

EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources

Volume 20: Leisure, Fun, and Play

August, 21-22, 2023

Online on Zoom

Thomas Cohen, York University

Archivio di Stato di Roma

Governatore, Tribunale Criminale, Processi, Busta 85, case 9 (1563)

Introduction

The document that follows is the English translation of the full text of several days of a trial in the court of the Governor of Rome, in 1563. We are in the pontificate of Pius IV, a reign that, for Rome's Jews, offered a brief respite between the harsh years of Paul IV (1555-59), who had forced them into the new *serraglio* that a few decades later would take the Venetian name of *ghetto*, and the equally harsh realm of Pius V (1566-72). The new ghetto did not vanish under Pius IV, but the rules, still on the books, were somewhat less constraining. The incident here reflects some of the confusion, among Jews and Christians both, about just where the serious lines were.

Now sixteenth-century Roman-law trials are always tricky documents. By their nature, they hold up a distorting mirror, as both the rigors of the law itself and the politics of Roman social life gave witnesses good reason to pick their words with care. Rome's governor, whose court was highest in the city and Papal State, had his own police force, one of several. The procedures, there, were just like the Inquisition's: the court kept its strategic secrets, hid its evidence, sometimes jailed mere witnesses as well as suspects, often used torture against the weak or scorned, and interrogated in camera, with no lawyers present for the defense. Meanwhile, the scribal transcript was often fairly faithful to speech.

A trial invites investigation of two realities. One touches what went on at the court itself. The other concerns what happened in the world outside. Sometimes, the two stories tangled, as when the doings of the court provoked further actions in the city. We scholars, to reconstruct events and

sharpen our understanding, fall back on careful time-lines and patient dossiers on all protagonists.

So, for Jewish history, we can ask what our Jews were doing, out among the Romans, and what they aimed to do and to say, or not say, when before the court. There were complex strategies, sometimes altogether manifest, but often latent, and sometimes barely conscious.

Some background: Ottavio was the captain of the police of the Vicario. Thus he commanded the small police force of the Cardinal Vicario who oversaw the Jews of Rome. The Vicario had his own tribunal, specializing in matters of morality and religion. Sadly for us scholars, its records now are almost entirely gone.

Ottavio had a *vigna*, a vineyard, outside the walls of Rome. These vineyards, sociable gardens with minor outbuildings, were common, well up and down the social scale. They served for informal recreation and relief from summer's heat. One hired a *vignarolo*, a vineyard-worker, to tend the grapes, if any, and other fruits and vegetables.

As for the Porta Asinaria (donkey gate), or Porta San Giovanni, to use its other name, it was, and still is, one of the best preserved of Rome's double-towered late-fourth-century gates. It opened to the Via Tuscolana, the road to ancient Tusculum, and the Alban Hills. When Sixtus V (1585-90) redesigned the entire Lateran quarter, he opened a new gate a few yards east of it, so that old prints and photographs show it all crumbled and neglected, and cluttered by latter-day constructions. In the twentieth century, purist zeal repaired its upper battlements and cleared away the clutter, laying bare the structure and, as so often with archeology, sterilizing the site entirely. Today, with luck and a *permesso*, one can get inside, climb the stairs, and pretend to be a legionary on the watch for Visigoths or Vandals.

I attach some photos and old views. And here below is a link to the Lafreri-Dupérac map of 1577. Hit the little magnifying glass. You can zoom in nicely and see just where Captain Ottavio, and Abramo the lutenist, collided with the papal groom and his load of wine. Go to "nine o'clock" in the city's circuit and find the lonely Lateran complex, over by the city wall, and go as close as you desire. You will see the gate labeled.

<https://www.nga.gov/accademia/en/maps/Duperac-Nova-urbis-Romae-descriptio.html>

Now, what about our reading of the document? What are our most useful questions? What might our best answers be? Not mine to say. That is what our seminar needs to ask.

Bibliography

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Roman Stone Throwing, against Captain Ottavio, policeman of the most Reverent Vicario, and others.

Giulio Antonio de Singeli, jailed, and accomplices

14 July, 1563

There was examined in Rome in my office and by me, and by warrant of the magnificent lord Bernardino Nardini Lieutenant [judge, in Criminal matters]

***Pietro di Antonio Blanchini** Venetian, gatekeeper of the Dogana, witness etc., who swore and touched [the scriptures] and to the opportune questions of me the notary said as follows:*

Last Sunday evening, around a half-hour of the night (ca. 9 PM), I was at the Porta San Giovanni. Leonardo, the gate-keeper, and I went onto the Piazza di San Giovanni [in Lateran] to take a bit of cool air, and as we were coming back toward the gate, half-way up the hill we met Captain Ottavio, *sbirro* [policeman] of the Vicario, and with him there were certain women -- I do not know who they were -- **and two Jews, one of whom was playing a lute.** And they were heading toward Rome, for they had been at the vineyard of this Captain Ottavio, which he has out there, outside the city gate of San Giovanni. And, once we had all wished one another good evening, we headed towards the gate, where we live, and they headed toward Rome. And when Leonardo and I arrived at the gate, up came a papal groom [*palafreniere del papa*] whose name I do not know, on horseback, with a muleteer riding a mule. Both of them were heading out, towards Marino.¹ And the

¹ Marino, in the Alban Hills, is about 15 miles southeast of Rome.

groom began to shout, "Porter, Porter. Grab arms! Grab arms!" When we asked what the matter was, he said, "And this is how they do violence to the property of the pope!" And he told us that he was carrying some wine and some gifts on behalf of the pope to Marino, to Signor. Marc'Antonio², and that violence had been done to him. I asked him who it had been. He told me, "It's those people who are going up the hill." He wanted both us to climb up on the cruppers and go find them. But I told him that we did not want to go fight with them, because we were no match for them. And he said we should go just to find out who they were. To which [271v] I answered that there was no need, because, if it had been those folk who were going up the hill, I had met them, and I would recognize them, and I would have been willing to say so any time he wanted me to. Then he said, "Enough! So long as you know who they are, that is all I want." So he and his mulateer went off towards Marino. And this morning Captain Gasparino has sent for me to have me examined.

*He was asked what those **two Jews** are called, and were there any others in the group besides them.*

*He answered : **I don't know what those Jews are called, but I know them well by sight, and there were seven or eight of them.***

*He was asked whether Captain Ottavio and the **Jews were armed**, and with what arms.*

*He answered : Captain Ottavio had his sword, and so did some of his people, who were with him. I gave no thought to who they were, because I only saw them in passing. **And those Jews had no arms at all.** Adding to another question Leonardo and I, going from the Piazza di San Giovanni to the gate, did not meet anybody else that evening, besides the ones I have described, so far as I can remember.*

*He was asked to **describe the aforesaid Jews**, and to give their age, and clothing, and size.*

*He answered : **The Jews are men ordinary size [di giusta statura], and both of them are old. One is all white-haired [canuto], and has a paunch [trippa: literally 'a tripe'] and a white beard which is fairly long, and all white. The other one is old too, but shows less age, because he has a bit of black in his***

²Marc Antonio Colonna, head of the great princely family, one of whose seats was at Marino, south of Rome.

white beard, and he is bent a bit to one side. And the one who looks bent played the lute. Adding to another question : The groom did not tell me that those others had hit him, or anything else, except that violence had been done to the mules and to the pope's property.

the witness was asked whether he would recognize the aforesaid Jews if he saw them.

He answered : Messer, yes! I would recognize them any time I saw them.

Then he was dismissed.

[273r]

Friday, 16 July 1563.

Rome: stone throwing and injury

Arraigned in person in Rome in the office of me the notary, etc. and before me by warrant of the most Reverend lord Governor

Captain Ottavio de Santi Roman, to whom was given the oath to uphold the truth, and swore it, and touched [the scriptures] and said as follows:

He was asked to tell the whole story in order, the cause of his present examination, and may he tell the truth.

He answered : The cause of this examination of mine is this: I will tell You. Last Sunday, around the first hour of the night, I was coming back from my vineyard outside Porta San Giovanni, where I had been to supper. And in my company were messer Julio de Angelis, my nephew, Messer Antonio Malaria, who has a benefice at San Giovanni, Pietro Paolo di Tivoli, Ambrosio the priest, my nephew, madonna Hortensia the wife of messer Julio, Paolina my daughter, Horatio my son, Margherita my serving woman, **Marano a Jew, maestro Abraham lute player**, and I believe there were others too, whom I do not remember. *Then he added :* There was a certain Bernardino -- I think he is from Todi -- servant of messer Julio. When we went in Porta San Giovanni and were were halfway up the hill to San Giovanni [church], on the rocky street, we met two mounted men, one on a horse with a saddle and the other on a pack horse, and carrying a pair of baskets or boxes -- in the dark and the heavy shadow you could not make it out very well -- and they were taking the road toward Porta San Giovanni. And we were going toward the

church. And messer Julio, together with the women, ran into the pack horse in a place where there was a wall, and because the pack horse passed so close to them [273v] that, between the load and the wall it would have done hurt [*harebbe offeso*] to both him and the ladies, especially because one could not see very well, as I have said. But, with his hands he [Giulio] gave a shove and pushed that load away from him, saying to the man who was on the horse, "Move over! My body! [*corpo di me* - a mild oath] Do you want to make me drop dead [*crepare*: jocular-informal for 'die'] And once he had pushed the pack horse, then the other man who was riding the other saddle horse, who was behind the pack animal, began to shout and to rail against messer Giulio, "Don't touch those baskets! Don't touch those baskets!" And he was shouting. Maestro Julio answered, "Do you want me to let myself get killed [*crepare*] here at this wall? The street is wide enough!" And that fellow kept saying, "Don't touch those baskets! Don't touch those baskets! Whore Virgin!" And he was blaspheming, "Don't touch those baskets!" Then I said to the man, "What's the matter with you. [*Che cosa hai*: this is in the familiar 'tu' form, as is the rest of this speech of the captain's] Do you think we are living in the road? Go about your business. Bad luck to you! [*Alla mal hora*]. Be off!" Be gone!" and words like that.

But the two men went off, chewing us out, saying "scoundrels! [*forfanti*]" and words like that, and the rest of us continued on our way, and turned our backs on them without saying or doing anything else. And, after we had turned our backs and all gone along, I heard the throw and slam of a stone. I think it hit one of those baskets, if baskets they were, or the packsaddle of that horse. I turned around at once, and saw that the person who had thrown the stone was Bernardino of Todi, the serving man of maestro Julio. For I saw him moving his arm the way one does right after throwing a stone. But I put my hand to my sword to give him flat-blows [*piattonate*]³, which is what I would have done had he not been the servant of my nephew, and I chewed him out a lot because it displeased me a good deal that he had thrown, as it is not my custom [*usanza*] to give displeasure to anyone. And he asked my pardon, saying to me, "Forgive me, messer, for I have done wrong to throw. Forgive me!"

[274r]

And, since neither of those two men complained -- indeed, they said not a word -- thinking that we had not given offense, we continued on our way, **all together, to my house, where all took a drink and then each man went about his business**, and I stayed in the house with my womenfolk, and that is what happened, in truth.

³ *la pattonata* - the slap with the flat of the sword was an especially insulting blow. "You are unworthy of my sword's cutting edge."

He was asked to tell the truth, did he know those aforesaid two men on horseback, as above.

He answered : Signore, no, I did not recognize them, because it was so dark that we could barely see one another. *And while these things were being written down, he said*, : If I had known that they were grooms of the pope, I would have escorted them all the way to Marino, and done them any service.

He was asked what he meant to imply by these words, " If I had known them."?

He answered : **This morning, Abraham, the son of that Marano the Jew, who was with me then, told me that one of those two aforesaid men was a groom of His Holiness, who was carrying a load of some goods or other to Signor Marcantonio Colonna at Marino.** *Adding to a question* : I cannot tell you if it was His Holiness who gave the command or he [Colonna]. And I heard the same thing from Marco Padella, a groom of the pope.

He was asked if he had also heard that the said groom or his companion had been affected in the body by the throwing of the aforesaid stone.

He answered : I believe that it was the same Marco who told me that the groom afterwards had complained in the [Vatican] palace about how the stone-throwing [*sassata*] had hit him and hurt his arm. That is all I know.

[274v]

He was asked if he knows where at present Bernardo, the stone thrower, can be found.

He answered : After I heard, as I have said, that that groom was complaining in the way I told you, I at once had the Bargello capture Bernardino and put him in jail, which is where he is now, for, in effect, if he has done wrong, he has done it by himself, against my will, and without my knowledge, he should pay the penalty, my means of [public] justice. [*mediante la giustizia*: the term '*giustizia*' here means the machinery of repression.]

Then I, the notary, dismissed the arraigned witness on a warrant of the most Reverend lord Governor, and the aforesaid captain promised to present himself before the aforesaid most Reverend lord Governor whenever summoned under a

penalty of 500 scudi in gold in payable to the Apostolic Chamber, which he swore to do.

On the same day

*Was arraigned in the office of me the notary, before me, by warrant of the Reverend lord Governor, **Leonardo Pizzolicio** from Manfredonia, a gate-keeper at the Porta San Giovanni of the Lateran, who swore and touched etc and answered opportune questions of me the notary:*

He said: Sunday evening, messer Pietro Bianchino, who serves at the gate for the Camera, and I, and Tiburtio, serving lad of the gate [went] to supper at the inn of Bartolomeo, inn-keeper at San Giovanni. *Then he added:* Tiburtio was not with us at dinner, for he stayed at the gate. After we had eaten, when we were at the descent to go to the gate, we met **Captain Ottavio, policeman, and a fair number of other people, among whom were some Jews whom I do not know.** And when we arrived at the gate, I went to my room to sleep. This might have been about one hour of the night [9:30 PM in July]. In the morning, when I got up, messer Pietro told me that after I had gone to bed he had heard somebody shout from San Giovanni, toward the gate, saying, "Gate keeper, take arms". [275r] And shouting things like that, and the person arrived at the gate shouting, and when he arrived he [the porter] saw that it was a papal groom, who told him, "Take arms, for stones have been thrown at me, and I want to be able to identify him." And he [the porter] answered him that it makes no sense that we go get killed. Then the groom went to Marino, and that is what messer Pietro has told me, and I don't know anything because I was not there.

Saturday, 17 July, 1563

*Arraigned in the office of me, the notary, and before me etc. on a warrant of the reverend lord Governor: **Francisco Scaramucia** of San Ginesio in the diocese of Macerata, a mulateer, a witness, who swore and touched and was asked by me if he knows or presumes to know the cause of his present examination.*

He answered: Messer, yes, I know why you want to examine me.

He was warned my me, the notary, that he tell it honestly.

He answered: Sunday evening, around the third hour of the night, we were going, I, on commission from His Holiness, together with Bernardino, the groom of His

Holiness, to Marino to carry a load of wine to Signora Felice.⁴ We had passed San Giovanni, in the middle of the descent to go to the gate. Messer Bernardino was in front on the horse, and I was riding on the mule with two big baskets full of bottles. We met a fair number of men and women, among whom were **several who were wearing the yellow beret [of the Jews], and several of whom were carrying swords, but they were Christians.** And so they began to lay hands on the baggage [*sportoni*], and I said, "Leave this baggage alone!" And messer Bernardino said, "Please be so good as not to touch this gear, for there is fragile stuff inside." And they, in reply, began to say that we were thugs, louts, cuckolds [275v] and spies. While they were saying these vile things [*villania*] to us, they were all around us [*ce erano attorno*: they were aggressing at us]. I nudged the mule forward, and when we had gotten a bit past them, they threw a stone, which hit Bernardino in the right arm. And Bernardino, having been hit by the stone, urged his horse in the direction of the gate. All this while, they were throwing more stones, one of which hit one of the panniers, and another one hit me on the left shoulder, and another one hit the mule on the left shank, and left a cut this big *showing the length of a half a finger* and there were a lot of other stones, which did not hit us. And while they were throwing stones, they kept saying, "cuckolds [*cornuti*], spies!" When I arrived at the gate, I found messer Bernardino, who was arguing with the gate-keeper, who did not want to give him a pole-weapon, for he wanted to go be able to identify who those people were who had thrown stones, and the porter did not want to give it to him, saying it was madness to go get oneself killed. Rather, we should go away, and he would identify all of them. So we went off to Marino.

He was asked if those armed men, or any among them, did anything against him or against messer Bernardino.

He answered: Those who were armed did not reach for their swords against us, but I cannot say which of them said vile things about us. It suffices to say that that swarming was done to us in the way that I told you. *Adding to a question of me, the notary:* We did not answer them nor did we do anything to them, except what I told you above.

[276r]

19 July, 1563

⁴ Felice Orsini was the wife of Marcantonio Colonna. So this gift of wine seems to have been for the duchess, not the duke.

Arraigned in person in Rome in Tor di Nona before the magnificent lord Donato Stampa, Lieutenant [in criminal matters], in the presence of me etc

Abraham, son of the late Salvatore, of Bologna, Jew, who touched the pen etc and said as follows, viz.

He was asked where, when and for what reason he was arrested, and if he had been alone or in company.

He answered: I was not arrested. Rather, on Saturday [*sabbato*] I came to an agreement with Captain Gasparino, who had me called, saying he wanted to have me examined, and that he would have me sent [to the court], *and his lordship asked if he knew about what thing or things he should be examined.*

He answered: The captain said that I should be examined about a certain fight that happened last Sunday, a week back, in the evening. *Then he said after a pause:* Gasparino did not tell me the reason that I should be examined, but said that I would be examined, and he told me to tell the truth, and that he would have me sent [for the examination.]

And his lordship asked what brawl this was, which took place on the aforesaid Sunday evening, and told him him to tell the whole thing in chronological order.

He answered: I will tell You. It was a week ago last Sunday that we went to the vineyard of Captain Ottavio, a policeman of the Vicario, outside Porta San Giovanni, and, in all, there were a lot of us at dinner, [276v] but I could not tell you how many. After eating, having stayed a while, we left for Rome; it could have been the first hour of the night. In front of all of us was the wife of messer Giulio, substitute *fiscale* [prosecutor]; and they [his family] were there too, and we met two horses, that is, two men on horseback, between Porta San Giovanni and the door of the church, for they were heading out the [city] gate. And it turned out that those two men on horseback were crowding up against certain other women who were coming in back of us, with our company, for I heard Captain Ottavio say, "The street is really plenty wide. No need to crowd the ladies." That is all I heard. Then, as we continued on toward Rome, I heard Captain Ottavio berating a servant of messer Giulio, saying, "I don't know who taught you to throw things without anybody's orders [*senza commissione di alcuno*] and without anybody's having harmed you [*ti sia fatto dispiacere*]."

So we came to Rome without hearing anything else; I didn't even know why they were shouting. **And last Friday, Captain Ottavio had me called to his house and told me that that servant of Giulio had been put in jail.** [277r] **And he told me this whole business,** telling me that on that Sunday evening the servant of messer Giulio had thrown a stone without anybody's orders [*commissione*] at those two who were on horseback. He didn't tell me who the two on horseback were, nor did I know. Then his serving woman told me that Captain Ottavio had given flat-blows [*piattonate*] to the servant because he had thrown that stone. **I told him that some of ours were in jail for this affair, and said I did not want to go to prison and have four or five bad nights. That night I stayed there to supper and to sleep, for I ate with him, and with the serving woman, and his daughter, all at the same table.**⁵

The next day, **the Bargello had me called, for I was in the house of Cardinal Savelli.**⁶ He let me know that I would be sent to jail. So I came here and I was held and put in the separation cell. But when that thing happened, that matter of the servant who threw the stone, **I was up ahead with the wife of messer Giulio, for I was playing the lute and she wanted to sing.** That is all I know.

He was asked who was there that evening, having supper in the vineyard of Captain Ottavio.

He answered: There was Captain Ottavio, with his serving woman and with a son of his, and a daughter and one [277v] or two of his [the son's?] servants. There was the said messer Giulio and his wife, with a servant, and there was a canon of San Giovanni -- I think he is called messer Antonio, and he was Master of the Stables of Pope Paul IV, before he was made pope. **There were also five Jews, that is Benjamin, alias Todeschino, with Vitale, the son of maestro Salamone, and Salamone alias Marano, and I.** And there was no one else there that evening at supper, so far as I know.

He was asked: For what did the Jews go to the aforesaid vineyard?

He answered: **I went there because Salamone called me, saying that Captain Ottavio was putting on a meal at the vineyard, and that he had been invited,**

⁵Note that Abraham is eating with Christians on Friday evening, the traditional time of the Jewish sabbath supper. It being Friday, the Christians may well be having fish for supper, so that nothing on their table will put Abraham into conflict with his dietary laws. Maynard Maidman pointed this out to me.

⁶ Cardinal Savelli is the Vicario di Roma, and is thus in charge of overseeing the Jews.

and that I should do him the pleasure of bringing my lute and going with him to give him a bit of entertainment.

He was asked whether the Jews ate with the Christians at one and the same table, and what did the Jews eat?

He answered: Signore, no. **The Jews did not eat with the Christians. We went off to a little table as far from the table of the Christians as this room here is long, and we ate cucumber salad, fresh cheese and bread, and nothing else.**

[278r]

And his lordship said that he should be careful about what he said, for the court knows that that evening, they ate together with Christians, and ate meat.

He answered: **Never in all my days have I eaten meat with Christians. And I have been to the wars, and I have sometimes been in need, and I have never been willing to eat [it]. And it is not true that any of us ate that evening with the Christians, nor did he eat meat.**

He was asked why he and the other Jews did not eat at the same table with the Christians that evening in the vineyard.

He answered: **We were not at the same table as the Christians because none of us were eating meat, because we had not cooked it ourselves, and also because the table was small, and so we withdrew among ourselves.**

And his lordship asked why he, last Friday evening, dined at the same table with the aforesaid Captain Ottavio and his daughter and his serving woman. Does he not know that it is forbidden to Jews to eat together with Christians?

He answered: **I ate at the same table with Captain Ottavio and his daughter and serving woman on Friday evening, and I have not known for the past four years that it was forbidden to Jews to eat with Christians.⁷ While I [278v] was not eating meat cooked by Christians and sinning, according to our law.**

⁷Paul IV, who had in 1555 had instituted the ghetto and persecuted the Jews harshly, died in the fall of 1559, just a little under four years before. Abraham may believe, or pretend to believe, that his death rescinded some of his restrictive legislation. Why else cite four years?

And his lordship asked if all those who dined at the vineyard in the evening had any arms, and what were they?

He answered: I did not see that anyone had weapons, except one of his [Ottavio's] serving lads, who carried a pole-weapon, and Captain Ottavio had his sword. And I did not remember to tell You that that evening there were also Ambrogio, the son of Captain Ottavio, and a butcher, and another young man who also was playing the lute, but did not know very well how to.

He was asked whether he knows or heard said that among those two men on horseback that evening there was a groom of our most holy Lord and Master, and that he was assaulted by some of those who had dined at the vineyard that evening.

He answered: Messer, no! I do not know, nor have I heard that one of those two was a groom of the pope, and I heard of no assault upon him, beyond what I said above.

Then his lordship ordered him put back in his place of confinement with the intention [of continuing]

Here the case stops. What comes next in the document is a fragment of the uxoricide case, filed with it by accident of Giulio the nephew of the captain, whose servant threw the stone. Julio killed his first wife for her infidelity not long before this incident. His second marriage is new.

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[271r]

Romana sassata contra Capitaneum Octavium executorem Reverendissimi Vicarii
et alio

Julium Antonium de Angelis cancellarium et complices

Die xiiii Julii 1563

Examinavit Romae in officio mei et per me et de mandato magnifici domini
Bernardini locumtenentis

Petrus quondam Antonii Blanchini venetus custos Dohane testis qui eius medio
iuramento tactis etc ad opportunas mei interrogationes dixit ut infra viz:

Domenica a sera prossima passata circa mezz' hora de notte che ero alla porta San Giovanni Leonardo portinaro et io ce ne venessimo sulla piazza de San Giovanni a pigliar' un puoco de fresco et nel tornare indreto verso la porta incontrammo a mezza quella montata il Capitan Ottavio sbirro del Vicario et con lui ci erano certe donne, che no so quante fossero, et **doi hebrei, de quali uno sonava un leuto**, che loro se ne venevano a Roma, che erano stati alla vigna de esso Capitan Ottavio la quale sta li de fuera dela porta di San Giovanni, et datisi la buona sera l'una parte e l'altra nei ce ne andammo verso la porta predetta dove stiamo, et loro se ne vennero alla volta di Roma. Et arrivati che fummo detto Leonardo et io alla porta, arrivò un parafreniero del papa che io non ['so'-omtted] come si dimandi a cavallo con un mulattiero a cavallo sopra un mulo li quali andavano fuera verso Marino, et cominciò quel parafreniero a gridare, "Portanaro portanaro piglia l'arme piglia l'arme", et dimandando noi che cossa ci era lui disse, "A questo modo si fa violentia alla robba del papa," et disse che lui portava certo vino et certi presenti da

parte del papa à Marino al Signor Marc'antonio et che gli era stata fatta violentia et dimandandogli io chi erano stati, lu me disse, sono quelli che vanno sù per la costa. Et voleva che montassimo in groppa tutti doi, et andassimo a trovarli, ma io li dissi che non volevo andare a far questione con loro perche non eravamo del pari. Et lui disse che andassimo solamente a conoscerli.

Al quale [271v] io resposi che non occorreua perche se erano stati quelli che andavano sù per la salita che li havevo incontrati io et che li conoscevo, et che l'haverei detto ogni volta ce avesse voluto lui, et lui allora disse, "basta pur che sappiate chi siano non voglio altro." Et così se ne andò via verso Marino lui et il mulattiero. Et questa mattina me ha mandato a chiamare il Capitan Gasparino a esaminarmi.

Interrogatus quomodo vocentur dicti duo hebrei, et an alii adessent in societate ultra praedictos.

Respondit io non sò come si chiamino detti hebrei, ma li conosco bene a vista, et loro erano da sette ò otto.

Ints an dictus Capitaneus Octavius et hebrei essent armati et quibus armis.

Respondit Il Capitan Ottavio haveva la spada, et così certi altri suoi che erano con lui che io non gli feci fantasi che fossero, perche non li veddiseno passando via, et **à gli hebrei non veddi arme nissune**, Subiungente ad aliam interrogationem detto Leonardo et io dalla piazza de San Giovanni sino alla porta non incontrammo quella sera altri che li sudetti, che me ricordi.

Intetogatus ut designet personas dictorum hebreorum, et similiter etatem habitum et magnitudinem.

Respondit **detti hebrei sono huomini di giusta statura, et sono vecchi tutti doi, uno è tutto canuto, hà una trippa, et la barba assai longa canuta e bianca tutta, et quel altro è pur vecchio ma mostra manco tempo, perche ha qualche pelo negro per la barba che hà canuta, et è losco cio è balestra un puoco attraverso, et tutti doi erano vestiti di negro con le berette gialle. Et quello che mostrava esser losco sonava il leuto.** Subdidit ad aliam interrogationem detto parafreniero non ci disse che coloro gli havessero dato ne altro, senon che era stata usata violenza alli muli et alla roba del papa.

[272r]

Interrogatus **an ipse testis recognosceret dictos hebreos si eos videret.**

Respondit **Messer si che lo recognoscerò ogni volta che io li vedo.**

Ex tunc fuit licentiatus.

[272v is blank]

[273r]

Romana saxata et iniuria

Die Veneris 16 Julii 1563

Constitutus personaliter Romae in officio mei notarii etc et coram me de mandato Magnifici Domini Gubernatoris

Capitaneus Octavius de Sanctis romanus cui delatum fuit iuramentum de veritate dicenda qui iuravit tactics etc dixit ut infra.

Interrogatus ut ipse Constitutus ex se met ipso dicat et recenseat seriatim causam sui presentis examinis et veritatem dicat.

Rdit la causa di questo examine mio e per questo che ve diro. Domenica proximo passata di sera circa un hora di notte ritornando io dalla mia vigna fuor di porta San Giovanni dove ero stato a cena et in mia compagnia erano messer Julio de Angelis mio nepote, Messer Antonio Malaria beneficiato di San Giovanni, Pietro Paolo da Tivoli, Ambrosio prete mio nepote, madonna Hortensia moglie de detto messer Julio, Paolina mia figliola, Horatio mio figliolo, Margherita mia serva, **il Marano hebreo, maestro Abramo sonatore di leuto hebreo et credo ci erano altri ancora, de quelli hora non mi ricordo.** Deinde subdidit vi era ancora uno certo Bernardino credo sia Todino servitore di detto messer Julio, quando fummo intrati nella porta di San Giovanni et che eravamo a mezzo la salita di San Giovanni nella strada pietrosa incontrammo dui huomini a cavallo tutti dui, uno sopra uno cavallo con la sella et laltro sopra un altro cavallo da soma che portava un paio di ceste o casse che dal buio et scuro grande che era, non si cognosceva bene, che andavano per la strada verso la porta predetta di San Giovanni, et nui venevamo verso la chiesa et detto Messer Giulio insieme con le donne sopradette se incontrò con detto cavallo da soma in uno luogo dove era il muro, et perche quel cavallo ò detta soma li passava tanto a costo [273v] che fra la soma et il muro harebbe offeso et lui et le

donne, maxime che non si vedeva molto come ho detto. Pero con le mani teneva spento alquanto et discosto detta soma da lui, dicendo à quello che vi stava sopra a cavallo "Discostati, corpo di me, mi voi tu fare crepare," et spense alquanto detta soma, et all' hora quel altro huomo che cavalcava l' altro cavallo da sella che era dietro alla soma cominciò a gridare et bravare contra detto messer Julio dicendo "Non toccare quelle ceste non toccare quelle ceste" et gridava. Messer Julio li rispose "Voi che io mi lassi crepare qui a questo muro. La strada è larga assai." Et detto huomo haveva detto "Non toccare quelle ceste non toccare quelle ceste puttana vergine" et bastemiava, "Non toccare quelle ceste." All' hora io io [sic doubled] dissi a detto huomo "Che cosa hai. Pensi che nui stammo alla strada. Va per il fatto tuo alla mal' hora per te" et parole simile. Però detti dui huomini seguitorno via bravando dicendo "Furfanti" et parole simile, et nui altri seguitammo il nostro viaggio et li voltammo le spalle senza dire ne fare altro. Et dopo haverli voltate le spalle et che andavamo via tutti sentei un tiro et scoppio di un sasso che acolse al mio giuditio o in quelle ceste, se ceste erano, o nel basto di quel cavallo. Subito mi voltai et veddi che quello che haveva tirato il sassso era stato Bernardino todino sopradetto servitore di detto messer Julio, che lo veddi far atto col braccio, come si fa quando subito si ha tirato un sasso. Pero io cacciai mano alla spada per darli delle piattonate come li harei dato se non li havessi havuto per rispetto per essere servitore di detto mio nepote, et li dissi villania assai perche mi dispiacque assai che havesse tirato non essendo mia usanza dar fastidio a nissuno et egli mi adminandò perdono dicendomi "perdonatemi Messere che ho fatto male a tirare, perdonateme." Et [274r] et [sic double] perche nissuno di detti dui huomini non si lamentò anzi non disse pur una parola, pensando non li havesse offese, **seguitammo il nostro viaggio tutti di compagnia sino a casa mia, et bevero tutti** et poi **ogni huono andò per il fatto suo** et io restai in casa con le mie donne, et cossi passò questa cosa per verità.

Interrogatus ut ipse constitutus veritatem dicat an cognoverit tunc dictos homines equitantes ut supra.

Respondit signore io non gli conobbi in verità ne manco nessuno della compagnia mia li conobbe perche era tanto scuro che quasi non ci vedevamo l'uno e l'altro. Et dum premissa scriberentur dixit se io gli havessi conosciuto per parafrenieri del Papa, gli harei acompagnato sino a Marino et fattoli ogni servizio

Intus quid velit inferre huiusmodi verbis se io li havessi conosciuti etc.

Respondit **questa matina Abraam figliolo di quello Marano hebreo ch'era all' hora con me, mi ha detto che uno di quelli dui huomini supradetti era uno**

Parafreniere di Sua Santita che portava una soma di non so che robba al signor Marcantonio Colonna a Marino, subdens ad interrogationem non vi so poi dire se la mandasse Sua Santita o chi, et il medemo ho inteso poi da Marco Padella parafrenieri del papa.

Ints an pariter audiverit dictum parafrenarium vel eius sotius effectum tunc remansisse in aliqua parte corporis ex projectione dicti saxi.

Rt credo sia stato il medemo Marco sopradetto che mi ha detto che detto parafrenieri si e poi lamentato in palazzo che quella sassata l'acolse et offese in uno braccio, altro non so.

[274v]

Ints an sciat ipse constitutus quo in loco reperiatur ad presens dictus benardus saxi proiector

Rt doppò che intesi, come ho detto, che quel parafrenieri si lamentava di quel modo che ho detto, subito io feci pigliare dal barigello et mettere pregione detto Bernardo dove hora si ritrova, perche in effetto se ha fatto errore l'ha fatto da se contra mia volontà et senza mia saputa, et se ne portarà la pena mediante la giustitia.

Ex tunc ego notarius licentiavi ipsum constitutum de mandato Reverendissimi Domini Gubernatoris qui dictus Capitaneus promisit semper presentare coram supradicto Reverendissimo domino Gubernatore totiens quotiens et sub pena 500 scutorum auri in forma etc de quo facto fidem.

Dicto die

Constitutus in officio mei notarii et coram me etc de mandato Reverendissimi domini Gubernatoris

Leonardus pizzoliccus de Manfredonia portinarius porte Sancti Johannis Laterani qui mediante iuramento tactis et ad opportunas mei notarii interrogationes

Dixit essendo domenica à sera Messer Pietro Bianchino quello che serve alla porta per la Camera con Tributio garzone della porta à cena all'hosteria di Bartholomeo hoste à San Giovanni postea dixit Tributio non ci era con noi à cena che remase alla porta et dapoì che hebbemo cenato quano fummo alla calata per andare alla

porta scontrammo il Capitan Ottavio executore et dell'altre gente assai **fra li quali ci erano delli hebrei quali io non conosco** et gionti che fummo alla porta io me ne andai in camera à dormire et questo poteva esser' circa à un hora di notte et la mattina quando io me levai il sopradetto Maestro Pietro me referi che dapoi che io era andato à dormire haveva sentito uno gridare da San Giovanni verso la porta dicendo "portonaro piglia l'arme" [275r] a cosi gridando et che gionse alla porta gridando et quando fu li vidde chel era un parafreniero del papa et gli disse "Piglia l'arme che m'e stato tirato delli sassi che gli voglio ricognoscere" e che lui li havea risposto "Non accade che ci andiamo à far' amazzare" et che il parafreniero era andato à Marino et questo e quanto mi ha referito il sopradetto messer Pietro et io non so niente perche non mi ci son trovato

Silentium

Die Sabbati 17 Julii 1563

Constitutus in officio mei notarii et coram me etc de mandato Reverendissimi domini Gubernatoris

Franciscus Scaramucia de Sancto Genesio Maceratensis diocesis Mulio [?] testis etc qui mediante iuramento tactis etc fuit per me

Interrogatus an sciat vel presumat causam sui presentis examinis

Rit Messer si che io so la causa per la quale voi mi volete essaminare

Et Monitus per me notarium ut illam ingenue exprimat

Rit Domenica à sera circa le tre hore di notte andammo io di commisione di sua Santita insieme con Mr. Bernardino parafrenieri di sua Santita à Marino à portar una soma de vino alla Signora Felice quando fummo passato san Giovanni alla mita della calata per andare alla porta Messer Bernardino era inanzi à cavallo et io anchora era à cavallo sul mulo con doi cestoni pieni di fiaschi scontrammo assai persone homini et donne **fra li quali ce ne erano parechi che portavano la barretta gialla et alcuni che portavano le spade ma erano Christiani** et cosi commenzorno a dar delle mane alli sportoni et io dissi "Lassate star' questi sportoni" et Mr Bernardino disse "Di gratia non toccate questi sportoni perche ci sono robbe da rompere" et loro in risposta ci cominciorno à dire che eravamo poltroni forfanti cornuti [275v] et spioni et mentre che costoro ce dicevano villania anchora ci erano attorno et toccato io il mulo un poco inanzi tirorno un sasso qual

colse il detto Bernardino nel braccio dritto et il detto Bernardino havendo receuta la sassata spinse il cavallo alla volta della porta et in questo tempo li sopradetti tirorno delli altri sassi uno delli quali dete in un cestone un altro à me sulla spalla manca et un'altra al mulo sulla cossa manca che ci ha fatto tanto de taglio, designando longitudinem medii digiti, et degli altri sassi assai che non ci colsero et tirando li ditti sassi sempre dicevano "Cornuti spioni" et gionto che io fui alla porta trovai Messer Bernardino che contrastava col portinaro che non li voleva dar' un'arma in hasta perche voleva recognoscer quelli che ci havevano tirato et il detto portinaro non ci la voleva dare dicendo che era pazia d'andarsi à far ammazzar' allhora, ma che andassemo via che ce l'harebbe fatti cognoscere tutti et così noi ce ne andammo à Marino.

Interrogatus an illi armati aliquid fecint seu aliquis ipsorum fecit aliquid contra dictum dominum Bernardinum et ipsum constitutum.

Respondit quelli che erano armati non cacciorno mana à spada contra di noi ma io non posso dire chi fusse di loro che ce dicessero villania basta che di quella *frotta* [*fuotta*] ci fu fatto quel tanto che io ho detto di sopra subdens ad interrogationem mei notarii non gli risposemo ne li facemmo cosa alcuna senon tanto quanto ho detto di sopra.

Silentium

[276r]

Die 19 Julii 1563

Constitutus personaliter Rome in Turri Nove coram magnifico Domino Donato Stampa Lutogotenente in presentia mei etc

Abraham quondam Salvatoris bononiensis hebreus qui eius mediante iuramento tacto calamo dixit ut infra viz:

Interrogatus ubi quando et ex qua causa captus fuerit et an solus vel associatus.

Rit io non son stato preso, ma ci venni sabbato d'accordo con il Capitan Gasparrino, il quale mi mandò a chiamare dicendo che voleva che io mi esaminassi et che me haveria fatto spedire.

Et dicente domino an sciat super quo seu quibus esset examinandus.

Rdit il Capitan me disse che io dovevoa esser esaminato sopra una certa questione che fu fatta domenica sera prossima passata fecero otto sere postmodum dixit non me disse manco Gasparino la causa perche dovessi esser esaminato ma me disse che sarei esaminato et che dicessi la verità che me haveria fatto spedire.

Et domino replicante que non rixa fuerit commissa dicta die domenica de sero et seriatim omnia recenseat.

Respondit io ve dirò detta domenica prossima passata fecero otto giorni che andammo alla vigna del Capitan Ottavio esequutore del Vicario fuori della porta de San Giovanni, dove fussimo in [276v] tutto a cena molte persone che non vi saprei dir il numero. Et cenato che si fù, doppo haver trattenuti un puoco, ce ne partemmo per venir' a Roma che poteva esser presso à un hora de notte. Et venendo inanzi a gli altri la moglie di messer Giulio sustituto fiscale che ci furno ancora loro, incontrammo doi cavalli cio è doi huomini a cavallo tra la porta de San Giovanni et la porta della chiesa, che andavano di fuora della porta. Et mostra che quei doi che erano a cavallo andassero adosso a certe altre donne che venevano dreto con la compagnia perche sentei il detto Capitan Ottavio che gli disse, "è pur larga la strada senza venir adosso alle donne," et altro non sentei, et cosi venendo in qua verso Roma, sentei il Capitan Ottavio che veneva gridando con un servitore di detto Messer Giulio, et gli diceva, "non so chi te habbia imparato a tirare senza commissione di alcuno et senza che ti sia fatto dispiacere da niuno" et cosi venemmo a Roma senza che s'intendesse altro, che non sapevo manco perche si gridassero et venerdì passato il Capitan Ottavio me mandò a chiamare in casa sua, et me disse che era stato messo in prigione quel servitore di Giulio [277r] et me contò tutta questa cosa, dicendomi che quella dominica sera il detto servitore di messer Giulio haveva tirato un sasso senza commissione di alcuno a quei doi che erano a cavallo, et non me disse chi fossero quei doi a cavallo ne manco io li conobbi **et la sua serva allora me disse che'l Capitan Ottavio haveva voluto dare delle piattonate a quel servitore perche haveva tirato quel sasso et io li dissi che ci erano delli nostri in prigione per questa causa et che io non volevo andar prigione a pigliar quattro o cinque male notti, et restai li quella sera a cena et a dormire, che magnai con esso, et con la fantescha et la figliola tutti a una tavola,** ei il di seguente poi me mandò a chiamare il Bargello che **io era in casa del Cardinale Savello** facendomi intendere che sarei spedito et cosi ci venni et ci fui retenuto e messo in secreta. Ma quando fu quella cosa del servitore che tirò quel sasso **io era inanza con la moglie di detto messer Giulio che sonavo di leuto et lei voleva cantare.** Et altro non so.

Ints ut dicat qui fuerint eo sero ad dictam vineam predicti Octavii ad cenandum.

Rt Ci fu il Capitan Ottavio con la serva sua et con un figliolo et una figliola sua, et uno

[277v] o doi servitori suoi. Ci fù il detto mr Giulio et la moglie sua con il servitore et ci fù un Canonico de San Giovanni che credo si chiami Messer Antonio che fù maestro de stalla de papa Paolo 4 prima che fosse papa. **Ci fummo poi cinque hebrei cio è Beniamin alias Todeschino con il figliolo Vitale di maestro Salamone, et Salamone alias Marano, et io. Et altri non ci furno quella sera a cena che io sappia.**

Interrogatus quo ipsi hebrei ad. dictam vineam accessissent

Respondit **io ci andai perche me chiamò Salamone con dire che il Capitan Ottavio faceva un pasto all vigna dove lui era invitato, et che io gli facessi questo piacere di pigliar il leuto et andar la con lui a dargli un puoco de spasso.**

Interrogatus an ipsi hebrei insimul cum Christianis in una et eadem mensa cenaverint et quid ipsi hebrei manducaverint.

Respondit Signor **no, che noi hebrei non magnammo con li Christiani ma noi ci tirammo in una tavoletta lontano dalla tavola di Christiiani tanto quanto è longa questa stanza, et noi magnammo insalata de citrioli, pronatite et pane, et non altro.**

[278r]

Et dicente domino ut bene advertat quid dicat quai curie constat quod ipsi insimul cum dictis Christianis eo sero cenaverint et carnes manducaverint

Respondit **io non ne magnai mai a miei di della carne con Christiani et io sono stato alla guerra che ho hauto qualche volta necessità, et non ne ho mai voluto magnare. Et non è vero che niuno de noi quella sera magnasse con li Christiani ne manco magnasse carne.**

Interrogatus quare ipse constitutus et alii predicti hebrei in Roma et eadem mensa cum Christianis non manducaverint eo sero ad dictam vineam

Rid **noi non stemmo alla medesima tavola delli Christiani perche niuno de noi magnava carne, per non haverla cucinata noi, et poi anco perche la tavola era piccola, et per questo ci ritrovammo da noi.**

Et dicente domino quare ipse constitutus die veneri de sero proximo preterito in una et eadem mensa cenaverit cum predictis Octavio et eius filia et serva, et non ne ipse scit quod hebreis prohibitum est manducare insimul cum Christianis

Respondit io magnai alla medesima tavola con il Capapitan Ottavio et sua figliola e serva venerdì a sera, et io non ho saputo da 4 anni in qua che sia proibito a gli hebrei magnare con li Christiani, mentre [278v] non magnino della carna cotta da Christiani e far peccato secondo la lege nostra.

Et dicente domino an predicti omnes eo sero quo sic cenarint ad dictam vineam haberent aliqua arma et que.

Rit io non veddi che niuno havebbe arme, senon un suo garzone che portava un'arma d'hasta, et il Capita Ottavio haveva la spada et non mi ricordavo de dirve che ci fono ancora quella sera alla vigna Ambrogio figlio del Capitan Ottavio, un macellaro, et un' altro giovane che sonava pur de leuto ma ne sapeva puoco.

Ints an ipse constitutus sciat seu dici audiverit quod ex illis duobus quos sic equestres eo sero reperierant, adesset aliquis parafrenarius Sanctissimi Domini Nostri et quod eo sero a quibusdam qui eo sero ad dictam vineam cenaverant fuerat insultatus.

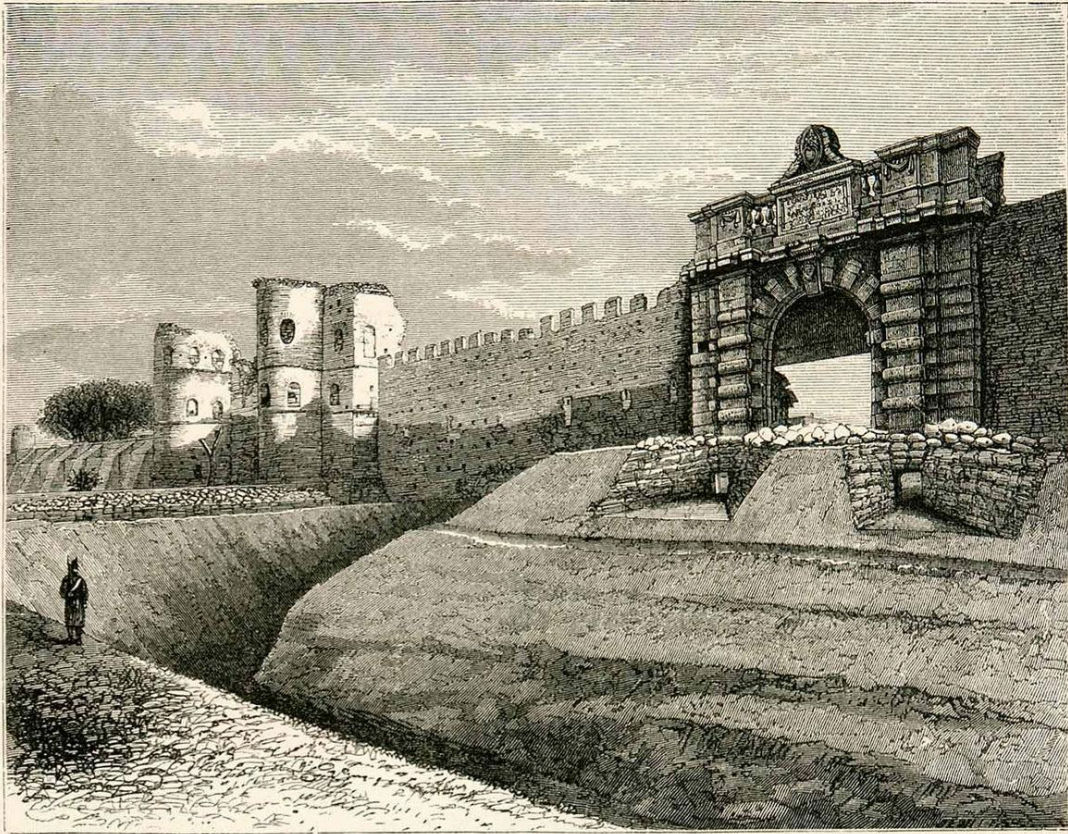
Respondit messer no, che io non so ne ho inteso che de quei doi ci fosse nissuno pallafrenero del papa, et non ho inteso che gli fosse fato altro insulto che quanto vo ho detto di sopra.

Ex tunc Dominus mandavit ipsum reponi ad locum suum animo continuandi.

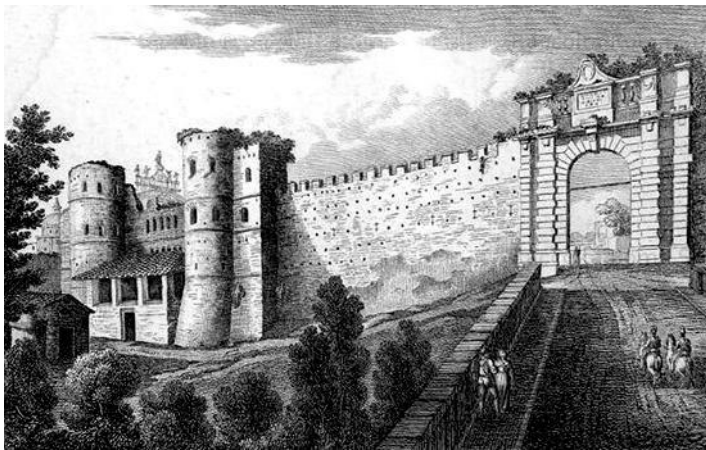


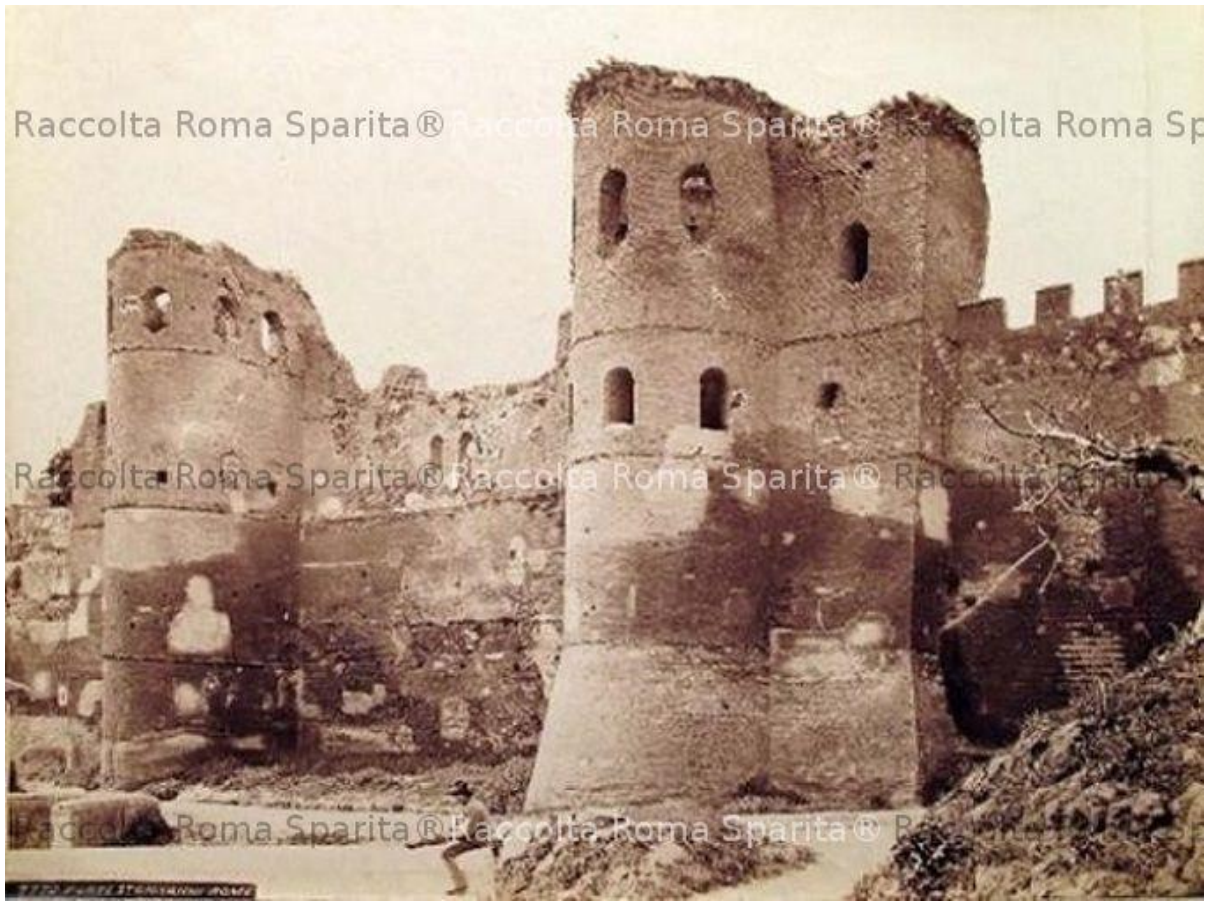






ANCIENT PORTA ASINARIA AND MODERN PORTA S. GIOVANNI.







Porta Asinaria?