

***THE TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS OF A LOCAL ROMAN
INQUISITOR
GIACOMO TINTI IN MODENA, 1626-1647***

di Christopher F. Black

Introduction

What has become known as the Roman Inquisition was the product of the 1542 centralisation of the Church's inquisitorial systems to seek out and eradicate heresy. Medieval inquisitions were localised, generated by a particular heretical scare, often time-limited, and with only partial papal involvement. In 1542 the Holy Office of the Inquisition became centralised in Rome, led by the Pope, backed and implemented by an inner group of Cardinals, who were soon formed into a Congregation of the Holy Office, with bureaucratic support. A separate control body, the Congregation of the Index, was created in 1572 to concentrate on book censorship; though the two Congregations had overlapping cardinalate membership, and might be co-operative or antagonistic over censorship matters. After 1542 local tribunals of the Roman Inquisition were gradually founded in central and northern Italy, and Malta. By 1686 about 44 local tribunals were established.¹

Recent studies in Italian and English have clarified considerably how the Roman Inquisition worked under central leadership, what were the procedures in Rome, and through local inquisition tribunals, who and what were the main targets of the investigations, and what

¹I thank the following for contributing information, corrections, interpretative suggestions on reading earlier versions of this article, and/or for discussions and general encouragement: Katherine Aron-Beller, Roberto Benedetti, Sarah Cockram, Gian Luca D'Errico, Irene Fosi, Thomas Mayer, Mary Moran, Daniele Ponziani, Jeffrey Watt, and anonymous Readers for *English Historical Review*. I am also grateful for kindly attention by staff in the Archivio di Stato, Modena and the Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Vatican City. C. F. Black, *The Italian Inquisition*, London-New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009, esp. ch.1 covers the background to the 1542 Bull creating the Roman Inquisition, and ch.2 outlines the establishment of the central organisation in Rome, and then the local tribunals; p. 27 and Map 3 for the local tribunals. The Italian translation (by G.L. D'Errico), *Storia dell'Inquisizione in Italia. Tribunali, eretici, censura*, Roma, Carocci editore, is due January 2013. Now the *Dizionario Storico dell'Inquisizione*, a cura di A. Prosperi, con la collaborazione di V. Lavenia, J. Tedeschi, 5 voll, Pisa, Scuola Normale, 2010; but here using CD version provided for contributors) [hereafter *DSI*] has numerous entries covering all types of inquisitions, their operation in different areas, procedures, personalities etc. A. Prosperi, *Inquisizione romana*, vol.2, pp. 815-827, can be the starting point. The *DSI* has three volumes of alphabetically organised entries, with continuous pagination, vol. 4 has bibliography and indexes, and a short fifth volume, *Inserto Iconografico*, of illustrations is added.

kinds of persons were convicted.² The success of the Roman Inquisition in detecting, investigating and reaching verdicts on alleged heretics depended on the co-operation between the Cardinal Inquisitors in Rome and the inquisitors and their officials in local tribunals; also on the extent to which those local inquisitors had co-operation from local political powers, and from local bishops, who could claim their own jurisdiction, confessional duties and pastoral care were superior to inquisitorial control over heresy. We have known a significant amount about key figures who served as Cardinal Inquisitors, with some ending as Popes, and now the *Dizionario Storico dell'Inquisizione* is adding to that knowledge of central figures. However much less is known about those serving as local inquisitors and their assistants, what their lives and duties might have been like, and about their experiences in dealing with the centre, as well as with local bishops and governments. My interest in this aspect was aroused when during research for *The Italian Inquisition* I found material on Eliseo Masini – notable for his much used manual, the *Sacro Arsenale* – serving as inquisitor in Ancona in 1608. His was a brief tenure before he moved on.³

This article seeks to illustrate the relationships between an inquisitor and Rome through somebody who served an abnormally long time in one tribunal: Giacomo Tinti da Lodi, inquisitor in Modena 1626-1647, when he died. Tinti's potential as a subject became apparent through Jeffrey Watt's intriguing study of possessed nuns in Carpi, nearby within the Modena Duchy.⁴ A catalogue of the archive in Modena made it clear that much material existed in that very rich archive for the period under Tinti.⁵ The discussion here highlights Tinti's relationship with Rome as revealed through surviving correspondence in Modena and, to a limited extent in the Vatican. As my research expedition was limited I only sampled a few *processi*. The value of those records is apparent from the inventory, from Jeffrey Watt's book, and from just recently Katherine Aron-Beller's most illuminating work on the Jews in

²Besides Black, *Italian Inquisition* and the *DSI*, see A. Del Col, *L'Inquisizione in Italia. Dal XII al XXI secolo*, Milano, Mondadori, 2006; more concisely, G. Romeo, *L'Inquisizione nell'Italia moderna*, Bari-Roma, Laterza, 3a edn 2006; pioneering studies by J. Tedeschi, *The Prosecution of Heresy. Collected Studies on the Inquisition in Early Modern Italy*, Binghamton NY, Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1991, esp. ch.5, *The Organization and Procedures of the Roman Inquisition: A Sketch*, pp.127-203; see also the revised translation, *Il Giudice e l'Eretico. Studi sull'Inquisizione romana*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2003.

³*Italian Inquisition*, esp. pp.104-109 (Ancona), 70-71, 81-84, 219, 233-234 (his manual). This was based on correspondence found in the Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede [ACDF], Stanza Storica [hereafter St. St.] DD 2-b. See also P. Fontana, *Masini, Elisio, DSI 2* p. 1006.

⁴J. R. Watt, *The Scourge of Demons. Possession, Lust, and Witchcraft in a Seventeenth Italian Convent*, Rochester NY, University of Rochester Press, Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer, 2009.

⁵G. Trenti, *I Processi del Tribunale dell'Inquisizione di Modena. Inventario Generale Analitico 1489-1874* (Modena, Aedes Muritoriana, 2003), p. 313, [hereafter Trenti].

Modena, their relationships with Christians and inquisitors.⁶ This article will summarise some of their work as it concerned Tinti and his context. Maybe these studies will entice somebody to spend much longer on an all-round analysis of Tinti's inquisitorial work, using all *processi* records.

Few precedents exist for analysis of the full work of an inquisitor who did not rise to the highest ranks of Cardinal inquisitor. As a rare career study of an inquisitor offering some comparisons and contrasts we have that of Giulio Missini, an inquisitor in Friuli, studied by Dario Visintin.⁷ Missini was previously known as a keen investigator of the *benandanti*, or “night-battlers”, notably studied by Carlo Ginzburg,⁸ but Visintin demonstrates the variety and importance of Missini's much wider activity.⁹ Contrasts can be made with Giacomo Tinti, but it can be initially stressed that Missini, on the evidence of the surviving records in Udine and Rome, was left much more to himself by the Roman Congregations, and he consulted Rome much less than Tinti. Besides problems of geographical remoteness, the lack of contact may be explained by the greater complexity of Rome's relationships with the Venetian Republic than with the Duchy of Modena under the D'Este family. The correspondence between Tinti and Roman Cardinals may have some rarity value in existing studies.

⁶Archival research for this article was conducted in April-June 2010, in Modena, then in the ACDF in the Vatican. K. Aron-Beller's *Disciplining Jews: The Papal Inquisition in Modena, 1598-1630*, «The Sixteenth Century Journal» 41/3, 2010, pp. 713-729, was available at a late stage for a draft submitted to a journal (which among other things found it too long). This final version here gains also from her comments on the draft as well as from her book. *Jews on trial. The Papal Inquisition in Modena, 1598-1638*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2012, and a draft of a forthcoming article she kindly sent for comment and mutual help, *Jews as “outsiders” in the contado of seventeenth-century Modena*.

⁷D. Visintin, *L'attività dell'Inquisitore Fra Giulio Missini in Friuli (1645-1653): L'efficienza della normalità*, Trieste, Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2008. There is no entry for Missini in *DSI*. Another Friulian inquisitor, Girolamo Asteo, is being studied by Giuliana Ancona: her *Autonomia giudiziaria e dipendenza amministrativa del Sant'Ufficio di Aquileia e Concordia all'epoca di fra Girolamo Asteo (1598-1608)*, «Metodi e ricerche», 25/1, 2006, pp. 11-46 is a preview of her forthcoming *Diario di un inquisitore. L'Inquisizione di Aquileia e Concordia negli anni di servizio di fra Girolamo Asteo (1598-1608)*. See Visintin, op. cit., p. 17 nota 11. A shorter inquisitorial career in Friuli has been studied by R. Bonetti, in *L'attività dell'inquisitore di Aquileia e Concordia fra Felice Passeri da Montefalco*, «Metodi e Ricerche», 21, 2002, pp. 101-143; largely a chronological survey of Fra Felice's investigative activities as he moved about his territory, working with an often hostile Patriarch's vicar-general.

⁸C. Ginzburg, *I Benandanti*, Torino, Einaudi, 1966. Missini was seen as contributing to the changing perception of the *benandanti* as «good» witches battling to protect crops and animals against “bad” witches, to being themselves “bad” witches; A. Del Col, *Benandanti*, *DSI* 1 pp. 172-173.

⁹According to Visintin, under Missini 414 procedures were initiated, though only 20% led to a formal trial, (as summarised, pp. 245, 253); 146 concerned *magia* and *stregoneria*, of which 7 involved *benandanti*, and 114 reading or possessing prohibited books; 21 concerned *proposizioni ereticali*, 37 *irreverenza* and *irreligiosità*, 7 *bigamia*; among others, of especial interest was one case of pretend sanctity (Marta Fiascaris in San Daniele, pp. 217-225), and one of a young Christian girl, Caterina Ricialdi, living in a Jewish household in Codroipo (pp. 239-240).

Fra Giacomo Tinti (sometimes written Tinctus) da Lodi was inquisitor in Modena from March 1626 to his death in May 1647, an unusually long stint in one tribunal.¹⁰ Documents variably call him Inquisitore Generale (which was the official title of the Modena incumbent), or just Inquisitore.¹¹ Most of the correspondence used is in the Modena Archivio di Stato; letters sent to him from the Cardinal Secretary for the Congregation of the Holy Office, and copies of letters he was sending to such cardinals.¹²

Knowledge of Giacomo Tinti's background, of how he came to be appointed to Modena, and why he stayed there so long (when it seems most inquisitors had shorter stints), is limited.¹³ He was from Lodi in the Duchy of Milan, and a Dominican.¹⁴ Tinti's early connections with the inquisition seem to have been when appointed in May 1611 as vicar to the Milanese inquisitor Michelangelo Seghizzi, to whom he may have been related. When Seghizzi moved to Rome to become Commissario to the Holy Office, Tinti followed, and was sworn in as Seghizzi's *socius*, chief assistant, in February 1615. In this capacity he was one of the eleven signatories, along with Seghizzi, to the condemnation of Galileo's *On Sunspots*

¹⁰He was officially appointed on 24 January 1626 (according to Tom Mayer in a private communication, citing Biblioteca Vaticana, Barb.lat. 6334, cc.22v-23r). On 13 marzo 1626 he signed in Modena an inventory of inquisition possessions: Archivio di Stato, Modena (henceforth ASM), Inquisizioni, Miscellanea Busta 295, Fasc III, Inventari, no.5, addendum to 1616 Inventario. ['Inquisizioni' will normally be omitted in future references since I have only used this section of the Modena archive]. Later Tinti told Cardinal Sant'Onofrio that he had come to Modena from Como in March 1626: ASM Busta 295 Fasc.II, 28 gen. 1633. Surviving correspondence starts with a letter from Cardinal Inquisitor Giovanni Garzia Millini, dated 8 June 1626: ASM, *Lettere della Sacra Congregazione* (henceforth *Lettere*), Busta 253, Fasc.2 (1625-1628), under date (with no pagination in this volume). It was addressed to Fra Giacomo da Todi. It should be noted that most letters were addressed simply to 'Inquisitore di Modena', without naming him.

¹¹The full title from about 1608 was 'Inquisitore Generale di Modena, Carpi, Nonantola e loro diocesi e della Provincia di Garfagnana', according to Katherine Aron-Beller, forthcoming *Jews as "outsiders"*.

¹²On investigation in the ACDF it was disappointing to find that major surviving correspondence held in a Modena focused volume only dated from 1658, though some Tinti letters were found in topic focused volumes. ACDF St. St. GG. 4-e, *Inquisizione di Modena 1658-1763*; in fact the volume has documents up to 1781. Within the Archive there are now useful word-processed inventories for the Stanza Storica series; modern scholars have not been very helpful in indicating what a volume actually covers (just giving St. St. GG 4-e, for example). Many volumes are of correspondence organised by tribunal or group of tribunals; St. St. DD 2-b was for *Inquisizione dello Stato Pontificio (Ancona e altre città delle Marche)*, and used when studying Masini. Some volumes are organised by types of cases, e.g. St. St. B4 -p, *Processi di Affettata Santità (1617-1771)*, St. St. M5, voll. a-p, *Poligamia, Sodomia, Stupro (1607-1765)*. Irene Fosi kindly alerted me to the ongoing computer indexing of persons, accessed by an archivist but not, yet, by readers. The archivist Dott. Daniele Ponziani kindly notified me of some letters of Tinti, and Eliseo Masini, in some subject-matter volumes.

¹³M. Perani's *Tinti, Giacomo* in *DSI* 3 pp. 1573-1575, concentrates on Tinti's handling of the issues of Jewish-Christian relations, as discussed below; no attempt was made there to give his biography or pre-Modena experience. Some of Tinti's work is covered in R. Canosa, *Storia dell'Inquisizione in Italia dalla metà del cinquecento alla fine del settecento*, Roma, sapere 2000, vol.1: *Modena*, 1986.

¹⁴Documents might refer to him as Giacomo da Lodi, or Giacomo di Lodi, and omit his family name, Tinti. Luca Ceriotti states that Lodi provided a number of important inquisition officials besides Tinti and Seghizzi, though not adding names; he notes that Seghizzi was to return to Lodi as its bishop, and be urged to pursue heretics as such by Cardinal Inquisitor Millini in 1624: *Lodi, DSI* 2 p. 931.

(*Intorno Alle Macchie Solari*), in February 1616. In August he was made inquisitor of Casale, and left Rome immediately.¹⁵ Giacomo da Lodi announced on 23 October 1616 that he had just arrived in Casale (chief castle city of the Duchy of Monferrato), as inquisitor, coming from Milan. He was immediately dealing with an ongoing problem of expelling two households of German heretics (*Case di Heretici*), as desired by the local magistrates. He explained to Rome that this was complicated as large sums of money were owed them, and havoc might ensue if they were expelled without payment. Tinti had to negotiate with Duke Ferdinando Gonzaga of Mantua, also ruler of Monferrato. The Duke of Mantua considered paying them off himself, but could not afford the 50,000 *scudi* needed. An annotation to the letter on receipt by the Roman Congregation indicates it considered the matter as causing scandal for the Inquisition.¹⁶ The inquisitor of Bergamo was brought in to help, and he and Fra Giacomo had conversations with the Duke of Mantua, who assured them he had good will towards the Holy See. The Duke gave orders for the forceful expulsion of the Germans, but the Governor of Casale (Don Alfonso D'Avolos) was intent on impeding this, again considering the German debt crisis.¹⁷

In March 1620 Fra Giacomo wrote from Como (to where he had been appointed inquisitor 21 November 1619); he seemed to be chasing up problems of Protestant heretics from the Grisons, who had fled from Casale region to the Lake Como area, under the pretext of selling merchandise (for which in the past they have had licences). They discussed religion

¹⁵Thomas Mayer, *The Roman Inquisition's precept to Galileo (1616)*, «The British Journal for the History of Science» 43, 2010, pp. 327-351, with additional information kindly provided subsequently by him.

¹⁶ACDF St. St. M 4-b, *Privilegi ai Mercanti e agli Ebrei*, “*Circa diversos haereticos degentes in Italia*”, (1615-1659). “*Circa Mercatores Anglos...*” (1604-1632), *Circa haereticos degentes in Statu Mutinae* [Modena] (1607-1630), cc.137rv and 142r, 23 ott. 1616, Fra Giacomo di [sic] Lodi Inq. di Casale. The Duke of Mantua ruled Casale, but the territories were not contiguous, so control over the strategic town and fortress was precarious, as was to be clear in the war conditions soon to follow over the Mantuan succession; see D. Parrott, *The Mantuan Succession, 1627-1631: a sovereignty dispute in early modern Europe*, «English Historical Review» 112, 1997, pp. 20-65.

¹⁷ACDF St. St. M 4-b, cc.143r-4rv, 4 ott. 1616, Fra Benedetto [Rota], Inq. di Bergamo, writing from Mantua; 637rv, 6 nov. 1616, Fra Benedetto Inq. di Bergamo, Mantua, but on way to Venice, and copied to Fra Giacomo, on dealing with Duke; 146r, 7 nov. 1616, from Duke of Mantua, Mantua; 149r-151v, 11 ott. 1616, F.Giacomo da Lodi from Casale; 152rv, F.Giacomo di [sic] Lodi, Inq. di Casale, no date on front, but annotated on back (in Rome), 21 nov. to 5 dic., and at this point the Duke was himself in Casale. Count Annibale Iberti, a leading adviser to the Duke, had been responsible for introducing the heretical Germans into the state, according to Fra Giacomo. Duke Ferdinando had been a Cardinal when he succeeded his brother Vincenzo. The outcome is not clarified.

and caused scandal so Fra Giacomo considered Rome should be informed.¹⁸ The problem of Protestant foreigners in Casale Monferrato persisted and plagued the life of a later inquisitor, Giacomo Figino (1624-30).¹⁹

In Como from 22 August 1623 Fra Giacomo was writing about the problem of Italians living abroad.²⁰ Pope Gregory XV was anxious that Italians should return from Protestant lands to Italy or to a Catholic state elsewhere. Tinti's immediate concern was with Giovanni Battista Sopra who had been living in Nuremburg for about thirty years as a merchant, and had much money tied up in that city, hence a reluctance to follow a command to leave within four months, as Tinti was informed by Sopra's cousin Ambrogio Arcione. The Nunzio in Germany was addressed to secure his assistance in getting Italians to return home.²¹ We then find Tinti working with Eliseo Masini, now inquisitor of Genoa, to secure the return to Genoa of members of the Lumaga family who had also long resided and traded in Nuremburg, especially the brothers Ottavio and Marcantio.²² Masini spent time assuring Rome that they would eventually return to a Catholic territory as faithful Catholics, but needed time to settle affairs.²³ In March Ottavio and Marcantonio Lumaga sent a moving letter expressing great devotion to the Catholic faith, saying they had had contact with confessors and had attended Mass in Nuremburg, where Italians were able to promote their faith. They talked about dealing with Princes, and the need to defend the Catholic position. But they could not leave in a hurry, given «lawsuits on their shoulders, and many other affairs».²⁴ Tinti seems to be involved in helping to check on the Lumaga's movements. In June he wrote from Como that

¹⁸ACDF St. St. M 4-c, cc.796rv and 797v, 24 marzo 1620, Fra Giacomo da Lodi, Como; Signori Grisoni were oddly seen as «heretici della fattione di Spagna». Tom Mayer's private communication on the date of the appointment to Como. Giovanni Battista Boselli was Tinti's replacement in Casale: ACDF St. St. M 4-b, cc.163rv and 166v, 2 luglio 1622, shows a wish to get away to Cremona for a break.

¹⁹Figino's authority was undermined by a previous inquisitor now living in the same Dominican convent, Benedetto Rota (inquisitor in Casale 1603-16), who favoured dubious foreigners: Black, *Italian Inquisition*, pp. 110-111; A. Burkardt, *L'inquisition et les autorités locales: Casale Monferrat en 1628*, in G. Audisio (ed.), *Inquisition et Pouvoir*, Marseille, Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2004, pp. 89-117.

²⁰ACDF St. St. M 4-c, *De Haereticis. Cattolici abitanti in zone eretiche e specialmente in Norimberga (1622-1614). Eretici dimoranti in Italia per commercio (1560-1650)*, cc.45r and 46v, 22 agosto 1623.

²¹ ACDF St. St. M 4-c, cc.45r and 46v, 22 agosto 1623, on Sopra being willing to obey, and live in Italy as a Catholic, but needed time to settle his affairs; 51r and 52v, 19 sett. 1623, about Arcione's information; 53v undated draft of letter intended for Nunzio in Germany, indicating Arcione might have been in Nuremburg since 1608; 57r copy of letter of 2 dic. 1623 to Nunzio in Germany, naming some Italians to be got back to Italy; some are from Florence.

²²ACDF St. St. M 4-c, cc.62r-63v, 17 nov. 1623, Fra Eliseo Masini, on Marcantonio, «perche da tutti è conosciuto, e riputato grand'huomo dà bene».

²³ACDF St. St. M 4-c, cc.90r and 91v, 9 marzo 1624, «perche sono informatiss. della loro molta bontà e zelo della S.ta fede catholica».

²⁴ACDF St. St. M 4-c, cc.99r-100v, 4/13 marzo 1624, Ottavio e MarcAnt.o Lumaga. (Whether the addressee was Masini or the Cardinal in Rome is not clear), «liti alle spalle e tanti altri affari».

he had heard from an Italian banker that the time for Ottavio's return had again been extended, but was not sure this was true.²⁵ From the above patchy evidence we know Tinti had experienced what it was like to have to deal with princely rulers and foreign affairs, and that an inquisitor's role was not just to try domestic heretics.

Tinti moved to Modena in 1626, and stayed till his death in 1647. Why did he not move again, by his own wish, or by a Roman decision? As we shall see, over the years he received both praise and criticism from Roman Cardinal Inquisitors. Throughout he appears active and assiduous, and ready to seek and take central advice. The patchy evidence cited above of experiences in Casale and Como indicate he was moving from internationally troubled areas, on the fringes of war zones, and with major Protestant threats. Modena was a less troubled area, in a state with some prestige. His correspondence does not suggest unhappiness with his Modena position, (though he stressed the tribunal's limited finances); unlike, say, Archangelo Calbetti (formerly inquisitor in Modena 1600-1607), who when inquisitor in Ancona in 1611 complained about the strains of touring the mountainous parts of his territory on horseback, especially when old and corpulent. And Tinti was allowed occasionally to return to Lodi and Milan for personal reasons. He was probably not viewed in Rome as forceful enough to merit promotion to a more significant tribunal such as Bologna or Venice; nor was he linked to the Barberini patronage networks that seemingly governed appointments at the centre. Dominican inquisitors might end up back in a Dominican house; Calbetti was delighted to become prior of San Michele in Bosco, above Bologna. Giacomo Tinti might have lacked wider Dominican support and patronage, if his early promotion had come through a relative, and he had not made a scholarly or personal reputation for other Dominicans to want him as teacher and leader.²⁶

The Duchy of Modena, and its Inquisition Tribunal

²⁵ACDF St. St. M 4-c, cc.109r, 8 giugno 1624, Como, Fra Giacomo da Lodi; 121r and 124v, 19 luglio 1624, Fra Eliseo Inq. di Genova, said he had at last heard of Ottavio's leaving Nuremberg, along with his staff (*famigliari* and *stanzari*), but leaving behind his Agent until business affairs could be transferred elsewhere. Ottavio had sent a signed *fede* swearing his obedience. This volume in the ACDF archive has many other letters from other inquisitors and associates dealing with Italians abroad, especially Florentines, indicating the efforts of Rome to secure their return. Inquisitors in their home towns, and the Nunzio, were used as agents in the enterprise.

²⁶On Calbetti, ACDF St. St. DD 2-b, cc. 439rv, 30 maio 1611, Sassoferrato, learning he has been made prior, and 450r, 16 giugno; Black, *Italian Inquisition*, p. 109; Aron-Beller, *Jews on trial*, pp. 28-29. The comment on Barberini patronage is indebted to Tom Mayer's deep researches on the Urban VIII period, and the first of three intended volumes, *The Roman Inquisition in the Age of Galileo*, soon to be published.

The Duchy of Modena in the period under consideration was ruled by the D'Este family, notable rulers from Ferrara in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The family lost control of Ferrara in 1598 when Alfonso II D'Este died without legitimate heirs and it reverted to the Papal State. The Pope refused to accept Cesare D'Este, an illegitimate nephew as Duke of Ferrara, but he could rule the Duchy of Modena outside the Papal State. Alfonso III succeeded in 1628 but abdicated the following year, after the death of his wife, in favour of his son Francesco I, and became Capuchin friar Giovanni Battista, residing in Carpi.²⁷ The Modena inquisition tribunal had earlier been somewhat subservient to Ferrara and Bologna, but from its independence in 1598 it developed into quite a large establishment in its own right.²⁸

The new inquisitor, appointed by Rome, had to ensure support from ducal authorities. According to a quick guide to procedure kept in the archive for an incomer, the inquisitor was expected on arrival to present himself to the Altezza (his Highness, meaning the Duke or his official representative present in the city). He was to keep the ducal authorities informed about arrests and hunts for accused, and secure backing for serious punishments. He should request police officials (*sbirri*) from them as needed to arrest suspects. The Altezza's or Bargello's permission was required for publishing edicts. A ducal official should be consulted before arresting any ducal employees. But no representative of the secular ministers should be present during any official inquisitorial questioning. This left the Modena inquisitor freer in investigation than inquisitors in Venice and the Veneto for example. Also the bishop or his vicar was expected to be part of serious proceedings, and sentencing; and be normally present when the inquisitor took the collective views of the consultants. Clergy would be invited to attend public punishments²⁹. Especially in the beginning the inquisitor had to rely heavily on local parish rectors in the more mountainous areas to also act as vicars for the inquisition, (though by 1640 the Roman Congregation wrote that such use should be avoided, and

²⁷Watt, *The Scourge of demons*, pp. 26, 32-33, 221 note 4. See on the ducal context F.Bravi, *Il principe frate: Alfonso III D'Este, Padre Giovan Battista da Modena*, Bolzano, Centro di documentazione storica per l'Alto Adige, 1972; G. Panini, *La famiglia Estense da Ferrara a Modena*, Modena, Edizioni Archivi Riuniti Modena, 1996; L. Marini, *Lo Stato Estense*, pp. 3-211, but especially pp. 35-105, in G. Galasso (a cura di), *Storia d'Italia*, vol.17, Torino, UTET, 1979, though not much on Modena itself.

²⁸G. Biondi, *Le lettere della Sacra Congregazione romana del Santo Ufficio all'Inquisizione di Modena: note in margine a un regesto*, «Schifanoia», 4, 1987, pp. 93-108, esp. p. 94 on Cardinal Giulio Santoro of Santaseverina's recognition of Modena's autonomy from Ferrara.

²⁹ASM, *Inquisizione*. Miscellanea, Busta 295, n.6, *Modo et Ordine che osservare il R.Pre Inquisitore nell'esecuzione il suo officio nella Citta di Modona*, undated, but judging by hand-writings in letterbooks could be 1620s-1630s. Interestingly this useful guide made no references to consultations with the Roman Congregation, and was only about procedures within the Modena jurisdiction. Modena was often called Modona in this period.

members of Regular Orders be appointed vicars whenever possible).³⁰ By 1622 an inventory indicates that the central tribunal had the inquisitor, his vicar, twelve consultants (four theologians, four canonists and four lawyers), eight ministers as executive officials (which would have included a doctor, surgeon, prison official), a dozen *familiari* who were voluntary helpers – but enjoying various patented privileges of social and financial value. The number of notaries is uncertain. The rest of the tribunal's jurisdictional area outside Modena was organised into forty congregations, each with a vicar, notary and a messenger. It seems that the Modena tribunal had about 152 attached persons. Local vicars of course served the church in other capacities, and presumably rural notaries were not exclusive agents of the inquisition.³¹ The inquisitor and his main vicar did a certain amount of touring, as Tinti's correspondence indicates, and is revealed in Aron-Beller's detailed studies of *processi* involving Jews and their relationships with Christians.³²

Those serving the Holy Office often received patents allocating them certain privileges, which might exempt them from other jurisdictions but that of the inquisition court, tax exemptions, the right to carry weapons. Such patents could entice lay people to support the inquisition, but also produce conflicts and resentment from princes and municipal officials losing revenues. Being a patented familiar neither guaranteed his good behaviour, nor immunity from inquisitorial investigation, as shown when Marchese Guido Rangone from a leading Modena family (and related to the late bishop Alessandro Rangone of Modena), a Holy Office familiar was charged with sacrilegious acts in Spilamberto, in 1645. Rome encouraged serious warnings from inquisitor Tinti, about causing grave scandal and a bad example to the subjects, threatening severe castigations for any repeat, but not dismissal.³³ Intermittently the Papacy sought to prune the list of local patentees, and in 1658 we have letters from inquisitor fra Serafino Bonameli da Mantova, responding to such a plan, and

³⁰ASM, *Lettere*, Busta 255/a fasc.1 (for 1639-1642), 28 gen. 1640, from Cardinal Barberini. If parish priests appointed it should be with licence of the Congregation.

³¹Black, *Italian Inquisition*, p. 100, summarising analyses by A. Biondi, *Lunga durata e microarticolazione nel territorio di un ufficio dell'Inquisizione: il "Sacro Tribunale" a Modena (1292-1785)*, «Annali dell'istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento», 8, 1982, pp. 73-90, esp. pp. 85-89; A. Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza. Inquisitori, confessori, missionari*, Torino, Einaudi, 2009 pb edn with long new preface, pp. 184-188. On *familiari* and patents, E. Brambilla, *Familiari, Italia, DSI* 2, pp. 575-576.

³²Aron-Beller, *Jews on trial*, and more especially her forthcoming, *Jews as "outsiders"*.

³³ASM, *Lettere*, Busta 255/a, fasc.1, 12 maggio 1646 Cardinal Barberini, stressing that the Marchese had appeared spontaneously, and 17 novembre, noting dangers in removing him; Trenti, p. 139 notes the case, but I have not consulted Busta 120 no.15 for precise details of the charges/admissions. Alessandro Rangone was bishop of Modena 1628 to 1640 (died), to be succeeded by Opizo d'Este, brother of the Duke, 1640-1644, then Roberto Fontana, 1645-54; K. Eubel (ed.) *Hierarchia Catholica*, Regensburg, IV, 1910, p. 250.

indicating his establishment. He stressed he had reduced the number of *vicari foranei*, but had problems because of the ignorance of local clergy in the mountains. How far Tinti had allowed or encouraged this growth is not clear.³⁴ The number of *vicari foranei* and their notaries now amounted to 56 (though some vacancies were noted). Ages were given in some cases and the oldest was aged 70, a conventual minor Andrea Marchetti serving in Carpi; but he was unusually assisted, having a notary, a *mandatorio* (who would presumably have powers of arrest and serving of orders), an optional lesser messenger and a *sbirro*. In addition for the province of Garfagnana there were five patented officials. The notaries were a mixture of secular and clerical. Other evidence indicates that the Holy Office liked to have notaries from the regular orders, given problems of secrecy and a better chance of disciplining them to prevent leaking court proceedings. Some subsequent correspondence recorded problems in securing suitable notaries who would stay on duty for the holy office (and object if their patent – and so privileges – was cancelled if they temporarily went away).³⁵

The problems over notaries emerged early on. Cardinal Giovanni Garcia Millini for the Congregation expressed shock that friars as notaries were accustomed to receive emoluments like the secular notaries; this was indecent for the habit and for profession of regulars, and should stop. Tinti noted that secular notaries were reluctant to serve, «for the little remuneration and great efforts needed». He asked that notarial work should be properly recognised, (and he had very little income to pay them properly himself). Millini responded that though the withdrawal of emoluments, leaving only an annual «recognition», might alienate some notaries, he was sure Tinti could find suitable ones. He later informed Tinti he had spoken to the Father General of the Dominicans, who would instruct convent Priors who served inquisitors that they should ensure suitable friars served as vicars, notaries and *conversos*, and should provide what they needed, and avoid burdening the Holy Office.³⁶ This

³⁴ACDF St. St. GG 4-e 3 aprile 1658, Modona [sic], and 4 maggio, with list of officials: «Troverà V.Ema Rev.a tra essi, nominate alcuni che han cura d'animo, ma non s'è potuto di meno, perche in queste montagne n'è gran ignoranza nei Preti, appena gli Rettori, et Arcipreti han qualche lettera riceverà dunq [?] V.Emin.a qui congionta la nomina di detti pattentati...». See Biondi, *Le lettere*, pp. 100-101 on familiars, notaries and attempts to curb numbers; Canosa, *Storia dell'Inquisizione ... Modena*, p. 168, Tinti's 1639 Edict trying to control patents and abuse of privileges. In 1658 the principal officials in Modena itself were the inquisitor, his *Vicario assistente* (Lettor Sebastiano Penazzi da Pesaro, aged 40), a 26 year old notary from Turin, and the bishop's *Pro Vicario*, a Modenese aged 68.

³⁵ACDF GG 4-e, e.g. letters of 25 and 27 ott. 1666, and others.

³⁶ASM, Busta 253/2, 23 maggio 1626, Cardinal Millini: «indecente all'habito, et alla professione regolare»; 8 giugno, Fra Giacomo da Todi: «per la piccola portione che a le gran fatiche è trattata» – and he emphasises the poverty and indebtedness of the tribunal; 20 giugno and 4 luglio 1626. M. Gotor, *Millini, Giovanni Garcia, DSI* 2 p. 1045. A *converso* in this context means a Dominican novice or lay brother, given a quasi official position, not a converted Jew.

was some recognition that many inquisition tribunals were poor, as in Modena, while longstanding Dominican houses should have greater resources. Tinti, like Masini in Ancona, realised his dependence on good notaries, and did try to foster them and secure some recompense.³⁷

The premises occupied by the tribunal had been expanded. In 1600 inquisitor Archangelo Calbetti on appointment reported that he occupied two rooms shared with his *converso*, as personal assistant; there were two old prisons, with a room for accused women above (which contained five women prisoners), and his predecessor Angelo Brizio da Cesena had just built two new prison cells. The *converso* normally superintended the prisons. A reasonable amount of furniture was recorded, while the book collection included a *Directorium Inquisitorium* (possibly a Francisco Peña update [1571 or later] of the old Nicholas Eymeric manual [originally 1368]), a 1565 Index of Prohibited Books, and Zanchinus's *De Haereticis*.³⁸ By 1616 the inquisitor and *converso* had three quite well furnished rooms, for himself, the *converso* and now a notary who had his own room, so he could live on the job and not in the Dominican convent. Four prison rooms were noted. Among named books were added Albertus' *De Agnoscendis*, a *Repertorium Inquisitorium*, and Locati's *Opus Iudiciale*. A *Camera della Corda* is also recorded, with tables – but no torture mechanism is specified!³⁹ When Giacomo Tinti da Lodi took over he signed an inventory addendum recognising that a well-equipped kitchen now existed above the *stanza della corda*, with a new staircase of 30 steps, while the prisons had been altered for better supervision, and proper beds installed in the old prisons (instead of simple mattresses). He soon added to the kitchen equipment.⁴⁰ In 1634 Tinti reported to Cardinal Francesco Barberini that the Duke

³⁷Black, *Italian Inquisition*, p. 105.

³⁸ASM, *Inquisizione*, Busta 295, fasc. III, n.2; on Calbetti's period, A.Biondi, *La Nuova Inquisizione a Modena: tre inquisitori (1589-1607)*, in *Città Italiane del '500 tra Riforma e Controriforma*, Lucca, Pacini Fazzi, 1988, pp. 61-76; V. Lavenia, *Zanchino, Ugolini*, *DSI* 3, pp. 713-14, on his *Tractatus aureus de haereticis*, originally circa 1330, printed 1568, 1579. On manuals see Black, *The Italian Inquisition*, esp. pp. 68-71; Del Col, *L'Inquisizione in Italia*, esp. pp. 118-119, 148-149; A. Errera, *Manuali per inquisitori*, *DSI* 3 pp. 975-81. On *converso* and prison, Busta 296 n.6, *Modo et Ordine*.

³⁹ASM, Busta 295, fasc.III, n. 5 *Inventario 1616*; on Umberto Locati, Dominican inquisitor in Pavia and Piacenza and his *Judiciale inquisitorium* (Rome 1568), see Black, *The Italian Inquisition*, pp. 69, 71, 208-209; S. Ragagli, *Locati, Umberto*, *DSI* 2 pp. 929-930. The inquisitor was now Massimo Guazzoni from Bozzolo (1616-18), Trenti, p. 313. Albertus = Albert, Arnau. *Tractatus de agnoscendis assertionibus catholicis et haereticis*. Panhormi, in typographia Ioan. Mathei de Mayda, 1554, (*DSI*, 1 p. 6). The *corda* or *strappado*, (tying hands behind the back and jerking up on a pulley system), was the default torture system for the Roman inquisition, but Aron-Beller indicates that the Modena tribunal also had a rack to use; inquisitor Calbetti used it on Abramono Sacerdote in 1603, *The Jews on trial*, pp. 64, 136; see also p. 29 for Calbetti's report on his premises on retreat.

was planning an extension to the Ducal Palace which would impinge on the choir of San Domenico. If it led to a new entrance this would affect the inquisition rooms.⁴¹

Profile of Cases under Giacomo Tinti

Before considering Giacomo Tinti's interactions with the Roman Congregations as revealed in surviving correspondence, it is as well to be aware of the numbers and types of cases or *processi* that he undertook or supervised.⁴² The archivist Giuseppe Trenti spent many years producing an inventory of cases. From this published work I attempt here a short digest, to indicate types of prime charges, a sense of how much was completed, how often torture was used. As will be clear later the surviving correspondence only dealt with a fraction of these cases. The data I have derived from his inventory of the years from 1626 to 1647, though some cases at the beginning may have been when his predecessor (Giovanni Vincenzo Reghezza), was in charge, and some at the end under his successor (Pietro Maria Zanardi).⁴³ By my counting, proceedings of some kind were introduced against 933 named individuals, of which 788 were male, and 145 female. A location for the main alleged activity was usually given, with 312 in Modena and 614 in the rest of the Duchy, with Finale and Carpi featuring more than most. Twenty three parish priests (*parroci*) were involved, and three *rettori*, out of 150 who are designated in Trenti's listings as clerical of some kind. Torture was noted in 115 cases, and 159 cases were apparently completed, though that is probably an underestimate given the way record keeping could separate trial proceedings and final sentencing, as we know from other studies.

⁴⁰ASM, Busta 295 fasc.III n.5, added to end of 1616 inventory. Tinti was taking over from Giovanni Vincenzo Reghezza da Tabià (1620-1626), Trenti, p. 313.

⁴¹ASM, Busta 295 fasc.II, 2 dic.1634, on Tinti's talks with *pre* Giovanni Battista. Cardinal Barberini wanted to hear about the designs, but to be done secretly, Busta 254 c.433r, 16 dic. 1634. Tensions with fra Giovanni Battista are discussed below.

⁴²English speakers often misleadingly translate *processo* as «trial», which in English implies a full formal procedure, with a verdict, while a *processo* starts with denunciation, or self-denunciation, which may – or may not – be followed by questioning of witnesses and accused, formal charges, conviction and sentencing.

⁴³Trenti, pp. 116-142. My reading of the correspondence reveals that additional charges and sentences were made that are not represented in the *processi* documentation catalogued by Giuseppe Trenti; unless they are hidden in folders of loose documentation where Trenti did not publish names involved. Trenti listed the cases in each *busta*, which are organised by year (with some years having several volumes); he gives names of accused, sometimes with indications of status, age, profession; places where offence allegedly occurred; he annotates with codes the offences, indicates if torture used, and if the case is known to be concluded. Mostly he gives one offence per individual, but sometimes he gives two. Note also that some individuals appear more than once across the period.

Under Trenti's classifications easily the most common accusations were for «Heretical Blasphemy» (257), «Heretical Propositions» (141), while «Magic, Witchcraft and general Superstition» numbered 76, with one separately cited for «Superstitious pursuit of hidden treasure». There followed «Offence against the Holy Office» (73) and «Disobeying church precepts»(60). Trenti was not clear about his criteria for classifying the accusations, as for example the differences between the top two and «manifest and pertinacious heresy» (only 4 individuals, and none of whom was tortured and had his case completed as far as is indicated). Given the extent of the Jewish population through the Duchy it is not surprising that Tinti and his officials dealt with 51 «Offences relating to Jews»; I deduce that six of these were Christians dealing with Jews. Some Jews appear under other headings, three accused of heretical blasphemy, and one, Benedetto Luzatti from Venice, of magic or superstition. Seven Jewesses were arraigned, while four Jewish converts (two each male and female), were investigated for Judaizing, and two converts accused respectively of «Heretical Propositions» and «Offending the Holy Office».⁴⁴

«Sacriligious acts and serious irreverence» were attributed to 34 offenders. Possibly surprisingly only 15 were denounced for «Reading or possessing prohibited books», fewer than offenders of «Bigamy» (19), though the offenders under «Astrology» (10), may have had forbidden books as well. The number accused of «Confessional solicitation and violation» (26), accords with the Roman Inquisition's greater concern broadly in priestly sexual solicitation and molestation in the seventeenth century. Seven persons were investigated for «Illicit alms-seeking». «Ecclesiastical pretence, claiming to be in Holy Orders» brought in 5 accused. Finally cases of «Abjuration by heretics from other affiliations (Lutheran, Calvinist)» numbered 14. Eighteen non-Italians were investigated, most coming under this last category: 6 Germans (Lutherans, except for a Dominican accused of heretical propositions); 5 Swiss (one designated a Lutheran); four French (two as Calvinist soldiers); one, a soldier, from Amsterdam; a Mexican Indian, Marco Grillenzoni called *il Moro*, dabbling in medicines, and accused of magical practices in 1628.⁴⁵ In comparison with Giulio

⁴⁴Trenti's analysis certainly misses out some investigations of Jews, neophytes and *convertos*, including neophyte and informer Francesco Maria de Giacinti and associates discussed below. Tenti's inventory covers *Processi Buste* (= Buste 81-124 for Tinti's period), but he does not consider the series *Causae hebreorum*, and it is there, in Busto 247, that Francesco Maria's case is recorded, and studied by A. Zanardo, "*Lor colpa fu d'essere sedotti*": un processo dell'inquisizione modenese ad ebrei e neofitti, «Nuova Rivista Storica», 80, 1996, pp. 525-592, discussed below.

⁴⁵We find a Jewish convert named Giuseppe Grillenzoni accused in Finale 1633; in 1637 a padre Tommaso Grillenzoni (aged 27) was accused of disobeying church precepts in Carpi, and a signore Bartolomeo Grillenzoni, noble and ducal arms supplier (*munizioniere*) accused of blasphemy in Modena. Was *il Moro* an ex-

Missini's record in Friuli, Tinti's tribunal brought about the same percentage to trial; «prohibited books», and «magic and sorcery» featured much less. Missini did not face Jewish-Christian relationships, and Tinti had no pretend sanctity *processo*.⁴⁶

The busiest year under Giacomo Tinti, just judging by the number of filed denunciations, was 1635, with 79 *processi* opened. An upsurge from 1633 may have reflected some recovery from the plague epidemic by inquisition officials, and/or denunciations arising from increased social tension post-plague.⁴⁷ A little more detail on this year will help understand Tinti's work and who he faced. Torture was used in eight cases, and 21 declared completed (including those where tortured was used). Thirty-one involved heretical blasphemy. A group of three was condemned for Astrology, including an Augustinian hermit, fra Guglielmo Achilli, aged 45; as was separately an Observant Minor from Carpi. A Jewish banker, Bonaiuto Modona was accused of sacrilegious acts in Vignola, but the case was not apparently completed. Emanuele Sanguinetti, *ebreo modenese*, was accused of offending the Holy Office, without conclusion according to Trenti. Katherine Aron-Beller now indicates that he was investigated in 1636 for employing a Christian wetnurse, because his wife was too ill to nurse. He claimed that he had obtained an inquisitor's licence for this, and the feeding took place in his shop, not his home.⁴⁸ Three ducal lesser employees appeared for blasphemy (one of whom, Pellegrino Ferrari, had previously been arraigned in 1626 for offending the Holy Office), while the guard of the Holy Office prison, Giovanni Peltrari, was himself accused of offending the Holy Office; none had the cases completed. As will be noted below, Tinti's correspondence in this year was dealing with the Barnabite Bartolomeo Guanti and his views on the Virgin, and with some Jews in Carpi – but Trenti's summary of *processi* documentation does not reflect these preoccupations. As noted below, Tinti was dealing in 1635 with Rome over prison release in the cases of Pantasilea Casina (or Casini), tortured before conviction for magic or superstition in 1634, and Giovanni Pellegrino Coloretto (sentenced in 1634 after torture for similar offences). He also discussed the continuing cases

slave/servant taking that family name? Trenti, pp. 116, 130.

⁴⁶See above note 9 for Missini's record.

⁴⁷Trenti, pp. 126-8, inventorying Buste 98-100. It is possible that 1633 was busier, but a seeming confusion in dating the Buste in Trenti's register, not realised till I left Modena so could not check with actual Buste, makes an analysis problematic. In 1633 Giovanni Battista Rossi, aged 40, plague controller described as «spurgatore per la peste» by Trenti (p. 125), was accused of heretical blasphemy; without conclusion.

⁴⁸Aron-Beller, *Jews on trial*, pp. 98, 100. A number of Jewish couples were tried for employing Christian wetnurses, imprisoned while investigated, as were some wetnurses, who visited the Jewish houses, fed babies there, but also joined in meals and conversations with the adults, *ibidem*, pp. 94-105. She assumes that Jewish mothers were less inclined to resort to wetnurses than Christian mothers; and faced problems in finding Jewish wetnurses.

from 1633 or 1634 of Pellegrina Gualtieri and her daughter Maria, alleged witches.⁴⁹ Early in 1635 correspondence was continuing over treatment of Giosepe Pontasso and other Jews, accused of gambling with Christians.

Issues Raised between Tinti and Roman Cardinals

Giacomo Tinti, as the above discussion has indicated, pursued a considerable variety of cases through the Duchy, directly or through his vicars and others. What now interests me is what was raised – and what not – in correspondence with Rome, and what the Holy Office in Rome wanted from him as local inquisitor. We obviously have to cope with the vagaries of documentary survival through his long period of service; but a sufficient quantity exists to provide a good example of centre-periphery relationships. For his outgoing contact we have a letter-book for the period 1631 till 1643, for letters to the Cardinal Secretary for the Congregation, firstly Cardinal Sant’Onofrio [Antonio Barberini], then (from 3 January 1634) Cardinal Francesco Barberini.⁵⁰ Whether this has copies of all that was sent is unclear.⁵¹ However the 17 recorded letters to Cardinal Sant’Onofrio in 1632, and 29 in 1633, and the 47 to Barberini in 1634 suggest much business, and Tinti’s letters are often long and detailed – in contrast to the much crisper letters sent to him by the Cardinals. The Cardinals largely kept to a stated policy of having one topic per letter, while Tinti was ready to send multi-topic letters – which might have complicated the Congregation’s bureaucracy and decision-making. The increased number of letters in 1634 reflects the fraught issue of when and how synagogues, especially in Finale, might be closed or moved to a more secluded location to avoid offending Christians, as discussed below.⁵² Tinti on 15 November 1634 apologised for not writing about

⁴⁹Trenti, pp. 125-6, Busta 96, n.11, Busta 97 n.1

⁵⁰ASM, *Lettere Busta* 254 (for 1628-1638), c.47r, 6 ott. 1629 Cardinal Sant’Onofrio announces he is taking over from Cardinal Millini, deceased, as letter-writer for the Congregation; c.281r, 10 dic. 1633 informs Tinti he is ceasing to be the correspondent and letters should now be addressed to Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Cardinal Sant’Onofrio was Antonio Barberini, brother of Pope Urban VIII, and a Capuchin friar; in correspondence sent to Modena his name was not used, but he was identified from his titular church in Rome; to be distinguished from a papal nephew also called Antonio, who was to be a more prominent church figure. Eubel (ed.), *Hierarchia Cattolica*, IV, p. 19, indicating Sant’Onofrio was his titular church 1627-37, when he moved to San Pietro in Vincula; see also L. Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII*, Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1992, pp. 23, 34, 36, suggesting Cardinal Antonio senior was a reluctant participant in central Church affairs, in contrast with papal nephew Antonio. See G. L. D’Errico, *Barberini, Francesco*, *DSI* 1 pp.134-135, but neither Antonio has an entry in *DSI*.

⁵¹No letters were copied between 20 April 1632 and 21 September, and there was a gap between 22 March and 7 June 1633.

⁵²ASM, *Inquisizione. Miscellanea*, Busta 295 Fasc. II, *Lettere de Pri. Inq.ri alla S.U. del 1631 usque ad 1643*. Unpaginated.

the Finale synagogue for three months, when he had promised monthly updates; he had been away in Parma and nothing had changed in this matter.⁵³ A tally of letters from Rome has not yet been attempted, but the impression is that the numbers, as opposed to their length, roughly matched. For comparison, correspondence (as surviving), between inquisitor Giulio Missini in Aquileia and Concordia and Rome was considerably less, while letters from Rome to Siena were about the same.⁵⁴

The correspondence provides insights into how centre and periphery worked, how much initiative a local inquisitor might have, what problems he faced beyond specific investigations and trials. Occasionally Rome showed annoyance over Tinti's behaviour, and in reverse he might try to teach Rome some realities of life at the coal-face. Tinti relied on Holy Office Vicars; he was expected to make recommendations for the top one beside him in Modena, for the Congregation to approve or reject.⁵⁵ He seemed to have more freedom and initiative over lesser vicars in the other towns and villages under his jurisdiction. At times finding a suitable candidate proved difficult, as when evidently a candidate for vicar in Garfagnana in 1631 was facing a serious charge in an episcopal court. Earlier Cardinal Sant'Onofrio expressed concern that Tinti had chosen a Jew to act as his *fiscale*, interrogating lawyer, in Marinello, who had questioned Christians.⁵⁶ In 1636 Tinti told Rome he did not wish the Cardinals to remove his Vicario as was being rumoured they intended; he did not want to be deprived of his help (especially in the middle of a conflict over an appointment of a Prior). Given his experience he could in time be a good inquisitor.⁵⁷ From time to time Rome was unhappy that Tinti was not providing accounts regularly (i.e at least annually). In 1632 Tinti said he had done this regularly when in Casale and Como, but not in Modena so far as he did not know what the custom there was! And he had many burdens here in Modena impeding this work.⁵⁸

⁵³Busta 295, Fasc.II, 15 nov. 1634; though the gap since last letter, on a different subject (denunciation of a Rabbi by priest Giovanni Battista D'Este), was a little less, from 2 Sept.

⁵⁴The cardinals sent 64 letters to Missini 1645-53, while 197 went to Siene inquisitors 1646-56, Visintin, *L'attività dell'inquisitore*, pp. 250-251. On Siena and the inquisition see O. Di Simplicio, *Siena, DSI 3* p.1424; *Idem, Inquisizione, stregoneria, medicina. Siena e il suo Stato (1580-1721)*, Siena, Il Leccio, 2000; *Idem, Autunno della stregoneria. Maleficio e magia nell'Italia moderna*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2005.

⁵⁵ASM, *Lettere*, Busta 254, c.13r, 22 giugno 1630, Cardinal Sant'Onofrio relays the Congregation's complaint that Tinti had only submitted one name for his Vicario; they needed a choice.

⁵⁶ASM, *Lettere*, Busta 254, cc.115r, 13 dic. 1631, 45r, 24 nov. 1629, 143r 12 giugno 1632, Cardinal indicates approval of Tinti's choice of his Vicar in Modena, fra Michelangelo Cate. *Fiscale* in this context would mean the legal advocate or prosecutor.

⁵⁷ASM, Busta 295/II, 9 giugno 1636.

⁵⁸ASM Busta 295/II, 14 dic. 1632, 28 gen.1633; 13 gen. 1634, sending 1633 accounts.

Tinti could receive some strongly worded reprimands concerning his handling of cases. In February 1642 Cardinal Barberini very forcefully communicated the Cardinals' displeasure at his handling of the *processo* formed against a Captain Girolamo Maserni, which they had received. Captain Maserni, aged 58, had been accused of heretical propositions and offences against the Holy Office in Monteforte. Tinti had acted on the basis of a denunciation received by the notary alone, who was not empowered to take it under oath. Then the Vicar had used leading questions; the Consultants had not received or studied the case properly; the accused had been subject to torture and imprisonment without legitimate indictments. He had denied all under torture; yet Tinti suggested he should abjure *de vehemente*. Tinti was warned to be more prudent and cautious in future in condemning accused (*Rei*), and he should consider the merits of the *processi*, otherwise irreparable prejudices would arise, that would badly affect Maserni's family. Tinti must ensure all properties and money taken in security be returned. The notary, fra Spirito, should be reprimanded, and banned from serving further as notary. Maserni should not be molested in any way. Any further accusations must be referred to Rome.⁵⁹ A follow-up letter from the Commissario for the Holy Office (signature indecipherable), stressed that the actions had threatened to ruin a notable family (*Casa*), and that the reputation of the Holy Office was at stake. Interestingly in May 1643 Tinti wanted fra Spirito da Rivalta to be his Vicar; Rome recognised the prejudice against him for his action as notary, but agreed that if necessity

⁵⁹ASM *Lettere*, Busta 255(b), fasc. for 1642-1645, 8 feb. 1642: «Se ne saria VR astenuto quando havesse considerato, che la denuncia fù presa dal Notario solo, il quale non ha facultà di ricevere il giuramento, e che poi finalmente proseguita dal Vicario, il quale con interrogatorij suggestive sforzo l'allegato in conteste à dire quello che non sapeva, ... Li suoi Consultori poi ò non hanno havuto il caso giusto, ò non l'hanno studiato non potendosi negare che sendo concorsi tutti à giudicare degno del tormento, e poi della carcere in fatto Reo senza legitimi inditij, e che haveva negate il tutto nel tormento medesimo non habbiano contratto nota d'inavertenza per non dire ignoranza, la quale maggiormente s'è veduta in quelli che l'hanno stimato ancho convinto, e degno dell' abiura de vehemente, benche habbia negate il delitto non che sostenuta la buona intentione. Devono dunque VR et essi esser avvertiti ad esser più prudenti, e cauti in avvenire nel condannar i Rei, e considerare i meriti de processi, perche altrimenti ne nascono pregiuditij irreparabili come per appunto è succeduto à costue, il quale per questa causa si trova con la sua famiglia ridotto à malissimi termini. Meritando perciò d'esser compatito come indebitamente da lei travagliato, questi miei Em.i gli accordano ch'ella per coscienza per espresso commando che egli si fà con questo è obligate à procurare la resituzioni di tutte le robe e danari estorti ala Maserni per il pagamento della sicurtà di ducento scudi da lui data de tuto carcere, anzi VR chiamato à se il Medico, che per lui li pagò gli restituirà subito mandandone quà la ricevuta. In oltre vedendosi VR tanto indulgenza che non gli basta l'animo di fare una riprensione à fra Spirito suo Notaro, anzi lo loda delle attioni da lui fatte nella causa per le quale più presto meritaria castigo commandano l'Em.ze loro, ch'ella non si serve più della sua persona per Notaro, ne per altro Ministero del S.Officio ma lo lasci alla disposition et obbedienza de suoi superiori. Ritornandi costi il Masserni VR non lo molesti in modo alcuno, anche quando sopraggiunghino contro di lui cose nuove mà le mandi quà, e s'astenga di non incorrere per l'avvenire in simili mancamenti. E Signore la conservi».

constrained he could serve as Holy Office Vicar, with the warning he should behave with modesty and rectitude.⁶⁰

On another occasion Tinti was taken to task, if a little less forcefully, for the handling of a Guido Montecucoli, accused of eating meat on prohibited days. There were not enough justifications for an arrest. One should not proceed to capture people, especially knights and principal persons, unless something might be proved through torture. Prison leads to infamy, so caution was needed especially for persons «who counted».⁶¹

While Tinti might receive reprimands Rome could show recognition that his office ran fittingly and that he had suitable assistants to cover absence; as when on various occasions he was given leave to revisit Lodi and Milan.⁶² Tinti at times was ready to give forcefully his opinions to the corresponding Cardinal, show off his knowledge and experience, and ask that local realities be recognised. In 1636 he was dealing with problems of sorcery and *maleficia* (harmful magic) in Carpi, where he had to cope with fra Giovanni Battista D'Este. This raised issues of mixed jurisdictions (*foro misto*), between ecclesiastical and secular courts. Here he argued that the mixed jurisdictions with co-operation could be beneficial to both sides. He referred to the authorities, such as the books by Cesare Carena, Martin Del Rio, Sigismondo Scaccia, but also to his previous experience as Vicario in Milan, dealing with the Senate, and as inquisitor of Como with a Podestà. In Milan the secular power initiated with charges concerning *maleficia*, and the inquisition prosecuted for apostasy.⁶³ This seems to have been in response to Cardinal Francesco Barberini's letter about the nuns of Santa Chiara in Carpi,

⁶⁰ASM *Lettere*, Busta 255 (b), 28 feb. 1642; 9 maggio 1643. The Commissario was presumably Giovanni Battista a Martinengo, A. Del Col, *Commissario del Sant'Uffizio, Italia, DSI* 1 p. 351).

⁶¹ASM, *Lettere* Busta 255(a), 9 marzo 1641: «massime alle persone di conto». No documentation recorded by Trenti.

⁶²ASM, *Lettere*, Busta 253/2 12 agosto 1628 (15 to 20 days); Busta 254, 29 agosto. 1633 (for 20 days); Busta 255 (a), fasc II, 13 marzo 1641 (month).

⁶³ASM, Busta 295/II, 18 giugno 1636: in Milan «quel foro secolare di ordine del Senato fece alcune cause contro certe malefiche, le quali finalmente furono sententiate a morte doppo che furono date a S.to Officio per rispetto dell'apostasia, rimesse poi dall'Inquisitione alle carceri laicali. S'aggiunge à questo che spendo io Inquisitore in Como il Podestà di Val Cava [?] facce un processo contro un tale riputato malefice quale di ordine del Senato per difetto di prove, fù poi bandito da tutto lo stato di Milano. So che di questo diedi parte à cotesta Sac. et Sup. Cong.ne riferendoli quanto era seguito, dalla quale hebbi risposta, credo, se ben mi raccordo, di non far altro in simil causa. Onde non sarà gra meraviglia se io con altri più saputi di me haverò errato, e tanto più che non havevo ancora potuto vedere ne il Carena che fà quell'opera del modo di procedure nel S.Officio ne Sigismondo Scaccia De Judijs causarum criminaliarum, civiliarum et hereticaliarum lib. p. o Cap. 12 no sc.52, 53 citato del medesimo Carena che tengono questa causa de malefij spettar al S.to Officio privatamente per rispetto al foro secolare.» V. Lavenia, *Scaccia, Sigismondo, DSI* 3, pp. 1389-1390, stresses this now unremarked commentator's popularity with inquisition cardinals; Black, *Italian Inquisition*, pp. 70-71, 82, and A. Borromeo, *Carena, Cesare, DSI* 1 pp. 272-273 on this better known manualist; G. Ernst, *Del Rio, Martin Anton, DSI* 1 pp. 462-463, and P. G. Maxwell-Stuart (ed. and trans.), *Martin Del Rio. Investigations into Magic*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000, on a leading Jesuit writer on witchcraft.

where sorcery (*sortilegio*) was allegedly involved (as discussed below), in which case under present church rules it should not be treated as *misto foro*. Tinti was told to have it removed from the lay judge and ensure with aid of the bishop (Alessandro Rangone) that the nuns as ecclesiastical persons were investigated under Church and Holy Office jurisdiction. Tinti, having outlined his previous behaviour and views now said he would try and claim full and single jurisdiction over the *maleficia* or sorcery involved.⁶⁴

Occasionally strong personal views emerged in Tinti's letters, as when in 1635 he was dealing with a Barnabite Advent preacher, Bartolomeo Guanti, who had held forth on the conception of the Virgin, and had caused much disorder, in indicating that current church teaching might be at odds with the views of St Thomas Aquinas. As a Dominican fra Tinti faced a problem. He indicated to the Cardinals that it was troubling not to be able to discuss the issue and defend «our position» to avoid offence. Dominicans obeyed papal decrees in celebrating the feast of the Conception, and only used that term, Conception; and did not give other views in public. «We are sons and devotees of the most holy Virgin». He hopes he will be excused for speaking from his heart and as a disciple, if unworthy, of Aquinas and a Religion such as the Dominican.⁶⁵

Tinti could show a compassionate side against Roman rigour or impatience, as over the treatment of Jews or prisoners. The former Duke, now friar Giovanni Battista, had a

⁶⁴ASM, *Lettere* Busta 254, cc.51rv, 31 maggio 1636: though in the past it would have been recognised as *misto foro*, under the vigour of the *Costituzioni* of the Popes all authority is taken away from the lay judge «di potersi ingerire in si fatte materie, ancorche non si tratti, che di sortilegio semplice. Questa opinione è la piu vera conforme le dottrine de Moderni, et la praticata anco per la lunga consuetudine non solo nello stato di Santa Chiesa anco nel soggetto à Prencipi secolari in modo tale che questa Sac Cong.ne non hà mai più in queste materie alcuna controversia» ... «non può il Giudice laico tirarle al suo foro, nè l'ordinario dar licenza di poterle far visitare per rinvenire i corpi de delitti, ò farle esaminare per ritrovare la verità del fatto. Ordinano dunque questi Emin.mi miei che VR parli vivamente del caso prima col Prencipe fra Gio.Batt.a D'Este, acciò egli che mostra tanto zelo, perche siano castigati i delinquenti...». See Watt, *Scourge of Demons*, pp. 40-41 and 238 note 17. On *foro misto*, and jurisdictional conflicts between inquisitors, bishops, confessors, and lay courts, see I. Fosi, *La giustizia del papa. Sudditi e tribunali nello Stato Pontificio in età moderna*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2007; Eadem, *Papal Justice. Subjects and Courts in the Papal State, 1500-1750*, trans. T.V. Cohen, Washington D.C., The Catholic University of America Press, 2011 (an expansion of the Italian original); E.Brambilla, *Alle origini del Sant'Uffizio. Penitenza, confessione e giustizia spirituale dal medioevo al XVI secolo*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2000, esp. capitoli XI, XVII, XIX; Eadem, *La giustizia intollerante. Inquisizione e tribunali confessionali in Europa (secoli IV-XVIII)*, Roma, Carocci, 2006, esp. pp.161-168, on which court should deal with *sortilegi*; Prospero, *Tribunali della coscienza*, esp. chapter 23, *Foro interno, foro esterno*, pp. 476-484.

⁶⁵ASM, Busta 295/II, 15 dic. 1635: «Siamo quanto ogn'altro , e figli e devote dela sacratissima Vergine alla quale non credo sian per piacere questi modi, che seco portano pericolo di grave scandolo . Suppl.co cotesta Sac. e sup. Cng.ne che perdono à questa mia non semplice relatione di fatto, ma qualche sfogamento di core, il che spero di facilmente ottenere, quando considerera ch'io sono, benche indegno, e discepolo di S. Thomaso, e figlio di una Ill.ma Religione quale e la Domenicana sperando parimenti, che la prudenza sua troverà rimedio, che non veniamo si spesso à si fatti rischi, con al fine faccio humilmente riverenza all' E.V.»

particular zeal in confining or converting Jews. In 1634 he denounced Rabbi Nathaniel (Trabotto), and wanted him castigated by the Holy Office, over whether the wife of a Jew would convert or not. Tinti decided to make enquiries extra-judicially, and resolved not to pursue the matter against the Rabbi, unless the Congregation ordered to the contrary. This was not a matter of great concern, he argued. There were complications with the wife's brother in Ancona, and Capuchin confrontation with Jews. Tinti clearly wanted the Holy Office to avoid involvement. The friar showed personal animosity against Tinti when frustrated in his anti-Jewish campaigning, as Tinti noted to Rome.⁶⁶ In December he declined fra Giovanni Battista's request that he forced a Samuele Levi, called the Florentine, to convert as he supposedly had promised. Tinti opposed the idea of forced baptism, or castigation for not complying, «which would ridicule our faith»; «conversion should come from the heart».⁶⁷ In 1635 the Vicario Arciprete brought a case in Carpi against certain Jews who had seized a little girl to prevent her being baptised when her mother had been after secretly fleeing from her husband's house. Tinti had gathered that the Cardinals agreed with Tinti's Vicario that the Jews should be tortured, which he saw as contrary to basic guidelines. Tinti hoped he would be excused for not ordering torture, not considering them criminals (*rei*), for taking the girl. The Jews' letters depict the archpriest and his vicar as tyrannical men, and very arrogant. Tinti admitted to «some little passion» in this matter, and agreed that the Jews were unjustly aggravated. He had found in the archive a letter of April 1621 to his predecessor committing the inquisition to proceed alone in Carpi affairs, and deny the archpriest's jurisdiction.⁶⁸

A certain degree of compassion also emerges in the discussion he had with Rome over punishments, and their alleviation. Many letters deal with issues as to when and if accused or convicted could be granted graces, to be freed completely, to be sent to house or convent confinement. In November 1633 the inquisitor of Reggio was pursuing a case against the

⁶⁶ASM, Busta 295/II, 2 sett. 1634: «Jo considerate alcune circostanze che ho Sapute estragiudicialmente ho presa risolutione non procedere inanzi in questa causa... non parendomi (potrei errare nel mio giuditio) in essere cosa di gran fondamento». On Fra Giovanni Battista, his animosity against Tinti, and the Rabbi: Zanardo, "*Lor colpa*", esp. pp. 583-584. Rabbi Trabotto, or Trabotti, had previously been paid by the inquisition to expurgate books, Aron-Beller, *Jews on trial*, pp. 70-71.

⁶⁷ASM, Busta 295/II, 29 dic. 1634: «come che sia burlato della nostra fede»; «dela conversione deve venire da core». On problems of forced baptisms, and pressures to fulfil real or claimed expressions of an intention to convert: M. Caffiero, *Battesimi forzati. Storie di ebrei, cristiani e convertiti nella Roma dei Papi*, Roma, Viella, 2004, esp. ch.I for the seventeenth century contexts, and her *Battesimo forzato, Italia, DSI* 1 pp. 145-149; pressures came from family members who had already converted, and from Catechumen houses. Roman inquisitors often reprimanded the latter, especially the Casa dei catecumeni in Rome, for excessive pressurising of adults, and for seizing Jewish babies and enforcing baptism. *Battesimi forzati*, pp. 26-34 on some Inquisition and Casa conflicts.

⁶⁸ASM, Busta 295/II, 28 aprile 1635, from Carpi: «io non ne facio giudicio alcuno congettando fosi in questo qualche poco di passione».

archpriest of Quarantola, Vincenzo Noui, and accomplices, involving a book of sorcery. Tinti had one of the accomplices, don Giulio, in prison in Modena. Tinti pleaded with Rome to be allowed to release the poor young man, a *povero chierico*, on the grounds that he was the first to be imprisoned, had appeared spontaneously and given evidence against the others. He and his relatives didn't have the means to support him in prison, and the tribunal itself was very poor. Tinti asked for pardon for his importunity, and permission to proceed with pity and compassion⁶⁹. In April 1636 Tinti asked to be allowed to satisfy Pantasilea Casini's plea to exchange prison for house confinement; «a poor petitioner not withstanding a hardly honest life. She may be able to accommodate herself with a little servitude». In April 1639 Cardinal Barberini wrote that the Cardinals, having heard Tinti's good report on fra Gregorio Chaos, Dominican, were happy to remit the remaining months of his prison sentence, agreeing that eventually he might be licenced by his superiors to move on to the priesthood.⁷⁰ In July 1639 Rome agreed to the release of Giacomo Sabini da Nonontola, imprisoned for possessing writings about sorcery, given his age (52), and that he had legal cases he needed to pursue.⁷¹ In November 1641 Rome concurred it was believable that Giulia, Ludovica Barbieri and Casandra Bratti, who had had a long imprisonment for magic by baptizing «la calamita» (a magnet), had repented; so Tinti could release them, with warnings to make no further attempts, under pain of whipping.⁷²

Tinti, when appealing for Pantasilea Casini in April 1635, also suggested releasing Giovanni Pellegrino Coloretti, imprisoned on orders of the Congregation; he is poor and miserable, but has a new wife, and if released he could protect her honour. Coloretti had been implicated with a Giovanni Antonio Maffoni (or Muffini), and Alessandro Rasponi among others in witchcraft attempts (*stregoneria*). Maffoni petitioned for early release, and offered 25 *scudi*, in August 1635, so he could look after wife and children. His home was then named as his prison, and he was granted full grace in January 1636, given his numerous family. It

⁶⁹ASM, Busta 295/II, 26 nov.1633: «Supplico l'E.V. perdonarmi questa importunità che non procede da alto, che dall'pieta, et compassione che ho di veder stentar in carcere questo poverello».

⁷⁰ASM, *Lettere* Busta 255/a, fasc.I, 30 aprile 1639; Trenti, p. 133, fra Gregorio da Venezia, Dominican novice, aged 24, tortured, for heretical propositions in Modena.

⁷¹ASM, Busta 295/II, 7 aprile 1635 : «e povera mendica non ostante che sia di poco honesta vita»; *Lettere* Busta 255/a, fasc.I, 23 luglio 1639, Not inventoried by Trenti.

⁷²ASM, *Lettere*, Busta 255/a, fasc.II, 16 nov. 1641; Trenti, p. 135; Ludovica was 20 when tried in 1640, Cassandra (widow), 40, and Giulia Lovati, 32. None tortured. Their offences had been in different villages. A baptised magnet, *calamita*, was commonly viewed as an instrument to attract a lover. On this and on the classification of *sortilegi* practices, G.L. D'Errico, *I Sortilegi*, in U. Mazzone, C. Pancino (a cura di), *Sortilegi amorosi, Materassi a Nolo e Pignatti. Processi inquisitoriali del xvii secolo fra Bologna e il Salento*, Roma, Carocci, 2008, pp. 119-170, esp. p. 134 on *calamita*, and pp. 140-147 on which *foro* should deal with *sortilegi*.

was not till February 1637 that Rome allowed Coloretti, similarly under house confinement, to move freely from there. Coloretti had been tortured during his investigation in 1634 (aged 27).⁷³ It seems Rasponi, a barber in Rubiano, was the leading figure, who corrupted some females sexually and in superstitious practices. He was alleged to chase nude girls around; used a book with magical names and mentioning the Devil, taught girls to recite names, and organised superstitious gatherings on the eve of John the Baptist's feast (a well recognised festivity focusing on prognosticating or creating love matches, and collecting efficacious herbs). The *processi* records show Tinti and his Vicario as persistent and penetrating questioners. They eventually got Alessandro to admit to teaching a girl Pantasilea (who had given evidence, and been tortured), words that could be used to corrupt women; to obtaining information from a book by Albertus Magnus, especially about making oneself invisible. Pellegrino Coloretti had provided him with some dangerous books. Under light torture he confirmed the names of his friends already indicated, but added no more. The sentence on Rasponi in April 1635 (under Tinti and the bishop's vicar, a Cathedral canon), had a long list of offences, including sorcery, diabolical magic experiments used to corrupt women, summoning demons, abusing passages of sacred scripture, misusing saints' names and invoking the Trinity. He was sentenced to stand on one feast day at the door of San Domenico, then while Mass was said, kneel, holding a candle, with an inscription on his chest indicating his offenses; for the next three years to confess at Easter, Pentecost, Assumption of the Virgin, All Saints day and Christmas; say the Rosary weekly, and five Pater Nosters and Aves daily; present himself monthly to the Holy Office, on pain of the galleys. Coloretti's sentence was for imprisonment, with penances for five years. He immediately pleaded to have his home as the prison.⁷⁴ he inquisitor's support of appeals forwarded to Rome could quite

⁷³ASM, *Lettere* Busta 254/II, c.36r, 16 feb.1637 (Coloretti); for Maffoni, cc.13r, 26 agosto.1635, and 33r, 5 gen.. 1636; Trenti, pp. 125-126 on ages and torture.

⁷⁴ASM, *Processi*, Busta 96, n. 11, mixed collection of folders and documents, some numbered; Alessandro Rasponi questioned 16 luglio, 6 ott. (cc.19r-20r, 23v-24r), 25 ott. (c.27r) 1634; 4 nov. (c.35r) Maffone blamed Rangoni and Coloretti for teaching him; 3 feb. 1635 (c.112r), lawyer for Rangoni decided against producing own witnesses, and pleaded for benignity and clemency of the Holy Office; folder 28 aprile 1635 for Rangoni's sentence; 7 aprile 1635 Coloretti's. [This case was encountered on the last day of my archival visit, so not all pieces were read. I deduce that the Pantasilea here mentioned is the same as the Pantasilea Casini whose release from prison Tinti also supported, as above]. On types of sorcery and witchcraft practices in Italy see, for limited examples from large literature: C.F. Black, *Church, Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy*, Basingstoke-New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, pp. 186-194; D'Errico, *I Sortilegi*; G. Mazza, *Streghe, guaritori, istigatori. Casi di Inquisizione diocesana in Età moderna*, Roma, Carocci, 2009, esp. cap. 2, *La caccia alla streghe*, cap. 3, *Superstizioni ed esorcismi*; Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza*, cap. 17, *Credere alle streghe: vescovi e inquisitori davanti alla «superstizione»*, pp. 368-399; Di Simplicio, *Inquisizione, stregoneria, medicina*; *Idem*, *Autunno della stregoneria. Maleficio e magia*; G.Romeo, *Inquisitori, esorcisti e streghe nell'Italia della Controriforma*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1990; R. Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice*

readily turn full imprisonment into house arrest – possibly for cost reasons - but Rome might prolong granting full freedom.

The case which generated the fullest correspondence over punishment and remissions was that of Francesco Porta, accused in 1633 of giving false witness initially in the episcopal court then in the inquisition tribunal over the alleged death of a soldier, Giovanni Battista Cozetti, whose wife then married another, possibly bigamously. Information was sought or given in Verona and Candia, where Cozetti probably died. Investigations of the couple were seemingly dropped. Rome sanctioned Porta's torture and then, if that produced no satisfactory confession, ordered a seven year sentence to the galleys.⁷⁵ Correspondence followed on whether this sentence to the galleys should, as some requested, be commuted to a heavy fine, and how much. Tinti urged the commutation on the Congregation partly because the money would alleviate the Modena tribunal's serious financial problems.⁷⁶ his presumably was implemented. Subsequently in September 1638 Porta was accused of heretical blasphemy by two women living in his house, and Tinti asked Rome whether this should be pursued by questioning the women. He was reluctant to question them, fearing they would not tell the truth, and so be in danger of perjury, because of threats from Porta. «And I will add that the said Francesco is held in this city to be a public blasphemer, ill-living, a gambler, who maintains a prostitute», and lives off his female cousins, having no occupation himself. He was tortured but apparently not sentenced.⁷⁷

Giuseppe Trenti's inventory shows the Modena court dealt with many accusations and investigations of superstitious and magical practices, whether involving diabolism, magical harming (*maleficia*), or lesser offenses of prognostications, love and medicinal magic, seeking stolen goods, sometimes involving the misuse of sacraments and sacramentals. However the Modena-Rome correspondence on such is not considerable, though some interesting issues

1550-1650, Oxford, Blackwell, 1989; C. Corrain, P. Zampini, *Documenti etnografici e folkloristici nei sinodi diocesani italiani*, Bologna, 1970, for the diverse malpractices publicly condemned by bishops, whether or not frequently attempted. For indications of the range of books that were available to guide magical practices, on the evidence of Venetian inquisition cases, F. Barbierato, *Nella stanza dei circoli. Clavicula Salomonis e libri di magia a Venezia nei secoli XVII e XVIII*, Milano, Edizioni Sylvestre Bonnard, 2002.

⁷⁵ASM *Lettere*, Busta 254/1, cc. 217r, 23 luglio 1633, 247r, 3 sett. 1633, and 315r, 11 marzo 1634; Busta 295/II, 14 marzo 1634, where Tinti reports news that the first husband might not be dead. Not inventoried by Trenti.

⁷⁶ASM Busta 295/II, 18 marzo, 8 April, 10 maggio 1634, and 20 gen. 1635 (last tranche of 140 *ducatoni* paid to Tinti by Porta); Busta 254/1, cc.323r, 29 aprile 329r, 27 maggio 1634.

⁷⁷ASM Busta 295/II, 25 sett. 1638: «Con tutto ciò hò stimato bene di non farlo, perche havendo in una certezza morale che contro di costui non haverebbero detta la verita non hò voluto metterle in pericolo di esser spergiurare: e tanto più che mi par assai aggravato da altra parte (...) che aggiongerò, che ditto Francesco si tenuto in questa Città per un bestemmia publico, e di mala vita, giocatore, che mantenghi una meretrice, dietro la quale consuma quell poco che hanno se suddette sue cugine alle piu spese se ne vive, non havendo essercitii alcuni.». Trenti, p. 132, indicating he was then aged 32 and of some social standing (*signore*), and was tortured.

and attitudes emerge. As in Venice, some people were seen as adepts in using the glass vase called an *inghistera* for finding lost or stolen property, potential lovers and so forth, sometimes summoning up «angels» or demons in the glass. Interestingly in Modena in 1631 the chief accused was a man, Pietro Grappi from Bologna, a *spetiale* (dealer in medicines, spices etc.), though women were also involved. Tinti took some time to investigate, and compose a full *processo*, with Rome sanctioning torture (which proved unhelpful). Grappi had been banished from Bologna, and sold his possessions. He could find nobody in Modena to give surety so get him out of prison, and blamed a Captain Giovanni Ferrari and two brothers as leading enemies, (two of whom were imprisoned for assassination, and the other had fled), but he thought they have worked with the Holy Office to bring him down. Tinti did look to prosecute Captain Ferrari, but told Rome there was not enough evidence. Cardinal Sant'Onofrio urged Tinti to find two women from Bologna who might give Grappi a defence. Tantalisingly this topic seems to have disappeared from further correspondence.⁷⁸

Rome's scepticism about uses of love magic procedures led to Tinti being told to end the case against fra Valerio Trionfanti, a Franciscan who was accused of using magical procedures to harm Laura Coccapani of Carpi when in 1627 she ended an intense five-year affair with him (unconsummated, but involving many love letters, mostly destroyed), to get married. She fell ill, complaining of bleeding breasts, being tormented by a demon, and by poltergeist-like episodes in her marital home, implying diabolic activities. He was accused of using spells, based on braids and pubic hairs she had given him, a rag soaked in her menstrual blood, to harm her marriage. After much questioning of Laura, Valerio and witnesses by Tinti and his vicar, and a spell of exorcism of Laura, Tinti advised Rome that he thought the evidence was inadequate for a conviction. Valeriano's confession of the affair, receiving love letters and pubic hairs from her, should be accepted, likewise his denials of using magical effects or a bloody rag to harm Laura. Tinti stressed fra Valerio's remorse over the affair. Cardinal Millini echoed Tinti's scepticism, and ordered Valerio's release from prison in November 1629. It was revealed in 1639 that Laura was still, or again, «possessed»; and that

⁷⁸ASM Busta 295/II, 7 dic. 1632, 5 feb., 22 feb., 2 dic. 1633; Busta 254/I, cc.185r 26 marzo, 241r 27 agosto 1633; Trenti, pp. 123, 125, which suggests no sentence was given on *inghistera* techniques: Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition*, pp. 113-119; Black, *Italian Inquisition*, p. 143. For an interesting discussion of magic and witchcraft cases in the Modena Duchy over a long chronological span (but not mentioning cases in Tinti's period), and the effect of 'spontaneous appearance' and sacramental confession E. Brambilla, *Il segreto e il sigillo: denunce e comparizioni spontanee nei processi inquisitoriali*, in S. Peyronnel Rambaldi, *I Tribunali della Fede: Continuità e Discontinuità dal Medioevo all'Età Moderna*, Torino, Claudiana, 2007, pp. 111-161, esp. 6, pp. 129-140, *Confessione sacramentale e comparizioni spontanee nei casi di magia e stregoneria: Modena*.

instead she might be one of the victims of Dealta Martinelli, a long-standing friend and now trouble-maker among the nuns of Carpi (discussed below).⁷⁹

In 1634 accusations were made against Pellegrina Gualtieri from Cadezzano (aged 66), and her daughter Maria (40, a spinner and sewer), for *maleficia*. Pellegrina was registered as having been imprisoned on 10 June 1634. Allegedly they were responsible for the death of Maria's husband. Depositions were heard that Pellegrina and Maria, and also Pellegrina's mother Marietta, were commonly held to be witches (*streghe*). Pellegrina healed with herbs, frequently treating children. As further witnesses were heard accusations were made that Pellegrina, and Maria, harmed children and animals.⁸⁰ Writing on 2 May 1635 Tinti expressed worries about what he was hearing about *maleficia* and casualties, and that he had two women, mother and daughter (unnamed here), in prison but he has not yet been able to complete a case. Both had confessed to many impieties, and *maleficia* leading to death, but Maria had revoked all her confessions. Since their imprisonment no more trouble was reported from their area. Tinti informed Rome on 6 June that Pellegrina had confessed, then partially retracted. Medical reports on her indicated she had various infirmities, and was too decrepit to be tortured. She and her daughter had been warned they were accused by several witnesses, and that Maria's situation had been aggravated by her own and her mother's confessions. By July Maria was reported as seriously ill, and she died having confessed, but not receiving the sacrament for fear of vomiting it.⁸¹ In September Cardinal Barberini wrote that the Congregation had decided Pellegrina should abjure *de levi*, be exiled for a period according to its will and placed in a holy place; be provided with a suitable confessor, and confess annually or as the confessor judged. She should also present herself monthly to the inquisitor or bishop where exiled. This came too late. Pellegrina had suffered for five weeks from fever and died, confessing sacramentally, but not receiving the sacrament in case she vomited it.⁸² According to filed notes for action, both Pellegrina and Maria were to be pressed on views of the *Demonio*, whether Pellegrina only believed in him, whether induced by him to deny the faith or sacraments; and in Maria's case when the Devil appeared, in what form,

⁷⁹J. R. Watt, *Love Magic and the Inquisition: A Case from Seventeenth-Century Italy*, «Sixteenth Century Journal», 41/3, 2010, pp. 675-689 using ASM Inq. Busta 86, filza 2; Watt, *The Scourge of Demons*, pp. 49, 166. On use of menstrual blood and pubic hair: Martin, *Witchcraft*, pp. 130-32; D'Errico, *I sortilegi*, pp. 135-136.

⁸⁰ASM Processi, Busta 97, n. 1. 1634. «Siano tenute comunemente streghe». Trenti p. 126, (dating the Busta as 1633), puts under Pellegrina's father's name, Grandi, and records Sassatella as their location of troublemaking. We seem to be dealing with tiny mountainous places, near Minozzo, whose archpriest was to face questions about what he knew of *maleficia* cases.

⁸¹ASM Busta 295/II, 2 maggio, 6 giugno and 28 luglio 1635.

⁸²ASM Busta 254/II, 15r, 15 sett.1635; Busta 295/II, 15 sett. 1635.

whether at a feast and did she go alone or with others. Tinti clearly had gone out of Modena, to Cadizzano and other places to make enquiries. Questions were also to be put to doctors, to check on alleged harm to victims.⁸³ Rome's recommendation on sentencing indicated that the Cardinals did not believe Pellegrina was involved in diabolic magic.

The local inquisitor could be caught between obeying central orders, and political realities on his doorstep. In 1628 Rome issued a general decree indicating that inquisitors should resist attempts by princes and local authorities to intervene in sending recommendations concerning any indicted persons. Inquisitors felt they had to pay attention given they relied on local political co-operation on a day-to-day basis. Giacomo Tinti in a long letter to Cardinal Millini explained that at times he had to reason verbally with somebody when gentlemen and even princes exerted pressure over a prisoner. Princes, and even the Duke, could render the inquisitor, even the Inquisition, odious. He was having difficulties in publishing this edict. Cardinal Millini urged him to obey the decree.⁸⁴ Besides troubles with fra Giovanni Battista, discussed below, Tinti had to face Prince Cesare D'Este in Reggio in the 1630s, as when he sought to investigate or control some of the Prince's officials – his judge in 1630, his lieutenant in 1638.⁸⁵

Late in Tinti's career in Modena he was caught between Rome and the ducal power over foreigners, merchants and soldiers; a reprise of his Casale experiences. In a December 1642 letter Tinti reveals frustration over northern European merchants, notably Swiss, being present in the Duchy, under ducal protection; they were importing heretical ideas as well as *corami* (hides) and semi-manufactured goods, and were molesting clergy and church properties. Similarly there were encampments of soldiers, as at Nonantola in 1643, denying the true faith, eating meat on prohibited days. Tinti was indicating to Rome that he had little power to act against such heretics given the ducal attitude. The D'Este family in turn had to

⁸³The surviving folder for these investigations is not a *processo* record as such, but a collection of papers and notes, summarising accusations, indicating question that might be put to accused or witnesses, notes on one interview, and a medical report on one anonymous wounded body. The questions prepared for Tinti's use are mainly indicating what needs to be followed up (with folio references to a previous interrogation record that has not survived): ASM Processi, Busta 97, n.1.

⁸⁴ASM, *Lettere*, Busta 253 (for 1621-1628), fasc.2, 1 marzo 1628, Fra Giacomo da Lodi, and 1 aprile, Millini's response. For similar reaction by inquisitor of Casale Monferrato, Giacomo Figino, see Burkardt, *L'Inquisition*, pp. 89-90. Figino, and Monferrato, were facing the struggle and war over the Mantuan succession, when the direct Gonzaga lineage failed.

⁸⁵ASM, *Inquisizione*, Busta 294, Miscellanea, folder dated 1600, 8 luglio on cover (disorderly collection, dealing with Reggio affairs): 2 and 3 agosto 1630, Inquisitor (in Reggio), to Prince; 3, 7 and 26 agosto letters from Governor [name not entirely clear, Giov.... Raz...?] to Prince or his secretary; 10 maggio 1639, Prince in Reggio (to Rome?), complaining about the inquisitor's behaviour in summoning the lieutenant, Dr. Borgi, without permission.

be careful of not offending Swiss commercial interests, or the Duke of Savoy's military interests.⁸⁶

Tinti and the Possessed Nuns of Carpi

Through 1636 to 1639 a major preoccupation for religious authorities in the Duchy was the convent of Santa Chiara in Carpi, a prestigious institution of Clarissa nuns dominated by Princess Angela Caterina D'Este, sister of Fra Giovanni Battista, many times chosen as Abbess. It was a poorly disciplined convent, hardly conforming to post-tridentine enclosure rules, allowing for much outside contact and interferences. The complex stories of illnesses and possessions are the subject of a recent fascinating book by Jeffrey Watt, defying easy summary.⁸⁷ Here I concentrate on making a few points about Tinti's involvement – and evasions, and Rome's attitudes. The crisis started in early 1636 with the strange maladies and death of three in-house servants, allegedly under demonic possession. In May Tinti warned Rome that Carpi and its surrounds manifested fear of magical practices, with several men and women under suspicion. Fra Giovanni Battista D'Este (the ex-Duke, who had two daughters being educated in the convent), was intent that these suspects should be pursued, but Tinti was ready to allow the Friar, and Duke Francesco to take investigatory initiatives, under a mixed forum concept of such offenses. Rome was less happy with secular involvement. Tinti agreed to exile one male accused (Bernardino Borsellino). In Spring 1637 nuns in Santa Chiara were increasingly reported as being possessed, with twelve eventually affected. Ahead of inquisitorial involvement exorcists were brought in, without resolution. Gradually the inquisitorial team became involved, as were other clerical personnel. The convent had a troublesome and poisonous environment, with factions for and against the Princess-Abbess;

⁸⁶I. Fosi, *Convertire lo straniero. Forestieri e Inquisizione a Roma in età moderna*, Roma, Viella, 2011, pp. 162-163, 174-175. She discovered Tinti's letter of 5 dic. 1642 in ACDF St. St. M 4-b (2), cc.191rv; for the context of troublesome soldiers in this context she refers to W. De Boer, *Soldati in terra straniera. La fede tra inquisizione e ragion di stato*, «Studia Borromasca», 23, 2009, pp. 403-427.

⁸⁷Watt, *Scourge, passim*; see also Watt's earlier *The Demons of Carpi: Exorcism, Witchcraft, and the Inquisition in a Seventeenth-Century Convent*, «Archive for Reformation History/ Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte», 98, 2007, pp. 107-133, which broadens the approach of Vincenzo Lavenia's *I diavoli di Carpi e il Sant'Uffizio (1636-1639)*, in M. Rosa (a cura di), *Eretici, esuli e indemoniati nell'età moderna*, Firenze, Olschki, 1998, pp. 77-139, who sees clerics as dominating the conflicts, and downplays initiatives by nuns, whether possessed or not. On Possession more broadly, V.Lavenia, *Possessione demoniaca*, *DSI* 3 pp. 1242-1250; on witchcraft his *Stregoneria, Italia*, *DSI* 3 pp. 1521-1529; Romeo, *Inquisitori, esorcisti e streghe; Idem, Esorcisti, confessori e sessualità nell'Italia della Controriforma: A proposito di due casi modenese del primo Seicento*, Firenze, Le Lettere, 1998. On exorcism, exorcists and controversies over what the Church found acceptable and by whom, also V. Lavenia, *Esorcismo*, *DSI* 2 pp. 548-554.

for and against the confessor Angelo Bellacappa, an Observant Franciscan, accused of fondling several nuns. The demonically afflicted nuns had violent fits, visions, dramatic changes in body temperature, suddenly fell into a deep sleep, heard voices, had ‘demonic’ voices coming from their mouths using different tongues, (able to speak like Florentines when they normally did not, or quote Hebrew in one case), and some inexplicably could indicate some of the on-going inquisition activity.⁸⁸ Two sisters, Dealta and Ippolita Martinelli were seen as fomenters of trouble, possibly users of demonic magic – with brothers outside also seen as practitioners. They later became the target of verbal and physical attacks by the demoniacs. Dealta raised the issue of sabbat meetings, which encouraged the inquisition to take a deeper interest.⁸⁹

Tinti was reluctant to investigate personally in Carpi. Initially he used his *fiscale*, Orazio Giudici, an attorney and married layman who normally acted as inquisitorial vicar in Carpi. While this lay appointment was legitimate – though unusual if an inquisitor so delegated questioning – the Roman Congregation demurred, and Cardinal Barberini urged Tinti to act personally, and at times wanted Giudici removed from the scene.⁹⁰ Tinti continued to use Giudici, and the archpriest of Carpi, Ludovico Niccolini, even when he personally became a major investigator from July 1638. Up to five exorcists were controversially involved (often relying on the writings of the famous exorcist Girolamo Menghi),⁹¹ though both Tinti and Cardinal Barberini were wary of their roles. Views divided whether the afflicted nuns were directly possessed by spirits, or whether outside magical agencies and witchcraft were involved. Tinti doubted the latter influences. Some of the demoniac nuns welcomed the exorcists, which made Tinti sceptical of their value. Fra Giovanni Battista, who had himself practiced exorcism, promoted exorcism in the Carpi case, and resisted Tinti’s attempts to curb the exorcists, securing backing from the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars.⁹² Tinti wanted the afflicted nuns to be kept separate to avoid joint activity and harassment of others, and to be guided by a new confessor.

Tinti at times judged that other clerics should deal with the problems of possession; he argued that the Holy Office should concentrate on confessor Bellacappa, and allegations that

⁸⁸Watt, *Scourge*, pp. 42-43, 117, 128.

⁸⁹Watt, *Scourge*, pp. 59-61.

⁹⁰Watt, *Scourge*, pp. 40, 42ss, 70, 264 note 37. Giudici years later was in favour, and used as a consultant to the inquisition, p. 213.

⁹¹Watt, *Scourge*, pp. 105-113; V. Lavenia, *Esorcismo*, *DSI* 2 pp. 49-54 stresses Menghi’s importance, whose main publication was *Compendio dell’arte esorcista*, Bologna, 1576, (and later editions); Prosperi, *Il Tribunale della coscienza*, cap. XX, pp. 418-430, *Inquisitori ed esorcisti*.

⁹²Watt, *Scourge*, pp. 132-139; his *Exorcism, Witchcraft*, p. 124.

he solicited nuns, abusing the sacrament of confession, which was exclusively under inquisition remit. Tinti's questioning was most intense with the Martinelli sisters, then Bellacappa, and witnesses against him; and he inspected the convent to see how the confessor might have fondled them through bars and partitions. The issue of torture was apparently never raised.⁹³ He wanted to detain and form a full process against Dealta, but Rome opposed this. In January and February, after a Commissioner, Giovanni Lupi, was sent from Rome by the Congregation to check on Tinti's work, Bellacappa was released from prison (with his case left open), and the Martinelli sisters were moved to a convent in Modena. With Santa Chiara's afflicted nuns kept separate, subject to a new confessor, and with bishop Rangone taking some direct control over the nunnery, calm gradually returned.⁹⁴ Cardinal Francesco Barberini was clear that the D'Este Principessa, now in a Benedictine house in Modena, should not return to Santa Chiara, indicating to Tinti that the Congregation was displeased at her trying to manipulate nuns' opinions to call her back. In January 1644 the Cardinals expressed pleasure that the convent now seemed at peace, though urging Tinti's diligence in watching the situation. Rome maintained an interest in the nunnery, complaining about the nuns' choice of officials such as the factor, issued warnings about a new Abbess (Alsuinda Malaspina), who seemed to be disturbing the convent in May 1643, and was to express annoyance that in July 1644 nuns were proving difficult and disobedient in retaining an old and decrepit fiscal.⁹⁵

Coincidentally with these events Rome was recruiting Tinti to involve himself in a different issue of female religious, which would seem dubiously part of the inquisitor's remit. It involved a highly controversial topic – the role of independent women in church life, running counter to Tridentine policies and clerical discipline. Rome had heard that a congregation of "Gesuitesse", under the name of Orsoline, had been introduced into the city. Cardinal Barberini in February 1643 wanted this confirmed, then asked Tinti to link with the bishop to have the Orsoline name changed. A copy of a report on this congregation was sent, indicating that it was a society of unenclosed women (only rich ones), living among seculars, following rules seemingly drawn up by a Jesuit (hence one title). They took vows of perpetual

⁹³Watt, *Scourge*, pp. 142ss, 159ss, 180; on solicitation and Holy Office concerns over it, see Black, *Italian Inquisition*, pp. 133, 138-139.

⁹⁴Watt, *Scourge*, pp. 187-194, 218.

⁹⁵ASM, *Lettere* 1642-1645, Busta 255 (a), fasc.1, 20 maggio 1639; Busta 255(b), 4 gen. 1642, 8 and 22 nov. 1642, 11 aprile and 23 maggio 1643, and 30 luglio 1644. Ansoinda, or Alsuinda, Malaspina (daughter of Marquis Alfonso Malaspina), had reported what demons said in attacking Dealta Martinelli. Her confessor Bellacappa distrusted her: Watt, *Scourge*, pp. 23, 48, 61-62, 158.

virginity, had a number of female officials, and usually congregated privately in San Biagio; a Jesuit Father might attend, but no other outsider. The bishop had sought to make them accept enclosure (*clausura*), but they were unwilling. Cardinal Barberini then told Tinti that the Roman Congregation was not inclined to enforce *clausura*, if this was not the city's will. Here it seems that the inquisitor was being used as overall observer and possibly facilitator of religious policies – and Tridentine rules on female enclosure – but not judge of a heretical matter. An order of Orsoline or Ursulines had caused much controversy a century before, as unenclosed philanthropic devotees, from fairly poor backgrounds; Rome did not want the development of a similar religious society courtesy of the Jesuits.⁹⁶

Tinti and Jewish-Christian Relations in the Duchy of Modena

Giacomo Tinti's correspondence from and to Rome was often pre-occupied by the situation of the Jews in the Duchy of Modena.⁹⁷ Jews seem to be noted in Modena from 1025, and their situation was boosted when the D'Este rulers based in Ferrara from Duke Borso I (1450-71) onwards fostered their active presence within the Duchy with privileges, allowing them to have synagogues, to possess land and businesses. The privileges and protections existing when the D'Este ruled from Ferrara extended to the Duchy of Modena and remained there after the reversion of Ferrara to the Papacy in 1598. Ferrara Jews moved to the now more tolerant Modena Duchy. Within the Duchy of Modena from circa 1350-1550 there had been Jewish families in Modena, Finale, Formigine, Marano sul Panaro, Mirandola, San Felice sul Panaro and Sassuolo; mainly following German Ashkenazi rites. In the late sixteenth century there were two Jewish banks in Modena, and four in Reggio.⁹⁸ In circa 1600 Reggio-Emilia seems to have had the largest Jewish population in Italy, with 5530 persons

⁹⁶ASM, *Lettere 1642-1645* [misplaced from 255(a)?], Busta 255 (b), 14 feb. 23 maggio, 27 giugno 1643. There is a gap in the correspondence in this volume until 2 gen. 1644, and then nothing further on this topic. A society of Orsoline seems to have been founded in Modena in 1620. Already the neighbouring Farnese dukes had promoted Orsoline in Parma and Piacenza, who ran colleges for noble girls: Gabriella Zarri, *Gesuitesse*, *DSI* 2 p. 665. On 16th century Orsoline/Ursulines led by Angela Merici and later problems, see Black, *Church, Religion and Society*, pp. 36, 57, 149; G. Zarri, «Monasteri femminili e città (secoli XV-XVIII)», in *Storia d'Italia*, a cura di G. Chittolini, G. Miccoli, *Annali*, 9 (Torino, 1986), pp. 359-429, esp. pp. 402-403; Zarri, *Dalla profezia alla disciplina (1450-1650)*, in *Donne e Fede. Santità e vita religiosa in Italia*, a cura di L. Scaraffia, G. Zarri, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1994, pp. 177-225, esp. pp. 210-215.

⁹⁷As already noted Perani, *Tinti, Giacomo*, focuses on Tinti's involvement in the Jewish problems.

⁹⁸C. Vivanti (a cura di), *Gli Ebrei in Italia*, Torino, Einaudi, 1996-7: M. Luzzati, *Banchi e insediamenti ebraici nell'Italia centro-settentrionale*, pp. 173-235, esp. pp. 202-203, and M. Acanforo Torrefranca, *Sulle musiche degli ebrei in Italia*, pp. 475-493, esp. p. 481.

(while Lazio had 4470, and the Veneto only about 1900). In the early eighteenth century about 5% of the Modena population, as also in Reggio, was Jewish.⁹⁹

Recently Katherine Aron-Beller has studied the inquisition and the Jews in Modena from 1598 to 1630, when plague hit that community hard, and then to 1638 and the creation of the Ghetto, to where most Modena Jews were moved. Some Jewish shops remained outside, and Jews continued to live in other towns in the Duchy amidst Christians. There were about 750 Jews in Modena in 1638 (out of 30,000 in the city). The Ghetto was not the result of inquisition initiatives, but of the bishop reacting to Rome's pleas, and possibly enthusiasm of local clergy, who blamed Jews for the 1630 plague, and who resented the Jewish bankers in the city or Duchy.¹⁰⁰

In the period 1598-1638 according to Aron-Beller's calculations there were 186 *processi* concerning Jews, with 325 defendants; of these, 83 *processi* involving 93 people were discontinued, and 73 persons were acquitted after 35 trials. (In the whole period 1598-1785 *processi* were started against 476 Jews, and 4,829 against Christians).¹⁰¹ The period Aron-Beller covers overlaps with the beginning of Tinti's service as inquisitor studied here.¹⁰² Her analysis of the 186 *processi* started (but not necessarily completed), indicates that the major accusations were: employing Christian servants (52), blasphemy and profane cursing (22), dissuading others being baptised (18) and possessing prohibited books (17). Fourteen were denounced for fraternising or even dining with Christians, four for sexual relations with Christians, five for employing Christian wet nurses. Only two were accused of *maleficia*. Four cases concerned illegally building a new synagogue. In practice the inquisition had little

⁹⁹S. Della Pergola, *La popolazione ebraica in Italia nel contesto ebraico globale*, in Vivanti (a cura di), *Gli Ebrei*, pp. 895-936, esp. Table 1 p. 910; M. Caffiero, *Gli ebrei italiani dall'età dei lumi agli anni della Rivoluzione*, in same, pp. 1089-1132, esp. p. 1095.

¹⁰⁰K. Aron-Beller, *Disciplining Jews: The Papal Inquisition in Modena, 1598-1630*, «The Sixteenth Century Journal», 41/3, 2010, pp. 713-729, esp. pp. 714-715; her *Jews on trial*, taking the story to 1638 and the creation of the Ghetto (on which see esp. pp. 20-24), has helped with the final version of my article, with additional personal comments from her. She alerted me to Maria Pia Balboni's *Gli Ebrei del Finale nel Cinquecento e nel Seicento*, Firenze, Giuntina, 2005, which I secured in time for the revision of this article. Just appeared, M. Caffiero, *Legami pericolosi. Ebrei e cristiani tra eresia, libri proibiti e stregoneria*, Torino, Einaudi, 2012, which I have not yet seen; a summary suggests it will illuminate problems of sexual relations between Christians and Jews, treated as heretical by some and so a target for the inquisition, as well as alleged Jewish involvement in magical practices (and alleged attempts to poison Christians), and what dangerous books Jews might pursue. For examples of different inquisitorial approaches to Jewish communities see Del Col, *L'Inquisizione in Italia*, pp. 456-468.

¹⁰¹Aron-Beller, *Jews on trial*, p. 67, Table 2; her *Disciplining Jews*, esp. pp. 713-715, taking some figures from F. Francesconi, L. Levi D'Ancona, *Vita e Società ebraica di Modena e Reggio Emilia: L'età dei ghetti*, Modena, 2007; and p. 728 for responsibilities for the ghetto.

¹⁰²She used *Processi* records, and the *Fondo Causae Hebreorum*, but less the *Lettere*, which were the focus of my sampling.

control over synagogues, since the Dukes claimed the right to grant licences and exercised this, on which basis accused Jews challenged the inquisitor.¹⁰³ These case proportions imply reasonable relations between Jews and Christians, continuing after the creation of a ghetto. But Modena at the same time received papal edicts and orders designed to curb all close relations between Jews and Christians. Christians were encouraged to denounce Jewish misbehaviour by the receipt of a quarter of any fine imposed. The Jewish community helped finance the Modena tribunal, through fines, levies and interest-free loans. The Sanguinetti bankers and other Jews subject to fines provided about half the funding for the building of the tribunal headquarters in 1604.¹⁰⁴ Giacomo Tinti was later warned that using fines extravagantly to punish Jews risked causing scandal.¹⁰⁵ Aron-Beller stresses that in her period Jewish accused were tortured less often than Christians (10% against 22%). None was executed, and fines were preferred to physical punishments, so helping the inquisition's precarious finances. Public sentencing and humiliation of Jews was largely avoided, where Christians might be made to stand penitentially at church doors with their offences advertised. The percentage of those *processi* ending in punishment was the same for both Christians and Jews (41%).¹⁰⁶

Giacomo Tinti from the start seems to have had a more emollient approach to the Modena Jews than his predecessor, Giovanni Vincenzo Reghezza, dropping some cases the latter had launched or absolving accused, including Moisè da Modena, accused of proselytising.¹⁰⁷ One of the first problems involving Modena Jews that Giacomo Tinti raised with Rome, in October 1627, concerned five accused of throwing stones at an image of the Virgin. He tried to summon them on a Saturday, and they refused to attend – legitimately so according to the church canons.¹⁰⁸ By the 1630s a main Jewish concentration was in Finale,

¹⁰³Aron-Beller, *Jews on trial*, Table 1, p. 56. Bans on Christian wetnurses serving Jewish babies, and Jewesses nursing Christians, date from the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), with subsequent re-iterations, *Disciplining Jews*, p. 718 note 33, p. 719 note 35. *Jews on trial*, pp. 94-105 is a fascinating study of the wetnursing cases. Tinti was concerned with three such *processi*, the second involving three Jewish couples and two Christian wetnurses in 1637, who were also imprisoned under investigation and punished. *Ibid.* pp. 192-194 on licensing synagogues.

¹⁰⁴Aron-Beller, *Disciplining Jews*, pp. 720, and 716 note 17, using ASM Inq. Busta 282, *Libro della fabbrica dell Santo Ufficio di Modena*; p. 724 on Sanguinetti bankers' contributions. Viviano was accused of trying to dissuade a daughter from converting to Christianity, Calmo (or Calman) of hiring a live-in wetnurse for four months. Cases against Viviano, Pellegrino and Calmo Sanguinetti had started in 1601, Trenti, p. 64. See also Zanardo, "Lor colpa", pp. 581-583, on Jewish financial contributions.

¹⁰⁵Aron-Beller, *Jews as "outsiders"*, quoting ASM Busta 254, 12 aprile 1631.

¹⁰⁶Aron-Beller, *Disciplining Jews*, pp. 722-725. The lesser frequency of torture probably partly reflects the less serious nature of accusations against the Jewish accused, and that they were not technically «heretics».

¹⁰⁷Aron-Beller, *Jews on trial*, pp. 219-220, 227.

¹⁰⁸Aron-Beller, *Disciplining Jews*, p. 727, note 70.

with maybe a hundred in the community; and this town features significantly in the correspondence between Rome and Tinti. The Jews there were subject from Advent 1633 to demands from the inquisition and episcopacy to hear sermons pressurising them to convert, and a house of Catechumens existed from 1629 to aid such conversion. Tinti himself was under pressure to persuade the Dukes to close or move synagogues, to encase those who would not convert in a ghetto area. The vicar he appointed in Finale was an Augustinian, Giacomo Ricci (active 1631-48), who is seen by Mauro Perani as a major agent in conversion campaigns, and by Katherine Aron-Beller as a harsh repressor of Jews. Tinti may have approved of Rome's overall policy, but he had often to defend the lack of progress and explain the political difficulties in dealing with the secular rulers. While ex-Duke friar Giovanni Battista favoured the anti-Jewish attitude he and Tinti had other reasons for a less than harmonious relationship.

The pressure to close the old synagogue in Finale seems to have started with Cardinal Sant'Onofrio in May 1631; this should follow a precedent of closing a synagogue in Spilamberto.¹⁰⁹ But secular Ministers opposed this, and were reluctant to stop Jews meeting in a larger property (a former granary), as they had wanted from 1628, and Duke Cesare had licensed. Debate about defining this as a synagogue impeded papal closure pressures. When Tinti went to Finale in December 1631 attempting to resolve the problem and present letters he was faced with a riot, with a large crowd summoned by a bell to the market, and his notary and fiscal were badly treated for an hour. Seemingly this arose because a Jew, Alessandro Formigine, was being given the *corda* – or tortured publicly. Tinti received a ducal reprimand for thus causing a disturbance of the peace.¹¹⁰ Tinti in February 1634 announced to Cardinal Barberini that the Jews were now out of the granary/oratory/synagogue, and the Duke was to be thanked for agreeing.¹¹¹ In Modena Jews had received licences to work for Christians, and

¹⁰⁹ASM Busta 295, 2 maggio and 4 giugno 1631.

¹¹⁰ASM Busta 294, 23 dic.1631, draft letter (many interpolations and crossings-out), to the Prince, author unclear; damaged. The opaque reference in this draft presumably refers to the event where Tinti ordered friar Giacomo Ricci to have the Jewish banker Alessandro Formigine whipped, for not sufficiently reverencing the Host when walking through the street, Aron-Beller, forthcoming *Jews as "outsiders"*, citing ASM, *Causae Hebreorum*, 245, c.53. According to Balboni, *Gli Ebrei del Finale*, pp. 52-53 this was a public torture, carried out without the permission of the Governor of Finale, hence a major row. But one might challenge the description of this as «torture», rather than punishment, as it was not seeking information. In 1639 Ricci ordered Alessandro Formigine to alter his house doors to prevent easy access by Christian visitors, Balboni, *Gli Ebrei del Finale*, p. 48. Vicario Ricci can be further noted as a bad-tempered opponent of Finale's Jews, as in reaction to a satirical masquerade during the 1639 Carnival; he then pursued various Jews for having Christian women serve them. The «roguish» Jews (*questa canaglia*, according to Ricci), complained to Tinti, seeking his dismissal, but Ricci remained in post till 1648. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-71.

¹¹¹ASM Busta 254, cc.153r 3 gen. 1632 (Tinti not accepting it was only an oratory and not a synagogue), 205rv, 24 maggio 1633, 221r 20 agosto.1633, 253r 8 ott..1633 (getting Bishop of Campagna to pressurise the Duke to

Christians could likewise serve Jews; this was now being challenged, but the Duke issued a decree renewing his permission in December 1633, when Jews complained to him about being pressurised by Christians, especially by trying to get their children converted.¹¹² That some in Finale had a friendlier attitude towards their Jewish neighbours is suggested when reading that eighteen of them were jointly arraigned and sentenced for attending a Jewish wedding ball in 1623.¹¹³

One particular case exercised Tinti and the Cardinals for a while. A Jew Pellegrino Formigine in 1633 was denounced for employing Christians as servants; particularly Isabetta Baccarini, who was according to Tinti found in other Jewish houses, and had been arrested by the bishop's *bargello*, and released. Formigine claimed he had licences for this from the bishop and his vicar on a yearly basis. The bishop (Rangone) and vicar disputed these licences, and recommended he be publicly whipped, with the accusation displayed on his chest, on intention. But Tinti noted that Pellegrino was part of the court, and jeweller to the Duke, «and all the world will move for him», so a fine would be better. But he bows to Rome's advice.¹¹⁴ Rome wanted the three uses of the *corda*, with Baccarini present. But Pellegrino Formigine evaded this. He had already informed Tinti that he was being sent on a long journey by the Duke, who soon issued a decree allowing Christians and Jews to serve each other, over which bishop Rangone protested. Tinti then informed Cardinal Francesco Barberini, newly the link to the Congregation, that Pellegrino was serving the Duke in Venice.¹¹⁵

Other Jews in trouble for links with Christians were Simone Sanguinetti and his son Rafaele, because they employed Christians as spinners in Spilamberto, in a large workshop they had bought from marchese Baldassare Rangone when the 1630-1 plague had ruined business. This employment issue arose in 1632, though Simone Sanguinetti and his sons had already been in trouble just before for offenses against the Virgin Mary, by covering over her image painted on an interior wall in the workshop. The Congregation had wanted this issue

close the synagogue), 289r 21 gen., 291r 11 feb., 25 feb., 321r 11 marzo 1634. Busta 295/II, 21 ott. 1633, Tinti indicating he lacked the force to implement Rome's wishes. On the Finale old and new synagogues, Balboni, *Gli Ebrei del Finale*, pp. 113-120.

¹¹²ASM Busta 295/II, 10 dic. 1633.

¹¹³Trenti, p. 105, all male. See now Aron-Beller, *Jews on trial*, pp. 21, 113, 193 on this and other inter-faith socialising.

¹¹⁴ASM Busta 295/II, 7 ott. 1633, «so che tutto il mondo si moverà per lui». The recommendation is three *tratti di corda*, meaning three hoists on the torture pulley; the torture procedure being used as punishment.

¹¹⁵ASM, *Lettere*, Busta 254/I, c.279r, 17 dic. 1633, Cardinal Sant'Onofrio; Busta 295/II 26 nov., 10 dic. 1633, 3 gen. 1634. Trenti does not note documentation for the 1633-34 period, but does for 1639 and 1641, when Pellegrino was further under scrutiny; not tortured and no sentence, pp. 133, 136.

pursued rigorously. Marchese Rangone intervened to say he was the *padrone* of the silk spinners in Orsoglio, who had long been out of work because of the plague, and he wanted the Jew to be able to continue with work using Christians (lacking Jewish substitutes). Sanguinetti did not live in the building but miles away.¹¹⁶ After a silence the problem re-emerged in 1636, with Rafaele under investigation, to be subjected to torture to see if he would reveal more. He was then freed from prison, but warned that if he entered the spinning works in Spilamberto he would be sent to the galleys. Simone was to pay a fine for the contraventions of previous orders and so secure his release from prison. Part of his payment went to the inquisition in Reggio. Tinti and his informants (probably neophytes), continued to spy on the spinners, and question witnesses in Spilamberto until 1644 under the inquisitorial vicar there, Michelangelo da Modena.¹¹⁷ Another Sanguinetti, Isaac, was in 1636 involved with others in a *processo* over possessing forbidden books. They were denounced by a teenaged convert (*converso*), Francesco Maria de Giacinti, who had seen many suspect books in the Sanguinetti house. Fifty books were confiscated. The Jewish community wrote to Tinti asking to be able to present lists of books for vetting, so they could preserve what was considered legitimate. Tinti declined this, and decreed that within a week they should consign all their actual books to the Holy Office. A huge collection arrived, some of them previously «corrected»; possibly excessive for inquisitorial resources, so Tinti annulled the decree, and reduced the retained books to twenty. Some Jews secured Tinti's promise that once corrected their books would be returned.¹¹⁸ Clearly the Modena Jewish community had learned and prosperous members, but their reading was under threat.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ASM Busta 254/I, c.181r, 26 feb.1633, with copy of memorial from Rangone, Rome acknowledging receipt of *processo* against Simone; Busta 295/II, 14 dic.1632, Tinti on alleged blasphemy. Modern Spilamberto was sometimes spelled Spilimberto in these documents. Rangone may have remained nominally head of the workshop, to alleviate Christian animosity, Aron-Beller, *Jews on trial*, pp. 112-113. Perani, *Tinti, Giacomo, DSI* 3, p. 1574 on neophytes used as spies.

¹¹⁷ASM Busta 254/II, cc. 37r 23 feb., 41r 29 marzo, 46r 12 aprile, 47r 19 aprile 1636. Simone managed to negotiate the reduction of his fine down from 550 *scudi* to 300, accepted by the Congregation. Episode partially discussed, Canosa, *Storia dell'Inquisizione ... Modena*, pp. 46-48. Aron-Beller, *Jews on trial*, p. 113, and her forthcoming *Jews as "outsiders"*.

¹¹⁸Perani, *Tinti, Giacomo*, p. 1575, using ASM *Causae Inquisitionis*, busta 247, fasc.25; Aron-Beller, *Jews on trial*, pp. 72-73; see also Canosa, *Storia dell'Inquisizione*, vol.1, *Modena*, pp. 53-56; Zanardo, "Lor colpa", esp. pp. 531-540. Tinti highlighted, in sending a list to Rome, a *Biblia tradotto da Erasmo* (p. 534). Zanardo's article studies the investigation in 1634 of Francesco Maria (alias Leone, or Yehudà, Finzi; nephew of Rabbi Nathaniel Trabotti), and associates, his account of his conversion, his defence against accusations of being persuaded to revert to Jewish practices, as by his father, Giuseppe Finzi. The son, reconciled, became a valuable Holy Office informant and supposed good Christian, applying to be a preaching friar (p. 542); his father languished in goal for a while (p. 590).

¹¹⁹Through the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Rome and agents often showed considerable concern over Jewish literature, and what Jews read; besides trying to eliminate the Talmud, they demanded much expurgation – often by Jews themselves. See P. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-*

In 1637 the Congregation complained to Tinti that in his jurisdiction many Jews still were renting properties and farms from Christians, and cultivated them, contrary to papal orders. Tinti was to ascertain who had properties, where Christians and Jews worked together, so they could decide how to eradicate contracts and avoid scandals. In May the Congregation was informed that investigation in Carpi showed that Jews there had full civic and community rights, could own houses and were treated as full citizens as of origin. Tinti in April aired to the Congregation his annoyance at ducal impediments in handling policies over Jews, including his two year battle over the Finale synagogue. He came to believe that the Jews of Finale should also be ghettoised.¹²⁰

Indications of Jewish-Christian interactions in the Duchy that also upset Tinti and Rome come from correspondence about a special lamp (*lampadario*). The Holy Sacrament confraternity in Finale had borrowed a *lampadario* from the Jews to help provide fuller lighting for the Forty-Hour (*Quarantore*) devotional celebration. When the officials were planning to return it to the Jews, people protested because it would now serve Jewish superstitions, as at circumcisions, on Fridays before the Sabbath, being alight and lasting through the night. Tinti wrote to Rome that it was indecent that an instrument that been applied to the immediate service of God should now newly serve superstitions. He had banned the rector from returning it, but sought Rome's opinion. In the same letter he supported the idea that the Jews should be in a ghetto, and was urging the Duke to implement this. Rome and the inquisitor then discussed whether the Jews should be paid compensation for the *lampadario* – which now could not serve either religion. The rector was blamed for

1605, Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1977, esp. pp. 89-93, 140-145; S. Wenderhorst (ed.), *The Roman Inquisition, the Index and the Jews. Contexts, Sources and Perspectives*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2004, esp. articles by P. W. van Boxel, *Cardinal Santoro and the Expurgation of Hebrew Literature* (pp. 19-34), A. Raz-Krakotzkin, *The Censor as a Mediator: Printing, Censorship and the Shaping of Hebrew Literature* (pp. 35-58), S. Wenderhorst, *The Roman Inquisition, the Index and the Jews: New Perspectives for Research* (pp. 201-214); F. Parente, *The index, the Holy Office, the condemnation of the Talmud and publication of Clement VIII's index*, in G. Fragnito (ed.), *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 163-193; for the local situation, M. Perani, *Confisca e censura di libri ebraici a Modena fra Cinque e Seicento*, in M. Luzzati, (a cura di) *L'Inquisizione e gli ebrei in Italia*. Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1994, pp. 287-320. See also Perani, *Censura, sequestri e roghi di libri ebraici*, *DSI* 1 pp.319-323, esp. pp. 321-322 for this period.

¹²⁰ASM Busta 254/II, cc.85rv, 14 feb. 1637; 96r 1 maggio 1637, Carpi, local judge's report to the Vicario: «d'esser fatto cittadini ac in tutto et per tutto, come se fossero originarij di essi luoghi, e sostennerrero le gravezze loro.»; Busta 295, 1 aprile 1637: «gravissime difficoltà con il Signor Duca ... per far levare una nuova sinagoga al Finale, mi convene penare di piu di due anni.», Perani, *DSI* 3 p. 575. Fuller quote, Aron-Beller, *Jews as "outsiders"*, which will elaborate on the Finale problems.

seeking it in the first place; and Tinti said he could have arrested him for not paying compensation as ordered, and saying certain words (unspecified), but did not.¹²¹

When a case was brought by Tinti in 1634 against Gioseppe Pontasso and other Jews for playing with Christians (i.e. gambling), Rome ordered pecuniary penalties, but not to give scandals or cause rumours. Rome also recommended in the same letter a single admonition for Signora Hippolita Bentivogli for keeping Gioseppe's wife Sarra in her house for convalescing in a changing air. Tinti followed Rome's orders to the Cardinals' satisfaction.¹²²

Censorship

Correspondence sampled does not indicate a major concern with book circulation among Christians, or publication; just as Trenti's tables show only 15 accusations for reading or holding banned books. A few letters indicate consultation over what prohibited books might be licensed to certain individuals. Cardinal Millini in May 1626 told Tinti that the Congregation was giving Count Guido Coccapani from Ferrara licence to read certain prohibited books, which should be shown to Tinti, but two of his proposals were to be denied – by Raimondo Lullo [Llull] and Teofrasto Paracelso and others dealing with medicine and chemistry, which are bound together. The Modena inquisitor was entrusted to review them, remove what was bad (*cattivo*), and restore the rest. In August 1626 Millini renewed the licence for the episcopal vicar-general of Modena to read the books agreed three years before, except the Cevallos, and in April 1628 the Cardinal repeated his withholding of [Jerónimo] Cevallos' «*de cognitio per viam violentie*».¹²³ In September 1631 Tinti wrote to Cardinal

¹²¹ASM Busta 295/II, 21 aprile, Finale: «Naque qualche bisbiglio, e scandolo fra quell Popolo, che tal lampadario e fosse tolto dalli Hebrei al ditto effeto, e che doppo haver servito ad illuminare il S.mo Sac.to dovesse per restituito server di novo alle superstitione delli Hebrei.»; 7 and 14 agosto 1638. Perani, *Tinti, Giacomo*, p. 1575, citing ASM *Causae Hebreorum*, Busta 254 fasc.115 for Rome's praise of Tinti's actions in banning the restoration, and condemnation of the rector. On *Quarantore* celebrations see Black, *Church, Religion*, pp. 216-217. The *lampadario* may have earlier belonged to the church of Santissima Trinità in Finale, and pawned to the synagogue, but there were rival stories over this chandelier – or a similar one arriving in the synagogue: Aron-Beller, *Jews as "outsiders"*; Balboni, *Gli Ebrei del Finale*, p. 65.

¹²²ASM Busta 254 /I, cc. 431r 16 dic. 1634, 441r 17 feb. 1635.

¹²³ASM, *Lettere* 1621-1628, Busta 253/2, 16 maggio 1626; 22 agosto 1626; 15 aprile 1628. On inquisition censorship generally see V. Frajese, *Censura libraria*, DSI 1 pp. 324-328, and on the particular issue here of licences to read, his *Permessi di lettura*, DSI 3 pp. 1193-1195. In 1631 Urban VIII was trying to reform the procedures for issuing licences to read prohibited books, with the revocation of many. The reference is to Jerónimo de Cevallos (1562-1641 or 1644), and his *Tratatus de cognitione per viam violentiae in causis Ecclesiasticis*; the work of a leading lawyer in Toledo, legal writer, and later priest; great defender of civil law courts as bulwark of empire. Now best known for the splendid sympathetic portrait of him by his friend El Greco, in the Prado, Madrid, circa 1610-13. www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/galeria-on-line.

Sant'Onofrio that he had been dealing with the book list from the bishop of Modena's vicar-general, asking for a renewal of his licences to read censored books; he wanted permission to read the second book of Cevallos, «more tolerable than the first». Tinti testified to the quality of this gentleman (un-named), «of good conscience, of no common estimation in letters (...) one of the first to note the errors of this author».¹²⁴

More generally in other letters Cardinal Sant'Onofrio warned Tinti to be diligent about issuing edicts concerning the danger of Germans bringing in prohibited books; heirs had no right to keep banned books that has been licensed for the deceased, and Tinti should seek out such; that he should be sure to consult with the bishop over licensing the printing of books, following the style and custom in such matters (the bishop having complained that Tinti had not done so).¹²⁵ In October 1638 Cardinal Barberini informed Tinti that the Congregation was aware that Paolo Sarpi's history of the Inquisition had been printed in Lyons and Geneva, and that booksellers were selling it secretly and getting it sent into Italy. The Cardinals know it is «a most pernicious book, full of hardly pious and scandalous opinions, if not totally heretical», so Tinti should be extra-ordinarily vigilant in checking bales of books and other merchandise coming through customs where books might be intermingled.¹²⁶ Another letter expressing Rome's alarm and urging careful investigation of book importations came from Cardinal Barberini in May 1644. The Ministri Predicanti of Geneva were constantly spreading into Italy writings full of poison, and now it was a version of Holy Scripture composed by Giovanni Diodati, spread via Lucca, Venice and other ways. Inquisitors and bishops are warned to check merchandise and prevent importation. Giovanni Diodati, a Calvinist from Lucca, had originally published his translation of the Bible in Geneva in 1607. In 1609 the then inquisitor of Modena (Michelangelo Lerri), had received a similar warning about this dangerous book from Cardinal Pompeo Arrigoni. Cardinal Barberini was referring now to the enlarged edition of 1641.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ASM, *Lettere* 1631-1643, Busta 295/II, 8 sett. 1631.

¹²⁵ASM, *Lettere* 1629-1634, Busta 254/1, cc.5r, 26 gen. 1630; 9r, 4 maggio 1630; 21r, 28 sett. 1630.

¹²⁶ASM, *Lettere* 1635-1638, Busta 254/II, 30 ott. 1638: the Cardinals «che sanno esser il libro molto pernicioso, e ripieno d'opinioni poco pie, e scandolose, se non in tutto hereticale, hanno risoluto ch'io scriva à V.R. perche invigili straordinariamente che nelle balle dei libri ò d'altre mercantile, che capitano nelle Dogane del ristretto di cotesta Inquisitione fusse framisca quest'opra.... Aspetta questa Cong.ne in cotesto affare singolarmente gl'effetti della diligenza di lei». The Cardinals among other things could have objected to Sarpi's argument that the inquisition should not have exclusive jurisdiction over blasphemy cases, as blasphemy was not necessarily heretical: F. Barbierato, *The Inquisitor in the Hat Shop. Inquisition, Forbidden Books and Unbelief in Early Modern Venice*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2012, pp. 77-78, 255-257. A 1639 English translation of Sarpi's *consulto* on the Inquisition made it more noted internationally, V. Frajese, *Sarpi, Paolo, DSI* 3 pp. 1380-1382.

¹²⁷ASM, *Lettere* 1642-1645, Busta 255 (b), 7 maggio 1644. G. Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo. La censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura (1471-1605)*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1997, pp. 323-4; she

A decree issued by the Modena tribunal in Tinti's period, 23 August 1634, may suggest quite a strange variety of books that might have entered Modena. It listed 25 books totally banned, or suspended until correction. They included (thus listed): «Dialogo di Galileo Galilei, dove ne' congressi di Quattro giornate sopra i due Massimi Sistemi del Mondo, Tolemaico, e Copernicano»; «Difensio Ecclesiarum Anglicanae Rich. Crakanthorps opus posthumus, à Ioanne Barkham in lucem editum»; «Misteria Patrum Societatis Iesu»; «anatomia Societatis Iesu, sive probation Spiritus Iesuitarum»; «Notitiae Siciliensium Ecclesiarum, Roccho Pirro Authore. Panormi MDCXXX. Suspensus donec corrigatur»; «Prattica per aiutare à ben morire, anco per quelli, che solo sono legere, e per imparare à ben vivere da quello che occorre, e si deve fare nel tempo della morte. Composto da Gio. Battista de Vilela». While this may have been prompted by a communication from Rome, the detail suggests that such tomes had been seen by somebody in the Modena tribunal, or local episcopacy, or possibly in Reggio.¹²⁸ Cardinal Sant'Onofrio had written on 2 July 1633 about Galileo's book disobeying the prohibition on sustaining Copernicus' view, and had extorted a licence to print it, and so had made himself vehemently suspect of holding the opinion as true; he has been condemned to abjure and to formal imprisonment, as would be seen by the attached copy of the sentence. The inquisitor was ordered to inform his vicars, professors of philosophy and mathematics not to deal with said Galileo, understanding the grave error committed by him.¹²⁹

Conclusion

This study has illustrated the diversity of activities in which a local inquisitor could be involved. By the seventeenth century a huge range of offences might be brought to his attention, with major theological conflicts and opinions that had dominated the early stages of the Roman Inquisition featuring little. The local inquisitor faced many problems in handling his central role as heresy hunter and controller: problems of staffing, of finance, of outside

reproduces a similar letter of alarm from Barberini to the Florentine inquisitor, of same date. Diodati had Venice as a major target for his subversive campaign, encouraged by Sarpi; A. Prosperi, *Bibbia, DSI* 1 pp. 186-187.

¹²⁸ASM, *Miscellanea*, Busta 294, printed Decretum, 23 agosto 1634. Much of the volume involves communications between Modena and Reggio where the Prince was residing in the early 1630s, and where in 1630 Tinti visited to secure meetings.

¹²⁹ASM, *Lettere* 1629-1634, 254/1, cc. 249 rv, 2 luglio 1633. Attempts to ensure inquisitors implemented the condemnation of Galileo's *Dialogo* were not entirely successful, as Cardinal Antonio Barberini complained, though Modena was not cited as blameworthy; see Black, *Italian Inquisition*, pp. 193-194; M. A. Finocchiaro, *Retrying Galileo 1633-1992*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2005, pp. 26-42, 372 note 15.

influence and pressures from political rulers, elites, bishops and secular clergy. In Giacomo Tinti's position in the Duchy of Modena complications were added with several Jewish communities large and small, towards which the Dukes had views different from Rome's, and with Tinti himself in my view ambivalent. While Tinti had problems with the ducal family no signs of trouble with the bishops themselves emerge in the correspondence seen (though some lesser clergy under them could be difficult), unlike in Ancona when Eliseo Masini and other inquisitors met resistance from several bishops in overlapping dioceses. The surviving correspondence reveals fluctuations in relations between the Modena tribunal under Tinti and the Congregation of the Holy Office in Rome; we have noted conflicts and co-operation, expressions of regard and of reprimand from Rome, while the local inquisition might try to educate distant Cardinals about local realities and realpolitik. Tinti was more supervised by Rome, and consulted more with Cardinals there than Giulio Missini in more distant Friuli. Giacomo Tinti da Lodi emerges as a man of some sensitivity and human understanding, as when dealing with prisoners and some Jews and their precarious position, though problems in Finale – and ducal pressures – led him to favour creating a ghetto there also. In vacillating (understandable in realpolitik terms), over controlling Jews in Finale and Spilamberto, and in delaying taking a lead in the nunnery problems in Carpi, Tinti probably lessened any chance of the Congregation promoting him to a more significant inquisitor generalship in, say, Bologna, Genoa or Venice. But he was not too unhelpful or weak to be dismissed. Hence his long tenure in Modena.

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