

## ***PUTTING THINGS IN ORDER. INVENTORIES AND MATERIALITY OF THE ROMAN INQUISITION***

by Dennj Solera

1998 was undoubtedly a watershed year for the study of the Roman Inquisition. Towards the end of a century marked by sometimes difficult relations between the leadership of the Holy Office and Italian intellectuals, the Papal Congregation made the remaining inquisitorial documents available to researchers.<sup>1</sup> It was an epoch-making event, intended to manifest the new attitude of the Roman Church towards its history and its experts, which culminated in John Paul II's request for forgiveness in his homily of 12 March 2000.<sup>2</sup>

From a scientific point of view, the opening of the archive has radically changed our knowledge of the Tribunal of Faith and its historical development. In the last quarter century, the already extensive research on the history of the Inquisition in Italy has been furthered by the sources made available. The study of these documents has confirmed and, in some cases, updated what was already known about the Holy Office based on the papers consulted in other places, in both the Vatican archives and many other Italian and foreign archives.<sup>3</sup>

Those who crossed the threshold of this archive after its opening brought with them the wealth of knowledge, questions, and research methods that historiography had refined over

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<sup>1</sup> To understand what that opening meant for individual researchers, and more generally for the entire sector of studies, see A. Prosperi, *Una esperienza di ricerca al Sant'Uffizio*, «Rendiconti morali dell'Accademia dei Lincei», 9, 1998, pp. 433-468, now re-edited in *Idem, Inquisizioni*, Macerata, Quodlibet, 2023, pp. 447-492. The enthusiasm that that event instilled in many scholars, as well as the historical value of the first research conducted, can be found in the proceedings of some conferences: *L'Inquisizione e gli storici: un cantiere aperto* (Tavola rotonda nell'ambito della conferenza annuale della ricerca, Roma, 24-25 giugno 1999), Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2000; A. Del Col, G. Paolin (a cura di), *L'Inquisizione romana: metodologia delle fonti e storia istituzionale*, Trieste-Montebelluna, Edizioni Università di Trieste-Circolo Culturale Menocchio, 2000; A. Borromeo (a cura di), *L'Inquisizione* (Atti del Simposio internazionale, Città del Vaticano, 29-31 ottobre 1998), Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2003. Precursor for the research ideas offered is A. Del Col, G. Paolin (a cura di), *L'Inquisizione romana in Italia nell'età moderna. Archivi, problemi di metodo e nuove ricerche* (Atti del seminario internazionale, Trieste, 18-20 maggio 1988), Roma, Direzione Generale degli Archivi di Stato, 1991.

<sup>2</sup> J. Tedeschi, *Carlo Ginzburg e le fonti*, in A. Colonnello, A. Del Col (a cura di), *Uno storico, un mugnaio, un libro: Carlo Ginzburg, Il formaggio e i vermi, 1976-2002*, Trieste, Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2003, pp. 23-28.

<sup>3</sup> The historiographical advancement of inquisitorial studies within the first decade of the opening of the archive was discussed in E. Bonora, *L'archivio dell'Inquisizione e gli studi storici: primi bilanci e prospettive a dieci anni dall'apertura*, «Rivista Storica Italiana», 120, 2008, pp. 968-1002; M. Valente, *Nuove ricerche e interpretazioni sul Sant'Uffizio a più di dieci anni dall'apertura dell'archivio*, «Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia», 2, 2012, pp. 569-592. For research developed or continued in the following decade see A. Cifres (a cura di), *L'Inquisizione romana e i suoi archivi. A vent'anni dall'apertura dell'ACDF* (Atti del Convegno, Roma, 15-17 maggio 2018), Rome, Gangemi Editore, 2019. Since 2021 the annual conferences of INQUIRE (International Centre for Research on Inquisitions) and related publications allow to follow the further increase in studies on the Roman Holy Office, in relation also to other Catholic inquisitions in a global perspective, see: I. Bueno, V. Lavenia, R. Parmeggiani (eds.), *Current Trends in the Historiography of Inquisitions. Themes and Comparisons*, Roma, Viella, 2023; Eod. (eds.), *Inquisitions and Money (13th-19th c.)*, Roma, Viella, forthcoming.

the previous decades. Since the 1960s, many elements have contributed to the strong dynamism of this field in Italy, such as the affirmation of the micro-historical approach, the attention to subordinated classes, the trust in quantitative data, as well as the conviction that religious history was the privileged point of view for understanding the history of the Church, the Italian national state, popular customs over the centuries, and much more.<sup>4</sup> These factors, which had differing levels of importance and played different roles in individual studies, have favoured the receptiveness of Italian scholars to certain international historiographical turning points, particularly to what was happening in Portugal and Spain in those years. The end of Salazarism and Francoism, and the nationalist ideologies associated with them, allowed a more attentive study of the history of these countries in which the inquisitorial courts played a decisive role. The availability of the vast archival resources left by the Iberian courts favoured the development of substantial historical research, of both the national territory and the Iberian colonial empires.<sup>5</sup>

It was in this context that, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, historians, motivated mainly by an interest in religious history, entered the long-awaited archive determined to understand how the relationship between the Italian population and religion had evolved over the centuries, and what role the Catholic Church and the Inquisition had actually played in specific historical events, as depicted in these previously inaccessible documents. It was necessary to establish who had been persecuted by the Holy Office, how many had been tortured and killed, where and on what basis witchcraft phenomena had been investigated, to what extent the female dimension had triggered the hunts, the effects of the Counter-Reformation discipline and many other questions that remain fundamental today. This first phase of research resulted in indispensable publications, which form the basis for anyone wishing to analyse the documents and history of the ecclesiastical tribunal.<sup>6</sup>

However, continued consultation of the available holdings in the Roman archive, together with the emergence of new historiographical sensibilities, revealed the limits and unforeseen potential of these sources. The substantial amount of material did not include, for example, court judgments, a disappointment to those who had hoped to consult the decisions handed down in Rome on unknown or partially known cases present in the archives of local courts or the holdings of Trinity College Dublin. Similarly, the records of the Congregation's trials were meagre, preserved only for specific charges, years, or crimes. These deficiencies date back to the Napoleonic era when the return of Vatican documents forced papal delegates to select the material to be sent back to Rome. Priority was given to doctrinal rather than criminal documents.<sup>7</sup> The absence of trials and sentences, essential documents for reconstructing the history of a court, discouraged some scholars who were used to consulting

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<sup>4</sup> See for example E.W. Monter, J. Tedeschi, *Toward a statistical profile of the Italian inquisitions, sixteenth to eighteenth centuries*, in G. Henningsen, J. Tedeschi (eds.), *The Inquisition in early modern Europe. Studies on sources and methods*, Dekalb, Northern Illinois University press, 1986, pp. 130-157; the numerous essays reissued in *Idem, Intellettuali in esilio. Dall'Inquisizione romana al fascismo*, edited by G. Caravale and S. Pastore, Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2012.

<sup>5</sup> Among the best studies of that historiographical season are J. Pérez Villanueva, B. Escandell Bonet (a cargo de), *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América*, Madrid, BAC-Centro de Estudios Inquisitoriales, 1984-2000.

<sup>6</sup> The work that best summarises the progress made is the *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, edited by A. Prosperi, with the collaboration of V. Lavenia and J. Tedeschi, Pisa, Edizioni della Normale, 2010 (henceforth DSI).

<sup>7</sup> J. Tedeschi, *I documenti inquisitoriali del Trinity College di Dublino provenienti dall'Archivio romano del Sant'Ufficio*, in A. Del Col, G. Paolin (a cura di), *L'Inquisizione romana*, pp. 145-168; D. Solera, *Gli sponte comparantes nelle fonti inquisitoriali del Trinity College di Dublino*, master's thesis, University of Padua, a.a. 2013/2014, supervisor Prof. A. Viggiano; M.P. Donato, *L'archivio del mondo. Quando Napoleone confiscò la storia*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2019.

documents of the same type in the inquisitorial fonds of Udine, Venice, Rovigo, Modena, Pisa, Naples and elsewhere.<sup>8</sup>

With the benefit of hindsight, we can see how the many other sources preserved in the ACDF have provided the basis for innovative and increasingly complex research. For example, the decrees (*decreta*) of the Congregation, which have been almost entirely preserved, have proved to be extremely important, documents that are indispensable for following the minute work of the cardinal's Commission in its various phases and subgroups of work.<sup>9</sup> In addition to these sources, there are others of various types that from time to time are collected more or less systematically in special archival series: the treatment of doubts (*dubia*) sent to Rome concerning the sacraments;<sup>10</sup> the opinions of the advisers questioned;<sup>11</sup> the manuals and collections of edicts that attempted to standardise the work of the Tribunal;<sup>12</sup> original documents or copies sent to Rome by the various inquisitorial offices;<sup>13</sup> the incoming and outgoing correspondence of the Congregation;<sup>14</sup> the financial documents of the Tribunal; the oaths of secrecy taken by members (cardinals, secretaries, notaries, archivists, etc.);<sup>15</sup> the files of the ponderous inquisitorial staff in Rome and elsewhere;<sup>16</sup> and the papers of the Conca estate<sup>17</sup>, not to mention the vast collections of the Inquisition of Siena<sup>18</sup> and the Congregation

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<sup>8</sup> A. Del Col (a cura di), *Gli archivi dell'Inquisizione in Italia: problemi storiografici e descrittivi* (Atti del convegno, Archivio di Stato, 18 Febbraio 2006), «Chromos: Cyber Review of Modern Historyography», 11, 2006.

<sup>9</sup> For an example of how *decreta* are indispensable to reconstruct complex events see M. Firpo, *La presa di potere dell'inquisizione romana (1550-1553)*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2014; V. Lavenia, *Cardinals and the Inquisition*, in M. Hollingsworth, M. Pattenden, A. Witte (eds.), *A Companion to the Early Modern Cardinals*, Leiden, Brill, 2020, pp. 109-123.

<sup>10</sup> P. Broggio, C. de Castelnau-L'Estoile, G. Pizzorusso, *Les temps des doutes: les sacrements et l'Église romaine aux dimensions du monde*, «Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines», 1/121, 2009; M.T. Fattori, *Sacraments for the Faithful of the New World, Jews, and Eastern-Rite Christians: Roman Legislation from Paul III to Benedict XIV (1537-1758)*, «The Catholic Historical Review», 4, 2016, pp. 687-711; C. Santus, *Trasgressioni necessarie: Communicatio in sacris, coesistenza e conflitti tra le comunità cristiane orientali (Levante e Impero ottomano, 17-18 secolo)*, Roma, École française de Rome, 2019.

<sup>11</sup> *Idem*, *Les papiers des consultants. Questions missionnaires et procès de décision au Saint-Office, XVIIe - XVIIIe siècles*, «Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Italie et Méditerranée», 2/130, 2018, pp. 431-445; D. Solera, *Les privilèges plutôt que l'orthodoxie. L'Inquisition à Malte et sa lutte pour le pouvoir pendant la Contre-Réforme*, «Revue historique», 4/696, 2020, pp. 117-154. C. Santus, *Giuseppe Simonio Assemani consultore del Sant'Uffizio*, «Parole de l'Orient», 47, 2021, pp. 175-190.

<sup>12</sup> T. Mayer, *The Roman Inquisition. A Papal Bureaucracy and Its Laws in the Age of Galileo*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.

<sup>13</sup> *Idem*, *The Roman Inquisition on the Stage of Italy, c. 1590-1640*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013. A historiographical summary in V. Lavenia, *Centre and periphery of the Inquisition in prosopographical research*, in A. Cifres (a cura di), *L'Inquisizione romana*, pp. 359-371.

<sup>14</sup> For some examples of studies based on the letters available in the archives see U. Baldini, L. Spruit, *Cardano e Aldrovandi nelle lettere del Sant'Uffizio romano all'inquisitore di Bologna (1571-73)*, «Bruniana & Campanelliana», 6, 2000, pp. 145-163; P. Scaramella (a cura di), *Le lettere della Congregazione del Sant'Uffizio ai Tribunali di Fede di Napoli, 1563-1625*, intr. J. Tedeschi, Trieste-Napoli, Edizioni Università di Trieste-Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici, 2002; O. Di Simplicio, *Le lettere della Congregazione del Sant'Uffizio all'Inquisizione di Siena (1581-1721)*, Trieste, Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2009.

<sup>15</sup> For a study in which these sources were systematically used, see H.H. Schwedt, *Die Anfänge der Römischen Inquisition. Kardinäle und Konsultoren 1542 bis 1600*, Freiburg, Herder, 2013.

<sup>16</sup> D. Solera, *La società dell'Inquisizione. Uomini, tribunali e pratiche del Sant'Uffizio romano*, Roma, Carocci, 2021, to which reference is also made for earlier studies.

<sup>17</sup> There is still no comprehensive research on the Conca estate and Inquisition's economic and patronage interests in that territory, see M.C. Pagliaro, *La tenuta e le ferriere di Conca nella valle dell'Astura. Aspects and problems. Secolo XVIII-XIX*, Roma, Tipolitografia Santa Lucia, 1991; M. Marino, *L'attività economica: la tenuta di Conca - Economics: the Conca Estate*, in A. Cifres, M. Pizzo (a cura di), *Rari e preziosi. Documenti dell'età moderna e contemporanea dall'archivio del Sant'Uffizio*, Rome, Gangemi, 2009, pp. 48-63.

of the Index,<sup>19</sup> deposited at the Holy Office, whose history and importance justify their being considered archives in their own right.

The studies conducted in the ACDF have made it possible to understand how the Inquisition was decisive not only on the religious level, but also regarding other dimensions of life in past centuries. These documents allow for a better problematisation of the phenomena affected by inquisitorial action; this makes it possible to ask more precise questions of the inquisitorial sources, even about the history of the court in the strict sense. This virtuous circle, from the object of study to the context and from the context to the object, has characterised several analyses carried out in recent years by economic, art and social historians, who have based all or part of their research on the sources of the Roman Congregation.

From this point of view, it seems appropriate to pay special attention to documents that seem to have nothing to do with such famous and fascinating events as those of the Inquisition in Italy.<sup>20</sup> These are the vast and unclassifiable sources produced by the Holy Office that testify to the material history of the Tribunal. Having examined in detail who the protagonists and victims of the Inquisition were, what, when, where and why they did what they did,<sup>21</sup> it seems that the time has come to ask “how” it all came about. What were the material, concrete conditions that made what we know about the Tribunal of Faith possible?<sup>22</sup> It is not a question of indulging in erudition or the minutiae of details, because by concentrating on humble or purely mundane aspects of everyday life one is able to grasp neuralgic details not attested by other sources. This has been clearly demonstrated by historians who have studied the economic documents of the Roman Inquisition (budgets, expenses, debts, and accounts), whose research has documented the narrow margins of action of the inquisitors and territorial vicars. It has been shown, for example, that many judges were

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<sup>18</sup> O. Di Simplicio, *Inquisizione, stregoneria, medicina. Siena e il suo Stato (1580-1721)*, Siena, Il Leccio, 2000; A. Malena, *Custodi di una invisibile identità: monache, lettere e inquisizione a Siena negli anni della lotta al quietismo*, in G. Pomata, G. Zarri (a cura di), *I monasteri femminili come centri di cultura tra Rinascimento e Barocco*, Roma, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2005, pp. 232-257; V. Tedesco, *Una pietra della quale si servono le genti cattive: inquisizione e sortilegi a Siena nella prima età moderna*, «Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia», 2, 2016, pp. 425-446.

<sup>19</sup> H. Wolf, *Index. Der Vatikan und die verbotenen Bücher*, München, C.H. Beck, 2006 (transl. it.: *Storia dell'Indice. Il Vaticano e i libri proibiti*, Roma, Donzelli, 2006); V. Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice. La censura ecclesiastica dal Rinascimento alla Controriforma*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2006; R.M. Borraccini, R. Rusconi (a cura di), *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini regolari dell'Italia moderna attraverso la documentazione della Congregazione dell'Indice*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006; G. Fragnito, *Rinascimento perduto. La letteratura italiana sotto gli occhi dei censori (secoli XV-XVII)*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2022; G. Caravale, *Libri pericolosi. Censura e cultura italiana in età moderna*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2022, to which I refer for an updated bibliography.

<sup>20</sup> «The fascination that the Archive [of the Holy Office] exerts on scholars is well known, and none of us, I believe, has been and is completely immune to it in the course of our own research experiences», M. Rosa, *Per la storia del Sant'Uffizio e della curia romana nell'età moderna*, in *L'Inquisizione e gli storici: un cantiere aperto*, pp. 393-341, in particular p. 393. All terms and passages cited have been translated into English by the author, with the exception of the longest ones and the Appendix.

<sup>21</sup> For the recurrence in the Anglo-Saxon and classical (Latin and later Christian) worlds of patterns according to which knowledge was structured, see D.W. Jr Robertson, *A Note on the Classical Origin of "Circumstances" in the Medieval Confessional*, «Studies in Philology», 1/43, 1946, pp. 6-14; M.C. Sloan, *Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics as the Original Locus for the Septem Circumstantiae*, «Classical Philology», 3/105, 2010, pp. 236-251.

<sup>22</sup> L. Auslander et al., *Conversation: Historians and the Study of Material Culture*, *The American Historical Review*, 5/114, 2020, pp. 1355-1404; T. Hamling, C. Richardson (eds.), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings*, Ashgate, Farnham 2010. Innovative openings towards cognitivism and social symbolism are discussed in K. Dale, *Building a Social Materiality: Spatial and Embodied Politics in Organizational Control*, «Organization», 5/12, 2005, pp. 649-678; S.A. Carter, I. Gaskell (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of History and Material Culture*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2020.

not diligent in conducting trials in their jurisdictions, not because they were lazy or immune to the ideology of the Counter-Reformation, but because they lacked paper, money, mounts or support staff; goods without which it was impossible to conduct a trial.<sup>23</sup> Any general consideration of the Court's action risks inaccuracy or even misjudgement if the material dimension of inquisitorial action is not adequately taken into account. Beyond the "terrible" reputation of the Holy Office, the tribunal that saw and knew all, was still composed of ordinary men with their limitations and abilities, who were charged with translating its directives into concrete acts.<sup>24</sup> This very much depended on the many variables dictated by their material contexts.

Among the sources that most effectively testify to the materiality of the Italian courts are the inventories drawn up by the courts themselves. The Roman Inquisition produced numerous catalogues throughout the entire period of its activity and for a variety of reasons. In this analysis I have confined myself to catalogues of objects, i.e. sources conceived and structured by their authors as lists of material goods. Here the term "inventories" therefore refers to a specific type of source, namely the lists of the Inquisition's property, including both movable and fixed assets, everything from the smallest objects to entire buildings, directories drawn up by the inquisitors to describe everything in the possession of the Court entrusted to them. Archival inventories, drawn up by judges or notaries as well, would also fall within this typology of documents, but I have chosen to include them only in part in this analysis, given the wealth of studies already available on the history of inquisitorial archives.<sup>25</sup>

By consulting the manuals, the correspondence between the various tribunals and Rome or the local reports, one can directly experience how the archetype of scheme and list guided every action of the judges. Leafing through these documents, full of meticulous details, measurements, quantities, values, and dates of acquisition, allows one to take an almost imaginary journey through the premises of the Papal Inquisition, visiting its camps and workshops, moving from one room to another, and at the same time having the pleasure of casting a glance at the walls, the shelves or inside the still closed trunks. The inventories restore the materiality of the inquisitorial institution in its historical concreteness, barely reflecting the sophisticated self-image that the court helped form. One fact must be stressed: these catalogues describe rooms that only the inquisitor and his staff were allowed to see, while those who came to the court as defendants were excluded from most of these places. Only the interrogation room, and sometimes the torture room and the prisons, were accessible to external people. The catalogues allow us to visit rooms and objects reserved for "insiders" (*addetti*),<sup>26</sup> giving us a more direct picture of the court. What paintings hung in the public and private rooms of the Inquisition? Did they differ in subject, style, narrative pattern or other aspects (size, height at which they were hung, etc.), or were they the same?<sup>27</sup> It is perhaps in

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<sup>23</sup> A. Prosperi, *Il "budget" di un inquisitore: Ferrara 1567-1572*, «Schifanoia», 1, 1986, pp. 31-40, now re-edited in *Idem, Inquisizioni*, pp. 155-172; V. Lavenia, *I beni dell'eretico, i conti dell'inquisitore. Confische, Stati italiani, economia del Sant'Uffizio*, in *L'Inquisizione e gli storici: un cantiere aperto*, pp. 47-94; C.F. Black, *The Italian Inquisition*, New Haven (CT)-London, Yale University Press, 2009 (trad. it., *Storia dell'Inquisizione in Italia. Tribunali, eretici, censura*, Roma, Carocci, 2013), pp. 102-104; G. Maifreda, *I denari dell'inquisitore. Affari e giustizia di fede nell'Italia moderna*, Torino, Einaudi, 2014.

<sup>24</sup> D. Solera, *La società dell'Inquisizione*, pp. 15-94, *L'Inquisizione vista da vicino*.

<sup>25</sup> Among the documents drawn up by the Inquisitors are, of course, the catalogues of property and objects confiscated from the condemned. Although very important, they do not describe the materiality that actually surrounded the various tribunals. See, for example, the lists of goods and books confiscated from Sebastiano Flaminio, G. Mariani (ed.), *L'Inquisizione romana a Imola. Processi, voll. I-II (1551-1592)*, Imola, Il Nuovo Diario Messaggero, 2021, pp. 149-151 (18 June 1558), 155-161 (1 July 1558), 175-181 (25 August 1558).

<sup>26</sup> A. Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza. Inquisitori, confessori, missionari*, Torino, Einaudi, 2009, pp. 180-193.

<sup>27</sup> On the performative function of images see O. Niccoli, *Vedere con gli occhi del cuore. Alle origini del potere delle immagini*, Bari-Roma, Laterza, 2011.

these more intimate settings and in these everyday objects that one should seek a less mediated and more authentic testimony of the Holy Office, without wishing to diminish the value that self-representation has had in the history of certain institutions, especially in repressive contexts.

It was not only inquisitors, vicars and notaries who drew up the inventories of the Papal Inquisition, but also, in some cases, those who had confiscated the Court's property at the time of its suppression. Once inside these confidential rooms, the aim was to find out what the Inquisition's possessions were, estimate their market value and sell everything possible in the hope of "paying off" the debts accumulated by the inquisitors and to benefit local craftsmen.<sup>28</sup> Sometimes it is even possible to trace who bought or received as gifts the objects once handled by inquisitors, as in the case of the Holy Office in Milan, which was effectively suppressed with the death of its last judge in 1779. Maria Theresa of Austria forbade the appointment of any more inquisitors in her territories and ordered the dissolution of the Companies of the Holy Cross that had supported the inquisitorial courts for centuries. The Habsburg delegates transferred the furnishings of the Milanese Inquisition and its Company to the city's orphanages, foregoing any unlikely profits from the sale of such humble objects.<sup>29</sup> The same frugality characterised the Inquisition of Cremona, from whose suppressed Company the emissaries of the "Dowager Empress" confiscated mainly humble objects, except for a few sacred vestments:

- [...] Numero 20 candeglieri di legno da altare, quattro piccioli, e sei grandi intagliati, ed inargentati mezzo logori.
- Numero 8 vasi di legno intagliati, e inargentati logori con suoi fiori vecchi.
- Due ginocchiatori.
- Una cadrega d'appoggio coperta di bulgaro.
- Un tavolino d'albero con ca[s]setto, serratura e chiave.
- Una cotta.
- Cera arsa numero 40 circa.
- Un cataletto per li defunti coperto di damasco nero guarnito d'oro fino.
- Uno stendardo grande di seta cremise con sue aste e cimasa dorata, con nel mezzo dipinto San Pietro Martire guarnito d'oro ed argento fino.
- Due stendardini piccioli di seta cremise guarniti d'oro ed argento fino.
- Numero 2 quadri con cornice a vernice.
- Due quadri grandi uno con San Pietro Martire e l'altro con una croce rossa e le anime del Purgatorio.
- Un altare di legno dipinto logoro ed una cornice d'intorno al quadro dell'altare [...].<sup>30</sup>

Note how those objects were of modest economic value, worn, tattered, out of keeping with the rich apparatus of the Church at the time. In some cases, the history of these objects can be traced back beyond the period of suppression, in later collections, some of which still exist today.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Archivio di Stato di Milano (henceforth ASMi), *Culto parte antica*, c. non numerata (8 October 1771).

<sup>29</sup> M.C. Giannini, *Milano, età moderna*, DSI, pp. 1043-1044, in particular p. 1044. For the history of the Milanese Holy Office see the extensive bibliography cited in *Idem*, *Un tribunale bicefalo? Il caso dell'Inquisizione dello Stato di Milano tra Cinque e Seicento*, in A. Cifres (a cura di), *L'Inquisizione romana*, pp. 387-412.

<sup>30</sup> ASMi, *Culto parte antica*, c. non numerata (17 September 1771). The list was signed by Pietro Paolo Marengi, Chancellor of the newly abolished Cremonese Company.

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, *ivi*, *Consiglio degli Orfanotrofi e del Pio Albergo Trivulzio*. I thank Germano Maifreda for drawing my attention to the subsequent events of the confiscated inquisitorial properties.

The approach to inquisitorial inventories underwent a radical change over time. They were fragmentary and sporadic until the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, while from the 1630s onwards they became increasingly systematic, in response to the warnings issued by the Congregation to inquisitors, notaries and archivists who were careless with the documents and property entrusted to them. These catalogues were primarily administrative instruments, used by the local magistrate to check that nothing was being unduly taken from the tribunal, as well as by the cardinals, to keep track of the inquisitorial property. Among the documents that the researchers found in 1998 were the numerous inventories that the inquisitors and vicars were obliged to send to the Congregation from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, almost always drawn up their taking control of the court or after exceptional events such as fires, earthquakes, floods or the transfer of the tribunal from one building to another.<sup>32</sup> Natural disasters or logistical difficulties made new catalogues indispensable in calculating losses, damage and what had been preserved in good condition.

It was almost always the arrival of a new inquisitor at the head of a court that made it necessary to draw up an updated inventory. Although some inquisitors died during their term of office, a recurring occurrence in the sources, it was the frequent transfer of judges from one place to another that caused the redaction of other catalogues.<sup>33</sup> Inquisitors often held their positions for fewer years compared to other court officials, holding a specific office for only a few years or so, while notaries, tax collectors or members of the *familia* remained in service for up to forty or fifty years due to their local origins.

The custom of describing the estate of each court at the change of inquisitor perhaps dates to before the reform of the Papal Inquisition in 1542. The practice originated from the violent but predictable conflicts that arose after the death of the judges, who, in the Middle Ages as in modern times, were the expression of the Dominican and Franciscan Conventual Orders. Inquisitors were religious men who lived in convents and spent most of their lives in the same way as their brothers. Nevertheless, they served in a tribunal that was autonomous from the superiors of the Orders, answering only to the Pope from the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the Roman Congregation. Many tensions could occur after the death of an inquisitor, when the spoliation of the deceased took place, which is to say, the appropriation by the legitimate heirs of what the friar had possessed during his earthly life.<sup>34</sup> It happened that former brethren, collaborators and new inquisitors fought over the deceased's possessions, threatening each other with legal action and often confusing the deceased's goods with those of the local Inquisition. The Congregation tackled the problem with determination, making a clear distinction between what belonged to the friar, and therefore to the convent, and what belonged to the inquisitor, and therefore to his court. Inventories were essential in confirming this separation and needed to be as up-to-date as possible to contest any claims.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Very interesting are the data concerning the users of the ACDF in its first 17 months of opening and the research carried out by them, A. Cifres, *Lo stato attuale dell'archivio romano del Sant'Uffizio*, in *L'Inquisizione e gli storici: un cantiere aperto*, pp. 27-46.

<sup>33</sup> Secrecy had to apply to those repertories, as well as to the remaining documents of the Holy Office, as enjoined by a decree of 1591 and then repeatedly reiterated by the cardinals, Archivio del Dicastero per la Dottrina della Fede, *Sanctum Officium, Stanza Storica* (henceforth ACDF, *S.O., St. St.*), M3g, c. 16r.

<sup>34</sup> The spoliation of deceased inquisitors has not yet been studied. Instead, the right to dispossess clerics dead *extra claustra* or apostates enjoyed by some Piedmontese inquisitions, financially supported by this special form of indirect funding, is well known, V. Lavenia, *I beni dell'eretico, i conti dell'inquisitore. Confische, stati italiani, economia del Sant'Uffizio*, in *L'Inquisizione e gli storici: un cantiere aperto*, pp. 47-94, in particular p. 76; P.P. Piergentili, «*Christi nomine invocato*». *La Cancelleria della Nunziatura di Savoia e il suo archivio (secc. XVI-XVIII)*, Città del Vaticano, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2014, pp. 125-134 and appendix.

<sup>35</sup> Shortages were also caused by fraudulent officers and inquisitors who absconded with wealth stolen from the court or engaged in the manufacture of documents harmful to the economy of the courts, ACDF, *S.O., St. St.*, DD2e, c. 67r (1645). Among those penalised by such embezzlement was the Congregation itself. In 1600 the

At other times the transfer was peaceful, as when the inquisitor of Adria, Fra Guido Bartolucci of Assisi, died in early 1610. Among the first to write to the Congregation were Bartolucci's confreres, asking that the local custom, according to which all the property of an inquisitor belonged to the convent and not to his successor, be respected; the cardinals agreed. The new judge described the spoliation to the Roman superiors in a letter dated 29 April.<sup>36</sup>

Among the oldest and most complete copies of inquisitorial inventories is the one sent to Rome by Bartolucci's successor on 27 April 1610,<sup>37</sup> consisting of several lists. The first enumerated the printed and manuscript works owned by the court, about 250 titles, to which were added "fifty books *in folio*, [*in*] *quarto*, and *quinternetti* written in pen, [*found*] in a trunk which was opened, they were numbered, and finally the trunk was closed."<sup>38</sup> Even the slimmest collections of folios had to be totalled, described, and re-arranged. The year of printing or writing, the title, the number of volumes or fascicles were all recorded, and sometimes the publisher and the place of printing as well. One can understand the value of such meticulous sources for reconstructing the private libraries of the judges, of which there has been no systematic study. The collection includes the predictable inquisitorial manuals, but also more heterogeneous material such as the Gospels or other biblical books, spiritual guides, homiletic writings, famous works included in the 1596 Index, and much more.<sup>39</sup> The meticulousness reached its peak in the next list, that of furnishings and objects: hundreds of notes, arranged in columns, show the materiality of the tribunal. In those rooms, the new inquisitor discovered an umbrella, a box of pills, a knife, tools for the fireplace (spit, tongs, grills, dustpan), a pencil sharpener, some coins, an "old cassette to defecate in", about a cartload of chopped wood, a hoe, work gloves and many other tools.<sup>40</sup> Even the smallest or most vulgar of possessions, such as those related to the inquisitor's bodily needs, were not neglected when describing the state of the local courts to the Congregation.

The inventories make it possible to follow the evolution of the libraries, archives, or estates of the tribunals over centuries. For some courts, numerous catalogues have been preserved, as in the case of Adria. The appointment of Fra Francesco Sertorio of Castelfidardo as inquisitor in 1645 required a new inventory, which was drawn up on 25 May of the following year. The document was countersigned by the local bishop, Giovanni Paolo Savio, himself a member of the local Holy Office, as was imposed by the laws of the Serenissima. Sertorio paid more

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nephew and assistant of Quintiliano Adriani, notary of the Congregation, escaped taking 2000 scudi with him and went on to espionage among the Turks, see D. Solera, *La società dell'Inquisizione*, p. 79; T. Mayer, *The Roman Inquisition*, pp. 142-143; E. Angione, *In Parte d'Infedeli: A Papal Informant in Istanbul (1607-1608)*, in C. Zwiernlein (ed.), *The Power of the Dispersed. Early Modern Global Travelers beyond Integration*, Leiden, Brill, 2022, pp. 27-62. As in the Roman Holy Office, in the Spanish Inquisition it was up to the *familiares* of the specific tribunal to ensure the safety of property and documents upon the death of the inquisitor until the arrival of the successor, G. Cerrillo Cruz, *Los familiares de la Inquisición española*, Valladolid, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 2000.

<sup>36</sup> ACDF, *S.O., St.St.*, GG1c, cc. 90r ss; *ivi*, cc. 96r-97v, letter from the Inquisitor of Adria to the Congregation (29 April 1610).

<sup>37</sup> *Ivi*, cc. 98r-106v, list of books (28 titles per page approx.); *ivi*, c. 114r, note of books. For another example of an inventory of books owned by an inquisitor in 1598 see A. Del Col, *L'Inquisizione del Patriarcato di Aquileia e della diocesi di Concordia. Gli atti processuali (1557-1823)*, Udine-Trieste, Istituto Pio Paschini-Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2009, pp. 105-114. For the inventory drawn up on 25 January 1710 after the death of the inquisitor of Spoleto see R. Nini, *Il Sant'Uffizio di Spoleto. Repertorio delle fonti di un'Inquisizione umbra*, Foligno, Il Formichiere, 2015, pp. 70-71; ACDF, *S.O., St.St.*, FF5i, cc. 320r-331r.

<sup>38</sup> *Ivi*, GG1c, c. 107r. For the evolution of the Udine inquisitor's book collection over time see A. Del Col, *Udine*, DSI, pp. 1606-1609, especially p. 1608.

<sup>39</sup> The inventory of the library of a very exceptional cardinal inquisitor is preserved in Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, *Fondo Borghese*, s. I, filza 49A, *Raccolta di note, studij, e diligenze di papa Paolo [V] mentre era cardinale in diverse materie*, cc. 141r-159r.

<sup>40</sup> ACDF, *S.O., St.St.*, GG1c, cc. 112r-113v, list of objects received «for my return from Religion».



attention than his predecessors to the description of the archival holdings, sometimes neglecting the properties of the court, which makes one wonder how historical circumstances or personal inclinations influenced the production of these apparently aseptic documents. The meticulousness reached its climax when the inquisitor described the archive room, which contained files on trials, letters, decrees, denunciations, abjurations, examinations of witnesses for other tribunals and much more. Each volume is annotated with the year of production and the names of the persons mentioned.<sup>41</sup> These catalogues may prove to be extremely important if losses or deliberate destruction prevent the continuity of these archives from being traced. Luckily, the court of Adria is discreetly documented in other inventories, such as those of 1636, 1646, 1652, 1704, and 1706, to which later, less systematic descriptions were added.<sup>42</sup>

The surviving catalogues testify to the importance of certain inquisitorial locations and periods, while providing a sufficiently representative sample for the courts of central and northern Italy. One of the best-documented inquisitions is that of Aquileia-Concordia, for which we have no less than 23 inventories drawn up between 1584 and 1787.<sup>43</sup> It is difficult to find such a well-documented institution over a period of two centuries. Andrea Del Col stressed the historical value of these lists, both for understanding the control exercised by the judges over the books and for sketching the history of the court in a broader perspective. In these papers, adjectives follow one another to emphasise the shabby state of the objects found, confirming the material precariousness already observed in the Lombard tribunals. In the 1598 list there is a “very sad” carpet, in 1602 a “torn” cloak, in 1629 seventy white majolica plates, most of them “broken and cracked”, two pairs of “half-worn” stockings, and six “well-worn” pillowcases, in 1655 two “used” frying pans.<sup>44</sup> These are lists drawn up by inquisitors for other inquisitors, with no apparent purpose other than to describe the quantity and condition of the objects. A note was added to a line describing four silver spoons (the only valuable objects in the entire catalogue of 1635), to recall that two years earlier the inquisitor had had to pawn three of those pieces out of financial need.<sup>45</sup> Many of the local representatives of such an authoritative court were forced to lead a very modest life, which certainly did not offer many distractions, in accordance with the charisma of their Orders.

In these repertoires we find objects of all kinds with the most varied functions, which help illustrate what life was like in the service of the Sacred Court. We can partially reconstruct the sounds, figures, colours, smells, and objects that surrounded the judges and their assistants. In the Aquileia inventories we find a mattress made of coarse but warm wool, a pair of trousers and a jacket made of soft chamois (1598), numerous paintings of sacred and profane subjects in the most varied of styles, a pewter salt cellar, many bedside utensils to combat the winter cold (1629), a noisy powder clock for striking midday and the bells for summoning the servants (placed on bedside tables and desks or fixed to the wall), the hat, overcoat (*palandrana*), suitcases, boots, spurs, combs, and razors used by the inquisitor on his travels (1635), an untinned basin for washing dishes, a jar for preserving meat in summer (1655), and much more. Clocks often appear in the catalogues; the inventory of the Perugia court of 1701 mentions “a large one-hour powder clock [found] in the torture chamber where the little rope, pulley, and bar [*stanghetta*] are.” Another list from the same Inquisition mentions “three powder clocks, one of three quarters of an hour, one of half an hour and the other of a quarter

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<sup>41</sup> *Ivi*, cc. 200r-204v.

<sup>42</sup> *Ivi*, c. 213r ss (19 May 1636); *ivi*, cc. 200r-204 (25 May 1646); *ivi*, cc. non numerate (26 November 1652); *ivi*, c. 450r ss inventory of books and objects (1704); *ivi*, c. 471r ss (1706); *ivi*, GG1b, cc. non numerate (second half of 18<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>43</sup> A. Del Col (a cura di), *L’Inquisizione del Patriarcato*, pp. 33-36, 69-143.

<sup>44</sup> *Ivi*, pp. 115, 122-124, 127, 131.

<sup>45</sup> *Ivi*, p. 128.

of an hour, to mark the torments.”<sup>46</sup> We can therefore conclude that in order to measure the intervals of the tortures inflicted, the inquisitors used not only the time taken to recite certain prayers (*Gloria*, *Paternostri* or *Avemarie*; the *Credo* for the longer tortures), but also times marked by real clocks. As this example shows, the inventories testify to the action of the Holy Office beyond the purely religious and institutional sphere, to address questions of cultural, economic, social, and material history in relation to early modernity.

Excellent examples of catalogues are those drawn up, revised, and sent to the Congregation by the inquisitor of Bologna.<sup>47</sup> In 1660 Fra Giovanni Vincenzo Paolini took control of the assets previously administered by Fra Guglielmo Fuochi. However, something did not stand to reason, especially regarding the coins and linen mentioned in recent documents. The problem of the inventories and their reliability is one of the most recurrent themes in the correspondence between the assessor of the Holy Office in Rome, Pompeo Varese, and Paolini, between December 1662 and March 1663. For almost three months, two of the leaders of the Papal inquisitorial system discussed mainly denarii and linen, distinguishing the latter according to type, quantity, quality, and economic value. Were the objects described by Fuochi present in the rooms of the Inquisition or not? Were the blankets, tablecloths, rags, and yards of cloth found in the cupboards included in the inventory? Varese sent the inquisitor the copy of the Bolognese catalogue found in the Congregation’s archive, inviting him to compare it with what was found in his tribunal. Perhaps by chance, or perhaps because Paolini had shown himself to be a dutiful accountant, Varese took advantage of this exchange of letters, which had nothing to do with orthodoxy, to introduce a private matter. It was not unusual for members of the Congregation or their assistants to call on inquisitors and local officials to settle personal matters, and in this case the assessor gave Paolini a proxy to collect certain debts on his behalf in and around Bologna. During the inspection conducted by the inquisitor, linen was found that was no longer needed, so the councillor asked the Bolognese to dispose of it: “I have already written to Your Reverence that I relied on you regarding the sale of the linen. I am therefore waiting for you to give it away.”<sup>48</sup> The friar managed the affair well, so much so that there was a certain cordiality between the two. On 2 May 1663 Varese wrote to the Dominican: “The Father Notary of the Holy Office of Your Reverence has arrived here, in whose name the pastries of Genoa have been sent to me in such quality and quantity that I bring to your courtesy a certificate of immense obligation.”<sup>49</sup> The following month, however, the assessor returned to seek Paolini’s help with some peasants who were in arrears with their rent and with a farmer whose neglect was causing him considerable damage.<sup>50</sup> The management of the Inquisition’s material goods, documents and related

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<sup>46</sup> R. Nini, *Il Sant’Uffizio di Spoleto*, p. 63 (2 July 1701).

<sup>47</sup> For the history of the Bolognese court see G. Dall’Olio, *I rapporti tra la Congregazione del Sant’Uffizio e gli inquisitori locali nei carteggi bolognesi (1573-1594)*, «Rivista storica italiana», 105, 1993, pp. 247-286; *Idem*, *Eretici e inquisitori nella Bologna del Cinquecento*, Istituto per la Storia di Bologna, Bologna, 1999; *Idem*, *L’attività dell’Inquisizione di Bologna dal XVI al XVIII secolo*, in R. Zangheri (dir.), *Storia di Bologna*, 3, *Bologna nell’età moderna. Secoli XVI-XVIII*, t. II, *Cultura, istituzioni culturali, Chiesa e vita religiosa*, edited by A. Prosperi, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2008, pp. 1097-1176; G.L. D’Errico, *L’Inquisizione di Bologna e la Congregazione del Sant’Uffizio alla fine del XVII secolo*, Roma, Aracne, 2012; D. Armando, *L’arcivescovo Oppizzoni e l’Inquisizione bolognese*, in *Il cardinale Carlo Oppizzoni tra Napoleone e l’Unità d’Italia*, edited by M. Tagliaferri, Roma, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2015, pp. 55-73; D. Solera, *Precious Help: The economic, social and material dimension of inquisitorial assistants in Early Modern Bologna*, in I. Bueno, V. Lavenia, R. Parmeggiani (eds.), *Inquisitions and Money (13th-19th c.)*, Roma, Viella, forthcoming.

<sup>48</sup> Biblioteca Comunale dell’Archiginnasio di Bologna (henceforth BCAB), *Manuscripts B*, 1900, cc. Non numerate (17 March 1663).

<sup>49</sup> *Ivi*, cc. non numerate (2 May 1663).

<sup>50</sup> *Ivi*, cc. non numerate (2 June 1663). The inquisitor solved the problem by entrusting the rent to Lodovico Piella, the chancellor of the Holy Office, *ivi*, cc. non numerate (23 June 1663). The fields poorly managed by the farmer were located in Fiezzo, today the territory of the municipality of Castenaso, not far from Bologna.

problems led the inquisitors to deal with various intermediaries, from the Congregation to the local peasants, in complex economic, social and external power dynamics that testify to the intricacy of the contexts in which the court operated.

There are numerous inventories of the Bologna Inquisition, but the 1720 inventory stands out for its wealth of information (see Appendix).<sup>51</sup> The Holy Office, located in the convent of Saint Dominic, continued a tradition that had already been established in the late Middle Ages, when the management of the Inquisition's assets was entrusted to the local Company of the Holy Cross, which included many assistants to the judges of faith.<sup>52</sup> Among the accounting documents of this confraternity are inventories and partial descriptions of books, writings, and objects belonging to the inquisitors. On 31 December 1643, the judge gave the updated inventory to Giacomo Barbieri, a *crucesignatus*, with the order to keep it in the oratory of the brotherhood, which was adjacent to the rooms of the Holy Office.<sup>53</sup> The practice of entrusting the management of inquisitorial properties to the *crucesignati* was also common in other courts, as it allowed these properties (fields, vineyards, shops, rooms, but also individual objects) to be granted to prominent persons, often representatives of families that had long been in the service of the inquisitors. Sometimes it was a forced choice, dictated by the impossibility of appointing a large and varied staff to a specific court. Secular institutions, anxious to preserve their sovereignty, prohibited the practice, notably the Republic of Venice, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and the Duchy of Milan. The inventories drawn up by the *crucesignati* of Pavia, Como, or Cremona, for example, testify to the material conditions of the respective inquisitions.<sup>54</sup>

I would like to point out the existence of other catalogues for Alessandria,<sup>55</sup> Ancona,<sup>56</sup> Fermo,<sup>57</sup> Florence,<sup>58</sup> Gubbio,<sup>59</sup> Perugia,<sup>60</sup> Pavia, and for many other places up to the 18<sup>th</sup> century and beyond, though I cannot give a detailed account of what they contain here.<sup>61</sup> Among these, the court of Spoleto deserves particular attention. Research conducted by Roberto Nini has revealed the wealth of expenditure lists, furniture catalogues and numerous inventories that exist for this small Umbrian court. These sources describe the precise layout of the inquisitorial rooms over the centuries, even indicating where the latrine was located inside the prisons. The annotations from the court of Spoleto show once again the poor state of the buildings where the inquisitors worked, affected by leaks, mould, and the cold of winter, to the extent that they were sometimes abandoned. In 1784, Fra Pier Domenico Bernardi was forced to question the Roman superiors, testifying that

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<sup>51</sup> BCAB, *Manuscripts B*, 1931, cc. Non numerate, *Inventario della Santa Inquisizione di Bologna fatto l'anno 1720* (the last annotations are from 1722).

<sup>52</sup> For the medieval phase of such religious sodalities, and the Bolognese one in particular, see D. Solera, *I crocesignati e le origini della familia del Sant'Uffizio romano*, «Studi Storici», 1, 2019, pp. 71-102.

<sup>53</sup> Archivio di Stato di Bologna, *Demaniale*, 3/6669, *Inventario delle scritture della Compagnia della Santissima Croce di Bologna*.

<sup>54</sup> ACDF, *S.O., St.St.*, LL1a, cc. non numerate (1771); ASMi, *Culto parte antica*, c. non numerata (8 October 1771). A more complete and ordered list was compiled on 19 October, *ivi*, c. non numerata.

<sup>55</sup> ACDF, *S.O., St.St.*, GG1d, inventory of books, previous catalogues, expenses etc.; *ivi*, II1h, c. 57v ss.

<sup>56</sup> BCAB, *Manuscripts B*, 1897, cc. 43r-45v, *Inventario de' libri del reverendissimo padre Maestro degnissimo Inquisitore generale d'Ancona*; ACDF, *S.O., St.St.*, DD2a, c. 737r e ss., inventory of furniture and books (1701).

<sup>57</sup> *Ivi*, II1h, cc. 242r-247r. (12 September 1701).

<sup>58</sup> *Ivi*, cc. 257r-278r, 636r-650r (1701); A. Prosperi, *Firenze*, DSI, pp. 605-607, in particular p. 606. For the Florentine tribunal see, also for the cited bibliography, L. Biasiori, *Rinascimento sotterraneo. Inquisizione e popolo nella Firenze del Cinquecento*, Roma, Officina Libraria, 2023.

<sup>59</sup> ACDF, *S.O., St.St.*, II1h, c. 419r ss; *ivi*, cc. 657r-659r (22 April 1701); *ivi*, cc. 299r-304v (30 May 1701); *ivi*, EE3c (1823).

<sup>60</sup> *Ivi*, cc. 418r-427v (1701).

<sup>61</sup> *Ivi*, II1h. Many of these inventories date from 1701 because they were requested by the Congregation in a circular letter of 1 August; *ivi*, GG1b, cc. non numerate.

the ruin of this room consists in the fact that the two side walls have split in the middle with a dangerous crack, and in several parts of these same walls there are very many cracks like in the vault, and the side walls have detached from the wall facing the entrance, and the floor has sagged in some points.<sup>62</sup>

The building was now on the verge of collapse, but the court's meagre finances did not allow for such major repairs, which meant that until well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century they were forced to constantly request money from the Congregation. Various objects found in the rooms of the Inquisition are mentioned in these exchanges, like majolica dining sets, cups for drinking coffee and chocolate, dishes that were certainly not common in cupboards at the time, but that are not sufficient to prove a particularly wealthy standard of living. Most of these objects were stolen during the Roman Republic of 1798-1799, forcing the inquisitor, once the restoration was complete, to borrow objects of all kinds in order to quickly reinstate his court.<sup>63</sup>

Finally, there are numerous inventories of the Holy Office's headquarters, which bear witness to aspects of daily life, personal affairs and economic interests that characterised the top of the inquisitorial system and which are rarely mentioned in other types of documentation. In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Roman court, having imposed the obligation on the branches to catalogue their property, adopted the same practice. Lists of the papers, books, objects, and possessions of the Congregation were kept for the years 1663-1685, 1701, 1703, 1710, 1745-1746, and 1758.<sup>64</sup> These lists sometimes include the property found in Conca, an important direct possession of the Inquisition, the economic exploitation of which financially maintained the Congregation. The list includes Conca's lands, quarries, ironworks, smithies, tools, the products obtained and much more.

In conclusion, as I hope the documents consulted have shown, the inventories compiled by the Roman Inquisition are indispensable historical sources for reconstructing the history of the ecclesiastical court. The quantity and systematic nature of the information provided, as well as the temporal and geographical distribution of the catalogues, mean that these documents can no longer be relegated to a lower level in the testimony of the history of the court and the contexts in which it operated. In this perspective, the humanities still have much to gain from the insights of the *Material Turn*, which was first achieved by those trained in organizational studies.<sup>65</sup> The Papal Holy Office was first and foremost the creator of new religious, social, intellectual, and cultural organisational models, which have yet to be studied through these inventories from different points of view.

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<sup>62</sup> R. Nini, *Il Sant'Uffizio di Spoleto*, p. 27. Bernardi had drawn up an inventory of the tribunal in 1782, now preserved in ACDF, *S.O., St.St.*, FF5i, cc. 478r-484v (9 April).

<sup>63</sup> R. Nini, *Il Sant'Uffizio di Spoleto*, p. 29.

<sup>64</sup> ACDF, *S.O., St.St.*, P1a. This volume consists entirely of inventories for other branch offices as well.

<sup>65</sup> Provocative and still fundamental remains B. Latour, *Can We Get Our Materialism Back, Please?*, «ISIS», 1/98, 2007, pp. 138-142; H. Green, *Cultural History and the Material(s) Turn*, «Cultural History», 1, 2012, pp. 61-82.

## Appendix

Inventario di tutti li beni stabili, e mobili, ed aggravati della Santa Inquisizione di Bologna, come la trovò il Reverendissimo padre Maestro Vincenzo Maria Mazzoleni Inquisitore nel fine dell'anno 1721, quando ne partì (avendo rinunciato) il Reverendissimo padre Inquisitore Maestro Giordano Vignali [...].<sup>66</sup>

### Mobili

Nel corridoio dell'ingresso del Santo Ufficio avanti le camere de patri Vicario e Notaro Sei cassabanchi di pioppa dipinti.  
Quattro carte geografiche delle quattro parti del mondo.  
Una carta geografica dell'Italia di [Giovanni Antonio] Magini.<sup>67</sup>

### Nella camera del padre Vicario

Un letto con pagliazzo in due pezzi, due mattarazzi, due cussini, due coperte, una copertina di bambace bianca.  
Un prete da porre il fuoco nel letto con una padeletta di ferro.  
Due armari, uno di noce, l'altro di pioppa, ed un altro armariolo nel sotto scala.  
Una cassetta di noce, ed una banzoletta di pioppa.  
Un tavolino di noce, ed un tavolone coperto di corame.  
Quattro cadreghe di corame, e due scanne di pacciera.  
Un'inginocchiatorio di pioppa, ed una stola morella vecchia.  
Un scabelletto di pioppa dipinto da scriverci sopra.  
Un sigillo del Santo Ufficio con mazzola di legno da batter le lettere.  
Due portiere con i suoi ferri.  
Un catino e brocca di terra.  
Una scanziola di pioppa de libri.  
Una lucerna d'ottone.  
Due stoe vecchie alle finestre.  
Un crocifisso di stucco ed un spargolino di maiolica.  
Quattro quadri di carta con cornice di legno bianco, con l'imagini: 1 della Beata Vergine, 2 di San Giovanni Evangelista, 3 di San Tomaso, 4 di Santa Rosa.

### Libri

Arsenale del Sant'Ufficio – [Cesare] Carena – Directorium Inquisitorum – Indice de libri proibiti – Messale – [Ambrogio] Calepino – Biblia Sacra – San Tomaso prima secundae – secunda secundae – tertia pars – Expositio in cantica Cantorum – Expositio in Matthaum, Isaiam, Hyeremiam, et Threnos.  
Quaresimale [Domenico] Paolazzi – Regole del Sant'Ufficio del [Tommaso] Menghini – Istruzione per la Compagnia di Santa Croce – Raguagli di Parnaso del [Traiano] Boccacini – Tractatus de elemosina – Metamorfofi d'Ovidio – Aphorismi Confessoriorum – Altro Arsenale del Sant'Ufficio piccolo.

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<sup>66</sup> BCAB, *Manuscripts B*, 1931, cc. non numerate, *Inventario della Santa Inquisizione di Bologna fatto l'anno 1720* (the last annotations are from 1722). Fra Giordano Vignali had been appointed Inquisitor of Bologna in 1710, while Mazzoleni would remain so until 1727. Extensive excerpts from the catalogue have been transcribed to testify to the meticulousness with which the document was compiled, as well as the variety of objects found at the Bolognese tribunal. The words crossed out in the original text have also been reported. Punctuation has been respected as much as possible, as has the structure of the text organised according to distinct sections, subsections, and lines. Information has been added in square brackets to aid understanding of the text. The arrangement of the rooms described in succession in the catalogue can be reconstructed thanks to a map of the Dominican complex drawn up in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and preserved in *ivi*, 1896, c. non numerata r., published in D. Solera, *La società dell'Inquisizione*, p. 189.

<sup>67</sup> L. Lago (a cura di), *Imago Italiae. Fabrica dell'Italia nella storia della cartografia tra medioevo ed età moderna: realtà, immagine ed immaginazione dai codici di Claudio Tolomeo all'atlante di Giovanni Antonio Magini*, Trieste, Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2002. Magini had taught for a long time in Bologna, dying there in 1617, U. Baldini, *Magini, Giovanni Antonio*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Treccani, 1960-2020 (henceforth DBI), 67 (2006).

### Nell'atrio dentro l'antiporta da basso

Un bancone di noce per servizio della Compagnia della Santa Croce.  
Due cadreghe d'appoggio.  
Quattro cassabanchi di pioppa dipinti.  
Una carta geografica grande di tutto il mondo.  
Otto altre carte geografiche, tra quali una del territorio di Medicina.  
Un quadro in tela con Santa Caterina da Siena.  
Un ritratto d'un papa, con cornice nera.  
Un quadro bislungo [...] con varie figure picciole e cornice dorata.  
Un campanello al muro.  
Tendina di seta celeste alla bussola.

### Nella stanza vicina, che serve di sagrestia alla capellina de carcerati

Una tavola grande di noce con due cassette per i paramenti.  
Una tavola di noce con sopra un tapeto d'arazzo vecchio.  
Cinque cadreghe antichissime da barbieri.  
Due banzole di noce.  
Una bussola, o sia sedia portatile, con cussino mobile, con coperchio di corame e tendine nere con due stanghe e due cinghie.  
Una Beata Vergine di basso rilievo con Bambino in braccio.  
Un quadro in tela col venerabile Serafino Porretta.  
Dieci carte di Tiziano [Vecelio] in carta di rame, con sue cornici.

### Nella capellina da basso de carcerati

Due carte di Tiziano in carta stampa di rame.  
Una lampada d'ottone.  
Due ingnocchiatorii di pioppa vecchi ed un altro più picciolo rotto.  
Due banchette a i lati dell'altare con cascate di corame d'oro lacero.  
Due ampoline e baciletta di vetro, per la messa.  
Un capuzzolo di latta per smorzare le candeie.  
Un paglio all'altare di corame dorato.  
Pradella dell'altare di pioppa bianca.  
Tre tovaglie per il detto altare.  
Una copertina di tela turchina per coprire l'altare.  
Quattro candeglieri e due vasi per i fiori dorati e marmorati.  
Un Sacrum Convivium con cornice dorata.  
Un tabernacolo dorato e marmorato con sopra un piccolo crocifisso.  
Due statouette di creta cotta, cioè San Pio [V], e San Felice Capuccino.  
Un campanello attaccato al muro.  
Due cussini di bombace di varii colori per sopra l'altare.  
Nove bancole di noce.

### Nella prima stanza dell'appartamento da basso.

[...] Due quadri grandi con cornici nere fogliamate e profilate d'oro, uno rappresentante Giobbe remunerato, e l'altro la Nascita di San Giovanni Battista.  
Un quadro con notte e Decolazione di San Giovanni Battista con cornice dorata.  
Due quadri, uno col Redentore e l'altro colla Beata Vergine con cornici nere profilate d'oro.  
Due ritratti, uno del fu padre Generale [Antonin] Clocche<sup>68</sup> e l'altro del fu padre Inquisitore [Antonio] Leoni<sup>69</sup> con cornici nere profilate d'oro.  
Un crocifisso dipinto sopra il camino, con sua tendina di tela turchina e ferro.  
Tre portiere di panno morello, con suoi ferri alle porte.  
Due tendine di tela bianca alle finestre con suoi ferri.

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<sup>68</sup> Cloche was Master General of the preachers from 1686 until his death on 16 February 1720, shortly before the inventory was drawn up. During his long tenure he reorganised the female branch of the order and revised its regulations, A. Cloche, *Regola, e Costituzioni Delle Suore di S. Domenico. Reviste, e ristampate d'Ord. del Rmo. P. Gen. F. Antonini Cloche*, Roma, Nella Stamperia della Reverenda Camera, 1687.

<sup>69</sup> Leoni headed the Bolognese court from 1705 to 1710.

### Nel focolare di detta stanza

Due serraglie di legno dipinte per chiudere la fuga.  
Un tornafuoco di ferro.  
Un paio di cavedoni di ferro con palle d'ottone.  
Una canna di ferro per soffiare nel fuoco.  
Una moletta – una forchetta – ed una palletta tutto di ferro [...].

### Nella stanza dell'udienza

Due tavolini di noce con tapeti di filo e cavadino di diversi colori di punto francese legato.  
Quattro vasetti marmorini con tre profili d'oro con sue rame di fiori di seta.  
Due statuette di terracotta una rappresentante San Girolamo, e l'altra con Bambino sopra i tavolini.  
Otto cadregoni di damasco con chiodaria d'ottone, cime dorate, franze, e sue carpette di bazzana rossa nel sedere.  
Una tendina di vanzo bianca con ferro.  
Dieciotto pezzi di quadri, con cornici marmorine profilate d'oro cioè:  
San Pietro quadro più grande – Cristo addolorato o sia Ecce Homo – La Vergine addolorata.  
Quattro papi, cioè Innocenzo XI – Innocenzo XII – Alessandro VIII – Clemente XI.<sup>70</sup>  
Otto cardinali – [Raimondo] Capizzucchi<sup>71</sup> – [Vincenzo Maria] Orsini<sup>72</sup> – [Tommaso Maria] Ferrari<sup>73</sup> – Ouard [Ouand?]<sup>74</sup> – [Marcello] d'Aste<sup>75</sup> – [Giacomo] Boncompagni<sup>76</sup> – [Girolamo] Casanate<sup>77</sup> – [Bandino] Panciatic[h]i.<sup>78</sup>  
Tre domenicani – Generale Cloche – Inquisitore Giaccone<sup>79</sup> – Inquisitore Leoni.

### Nella stanza vicina

[...] Tredici quadri, cioè uno con cornice tutta dorata, e fiorata rapresentante la Visita della Beata Vergine a Santa Elisabetta.  
Otto Santi dell'Ordine, cioè San Pietro Martire – Santa Rosa – Beato Umberto – Beato Coradino Ariosto – Beata Margarita – Beato Costanzo da Fabriano – Beato Bartolomeo da Bologna – Beato Ridolfo da Faenza, tutti con cornice marmorina profilate d'oro.  
Due papi, cioè Innocenzo V – e Benedetto XI.  
Un quadro con San Pio V con cornice nera, e fiorame d'oro.  
Il ritratto del Reverendissimo Commissario [Pio Felice] Cap[p]asanta.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> These are portraits of the last four popes, listed not in chronological order. They reigned in total from 21 September 1676 to 19 March 1721.

<sup>71</sup> A Dominican, Master of the Sacred Palace from 1654 to 1673, he became cardinal of the Holy Office in 1581, H.H. Schwedt, *Die Römische Inquisition. Kardinäle und konsultoren 1601 bis 1700*, Freiburg, Herder, 2017, pp. 166-169.

<sup>72</sup> A Dominican, he would become pope with the name Benedict XIII in 1724 (two years after the last entries in this inventory), remaining on the Petrine throne until 1730.

<sup>73</sup> A Dominican, Master of the Sacred Palace from 1688 to 1696, he was appointed cardinal of the Holy Office in that year and then became Prefect of the Congregation of the Index in 1700, *ivi*, pp. 256-257.

<sup>74</sup> The search did not identify the subject of this portrait.

<sup>75</sup> He was created cardinal in 1699. It is unclear whether he had any special relationship with the Inquisition, while his connection with Galeazzo Marescotti, inquisitor and later cardinal of the Holy Office (who consecrated him bishop in 1669), is certain. D'Aste moved to the Bolognese Dominican convent in 1709, where he died the same year, and perhaps this is the reason for the presence of his portrait in the rooms of the Inquisition, G. De Caro, *Aste, Marcello d'*, DBI, 4 (1962).

<sup>76</sup> Of the various cardinals of the Boncompagni family, it seems most likely to be the archbishop of Bologna, who remained in the chair of Saint Petronio from 1690 to 1731.

<sup>77</sup> A Dominican, he was among the most important figures in the history of the tribunal of faith, which he served almost uninterruptedly from 1658 to his death in 1700, as inquisitor, councillor and cardinal, L. Ceysens, *Casanate, Girolamo*, DBI, 21 (1978); H.H. Schwedt, *Die Römische Inquisition*, pp. 174-176.

<sup>78</sup> Consulor of the Holy Office from 1681, he was appointed cardinal of the Congregation in 1690, *ivi*, pp. 456-457.

<sup>79</sup> Fra Paolo Girolamo Giacconi was Inquisitor of Bologna from 1681 to 1695.

<sup>80</sup> A Dominican, *lector* and later *socius* of the Inquisitor of Bologna, he was himself an inquisitor from 1695 to 1705, when he was promoted to Commissioner of the Congregation until his death in 1707, H. Wolf et al. (Hg), *Prosopographie von Römischer Inquisition und Indexkongregation 1701-1813*, Paderborn, Schöningh, 2010, 1, pp. 267-268.

Una tendina di tela bianca alla finestra con suo ferro.

### Nella stanza del fuoco

Un tavolo di noce a otto faccie con sue cassette [...].

Una zampina di ferro.

Un soffietto, o sia buffetto.

Un ferro triangolo, che sta in mezzo del fuoco.

Quindici pezzi di quadri, cioè:

Un Salvatore con cornice d'argento velato.

Una Beata Vergine alla Veneziana, con cornice d'argento velato.

Il Bambino Gesù con la Croce con cornice marmorina.

Un crocefisso morto nelle braccia di Maria Vergine con cornice nera, e profili d'oro.

Un quadro lacero rapresentante il Presepio senza cornice.

San Vincenzo Ferrerio.

La Beata Margherita di Savoia con cornice nera e profilata d'oro.

Una Santa Cecilia con cornice nera e profili d'oro.

Santa Caterina Vergine, e Martire con cornice nera e profili d'oro.

Un Pio Quinto di rilievo ovato con cornice dorata.

Un quadro con cornice nera profilata e lavorata d'oro rapresentante la flemma.

Quattro paesetti istoriati con figure della Sacra Scrittura con cornici dorate [...].

### Nella cucina

Sul foccolare – Due cavedoni. Una catena da fuoco, tre molette, cioè due grandi, ed una piccola. Una paletta. Una palettina. Un gira arrosto. Quattro trepiedi. Un triangolo in mezzo al fuoco. Tre spiedi e due gratticole, ogni cosa di ferro. Una forcina longa di ferro da pignatta, sei coltelli grandi da cucina. Due ferri da due manichi per pistar la carne.

Tre mescole di ferro forato, ed una da friggere forata.

Una gratusa di ferro con cassa di legno.

Tre padelle di ferro da friggere con suoi manichi lunghi, una delle quali ha il suo tripiede attaccato.

Una padella da maroni forata di ferro con manico di legno.

Una padella di ferro per scaldar il letto.

Una stadiera con suo pomo d'ottone.

Una bilancia di ferro.

Un manarino, un martello, e tenaglia di ferro.

Una credenza di noce con sua scancia sopra.

Una tavola di noce con sue cassette, e sua scancia sopra.

Un buon legno grosso con tripiede per tagliarvi sopra la carne.

Due banzole di noce.

Una cassetta per pigliar il mangiare in convento.

Un tagliero di pioppa con un mattarello.

Una pistadora di legno.

Due sedazzi vecchi.

Varie asse intorno alla cucina per riporvi i piatti.

Un mortarino di bronzo con suo pistone d'ottone.

Un mortarino di marmo con suo pistone di legno.

Una basia di legno.

Una scatoletta con suo acciarino da batter fuoco.

Arnesi di ottone

Tre baccili d'ottone grandi all'antica.

Quattro scaldavivande d'ottone.

Sei candelieri d'ottone e ve ne sono due altri che servono alle lucerne dei patri Vicario e Notaro.

Tre imocolatoii o sia mochette d'ottone.

Una stamegna, o sia catinello forato di ottone.

Una lucerna d'ottone fatta a candela.

Due altre lucerne d'ottone vecchie e inutili.

Sei cocchiari e quattro forcine d'ottone, e quattro coltelli da tavola con manico d'osso nero.

Arnesi di rame

Due calcedri o sia secchi di rame per cavar acqua.

Una mescola o sia cazza di rame per l'acqua.



Una ruola o sia padella grande di rame col piede di ferro.  
Tre padelle di rame per torta, cioè [due] compagne ed una più piccola.  
Un catino di rame.  
Due piatti grandi di rame per uso di suppa.  
Una leccarda di rame o sia sott'a[r]rosto.  
Una calderina di rame con suo coperchio di rame.  
Quattro lavezzi di rame con suoi tripiedi di ferro attaccati, e due coperchi di rame per cuoprire li due più grandi.  
Due pignatte di rame con suoi manichi di ferro.  
Un pignattino di rame con suo coperchio di rame e manichi di ferro ad uso di stuffato.  
Sei tegamini o vasetti di rame per pasticcetti.  
Una padella di rame per comodità degli infermi.  
Un scaldaletto di rame.  
Due cioccolatiere di rame con loro coperchio e frulli.  
Una fogliera di rame con suoi manichi d'ottone e suo quattropiedi ~~legno~~ di ferro.  
Arensi di peltro e stagno  
Un baccille da barba di stagno.  
Due basia, o sia baccili da porsi i bicchieri con un'altra bacciletta più piccola di peltro.  
Un tripiede o sia porta vivande.  
Ventisei tondi da tovagliolo ed altre quattro piatelline di peltro tutti segnati con l'arma del Santo Officio.  
Altri trenta pezzi di peltro, cioè sei piatti da ca[p]pone, e ventiquattro tondi da tova[g]liolo, che sono stati pagati dal padre Inquisitore Mazzoleni.  
Uno scaldino di stagno da acqua per scaldare i piedi in letto.  
Una cantinetta di stagno per tenervi bozzette di vino fresco.  
Arensi di terra  
12 pignatte tra grandi e piccole di terra con sei coperchi.  
12 tegami di terra tra grandi e piccoli  
Piatti, tondi e scudelle di terra per i carcerati numero 24.  
Sei fiaschi di terra per i carcerati [...].

#### Nel cortile detto cisterna

Due secchi di rame con una catena di ferro alla cisterna.  
Un vaso grande per raccogliere l'aqua.  
Vasi grandi d'agrumi colle sue piante.

#### Nella cantina sotto la scaletta

Una botte di 3 corbe, ed una d'una corba cerchiata di ferro.  
Una salvavina di rame.  
Alcune asse intorno al muro e suoi legnami sotto le botti.  
Un martello di legno.  
Tre barile cerchiata di legno, ma guaste ed inutili.

#### Nella seconda cantina presso la legnara

Una botte di tre corbe e mezza.  
Un'altra di tre corbe.  
Una di due corbe.  
Una d'una corba e mezza.  
Una di mezza corba, tutte cerchiata di ferro.  
Varie asse intorno al muro.

#### Nei lavatorii

Un vaso grande di terra per l'aqua.  
Un alla grande, o sia vitina di terra per l'aceto.

#### Nella cucina da basso

Una barilla d'una corba cerchiata di ferro che serve per l'aceto.  
Una capponara.

#### Nella stanzola da basso presso la legnara

Un tinello di mezza castellata cerchiata di ferro.  
Due altri più grandi cerchiati di legno.  
Una manara, o sia scure di ferro col manico di legno, con tre biette di ferro per schassare i zocchi.

### Carceri

Nelle quattro carceri di sopra, e nelle tre carceri da basso, un letto con pagliazzo, mattarasso, capezzale, schiavina, sediola di paglia, brocca, catino, e orinale di terra per ciascheduna.  
Nel corridoio delle carceri da basso vi sono cinque banchette da letto e due pagliazzi.  
Item una grossa pietra con una lunga catena, con ceppo da piede.  
Ferri per carcerati  
Quattro para di manette per le mani, con suoi lchetti.  
Due para di manette per li piedi.  
Quattro ceppi con sue tagliole di ferro.  
Un martello con una incudinetta per battere dette tagliole.  
Un cinto di ferro.  
Due collari di ferro.

Nel salone sopra l'oratorio della Compagnia della Croce ove sono quattro carceri per le donne  
Una tavola quadrata di noce.  
Un'altra tavola ottangola di noce con piedi di pioppa.  
Due banchette di pioppa.  
Una sedia di corame.  
Un girellone, con sua fune per dare la corda.

Nella stanza picciola formata in detto salone vi sono libri prohibiti ed originali delle stampe

Nel camerino sotto lo scalone della Croce del quale ha la chiave il Barigello  
Li ferri, tavole, e stalette per fare il palchetto.  
Una fune longa [...].

### Biancheria

Quattro copertine di dolletto da letto.  
Sei sacchi di tela.  
Tre sacchetti di tela.  
Lenzuoli tra buoni e laceri para numero 36.  
Tovaglie da tavola numero 16.  
Panicelli da mano numero 8.  
Tovaglioli buoni numero 57, ed altri 27 laceri.  
Fodrette da cussini numero 44.  
Burazzi da mano e da cucina strazzi.

Biancheria proveduta dal padre Inquisitore Mazzoleni nel 1722  
Lenzuoli para 2.  
Tovaglioli numero 20.  
Panni da mano numero 8.  
Fodrette da cussini numero 12.

### Utensili per il Sacrificio della Santa Messa

Un calice d'argento con suo patena d'argento pesano in tutto oncie quindici e mezza incirca.  
Corporali numero 7.  
Purificatori numero 22.  
Animette numero 8.  
Cinque tovaglie da altare senza quelle che sono su gl'altari.  
Amiti numero 10.  
Camici numero 5.  
Cinque cingoli bianchi di reffo ed uno di seta giallo.  
Tre pianette nere nuove, de quali due damascate e l'altra schietta, con suoi manipoli, stole, borse, vegliere, e amiti neri.

Una pianeta verde damascata, usata con tutto il suo compimento.  
Una bianca damascata usata col suo compimento.  
Una fiorata lacera col suo compimento.  
Una bianca tutto rappezzata col suo compimento.  
Una rossa usata.  
Una morella usata, ma buona col suo compimento.  
Una rigata di vari colori usata col suo compimento.

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