THE LANGUAGES OF THE JEWS IN THE ITALIAN THEATRE OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. A STUDY OF FIFTY TEXTS

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The Jews have a misfortune [...]: in whatever town they live, they corrupt the languages which are well spoken by the Christians who were born and dwell in the same country, so that their unpleasant tongue reveals their Jewish identity (Paolo S. Medici, born Moisè son of Elisad Leon, 1736)¹

1. Subject and aims of the research

According to many scholars, the part of the linguistic world of Italian Jews that can be called Judeo-Italian includes basically two sets of texts. The first one, which is often called Literary Judeo-Italian, includes a «corpus of Italian texts, both translations and original compositions, written [by Jewish authors] in Hebrew characters between roughly 1200 and 1700». These texts (e. g. translations of the Bible, prayer books etc.), apart from the writing system, can basically be considered Italian texts, which (as with any text written in Italy, especially before 1500) may or may not follow the standard Florentine, which is the basis of modern Italian. Hebrew words, concepts and sometimes textual structures taken from the Hebrew are, of course, found in these types of texts. The second set includes texts written in the modern dialects spoken by the Jews in the different Italian cities, which can differ to varying degrees from the dialect of the surrounding non-Jewish inhabitants.

Both types of Judeo-Italian texts, insofar as they are works of Jewish authors, conceived and written inside the Jewish communities, can be considered "internal" sources. However, the first set includes ancient, written and "high" texts, the second one modern, "low" and either written texts (in Judeo-Roman, Judeo-Livornese, Judeo-Venetian and so on) or oral dialects, which were described primarily, but not exclusively by Jewish scholars since the last decades of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, as Paolo Medici's quote in epigraph clearly says, Jews were distinguishable, and even stigmatized, by means of their spoken language long before the nineteenth century, and neither the first set of texts nor the second one provides information about these ancient, spoken varieties. Conversely, since the 1990s Maria Mayer Modena underlined the importance and the reliability of the «external documentation of the language spoken daily by the Jews», provided by plays of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which include Jewish characters but were written by non-Jewish authors, who were, however, fa-

¹ Riti e costumi degli ebrei descritti e confutati dal dottore Paolo Medici sacerdote e lettor pubblico fiorentino ["Rites and Customs of the Jews Described and Refuted by Doctor Paolo Medici, Florentine priest and professor"], P.G. Viviani, Firenze 1736 (Fig. 5), p. 34: «Hanno essi [Ebrei] una disgrazia [...] ed è che in qualsivoglia città ove stanno, corrompono quella lingua che per altro è ben parlata da' Cristani oriundi e abitanti com'essi in quel paese, e colla loro ingrata favella si fanno conoscere per Ebrei». Unless otherwise specified, all translations are mine.

² Cf. A.D. Rubin, Judeo-Italian, in L. Khan, A.D. Rubin (eds), Handbook of Jewish Languages, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2016, pp. 298-365: 299-300. See now, for the «Jewish theatre [...] written and staged by Jews, about Jews, mostly (but not only) for Jews, in Hebrew or in other languages used by Jews in history», P. Capelli, Foreword, in Jewish Theatres, «Skené. Journal of Theatre and Drama Studies», 6 2 (2020), pp. 5-14: 5; F. Lelli, Italian Jews and Theatre in Early Modern Italy, ibid., pp. 15-30; C.C. Scordari, Behind Multiple Masks: Leon Modena's Diasporic Tragedy L'Ester in Seventeenth-Century Venice, ibid., pp. 53-69, online at https://skenejournal.skeneproject.it/index.php/JTDS/issue/view/25/Sken%C3%A8%206.2, last accessed 10 January 2021.

³ See M.L. Mayer Modena, A proposito di una scena «all'ebraica» nello «Schiavetto» dell'Andreini, «ACME» 43 3 (1990), pp. 73-81; Ead., The Spoken Languages of the Jews in Italy: How Far Back?, in B.D. Cooperman, B. Garvin (eds), The Jews of Italy. Memory and Identity, University Press of Maryland, Bethesda MD 2000, pp. 307-316: 310-311; Ead., Italian Theater and the Spoken Language of Italian Jews during the Renaissance, in A. Maman,

miliar with Jewish people and sometimes even with Hebrew. This fruitful research line has been followed by some of Mayer Modena's pupils⁴ and confirmed by Umberto Fortis, who considers the general meaning of these texts in relation to the position of Jews within the Italian society.⁵ However these studies consider a small corpus of texts,⁶ focus especially on the *scene all'ebraica* ("Jewish-style scenes") and mainly aim at underlining the linguistic value of Jewish features and items which can be found in these plays.

My research is based on a much larger corpus; a first version of this paper considered thirty-five texts; now the corpus includes fifty texts, thanks in part to new findings of my student Alice Grazzini. The texts are in both prose and verse, sometimes even set to music. Some authors (such as Pietro Aretino, Giovan Maria Cecchi, Giulio Cesare Croce, Giovanni Briccio, Giovan Battista Andreini) are well known, but many texts are anonymous. The plays belong to genres both serious (such as Florentine Sacre Rappresentazioni) and comic, including regular comedies (with division into acts and scenes), sometimes called commedia redicolosa, and shorter farces, called contrasto, giudiata, zingarata etc. It should be noted that the only criterion for the inclusion of a play in this corpus is the presence of Jewish characters, regardless of the languages they use.

The aim of this paper is to:

- a) classify the languages spoken by (or attributed to) Jews in the Italian theatre of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as represented by this corpus;
- b) analyse in a systematic way the phonological and morphological features of the linguistic varieties used (or depicted as used) by Jews, if they are linguistically characterized and;
- c) consider, at least in the most important cases, the relationships between the linguistic characterizations of the Jews and both the plot of the plays and their historical and cultural context, which includes different points of view about the Jews.
- S.E. Fassberg, Y. Breuer (eds), Sha'arei Lashon. Studies in Hebrew, Aramaic and Jewish Languages presented to Moshe Bar-Asher, The Bialik Institute, Jerusalem 2007, pp. 102-112 (I quote from the off-print, pp. 1-11). See previously C. Levi, Il tipo dell'Ebreo nel teatro, «Rivista Teatrale Italiana» 10 (1908), pp. 362-365; E. Re, Qualche nota sul tipo dell'ebreo nel teatro popolare italiano, «Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana» 60 (1912), pp. 383-398; A.G. Bragaclia, Le maschere romane, Colombo editore, Roma 1947, pp. 217-230; Id., Storia del teatro popolare romano, Casini, Roma 1958, pp. 247-265; P. Toschi, Le origini del teatro italiano. Origini rituali della rappresentazione popolare in Italia, Boringhieri, Torino 1976 (previously Einaudi, Torino 1955), pp. 333-340.
- ⁴ B. Santambrogio, Il giudeo-italiano nelle fonti esterne: «Li Strapazzati» di Giovanni Briccio, «Acme» 50 1 (1997), pp. 245-257; E. Baricci, La scena "all'ebraica" nel teatro del Rinascimento, «Acme» 63 1 (2010), pp. 135-163.
- ⁵ U. Fortis, La vita quotidiana nel ghetto. Storia e società nella rappresentazione letteraria (sec. XIII-XX), S. Belforte, Livorno 2012, and now Id., Immagini dell'ebreo nella letteratura italiana. Un excursus tra narrativa e teatro (sec. XIV-XIX), S. Belforte, Livorno 2021 See also L. Modena, Il dialetto del ghetto di Modena e dintorni, Il Fiorino, Modena [2001].
- ⁶ MAYER MODENA, *Italian Theater and the Spoken Language of Italian Jews*, for example, examines about ten texts.
- ⁷ See F. Franceschini, *Le lingue degli ebrei nel teatro italiano dei secoli XV-XVII*, in F. Franceschini, M. Toniazzi (eds), *Shem nelle tende di Yaphet*. *Ebrei ed ebraismo nei luoghi*, *nelle lingue e nelle culture degli altri*, Pisa University Press, Pisa 2019, pp. 205-221: 206.
- ⁸ See Appendix. The first text dates back to the end of the fifteenth century. A few texts are not strictly theatrical, but they show great theatrical strength and/or are connected with the theatrical milieu.
- ⁹ See in this volume A. Grazzini, Jewish and Gypsy characters in seventeenth-century theatrical pieces. A rediscovered anthology of prints; Ead., Figure e lingue degli Ebrei nel teatro romano seicentesco. Ridicolose, giudiate e zingaresche, M.A. Dissertation, University of Pisa, 2018-2019.

2. Absent or weak linguistic characterization of the Jews

2.1. The Florentine "Sacre Rappresentazioni"

The Sacre Rappresentazioni, which flourished in Florence and Tuscany during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are written in verse and draw on biblical stories, saints' lives and edifying examples (exempla). In some of these texts Jews play a major role, either as protagonists of biblical episodes and original inhabitants of the Holy Land, 10 or, inside the modern European societies, as people to be converted and enemies of the true faith. 11 In the Florentine Sacre rappresentazioni the only language is the Florentine, a choice motivated by communicative clarity as well as pedagogical efficacy. 12 Nevertheless, some texts may hint at Jewish language by means of long sequences of Jewish names, such as «Abràm, Davìd, Jacòb e Salamone / Sabbato, Isaac, Jacòb ed Abramino / e Samuel, Josefe quel ghiottone ("that glutton", or better "that rascal") / Natàl e Giubba e quel Manovellino, / e quell'altro Josefe Quadroballa, / Amicca, Acadde e Rechilla e Jacalla». 13

In the age of Cosimo de' Medici (duke of Florence from 1537, grand duke of Tuscany from 1569), and of his sons Francesco (grand duke from 1574) and Ferdinando (grand duke from 1587), the monolingualism of the Sacre Rappresentazioni takes on new political and cultural meanings, to show that Florentine is the best language in Italy, if not in the world. We find this view expressed in the Prologue of Beltramo Poggi's La Inventione della Croce di Giesù Christo (The Finding of the True Cross, Firenze, Giunti 1561), which he dedicated, purposely, to Cosimo's daughter Isabella: a more beautiful language than Florentine («più bella lingua che la Fiorentina») does not exist, thus he needs neither Greek nor Hebrew nor Latin («quella [lingua] d'un Greco, / d'uno Ebreo, d'un Latino») to tell that ancient story. Giovan Maria Cecchi, in his L'esaltazione della Croce (The Exaltation of the Holy Cross), which was printed posthumously and staged in 1589, on the occasion of the wedding of Grand Duke Ferdinando I with Christina of Lorraine, says that «Gerusalemme è questa e quelli ancora / che interverranno, avete a immaginarvi / che sieno i cittadin di tal città, / o sì Greci venuti qui con Cesare» ("this is Jerusalem, and you should imagine that they are either Jews, who live in this city, or Greeks, who came here along with the Emperor"); nevertheless, «vi parleran fiorentin tutti» ("everyone will speak in Florentine"), since Plautus and Terentius have already written their comedies in the best language of their time, i.e. Latin,

¹⁰ See Rappresentazione della Regina Ester, Firenze 1558, in A. D'Ancona (ed.), Sacre rappresentazioni dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI, I-III, Le Monnier, Firenze 1872, I, pp. 129-166; Rappresentazione di Costantino Imperatore, San Silvestro Papa e Sant'Elena, Firenze (c. 1510), ibid., II, pp. 187-234; Rappresentazione di Teofilo, Firenze 1558, ibid., II, pp. 445-467.

¹¹ See Rapresentazione di dua hebrei che si convertirono, Bartolomeo de' Libri, Firenze about 1495, ed. P. Delcorno, Corruzione e conversione in una sacra rappresentazione fiorentina [...], in M. Romani, E. Traniello (eds), Ebrei dell'Italia centrosettentrionale fra tardo medioevo ed età moderna, «Cheiron» 57-58 (2012), pp. 273-310: text 288-310; Festa di Agnolo Ebreo che si battezò per miracolo di nostra Donna, Firenze 1554, in D'Ancona, Sacre rappresentazioni, III, pp. 485-497; Rappresentazione d'uno miracolo del corpo di Cristo, Firenze 1555, in N. Newbigin (ed.), Dieci sacre rappresentazioni fra Quattro e Cinquecento, «Letteratura Italiana Antica» 10 (2009), pp. 74-97. About these plays cf. P. Delcorno, The Roles of Jews in the Florentine Sacre Rappresentazioni. Loyal Citizens, People to be Converted, Enemies of the Faith, in J. Adams, J. Hanska (eds), Preaching on the Jews, for the Jews, and by the Jews, Routledge, New York 2015, pp. 253-281.

¹² P. Ventrone, La sacra rappresentazione fiorentina ovvero la predicazione in forma di teatro, in G. Auzzas, G. Baffetti, C. Delcorno (eds), Letteratura in forma di sermone. I rapporti fra predicazione e letteratura nei secoli XIII-XVI, Olschki, Firenze 2003, pp. 255-280; Ead., Lo spettacolo religioso a Firenze nel Quattrocento, ISU, Milano 2008.

¹³ La rappresentazione d'uno miracolo del corpo di Cristo, p. 96.

¹⁴ See G. CICALI, L'«Inventio crucis» nel teatro rinascimentale fiorentino. Una leggenda tra spettacolo, antisemitismo e propaganda, Società Editrice Fiorentina, Firenze 2012, p. 153. Cicali quotes from the manuscript BNCF (National Library of Florence) II VII 8, compared with the ms. 2978 of the Riccardiana Library of Florence and the Giunti 1561 print.

¹⁵ Heraclius, emperor of the Byzantine Empire from 610 to 641.

despite the Greek setting, and now «la più florida lingua [...] oggi è la nostra, [...] / ricchezza natural di vostro regno / oltre all'altre infinite che possiede» ("the best language is the Florentine, natural wealth, among many others, of your kingdom", i.e. the Grand Duchy of Tuscany).¹⁶

2.2. The Court theatre in the first half of the sixteenth century

Some of the most influential intellectuals and writers of the Renaissance, from Ludovico Ariosto to Niccolò Machiavelli up to Pietro Aretino, composed plays and comedies in the early decades of the sixteenth century, in response to the renewed interest in ancient comedy and to the requests of dukes and noble patrons, but also to meet the taste of the public and sometimes to support themselves. Pietro Aretino, as well as Bernardo Bibbiena, employ in their comedies the so-called *lingua cortigiana* (Court language), i.e. a variety of literary Italian which differs in several features from the Florentine of the fourteenth century, which was destined to become the basis of standard Italian. Machiavelli, on the other hand, writes his treaties, histories and comedies in the Florentine of his own time, while northern authors such as Ludovico Ariosto, following the view of the Venetian patrician and cardinal Pietro Bembo, also look as a model «a Firenze et a Siena [...] / e, per tutta Toscana, alla elegantia» ("to Florence, to Siena and to the elegance of the whole Tuscany)". 17 All these different linguistic choices often include sophisticated variation of registers, but do not stereotype or depict a narrow linguistic characterization of the characters; as Aretino wrote, «non metto in carte il parlar da Bergamo né da Padova né da Venezia, ma quello che mi insegnò mia madre in Arezzo» ("I do not employ in my works the languages of Bergamo, Padua, nor Venice, but only the one my mother taught me in Arezzo)".18 In this framework the Jewish characters are not distinguished by particular linguistic features. The main character of Ariosto's Il Negromante (The Sorcerer: first draft 1520, published by Nicola d'Aristotile detto Zoppino, Venezia 1535; second draft 1528-1529, printed by Giolito, Venezia 1551) «è, per dire il ver, giudeo d'origine, / di quei che fur cacciati di Castilia» ("is a Jew of origin, among those who were expelled from Spain"), but «si muta nome, abito, lingua e patria. / Or è Giovanni, or Pietro. Quando fingesi / greco, quando d'Egitto, quando d'Africa» (second draft, a. II, sc. 1: "he changes his name, habit, language and country. Now he's John, or Peter, but sometimes he pretends to be either Greek, or from Egypt, or from Africa)." Thus, the title character is a Jew, but he masks his identity, therefore no more linguistic characterization is to be expected. The only hint of his Jewishness could be his true name which his servant Nebbio reveals to the audience, i.e. Iachelino, 19 probably a variant of Iacodino, which derives from Hebrew plural יהודים yehudim "the Jews',20 but is often used either as a singular, for "a Jew",21 or as a proper name of

 $^{^{16}}$ Cicali, L'«Inventio crucis» nel teatro rinascimentale fiorentino, pp. 73-76; D'Ancona, Sacre rappresentazioni, III, pp. 1-120: 5-6.

¹⁷ L. Ariosto, *Il Negromante*, in Id., *Le commedie*, ed. A. Gareffi, I-II, UTET, Torino 2007, II, first draft (1520), pp. 439-524, Prologue. Second draft *ibid.*, pp. 525-615.

¹⁸ Letter to Galeazzo Gonzaga, quoted by M. Baratto, Commedie di Pietro Aretino, «Belfagor» 5 (1957), pp. 505-533: 521, n. 21. As Baratto shows with many quotes from Aretino's letters and works, Aretino was aware of the wide use of the dialects, especially of Northern Italy, both by authors such as Ruzante (who died in 1542) and by clowns such as Cimador, «il fio [Venetian for figlio "son"] di Ciampolo (secondo me) Veneziano, [...] [che] tiratosi dietro una porta, contrafece una brigata di voci» («the son of Giampolo, a Venetian I think, who imitated an assortment of voices while concealed behind a door»: translation of this passage from Aretino's I ragionamenti in https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/culture-magazines/renaissance-theater-italy, last accessed 10 June 2020).

¹⁹ Ariosto, Il Negromante, p. 552. In the first draft the name is Lachelino or Lachellino (ibid., p. 472).

²⁰ Cf. «tra li altri Iacodimmi» ("among the other Jews") in *Li strapazzati. Farsa di norcini e giudiata*, commedia nova di Giovanni Briccio romano, Guglielmo Facciotti, Roma 1627, a. II, sc. 3 (see Santambrogio, Il giudeo-italiano nelle fonti esterne, p. 247); «o Iaccodimmi, / dateci qualche aiuto!» ("please, Jews, help us!"), in G. Berneri, Il Meo Patacca ovvero Roma in Feste nei Trionfi di Vienna, XII, 19 (ed. B. Rossetti, Avanzini e Torraca, Roma 1966, p. 413).

²¹ Cf. «il più ruvinato Hiecodì che sia fra tutti li Hiecodì» ("I am the most damaged Jew among all the Jews"),

Jewish characters, sometimes with changes in the spelling.²²

Pietro Aretino, the «Segretario del mondo» ("secretary of the world") as he styled himself, also gives the Jews an important place in his comedies, but neither his *Cortigiana* (first draft 1525, second 1534) nor his *Marescalco* (also 1534) characterize the Jews by means of linguistic features. They are instead characterized by their typical occupation, that of junk and second-hand dealers. Romanello, the Jew of *Cortigiana* (a. IV, sc. 15), enters by shouting «Ferrivecchi, ferrivecchi» (scrap metal! or more generally scrap!), while Abram, the Jew of *Marescalco* (a. III, sc. 1), shouts «A chi le vendo, a chi le vendo le bagattelle, le cose belle, le mie novelle?» ("who do I sell my baubles, my beautiful things, my stories to?"²⁴

However, in the first redaction of *Cortigiana*, which basically shows a Tuscan-Roman monolingualism with some linguistic mixes («diversi impasti linguistici»),²⁵ two particular linguistic phenomena can be found, which are attributed to different characters:

- a) feminine plural in -i instead of -e: nelle orrechi (instead of orecchie "ears"), Prologo; ali forche (instead of alle forche "to the gallows"), said by Valerio, valet of Parabolano from Naples, a. I, sc. 11; manieri (instead of maniere "manners"), said by the pimp Aloigia from Rome, a. III sc. 3;
- b) second person plural in -ti instead of -te; ma dove alloggiatti voi? (instead of alloggiate: "where are you staying?") said by Maestro Andrea, a painter from Venice, a. I, sc. 2; come aveti nome? (instead of avete: "what is your name?") said by Sanese i.e. a character from Siena, a. I, sc. 2; andati al bordello! (instead of andate: "go to the brothel" i.e. to hell) said by Valerio, a. I, sc. 11; no ci mentoati [...] ché ci rovinaresti (instead of mentovate and rovinereste: "do not mention our name, otherwise you would ruin us"), said by Aloigia, a. IV sc. 3.

The geographic provenance and the social status of *Valerio*, *Aloigia*, *Maestro Andrea*, *Sanese* are different, thus this linguistic patina is more likely attributable to the copyist, who according to Trovato would have come from northern Italy,²⁶ while D'Onghia attributed it to copist from Tuscan-Umbrian area.²⁷ However, it should be noted that both the feminine suffix -*i* instead of -*e*, and the verbal ending -*ti* instead of -*te* are typical features of the Judeo-Roman, from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance up to the modern era:²⁸ so the copyist could also be a Jew. In Leo X's Rome (1513-1521), where *Cortigiana* is set,

in Lo Schiavetto, comedia di Giovan Battista Andreini, comico fedele detto Lelio, Milano, P. Malatesta 1612 (see MAYER MODENA, A proposito di una scena «all'ebraica» nello «Schiavetto», p. 75).

- ²² See Iacchedì and Iaccodì in Lo catanne di due accallà (cf. below § 6.3); Iacodim da Beneviento, in A. Donzellini, Tempesta amorosa. Comedia, Roberto Meglietti, Venezia 1605; ser Iacodino, in P. Susini, Le nozze in sogno, dramma civile [...] dedicato al sereniss. e reverendiss. principe card.le Carlo de' Medici, all'Insegna della Stella, Firenze 1665, a. I, sc. 22; «o ser Isac, o Abramo, o Iacodino», in L. Lippi. Malmantile racquistato. Poema di Perlone Zipoli [Lorenzo Lippi], con le note di Puccio Lamoni [Paolo Minucci], Firenze 1688, IV 23 5; Sciacodìm, in [F. de Silvestris], Est locanda, comedia dell'Accademico Disunito, detto l'Incapace [...], per il Bilancioni, Velletri 1648, a. I, sc. 10.
- ²³ Cf. P. Aretino, *Teatro*, I-II, eds P. Trovato, F. Della Corte, Salerno Editrice, Roma 2010, I, *Cortigiana* (1525 e 1534), pp. 61-152: p. 133, e 230-337: 310. Also P. Aretino, *Il teatro comico*, ed. L.D'Onghia, Fondazione Pietro Bembo-Guanda, Milano-Parma 2014, p. 204, with *ferrivecchi* istead of *ferri vecchi* of the precedent editions. The first draft is preserved by ms. BNCF (National Library of Florence) Magliabechiano VII 84.
- ²⁴ P. Aretino, *Teatro*, II, *Il marescalco-Lo ipocrito-Talanta*, eds G. Rabitti, C. Boccia, E. Gravelli, Salerno Editrice, Roma, 2010, pp. 25-128 (*Il marescalco*): 60.
 - ²⁵ Trovato, Nota introduttiva, in Aretino, Teatro, I, Cortigiana (1525 e 1534), pp. 40-41.
 - 26 Ibid.
- ²⁷ L. D'Onghia, in Aretino, *Il teatro comico*, p. 9 n., about *nelle orrechi*, and p. 52 n., about *ali forche*. For the wide diffusion of the feminin suffix -i instead of Italian -e see G. Rohlfs, *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, Einaudi, Torino 1966-1969, § 362.
- ²⁸ See Rubin, Judeo-Italian, pp. 320-323. M. Mancini, Sulla formazione dell'identità linguistica giudeo-romanesca fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento, in «Roma nel Rinascimento» 1992, pp. 53-122: 101, underlines that both these features (marked in his grid as 20 and 26) distinguish the Judeo-Roman from the medieval dialect

Jews were very numerous²⁹ and enjoyed moderately favourable conditions; they could circulate freely and do business with Christians (despite the wrongs and humiliations they had to suffer). In this framework, either among the *dramatis personae* or other people mentioned in this comedy, we find many Jews whose existence is confirmed by historical sources, such as Romanello himself, whose name appears in the Roman census of 1526;³⁰ the converted Jew Girolamo Beltramo, known as a wealthy usurer; the other usurer *Raphaele*, who lived in the *rione* (urban area) Borgo, and the lutist of German origin *Gian Maria giudeo*. So, it would not be surprising if even the amanuensis who copied Aretino's text of 1525 were a Jew.³¹

After the sack of Rome (1527) the capus [sic] mundi (the head of the world, as messer Maco says at the very beginning of the first Cortigiana, a. I, sc. 1), becomes in the reduction of 1534 coda mundi (the tail of the world), and also the material and cultural condition of the Jews gets worse. In 1534 Cardinal Alessandro Farnese assumes the papacy as Paul III. His belief that Jews should be converted to Christianity not through coercion but by awarding prizes and benefits will be formalized in the papal bull Cupientes Iudeos, issued on 21 March 1542. The Cortigiana of 1534 is exactly on this wavelength: Rosso invites Romanello to convert («vo' che ti faccia christiano») three times and for three good reasons (which he will refuse three times): receiving some money («un bacino pien di denari») and an olive branch crown («vederti coronato d'olivo»), eating pork («tu mangerai della carne di porco»), nor will Romanello have to wear the red sign of Jewish identification («non porterai il segno rosso nel petto»), or be hit by boys throwing sweet oranges, melon peels and pumpkins («i putti non ti tempesteranno tutto dì con melangole, con iscorze di melloni, e con cocuzze»: a. IV sc. 15). Much harsher words can be found in Marescalco, also published in Venice in 1534 and set in Mantua, where most likely the comedy was begun in 1526-1527. The Ragazzo (i.e. a groom), while watching the Jewish seller entering the scene, describes him as a red-eyed monster with a yellow face («il giudeo da gli occhi rossi e dal viso giallo») and would like to throw a rock at him, but he is not allowed "to touch the Jews" because of the protective attitude of the dukes of Gonzaga toward them («che bella sassata gli pianterei nel petto, se non andasse la pena di toccare i giudei»: a. III, sc. 1); in the following scene this same theme is repeated by the title character (Marescalco, the Blacksmith), 32 while in sc. 3 the Ragazzo launches his terrible invective «o giudei assassini, becchi, ladri, che siano ammazzati e abrusciati, come fu colui quando ci era lo Imperadore» ("you murdering Jews, cuckolds, thieves, may you be killed and burned alive, as happened to that one when the Emperor was here)".33

From mockery and humiliation of the Jews in the first *Cortigiana*, to the campaign for their conversion, up to burning at the stake: the playwright shows in his comedies, placed in different times and settings, different ways and degrees of anti-Judaism. However, as already said, these changes of perspective do not imply a different linguistic treatment of the Jewish characters.

of Rome (the so called «romanesco 'di prima fase'»).

²⁹ The *Universitas Hebreorum* of Rome was the oldest and the most important of Italy; many other Jews came there after their expulsion from Spain (1492) and from Portugal, a few years later.

 $^{^{30}}$ See D. Gnoll, Descriptio Urbis: un censimento della popolazione di Roma avanti il sacco borbonico, in «Archivio Storico della Societa Romana di Storia Patria» 17 3-4 (1894), pp. 375-520.

³¹ What could be seen as an objection, i.e. that these features are shown by many characters, but not by the Jew Romanello himself, confirms instead this hypothesis: if a Jew is aware of some stigmatized features in his own language, he is rather careful to avoid them when copying passages attributed to a Jew, while he can unconsciously introduce them into passages attributed to other characters.

³² «Un che crocifisse Cristo si piglia giuoco d'un par mio, e non è lecito punirlo» ("one of those who crucified Christ makes fun of me, and I am not allowed to punish him").

 $^{^{33}}$ In fact, the Jew Salom Molco was burned at Mantua, towards the end of 1532, by order of the emperor Charles V.

2.3. The popular theatre up to the 1580s

Beginning in 1531 two important theatrical experiences happen in Siena: on one side the Academy of the Intronati, a group of university-educated intellectuals and wits; on the other the Congrega de' Rozzi, i.e. the "Congregation of the rough people", a group of artisans devoted to writing and staging comic plays, in Siena but also in Rome. Among the latter there were three painters, two blacksmiths, a weaver, a sword-maker, a saddler etc., as well as the cartaio and libraro (papermaker and bookseller) Anton Maria di Francesco called lo Stecchito (probably "the Stiff").34 This playwright wrote, among other pieces, El farfalla, a comedy in four scenes first printed in Rome (1536),35 and then in Siena (1550),36 in Florence (1572)³⁷ and again in Siena (1580). A Giudeo rivenditore (a Jewish second-hand dealer) can be found among its six characters, and exactly as in Cortigiana (1525, 1534) he enters shouting A' ferri vecchi (sc. 3, vv. 304 and 307, where Domizio addresses the Jew just as «o ferrivecchi!»), 38 Regardless of this stereotypical expression, which will be found again in Andreini's Schiavetto, no Jewish or Judeo-Italian word is used by lo Stecchito. Even badarai (sc.4, ll. 356, 385), which could bring to mind the widespread Judeo-Italian expression Badanai (my God!, et sim.: see further), is in fact the normal Sienese future of badare, meaning "you will see", or better yet "be careful", while both the Giudeo and the title character Farfalla use the word Dio for this expression (sc. 4, ll. 362 GIUDEO «ahimè, Dio!», and 364 FARFALLA «per Dio!»). Other non-standard forms which the Giudeo uses, such as fatiga instead of fatica (sc. 3, 311),³⁹ lassar(e) instead of lasciare (sc. 4, 369, 381), etc. are also typical of the Sienese and cannot linguistically characterize the Jew.

A rigattiere, i.e. a second-hand dealer, also appears among the characters of the comedy Il furbo, which was composed in 1581 by the Roman Cristoforo Castelletti and published in Venice in 1584. 40 However, he neither is identified as a Jew in the list of characters nor shows Jewish or Judeo-Italian features, speaking instead in literary Italian, while his interlocutor in a. III, sc. 6, Sig[nor] Gio[vanni] Tommaso Spanteca, creduto Cavaliere Napoletano (actually il furbo, a theft and a profiteer who comes from Torre della Nunziata near Naples and pretends to be a Chevalier) speaks in a well-simulated Neapolitan. 41 However the interest of this comedy for our study is found rather in a. IV, sc. 5. As a part of the plot, the young Aurelio, in love with Settimia, disguises himself as a Levantine Jew and forces his servant Fantino to do the same (this expedient is put in place also in other plays that we will consider further on); when Claudio, Aurelio's father, sees Fantino in such a disguise, we find this dialogue

³⁴ In a Sienese dictionary dating to the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, *stecchito* is interpreted as *agghiadato*, *intirizzito*, *assiderato dal freddo*, i.e. numb with cold (hence stiff): see A. Castellani, *Il* «Vocabolario sanese» del fondo biscioniano della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, in Id., Saggi di linguistica e filologia italiana e romanza (1946-1976), I-III, Salerno Editrice, Roma 1980, II, pp. 424-454: 451 s. v.

³⁵ Comedia noua del Farfalla, de lo Stechito da Siena, Valerio Dorico, Roma 1536 (then Roma 1539).

³⁶ El farfalla, Commedia nuova, per Francesco di Simeone ad istantia di Giovanni d'Alisandro libraro, Siena 1550 (in *explicit*, «composta per Anton Maria libraro da Siena, altrimenti lo Stechito de' Rozi»). This is the main basis of the edition of M. Stanghellini, Accademia dei Rozzi, Siena 1999.

³⁷ Il Farfalla, Commedia nuova, Firenze 1572; in explicit, «Il fine della Commedia del Farfalla, composta per Anton Maria libraro da Siena, altrimenti lo Stechito de' Rozzi».

³⁸ The passage from the seller's cry to a common name for "second-hand dealer" is common, in Italian, both for *ferrivecchi* and *robivecchi*.

 $^{^{39}}$ See Castellani, \emph{Il} « $\emph{Vocabolario}$ sanese», p. 437: «Fatiga invece di Fatica».

⁴⁰ Il furbo, comedia di Christoforo Castelletti, per Alessandro Griffio, Venezia 1584.

⁴¹ The linguistic mimetic skills of Cristoforo Castelletti are especially known thanks to his play *Le stravaganze* d'amore, first published in 1587, where we find a character from Naples, *un infranciosato* (a character who imitates the French ways and language), a *norscino* (a silly servant from the Umbrian-Latium countryside), a *pedante* (a pompous intellectual and teacher) and some Roman characters including the old servant Perna, who offers one of the last examples of the medieval Roman vernacular, the so called *Romanesco di prima fase*.

CLAUDIO: Chi è questo ebreo?

FANTINO: Non mi riconoscete al parlar almeno? CLAUDIO: Fantino, Fantino, che abito è cotesto?

Fantino: Da mercatanti innamorati

[C.: Who is this Jew? / F.: Don't you at least recognize me from my speech? / C.: Fantino, Fantino, what dress is that? F.: Dress for merchants in love].

Thus, Santino's dress as a Levantine Jew works very well, but Fantino cannot speak Hebrew or Judeo-Italian, so that he can be recognized as a non-Jew by his language. In conclusion, this text testifies to the awareness of the linguistic diversity of the Jews, but does not offer concrete examples of it.

3. Toward a strong characterization of the Jews

3.1. A new linguistic landscape

In the sixteenth century the normative definition of literary Italian sanctioned by Pietro Bembo (Prose della volgar lingua, 1525) favours the "reflected" use of dialects. ⁴² New polyglot experiments are developing in the Florence of Lorenzo de' Medici, thanks in particular to Luigi Pulci's Morgante and dialect sonnets. However, the most innovative experiments are developed by authors from northern Italy such as Teofilo Folengo also known as Merlin Cocai, from Mantua; Angelo Beolco called Ruzante from Padua; Andrea Calmo from Venice. The first record, in Padua, of a professional theatre company dates back to 1545, ⁴³ while the description of a «comedia all'improvviso all'italiana» ("improvised play in the Italian style"), staged in 1568 in Munich, shows a well-structured theatrical system with many regional masks and their respective languages. ⁴⁴ In this framework, the scene all'ebraica (Jewish-style scenes) also are included, with more or less stereotyped linguistic features and more or less significant roles of the Jews with respect to the plot of the plays. We also see, as Ryzhik has noted, a drastic change in the history of Judeo-Italian: instead of «translations of classical texts and sermons» into a literary Italian, although written in Hebrew characters, «the main sources became "Judeo"-ways of speech in comic plays or other comic genres». ⁴⁵

3.2 The mountebanks and the Jews

A good example of a "Jewish-style scene", which was performed in public squares, is offered by Tommaso Garzoni's Piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo, first published by G.B. Somascho in Venice, in 1585. This is a sketch about a Jew's false conversion, which is accompanied by some of the most obvious Hebrew expressions, such as badanai (by God!), from Heb. $\beth b(e)$ "by"+ $\beth Adonay$ "my Lord", and alle goi alle goi ("the Christians, the Christians!"), from Heb. $\beth goy$ "gentile, non-Jewish", with Italian plural ending -i, instead of Heb. -im.

⁴² "Reflected" means that the use of the dialect is based on full awareness of the existence of a shared linguistic norm, from which the author chooses to depart by using the dialect. See B. Croce, *La letteratura dialettale riflessa* [reflected dialect literature], *la sua origine nel Seicento e il suo ufficio storico* [1926], in Id., *Uomini e cose della vecchia Italia*, I, Laterza, Bari 1927, pp. 225-234. See also I. Paccagnella, *Plurilinguismo letterario: lingue, dialetti, linguaggi*, in Id., *Un mondo di parole. Tra lingue e dialetti*, CLEUP, Padona 2017, pp. 17-126: 46-47.

⁴³ See R. Tessari, Commedia dell'Arte: la Maschera e l'Ombra, Mursia, Milano 1981, pp. 113-114.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 114-117; cf. M. Traiano da Napoli, Discorsi delli trionfi, giostre, apparati e delle cose più notabili fatte nelle sontuose nozze dell'Ill. e Ecc. signor duca Guglielmo, primo genito del generosissimo Alberto Quinto, conte palatino del Reno e duca della Baviera alta e bassa, a dì 22 febbraro, Monaco 1568.

⁴⁵ M. Ryzhik, *Judeo-Italian in Italy*, in B. Hary, S. Bunin Benor (eds), *Languages in Jewish Communities*. *Past and Present*, De Gruyter, Berlin-Boston 2018, pp. 94-128: 100.

Il giudeo fatto christiano [...] grida [...] ad alta voce borbottando "alle goi alle goi", "badanai badanai", finché il circolo è unito, e poi fa la predica della sua conversione, nella quale si conchiude che in luogo d'essere diventato christiano, è fatto evidentemente un finissimo cerretano.⁴⁶

[The Jew who apparently became Christian [...] shouts [...] aloud muttering "alle goi alle goi", "badanai badanai", in front of the dense crowd of his audience, and then preaches of his conversion, from which it turns out that instead of having become a Christian, he evidently is a very smart charlatan].

3.3. Folengo's Jewish episode (1521-before 1544)

The macaronic poem *Baldus* of Teofilo Folengo, which numbers three editions during the author's life (he died on 9 December 1544) and the last version published in Venice in 1552,⁴⁷ offers an earlier and much more interesting testimony. Here the Latin provides the external linguistic form and the metric structure, while Italian, Mantuan and other northern Italy dialects provide a large part of the lexicon and, to use Humboldt's formula, the "inner form" of the work. In an episode included in *Baldus*' book VIII, ll. 1-347, this linguistic mixture is enriched by a series of Hebrew words, adapted to the dialect and/ or to the Latin, which translators have not always grasped.⁴⁸

Let us summarize the story or better the play, since this episode is one of the best exemple of the-atrical culture in the poem and perhaps in its age. 49 Cingar, one of Baldus' friends and the trickster par excellence, goes to the pawn shop of the Jew Sadoch and, «deposito pegno» (after having deposited a pawn), borrows robes and a yellow cap («gialdam brettam», the Jewish identifying sign). The pseudo-Latin word baganaius means "Jew" and can also be found in book III 254-255: «sed videt innumeras tinctas gialdedine brettas, / namque patarinos baganaios Mantua nutrit», "Baldo sees countless caps dyed yellowish, for Mantua nourishes these ba-adanai heretics", 50 i.e. misbelieving Jews. As this translation implies, the parodic ethnonym baganai stems from the expression badanai "my God!" which Jews often use (or rather are deemed to use). 51 However it should be added that this employ of badanai et sim. to designate Jews by non-Jews is broadly confirmed by the Bolognese Giulio Cesare Croce, the Modenese Alessandro Tassoni, Considerazioni sopra le Rime del Petrarca, and later the Roman Giuseppe Gioacchino Belli. 52

- ⁴⁶ T. Garzoni, La *Piazza Universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*, ed. G.B. Bronzini, Olschki, Firenze 1966, p. 913.
- ⁴⁷ I consider only *Opus Merlini Cocaii Poetae Mantuani Macaronicorum*, Alexander Paganinus, Toscolano 1521 (= T, with author's glosses); Merlini Cocalii poetae Mantuani *Macaronicorum poëmata*, apud haeredes Petri Ravani et socios, Venezia 1552, which is the basis of the editions indicated below. For more details see F. Franceschini, «*Iudaica verba susurrat*»: *Folengo e la prima 'scena all'ebraica*', in «Nuova Rivista di Letteratura Italiana», XXVI 1 (2021), pp. 37-74.
- ⁴⁸ See T. Folengo, *Baldus*, ed. E. Faccioli, Einaudi, Torino 1989, pp. 256-275; ed. M. Chiesa, I-II, UTET, Torino 1997, I, pp. 362-383. See also T. Folengo, *Baldo*, transl. A.E. Mullaney, I-II, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA, 2007-2008, I, pp. 247-269.
 - ⁴⁹ See Faccioli, *Introduction* to *Baldus*, pp. XVII, XIX.
 - ⁵⁰ Transl. Mullaney, I, p. 83.
- ⁵¹ See also *Baldus*, ed. Chiesa, I, pp. 176-177, 366-367. Faccioli's translation and notes, pp. 92-93, 258-259 lack this kind of explication, but grasp the meaning thanks to author's half-serious gloss in T VI 270: "Patarinus" latine [which in general means infidel, misbeliever]; "Hebraeus" hebraice; "Baganai" caldee [the alleged Chaldean or, as we say now, Aramaic is actually Latinized Judeo-Italian], "Maranus" arabice» [*Marrano* is the Spanish and Italian word for "Jew or Muslim converted or forced to convert to Christianity", with many pejorative meanings, from the Spanish word which means also "pig" and probably derives, as Folengo suggests, from Andalusian Arabic *muharram* "forbidden thing", since eating pork is forbidden to Muslims and Jews alike.
- ⁵² See G.C. Croce, La scatola historiata donata da un Cavalliero alla sua Dama per fiera et una ciuffa di Badanai [a fight between Jews], con il festino, colettione e musica fatta da loro nell'ultimo per segno di pace,

The development of the plot focuses on Cingar's deceptions towards Zambello, a foolish farmer who owns the cow Chiarina, and the Jew Sadoch, described as hunchbacked and squint-eyed (squerzo, Italian guercio). Cingar buys Zambello's cow, leaving him a fake bond in payment, which he writes pretending to be Sadoch (as a handsome full-page woodcut print shows in the 1521 Opus macaronicorum: Fig. 6) and writing like Jews from right to left (hebraeorum more roverso). Then he sells the same cow to the true Sadoch for eight ducats. Later he returns along with Zambello, shows Sadoch the bond apparently written by Sadoch himself and requests once again the money or the return of the cow. At this point Sadoch summons all Jews to claim his rights, but is obliged to return the cow, in order not to pay eight ducats more.

It should be noted that this episode already includes the main topics that we will find in the best-known examples of "Jewish-style scenes" (the Jewish pawnshop scene, the violation by the Jews of the prohibition of doing business on the Sabbath: «namque die sabbato veniet rescodere nummos / Laena», "then on Saturday [Zambello's wife] Lena will come to get the money", VIII 78-79; cf. 90-94), and the fights between Jews over the slaughtering of a goose («faciuntque tumultum, / ut vellent sagatare ocam», 338-337: see below), ⁵³ given the importance of kosher animals such as geese, ducks and turkeys in supplying Jews with fat instead of the forbidden pork.

Let us examine now the linguistic aspects. The names chosen by Folengo for the characters of his poem usually show a semantic and etymological relation with their personalities and deeds. However, the name of the Jew, Lat. Sadoccus or, according to Opus Merlini Cocaii (1521), Sadoch, is not properly commented by the editors. צדק sadoq is indeed a biblical proper name derived from the root meaning 'righteous, pious'55. However, this anthroponym does not appear as a surname and, except for error, not even as a name, in the extensive onomastic index of Simonsohn's history of the Mantuan Jews, 56 so it must have been, at least, rare in the Mantuan area, where the story is set. On the contrary,

Heredi di Gio. Rossi, Bologna 1605 (this composition is mentioned by ed. Chiesa, I, pp. 176-177 for Badanai as an anthroponym, but not as an ethnonym); Id., Scaramuccia grandissima occorsa novamente nella città d'Ancona fra due Ebrei per un'Oca [...], Bartolomeo Cochi, Ferrara & Bologna 1617, «doppo il disnar andorno tutti a spasso / quei Badanai havendo pieno il casso» ("after the lunch they went for a walk, / all those Jews, as their belly was filled with food"); Id., Questione di varii linguaggi dove s'intende le ragioni allegate da diversi galant'huomini [...], Cochi, Bologna 1618: badanai is one of the eighteen characters and languages which the composition imitates: see G. Schizzerotto, Sette secoli di volgare mantovano, Publi-Paolini Editore, Mantova 1985, pp. 179-188: 182; more in general F. Baricci, Sogno del Zambù in lingua bergamasca, descritto in un soneto di molti linguaggi, in L. D'Onghia (ed.), Giulio Cesare Croce autore plurilingue, Edizioni dell'Orso, Alessandria 2017, pp. 7-38: 8-10. A. Tassoni, Considerazioni sopra le Rime del Petrarca (1609) shows «le sette de' rabbini e de' badanai» ("the sects of the rabbis and the Jews"): cf. A. Prati, Vocabolario etimologico italiano, Garzanti, Milano 1951, s. v. G.G. Belli's L'Inferno (sonnet, 29 January 1833) shows «turchi e badanai» ("Turks and Jews"): cf. G. Vaccaro, Vocabolario Romanesco Belliano e Italiano-Romanesco, Romana Libri Alfabeto, Roma 1969, p. 90 s. v.

⁵³ Some scholars, who have not grasped the full extent of Folengo's Jewish episode, nevertheless think that Giulio Cesare Croce (and following him Horatio Vecchi) was inspired by this last aspect of Folengo's episode. See U. Fortis, *La parlata degli ebrei di Venezia e le parlate giudeo-italiane*, Giuntina, Firenze 2006, p. 21; MODENA, *Il dialetto del ghetto di Modena*, p. 80.

⁵⁴ Baldus, the hero's name, exactly means 'bold', from the Germanic basis *baltha. His friends are called Fracassus, a giant who fracassa or smashes every thing and every one (cf. Engl. fracas), like his predecessor Morgante, from the homonymous poem by Luigi Pulci; Cingar, i.e. the Northern Italy word cingaro, It. zingaro "gypsy", in fact a rascal, thief and cheater like gypsies were deemed to be; Falchetto, i.e. little falcon, who is in fact half man and half animal (book IV, ll. 53-146, and see Baldo, ed. Mullaney, Notes, I, p. 444).

⁵⁵ See 1 Chr 6,8 and 24,3, Ezk 40,46, Mt I 14., and cf. A. Rossebastiano, E. Papa, I nomi di persona in Italia. Dizionario storico ed etimologico, I-II, UTET, Torino 2005, II, p. 1115, s. v. Sadok. Cf. צְּדִיקְ sadiq, with the same sense, also in Judeo-Florentine (zaddiq), Judeo-Roman (zzaddicche), etc.: see M. Aprile, Grammatica storica delle parlate giudeo-italiane, Congedo, Galatina 2012, p. 219.

⁵⁶ See S. Simonsohn, *History of the Jews in the Duchy of Mantua*, Kiryath Sepher, Jerusalem 1977, pp. 853-888.

the Judeo-Mantuan and the Jewish varieties of the Emilia and Romagna dialects broadly show a word derived from Hebr. שתוק "shut up!" (< שתוק "be silent", "keep calm"), with voicing of -t-: cf. Judeo-Modenese sciadòc per via da 'l toc "hold your tongue, strangers can hear you!", ⁵⁷ Judeo-Mantuan fach / fa' sciadòc "shut up!", ⁵⁸ Judeo-Ferraran star sciadok "keeping calm". ⁵⁹ Thus, either the basis of the name is this one, which is known also in the Modenese common dialect as sadòch "silence", ⁶⁰ and thus may be employed by non-Jews to designate a Jew (as in the case of badanai), or at least there was an overlap between the biblical name and this common expression. ⁶¹ In fact, at the height of the story, when the farmer Zambello is asking Sadoch to return the cow, he shouts to him to be silent: «"Da" que "negandi" / dicere non poteris» ("you can't say: 'Let me deny this' ", VIII, 320-321). ⁶²

However, the most interesting passage is the following (VIII, 335-342):

Ergo sinagogam iudaeus congregat omnem, ut faciunt quando dischiavant foederis arcam. Barbottant «an ah ay men e ey», faciuntque tumultum, ut vellent sagatare ocam, chiamando Mesiam; at potuere satis tunc brontollare gaioffi, atque sinagogae Rabin, legisque maëstrum consultare suum: nil circuncisa gazanis becca iuvat, pocumque valet sua cabala sguerzo.

[Whereupon Sadocco calls together the whole synagogue / as they do when they unlock the ark of the covenant. / They mumble «an ah ay meneheh» and make a commotion / as though they intended to sacrifice a goose, while calling for the Messiah. / But these scountrels can murmur all they want to / and consult the rabbi of the synagogue and their teacher of the Law. / No snipped prayer shawl can help these dolts; / and the cabala is of little use to the squint-eyed [Sadoch]. 63

Many Jewish words and references to the Jewish world can be found in these few, dense verses. To reach this result, Folengo implements three language strategies:

- b) Hebrew words appear in their Judeo-Mantuan or Northern Italian form, which is utterly Latinized. Mesia instead of Messia < משיח, mašiah, may be compared to Judeo-Venetian masìah⁶⁵, while sinagogae

⁵⁷ See Modena, Il dialetto del ghetto di Modena, pp. 60, 121, 149.

⁵⁸ See V. Colorni, *La parlata degli ebrei mantovani*, «La Rivista Mensile di Israel» 36 (1970), pp. 109-164: 144, s. v. *sciadoc* 'silenzio'; S. Natale, *Annibale Gallico*. *Storie vecie*, «Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei», Cl. di Scienze morali storiche e filologiche, Serie IX 32, Scienze e Lettere Editore Commerciale, Roma 2014, pp. 707-708.

⁵⁹ See G. Bassani, *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini*, Einaudi, Torino 1972, p. 99, and cf. Aprile, *Grammatica storica delle parlate giudeo-italiane*, p. 282.

⁶⁰ Cf. E. Maranesi, Vocabolario modenese-italiano, Antica Tip. Soliani, Modena 1893, s. v.

⁶¹ This hypothesis was advanced, but doubtfully and without argument, by FORTIS, *La parlata degli ebrei di Venezia e le parlate giudeo-italiane*, p. 425.

⁶² Transl. Mullaney, I, p. 267.

⁶³ Transl. Mullaney, I, pp. 267-269.

⁶⁴ See Natale, Annibale Gallico. Storie vecie, p. 571.

 $^{^{65}}$ See Fortis, La parlata degli ebrei di Venezia e le parlate giudeo-italiane, p. 328 s. v.; Aprile, Grammatica storica delle parlate giudeo-italiane, p. 260.

- Rabin (for rabbino < rabbenu) ⁶⁶ matches with Rabin de sinagoghi, which is found in a Judeo-Mantuan sonnet dating back to 1792, ⁶⁷ and, as for the degemination of -bb-, with rubì, which is widely spread in Judeo-Mantuan, Judeo-Modenese, Judeo-Venetian etc. ⁶⁸ Sagatare derives from the Heb. ⁸ vito slaughter in a ritual way" and is found in the Statuti comunitatis Regii (Reggio Emilia, 1501), which prohibit selling meat slaughtered for the Jews to Christians («carnes occisas et seu sagatatas pro ebreis vendere alicui christiano») ⁶⁹ and in an edict of Hercules Este duke of Ferrara (1551), with «iugulare vel vulgariter segatare». ⁷⁰

The picture is now complete: the rabbi and the *moreh* with their ritual shawls, their Law and their cabala, cannot in any way prevent the success of Cingar's mockery. What is more important, in only eight lines of verse, or more exactly in 49 words, we find about eighteen words which in various ways allude to the Jewish world. That is a really strong linguistic characterization of the Jews, and certainly demonstrates a good knowledge of the Jewish linguistic and cultural world on the part of the author.⁷³

- ⁶⁶ Rabbenu is רבי rav with possessive ending נו -nu "our master"; instead, rabbi וי rabbì "my master".
- ⁶⁷ Cf. Luigi Zandalocca [a non-Jewish poet, and even an Oratorian], *Tumulto contro gli ebrei del 13 aprile* 1792. Gnor Casèz rabin de sinagoghi ai so ebrei. Sonetto, in Schizzerotto, Sette secoli di volgare mantovano, p. 606, and see *ibid.*, p. 612, D'un rabin del ghett de Mantova, by a different author «in lingua ebrea».
- ⁶⁸ Vedi Colorni, La parlata degli ebrei mantovani, p. 143; Fortis, La parlata degli ebrei di Venezia e le parlate giudeo-italiane, pp. 406-407; Aprile, Grammatica storica delle parlate giudeo-italiane, p. 267.
 - 69 See P. Sella, Glossario Latino Emiliano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 1937, p. 302.
- ⁷⁰ See M. Mayer Modena, A proposito di alcuni imprestiti ebraici di provenienza giudeo-italiana nei dialetti dell'Italia centro settentrionale, «L'Italia Dialettale» 51 (1988), pp. 142-157: 149. The modern Judeo-dialects of Mantua and Ferrara preserve the shorter form šahtar as well as sagatar (sagater in Modena, sagatter in Reggio Emilia, sagaté in the Romagna area): see Colorni, La parlata degli ebrei mantovani, p. 144; M. Cortelazzo, C. Marcato, I dialetti italiani. Dizionario etimologico, UTET, Torino 1998, p. 374 s. v. sagaté; Aprile, Grammatica storica delle parlate giudeo-italiane, p. 179.
- ⁷¹ Cf. «Sinagoga iudeorum commorantium in civitate», "the Community of Jews who live in this city" (Perugia, 1434): see A. Toaff, *Gli ebrei a Perugia*, [Arti grafiche Città di Castello], Perugia 1975, p. 64. Similarly, it. *Scola*, sp. *Escuela* and port. *Escola*, which were used for centuries for "synagogue" in Italian Jewry, could also mean Jewish community, e. g. *Libro Entrada y Saida de nossa Escola 5483* (Book of entries and exits of our Community), year 1722, Archive of the Jewish Community of Pisa. See also Colorni, *La parlata degli ebrei mantovani*, p. 147, for *scola* meaning both synagogue and Jewish community in Mantua.
- ⁷² See Colorni, La parlata degli ebrei mantovan, p. 142, s. v.; Natale, Annibale Gallico. Storie vecie, pp. 657-658; Aprile, Grammatica storica delle parlate giudeo-italiane, p. 267. In fact, we find Maestro, as well as Rabbino, Sacerdote (= Heb. Cohen), Levi etc., among the Italian Jewish family names connected with functions exercised in a religious, liturgical and community context: see M. Luzzati, Per la storia dei cognomi ebraici di formazione italiana, in A. Addobbati, R. Bizzocchi, G. Salinero (eds), L'Italia dei cognomi. L'antroponimia italiana nel quadro mediterraneo, Pisa University Press, Pisa 2012, pp. 497-509: 505.
- ⁷³ As Mullaney notes, *Introduction* to *Baldo*, I, p. XII, «a Hebrew Bible has been found with annotations in his hands» (more precisely, Frobenius' edition, 1536: see *Opere di Teofilo Folengo*, ed. C. Cordié, Ricciardi,

However, Teofilo Folengo (born Girolamo) was a Benedictine monk, who also wrote religious works, ⁷⁴ and the pillars on which Sadoch's episode rests are those, customary to both Catholic and Protestant anti-Jewish propaganda and culture: ⁷⁵ the harsh condemnation of usury («centum miseros usurae sfecerat arte» "[Sadoch] had undone a hundred wretches by the art of usury", 51); the outrageous contempt for the Hebrew language and religiosity (barbottant "they mumble" and brontollare "grumbling", gaioffi "scountrels" and gazanis "dolts"); the humiliation of the Jews and the offense or violence against them («Patarine ladro, patarine ribalde [...] tibi taio colengum», "you heretic thief, you heretic rogue, I will slit your throat", 297, 305). ⁷⁶

Still, one could ask why, in the face of Cingar's threatening invectives, the dispute did not immediately end with the return of the cow and perhaps the beating of the Jew. On the contrary, Sadoch has the possibility of appealing to his community («synagogam [...] congregat omnem») and of mobilizing its intellectual and juridical resources to claim his rights. In fact in Mantua, where the episode is set, it was not possible to exercise private violence against the Jews, since the Gonzagas, even at the cost of clashing with the Church, guaranteed protection to the Jews, to their economic activities, including lending money against a pawn, and to their cultural life. Thus, to deprive a Jew of a good, one had to go through a public discussion with the exhibition of documents and the help of witnesses («pacto scrittae [...] testibus ac tantis», 343-344). Folengo condemns or does not look favorably on this ducal protection («patarinos baganaios Mantua nutrit», "Mantua nourishes these ba-adanai heretics", III 255), but also draws inspiration from it to close his Jewish episode not with an arbitrary beating or a summary elimination of the Jew, as in many farces of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which we will examine below, but with a public judgment in which, without undermining his anti-Judaism and indeed to give more strength to it, he showcases and wisely concentrates his knowledge of the Jewish linguistic and cultural world.

4. Three regional milieux

4.1. Northern Italy Judeo-varieties

As I said, Sadoch's episode is almost a little play in itself, and it seems to allude to the most stereotypical topics which are found in the "Jewish-style scenes" of the sixteenth century.

The best known examples are offered by important writers and musicians, active between Bologna and Modena at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as the *archipoeta vulgaris* from Bologna Giulio Cesare Croce (1550-1609); the poet and musician Orazio Vecchi from Modena (1550-1605), who perhaps Croce himself taught to «reproduce the Judeo-Emilian voices and speeches»;⁷⁸ and

Milano-Napoli 1977, p. LII).

⁷⁴ See M. Chiesa, *Teofilo Folengo tra la cella e la piazza*, Edizioni dell'Orso, Alessandria 2000; M. Zaggia, *Tra Mantova e la Sicilia nel Cinquecento*, I-III, Olschki, Firenze 2003, I, *Tra Polirone e la Sicilia. Benedetto Fontanini*, *Giorgio Siculo*, *Teofilo Folengo*, pp. 783-930.

⁷⁵ As for the Protestant side, see M. LUTHER, Von den Jüden und iren Lügen, Hans Lufft, Wittemberg 1543, transl. M.H. BERTRAM, in Luther's Works, 47, Christian in Society IV, Fortress Press, Philadelphia 1971; Id., Tischreden (Table Talks), which I read in Discorsi a tavola, ed. L. Perini, Einaudi, Torino 1969, e. g. pp. 200-201 (18 December 1536). See T. Kaufmann, Luther's Jews. A journey into Anti-Semitism, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2016.

⁷⁶ Transl. Mullaney, I, p. 265.

⁷⁷ As for charters of privileges and concessions given to the Mantuan Jews by the marquis (and duke from 1530) Federico II Gonzaga in the years 1511, 1521-22, 1532 see, respectively, Simonsohn, *The History of the Jews in the Duchy of Mantua*, pp. 322-323, 21 and 112-113, 767-768. See also B.C. Cestaro, *Vita mantovana nel «Baldus»*, con nuove osservazioni su l'arte e la satira del Folengo, G. Mondovi, Mantova 1919, p. 55.

⁷⁸ P. Camporesi, *Il palazzo e il cantimbanco*, Garzanti, Milano 1994, p. 38. See also Merizzi, quoted below, and already G. C. Croce, *Capitolo al Vecchi*, in Id., *Operette*, ed. G. Vecchi, Palmaverde, Bologna 1956.

the other musician Adriano Banchieri from Bologna (1568-1634), who in many cases reworked pieces composed by Vecchi. ⁷⁹ However, as Emilio Re already pointed out, the first text of this kind is an anonymous *Ragionamento fra due Hebrei*, which is seen in a printed version of 1588, but is probably earlier. ³⁰ Thus, let us compare these passages. In the first two cases, a non-Jew (often a servant or *Zanni*, a traditional mask or stock character from Bergamo or in any case from Lombardia) knocks at the Synagogue or the pawnshop door, but Jews are busy with their celebrations, and the Hebrew they use is parodied with a kind of non-language, with echoes of some known Jewish words. ³¹ Then a dialogue in a Judeo-Italian dialect begins:

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1) Ragionamento fra due Hebrei (Pesaro 1588):
[JEWS] Volem canter, volem canter.
[JEW2] Cominciet ch'ades virrai, ch'ades virrai [...]
[JEW1] Abraam, o Abraam, Abraam!
[JEW2] Chi causa volet, che causa volet?
[JEW1] Venite giò, venite giò!
[JEW2] Comincie[t] ch'ades virrai
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⁷⁹ Cf. G. Merizzi, Generi della comunicazione buffonesca nella «Commedia armonica» di Orazio Vecchi e Adriano Banchieri, in Acts of International Conference Orazio Vecchi: tradizione e innovazione. Il madrigale rappresentativo e la riforma del Graduale (Arezzo 2005), http://amsacta.unibo.it/3200/1/MerizziG_Arezzo2005. pdf, last accessed 19 June 2020.

80 See: Ragionamento fra due Hebrei, in Opera nova dove si contiene strambotti del Serafino [Aquilano] con una stanza di contrarietà, & una canzone alla siciliana, con un ragionamento fra dui hebrei. Con un madrigale. Tutte cose honeste, & degne ad ogni elevato spirito, novamente da Zan Fritada, et il figliuolo del Fortunato novamente posto in luce, Gironimo Concordia, Pesaro, 1588; cf. E. Re, Qualche nota sul tipo dell'ebreo nel teatro popolare italiano, in «Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana», LX (1912), pp. 383-398: 385-386; more recently, Baricci, La scena "all'ebraica", p. 142. Baricci, even in the Bibliography, seems to consider Zan Fritada the real author of the text. It should however be noted that Zan Fritada is one of the numerous Zannimasks which the sources of the time mention: see L'Amfiparnaso. Comedia harmonica d'Horatio Vecchi da Modona, Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1597 (which now can be read in O. Vecchi, L'Amfiparnaso. Il testo letterario e il testo musicale, ed. R. Bez, Forni, Sala Bolognese 2007), a. III sc. 1: «Ul Gandai e 'l Padella / Zan Piatel e Gradella / Zan Bucal e Bertol / Burati e Zanuol / Relichin e Simuol / Zampetta con Zanù / e Frignocola e Zambù / il Fritada e Pedrolin / con dodes fradelin». On the other hand, this name now appears as a character, now as an author, now as an editor (as in our case) of carnival and popular texts: see e.g. Viaggio di Zan Fritada, opera nuova e ridiculosa composta per uno Eccellente Poeta al presente lettore di studio, [s. d.]; Le lod e onor de la chiaf, rexina di tug insavei e istromeg, cavata da tug i quaderegn dol dottor Bergamì [...] E per ol Zanolì Fritada recitata per sprolech in una comedia. E azont de nuf la Nineta alla merdamastega, ad signum Reginae, Venezia 1585; Opera nuova, dove si contiene madrigali, sonetti, canzoni e villanelle [...] Nuovamente da Zan Fritada e il figliuolo del Fortunato poste in luce, al segno della Regina, Venezia 1585. See P. CAMPORESI, La maschera di Bertoldo. Giulio Cesare Croce e la letteratura carnevalesca, Einaudi, Torino 1976, pp. 21-22 and n. 55, 212-213; M.A. KATRITZKY, The art of commedia: a study in the commedia dell'arte 1560-1620 with special reference to the visual records (Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literatur, 100), Rodopi, Amsterdam 2006, pp. 99-100 and n. 266.

⁸¹ Cf. for example in Vecchi's *L'Amfiparnaso*: «Ai Baruchai Badanai / Merdochai / An biluchan / Ghet milotran / La Baruchabà» etc.; beside *Badonai* we find *Baruchai* < ברוך בשל baruk "blessed", *Merdochai* i.e. מרדבי Mordekai with overlap of the Italian word merda "shit", באוך הבא baruk habba' "Welcome", ghet "ghetto" and other words which are either absolutely made up or allusive, but suitable for polyphonic intent. The same scene and words are repeated, with musical changes, by A. Banchieri, *Il Studio dilettevole a tre voci novamente con vaghi argomenti et spassevoli intermedii fiorito dall'Amfiparnasso comedia musicale de l'Horatio Vecchi. Libro terzo delle canzonette a tre voci*, Besozzi, Milano 1600. See Fortis, La vita quotidiana nel ghetto, pp. 141-145; L.M. Gunzberg, Strangers at Home. Jews in the Italian Literary Imagination, University of California Press, Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford 1992, p. 94: «the dialects of Italian Jews furnished still another pretext to portray Jewish characters and, indeed, people whose speech seemed garbled, who yelled or babbled incomprehensibly were often the elements of farce.»

The Languages of the Jews in the Italian Theatre of the 16th and 17th Centuries

[JEW1] Lo goim, lo goim, lo goim è entrato in casa, in casa.
[JEW2] Chi causa von chi causa von?
[JEW1] Vono dinar, Vono dinar. [...]
[JEW2] Ben venga lo goimme,
ben venga lo goimme.
Havete portato lo maschion?

[We want to sing. / J2 Please begin, I am coming right now. / J1 Abraam, o Abraam, Abraam! /J2 What do you want? / J.1 Please, come downstairs! / J2 Please begin, I am coming right now! / J1The goy got in our home. / J2 What do they want? / J1 They are asking for money. J2 The goy is welcome! / [to the goy] Did you bring the pawn?]

2) L'Amfiparnaso. Comedia harmonica d'Horatio Vecchi da Modona, Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1597 (Fig. 7), a. III sc. 3:

HEBREI Ch'à pulset a sto porton?
FRANCATRIPPA So mi, so mi messir Aron.
HEBREI Che cheusa volit? Che cheusa dicit? [...]
ARON Samuel o Samuel
venit a bess venite a bess.
Adanai che l'è lo Goi
ch'è venut con lo moscogn
che vuol lo parachem.
HEBREI L'è sabbà cha no podem.⁸²

[JEWS Who is knocking at our door? / FRANCATRIPPA That's me, master Aron. / JEWS What do you want? What do you say? / ARON Samuel o Samuel, / please, come downstairs! / Good God, the goy is here / he brought a pawn / to get money for it. / JEWS It is Shabbat, so we cannot do business].

3) Questione di varii linguaggi [...]. Opera ridicolosa e bella del Croce, Bologna 1618 (Fig. 8), pp. 11-12: BADANAI Non facit, non facit, hai Adanai.

Fugite Merdacai.
Gioachim, Ezechiel, e Giosuè,
non vedit che s'ammazza lo Goè? [...]
Chaim non stet li piu.
Fugit, fugit, ch'ades n'avit bisogn,
ch'a perderit la cleb dello moscogn.

[Do not do so, for God's sake. / Flee, Merdacai. / Joaquim, Ezechiel, Jeoshua / don't you see they are killing the goy? / Chaim, don't wait anymore. / Flee away, you now need to do so, / otherwise you will lose a lot of your pawns].

All three passages include the Heb. משכון maškon "pawn", rendered as either maschion (1) or moscogn (2, 3). Parachem (2) is Heb. פרחים pəraḥim "flowers", but it means "florins". In Croce's Questione di varii linguaggi, as they are killing a Gentile (s'ammazza lo Goè), a Jew (Badanai) tells a friend

⁸² These words return in G.M. Martini, Buda incorragita da' gli Hebrei. Cantata per Soprano con Bassocontinuo, 1686, in Raccolta Musicale Estense, Modena, Archivio di Stato, in Modena, Il dialetto del ghetto di Modena, pp. 86-91: 90 «Oh che dicit sior Baruch. / Persa (al. Presa) è Buda, e non farem / lo Sabà, che non potem» ("what do you say, master Baruch / lost (or caught) is Buda [according to this text the Jews would have sided with the Turks in 1686 against the Christians, who instead conquered the Hungarian city] and we shall not celebrate / the Sabbath, since we will not be able to do it anymore").

of his (Ḥayyim < חיים "life"), to flee, otherwise he will lose a lot of his pawns (cleb in Bolognese means "plenty, a lot of"). ³³

The similarity, if not the identity, of the patterns and of the lexical aspects in these scenes, as well as in the scenes about the slaughtering of a goose (It. oca) or a duck (It. papero), 4 makes more evident some seemingly slight but meaningful phono-morphological differences; of course, the general features of Northern dialects, such as the deletion of unstressed, and especially final inflectional vowels, are shared by all these texts:

- a) One of the most noticeable features of Emilia and Romagna dialects is the general raising and fronting of stressed [a] (> [ε]), 85 which can be found both in Vecchi (bess for It. basso "down", pulsèt < Lat. PULSATUM "knocked", pèper for It. pàpero, assagatèt etc.) and in Croce (stet for It. stato, pèpar, assagatèt etc.): the development of Lat. CAUSA is cheusa (che cheusa? "what?"), widely attested in the dialects of Romagna. 86 It should be noted that this change does not affect stressed [a] in Hebrew words, such as Adanai, sabbà etc. The change of stressed [a] to [ε] may occur in other areas of Northern Italy, but mostly in the infinitive 87 and in the second plural of the imperative of first conjugation 88. The Ragionamento fra due Hebrei includes cases of this kind (canter < CANTARE, comincièt, aspettèt), but maintains the stressed [a] in casa, causa, dinar. Causa for It. cosa is probably also found in the aforementioned sonnet in Judeo-Mantovan of 1792. 89
- b) According to Emilia and Romagna's conditions, Vecchi and Croce always show second plurals such as volit, avit, where the stressed [e] is subject to metaphonic raising (> [i]). Instead, the Ragionamento fra due Hebrei shows the maintenance of stressed [e], in volet, havete. Although metaphonic forms with

⁸³ See C.E. Ferrari, *Vocabolario bolognese-italiano: colle voci francesi corrispondenti*, Maltuzzi e De Gregori, Bologna 1853, s. v.

⁸⁴ See O. Vecchi, Chiusa del gioco, in Le Veglie di Siena overo i varii humori della musica, Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1604: «Nell'imitar gli ebrei "imitating the Jews": Corrit, corrit! Messer Aron, / che gli Goi che gli Goi / hanno ucciso lo Peper [papero] e 'l nostro Ocon. / Badanai se l'han traffughet, / assagatet / se l'hanno pelet!» ("run here, master Aron, / since the goim killed our duck / and our big goose. / Good God, they filched, / slaughtered / and placked it"); G.C. Croce, Rissa tremenda fra Mordochai e Badanai, in La scatola historiata donata da un Cavalliero alla sua Dama per fiera et una ciuffa di Badanai, con il festino, colettione e musica fatta da loro nell'ultimo per segno di pace, Heredi di Gio. Rossi, Bologna 1605: «B.: Che diciti Mordochai? /M.; Son con vu molt'instizzit. / B.: Per che cheusa, per che cheusa? / M.: Vu m'havit robet lo Pepar / E l'avit assagatet.» ("B What do you say, Mordekai? / M I am very angry with you. /B What's the reason for? / B You filched my duck and slaughtered it"). See also ID., Scaramuccia grandissima occorsa novamente nella città d'Ancona fra due Ebrei per un'Oca [...], Bartolomeo Cochi, Ferrara & Bologna 1617; Lamento et morte di Manas hebreo qual fu tenagliato sopra un carro e gli tagliorno una mano e fu poi appiccato per homicidio, & altri deliti enormi & obbrobriosi, caso successo nella magnifica Città di Ferrara il di ultimo d'aprile 1590, Heredi del Cochi, Bologna 1623; Intermedio, in L'aspra vendetta di Minghetto e Tugnol, rappresentata in Reggio in casa dei SS.ri Pagani l'anno 1672, ms., Bibl. Municipale di Reggio Emilia, ed. U. BELLOCCHI, Il "volgare" reggiano. Origine e sviluppo della letteratura dialettale di Reggio Emilia e Provincia, I-II, Poligrafici, Reggio Emilia 1966, I, pp. 134-135.

⁸⁵ Cf. M. MAIDEN, A Linguistic History of Italian, Longman, London and New York 1995, p. 238.

⁸⁶ Cf. «chi fu cheusa c'la notta / a 'n dormì dell'affenn» in the *Batistonata* (mid-seventeenth century: S. Pasquali, *La «Batistonata» di Lodovico Gabbusio e i «Proverbi ravegnani»*, in *Testi e interpretazioni*, *Studi del Seminario di Filologia romanza dell'Università di Firenze*, Ricciardi, Milano-Napoli 1978, p. 510 and *Glossario*, s. v.; A. Masotti, *Vocabolario romagnolo-italiano*, Zanichelli, Bologna 1996, s. v. *chêusa*; A. Morri, *Vocabolario romagnolo-italiano*, P. Conti, Faenza 1840. More in general M. Pfister-W. Schweickard, *LEI Lessico Etimologico Italiano*, XIII, Reichert, Wiesbaden 2012, s. v. CAUSA, coll. 436-437.

⁸⁷ Rohlfs, Grammatica storica, § 19.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, §§ 531, 607: the development is -ATE > -ae > -ai > -e.

⁸⁹ See Zandalocca, *Tumulto contro gli ebrei del 13 aprile 1792*, l. 6, «nessuna causa al ghet andava mal» "nothing was wrong in the ghetto"; instead, ll. 3-4, «cosa [...]?», and elsewhere «cos [...]?», "what?".

⁹⁰ Rohlfs, Grammatica storica, §§ 531, 607; see also Maiden, A Linguistic History of Italian, pp. 238-239.

- ending in -i(t) are widespread also in Lombardy, it should be noted that the seventeenth-century Mantua dialect, as witnessed by Andreini, shows the maintenance of [e].
- c) In Ragionamento fra due Hebrei the first singular of the future shows the ending in -ai (ades virrai "I am coming right now"), as witnessed by ancient texts of Lombardy and Venice (farai, dirai); 22 instead, Croce's Bolognese normally shows the Tuscan ending in -ò (e. g. «a' t' pagarò. / E ades ades mi v'servirò» "I will pay you. / And I will do it for you right now"). 33
- d) The Ragionamento fra due Hebrei shows the interrogative pronoun chi < Lat. QUĬD "what?" crossed with QUĪ "who" (chi causa volet?), instead of the normal che used by Vecchi (che cheusa volit?); traces of chi [ki], ci [sti] < Lat. QUID "What?" can be found in the extreme North of Lombardy (Poschiavo, Livigno).

In summary we find, on the one hand, an Emilia and Romagna variety of Judeo-Italian, which is seen in Vecchi from Modena and Croce from Bologna; and on the other a variety which, regardless of a narrower localization, is rather compatible with conditions of some Lombardy areas, including Mantua.

In Northern Italy we also find at least a third variety of Judeo-Italian, the Judeo-Venetian, which is seen in the Relazione di quel grandissimo contrasto e terribile rovina occorso nuovamente in Ghetto tra Merdacai, Aron, e so Fradel, Giacobbe, e Samuel, per l'acquisto di due Ocche etc., Venezia (without print date: Fig. 9), written in a mix of Italian and Venetian comparable to the language of Andrea Calmo's works dating back to the sixteenth century. Let us look at the beginning:

Signori un bel soggetto
Mi me voggio narrar
Il qual è occorso in Ghetto
Zioba daspo dis[n]ar⁹⁵
tra Merdacai
Giacob, e Samuel
Aron, e so fradel.
Avendo lui comprato
Do oche apunto in Piazza sul marcato.
Aron, ch'avea pensier,
Che l bruo⁹⁶ fusse più grasso,
El disse a so mujer
Tiò porta un po' da basso
Queste do oche.

[Gentlemen, a nice story / I want to tell you /, which happened in the Ghetto / on Thursday after lunch / among Merdacai, / Jacob, and Samuel / Aron and his brother, / since he [Aron] had bought two geese just in the market square. / Aron, in order to make / a fatter broth, / told his wife: / "Take it, bring these two geese downstairs (in the cellar)].

⁹¹ Cf. G.B. Andreini, *Le due comedie in comedia. Soggetto stravagantissimo*, G. e I. Imberti, Venezia 1623, a. III sc. 7: MANTOVANO: «O de casa [...] vedé [...], se volé» "you of the house, please see, if you like to" (where one could note also *casa*, with maintenance of stressed [a]).

⁹² Rohlfs, Grammatica storica, § 588.

⁹³ G. C. Croce, Viluppi, intrichi, rumori e fracassi non più uditi, li quali si fanno nella Città di Bologna [...] per Bartolomeo Cocchi, Bologna 1608, ll. 43-44.

⁹⁴ Rohlfs, Grammatica storica, § 489.

⁹⁵ The original print has discar. Cf. daspuo disnà, It. dopo desinare "after lunch, in the afternoon", in Le lettere di messer Andrea Calmo, ed. V. Rossi, Loescher, Torino 1888, p. 221 etc.

⁹⁶ For bruo (It. brodo "broth"), see ibid., II p. 140, with bruo de occa, and A. Calmo, Le bizzarre, faconde et ingegnose rime pescatorie, Bertacagno, Vinegia 1553, ed. G. Belloni, Marsilio, Venezia 2003, p. 108, where also occa is found for It. oca "goose", which rhymes with bocca "mouth", exactly as in in this Relazione. See, for marcato "market", mujer "wife" etc., M. Cortelazzo, Dizionario veneziano della lingua e della cultura popolare del XVI secolo, La Linea, Padova 2007, s. vv.

The "Jewishness" is entrusted, in these verses and in those which follow, especially to personal names, to the common pun Merdacai = Mordekai plus merda ("shit") and to the stereotypical Badanai, which occurs further on both as an exclamation and a personal name.

The Judeo-Venetian milieu is found also in Giovanni Bonicelli's *Pantalone bullo*, Pittoni, Venezia 1688, which includes a "classical" scene of the Jewish pawnshop: «Menacai, vien da basso, che è vegnuo sior Pantalon per far moscon [...] per l'obligazion che gh'ho con vu, ve darò mezzo zaù» (zaù stemming from Heb. זהב zahav "gold", zahuv "gold coin'): "Menacai, come downstairs, sir Pantalone came here with a pawn [...]. [Menacai to Pantalone] To fulfil my obligation with you, I shall give you half a ducat."

After the end of the seventeenth century, we will find «very rare flashes, among which we may include the illustrious name of Carlo Goldoni for La Pelarina», and there the possibility of finding similar texts seems to come to an end. 97

4.2. The Judeo-Roman (Rome and the Papal state)

The prominent role of the *Universitas Hebreorum* or Jewish community in Rome is underlined by the ritual of the investiture of both Popes and Emperors (such as Henry VII), who received the Jewish Bible scrolls from the Jews and in return granted them the right to reside in the centre of Christendom. 98 However, the Church did so with an attitude of contempt and rejection, 99 even before the creation of the tribunal of the Holy Office in 1542 and the establishment of the Ghetto in 1555. This attitude is mirrored in many urban rituals, including the race of naked Jews, held each year as part of the Carnival celebrations (to which Clement IX put a stop in 1668), and in the *giudiate*.

With this term we mean both urban performances on Carnival floats, organized especially by the corporation of fishmongers of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria, the parish close to where the Roman Ghetto was established, and theatrical performances based on formalized texts. What both forms have in common, is that the *Giudio* (the Jew) is not only mocked and reviled, but often put to death or subjected to severe tortures. ¹⁰⁰

These plays were very popular and were performed both in public squares and in noblemen's residences, mostly during the Carnival. 101 The marketing of these cheap texts, which were also sold during the performances, was done by booksellers such as Francesco Leone of Rome, whose bookshop was located in the central Piazza Madama while the printing houses were scattered throughout the Papal States (Viterbo, Ronciglione, Velletri, Orvieto, Todi etc.). The playwrights are often anonymous, but we

- ⁹⁷ See C. Goldoni, *Pelarina*, Intermezzi per musica da rappresentarsi nel teatro Grimani in San Samuele, per Alvise Valvasense, Venezia 1734. I quote from MAYER MODENA, *Italian Theater and the Spoken Language of Italian Jews*, p. 11: see a more detailed analysis in Fortis, *La vita quotidiana nel ghetto*, pp. 148-151.
- 98 See A. Prosperi, Incontri rituali: il papa e gli ebrei, in C. Vivanti (ed.), Gli ebrei in Italia (Storia d'Italia, Annali, XI), Einaudi, Torino 1996, I, pp. 497-520; M. Luzzati, A. Veronese, Enrico VII e gli ebrei di Pisa e d'Italia, in G. Petralia, M. Santagata (eds), Enrico VII, Dante e Pisa, Longo, Ravenna 2016, pp. 149-160: 148-149.
- ⁹⁹ See here A. Prosperi, The History of Italian Jews within the framework of the History of the Italian People.
- ¹⁰⁰ For Emilia and Romagna see G.C. Croce, Lamento et morte di Manas hebreo qual fu tenagliato sopra un carro e gli tagliorno una mano e fu poi appiccato per homicidio: see Fortis, La vita quotidiana nel ghetto, pp. 181-184.
- The editorial notes sometimes provide information about the places where, and the theatre companies by which the plays were performed: L'Aquilano finto ebreo [...] in bottega di Francesco Leone Libraro in piazza Madama, Todi [about 1675], was performed by the conversatione della Rotonda, i.e. a company associated with the Pantheon, then commonly known as la Rotonda; L'ebreo finto conte overo Tognino impazzito. Contrasto di Giudiata ridicoloso, Todi 1697, was performed by the Conversatione di Trastevere alla Botticella and Lo catanne di due accallà, also Todi 1697, by Conversatione dell'Armata, with respective references to the well-known Trastevere district and, probably, to the Via dell'Armata, located between piazza Farnese and the riverside.

know some of them, such as Domenico Baldracco, ¹⁰² Andrea della Grazia, ¹⁰³ and Giovanni Briccio (1579-1645), who was also an actor, a chronicle writer and a painter. ¹⁰⁴ Briccio wrote, had printed and put on stage many comedies, *giudiate* and *zingaresche*, i.e. plays focusing on a Gipsy enchantress and fortune teller, who in some cases may be Jewish, as in *La prima zingaresca giudiata con un norcino che la bef-feggia*, (1611, then *La zingara giudia*, *con un norcino che la beffeggia* Fig.10). ¹⁰⁵ It should be noted that his depiction of Jewish and Gipsy characters and languages relies on his intense familiarity with Jewish and Gypsy people. ¹⁰⁶

To exemplify the language of these texts, I quote two passages from Briccio's giudiata Li strapazzati ("the harassed people"), Roma 1627, and from L'Ebreo finto Conte ("The Jew who claimed to be a Count"). Contrasto di Giudiata redicoloso, Todi 1697 (Fig. 11). Briccio's Jew (Iudio) is desperate, since he is not allowed to conduct his business and is subjected to a constant harassment. He swears against the authorities and all those who harass the Jews in many ways, even by soiling their clothes up to the hem with shit: «che fin allo zaganà 107 / ce vengono a impiastrà / con l'azzovà» (i.e. $la\ zzovà$ < Heb. אול "shit", with an epenthetic v).

Briccio, Li strapazzati (1627), a. II sc. 3:108

IUDIO

O vate a requià
da sti scuri iornati!
Che siano achargati
come Aman,
e lo scuro Satan,
come in crociòl de orefice,

- ¹⁰² Cf. Zingaresca nuova nel quale si contiene una laude e un contrasto di un Norcino con Pulcinella. Nuovamente composta da me, Domenico Balderacco Romano, Spoleto 1653.
- ¹⁰³ Cf. Lo scudo d'oro, overo li dui arricchiti, zingaresca nuova ridicolosa e bella. Cappriccio di Andrea della Grazia Romano, per il Menichelli, Ronciglione 1671; Le virtuose vaganti, overo le ritrovate sorelle. Zingaresca nuova [...]. Capriccio di Andrea della Grazia Romano, per il Diotallevi, Viterbo 1657.
- 104 Even the famous artist and architect Gian Lorenzo Bernini puts some Judeo-Roman words into the mouth of the Roman bully Jacaccia: see below, § 6. 1.
- Cf. La pima prima [sic] zingaresca giudiata con un norcino che la beffeggia, frottola piacevole e bella di Giovanni Briccio Romano, Orvito [instead of Orvieto] 1611 (reprinted as La giudiata in aria da zingarate, con un Norcino che la beffeggia. Frottola piacevole e bella di Giovanni Briccio Romano Pittore, con altre Rime del medesimo novamente date in luce. Lodovico Grignani & Lorenzo Lupis, Ronciglione 1620; La zingara giudia, con un norcino che la beffeggia. Zingarata nova, piacevole e bella di Giovanni Briccio romano, Viterbo [about 1675]); Li strapazzati. Farsa di norcini e giudiata, commedia nova di Giovanni Briccio romano, Guglielmo Facciotti, Roma 1627; among the zingaresche without the character of the Jew, Il vanto della zingara di Giovanni Briccio Romano. Opera dotta, piacevole & bella etc., Viterbo 1613; La zingara sdegnosa composta in forma di Comedia da Giovanno Briccio romano, Zatta, Venezia s. d. See here Grazzini, Jewish and Gypsy characters in seventeenth-century theatrical pieces.
- 106 Gipsy women living in via del Babuino attended Briccio's baptism ceremony (Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma, Santa Maria del Popolo, Battesimi I 1562-1577). The Jew Testa di Ferro (Iron-head) is included in a list of Briccio's actors and friends (cf. Indice di tutti i più famosi recitanti di comedie improvvise che sono stati in Roma ne' tempi dell'autore e che hanno recitato con lui, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Cartari-Febei, vol. 115, c. 235). On the basis of archival sources (see https://www.einaudi.it/content/uploads/2019/11/architettrice_materiali.pdf), Melania Mazzucco says in a recent novel of hers that Briccio was able to translate from Hebrew. Cf. M. Mazzucco, L'architettrice, Einaudi, Torino 2019, pp. 40-41 (the gipsy women), 51-52 (the relationships with the bacurri i.e. the Roman Jews), 95-96, 122-123, 134 (Briccio's translations from the Hebrew).
 - ¹⁰⁷ Zaganà in the dialects of Rome and of the Umbria means "hem of the dress".
- 108 These lines are in the characteristic metre of the Zingaresca: see Toschi, $Le\ origini\ del\ teatro\ italiano$, pp. 587-605.

se porti la sua 'nefice allo chiocchinam.

E se sparga lo dam da questi sciacorimmi, come da chazzirimmi asciattati.

[May you (speaking to himself) have some rest ($requi\grave{a}$, from requie < Lat. REQUIES) / after these dark days! 109 / May they be killed (achargati, from Heb. $\pi requie < Lat.$ REQUIES) / after these dark days! 109 / May they be killed (achargati, from Heb. $\pi requie < Lat.$ REQUIES) / after these dark days! 109 / May they be killed (achargati, from Heb. $\pi requie < Lat.$ REQUIES) / after these dark days! 109 / May they be killed (achargati, from Heb. $\pi requie < Lat.$ REQUIES) / after these dark days! 109 / May they be killed (achargati, from Heb. $\pi requie < Lat.$ REQUIES) / after these dark days! 109 / May they be killed (achargati, from Heb. $\pi requie < Lat.$ REQUIES) / after these dark days! 109 / May they be killed (achargati, from Heb. $\pi requie < Lat.$ REQUIES) / after these dark days! 109 / May they be killed (achargati, from Heb. $\pi requie < Lat.$ REQUIES) / after these dark days! 109 / May they be killed (achargati, from Heb. $\pi requie < Lat.$ REQUIES) / after these dark days! 109 / May they be killed (achargati, from Heb. $\pi requie < Lat.$ REQUIES) / after these dark days! 109 / May they be killed (achargati, from Heb. $\pi requie < Lat.$ REQUIES) / after these dark days! 109 / May they be killed (achargati, from Heb. $\pi requie < Lat.$ REQUIES) / after these dark days! 109 / May they be killed (achargati) / as Aman was killed. 110 / May they held (achargati) / achargati (achargati) / acha

And the dark Satan (< Heb. שטן saṭan) / may carry, as in a goldsmith's crucible (crociòl, It. crogiolo with Roman devoicing of [dʒ]), / his soul (nefice, from Heb. נהנם, גיהינם nefeš'id.')¹¹¹ / to the Hell (chiocchinam < altered form of Judeo-Roman chichinam [kikinam], from post-biblical Heb. גהנם, גיהינם gehinam, with devoicing of initial [g] and rendering of het as ch). 112

And the blood (Hebrew משכוד dam) may be shed / of these drunkards (sciacorimmi < Heb. אינר šikor, with plural ending -im and an epithetic -mi according to Roman conditions) / like the blood of the pigs (chazzirimmi < Heb. אינר hazir with plural ending as above) / ritually slaughtered (asciattati, from Heb. אינר hazir with plural ending as above) / ritually slaughtered (asciattati, from Heb. אינר hazir with a prosthetic a-); the blasphemy is obvious, since the pork, the taboo and "dirty" animal par excellence, cannot absolutely be slaughtered in the ritual and "pure" way].

In L'Ebreo finto Conte the old Jew Sciùa (< Heb. יהושוע Yehošua') tells the younger Moscè to dress up as a Count, in order to dupe Tognino, a soldier from Milan, and steal the riches he had looted in the war. The deception succeeds, Tognino goes mad, Moscè is put to torture. However, the happy ending is guaranteed by the double marriage of Sciùa's two daughters with Tognino and his servant, and by the conversion of the Jews. 113

L'Ebreo finto Conte overo Tognino impazzito. Contrasto di Giudiata redicoloso, recitato dalla Conversatione di Trastevere alla Botticella, in Todi, 1697, c. 6:

SCIUA

Baruccabbà, lo ben trovato seti, de farze ricchi lo tempo è arrivato, lo scimanne levati, e fingie aveti

109 The Judeo-Roman adjective scuro, as well as negro, means dark or black in the general and pejorative sense of evil, wrong etc.: see also scuro me "poor me" in Pietro Susini's Le nozze in sogno: F. Franceschini, Giudeo-romanesco a Livorno. L'ebreo stregone e il teatro delle lingue nelle «Nozze in sogno» (1665), in «Nuova Rivista di Letteratura Italiana» 21 1 (2018), pp. 47-68: 61.

 110 According to the Book of Esther, המן Haman, the principal minister of the king of Persia Ahasuerus, convinced him to have all the Jews in his empire killed but, thanks to Esther and Mordechai, his plot was foiled and he was hanged from the gallows that had originally been built to hang Mordechai.

111 Cf. «lo nephesc dello Rabbi dentro no porco», with the comment «שבו anima», in M. Palontrotti, Canzone contro gli ebrei, 1647-1648, ms. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. Lat. 481, cc. 172-174, ed. M. Mampieri, When the Rabbi's Soul Entered a Pig: Melchiorre Palontrotti and His Giudiata against the Jews of Rome, «Jewish History» 33 (2020). pp 351-375: 375, published online at https://doi.org/10.1007/s10835-020-09367-y, last accessed 10 January 2021. The word (car)nefice, which in Renaissance jargon meant "sister", as in la carnefice di tonello 'your sister' in Luigi Pulci's letter to Lorenzo de' Medici (1466), possibly favoured the Italian adaptation of nefeš as néfice (see Franceschini, Le lingue degli ebrei nel teatro italiano, p. 213, n. 38).

¹¹² Cf. Grazzini, Figure e lingue degli Ebrei, p. 197, vv. 757-759, and see ibid., Glossary, s. v.; instead, Santambrogio, Il giudeo-italiano nelle fonti esterne, pp. 250-251, and Fortis, La vita quotidiana nel ghetto, pp. 188-189, interpret chiocchinam as "bed".

¹¹³ For the plot see also FORTIS, La vita quotidiana nel ghetto, pp. 200-205.

d'essere un Conte a no certo soldato, è carico de gioie o de monet[i], e io allo ghoi d'intenne ó dato che glie li farò venne, e tra mi e ti l'azzuffiremo, e fora allechodì.

[baruccabbà אברוך הבא, you are welcome (inner translation of the precedent baruccabbà "blessed is (the person) who comes), / now it is time to get rich,/ take away your Jewish identification sign (scimanne אסימ) siman with an epithetic -ne) and pretend / to be a Count for a certain soldier, / he is loaded with jewels or coins, / and I made this goy believe / that I will make him sell them, and the two of us (tra mi e ti instead of It. tra me e te, literally "between me and you") / will steal them (or "we trick him": azzuffire with these meanings is a thieves' cant word)¹¹⁴ and then we get away (allechodì, shorted form of allechodimo < Heb. אור הלך halak "to go", adapted to Roman verbal system)].

These few lines include a high number of Hebrew words, which confirms the familiarity of these authors with the Judeo-Roman world, but also show the most important phono-morphological features of the Judeo-Roman, either in agreement or sometimes in contrast with the Roman dialect of the time:¹¹⁵

- 1. The presence of unstressed /e/ instead of /i/, in vate 'vatti', se porti, se sparga, de farze, de gioie etc.
- 2. The shift /nd/ > /nn/, as in intenne (It. intendere) "to believe, to mean", venne (It. vendere) "to sell".
- 3. The affrication of the sibilant (/s/ > /ts/) after n, l, r, as in farze;
- 4. /j/ from GE/GI-, DJ-, J- e JJ-, as in Iudio (It. giudeo), iornati (It. giornate "days";
- 5. The plural suffix -i in feminine nouns and adjectives where Italian has -e, as in scuri iornati, moneti (I put an -i for rhyme reasons: the printed text has monete); as already said, the medieval Roman lacks this feature;
- 6. The singular article lo instead of It. il, or modern Roman er, as in lo dam, lo ben trovato, lo tempo etc., common to ancient and modern Judeo-roman and medieval Roman.
- 7. Stressed forms of non-Subject pronouns such as mi e ti, instead of Italian and modern Roman dialect me, te, common to ancient and modern Judeo-roman (e. g. 'mor de ti, It. amor di te'), and medieval Roman dialect.
- 8. The ending of second plural in -ti instead of -te, as in seti, aveti, levàti (It. levate "take away"), which is common to ancient and modern Judeo-Roman, but absent from medieval Roman dialect.
- 9. The loss of final -re in infinitive, as in intenne (It. intendere), fingie (It. fingere "to pretend").

4.3. Central and Southern Italy Judeo-varieties

Let us consider now *Est locanda*, comedia dell'Accademico Disunito, detto l'Incapace [Florido de Silvestris], Bilancioni, Velletri 1648 (Fig. 12). The author was born at Barbarano (Viterbo) in 1596 and is mostly known as a musician. In this play he puts on stage three characters who speak Italian, although with some non-Tuscan features (*Floridoro*, the young *Belladoro* and *Pupadoro*, the daughter of a Frenchman), and three characters who speak different languages: *Bubbobbo franzese*, a Frenchman who speaks a mixture of Italian, Roman and French, 116 Quacacqua Vecchio, an old man, and *Sciaba*-

¹¹⁴ See also zuffimo ste gioie pretiose "we steal these precious jewels", in L'Aquilano finto ebreo, contrasto ridicoloso recitato dalla conversatione della Rotonda, Todi [about 1675] (ed. Grazzini, Figure e lingue degli Ebrei, p. 282 v. 178 and ibid., Glossary). Cf. E. Ferrero, Dizionario storico dei gerghi italiani. Dal Quattrocento a oggi, Mondadori, Milano 1991, p. 100 s. v. ciuffare, with also ciufi(re) "to catch, to steal, to trick".

 $^{^{115}}$ See Rubin, Judeo-Italian, pp. 320-323; Mancini, Sulla formazione dell'identità linguistica giudeo-romanesca, pp. 97-104: 101.

¹¹⁶ See e.g., a. I, sc. 1, BUBBOBBO: «une piasse (Fr. une place "a square") con le sciase (with an initial /ʃ/ instead of /k/ of It. casa "house": cf. Fr. château vs. It. castello "castle") de le locanne» (Roman locanna, It. locanda meaning "house to rent"; piasse, sciase, loccanne show the ending -e of the French feminine nouns, instead of It. -a.

dai the Jew. The latter uses «parole Iudaiche», actually a fake Hebrew, 117 which sounds like a threat to Quacacqua who orders to have the Jew beaten, as well as a Judeo-Italian dialect. Let us look at some meaningful passages and compare the languages of the old man and of the Jew:

A. I, sc. 1: QUACACQUA Che ti piensi de fare mustacciu di forusciuti? Non vidi che nellu loggiamientu non è chivielli? Lo quale è serratu lo portune, le puerte, le casce, li baulli [...]. Vui autri ostinati non voliti né sentire né confessare la veritati, addunche morirete incocciati come rospi alle sassate. A. I, sc. 10: Q. Lu poveru iudiu [...] li vuocchi se li son gonfiati a muodu.

A. I, sc. 9: SCIABADAI Fati fati li fatti vostri, pigliati li riposi vostri. [...] Volite sempri burlar li poveri ienti. [...] Quannu vennimmu li robbi nostri li li damu a li prezzi iusti [...]; iu non son di quilli Iudii che portano stracci e zulfaroli [...]. A. I sc. 10: S. Questi vostri garzoni mi ha assassinatu, vedite, che non pozzu aprire li occhi.

[QUACACQUA What do you think to do, you ugly face of an outlaw? Nobody is in the house, don't you see? All is closed in here, the gate, the doors, the chests, the trunks [...]. You, stubborn people neither want to hear or to confess the truth, thus you're going to die like toads hit by stones. The poor Jew [...], his eyes really swelled!

SCIABADAI Do, do your business, take your rest. You always want to trick the poor people. When we sell our things, we give them to you at a fair price [...]. I am not one of those Jews who sell rags and matches [...]. Your guys really killed me, don't you see, and I cannot open my eyes].

The old Quacacqua speaks a South Latium dialect strongly marked by Southern features, which were partly present in the medieval Roman dialect too, but which are not found either in Renaissance Roman or in Judeo-Roman:

- 1. Metaphony, i.e. assimilatory raising of stressed mid vowels when followed by unstressed high vowel. Low mid vowels are diphthongized: /ɛ/ > ie (piensi, It. pensi; loggiamientu, chivielli), /ɔ/ > either ue (le puerte, It. porte) or uo (li vuocchi, It. occhi; a muodu). High mid vowels are raised: /o/ > /u/ (portune, It. portone, vui, It. voi), /e/ > /i/ (vidi, It. vedi; voliti, It. volete);
- 2. Conservation of final unstressed -u, as in serratu, lu poveru Iudiu, ecc.;
- 3. Consequently, singular article *lu* instead of It. *il*, *lo*;
- 4. Velarization of /l/ before a dental consonant, as in autri, It. altri "others".

Sciabadai's language differs from Quacacqua's in the typical Judeo-Italian plural suffix -i in feminine nouns, instead of -e (li poveri ienti, li robbi nostri, vs. Quacacqua's le puerte, le casce, alle sassate), and shares general features of Central and Southern Italy such as J > /j/, as in iusti, ND > /nn/ as in quannu vennimu, It. quando vendiamo, etc. On the other hand, Sciabadai's language agrees with Quacacqua's and differs from the Judeo-Roman in the conservation of final unstressed -u (from Latin -U, assassinatu, damu < Lat. DAMUS, and -O: quannu < QUANDO, iu < EGO). As for the metaphony, the raising of high mid vowels is found in quilli, vedite, while low mid vowels are not diphthongized, as occhi show (vs. Quacacqua's vuocchi), probably with raising /o/ > /o/. 118

Lastly, let us consider Alessandro Donzellini's *Tempesta amorosa*. *Comedia*, Roberto Meglietti, Venezia 1605 (Fig. 13). The author was born at Bolsena about 1542-1545 and died there in 1613. The action takes place in Viterbo, identifiable on stage by its high towers («a queste altissime torri conoscer la potete»); however, this text presents a complex linguistic picture, antedating from this point of view

¹¹⁷ Also in this case some echoes of recognizable Hebrew words are found: a. I sc. 10 p. 23: «Klu nibhar schicchai tamme (perhaps dam "blood", with devoicing of initial d-) hanussch rash chiliu hinneh el Zeh (Heb. הד בעלה "this, that"; in Judeo-Italian dialects el Ze means "this guy") el sbanglaoth (perhaps בעלה ba'alot plural of בעלה "mistress") chaim (""" "life") aol» (perhaps העולם ha-'olam "of the universe").

¹¹⁸ Rohlfs, Grammatica storica, §§ 7-5; Maiden, A Linguistic History of Italian, pp. 238-239, 242-245.

many other plays we have seen above. The *amorosi*, i.e. the characters directly involved in the love plot, speak Italian (with some non-Tuscan features). Some characters are associated with special languages. *Capitan Salandra* is warlike both in attitude and in words. *Aristarco pedante* exhibits an either Latin or Latinizing speech. *Giglio scemo famiglio* e *Bettina scema fante* are the stock types of the silly servants, who speak a Tuscan language full of idioms, proverbs, versified phrases. *Tarocco prigioniero*, a thief in chains, speaks the Italian cant, ¹¹⁹ in which *tarocco* means "successful theft". A Sicilian dialect is spoken by *Caridemo Palermitano*, ¹²⁰ while *Iacodim ebreo*, the Jew, is characterized by a Judeo-dialect which differs from all the others we have so far considered:

Tempesta amorosa, a. II, sc. 8, pp. 74-75

IACODIM: Ed ecco ti dico, cha noi autri comparamo a tanti tornisi e cianfruni e carrini quissi robbi [...]. Mira cha eo sogno Iacodim da Beneviento Iudio, figlio di Sciamuel d'Aloia da Capua, et aggio improntato ssa toga, no capiello e na varva a posticcio, con questo entennemiento, cha tu non faccia quaracha burla, che mo besuogna ire loco encoppa a chissa torri. [...] Badanai chad'aggio le chiù belle casacchi e belli tabarri cha non sognu in Roma, se mo guardi chilli figliuoli, seno cha li puozza vedere ire sperzi pezi.

[I can tell you that we buy these things in tornesi (from French tournais or tournois "coin of Tours", copper coins minted in Naples from the fifteenth century onwards), in cianfroni (from Spanish chanflón "bad quality [coin]", coins minted in Naples from the sixteenth century), and in quattrini (another word for "coins"). See, I am the Jew Iacodim from Benevento (a city about a hundred kilometers from Naples), the son of Samuel d'Aloia from Capua (another town in Naples region), and I borrowed this gown, a hat and a fake beard, with this agreement, that you do not play some joke. We have to climb to the top of that tower [...]. My God, I have the most beautiful robes and the most beautiful cloaks such as are not found even in Rome, (God) may keep those children safe, otherwise (if I am lying) may I see them go to rack and ruin.]

Iacodim, as a proper noun, and the usual Badanai are the marks of Jewishness in this passage, but also gazzirro 'pork' is found elsewhere. As for morphological features, the suffix -i instead of -e is found in feminine plural nouns (quissi robbi, It. codeste robe "those things", casacchi, It. casacche), and is even extended to feminine singular nouns (chissa torri, It. quella torre "that tower"). 121

Apart from that, the phono-morphological aspect is typically Neapolitan. Some features are shared by Central and Southern Italy dialects (Lat. or Heb. J > /j/, as in Iacodim, Iudio; ND > /nn/ as in entennemiento, It. intendimento; the affrication of /s/, as in sperzi for spersi). The Neapolitan is typically (albeit not exclusively) characterized by the shift Lat. PL > /kj/, as in cchiù, It. più, and by the merger of proto-Romance labials /v/ and /b/, the result of which is /v/ $(na\ varva\ instead\ of\ una\ barba)$; in reverse, /b/ instead of /v/ is found elsewhere, e. g. in boglio, It. voglio, or bedere, It. vedere. 122 We could mention many other Neapolitan features, from the demonstratives chissa, quissi (< spoken Latin ECCU IPSU) "this, that", to the adverbs encoppa "on the top of, upon", loco 'there', mo < Lat. MODO "now".

Moreover, Iacodim presents the typical Neapolitan metaphony, with the diphthongization in Be-

He uses words such as buoso "wine", cerchiosa "barrel' (since it is equipped with iron hoops, cerchi), ingegnosa "key to escape from the prison" (since ingegno means both "skill" and "key bit"), maggiorengo "police officer'; taschiera "tavern"; travagliosa 'prison, chains" (since it produces "travail" in the sense of pain), etc.: see Nuovo Modo de intendere la lingua zerga, Ferrara 1545, in Il libro dei vagabondi, ed. P. Camporesi, Einaudi, Torino 1980, pp. 197-243, s. vv., and Ferrara pizionario storico dei gerghi italiani, s. vv.

¹²⁰ See e. g. «Songu capetatu a chisto Paisi, cha'n Secilia era nomenato pe lo chiù beddu d'Italia, e se bene sacciu faveddari Romana [...], boglu chiù prestu faveddari Sicilianu».

¹²¹ See similarly Judeo-Roman *la morti*, It. *la morte*, and *sorti*, It. *sorte*, in *L'Aquilano finto ebreo*, Todi [about 1675], vv. 235, 648 (see Grazzini, *Figure e lingue degli Ebrei*, p. 315); Judeo-Livornese *santa paci*, It. *santa pace*, and *roba tareffi*, It. *roba tareffe*, i.e. not kosher, in Guarducci's poems (see F. Franceschini, *Giovanni Guarducci*, il bagitto e il Risorgimento. Testi giudeo-livornesi 1842-1863 e Glossario, S. Belforte, Livorno 2013, p. 201).

¹²² Rohlfs, Grammatica storica, § 150; Maiden, A Linguistic History of Italian, p. 240.

neviento, capiello, entennemiento (and in besuogna, puozza), and the raising of /e, o/ in tornisi (it. tornesi), cianfruni (it. cianfroni), chilli. Latin L shifts to /w/ before a dental consonant (autri), and to /r/ before a velar consonant (qualche "some"> quarcha > quaracha with anaptyxis of a). Thus, the Jew of this play shares these Southern features with the non-Jew old man of Est Locanda, which are not found in the Jew Sciabadai of the latter play; Sciabadai's dialect however differs from the Judeo-Roman because of the conservation of -u.

5. Three great Tuscan playwrights

5.1. Giovan Battista Andreini's "Lo Schiavetto" (1612)

No Tuscan author has been mentioned so far; however, we know some of them, three of whom are top rank. ¹²³ Giovan Battista Andreini was the greatest playwright and actor of his age; he worked mostly in northern Italy and in France, but was born in Florence, on 9 February 1576, and always wanted to be called *Fiorentino*. His father Francesco was born in Pistoia in 1548, was an actor too and became famous in the role of *Capitan Fracassa*. His mother Isabella Canali, a poet and an actress as well, was born in Padua to a Venetian family, and, of course, the crossing of Tuscan and Venetian tradition is noteworthy. ¹²⁴

One of Andreini's most important plays, both in general and for the representation of the Jews, is *Lo Schiavetto*, published in Milano, in 1612, by Pandolfo Malatesta, ¹²⁵ but previously staged in many cities («in varie città»), as the author says in his preface to the readers. ¹²⁶ A second edition was printed in Venice in 1620 by Gio. Battista Ciotti (Fig. 14).

The action takes place «in Pesaro» and the plot focuses on Schiavetto, a "little slave" of Turkish origin, ¹²⁷ who is in reality Florinda, a young noblewoman in search of Orazio, who had seduced and abandoned her. In the meantime, Orazio and Fulgenzio pay court to the beautiful Prudenzia, whose father, Alberto, has already promised his daughter's hand to the count Nottola, actually an impostor and a big cheat.

In act II Prudenzia suggests to Orazio, and indirectly to Fulgenzio, that in order to gain access to Prudenzia's palace, they should disguise themselves as Jews and mix with the true Jews expected to come with gorgeous clothes («molti Ebrei [...] carichi di belle vestimenta»: a. II, sc. 2) for the coming wedding. In this framework, Andreini plays on the different possibilities offered by language games and theatrical multilingualism. On one level, a series of Fulgenzio's amusing performances is found: since he cannot speak Hebrew («non sapendo parlare ebraico»), he dares not speak an invented Hebrew (of the kind we saw above), but a sort of dumb language («lingua muta») and a self-styled language of cats («lingua gattesina») and of mice («lingua sorzolina» (sc. 9, 12), in fact a series of fanciful expressions based mostly upon meaningless onomatopoeias. 129

On a second level, puns are found based on the fact that a Jewish character, Scemoel, is called alternatively by three other names, all beginning with an S-: Scimison, Salomon, Simon. The multiplication of the names in itself produces a comic effect, but an even more amusing one is produced by phonetic

 $^{^{123}}$ According to C. Marazzini, Il secondo Cinquecento e il Seicento, il Mulino, Bologna 1993, pp. 298-313, Buonarroti and Andreini are two of the most representative playwrights of their century.

 $^{^{124}}$ See L. D'Onghia, Aspetti della lingua comica di Giovan Battista Andreini, «La lingua italiana» 7 (2011), pp. 57-80: 58-59.

¹²⁵ Lo Schiavetto, comedia di Giovan Battista Andreini, comico fedele detto Lelio, P. Malatesta, Milano 1612, ed. L. Falavoltti, Commedie dei Comici dell'Arte, UTET, Torino 1982, pp. 45-213.

¹²⁶ A' benigni lettori Giovan Battista Andreini, ibid., p. 59.

¹²⁷ See also T. Gurney, Performing the Mediterranean in Giovan Battista Andreini's Lo Schiavetto, in M. Arfaioli, M. Caroscio (eds), The Grand Ducal Medici and the Levant, Brepols, Turnhout 2016, pp. 125-136.

¹²⁸ See in general G. Folena, Le lingue della commedia e la commedia delle lingue, in Scritti linguistici in onore di Giovan Battista Pellegrini, I-II, Pacini, Pisa 1983, II, pp. 1485-1513:1492-1493 and 1499-1501.

¹²⁹ D'Onghia, Aspetti della lingua comica di Giovan Battista Andreini, pp. 66-67.

proximity between Scemoel (Hebr. שמואל Šemu'el "Samuel") and scemo è el, which in Renaissance Italian means, literally, "fool is he". Similarly, because of the proximity between Scimison (Hebr. שמשון Šimšon "Samson") and It. scem'i son, literally, "fool I am", when this character says, speaking to himself, «Scimison, tu [...] se' stimato il più vituperoso giudeo che sia di qua e di là dai monti Caspi» (a. II, sc. 6, at the beginning), he does not only mean "you are deemed the most disgraceful Jew on both sides of the Caspian mountains", 131 but underlines as well "I'm just a fool".

On a third level we find what Gianfranco Folena calls «plurilinguismo reale», a real multilingualism, and in addition an interesting code switching in a Judeo-Italian milieu. ¹³² Andreini puts on stage a group of Jews, the main ones are Caino, Leone, Sensale and Scemoel (the one with four names). The latter is the first to enter on stage (a. I, sc. 6), with the words I have just quoted. Speaking to himself, he uses a Tuscan language, which is inlaid with sayings and idioms, in servant's style («chi dorme non piglia pesce», literally "he who sleeps doesn't catch fish," i.e., "the early bird catches the worm."; «la robba mia [...] farebbe aprir gli occhi ad un morto» i.e., my things are so exciting to raise a dead man). However, he uses Hebrew words too, such as «la Torrà», «lo Gohim» ("the Christian people", with a singular article before a Hebrew noun with plural suffix) «i zevvim» < Heb. זהבים zehuvim "gold coins", etc.). ¹³³A non-Jewish porter answers him, using a well-known Judaism, «tutti i coltelli della saggattaria», "all the knives of the Jewish butchery", with an Italianization of Hebr. ³⁴ yard šaḥaṭ, already seen in Folengo, Vecchi, Croce. In sc. 7 another Jew enters, whose name is Sensale, corresponding exactly to his job (sensale "broker"). He too speaks to himself, using in this case the first person:

G.B. Andreini, Lo Schiavetto (Milano 1612), a. I, sc. 7

gli uomini valenti nelle avversità, e non nelle felicità (come disse colui) si conoscono: perché ognuno par che giochi bene quando gli dice buono il dado. I' sono il più ruvinato Hiecodì che sia fra tutti li Hiecodì, vada come vuole, all'ultimo voglio fare un bel tiro, tòr molta roba e legare il paletto.

[brave men are recognized in adversity, not in happiness, as the saying goes. In fact, everyone looks like a good player when the dice are on his side. I am the most disgraceful Jew amongst all Jews. Whatever happens, I want to play a nasty trick [his conversion to Christianity], get a lot of stuff and close up shop.]¹³⁴

In Sensale's case, as already in Scemuel's, we find the same self-pity, if not the same self-defaming discourse, and the same Tuscan language mixed with idioms («ognuno par che giochi bene quando gli dice buono il dado») and Hebrew word (Hiecodi < Heb. 'הודי' yehudi -im "Jew, Jews"). However, when Sensale sees Scemoel coming, he switches from this linguistic code to the Judeo-Italian we saw in $Ragion-amento\ fra\ due\ Hebrei\ (1588: § 4.1)$, with chi instead of It. che "what", causa with no raising of stressed /a/ and, moreover, the typical Lombard form semper instead if It. sempre:

¹³⁰ I agree about this with Falavolti, Commedie dei Comici dell'Arte, cit., p. 109, n. 1, and with Mayer Modena, Italian Theater and the Spoken Language of Italian Jews, pp. 5-6. Instead, P. Bertolone, Jewish Languages and Jewish Characters in G.B. Andreini's «Lo Schiavetto», in E. Nashon (ed.), Jewish Theater. A global view, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2009, pp. 101-112: 109 thinks that «no clear design created by Andreini can be extrapolated from this use of name variation».

 $^{^{131}}$ An allusion can be found here to the myths of Gog and Magog and to the supposed existence of tribes of Israel across the Caspian Sea. See Enrico Giaccherini's essay in this volume.

¹³² Cf. Mayer Modena, Italian Theater and the Spoken Language of Italian Jews, pp. 5-6.

¹³³ See Mayer Modena, A proposito di una scena «all'ebraica» nello «Schiavetto», p. 75.

¹³⁴ The expression *legare il paletto* is not completely clear; in this context *paletto* probably means bolt, and thus *legare il paletto* means "to bolt the door", which I understand as "to close up shop", i.e. to stop with the work of broker.

¹³⁵ Rohlfs, Grammatica storica, §§ 338,260.

G.B. Andreini, Lo Schiavetto (Milano 1612), a. II, sc. 7:

SENSALE Ma ecco qui miser Scemoel. Chi causa facit miser Simon? SCEMOEL Oh, oh? L'è qui sto ganan firsur. SENSALE Semper miser Scemoel me becemit.

The same code switching is also found in *La donna più sagace fra l'altre* (Venezia 1660, 1662), by Cicognini, ¹³⁶ who probably follows Andreini's model. ¹³⁷

Coming back to Lo Schiavetto, Falavolti's comment speaks often (and not always appropriately) of Yiddish items in it. The three lines I have just quoted show the most interesting, but not certain, cases in this direction. In the second line, «l'è qui sto ganan firsur» roughly means "here is this big thief", since ganan is, probably with -n instead of -v because of a printing error, Heb. גנב ganav, "thief", widespread in Judeo-Italian and, as ganef, in Yiddish. Falavolti sees in firsur the Yiddish word פֿירונג firung, Germ. Führung "habit, conduct' (thus: "Here is this habitual thief"); Mayer Modena, instead, the Yiddish אינ firer, Germ. Führer "leader, guide" (thus: "Here is the leader of the thieves"). However, the phonetic shift of both firung and firer to firsur is problematic; a comic deformation of a word is always possible in this kind of texts, but that presupposes that this word is fairly well known, so that it may be recognized, and this does not seem the case.

The following line by Sensale «Semper miser Scemoel me becemit» evidently means "Master Samuel, you always blame me". The form *becemit* is a second plural of a first conjugation verb, in which the verbal suffix -it(e) is extended from other conjugations, instead of -ate, exactly as in Sensale's next words: «sempre miser Leon me perseguitite» [It. perseguitate] "Master Leon you always hound me" (a. II, sc. 8). The same verb is found twice in a text of the late seventeenth century, the *Intermedio* included in *L'aspra vendetta di Minghetto e Tognol*. ¹⁴⁰ Falavolti does not explain this word and Fortis tries to cor-

¹³⁶ Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, whose father Jacopo was also a famous playwright and poet, was born in Florence in 1606 and later moved to Venice, where he probably died in 1650. Many of his plays, including *La donna più sagace fra l'altre*, are addressed to a Venetian and Northern Italian audience.

¹³⁷ Cf. La donna più sagace fra l'altre, Opera di D. Giacinto Andrea Cicognini fiorentino, per Nicolò Pezzana, Venezia 1662 (previous editions Longhi, Bologna s. d.; Nicolò Pezzana, Venezia 1660), a. III sc. 10, pp. 87-91. Trivello goes along with Fiorello to the Ghetto, during religious ceremonies, to pawn a necklace for three hundred scudi, and Samuel says, in a perfect Italian of his age: «Che cosa volete, che commandate di gratia, non c'interrompete nostra Sinagoga!» "what do you want, what do you tell us, please, do not interrupt us during our rites in the Synagogue!". However, since Fiorello pretends that Trivello is there to convert to Judaism, always in exchange for three hundred scudi, Samuel summons all the Jews, switching to a Northern Judeo-Italian, as the verbal suffix -iti instead of -ite shows («Veniti, veniti allegramente, che il Goi si vuol farsi Giudeo»), and using crude Hebrew words: «che vi possi venire il tecorim nel tacato» (< Heb. טחורים tehorim "hemorrhoids" and תחת tahat "ass"), "may you get piles"; for Judeo-Piedmontese tacourim and similar forms see APRILE, Grammatica storica, p. 167; for Judeo-Mantuan tàchat and similar forms, ibid., p. 155; Judeo-Roman instead has, respectively, tachorimmi and tàchadde or tàchete. The other Jews answer him one by one, by singing verses inlaid of Venetian and Northern Italy forms, such as arrivà instead of It. arrivato "arrived", Giudì < Heb. יהודי "Jew", according to Judeo-Venetian and Judeo-Mantuan *Iudi* (Fortis, *La parlata degli ebrei di Venezia*, pp. 290-291 s. v.), zaramei, It. ciaramelle "reed-pipes", with /tz/ instead of /tʃ/, the Venetian deletion of -ll- and the Judeo-Italian plural feminine suffix -i instead of -e, and qual causa instead of It. che cosa, which mirrors causa in Ragionamento fra due Hebrei and Andreini's Schiavetto. At last Trivello, deceived like the Jews by Fiorello, realizes that the Jews want to circumcise him («Ah Ebrei becchi cornuti, così si tratta? Volermi sciattare!»: the Heb. šahat is here used by a non-Jew in the more general meaning of to harass or to ruin someone), and he beats them, putting them to flight (Qui bastona, Hebrei fuggono.)

¹³⁸ The Northern Italy thieves jargon also shows ganao "thief": see Ferrero, Dizionario storico dei gerghi italiani», p. 156 s.v, who, however, does not grasp the Hebrew basis and speaks of "an uncertain etymology."

 $^{^{139}}$ Mayer Modena, A proposito di una scena «all'ebraica», p. 76, where Judeo-Livornese ganav dei primi "one of the best thieves" is quoted in comparison.

¹⁴⁰ L'aspra vendetta di Minghetto e Tugnol, rappresentata in Reggio in casa dei SS.ri Pagani l'anno 1672,

rect it to *beceri*, from a hypothetical verb *becerare* "to blame". ¹⁴¹ Mayer Modena instead suggests for this word the Yiddish basis *beschemen*, Germ. *beschämen* 'to shame, to humiliate', which fits perfectly for the meaning. ¹⁴² However, there is no need of a Yiddish basis, since the verb *bescemà*, *bascemà*, stemming from vulgar Latin *BLASTEMARE and meaning "to offend, to blame someone", is widespread in many Venetian dialects. ¹⁴³

This remarkable role of the Jewry in *Lo Schiavetto* is connected with the importance of the Jewish communities both in Pesaro, where the action takes place, ¹⁴⁴ and in Mantua, where Andreini's theatre company, called *I Fedeli*, was based. Furthermore, we have many documents about the participation of the Jews in the theatrical and festive events in Mantua, often in direct relationship with Andreini's company. ¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, Mantua's ghetto was fully established on 24 February 1612, as I already said, and *Lo Schiavetto* was first published in September and October of the same year. ¹⁴⁶ Probably «the author wanted to echo the creation of Mantua's ghetto» by inserting the self-defaming monologue of Sensale (a. II, sc. 7). ¹⁴⁷ Indeed, he declares that he wants to convert from Judaism to Christianity («i' mi voglio disgiudeare»), in order to remain in the prince's graces («quello che è in grazia del principe gode del principe i favori») and of course to be allowed to eat, against the Jewish dietary rules, pork («braciole, sanguinacci, fegatelli e salsicce») and meat mixed with cheese («carne manzatica, vitellatica, capponatica e porcatica [con] sopra [...] il buon formaggio piacentino»). ¹⁴⁸

At the end of Act II, by order of the self-styled count Nottola, Jews are beaten and deprived of their goods and of the fancy clothes they brought to the Palace. This could seem the same old anti-Semitic story, but at the end of the play (a. V, sc. 10) Andreini reverses this pattern and breaks «with the mean tradition of the *Giudiate* and, generally speaking, with the anti-Semitic tradition that shows the Jew as more or less guilty, but always a loser». ¹⁴⁹ Caino, as a leader of the Jewish group, returns to the Palace, claims his rights and proclaims his dignity, by using a Jewish dialect of Northern Italy, which we could

ms., Bibl. Municipale di Reggio Emilia, Raccolta Curti, 142 / 121, ed. U. Bellocchi, Il "volgare" reggiano. Origine e sviluppo della letteratura dialettale di Reggio Emilia e Provincia, Poligrafici, Reggio Emilia 1966, I, pp. 134-135: 135: «lo volem bicimier lo pughel» and below «Iuda bicimia lo punghel». We find in the first case an infinitive, in the second the third singular of the present, and the verb means in both cases "to blame, to offend, to hound". Pughel or punghel is the Heb. מוצל po'el "worker" or, more specifically, "peasant, farmer".

- ¹⁴¹ Fortis, La vita quotidiana nel ghetto, cit., p. 178.
- ¹⁴² MAYER MODENA, Italian Theater and the Spoken Language of Italian Jews, p. 2.
- 143 A. Prati, $\it Etimologie Venete, G. Folena, G. Pellegrini (eds), Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, Venezia-Roma 1968, p. 15; <math>\it LEI Lessico Etimologico Italiano, s. v. *BLASTEMARE.$
- ¹⁴⁴ For instance, «in Pesaro in 1475 Jewish actors were hired for the wedding of Costanzo Sforza and Camilla Marzano d'Aragona to stage a pantomime of the encounter of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon. A few years later, in 1489, and again in Pesaro, the community enacted the apocryphal story of Judith and Holofernes in the framework of the nuptial celebrations for Giovanni Sforza, Costanzo's son, and Maddalena Gonzaga»: see Lelli, Italian Jews and Theatre in Early Modern Italy, p. 20.
- ¹⁴⁵ See C. Barattelli, Spettacoli di corte a Mantova tra Cinque e Seicento, Le Lettere, Firenze 1999, pp. 141-180, and previously Simonsohn, The History of the Jews in the Duchy of Mantua, pp. 656-669; I. Zinberg, A History of Jewish Literature, IV. Italian Jewry in the Renaissance era (translated from the Yiddish by B. Martin), Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati-Ktav Publishing House, New York 1974, chapter The belated battle against Philosophy. See also Lelli, Italian Jews and Theatre in Early Modern Italy, p. 20 ff.
- ¹⁴⁶ The first print of the book, published by Pandolfo Malatesta in Milan, shows a dedication to the count Ercole Pepoli, dated 26 September 1612; later the play was dedicated to count Alessandro Striggio, on 6 October 1612 (see FALAVOLTI, *Commedie dei Comici dell'Arte*, p. 55).
 - ¹⁴⁷ See Bertolone, Jewish languages and Jewish Characters in G.B. Andreini, pp. 107-108.
- 148 See above, § 2.2. for the same themes in Aretino's Cortigiana (1534) and Marescalco, published in Venice in the same year and set just in Mantua.
 - ¹⁴⁹ MAYER MODENA, Italian Theater and the Spoken Language of Italian Jews, p. 6.

call, at this point, Judeo-Mantuan: «Non dicit tante paraule.¹⁵⁰ Ch'io abbia il mio, ben condizionat, ché li vostri zevvin sono qui. Avete trovat un hicodì molt galantuomo» ("do not say so many words. May I get my things back in good shape, since your money is here. You have found a Jewish gentleman in me"). A turmoil follows, during which Caino unmasks and denounces the impostor Nottola as a thief, swearing in perfect Tuscan on the Jewish law («Il conte è un ladro. Sì, per la Torà»). At the very end, Caino seals, with the cue «Venite, e senza fallo state allegri» ("come you all and be happy without any doubt"), the happy ending with the double marriage of Florinda with Orazio and Fulgenzio with Prudenzia.

In conclusion, Andreini shows an excellent knowledge of the Judeo-Italian varieties used in Northern Italy and in Tuscany and expertly alternates them. ¹⁵¹ Furthermore, as Mayer Modena underlines, his play shows many interesting words of Hebrew origin, some of them never seen before in Judeo-Italian texts, such as saballo, Italianization of Heb. סבל sabbal "porter", and nezech < Heb. יוס nezeq "harm, damage". The expression mazal agiom < Heb. מזל חיום mazal ha-yom "luck of the day" shows «a palatalized realization of yod which is known in Venice, and is probably the result of Sephardic influence». ¹⁵²

More in general, Lo Schiavetto reflects not only Andreini's sympathy for Jews, whom he would meet in the theatrical world of Mantua, but the particular protection that Jews enjoyed in Mantua's Duchy also after, and in spite of, the establishment of the ghetto. Although Rampino, one of Nottola's thugs, greets with a repeated cry of victory («Vittoria, vittoria, vittoria!)» the beating and the stripping of the Jews at the end of a. II, it is the Jews who will conquer the final and real victory.

5.2. Michelangelo Buonarroti's "L'Ebreo" (1613)

On 20 October 1612, immediately after the publishing of *Lo Schiavetto*, Giovan Battista Andreini and his wife Virginia arrived in Florence, where they spent at least a couple of months and received many compliments and gifts from the grand duke and his family. ¹⁵³ It is no coincidence that Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, a famous playwright of Florence and the organizer of the parties and theatrical events for the Medici court (his play *La Tancia* was staged on 25 May 1611 in the Casino of Don Antonio de' Medici), left among his manuscripts a comedy sketch in five acts, which was finished on 21 Septem-

 150 Paraula instead of parola "word" (< Lat. PARABOLA) is found in many ancient texts, including the Venetian Proverbia que dicuntur supra natura feminarum (late twelfth century), where this form appears together with causa instead of cosa "thing": «ogna malicia, et ogna mala causa / en lo cor de la femena sta serada et repausa. / Sta paraula descòvrove, e no stea reclausa» ("every malice and nasty thing / is enclosed and rests in the hearts of women. / I reveal this discourse to you, and it must not be kept secret.")

However, the second edition of Lo Schiavetto, comedia di Giovan Battista Andreini, Gio. Battista Ciotti, Venezia 1620, shows a different picture, probably to give the text a better, i.e. a generally Tuscan linguistic form («un poco più di miglior locuzione», as the dedication to Girolamo Priuli says). In a. II the Judeo-Mantuan cues are completely eliminated. In the tenth and last scene (pp. 200-208) we find, instead of Caino, Leone, to whom «la robba, che 'l mio figlio [Nottola] abbottinar vi fece», i.e. the stuff that Nottola had stolen from the Jews, is returned. Leone starts with the same Caino's words «Non dicit tante paraule», but then he continues in perfect Tuscan: «ch'io abbia il mio e poi non vogliamo saper altro, no, per la Torrà», "may I get my things back, and then we do not want to know anything else, no, by the Torah". In return, in the previous sc. 9, pp. 191-193, which presents quite refined metatheatrical aspects, the clown Facceto (faceto meaning "funny" in Italian), who at the end will turn out to be Lelio Fedele, the character played by Andreini himself, performs a true «one-man show» (Bertolone, Jewish languages and Jewish Characters in G.B. Andreini, p. 110), by using alternatively Venetian (Mag. Pantalon, also called Pianelon), Lombard (Zane), Bolognese (Dot. Grazian), etc.

152 MAYER MODENA, Italian Theater and the Spoken Language of Italian Jews, p. 5. Similarly, in an Italian translation of the Spanish Hascamot or "Inner Rules" of the Pisa Jewish Community (1636), the Span. muralla is rendered with muragia, which presupposes a pronunciation of *ll* neither as /λ/ nor as [j], but as [ʒ], probably widespread among the Sephardi Jews of Pisa and Livorno. See F. Franceschini, *Il bagitto*, *la lingua degli ebrei di Livorno?*, «La Rassegna mensile di Israel» 85 2 (2019), pp. 65-91: 71.

 153 Cf. M. Rebaudengo, Giovan Battista Andreini tra poetica e drammaturgia, Rosemberg & Sellier, Torino 1994, pp. 13-14.

ber 1613 («finito a ddì 21 di Settembre 1613») and whose title is L'Ebreo (Fig. 15). 154 Also in this case «amor [...] ha fatto diventar ebreo» un cristiano ("Love converted a Christian into a Jew", as Fulgenzio says in Lo Schiavetto). A pompous doctor of law, whose name is Alessandro, which was later changed to Ambrogio, falls in love with Oretta, who had already promised her hand to Giovanni Barba, a young businessman of Florence. Thus, Ambrogio turns for help to the marriage broker Federigo, who in turn involves the Levantine Jew Melchisedec in the affair. On their suggestion, Ambrogio disguises himself as a Levantine Jew from Ancona, with turban and fake beard, in order to spread the false news that Giovanni is bankrupt in Ancona. Oretta's father Alamanno believes this fake information, calls off the marriage between his daughter and Giovanni and promises her hand to Ambrogio. The latter, however, escapes from the obligations contracted with Melchisedec, so that the Jew plans to take revenge. He allows himself to be arrested for debt, and reveals to the Bargello and his men (the police of Florence) that Giovanni's bankruptcy was a lie and his slanderer was a false Jew. Doctor Ambrogio is forced to flee disguised as a farmer, while the true Jew goes from being an accomplice in the scam to a saviour of the situation, since he helps bring about the happy ending of the marriage between the true lovers, exactly as in Andreini's Lo Schiavetto. In this case, however, the enhancement of the figure of the Jew makes him the title character, without any other qualification or addition. As the name itself of the Jew suggests, the most important precedent is the third novella of Boccaccio's Decameron, whose protagonist and final "winner" is the Jew Melchisedech, and whose title begins with the words Melchisedech giudeo.

This enhancement of the Jew also has a precise historical-cultural value. Twenty years before, in 1591 and 1593, Ferdinando I Medici had issued a charter (*Privilegi de' mercanti levantini e ponentini*, which much later were called *Livornine* laws) to assure all persons desiring to settle at Pisa and Livorno, ¹⁵⁵ including Jews, the most extensive rights and privileges. In particular these *Privilegi* granted the Sephardi Jews, who either had been baptized in the Iberian Peninsula (*conversos*), or had emigrated and settled in the Ottoman empire keeping their faith, free residence in Pisa and Livorno, where no ghetto was established; freedom of movement without wearing identification marks; business protection; administrative and legal self-government (except for serious blood offenses); the right to have, use and print books in Hebrew; full religious freedom and even a relative protection from the Holy Office to former *conversos* who wished to come back to Judaism. ¹⁵⁶ Buonarroti's play reflects this situation of privilege for the Jews coming from the East (*mercanti levantini*) both in the plot, with the final success of Melchisedech, and in the staging itself. To disguise himself, the doctor will not wear the common Jewish robe and the yellow cap, as the Tuscan and the Mantuan Jews did, as Andreini's *Lo Schiavetto* shows, but the picturesque dress of the Levantine Jews and the turban, as explained by the marriage broker Federigo (who actually makes fun of Ambrogio):

Voi avete una così fatta personcina che pare appunto che così starebbe ben con quell'abito e si[e]te avvezzo a portar la toga, che fa qualcosa, e in capo [...] voi vi rifaresti [...] d'un turbante [...]. Questi ebrei son greci, voi dovete saper dir greco, e non ne starebbe male inframetter qualche parola così un poco (c. 36v).

[You have such a good figure that this style of dress will fit you very well. (As a doctor of law) you are accustomed to wear the gown, indeed, and a turban will fit well on your head. These Jews come from Greece, you must speak Greek, and it will be useful if you put some words of it in your speech].

¹⁵⁴ Florence, Archivio e Biblioteca di Casa Buonarroti, ms. n. 81, cc. 1-80; a second draft of a. I, sc. 1, 2 follows from c. 82 on, under the title *L'Ebreo*, *Commedia di M.lo B.ti*. Edward Goldberg has studied, translated into English and also put on stage this play; see http://www.secretplacesitaly.net/2014/05/the-jew-in-casa-buonarroti-florence.html, http://www.secretplacesitaly.net/2014/06/lebreo-jew-plays-thing.html and other connected blogs of this scholar in http://www.secretplacesitaly.net/p/blog-page.html. By the same author see E. Goldberg, *Jews and Magic in Medici Florence: The Secret World of Benedetto Blanis*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2011, and *A Jew at the Medici Court: The Letters of Benedetto Blanis «Hebreo»*, 1615-1621, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2011.

 $^{^{155}}$ I use the modern English form of this city name, which instead was Leghorn at the time.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. R. Toaff, *La nazione ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa* (1591-1700), Olschki, Firenze 1990, pp. 419-431; L. Frattarelli Fischer, *Le leggi livornine* 1591-1593, Debatte, Livorno 2016, pp. 42-58.

Therefore, the doctor, after having disguised himself as a Levantine Jew, should have included some exotic words in his speech, in order not to be recognized as an Italian, and we can imagine the comic effects that this mixture could produce among the audience. On the other hand, Buonarroti had planned a realistic linguistic characterization of the true Jew. When Melchisedech asks doctor Alessandro/Ambrogio what is due to him («Io dico che voglio essere pagato e non mi par giusto di non esser sodisfatto da voi», c. 73r), a side note says «Fa questo ebreo parlasse in linguaggio come parlano», "make this Jew speak as they commonly speak", i.e. in a Judeo-Italian language.

Unfortunately, while the plot is clear, the linguistic work has not been accomplished. Buonarroti's *L'Ebreo* is only «a rough working draft [...], written in evident haste, with much crossing out and revision», ¹⁵⁷ and one can ask why the author abandoned this project. Buonarroti was indeed a versatile writer and a skilled comic author. Furthermore, he was, as a member and even a leader (*Arciconsolo*, in 1596) of the *Accademia della Crusca*, the famous Florence-based society of scholars of linguistics and philology, one of the most important authorities on the use of the Tuscan language. Perhaps he hesitated to compete with Andreini in the field of multilingual theatre, in which the latter excelled, or he simply preferred to concentrate on the *Fiera*, which he had been working on since 1607 and which he would bring to the stage in 1619. A third hypothesis could be put forward; perhaps the Florentine milieu did not much appreciate this pro-Judaic project, since the freedom and autonomy of the Jews concerned Pisa and Livorno rather than Florence, where a ghetto had been created in 1570-1571, the third one in Italy after Venice's and Rome's.

5.3. Pietro Susini's "Le nozze in sogno" (1665)

Only half a century later, a play is found at the Medici court that includes Jews in a prominent, although stigmatized, position. This is the opera Le nozze in sogno ("The wedding in a dream", with text by Pietro Susini and music by Antonio Cesti, staged in Florence on 6 May 1665 (Fig. 16). This drama civile in musica is dedicated to Cardinal Carlo de' Medici, uncle of Grand Duke Ferdinand II; 158 Prince Leopold, Ferdinand's brother, personally attended the show on the following 18 May. 159 The action takes place in the city of Livorno, at the time made up of a real mixture of different peoples, religions and languages. 160 Thus, it is no wonder that the characters come from different countries, including England (Fig. 17), and use different languages, including stately Italian, comic Tuscan, lingua ionadattica i.e. a code language, thieves' cant, Sicilian, Calabrian and Judeo-Italian. The Jewish characters and their language appear in the second part of Act I. This "Jewish-style scene" does not intertwine with the complexities of the plot, but it takes place at the very centre of the play, with great evidence. Many characters converge on the ghetto, i.e. the Jewish residence area (since a true ghetto did not exist in Livorno), such as the clever servant Fronzo, a group of Calabrian brigands, who are determined to give a lesson to the Jews, and Filandra, a nurse to Emilia, one of the main characters of the play. Emilia, after having disdained Lelio's love, wants to draw him back to her by any means including magic. So, Filandra goes to the ghetto to ask the Jewish sorcerer Mosè for magic help. When she arrives, the Calabrian brigands hide themselves in the bushes («'ncafogna[ss]e dintu all'infrascuni»), while Fronzo is hiding down in a grave

¹⁵⁷ E. Goldberg, http://www.secretplacesitaly.net/2014/06/lebreo-jew-plays-thing.html.

¹⁵⁸ P. Susini [author's name is found at the end of the dedication], Le nozze in sogno, dramma civile, rappresentato in musica nell'Accademia de' signori Infocati, dedicato al sereniss. e reverendiss. principe card.le Carlo de' Medici, all'Insegna della Stella, Firenze 1665. See F. Franceschini, Giudeo-romanesco a Livorno. L'ebreo stregone e il teatro delle lingue nelle «Nozze in sogno» (1665).

¹⁵⁹ Ricordi [dell'Accademia degli] Infocati (1664-1682), Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. Panciatichi 213, p. 41, and see pp. 39, 40.

¹⁶⁰ See F. Franceschini, Nine Religions, Sixteen Tongues. Languages, Cultures, Identities at Leghorn in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, in IEEE-ISEIM, Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Environment, Identities and Mediterranean Area, 9-13 July 2006, CDROM, Special session Cultural Heritage, pp. 583-588, now accessible at https://unipi.academia.edu/FabrizioFranceschini.

of the Jewish cemetery. After a series of linguistic misunderstandings, the sorcerer Mosè asks Filandra if she and her mistress need either white or black magic.

MOSÈ: Voliti fare da maccacefà? 161 FILANDRA: Che nomi stravaganti! MOSÈ: Se vuol far un incanti [...] Or via. cavatemi d'impacci; dite cha ve bisogna. li caraffi o li stacci? De ceri le figuri? O con paroli scuri, nelli scoli di Ghetti. voliti, adosso alli rabbini nostri in forma di gazzir, io ve faccia parlar dalli follitti? FILANDRA: Tutto vi dirò poi: quel gazzir non intendo. MOSÈ: È quel che porco addimannate voi A fare quest'incanti ce vuol un cor umano, [...] In questa sepoltura vogl'ire intanto a procacciare il core. [...] Non abbiati paura, che quest'è un corpi di casa Calò. [...] Piglio adesso il zacchin 162 e gli apro il petto.

[MOSÈ Do you want to become a witch? / FILANDRA. What a strange word! / M. (I mean) to cast a spell yourself [...] / Come on, / get me out of the hindrance, / tell me what you need, / whether the carafes or the sieves? / Or wax figurines? Or rather you want me, by dark words, / to allow you to talk with ghosts / in the synagogue of our ghetto, / while straddling our rabbis / in the shape of a gazzir (pig, in Hebrew)? F. I am going to tell you, / but I do not understand this gazzir. /M.: It is what you call a pig. / For the magic you are asking for, / we need a human heart [...]./ In this grave / I want to descend, to get a heart / [...]. Don't be afraid, / this is a Jewish corpse, from Calò's family. / [...] Now I am going to take the knife and open his chest].

¹⁶¹ From Heb. מכשפה məkašefah "witch""; similarly mehascefà 'strega' in G. Bedarida, Ebrei di Livorno. Tradizioni e gergo in 180 sonetti giudaico-livornesi, F. Le Monnier, Firenze 1956, p. 132 and n. 6, mahhasefà in Turin and machascèffe "sorcerer" in Rome (Aprile, Grammatica storica delle parlate giudeo-italiane, p. 261).

¹⁶² From Heb. τος sakìn "knife". Cf. Judeo-Roman zachìmme (G. Zanazzo, Parole del gergo ebraico-vernacolo usate anche dal popolo di Roma, in Id., Usi, costumi e pregiudizi del popolo di Roma, Società tipografico-editrice nazionale, Torino 1908, pp. 467-470: 470) and zachinìmme (C. Del Monte [1955], A. Milano [1964], Glossario del dialetto giudaico-romanesco, in C. Del Monte, Sonetti giudaico-romaneschi, sonetti romaneschi, prose e versioni, eds M. Procaccia, M. Teodonio, La Giuntina, Firenze 2007, pp. 615-671: p. 670).

The future could be predicted with the help of water carafes or sieves (see also Lippi, Malmantile racquistato (1688), p. 181: «fare lo staccio, o il pentolino, o la caraffa»). The evil eye could be thrown at a person by piercing little wax statues with needles or melting them on the fire. These magical practices, carried out by both Christians and Jews, are described in detail in the manuals for inquisitors, such as UMBERTO LOCATI's Opus quod indiciale inquisitorum dicitur, Roma 1570, and the anonymous Prattica per provedere nelle cause del tribunale del Sant'Officio, (beginning of the seventeenth century), ed. G. L. D'ERRICO, in U. MAZZONE, C. PANCINO (eds), Sortilegi amorosi, materassi a nolo e pignattini. Processi inquisitoriali del XVII secolo fra Bologna e il Salento, Carocci, Roma 2008, pp. 164-170 (p. 169 for the carafes, p. 167 for the sieves and the wax figurines).

The body upon which the magician is about to operate is instead that of Fronzo, alive and well, who leaps up and punches him, starting a scuffle that ends, as the caption says at the end of the first act, «con l'abbattimento d'Ebrei e Giangurgoli», i.e., with the beating, if not the killing of Jews and Giangurgoli, the brigands whose leader is the Calabrian mask Giangurgolo.

Two aspects should be remarked. As in Ariosto's Negromante, there is a strong connection between magic and Jews, but here a much stronger anti-Semitic sentiment is associated with the black magic. The rabbis in the shape of pigs, which Christian women ride on the Sabbath inside the synagogue, and the Jews who rage with knives on a human body, evoke on the one hand the Roman giudiate (see below, § 6.2) and on the other the worst anti-Judaic imagery spread throughout Europe. ¹⁶⁴

Furthermore, Moses neither speaks in Judeo-Spanish, the official language of Pisa and Livorno's Jewry (in addition to Judeo-Portuguese), 165 nor in Judeo-Livornese nor in a Judeo-Tuscan dialect, as in Andreini's Lo Schiavetto. Indeed, the Judeo-Livornese or bagitto shares with the Judeo-Roman and other Judeo-Italian varieties the ending -e instead of -i in the proclitic forms (ve bisogna vs. It. vi bisogna, de ceri vs. It. di cera etc.), the article li instead of i (alli rabbini, dalli follitti), the plural feminine suffix -i (li caraffi, vs. It. le caraffe, figuri vs. figure, paroli scuri vs. parole scure) and the -i extension also in singular nouns (ceri vs. It. cera, un incanti vs. un incanto, un corpi vs. un corpo). However, the Judeo-Livornese does not share other features that are either typical of the Judeo-Roman, such as the ending of second plural in -ti instead of -te (voliti vs. It. volete, abbiati, vs abbiate), or found both in the Judeo-Roman and in other Southern varieties, such as the metaphony (raising e > i) in voliti, follitti, the shift /nd/ >/nn/ (addimannate vs. ancient It. addimandate) and, elsewhere in this text, /j/ from J- (Iudio, Iacobbi, Iacodin), the local adverb 'nce < *HINCE instead of It. and Tuscan ci (chi 'nc'è vs. It. chi c'è "who is here?") and the verbal forms pozzo, -a, -ono instead of posso "I can" etc.

The fact that the Jewish sorcerer of the *Nozze in sogno*, albeit living in Livorno, clearly speaks in Judeo-Roman can be explained by the relations between the grand duke of Tuscany and the Jewish "Nation", as it was officially called, and by the internal diversifications of the Jewish world of Livorno. The aforementioned Tuscan legislation provided that the Sephardi members of the Jewish Nation, which were fully considered subjects of the grand duke, were protected in their commercial interests, in their religious practices and also in their cultural identity. If therefore they had felt outraged by this play, they would certainly have protested with the grand duke.

On the other hand, the Grand Ducal protections did not extend to the Italian Jews and in particular to those who immigrated from Rome to Livorno and Pisa. For their part, Pisa and Livorno's Sephardic authorities opposed them by denying them the *ballotazione*, that is the integration into the Jewish Nation, and by repeatedly asking the Tuscan authorities for their expulsion, since they were (or were considered) not merchants but people of ill repute, if not offenders («gli Hebrei [...] che vengono ogni dì di Roma, et altri luoghi» sono «persone di cattiva informazione: [...] non sono mercanti» ma «gente di fare poco bene, e questi non s'accettono»). ¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, this *drama civile in musica* was dedicated to (and put on stage in the presence of) the cardinals of the Medici family, who resided in Rome, had relations with the Roman Jews¹⁶⁷ and were aware of the anti-Semitic use of the Judeo-Roman in the *giudiate*.

¹⁶⁴ For the blood libels and the alleged tortures of Jews on the bodies of Christians, see Veronese's essay in this volume and C. Cavero Carondelet, Wounds on Trial: Forensic Truth, Sanctity and the Early Modern Visual Culture of Ritual Murder, in C. Franceschini (ed.), Sacred Images and Normativity: Contested Forms in Early Modern Art, Brepols, Turnhout 2021, pp. 68-85.

¹⁶⁵ Pietro Susini personally translated (and then staged) Lope de Vega's and Calderón de la Barca's plays, so he could easily have composed verses affecting Spanish features. See S. Vuelta García, Il teatro di Pietro Susini. Un traduttore di Lope e Calderón alla corte dei Medici, Alinea, Firenze 2013, pp. 24-60.

¹⁶⁶ Letter of the «Massari [i.e. leaders] della Natione Hebrea di Pisa» to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, July 1599, ed. by Toaff, *La nazione ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa*, pp. 536-537.

¹⁶⁷ Cardinal Carlo de' Medici, to whom the work is dedicated, had at his disposal three amazing palaces of Rome: Palazzo Firenze in Campo Marzio's area, Palazzo alla Trinità de' Monti, today Villa Medici, and Palazzo Madama, today seat of the Italian Senate. His favourite residence was the latter, and a letter to him dating back to 8 November 1664 informs him that the apparatuses made in honour of the Prince and Princess of Brunswick

Thus, Le Nozze in sogno probably aims to show that the good order of the Tuscan state is threatened neither by the foreign "Nations" which dwelt in Livorno (represented in the play by two young amorosi coming from England) nor by the Sephardi Jews, loyal subjects of the grand duke, but by the Roman Jews, who appear as dangerous as the Calabrian brigands and, along with them, are beaten, at the end of the first act.

6. Three special Roman plays

6.1. Bernini's play (about 1642)

This text may be considered special for many reasons. First of all, the author is Gian Lorenzo Bernini, one of the greatest architects and sculptors of seventeenth-century Italy and Europe, who also liked to write comedies, design the sets, put on stage his own plays and personally act in them. Secondly, this text, seemingly unfinished, is his only surviving comedy. It is preserved, together with other writings by him, in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, mss. Italiens 2084, in a ledger inscribed Fontana di Trevi MDCXLII, which contains the account of the expenses for works and repairs to the Trevi Fountain. The text, in a scribe's hand, has no title, and the first editor, Cesare D'Onofrio, decided to give it the fascinating title of the fascicule, 168 although the action does not have anything to do with the universally famous fountain.

At the centre of the play, we find a *dottor Graziano*, an aging and famous master of architecture and scenography, who also writes comedies and acts in his own plays. The plot is a mostly traditional one: Graziano's daughter Angelica and the young Cinzio are in love, but have no money to get married. To collect this money, and disregarding many important aspects of the plot which are not relevant here, *dottor Graziano* is persuaded by his maidservant Rosetta, with whom he is having, or perhaps just hoping to have an affair, to put on a comedy, that will centre on a certain *dottor Graziano* and his dear maid Rosetta. Therefore, this is «not strictly a play within a play, but a play about the creation of a play», ¹⁶⁹ and this is another reason of interest. Needless to say, Graziano represents Bernini himself, who used to act in this role (see below), while «the craftsmen, painters, carpenters, whom Graziano calls to help him stage the play within the play, echo the craftsmen in Bernini's actual workshop». ¹⁷⁰

From a linguistic point of view, the characters are generally among the most common in seven-teenth-century multilingual theatre. The *amorosi* Angelica and Cinzio, as always, speak Italian, although with some non-Florentine nuances. Dottor Graziano is the traditional mask from Bologna and speaks the dialect of that city (mixed with Italian), but with the experience of a playwright and set designer such as Bernini: to produce a comedy requires an author's full engagement and much time («a poter fer sta comedia, li en cos che rezercan tutt l'hom e molto tempo [...]», p. 45), while the sets must be kept secret until the very end, not to spoil the effect («quand se sann non son più belle», p. 52). Zanni, his manser-

in this palace were made with the help of the Jews of Rome: see P. BAROCCHI, G. GAETA BERTELA (eds), *Il Cardinale Carlo*, *Maria Maddalena*, *Don Lorenzo*, *Ferdinando II*, *Vittoria della Rovere*, Studio per edizioni scelte, Firenze 2005 (*Collezionismo mediceo e storia artistica*, II, 2), pp. 1060-1061

L. Bernini, Fontana di Trevi, ed. C. D'Onofrio, Staderini, Roma 1963. Two other editions followed, with different titles: G.L. Bernini, L'impresario, ed. M. Ciavolella, Salerno Editrice, Roma 1992, from which I quote directly in the text (see also the previous English edition, ed. D. Beecher, M. Ciavolella, in I. Lavin (ed.), Gianlorenzo Bernini. New Aspects of His Art and Thought, The Pennsylvania State University Press, Philadelphia 1985, pp. 63-77); G.L. Bernini, La Verità discoperta dal Tempo. "Comedia ridiculosa", ed. A. Perrini, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2007, which I do not take into account.

¹⁶⁹ See the review of D'Onofrio edition by I. LAVIN, «The Art Bulletin» 4 46 (1964), pp. 568-572, and cf. Id., Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts, I-II, Oxford University Press, New York-London 1980, I, pp. 146-157.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. M. CIAVOLELLA, Text as (Pre)Text: "Erudite" Renaissance comedy and the "Commedia ridicolosa". The example of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's "L'impresario", «Rivista di studi italiani» 10 (1992), pp. 22-34: 30, accessible on the net at www.rivistadistudiitaliani.it > filecounter2, last accessed 10 January 2021.

vant, comes from Bergamo and speaks that dialect, while Coviello, Cinzio's servant, is, of course, the Neapolitan mask. Among the characters, we find the aforementioned Rosetta, who speaks the Roman dialect (or an Italian mixed with it), the wealthy gentleman Alidoro (whose money can help the young couple), the painter Cochetto, a Frenchman who adds a French touch («per ma feie, che è une sgentil sciose», p. 64 = ma foi [< fei], c'est une gentille chose "indeed, this is a kind thing"). It should also be noted that Sepio, one of Graziano's assistants, probably comes from either Cortona or Arezzo, since he speaks basically Tuscan but he says Grazieno instead of Graziano, fere instead of It. fare "to make", mene instead of It. mani "hands" (with raising of stressed [a]), lengua instead of It. lingua (without anaphonesis), p. 82, etc. He also uses an expression typical of that area, «la mia citta» "my little girl", for Rosetta, who, in turn, stigmatizes Sepio for exactly these features of his language (p. 92). 171

Some other characters, however, are more important for us, the Jews and Iacaccia. At the very beginning of the play, a group of Jews («Giudei») enters the stage and pronounces only a few cues (a. I, sc. 1, pp. 35-36), which however include the most typical features of the Judeo-Roman, the plural feminine suffix -i (tanti li volti, vs. It. tante volte "many times"), the -i extension also in singular nouns (li nostri ignoranzi vs. It. la nostra ignoranza "our ignorance") and the verbal ending -ti instead of -te (scuseti, lasseti feri a noi, instead of scusate "excuse", lasciate fare a noi "leave it to us").

Even more interesting for the Judeo-Roman is Iacaccia, a stage machinist or a master carpenter (see the caption *Iacaccia coi falegnami*, a. II, sc. 1, p. 60), who actually represents the mask of the Roman bully. As such, he speaks a Roman dialect "di seconda fase", "second-phase", i.e. not so different from the modern one, although with many elements of *gergo furbesco*, i.e. the jargon spoken by bullies and thieves. The Besides some words or expressions still widespread, such as *sto fusto* "this tall and good-looking young man" (meaning "me") 50 and 79, schiaffare "to throw, to chuck" ("schiaffatelo li"), 53), ciampanelle "bagatelles", also meaning "tricks" 76, The morto, literally "dead", also meaning "money" or "swag", The and "sti rasciammi: so' monelli di calca" (a. I, sc. 7, p. 53). Monelli means "rascals", while calca is the classic Italian jargon word for "begging, pickpocketing, company of thieves". The As for rasciammi, this is the Italian jargon and comic authors' word rascia "cunning, trick, scam", with a suffix which evokes some Judeo-Roman words such as cacamme "wise man, rabbi", so that many scholars erroneously considered it as a true Judeo-Roman item; The meaning of sti rasciammi, however, is "these cunning guys", such as rascals and cheaters generally are.

Yet, Iacaccia's jargon includes true Judeo-Roman items too. As Sandra Debenedetti highlighted, 178 Iacaccia three times uses a word which stems from Heb. דבר davar, plur. דברים devarim, "word, act,

¹⁷¹ See A. Nocentini, *Il vocabolario aretino di Francesco Redi* [1626-1698], ELITE, Firenze 1989, pp. 37-38, and p. 189 s. vv. *citta*, *citto*, and cf. F. Moneti [1635-1712], *Cortogna alibereta* [= It. *liberata* "delivered, freed"]: poema epicogiocoso in vernacolo cortonese, ed. E. Mattesini, Università degli studi di Perugia, Perugia 1980.

¹⁷² Cf. also C. Giovanardi, Sulla lingua delle commedie ridicolose romane del Seicento, «La lingua italiana. Storia, strutture, testi», VI (2010), pp. 101-121:112-113.

¹⁷³ See Zanazzo, Saggio di vecchie parole del gergo romanesco dei Birbi, in Id., Usi, costumi e pregiudizi del popolo di Roma, pp. 457-465: 459 s. v. ciampanella 'frode'.

¹⁷⁴ See Ferrero, *Dizionario storico dei gerghi italiani*, p. 55 s. v. *brècola* 'lira, soldo, moneta' (Roma).

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 225 s. v.

¹⁷⁶ As for *calca* I follow D'Onofrio's edition, p. 52, while Ciavolella reads *calco* "cast" (Bernini, *L'impresario*, p. 53 and p. 102, n. 70). See Lippi, *Malmantile* ed. 1688, I 37.7 «son di calca e borsaiuoli» ("they are beggars - or more in general rascals, rogues - and pickpockets"); Ferrero, *Dizionario storico dei gerghi italiani*, pp. 68-69, s. v. *calca*.

¹⁷⁷ See M. Mancini, *Tre prestiti giudaici nel romanesco comune*, «Studi Linguistici Italiani» 13 (1987), pp. 85-101: 93-101; M. Aprile, *Per un vocabolario storico del giudeo-romanesco*, «La Rassegna mensile di Israel» 85 2 (2019), pp. 93-106: 102-104.

¹⁷⁸ See S. Debenedetti, *Parole in giudaico-romanesco in una commedia del Bernini*, «Lingua Nostra» 31 (1970), pp. 87-89.

thing", with devoicing of initial /d/ and epithesis of -re (sing.) or -me (plur.), with the meaning of both "word, speech" («te 'ncomenzano a dà' tavarimme», "they start giving you many speeches", a. I, sc. 7, p. 54), and "a thing, anything" («non cera nisciuno che sapesse de tavarre» "there was no one who was worth anything", a. I, sc. 6, p. 50; see also a. II, sc. 4, p. 76). In another passage Jacaccia says «Sapete come anneria fatta e saria de monà?» ("You know how this thing should be done and would be well done?", a. II, sc. 2, p. 67), where de monà or d'emonà includes the preposition de 'of' and Heb. אמונה 'emunah "faith, trust, truth", given that something worthy of trust is necessarily well done. 179

We would not include Bernini's among the most important plays for Judeo-Roman, as some scholars seem to do, but it does provide a meaningful testimony of the spread of Judeo-Roman words among non-Jews of Rome, such as Bernini and the painters and carpenters who collaborated with him. 180

6.2. Palontrotti's "Canzone contro gli ebrei" (about 1647-1648 or shortly after)

This play too is indeed a special one, since it is the first known text of giudiata not connected with theatrical comedies – such as Briccio's La [...] prima zingaresca giudiata con un norcino che la beffeggia (1611), and Li strapazzati. Farsa di norcini e giudiata (1627) – but rather with the Carnival street parades, organized especially by the Corporation of fishmongers (pescivendoli) of the Sant'Angelo area, that was close to the Roman ghetto. ¹⁸¹ As we know from Crescimbeni, these farces, which were staged on wagons (carri) and travelled across the city, represented the Jews in outrageous or more often cruel ways. They were written in verse "in different corrupted and distorted languages, all mixed together", and were "sung in a singsong fashion by many silly characters". ¹⁸² Although we find important documentation and descriptions of these travelling plays, no actual text was known until the recent publication of this one by Martina Mampieri. ¹⁸³

The text is preserved in a manuscript today at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borgiano Latino 481, cc. 172-174r, copied by (di mano di) Giovanni Pastrizio (above p. 43). The scribe, a lecturer in Theology and scriptor hebraicus at the Vatican Library from 1695, informs us about the origin and the plot of the play:

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 89; Mancini, *Tre prestiti giudaici nel romanesco comune*, pp. 90-91. Ciavolella misunderstands these Judeo-Roman words, although he mentions Mancini's essay: *tavarre* would mean «legname per costruzione»' i.e. *tavole* "planks" (Bernini, *L'impresario*, p. 100, n. 54), and *saria de monà* would mean «sarebbe da manovrare» "it should be maneuvered" (*ibid.*, p. 106, n. 19).

¹⁸⁰ For this phenomenon in the nineteenth century, see Zanazzo, Gergo dei numeri dei "Bagarini" ["hoarders"], pescivende ["fishmongers"] etc., and Parole del gergo ebraico-vernacolo usate anche dal popolo di Roma, in Id., Usi, costumi e pregiudizi del popolo di Roma, pp. 465-470, which includes both de monà and tavarimmi.

¹⁸¹ On the fishmongers' anti-Jewish activities, see M. Caffiero, *Legami pericolosi. Ebrei e cristiani tra eresia*, *libri proibiti e stregoneria*, Einaudi, Torino 2012, pp. 362 ff.

¹⁸² Giovan Mario Crescimbeni, Commentarii di Gio. Mario de Crescimbeni, intorno alla sua istoria della volgar poesia, Antonio De Rossi, Roma 1702, I, lib. IV, pp. 198-199: «quelle popolari rappresentazioni, che sogliono fare nel Carnevale i Rioni di Roma sopra carri tirati da buoi, le quali si chiamano Giudiate, perciocché in esse non si tratta d'altro che di contraffare e schernire gli Ebrei in istranissime guise, ora impiccandone per la gola, ora strangolandone, ed ora scempiandone, e facendone ogn'altro più miserabil gioco. Queste faccende [...] sono composte di ogni sorta di linguaggi corrotti e storpiati e mescolati insieme; né hanno altro ordine che di condursi con lunghissima cantilena di molti sciocchi personaggi allo spettacolo della burla che si fa al supposto Ebreo [...]. Elleno si cantano anch'esse e in varie maniere, tutte particolari del volgo, e con l'accompagnamento di tali suoni che non sono sconvenevoli a tutto il resto». The translation of the passage highlighted by italics is taken from Mampieri, When the Rabbi's Soul Entered a Pig, p. 353.

 183 «Palontrotti's composition was not the first *giudiata* ever performed in Rome, but it may be that its text is the first to have come down to us in its original form»: ibid., p. 362. See this paper also for contemporary documentation and modern bibliography.

quando [il principale Rabbino o Morenu stimato somamente da tutto il Ghetto] morì, il Pallontrotti fece una mascherata d'Ebrei ch'andavano à sepelir Rabbi Manóach portandolo in una cassa, ma in sua vece ci haveva messo un porco vivo.

[when (the main rabbi or Morenu at that time, who was revered in the whole ghetto) died, Palontrotti arranged a *giudiata* in which Jews were intending to bury Rabbi Manoach, carrying his body in a box, but a pig was placed there in his stead].¹⁸⁴

At the end of the play, the funeral participants notice movement inside the coffin and think that a miracle has occurred; very soon, however, they realize that the rabbi has become a pig.

This kind of anti-Semitic ritual is witnessed by archival documentation of the early eighteenth century. Moreover, Mampieri suggests a resemblance of this *Rabbi Manoach* to Ḥizkiah Manoaḥ (Tranquillo, "calm", in Italian) Corcos, who died shortly before 1650, or at the very latest in the first half of that year, which matches with Pastrizio's indication that Palontrotti's *giudiata* was written and staged about 1647-1648 («1647 o 1648, o poco prima o poco dopo»), or more probably, I dare say, «poco dopo», shortly after 1648.

This text, which according to Pastrizio «si crede la prima Giudiata in Roma» and is actually the first extant text of street *giudiata*, however, is not, or is not only, a *giudiata* in the common sense.

The convert Giulio Morosini, born Samuel ben David Naḥmias, writes, not long after, that "the Jews have so poor a knowledge of the Hebrew, that they use it just in the way Christians mock them, in the Giudiate" («la lingua [ebraica] da gli Ebrei è talmente ignorata, che non la parlano, senon nel modo che li burlano i Christiani con le Giudiate»). ¹⁸⁹ Yet, in Pastrizio's own words, «Melchior Pallontrotti Romano» "was very well versed in Hebrew" («era peritissimo nella lingua Ebrea») and had a high literary sensitivity. Therefore, while he plays the role of an author of anti-Judaic farces, in their own Judeo-Italian language, he at the same time also puts his mastery of Hebrew and his literary skill at the service of his fierce aver-

¹⁸⁴ See *ibid.*, Appendix, p. 373 for the text, and p. 362 for the translation.

¹⁸⁵ In 1715, the wagons of the Roman Carnival represented «Moisè e i Rabbini in figura di mezzo uomo e mezzo porco» ("Moses and the rabbis as half man and half pig"): see Caffiero, *Legami pericolosi. Ebrei e cristiani tra eresia, libri proibiti e stregoneria*, pp. 363-364.

¹³⁶ Mampieri, When the Rabbi's Soul Entered a Pig, p. 362 and passim.

¹⁸⁷ I quote the text directly in my analysis, with indication of the pages of Mampieri's edition, *ibid.*, pp. 373-375. These two features are highlighted *ibid.*, p. 365, but with an inappropriate explanation («the use of the verb haio to indicate the past tense of "to have"»). For haio see Rohlfs, Grammatica storica, § 274, with reference to the ancient Roman dialect (haia, vs. It abbia; raja < *RABIA "anger" vs. It. rabbia) and to the modern dialects of Latium, Abruzzo etc. (haia, caja < CAVEA "cage" vs. It. gabbia); cf. Mancini, Sulla formazione dell'identità linguistica giudeo-romanesca, p. 102, whith darajo, cantarajo etc.

 $^{^{188}}$ See Aprile, Grammatica storica delle parlate giudeo-italiane, p. 174: «g.-rom. achlàre, achlà, pseudo g.-rom. acholà».

¹⁸⁹ See G. Morosini, *Derekh emunah. Via della fede mostrata a gli ebrei*, Pt. 2, Propaganda Fide, Rome 1683, p. 1187.

sion to Jews («era [...] fiero contra gli ebrei»). Let us look at just the first *stanza* of the composition, which is accompanied by marginal notes (we do not know whether added by Palentrotti himself or Pastrizio):¹⁹⁰

Piangete Talmidim, Ch'è morto lo Rabbàn, Che portava i Tephillim, Ma credeva come Labàn. Nella bocca era il Devàsc, Nello core lauda lo Ròsc, Che lo rendeva come Ngàsh E diceva ch'era Parngòsc

[Weep Talmidim (הלמידים "Disciples"), / That the Rabban (הבן "great Master") died, / Who wore the Tefilim (הפלים "phylacteries", the small leather boxes containing Hebrew texts, worn by Jewish men as a reminder to keep the law: therefore, he appeared to be pious) / But he believed like Laban (ג'ל , the brother of Rebekah who tricked Jacob: he was an Aramean and therefore an idolater, so that, as a marginal note says, the rabbi too «era idolatra»). / In his mouth there was Devàsc (שבי "honey"), / But in his heart he praises the Ròsc ("gall"), / Which made him look like Ngàsh ("y" a moth") /And he said that he was Parngòsc "a flea"].

The semantic structure and the argumentation of the text are extensively analyzed by Mampieri, but already clearly identified by Patrizio: «Mostra la canzone di lodarlo ma lo beffa» ("the canzone claims to praise (the rabbi) but actually mocks him"). Therefore, if some lines praise his good qualities, the ensuing ones aim at denigrating him. The first opposition Tefillim vs. Laban refers to the Jewish world, while the second, honey vs. gall, is widespread but especially widespread in Italian Baroque poetry, thanks also to the rhyme miele, mèle / fiele. The ensuing images of the moth and the flea may perhaps contain biblical allusions, ¹⁹¹ but definitely they begin that process of metamorphosis of the rabbi into an animal, which will culminate in his transformation into a pig. Another interpretation, although not an alternative one, would be that the Hebrew words for honey and gall may suggest the search for rhyming words that create a nonsense effect.

The careful construction of an octave *ababcdcd* in (basically) octosyllabic lines, with only Hebrew words in rhyme, confirms the author's excellent compositional skills. Even if in the ensuing lines the rhyme scheme sometimes changes, one, two or more Hebrew words are still found in almost every line. Therefore, the composition seems to emulate not only the humble *giudiate*, but also more refined compositions that alternate between Italian and Hebrew.

This is perhaps one of the reasons why this text has been preserved, while the humble and 'true' street giudiate were lost. On the other hand, this text, seemingly joking but, in reality, harshly offensive, is the counterpart to 'serious' texts of anti-Jewish controversy of the same author and years, such as the Disputa del Christiano con l'Ebreo di Melchior Palontrotti. Ad istanza di Pietro Paolo Romaldi. Dove si prova chiaramente contra l'ebreo, che la ridutione temporale, che aspetta fù adempita nella liberatione di Babilonia, appresso Girolamo Barbèri, Roma 1647.

As Manpieri rightly says, «Palontrotti's *giudiata* not only aimed to provoke laughter at the Roman Jews' expense but also appears to have been perfectly aligned with his other polemical writings». ¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Mampieri, When the Rabbi's Soul Entered a Pig, p. 373, n. 79. These notes include the words, highlighted in Italics, written in pointed Hebrew, and their interpretation.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 357.

6.3. "Lo catanne di due accallà" (1697)

A groundbreaking giudiata is provided by the last text of our corpus:

Lo catanne di due accallà, overo Ceccone aquilano, e Pedrolino milanese compagni fedeli, & istoriari spiantati. Giudiata redicolosa, & honesta recitata dalla Conversatione dell'Armata l'anno 1697. In Todi. 1697. Si vendano in piazza Madama dall'erede di Francesco Leone. 193

As the information on the frontispiece says, the text was printed in Todi in 1697, to be sold in Rome at an important bookshop in Piazza Madama, which was run by the heir of the printer-bookseller Francesco Leone. The play was staged the same year by the Roman theatre Society called *Conversatione dell'armata*, with probable reference to the Via dell'Armata, located between piazza Farnese and the riverside, where this *Conversatione* probably had either its seat or its performing space.

The title, which means "the groom of two brides", and the information provided by the cast of characters already give a glimpse of the plot. Lustro, a Jew from Livorno, is about to marry the Roman Jew Stella, since he got her pregnant and her father, old Moses, threatens to kill him. However, Lustro had already married in Livorno and his first wife, Perla, also pregnant, arrives in Rome looking for him. Here the two wives meet, quarrel with each other and both give birth. One child will get a craving for sweets (more precisely, for a maritozzo "bun"), after a meeting between his mother Stella and the candy seller Pedrolino from Milan, and the other will get a craving for sausages, after a meeting between his mother Perla and the sausage seller Ceccone from L'Aquila. The following developments include the

¹⁹³ A copy of the original print is preserved in Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, 35.8.C.23.3. This text, unknown so far to scholars, has been studied by Grazzini, *Jewish and Gypsy characters in seventeenth-century theatrical pieces*, pp. 352-386, from which I quote, and will be soon edited by her.

¹⁹⁴ See the few examples relating to this semantic field in APRILE, *Grammatica storica*, p. 154. According to Primo Levi, the Judeo-Piedmontese includes terms for "night" and "hide" but not for "sun" and "day" («La sua natura umiliata è evidente: vi mancano ad esempio, in quanto inutili, i termini per "sole" [...], "giorno", [...], mentre vi sono rappresentati i termini per "notte", "nascondere"»: cf. P. Levi, *Argon*, in *Il sistema periodico* (1975), in M. Belpoliti (ed.), *Opere complete*, I-III, Einaudi, Torino 2016-2018, I, p. 866; *The Complete Works of Primo Levi*, ed. A. Goldstein, I-III, Liveright, New York-London 2015, II, p. 760.

 $^{^{195}}$ See e. g. Dante's *Paradiso*, XIV, 67-69: «ed ecco intorno di chiarezza pari / nascere un lustro sopra quel che v'era, / per guisa d'orizzonte che rischiari» («And lo, all around and all of equal brightness, / rose a splendor, surpassing what had been, / as the horizon, at the rising sun, grows brighter»: *Paradiso*, a verse translation of R. & J. Hollander, Doubleday, New York 2007, p. 335).

¹⁹⁶ אור לוסטרו Or Lustro is a Hebrew-Italian dictionary of the seventeenth century, so called from the first word translated from Hebrew to Italian. See A. Toaff, Storie fiorentine. Alba e tramonto dell'ebreo del ghetto, il Mulino, Bologna 2013, pp. 137-144, who mentions the edition Or lustro [...], Stamperia Vendramina, Venezia 1681, and many others, up to an edition published in Pisa in 1796.

perfidious deeds of Lustro against Pedrolino and Ceccone; he steals their goods, respectively biscotti, ciambelli "cookies and buns" and sanguinacci "blood sausages", and sets fire to a basket containing the booklets they sell as well (the word istoriari, included in play's title, exactly means "who sells istorie" i.e. popular stories printed in cheap booklets). At this point, all join forces against the Livornese Jew, who is captured in an ambush and sentenced, after a carnival trial, to a terrible death, according to a sort of Dantesque contrapasso: since Lustro has set fire, he will be sentenced to suffocation by water. Thus, he is placed on a counter with a funnel in his mouth into which water is poured from barrels; after his death, Ceccone and Pedrolino start dancing a Saltarello on the swollen belly of the Livornese Jew.

This might seem, and indeed is, one of the terrible tortures and deaths inflicted on the Jews in the Giudiate, but, in reality, while the villain is punished, for the other Jews the story has a happy ending. The perfidious Lustro, contrary to his name meaning "light", had reduced Perla and Stella to the blackest and darkest condition in the world («nigre e scontente a quest'angolà», v. 435: the last word is the Heb. העולם ha-'olam "the world, the universe", with the shift y > /ng/ and the loss of final -m). Now that Lustro is dead, Stella can look for a new and reliable husband («un catanni onorato»), while Perla receives a marriage proposal from old Moses himself, who is elderly («attempato») but still seems lively and bold («vivace ed ardito»). The whole audience is invited to the double wedding with which also this comedy ends («Horsù Signori prendiamo c[o]mbiato [It. commiato, with the shift /mm/ > /mb] / e vi facciamo alli nozzi un invito» "Ladies and Gentlemen we take leave / and invite you to the wedding celebration").

The most impressive thing is that not only are the four main characters all Jews, but two of them are women, while the Jewish characters we have met so far were always men. The Christians (*Goimmi*) are secondary characters, even though they are important for enhancing the humour of the story and enriching its linguistic framework. «Pedrolino milanese», a mask from Northern Italy, which was common in the plays of the time, ¹⁹⁷ speaks a sort of Milanese, and a macaronic Latin mixed with Italian during the trial against Lustro: «*Pariter dixit*, che l'altra mattina / *cum igne nostras res ipse abbruciavit*», Latin in italics, "he also said that the other morning / he burned our things with fire", vv. 516-517.

Ceccone imitates a dialect of the area including Southern Umbria, Marche and Abruzzo, where L'Aquila is located. However, the Judeo-Italian is not a variety which Jews use in single episodes or scenes, but the *normal* language of the play. More precisely, all the Jewish characters speak Judeo-Roman, alternating to varying degrees with Italian nuances. Some expressions seem to allude also to the Judeo-Livornese.

Let us consider Lustro's first lines as he enters the scene:

LUSTRO [rispondendo alle accuse di Moscè.]

Io vi iuro su la parola mia Ch'a torto questi cosi m'appettati. ([Moscè] Finge di ferirlo) Ah non feriti, no, in bonhora sia, La sposeraio, non m'appicuriati. Ingainati, signori, in cortesia (a parte) Come se fanno in Ghetto i parentati: Per non sbascir sposarla converrà Se beni haio a Livorno altr'accallà. (vv. 29-36; my punctuation).

LUSTRO (responding to Moses' accusations) I swear to you by my word / that you wrongly charge me with these things. / (As Moses feigns to stab him with a knife) Ha, do not hurt me, I eventually agree, / I will marry her, do not kill me. / (To the audience) Please, Gentlemen, see how weddings are done in the Ghetto: / in order not to have to die, it is better to marry her / although I have already another wife in Livorno.]

¹⁹⁷ Even Susini, the author of *Le Nozze in sogno*, used to play the role of Pedrolino, as Lorenzo Lippi says in his *Malmantile*, XI 55 3-5 («Istrion Vespi tutto furia e sdegno [...] / col coltel da Pedrolin di legno», "Pietro Susini (in anagram) enraging / with his wooden sword, Pedrolino's symbol."

Fabrizio Franceschini

In just eight lines the main features of Judeo-Roman can be found. From a phono-morphological point of view we note /j/ from J- (iuro, vs. It. giuro), as well as from BJ/VJ, as in haio < HABEO and consequently in the first person of the future sposeraio. 198 The plural feminine suffix -i is found in questi cosi vs. It. queste cose, "these things", and -i is even extended to se beni, instead of It. sebbene "although". The Judeo-Roman ending of second plural -ti instead of -te is steady: appettati, feriti, appicuriati, ingainati. In the lexis we note three words stemming from Hebrew: the aforementioned accallà "bride, wife"; appicuriati, imperative of the Judeo-Roman verb appicuriare, based upon the Heb. noun peger "corpse, dead body" (with devoicing of /g/), meaning "to kill"; ingainati (see above, § 6.2). Sbascir is taken from thieves' jargon (sbasire "to die, to be killed", with palatalization of /s/ before /i). 199

Let us consider now the expression in bonhora. Neither Judeo-Roman nor Judeo-Italian dictionaries include such an expression, 200 which on the other hand is very common in Judeo-Livornese texts, from Raffaello Ascoli's Gli Ebrei venuti a Livorno, 1886 («Venga in buon ora e venga presto»), 201 up to Marchi's dictionary (1993), s. vv. 'nbonora and ora. 202 In particular Guido Bedarida uses in bon'ora in a sonnet of his (about 1956) and comments that this expression means "in peace" and comes from Spanish «en hora buena [...] en bonora», which is used as a wish and as a compliment. 203 In fact, in the aforementioned passage, the words «in bonhora sia, la sposeraio» express Lustro's willingness to adapt to the situation, even if it is not appreciated. 204 Similar expressions are found elsewhere in this text (v. 301, MOSCÈ: «fermatevi in buon hora, eh che sarà») and in other giudiate. Here, however, one could find an allusion to the original meaning of the Spanish expression and therefore to the Judeo-Livornese world strongly characterized in this sense.

Another similar allusion could be found in the passage in which the Roman Jew Stella organizes the ambush against the Livornese Jew Lustro. She orders his accomplices Ceccone and Padrolino to "get down on the ground quickly and speak softly": «colcativi presto e bajo tabarrati» (v. 464). The original print shows *batò* in this passage, which makes no sense and could be considered to be a misreading for *bajo* "low, softly", ²⁰⁵ referring to *tabarrati* "speak!". ²⁰⁶ This expression would thus be modelled on the Spanish *hablar bajo* or, with the adverb in the diminutive, *hablar bajito*, from which *bagitto*, the name

¹⁹⁸ See above, § 6.2.

¹⁹⁹ See Zanazzo, Saggio di vecchie parole del gergo romanesco dei Birbi, p. 463 s. v. sbacì' 'morire', and previously Nuovo Modo de intendere la lingua zerga, Ferrara 1545, ed. P. Camporesi, p. 237, sbasire su le fune "to be hanged" and sbasidor "killer", passim; cf. A. Prati, Voci di gerganti, vagabondi e malviventi studiate nell'origine e nella storia, Cursi, Pisa 1940, p. 174; Ferrero, Dizionario storico dei gerghi italiani, p. 198, s. v. In French argot esbasir "to kill" is attested since 1455, but the French priority is uncertain (cf. M. Cortelazzo, P. Zolli, Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana, ed. M. Cortelazzo, M.A. Cortelazzo, Zanichelli, Bologna 1999, s. v. basire).

²⁰⁰ See Del Monte, A. Milano, Glossario del dialetto giudaico-romanesco; Fortis, La parlata degli ebrei di Venezia e le parlate giudeo-italiane; Aprile, Grammatica storica, pp. 290-291 (Il tempo come successione degli eventi).

²⁰¹ Cf. R. Ascoli, *Gli Ebrei venuti a Livorno*, I. Costa, Livorno 1886, ed. P. Fornaciari, Erasmo, Livorno 2010, p.104.

 $^{^{202}}$ Cf. V. Marchi, Lessico del livornese, con una finestra aperta sul bagitto, Belforte, Livorno 1993, pp. 308, 311.

²⁰³ Cf. Bedarida, Ebrei di Livorno, p. 30, n. 7.

²⁰⁴ Cf. *El nuevo Vox mayor. Diccionario de la lengua española*, Spes Edirorial, Barcelona 2004, s. v. *hora*: «*en hora buena* o *en buena hora* expresa satifaccion o conformidad con el momento en que sucede [...] una cosa». The modern Italian expression *alla buon'ora*, instead, commonly means "eventually" and is used only when something, which is expected or desired, finally happens after delays and problems.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Grazzini, Figure e lingue degli Ebrei nel teatro romano seicentesco, p. 397, s. v. bajo.

 $^{^{206}}$ Imperative of the Judeo-Roman tabarrare "to speak", based upon the Heb. noun דבר davar "word": see above, § 6.1.

of the Judeo-Livornese dialect, is taken.²⁰⁷ Here it is Stella who speaks, and we may of course consider *bajo* an Hispanicism of the Judeo-Roman, devoid of allusions to the Livorno Jews. At the same time, it should be noted that these Hispanicisms appear when Lustro enters the scene and when he is about to be caught and punished for his misdeeds.

In any case, the controversy against the Livorno Jews is clear and this text could even be seen as a response to *Le nozze in sogno*. The character called Moses (represented in both cases with a knife in his hand) here is not a dangerous sorcerer from Rome who lives and does his misdeeds in Livorno, but an old Roman Jew, who is the winner in the plot along with the two Jewish women. Instead, the Jew who came from Livorno to Rome is the receptacle of all perfidy and is rightly and harshly punished.

There remains a final question to be asked. Who might be the author of this anonymous text? The plot is well constructed, it is closely linked to the staging (of which the apparatuses are indicated) and presents quite refined metatheatrical aspects. Ceccone and Pedrolino are *istoriari* and sell their cheap booklets on the scene:

PEDROLINO

Chi vuol comprar, sioi, la Zudiata honesta e bella e di fresco composta che in quest'anno si recita all'Armata per spassar li tosini e poco costa? Voi sentirete ch'un Ebreo ha sposata fuor di Roma una tosa e poi de posta te la piantò e zonto appenna scià sposò un'altra zudea in questa zità (v. 338-345).

[Who wants to buy, Gentlemen [Lombard sioi, It. signori] this Zudiata [corresponding to It. Giudiata, with J->/z-, dz-/, instead of /dʒ-/], / which is honest and beautiful and freshly composed, / and which this year is performed at the Armata / to entertain young boys [tosini and below tosa are typically Lombard and Venetian words for "boys" and "girl"] and is cheap? / You will hear that a Jew married / a girl out of Rome and then suddenly / he left her and, just as he arrived [zonto, without anaphonesis, instead of It. giunto] here / married another Jewish girl in this city [$zit\grave{a}$, It. $citt\grave{a}$, with /tz/ instead of /tʃ/ and consonant degemination].

The story in the booklets they sell on scene is exactly the one they are staging, and Lustro, in order to avoid blame, will set fire to the booklets because they tell what he has done. Such a metatheatrical effect, no less significant than those of Bernini and Andreini, as well as the precise references to the staging and to the theatrical setting, suggest that the author is closely linked to the theatrical world, if not an actor himself. The title, the names of the characters, and the centrality of the Jewish aspects in the plot and in the language suggest that the author may be a Roman Jew, such as the aforementioned Testa di Ferro (Iron-head), who is included in a list of Briccio's actors and friends.

More supporting elements are needed to support this hypothesis, but the conclusion of the play helps to confirm it. In the text, we, of course, find lines directed against all Jews, such as «ahi, quest'ebreacci / convien ch'io dica, son pur crudelacci» "alas, these bad Jews, / I have to say, are really cruel" (vv. 92-93). And the Other, the scapegoat laden with sins and misdeeds, the fellow subjected to torture and a terrible death is a Jew, because that is what the public of the *Giudiate* would commonly expect. But this Jew comes from Livorno. The Roman Jews, on the other hand, are rewarded with the triumphal double marriage with which these kinds of play often end. As we saw, in *L'Ebreo finto Conte* the happy ending is also guaranteed by a double marriage, but on condition of the conversion of the Jews. In this case, instead, the two Jewish couples will live happily ever after, without any conversion to Christianity.

²⁰⁷ See now Franceschini, Il bagitto, la lingua degli ebrei di Livorno?, pp. 83-84.

7. Conclusion

7.1. Roles of the Jews in the titles and in the plots

The very first play of our corpus includes in the title the word Hebrei "Jews" (Rappresentazione di dua hebrei che si convertirono, Bartolomeo de' Libri, Firenze about 1495). The titles of several other plays include as well the words Ebreo (Buonarroti's L'Ebreo, 1613; Le nozze degli ebrei; L'ebreo finto conte, 1697), Giudeo (Quinto Pizzuti, I colpi di fortuna, commedia [...] con due giudei ridicoli, Orvieto e Viterbo 1620) or Giudio (Briccio's La zingara giudia con un norcino che la beffeggia Viterbo [about 1675]; Scherzo carnevalesco, overo le due Rosette simili, con Raguetto schernito et il Giudio frustato, Ciccolini, Todi 1669), and giudiata (Briccio's La [...] prima zingaresca giudiata con un norcino che la beffeggia, 1611, and Li strapazzati. Farsa di norcini e giudiata, 1627; L'ebreo finto conte [...], Contrasto di Giudiata ridicoloso, Todi 1697). Lo catanne di due accallà, which was published in the same year, is also called Giudiata; this comedy, however, stands out because it is the only one with a fully Judeo-Italian title.

Let us consider now the relationships between the character of the Jew (or Jews) and the overall plot. Some texts of our corpus only include isolated and stereotypical (even in linguistic terms) "Jewishstyle scenes", which are not relevant to the dramatic developments, and at the centre of which we find Jewish pawnbrokers, ready to do business also on Shabbat, the slaughtering of a goose, or quarrels either amongst Jews or between Jews and Christians. In the Northern Italian milieu, these "packages" can pass from one author to another (e. g. from Croce to Vecchi, or the other way around, and then to Banchieri) and from one genre to another (episode of a comedy, story of a storyteller, section of a multilingual text).

In some other texts the roles of the Jews are more relevant. In Alessandro Donzellini's *La tempesta amorosa* (Venezia 1605) the Jew is present in only three scenes but «he is a character, not a stereotype». ²⁰⁸ A larger, albeit isolated, Jewish episode may be placed in a key position, as in *Le nozze in sogno*. ²⁰⁹ Sometimes, and normally in the *giudiate*, the Jewish characters appear in different acts and scenes, right up to the end. The typical ending of the *giudiate* includes the punishment of the Jew, even with torture and death. A less harsh, but no less negative variant is provided by plays such as *L'Ebreo finto conte*. While the young Moscè, who steals soldier Tognino's riches and drives him mad, is put to torture, the happy ending includes the double marriage of Sciùa's two daughters with Tognino and his servant, but on condition of the Conversion of the Jews.

In Buonarroti's *L'Ebreo* (1613), the Jew is the title character and, in the end, the "winner", but this unfinished play unfortunately lacks the author's intended linguistic characterization. In contrast, Giovanni Briccio's *Gli Strapazzati* (Roma 1627) stands out for the «very rich harvest of Hebrew words» which the Jew displays²¹⁰ but, in reverse, lacks a true plot and is rather a review of "harassed" people, who speak different languages (the porter Zanni from Lombardy. the Venetian Pantalone, the Neapolitan Pasquarello, besides the Roman Jew). Briccio's *La zingara giudia con un Norcino che la beffeggia*, which was published with different titles at least three times (Orvieto 1611, Ronciglione 1620, Viterbo about 1670),²¹¹ includes the final victory of the Jewish-gipsy girl against the sausage seller from central-southern Italy, but is a simple *contrasto* or controversial dialogue. The most interesting and important plays combine the central role of the Jews in the plot, their final victory and a great linguistic accuracy. The two plays that are at the top of this ideal ranking, and to which we have dedicated ample space, are Giovan Battista Andreini's *Lo Schiavetto* (Milano 1612; the 1620 Venice edition is somewhat less important) and *Lo catanne di due accallà* (Todi 1697). The fact that one play appears at the beginning of the seventeenth century and the other at its end clearly shows that we are not dealing with a gradual and progressive development.

²⁰⁸ See Mayer Modena, Italian Theater and the Spoken Language of Italian Jews, p. 7.

²⁰⁹ See Franceschini, Giudeo-romanesco a Livorno, p. 60.

²¹⁰ See Mayer Modena, *Italian Theater and the Spoken Language of Italian Jews*, p. 3; similarly, Fortis, *La vita quotidiana nel ghetto*, pp. 184-185.

²¹¹ See Grazzini, Jewish and Gypsy characters in seventeenth-century theatrical pieces.

7.2. The Jews, the plays and the historical context

In Andreini's, Buonarroti's and Susini's plays, as well as in *Lo catanne di due accallà*, the ideological and linguistic characterization (the latter only announced in Buonarroti's text) is linked with relevant historical and institutional aspects.

Lo Schiavetto reflects Andreini's sympathy for Jews, but also the particular protection that they enjoyed in Mantua's Duchy also after, and in spite of, the establishment of the ghetto. The same theme, as we saw, is found in Aretino's *Marescalco*, which was published in Venice in 1534 but is set in Mantua, and before that, in Folengo's Jewish episode.

The fact that the Jewish sorcerer of the *Nozze in sogno*, set in Livorno, neither speaks the Iberian languages of the Jewish elite nor a Judeo-Tuscan dialect, but the Judeo-Roman, has been explained by the fact that the Tuscan legislation provided Sephardi Jews with full protection, so that, if they had felt outraged by this play, they would certainly have protested to the grand duke. The Grand Ducal protections, however, did not extend to the Italian Jews and in particular to those who immigrated to Livorno and Pisa from Rome, who even were opposed by the Sephardim, as they were considered people of ill repute and therefore to be rejected («gente di fare poco bene, e questi non s'accettono»).

Lo catanne di due accallà could be seen as a response to Le nozze in sogno. The Jew who came from Livorno to Rome is the receptacle of all perfidy and he is rightly and harshly punished. Instead, the Roman Jews such as Moses and Stella, among whom Perla is also included, are rewarded with the triumphal double marriage with which the play ends, without any conversion.

7.3. The single and multiple Jewish mask

The Sacre Rappresentazioni and the regular comedies, written from the early sixteenth century to the 1580s, by both popular and high-profile playwrights (such as Ariosto and Aretino), show an absent or weak linguistic characterization of the Jews. Toward the end of the century, within the framework of a new theatrical system with many regional masks and their respective languages, the so-called "Jewishstyle scenes" also find space, starting from texts and testimonies of northern Italy (Mantua, Bologna, Modena, etc.). The first examples that scholars mention are a sketch included in Garzoni's Piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo (Venice 1585) and the Ragionamento fra due Hebrei, which was published in Pesaro (1588, and probably a little earlier) and is also associated with the northern area, as the name Zan Fritada placed in the title suggests. However, Folengo's Baldus (1521-before 1544) already shows a rich and knowledgeable use of Jewish elements, of which Giulio Cesare Croce and, after him, Horatio Vecchi were possibly aware.

The multilingual Italian theatre, either based upon a regular text, or improvised on the basis of a simple scenario (Commedia dell'Arte), puts on stage stock characters and masks, each one of which is associated with a particular language. Some characters are characterized at a level that we could call diaphasic: this is the case, as already noted, of the innamorati, who speak high Italian, of the know-it-all doctor with his Latinizing speech, of the devious servants, whose language is full of idioms and sayings, and even of the thieves, who use their jargon or cant. The masks, instead, are, strictly speaking, mostly characterized at a diatopic or regional level: typically, the Zannis (Arlecchino, Pedrolino, Francatrippa) speak or imitate Bergamasque or Lombard dialects, Pantalone the Venetian, Coviello and Pulcinella the Neapolitan, Giangurgolo the Calabrese. Despite occasional exceptions (for example, Coviello sings a Sicilian ottava in Le nozze in sogno), the system is basically fixed.

In this framework, the Jew is a singular and significant exception. From a diatopic point of view, the mask of the Jew is associated not with one or two dialects, but with many, depending on the territories and communities to which the Jew or Jews belong. However, each local Judeo-dialect differs more or less from the dialect of the surrounding non-Jewish people. That depends, on the one hand, on some phono-morphological differences, due either to conservative or innovative phenomena. On the other hand, what differentiates the Judeo-dialects from the surrounding non-Jewish ones, and at the same time renders them similar to each other, is the shared stock of Hebrew words, which are always recogni-

Fabrizio Franceschini

zable, in spite of their different adaptations to the local dialects. We may now look in a more precise and detailed way to Paolo Sebastiano Medici's words I have chosen as epigraph of this essay:

in whatever town they live, [the Jews] corrupt the languages which are well spoken by the Christians who were born and dwell in the same country. 212

In reality, in works such Briccio's and Andreini's «the Judeo-Italian dialects are rendered with accuracy and respect», as Mayer Modena aptly put it, 213 and this can be explained if we consider that these playwrights generally excelled in the theatrical multilingualism. Their correct usage of Hebrew words and expressions was also probably enhanced by their relationships with Jews in the theatrical milieu itself, as we saw both for Andreini in Mantua and Briccio in Rome. On the other hand, the stock of Hebrew words shared by Italian Judeo-dialects, and also the forged and parodistic Hebrew which alternates with them in some plays, are charged with diaphasic values, which correspond now to the Doctor's Latin, now to the jargon of thieves, now to a powerful and mysterious language that can either provoke a harsh reaction or inspire fear or respect.

One must never forget that many of these plays not only express a harsh anti-Jewish satire, but even contain the roots of modern anti-Semitism.²¹⁴ At the same time, the intricate system formed by all these texts shows, from the linguistic and cultural points of view, the complex and peculiar position of the Jews in the Italian places, languages and cultures.

APPENDIX

The Corpus

Modern editions, when available, are mentioned in the foregoing text and footnotes. The author's name, if known, is always listed first. The place where the text was printed always follows, according to the modern Italian usage, the indication of the publisher. Different editions are considered as different items only if they include meaningful variants that affect our analysis.

Rappresentazione di dua hebrei che si convertirono, Bartolomeo de' Libri, Firenze about 1495.

Rappresentazione di Costantino Imperatore, San Silvestro Papa e Sant'Elena, Firenze about 1510.

Pietro Aretino, Cortigiana, 1525, ms., Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (BNCF), Magliabechiano VII 84.

Pietro Aretino, Cortigiana. Commedia, Giovani Antonio de' Nicolini da Stabio, Venezia 1534.

Pietro Aretino, Il marescalco, Venezia 1534.

Ludovico Ariosto, Il Negromante, per Nicola d'Aristotile detto Zoppino, Venezia 1535.

[Anton Maria di Francesco], Comedia noua del Farfalla, de lo Stechito da Siena, Valerio Dorico, Roma 1536; then El farfalla, Commedia nuova [de lo Stechito de la Congrega de' Rozi da Siena], per Francesco di Simeone ad istantia di Giovanni d'Alisandro libraro, Siena 1550.

²¹² Cf. also P. Pichi, *De partu virginis Deiparae adversus Iudeos*, Stefano Paolino, Roma 1621, *ad Lectores*: «eorum pravitas [...], ut Latina ignorat, ita vernacula negligit» ("the perverse [Jews], as they ignore Latin, so they disfigure the dialects": see Toaff, *Storie fiorentine*, pp. 130 and 152, n. 4).

²¹³ See MAYER MODENA, The Spoken Languages of the Jews in Italy, p. 311.

²¹⁴ See also Mampieri, When the Rabbi's Soul Entered a Pig, p. 370.

Ludovico Ariosto, Il Negromante, comedia [...] tratta dallo esemplare di man propria dell'autore, Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, Venezia 1551.

[Teofilo Folengo], Merlini Cocalii poetae Mantuani *Macaronicorum poëmata* (before 1544), apud haeredes Petri Ravani et socios, Venezia 1552.

Festa di Agnolo Ebreo che si battezò per miracolo di nostra Donna, Firenze 1554.

Rappresentazione d'uno miracolo del corpo di Cristo, Firenze 1555.

Rappresentazione della Regina Ester, Firenze 1558.

Rappresentazione di Teofilo, Firenze 1558.

Beltramo Poggi, La Inventione della Croce di Giesù Christo [...], all'Illustrissima et Excellentissima S. Isabella de' Medici Ursina duchessa di Bracciano, Giunti, Firenze, 1561, and ms. BNCF II VII 8.

Il furbo, comedia di Christoforo Castelletti, per Alessandro Griffio, Venezia 1584.

Tomaso Garzoni, La Piazza Universale di tutte le professioni del mondo, G.B. Somascho, Venezia 1585.

Ragionamento fra due Hebrei, in Opera nova dove si contiene strambotti del Serafino [Aquilano] con una stanza di contrarietà, & una canzone alla siciliana, con un ragionamento fra dui hebrei. Con un madrigale. Tutte cose honeste, & degne ad ogni elevato spirito. Novamente da Zan Fritada, et il figliuolo del Fortunato novamente posto in luce, appresso Gironimo Concordia, Pesaro 1588.

Giovan Maria Cecchi, L'esaltazione della Croce, Firenze 1589.

Horatio Vecchi, L'Amfiparnaso. Comedia harmonica, Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1597.

Adriano Banchieri, Il Studio dilettevole a tre voci novamente con vaghi argomenti et spassevoli intermedii fiorito dall'Amfiparnasso comedia musicale de l'Horatio Vecchi. Libro terzo delle canzonette a tre voci, Besozzi, Milano 1600.

Orazio Vecchi, Le Veglie di Siena overo i varii humori della musica, per Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1604.

Giulio Cesare Croce, *Rissa tremenda fra Mordochai e Badanai*, in *La scatola historiata*, heredi di Gio. Rossi, Bologna 1605.

Alessandro Donzellini, Tempesta amorosa. Comedia, Roberto Meglietti, Venezia 1605.

Eusebio Luchetti da Civitanova detto l'Ostinato de Disuniti, *Le due sorelle rivali*, presso gli eredi di Altobello Salicato, Venezia 1609.

Giulio Cesare Croce, Scaramuccia grandissima occorsa nuovamente nella città di Ancona, Cassiani, Modena 1609; then Scaramuccia grandissima occorsa novamente nella città d'Ancona fra due hebrei per un'ocha, dove fra morti e feriti uno è restato guercio e l'altro senza naso, per Bartomeo Cochi al Pozzo rosso, Ferrara e Bologna 1617.

Giovanni Briccio, La pima prima [sic] zingaresca giudiata con un norcino che la beffeggia, frottola piacevole e bella, Orvi[e]to 1611; then, La giudiata in aria da zingarate, con un Norcino che la beffeggia. Frottola piacevole e bella [...] con altre Rime del medesimo novamente date in luce, Lodovico Grignani & Lorenzo Lupis, Ronciglione 1620; La zingara giudia, con un norcino che la beffeggia. Zingarata nova, piacevole e bella, Viterbo [about 1675].

Giovan Battista Andreini, Lo Schiavetto, comedia di G. B. Andreini, comico fedele detto Lelio, P. Malatesta, Milano 1612.

Michelangelo Buonarroti il Giovane, *L'Ebreo*, 1613, Florence, Archivio e Biblioteca di Casa Buonarroti, ms. n. 81, cc. 1-80.

Giulio Cesare Croce, Questione di varii linguaggi [...]. Opera ridicolosa e bella del Croce, Cochi, Bologna 1618.

Giovan Battista Andreini, Lo Schiavetto, comedia, Gio. Battista Ciotti, Venezia 1620.

Quinto Pizzuti, I colpi di fortuna, commedia [...] con due giudei ridicoli, Orvieto e Viterbo 1620.

Giulio Cesare Croce, Lamento et morte di Manas hebreo qual fu tenagliato sopra un carro e gli tagliorno una mano e fu poi appiccato per homicidio, & altri deliti enormi & obbrobriosi, caso successo nella magnifica Città di Ferrara il di ultimo d'aprile 1590, Heredi del Cochi, Bologna 1623; then,

Fabrizio Franceschini

- Lamento et morte di Manas hebreo qual fu tenaiato, tagliarono una mano e appiccato per homicidi, & altri deliti enormi & obbrobriosi, caso successo nella magni(fica) Città di Ferrara il di ultimo d'aprile 1590, per gli Eredi del Cochi, Bologna 1644.
- Giovanni Briccio, Li strapazzati. Farsa di norcini e giudiata, commedia nova, Guglielmo Facciotti, Roma 1627.
- Gian Lorenzo Bernini, [Fontana di Trevi], about 1644, ms., Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, mss. Italiens 2084.
- Melchiorre Palontrotti, Canzone contro gli ebrei, 1647-1648 or shortly after, ms., Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. Lat. 481, cc. 172-174.
- [Florido de Silvestris], Est locanda, comedia dell'Accademico Disunito, detto l'Incapace, per il Bilancioni, Velletri 1648.
- Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, La donna più sagace fra l'altre, per Nicolò Pezzana, Venezia 1662.
- Loreto Vittori, *Le zittelle cantarine*, *comedia*, ad instanza di Gregorio e Giouanni Andreoli librari in Roma, Genova 1663.
- Pietro Susini, Le nozze in sogno, dramma civile, rappresentato in musica [music by Antonio Cesti] nell'Accademia de' signori Infocati, all'Insegna della Stella, Firenze 1665.
- Scherzo carnevalesco, overo le due Rosette simili, con Raguetto schernito et il Giudio frustato, zingaresca nuova, curiosa et bella, appresso il Ciccolini, Todi 1669.
- Andrea della Grazia, Lo scudo d'oro, overo li dui arricchiti. Zingaresca nuova ridicolosa e bella, Cappriccio, per il Menichelli, Ronciglione 1671.
- La fortuna di Taddeo Norcino. Zingaresca nuova, bottega di Francesco Leone Libraro in piazza Madama, Viterbo (s. d.).
- Intermedio, in L'aspra vendetta di Minghetto e Tognol rappresentata in Reggio in casa dei SS.ri Pagani l'anno 1672, ms., Biblioteca Municipale di Reggio Emilia, Raccolta Curti, 142 / 121.
- L'Aquilano finto ebreo, contrasto ridicoloso recitato dalla conversatione della Rotonda. Si vendono in bottega di Francesco Leone Libraro in piazza Madama, Todi [about 1675].
- Giovan Marco Martini, Buda incorragita da' gli Hebrei. Cantata per Soprano con Basso-continuo, 1686, ms., Raccolta Musicale Estense, Modena, Archivio di Stato.
- Relazione di quel grandissimo contrasto e terribile rovina occorso nuovamente in Ghetto tra Merdacai, Aron, e so Fradel, Giacobbe, e Samuel, per l'acquisto di due Ocche etc., Venezia s. d. (seventeenth century).
- Le nozze degli ebrei, scenario, ms., Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, 1040, cc. 18r-20v (seventeenth century).
- Bonvicin Gioannelli [Giovanni Bonicelli], *Pantalone bullo*, overo la pusillanimità coperta, Pittoni, Venezia 1688.
- L'ebreo finto conte overo Tognino impazzito. Contrasto di Giudiata redicoloso, recitato dalla Conversatione di Trastevere alla Botticella, Todi 1697.
- Lo catanne di due accallà, overo Ceccone aquilano, e Pedrolino milanese compagni fedeli, & istoriari spiantati. Giudiata redicolosa e honesta recitata dalla Conversatione dell'Armata l'anno 1697, Todi 1697.

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SUMMARY

This essay examines a corpus of fifty plays of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which include Jewish characters, but were in general written by non-Jewish authors. The texts belong to both serious and comic genres and are both in prose and in verse, and in some cases even set to music. Some authors are well known (such as Pietro Aretino, Giovan Maria Cecchi, Giulio Cesare Croce, Giovan Battista Andreini, Michelangelo Buonarroti il Giovane), but many texts are anonymous. When Jews are linguistically characterized, we often find a large number of Judeo-Italian words. These words are usually derived from Hebrew, but can be taken from Sephardic Spanish or even Latin and Italian, but with a particular meaning. However, these texts usually display the local Jewish vernaculars, which may differ to varying degrees from the correspondent non-Jewish vernaculars. The paper analyses in a systematic way the phonological and morphological features of the linguistic varieties used (or depicted as used) by Jews and considers the relationships between the linguistic characterizations of the Jews and both the plot of the plays and their historical and cultural context. Many plays show the most usual and trite anti-Semitic stereotypes, also from a linguistic point of view; some texts, such as the giudiate, include the final punishment of the Jew, even with torture and death. On the other hand, some important plays combine the central role of the Jews in the plot, their final victory and a great linguistic accuracy in the rendering of Judeo-Italian dialects. The intricate system formed by all these texts shows, from the linguistic and cultural points of view, the complex and peculiar position of the Jews in the Italian places. languages and cultures.

KEYWORDS: Languages of the Jews; Italian Theatre; Early Modern Italy.



Fig. 5 - Riti e costumi degli ebrei descritti e confutati dal dottore Paolo Medici sacerdote e Lettor Pubblico Fiorentino, Pietro Gaetano Viviani, Firenze 1736.



Fig. 6 - Opus Merlini Cocaii Poetae Mantuani Macaronicorum, Alexander Paganinus, Toscolano 1521, c. 82v: Cingar disguised as a Jew negotiates with Zambel.



Fig. 7 - L'Amfiparnaso. Comedia Harmonica d'Horatio Vecchi da Modona, Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1597.

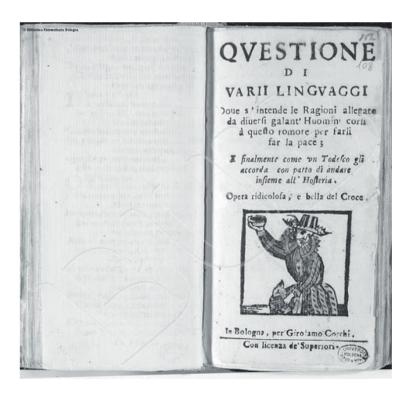


Fig. 8 - Questione di varii linguaggi [...]. Opera ridicolosa e bella del Croce, Girolamo Cocchi, Bologna.



Fig. 9 - Relazione di quel grandissimo contrasto e terribile rovina occorso nuovamente in Ghetto tra Merdacai, Aron, e so Fradel, Giacobbe, e Samuel, per l'acquisto di due Ocche, Venezia (seventeenth century).

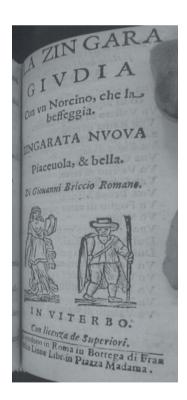


Fig. 10 - La Zingara giudia con un norcino che la beffeggia, zingarata nuova, piacevole e bella di Giovanni Briccio Romano. In Viterbo con licenza de' Superiori. Si vendono in bottega di Francesco Leone Libraro in piazza Madama [about 1670].



Fig. 11 - L'Ebreo finto Conte overo Tognino impazzito. Contrasto di Giudiata redicoloso, recitato dalla Conversatione di Trastevere alla Botticella, Todi 1697.



Fig. 12 - Est locanda, comedia dell'Accademico Disunito, detto l'Incapace [Florido de Silvestris], Bilancioni, Velletri 1648.

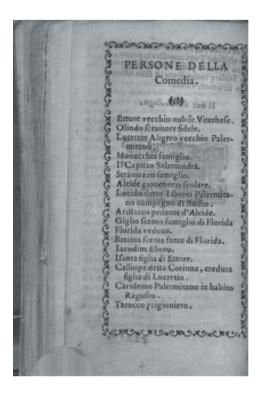


Fig. 13 - Alessandro Donzellini, *Tempesta amorosa*. *Comedia*, Roberto Meglietti, Venezia 1605, Table of characters.



Fig. 14 - Lo Schiavetto, comedia di Gio. Battista Andreini Fiorentino, Gio. Battista Ciotti, Venezia 1620.

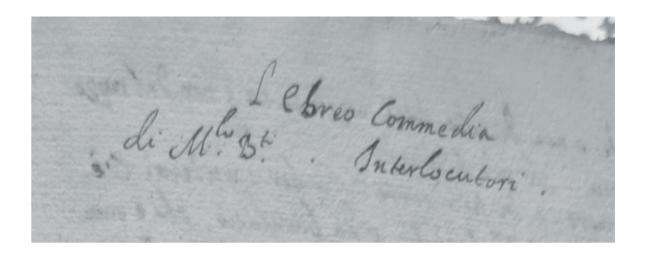


Fig. 15 - Firenze, Archivio e Biblioteca di Casa Buonarroti, ms. n. 81, Autograph by Michelangelo Buonarroti, L'Ebreo, c. 82: L'Ebreo, Commedia di M.lo B.ti, Interlocutori.



Fig. 16 - [Pietro Susini], Le nozze in sogno, dramma civile, rappresentato in musica nell'Accademia de' signori Infocati, dedicato al sereniss. e reverendiss. principe card.le Carlo de' Medici, All'Insegna della Stella, Firenze 1665.

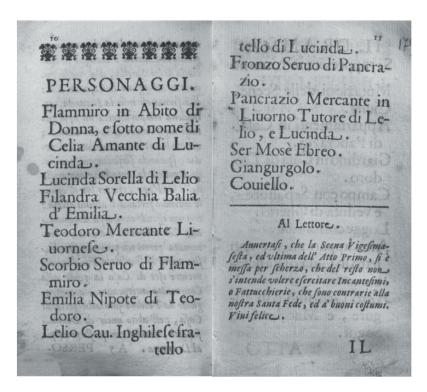


Fig. 17 - Pietro Susini, Le nozze in sogno, cc. 1v-2r, Table of characters.



Fig. 18 - Lo catanne di due accallà, ovvero Ceccone aquilano, e Pedrolino milanese compagni fedeli e istoriari spiantati. Giudiata redicolosa e honesta recitata dalla Conversatione dell'Armata l'anno 1697, Todi 1697, c. 2v, Table of characters.