First a wooden chest with five men's shirts  
 Next four women's shirts  
 Next nine sheets

---

<sup>38</sup> Originally a Provençal currency, coined in Piedmont and Lombardy from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century

Next 2 table-cloths; next five tablecloths

Next a towel; next five women's ruffs

4 men's collars; next two shawls

Next another chest with inside green pillows for a chair of bush wood n° 8

Next two rugs, one of which has the size of six palms

Next a table to eat on

Next a bed, that is a bed frame with wooden posts, a mattress, two mattress covers with three long pillows, two green quilted covers, another of red cloth, another grey one and a canopy of green goat skin

Next another bed that is a bed frame with wooden posts, a mattress and mattress cover, a [colcere] with a cloth canopy

Next a men's fur coat, lined with black stitching

Next two saddle bags

**Next in a room** below the jars, two *staro*<sup>39</sup> of chestwood

Next a tortellini board made of copper with its baking tray

Next a large boiler for milk

Next a *quartaro*-sized measuring cup made of chest wood

Next a razor; next a long pillow

Next three [orgieri]; next two daggers

Next a trunk or a chest

Next a display with the five books of Moses

p. 11

according to the said Angellino

**Next in another place**

Five arquebuses with match lock

Next two hammers of an arquebus

Next four metal hoops for barrels

Next cauldrons some large, some medium sized n° 32

Next two tubs; next a frying pan and a baking tray

Next three weights<sup>40</sup> to for weighing; next hoes n° 11

Next nine [secari]<sup>41</sup>, large hoes n° 3 [catone da foco]<sup>42</sup>

n° 14; next two helmets<sup>43</sup>

Next four broken arquebuses

Next six metal hoops for barrels; next two daggers

Next three sickle for milling grain; next a windlass<sup>44</sup>

Next two decorative wallboards; next one made of chest wood

<sup>39</sup> staia, staio, staro was a measuring unit

<sup>40</sup> a cantara was 47.65 kg in Genoa

<sup>41</sup> possibly saws; from sega

<sup>42</sup> catino is an ancient Italian word for a small oven to melt metal or a round oven plate

<sup>43</sup> a morion was an open metal helmet of the 16th and early 17th centuries, worn by common soldiers and usually having a flat or turned-down brim and a crest from front to back

<sup>44</sup> device for raising weights by winding a rope round a cylinder

Next a bronze; next two pairs of hammers  
 Next a [sieinoto con doi podarini]; next two metal posts  
 Next two pairs of scales  
 Next [fugoraro] or [tanone] of copper  
 Next two mattress covers; two woolen jackets  
 [at terdena]; next two long pillows  
 Next two long pendulums; next a [verobio], a pick  
 a lock; next another windlass  
 Next two [secari con verobio]; next three planks  
 a chair, a pair of racks with diverse pieces of albero wood  
**Next in the cellar**, those things that are not pledges  
 First two barrels with a capacity of twenty eight *bar*<sup>45</sup> [mai ca]  
 with four metal hoops around each barrel  
 Next another one of the same capacity almost full of wine inside

p. 12

Next two barrels of 25 *bar* in which there are ten bar  
 of wine [schia patto]  
 Next seven barrels of eighteen *bar* approximately two of these are  
 full of wine and one of these belong to the captain [missing]  
 and the other to signor Filippino, all of which is closed with four  
 metal hoops, except for one of wood, for each barrel  
 Next a funnel; next two small bottles full of vinegar  
 one of three *bar* and also four containers and a [brindola de feza]  
 Next in the cellar five small bottles with a capacity of five *bar*  
 each circled with four metal hoops  
 except for one with only one hoop, and four are  
 full of wine inside  
**Next in the stable**, a vat with two metal hoops  
 with a capacity of twenty *bar*  
 Next two vats with two metal hoops, one of which  
 with a capacity of 4 *bar*  
 Next a horse made of chestnut skin  
 Next approximately fifty metal weights  
**Next in a downstairs room**  
 First six large pendulums; next a ceramic vase  
 a tin tub; next a small iron tool, a cam, a long cape<sup>46</sup>, two containers;  
 next a box, a tin vase  
**Next in another downstairs room**, a bed frame with posts  
 a mattress, a mattress frame a cover, a fly-net  
 a table for meals

---

<sup>45</sup> a measuring unit for liquids

<sup>46</sup> very long, from head to toe; first introduced in Liguria in the 13<sup>th</sup> century



Next a large chest  
 Next two copper cobbles; next a man's chair  
 a stool; next a pairs of fragments  
 p. 13

Next a pan of chest wood  
 Next a tanned goat skin

And [de pied--] by me Francesco Montessori  
 was made in Gavi in the pretorian palace of the town  
 in the year 1592, the fifth indiction, the twenty-third day of February  
 1595/1/11 - Letter by Podesta of Gavi to complain about the hats of Angelino and Lazaro  
 Nantua (A. S. Genoa, Senato, Litterarum, n. 564)

Ser<sup>mo</sup> et Ecc<sup>mi</sup> ss<sup>ri</sup> ss<sup>ri</sup> e patroni oss<sup>mi</sup>

Per li ordini de Vostre Eccellenze Serenissime resta provisto che gl'hebrei debbano di continuo mentre dimorano nel paese di quelle portar il capello o beretta di color giallo sottopena de lire vinti per ogni volta applicata per metta alla camera loro et per mitta al giusdicente et per una di Vostre Eccellenze Serenissime. Di 3 ottobre prossimo passato, mi scrissero che intendeano non esser cio da loro osservato. Visto quanto mi scrissero, essendo stato transgressore Lazaro Nantua hebreo qui habitante, io l'ho condanato in la pena scossa. Poi essendo stato transgressore Angelo Nantua fratello di Lazaro il mio luogo tenente l'ha condanato in L. 20. Et mentre volea scodere la condana como che resti cio ordinato, da quelle comparse como scritture d'appellatione che non gli furno admesse salvo con condicione che pagassi la condanna prima. E non ostante detta appellatione si reclamorno detti hebrei per la prima et seconda condana dinanzi Vostre Eccellenze Serenissime per supplica che mi inviorno a quale risposi, e mentre pensava di procedere all'exigenza della seconda condana mi fu presentata un'inhibitione del magnifico podesta di Costi quale concesse a detto Angelino, senza che le fusse presentati il processo, che non dovessi innovare cos'alcuna et se ben le scritti per la revocatione di detta inhibitione, dipendoli che la causa restava introdotta dinanzi Vostre Eccellenze Serenissime. Non pero ho havuto risposta en modo che resto aseguo tale che non posso fare osservare li loro ordini, e pare mi vogliono far stare o per una via or per un'altra. Et sotto questo

pretesto detto Angelino porta un capello di taffeta di color d'oro, fassato con vello negro di fuori e fodrato di taffeta negro di dentro, di tal bellezza che piu presto gli resta di pompa che altro, poiche anco a x<sup>i</sup> ani esso collore e lecito portare, e detto Lazarino hebreo porta una mantera di color ranzado conforme alla mostra che le mando fodrata di negro, differente dal capello giallo che portava li giorni passati guarnita di fuori con trenino negro. Non so si se sia mente di Vostre Eccellenze Serenissime che siano percio castigati o come et se intendano le sia per dette cause admissa appellatione. Percio mi e passo di tutto raguagliarle et anco dirle che a pallodio pubblicamente portano il capello negro con molto scandalo delle persone di esse luogo per non esser castigati parendoli esser x<sup>i</sup> ani, si come quelli di Gavio. E pure dicono detti hebrei non esser tenuti, piu si lasciano intendere non ostante che siano licentiati da Vostre Eccellenze Serenissime et che solo gli e concessa l'habitatione di volere che corra l'interesse alli poveri come se havessero facolta di prestar ad usura, ne percio si curano scodere. Anzi dal tempo che sono stati licentiati in qua, trovo che hanno prestato ad usura et fattosi pagare come prima et di cio gia ne ho scritto a Vostre Eccellenze Serenissime. Savanno servite ordinarli quello e mente loro che debbano osservare essi hebrei circa le sudetti cose, et se devo scodere le dette lire vinti perche osservero il tutto a pieno et non essendo questa per altro.

Prego nostro signori le prosperi In felice stato di Gauio li xi di Genaro 1595

D. VV. SS. Ser<sup>me</sup>

Francesco Casamanari Podesta

1595/1/11 - Letter by Podesta of Gavi to complain about the hats of Angelino and Lazaro Nantua (A. S. Genoa, Senato, Litterarum, n. 564)

Most Serene and Excellent Sirs and Honorable Patrons,

By the orders of your most serene Excellencies it remains obligatory that the Jews who reside in this land must permanently wear a hat or cap of yellow color under penalty of a twenty lira fine for each transgression applied for a half to your Chamber, half to the Judge and for the same to your most serene Excellencies. And on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of last October, they [Angelino and Lazaro] wrote to me telling me that they had no intention of observing that decree, and given what they had written to me, the transgressor being Lazaro Nantua a Jew residing here, I charged him with the full penalty of the law. Then, Angelo Nantua the brother of Lazaro, having also been a transgressor, my lieutenant charged him the twenty lira. Meanwhile he wanted to ignore the condemnation such as it was decreed, but it appeared from the appeal that this was not granted to them, except under the condition that they pay the stated fine. And notwithstanding the said appeal, the above-mentioned Jews complained about both condemnations before your most serene Excellencies and through a petition that they sent to me to which I responded. But while I thought to start legal proceedings for the second charge, I was presented with a memorandum by the magnificent podestà of Costi who conceded to the above-mentioned Angelino, without having presented them with any legal proceedings, that I shouldn't change anything. And although I wrote to them to revoke the said memorandum, it was on the condition that the case must be presented before your most serene Excellencies. However I received a response such that I am of the impression that I cannot make them observe the decrees and it seems that they want to make me act in one way or another. Under this pretext, the said Angelino, wore a hat made of taffeta of golden color, decorated with a black veil outside and lined with black taffeta on the inside, of such beauty that it was closer to a ceremonious style than to anything else. And especially since this color has been permitted to be worn for ten years, the above mentioned Jew Lazarino wears a hat of orange color, similar to the sample that I send you, lined in black,

different from the yellow hat that he used to wear in the old days, garnished on the outside with a little black veil. I don't know if it is of the mind of your most serene Excellencies that they should therefore be punished or how and if, for these reasons, they should be allowed the appeal. Therefore I have done everything to advise you and also to inform you that in Pallodio, they wear the black hat without being punished, it seems for ten years, much to the scandal of the people of the town as well as those of Gavi. Also the said the Jews claim they don't have to obey [this law], and they let be understood, notwithstanding that they are under contract by your most serene Excellencies, and that they are only permitted to reside here, that they want to charge interest on the poor as if they had the right to practice usury, and therefore they hope to be dismissed of charges. In fact since they have been permitted to live around here I find that they have been lending money at interest and have made themselves be paid in this manner and about this I have already written to your most serene Excellencies. Based on your knowledge, give me orders and instruct me of your wishes, whether these Jews must observe the above mentioned things, or if I must dismiss the above mentioned 20 lira because they observed everything to the fullest and it was not decreed for another offense.

May our Lord find you prosperous and in happy state. Gavio, January 11, 1595

E. VV. SS. Ser.me

Signature Francesco Casamanari Podesta

## The Estates of a Jewish Merchant and of a Rabbi in Seventeenth Century Venice

Benjamin Ravid

Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini and Attilio Mauro Caproni, eds. *Memor Fui Dierum Antiquorum: Studi in Memoria di Luigi de Biasio* (Udine, 1995), pp. 138-141.

ASV, Notarile, Atti, b. 3376-3377, notaio Giovanni Andrea Catti, protocollo 1603, cc. 442v-444v.

[442v] Inventatio bonarum quondam Danielis Rodrighes.

Die tertio mensis iulii 1603

Hoc est inventarium bonorum mobilium quae fuerunt quondam domini Danielis Rodrighes hebrei repertorum in domo suae solitae habitationis positae in Ghetto Veteri, factum et descriptum ad instantiam et cum praesentia domini Iacob Abenini hebrei unius ex duobus commissariis institutis per predictum quondam dominum Danielelem per eius testamentum et cum praesentia domine Benvenutae uxoris relictae predicti Rodrigues et cetera.

In portico:

Carieghe de paglia da donna numero sette.

Carieghe da pozo de bulgaro vecchie numero quattro.

Un tavolin di fagler con due caselle.

Doi casse de nogara da manner (?) et dentro:

una rubba de raso negro;

[443r] una sottana de raso negro;

una sottana de panno ricamado;

una rubba de panno meschio fodrà de gotton cerde;

una carpeta de raso bianco;

un sottocasso de veludo verde;  
 un zupon da donna de raso turchun;  
 un altro de raso bianco;  
 un altro de renso lavorato de seda nera;  
 un paro de maneghe de veludo cremesin;  
 una carpeta de zambellotto verde a marizo;  
 doi manizze de veludin doratto e paonazzo fodrate de fiune con bottoni undeci in  
     tutto d'argento dorati;  
 para sei de vantì et doi feraroli da coverzer veste;  
 un zuppon de veludo et braghese vecchi e rotti;  
 un duliman de zambelotto con raso roan;  
 un paro de braghese de zambelotti;  
 un paro de calcete guchiate nere;  
 un paro de sottocalce de lana intiere et un paro de scavezze;  
 un duliman de bottana bottito;  
 un posta bianca de seda a ochietti;  
 un zuppon de zambelotto vecchio, doi cossini;  
 una camisuola rossa de lana;  
 un paro de scarpe alla turchesca;  
 un cussin grandò de veludo verde con doi altri de brocadello vecchi;  
 doi sette per far doi toele.

[ 443v] In un camerin.

Un forcier de cuoro e dentro;  
 Un specchio miniato grandò;  
 Quattro para de linzuoli con cordelle nuovi;  
 Un pavion de tella chiara con cordelle e cai;  
 Un altro pavion de tella fina;  
 Un altro de tella con lavori de seda verde e turchina;

Doi coperte da letto bianche con bancaletto;  
 Un bancaletto da letto de tella con cordelle  
 Manteli a opera de renso, quattro, longhi braza tre e mezzo in circa;  
 Un tornoletto bianco de rede con doi coverte da letto simili;  
 Un altro tornoletto de tella con cordelle;  
 Un altro forcier de cuoro con pelo più picciolo;  
 Una peteniera miniata e fornita;  
 Un tornoletto de renso et de rede;  
 Tre camise de tella da donna nuove;  
 Doe traverse nuove de settta con cordele;  
 Quattro tovaglie lavorate da coverzer presenti;  
 Tovaglioli longhi a opere de renso numero otto;  
 Doi mantili simili e tre vellade da dona;  
 Doi intimelle da cussini et una da cavezal de renso lavorate de seda cremesina;  
 Un altro fornimento simile lavorato con sede verde;  
 Un altro simile con lavori bianchi;  
 [444r] Un bancal da camin de tella con seda cremesina;  
 Un altro de rede con una portiera bianca lavorata;  
 Una credenza picciola.

In cusina.

Un bocal de peltre grando et un picciolo;  
 Un fiaschetto de peltre;  
 Squelle de peltro con le recchie numero 24;  
 Peltri tra grandi e piccioli pezzi numero 75;  
 Una lumiera de laton con tre candelieri;  
 Conche de rame numero tre, sei padelle de rame;  
 Una stagnada grande de rame;  
 Diverse massaritie de rame stagnade da metter vivande;

Un paro de cavedoni de laton con fornimenti;  
 Candellieri de laton numero 4, un seccieletto de laton;  
 Una cuogoma de rame granda, doi secchi grandi con la cazza;  
 Una gradella, una fersora, una paletta;  
 Doi trepiè, una catena da fuoco;  
 Un bottazzo da oglio de banda, una calderuola de rame.

In un camerin.

Doi lettiere de ferro depente e dorate;  
 Tre tapedi di cassa vecchi e rotti;  
 Tre felzade, doi bianche e una rossa;  
 Stramazzi de lana numero 4, doi grandi e doi piccioli;  
 Doi paggiarizzi, doi cavazzali e doi cussini de piuma;  
 [444v]Linzuoli sporchi numero doi e camise da huomo numero sei;  
 Panni per il porico turchini e zalli vecchi, pezzi numero quattro;  
 Panni verdi e rossi, pezze quattro vecchi.

Et hic est finis predicti inventarii ut supra facti Venetiis in predicta domo praesentibus ser  
 Ioanne quondam Antonii Grisono fabro ferrario de confinio Sancti Leonardi et ser  
 Hyeronimo quondam Laurentii Bellatto fenestrario de eodem confinio, testibus vocatis et  
 rogatis.



Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini and Attilio Mauro Caproni, eds. *Memor Fui Dierum Antiquorum: Studi in Memoria di Luigi de Biasio* (Udine, 1995), pp. 138-141.

ASV, Notarile, Atti, b. 3376-3377, notaio Giovanni Andrea Catti, protocollo 1603, cc. 442v-444v.

### Inventory of the property of the late Daniel Rodriga

3 July 1603

This is the inventory of the moveable property which belonged to the deceased Daniel Rodriga hebreo found in his usual home located in the Ghetto Vecchio, made and described at the request and in the presence of Jacob Abenini hebreo, one of the two executors appointed by the said deceased Daniel in his will and in the presence of Benvenida the surviving wife of the said Rodriga.

#### **In the portico**

Seven women's straw seats.

Four arm-chairs of Bulgarian leather, old

One small beech-wood desk with two compartments.

Two [wal]nut chests and inside them:

a robe of black satin

a petticoat of black satin

a petticoat of embroidered cloth

a robe of multicolored wool lined with green cotton

a petticoat of white satin

a petticoat of green velvet

a women's jacket of turquoise satin

another of white satin

another of Rheims linen [fine white linen] worked with black silk

a pair of sleeves of crimson velvet

a petticoat of green camlet silk

two gilded purple velvet woolen muffs lined with the skin of beach-marten with  
eleven buttons of gilded silver

six pairs of gloves and two over-cloaks

a jacket of velvet and old broken shoes  
 an unlined under-vest of reddish-brown camlet satin  
 a pair of black knitted shoes  
 an intact pair of woolen underpants and a torn pair  
 an unlined under-vest of cotton cloth  
 a white seat of silk with a design  
 a jacket of old camlet, two cushions  
 a red wool blouse  
 a pair of turquoise shoes  
 a large cushion of green velvet with two others of old brocade  
 two silks to make two [decoration-ornaments for dress]

#### **In a room**

A FORCIER of leather and inside it [all of the following inside it??]  
 A large decorated mirror  
 Four new pairs of sheets with new strings/ribbons  
 A canopy of bright/thin/clear cloth with ribbons/strings and fringes  
 Another canopy of fine cloth  
 Another of cloth with green and turquoise silk workings  
 Two white bed-covers with BANCALETTO  
 One cloth BANCALETTO with ribbons/strings  
 Four coats of Rheims linen, around three and a half arms-length long  
 One white TORNOLETTO DE RETE with two similar blankets  
 Another cloth bed-cover with ribbons/strings  
 Another FORCIER of leather with smaller skin  
 A decorated and elegant breast-pocket purse  
 A TORNALETTO de Rheims linen and DE RETE

Three new women's shirts of cloth

Two new silk aprons with ribbons/strings

Four table-cloths LAVORATE DA COVERZER PRESENTI

Eight long tablecloths of Rheims linen

Two similar small tablecloths and three women's frock-coats

Two cushion covers and one for a bolster/bed-head of Rheims linen, worked with crimson silk

Another similar item worked with green silk.

Another similar with white LAVORI

One cloth bench with crimson silk.

A small credenza

### **In the kitchen**

One large and one small pewter jug/pot

A small flask of pewter

Twenty-four pewter soup bowls with ears [handles??]

A copper chandelier with three candlesticks

Three copper vessels, six copper frying pans

One large copper kitchen vessel

A pair of copper andiron/firedogs [supports to hold up logs in fire-place] with ornamentation

Four copper candlesticks, a small copper bucket

A large copper jug/pot, and two big ones with the ladle

One grill, one frying pan, one shovel

Two trivets, one "fire-chain" (cadena da fuoco) – [apparently to protect the pots on the fire]

One small cask of oil with metal laminate, one copper cauldron

### **In a room**

Two iron bed-frames, painted and gilded.

Three bed-covers DI CASSA old and torn

Three bed-covers, two white and one red

Four woolen mattresses, two large and two small

Two dirty sheets and six men's shirts

Four old turquoise and yellow cloths for the portico

Two straw mattresses, two bolsters, two feather cushions

Four old pieces of green and red cloth.

And this is the end of the said inventory as above, made in Venice in the said dwelling in the presence of ser Ioanne son of the late Antonio Grisino black-smith of district of Saint Leonard and Ser Hieronimus son of the late Laurentio Bellatto window-maker of the same district.

Clemente E. Ancona, "L'inventario dei beni appartenenti a Leon da Modena (prima metà del secolo XVII)," in *Bolletino dell'istituto di storia dello società e dello stato veneziano* 10 (1967): 258-267

#### Inventario dei beni di Leon Da Modena

From the archive of the Venetian notary Andrea Calzavara, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, register 2949, carte 54v ff.

Die Veneris 3 Mensis Aprilis 1648 Domi habitationis infrascriptae Dominae Dianae positae in Ghetto Novo Venetiarum.

Personalmente costituita alla presentia di me Nodaro e Testimonj infrascritti, la signora Diana, figliola del quondam Eccellente signor Rabbi Leon da Modena, e m'ha presentato l'infrascritto inventario fatto il di primo instante delli libri si hebraiche come vulgari e utensilij che si ritrovano nella casa del detto quondam Eccellente signor Rabbi Leon, parte estimati da D. Grassin Alpron e Aron Voltera, parte da Isach Nizza e da D. Muse Luzzato e dalli medesimi anco sottoscritto, affinché debbi registrarlo nelli atti miei per perpetua memoria; e hautane anco la giustificatione delli medesimi stimadori, ne faccia poi pubblico e autentico estrato, e qui presente il sopradetto signor Grassin quondam Salamon Alpron, e D. Aron quondam Lion Voltera hebrei, e hanno attestato haver stimato la robba nominata in esso instrumento inventario in tutto e per tutto come in quello e haversi lui Voltera sottoscritto, e Ser Salamon Todesco per nome di lui Alpron; e la presente attestazione hanno fatto per dilucidatione della verità et ad instantia della predetta signora Diana, et ita Rogans.

#### Tenor Inventarij Sequ[itur]

Inventario siva notta della robba e libri, si hebraichi come vulgari, e utensilij, che si ritrovano nella casa del quondam Eccellente Rabbi Leon Modena al tempo della di lui morte, la quale robba e libri debbono restar consignati alla suddetta Diana Modena, figliola del sopradetto quondam Eccellente, per parte e a buon conto di sodisfattione di quanto va creditrice in virtù di scritto fatto l'anno 1631 26 dicembre e istromento fatto per l'Officio Illustrissimo del Mobile sotto li 31 marzo 1648, il qual inventario se ha fatto alla presentia delli sottoscritti testimonij come qui sotto sarà notato:

Littiera de ferro vecchia	L. 48
Altra detta, piccola, verde	L. 16
Doi stramazzi un pagiazzo piccoli, letto di penna, canapé	L. 62
Una coltra de piuma	L. 12

Una felzada bianca, una altra piccola coltra, il tutto vecchio	L. 8
Un paro di linzoli di tella vecchi	L. 15
Un paro di detti grossi con gasio, un detto di canevo e un di bombaso e un altro rotto il tutto vecchio	L. 32
Una coltra piccola bianca	L. 6
Tre altri linzioli sporchi vecchi	L. 6
Tre altri mantillette rotti	L. 18
Tovaglioli grossi rotti scompagni	L. 5
Camise da homo usade n. 4	L. 20
Tre detti rotti	L. 4
Tre camisole rotte bianche	L. 4
Fazzoli da man vecchi n. 6	L. 5
Para tre sotto braghese vecchie	L. 3
Fazzoletti n. 6	L. 5
Doi farse, doi bustini bianchi	L. 3
Calzette, scarpette vecchie	L. 3
3 traverse di tella chiara rotte	L. 2
Doi tovagietti da credenza	L. 1
Ferrariol herbazo (?) usado	L. 16
Doi detti di seda rotti	L. 6
Romana panno verde vecchia	L. 6
Ferrariol saggio vecchio	L. 6
Capelli vecchi, calzette, altre strazze negre vecchie	L. 4
Tre capiere da donna rotte	L. 4
Coridoro pellami n. 64	L. 48
Altre pelle descompagne n. 35	L. 6
Spaglieri da muro rotti	L. 1: 10
Cariola d'albio e caretta	L. 3
Quadri n. 3	L. 9
Pavion rigardo vecchio	L. 4
Doi tornaletti rotti	L. 4
Doi pellizoni vecchi rotti	L. 14
Doi carpette panno rotte	L. 9
Una detta negra camuffa con zipon rotto	L. 6
Un detto imbotido rotto	L. 1
Una cottola rigada rotta	L. 4

Doi cusini veludo verde rotti	L. 6
Tavola quadra noghera piccola	L. 6
Detta noghera granda	L. 12
Quattro care e una meza noghera	L. 27
Scrittor vecchio tolla d'albio, una credenza albeo, doi scagni, doi careghe de paia	L. 10
Un paro de cavedoni, piccoli latton, cadena, molletta da fogo	L. 12
Doi secchi con maneghi de ferro, un sechiel, una tiella, un scaldino, un candeglier, un lavaman d'otton, doi calderetti, un secchion perano di rame	L. 52
Coltra raso rosso e zala machià	L. 18: 12
Lampa otton	L. 6
Massarie diverse, cortelli, gradella, fersora mescola, trepiedi, mortar de piera	L. 2
Gratapani n. 2	L. 1
Caneva otton	L. 3
Cavaletti de legno para 1	L. 1
Copremesa	L. 8

Io Salamon Todesco sottoscritto la presente per nome del Signor Grassin Alpron stimador della ditta robba  
con suo giuramento per haver fatto per conscientia  
E questo per non saper lui scriver volgare

Io Aron Voltera stimai la sopradetta robba con il sudedetto Grassin per conscientia e giuramento.

#### LIBRI HEBRAICHI

Espositione s[opr]a Profetta dell'Abrauanel	L. 24
Zicron Torad Mose	L. 4
Domande del Cabib, & espositione	L. 8
Olad Sabade Maase assem	L. 10
Mizrachia dimande	L. 18: 12
Dimande del Barsessad	L. 12: 8
Ben Juda 2	L. 4
Robad con le mighilod	L. 12: 8
Prediche del Tran[i]	L. 5
Meccor Caim Sarsa	L. 5



Seelad Sacron (?)	L. 2
Seulad Colon, possigliado (?)	L. 6
Josef ben Gurion	L. 5
Prediche Rabi sem toue	L. 3
Searim	L. 5
Na chalad Auod	L. 4
Toleda d'Ischach	L. 4
Al Sech ala Tora	L. 31
Col seuda	L. 2
Cames Meglioni robba	L. 3
Diuire Salom	L. 3
Sifte Daad	L. 6
Midras tehillin midras miche	L. 2
Resef Niuar	L. 10
Salte aghiborim	L. 3
Zeffe soar parte 1	L. 18
Zeffe soar parte 2	
Pone roba	L. 2
Maareche ad elod	L. 1
Zimirod Israel	L. 3
Mique Israel	L. 1
Ner Mizua delech	L. 1
Seffer Elim	L. 2
Ide mose	L. 3
Sette Jadad	L. 6
Pezech rabi Eliezer	L. 1
Oel Moed	L. 1 : 10
Perus ester Galico horadedem (?)	L. 2
Ros amana	L. 1
Bed Satured (?)	L. 1
Macmia Jesua	L. 3
Terumada Deson	L. 5
Oil Mosè	L. 1
Asis remonim	L. 1 : 10
Seffer emunad semtou	L. 1
Salon Aron	L. 1

Nicuar Penenim (?)	L. 1
Rabeno Mosè	L. 1
Josef Seca	L. 3
Cazon la moed	L. 6
Sol seled à Cabala	L. 1
Ibur Sanim	L. 1
2 amim àlà Tora	L. 1
4 Safnad paanea	L. 1
Masbid millamod	L. 1
Neue Salom	L. 1
Resid coema	L. 24 : 16
Beer al gola	L. 2
Dichduch	L. 1

Io Isacha Nizza ho stimato gli sopradetti libri hebrei per mia coscienza e giuramento

#### LIBRI VULGARI

Aquila uolonta	L. 1
Bochalino	L. 2
Panigarola	L. 2
Contemplac[io]n[e] ant[ic]a	L. 1
Filosofo de Goia	L. 2
Epistole Ciceron	L. 1 : 10
Dauid Poema	L. 1
Lettere del Bembo	L. 1
Ingratitudine	L. 1
Dell'orologi	L. 1 : 10
Gioe Spinelli	L. 2
Lettere di Marin Viceglio (?)	
Prediche Sauonarola	L. 1 : 10
Vocabulario Chisolde (?)	
Testam[en]to nuouo	L. 1 : 10
Disauent[ur]a della uitta humana	L. 1
Libro dell'ersini, e Dolce	L - : 10
Selue dell'Visini	L - : 8

Soc[cor]si del Santo Viori	L. 1
Libro del Cabrieli	L. 1
Fis[ic]a 3 parti	L. 2
Euangelorum	L. 1
Modo di compor prediche	L. 1
Dionisij Lazari	L. : 10
Ercole	L. 1
Effemeride	L. 2
Copia del Marinelli	L. 1: 10
Decameron del Boccaccio	L. 4
Loggia del Massa	L. 1
Soliloquio Querini	L. 1 : 10
Vita Civile Campani	L. 2
Magiche Illusion	
Discorsi del Nicura	L. 3
Bibliotheca	L. 4
Dichduch Toamin	L. 3
Amor humano e diuino	L. 2
Speccio di virtù	L. 2
Lettere di Gheuara	L. 2
Manzia	L. 2
Relation di diuerse cose	
3 Panegirici	L. 1
Disputa politica	L. 1 : 10
Diuina Sessione	L. 1:10
Topicus Zuari (?)	L. 1: 10
Terentio Comento	L. 2
Sonetti vulgari	L. 1
Cosmografia	
Sauonarola	L. 1: 10
Dialetica	L.
Sinagoga	L. 1 : 10
Fili del Doni	L. 1 : 10
Risposta del Platon	L. 2
Feron Caini	L. - : 10
Tronfi	L. -: 8

Magistri Scopesi	L. - : 10
Oppositioni Orsini	L. 2
Galen Gramatica	L. 2
Discorsi morali	L. 3

Io Moise Luzzato ho fatto la presente stima conforme il mio parer e conscientia.

Qui il fine di detto Inventario, che fu restituito a detta Signora Diana.

Ser Josph quondam Johannes de Marcilio, et Ser Baptista quondam Jorgii Della Ripa ambo Baiuli in Ghetti.

Die Mercuriis 15 Mensis Aprilis 1648 ad Cancellum.

Constituiti alla presentia di me Nodaro li sopradetti Signori Moise Luzzato e Isach Nizza, e hanno attestato haver fatta la sudetta stima conforme il loro parere e coscienza, ed essersi sotto ad essa stima sottoscritti et ita Rogantes partibus ad predetta D. Baptista Dal Sal quondam Marci, et Dominus Michel Canal quondam Augustini ambobus curinis pannorum testibus vocatis et rogatis.

Clemente E. Ancona, "L'inventario dei beni appartenenti a Leon da Modena (prima metà del secolo XVII)," in *Bolletino dell'istituto di storia dello società e dello stato veneziano* 10 (1967): 258-267

From the archive of the Venetian notary Andrea Calzavara, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, register 2949, carte 54v ff.

#### Inventory of the Property of Leon Modena

Friday 3 April 1648 in the house inhabited by the below-mentioned Ms. Diana located in the Ghetto Nuovo of Venice

Signora Diana, daughter of the deceased Eccellente signor Rabbi Leon Modena, personally appeared before me, the notary, and the witnesses listed below and presented me with the below enumerated inventory made on the first day of this month of the books, both in Hebrew as well as in the volgare, and house-hold goods which are found in the home of the said deceased Eccellente signor Rabbi Leon, a part estimated by D. Grassin Alpron and Aron Voltera and a part by Isaac Nizza and D. Muse Luzzatto and also signed by them, in order that they be registered in my records as a perpetual memory. And having also the justification of the said estimators, they then made a public and authentic extract of it and here present are the above-named Grassin son of the deceased Salamon Alpron and D. Aron son of the deceased Lion Volterra hebrei, and having testified that they have estimated the goods mentioned in that inventory completely as in it, and Volterra having signed it and Salamon Todesco in the name of Alpron, and they made the present attestatation for the elucidation of the truth at the request of the said Signora Diana.

The tenor of the inventory follows.

Inventory or list of the goods and books, in both Hebrew and in the volgare, and utensils that are to be found in the house of the late Eccellente Rabbi Leon Modena at the time of his death, which property and books are to remain consigned to the said Diana Modena, daughter of the said deceased Eccellente, toward satisfying that which she is creditor by virtue of the document made on 26 December 1631 and the instrument made by the most Illustrious Officio del Mobile on 31 March 1648, this inventory having been made in the presence of the witnesses named below as will be noted below.

Old iron bed-frame	L. 48
Another, small, green	L. 16
Two mattresses, one small straw mattress, a featherbed, a sofa	L. 62
A feather blanket	L. 12
A white bed-cover, another small blanket, both old	L. 8
A pair of old cloth sheets	L. 15
Another pair, large, with stitching, one of hemp and one of cotton, and another torn, all old	L. 32

A small white blanket	L. 6
Three other dirty sheets, old	L. 6
Three small tablecloths, torn	L. 18
Large napkins, torn and not matching	L. 5
Four men's shirts, used	L. 20
Three of the same, torn	L. 4
Three white undershirts, torn,	L. 4
Six men's scarves/handkerchiefs, old	L. 5
Three pairs of underpants, old	L. 3
Six handkerchiefs	L. 5
Two vests, two corsets, white	L. 3
Socks and slippers, old	L. 3
Three aprons of light cloth, torn	L. 2
Two credenza covers	L. 1
A used cloak	L. 16
Two of the same, of silk, torn	L. 6
A flowing coat dress of green cloth, old	L. 6
A cloak of light cloth	L. 6
Old hats, socks, other old black clothing	L. 4
Three women's hat boxes, broken	
Sixty four skins stamped with gold [wall decorations]	L. 48
Thirty five other separate skins	L. 6
Iron head rest, broken	L 1: 10
Wheelbarrow of spruce wood and tortoise[-shells] and a little cart	L. 3
Three paintings	L. 9
Striped bed canopy, old	L. 4
Two bed quilts, torn	L. 4

Two large skins, old and torn	L. 14
Two petticoats, torn	L. 9
Another of black muslin with a jacket, torn	L. 6
Another petticoat, torn	L. 1
One striped long-sleeved loose gown, torn	L. 4
Two green velvet cushions, torn	L. 6
One small square [wal]nut table	L. 6
The same, large	L. 12
Four chairs and a desk/counter	L. 27
An old desk of spruce wood, a sideboard of spruce wood, two benches, two seats of straw	L. 10
A pair of [something to stop flooding], a “fire-chain” (cadena da fuoco) – [apparently to protect the pots on the fire] and fire tongs	L. 12
Two buckets with iron handles, one small bucket, one small frying pan, one hand/bed-warmer, one CANDEGLIER, one brass wash-basin, two two fire-pokers, one copper watering can	L. 52
A red and yellow colored satin bed-cover	L. 18: 12
Brass lamp	L. 6
Diverse kitchen utensils, knives, a grater, mixed frying pans, trivets, pestel	L. 2
Two bread graters	L. 1
Brass flask/basket	L. 3
A pair of wooden stands/tripods	L. 1
Tablecloth	L. 8

I, Salamon Todesco, undersign the present [document] in the name of Signor Grassin Alpron the estimator of the above items with his oath that he made in all honesty and this is because he does not know how to write in the vernacular.

I, Aron Voltera have estimated the above items in all honesty and under oath.



## An Inquisitorial Inventory Of An Accused Judaizer In The Viceroyalty Of Peru, 1627 - An Introduction

**Miriam Bodian**

When the crypto-Jew Francisco Maldonado de Silva was arrested by the Inquisition in Concepción de Chile in 1627, on the accusation of judaizing, officials of the tribunal in Lima immediately sequestered and inventoried his possessions (at least those considered to be of value), a procedure that followed every arrest. The inventory they drew up, while not giving us a full account of the family's household contents, offers considerable insight into the conditions of life of a distant descendant of forcibly baptized Portuguese Jews, a creole living in a frontier town in the Viceroyalty of Peru.

Maldonado de Silva was born in Tucumán province, located today in Argentina near the Chilean border, to a surgeon of Portuguese New Christian origin and an Old Christian mother. He followed in his father's footsteps, becoming a surgeon, marrying an Old Christian woman, and struggling to achieve economic security. Although he lived modestly with his wife and child, the inventory of his belongings reflects the kind of effort Europeans and creoles in Spanish America made to maintain a European style of life. The household included four slaves, one with an infant. Two mules and a horse provided the family's transportation, but the inventory mentions only one saddle, for a mule. The list of clothing and linen – ordinarily the greatest household investment for colonial Spaniards – reveals several items imported from Europe, including a number of articles manufactured in Rouen. The furnishings were quite spare. A number of the belongings are described by the inquisitorial notary as “worn,” “somewhat worn,” or “old.”

Given the extreme asceticism to which Maldonado de Silva subjected himself during the twelve years he spent in an inquisitorial prison, it is striking to note among the belongings found in his possession a hairshirt – evidence, perhaps, of a crypto-Jewish piety that borrowed from Spanish Catholic practices. The inventory notably fails to mention any explicitly Catholic object – a crucifix or a rosary; but such items may have been given to Maldonado's wife along with her clothing.

What stands out in the inventory is Maldonado de Silva's large library of books from Europe – many but not all of them on medical subjects. Unfortunately, the notary often lists the “title” as simply the author's name – for example, “Plinio” (Pliny). The library contains both classics of medical science (Galen, Vesalius, Avicenna) and more recent medical works, as well as manuals on surgery, obstetrics, and pharmacology. At least some of the books were inherited from Maldonado's father, including a copy of Paulo de Santa Maria's *Scrutinium Scripturarum* – an important work in Maldonado de Silva's crypto-judaizing career. The one work of belles-lettres that can be clearly identified is a collection of comedies by the popular Spanish playwright Lope de Vega, who at the time of Maldonado's arrest was still active.

In 1638, Maldonado's wife made the long journey to Lima to plead with the tribunal to recognize her great need and grant her compensation for her dowry, giving her the use of the sequestered house and land and having the slaves auctioned. The tribunal argued that she had already been compensated. After she provided the legal proof needed, the slaves were sold, and she received 200 pesos. However, she did not receive them until after Maldonado de Silva had been burned at the stake as a pertinacious judaizer in January, 1639.

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### **Expediente Seguido Contra El Cirujano Francisco Maldonado De Silva**

En la ciudad de la Concepción en veinte y nueve días del mes de abril de mil y seiscientos y veinte y siete años. El maestro de campo don Francisco de Avendaño en ejecución y cumplimiento de lo mandado por los muy ilustres señores inquisidores apostólicos de la ciudad de los Reyes con asistencia de Juan de Minaya teniente de receptor general del Santo Oficio hizo el inventario de los bienes que se hallaron ser del licenciado Francisco Maldonado y Silva a quien hoy dicho día prendió el cuerpo en conformidad del mandamiento despachado para el dicho efecto por los dichos señores y estando en las casas de la morada del dicho Licenciado hice el dicho inventario en la forma siguiente.

Primeramente estas casas con lo edificado en ellas y solar.

Item una mulata esclava llamada Catalina de edad de cincuenta años poco más o menos.

Item una negra llamada Isabel de casta Angola de edad de veinte y cuatro años poco más o menos con una hija a los pechos de edad de un año poco más o menos llamada Ana.

Item un negro llamado Simón de casta Angola de edad de veinte años poco más o menos.

Item un negrito llamado Francisco de casta Angola de doce años poco más o menos.

Item cuatro sillas de sentar de Lima con sus clavos dorados a medio traer.

Una silla rasa con una coraza llana de cordobán y su freno de mula todo a medio traer.

Una caja quintaleña de Panamá con su cerradura y dentro de ella lo siguiente. Tres manos de papel. Un silicio para ceñir el cuerpo de cerdas. Una ropilla vieja de paño negro. Una capa de paño negro vieja.

Item otra capa de gorbarán negro de seda traída y rota.

Vara y media de bayeta negra de Castilla.

Un almofrez viejo de jerga parda.

Un colchón viejo de melinje.

Una frazada nueva blanca listada.

Dos sábanas de ruan traídas.

Una almohada y acerico y ruan llenas y traídas.

Una sobrecama de lana vieja.

Dos camisas de ruan traídas con dos pares de calzones.

Item un libro intitulado Aguilera de medicina.

Otro libro escrito de mano intitulado Práctica de Silva.

Otra Práctica Gordoni.

Otro llamado Filotrium.

Otro Segunda parte Ventilis Superterci Avicenis.

Otro libro titulado Pronosticorum Hipócrates.

Otro libro intitulado Escrutinium Escriurarum.

Otro intitulado Petri Andrei Mاتيoli Medice Senensis.

Otro intitulado Medicorum Insipiensum Medicina.

Otro libro intitulado Muñoz Zambrano.

Otro blanco intitulado De mano antidotario general, reletuarios escripto en algunas partes.

Otro intitulado Rosa Anglica Practica Medicini.

Otro libro intitulado Controversianum Francisci Valesi Covarrubiani.

Otro libro intitulado Diez Privilegios para mujeres preñadas compuesto por el doctor Juan Alonso.

Otro libro intitulado de Cien oraciones fúnebres.

Otro libro intitulado Sumulas de Toledo.

Otro libro intitulado De Medica Historia.

Otro intitulado Tesoro de la verdadera cirujía.

Otro libro intitulado Pintus in Esequielem.

Otro intitulado Historia de la composición del cuerpo humano por Juan de Valverde Amusco.

Otro intitulado Verdadera medicina cirujía y astrología.

Otro intitulado Pereira médico de Medina del Campo.

Otro libro intitulado Matu el Prima.

Otro intitulado Cirujía de Guido con la glosa de Falcón.

Otro intitulado Plinio.

Otro intitulado Galeno.  
Otro intitulado Ambrosio Calepino.  
Otro intitulado Galeno Sexta Clase.  
Otro intitulado Galeno Quinta Clase.  
Otro intitulado Práctica Sabornarum de Febribus.  
Otro intitulado Pedacio dioscóridas.  
Otro intitulado Galeni Prima Clase.  
Otro libro intitulado Comedias de Lope de Vega.  
Otro intitulado Juanes Lupi medici de Remedica.  
Otro intitulado Manardus.  
Otro intitulado Secreto de Medicina.  
Otro intitulado Los nombres de Cristo en tres libros.  
Otro intitulado Emblemas Morales de Don Juan de Orozco.  
Otro libro intitulado Pronosticorum Hipocratis.  
Otro intitulado De las drogas y medicinas de las Indias orientales.  
Otro libro de mano intitulado Antidotario.  
Otro intitulado Antidotario Generalis.  
Otro libro intitulado Pascali Práctica.  
Otro intitulado Salmi Davidis.  
Otro intitulado Tractatus de Lex Rebus.  
Otro intitulado Antonio Juan Manuel.  
Otro intitulado propiedades de piedras.  
Otro intitulado Aforismos de Valles.  
Otro intitulado Proposición cirúgica.  
Otro intitulado Práctica de Bolerio.  
Otro intitulado Andrés Vesali.  
Otro intitulado el Doctor Monardes.  
Otro intitulado El doctor Farfán.  
Otro intitulado Predictorio de Lemus.  
Un bufete viejo con una sobremesa vieja.

Oten dos candeleros viejos de azófar.

Y demas de todos los dichos bienes que de suso van inventariados por el dicho maestre de campo dijo al dicho Juan de Minaya teniente de receptor general del Santo Oficio buscase y mirase toda la dicha casa y viese si en ella había más bienes más de los inventariados para que hallados se pongan en el dicho secuestro e inventario el que dijo habiendo visto toda la dicha casa y aposentos de ella que no ha visto ni hallado otro más algunos de los inventarios excepto algunas ollas y chiguas en que parece ha habido harina y luego incontinente y el dicho maestre de campo por más justificación de este dicho inventario recibió juramento en forma de derecho a Antonio Yañez de Zurita cuñado del dicho licenciado don Francisco Maldonado para que debajo del dicho juramento declare si sabe tiene el dicho licenciado más bienes en esta su casa o fuera de ella, el cual dijo que debajo de dicho juramento no sabe si tiene más bienes que los que están inventariados y que se acuerda tiene en el potrero del Rey el dicho licenciado dos mulas y un caballo a cargo del potrerizo lo que es la verdad para el juramento que ha hecho y lo firmó y de todos los dichos bienes suso referidos hizo depósito en forma en Francisco Arias vecino de esta dicha ciudad que estuvo presente a este dicho inventario y secuestro y a satisfacción del dicho Juan de Minaya teniente de receptor general se hizo este dicho depósito en el dicho Francisco Arias y ambos a dos de mancomun y cada uno de por sí insolidum se obligaron de tener los dichos bienes de sus referidos para dar cuenta de ellos siempre que se les pida por los muy ilustres señores inquisidores y a ello obligaron sus personas y bienes habidos y por haber y otorgaron depósito en forma y lo firmaron de sus nombres y por el dicho Francisco Arias un testigo que se hallaron presentes el sargento Juan Delgado y Juan Ruiz de León. (Fdo.) Don Francisco de Avendaño. Juan de Minaya. Por Francisco Arias. Juan Ruiz de León, Antonio Yañez Zurita. Ante mí. Marcos Antonio de Aguilar, Notario del Santo Oficio.

Pza. 1a. Archivo de Fondos Varios, vol. 268, Archivo Nacional, Santiago, Chile.

**An Inquisitorial Inventory Of The Possessions Of The Physician Francisco  
Maldonado De Silva**

The city of Concepción [Chile], April 29, 1627.

The district chief Don Francisco de Avendaño, carrying out the orders of the illustrious inquisitors in Lima, with the assistance of Juan de Minaya, deputy to the chief treasurer of the Holy Office, has drawn up an inventory of the possessions of the licentiate Francisco Maldonado de Silva, who was arrested today at the order of the said inquisitors. He drew up the inventory at the residence of the aforementioned licentiate, as follows:

First, these houses, with all their structures and the plot of land.

A female mulatto slave named Catalina, about fifty years old.

A female negro named Isabel of Angolan origin, about twenty-four years old, with a daughter at her breast of about one year old, named Ana.

A male negro named Simon of Angolan origin, about twenty years old.

A negro youth named Francisco of Angolan origin, about twelve years old.

Four chairs from Lima with gilded nails, somewhat worn.

A backless saddle [*silla rasa*] with a plain leather cover, with a mule harness, both somewhat worn.

A “hundred-weight chest” [i.e., capable of holding a hundred-weight] from Panama with a lock, and inside of it the following: Three quires of paper. A hairshirt [or belt?] of horsehair, to encircle the body. An old doublet of black fabric. A cape of old black fabric. Another cloak with black *gorborán* [*gurbión?* = piping], of worn and tattered silk.

A length and a half of black Castilian baize.

An old travel bag [or mattress cover?] of coarse gray cloth.

An old mattress of *melinje*.

A new white blanket with ribbon braiding [*listada*].

Two worn Rouen sheets.

A pillow and a small Rouen cushion, both stuffed and worn.



An old woolen bedspread.

Two worn Rouen shirts with two pairs of breeches.

A book titled *Aguilera de medicina*.

Another book, hand-written, titled *Práctica de Silva*.

Another, *Práctica Gordoni*.

Another called *Filotrium*.

Another, Second Part of *Ventilis Superterci Avicenis*.<sup>47</sup>

Another book titled *Pronosticorum Hipócrates*.<sup>48</sup>

Another book titled *Escrutinium Escriurarum*.<sup>49</sup>

Another titled *Petri Andrei Matioli Medice Senensis*.<sup>50</sup>

Another titled *Medicorum Insipiensium Medicina*.

Another titled *Muñoz Zambrano*.

Another, white, titled *De mano antidotario general, reletuarios escripto en algunas partes*.

Another titled *Rosa Anglica Practica Medicini*.

Another book titled *Controversianum Francisci Valesi Covarrubiani*.<sup>51</sup>

Another book titled *Diez Privilegios para mujeres preñadas compuesto por el doctor Juan Alonso*.<sup>52</sup>

Another book titled *Cien oraciones fúnebres*.

Another book titled *Sumulas de Toledo*.

Another book titled *De Medica Historia*.<sup>53</sup>

Another titled *Tesoro de la verdadera cirugía*.<sup>54</sup>

Another book titled *Pintus in Esequielem*.

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<sup>47</sup>. A Latin translation of a medical work by the eleventh-century Persian physician and scholar Avicenna?

<sup>48</sup>. This is a medical work attributed to Hippocrates.

<sup>49</sup>. *Scrutinium scripturarum*, a polemical anti-Jewish work by the fourteenth-century baptized Jew Pablo de Santa Maria, which Maldonado de Silva read for insights into Judaism.

<sup>50</sup>. A work by the sixteenth-century physician Pietro Andrea Mattioli.

<sup>51</sup>. Francisco Vallés de Covarrubias, *Controversiarium medicarum et philosophicarum* (1556).

<sup>52</sup>. Juan Alonso de los Ruyzes de Fontecha, *Diez privilegios para mujeres preñadas* (Alcalá de Henares 1606).

<sup>53</sup>. Marcello Donati, *De medica historia mirabilis libri sex* (Mantua 1586).

<sup>54</sup>. Bartolomé Agüero, *Thesoro de la verdadera cirugía y via particular contra la comun* (Barcelona 1624).

Another titled *Historia de la composición del cuerpo humano* by Juan de Valverde Amusco.<sup>55</sup>

Another titled *Verdadera medicina cirujía y astrología*.

Another titled *Pereira médico de Medina del Campo*.<sup>56</sup>

Another book titled *Matu el Prima*.

Another titled *Cirujía de Guido con la glosa de Falcón*.

Another titled *Plinio*.

Another titled *Galeno*.

Another titled *Ambrosio Calepino*.<sup>57</sup>

Another titled *Galeno Sexta Clase*.

Another titled *Galeno Quinta Clase*.

Another titled *Práctica Sabornarum de Febribus*.<sup>58</sup>

Another titled *Pedacio dioscóridas*.<sup>59</sup>

Another titled *Galení Prima Clase*.

Another book titled *Comedias de Lope de Vega*.

Another titled *Juanes Lupi medici de Remedica*.

Another titled *Manardus*.

Another titled *Secreto de Medicina*.

Another titled *Los nombres de Cristo* in three volumes.<sup>60</sup>

Another titled *Emblemas Morales de Don Juan de Orozco*.<sup>61</sup>

Another book titled *Pronosticorum Hipocratis*. [already listed above]

Another titled *De las drogas y medicinas de las Indias orientales*.

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<sup>55</sup>. A work on human anatomy printed in Rome in 1556.

<sup>56</sup>. Presumably a work by Gómez Pereira, a sixteenth-century Spanish philosopher, physician, and humanist.

<sup>57</sup>. Ambrogio Calepino compiled a dictionary of Latin and several other languages, published in 1502. Many subsequent editions were published. The Basle edition of 1590 had eleven languages.

<sup>58</sup>. A work by the fifteenth-century Italian physician and humanist Michele Savonarola, *Práctica Savonarola de Febribus*.

<sup>59</sup>. Pedacius Dioscorides, *Pedacio Dioscorides Anazarbeo, acerca de la material medicinal y de los venenos mortíferos*... translated from Greek to Castilian by Andres de Laguna (Antwerp 1555; Salamanca 1563). This was a translation by Andrés Laguna de Segovia, the sixteenth-century Spanish converso physician and humanist, of *De Materia Medica* by the first-century Greek physician and pharmacologist Dioscorides.

<sup>60</sup>. A sixteenth-century theological work by the controversial converso Fray Luis de León.

<sup>61</sup>. A popular sixteenth-century emblem book by Juan de Orozco y Covarrubias.

Another book, hand-written, titled *Antidotario*.

Another titled *Antidotario Generalis*.

Another book titled *Pascali Práctica*.

Another titled *Salmi Davidis*.<sup>62</sup>

Another titled *Tractatus de Lex Rebus*.

Another titled *Antonio Juan Manuel*.

Another titled *propiedades de piedras*.

Another titled *Aforismos de Valles*.

Another titled *Proposición cirúgica*.

Another titled *Práctica de Bolerio*.

Another titled *Andrés Vesali*.<sup>63</sup>

Another titled *el Doctor Monardes*.<sup>64</sup>

Another titled *El doctor Farfán*.

Another titled *Predictorio de Lemus*.

An old desk with an old table cloth.

Two old brass candlesticks.

And aside from all the abovementioned items, inventoried by the district chief, the deputy to the chief treasurer of the Holy Office, Juan de Minaya, searched the abovementioned house to see if there were any other possessions, in addition to those inventoried, in order to sequester and inventory them. Having searched the house and its rooms, he said he had found nothing but some pots and baskets in which there seemed to be some wheat. And immediately the district chief, to verify this inventory, administered an oath in the prescribed manner from Antonio Yañez de Zurita, the brother-in-law of Francisco Maldonado, who declared that he did not know of any possessions in this house or outside of it aside from those that had been inventoried, and affirmed that the licenciado [Maldonado de Silva] had in the royal pasture two mules and a horse in the care of the

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<sup>62</sup>. Almost certainly Gilbert Genebrard, *Psalmi Davidis vulgate editione, calendario Hebraeo, Syro, Graeco, Latino...* (Paris 1577). Genebrard was a Christian Hebraist, whose book contained a Hebrew calendar and a commentary on Psalms that made use of rabbinic commentaries.

<sup>63</sup>. A work by the sixteenth-century medical scientist Andreas Vesalius – perhaps the abridged version of his great seven-volume work *De humani corporis fabrica*.

<sup>64</sup>. A work by the sixteenth-century Spanish physician and botanist Nicolás Monardes.

*potrerizo*, and that this was the truth by the oath he had taken; and he signed the oath.

All the abovementioned possessions were placed in the charge of Francisco Arias, a resident of this city, who was present during the inventorying and sequestration. This deposit was done to the satisfaction of Juan de Minaya, deputy of the chief treasurer. And the two men, both of them separately *in solidum* [jointly], promised to take responsibility for these possessions, and to be able to account for them whenever so requested by the illustrious inquisitors, and guaranteed them with their own persons and possessions, present and future, and the transfer was authorized as required. And they signed, and a witness who was present, el sargento Juan Delgado y Juan Ruiz de León, signed for Francisco Arias.

[signatures:] Don Francisco de Avendaño. Juan de Minaya. Por Francisco Arias, Juan Ruiz de León. Antonio Yañez Zurita.

Done before me, Marcos Antonio de Aguilar, Notario del Santo Oficio.

Pza. 1a. Archivo de Fondos Varios, vol. 268, Archivo Nacional, Santiago, Chile.

Published in Günter Böhm, *Historia de los judíos en Chile*. Vol. 1, *El Bachiller Francisco Maldonado de Silva, 1592-1639* (Santiago de Chile 1984), 231-233.

**Symbolic Clothes - Marginality and otherness of Jews and New Christians as reflected by their dress in two Christian texts, one from the late fifteenth century and the other from the sixteenth century – An Introduction**

**Nadia Zeldes**

Clothes in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period denoted legal status and social standing. Jews (and other minority and marginal groups) were distinguished by clothing regulations, sometimes supplemented by the wearing of a special badge. However, beyond custom and law, there were subtle cues that signaled marginality such as the wearing of certain fabrics and colors etc. In Mediterranean Europe, that is in Italy, Sicily and the Iberian kingdoms, Jews wore more or less the same fashions as the surrounding society; though there were restrictions and distinguishing marks, imposed in part by the ruler and the Church, and in part by the Jews themselves. Rabbis and community leaders were aware of the dangers the Jews incurred whenever they wore clothes that were not suited to their station. Good examples for such concerns come from contemporary “internal” and “external” sources such as philosophical works and rabbinic Responsa on the one hand, and legislation and petitions addressed to the authorities, on the other. A text from the fifteenth century produced by a Sicilian Humanist, the Dominican Pietro Ransano, describes the clothes worn by Jews during a festive procession stressing the permission the Jews had to wear what they pleased and the use of precious fabrics; but beyond the explicit information it provides, the text’s language and the subtext hint at the marginality and restrictions imposed on the Jews.

Converting to Christianity meant, according to Church doctrine as well as missionary propaganda, total status change and no restrictions whatsoever on dress, exercising various professions, etc. However, a sixteenth century text - also from Sicily - raises intriguing question as to the perception of the New Christians by the Old Christian population, especially regarding dress. Among the punishments and restrictions the Inquisition imposed on reconciliated heretics was the wear of a special garment, the infamous “Sanbenito” that identified the wearer as a penitent, and often as a Christian of Jewish stock. The text of the Sicilian historian, the Dominican Tommaso Fazello,

presented below, shows that in time of uncertainty and social unrest the crowds turned against the New Christians who were identified by their penitents' garments. A point of interest is the fact that Fazello was familiar with Ransano's work, and that is perhaps why his own later text echoes the former.

I would like to analyze both texts, comparing them to each other and to other sources from the same period.

Publication:

**I. *Delle origini e vicende di Palermo di Pietro Ransano e dell'entrata di re Alfonso in Napoli*, ed. Gioacchino Di Marzo, Giovanni Lorusnaider, Palermo, 1864.**

#### **Description of the festivities in Palermo by Pietro Ranzano (1428-1492).**

Originally written in Latin, Ranzano's treatise on the history of Palermo was titled: *De auctore primordiis et progressu felici urbi Panormi*. It was part of a larger work, a general history of the world: *Annales Omnium Temporum* (uncompleted and never published). A version of the original Latin text and its translation into the vernacular is housed in Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale. The Latin version was printed twice in Palermo during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, first by Stefano Amato in 1737, and then as part of the ninth volume of the collection *Opuscoli di Autori Siciliani*, 1767. The vernacular version was published by Gioacchino Di Marzo together with another contemporary text *Delle origini e vicende di Palermo di Pietro Ransano e dell'entrata di re Alfonso in Napoli* (Palermo: Giovanni Lorusnaider, 1864).

The text in question describes the festivities and procession held in honor of the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella: pp. 50-54. My premise is that the overt text that repeatedly tells the reader about the exceptional permission given the Jews to freely dress as they wished hints at the underlying narrative that reassures the reader that this was indeed an exception, and the Jews usually dressed according to their humble status, that is, they did not wear silk and fine cloths.

### Original text

In questo anno la virginetta Ysabella, de bellieza unica, soro de Enrico re dela Spagna, la quali avanzava a li altri di costumi et natura, ornatissima di virtuti, fu coniugata cum Ferdinando figlio di Ioanni re di Sicilia di li Aragoni, de lo quali fichi mentioni ne lo libro superiori. Et per quista cosa, essendo stata per licteri notificata a li Siciliani da Ferdinando, ipsi, cum festività grandi, cum luminarii et multi altri spettaculi iocundi a vidiri, si fichiro et significaro grandi leticia et singolari gaudio. Et haviria stato sufficienti cum poco palori (=paroli) in questo loco quista cosa peractari, cussi como multi altri cosi innanti su' descripti in libri di supra scripti, non havissi stato costricto da la voluntati di multi mei contubernali et maximamenti di Antonio Ransano frati; a li quali repugnari mi paria cosa nephanda: di modo chi dimostririssi cum assai palori cum quali plauso, di leticia signo. Li Pahormitani hajano celebrato un tanto allegro nuncio. – Era in quillo tempo preturi Petro Spetiali, lo quali in la administracioni de la republica panhormitana in questa cita era primo. Ultra ch'era di animo forti et di mansueta natura, grandi defensuri di la patria, era infra li princhipi siciliani lo più richissimo chi si trovassi. Et non solamenti appresso li Panhormitani l'auctoritati di quisto valia, ma ancora appresso di qualunqua Siciliano. Lo quali sempri si isforzao actaparisi lo favuri di qualsivoglia homo, parti cum una certa mansuetudini di animo, parti grandimenti, chi fachia grandi beneficii a la patria et a li chitatini et altri conterranei et propinqui. Et ultra di questo, parti per la sua condicioni di la quali multo resblendia, era quasi in omni negocio summamenti pruvidituri. Et cui si voglia subsequenti, chi in alcuna età haia tenuto imperio in Sicilia, la opera fidili di quillo in multi cosi ha usato. Ma che necessario più palori dispendiri in laudi et gloria di ipsu? Cumsocia cosa chi quisto fu quillo, chi, ja si fa tri anni, a sua propria spisa magnificamenti edificaio lu ponti supra a quillo fiumi distanti di Solanto a dui miglia, in lo quali, multo crixendo per li aqui di la pioja chi in ipsu concurrino onni tempo di verno, soliano li tempi passati multi homini piriri. Et in quisto presenti anno cum onni diligentia et studio dà ricapito et cura chi li vii publici di la chitati, di la quali è preturi, et li casi di multi opulenti chitatini sianu eximiamenti exonerati. Havi edificato di bellissimo marmo una nobili cappella in la eclesia di san Francisco, et havila cum sblenduri di artificiosa opera et di preciusi duni mirificamenti illustrato. Dà ancora

ricapito chi la citati si fortifichi continuamenti di mura novi et turri bellissimi et altri necessari propugnaculi. A quisto adunca, a tali homo, mandando soi licteri da Missina lo zll. (=eccellenzia) don Lupu Ximenes d'Urrea vicerè di Sichilia (de la spettata et probata fidi et virtuti et fidili opera de lo quali verso li re de Aragona et di Sichilia su' stati da mi multi cosi di supra narrati); per li quali licteri chi comandao chi dassi ordini chi lu populu et li nostri homini di Palermo divissiro mostrari alcuna allegricza per la leta nova di lo dicto matrimonio. Multo majuri cosi et festa ipsu Petru fichi et ordinao chi non li fu comandato. Et, comunicando primo lo consiglio et deliberacioni sua supra li cosi chi si havia immaginato di fari cum li patri di la chitati li quali da li Sichiliani su chiamati li Iurati; et approbando et laudando quilli unanimiter tuctu czo chi ipsu havia disposto fari, primo lo ordina chi cum sollepn pompia et intentissima cura si facza principio da li cosi divini. Ordinao adunca chi si facza una grandi processioni in l'ultimo di lo misi di novembro, in lo quali jorno si celebra da li cristiani la festa et sollempnitati di santo Andria apostolo. A la clesia di quisto sancto comanda chi dijano conveniri li chitatini et altri homini di omni stato et di omni ordini per rendiri gracia secundo la usanza di cristiani a lo immortali Deu. Fa ancora publicamenti bandiari et comandari chi tutti gitatini usasiro omni diligentia, et, quantu fussi ad omniuno possibili, si sforzassiro ornari tutti li vii e li strati et palaczi per li quali li sacerdoti et homini religiosi, vestiti di sagri et preciosi vestimenti, havissiro ordinata menti da passari, cantando hymni et laudi et devotamenti referendo laudi a lo eterno Dio. Facendo adunca chasquiduno lo suo debito, dectiro prestamenti ricapito chi li mura di li casi di la parti di la publica via si coprissero di belli panni, quantu fu ad omniunu secundo la sua condicioni et facultati possibili. Li vii da omni banda et per li porti di li casi et in terra foro parti rami tagliati di li viridi arbori, parti di frundi et fiuri di quilla specia di arbori chi mai perdino la sua viriditati. Per si facto modo foro ordinati chi paria ad omni uno passijari intro bellissimi orti et amenissimi jardini. Cum tali ordini, poi chi fu factu finij a li cosi divini, ordina lu preturi di fari apparichiari per farisi quilli cosi et belli spettaculi, li quali appartenissiro a temporali alligriza et jocunditati et festa di tutta la gitati. Havi Palermo di circuitu circa chincomilla passi, et è circundata tutta di bellu, latu et altu muro per modo chi fa pariri la chitati quasi in forma di quadrangulo. Ordinao adunca lu preturi chi supra tutto lu muro di



la chitati, tutta intorno in omni octo passi oy veru in omni octo merguli fussi posta una butti, di quilli czoè li quali solino usari li Panhormitani a conservari lu vino: et commisi ad una grandi brigata di juvini apti a quisto misteri, chi li implissiro di ligni aridi e sicchi, et a la prima hura di la nocti, quandu alloro fussi fatto signali, li divissiro allumari et darili foco tutto in uno mumento. Item comandao chi li chitatini in tutti parti et lochi per li vii di la chitati, innanti oy supra li loro casi, oy veru per li fenestri, divissiro fari in quillo midesimo tempo fochi et luminarii, et chi tutti, cui cum gridati, cui cum allegri canti, cui cum soni et per altri modi ad omninu honesti et possibili, gaudio et allegrizi havissi a demonstrari. Allegramenti et presto ognuno fu obedienti a lo comando de lo preturi. Et cussi in la hordinata hura multi cum butti, alcuni fatti catasti et muncelli di ligni, altri cum intorchi oy veru blanduni allumati et lanterni, tanta multitudini et tanti gran fochi in omni parti di la gitati fichiro, chi li incendii et li luminarii paria chi vinchissiro la obscuritate di la nocti. Et, como volsi Deu, fu factu per favuri di fortuna, chi quilla nocti no fu uno minimo vento: chi si per caso alcuno gran vento si fussi livato, non si haviria potuto fari per umano consiglio, chi oy tutta, oy gran parti di la chitati non si havissi da li incendii consumata. Ma la serenitati di lo chelo fu per divino favore tali et tanta, chi a la prudencia de lo preturi parsi per nulla via putirisi di alcuno pirculo timiri. Erano venuti poco jorni innamti in Palermo et stavano in porto quilli grandi dui galiazi di Francesi, li quali in quisti tempi per causa di mercanzia frequentavano li porti di multi nobili chitati. Li patrui de li quali, tantosto chi vittiro in la chitati farisi tanto apparato, si misiro ancora ipsi in ordini per farisi in li luminarii et festa conformi a li chitatini. Et quisto midesimo fichiro li patrui deli altri navigii li quali stavano in porto. Et cussi in quillo midesimo tempo, in lo quali incomenzaro li incendii et fochi da li Panhormitani, ipsi patrui li loro luminarii incomenzaro. Fichiro ancora li fochi loro tanto la casa et palazo regali, quanto ancora quilli dui castelli di Palermo, di li quali l'uno sta supra la intrata di lo porto, l'altro è situato in l'ultima parti di la chitati chi resguarda a lo punenti. Fu certamenti giudicato quisto tali spettacolo bellissimo et forsi mai altri fiati innanti li nostri tempi viduto. Et maximamenti parsi mirabili la banda di terra, verso la chitati guardavano; a li quali paria vidiri una grandissima coruna di foco et di luminarii. Per li gridi di li homini et per lo gran strepito di li bombardi et per lu sono de li trumbecti et per

lu tono di li campani, tutti li lochi intorno resonavano. Ultra quisti commemorati cosi, havia comandato lu preturi chi fussiro apparichiati et misi in ordini tutti intorchi oy veru blanduni di chira lavurata: lu numeru di li quali fu, secundo chi affirmano multi chi foro presenti, circa dui milia. Et havia dato ordini chi li più prestanti et li honorati chitatini, et maximamenti quilli chi haviano alcuno officio digno in la chitati, fussiro tucti accavallo, et la sira tutti convenissiro et si congregassiro in lu locu chiamato da li Panhormitani la Curti di lo Preturi. Facto quisto, ordinao chi ognun di loro portassi in mano la sua intorchia allumata, et per ordini, secundo la condizioni di casquiduno, andassiro di dui in dui fachendo lo camino cum pompa et festa per li princhipali et più celebri vii, lochi et palaczi di la chitati. Lu numero di li chitatini, chi in quisto ordini accavallo in muli et cavalli andaro, fu di circa milli et quatro chento. Et azochi ogni ordini et stato di omini fussi partichipi di tanta allegriza, per comandamento ancora et ordinacioni di lo preturi, tutti homini di nazioni Chatalana et Majorchini, Aragonesi et Valentiani et di altri lochi di Spagna, li quali habitavano in Palermo, si misiro in hordini, et conformandosi a li chitatini, tutti accavallo, di dui in dui sequendo, portaro li loro intorchi allumati, mostrando gaudio et alligrida grandissima. Li Iudei, di li quali grandi numero habita in Palermo, foro ancora comandati chi allegramenti sequendo et portando ogniuno lu so lumi oy vero intorchi, per ordini andassiro appresso li chitatini. Fichi alloro lu preturi libera potestati, et dettili plena licentia, chi in tanto applausu de la chitati putissiro usari ogni maynera quali volsiro di calciamenti et di vestimenti, et, chi a loro beneplachissi, putissiro usari tucto quillo chi sapissiro excogitari et pensari, puro chi fussi cosa la quali ad allegriza honesta appartenissi. Et cussì circa quatro chento juveni intra di loro eletti, vestuti di preciosi vestimenti et maxime di sita, cui cantando, cui ballando, cui danzando, cui fachendo alcuni belli et di novo trovati jochi et personagi, sequitaro la grandi et ordinata compagnia di li cristiani. Summa era la letitia di tutti quilli chi stavano a vidiri per li strati tali ordini et mayneri di belli et novi festi. Li donni pe li fenestri et per li porti di li casi loro allegramenti stavano a vidiri l'ordini di li lumi et intorchi allumati et la pompa et applauso gaudio et festa di quilli chi intanto ordinamenti per li strati passavano. Li garzunecti innanti li casi di li parenti loro letamenti fachianu varii jochi puerili, fachendo reverentia a li nobili, li quali como è stato dicto, per la chitati andavano.

Li pelegrini, oy veru li furisteri et straneri si trovaro in Palermo, gran parti di loro cum admiracioni et gaudio standosi innanti li lochi et casi, in li quali eranu allujati, guardavanu li cosi supra narrati; et multi di li altri dectiro ricapito di haviri ligni et lumi per fari festa ad imitari onni di czo chi fachia tutta la chitati. Et in quisto modo vigliando per fini a la meza nocti, fu facto fini a li luminarii, a la allegriza et a la festa. Per la quali, benchi durassi per tanto poco tempo, fu nondimino consumata da la chitati et da chitatini particolari non pichiula quantitati nè poco summa di dinari: et tutto per mostrari lu rectu et vero amuri et sincera fidelitati et digno honuri a l'alta Regia Coruna et excellentissima majestati di Aragona.

**Translation (my own explanatory additions appear in brackets)**

In that year, Isabella, sister of King Henry of Spain, a young maid of singular beauty who surpassed all others in her nature and manners, full of virtue, was married to Ferdinand son of John, king of Sicily and the Aragonese, whom I have mentioned in my previous book. And for that reason, the Sicilians, having been notified by a letter sent by Ferdinand, celebrated the event with grand festivities, lighting fires and making many other displays that were a pleasure to see, rejoicing and marking [that day] with great happiness and singular joy. And having said enough about these things in a few words, as indeed I have regarding other things already mentioned in the previous books, [I wouldn't have written it] were it not for the persuasion of my contemporaries, and in particular that of my brother Antonio Ransano; rebuffing them seemed to me a vile thing, [therefore I shall describe it] in such words and praise that demonstrate the manifest happiness with which the Palermitans celebrated this joyful announcement.

At that time the mayor<sup>65</sup> of Palermo was Pietro Spetiali (Speciali), who was the first man in the public<sup>66</sup> administration of the city of Palermo. He was not only strong of heart, generous of nature and a great defender of the homeland, but also the wealthiest man that could be found among the Sicilian nobles. And he had authority not only over

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<sup>65</sup> In that period the mayor of Palermo was known as "pretore", from the Latin "praetor". He was also in charge of the police force and the urban courts of justice.

<sup>66</sup> *La repubblica Panhormitana*, meaning public affairs, going back to the original meaning of the Latin expression "res publica".

the Palermitans, but also over every Sicilian. He always strove to acquire the support of any man whomsoever, at times by a certain generosity of the heart, at times with grandeur, so this it greatly benefited the city of his birth and its citizens, and other people of his own land, and close friends. Moreover, in part because of his splendid [financial] condition, he was almost always the benefactor in every negotiation. Had he lived in another era, he could have ruled Sicily<sup>67</sup>, dispensed his wealth in many public works.

But how many more words are necessary to state his praise and glory? And what more is there to say, when already three years ago, he built at his own expence a magnificent bridge over the Solanto river, two miles distant, in the place where in the past, many drowned every winter because of the rising waters. And this year, with much love and care he undertook the repair of the public roads in the city he is the mayor of, and many houses of the wealthy citizens were exceptionally<sup>68</sup> embellished. He built a beautiful marble chapel for the church of San Francisco and adorned it with splendid works of art, and beautified it marvelously with precious gifts. He is now undertaking to fortify the city with new walls and beautiful towers and other necessary fortifications.

This was the man to whom the viceroy of Sicily, His Excellency Lopez Ximenes De Urrea (of worthy faith and virtue, of whose loyal service to the king of Aragon and Sicily many things have been told above), sent a letter from Messina ordering him [the mayor] to issue instructions so that the people and our men of Palermo would demonstrate their joy at the happy news of that marriage. This Pietro did [many deeds] and gave orders to do many great things and hold many celebrations above and beyond his instructions. And having first discussed his plans and ideas with the city fathers whom the Sicilians name “iurati,” they unanimously approved and praised all that he planned to do. First, he gave orders, before anything else, to perform the divine service with great care and solemn pomp. Thus, he ordered that a great procession be held on the last day of November, the day Christians celebrate the feast of Saint Andrew the Apostle. He gave orders to convene the citizens and people of every estate and condition at that church of

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<sup>67</sup> Sicily was at this time a subject kingdom, ruled by foreign viceroys appointed by the kings of Aragon. One of Speciale’s ancestors was the first and only Sicilian viceroy. Ransano expressed here the secret wish of the Sicilian elites for autonomy.

<sup>68</sup> This how I propose to translate “eximiamenti exornati,” from the Latin “eximius,” excepted, exceptional, distinguished. In classic sources one finds “templum eximie ornatum.”

this saint in order to render grace and give thanks to immortal God according to custom. He also instructed all citizens to do their utmost, and that each of them everything possible, to adorn all roads and streets and buildings that were on the route the priests and clerics would pass dressed in sacred and precious vestments, chanting hymns and lauds and devotedly praise the eternal God. Thus, it was decided to cover the walls of buildings and parts of the public roads with beautiful cloths, and each and every one did his duty according to his own means and condition. The roads and the doors were decorated with the branches of green trees, leaves and flowers of trees that never lose their greenness. And for this reason it appeared as if one were walking through a beautiful and pleasant garden.

Having finished with things divine with these orders, the mayor gave instructions to make preparations for the organization of such things and beautiful spectacles that were appropriate to the manifestations of joy, gaiety and celebration by the whole city. The circumference of Palermo is approximately five thousand feet and it is surrounded by a beautiful, high, and wide wall so that it appears almost square in form. Taking this into account, the mayor ordered that every eight feet or at every eighth battlement, there should be posted a barrel of the kind customarily used by the Palermitans for wine keeping and he recruited a large group of youngsters well versed in this secret to fill them with dry and parched wood and to light them all at once at the first hour of the night, when given the signal. He also ordered that all the city dwellers in every part of the city, in all the streets of the city, should light torches and candles before or above their houses, or at the windows, and to demonstrate their happiness and their joy with shouts and gay songs, with loud sounds and in every other decent and honest manner. Everyone readily and joyfully obeyed the mayor. And thus, at the right hour, many made fires in the barrels, others piled up wood, and others lighted torches or even lanterns, and so many lighted such bright fires in every part of the city that it seemed that they had vanquished the darkness of night. And so God willed it, that it was by Fortune's favour that there was no wind that night. Were there by any chance a great wind, nothing could have been done by human counsel to prevent the entire city from burning down. But the stillness of the

heavens was such, thanks to divine favor, that together with the mayor's foresight it appeared that nowhere was there any danger to be feared.

A few days earlier, two large French galleys, that often traded in the ports of many noble cities, stood in Palermo's harbor. Their masters, having seen that there were such big celebrations in the city, decided to light fires and organize festivities as did the citizens. And so did other shipmasters of the vessels that stood in the harbor. And at the same time that the Palermitans started their fires and torches, the shipmasters started theirs. Also the royal houses and palaces lighted their fires and so did the two castles of Palermo, the one situated at the entrance to the port, and the other at the end of the city, facing west. It was judged as a most beautiful spectacle, and perhaps the best ever seen in our times. And it appeared most marvelous to those who watched it, either from the seashore or from the landside: it appeared to them as a great crown of fire and light. The whole city reverberated from the shouts of men, the clamor of artillery, the sound of trumpets and the ringing of the bells.

In addition to these things, the mayor also ordered torches prepared that were in fact ornamented wax candles. According to many who were present [at the celebrations], there were about two thousand [candles and torches]. And the mayor gave orders that the most honorable citizens, and especially those who held worthy office in the city, should ride on horseback, and by evening they had gathered in the place the Palermitans called The Pretorian Court. Having done that, he ordered that each one carry his own lighted torch and they arranged themselves according to rank, riding two by two, making their way with grand pomp and circumstance through the most famous streets, places and palaces of the city. The number of citizens that rode horses and mules in this procession was around one thousand and four hundred. And thus, each man of every order and condition, took part in the merriment, and again, by order of the mayor, all members of the various nations that inhabited Palermo, Catalans and Majorcans, Aragonese and Valencians and people hailing from other parts of Spain, formed a procession and joined the citizens, all riding on horseback, carrying a lighted torch, and demonstrating great joy and merriment. The Jews, a large number of whom was living in Palermo, were also ordered to merrily follow the procession, each carrying his own candle or torch, and on

his orders they walked closely behind the citizens. The mayor allowed them unrestrained freedom in that time of celebration in the city and gave them full permission to wear any kind of footwear or clothes they wished, and [told them] that they could use anything they thought or knew to be appropriate to honest merrymaking, as they pleased. And so, they chose from among them four hundred youths who were dressed in precious garments, even made of silk, some singing, some whirling, some dancing (*cui ballando, cui danczando*), some playing new games and playacting [to represent fashionable] personages, following behind the large, ordered group of Christians.

It was a great joy indeed for all who stood in the streets to watch such a new and lovely celebration conducted in such an orderly manner. The women looked out gaily from the windows and doorways of their houses at the lights and burning torches, and at the pomp and joyful applause and festivity that was proceeding through the streets and in such order. Little boys playing childish games before their parents' houses showed reverence for the nobles, who, as it has already been said, were passing through the city. Pilgrims, or in truth all kinds of foreigners and strangers who were staying in Palermo, a great many of them stood before the places and houses in which they lodged, saw the things we have described above, and many of them decided to bring pieces of wood and candles for the celebration, and they too imitated all that the people of the city were doing. And in this manner they kept vigil for half the night until the candles were spent in order to make merry and celebrate. And for that, although it took but little time, it was neither a small quantity nor a puny sum of money that the city and its people spent. And all that in order to demonstrate the real and true love, sincere fidelity, and worthy honor for the exalted royal crown and his excellence, his majesty of Aragon.

**II. T. Fazello, *De rebus siculis, decades duae*, Johannes Mattheus Mayda et Franciscus Carrara, Palermo 1560, Dec. II, pp. 597-598.**

Description of a riot that took place in Palermo in 1516 shortly after the death of King Ferdinand the Catholic. During the period of political uncertainty that followed the king's death, a friar gave a sermon inciting the crowds against New Christians wearing penitent garments imposed by the Inquisition.

**Publication:**

Tommaso Fazello's history of Sicily, written in Latin, was first printed in 1558, in Palermo titled: *De rebus siculis decades duæ*, Johannes Mattheus Mayda et Franciscus Carrara, Palermo, 1558. Two years later a second edition was printed in Palermo, this time with corrections of the errors that appeared in the first edition: *De rebus siculis decades duæ*, Johannes Mattheus Mayda et Franciscus Carrara, Palermo 1560. The text presented below is an excerpt from this edition. A third sixteenth century edition, slightly different, is titled: *De rebus siculis, Rerum Sicularum Scriptores*, Francoforti ad Moenum, 1579.

**Contemporary and modern translations:**

Fazello's work was translated into Italian already in the sixteenth century: *Le due decche dell'history di Sicilia del R.P.M. Tomaso Fazello siciliano dell'ordine dei Predicatori : divise in venti libri* / tradotte dal latino in lingua toscana dal T. M. Remigio Fiorentino del medesimo, Venetia, printed by Domenico & Giovanni Battista Guerra fratelli, 1574.

Recently a modern Italian translation was produced by the university of Palermo (with an Introduction by Massimo Ganci): Tommaso Fazello, *Storia di Sicilia*, Presentazione di Massimo Ganci, trans. and ed. Antonio Rosalia e Gianfranco Musso, Palermo, Regione Siciliana Assessorato ai Beni Culturali, 1990.

**Original Latin text (here given without the abbreviations):**

De Carlo Quinto Cesare Hispaniae et Siciliae secundo huius nominis rege.  
Carolus Maximiliani Caesaris Philippo filio, et Ferdinandi Catholici Regis ex Ioanna filia nepos, in Hispania primus, sed in Sicilia huius nominis secundus Rex, annum agens duodeuigesimum cum Ioanna matre successit. Natus fuit Carolus Gandaui, civitate Belgiica anno salutis 1500, die 25 februarii, qui dies eo ipso anno festus Divo Matthiae Apostolo fuit. Ita defuncto Ferdinando, ex Aragonum stirpe Hispania, et Sicilia in faustisimam Germanicae nationis Austriae Ducum prosapiam venerunt. Praeterat per id



tempus Siciliae Regis nomine Hugo Montecatinus Valentinus genere, religione (ut diximus) Ioannita, qui cognitam Regis mortem, ne plebs in eum aliquid moliretur, dissimulaverat, celaveratque et interea a Carolo nuovo Rege approbationem sollicitabat. Verum cum suo magistratu, quem sex circiter annos vivente Ferdinando administraverat, proceribus quibusdam esset invisus, Illi audita Regis morte occasionem nacti, praetextu magistratus extincti, plebem Panormitanam apud quam de more Hugo degebat, occultis artibus contra Hugonem concitarunt. Plebs quoque cum Regis mortem aliunde rescisset, suo etiam motu Hugonem suspectum habere, atque mox tumultibus Panormum replere caepit. Ingentes hos Siciliae motus, qui postea secuti sunt, Calcerandus Rochensis Hispanus et ipse genere, cuius in area maritima aedes erant, portentosa visione, atque miro ostento praesagivit. Nam paucis antem diebus vivente adhuc Ferdinando cum sub primam lucem in lectulo vigilaret, magnam hominum multitudinem in area perstreptentem audivit. Ad fenestram ocyus acurrit, virorum frequentiam primum, peditumque species, mox hastatos, scutatosque subsequi, ac equites deinde in turmas divisos, armatorumque acies in prelij speciem cuncurrentes in regiam domum, qua Hugo utebatur, irruere, ac oppugnare oculis per inanem umbram sibi videre est visus. Illuscente igitur ad Hugonem pergit, quod viderat, veluti exanimis enarrat. Plerique praeterea sub idem tempus ad verticem, ac radices Peregrini montis milites armis instructos noctu se concursantes vidisse fassi sunt. Sed Hugo cum haec omnia audisset, agrorum somnia ea esse respondit. Plebs igitur Panormitana audita Regis morte Hugonis magistratum extinctum tota urbe sub murmurare coepit. Favebant plebi Petrus Cardonius (cuius supram meminimus) Golisani Comes, Fredericus Abbatellus Cameratae Comes, Hieronymus Filingerus S. Marci item Comes, Simeon Vintimilius Marchio Geracii, Mattheus Sanctapax Licodie Marchio, cuius patrem Hugo capite plexerat. Ioannes Baptista Barresius Militelli dominus, et Guillelmus Vintimilius Ciminnae dominus. Hi igitur et plerique alii Siciliae proceres, quibus Hugo satis erat invisus, eius magistratum morte Regis extinctum esse, et Siciliam a Iacobo Alliata Proiustitiario moderandam esse aiebant. Verum ut consulto res gerent, Panormo egresi, et plebe tumultante, atque ad motus novos inclinata relicta accitis caeteris Proceribus, qui eis adhaeserant, ad Turrin quandam tabernae hospitatoriae a Myrtis appellatae imminentem conventum habuerunt. Firmatis igitur ibidem, ac

constitutis, quae agenda erant, Thermas Himeraeas oppidum sub praetextu Regi defuncto parentandi petierunt. Ibi itaque in aede maxima Regi inferias, quas Hugo ne illius mors divulgaretur, neglexarat, peragunt. Aegre tulit Hugo Procerum e Panormo discessum, et ob rei indignitatem cum plus aequo angerent, plebis furori cedere, ac Sicilia abire constituerat. Sed ne plebs eo discedente a Rege desciret, atque ipse in novi Regis indignationem incideret, ab Antonio Montecatino Adranita Comite, et Ferdinando, Aloiso, et Friderico eius germanis fratribus, Ioanne Luna Caltabellotte Comite et Regiae curie consularibus, quod ei adhaerebant, admonitus in Sicilia restitit. Igitur a Consultis Prorex salutatur, qui statim horum auxilio fretus praesidio Regiam munit. **Dum haec Hugo [Moncada] parat Hieronimus Veronensis cognomento Barbatus, Eremitani ordinis, qui in aede D. Francisci ad senatum et populum quadragesimali quod tunc currebat tempore conciones habebat proprio, an Procerum instinctu, incertum, inter concionandum frequentem plebem in Hebraeos, qui nuper sacris christianis initiati rursus ad Moisi legem tacite ridierant et ob id a quaestore (quem inquisitorem vocant) veste viridi cruce rubra insuta inter alias poenas mulctati fuerant ut irruant edita in suggestu voce conclamitat illos ut cruce qua amicti erant spolient hortatur nefarium enim esse sacrilegum qui Christum cruci addixerant crucem deferre diverso iure affirmant. His dictis incensa plebs repente in Hebraei generis viros foeminasque (quorum ingens eo tempore Panormi erat multitudo) quot quot expleta concione obvios habuit, eos amictu spoliat dilaceratque. His seditionis initiis soluta plebs, et Comitum absentia frenis laxata, abdicare Hugonem magistratu omnino pergit.** Hugo his cognitis aio neutique<sup>69</sup> deijcitur, sed cum Senatu Regio, et urbis proceribus, qui sibi suffragabantur, ut plebem in fide contineret, per frequentissimas urbis vias obequitans, Panormitanos, ne novos agitent motus frenare studet. Vectigal super farina recenter imposit, plebique gravissimum, ut popularem leniret furorem, frustra remittit. Nam plebs Hugonem magistratu morte Regis iure optimo abdicatum magis, ac magis conclamitat.

<sup>69</sup> Neutique: neutiquam (=ne utiquam), adv. by no means, not at all (Cassell's Latin Dictionary, Latin-english, English-Latin, MacMillan, USA 1977).

## Translation

On Emperor Charles the Fifth, king of Spain and Sicily, [in Sicily] second king of this name.

Charles, grandson of Emperor Maximilian, having been born to his son Philip, and of King Ferdinand the Catholic born to his daughter Joanna, the first of this name in Spain, but second king of this name in Sicily, acceded to the throne together with his mother Joanna at eighteen years of age. Charles was born in Belgium in the city of Gand on the 25<sup>th</sup> of February in the year of grace 1500, on the feast day of St. Matthew the Apostle. Thus, on the death of Ferdinand the Catholic of the Aragonese dynasty, Spain and Sicily came under the sway of the most prosperous family of rulers of the German nation of Austria.

The viceroy of Sicily at that time was Hugo de Moncada, a man of Valencia, and (as has already been said) of the Order of St. John,<sup>70</sup> who, knowing of the king's death, hid and concealed it, fearing that the people would rise against him while he was seeking the approval of Charles, the new king. Because of his charge, which he exercised for six years while Ferdinand lived, he was disliked by certain nobles, and they, hearing of the king's death, took advantage of the situation and used it as a pretext to call for the legal cessation of the viceroy's appointment, and secretly incited the Palermitan mob against Hugo who, according to custom, had to remain in its proximity. The mob, hearing of the king's death from another source, also began to suspect Hugo, and the riots soon spread throughout Palermo. Calcerando de Rocha, also a Spaniard, whose house was near the Piazza Marina,<sup>71</sup> had an extraordinary prophetic vision that presaged these riots, which later spread throughout Sicily. In fact, a few days earlier, when Ferdinand was still living, a little before sunrise while he [Calcerando de Rocha] was still lying in his bed, he saw a great crowd rioting in the nearby area. Running quickly to the window he seemed to see a vision in the uncertain shadow beyond, at first a great mass of men who seemed to be foot soldiers, then a group of warriors armed with lances and shields, then troops of

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<sup>70</sup> The knights Hospitallers.

<sup>71</sup> Overlooking the Piazza Marina is the Palazzo Steri, at that time the residence of the viceroys of Sicily (later it was the seat of the Holy Office of the Inquisition). In the sixteenth century the square was very large and empty of buildings and was also used for state ceremonies and public executions.

horsemen and soldiers, running to the royal residence where Hugo lived, assaulting and rushing it. At first light he went to Hugo and told him, almost breathlessly, all that he had seen. At about the same time, many said that they had seen armed soldiers moving at nighttime on the summit and at the foot of Mount Pelegrino.<sup>72</sup> But Hugo, having heard all that, said that these were only the dreams of sick people.

Once they heard of the king's death, the people of Palermo began to murmur throughout the city that Hugo's magistracy was over. The party of the people was supported by Pietro Cardona count of Collesano (who was discussed above), Federico Abbatelis count of Cammarata, Girolamo Filangeri count of San Marco, Simone Ventimiglia marquis of Geraci, Matteo Santapà marquis of Licodia, whose father Hugo had beheaded; Giambatista Barresi, lord of Militello and Guglielmo Ventimiglia lord of Ciminna. And thus, these men and many other Sicilian nobles who were envious of Hugo, were going about saying that with the king's death his appointment was null and void, and that Sicily should be governed by Jacopo Alliata as vice-justice.<sup>73</sup> And in order to decide on the matter, they left Palermo leaving the mob restless and tending to break into new riots. Together with other nobles of Sicily who supported their cause, they convened in a tower that overlooks the tavern of Mirto. Having decided and agreed on a course of action, they departed for Termini Imerese on the pretext that they had to mourn the dead king and perform the funerary rites in the great church [of that place], since Hugo refrained from celebrating them in order to conceal the news [of the king's death].

Hugo found the nobles' departure intolerable, and because he was hurt by this indignity more than necessary, he decided to surrender to popular furor and leave Sicily. But because his departure would have allowed the people to riot against the king, and the new king would have held that against him, his supporters, Antonio de Moncada count of Adrano, together with his brothers Ferdinando, Luigi and Federico, as well as Giovanni Luna count of Caltabellotta, councilors to the royal court, convinced him to remain in Sicily. Thus, sustained by his supporters, the viceroy quickly convened the royal council with their help.

<sup>72</sup> A steep mountain rising above the city of Palermo to the west.

<sup>73</sup> According to the law then in force in Sicily, in the absence of a viceroy, or on his death, the kingdom was governed by a local high official until a new viceroy's appointment.

While Hugo Moncada was doing these things, Girolamo da Verona named Barbato of the Order of the Hermits, who during Lent delivered sermons before the people assembled at the church of St. Francisco in Palermo, and, though it is uncertain whether he acted out of his own initiative or because he was urged by the notables, he frequently incited the crowd against the Jews<sup>74</sup>, who shortly after being initiated into holy Christianity, hastened to secretly return to Mosaic law. For this reason the inquisitor had sentenced them to various punishments, among which was the wearing of a green habit with a red cross sewn on it. [Da Verona] raised his voice and exhorted the crowd to strip off the cross, since it was a sacrilege for those who crucified Christ to wear a cross. When the sermon was finished, the crowd, inflamed by these words, fell upon the Jews, men and women, of whom there were many in Palermo at the time, and tore their outer garments<sup>75</sup> to pieces.

Fortified by this initial sedition, in the counts' absence and lacking restraints, the people in their entirety continued to ask for Hugo's resignation from the magistracy. But Hugo, once he was aware of this, did not lose heart and together with the Senate and the city officials, who supported him, in order to maintain the loyalty of the people, he rode through the most rebellious parts of the city to prevent further uprisings. In vain did he abolish a recently imposed flour tax that greatly afflicted the city people in order to placate popular furor. But the people continued to clamor for his resignation from the magistracy upon the king's death, according to the law.

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<sup>74</sup> Hebrews, in the original.

<sup>75</sup> In the Latin: amictu= toga, upper garment, a covering.

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## Material Possessions and Religious Boundaries in Early Modern Poland

Magda Teter

Dekret Trybunału Litewskiego przeciwko Żydom brzeskim (Brześć Litewski, 1719)  
*Akty izdavaemye vilenskoïu kommissei dla razbora drevnikh aktov*, vol. XXIX (Vilna, 1902), doc. no. 209, pp. 409-411  
 Prepared by Magda Teter

Roku tysiąc siedemsetnego dziewiętnastego msca Maia szóstego dnia.

Przed nami sędziami głównymi na trybunał w w. x. Litt. z województw, ziem y powiatów na rok terazniejszy superius specyfikowany obranemi, gdy z porządku rejestrowego ku sądzeniu przypadła sprawa w Bogu wielebnego imc. Xiędza Ioachima Rodeckiego— gwardyana y całego konwentu wielebnych oyców Bernardynów Brzeskich zakony s. Franciszka ordinis minoris, z niewiernemi Wulfem Iewłowiczem y synem onego Izraelem Wulfowiczem y innemi żydami arendarzami, obywatelami miasta i. k. m. Brześćcia, nominatim obżał.

Wiadomemi y znaiomemi, za pozwem przez nas sąd wyniesionym mieniąc o to: iż obżał. niewierni żydzi, zdraycy y przeciwnicy wierze, narodowi y kościołowi katolickiemu Rzymskiemu, wyłamuiąc się z wierchności praw Boskich, duchownych y świeckich, lecz tym bardziey oną contemnendo, wiedząc dobrze, że i. w. im pani Pociiejowa— podskarbina na ten czas w. x. Lit. Z tego swiata zesła, w klasztorze żałuiących ichm xięży Bernardynów Brzeskich, z wielką aparencyą, znacznym kosztem senatorskim pochowana była, w roku tysiąc siedmsetnym siedmnastym, msca Maja ze dnia pierwszego, na dzień wtory, w nocy, pod kościół żał. delatorów Bernardynski do sklepów podkopawszy się, a znalazzy truną [trumną] pomienioney ieymości wnontr y do koła materyą złotogłową z galonami y cwiekami srebrnymi, pozłocistemi bogato obita y wielkim sumptem ozdobioną przytym nie mało różnego srebra kościelnego, na osobliwym rejestrze specificowanego, złodzieyskim sposobem truną obdarszy y ciało z oney wyrzuciwszy, to wszystko pozabierali, też truną połupali, popsowali, cwieczki srebrne powyimowawszy pozlewali, a z materyi z galonami, co truna była obita, sznurowki, spodnicy porobili, iako się ewidenter w roku tysiąc siedmsetnym osmanstym licem pokazało, że corki obżałowanych złoczyńców z tet materyi złotogłowej w sznurówkach z galonami, znacznie znakami od cwieków chodzili, a potym za postrzeżeniem oną pochowali y utaili, do tego złotnik, co te cwieki zlewał, pozwawszy publice zeznał, że byli własne od tey truny; o co lubo w szkole synagogi onych było wielkie wołanie y mus od starszych do wrocenia tey kradzieży, iednak obżałowani rozkazu onych a ni kary i.w. imc Pana Hetmana w w.x. Lit. bynamniey się nieobawiając, nieoddali y powrócić nie deklaruią, ieszcze zufale przegrażaią się, w czym wszytkim szkody plus minus kładąc na trzy tysiące uczynili, za czym do wrocenia tego, sowitosci podług rejestru przystatuicyi comparycyi wszytskich pozwanych żydów, do pokarania paenami excessowemi na garle przez mistrza ścięciem, do restitucyi szkod y expens na

prawo erogowanych, do uznania tego wszystkiego, co czasu prawa przez controwesją fusius deducetur, prawem czyniąc zapozwali.

Na terminie niniejszym superius wyrażonym, za przywołaniem z nakazu naszego ieneralskim stron do prawa, od aktorow patron imc pan Ian Turczynowicz personaliter stawał, a pozwani żydzi niestawali y żadney wiadomości o niestaniu swoim nam sądowi y stronie powodowej nieczynili; za tym ten że aktorow patron podanego obżał. żydom oczewisto w ręce ze szkoły Brzeskiej wychodzącym przez ienerała i. k. m. pozwu, zeznaniem onego oczewistym przed wielmoż imc panem pisarzem ziemskim Wilenskim y koła sądow naszych, z pilnością troyga wołania uczynionym, legitime dowiodszy, produkuiąc czytał protestacją o odłupanie sklepu pod kościołem Bernardynskim, w Brześciu będącego, o wyrzucenie ciał umarłych, o zdarcie y szczepanie truny, w grobie będącey, o pokradzenie srebra y materyi złotogłowowej y uczynienia szkody na trzy tysiące złotych, do należytego urzędu doniesioną y per extractum wydaną, przy tym registr pokradzonego srebra kościelnego y koło truny będącego; po którym produkowaniu wzdania pozwanych niewiernych żydow na upad w samey rzeczy, a zatym podług prawa za pokradzioną srebro kościelne i innę koło truny będące ozdoby, materye złotogłowe, oney zdarcie y popsowanie, szkody na złotych trzy tysiące wynoszącey, sowito szesciu tysięcy złot. polsk., za szkody, nakłady prawne dwuchset złotych polskich na pozwanych żydach Brzeskich, złoczyńcach, na wszelkich dobrach, maiętności onych, leżących, ruchomych, sumach pienienżnych, kromach, zastawach, arendach, depozytach, gdziekolwiek będących, z wolnym onych ubique locorum aresztowaniem, a samych obżał. niewiernych żydów za popełnione złodzieystwo, na infamią, na łapanie y na garło żałuiącemu wskazania ad publicandum generała sądowego przydania, proklamowa nakazania, a za wskaz summy dla uczynienia prawney y nieodwłoczney super omnibus jure victorum bonis exekucyi y dla poscignienia samych criminalistow do urzędów ziemskich lub grodzkich, wojewodztwa Brzeskiego y innych wszelkich tych wojewodztw y powiatów, pod ktoremi dobra i osoby pozwanych złoczyńcow byc się okażą, a ktorego sobie actores z urzędu ad eum executionem užyc zechcą: z założeniem in contravenientes dalszych pen prawnych odesłania instabat.

A tak my sąd w sprawie w Bogu wielebnego imc. Xiędza Iachima Rodeckiego—gwardiana y całego konwentu wielebnych oycow Bernardynow zakonu świętego Franciszka ordinis minoris konwentu Brzeskiego, z niewiernemi Wulfem Iewłowiczem y synem onego Izraelem Wulfowiczem y innemi żydami Brzeskiemi, nominatem obżałowanym wiadomemi y znaiomemi, bacząc to, iż obżałowani, będąc o rzecz wyż wyrażoną przed nas sąd adcitowani, za pokillkakronym z nakazu naszego ieneralskim przywoływaniem iako sami przed nami do rozprawy niestawali, tak y żadney wiadomości o niestaniu swoim nam sądowi y stronie powodowej nieczynili; przeto onych iako prawu nieposłusznych w roku zawitym na upad w rzeczy wzdaemy, a za tym podług żałoby y rekwizycyi aktorow patrona, za pokradzenie srebra kościelnego y inne koło truny będące ozdoby, materie złotogłowowe, zdarcie y popsowaniem truny, uczynienie szkod na złotych trzy tysiące, sowito szesc tysięcy złotych polskich, za szkody y nakłady prawne dwieście złotych polskich, a z wpisnym, pamiętnym, cum lucris nam sądowi zapłaconym, wszystkiego summa sześć tysięcy dwieście dziesięć złotych polskich na pozwanych



niewiernych żydach Brzeskich, na wszelkich majątnościach y dobrach onych leżących, ruchomych, sumcach pieniężnych, zastawnych, arendach, domach, placach, kromach, handlach, towarach, depozytach, gdziekolwiek będących, z wolnym onych wszędy aresztowaniem, a samych obżał. żydow złoczyńców, za popełnione złodzieystwo y kryminalna infamią, na łapanie y na garło żałującym aktorom wskazujemy, ad publicandum infamiy ienerała sądowego przydaiemy, wywołać proklamować nakazujemy, za wskaz summy dla uczynienia prawney y nieodwłoczney super omnibus obżałowanych bonis exekucyi y dla poscignienia samych kriminalistow do urzędow ziemskich lub grodzkich wojewodztwa Brzeskiego y innych wszelkich tych wojewodztw y powiatow, pod ktoremi majątności y dobra pozwanych y samę osoby być się okażą, a ktorego sobie strona powodowa z urzędów ad eum executionem użyć zechce, założywszy in contravenientes dalsze paeny prawne odsyłamy. A gdy dzień piętnasty miesiąca Maja anni praesentis przypadł, tedy ienerał sądów naszych pilnujący Stanisław Pilecki, dosyć czyniąc prawu popolitemu y dekretowi naszemu, niewiernych Wulfa Iewłowicza y syna onego Izraela Wulfowicza za infamisow w izbie sądowej et in foro publico obwołał proklamował y relacyą publicacyi swey a loco publicationis rediens iudicialiter zeznał, ktora sprawa do xiąg głównych trybunalnych iest zapisana.

## A Decree of the Lithuanian Tribunal concerning Jews in Brześć Litewski, 1719

Translated by Magda Teter

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In the year one thousand seven hundred nineteen, the month of May, day 6<sup>th</sup> before us the main judges of the tribunal of the Great Duchy of Lithuania, elected from the regions, lands, and counties [powiaty] for the above specified year, came to be judged, according to the registered order, a case of the Reverend in God Priest Ioachim Rodecki, the guardian of the whole monastery of the reverend fathers Bernardines of Brześć of the order of St. Francis, *ordinis minoris*, against the infidel Wulf Iewłowicz and his son Izrael Wulfowicz and other Jews arrendators and citizens of the city of His Highness the King, Brześć, accused by name and known, and stating according to the summons that the accused infidel Jews, traitors and enemies of the faith, nation and the Roman Catholic church, having violated the supreme divine, church, and lay laws..., knowing that the Honorable Lady Pocij, wife of the then-Treasurer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, had left this world [and] was buried with great splendor and at great senatorial expense in the year one thousand seven hundred seventeen on the first day of the month of May in the monastery of the reverend Bernardine fathers of Brześć, [who are] appealing here [before us].

On the next day, at night, having dug into the crypt under the Bernardine church of the plaintiffs, and having found inside the coffin of the above mentioned Honorable Lady draped with the cloth of gold [*materia złotogłowa*]<sup>i</sup> sumptuously decorated with golden braids and silver studs, [they found] also quite a few other silver church objects, specified in a special list, and having thievishly stripped the coffin and thrown the body out of it, they took everything. And they also chopped and destroyed the coffin and having removed the silver studs[from it], they melted them, and of the cloth and the golden braids with which the coffin was draped, they made bodices and skirts, as it was revealed

*evidenter* in the year one thousand seven hundred eighteen, when the daughters of the accused criminals [were seen] walking [wearing] the cloth of gold and bodices with the gold-plated braids, which were well-marked from the studs, and after they were noticed they hid [the clothing], and moreover, the goldsmith who melted the studs, publicly declared that they were from the coffin; and there was an uproar in their school-synagogue and an order from the elders [was sent] to return the stolen goods, but the defendants fearing neither the[se] orders, nor punishments by the Honorable *hetman* of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, did not return [the stolen items], and they do not [even] promise to return [them], but they even impudently bluster out threats.

In all this they had done damage to approximately three thousand [złoty], and so in order to return [the stolen objects], the value according to the registry set during the summons of all the defendant Jews [*do wrócenia tego, sowitosci podług rejestru przy statucyi comparycyi wszystkich pozwanych żydów*], to punish with criminal penalties of beheading by the master [hangman], to restitute damages and expenses suffered in legal proceedings, [as well as] to acknowledge all that *fusius deducetur* before the legal controversy, they [were?] summoned according to the law.

On the day here *superius* stated, summoned by our general order before the law, the patron of the plaintiffs, Honorable Ian Turczynowicz, appeared *personaliter*, but the defendant Jews did not appear and did not provide any information about [reasons] for not appearing either to us, the court, or to the plaintiffs. And so the patron of the plaintiffs having proven *legitime* the claim made with a triple sedulity [*z pilnością troyga uczynionym*] before the honorable land-court scribe of the Wilno region and before our court against the defendant Jews, [and] delivered into hands of those [Jews] exiting the school [synagogue] in Brześć, read a protestation delivered to the appropriate office and released *per extractum* about the break-in to the crypt under the Bernardine church, located in Brześć, about throwing out bodies of the deceased,<sup>ii</sup> stripping and destroying the coffin placed in the grave, stealing silver and the cloth of gold, and about damages

with three thousand zloty; and moreover, the registry of church silver and other ornaments around the coffin.

After producing [this protestation] against the defendant Jews<sup>iii</sup> for the damages in this matter, [the court orders] according to the law that [reparations] for the stolen church silver and other ornamentation from the coffin, the cloth of gold, and stripping [the cloth of gold from the coffin] and damaging it, for the damages worth three thousand zlotys, double of six thousand Polish zlotys, for damages, and legal expenses of two hundred Polish zlotys from the defendant maleficent Brześć Jews,<sup>iv</sup> [are to be extracted] from all their properties and wealth, moveable and immovable, money, market-stands [*kromach*], sureties, arrendas, and deposits, wherever they might be, [with the authority] to arrest them *ubique locorum*, and the accused Jews themselves,<sup>v</sup> for their crime of robbery [to be condemned] to infamy, arrest and capital punishment [*na gardło*]....

And so we, the court, in the case of the Reverend in God his honor Iachim Rodecki, the guardian of the whole convent of the reverend Bernardine fathers of the order of Saint Francis *ordinis minoris* of the Brest convent, against the infidel Wulf Iewłowicz and his son Izrael Wulfowicz and other Jews of Brest, accused by name known and recognized, taking into consideration that the defendants, having been summoned by us, the court, in regard to the above mention case, after numerous requests from us, the generals, have not appeared in court, and have not passed on any information regarding their failure to appear to us the court or to the plaintiffs; therefore we decree that they, being in contempt of law, lose the case in preclusion year [*rok zawity*]; and, therefore, [we order that] according to the writ and requisition by the patron of the plaintiffs regarding the theft of the church silver and other ornaments from the coffin, [including] the cloth of gold, the stripping and destruction of the coffin, inflicting loss for three thousand zloty, and amply six thousand Polish zloty, for the losses, and for legal fees two hundred zlotys, and with the registration fee, for the record, *cum lucris* paid to us, the court, all this amounting to six thousand two hundred and ten Polish zloty [to be levied] from the summoned Brześć Jews, on all their wealth and properties, mobile, monetary, sureties, arrendas, houses,

plots, fair-stands, merchandise, deposits, wherever they might be, with a full permission to arrest them.

And the accused criminal Jews themselves, we instruct to be arrested and brought to death for the said theft and the criminal infamy, and *ad publicandum* the infamy we designate the court general, and we order that it be proclaimed [far and wide], and, having established *in contravenientes* further legal penalties [*paeny*], we send a court order *super omnibus* for the legal and immediate fulfillment of the seizure of property [*bonis*] and for the pursuit of the criminals themselves to all land offices and town offices of the Brześć region [*województwo*] and all those regions [*województwa*] and counties, in which the properties and wares of the defendants or they personally might appear, and which the plaintiffs might want to use *ad eum executionem*.

And when the fifteenth day of the month of May *annis praesentis* came, then the general protecting our courts, Stanisław Pilecki, fulfilling the commonly accepted law and our decree, in court proclaimed Wulf Iewłowicz and his son Izrael Wulfowicz as outlaws [*infamisy*] and *in foro publico* announced and provided a report of his proclamations *a loco publicationis rediens iudicialiter*, [and the said] case has been recorded in the main records of the Tribunal.

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<sup>i</sup> Popular since the fifteenth century, known also in Italian as drappo d'oro, or tela d'oro. See, Nina Kudiš Burić (Department for Visual Arts, Faculty of Arts, University of Rijeka, Croatia), "Odjevanje, svakodnevni Život i hrana u krku od 12. do kraja 13. stoleća-dominacija venecijanske kulture,"

<http://www.grad-krk.hr/docs/GradKrkHR/documents/57/Original.doc> Accessed June 5, 2007.

<sup>ii</sup> Plural in text: wyrzucenia ciał umarłych.

<sup>iii</sup> That is the Jewish community in Brześć, in contrast to the Jews accused of committing the crime.

<sup>iv</sup> I.e. the Jewish community.

<sup>v</sup> I.e. those Jews who actually committed the crime.