EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources

Volume 4: Jewish Consumption and Material Culture in the Early Modern Period, 2007, University of Maryland

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The Image of the Jewish Wedding in the Works of Eighteenth Century German Hebraists

Shalom Sabar, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

ABSTRACT: 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.

This presentation is for the following text(s):
- Images of the Jewish Wedding

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Shalom Sabar, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

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

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

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

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

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

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

The *Chalitza* Ceremony Ritual Bath- Paul Christian Kirchner, *Jüdisches Ceremoniel...*, Nürenberg, 1724.


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The Image of the Jewish Wedding in the Works of Eighteenth Century German Hebraists

Shalom Sabar, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel
Antonius Margaritha, Der gantz Jüdisch Glaub, Augsburg, 1530.
Joselmann of Rosheim (1480-1554)
The *Tashlikh* Ceremony in Margaritha, *Jüdisch Glaub*
Margaritha, Jüdisch Glaub
Friedrich Albrecht Christiani, 
*Jüdischer Glaube und Aberglaube*, Leipzig, 1713
Paul Christian Kirchner, *Jüdisches Ceremoniel*, Nuremberg, 1724

Jüdisches CEREMONIEL, oder Beschreibung dererjenigen Gebrauche,

welche

Die Juden so vollstän. als ausser dem Tempel, bey allen und jeden Fest-Tagen, im Geber, bey der Beschreibung, bey Hochzeiten, Auslöschung der Erst-Burh, im Sterben, bey der Begrabniss und dergleichen, in acht zu nehmen pflegen.

Aufgestellt von

Paul Christian Kirchner.

Nummer aber bey dieser neuen Aufflage mit accuratn Kupfern verschen;

Nicht weniger aus den besten Schriften so wol, als aus Erzählung glaubwürdiger Personen und seltsig eigener Erfahrung, über die Helfe vermehrt und mit Anmerkungen erläutert.

Nürnberg/
Verlegt bey Peter Conrad Monath, 1724.
• **Kapparot** and **Malkot** on Yom Kippur Eve – Christiani (left) and Kirchner (above)
Ceremonies for Woman in Labor and Confinement” – Kirchner, Jüdisches Ceremoniel
Kirchner – Delivery of the Baby Detail
Birthing Chair. Alsace, 18th Century
A “Dressed” Torah Scroll, Germany, 18th Century
Childbirth Amulet, *Sefer Raziel*
“Wachnacht” – Eve of Circumcision
Jewish Swords to Fight Lilith: Alsace, Kurdish Iraq, Morocco
Jewish Wedding Ceremonies in 13th-15th centuries

Germany
Nuremberg Prayer-book, 1589 – Earliest depiction of Portable Chuppah
Minhagim Buch in Yiddish, Amsterdam, 1662 (Printer: Uri Faybesh ben Aaron Halevi)
Kirchner, The Wedding Procession
Von der Copulation (i.e., the Chuppah). From: Johann Christoph Georg Bodenschatz, Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden, Erlang (Germany), 1748.
Die Copulation.
Sephardi Chuppah in Seventeenth Century
Amsterdam
Bodenschatz, The Ceremony following the “Copulation”
Die geschehene Copulation.
Kirchner:
The bridegroom ("a") shatters the wine jar ("b") on the synagogue wall ("c"); the musicians start to play and the guests dance ("d")
Sepher Raziel (Amsterdam, 1701). Amulet for a woman experiencing difficulties during labor.
Amulets from Morocco (left), Iraqi Kurdistan (center) and Poland (right)
Nineteenth Century Ketubbot from Damascus (left) and Alexandria (right)
David’s Protective Shield in Sephardi Ketubbot of Keutsendil, Bulgaria
Paper Childbirth Amulets. Germany, 18th c.
Popular Woodcut of a Childbirth in 16th c. Germany
The Old and New Synagogues of Fürth, 1705
Frankfurt Yiddish Minhagim-Buch, 1708
The *Chuppastein* on German Wimpeln
Kirchner, The *Knasmahl* Ceremony
Engagement Plates, East Europe, late 19th century
Mikve in 18th c. Amsterdam

Het Bad der Hoogduitsche Joden, te Amsterdam.
Bodenschatz, Ritual
Cleansing by Bathing
Order of the Prayers with a Yiddish Commentary for Women (Amsterdam: Moses, son of Abraham Mendes Coitinho, 1705)
תיהום קריאת
שמעות

רגול
shallעוף הבירוב ayuda לשועית וקיסותריה. בניה
השתחוות בבריאות וביהדות שנייה חרב. בהעתק
שימשה בשבעה: יורי הוא פקרינו, אשר לא השתיינו
שהמאות נ믹ת בברית החורים ולא פקרון, ויוו לברז
היהולקה לעבר פואד וארוזיות.

סדר מזות חנה

(כון עלפיים בטアナ) נ시험 את לה
כשר על הלוח דר בתות הדרק) ועומד עיר
שנכנאצים לעוך את אחיזה (מעוזת חלה מרכז הרוך

49
A Woman *Tevilah* in German-Hebrew mss.
Kirchner: The Divorce Ceremony
A Sample of a *Get* in Bodenschatz (left)
A “real” *Get* from Kurdish Iran (right)
Bodenschatz, “Von der Cheliza”
The Chalitzah Shoe: Bodenschatz (above) and Kirchner (right)
*Chalitzah* Shoes, Germany, 19th century
Baby Jesus and the *Wimpel*
Ketubbah with the 12 Signs of the Zodiac. Alessandria (north-west Italy), 1759
Islamic “Solomon’s Seal” Tile
Churches in Florence and Valencia
Papercut Amulet from 19th c. Poland for the Wachnacht
Sephardi Ketubbot from 19\textsuperscript{th} c. Bulgaria
Amuletic Ketubbah from Damascus
1864
Childbirth Amulet for a Girl – Germany, early 19th cent.
ABSTRACT: This 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.

This presentation is for the following text(s):

- Praises Which Zealous [Men] Dedicated to the Wonderful Memory of Abraham Nunez Bernal, Who was Burned Alive Sanctifying the Name of his Creator in Cordova on May 3rd 5415 [=1655]
- Sermons Which were Delivered by the Talented Gentlemen of the Kahal Kadosh [=holy congregation] Talmud Torah, in this city of Amsterdam, in the happy opening, and public celebration of the building that was dedicated to God, as a house of prayer, for which festivities commenced on Sabath Nahamu. . Year 5435 [=1675].

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Praises Which Zealous [Men] Dedicated to the Wonderful Memory of Abraham Nunez Bernal

An Introduction

Limor Mintz-Manor, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

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 3rd, 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.

Bibliography


**Websites including relevant images:**

Dedication of The Portuguese Synagogue Drawn by Romeyn de Hooghe:
http://www.jtsa.edu/library/exhib/sanctuary/01.shtml
The Portuguese Synagogue Drawn by Emanuel de Witte (and more):
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amsterdam_Esnoga
The official website of the synagogue:
http://www.esnoga.com

Copyright © 2012 Early Modern Workshop
By Mr. Daniel de Ribera

[p.40]

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. Semuel 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.

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Elogios Que zelozos dedicaron A La Felice memorià de Abraham Nunez Bernal, Que fue quemado vivo santificando el Nombre de su Criador en Cordova a 3 de Mayo 5415
Praises Which Zealous [Men] Dedicated to the Wonderful Memory of Abraham Nunez Bernal, Who was Burned Alive Sanctifying the Name of his Creator in Cordova on May 3rd 5415 [=1655] 1655?

Prepared by Limor Mintz-Manor, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

[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 passó 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. [...]
SEGUNDA
PARTE DEL SE-
DUR CONTIENE LAS PAS
CVAS DE PESAH, SIBVOTH, SV-
coth, y día octavo. Con todas las cosas que
é n ellas se suele dezir en Casa y en
la yinogua.

Stampada por industria, y despeza de
Yshac Franco, à4 de Adar ve Adar,
$372a.
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Sermons (Amsterdam, 5435/1675)
An Introduction

Limor Mintz-Manor, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

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.

Bibliography
Miriam Bodian, Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation. Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam, Indianapolis 1997. (general)
Leo and Rena Fuks, The Inauguration of the Portuguese Synagogue of Amsterdam,

**Websites including relevant images:**

Dedication of The Portuguese Synagogue Drawn by Romeyn de Hooghe:
http://www.jtsa.edu/library/exhib/sanctuary/01.shtml

The Portuguese Synagogue Drawn by Emanuel de Witte (and more):
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amsterdam_Esnoga

The official website of the synagogue:
http://www.esnoga.com

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Prologue for the Reader

[...][p.iii] The entire prayer was accompanied by hymns and the most famous songs, and for the imitation of the inauguration of the sacred Temple, which lasted eight days of festivities, always with the same solemnity, each day accompanied by a sermon given by the most talented scholars of the congregation, which are offered to you here. Friend Reader, here you will see the fruit of our distinguished Nation[1], you will see the noble our Haham[2] as Master, giving beginning to elegance so conceptual and [you will see] his worthy disciples praying with elegance of concept. I attest to you, kind reader, that it [=this celebration] seems more like the days of Passover [celebrated] with liberty in the Temple than celebrations of captivity in a Esnoga [=synagogue][3]. 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[4] 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[5], 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[6] 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 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.

Endnotes

[1] A term used by the western Sephardic Jews to signify the Iberian Jews together with the Conversos.
[3] This term used not only as a synagogue in general, but frequently refers to the new synagogue of the community.
[5] The term refers to the governing body of a community in the western Sephardic diaspora.

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Sermoes que pregaraõ os Doctos Ingenios do K.K. de Talmud Torah, desta Cidade de Amsterdam, No alegre Estreamento, & Publica celebidade da Fabrica que se consagrou a Deos, para Caza de Oraçaõ, , cuja entrada se festejou em Sabath Nahamú Anno 5435

Sermons Which were Delivered by the Talented Gentlemen of the Kahal Kadosh [=holy congregation] Talmud Torah, in this city of Amsterdam, in the happy opening, and public celebration of the building that was dedicated to God, as a house of prayer, for which festivities commenced on Sabath Nahamu. . Year 5435 [=1675].

1675

Prepared by Limor Mintz-Manor, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel
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 tão boa cantidade, 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) tão Sumptuozo, que compite seu artificio, com o melhor de toda Fabrica, todo forrado de tão curiozo adorno, que propriamente parece Palacio, & arodeado de admiraveís Colunas, arameta com o bizaro de hum quadro, & o galhardo de suas Colunas, donde imitando as taboas de pedra, estáõ húas de pao com os déz Mandamentos, tão grave & custozo, que enleva a adiante húa Galeria, que toda o arrodea. [....] David de Castro Tartaz.

**Publisher:** David de Castro Tartaz, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 1675  
**Archive:** Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, Amsterdam. exemplar ROG A-757 (Ros. 20 F 15)
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Volume 4: Jewish Consumption and Material Culture in the Early Modern Period, 2007, University of Maryland

Jewish Display Silver After the Age of Exploration

Vivian B. Mann, Jewish Museum/Jewish Theological Seminary, USA

ABSTRACT: 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 in what ways they differed.

This presentation is for the following text(s):

- Images of Jewish Display Silver

Copyright © 2012 Early Modern Workshop
The Jewish Museum, New York, NY, U.S.A.
Huebener, Joachim II (ca.1705-1780)
The Jewish Museum, New York, NY, U.S.A.
The Zaks Parokhet from Prague (1602):
Sacred Object, Local Liturgy, and Familial Memory

Rachel L Greenblatt, Harvard University, USA

ABSTRACT: The Zaks parokhet, donated to Prague’s Altnbeuschul 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.

This presentation is for the following text(s):
- Compendium of Memorial Prayers
- Memorial Prayers from the Pinkas Synagogue, Prague

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Notes: Also known as “The Altneuschul Memorbuch”

May God remember the soul of the leader, ‘ruler of the people’[1] 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[2] and [went on] a straight path. The honorable Rabbi Nathan son of Issachar z”l called Karpe Zalk z”l. 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.’

Endnotes
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Pinkas hazkarat neshamot
approx. 15th to 18th c.

Prepared by Rachel L Greenblatt, Harvard University, USA

Notes: Also known as “The Altneschul Memorbuch”

Publisher: Never published, to the best of my knowledge, even excerpts are quite rare.
Archive: Jewish Museum, Prague, Ms. 113

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Compendium of Memorial Prayers
An Introduction
Rachel L. Greenblatt

Zaks parokhet - Torah curtain donated by Natan Zaks, 1602
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum of Prague

Torah curtain donated by Yokev ben Anshel and his wife Slava bat Ozer Devidels - 1658
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum of Prague

Torah mantel donated by Simon [Spira] and his wife Haya, 1662
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum of Prague

Torah mantel donated by the midwife Beila, 1696
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum of Prague

Parokhet - Torah curtain donated by Deila wife of Moses Abeles, 1690
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum of Prague

פרוכת
parokhet - Torah curtain donated by Leib son of Gershon Karpels and his wife Esther daughter of Barukh Tilles, 1696
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum of Prague

פנקס הזיכרת נשמות
Pinkas hazkarat neshamot - Compendium of memorial prayers, The Altneuschul Memorbuch
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum of Prague

Copyright © 2012 Early Modern Workshop
Torah curtain donated by Natan Zaks, 1602
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum of Prague,
Inventory number 27.391
me'il letorah, 1615, 1703
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum of Prague

Jewish Museum, Prauge,
Inventory number 12.667
Torah curtain,
1658
Courtesy of the
Jewish Museum of Prague

Jewish Museum
Prague, Inventory no. 2.237
Torah mantle donated by Simon [Spira] and his wife Haya, 1662
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum of Prague

Jewish Museum
Prague,
Inventory no.
40.621
Torah mantel donated by the midwife Beila, 1696
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum of Prague
JMP Inv. no. 40.096
Torah curtain donated by Deila wife ųYof Moses Abeles, 1690
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum of Prague

JMP Inv no. 27.386
Torah curtain donated by Leib son of Gershon Karpels and his wife Esther daughter of Barukh Tilles, 1696
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum of Prague

JMP Inv no. 27.397
To inform and to notify:
And [because] of what they had seen:[1][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 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.[2] 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.

Endnotes


[2] 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.

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Pinkas Hahazkarot, Beit Hakenesset Pinhas
1801

Prepared by Rachel L Greenblatt, Harvard University, USA

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The Possessions of Two Italian Jews at the end of the 16th Century

Flora Cassen, New York University, USA

**ABSTRACT:** 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 complaints that they do not wear the yellow hat and gives a detailed description of their outfit.

**This presentation is for the following text(s):**
- Inventory of the belongings of Lazaro Nantua
- Letter by Podesta of Gavi

Flora Cassen
New York University, USA
Duration: 59:04

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Inventory of the belongings of Lazaro Nantua
1592

Translated by Flora Cassen, New York University, USA

Notes: Italy

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. Jdm Baptam 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[1] 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[2] chest in which the following items are found: eight surcoats of goat skin[3] 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\(^{[4]}\) and a fly
net with a long bed pillow, two [orgeri]\(^{[5]}\), two bed sheets, three wool blankets two of
which are red and one green
Next a chamber pot\(^{[6]}\)
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 [scrineti], some of flax, some of linen
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\(^{[7]}\)
Next another smaller chair
Next a [calderollo] with 2 chairs next to another [calderollo] with a medium sized seat;
next another small one
Next two copper carving knives\(^{[8]}\)
Next four copper cake pans
Next a copper frying pan
Next two copper dripping pans
Next 2 copper washbasins\(^{[9]}\)
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\textsuperscript{[10]}
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\textsuperscript{[11]}

\textbf{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
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\textsuperscript{[12]}
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 no seven
Next five women’s shirt-tails
Next a bed, that is a wooden bed frame with a mattress and mattress cover, one [colsere], 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 made of [buratto]\textsuperscript{[13]}
Next a yellow blouse of oriental silk
Next another bed that is wooden bed-frame with its posts, both mattress and mattress cover, a [colsere], 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\textsuperscript{[14]}
\textbf{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\textsuperscript{[15]} with a red [cento]\textsuperscript{[16]} and two others with a green [cento]

p. 4

Next a \textit{staio} and a \textit{quartaro} to measure grain\textsuperscript{[17]}
Next a tin plate; next three \textit{canne} of linen cloth\textsuperscript{[18]}
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]
Next four covers of white double-layered cloth[19]
Next two cover of white silk and cotton blend
Next three pieces of napkin [in fillo][20]
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° 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][21] ; next a sickle
Next four rub[22] of piazentino cheese
Next a staio of nectar in a saddlebag
Next about six mine[23] 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[24]
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
First gift items of diverse colors of all types of fabric no one hundred fifty-six; ten pairs of socks
Next packages of different items no 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 no four
Next fourteen pieces of broken tin[2]
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[26] 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[27] 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]
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 deborcallle]
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[^28] 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
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 nº 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\[^{29}\] 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 nº 32
Next two tubs; next a frying pan and a baking tray
Next three weights\[^{30}\] to for weighing; next hoes nº 11
Next nine [secari]\[^{31}\], large hoes nº 3 [catone da foco]\[^{32}\] nº 14; next two helmets\[^{33}\]
Next four broken arquebuses
Next six metal hoops for barrels; next two daggers
Next three sickle for milling grain; next a windlass\[^{34}\]
Next two decorative wallboards; next one made of chest wood
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*[^35] [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[^36], 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
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

**Endnotes**
sheets folded five ways for binding together (notebooks?)
noce = walnut wood?
giambelotto = goat or camel skin
the actual matress was thin and rough; the cover soft
possibly a small pillow
literally a chamber sac
segia is the old Italian word for chair
but cava tapo (=cava tato?) = corkscrew
bacalle; from bacinella, bacino?
a buffet perhaps
The Spinola were one of the noble families that dominated the history of Genoa
pianelle = pantofole
zamara is the Spanish word for a sheep’s skin jacket
sachetta da camera?
chiavacuore is a belt or buckle (Grande dizionario de la lingua italiana in 21 vols).
Benvenutto 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 (chiavacquore) 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.
the round?
staio or staro and quartaro were local measuring units
again, a local measuring unit varying -depending on the place- between 2.5 and 5.5 meters
dobietto or dobletto refers to a double layered fabric, perhaps a kind of corduroy
in the making?
maybe lombarda = firearm?
a measuring unit
a measuring unit
mocaioto refers to cotton, flax or linen, but he typically uses stoppa and lino for flax and linen
damaged kitchen wear?
can robba be dress?
pairs: ear rings or cuflinks?
Originally a Provencal currency, coined in Piedmont and Lombardy from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century
staia, staio, staro was a measuring unit
cantara was 47.65 kg in Genoa
possibly saws; from sega
catino is an ancient Italian word for a small oven to melt metal or a round oven plate
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

device for raising weights by winding a rope round a cylinder

a measuring unit for liquids

very long, from head to toe; first introduced in Liguria in the 13th century

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EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources

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Inventory of the belongings of Lazaro Nantua

1592

Prepared by Flora Cassen, New York University, USA

Notes: Italy

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 ibm Baptism Graminnam potestatore di loci, de ordine serenissimi senatus, cuius ut infra.

Primo in sala de domus uno libro di sedosi quaterni 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 do mio nome et cognome; Item un altro libro de quinterni diece col do mio nome et cognome; Item un altro libro de quinterni diece col d° mio nome et cognome; Item un altro libro de quinterni otto col d° 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° 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 no otto
Item camise dodesi da homo senza colaro de tella de lino
Item un altra camisa como supra
Item camise de dona n° 17 sine disette
Item un altra camisa da donna n° 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 tovaglione 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 cusina de detta casa** pezi di stagno inpiati no 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 picola
Item doi segolini da cava tato di ramo
Item padelle quattro 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
Item scabelli tredesi
Item una credenza de noce
Item una bacille grande sulì trepiedi di ferro con uno stagnone de ramo
Item uno archibuso da rota quale dice angellino hebreo essere dil fatore 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 foderato 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 donna
n° nove tale quale
Item due maschere nere da dona
Item uno paro de pranolle da dona
Item un altro forsero o sia coffano foderato di corio dentro scosali quarto; item camise tre
da homo
Item una camisa da donna senza busto
Item una pistolla 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
lenzolli, 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 lenzolli, tre coperte de lana due rossa l’altra biancha col suo cappusero de
telle et tornaletto
Item uno scaldalletto de ramo; item una sachetta da camera

**Item ne la camera de mezzo** una cassa osia coffano foderato 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 tovaglie 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 tr
Item gorgiere tre
Item un altra cassa de castagna dentro lenzolli [word missing] tra di stoppa et di lino
Item coperte quattro di dobretto bianche
Item coperte due bombasina biancha
Item peze tre di tovagliini 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 no 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 bisachia
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 saco
Item un altro saco 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 camisetta de mocaioto 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 unaltra de panno verde; una faldetta de giameloto gialdo di setta
una veste da dona de panno turchino
una veste de panno verde; una saia Bianca uno macame; due veste de mocaiato de color
morello
Item una saia verde
Item una zamara de frisa turchina
**Item in detta camera li pegni infrascr ipti** con soi boletini sopra
primo robe de dono de diversi colori di saia panno et mo caiato n° cento cinquanta sei;
para dieci di calsoni
Item fangotti no ducento cinquanta tre de diverse robbe con li soi boletini li quali per
esser redotti 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 dieci lottone
Item pezi cinquanta tre stagno; item capelli doi
Item archebusi doi da foce et uno da rotta
Item mappe n° quattro
Item pezi quatorze de stagno rotti
Item uno tonello di ramo per far capelli
Item una copeta de borgo; 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 meschio di panno
Item uno pezo de cadis turchino
Item una camiessa da donna
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 chiavacoro 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 colori 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
Item uno cordone d’argento in una tovagliola de tella
Item una borsa con uno scosalle et uno cordone d’argento
Item chiavacore utsupra 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 gialdo, due de verde, una tovagliola di tella doi scosalli di taffeta verde con tre chiavacori utsupra 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 utsupra
Item uno cordoni 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 utsupra 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 utsupra col cento verde
Item una coronetta de corallo coli segni d’oro

p.7
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 vasori guarnitis d’argento con una mollà et cordoni d’argento
Item chiavacori d’argento con li centi borcato no 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 uno scuto d’argento pro circoncidere con duo vasi guarnitis d’argento con una mollà et cordoni d’argento
Item chiavacori d’argento con li centi borbato no 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 no quarantaquatro
Item chiavacori no dodesi con sei cordoni et didali sei uno annello et una crosetta d’argento
Item doi chiavacori con una crosette d’argento et una corona de coralli con cento verde et uno rosso
Item ciavacori no de coralli co 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 chiavacore 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 annelli cinque d’oro con cinque pietre false
Item doi annelli 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 po moneta de Genoa

------------------------------------------------- 1. 3 sol 4
parpagliole da vinti denari l’una de Millano ------------------------------------------- 1. 4 ---

10
quatrini de millani et altre minute monete ------------------------------------------- 1. 4 ---
bianchi ogiane de Monferrato ------------------ 1. 54.8
uno da quattro reali ------------------------------ 1. 2 -20
 volta la carta

Item in una camera de dietro quali non sono pegni primo uno forsero di noce con
camise cinque da homo
Item camise quattro 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° 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, strapponte 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 rasoir; item uno cusino longo
Item tre orgieri; item doi pugnalli
Item una casa di coffano
Item una credenza con li cinque libri di Moise

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° treinta doi
item stagnoni doi; item una padelle et uno testo
Item cantare tre per perare; item zappe no undesì
Item securi nove pichi no tre catone da foco no quatordesì; item morioni doi
Item archibuso quatro da rota
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 osìa tanone di ramo
Item due straponte talle; item due veste deserba 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 de 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 cechio 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 de 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 peirollì sei grandi; item uno vazo de lotone
uno stagnone di ramo; item un ferata una
mastra una mezera, doi zeberì; 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 vigessima tertia februarii

Archive: A. S. Genoa, Senato, Litterarum, n. 553

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Letter by Podesta of Gavi
To Complain about the Hats of Angelino and Lazaro Nantua

1595

Translated by Flora Cassen, New York University, USA

Notes: Italy

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 3rd 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

D. VV. SS. Ser.mw

Signature  Francesco Casamanari Podesta

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Letter by Podesta of Gavi

1595

Prepared by Flora Cassen, New York University, USA

Notes: Italy

Sermo et Ecclesiasticorumque patroni
siano perciò castigati o come et se intendano le sia per dette cause admessia appellatione. Percio mi e passo di tutto raguagiarle et anco dirle che a pallodio publicamente portano il capello negro con molto scandalo delle persone di esse luogo per non esser castigati parendoli esser x' 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 Excellenze 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 perciò 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 Excellenze Serenissime. Savanno servite ordinarmi quello e mente loro che debbano osservare essi hebrei circa le sudetti cose, et se devo scodere le dette lire vinti perché 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. Serme

Francesco Casamanari Podesta

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ABSTRACT: 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.

This presentation is for the following text(s):

- Inventory of the Property of Leon Modena
- Inventory of the Property of the Late Daniel Rodriga
Inventory of the Property of Leon Modena
Inventario Dei Beni di Leon Da Modena
1648

Translated by Benjamin Ravid, Brandeis University, USA

Notes: Italy


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

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 fuogo) – [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 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.

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Notes: Italy


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 Ghettu Novo Venetiarum.

Personalmente constituita 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 deli 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 deli 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 estimato 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 testimoni come qui sotto sarà notato:

Littera 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 linzoli sporchi vecchi L. 6
Tre altri mantilletti 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 roto 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, morter 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 robb da con suo giuramente per haver fatto per conscientia
E questo per non saper lui scrivere volgare

Io Aron Voltera stimai la sopradetta robb da 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 Meglion 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
Idè 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
Io Isacha Nizza ho stimato gli sopradetti libri hebrei per mia consciienza 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’orologgi L. 1 : 10
Gioue 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
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 Baptist 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 consciencia, 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.

**Publisher:** 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

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Inventory of the Property of the Late Daniel Rodrigha
Inventatio Bonarum Quondam Danielis Rodrighes
1603

Translated by Benjamin Ravid, Brandeis University, USA

Notes: Italy

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

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 muff[s] 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 fuogo) – [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 matresses, 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.

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Inventatio Bonarum Quondam Danielis Rodrighes
Inventory of the Property of the Late Daniel Rodrigha
1603

Prepared by Benjamin Ravid, Brandeis University, USA

Notes: Italy

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

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 Danielem 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 vanti et doi feraroli da coverzer veste;
un zuppon de veludo et braghesse vecchi e rotti;
un duliman de zambelotto con raso roan;
un paro de braghesse de zambelotti;
un paro de calcete guhiate 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 camisoula rossa de lana;
un paro de scarpe alla turchesca;
un pussin grando 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 grando;
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 coverta 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 peltre con le recchie numero 24;
Peltri tra grandi e piccoli 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 secceletto de laton;
Una cuogoma de rame granda, doi secchi grandi con la caza;
Una gradella, una fersora, una paletta;
Doi trepiè, una cadena da fuogo;
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 piccoli;
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 Grisoni fabro ferrario de confinio Sancti Leonardi et ser Hyeronimo quondam Laurentii Bellatto fenestrario de eodem confinio, testibus vocatis et rogatis.

**Publisher:** 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.

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An Inventory of an Inquisitorial Prisoner's Possessions

Miriam Bodian, University of Texas at Austin, USA

ABSTRACT: 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.

This presentation is for the following text(s):
- Inventory of the possessions of the licentiate Francisco Maldonado de Silva

Miriam Bodian
University of Texas at Austin, USA
Duration: 1:02:29
An Inventory of an Inquisitorial Prisoner's Possessions

An Introduction

Miriam Bodian, University of Texas at Austin, USA

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.

**Bibliography**


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Inventory of the possessions of the licentiate Francisco Maldonado de Silva

Inventorio

1627

Translated by Miriam Bodian, University of Texas at Austin, USA

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*. [1]
Another book titled *Pronosticorum Hipócrates*. [2]
Another book titled *Escrutinium Escriturarum*. [3]
Another titled *Medicorum Insipiensum 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 *Diez Privilegios para mujeres preñadas compuesto por el doctor Juan Alonso*. [6]
Another book titled *Cien oraciones fúnebres*.
Another book titled *Sumulas de Toledo*.
Another book titled *De Medica Historia*. [7]
Another titled *Tesoro de la verdadera cirujía*. [8]
Another book titled Pintus in Esequielem.
Another titled Historia de la composición del cuerpo humano by Juan de Valverde Amusco. [9]
Another titled Verdadera medicina cirujía y astrología.
Another titled Pereira médico de Medina del Campo. [10]
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. [11]
Another titled Galeno Sexta Clase.
Another titled Galeno Quinta Clase.
Another titled Práctica Saborunarum de Febribus. [12]
Another titled Pedacio dioscóridas. [13]
Another titled Galeni 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. [14]
Another titled Emblemas Morales de Don Juan de Orozco. [15]
Another book titled Pronosticorum Hipocratis. [already listed above]
Another titled De las drogas y medicinas de las Indias orientales.
Another book, hand-written, titled Antidotario.
Another titled Antidotario Generalis.
Another book titled Pascali Práctica.
Another titled Salmi Davidis. [16]
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. [17]
Another titled el Doctor Monardes. [18]
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 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.


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.

Endnotes

[1] A Latin translation of a medical work by the eleventh-century Persian physician and scholar Avicenna?

[2] This is a medical work attributed to Hippocrates.

[3] *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.


[10] Presumably a work by Gómez Pereira, a sixteenth-century Spanish philosopher, physician, and humanist.


[13] Pedacius Dioscorides, *Pedacio Dioscorides Anazarbeo, acerca de la material medicinal y de los venenos mortíferos...*translated from Greek to Castilian by Andrés 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.

[14] A sixteenth-century theological work by the controversial converso Fray Luis de León.


[17] A work by the sixteenth-century medical scientist Andreas Vesalius – perhaps the abridged version of his great seven-volume work *De humani corporis fabrica*.


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**Inventorio**

Inventory of the possessions of the licentiate Francisco Maldonado de Silva

1627

Prepared by Miriam Bodian, University of Texas at Austin, USA

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 Escriturarum.
Otro intitulado Petri Andrei Matioli 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 Francici 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 Hippocratis.
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 demás 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 incontinentemente 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.


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.

Publisher: Editorial Andres Bello, Santiago de Chile, 1984. See notes/comments for details of text.
Archive: original document in the Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid

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Symbolic Clothes
Marginality and otherness of Jews and New Christians as Reflected by Their Dress in Two Christian texts

Nadia Zeldes, The Hebrew University, Mandel Institute for Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, Israel

ABSTRACT: 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 colours 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 by either the ruler and the Church or the Jews themselves. A text from fifteenth century Sicily describes the clothes worn by Jews during a festive procession; 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 on dress, exercising various professions etc. However, a sixteenth century text - also from Sicily - raises intriguing question as to the perceptions of the New Christians by the Old Christian population, especially regarding dress. I would like to analyze both texts, comparing them to each other and to other sources from the same period.
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Nadia Zeldes, The Hebrew University, Mandel Institute for Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, Israel

Clothes in the Middle-Ages and the Early Modern Period denoted legal status and social standing. It was customary in this period to impose the wearing of distinctive marks on members of marginal groups, such as Jews, lepers, prostitutes and heretics, to differentiate them from normative Christians. A special Jewish badge, a piece of yellow or red cloth to be worn on the outer garments, was imposed by the Fourth Lateran council in 1215. In Sicily, it was the red circle (rotella rossa), described by Rabbi Ovadia de Bertinoro in his account of his visit to Palermo in 1487.

In Mediterranean Europe, that is, Italy, Sicily, Provence and the Iberian kingdoms, Jews wore more or less the same fashions as the did Christians.[1] They did not dress in this manner solely because they were allowed to (in fact, they sometimes chose to disregard discriminating laws), but because they chose to do so. Although they were living on the margins of Christian society, the Jews accepted its values and attempted to emulate them; rich individuals wore clothes that beffited their status, and so did wives and daughters of wealthy men. According to Pierre Bourdieu: “the dominated class came to see itself only through the eyes of the dominant class, that is, in terms of the dominant definition of the body and its uses. This having been said, in this area as in so many other and equally important areas which are not politically constituted, there is no realistic chance of any collective resistance o the effect of imposition that would lead either to the valorization of properties stigmatized by the dominant taxonomy (the ‘black is beautiful’ strategy) or to the creation of new, positively evaluated proper-group (always liable to relapse into shame), or the individual effort to assimilate the dominant ideal which is the antithesis of the very ambition of collectivity regaining control over social identity”[2] But that is exactly why both the surrounding Christian society and Jewish leadership attempted to control clothing. Rabbis and community leaders, aware of the dangers the Jews incurred whenever they wore clothes that were not suited to their station, attempted to enact sumptuary regulations were not always faithfully followed, as in the following petition from 1490 addressed to the authorities by the Jews of Palermo:

You have recently informed us with due reverence, that some Jews, men as well as women, dress with exaggerated pomp without giving consideration to their status, and they presumptuously put on luxurious clothes, wear silk pieces, and even adorn themselves with jewels that are not suitable for Jews, [all of] which leads to the destruction of this Giudecca, and their presumption is still growing... we give you full permission and allow you to freely hold council and impose your laws and regulations regarding the clothes of the Jews of this
Giudecca, men and women, as well as other rules necessary for living in peace and harmony.... [3]

The mentality of the age regarding Jewish clothing is reflected in Salomon Ibn Verga’s Shebet Yehuda in the imaginary dialogue between the king (Alfonso) and the Jews:

If you are slaves and exiles why are you dressing like princes? It provokes jealousy and hatred and I have ordered that in my kingdom you are not to wear silk... and and the Jews answer: As for the silk, from the day it was decreed, no man of ours dared defy it, and we, who represent the wealthiest of your people (that is: the Jews), are wearing cheap black garments although it is customary to come to the king’s palace richly dressed...[4]

Converting to Christianity meant, according to Church doctrine, total status change and no restrictions whatsoever on dress, on the exercise of various professions, etc. However, conversos found guilty of heresy suffered a number of restrictions: banishment from certain professions and positions of honor, they were forbidden to ride horses, to dress in silk and wear red, their children could not inherit their property and more. Among the punishments and restrictions imposed by the Inquisition on reconciled heretics, was the wear of a special garment, the infamous “Sanbenito”, an upper garment with a stitched transverse cross that identified the wearer as a penitent, and often as a Christian of Jewish stock. The Spanish Inquisition decreed that penitent conversos (reconciliados) should wear sanbenitos at the pronouncement of the sentence during the Auto de Fé ceremony, and later the same garments were hung up in the local church. According to Henry Kamen, in his book The Spanish Inquisition, hostility to this practice was shared by Old and New Christians alike. The penitential garments worn in public by the condemned caused public humiliation not only to the individuals but also to the towns where they lived.[5] The same rules applied to Sicily in the period under discussion. In the late fifteenth century the kingdom of Sicily was ruled by Ferdinand the Catholic, and then by his grandson, Charles V. The Spanish Inquisition was established in Sicily in 1487 but began its effective activity against converts of Jewish origin only in 1500 and continued up to 1550. Records show that 195 persons were burnt in person and 276 in effigy during the whole period. The total number of reconciliados is difficult to ascertain, but the number of individuals processed by the Spanish Inquisition in Sicily was slightly over 2,000.

New Christians, neofiti in Sicilian sources, fully participated in economic activity, worked in close proximity to Christians, sometimes were even elected as members of town councils. They daily clothes were virtually undistinguishable from those of Christians of the same social status. [6] In other words, nothing in daily contacts marked New Christians as a group apart to be noticed on first sight. In fact, the wear of a penitential garment as punishment for heresy was introduced by the inquisition in southern France. Francoise Piponnier in her book Dress in the Middle Ages cites a fourteenth century source that mentions the punishment of a Cathar who was ordered by the Inquisition to wear two yellow felt crosses sewn over his clothing for the rest of his life.[7] However, the wear of penitential garments was an innovation in Sicily, introduced by the Spanish Inquisition and it is possible this measure was misunderstood by the local population. In fact, the first Auto de Fé celebrated in Palermo in 1511 drew large crowds but those were not necessarily hostile to the accused. The description of an eyewitness leaves the impression that many pitied them. Moreover, a petition addressed by the Sicilian Parliament in 1514 protested against “abuses of power”, “excesses” and illegal use of torture by the Inquisition.[8] The Spanish Inquisition was for most Sicilians a foreign
institution and its measures encountered opposition on almost every level, including the imposition of penitential garments on condemned heretics. The reasons given against this particular inquisitorial practice (in the following text) are curious but in my opinion, they express a general feeling that forcing heretics to wear the cross was “un-Christian”.

Now I would like to come to the texts presently under discussion. The first is a historical work written in the second half of the fifteenth century by a Sicilian Humanist, the Dominican Pietro Ransano. In this text Ransano describes the clothes worn by the Jews of Palermo during a festive procession celebrating the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, stressing the fact that the Jews were on this occasion permitted to wear what they pleased and use precious fabrics such as silk; beyond the explicit information it provides, the text’s language and the subtext hint at the marginality and restrictions imposed on the Jews in everyday life.

The second text, an excerpt from The History of Sicily by Tommaso Fazello, another Sicilian Dominican, is concerned with the penitential garments, sanbenitos, imposed by the Spanish Inquisition on the New Christians who wore them during a religious sermon given in Palermo in 1516, after the expulsion of the Jews. The sermon coincided with the unrest that followed the death of Ferdinand the Catholic.

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

Endnotes

[1] There are numerous examples in medieval imagery, Christian as well as Jewish, of Jews wearing fashionable garments, see: Mendel Metzger, Jewish Life in the Middle Ages, New-York 1982.


Shevet Yehudah: (Shohet, 1947, p. 47)


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A History of Sicily (1560)
An Introduction

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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. In the text the New Christians are identified as Jews (Hebrews) and their wear of penitential garments, although imposed by the Inquisition, is perceived as a sacrilege. In other words, the preacher an the populace do not consider them heretics but Jews, and as Jews they should not wear a cross, because they crucified Christ. The riot that ensues attacks both the wearers of the penitential garment and the Inquisition who imposed it. Later in that year the crowds attacked the Inquisitor General and forced him to leave Sicily. The penitents, however, must have perceived the garment as a punishment, shameful and disgraceful. In fact, inquisitorial records show that in later years many Sicilian “reconciliados” did not adhere to the restrictions and paid fines for wearing red clothes, riding horses and bearing arms as they were reluctant to lose their status in society.[1] In fact, the text under discussion shows that the penitential clothes worn by the New Christians (Hebrews?) represented different things for different groups.

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 duae, 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:

**Endnotes**


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— The Last Multicultural Encounter in Medieval Sicily: A Dominican Scholar, an Arabic Inscription, and a Jewish Legend”, Mediterranean Historical Review 21 (2006), pp. 159-191.

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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 25th 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,[1] 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,[2] 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 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.[3] 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.[4] 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.

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,[5], 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 garments⁶ 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.

**Endnotes**


[2] 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.

[3] A steep mountain rising above the city of Palermo to the west.

[4] 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.


[6] In the Latin: amictu= toga, upper garment, a covering.

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De rebus sicululis decades duae
A History of Sicily in Twenty (parts)
1560

Prepared by Nadia Zeldes, The Hebrew University, Mandel Institute for Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, Israel
Publisher: Unknown

Endnotes

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On the Origins and History of Palermo
An Introduction

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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 18th 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 Lorsnaider, 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. Another interesting point is that only men and youths participated in the celebrations whereas women watched from windows and doorsteps. Jews took part, as did the rest of the male population, albeit at the end of the procession.
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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[1] of Palermo was Pietro Spetiali (Speciali), who was the first man in the public[2] 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 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[3], 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 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 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 haling 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 immitated 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.

Endnotes

[1] 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.
[2] La republica Panhormitana, meaning public affairs, going back to the original meaning of the Latin expression “res publica”.
[3] 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.

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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 liceteri notificata a li Siciliani da Ferdinando, ipsi, cum festivité grandi, cum luminarii et multi altri spettaculi ioc undi a vidiri, si fichiro et significaro grandi leticia et singulari gaudio. Et haviria stato sufficienti cum poco palori (=paroli) in questo loco quista cosa peractari, cussì 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 principi siciliani lo più richissimo chi si trovassi. Et non solamenti appresso li Panhormitani l’auctoritati di quisto valia, ma ancora appresso di qualunque 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 con terranei 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 edificao lu ponti supra a quillo fiumi distanti di Solanto a due miglia, in lo quali, molto 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 omni 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 belissimo marmo una nobili cappella in la
eclesia di san Francisco, et havila cum sblenduri di artificiusa opera et di preciusi duni
mirificamenti illustrato. Dà ancora ricapito chi la citati si fortifichi continuamenti di
mura novi et turri bellissimi et altri necessarii propugnaculi. A quisto adunca, a tali
homo, mandando soi licteri da Missina lo zll. (=eccellenzia) don Lupu Ximenes d’Urrea
vicere di Sicilia (de la spettata et probata fidi et virtuti et fidi opera de lo quali verso li
re de Aragona et di Sicilia 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
consiglo 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 sollepnì
pompa et intentissima cura si facza principio da li cosi divini. Ordinao adunca chi si
facza una grandi processzioni in l’ultimo di lo misi di novembro, in lo quali jorno si
celebra da li cristiani la festa et sollemnmitati 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 gracii secundo la usanza di cristiani a lo immortal Deu. Fa
ancora publicamenti bandiari et comandari chi tutti gitatini usasiro omni diligentia, et,
quantu fusi ad omnino possibili, si sforzassiro ornari tutti li vii et li strati et palaczi per
li quali li sacerdoti et homini religiusi, vestiti di sagri et preciusi 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 virdi 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 apparichiai per farisi
quilli cosi et belli spettaculi, li quali appartinissiro a temporalì 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 fusi 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 et sicchi, et a la prima
hura di la nohti, quandu alloro fusi 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
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 sapiissiro excogitari et pensari, puro chi fussi cosa la quali ad allegriza honesta appartinissi. Et cussì circa quatro chento juveni intra di loro eletti, vestuti di preciusi vestimenti et maxime di sita, cui cantando, cui ballando, cui danzando, cui facendo 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 ordinatamenti 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 decito 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 particuli 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.

**Publisher:** The original fifteenth century text exists in manuscript form (not consulted). It was edited and pulished in the nineteenth century: Giovanni Lorsnaider, Palermo 1864

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Material Possessions and Religious Boundaries in Early Modern Poland

Magda Teter, Wesleyan University, USA

**ABSTRACT:** 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 clothes and textiles 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 the daughters of the two Jewish robbers were spotted wearing dresses made of the stolen textiles. This case is certainly most 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 clothes that had been owned by Jews. This presentation is based predominantly on the Decree from the Lithuanian Tribunal but will be supplemented with excerpts from other trials as well.

**This presentation is for the following text(s):**
- A Decree of the Lithuanian Tribunal concerning Jews in Brest
- Responsum 86 Masa'at Binyamin and the Ordinances of the Council of Lithuania
- Two criminal cases in the court of the city of Lublin

**Magda Teter**
Wesleyan University, USA
Duration: 58:28

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Much of the literature about material culture and consumption in the early modern period is based on the consumption patterns and material possessions of people of some means. They are the ones who collected art and precious objects, and they are the ones who left testaments, and whose possessions were inventoried by notaries after their deaths.

Criminal records, to a certain degree, allow us a glimpse into material possessions and consumer desires of those of lesser means, even though most of the time they stole from places and individuals who were relatively wealthy.

The document presented here is a decree from the Lithuanian Tribunal. Since the 1560s, there were two parallel legal systems in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: one for the Crown part of the Commonwealth, roughly the western part of the country, and one for the Great Duchy of Lithuania. Each had a tribunal, a court of highest instance. The Crown Tribunal, created in 1578, was the court of highest instance for the Crown part of the Commonwealth, while the Lithuanian Tribunal, created in 1581, was the court of highest instance in the Great Duchy of Lithuania. The Lithuanian Tribunal met in Wilno and Minsk. Both courts were appeals courts dealing with appeals from the land courts, castle [grodzkie] courts, and from the chamber [podkomorskie] courts. Creation of these courts stems from the weakening of royal power and authority to the advantage of the nobility.

The decree presented here involves two Jews, Wulf Iewłowicz and Izrael Wulfowicz, who had robbed a tomb of a noble woman in 1717 in Brzesc.
It illustrates certain broader early modern phenomena and attitudes toward material goods in the premodern period (not necessarily “early modern” specifically), although as such it is not representative of criminal activities by Jews. This decree, along with the additional texts here, the trials from Lublin and Jewish
sources (a responsum by Benjamin Slonik and two takkanot of the Council of Lithuania) highlight patterns and habits of possessions among premodern poorer people. The examples selected here also demonstrate ambiguity of clothing patterns and exchange of clothes between Jews and Christians.

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A Decree of the Lithuanian Tribunal concerning Jews in Brest
Dekret Trybunału Litewskiego przeciwko Żydom brzeskim
1719

Translated by Magda Teter, Wesleyan University, USA

A Decree of the Lithuanian Tribunal concerning Jews in Brześć (Brześć Litewski, 1719)
Published in Akty izdavaemye vilenskoiu kommissieiu dla razbora drevnikh aktov, vol. XXIX (Vilna, 1902), doc. no. 209, pp. 409-411

In the year one thousand seven hundred nineteen, the month of May, day 6th 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 Pociej, 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 zlotoglowa][1] sumptuously decorated with golden braid 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 braid 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 braid, 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 regestru przy
statuicyi 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]
exitting 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,[2] stripping and
destroying the coffin placed in the grave, stealing silver and the cloth of gold, and about
damages with three thousand złoty; and moreover, the registry of church silver and
other ornaments around the coffin.

After producing [this protestation] against the defendant Jews[3] 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
złotys, double of six thousand Polish złotys, for damages, and legal expenses of two
hundred Polish złotys from the defendant maleficent Brześć Jews,[4] [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,\[5\] for their crime of robbery [to be condemned] to infamy, arrest and capital punishment [na gardlo]....

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 final term [rok zawity];\[6\] 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 Mayannis 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.

Endnotes


[3] That is the Jewish community in Brześć, in contrast to the Jews accused of committing the crime.

[4] I.e. the Jewish community.


DEKRET TRYBUNAŁU LITEWSKIEGO PRZECIWKO ŻYDOM BRZESKIM

A Decree of the Lithuanian Tribunal concerning Jews in Brest

1719

Prepared by Magda Teter, Wesleyan University, USA

Dekret Trybunału Litewskiego przeciwko Żydom brzeskim (Brześć Litewski, 1719)

Akty izdavaemye vilenskoiu kommisiei dla razbora drevnih aktov, vol. XXIX (Vilna, 1902), doc. no. 209, pp. 409-411

Roku tysiąc siedemsetnego dziewiętnastego mšca Maia szóstego dnia.

Przed nami sędziami głównemi na trybunale w w. x. Litt. z woiewództw, ziem y powiatów na rok terazniejszy superius specyfikowany obranemi, gdy z porządku regestrowego ku sądzeniu przypadła sprawa w Bogu wielbłąnego imc. Xiędza Ioachima Rodeckiego —gwardyana y całego konwentu wielbychnych oycow Bernardynow Brzeskich zakony s. Franciszka ordinis minoris, z niewiernemi Wulfem Iewłowiczem y synem onego Izraelem Wulfowiczem y innemi żydami arendarzami, obywatelami miasta i. k. m. Brześcia, nominatim obżał.

Wiadomemi y znaiomemi, za pozwem przez nas sąd wyniesionym mieniąc o to: iż obżał. niewierni żydzi, zdracycy y przeciwnicy wierze, narodowi y kościołowi katolickiemu Rzymskiemu, wyłamując się z wierzchności praw Boskich, duchownych y świeckich, lecz tym bardziej oną contemnendo, wiedząc dobrze, że i. w. im pani Pociejowa —podskarbina na ten czas w. x. Lit. Z tego świata zeszła, w klasztorze żalujących ichm xięży Bernardynów Brzeskich, z wielką aparencyą, znacznym kosztem senatorskim pochowana była, w roku tysiąc siedemsetnym siedmnastym, mšca Maja ze dnia pierwszego, na dzień wtory, w nocy, pod kościoł żalt. delatorów Bernardynski do sklepow podkopawszy się, a znalazłszy truną [trumną] pomienionej ieymości wnontrz y do koła materią złotogłową z galonami y ciekami srebrnymi, pozłocistemi bogato obitą y wielkim sumpęm ozdobioną przy tym nie mało różnego srebra kościanego, na osobliwym regestre specyfikowanego, złodzieyskim sposobem truną obdarszy y ciało z
oney wyrzuciwłsy, to wszystko pozabierali, też truną połupali, popowali, cwiecżki 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 złotogłowowej w sznurowkach z galonami, znacznie znakami od cwieków chodziły, a potym za postrzeżeniom oną pochowali w utaill, 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 wrożenia tety kradzieży, jednak obżałowani rozkazu onych a ni kary i.w. imc Pana Hetmana w w.x. Lit. dynamię się nieobawiając, nieoddali y powrócic nie deklarui różniki obi w r. czym wszystkim szkody plus minus kładąc na trzy tysiace uczynili, za czym do wrozenia tego, sowitoci podług regestru przystatucyj comparycji wszystkich pozwanych żydów, do pokarania paenami excessowemi na garle przez mistrza scię wolnym onych ubique locorum aresztowaniem, a samych nakazania, a za wskaz summy dla uczynienia prawnej y nieodwlocznej super omnibus jure victorum bonis exeucyj y dla poscignienia samych criminalistow do urzędów ziemskich lub grodzkich, woiewodztwa Brzeskiego y innych wszelkich tych woiewodztw y powiatów, pod ktoarem dobra i osoby pozwanych złoczyncow byc się okaż, a którego

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 żadny 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 ienera i. k. m. pozwu, zeznaniem onego oczewistym przed wielmoż imc panem pisarzem ziemskim Wilenskim y koła sądow naszych, z pilnością troyga wołania uczynionym, legitime dowodzsi, produkująć czytał protestację o oddupanie sklepu pod kościołem Bernardynskim, w Brześciu będącego, o wyrzuceniu ciął umarłych, o zdarcie y szczepanie truny, w grobie będącey, o pokradzenie srebra y materii złotogłowowej y uczynienia szkody na trzy tysiace złotych, do należytego urzende doniesioną y per extractum wydaną, przy tym regestr pokradzonego srebra kościenego y koło truny będącego; po którym produkowaniu wzdania pozwanych niewiernych żydow na upad w samey rzeczy, a zatym podług prawa za pokradzioną srebro kościenne i innę koło truny będące ozdoby, materye złotoglowe, oney zardcie y popowsanie, szkody na złotych trzy tysiace wynoszący, sowito szesciu tysiacy złot. polsk., za szkdy, nakłady prawne dwuchset złotych polskich na pozwanych żydach Brzeskich, złoczyćcach, na wszelkich dobrach, maiętności onych, lezących, ruchomych, sumach pieniężnych, kromach, zastawach, arendach, depozytach, gdziekóliek będących, z wolnym onych ubique locorum aresztowaniem, a samych obżał. niewiernych żydów za popełnione złodzieystwo, na infamię, na łapanie y na garło żałującemu wskazania ad publicandum generał a sądowego przydania, proklamowa nakazania, a za wskaz summy dla uczynienia prawnej y nieodwlocznej super omnibus jure victorum bonis exeucyj y dla poscignienia samych criminalistow do urzędów ziemskich lub grodzkich, woiewodztwa Brzeskiego y innych wszelkich tych woiewodztw y powiatów, pod ktoarem dobra i osoby pozwanych złoczyncow byc się okaż, a którego
sobie actores z urzędę ad eum executionem użyc zechcą: z założeniem in contravenientes dalszych pen prawnych odesłania instabat.

A tak my sąd w sprawie w Bogu wielebnego imc. Xiędza Iachima Rodeckiego—guardiana y całego konwentu wielebnych oycow Bernardynow zakonu świętego Franciszka ordinis minoris konwentu Brzeskiego, z niewiernemi Wulfem Iewłowiczem y synem 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 trybunalskich ist zapisana.

Publisher: Akty izdavaemye vilenskoiu komisseeiu dla razbora drevnih aktov, vol. XXIX (Vilna, 1902), doc. no. 209, pp. 409-411

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Responsum 86 Masa'at Binyamin and the Ordinances of the Council of Lithuania
Shu`T Masa'at Binyamin siman 86 ve-takkanot medinat lita
Benjamin Slonik and Council of Lithuania, 1632, 1637, 1650

Translated by Magda Teter, Wesleyan University, USA

Benjamin Slonik, ShU”T Masa`at Binyamin [Responsa], no. 86
Question: Non-Jews [Christians] borrow from Jews clothes and jewelry and they them on their holidays to go to their churches and then they return them. Is it permitted to lend like this to them for the sake of peace?

Takkanot Medinat Lita:
Takkanah 321, 1637 אשת:
And so all clothing made like clothes that gentiles wear are prohibited with a total prohibition

Takkanah 468, 1650:
And they will also warn [strongly] and assure that [Jewish] women shall not go about in clothes made like clothes of the gentiles and that they shall not wear them.
EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources

Volume 4: Jewish Consumption and Material Culture in the Early Modern Period, 2007, University of Maryland

Shu”T Masa’at Binyamin siman 86 ve-takkanot medinat lita
Benjamin Slonik and Council of Lithuania, 1632, 1637, 1650

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Benjamin Slonik, ShU”T Masa`at Binyamin [Responsa], no. 86

Takkanot Medinat Lita:
Takkanah 321, 1637:

Takkanah 468, 1650:

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Two criminal cases in the court of the city of Lublin

Excerpts from court records

Dwie sprawy kryminalne w Sądzie miasta Lublina

1625, 1638

Translated by Magda Teter, Wesleyan University, USA

[AP Lublin, 141, 64-77] a 1625 case against four Christians robbing Jewish merchants.

Third [accused] Stanislaus Gay or Gaiek, called both names
Asked where he lived
Responded on the Dananskie
Asked about muchaier [a satin fabric]
Responded Cherlinsky came to me and said brother there are a few pieces of muchaier, we robbed Jews in the forest, run away and left it [the fabric] in the forest but I don’t know about it.
[67v] Asked where he got the hat he is wearing because it is the Jew's.
Responded that Dłuski gave it to him
Asked what was his occupation
Responded that he worked at the Jewish butchers’ stalls, he was kozolup [one who removes skin of the slaughtered animals]
Asked is he frequently worked with the thieves
Responded I did not know that they engaged in this job because they were never imprisoned for this

Fourth [accused] Joannes Wisienka Wisniowski or Szypowskie named with diverse names
Asked if he was present at the robbery as they charge him
Confessed that he was there at the time when Jews were robbed near Chmiel that is a week ago
Asked if the szorc [woolen fabric or woolen skirt] was taken at the time
Responded that [it was taken] at the time
Asked how much money he took from Jews during the robbery
Confessed that I was present when Gaiowski took money from the Jews I only took a
cloak, there were four of us at the time, one Dłoski, Jasiek, Gaiewski and I, the fourth
Asked if the sold any of the stolen things
Responded that Gaiewski gave me to sell, that is one silver pipe [or reel, cewka] and the
second golden
Asked when they robbed the Jews
Responded around dawn near Chmiel
Asked about twill [czwelich] and Jewish books and other not a few things which they
took from Jews, namely about money, forty zloty
He did not admit to anything....

[69] Therefore because such criminals are found who on public roads attack peaceful
people and who are sent by His Honor Lord vice-captain of Lublin and the notable
Senate of the Lublin Council to this Summary Open court in order to reach the ultimate
and final punishment, I therefore request on behalf of my superiors that they first be
examined under torture and then punished according to the punishments prescribed by
law....

[71v] Rybak confessed [under torture] that one of my sisters is a seamstress and another
a butcher...tractus for the third time confessed that my wife had a dress made of the
Jewish [or Jew's] dress
Confessed that Gaiek knows about all the things because he was selling them
Confessed that he is wearing the Jews jacket .....
Responded that she did not know, did not see it.
Asked how long this thief frequented her husband
Responded that about a year ago he was for two days and this year he was about two or three days and he stayed at my place.

Endnotes
[2] The Crown Tribunal worked between the first Monday after the first Sunday following Easter [Dominica Conductus Paschae] until all cases were tried but usually no longer than August 24.

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Dwie sprawy kryminalne w Sądzie miasta Lublina
Wyjątki z aktów sądowych
Two criminal cases in the court of the city of Lublin
1625, 1638

Prepared by Magda Teter, Wesleyan University, USA

[AP Lublin, 141, 64-77] a 1625 case against four Christians robbing Jewish merchants.

[67] Tertius, Stanislaus Gay seu Gaiek utroq titulo nuncupatus
Pytany kedy by miał gospodę
Powiedział na Dananskiem
Pytany o Muchaierze
Powiedział przyszedł do mnie Cherlinski y rzekl bracie tam est Muchaieru kilka sztuk w
boru rozbiliśmy Żydów, pouciekaliśmy, zostawiliśmy go w boru ale ia oniem niewiem
[67v] Pytany kedy tę czapkę wziął ktorą na niem jest gdyż jest żydowska.
Powierzał ze mu ią Dłuski dał
Pytany czymby się bawił
Odpowiedział ze się bawił przy iatkach Żydowskich byłem kozołupem.
Pytany z częstoby się przy złodzieiach bawił
Odpowiedział Niewiedziałem o tym żeby się bawiel ta robotą gdyż nie byli o to osadzeni.

Quartus
Joannes Wisienka Wisniowski seu Szypowski diverso vocabulo nominatus
Pytany iesli był przy rozbiciu iako na niego powiadają
Zeznał ze był w ten czas kiedy Żydy rozbito pod Chmielom ist temu tydzień
Pytany iesli ten czas Szorc wzięto
Powiedział ze w ten czas
Pytany wieleby przy rozbiciu [68] pieniędzy wziął Żedom
Zeznł zem ia był przytem kiedy Gaiowski wziął pieniędze Żydowi a iam tylko wziął
kopieniak, cztery nas było Przytem jeden Dłoski Jasiek Gaiewski a ia czwarty
Pytany iesli te rzeczy przedawał rozbite.
Powiedział ze dał mi do przedania Gaiewski to jest cewkę jedną złota a drugą srebrną. Pytany kędy Żydów rozbili
Powiedział nas switaniem pod Chmielem
Pytany o Czwelich o Xięgi Żydowski o insze rzeczy niemałо które Żydom pobrali mianowicie o pieniądzach czterdziestu złotych,
Do niczego się nie przyznał....
[69] Przetoż iz takowi się złoczyńcy znajdują których in uuis publicis homines pacificos infestant y ktorzy tak od JeMci Pana Podstarościęgo Lubelskiego iako y o Spectabilii Senatu Consulari Lublinensi są do niniejszego Gorącego zagalnymu profacienda ultimaria et finali exequutione odesłani Proszę tedy imieniem Principałow moich zeby pierwey torturis examiniowani byli potym paenis in jure descriptis pokarani....

[71v, testimony under torture] Rybak zeznał ze siostry moie jedna jest szwaczką a druga rzeźniczką... tractus tertio zeznał zona moia kazala sobie z żydowskiej sukniey suknie zrobić
Zeznał ze Gaiek o wszystkich rzeczach wie bo ich przedawał
Zeznał ze serdak żydowski na niem iest....

[AP Lublin 141, 244-245] a 1628 case of Jew Jacob Zagiera against Catherina Rogulszczyna, the wife of Albert Rogulla:
[244] Postmodum praefata Catherina Rogulszczyna per [244v] Judicium praesens quaesita Jesly wiedziała o rzeczach kradzionych które do męża iey Kwianatowski z drugiemi złodziami przynosił. Odpowiedziała ze teraz dopierom sie dowiedziała kiedy ten Żyd szukał swey zguby, iednak domysłam sie ze to rzeczy żydowskie których dał sobie robic Żupan.
Pytana iak dawno złodzieijsk rzeczy brał iey mąż Odpowiedziała ze tak rok strony tegosz złodzieja moj mąż miał kłopot a to sie w Trybunał działo
Jednak ia swemu mężowi nie raz mówiła zeby sie złodzieystwom nie bawił ale mie biiał barzo zebym na niego nie wołał.
Pytany kędy szaty są Żydowskie. Odpowiedziała ze ie mąż przedał na Krakowskiem przedmieściu a drugie przerabiał.
[245] Pytana iesly sama brała szaty od tego złodzieja Odpowiedziała zem ia nie brała ale mąsz moy.
Pytana iesly iey mąż kradał Odpowiedziała nie wiem, nie widziałam tego. Pytana dawno by ten złodziej u męża bywał Odpowiedziała ze tak rok był dwa dni a tego Roku był albo dwa dni alebo trzy dni y u mnie nocował.
Archive: Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Akta m. Lublina 141, fols. 64-77 and 244-245