

# Comparuit in Officium Sanctae Inquisitionis - Creating a database for the Processi Criminali collection in the Cathedral Archives of Mdina. Part 1&2: 1600 - 1620

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#### Introduction

The Cathedral Archives of Mdina houses one of the most complete international collections of the Roman Inquisition Tribunal known as Processi e Denuncie (referenced as AIM Proc Crim). This is one of three main different archives of the Holy Office and Tribunal of the Inquisitor collection. One can easily argue further that of the three major juridical courts of the Island; the Order's Castellania, the Bishops Curia and the Inquisitors Holy Office, the latter is perhaps the most complete and richest in references to aspects of daily life from 16th, 17th and 18th century Malta. Running into 172 volumes with c30,000 cases; the *Processi e Denuncie* collection poses the opportunity for past and future researches to study the social details, daily life of the people of Malta and others, transformations and characters from 1561-1798. The *Processi* vary in length from simple denunciations, information to detailed proceedings and investigations involving many characters, such as knights, clergy, Maltese, slaves, witches, prostitutes, Muslims, Orthodox, Jews, Protestants and others who happened to be in the Mediterranean waters. Often, the inquisitors conserved together with individual cases, various items and objects that were presented to the court during the hearings although afterwards were meant to be burnt however these items still conserved include numerous items such as magic spells, Turkish and Arabic healing rituals, cut outs from books of a religious nature, locks of hair, coins, amulets and even spices which until today remain mostly unaccounted for. The collection may have a number of lacunae and these don't just include the odd missing ones, but also perhaps those more sensitive cases that had been sent to Rome for the final verdict.

On the suggestion of Pope John Paul II, worldwide inquisition archives became publicly available for scholars to make research not solely on church history subjects but also for the social and cultural aspects of the early modern western civilization. The leading Maltese scholar who ventured on this pioneering inquisitorial documentary investigation was Prof Andrew Vella OP in 1967 when the archives were not officially opened yet, notwithstanding the determination of Archbishop Michael Gonzi, Mgr Edward Coleiro and Fr John Azzopardi who made the collection at the disposition of the researchers. This rich collection overwhelmed the first researchers, namely Fr Alexander Bonnici. Undoubtedly his work triggered promising researchers of the time just to mention Prof Frans Ciappara and Prof Carmel Cassar who delved in the documents and studied individually particular periods to determine the daily life in Malta The tendency of research as seen in some publications, by Dr William Zammit, Prof Dionisius Agius and many others continues to become more specific – tackling themes and particular individual cases. The Cathedral Archives has embarked on a project to create a digital online catalogue of each criminal proceeding within the collection. This first part catalogue covers those within volumes 18 - 30B spanning from 1600 - 1611 while the second part covers volumes 31A -40D spanning from 1611-1620. A project that creates digital finding aids for researchers, safeguards the fragility of the documents, assists in the unfortunate reality that younger researchers struggle with the Italian language and difficulty to read the sources; would systematically create a tool that makes basic data readily available and searchable and boosts the assistance quality of the Cathedral Archives. Furthermore this project allows one to see with fresh eyes the extent, detail and richness of this section of the Inquisition Archive.

## Some clarifications

It was decided to begin this data entering experiment from 1600 starting at volume 18. Volumes 1-17 will be added to the system as the data entering project continues. The catalogue entries follow a well thought out structure to help one take note of references. The first set of entries note down the start and end date of each proceeding, followed by the type of proceeding, the names of the accused, the cause and summary of each accusation of proceeding. The second set of entries give details on the accused mainly; age and occupation. Other entries further elaborate on the context of the case and these include a list of any localities mentioned, the list of witnesses present at each proceeding and a list of any items that are present that provide added evidence against the accused. Finally the last entries are reserved for the sentences given to those found guilty and additional comments. Often these sentences were overlooked in previous studies, however they help one understand the gravity of the crime committed and shed light on aspects of post Tridentine Cannon Law. This catalogue covering volume 18 - 30B and 31A - 40D by no way covers all the *processi* dating 1600-1620, as many other *processi* from this period are to be found in much later volumes. The documents are essentially boxed in volumes which move chronologically, however when this system was adopted it proved not to be infallible.

The names of the accused, witnesses or places, rather than being transcribed, were translated to modern spelling when possible, in order to facilitate research, for example Xiberras - Sciberras, Habela - Abela or Rabbato - Rabat. When searching names one must take into account that names of persons are spelled throughout the proceedings as the person was often called and not necessarily how the person was baptised, thus one would find variations of the same name such as Catherina - Catherinuzza, Mattheo - Mattheolo, Angela - Angelica - Angelina, Giovanna - Giannina - Gioanella. Certain names often pertaining to foreigners, when possible, are listed according to their signature and not as referred to throughout the proceeding, in the Italian version of that name. For example Pietro - Pierre, Nicolo - Nicolai - Nicolao or Giovanni - John. Throughout the database, when certain proceedings deal with more than one accused, their names are put into initials within the following fields; Summary of Case, Age, Occupation, Sentence. One will also come across the following abbreviations: H.O - Holy Office, GM - Grandmaster, Cav - Cavagliere, Not. - Notary, Mag - Magister, Capt. - Captain, OFM - Fransiscan Order of Malta.

The proceedings vary according to the type of catalogue entry originally written on the manuscripts: *Informazione*, usually only takes note of an incident related to a particular crime, which does not necessarily lead to the calling in of the accused. Others are *Comparizio* which

means that individuals accuse themselves often accompanied by a witness or two but sometimes alone and are given the necessary penance. Those noted as *Processo Terminato* means that the accused was formally put on trial, many witnesses were involved and a final public penance would be given. Those noted as Abiura means that their case ends with the abjure or denial of their formal faith to the Catholic Faith and the penance would include an abjuring ceremony within the chapel of the Holy office or a particular church, as well as private prayer and instructions to be educated in matters of the Faith. Reconciliato often refers to individuals who would have lost their faith for some time and would still need to abjure. The most common entry Denuncia, refers to an accusation. A denuncia usually, but not always, involves the calling in of the accused for questioning that might lead to a formal proceeding, a sentence or a simple In the entry column - Reason, one will find the following entries which represent the crime which was committed, these are: Apostasia, Blasfemia, Bigamia, Conversione, Corruzione, Disonestia, Furto, Heresia, Libri Proibiti, Litiga, Poligamia, Cibi Proibiti, Memoriale, Scandalo, Sodomia, Sortileggi, Trovatura, Violenza. Two curious volumes in the Misc collection of the Inquisitorial archives (AIM Misc 2 and AIM Misc 3), shed light on the definitions of some of these crimes and how the Inquisitor should proceed in the analysis of the accused. Misc 2 is titled; Pratica per procedere nelle cause del Sant' Officio, while Misc 3 is titled Regolamenti per li Apostati. These volumes, although late 17th or early 18th century seem accurate as to how the Inquisitors dealt with these crimes in practice and decided on the final verdict in the early 17th century, as one can gather from the sentence column in the catalogue.

# Some statistics for Vols 18 - 30B (Part 1)

Number of cases per crime

Apostasia: 261Furto: 3Scandalo: 56Bigamia: 31Heresia: 92Sodomia: 1Blasfemia: 135Libri Proibiti: 1Sortileggi: 224Conversione: 9Litiga: 74Trovatura: 1Corruzione: 1Poligamia: 1Violenza: 1

Cibi Proibiti: 89 Memoriale: 1 Total: 1008 entries

Disonestia: 3 NA: 24

## Some statistics for Vols 31A - 40D (Part 2)

Number of cases per crime

Apostasia: 246Furto: 4Scandalo: 57Bigamia: 65Heresia: 57Sodomia: 2Blasfemia: 186Libri Proibiti: 11Sortileggi: 218Conversione: 5Litiga: 78Violenza: 1

Corruzione: 2 Memoriale: 12 Total: 1069 entries

Cibi Proibiti: 107 NA:19

# The Holy Office during 1600 - 1620

The Holy Office besides being a court equipped with a tribunal and prison, was above all, a diplomatic palace that took vigilant care of relations between the Order of St John and the Holy See. It also kept a good watch on the local diocese and certain situations would have also been exposed and caused public scandal. This delicate relationship during this period could be further investigated in the *Corrispondenza* collection AIM Corr 1-3, which is a collection of correspondence between the Holy Office in Malta and the Holy See. Throughout the *processi* catalogued dated 1600-1620, references are made to the various Inquisitors, Bishops and Grandmasters of the time by often simply referring to them with their title. A couple of *processi* for example mention ongoing court cases either within that of the Bishop's or the Grandmaster's court, others make reference to vessels and corsair expeditions of the Grandmasters or else incidents of a spiritually suspicious nature that would have happened within the Bishop's or Grandmaster's palace and are brought to the attention of the present Inquisitor. Thus below is a list of Inquisitors, Bishops and Grandmasters to help one understand better those concerned and perhaps understand better the context of what is being reported and noted down by the scribes in the tribunal of the Holy Office.

Inquisitors: Antonio Ortensio 1598-1600, Fabrizio Verallo 1600-1605, Ettore Diotallevi 1605-1607, Leonetto Della Corbara 1607-1609, Evangelista Carbonese 1609-1614, Fabio Della Langonessa 1614-1619, Antonio Tornielli 1619-1621.

Bishops: Tomasso Gargallo 1578-1614, Baldassare Cagliares 1614-1633.

Grandmasters: Martin Garzes 1595-1601, Alof de Wignacourt 1601-1622.

Throughout the catalogue entries, one will find a number of Edicts issued, which for some reason were placed by those responsible for the archives at the time, together with the *processi* bundles. These include copies of the appointment of new Inquisitors. There are also edicts stating new prohibited books and an edict proclaiming the public burning of a number of heretical publications (AIM Proc Crim Vol 23A no 292, 34B NO 584) or even edicts such as those prohibiting slaves from entering churches with their masters or that prohibiting Prostitutes and merchants from interacting with English unless the business is to be done on board the vessels (AIM Proc Crim Vol 26C NO 212, 39B NO 430). The personnel of the Inquisitor constituted a number of locals that held key posts, that for this particular period being catalogued don't seem to change, but rather serve one Inquisitor after another. This of course was vital for the Inquisitors to be introduced to the ways and scandals of those brought into the Holy Office, sometimes even accused and condemned again by different Inquisitors for breaking the warning of the previous Inquisitor. The *Promotore Fiscale*, Gio Dom Testaferrata or even his assistant Valerio Miccio, would have been present during the proceedings but also replaced the Inquisitor's at the hearings of witnesses when needed. Other personnel included Olivier Seichel; the cursore, Paolo Cassar or Giovanni Domenico Vella with the role of Assessore, Luca Gauci as Notary, Gio. Maria Camenzuli as Fiscale and Martino Vella and later Antonio Bellia, Captain of the Holy Office and a frequent witness. While the Captain took care of the arrest of individuals he also often took care of the perquisition of the accused house as well as giving reports of the condition of certain prisoners. Camillo la Manda seems to be the official surgeon and physician for the Holy Office who is frequently called in to inspect for circumcision of individuals claiming to have been born Christians and captured as slaves but resisted converting to Islam or even check on the health conditions of prisoners. The Inquisitor also relied on a number of translators in the Greek, Turkish, Germanic and the English language, one in particular was Giacobbo Cicogni who translated the testimonies of many Greek speaking witnesses. The web of informers, patentati and employees for the Holy Office, were frequently involved in fights, arguments and scandals that fell under the jurisdiction of the Inquisitor such as Bendu Cosbor, who was a butcher in Birgu and provided food for the Holy Office and on one occasion got into a knife fight with his brother Tommaso (AIM Proc Crim Vol 19A no 33) or on another occasion got into another violent argument with the Captain, Martino Vella (AIM Proc Crim Vol 28A no 68). Martino Vella was not one of the good guys either and it wasn't the first time he was accused of abuse of power. Perhaps the most interesting was when he was accused by his wife who testified that he would beat her, not allow her to go to church with him, not wanting to eat or sleep in her company and even of abusing and beating their slave Grazia (AIM Proc Crim Vol 23B no 384). But perhaps the most scandalous was the serious accusations of corruption and abuse of power by the well connected and influential lawyer Gio. Domenico Vella the Assessore of the Holy Office, who repeatedly and for many years, sexually abused many women in exchange for his influence in ongoing proceedings involving their husbands, sons or brothers (AIM Proc Crim Vol. 28A no 70).

## In search of context

This catalogue of criminal proceedings from 1600-1620 notes down important details of context, mentioned during interrogations in the Holy Office. Detail to context is vital for a proper analysis of accusations. References to different local and foreign built landscapes, political and also emotional contexts, allow the reader to enjoy reading these proceedings as one would read a good novel. These early 17th century references take the reader through the narrow streets of villages and cities, the straits of seas and the corridors of individuals mind and heart. The circa 30,000 reports and criminal proceedings that have only just started to be properly catalogued digitally for future researchers, is proof that the presence of Roman Inquisition in Early Modern society on the Maltese Islands, truly affected people's life. Not only did the Inquisitor make his political rights and duties clear, but people looked to the Inquisition to express their daily concern on the behavior of others, or were told by their confessors to report their own sins to the Inquisitor for forgiveness and penance whenever that confessor felt it was not in his duty to do so. On a weekly basis a number of reports came in regarding suspected Christian slaves under Muslim names. Different culturally formed communities of Muslim slaves, Knights, Greeks, French, Sicilians, Venetians and Genovese living in the port area, who mixed with indiginous communities created a multi-cultural contex within which, people ate, fell in love, expressed emotions and sinned. It is clear that the most common incidents that were of interest to the Holy Office would have been manifested in the port area amongst these various

communities. With caution one can say that examples of incidents from Gozo and the countryside *casali* of Malta belonged to a very different context. Reports from watchful eyes from Malta's *casali* came from contexts that occurred at the local *għajn*, the homes of wise women, taverns and churches and they present to us very tightly knit communities with extended family relations.

The busy and multi-cultural life in the port area presents us with numerous scenarios of blasphemers causing scandal in the streets, public spaces, workplaces or taverns. These individuals exclaim heretical and erroneous matters of Faith and as part of the analysis of this sin, the Inquisitor always asked if such words were said out of anger or not (AIM Misc 2, f42). This gives the researcher plenty of contextual descriptions of taverns, homes, workplaces, objects, food and language. The same goes for those accused of eating meat or dairy products on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, Saturday and on the eve of feasts, and are not in convascellence or with a doctors licence but do so out of carelessness. Numerous heretics roamed the streets of the three cities. There were different types of accusations of heresy. The first type could be an accusation against individuals who familiarise themselves, read or express matters of a Christian faith contrary to the Catholic Faith and with conviction of heart believe in that faith. Those reading or owning books which were either officially banned by the Church or else are of a heretical nature, would have their house searched. The second type referred to Heretici Spontaniamente comparenti deals with those who were brought up in a Christian religion contrary to the Catholic Faith and with conviction of heart decided to deny that belief, in favour of the Catholic Faith (AIM Misc 2, f1). The latter presents us with Anglicans, Huguenots, Lutherans or Calvinists who once in Malta often on the island for business, just passing by or seeking a job at sea with the navy of the Order of St John, convert to the Catholic Faith and officially abjure their previous one. What is interesting in the testimonies of these converts, is often the detail given to describing their journey until arriving in Malta, starting out by narrating their youth, their experiences in various countries across Europe, mentioning battles, sieges and different routes. Similar cases also bring us into the world of corsairs and corsair expeditions, who brought in these renegades to Malta. Corsairs of various nationalities were often accused or else testified in criminal proceedings dealing with blasphemy and eating certain foods on prohibited days and in the process of doing so, they left us stories of hunger, desperation and exploits, experiences and emotions experienced at sea. Remaining within the port context and that of travellers interacting in Maltese circles, cases of bigamy are not uncommon. These cases, often very long, reveal the troubles of the Holy Office to trace information regarding the alleged 'other marriage', which usually occurred outside of Malta. We are thus introduced to men accused, often by their own conpaisani who also reside in Malta, regarding their secret life, which involved the other wife not residing in Malta and believed by the accused to be dead, which always seemed to be the same old story they all chose to tell. Often marriners, merchants, sometimes criminals escaping justice in their own city, opt to marry in Malta while already having another wife alive back home or vice versa. These incidents don't just give researchers details of marriage life but above all present to us entire foreign communities living in Malta who testify with their knowledge about the accused.

The arrival of runaways to Malta and Gozo presents us with a whole different perspective of those who came from the sea in other circumstances. This new perspective is evident from the frequent reports to Inquisitors of runaway renegades from Turkish and even English corsair vessels who stop in Malta and Gozo for water or shelter and take the opportunity to run away and convert to Catholicism. These then would be spotted by locals, or even surrender themselves to the nearest town, get arrested and transferred to the Inquisitor's palace in Malta, just like what happened to a number of runaways during the raid of 1614. Such renegades had originated for Hungary, Greece and even Russia, these formed part of the raiding Turkish force and took the opportunity to escape when ordered to assist in the plundering or to fetch water. On the other hand, renegades or apostites frequently made themselves to Malta during raids by the Order on Ottoman territory or during naval battles with Turkish or North African corsairs. In 1603, the fleet of the Order of St John raided the Greek islands of Kos, Patras and Lepanto. Although a comprehensive account of the military details of this mission has not been traced, it is the context to no less than 15 trials involving around 30 individuals of Christian origins, all with their own individual story of their capture from their homelands, their imprisonment within the castles of Lepanto; Petrachi castle and the castle on the Island of Passava, until their liberation and transfer to Malta (AIM Proc Crim Vol 22D no 253). These dire situations of Christians in an Ottoman world, must be analysed as they are presented to us including the way the testimony and the Judge himself reflect a bias against the Ottoman world. Cases of apostasy represent by far the most common catalogue entry, thus a few words on the type of sentences given is required. The most common sentence orders penance for the reformation of the soul, it is understood that the individual was constrained by various circumstances to abandon the Christian Faith, thus the sentence asks the accused to confess and receive the Eucharist for a set number of times for the duration of a set number of years as well as to recite certain prayers. If we take the example of Crusafa she had to abjure and for 3 years to confess 4 times a year on Easter, Pentecost, Assumption and Christmas and receive the Eucharist and fast on Fridays. With some individuals, often young ones, they are asked to be instructed in the Faith and sometimes not allowed to leave the island.

It seems that the second most common accusation was related to *sortileggi* - witchcraft. While in the port area most healers were either slaves or prostitutes providing remedies of love magic and curses, the wise women from the Maltese *casali* are usually old and widowed and catered for many types of infirmities such as eye infection on a children or even healing animals who seem sick. This crime is described as such; 'when written characters, orations, verses in unknown language, objects, masses, sacramental celebrations and sacramental objects, human blood, animal blood, acts of religion to the devil are used for self gain, for love or death of a person, to find treasure or consecrate coins' (AIM Misc 2, f31). It is very interesting if one is trying to contrast the priorities and habits of those living in the port with those living in the *casali*. The belief in the curse and the search for a remedy, is an expression created from within the individual that has a social-economic foundation, and that searches for meaning to the questions that can't be answered. On the other hand; those who invoke evil spirits provide visible exterior signs, giving the objects, which are essential to the spell,

supernatural powers from the outside or spirit world. Both are malignant powers but one can say that the belief in a curse and the search to find a remedy based on unorthodox methods of the time was not treated in the same way as were those who called upon the devil for healing or fortune. The former is a somewhat weaker evil power based on necessity, and to a certain extent faith in the methods of the healers or healing remedies without reason, while the latter involves the conviction in an emotion such as jealousy, desire or hatred and belief in the power of evil to acquire a state of peace of mind. These powers were not used for a change of state of being such as to heal from an illness but more like to guide fortune. A classic example of what has been discussed above may be illustrated in long criminal proceedings involving prostitutes and women all from the Port cities such as (AIM Proc Crim Vol 28C NO 227 or 40A NO 13). In summary, most persons involved in such witch trials frequently appear in other proceedings as witnesses or else as accused. Such proceedings bring to light a variety of common accusations and practices by prostitutes, which generally helped them to maintain their economic stability. These spells involved the use of numerous items such as vases, bowls and daggers, herbs, Holy Oil and salt and sometimes disrespecting the sacraments, having mass secretly celebrated over the object bearing the curse and other methods. These curses were also passed on between jealous prostitutes or otherwise jealous wives, but also methods for desperate house wives to check if their husbands who went to sea were still alive. There is also mention that certain remedies were suggested by slaves and the greatest scandal caused by these happenings was the disruption of marital relations. Often these prostitutes introduce us to a common cause and effect context, that of what happens to women who find themselves alone in the world. This social and economic crisis led to prostitution, being introduced to spells and remedies that could help them out of their misery. The condemnation of these witches was all similar and involved public flogging while being paraded by a trumpet through the streets of their respective towns, but their penance also involved prayer and receiving the sacraments to help convert and reform their souls.

#### **Conclusion**

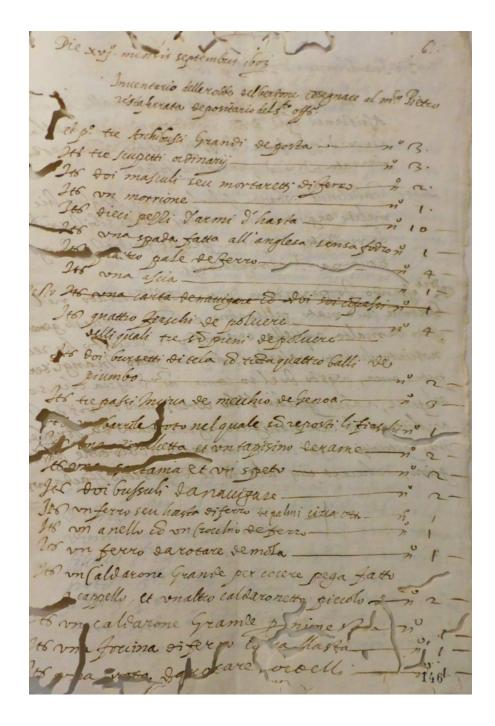
This project is still in its infancy but such an exercise is proving valuable in discovering new curiosities, contexts and characters which are just waiting for a researcher to study their story. This project will take many years but plans to publicly present 10 more years of catalogued Inquisitorial proceedings each year.

# **Curious items**

AIM Proc Crim V22C no 239 - A leather pouch - Was an accomplice in an armed robbery of the items from a ship travelling between Palermo and Messina. The bandits were captured and taken to Valletta Castellania. He was arrested but even escaped from the Holy Office.



AIM Proc Crim V23A NO 297 - An inventory of *Il Pellegrino* - Inquisitor confiscated and vessel and all its holdings when this English *bertone* captained by Baures named *il Pellegrino* entered Malta's port the previous night, and there was a lot of suspicious movement about.



AIM Proc Crim V27 no 15 - Doctor's certificates - Offered homemade breakfast to Fra Gabriele and Vincenzo Azzopardi and at one point brought out roast chicken and Sicilian cheese and ate. For the past years he has been given a license to eat meat often because of a particular disease he had. In the process, he has given scandal to many artists that worked with him not knowing he had a license. Many consider Stagno a good man who goes to church often, prays and gives charity outside St John's. He is found guilty of eating meat and dairy products beyond the requirements of the doctor's orders. He would eat meat and then get the license after.



AIM Proc Crim V29A NO 25 - A piece of turtle skin - A certain Jewish slave tried to cure many individuals from various illnesses using strange and superstitious items such as turtle skin.



AIM Proc Crim V30A no 51 - A nightmare - After trying to killing his father in-law in Sicily, he had to escape and became a bandit, joined a corsair fleet, and later ended up in Malta and married Angelina Cotto while his previous wife was still alive in Sicily. While in prison at the Holy Office for committing this double marriage, he had strange dreams which were written down and presented during the proceedings.



AIM Proc Crim V36B NO 167 - This coin seems to have belonged to a certain Giovanni Battista de Aponte, who while being tortured in Castellania, the guards found in his pocket a money pouch and in it a Turkish medal of silver which he did not want to lose.

