

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. Anne Fremantle, ed., *The Papal Encyclicals in their Historical Context* (New York: New American Library, 1956), 120.
2. Bartolommeo Cardinal Pacca, *Memorie storiche del ministero de' due viaggi in Francia e della prigionia nel Forte di S. Carlo* (Rome: F. Bourlie, 1830), 252–53. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine.
3. Pacca, 253.
4. It is difficult to say for certain how many Jews lived in the Papal States in this period. In 1842, the number hovers at about 12,700 Jews in the entire Papal States out of a general population of about 2,900,000, making Jews a mere 0.4 percent of the population. For Jewish population statistics, see Ermmano Loevinson, “Gli israeliti della Stato Pontificio e la loro evoluzione politico sociale nel periodo del Risorgimento Italiano fino al 1849,” *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento* 4 (1929): 768–803; for general population statistics, see B. R. Mitchell, ed., *The International Historical Statistics Europe, 1750–1993*, 4th ed. (New York: Stockton, 1998).
5. Patricia Wald, *Constituting Americans: Cultural Anxiety and Narrative Form* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 2.
6. Cited in Giovanni Miccoli, *Fra mito della Cristianità e secolarizzazione* (Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1985), 26–27.
7. Robin West, *Narrative, Authority, and the Law* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1993), 5.
8. For a discussion of *italianita* (Italian-ness) see Giulio Bollati, *L'Italiano: Il carattere nazionale come storia e come invenzione* (Turin: Einaudi, 1984), 3–13.
9. The very word “convert,” from the Latin “convertere” signifies this change: “To turn about, turn in character or nature, transform, translate, etc.” *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1991 ed.
10. Richard Weisberg, *Poethics: And Other Strategies of Law and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 72.
11. Stephen Greenblatt coined the phrase “cultural poetics” to define this relationship between literature and society in his essay “Towards a Poetics of Culture,” in *The New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veesser (London: Routledge, 1990), 1–14. Also see Stephen Greenblatt, “Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and its Subversion,” *Glyph* 8 (1981): 40–61.

12. For further discussion of the theories and development of the interdisciplinary study of law and literature, see Peter Brooks and Paul Gewirtz, eds., *Law's Stories: Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).
13. Peter Brooks, *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), 61.
14. Robert A. Ferguson, "Untold Stories in the Law," in *Law's Stories: Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law*, ed. Peter Brooks and Paul Gewirtz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 89.
15. On a more personal note, these archives opened at a time when a new initiative began to open even more recent Vatican archival material to the public. I refer here to the efforts of the International Catholic Jewish Historical Commission, a group of six scholars that was appointed in November 1999 (by the Vatican and a Jewish liaison group) and assigned the task of reviewing the Church's published archival material relating to World War II in the hopes of, eventually, turning to undisclosed documentation. I acted in the capacity of researcher for this group, and it was largely because of my work in this more modern period of Vatican politics, a subject I shall return to briefly at the end of this book, that I became interested in archival resources more generally and those of the Vatican in particular.
16. Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 4.
17. Paul established the Congregation of the Inquisition, also known as the Roman Inquisition and Holy Office, during the time of the Protestant Reformation. Its task was to maintain the correct doctrine of faith for the Church and to examine erroneous or false doctrines. While initially focused on the danger of the Reformation, the Inquisition tribunal's focus changed depending on that which the Holy Office viewed as new or imminent threats to Catholicism. I shall return to this issue in Chapter 2.
18. John C. Hawley, "Making Disciples of All Nations," in *Historicizing Christian Encounters with the Other*, ed. John C. Hawley (London: Macmillan, 1998), 6. For a discussion on boundaries in the nineteenth-century city, also see Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1986).
19. This term is used by Nelson Moe in his discussion of Vincenzo Gioberti. See Nelson Moe, *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Los Angeles: California University Press, 2001), 112–20.
20. Stallybrass and White note that the boundaries of the nineteenth-century city were generally denoted along terms of high and low, rich and poor, clean and dirty. The mapping of the city along these lines repeated "the discourse of colonial anthropology. With regard to papal cities, this division was also made along religious and moral lines: moral Christian versus immoral Jew" (Stallybrass and White, 127).
21. Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (hereafter referred to as ACDF); Santum Officium (hereafter referred to as S. O.), Stanza

- Storica (hereafter referred to as St.St.). TT.2.n.17. *Edito sopra gli ebrei* (Rome: Stamperia della Rev. Camera Apostolica, 1775), 6–7.
22. For further discussion of how the marriage market affected conversion rates, as well as more general statistics regarding the conversion of Jewish men and women, see Luciano Allegra, “Modelli di conversione,” *Quaderni Storici* 78 (1991), 901–15.
 23. For a discussion of this subject, see Maria Faust Maternini Zotta, *L’Ente comunitario ebraico: la legislazione negli ultimi due secoli*, Pubblicazioni della facoltà di giurisprudenza della università di Trieste, vol. 27 (Milan: Giuffrè Editore, 1983), 60–83.
 24. ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.5.i.
 25. When Napoleon freed the pope from his exile, he handed Pius VII only the lands of Rome and Trasimeno. As Cardinal Wiseman recorded, “The ability, perseverance, and admirable tact of Cardinal Consalvi,” who was sent to the Congress of Vienna in an attempt to win back some of the pope’s former holdings, “won [the richest and fairest of his provinces] back.” Nicholas Cardinal Wiseman, *Recollections of the Last Four Popes and of Rome in their Times* (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1858), 86.
 26. Clement reluctantly agreed to suppress the Jesuit order after coming under much pressure to do so by the courts of France, Spain, Portugal and Naples, all of whom viewed the Jesuits’ highly visible missionary work and their supposed power in the royal courts as dangerous to their own authority.
 27. For an extensive discussion of the fall of the Jesuits, see Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon, 1981), 346–90.
 28. See Giovanni Miccoli, *Fra mito della cristianità e secolarizzazione: studi sul rapporto chiesa-società nell’età contemporanea* (Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1985), 22–23.
 29. Manfred Barthel, *The Jesuits*, trans. Mark Howson (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1984), 234. For a detailed history of the Society of Jesus, also see William V. Bangert, S. J., *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1972).
 30. This agenda ultimately led to the founding of the Jesuit newspaper *Civiltà Cattolica*, which, as Manfred Barthel writes, “set standards for backward thinking and sheer reactionary wrong-headedness that prevailed until the third decade of the present century” (Barthel, 239). I will explore the foundation and content of this journal more thoroughly in a subsequent chapter.
 31. ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.5.i. Undated letter.
 32. See Miccoli, *Fra mito della cristianità e secolarizzazione*, 80–87.
 33. CH. De Montalembert, *Histoire de Sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie Duchesse de Thuringe (1207–1231)*, Paris 1841, XII. Miccoli, *Fra mito della cristianità e secolarizzazione*, 46–47.
 34. Daniele Menozzi, “Tra riforma e restaurazione,” *Storia d’Italia, La Chiesa e il potere politico dal Medioevo all’età contemporanea*, vol. 9, ed. Giorgio Chittolini and Giovanni Miccoli (Turin: Einaudi, 1986), 778. Also, for further discussion of this hardening political line of the Catholic Church, see Mario

- Rosa, "Tra tolleranza e repressione: Roma e gli ebrei nel '700," *Italia Judaica: Gli ebrei in Italia dalla segregazione alla prima emancipazione*, Atti del II Convegno internazionale, Tel Aviv 15–20 giugno 1986 (Rome: Ministero per i beni cultura e ambientali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1989), 81–98.
35. These numbers mark a significant increase from the number of converts at the end of the eighteenth century. During the pontificate of Pius VI, and despite the famous proselytization efforts of the then rector of the Catechumens, Rovira Bonet, on average only six people were baptized a year in the years immediately following the French Revolution. See W. H. de Colenberg, "Le baptême des juifs à Rome de 1614 à 1798 selon les registres de la 'Casa dei Catecumeni,'" *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 26 (1988): 119–294; and Marina Caffiero, "Le insidie de' perfidi giudei'. Antiebraismo e riconquista cattolica alla fine del settecento," in *La questione ebraica dall'Illuminismo all'Impero (1700–1815)*, atti del convegno della Società Italiana di Studi sul secolo XVIII, ed. Paolo Alatri and Silvia Grassi (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1994), 194. Also, Attilio Milano notes that the House of the Catechumens in Rome received the baptism of 116 men and 80 women during the years 1813–1869, which includes the years of the present examination. While he does not specify, one can assume that Milano is only referring to the baptism of Jews. See Attilio Milano, *L'impari lotta della Comunità di Roma contro la Casa dei catecumeni* (Città di Castello: Tip. Unione arti grafiche, 1950), 5.
 36. Archivio della Casa dei Catecumeni, Rome (hereafter referred to as ACC), Catecumeni neofiti 181, *Liber Battizzatorum Neophitorum Ven. Domus Cathecumen de Urbe, 1759–1826*.
 37. Ermanno Loevinson, "Gli israeliti della Stato Pontificio," 784.
 38. ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.5.k, *Edito sopra gli ebrei*, 7.
 39. David Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews* (Knopf: New York, 2001), 54.
 40. His conversion story will be discussed in a later chapter.
 41. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC5.l.
 42. ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.2.d. Pesaro, 1815.
 43. For a discussion of antisemitism around Easter time, see Stallybrass and White, 54–5.
 44. For further discussion, see Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Antisemitism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943).
 45. ACC, Catechumeni neofiti 183, *Libro di Ebrei, e Turchi venuti nella Pia Casa de' Catechumens*, 1814–1824, 12.
 46. ACDF, S. O., St.St., TT.3.b.9. Pesaro, November 2, 1823.
 47. Maria Paiano, "Il dibattito sui riflessi dell'antisemitismo nella liturgia Cattolica," *Studi Storici* 41, no. 3 (July–September 2000): 658.
 48. For discussion of these negotiations, see Nicholas Davidson, "The Inquisition and the Italian Jews," *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Stephen Haliczer (Croom Helm: London, 1987). In addition, Mario

- Rosa discusses the oscillations between tolerance and repression with regard to the Jews of various eighteenth-century pontificates in his *Tra tolleranza e repressione*.
49. For further discussion, and a series of important documents on the subject, see Ermanno Loevinson, “Gli israeliti della Stato Pontificio.”
 50. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.4.c.
 51. *Canne* refers to a measurement. Three hundred *scudi* refers to a monetary sum the offender was forced to pay. ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.5.k, *Edito sopra gli ebrei*, 6.
 52. ACC, Catechumens neofiti 183, *Libro di Ebrei, e Turchi*, 18.
 53. ACC, Catechumens neofiti 183, *Libro di Ebrei, e Turchi*, 18.
 54. *Ratto della Signora Anna del Monte trattenuta à Catecumeni tredici giorni dalli 6 fino alli 19 maggio anno 1749*, ed. Giuseppe Sermonta (Rome: Carucci editore, 1989).
 55. Robin West, *Narrative, Authority, and the Law*, 1–2. See also John Brannigan, *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1998).
 56. Richard Delgado, “Storytelling for Oppositionists and Others: A Plea for Narrative,” *Michigan Law Review* 87 (August, 1989): 2313.

CHAPTER 2

1. Archivio della Casa dei Catecumeni, Rome (ACC), Catecumeni neofiti 181, *Liber Battizzatorum Neophitorum*. The exact date of the baptism is October 9, 1804.
2. Indeed, according to the turn of the century historian Giuseppe Marcotti, Tivoli converted for the sole purpose of obtaining a job, although no records in the archives provide proof of this claim. Marcotti, 253.
3. For further discussion of the rules restricting converts, particularly Jewish converts, see Allegra, “Modelli di conversione,” 901–15. As he points out, conversion was often tied to the marriage market, and, because Jewish converts were forbidden any contact with the Jewish community, they were wholly dependent on the House of the Catechumens for financial support.
4. While Livorno was certainly a haven in comparison to the Papal States, it should be noted that Livorno was more reactionary than the rest of Tuscany; while in Florence and Pisa, for example, Jews lived outside the ghetto, in Livorno they still lived within its walls. There were requests to move out, but one of the governor’s closest advisers was an anti-Semitic priest by the name of Martolini, who argued that having Jews move out of the ghetto would lead to mixing with the general population, and the results would be disastrous. Marcotti, 255.
5. The name appears with different spellings throughout Vatican documentation: Cavaliere, Cavagliere, Cavagliere. I have maintained the spelling most

frequently used, Cavalieri. In addition, the reader will note that while I generally refer to Tivoli by his preconversion name, I refer to Cavalieri by his postconversion name. I do so in large part because, while the legal documentation calls the case against Tivoli the “Labani Affair,” they generally refer to the man in question as Tivoli rather than Labani. In contrast, similar legal documents refer to Cavaliere as such rather than as Manganetti. Why Tivoli is called by his non-Christian name is not discussed, although it is undoubtedly linked to his identity as an apostate Jew.

6. For a discussion of conversion as conquest, see Michael Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion: “The Jewish Question” and English National Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 171–72.
7. Indeed, as Ernesto Galli della Loggia notes, the Church in Italy was able to sustain itself precisely because of “popular religiosity” that it discovered and encouraged. By popular, he suggests that the Church had an extraordinary capacity of organization to bring attention to even the poorer strata of society. This capacity to establish a relationship with the masses meant that the Church was “the *only* Italian institution with a strong base and popular content . . . in the communal Italian experience Christianity . . . is a motive and pretense of unity.” *L’identità italiana* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1998), 50–51.
8. R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Trent 1475: Stories of a Ritual Murder Trial* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
9. ACC, Catechumeni neofiti 181, *Liber Battizzatorum Neophitorum*. In his discussion of converts, Ermanno Loevinson notes that converts were always referred to as such, even years after baptism occurred, as a means of ensuring the humility of the convert. In addition, they did so because this title carried over to police reports so that the police would know to keep a special eye on these individuals. This may have been another reason that Tivoli is constantly referred to as the “apostate.” See Loevinson, “Gli israeliti della Stato Pontificio,” 786.
10. Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (ACDF), Santum Officiium (S. O.), Stanza Storica (St.St.), BB.2.c. Tuscany, June 20, 1814.
11. The meaning of the term “citizen,” or “cittadino,” has changed with the advent of nationhood, and hence I would like to clarify the use of the terms “subject” and “citizen” used herein. In Tuscan documentation, “cittadino” suggests any inhabitant of the duchy. Indeed, as the *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana* notes in its definition of the term, “During the French Revolution, [it was] a common noun that came to refer without distinction to all people, to indicate the impartiality of the law.” (*Grande Dizionario della lingua italiana*, vol. 3, 1st ed.) Not surprisingly, in the lands of Tuscany that remained under Napoleonic control, this definition was maintained in much of the documentation examined in this chapter, and the general usage of the word meant that it applied to both Jewish and Catholic inhabitants of the duchy. In contrast, papal representatives, who did not recognize the changes wrought by the French Revolution, maintained an older, pre-French Revolution definition of the term, when it meant simply “he who is part of the

population of a city” or “he who lives in a city” (*Grande Dizionario della lingua italiana*, vol. 3, 1st ed.) Jews, who did not live freely within the city and did not possess the civic rights and privileges of Catholic inhabitants of a city, are clearly not included in this designation, as the documentation cited herein reflects. To differentiate between Catholic and Jewish inhabitants of the Papal States, I therefore refer to Catholics as “citizens,” a term the documents of the day often employ (albeit not with the modern connotation of this word) and Jews as “subjects,” as often they were referred by papal officials.

12. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f.
13. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f.
14. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f.
15. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f.
16. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f. Ferrara, May 30, 1821.
17. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f. Ferrara, 30 May 1821.
18. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f. Ferrara, October 3, 1821.
19. ACC, Catecumeni neofiti 183, *Libro di Ebrei, e Turchi*, 3–6.
20. Daniele Menozzi refers to the conversion stories of Protestants to Catholicism, suggesting that their conversions were viewed by the Church as victory against a destruction of the social order brought on by the Revolution but started by Luther and the Reformation. I would extend this battle to include Jewish conversion narratives. For further discussion, see Menozzi, *Tra riforma e restaurazione*.
21. ACC, Catecumeni neofiti 183, *Libro di Ebrei, e Turchi* 3–6.
22. ACC, Catecumeni neofiti 183, *Libro di Ebrei, e Turchi* 3–6.
23. ACC, Catecumeni neofiti 181, *Liber Battizzatorum Neophitorum*. This is not the only case Colonna records. In 1806, for example, only two years after Tivoli appeared in the Catecumen registry, Colonna records the story of a Muslim convert—one of only five converts that year—who was captured and enslaved by a papal vessel in 1805. The young man was brought to the port of Civitavecchia, where he, much like Jochanan, if we are to believe the rector’s story, voluntarily approached the rector and asked to convert. The boy took the name Fortunato, and converted under Colonna’s instruction. Several years later, in 1821, the number of Muslim converts grew further: out of a total of 15 converts, four were Muslim. The writer of the Catechumens registry explains that the increase was the result of an Armenian Catholic merchant working in Constantinople, who bought these Muslims as slaves and brought them to the peninsula. One fell ill in Trieste while they were traveling, and a priest who accompanied the group thought she should be baptized. She lived, however, and soon her fellow Muslims appear to have been converted as well.
24. ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.2.c. Livorno, May 23, 1814.
25. ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.2.c. Livorno, June 13, 1814.
26. ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.2.c. Rome, June 1814.

27. James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 14.
28. Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews*, 15.
29. Archivio dello Stato di Firenze (hereafter referred to as ASF). Presidenza del buongoverno 1814–1848, Affari Comuni (hereafter referred to as PAC), Parte Prima, Filza 14, 488. Livorno, June 13, 1814.
30. John Brannigan, *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism* (New York: St. Martin's, 1998), 64. Also see Greenblatt, "Invisible Bullets."
31. "MERDA PER il Dio de Cristiani / Guillotina P. LI. Ebrei Catechumeni / Alla Lanterna li Ministri / che promuovano l'Idolatria." ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f.
32. "I sudditi dello Stato Pontificio." Sonnetto: Scandelizzati da bestial governo / Che ci rode e ci affligge in ogni parte / Siam costretti a bramar che Bonaparte / D'Sant Elena torni o dall'Inferno, / Se' condannati siam a un male eterno / Dalle profane o dalle sacre carte / Ci regga almen colui che adoprò l'arte / D'aver per fin la innopotenza a scherno. / Che allor potremo dir, se questa legge / Irreta a sdegno, e alla vendetta il cielo [. . .] che ci governa, e regge. / Ma che sotto la scorta del vangelo / Fatto lupo il pastor divori il gregge / Tanta empietà ci fa restar di gelo. There is a parenthetical phrase, here marked by brackets, that is illegible in the original text (ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f).
33. Samaja "La Situazione degli ebrei nel periodo del Risorgimento." *Rassegna Mensile d'Israele* 23, nos. 7–9 (July–Sept. 1957): 298–309; 359–71; 414–21.
34. Cited in Samaja, 360.
35. Wald, *Constituting Americans*, 307. I draw here on Wald's formulation and use of the terms cultural and national identity.
36. As Marchiò wrote accusingly, the couple was "too well informed by *some national of theirs employed by the same [Livornese police force] . . .*" ASF.PAC, Parte Prima, Filza 14, 488. Livorno, June 5, 1814 (emphasis in the original).
37. ASF.PAC, Parte Prima, Filza 14, 488. Livorno, June 21, 1814.
38. It should be noted that while D'Arco expresses some typically anti-Semitic ideas in his work, he also recognizes that many of these attributes come about precisely because Jews are separated from the community at large.
39. See Francesco Gambini, *Dell'Ebreo Possidente* (Turin: Stamperia Pane, 1815) and *Della cittadinanza giudaica in Europa* (Turin: Tipografia di G. Pomba, 1834). For further discussion, see Franco della Peruta, "Gli ebrei nel Risorgimento fra interdizioni ed emancipazione," *Storia d'Italia, Gli ebrei in Italia: dall'emancipazione a oggi*, vol. 11.2 ed. Corrado Vivanti, (Turin: Einaudi, 1997), 1135–67.
40. ASF.PAC, Parte Prima, Filza 14, 488. Livorno, June 5, 1814.
41. ASF.PAC, Parte Prima, Filza 14, 488. Livorno, June 5, 1814.
42. ASF.PAC, Parte Prima, Filza 14, 488. Livorno, June 6, 1814.
43. ASF.PAC, Parte Prima, Filza 14, 488. Livorno, June 6, 1814.
44. ASF.PAC, Parte Prima, Filza 14, 488. Florence, June 6, 1814.

45. ASF.PAC, Parte Prima, Filza 14, 488. Florence, June 14, 1814. The same news was sent to the governor of Livorno on June 16, 1814.
46. Alessandro Roveri, *La Santa Sede tra rivoluzione francese e restaurazione: Il cardinale Consalvi, 1813–1815* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1974), 144.
47. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f. Ferrara, May 30, 1821.
48. George Mosse, *The Culture of Western Europe: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1988), 90–91.
49. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f. Ferrara, 3 October 1821.
50. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f.
51. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f.
52. Marace's testimony made no reference to or connection between his sudden dismissal and the case at hand, nor did Marchiò mention the connection. Instead, the latter, upon sending the trial testimony to Cardinal Pacca several days later, happily noted that the testimony of a Jew would surely strengthen the Vatican's case in the eyes of the Tuscan government. ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.2.c. Livorno, July 22, 1814.
53. ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.2.c.
54. ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.2.c. Florence, August 30, 1814.
55. Archivio della Comunità Ebraica di Livorno (hereafter referred to as ACEL), Filza D, 71. Livorno, June 17, 1814.
56. ASF.PAC, Parte Prima, Filza 14, 488. Livorno, June 18, 1814. Accusations of poisoning were one stereotype that served as a weapon against the Jewish community well after this case. Laws that separated the two communities, from not hiring Christian servants to not eating food prepared by a Jew, were all established with the aim of saving Christians from death by poison. See Nino Samaja, "La Situazione degli ebrei nel periodo del Risorgimento," *Rassegna Mensile d'Israele*, "La Situazione degli ebrei nel periodo del Risorgimento." *Rassegna Mensile d'Israele* 23.7–9 (July–September 1957): 298–309; 359–71; 414–21.
57. ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.2.c. Livorno, June 20, 1814.
58. ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.2.c. Livorno, June 20, 1814.
59. ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.2.c. Rome, June 25(?), 1814.
60. We see illustrated here the parallel between the position of the European Jew and the colonial subject. There is a significant body of literature on Orientalism, colonialism, and the European Jew. In particular, see Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) and *Orientalism and the Jews*, ed. By Davidson Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2005). In Tudor Parfitt's essay entitled "The Use of the Jew in Colonial Discourse" that appears in this collection, for example, the author notes that Jewish ancestry was thought to explain the ancestry of many of the peoples whom European colonizers met upon their conquest of new lands. Thus the relationship between colonial subject and Jew is brought even further together (51–67).
61. See, for example, Po-Chia Hsia, *Trent 1475*, 105–13.

62. ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.2.c. Livorno, June 20, 1814.
63. Daniel A. Farber and Suzanna Sherry, "Telling Stories Out of School: An Essay on Legal Narratives," *Stanford Law Review* 45 (April, 1993): 827.
64. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f. Ferrara, May 30, 1821.
65. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f.
66. "Such news [of the baptism], once it arrived, resulted in her great agitation. In this state of things, I strongly believed in soliciting verbally the official participation of the resolution assumed to that effect, that no mishap could happen both with regard to stealing the baby and with regard to the flight of the mother." ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.2.c. Livorno, August 11, 1814.
67. ACDF, S. O., St.St., BB.2.c. Livorno, June 20, 1814.
68. ASF.PAC, Parte Prima, Filza 14, 488. Florence, August 30, 1814.
69. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f. Ferrara, May 16, 1823.
70. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f. Ferrara, June 13, 1823.
71. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f. Ferrara, June 13, 1823.
72. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f. Ferrara, June 23, 1823.
73. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f. Ferrara, June 13, 1823.
74. ACDF, S. O., St.St., CC.3.f. Ferrara, June 13, 1823.
75. Paula Hyman notes that despite the extraordinary efforts and resources the Church expended in pursuing conversions, "Italian Catholic society did remarkably little with the converts." (8–9) The fates of Cavalieri and Tivoli are unknown, but the very fact that they seem to drop out of view confirms Hyman's suggestion that the Church's interest is in the conversion itself and not in the future well-being of the converts.
76. This was proven at the first Vatican council, which was organized in 1869–1870 by Pius IX, when theologians elaborated on the idea of the Church as 'societas perfecta.' See Giovanni Miccoli *Fra Mito della Cristianità e secolarizzazione* (Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1985), 71, *Fra* For further discussion of the relationship between Europe and Christianity, see Aylward Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation* (London: Cassell Publishers, 1988).
77. Sander Gilman and Steven Katz, eds., *Antisemitism in Times of Crisis* (New York: New York University Press, 1991), 2.
78. ACDF, S. O., St.St., TT.3.b.15.
79. Cited in Pickering 76. Susan Zickmund, "Approaching the Radical Other: The Discursive Culture of Cyberhate" in S. G. Jones, ed., *Virtual Culture: Identity and Communication in Cybersociety* (London: Sage, 1997).
80. Pickering, 68.
81. For a thorough discussion of reactionary attitudes within the Vatican from the return of Pius VII through the reign of Pius IX, see Daniele Menozzi, *La chiesa cattolica e la secolarizzazione* (Turin: Einaudi, 1993).
82. For a thorough discussion of medieval views of Jews, see Joan Young Gregg, *Devils, Woman and Jews: Reflections of the Other in Medieval Sermon Stories* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1997), 169–235.
83. See Miccoli, *Fra Mito della Cristianità e secolarizzazione*.

84. Peter Brooks, "The Law as Narrative and Rhetoric," *Law's Stories: Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law*, ed. Peter Brooks and Paul Gewirtz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 17.
85. Peter Brooks *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* (New York: Vintage Books), 1984, 216.
86. This term is coined in the title of Brooks and Gewirtz, eds., *Law's Stories: Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law*.

CHAPTER 3

- * This phrase comes from Michael Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion. "The Jewish Question" and English National Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 49.
1. In his work *Alessandro Manzoni. Reminiscenze* (Milan: 1892), Cesare Cantù confirms this version of the story, as does R. Barbiera...*Il Salotto della Contessa Maffei* (Milan: 1895). Giovanni Visconti Venosta gives a similar account in his *Ricordi di gioventù* (Milan: Cogliati, 1906). Cristoforo Fabris, in his *Memorie manzoniane* (Milan: 1901), recounts a similar story. Finally, while Giuseppe Giusti does not mention the occasion of Napoleon's wedding, he also attests to fireworks and the crowds of Paris as the reason that Manzoni found refuge in St. Roch. Cited in Piero Fossi, *La conversione di Alessandro Manzoni* (Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1974), 75.
 2. Barbiera, 268.
 3. For further discussion of Manzoni and the issue of agoraphobia, see Massimo Riva, *Malinconie del moderno: Critica dell'incivilimento e disagio della nazionalità nella letteratura italiana del XIX secolo* (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 2001), 115–35.
 4. Roch, much like Father Christopher in *I Promessi Sposi*, ministered to those afflicted with the plague. Although Roch eventually contracted the disease himself, he miraculously recovered, similar to the protagonist of Manzoni's novel, Renzo, to whom I shall return.
 5. Numerous scholars have discussed the stories of Manzoni's conversion. For an excellent overview of many of these stories, see Fossi, 75–78, and John Lindon, "Alessandro Manzoni and the Oxford Movement: His Politics and Conversion in a New English Source," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45, no. 2 (April 1994): 297–318. Umberto Colombo also refers to several of these stories in his essay, "I silenzi del Manzoni," *Otto/Novecento* 9, no. 1 (1985): 41–72. In addition, they are discussed in Emma Pistelli Rinaldi, "Il cosiddetto 'miracolo di san Rocco' nella conversione del Manzoni," *Italianistica* 14, no. 3 (1985): 433–57; and in Francesco Ruffini, "La 'conversione' del Manzoni," *Manzoni: Testimonianze di critica e di polemica*, ed. Giorgio Bárberi Squarotti and Marziano Guglielminetti (Florence: G. D'Anna, 1973),

- 39–44. And finally, they receive attention in Cesare Angelini, *Con Renzo e con Lucia (e con gli altri). Saggi sul Manzoni* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1986).
6. Davide Norsa, *Pensieri d'un cattolico* (Prato: Guasti, 1850), 6.
 7. Norsa, 6.
 8. G. Giorgini (Vittoria's husband), letter to Carlo Magenta, 1876, in *Manzoni intimo*, vol. 2, ed. Michele Scherillo (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1923), 257.
 9. Lindon, 316–17; John Henry Wynne to Edward Moore, December 9, 1882.
 10. Kenneth Stowe, *Alienated Minority: the Jews of Medieval Latin Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 13. For further discussion of Pauline conceptions of conversion, also see Marina Caffiero, *La nuova era: miti e profezie dell'Italia in Rivoluzione* (Genoa: Marietti, 1991). Also see Alan F. Segal, *Paul the Convert: the Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990). The Gospels also speak of Christianity as the extension and fulfillment of the Hebrew Scriptures, although Paul connects this association much more clearly to his own Jewish background.
 11. Renato Moro, "L'atteggiamento dei cattolici tra teologia e politica," *Stato nazionale ed emancipazione ebraica*, ed. F. Sofia and M. Toscano (Rome: Bonacci Editore), 313. On this subject, see also Giovita Scalvini, *Foscolo, Manzoni, Goethe*, ed. Mario Marazzan (Turin: Einaudi, 1948), 209–37.
 12. Lynn Gunzberg briefly refers to these stories, and to Manzoni's conversion, in her work *Strangers at Home: Jews in the Italian Literary Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 59.
 13. John Gatt-Rutter, "When the Killing Had to Stop: Manzoni's Paradigm of Christian Conversion," *The Italianist* 10 (1990): 9. Gatt-Rutter's essay concentrates on defining the pattern of conversion that can be found in Manzoni's novel, and in this sense, the objective of his essay is quite different from my own study.
 14. Manzoni met Henriette on a trip he took with his mother to Lake Como. For a thorough treatment of his early years, see Mario Sansone, *Manzoni Francese (1805–1810): Dall'Illuminismo al Romanticismo* (Rome: Laterza, 1993). For a complete biography of Manzoni, see Natalia Ginzburg, *La famiglia Manzoni* (Turin: Einaudi, 1994). A briefer biographical overview, as well as an overview of Manzoni's writing, can be found in Francesco De Sanctis, *Storia della letteratura italiana. Dall'Ottocento al Novecento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1991).
 15. Undated letter to Fauriel, believed to have been written in October, 1807, *Carteggio di Alessandro Manzoni*, vol. 1, eds. Giovanni Sforza and Giuseppe Gallavresi (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1912), 118.
 16. Alessandro's mother not only sanctioned the marriage; she herself had turned to Calvinism following the death of Imbonati and even had plans to become a nurse in the largely Protestant city of Geneva. See G. G. Orelli's letter to Davide and Regula Orelli, February 12, 1808, *Carteggio*, vol. 1, 138–9.

17. In 1821, Eustachio Degola authored an unedited work entitled *Sulla conversione degli ebrei*, in which he refers to the Pauline belief that Jews will find salvation through conversion to Christianity. These beliefs appear remarkably similar to Manzoni's own thoughts on conversion, as discussed in the next section of this chapter. For further discussion of this work, see Caffiero, *La nuova era*, 80–96.
18. Eustachio Degola, *Eustachio Degola, il clero costituzionale e la conversione della famiglia Manzoni*, ed. Angelo de Gubernatis (Florence: G. Barbèra, 1882), 481. Count Somis to Abbot Degola, June 28, 1810.
19. *Eustachio Degola*, 509. In a letter Tosi received from Henriette five days later, on March 27, 1811, he must have been immensely pleased to read that, just as he wished, she had distanced herself substantially from her parents: "I will tell you nothing of my parents, except that they seem to be more foreign than ever, especially since I had a small discussion with my mother about religion, when, thank God, I spoke with all the warmth that the subject demanded." *Eustachio Degola*, 510.
20. Indeed, John Lindon alludes briefly to the "method" employed by these clergymen, noting that scholars have yet to seriously examine it. Lindon, 308. For further discussion of Henriette's conversion, also see Caffiero, *La nuova era*, 121–22.
21. *Eustachio Degola*, 489–90. Tosi to Degola, August 5, 1810.
22. I return to a comparison of conversions of Jews and Protestants to Catholicism in chapter 5.
23. *Eustachio Degola* 503–4. Henriette to Degola, December 16, 1810.
24. *Eustachio Degola* 520–23. Henriette to Degola, March 28, 1813 and March 16, 1815.
25. Ragussis, 2.
26. See, for example, his letter of August 12, 1810 to Degola. *Eustachio Degola*, 491–93.
27. This belief was reflected in a letter Degola sent Tosi when the Manzoni family left Paris for Milan. In the note, Degola mentioned the care the newly converted Henriette required and the spiritual assistance given Manzoni's mother; he made no mention of Manzoni himself, however, and in doing so suggested that Manzoni was not a potential candidate for conversion. The letter, dated May 30, 1810, to Tosi, appears in *Carteggio*, vol. 1, 208–9.
28. *Carteggio*, vol. 1, 236–37. Tosi to Degola, August 26, 1810.
29. Cited in Lindon, 309.
30. Vittorio Spinazzola, *Il libro per tutti: saggio sui "Promessi Sposi"* (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1983), 10.
31. Carlo Dionisotti, *Manzoni and the Catholic Revival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 12.
32. According to Giovanni Visconti Venosta, the clergyman who discovered the relationship between Manzoni and Marco Coen was told to reorder Manzoni's manuscripts and correspondence after the author's death, unlike

- the other men who wrote memoirs detailing Manzoni's conversion and their own. Among these documents, he discovered hundreds of letters from men and women, including Coen, who wrote Manzoni "as if to a saint, saying that his writings had put faith, peace, hope in their souls." Venosta, 595.
33. Fossi, 185. Unfortunately, I could not find the originals of either Coen's or Manzoni's letters. Fossi reprinted Manzoni's two letters to the young man, the first of which alludes to two letters that Coen had sent him previously. Ettore Bonora also discusses this correspondence in *Manzoni e la via italiana al realismo* (Naples: Liguori Editore, 1989), 91–107. Also see his essay, "Ancora sulla lettera a Marco Coen," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 102, no. 521 (1986): 27–43.
 34. Fossi, 193–4.
 35. Typological readings mean that the Old Testament is read as prefiguring the stories of the New Testament. As the Vatican itself wrote recently, "Typological interpretation consists in reading the Old Testament as preparation and, in certain aspects, outline and foreshadowing of the New." "Notes on the Correct way to Present the Jews and Judaism in Preaching and Catechesis in the Roman Church," written by the Vatican's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, 1985, and cited in James Shapiro, *Oberammergau* (Vintage Books: New York, 2000), 94.
 36. Fossi, 194.
 37. Giovanni Miccoli, "Santa Sede, questione ebraica e antisemitismo fra Otto e Novecento," in *Storia d'Italia, Gli ebrei in Italia*, Vol. 11.2, ed. Corrado Vivanti (Turin: Einaudi, 1972), 1394–95. Miccoli cites a pamphlet entitled *Il figlio di Maria un fratello di più*, in *Continuazione delle memore di religione di morale e di letteratura*, vol. 13 (Modena, 1842), 89–147, which speaks of Ratisbonne's conversion. Another example can be found in *Lettera di Giacomo Forti à suoi genitori israeliti per la sua conversione dal giudaismo alla fede cristiana*, in *Annali delle Scienze Religiose*, 18, no. 53 (Rome, 1844): 3–12.
 38. For further details, see *Conversione miracolosa alla fede cattolica di Alfonso Maria Ratisbonne, avvenuta in Roma nella Chiesa dei PP. Minimi in S. Andrea delle Fratte. Trattata dai processi autentici formati in Roma nel 1842* (Roma: G. Cesaretti, 1864). Also see René Laurentin, *20 janvier 1842, Marie apparaît à Alphonse Ratisbonne*, vol. 1–2 (Paris: O.E.I.L., 1991).
 39. This visit is well documented in Lindon, 298.
 40. Dionisotti, 15. Igino Giordani also writes of Catholicism in England in his *I grandi convertiti* (Rome: Apollon, 1945), 121–84.
 41. Lindon, 316–7.
 42. Thomas William Allies, to an unidentified correspondent, July 23, 1847, *Journal in France in 1845 and 1848, with Letters from Italy in 1847 of Things and Persons concerning the Church and Education* (London: 1849), 124.
 43. At the same time, however, he was well aware of Napoleon's ambitions and his keen interest in military glory and power. As Carlo Dionisotti notes, "Manzoni had little regard for Roman law, even less for the political and

military achievements of ancient Rome. He could not fail to see that Napoleon was following the same path.” Dionisotti, 6.

44. Dionisotti, 6.
45. Norsa, 27.
46. Manzoni describes Protestantism in terms similar to Norsa. The Protestants, writes Manzoni, “lay down a principle from which they remove the consequence, which is destructive of the principle itself. They want free interpretation, and it is upon this that they would like to establish their unity.” See Giuseppe Borri, *I colloqui col Manzoni* (Bologna: Zanichelli Editore, 1929), 202.
47. Norsa, 33.
48. Manzoni expresses similar visions of fratricide in his poem *Il conte di Carmagnola*. For further discussion of the nationalist and Catholic themes of the poem, see Alberto Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento* (Turin: Einaudi, 2000), 133–39.
49. These attributes are generally associated with Romanticism, and they certainly mark a change in the direction of Manzoni’s writing. The question of whether Italian Romanticism existed (Gino Martegiani, an Italian student of German Romanticism famously claimed in 1908 that it did not exist) is beyond the scope of the present discussion. I use the term *Romanticism* to refer to a specific historical period—a conventional label for those who considered themselves to have Romantic attributes or defined themselves as “Romantics.” For examples of Manzoni’s early writing, see *Poesie di Alessandro Manzoni prima della conversione*, ed. Alberto Chiari (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1947). For a discussion of Manzoni’s relationship to Romanticism and neoclassicism, see Francesco De Sanctis, *La scuola cattolico-liberale e il romanticism a Napoli*, ed. Carlo Muscetta and Giorgio Candeloro (Turin: Einaudi, 1953), 353–59.
50. For further discussion of the relationship between Manzoni’s religious conversion and his writing, see Filippo Puglisi, *L’Arte del Manzoni* (Rome: Edizioni Studium, 1986).
51. The rejection of pagan mythology should thus be considered a crucial aspect of *PS*. For further discussion, see Lucienne Portier, “La conversion d’Alessandro Manzoni et son refus de la mythologie,” *Revue des Etudes Italiennes* 10 (1964): 92–100.
52. Cited in Giovanni Carsaniga, “The Age of Romanticism (1800–1870),” *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 429.
53. For further discussion of Manzoni’s identification with modernity, see Ezio Raimondi, *Letteratura e identità nazionale* (Milan: Mondadori, 1998).
54. For an interesting discussion of this issue and an overview of Manzoni’s work more generally, see Giulio Bollati, *L’Italiano: Il carattere nazionale come storia e come invenzione* (Turin: Einaudi, 1983), 3–13.
55. Spinazzola, 308.
56. Fossi, 192.

57. In 1817, Manzoni began the composition of the only other completed hymn, *La Pentecoste*.
58. Salvatore Nigro, *Il Primo ottocento: Petà napoleonica e il risorgimento* (Rome: Laterza, 1978), 39.
59. Tanto piacque al Signor di porre in cima / questa fanciulla ebrea. / O prole d'Israello, o nell'estremo / Caduta, o da sì lunga ira contrita, / non è Costei che in onor tanto avemo, / Di vostra fede uscita? / Non è Davide il ceppo suo? Con Lei / Era il pensier dei vostri antiqui vati, / Quando annunziaro i verginali trofei / Sopra l'inferno alzati. / Deh! A Lei volgete finalmente i preghi, / Ch'Ella vi salvi come salva i suoi; / E non sia gente né tribù che neghi / Lieta cantar con noi: / Salve, o degnata del secondo nome, / O Rosa, o Stella ai periglianti scampo, / Inclita come il sol, terribil come / Oste schierata in campo." Alessandro Manzoni, *Il Nome di Maria*, in "Manzoni's *inni sacri* and *il cinque maggio*. A Translation," Joseph Tusiani, *Annali d'Italianistica* 3 (1985): 36–7. For a complete, annotated Italian version of the poem, see Alessandro Manzoni, *Inni Sacri*, ed. Franco Gavazzeni (Parma: Ugo Guanda Editore, 1997), 65–86. For a thorough analysis of the poem, albeit with little on the significance of Manzoni's biblical references, see Silvana Ghezzi, "Il nome di Maria nel *Nome di Maria* di Alessandro Manzoni," *Otto/Novecento* 4 (1983): 185–93.
60. Antonio Prieto, "La logica della sua conversione," *Manzoni Pro e Contro*, vol. 3, ed. Giancarlo Vigorelli (Milan: Istituto di propaganda libraria, 1975–1976), 261.
61. Robert Dombroski, "The ideological question in Manzoni," *Studies in Romanticism* 20, no. 4 (Winter 1981): 499. It should be noted that Manzoni's firm support of Christian values and the Catholic Church did not necessarily translate into absolute support of the pope; while it falls outside of the boundaries of our discussion here, it is noteworthy that Rome and the pope go almost unmentioned in Manzoni's novel, as opposed to the next work in this study, Bresciani's *L'Ebreo di Verona*. Opposed to papal temporal power, Manzoni believed that the sovereignty and moral authority of the pope would be guaranteed and better protected if the pope did not have any political power.
62. An excellent overview of the role of conversion in *PS* can be found in Brennan Wales, "Conversion in the *Promessi Sposi*—Coincidence and Disposition," *Queensland Dante Review* (1983–1986): 44–48.
63. In his article, John Gatt-Rutter explores these various paradigms, arguing that most of the characters end up as "positive phenotypes" of the conversion paradigm. He handily summarizes the conversion paradigm by outlining all the possible conversion combinations with a model. Gatt-Rutter, 34–35.
64. Alessandro Manzoni, *PS*, 279. All English citations are taken from Alessandro Manzoni, *The Betrothed and History of the Column of Infamy*, ed. D. Forgacs and M. Reynolds (London: J. M. Dent, 1997).
65. Lindon, 306. Luigi Colombo discusses this connection in his work, . . . e non era più lago ma specchio del cuore . . . *Scritti e discorsi di argomento*

- manzoniano* (Lecco: Comune di Lecco, 1985). For a thorough discussion of the *Innominato*, see Annette Leddy's essay, "The Conversion of Manzoni's L'Innominato or, the Repressed Catholic Consciousness of a Criminal," *Carte Italiane* 2 (1980–1981): 27–41. In addition, some space is devoted to his conversion in Angelini 111–15.
66. Manzoni, *PS*, 279.
 67. Manzoni, *PS*, 337.
 68. Riccardo Verzini, "Il sogno della giustizia non violenta," *I mondi impossibili: Utopia*, ed. G. Barberi Squarotti (Turin: Tirrenia Stampatori, 1990), 175.
 69. Manzoni, *PS*, 166.
 70. Manzoni, *PS*, 258.
 71. Angelo Marchese, "Il grande capitolo di Renzo," *Humanitas* 40, no. 1 (1985), 12.
 72. Manzoni, *PS*, 166.
 73. *Ibid.*, 28.
 74. *Ibid.*, 35.
 75. *Ibid.*, 87.
 76. *Ibid.*, 187.
 77. *Ibid.*, 192.
 78. *Ibid.*, 186.
 79. *Ibid.*, 503.
 80. *Ibid.*, 504.
 81. *Ibid.*, 506. In his article, Lindon suggests that Manzoni's depiction of Father Cristoforo converting Don Rodrigo may also correspond to Wynne's rendition of Manzoni's conversion, in which the author converts in an unnamed church in Lyons. Lindon, 311.
 82. Davide Albertario, "Il Giansenista ha messo alla luce il liberale," *Manzoni pro e contro*, vol. 1, ed. G. Vigorelli (Milan: Istituto propaganda libraria, 1974), 448.
 83. "[Sì], quel Dio che nell'onda vermiglia/chiuso il rio che inseguiva Israele,/ quel che in pugno alla maschia Giaele/ pose il maglio ed il colpo guidò." Alessandro Manzoni, *Opere*, ed. Di Riccardo Bacchelli (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1953), 77.
 84. Mazzini also borrowed from Bible stories to envisage the formation of the Italian nation as a religious fact in and of itself and to this end developed "a religious, quasi missionary conception of literature as the embodiment in time of universal values (such as country, freedom, destiny)." See Carsaniga, 444. In his vision of Italy, however, no place existed for the pope or the Papal States. Indeed, to a certain degree Romanticism and secularism appeared to go hand in hand, and, just as the Enlightenment posed the greatest stumbling block for eighteenth-century Catholic culture, in the nineteenth century, the cultural contest for Catholicism lay in the rise of Romanticism. Thus, what is surprising about *Marzo 1821* is that Manzoni, a papal supporter, would be the author of such a work. Numerous other writers used biblical stories of the Israelites as an archetype that reflected

- the cause of national liberation. In his essay on the subject, Bruno Di Porto discusses works of Verdi, Goffredo Mameli, Carlo Cattaneo, Niccolò Tommaseo, and Massimo D'Azeglio. See his essay, "Gli ebrei nel Risorgimento," *Nuova Antologia* 115, no. 3 (1980): 256–72. For further discussion of *Marzo 1821*, see Banti, 61.
85. Moses was denied entrance into the Promised Land because, while leading the Israelites through the desert, he defied God's instructions to obtain water from a rock by speaking to it; instead, in a moment of anger, he struck the rock.
 86. When Davide Norsa set out on his journey, this is the direction that he too travels.
 87. *PS*, chapter 31. The narrator explains how a soldier with the plague entered Milan and shortly thereafter fell ill, infecting those around him.
 88. Manzoni, *PS*, 478.
 89. *Ibid.*, 524.
 90. For a discussion of the movement on the part of the bourgeoisie to ally themselves with the clergy, see Dombroski, 499–500.
 91. This vision of Catholicism and the New Testament as the replacement for Judaism and the Hebrew Bible is expressed succinctly in an essay written many years after *PS* by another Catholic intellectual, Roberto D'Azeglio. While D'Azeglio is more conservative than Manzoni, and the essay probably more melodramatic than Manzoni would have written, Manzoni would certainly have endorsed the ideas behind them: "The voice of God no longer thunders from Sinai, but from the Vatican, and men listen to it with equal reverence." Roberto d'Azeglio, "Pio IX e Roberto D'Azeglio," *L'Armonia* 13, no. 14 (1860): 53.
 92. Dombroski, 500.
 93. Regarding this subject, Dombroski brings up Manzoni's *Osservazione sulla morale cattolica*. In it, Manzoni does not try to defend the abuses of the papacy and clergy; rather, he defends the institution of the Church and views Catholicism as a unified, coherent moral code. Dombroski suggests that readers understand Manzoni's treatise as a response to the development of bourgeois liberalism in its most progressive forms; thus he does not oppose the human ends of liberal doctrine but tries to place them with in a Catholic framework.

CHAPTER 4

1. Cited in Alberto Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento* (Turin: Einaudi, 2000), 136.
2. See Giovanni Vicini, *Giovanni Vicini: memorie biografiche e storiche* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1897), 211. Vicini was appointed secretary general of the Cisalpine government after serving as president of the provisional

- government of the Cispadane Republic in 1796. For further discussion of his work, see Lynn Gunzberg, *Strangers at Home: Jews in the Italian Literary Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 42–45. Even many anticlerical liberals, while not advocating religious conversion per se, did strive toward assimilating Jews into the greater community, and in so doing of eliminating the difference between Jew and Christian. For further discussion, see Andrew M. Canepa, “Emancipation and Jewish Response in Mid- Nineteenth-Century Italy,” *European History Quarterly* 16. 4 (1986): 403–39.
3. The English citations are from Antonio Bresciani, *The Jew of Verona: An Historical Tale of the Italian Revolutions of 1846–9*, vols. 1–2 (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1854) (translator unnamed).
 4. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Cultural Writings*, ed. David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, trans. William Boelhower (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1985), 339. Gramsci cites Manzoni’s supposed reaction to Bresciani’s novel as further proof of Bresciani’s terrible writing, attributing the citation to the diary of Margherita di Collegno. It should be noted, however, that in the biographical notes on Bresciani released by *Civiltà Cattolica*, a more positive response is attributed to Manzoni. Bresciani’s memoirs state that when a woman asked Manzoni what he thought of the work, Manzoni responded, “The author of the *Jew of Verona* is the best writer in Italy.” *Della vita e delle opere del p. Antonio Bresciani della C.d.G. Commentario* (Rome: Office of Civiltà Cattolica, 1869), CXI.
 5. Bresciani’s title is an ironic reference to the anti-Jesuit novel by Eugène Sue, *Le Juif errant*. The work, a favorite among Italian liberals, recounts the story of a Jesuit agent who schemes against the descendants of a persecuted Protestant to stop them from inheriting the latter’s fortune. See A. Di Ricco, “Padre Bresciani: populismo e reazione,” *Studi Storici* 22 (1981): 848.
 6. Gunzberg, 61. Gunzberg’s essay on *EV* gives a thorough overview of the story. However its focus, quite different from the discussion here, concentrates primarily on the historical context of the revolution of 1848 and, more specifically, the relationship between Mazzinian revolutionaries and Vatican supporters.
 7. As a priest explains to the characters Bartolo and Polissena, true liberty is not freedom from Austrian rule but “that peace which is the fruit of a rational obedience to God, submission to the Church, and to legitimate authority.” Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 219.
 8. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Cultural Writings*, 298.
 9. The most well-known of these was the *Amicizia cristiana* of Turin, which opened to the public in 1817 and renamed itself *Amicizia cattolica*. The aim of the group was to encourage “buona stampa,” or a positive representation of papal politics in the press. For further discussion of the *Amicizia cattolica*, see Gunzberg, 63–64. Aside from the *Amicizia cattolica*, several newspapers were established up and down the peninsula that sought to

reestablish the power of the Church and to redefine values that were believed to be disappearing from society. Among the most well-known of these journals were the *Enciclopedia ecclesiastica e morale* in Naples (1821–1822); the *Giornale ecclesiastico* in Rome (1825–1826), directed by the controversial French clergyman Jabalot; and *L'Amico d'Italia*, which was founded in Turin (1822–1829) by Cesare Taparelli d'Azeglio, brother of Massimo d'Azeglio. In addition, there were the *Memorie di religione, di morale e di letteratura* of Modena (1822–1830) and the *Giornale degli apologisti della religione cattolica* of Florence (1825–1827).

10. Curci was the same Jesuit clergyman whom Pius chose, along with Father Luigi Taparelli d'Azeglio, brother of the statesman Massimo, to publicly defend his decision not to support unification. In addition, Bresciani dedicates *EV* to him. As discussed in an earlier chapter, Pius VII had restored the Society of Jesus in 1814 as part of his effort toward rebuilding a religious presence on the continent after the collapse of the Napoleonic Empire. During the two hundred years that the Jesuits had been banned in the Papal States, they had nonetheless become well entrenched in the society of Catholic Europe and among Catholic colonies. For Leo XII, the Jesuits embodied a kind of Catholic internationalism that held great appeal. In addition, their Society represented values associated with the world prior to the French Revolution, a world to which Leo strove to return. Jesuits were particularly hated by many liberal thinkers because they represented the epitome of conservatism: "The general tendency of the Italian Jesuits toward a conservative kind of political thinking made them, in the eyes of many patriots, allies of Austria and enemies of national unity. No one wrote with more venom than Vincenzo Gioberti, who denounced the Society as the chief obstacle to the civic and religious salvation of Italy and to the harmonious fusion of religion and modern civilization." William V. Bangert S. J., *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1972), 442.
11. Bresciani, highly critical of any such "progress," noted sarcastically that Pius' reputation as a moderate resulted in his election being an event "hailed by the [secret] societies a propitious occasion for the execution of their plans for the ruin of the Italian princes. . . . In fact, the Roman Pontificate, against which the hatred and rage of the impious had so long been exerted, instantly, on the elevation of Pius IX became the idol of Catholics, the envy of Protestants, and the admiration of Mahometans." Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 56–7.
12. Riccards suggests that Pius was influenced by Gioberti's *Il Primato* initially. See Riccards, 13.
13. For a detailed discussion, see Riccards, 5–30.
14. Indeed, Bresciani not only cites the pope as speaking out in favor of the Austrians; in his novel he writes that the soldiers of the Roman National Guard who had been taken prisoner by Austria "everywhere proclaimed the kindness and courtesy generously shown them by the Austrians." Bresciani,

- EV*, vol.1, 378. Thus the Austrians are depicted as acting in the charitable way of Christians, just as the pope supports them as part of the Catholic people.
15. Banti, 138.
 16. Rossi, who had been warned to stay away, was murdered on the steps of the council chamber in Rome. His murderer, Luigi Brunetti, was the son of a Mazzini supporter. His murder has often been compared to that of Julius Caesar, and in his praise of the assassination, Garibaldi also compares it to Caesar's death. Riccards, 16. In his novel, Bresciani regularly recalls ancient Rome and draws a connection between it and modern Christian society. In so doing, he tries to shape the memory of ancient Rome as the birthplace of modern Christian civilization, rather than as the birthplace of the modern Italian state. Revolutionaries like Garibaldi are clearly trying to use the comparison to Caesar as a means of tying themselves and a new, secular republic to the history of ancient Rome.
 17. The journal, still printed today, became the most influential of all Catholic journals of the time, and circulation quickly rose from 4,200 to 12,000. Bangert, 441.
 18. The two had met at Pius' papal inauguration, which Bresciani attended in Rome. At that time, the pope reportedly complimented Bresciani's writing, saying, "Know that I read all of your works and I like them very much. *You write quite well and with the great advantage of youth.* Continue to write, because you will make yourself very useful to Italy." Bresciani, *Opere del P. Antonio Bresciani della compagnia di Gesù*, Vol. 2 (Rome: Ufficio della Civiltà Cattolica, 1865), 152.
 19. *Della vita e delle opere del p. Antonio Bresciani*, CX.
 20. Pius was said to love the novel, and he purportedly approved the work before it appeared in *Civiltà Cattolica*, again providing evidence of the remarkably active role the pope had in the establishment and functions of this journal.
 21. Cited in Florinda M. Iannace, *Conservatorismo cattolico in Antonio Bresciani* (Rome: Trevi editore, 1973), 79. In Modena in 1837, Bresciani also published a series of lectures that he had given a decade earlier under the title *Sopra il Romanticismo*. The roots of the anti-Romantic, anti-Risorgimento ideals that Bresciani exhibited as a writer can be found in his youth. Born into an impoverished noble family in Ala, Trento, in 1798, Bresciani twice witnessed the invasion and destruction of Trento, first in 1809 and again in 1813, by Napoleon's troops—memories that he recorded vividly in his later years. See Iannace, 10.
 22. Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 549.
 23. Furious at his son's disobedience, Bresciani's father wrote the Austrian government complaining that his son had broken the law by traveling without a permit. Indeed, in an ironic twist that will become clear in the next chapter, Bresciani's father even claimed that his son had been kidnapped by the

- Church. Ultimately, when Bresciani's father's letters to the Austrian government appeared likely to cause legal troubles for the young man, Pope Leo XII himself became personally involved, expressing his complete approval of Bresciani's arrival in Rome and of his affiliation with the Society of Jesus. In 1826, Bresciani finally gained his father's permission to enter the Jesuit order.
24. His desire to be sent abroad to represent the Church was never granted. In Rome, the pope entrusted the College De Propaganda Fide to the Jesuits, and Bresciani was appointed head of the college until 1848, when the Society of Jesus was forced to abandon their colleges and houses in their flight from Rome. Despite not being sent to carry out missionary work, Bresciani still maintained an interest in proselytization. In July 1840, he received a striking letter from the well-known author Silvio Pellico. In his letter, Pellico requests that Bresciani arrange to have a learned Catholic talk to a Rabbi who appears to be interested in converting to Christianity. Indeed, the rabbi appears to be considering a conversion to Protestantism, which is what prompted Pellico to ask for religious education from a Catholic clergyman. See Iannace, 123–24. In another example that Bresciani himself recounts, just after the pope had fled Rome for Gaeta, Bresciani manages to convert a woman who later became a nun. *Della vita e delle opere del p. Antonio Bresciani*, C–CXI.
 25. Filippo Aminta, *L'ebraismo senza replica e sconfitto colle stesse sue armi* (Rome, 1823), VI.
 26. "Charitate Christi," in *The Papal Encyclicals, 1740–1878*, ed. Claudia Carlen Ihm (Raleigh: The Pierian Press, 1990), 213.
 27. Wiseman, 215.
 28. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 42. Bartolo exemplifies the naïve citizen of Rome who was tricked into supporting the values of the Risorgimento. Initially, this likeable man advocates a Giobertian vision of a united Italy that is grounded on religious principles, and while he personally does not support the secret societies, he has friends who are members. However, once the wickedness of revolution and the impossibility of reforming liberal revolutionaries become apparent, Bartolo recognizes the power of the Church and the need to throw his complete support behind her. For further discussion, see Miccoli, *Fra mito della Cristianità*, 41.
 29. Cited in Michael P. Riccards, *Vicars of Christ: Popes, Power and Politics in the Modern World* (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1998), 5.
 30. Shortly after he fled Rome, Pius tried to quell Garibaldi's men by excommunicating any supporter of the movement to end papal temporal rule. The excommunication went unheeded. After a Constitutional Assembly had been proclaimed and the Roman Republic established, the pope sought help from the Catholic powers of Europe—Austria, France, Spain and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies—to reaffirm his political position. In early July 1849, French troops took Rome, defeating the troops of the Roman Republic. At

the same time, Austrian troops marched on cities throughout the peninsula, defeating republicans and reestablishing the rule of the Old Regime.

31. "Academies and universities resound with new and monstrous opinions," he writes, "and no longer secretly or obscurely do they attack the Catholic faith. . . . The lessons and examples of the masters thus pervert the youth . . . and the most frightful immorality gains and spreads." Cited in Anne Fremantle, ed., *The Papal Encyclicals in their Historical Context* (New York: New American Library, 1956) 128. In addition, among the notes of poet Giuseppe Gioacchino Belli, an undated reference to Pope Gregory (most likely from 1846, after the pope's death) was discovered that reiterates how unpopular this pope was: "A Papa Gregorio je volevo bene perche' me dava er gusto de potenne di' male." Belli employs similarly sarcastic language in a poem dedicated to the recently deceased pope, entitled *Er Papa bbon'anima*, Giuseppe Gioacchino Belli, *Sonetti*, ed. Giorgio Vigolo and Pietro Gibellini (Milan: Mondadori, 2000), LXXXVIII.
32. One only has to look, for example, at Eugen Weber's well-known work *Peasants into Frenchmen: the modernization of rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976), in which the author discusses the development of these different elements that coincided with the emergence of modern nationhood, to see the idea of circulation employed in another context. That is, in his discussion of statehood, Weber examines precisely the issues that I have mentioned above: young men gathering from all corners of the country to form the military; roads that connect different parts of the country, allowing for postal routes and for a greater number of people to travel; trains that allowed for more extensive traveling to other cities.
33. Benedict Anderson coined this phrase in his work, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).
34. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 109.
35. For one example, see Gianfranco Legitimo, "Il padre Bresciani cento anni dopo," *Dialoghi: Rivista Bimestrale di Letteratura Arti Scienze* 10 (1962): 155-70.
36. Gunzberg, 68. Aser embodies the qualities of the Wandering Jew and of the wealthy, internationally known Rothschild family, whose wealth Bresciani undoubtedly disliked in particular, as one branch of the family had even bankrolled the bankrupt Vatican. For an excellent discussion of this relationship, see Francesco Barbagallo, "The Rothschilds in Naples," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 5, no. 3 (2001): 294-309.
37. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 84.
38. Gramsci, *Selections from Cultural Writings*, 299.
39. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 83.
40. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 48.
41. Gunzberg, 73-74.

42. For further discussion, see Silvio Furlani, *La politica postale di Metternich e l'Italia, Quaderni di storia postale*, vol. 8 (Prato: Istituto di studi storici postali, 1987).
43. Furlani, 20.
44. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 83.
45. Cited in Bernhard Siegert, *Relays: Literature as an epoch of the postal system*, trans. Kevin Repp (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 165.
46. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 140–41.
47. Richard R. John, *Spreading the News: the American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 57.
48. Siegert, 53.
49. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 55.
50. For a detailed discussion of Ciceruacchio, see Fedele Clemente and Mario Gallenga, *Per servizio di nostro signore: strade, corrieri e poste dei papi dal medioevo al 1870, Quaderni di Storia Postale 10* (Modena: Mucchi Editore, 1988). He is also mentioned in Attilio Milano, *Storia degli ebrei Storia degli ebrei in Italia* (Turin: Einaudi, 1992), 360.
51. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 55–56.
52. Clemente and Gallenga, 393.
53. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 371.
54. Reflecting this takeover, on June 30 the new minister of Finance, Lunati, writes the superintendent of postal services to compliment him for his comportment during the fiasco at the post office. He also mentions that the Vatican's newspaper censors had been eliminated (Clemente and Galenga 396). We shall return to this subject of newspapers, censorship, and the post in the next chapter.
55. Clemente and Gallenga, 400.
56. Janet Gurkin Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1982), 185.
57. Even the word “convert,” meaning to transform or change in character, points to the changes Aser and other converts of *EV* exhibit.
58. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 2, 165.
59. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 101.
60. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 2, 207.
61. “A war so savage and cruel had filled him with a remorse, which he sought to stifle in Italy; which had gnawed his heart insupportably during the excesses in Vienna, and which now in Hungary completely overcame him. Thenceforward, he resolved to break off all communication with the secret societies, the pestilence, the malediction, and the scourge of God upon our age.” Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 2, 260.
62. Gunzberg, 80.
63. When the pope chose to flee to Gaeta, things were dangerous enough that one of Bresciani's parishioners came to beg that he leave the city, as a French invasion appeared imminent. According to Bresciani, her brother came to Bresciani's house in soldier clothes—he was in the Civic Guard—and took

- Bresciani, who was wearing civilian clothes rather than priestly clothing, to his house and hid him. The story is echoed in the story of the priest who saves Aser, who was also rescued by a devoted follower during the revolution. Thus, in a certain sense, Bresciani posits himself as the priest that converts Aser, enabling to proclaim both a personal and more general victory of the Vatican over revolution.
64. Schwyz is also home to a large Catholic monastery, which is undoubtedly why Bresciani chose to have Aser go there.
 65. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 2, 328.
 66. Gunzberg, 86.
 67. Gunzberg, 69–70.
 68. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 177.
 69. Jessica Lang, “Circulating Bodies: Reading *Charlotte Temple* and Susannah Rowson,” Unpublished essay, 2003.
 70. For further discussion, see Furlani.
 71. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 245.
 72. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 247.
 73. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 255.
 74. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 146.
 75. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 236.
 76. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 276.
 77. For further discussion of this theme in the *Bildungsroman*, see Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel* (London: Verso, 1999).
 78. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 350.
 79. Siegert, 31.
 80. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 310.
 81. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 312.
 82. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 315. In this same section, Bresciani details the conversion of yet another character, this time an unnamed journalist who seeks help from a clergyman with the following words: “I am a writer for the press, by which I earned an abundant support, but as I had not yet abandoned my soul entirely to the spirit of evil, I have forsaken my occupation, for I was stricken with terror at the danger which I have been constantly incurring.” Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 314. Needless to say, the journalist denounces all printing presses in Italy and converts to the life of a pious believer.
 83. *Civiltà Cattolica*, “Il giornalismo moderno e il nostro programma,” 1, no. 1 (1850), 13.

CHAPTER 5

1. ACDF, S. O., St.St., TT.2.n.17. Ferrara, November 23, 1847.
2. ACDF, S. O., St.St., TT.2.n.17. Ferrara, February 10, 1848.

3. For further details, see Fabio Levi, "Gli ebrei nella vita economica italiana dell'Ottocento," in *Storia d'Italia. Gli ebrei in Italia, Dall'emancipazione a oggi*, vol. 11.2, ed. Corrado Vivanti (Turin: Einaudi, 1997), 1171–1210.
4. "Gli ebrei si devono rispettare," *Il Povero*, January 5, 1848: 402.
5. Carlebach, 38.
6. Indeed, if the articles related the conversion of a well-known aristocrat or community leader, they would be reprinted in other Catholic journals, demonstrating the lack of originality in both content and ideology that afflicted reactionary journals.
7. Robert Weisberg, "Proclaiming Trials as Narratives: Premises and Pretexts," *Law's Stories: Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law*, ed. Peter Brooks and Paul Gewirtz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 76.
8. G. Baraldi, "Lettere sull'Italia considerata riguardo alla Religione del Signor Pietro de Joux," *Memorie di religione di morale e di letteratura* 10 (1826): 251.
9. "Notizie ecclesiastiche sulla conversione del Principe d'Anhalt-Coethen, e del Ministro Le Joux," *Memorie di religione di morale e di letteratura*. 10 (1826): 203.
10. "Lettera di Madamigella de Joux de la Chapelle a sua sorella. Per informarla del suo ritorno al seno della Chiesa cattolica, ed esporle i motivi della conversione sua," *Memorie di Religione, Morale e Letteratura* 10 (1826): 435. The letter also appeared in *Giornale degli apologisti della religione cattolica* 8 (1827).
11. "Lettera di Madamigella de Joux," *Memorie di Religione, Morale e Letteratura* 10 (1826): 435.
12. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 205.
13. "Cenno di un discorso," *L'Araldo* November 16, 1859: 366.
14. Gioacchino Ventura, *Lettere ad un ministro protestante ed altri scritti minori* (Naples, 1860), 12.
15. Miccoli, *Fra mito della cristianità e secolarizzazione*, 27.
16. Bresciani, *EV*, vol. 1, 108.
17. Padre Antonino Maria Di Jorio, *Le Bellezze del Protestantismo proposte alle gioie degli italiani* (Naples, 1876), 340–42.
18. As Peter Brooks writes, "narrative discourse is never innocent, but always presentational, a way of working on story events that is also a way of working on the listener or reader." Peter Brooks, "The Law as Narrative and Rhetoric," 17.
19. Di Jorio, 340–42.
20. Di Jorio, 333.
21. Di Jorio, 333.
22. Altman, 185–86.
23. Peter Brooks, "Storytelling Without Fear? Confession in Law and Literature," *Law's Stories: Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law*, ed. Peter Brooks and Paul Gewirtz (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1996), 119.

24. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 35–36.
25. “Conversione d’Inghilterra,” *L’Araldo* October 12, 1859: 331.
26. For further discussion, see Ian Machin, “British Catholics,” *The Emancipation of Catholics, Jews and Protestants*, ed. Rainer Liedtke and Stephan Wendehorst (New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 11–32.
27. Di Jorio, 343.
28. Ventura, 14–15. Lilibeo is the old name for the city of Marsala, on the Western coast of Sicily, facing the Libyan coast.
29. Ventura, 15–16.
30. ASV, Archivio Particolare di Gregorio XVI, busta 1, Fascicolo 1.2. *Nota sullo stato attuale della religione Cattolica nella Germania Centrale*.
31. For further discussion see Gian Paolo Romagnani, “Italian Protestants,” *The Emancipation of Catholics, Jews and Protestants*, ed. Rainer Liedtke and Stephan Wendehorst (New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 148–68.
32. ACDF, S. O., St.St., TT.3.b.15.
33. “Notizie Ecclesiastiche,” *L’Araldo* October 12, 1859: 331.
34. “Conversione d’un Rabbino capo,” *Memorie di religione di morale e di letteratura* 2 (1822): 473–4.
35. Allegra, “Modelli di conversione,” 903.
36. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Routledge: New York, 1994), 141.
37. Delgado 2314.
38. For further discussion, see Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 112.
39. ACDF, S. O., St.St., TT.3.f.5. September 10, 1843.
40. ASV, Archivio Particolare di Pio IX, Oggetti vari, indice 1132 [Arch. Part. Pio IX, Oggetti vari], *Brevi cenni e riflessioni sul pro-memoria e sillabo. Scritture umiliate alla santità di nostro signore Papa Pio IX relative al battesimo conferito in Bologna al fanciullo Edgardo figlio degli ebrei Salomone e Marianna Mortara*, 3.
41. For the most recent, and perhaps most thorough, treatment of the Mortara Affair, see David I. Kertzer, *The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara* (New York: Vintage 1998).
42. Giuseppe Garibaldi, *I Mille* (Torino: Camilla e Bertolero, 1873), 165.
43. Weisberg, “Proclaiming Trials as Narratives” 63.
44. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.1, 129–30.
45. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.1, 88.
46. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc. 2, 99–100.
47. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc. 2, 103.

48. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.2, 103.
49. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.2, 104.
50. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.2, 80.
51. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.1, 10.
52. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.1, 72.
53. Delgado, 2415.
54. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.2, 84.
55. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.2, 90.
56. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.2, 91.
57. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.2, 99 (emphasis in the original).
58. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.1, 19.
59. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.1, 214.
60. Like Edgardo, who was saved from his illness as a small child, the Pharaoh's daughter saved Moses when he was an infant. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.1, 210. This is an article; on its cover is scribbled "quest'articolo non fu mandato alla stampa." The headline is: *Il Battesimo conferito al fanciullo ebreo Edgardo Mortara in Bologna da una serva bolognese nell'atto che il med. Era in procinto di morte ha fatto.*
61. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc. 1, 210.
62. Ragussis, 47.
63. Cited in Masetti Zannini, "Nuovi documenti sul caso Mortara," *Rivista storica della chiesa italiana* 13.2 (1959): Appendice I, 265.
64. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc. 1, 79–80.
65. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc. 2, 85–6.
66. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.1, 65 (emphasis in the original).
67. For further discussion of otherness in this context, see Edward Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
68. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.2, 87–88.

69. ASV, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc.3, Camillo Tarquini, *Osservazioni fatte sul medi da altra mano sul giovane Mortara*. This citation is from an anonymous accompanying text, 35.
70. "L'ebreo di Bologna e le bombe di Giuseppe Mazzini," *L'Armonia della religione collà Civiltà*, August 17, 1858: 755–56.
71. Bresciani, *L'Ebreo di Verona*, Vol. 2, 81.
72. Mosse 254.
73. "L'ebreo di Bologna" August 17, 1858: 755.
74. For further discussion of these ideas of dominant "ingroups" and of "outgroups" and the stories they create, see Delgado 2411–41.
75. "L'ebreo di Bologna," *L'Armonia della religione collà Civiltà*, October 6, 1858: 924.
76. Delgado, 2421–22.
77. When *L'Araldo*, a Lucca newspaper, published its first article on the case, it too brushed over the Mortara affair, moving instead to reminding readers of the hardships Catholics suffer the world over. "Edgardo Mortara," *L'Araldo della Pragmatologia Cattolica*, December 1858: 414–16.
78. Delgado, 2411.
79. "Notizie del giovanetto cristiano Mortara," *L'Armonia della religione collà Civiltà*, October 16, 1858: 959–60.
80. "Il piccolo neofito Edgardo Mortara," *Civiltà Cattolica* 9, no. 12 (1858): 390.
81. In similar testimony, *L'Armonia* records how Momolo tries to get the boy to return home to Bologna, saying to him: "Why don't you come with me? Have you perhaps forgotten the Commandments of the law of God: honor our father and your mother?" Edgardo is quoted as answering in the negative and deferring to the wisdom and power of his Church father rather than his biological one: "The Papa [Pope] knows the Commandments better than you and I; I will do that which my Papà [father] says. "Notizie del giovanetto cristiano Mortara," 960. The story, playing with the words *papà* ("father") and *Papa* ("Pope"), equates the former with the latter, and portrays Edgardo as not only deferring to his Church father, but as defining the pope as his true father.
82. "Edgardo Mortara," *L'Armonia della religione collà Civiltà* November 4, 1858: 1020.
83. "Edgardo Mortara," *L'Armonia della religione collà Civiltà* November 4, 1858: 1020.
84. Archivio Storico della Comunità Ebraica a Roma (henceforth ASCER), Caso Mortara.
85. "Il piccolo neofito Edgardo Mortara," *Civiltà Cattolica* 9, no. 12 (1858): 394. Similar stories appear in other Catholic journals. In one, Marianna is described as removing several medallions with saints on them from her son's neck, "giving him coins, and telling him that she had ordered a vest of gold for him, and other such tempting promises." Edgardo listened to her respectfully, but when she left, he dismissed the gifts, explaining that he

- would receive better gifts in Paradise and adding that if she came to visit again, he would hide in order not to hear what she said. “Edgardo Mortara,” *L’Armonia della religione collà Civiltà* November 4, 1858: 1020.
86. “Il piccolo neofito Edgardo Mortara,” *Civiltà Cattolica* 9, no. 12 (1858): 415.
 87. For further discussion on the relationship between conversion and conquest, see chapter 2.
 88. Farini had already expressed his criticism of the Tribunal in a letter to Gladstone in 1856. See Luigi Carlo Farini, *La Diplomazia e la Quistione italiana: lettera di Luigi Carlo Farini al signor Guglielmo Gladstone* (Turin, 1856), 33.
 89. Farini, 13.
 90. Archivio di Stato di Bologna (henceforth ASB). Tribunale Civile e Criminale di Prima Istanza. Processo su il rapimento di Edgardo Mortara, n.52/1860, Coll. Torre C, piano II, scaf.23.
 91. Francesco Jussi, *Difesa del Padre Pier Gaetano Feletti. Imputato come inquisitore del santo uffizio del ratto del fanciullo Edgardo Mortara davanti al tribunale civile e criminale di prima istanza in Bologna* (Bologna, 1860), 5.
 92. Jussi, 50.
 93. Jussi, 50.
 94. Jussi, 27–28.
 95. Jussi, 3.
 96. Jussi, 11.
 97. Kertzer, *The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara*, 241.
 98. After his imprisonment, Church authorities thought it best for Feletti to move to Rome, which was still under papal control.

CONCLUSION

1. The director of these archives was extremely protective of this information, and thus I only managed to obtain statistics for certain years after 1866. In 1860, there were five baptisms, in 1861 through 1866 there were approximately four baptisms a year (Archivio della Casa dei Catecumeni, Rome [ACC], 184. *Liber III. Baptizatorum Neophytorum. Ven. Domus Catechumenorum de Urbe. A die VII Januari 1827 ad diem XXI Novembris 1887.*)
2. Giovanni Spadolini, “L’intransigentismo cattolico: dalla *Civiltà Cattolica* al *Sillabo*,” *Rassegna Storica Toscana* 4 (1958): 314.
3. Antonio Gramsci, “Riforma e Rinascimento,” *Il Risorgimento* (Rome: Riuniti, 1977), 14.
4. Gramsci, “Riforma e Rinascimento,” 14.
5. Giuseppe Pelczar, *Pio IX e il suo pontificato*, vol. 2 (Turin: Libreria Berruti, 1910), 200. Cited in Kertzer, *Edgardo Mortara*, 260.
6. Bhabha, “Introduction,” 4.

EPILOGUE

1. Susan Zuccotti, *Under His Very Windows: The Vatican and the Holocaust in Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), xiii.
2. For a thorough discussion of this encyclical, see Georges Passelecq and Bernard Suchecky, *The Hidden Encyclical of Pius XI*, trans. Steven Rendall (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co, 1997). Both Zuccotti and Kertzer, in *The Popes Against the Jews*, discuss the anti-Jewish laws in Italy and elsewhere in Europe, and both suggest a connection between Church-instigated anti-Judaism and racially based antisemitism. Here I am suggesting that an examination of the language of Vatican diplomats, particularly with regard to the subject of converts, provides further proof of this relationship. Neither the aspect of conversion or language—particularly that of the Vatican's World War II correspondence—has been explored thoroughly in past studies of theological versus racial anti-Jewish sentiment.
3. Pierre Blet et al., eds. *Actes et Documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale*, vol. 9 (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1975), 433–34.
4. Pierre Blet et al., eds. *Actes et Documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale*, vol. 8 (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1974), 73.
5. *Actes et Documents du Saint Siège*, vol. 8, 163. March 31, 1941.
6. *Actes et Documents du Saint Siège*, vol. 8, 708–9. November 7, 1942.
7. For further discussion see Giovanni Miccoli, *I dilemmi e i silenzi di Pio XII. Vaticano, Seconda guerra mondiale e Shoah* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2000).
8. In 1964, the Vatican responded to a controversy that had been sparked a year earlier, when Rolf Hochuth published his play, *The Deputy*, which harshly criticized Pope Pius XII's inaction during World War II. Pope Paul VI commissioned three Jesuit scholars (a fourth joined the group subsequently), who were allowed access to the otherwise closed archives containing the Church's wartime documents. These Vatican-appointed historians were assigned the task of compiling part of this archival material for publication. The result, eleven volumes of Vatican diplomatic correspondence known as the *Actes et Documents du Saint Siège*, was published over the next twenty years. The eleven volumes that comprised the work of these editors were unusual because they broke the customary Vatican standard of waiting a period of seventy years following the death of a pope before releasing documents relating to his pontificate.
9. Pierre Blet et al., eds. *Actes et Documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale*, vol. 6 (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1972), 17.
10. Pierre Blet, S. J., *Pius XII and the Second World War*, trans. Lawrence J. Johnson (New York: Paulist Press, 1997), 1–2.

11. Luigi Accattoli, "Edith Stein: Santità, basta con il silenzio della Chiesa," *Corriere della Sera* February 19, 2003: 24.
12. Edith Stein, "'Il Silenzio Colpevole'," *Corriere della Sera*, trans. Brigida Pesce, February 19, 2003: 24.
13. See, for example, Margarita Marchione, *Pius XII: Architect for Peace* (New York: Paulist Press, 1999); Ronald J. Rychlak, *Hitler, the War and the Pope* (Columbus, MS: Genesis, 2000).
14. Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, *We Remember: A Reflection of the Shoah* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1998).

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- ACC Archivio della Casa dei Catecumeni Neofiti. Housed in the Archivio del Vicariato di Roma.
181. Liber Battizzatorum Neophitorum Ven. Domus Cathecumen de Urbe, 1759–1826.
183. Libro di Ebrei, e Turchi venuti nella Pia Casa de' Catechumeni, 1814–1824.
184. Liber III. Baptizzatorum Neophytorum. Ven. Domus Catechumenorum de Urbe. A die VII Januari 1827 ad diem XXI Novembris 1887.
- ACEL Archivio della Comunità Ebraica di Livorno.
- ACDF Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede.
S. O. St.St. Santum Officiium, Stanza Storica.
- ASB Archivio di Stato di Bologna. Tribunale Civile e Criminale di Prima Istanza. Processo su il rapimento di Edgardo Mortara, n.52/1860, Coll. Torre C, piano II, scaf. 23.
- ASF Archivio di Stato di Firenze.
- PAC Presidenza del buongoverno 1814–1848, Affari Comuni.
- ASV Archivio Segreto Vaticano.
Archivio Particolare di Gregorio XVI.
Catecumeni—neofiti dimoranti in quel stabilimento, n.1438.
Fondo Pio IX, oggetti vari, “Mortara Edgardo—Intera Posizione,” n. 1433.
Miscellanea di Carte Politiche o Riservate, anno 1858.
Segreteria di Stato, anno 1859, rubrica 66 (ebrei e scismatici), fasc. 1–2, 3.
- ASCER Archivio Storico della Comunità Ebraica a Roma.
Caso Mortara
- BAV Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, biblioteca Vali Ferraioli IV.

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