

Universiteit Leiden

Master of Arts in History: Migration and Global Interdependence

MA THESIS

**Migration, Non-integration and Integration of *Cingani* (Gypsies)
in the Republic of Venice During the Early Modern Age**

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Abbreviations

ACL = Archivio Comunale Leno (Bs)

ACS = Archivio Comunale Salò (Bs)

ACT = Archivio Comune Tremosine (Bs)

APV = Archivio Parrocchiale Visinale (Pn)

ASBs = Archivio di Stato Brescia

ASM i= Archivio di Stato Milano

ASMo = Archivio di Stato Modena

ASP = Archivio di Stato Padova

ASVe = Archivio di Stato Venezia

ASVr = Archivio di Stato Verona

ASU = Archivio di Stato Udine

BMC = Biblioteca Manoscritta Correr (Ve)

BNBMi = Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense (Mi)

MCB = Museo Camuno Breno (Bs)

1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Why are you studying gypsies? This is a recurring question when I tell someone what my thesis is about. It started two years ago, when I began to write the thesis for my first Master of Art and Humanities at the University of Verona. I wanted to study “the Other”, and more specifically “the Other” as culturally and ethnically different from the mainstream. At that point, I had to choose a specific “Other” and one of my professors, Federico Barbierato, proposed gypsies. After thinking about it for a while, I decided that this was a great opportunity to understand these individuals and to address the prevailing stereotypes about this group. So, for that thesis, after an introduction about how the Europeans had generally perceived, represented, and related to the Other from the Middle Ages until the fourteenth century, I looked into the relationship between Italians and gypsies in the past. I used Peter Burke’s¹ four scenarios about cultural exchange in general - acceptance, rejection, segregation and adaptation - and extended my analysis from the Early Modern age until the contemporary period.

That research was important, as it brought me into contact with gypsy studies, but, at the same time, it was too general and not comprehensive. For this reason, for my current thesis, I decided to deepen my analysis, focusing on a specific place and period: the Republic of Venice during the Early Modern Age. I chose the Republic of Venice for different reasons: first, because not many historical works have been written about *cingari*²; and secondly, because there is an interesting link between the political and economic goals of the Venetian regime and the presence of the *cingari*.

In this thesis I try to answer two main questions: although repression was the main and formal reaction of the Republic of Venice against gypsies during the early modern age, how to explain that also other, more “open”, responses such as integration and assimilation were possible? And secondly, did these different relationships between gypsies and Venetian people change over time? If yes, how did they change? In fact, what I would like to understand is why Venetian people related in a specific way towards *cingani*: often they rejected them, but at other times they temporarily accepted them and made it possible to assimilate into the mainstream society. In addition, I would like to comprehend whether in a certain period a specific reaction prevailed on the others or whether they were rather equivalent over time.

In order to put these questions in a historiographical and analytical framework, I will discuss the most recent studies about gypsies, which try to give a less stereotypical picture of these itinerant groups and which go beyond the traditional images of them as criminal, marginal, and poor people. Since the end of the ‘1990s Wim Willems has attempted to explain why stigmatisation of gypsies has continued from the distant past even to today.³ A few years later, another important book - *Gypsies and other itinerant groups. A socio-historical approach* - was written by Willems together with Leo Lucassen and Annemarie Cottaar on this subject.⁴ I was very much inspired by their approach, and, for this reason, I will apply the main

¹ Burke (2009).

² I use the terms ‘*cingano*’ or ‘*cingaro*’ (plural forms: ‘*cingani*’ or ‘*cingari*’), because they are the words that we usually find in historical documents concerning gypsies in the Republic of Venice and in the territories in northern Italy. In northern part of the peninsula, the terms frequently used are: ‘*cingarus*’, ‘*zingarus*’, ‘*egiptio*’, ‘*d’egiptio*’, ‘*de giptio*’, etc. The English equivalent of all these terms is ‘gypsy’ (plural forms: ‘gypsies’). In my work, I will use ‘*cingani*’/‘*cingari*’ and ‘gypsies’ interchangeably.

³ Willems (1997).

⁴ Lucassen, Willems, and Cottaar (1998).

questions of this book to my case: 1) In which ways have gypsies and other itinerant groups been looked upon and treated by society? 2) What was the social and economic position of gypsies and other itinerant groups through time, and how has this been influenced by government policy? For my research I will try to reconstruct, on the one hand, how stigmatization has influenced their group formation and their repression in the Venetian territories. On the other hand, I try to understand how *cingani* blended with Venetian society from economic and social perspectives during the Early Modern Age.

First, in this chapter, I briefly explain when and how these migrants arrived in the Italian peninsula and who they were. Then, I examine the main works and discussions within gypsy studies in Italy, as well as I apply some theories from migration history to my case study. For instance, I would like to know whether the gypsy migration corresponds to one of the four categories of human migrations that Patrick Manning identifies in his book *Migration in World History*.⁵ Particularly, I would like to understand which kinds of migrants they were: could they be settlers, sojourners, itinerants, or invaders? Finally, I will explain which types of sources I have used.

Second, after presenting some information about the Venetian state, I investigate the policy of the Republic of Venice from the end of the fifteenth century until the eighteenth century. I analyze the banishments issued by the Venetian government against *cingari* in order to understand how these laws changed over time and how they were related to the process of stigmatization of itinerants and criminals, and, above all, how they were linked with the regime's political and economic aims. In addition, the Venetian Church promulgated a set of rules against gypsies because their moral behavior was considered reprehensible. Thus, I try to understand whether both the political and religious regulations were effectively applied in reality and how.

In the third chapter, starting with the analysis of an historical document of a gypsy company – Federico Bianchi's company – that was taken to court in 1718 in Venice, I will study the interactions of *cingani* with the Venetian society and the Venetian state. If on one hand gypsies were treated as criminals, on the other hand they could have different kinds of relationships with the Venetian people. I pay attention to *cingani's* economic function in the local labor market and to their commercial relations with the local people, as well as to other kinds of social interactions, such as mutual help and intermarriages. Additionally, in the last section, I focus on their role as soldiers in the Venetian army and of soldiers-of-fortune for noblemen. Especially in this area, I would like to explain how the reactions towards gypsies depended on the political and economic situation of the Venetian regime.

As just mentioned, historical documents available now about *cingani* in the Republic of Venice during the Early Modern Age are not really numerous and sizeable for understanding clearly the presence of this "Other". Furthermore, not many researchers have studied this specific topic in-depth.⁶ As a result, new research into sources and other studies on this topic are necessary. For this reason, this thesis aims to add to the scholarly about the relationship about gypsies and the Venetian society. In addition, it has a social relevance because many stereotypes that were constructed and used against gypsies during the past are still used today. These preconceptions contributed - and still contribute - to discriminate these people, without really knowing them as human beings with different customs than those of the majority. These images and reactions that have spread in the contemporary era have a foundation in the Early Modern age and, because of this, I decided to focus on that period. In fact, the Early Modern World was not so static,

⁵ Manning (2005).

⁶ The main researchers who focused on this specific topic are Michele Cassese and Benedetto Fassanelli. I will examine this issue in the third section of this chapter: "Italian gypsy studies".

stable and self-sufficient as it was depicted by Wilbur Zelinsky and other scholars: «At least in western Europe, the early modern period was bustling with movement, both temporary and definitive»⁷. Exactly at the beginning of that era is when gypsies migrated to Europe and started to interact with the European population.

1.2. Background: Gypsies in the Italian territories

The Gypsy Migration to Western Europe

Gypsies arrived in Western Europe in the fifteenth century, but their origins have long been shrouded in mystery. At the end of the eighteenth century, some scholars proposed that gypsies were from India, because their language was very similar to some Indo-European languages, such as Hindi, Punjabi, Kashmiri and Marwari, which are New Indo-Aryan languages. The theory of the Indian origin was proposed, almost simultaneously, by Rüdiger - a German researcher - and Bryant - an English researcher - during the 1780s. In 1788, the publication of Grellman's work was fundamental for the divulgation and the definitive acceptance of this thesis.⁸ Thanks to linguists, it was also possible to know the movements of these people, on the basis of words that they adopted from the countries through which they traveled. This allowed historians to establish their routes through different continents. According to these studies, gypsies left India probably around either the eighth or ninth century, traveling through Iran, Persia, and Armenia before settling in the Byzantine Empire around the year 1000. Then, during the thirteenth century, some of them arrived in the Peloponnese region. In fact, some documents from the end of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, attested to their presence in several Greek islands in the Ionian and Aegean seas that were then under Venetian control. For instance, in 1322, two friars saw a group of gypsies in Candia, a city on the island of Crete; a consistent number of them were also in Corfu before 1340 as well as in Prizren - in Serbia - in 1348; others were in Dubrovnik since 1362. Moreover, a Venetian governor gave some privileges to a group of "*Atsigani*" in Nauplia, in the Peloponnese. Yet, in 1384, an Italian traveler, Francoboldi, saw in Methoni - a city on the Messenia coast, in southern-western part of Morea - another group, which was confirmed by other German and French travelers or pilgrims. In 1386, the Venetian authorities preserved their power within the *feudum acinganorum* that was established by the House of Anjou towards some "*homines vageniti*" (gypsies). I dwell on these examples because most of these areas were part of the Venetian domain, and this probably influenced the interactions between the Venetian people and *cingani*.⁹

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the gypsies started a new migration from the Balkans - where they were repelled due to the Turkish advance - to the heart of Europe. According to Novi Chavarria, they traveled along by two different routes.¹⁰ The first path was by land: from the Balkans they crossed Hungary, Germany, and Switzerland, and then went to France, the north of Italy, and the rest of Europe (to

⁷ J. and L. Lucassen (2009, p. 349).

⁸ Grellman (1783), Vaux de Foletier (1978), and Fraser (1992).

⁹ Already Vaux de Foletier (1978, pp. 46-48) showed some examples of the presence of gypsies in Creta, Corfu, Cyprus, and other islands in that part of the Mediterranean sea since the beginning of the fourteenth century. See also Colocci (1889, pp. 37-41), Soulis (1961, pp. 142-165), Kenrick (1995 pp. 39-48), Cassese (2000, p. 91 and 2009, p. 187), Novi Chavarria (2007, p. 20), Cassese (2008, pp. 186-187), and Aresu (2012, p. 74).

¹⁰ For the theory of the two paths, one by land and one by sea, see Novi Chavarria (2007, p. 20). Further information about the arrival and movements of gypsies in Europe can be found in Bataillard (1889-90), Vaux de Foletier (1978, pp. 51-68) and Fraser (1992, p. 60). For other information about the first arrival of the gypsies in the Italian territories, see Vaux de Foletier (1978), Geremek (1992a), Viaggio (1997), and Piasere (2004).

the Flemish territories, the British Isles and the Scandinavian peninsula). In the Italian states, the first verified news of the presence of *cingani* is the well-known *Cronaca di Bologna* that was reported by Ludovico Antonio Muratori.¹¹ This narration states that on the 18th of July, 1422, a Duke of Egypt, the Duke Andrea, arrived in Bologna with approximately hundred people, men, women, and children, who stayed there for almost two weeks. From then on, gypsies travelled to the southern part of the Italian peninsula. In fact, on the 7th of August of the same year, a gypsy company was seen in Forlì.¹² In addition, another company was in Lucca that same September, as attested in Giovanni Sercambi's *Croniche*.¹³ He writes about the arrival in the city of Lucca of a multitude of people from Egypt, whom were captained by a duke and who were going to Rome in order to receive the Papal absolution. It is likely that these gypsies were coming from Bologna, Forlì, and Lucca, on their way to Naples, passing through Rome on the way for presumably meeting the Pope.¹⁴ Thus, it is generally accepted that some groups of gypsies have been present in Italy since 1422. Nevertheless, some scholars assume an earlier date of their first arrival. For instance, Pastore claims that some gypsies passed through the Duchy of Savoy, probably in August of 1419, on their way to France.¹⁵ Cassese even claims that some "*gaiuffi*", whom he believes were gypsies, were in Venice since the mid-thirteenth century.¹⁶

The second travel route was undertaken by boat. These gypsies came from the Balkans with other Slavic and Albanian people and they made it to the shores of Abruzzo, Puglia and Calabria, in southern Italy.¹⁷ From there, some of them went to the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, while others followed the route toward Andalusia.¹⁸ In conclusion, gypsies who migrated to the Italian peninsula likely belonged to two groups: one that arrived from the north by land and one that arrived in the south by sea. Although it is possible that some individuals or small groups arrived there during the fourteenth century or sooner, the first consistent, larger groups started to arrive from the beginning of the fifteenth century.

This is the route of their first arrival in Western Europe. For different reasons, it is very difficult to determine the next itineraries. First, they continued to move through Italian territories and also through Europe, and they did not leave many traces. In addition, new gypsy groups migrated repeatedly from the Balkans and Eastern Europe to Western Europe during the entire Early Modern Age and later. Finally, they were not a homogenous community but were divided into many companies, which, in turn, were not fixed entities, but changed in composition over time. For these reasons it is more difficult to trace all their displacements. At the same time, however, they sometimes left evidences of their transit or even of their settlements. Principally, some historical documents furnished proof that, from the mid-fifteenth century,

¹¹ Muratori (1731, cc. 611-612). According to Aresu (2008b, p.3), Muratori's *Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensum* is actually the fusion of two different '*cronache*': *Cronaca Rampona* and *Cronaca Varignana*. For the text and analysis of the *Cronaca di Bologna* in Novi Chavarria (2007, pp. 22-23). Muratori wrote about gypsies in at least other two works: *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi* - see Muratori (1738-1741) - and *Annali d'Italia*: see Muratori (1744-1749). For an analysis of Muratori's opinions towards gypsies, see Karpati (1974b, pp. 30-36), and Piasere (2006, pp. 191-195).

¹² Muratori (1731, cc. 611-612). See Novi Chavarria (2007, pp. 23-24).

¹³ For an in-depth analysis of Sercambi's text, see Aresu (2008a).

¹⁴ For more information about the presumed visit of the gypsies to Rome and Pope Martino V's permission, see Andreas (1932), Vaux de Foletier (1965), Jačov (2000), and Gurrado (2008).

¹⁵ Pastore (1989).

¹⁶ Cassese (2000, pp. 87-93 and 2009, pp. 183-189). In contrast, Novi Chavarria (2007, p. 20) claims that this hypothesis is not sufficiently documented and, is therefore not convincing.

¹⁷ For more information about the Slavic, Albanian and Greek populations in southern Italy, see Novi Chavarria (2007, pp. 26-27) and Aresu (2008c, 2012).

¹⁸ Nonetheless, according to other researchers, gypsies who arrived in Andalusia were not from Sicily, Sardinia, or Corsica but came from North Africa: see Novi Chavarria (2007, p. 28).

there were groups of gypsies in different part of the Italian territories: in Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, and Finale¹⁹; in the Kingdom of Naples²⁰; in Sicily²¹; and in Sardinia²². Also in the north-East, in the Republic of Venice, there is evidence of the presence of *cingani* since the fifteenth century.²³

Some Characteristics of Gypsies

These continuous migrations through the centuries have characterized gypsies as a hybrid and heterogeneous population. In fact, they assimilated several aspects from other cultures and that is why it is difficult to differentiate “original” gypsy characteristics from those that they acquired or created during the numerous encounters with other societies. Furthermore, not all gypsies in the Italian territories had the same traits. For these reasons, it is not easy to determine the characteristics of this particular type of migrants. Nevertheless, it is important to study some of their peculiarities that are attested in the documents, because they influenced the relationship with the host populations.

These who were labeled as “gypsies” were perceived as culturally and ethnically different because of their outer appearance, their distinct language, their strange customs, and, above all, their itinerant lifestyle. In fact, they were immediately recognized as different in their appearance: the men had dark skin, thick beards, and “rough” behavior. The women were also dark, had long hair, and wore colorful and exotic clothes with much jewelry. In addition, as we have already seen, they spoke a language that was incomprehensible to the inhabitants of the states of Europe: the Romani language. Many of their traditions were also considered strange: the fact that they were organized in companies; their unusual jobs; their reputation as beggars and thieves; their religious syncretism and their iterant lifestyle.

They were organized in companies of men, women, and children, in which the chief negotiated with the local communities. The fellowship could be considered as an extended family, especially after the sixteenth century, when they started to form small groups, consisting of a few people or families.²⁴ This structure allowed them to “immerse” themselves in the host society, but, at the same time, they could “disperse” in order not to be captured, especially during the period of persecution. This is a suitable structure, on the one hand, for resisting repression (physical or social) and, on the other hand, for exploiting economic resources in different areas.²⁵ However, the first companies that arrived in Western Europe in the fifteenth century were composed of more people. The concept of fellowship is relevant because it highlights the importance of the family and of kin relationships. Moreover, it differentiates gypsies from the vagabonds, who usually wandered alone and not with their relatives.

In general, gypsies had different kind of jobs, but some of them seemed to be more typical than others. For example, horse trading was one of their main occupations during the past centuries in various parts of Europe, and also in the Italian territories, especially those in the North. Gypsies used horses and other animals for personal use, but they bought, sold and exchanged them as well.²⁶ Since they usually did

¹⁹ Spinelli (1978).

²⁰ Novi Chavarria (2007).

²¹ Trasselli (1982), and Rizza (1995, 1996).

²² Aresu (1999, 2002, 2008a, 2008c, 2012).

²³ Begotti (1998a, p. 38), and Aresu (2012, p. 80-89).

²⁴ Vaux de Foletier (1978, p. 208). Fassanelli (2011, p. 76) describes a gypsy company in the Venetian territories.

²⁵ «É una struttura idonea a resistere ai tentativi di sterminio (fisico o sociale), da un lato, e a sfruttare con successo le risorse economiche in territori distinti dall'altro». Piasere (1999, p. 17)

²⁶ For examples in Sicily, see Rizza (1998, p. 26). For the territories of Modena, see Spinelli (1978, pp. 31, 34, 38, 39). For the Republic of Venice, see Fassanelli (2011, pp. 17, 81).

not have a stable place to settle, they were less likely to be farmers. They usually were intermediaries. Generally, gypsies were engaged in activities that were typical for itinerants, such as offering goods and services that were not available locally, or at a too high price. For instance, gypsy men were renowned for metal processing, and they offered their competence door-to-door or in the streets of the villages. They were, above all, blacksmiths, but also braziers, horse-shoes, locksmiths, and jewelers. They usually produced different types of goods: pliers, nails, knives, agricultural goods, and arms and munitions. While gypsies in the northern territories of the Italian peninsula were mostly horse traders, in contrast, gypsies in the southern territories commonly worked as blacksmiths.²⁷ Nevertheless, there are also several examples in the central regions²⁸ and a few in the northern territories. As we have seen, many gypsy activities depended on the continuous mobility, but in spite of this they could also be peasants, and, in these cases, they settled, sometimes for many generations.²⁹ All the occupations described above, were usually typical of men. Gypsy women were fortune tellers and were involved in the “magic art”: they went in the villages, also door-to-door, and they “read palms”, or they offered their so-called magical solutions in return for money.³⁰ Moreover, they frequently took their children with them when they went begging.³¹ They were often accused of undertaking all these activities with the aim of cheating and robbing the local people.

In fact, a common opinion that all gypsies were swindlers and thieves was widespread. This aspect is quite complex because it is an intricate combination of truth and imagination, of reality and stereotypes. If on the one hand it was true that some of them committed robberies³², on the other hand this idea was continuously nourished by artistic and literary images as well as by the Italian states, which played an important role in the spread of the stereotype of gypsies as criminals.

Another characteristic is their “religious syncretism”. Indeed, gypsies had left India with their own faiths and beliefs, but during their wanderings they were in contact with the Islamic and Christian worlds and so borrowed specific aspects of those religions. There are several testimonies of gypsies in the Italian territories who received the Catholic sacraments: they were baptized,³³ they got married³⁴ - also with local people - and they had funeral rites.³⁵ In addition, gypsies often devoted their lives to the Virgin Mary and went on pilgrimages to Marian shrines.³⁶ However, some gypsies from the Balkans who went to the south of Italy between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries were Christians, followers of the Greek Orthodox Church, and probably maintained these particular traditions when they lived among Catholic.³⁷

The final peculiarity that we must keep in mind is their itinerant lifestyle, an element that was not easily accepted by the local communities who lived in permanent settlements. The gypsies were always labeled as itinerants, because they continuously moved around the territories on foot or on horseback with all the things necessary for their camps. This aspect was often considered as a peculiar characteristic of

²⁷ For several examples in southern Italy, see Novi Chiavarria (2007). For Sicily, see Biscontini (1991), and Rizza (1995a, p.13). For Sardinia, see Aresu (1999, p. 25).

²⁸ For Modena, see Spinelli (1978, pp. 33, 35). For Rome, see Martelli (1996, p. 20, 23).

²⁹ See Novi Chiavarria (2007).

³⁰ See Fassanelli (2011, p. 17), Campigotto (1981, p.25), Aresu (2012, pp. 256-258), and Novi Chavarria (2007, p. 138).

³¹ See Fassanelli (2011, p. 177).

³² See Spinelli (1978, pp. 31, 36, 41, 43), Martelli (1996, p. 20), Campigotto (1981, p. 25), Fassanelli (2011, p. 24), and Rizza (1996, p. 26).

³³ See Spinelli (1978, p. 42), Fassanelli (2011, p. 176), Aresu (2002, p. 257), and Martelli (1996, p. 38).

³⁴ Martelli (1996).

³⁵ Novi Chavarria (2007), and Begotti (1998b).

³⁶ Zuccon (1979, p. 55).

³⁷ Criscione (1986, p. 26), and Aresu (2008a, 2008c, 2012).

their culture, but perhaps it would be better to think of it as a necessary condition of survival. In fact, when they were expelled from the Italian states, or, more generally, when they were not welcomed by the local people, they had to move to other places. They did not have many other choices. Indeed, all the Italian states promulgated bans against gypsies since the end of the fifteenth century.³⁸ The aim of these edicts was the expulsion of all the gypsies from the territories, because they were all considered *a priori* as dangerous criminals who always steal and swindle. I will analyze this aspect in the third chapter.

1.3. Theory and Historiography

Italian Gypsy Studies

Italian historiography concerning the presence and the history of gypsies in the Italian territories during the Early Modern Age is not particularly extensive. In addition, a thorough analysis which investigates the nodal points, transitions and discontinuities as well as the different approaches of those historical studies was never published. Here, I do not expect to be exhaustive, but I would like to discuss briefly the main works that were written since the end of the nineteenth century about this topic in order to provide the reader with a general understanding of the main themes within Italian gypsy studies.

Particularly evident in Italian historiography is a dichotomy between the “traditional approach” and the “new approach”. Traditional historical studies relegated gypsies to the negative field of criminality, marginality, and poverty and so, the history of these groups was reduced to a history of persecution and repression. In addition, in this approach they were usually considered as “one people” with Indian roots and fixed characteristics, and they were seen as isolated from the national histories of the countries, in which they lived. In fact, for a long period, gypsy studies has been an isolated undertaking: social historians never demonstrated much interest in the history of gypsies - at least until the 1970s - and the field was dominated by gypsy folklore.³⁹ Still, other researchers, especially since the late 1990s and during the 2000s, tried to develop an anti-marginal perspective in their studies of the socio-economic, ethnic, and cultural diversity of gypsies and to examine how they intermingled with different European communities. They see gypsies as individuals and families who, like everyone else, are simply trying to make a living. Avoiding an isolation of this field of study, this approach tries to provide a broader historical-academic perspective, also comparing these itinerant people with other groups with similar characteristics.

Francesco Predari was a pioneer in Italian gypsy studies: in 1841, he published *Origine e vicende dei zingari [Origins and events of gypsies]*.⁴⁰ This book was mostly based on Grellmann’s *Die Zigeuner [The Gypsies]*, which was considered the founding work of “gypsiology”.⁴¹ Grellmann’s influence was profound, and he influenced researches in many countries. In Italy, for example, he was a model not only for Predari, but also for Andriano Colocci, who, in 1889, wrote *Gli zingari. Storia di un popolo errante [The Gypsies. History of a wandering people]*.⁴² At the beginning of the twentieth century (1910), a crucial article

³⁸ For the banishments in all the Italian territories, see Zuccon (1979).

³⁹ See Lucassen, Willems, and Cottaar (1998).

⁴⁰ Predari (1841). For all the books and articles I will reference next, the English translation of the titles are between square brackets.

⁴¹ Grellmann (1783).

⁴² Colocci (1889).

appeared in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* that was a model for other historians doing research in different regions of Italy: Alessandro Spinelli's *Gli zingari nel modenese [Gypsies in the Modena's region]*.⁴³

For other studies on gypsies in Italy we have to wait until the 1960s. Indeed, the bimonthly journal *Lacio Drom* ["*Buon cammino*" in Italian, "*Good way*" in English] began in 1965 and was coordinated by Mirella Karpati until 1999. This journal promoted studies and research about gypsies in different fields: anthropology, sociology, social action, education, law, language, literature, art, music, folklore, and history. The main articles about gypsies in the Italian territories during the Early Modern Age began to be published in the 1960s and continued until the end of the 1990s.⁴⁴ *Lacio Drom* journal was a benchmark for all the Italian scholars who were interested in gypsy studies. For the historical research of the Early Modern Age, Spinelli's article published in 1910 in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* and re-published in *Lacio Drom* in 1978 was a key model, because he did a great deal of research in the national archives in the area of Modena where he found a significant amount of information concerning gypsies.⁴⁵ On the other hand, he sometimes limits his study to a list of examples and does not examine these in-depth. However, for many years, his work remained a model that was applied by historians in other regions of Italy: for instance, Arlati did it for the state of Milan, Pastore for the Kingdom of Savoy, Martelli for Rome and Aresu for Sardinia.⁴⁶ Another important article was written by Zuccon: she studied the banishments and the policies promulgated by all the Italian states against the gypsies.⁴⁷ All these articles were a fundamental starting point for the studies of the situation of the gypsies during the Early Modern Age, but at the same time, they show many gaps: not all the territories of the Italian peninsula were studied; most of the analyses were unsystematic and superficial (in fact, many articles were quite short and with only few historical sources); and not all the researchers cited were historians. However, notwithstanding some deficiencies, many of them still make "unique contributions" to the field.

In the meantime, in 1970, Vaux de Foletier, a French historian, wrote *Mille ans d'histoire des Tsiganes, [A thousand years of history of Gypsies]*, which was translated into Italian in 1978 (*Mille anni di storia degli Zingari*) with a positive reception.⁴⁸ In this book, he explains many aspects of gypsies both within Europe and outside of Europe: their origins, their migrations, and the authorities' policies against them, but

⁴³ Spinelli (1978).

⁴⁴ For the 1960s: Calley (1966) explains the role of Pope Pius V towards gypsies; Criscione (1966) focuses on the Basilicata region; Vaux de Foletier (1968) presents a case study of a gypsy soldier; and Zuccon (1969) starts to analyze some banishments against gypsies, continuing this study in another article in 1979. For the 1970s: Buonocore (1971) deals with the Kingdom of Naples; Karpati writes different articles about the banishments in the Duchy of Milan (1974a), the Muratori's reflections from the eighteenth century (1974), and a banishment in the Duchy of Modena (1975). In the 1980s, we can see some important articles regarding different Italian regions and that use Spinelli's research as a model: Soravia (1981) centers on Sicily; Campigotto (1981, 1987) researches in the state of Bologna; Mosino (1988) studies the situation in Calabria; Arlati's article (1989) is crucial for the state of Milan, and Pastore's article (1989) presents an in-depth analysis of the situation in the Duchy of Savoy. Also, during the 1990s, a great deal of important researches takes place: Rizza (1991, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1998, 1999) publishes many articles about Sicily; Luciani (1995) and Martelli (1996) systematically study the situation in Rome, in the eighteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively; Boero and Sulas (1997) are the only ones who investigate Genoa; Begotti (1998a, 1998b) focuses on an area near Udine which was part of the Republic of Venice, and, finally, Aresu (1999) and Fois (1999) present the first works about Sardinia.

⁴⁵ Spinelli (1978).

⁴⁶ Arlati (1989), Pastore (1989), Martelli (1996), and Aresu (1999).

⁴⁷ Zuccon (1979).

⁴⁸ Vaux de Foletier (1970).

also their typical jobs, religion, music traditions and other customs. Although it is a general overview, it shows important information regarding the Italian context.

Bronislaw Geremek was responsible for new research about gypsies in Italy and in other countries as well.⁴⁹ The peculiarity of his analysis is that he relates gypsy studies with researches on pauperism, mobility and vagrancy. Although this “marginalist” approach would be criticized during the next decades, since it tends to consider gypsies merely as paupers, vagrants and criminals, it does have some merit to consider gypsies as part of history. In this way, they were no more a “community without history” that was studied only for its folkloristic and “deviant” practices.

During the 1990s, a crucial figure emerged in gypsy studies: Leonardo Piasere. Nowadays, he is considered the foremost expert on gypsies in Italy. He teaches at the University of Verona and has published many articles and books on this topic.⁵⁰ However, he is not an historian, but an anthropologist. Nevertheless, he was involved in research of the history of gypsies during the Early Modern Age, both directly and indirectly, through his publications and through the organization and coordination of several projects and conferences, especially after the 2000s. For instance, since the middle of the 1990s, he has compiled five anthologies called *Italia Romani* (1996, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2008) which contain various essays on gypsy subjects, ranging from anthropology and ethnology to history. A couple of articles regarding the Early Modern Age are in the volume III (2002),⁵¹ while the volume V (2008) is entirely dedicated to those centuries.⁵²

In the same period when *Italia Romani V* (2008) was published, a conference was organized by Felice Gambin, Leonardo Piasere, Silvia Monti and others at the University of Verona: “*Alle radici dell’Europa. Mori, giudei e zingari nei paesi del Mediterraneo occidentale*” [*The roots of Europe. Moors, Jews, and gypsies in Western Mediterranean Countries*]. It focused on different studies about Turks, Jews, and Gypsies in through history. Particularly, the first two conferences - in 2007 that focused on the XV-XVII centuries and the other in 2008 that focused on the XVIII-XIX centuries - were attended by several researchers whose works had been included in *Italia Romani*.⁵³ During those conferences, another crucial figure presented her research: Henriette Asséo.⁵⁴ She is a French historian, who mainly studies the history of the Roma people and other minorities in Europe; she teaches at the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* (EHESS) in Paris and is a member of the Board of the Gypsy Research Centre of the University Paris-

⁴⁹ Geremek (1987a, 1987b, 1992a).

⁵⁰ Piasere (1990, 1991, 1996, 1999, 2004, 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2011, 2012).

⁵¹ In the volume III, *I rom di antico insediamento dell’Italia centro-meridionale* [Romani people of ancient settlement in the Central-Southern-Italy], Aresu (2002) focuses on Sardinia and Rizza (2002) on Sicily.

⁵² In the volume V, *I Cingari nell’Italia dell’antico regime* [Cingari in the Italy during the Early Modern Age], Aresu (2008b, 2008c) proposes a new historical source about the arrival of gypsies in Lucca in 1422 and formulates some ideas for possible research in Sardinia; Campigotto (2008) focuses again on the banishments in the state of Bologna as he previously did in an article of the journal of Lacio Drom; Fassanelli (2008b) writes an interesting article on the presence of gypsies in the Republic of Venice (he has already dealt with this topic in some articles from 2003 and 2007); Gurrado (2008) discusses the famous Papal Bull from 1423; Novi Chavarria (2008) examines the situation in the Kingdom of Naples; Piasere (2008a) reflects on the First Contact in Bologna in 1422; Pizzo (2008) analyzes some examples from Tuscany during the sixteenth century and finally, Zanardo (2008a) examines some documents from the Inquisition in Modena

⁵³ Aresu (2008a) explained gypsy identities in Sardinia; Fassanelli (2008a) gave details about a case study of a gypsy family who had settled in the Venetian territories; Novi Chavarria (2010) showed the situation of gypsies as blacksmiths in the Kingdom of Naples; and, finally, Piasere (2008a, 2010) investigated the representation of gypsies as people who came from Nubia, a region along the Nile, and also studied the role of gypsies in the Italian unification.

⁵⁴ Asséo (2008, 2010).

Descartes. Although her research centers on France, it is fundamental, because it provides an original and interesting view of the role of gypsies as soldiers for authorities and noblemen as well as of the representation of “*Bohémienne*”.

During the 2000s, some researchers focused their attention on the role of the Church towards gypsies. In fact, in 2000, an anthology was published, *La chiesa cattolica agli zingari. Storia di un difficile rapporto [The catholic Church. History of a difficult relationship]*, about this topic and some of those essays were focused on the Early Modern Age.⁵⁵ The authors of these chapters, such as Claudio Stasolla and Michele Cassese, wrote also other interesting and inspiring works on gypsies.⁵⁶

The majority of the recent studies listed above are articles or part of bigger anthologies, but a couple of new books have to be mentioned as well, because they focus only on the Early Modern Age and they present a more exhaustive study, with a less traditional approach. First, in 2007, Elisa Novi Chavarria, a professor of Social and Religious History of Early Modern Age at the University of Molise, wrote *Sulle tracce degli zingari. Il popolo rom nel Regno di Napoli. Secoli XV-XVIII [On Gypsies trails. The Roma people in the Kingdom of Naples. XV-XVIII centuries]*.⁵⁷ In this book, she proposes a new hypothesis on the traveling routes of gypsies via the Mediterranean Sea, in particular in southern Italy. Then, in most of her work, she examines the historical presence of gypsies in the Kingdom of Naples, where many gypsies settled, especially when the economy was favorable and when the labor market offered them a position as blacksmiths, farmers or animal breeders. In these cases, they usually abandoned their itinerant lifestyle and mixed with the local population. Novi Chavarria concludes that, in spite of the legislation of the Kingdom of Naples that ordered the expulsion of the gypsies, they could have played an active role in the economic, social and relational fabric of Southern Italy - but always in a mix of tolerance and control - above all when the economy was positive. Instead, during the economic crisis of the mid-seventeenth century, the perception of their social danger increased, and they were more treated as marginal and criminals.

Another book that is particularly interesting for my topic is Benedetto Fassanelli's *Vite al bando. Storie di cingari nella terraferma veneta alla fine del Cinquecento [Lives banned. Stories of gypsies in the Venetian territories at the end of the sixteenth century]*, published in 2011.⁵⁸ Fassanelli illustrates the construction of the figure of *cingari* as criminal in the Venetian Republic of the sixteenth century and shows the historical, epistemological, and political implications of this image. In addition, he explains that if, on the one hand, *cingari* were frequently banned and consequentially had to move constantly, on the other hand, they could have the possibility to be part of the local social and relational context. Finally, he looks into the meaning of the banishments as an instruments used by the authorities that wanted to affirm their power by defining what should be “inside” and “outside” their geographical space and what is “loyal” or dangerous.

In addition, Massimo Aresu's dissertation at *L'Ecole des hautes etudes en sciences sociales* of Paris, *La Coexistence oubliée: Tsiganes, pouvoirs et construction de la Déviance dans la Sardaigne d'Ancien*

⁵⁵ For instance, as regards Italy, Cassese (2000) investigates the northeast region and Viscardi (2000) does a similar analysis in the southern part, while Karpati (2000) centers on the state of the Church.

⁵⁶ Claudio Stasolla (2001, 2003) has published some general works on the Church's policies toward gypsies during the sixteenth century. Michele Cassese (2009) studied not only the dynamics of the Church toward gypsies, but he dedicates a chapter of his work *Espulsione, assimilazione, tolleranza [Expulsion, assimilation, tolerance]* to the presence of gypsies in the Republic of Venice. This is particularly interesting for my case because he cites many examples that he has found in the Archive of Venice, including about *galeotti* (rowers on galleys) and soldiers.

⁵⁷ Novi Chavarria (2007).

⁵⁸ Fassanelli (2011).

Régime [The forgotten coexistence: Gypsies, powers and construction of deviance in Sardinia's Ancien Régime], is an interesting work.⁵⁹ He does his research mainly in Sardinia, but he also examines other areas of the Mediterranean, including some of the former domains of the Republic of Venice.

The most important contribution of most of these Italian studies from the late 1990s and from the 2000s is to provide relevance to the economic, political, and cultural implications of the history of the gypsy presence, such as Lucassen, Willems and Cottar suggested to do with their book quoted above.⁶⁰ In fact, these Italian researchers sought to analyze the history of gypsies beyond their so-called "social marginality". In addition, from this point of view, the debate between history and anthropology has been crucial. For instance, Novi Chavarría's book on the Kingdom of Naples, Fassanelli's work on the Republic of Venice and Aresu's dissertation should be taken as models for further in-depth analyses and historical research in other Italian territories.⁶¹

Gypsies and Migration History. Cross-community Migrants: Invaders, Itinerants, Sojourners or Settlers?

In this section, I would like to apply some theories of migration history to my case-study. In particular, I discuss Patrick Manning's book *Migration in World History*.⁶² This book provides a summary of many great migrations in every era, from the Ancient Time until the twenty-first century. Or, in the words of Manning: «[...] it goes beyond mass migrations, linking large and small migrations to each other and to the broader fabric of human society. It explores the social context from which migration emerged, showing how migration stems from the very core of human behavior. [...] The approach in this book is to emphasize the ways in which the individual experience of migrating has been linked to the many other issues and choices in life. Even when the number of migrants has been small, the effects of their movement have been important». ⁶³ Thus, you would expect that he also deals with the migration of gypsies, who left India around the eight-ninth centuries and traveled through Asia, the Byzantine empire, and Europe during the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age. As such, passing through different empires and nations, they had different types of relationships with the local populations. In fact, although gypsies in Western Europe were quite small in numbers, their case is interesting for migration studies due to the extreme reactions that they caused. Despite that, Manning does not take gypsies into consideration. For instance, in the chapter about migrations in the Early Modern Age, he focuses mainly on the patterns of exploration and conquest, as well as on merchants and missionaries. Although it may be true that he cannot take into account all the migrations of that period, it is also true that gypsies are rarely studied in books and articles of migration history.

An important question therefore is how the gypsy case - and especially the presence of *cingari* in the Italian territories - fits with Manning's theories. First, I demonstrate that his definition of human communities as language grouping is appropriate for this specific case study. Second, I seek to understand whether the gypsy migration in the Italian peninsula corresponds to one or more of his four categories of human migration. Finally, I analyze the four typologies of migrants that he proposes - settlers, sojourners, itinerants, and invaders - in order to understand which is most appropriate for *cingari*.

⁵⁹ Aresu (2012).

⁶⁰ As I have already said, Lucassen, Willems, and Cottar (1998)' book is really important for this kind of approach.

⁶¹ Novi Chavarría (2007), Fassanelli (2011), and Aresu (2012).

⁶² Manning (2013).

⁶³ Manning (2013, p. 2).

Manning defines a human community as a language community: «Humans, like most other species, organize their existence into communities. The distinction, however, is that humans have developed language, so that human communities organize themselves around language and not just proximity. [...] We must think of human communities not as independent bands, but as collections of families or bands held together through a shared language». ⁶⁴ This exactly describes the case of the gypsies because, for them, language was a fundamental element for their community and identity. For instance, their Indian origins could be known only through the study of their language. ⁶⁵ During the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age were their origins unknown, and only assumptions and myths were formulated. From the sixteenth century onwards some scholars began to study their language, and during the 1780s, the German scholar Johann Christian Christoph Rüdiger ⁶⁶ proposed that the Romani language belonged to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European language family. The publication of Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellmann's book ⁶⁷ in 1788 was fundamental for the promulgation and the definitive acceptance of the Indian origins of gypsies. Moreover, linguists discovered that the Romani language includes several words borrowed from the territories through which they migrated and in which some may have settled. The study of these aspects permitted historians to trace their routes through the continents during their migrations over the centuries. Also nowadays the Romani language is important for the definition of the Romani people. Indeed the gypsies are considered a "polythetic" category that is difficult to define, because it is formed by certain common elements, but these elements are not enough in order to specify this category. ⁶⁸ They are an heterogeneous group that is formed by different sub-groups that are very diverse from one another and who define themselves with different terms, such as Roma, Sinti, Manush, Kalé, Romanichals, and others. ⁶⁹ However, one of the characteristics that they have in common is the Romani language, although not all speak this language and there are many regional variants. It is also likely that during the Early Modern Age, one of the main elements that helped gypsies to feel part of the same community was the language that they continued to use and which was unknown to the local population. Thus, gypsies are an important example of a "language community", while it would be more difficult to define them as an ethnic group or nation.

Manning defines four categories of human migration: home-community migration, colonization, whole-community migration, and cross-community migration. The migration of gypsies in the Italian territories (and specifically in the Republic of Venice) during the Early Modern Age does not seem to correspond exclusively to one of these typologies, but it has characteristics of the last two: the whole-community migration and the cross-community migration. The first is defined as «the displacement of all the members of a community». ⁷⁰ This category fits with our case if, by "whole-community", we mean not all gypsies who migrated in Western Europe, but at least a number of subgroups and bands. In fact, when gypsies arrived in the Italian peninsula they were not a united group, but - as we have already seen - they were composed of different companies who moved separately within the territory. Generally, these bands were quite large during the fifteenth century, and, perhaps, also at the beginning of the sixteenth century,

⁶⁴ Manning (2013, p. 3).

⁶⁵ Vaux de Foletier (1978).

⁶⁶ Rüdiger (1782).

⁶⁷ Grellman (1783).

⁶⁸ Piasere (2004, p. 3).

⁶⁹ As regards the Early Modern Age, the differentiation among Roma, Sinti, Manush, Kalé, Romanichals and other groups was not present. In the Italian territories, as we have already seen, they were called 'cingani', 'cingari', 'cigari' –above all in the northern territories – or 'Giptij' and 'Egiptij' – in the South.

⁷⁰ Manning (2013, p. 5).

but during the following centuries they were smaller in order to avoid being arrested. While at their first arrival groups were composed of about a hundred people, since the sixteenth century they started to become smaller groups of extended families, with no more than about twenty or thirty people per company. As many itinerant communities do, they habitually migrated and often took their “homes” with them: their tents, their animals, and their other belongings. This aspect will be explored later when I discuss the typology of “itinerants”.

Nevertheless, the typology of “whole-community migration” is not enough for explaining our case. Indeed, the movement of *cingari* in the Italian territories, in most cases, could be defined as a cross-community-migration. According to Manning, this kind of migration «consists of selected individuals and groups leaving one community and moving to join another community».⁷¹ The marginalist perspective of gypsy studies does not accept this aspect of the gypsy presence because it tends to consider them only as poor people, beggars, nomads and criminals who cannot fully integrate with non-gypsy communities. However, recent studies have proven that in many cases gypsies left their band and settled in the host community and there are several examples of this phenomenon in the southern part of the Italian peninsula. In addition, few examples can be found in the Republic of Venice and in the states in northern Italy, as I will argue in the third chapter. Manning sustains that cross-community migrants are generally small in number, mostly young adults, and most of them are male. While it may be that gypsies in the Italian territories were probably small in number, these particular cross-community migrants were not only male and young, because they always had their families – at least the wife and children – with them. In fact, the family and the larger family group were fundamental for them. What is also really interesting about this kind of migration is that «humans who migrate to new communities [...] must learn new languages and customs. At the same time, these migrating humans can introduce new languages and customs to their host communities».⁷² It is possible to sustain the same assumption for gypsies because, despite the many attempts to exclude them, they were part of a process of exchange in which they both received and contributed to the local populations.⁷³ On the one hand, gypsies learned a new language in order to communicate with the host communities; they adopted typical local names such as Giovanni, Federico, Antonio, Nicola, or others; their religion was characterized by hybrid forms; and the typologies of settlement and their working activities were influenced or changed by the Italian context. On the other hand, they introduced new customs and changes to the local populations: they influenced the literary and iconographic works as well as music and dance; and, on the more negative side, their distinctness contributed to building the local identity against them as the “enemy”, which was often portrayed as poor, vagrants, and criminals. Despite various attempts to marginalize them during the past, these exchanges have continued to take place: gypsies assimilated several aspects from other cultures, but, at the same time, they affected these populations. Moreover, according to Manning, cross-community migration often brings benefits to individual migrants as well as to society in general, but, simultaneously, it has its costs as well.⁷⁴ This was also the case with the gypsies in the Italian territories.

The reality of cross-community migration is complex, but, again, Manning offers four typologies previously mentioned, to summarize most migrations. Surely, gypsies in the Italian territories were not invaders, who «arrive as a group in a community with the objective of seizing control rather than joining».⁷⁵

⁷¹ Manning (2013, p. 6).

⁷² Manning (2013, p. 6).

⁷³ Novi Chavarría (2007, p. 178).

⁷⁴ Manning (2013, p. 10).

⁷⁵ Manning (2013, p. 9).

In all the books of gypsy studies, they are always described as a sort of peaceful community that never initiated open conflict with other populations. Although it is not completely true that they never resorted to violence – because, as we will see later, they often had many arms and some of them were soldiers – we can assert that no historical documents show cases of gypsy invasions against local populations.

Instead, they fit much better Manning's "itinerants" category, because they «move from community to community, but [they] have no single home to which they expect to return».⁷⁶ This aspect was already described before, but here are some examples for the Republic of Venice that reinforce the argument. In all the Italian territories, gypsies had to be itinerants and to migrate continuously due to the banishments promulgated by the Italian states. In fact, this anti-gypsy legislation started from a nucleus in Switzerland and in the north of Italy at the end of the fifteenth century and then spread throughout the entire Italian territory, increasing the severity of punishments during the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. If we look at the huge number of measures we realize that, despite the political fragmentation of the peninsula and the differences in the social fabric, the repressive policies were not so heterogeneous, but rather were a monotonous repetition of nearly identical measures and similar sentences.⁷⁷ Further, in the Republic of Venice a dozen decrees were issued between the end of the fifteenth century and the eighteenth century, with an increase in the severity of punishments. Chapter three will explore this issue in greater depth.

What I would like to argue here is that, due to all these banishments that entailed their expulsion, *cingari* were compelled to be itinerants and, officially, they could not stop and settle. Sometimes they migrated to other Italian states or to other parts of Europe, but at other times they moved within the borders of the Republic of Venice. For instance, a gypsy company that was taken to trial in 1587 with the accusation of theft had just moved to the Venetian territories, passing through the cities of Salò, Bardolin, Peschiera, and Zevio.⁷⁸ Zuane, the chief of this fellowship, declared that during the years before they always wandered in the area near Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso. Moreover, he tried to defend his group emphasizing that: «*noi non vi stiamo ma transitiamo*» [«we did not stay but we are passing through the territories»]. From a legal point of view, the bans do not make any difference between stay and transit, but Zuane attempted to highlight the discrepancy between these two conditions in order to not be condemned. They were released from jail on condition that they leave the Venetian territories. Nearly a century and half later, in 1719, another gypsy company that was taken to trial – this time not because they committed any crimes, but only because they were *cingari*, and they were in the Venetian territories – had the same itinerant lifestyle.⁷⁹ Most of the individuals who were part of that band were born in Venice and asserted to have been moving in the Venetian territories for many years. In fact, some witnesses of different villages and cities confirmed these movements. These two cases are clear examples of *cingani'* itinerant life in the Venetian territories.

It is not easy to find a complete answer whether gypsies were sojourners or not. According to Manning, sojourners «are those moving to a new community, usually for a specific purpose, with the intention of returning to their home community».⁸⁰ There are not enough examples regarding gypsies in order to say if they fit into this category or not. We can perhaps suppose that when they moved to a new

⁷⁶ Manning (2013, p. 9).

⁷⁷ For these Italian banishments, see Zuccon (1979).

⁷⁸ For this case, see Fassanelli (2011, pp. 1-45).

⁷⁹ ASVE, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133.

⁸⁰ Manning (2013, p. 8).

community and later returned to their home community, it was not because they wanted to do it, but because they were forced by circumstance, particularly by the given economic and political situation.

Regarding the fourth category, settlers, despite the fact that, for several decades many scholars of gypsy studies did not fully recognize this dimension, it is documented that gypsies in the Italian territories could also be settlers, people «who move to join an existing community that is different from their own, with the intention of remaining at their destination».⁸¹ Most of the examples of gypsies who settled and lived near the local populations are documented in Rome and in the southern part of the Italian peninsula,⁸² but there are also some cases in the northern territories,⁸³ including in the Republic of Venice. This is a crucial aspect of my research and I will analyze it in detail in the third chapter. Here I would like to report only a small example of this phenomenon.⁸⁴ In 1583, a family of *cingani* was taken to trial because it was found to be settling within the walls of Montagnana, a town near Padua, without permission. Rinaldo di Paulin, the head of the household, claimed that he and his relatives were *cingari*, but, at the same time, they lived according to Christian values, and they had left the band of other *cingari*. They wanted to settle down in Montagnana, where they were working as peasants. In the end, the trial was revoked, and Rinaldo and his family were released; in addition, they were permitted to continue living in the village near Padua.

1.4. Sources

For this MA thesis I used sources that were reported in the literature as well as new findings that I located by myself in the archives. The records from the literature were contained in works of gypsy studies as well as in works written by authors who focused on other topics such as religion, galleys, biographies, and local history and came across to documents in which gypsies were attested. Regarding my findings, I conducted my research in some archives (both national archives and local ones) in Venice, Verona and Brescia. Particularly, I concentrated my attention on the national archive of Venice, because it is the most important collection of documents for the history of the Republic of Venice. Nevertheless, I did research also in the archives of other cities that were part of the Venetian mainland domains, such as Brescia and Verona. I chose these cities because they are not far away from my house, but it should be interesting to investigate the collections of other cities as well. I found the records in different ways: consulting inventories of some fonds in order to see if the names of *cingani* were quoted; searching specific documents that some researchers and historians suggested me; reading in-depth a few volumes of some fonds.

As might be expected, for the policies I have examined the edicts promulgated by the Venetian state (table 1) and the documents from the synods written by the religious authorities (table 2). Some of these sources were already analysed by historians, while other ones are my new findings (table 1). I located almost all the general banishments in the national archive of Venice, in the first volume of the fond "*Compilazione delle Leggi*" [Compilation of the laws], under the caption "*cingani*". The first volume of "*Compilazione delle Leggi*" is a collection of Venetian laws (from the middle of the thirteenth century until 1797) divided in different subjects that are ordered alphabetically. Some provisions about gypsies written by the Venetian Senate directly to the chancellors of the cities of the Venetian domains were attested in "*Compilazione delle Leggi*". In addition, I found new sources that testified the publication and the

⁸¹ Manning (2013, p. 8).

⁸² For Rome, see Martelli (1996). For the Kingdom of Naples, see Novi Chavarria (2007). For Sardinia, see Aresu (2012)

⁸³ See, for instance, Spinelli (1978).

⁸⁴ Fassanelli (2011, p. 169-222).

application of these edicts by some rectors of the Mainland domains in some archives in the province of Brescia and in the national archive of Verona. I analysed all these edicts, the general and the local ones, basing on how other researchers such as Zuccon and Fassanelli have already done before me.⁸⁵ As we will see later, my findings confirm that the Venetian government effectively issued many banishments against gypsies and these edicts were repeated and applied in cities such as Brescia, Verona, and Padua. It should be interesting to see if these decrees were published also in other cities. Regarding the church policies, the records I used are all documents from the synods, especially from the synods of Milan (1565), Aquileia (1703), Parenzo (1733), Concordia (1767), and Gorizia (1768) (Table 2). They are religious documents, but they imply the application of some rules and regulations. The sections about *cingani* are reported in Cassese's works and, for my study, I follow his analysis.⁸⁶

For the investigation of the different interactions between *cingani* and the Venetian society I examined various types of legal sources that I found by myself in the archives as well as that were reported in the literature (table 3). Here I include general information about these sources, while I will give more details in chapter 3. In particular, I used trials in which *cingani* were the offenders, but I took into consideration also other legal documents such as accusations, depositions, and orders. These documents were mainly gathered in the fonds "*Avogaria di comun*" and "*Consiglio dei Dieci*" of the national archive of Venice, as well as in various legal fonds of other archives. I analyzed above all criminal records because they were the ones available, for now, for my topic. These sources not only were written by Venetians and not by *cingani*, but they were produced by the Venetian magistrates who were connected to the authorities from the central power of Venice or from the cities of *Terraferma* (Mainland domains) and who used to prosecute gypsies. Although this kind of documents can be considered trustworthy and reliable, it stands to reason that they are biased and selective. In fact, as showed in the banishments, *cingani* were considered criminals by the authorities and, consequentially, they tend to be treated and represented as criminals in the legal sources produced by the same authorities. The Venetian government wanted to prove that they were *cingani* and, thereby, offenders that had to be punished or expelled. These legal records were also selective, because they usually contain only the information necessary for the proceedings. Elements that were not useful for the legal actions were not taken into consideration. Thus, these documents were often silent on other information concerning social, religious, and economic aspects of *cingani*. Also the point of view of gypsies tended to be lacking. Moreover, only gypsies who were reported or captured could be attested in the records, while we cannot know anything about all the others.

It might seem paradoxical using these legal sources (that are biased, selective, silent on many issues and that always treat gypsies as criminals) to investigate, not only the repression of *cingani* by the Venetian authorities, but also possible "normal" relationships between this minority and the mainstream society. Nevertheless, these criminal records are fundamental because they are almost the only sources that reported information about *cingani* in the Republic of Venice. In fact, it is not easy to find historical documents from Early Modern age about *cingani*, and the ones that are more probable to find for the Venetian case, and the northern Italy in general, are legal documents. In addition, we have to keep in mind that gypsies had an oral tradition and they did not write texts and, thereby, the only accessible sources were produced by non-gypsy people. Fortunately, some of these sources provide information about characteristics of *cingani* and their contacts with the local population. Furthermore, sometimes it is even possible to "hear" the voices of gypsies, for instance, when they were questioned during a trial. My method

⁸⁵ See Zuccon (1979) and Fassanelli (2011).

⁸⁶ Cassese (2000, 2009).

consists principally of reading all the sources (both the ones already analysed by other historians and the new findings) not only from a criminal perspective, but also giving attention to the other aspects, as some authors have done for other Italian regions.⁸⁷ I seek to value the point of view of the minority, to see their characteristics, and to know their attempts to survive in a society where they were always prosecuted and expelled.

I have tried to give my contribution collecting from the literature as much sources as possible about *cingani* in the Republic of Venice from the sixteenth until the eighteenth centuries, in order to have a general overview. I used records that were reported in works focused on other subjects for the purpose of increasing the number of cases about *cingani* in the field of gypsy studies. I also used documents already known in the gypsy studies, because I sought to read them in-depth and with a less “marginalistic” perspective. Furthermore, I contributed searching, finding and analysing new sources. The most important of my findings is a long and relevant trial, from the fond “*Consiglio dei dieci*” [Council of Ten] of the national archive of Venice, against a group of *cingani* who were found in the Venetian territories in 1718.⁸⁸ This source is essential, because thanks to the questioning conducted to gypsies, we can have much information about them. I examined this record following the method applied by Fassanelli on two trials from the sixteenth century.⁸⁹ In the chapter 3, I will discuss in-depth this source as well as my main findings: two trials dated 1603 and 1604, from the fond “*Avogaria del Comun*” of the national archive of Venice; a document, from the national archive of Verona, that attested the killing of a gypsy man; a proceeding against some gypsies who helped a nobleman to kill another man, from the national archive of Brescia; and other smaller records.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ See, for instance Novi Chavarria (2007), Fassanelli (2011), Aresu (2012), as well as the theories in Lucassen, Willems, and Cottaar (1998).

⁸⁸ ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133.

⁸⁹ Fassanelli (2011).

⁹⁰ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4339; ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4431; ASVr, Atti dei Rettori di Legnago, b.57, c. 114 e seguenti; ASBs, Cancelleria prefettizia superiore, b. 71.

Figure 1. Italian states in the sixteenth century. Capra (2004, p. 62).

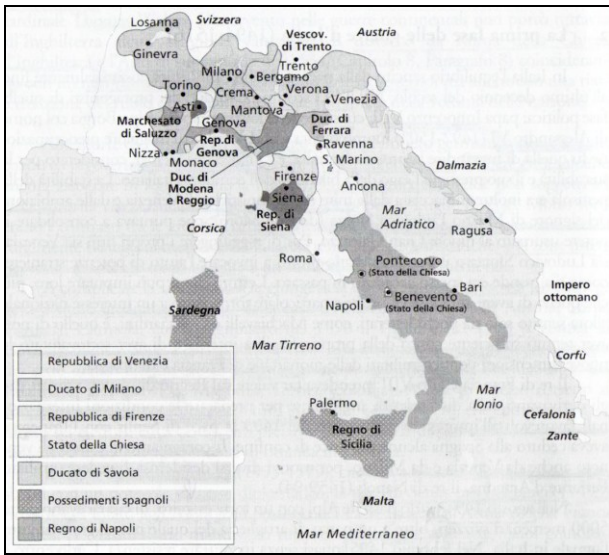


Figure 2. Italian states after Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis (1559). Capra (2004, p. 110).

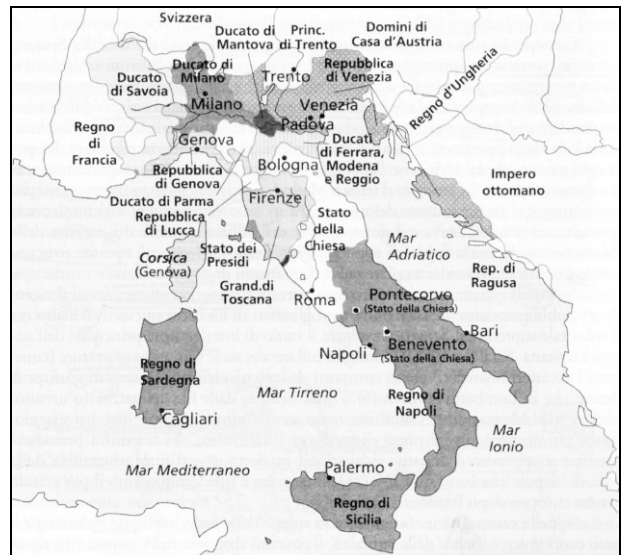


Figure 3. Italian states in the seventeenth century. Capra (2004, p. 164)



Figure 4. Italian states in the eighteenth century. Capra (2004, p. 259)



2. Policies Regarding *Cingani*

During the Early Modern Age, gypsies were often the subjects of the Italian States' policies. In the Republic of Venice, a dozen decrees were issued against *cingani* from the end of the fifteenth century until the eighteenth century. After a brief description of the organization of the Venetian State, I will analyze these bans in order to understand how these laws changed over time and why, how they were related to the process of stigmatization of itinerants and criminals, and how they were linked to the regime's political and economic aims. In addition, the Church promulgated a set of rules against gypsies because their moral behavior was considered reprehensible. For this reason, in the second part of the chapter, I investigate the religious regulations that were issued in the Venetian territories.

2.1. The Venetian State

For understanding the Venetian policies against *cingani*, it is important to see how the Venetian State was organized. For this reason, I will explain briefly its territorial organization, the government and the administration of justice. Finally, I will take into consideration the political and juridical powers in the *Stato di Terraferma*.⁹¹

The territorial organization of the Republic was rather heterogeneous because, over the centuries, the small domain near the city of Venice expanded both overseas and in the mainland by military conquests, feudal ordinations and "*dedizioni*" that consisted in a voluntary association of some cities to the Venetian State. During the Early Modern Age, the Republic of Venice' possessions had three subdivisions: the original *Dogado* ("Duchy"), the *Domini di Terraferma* ("Mainland Domains") and the *Stato da Mâr* ("Sea State") overseas territories. The *Dogado* ("Duchy") of Venice was the homeland of the Republic of Venice, it was constituted by the coast from Loreo to Grado, including Venice. Apart from Venice, the capital, the administration of the *Dogado* was subdivided in twelve districts called "*reggimenti*".⁹² The *Domini di Terraferma* ("Mainland Domains") or *Stato da Terra* ("*State of Land*") was the name given to the hinterland territories that included the present regions of Friuli, Veneto and parts of Lombardy. Some of the cities were conquered by Venice, while other decided spontaneously to be part of the Republic, in exchange for some economic and commercial advantages. The *Stato da Mâr* or *Domini da Mâr* ("*State/Domains of the Sea*") was the name given to the Venetian maritime and overseas possessions, including Istria, Dalmatia, Negroponte, Morea (the "*Kingdom of the Morea*"), the Aegean islands of the Duchy of the Archipelago, and the islands of Crete (the "*Kingdom of Candia*") and Cyprus. In my study of the presence of gypsies in the Venetian territories, I will take into consideration only the Duchy and the Mainland Domains, and not the Sea state.

⁹¹ For more information, see Cozzi (1980), Povolo (1980), Cozzi (1982), Cozzi, Knapton, and Scarabello (1992).

⁹² The main *reggimenti* in the Duchy: Cavarzere, Caorle, Chioggia, Cologne, Gambarare, Grado, Lido, Loreo, Malamocco, Murano, Torcello, and Torre delle Bebe.

Figure 5. The Mainland domains (*Terraferma*). Cozzi, Knapton, and Scarabello (1992).

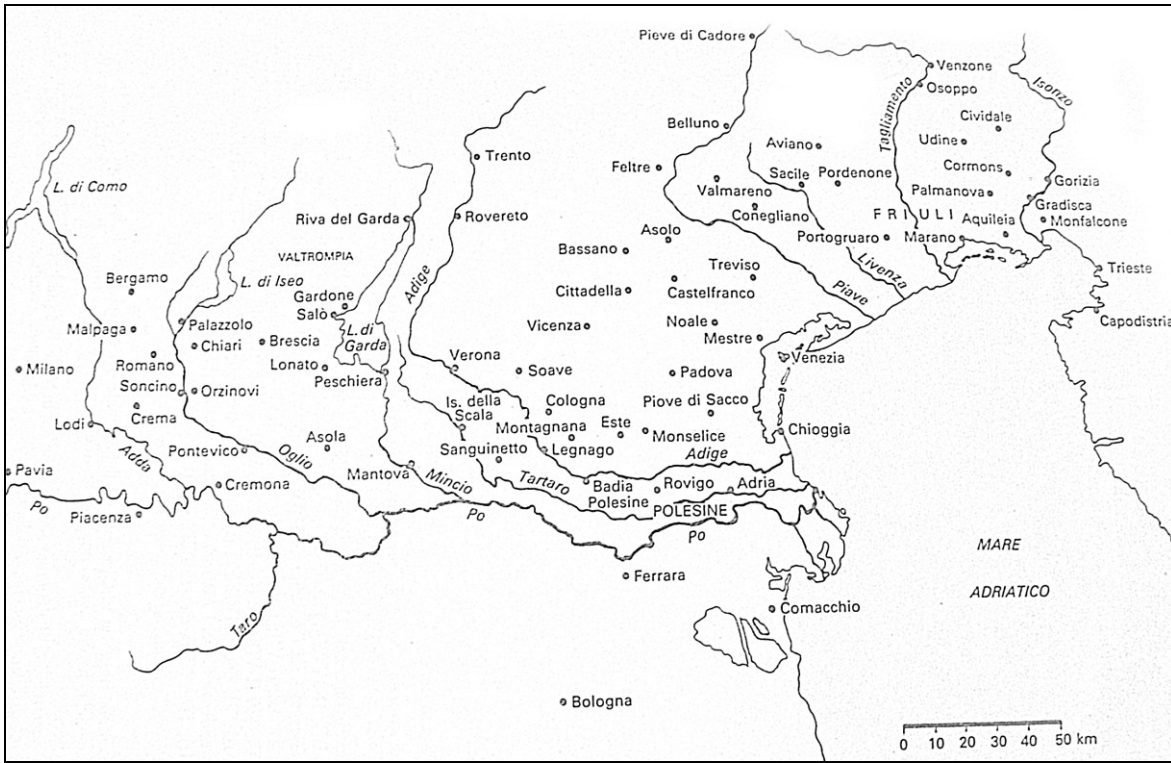
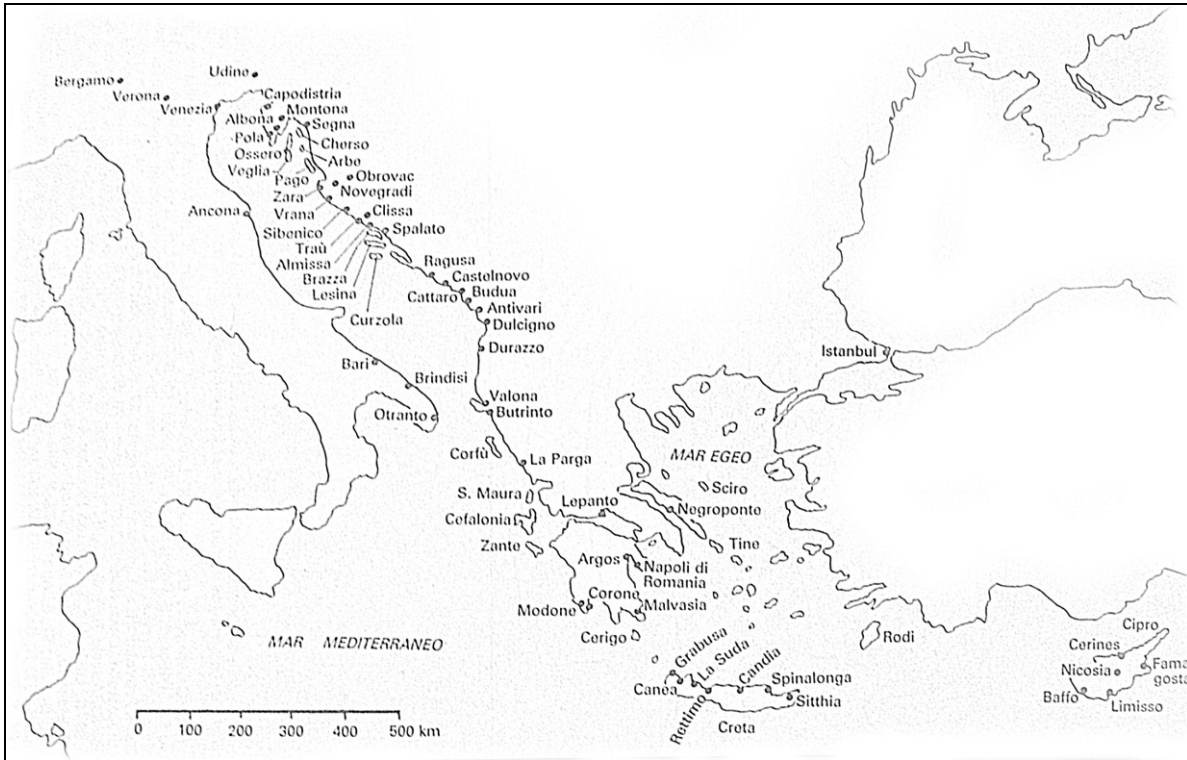


Figure 6. The State of the Sea (*Stato da Mar*). Cozzi, Knapton, and Scarabello (1992).



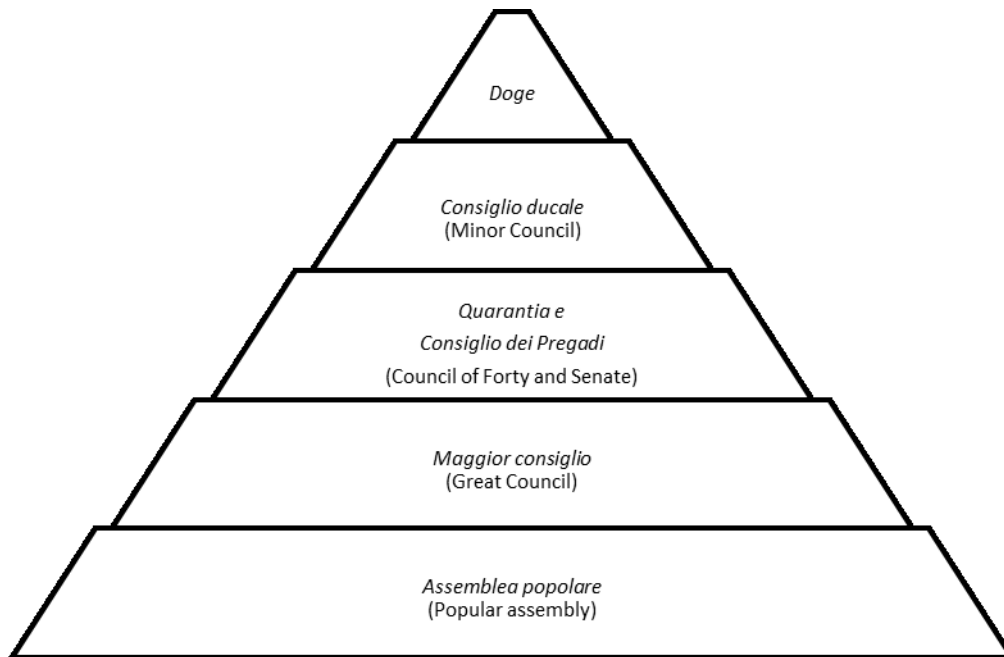
The Venetian government was quite complex, because it followed a mixed government model, combining monarchy in the Doge, aristocracy in the senate, and a sort of "democracy" with the presence of the noble families in the *Maggior Consiglio*. The institutions had a pyramidal organization that was structured in different levels, where the Doge was at the vertex and the *Maggior Consiglio* ("Great Council") was at the basis. In fact, the Doge was the supreme magistrate of the Republic and he was elected for life. After him, the *Minor Consiglio* ("Minor Council") was the organ of government with most power, because it cooperated with the Doge and monitored him, in order to limit his power. The Minor Council together with the Doge and the *Tre Capi della Quarantia* ("Three leaders of the Council of Forty") formed the *Serenissima Signoria*. The *Signoria* was the central body of government, representing the continuity of the Republic. The *Collegio dei Savi* ("College of the Sages") or *Collegio* was the council of the ministers of the Republic, who decided for the foreign policy, the finances, and the military issues of the State. It was formed by the six *Savi Grandi* ("Great Sages"), the five *Savi di Terraferma* ("Sages of the Mainland"), and the five *Savi agli Ordini* ("Sages of the Orders"). They were respectively responsible for the direction of the *Collegio*, for the Mainland Domains, and for the Duchy and Sea State. Then, the *Consiglio dei Pregadi* (or simply "Senate") was the senate of the Republic and it was formed of the *Collegio* and of the senators. The Senate was the deliberative branch of the state that discussed foreign policy and current problems. In addition, the *Consiglio dei Dieci* ("Council of Ten") was another governing body of the Republic, formally composed of ten members elected for one-year terms by the Great Council. The Council was formally tasked with maintaining the security of the Republic and preserving the government from overthrow or corruption. However, it enjoyed almost unlimited authority over all governmental affairs. Since the middle of the sixteenth century the Council was supported by the *Tre Inquisitori di Stato* ("The Three State Inquisitors"), a tribunal of three judges chosen from among its members to deal with threats to state security. Finally, the *Grande Consiglio* ("Great/Major Council") was the political organ of the Republic composed by the male and adult member of the patrician families enrolled in the Golden Book of the Venetian nobility. The Great Council nominated the Doge, all the other Councils, and numerous judiciary benches.

The real administration of the government was executed by various assemblies as well as by a numerous and complex groups of magistrates, each of whom was focused on a specific topic and had to control the others. Some of these magistrates were particularly important: the *Procuratori di San Marco* ("Procurators of San Marco"), the *Avogadori de Comùn* ("Avogadori of the municipality"), the *Camerlenghi de Comùn* ("Camerlenghi of the municipality"), the *Savi esecutori* ("Wise Executor"), and the *Savi alla Mercanzia* ("Sages of the Trade"). The *Magistrati* ("officials") had a peculiar role in the administration. For instance, they could be officials of the maritime militia (*alla Milizia da Mar*), water (*alle Acque*), fortresses (*alle Fortezze*), mines (*alle Miniere*), salt (*al Sal*), counts (*sopra I Conti*), wood (*alla Legna e ai Boschi*), monasteries (*ai Monasteri*), hospitals (*agli Ospitali*), and healthcare (*alla Sanità*). Finally, the *Provveditori* cooperated with these benches of the Venetian state.

In the Republic of Venice politics and justice were not separated from each other. For instance, the *Supremo Tribunale della Quarantia* ("Supreme Court of Forty"), the main judicial authority, had both legal and political functions. It was composed by the *Quarantia Criminale*, *Quarantia Civil Nuova*, and *Quarantia Civile Vecchia*. The *Quarantia Criminale* dealt with the criminal law, while the *Quarantia Civil Nuova* and *Quarantia Civile Vecchia* had jurisdiction over issues relating to civil law, respectively in the Mainland Domains and in the Duchy as well as in the State Sea. Moreover, their functions were supported by other courts such as *Avogadori de Comun* and *Avogadori Civili*.

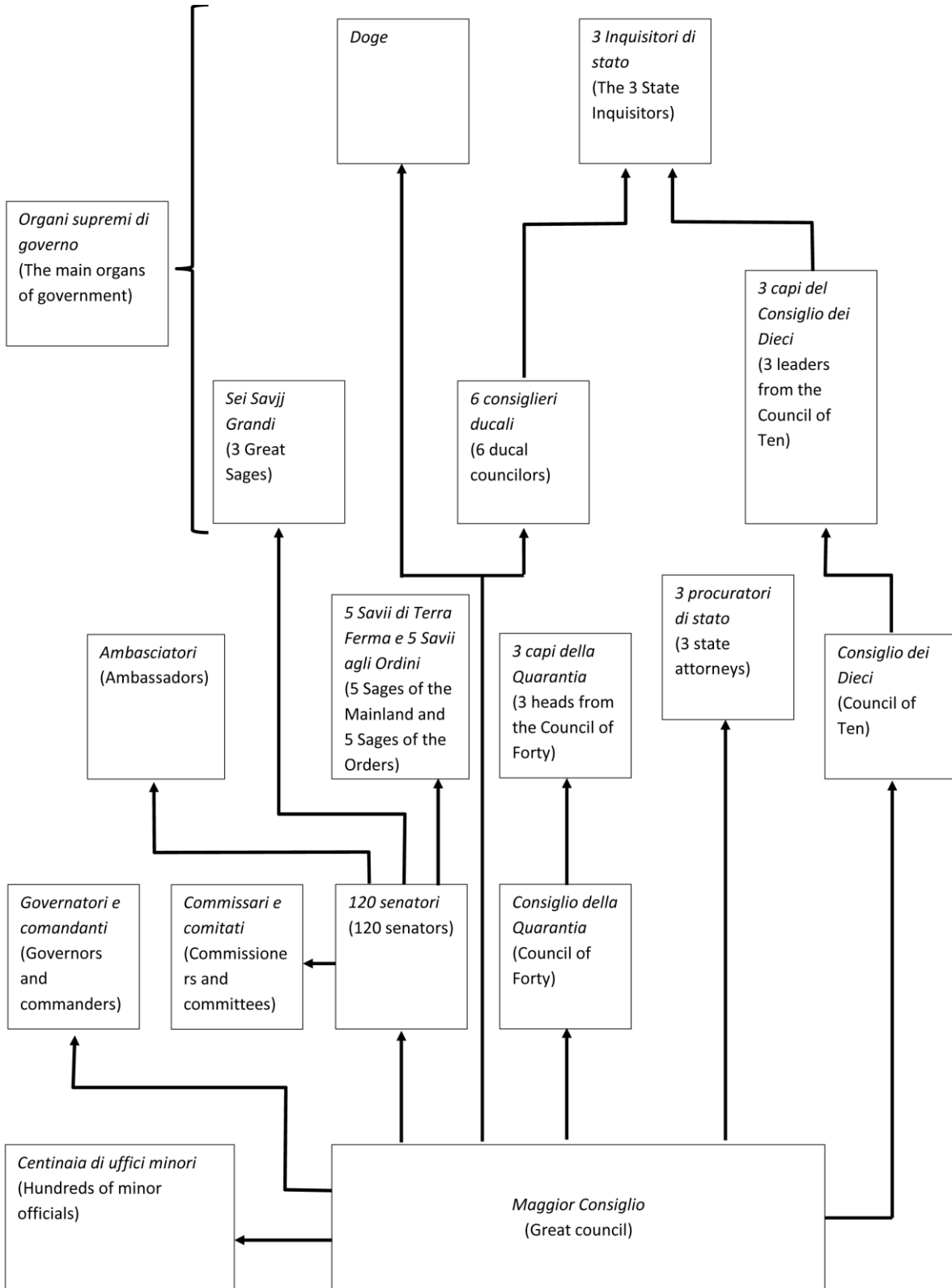
The judicial organisation was more complex, because there were also other specific courts both in the city of Venice and in the Mainland Domains. For example, for a certain period of time, in the main cities of the *Stato di Terra Ferma* both the local magistracies that were present before the Venetian occupation and the patricians who were sent by Venice worked simultaneously.⁹³ Initially, the Venetians preferred to give more autonomy to these territories than to completely integrate them at the *Dominante*. Nevertheless, in the main cities of the mainland, as Padua, Brescia, Verona, Bergamo and Vicenza, the Republic sent two patricians who had respectively the role of *podestà* and *capitano* (“captain”). The *podestà* usually had civil and judiciary powers, while the captain had military and financial responsibilities. In the smaller cities only one patrician had to accomplish all these tasks. These *Rettori* (“Rectors”) were usually elected by the Major Council but, in the most critical moments, they could be chosen differently. They had to remain in office for sixteen months, but often this period was extended. They were helped by three or four *assessori* (“assessors”) and two *carmerlenghi* each of whom was accompanied by a *cancelliere* (“chancellor”). Over time, the Venetians gave increasing consideration to the patricians who were sent to govern the cities, because they represented the power of Venice and they contrasted the feudal nobility. Thus, the presence of the Rectors in *Terra Ferma* was fundamental for the central power and it influenced the legal and political aspects of the area.

Figure 7. The “pyramid” of the Venetian Government. Inspired by Lane (1978, p. 7).



⁹³ Povolo (1980 and 1997). He examines the criminal institutions and the administration of the penal justice in the *Terra Ferma* of the Republic of Venice from the end of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century. In addition, he takes into consideration the relationship between central power and peripheral power in the juridical dimension.

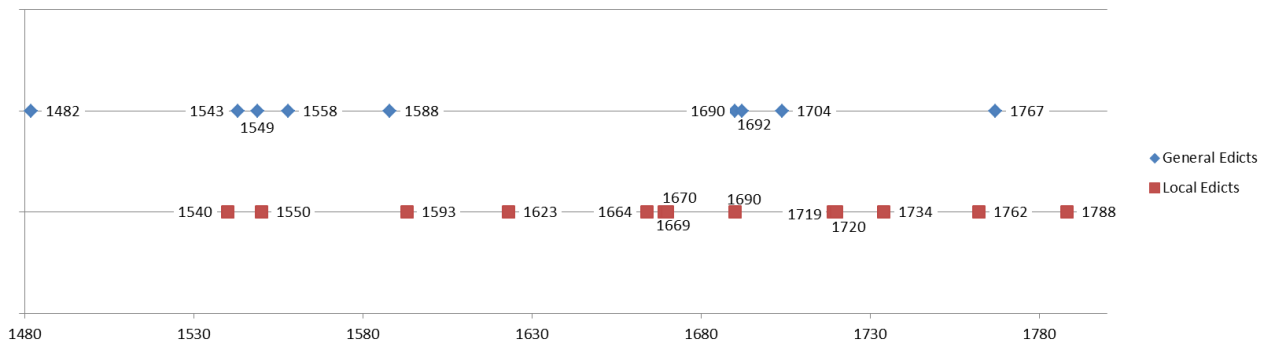
Figure 8. The political administration of the Venetian Government. Inspired by Lane (1978, p. 25).



2.2. State Policies

The Italian States began to issue against gypsies from the end of fifteenth century onwards.⁹⁴ The first anti-gypsy bans were issued in an area in Switzerland. From there, they spread to some States in the northern part of the Italian Peninsula, and later, throughout the entire Italian territory, becoming more restrictive during the next two centuries. Looking at the huge number of edicts, one realizes that despite the political fragmentation of the peninsula and the differences in the social fabric, the repressive policies were rather homogenous.⁹⁵ In fact, although some differences occurred, several measures and sentences were very similar in various States and often just copied.

Figure 9. Venetian banishments against gypsies.



In the Republic of Venice, a dozen decrees were issued from the end of the fifteenth century until the eighteenth century (Table 1).⁹⁶ According to Fassanelli, there were three edicts which came to define the Venetian legislation against *cingani*, in 1549, 1558, and 1588.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, some sources alluded to the existence of earlier banishments. One must have been issued before 1483, because in that year, in Jacopo Filippo Foresti's *Cronica*, it was stated that Venetian people had banished *cingari* from their territory.⁹⁸ If this one was effectively promulgated in 1483, it would be the first ban declared by one of the Italian States. Another banishment was likely issued in 1540, because the scholar Maria Zuccon as well as Giorgio Viaggio included it in the list of decrees of the Republic of Venice. However, there is no proof of this

⁹⁴ A first general work on the legislation against gypsies in the Early Modern Age in all the Italian States was written by Zuccon (1979). For the Duchy of Savoy see Pastore (1989), for the Duchy of Milan, see Arlati (1989) and Zanardo (2003); for the State of Bologna, see Campigotto (1987, 2008); for Modena, see Spinelli (1979); for Rome, Martelli (1996) and Luciani (1995); for Sardinia, see Aresu (2002). For an analysis of the different States' edicts see also Viaggio (1997).

⁹⁵ Piasere (1994, p.11) has counted 210 edicts against gypsies promulgated by the Italian States between 1483 and 1785.

⁹⁶ For the analysis of the bans promulgated by the Republic of Venice, see Zuccon (1979, pp. 28-30), Viaggio (1997, pp. 51-54), Cassese (2000, pp. 85-119 and 2009 pp. 181-208), Fassanelli (2011, pp. 45-72). In addition some edicts about gypsies were printed in the book '*Leggi criminali del serenissimo dominio Veneto*' (In text pages I will cite this work as '*Leggi criminali venete*'. It was published in Venice in 1751 and it included the main decrees promulgated by the Republic of Venice from 1254 to 1751, but it is not complete.

⁹⁷ See Fassanelli (2011, pp. 45-72) and '*Leggi criminali venete*' (1751, pp. 44 v., 48 v., 57 v.).

⁹⁸ «*I veneti li hanno banditi [I cingari] da tutto il loro territorio*». See Foresti (1483) in Fassanelli (2011, pp.57-58) and Piasere (2006, pp. 78-79). However, there is no evidence of this edict in the Archives or in the books about the Venetian laws of the Early Modern Age.

edict in the Archives as well in the books of the Venetian laws from the Early Modern Age.⁹⁹ Furthermore, in Giovan Battista Galliccioli's *Memorie Venete* ("Venetian Memoir"), some edicts against *cingani* were listed and, as well as the bans in 1549, 1558, and 1588, there was mention of one from the 23th January of 1543.¹⁰⁰ Fassanelli affirmed that he has not found any proof of this one in the Archives, but I located a couple of copies of this ban from 1543 in the section *Compilazione Leggi* of the national archive of Venice.¹⁰¹ In this decree it is stated that although *cingari* and *cingare* did not have the permission to enter the state, they continued to wander in the state, and were found to have committed crimes against the local population. For this reason these people had to be expelled immediately from all the Venetian domains.

Although it is important to consider these earlier measures, the main banishments against *cingani* were issued in 1549, 1558, and 1588, by the *Consiglio dei Pregadi*. In fact, these three bans defined the criminal figure of *cingano* and influenced the Venetian policy regarding this matter of the following two centuries. For instance, the edict from the 21st December 1549 sanctioned the expulsion of all the *cingani* from the Venetian territories within ten days, because it was assumed that they caused harm to the Venetian people.¹⁰² In addition, it was prohibited to all the Rectors of *Domini di Terraferma*, to release permits to gypsies. Only the Council in Venice was authorized to emit such authorizations.¹⁰³ In this law, *cingani* were defined as "*erranti*" ("wondering people"), and they were compared to vagrants.

On the 15th July 1558, the *Consiglio dei Pregadi* repeated the previous order, increasing the severity of the punishments.¹⁰⁴ First of all, the prohibition to emit licences was reconfirmed, and all the permits that had been already released were cancelled. Secondly, the *cingani* had to be expelled from the Venetian territories immediately. Thirdly, this banishment, different from the previous ones, implied that *cingari* who were found within the State had to row chained in a Venetian galley for ten years consecutively.¹⁰⁵ Fourth, a reward of ten *ducats* ("ducats", the Venetian golden coins) would have been given to the people who had

⁹⁹ For the ban from 1540, see Zuccon (1979, p. 28) and Viaggio (1997, p. 51). Both of them did not quote the source from which they took it. In addition, Fassanelli (2011, p. 59) did not find proof of this edict in the Archives and I did not locate it as well.

¹⁰⁰ «*Era introdotto quella razza di gente, la quale principò a comparire al cominciamento del secolo XV, e dicevansi volgarmente Cingani. Contro di questi si trovano altresì vari decreti di espulsione, 1543, 23 gennaio, 1549, 21 dicembre, 1558, 15 luglio*». See Galliccioli (1795, pp. 106-107) in Fassanelli (2011, p. 58).

¹⁰¹ ASVe, *Compilazione Leggi*, Prima serie, b. 130, cingani.

¹⁰² «*Essendo la pratica di Cingani erranti che vanno alloggiando in campagna, e nelle ville del stato nostro de molto danno alli luochi dove capitano per giornata et di non poco dispiacere alli nostri sudditi, li quali si dolono che siano ammessi così facilmente nelli nostri territori con interesse solo. [...] In termine di giorni dieci debbino al tutto mandar fuori delli territorj a loro commessi*». ASV, Senato, Terra, filze, 10, cnn in Fassanelli (2011, p. 59). It is also in ASVe, *Compilazione Leggi*, Prima serie, b. 130, cingani.

¹⁰³ «*L'anderà parte che con l'autorità di questo Consiglio sia commesso a tutti li Rettori nostri di Terra Ferma che nell'avvenire per modo alcuno non debbino far più patenti ne in voce dar licentia ad alcun cingano errante vagabondo di poter venire a stantiar nel dominio nostro, [...] ne per l'avvenire se li possa per alcun modo dar licenza se non per deliberazione di questo Consiglio*». ASV, Senato, Terra, filze, 10, cnn in Fassanelli (2011, p. 59). It is also in ASVe, *Compilazione Leggi*, Prima serie, b. 130, cingani.

¹⁰⁴ ASV, Senato, Terra, filze, 27, cnn in Fassanelli (2011, pp. 60-61). It is also in ASVe, *Compilazione Leggi*, Prima serie, b. 130, cingani. In Fassanelli (2011, pp. 60-61).

¹⁰⁵ «*Et se contra la forma dell'ordine presente nell'avenir si conferiranno in alcun luogo nostro, così con patente delli Rettori, come senza siano, et esser s'intendano incorsi alla pena d'esser posti al remo nelle galee nostre de' condannati, ove habbino à servir alla cathena per anni dieci continui*». ASVe, Senato, Terra, filze, 27, cnn in Fassanelli (2011, pp. 60-61). It is also in ASVe, *Compilazione Leggi*, Prima serie, b. 130, cingani.

hand in *cingari* to the authorities.¹⁰⁶ Finally, the last new and important aspect regards the permission to kill *cingari* with impunity («*impune ammazati*»¹⁰⁷). From these elements, we can see how the punitive section of this decree revealed fundamental changes from the previous edicts. For instance, while in 1549 *cingani* could leave the State within ten days, this time they were not allowed to stay even for three days, but were ordered to leave instantly. This time limit was more severe than the ones provided for vagrants in 1567 and for *bravi* (“scoundrels”) in 1574, which corresponded respectively to eight and four days.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the expulsion was more a precautionary and intimidating step rather than a sanction, and the real penalty was the conviction to the galley. The sanction of ten years as rowers chained to the oars in a galley was extremely severe for *cingani*, if you consider that it was the double of the penalty applied to vagabonds in 1574 and almost the maximum (twelve years) expected by the Council of Ten, in 1559.

On the 14th September 1588 the third important ban against *cingari* was declared.¹⁰⁹ It repeated all the previous measures and, at the same time, it was much more restrictive. It essentially reconfirmed the prohibition to release licences, the immediate expulsion of *cingari*, the punishment of galley, and the possibility to kill them with impunity. In addition, it condemned anyone who helped gypsies sending them to the galley for three years or giving them other penalties.¹¹⁰ Finally, this edict ordered to all the Rectors of the Mainland Domains to publish this law once a year in their cities and villages.¹¹¹ Thus, this banishment gave particular attention to the weakness of the repressive system. In fact, it was asserted that, in spite of all these edicts, *cingari* continued to be numerous in the Venetian territories, because they were under the protection of part of the Venetian population. The local people were accused to be involved in gypsies’ thieveries (“*latrocini*”) damaging the poor peasantry.¹¹²

According to Fassanelli, these three banishments promulgated in the second half of the sixteenth century contributed to defining the criminal profile of gypsies.¹¹³ In 1549 *cingani* were mainly compared to

¹⁰⁶ «*Haver debbano quelli, che prenderanno alcuno di essi cingari contrafacienti, ut supra, e consegnerano in le forze della giustizia, da esser mandato in questa Città per l’effetto predetto, ducati dieci delli danari delle taglie*». ASVe, Senato, Terra, filze, 27 in Fassanelli (2011, pp. 60-61). It is also in ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, *cingani*.

¹⁰⁷ «*Possendo etiam li ditti cingari così huomeni, come femine, che saranno ritrovati nelli territorij nostri, esser impune ammazati, si che li intercettori per tali homicidij non habbino ad’incorrer in alcuna pena*». ASVe, Senato, Terra, filze, 27, cnn in Fassanelli (2011, pp. 60-61). It is also in ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, *cingani*.

¹⁰⁸ ‘*Bravi*’ (scoundrels) were a species of coarse soldiery employed by the rural lordlings of northern Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to protect their interests.

¹⁰⁹ ASVe, Senato, Terra, filze, 108, cnn in Fassanelli (2011, p. 66). It is also in ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, *cingani*. Viaggio (1997, p. 52) reported a ban from 1568, but he did not quote the source from which he took it. It has not been found yet any proof of this edict in the Archives as well as in the books of the Venetian laws from the Early Modern Age.

¹¹⁰ «*Se alcuno darà ricapito, o alloggiarà li predetti cingari incorrerà in pena di servir per anni ter in galea alla catena, o altra pena, che parerà alli rettori, secondo la qualità della persona*». ASVe, Senato, Terra, filze, 108, cnn in Fassanelli (2011, p. 66). It is also in ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, *cingani*.

¹¹¹ «*Tutti li Rettori nostri di Terra ferma, debbano una volta all’anno far publicar tutte le sorpadette parti*». ASVe, Senato, Terra, filze, 108, cnn in Fassanelli (2011, p. 66). It is also in ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, *cingani*.

¹¹² «*Nondimeno di vede, che tuttavia vi stano in molto numero, con danno grandissimo di detti territorii, a quali vien anco dato ricapito da molti, che tengono poco conto della giustizia, e che partecipano delli loro latrocini, con mala satisfattione delli poveri cotnadini, et altri, che ricevono da loro molti danni*». ASVe, Senato, Terra, filze, 108, cnn in Fassanelli (2011, p. 66). It is also in ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, *cingani*.

¹¹³ «*Il Senato ha ormai definito, anche se con tratti ed entro contorni tutt’altro che precisi, il profilo criminale del cingano. La stratificazione semantica avvenuta in ambito criminale sulla figura del cingano appare ora con più*

vagrants; in 1558 their dangerousness was more emphasized inasmuch as they could be killed with impunity; finally, in 1588, they were explicitly defined as criminals, in particular, as offenders involved in thefts. So, gypsies were considered a part of the vagrants-scoundrel category (“*vagabondi-bravi*”) as well as of the thieves-bandits’s one (“*ladri-banditi*”). As I analyse in-depth later, the elements of vagrancy, stealing and armed-band (“*banda armata*”) played a fundamental part in the construction of the generic and threatening stereotype of *cingani* as criminals. Although they were equated before to vagrants and then to bandits, gypsies were persecuted because they were present in the Venetian territories, not because they had committed specific crimes. It is true that the accusations of offences, especially stealing, against them were numerous, but the laws, instead of punishing those who committed a specific crime, simply aimed to expel all gypsies. In fact, not only *cingani* who were responsible for such acts had to be condemned, but all the gypsies in general, because they could be potentially dangerous. Being a *cingano* was a crime. Thus, the ban could create criminality and *cingani* were consequentially seen as criminals.¹¹⁴

The criminal stereotype, that was built and strengthened during the second half of the sixteenth century, was still present in the banishments of the following two centuries. During the seventeenth century various local measures were probably taken against *cingari*, but only at the end of the century the judiciary in Venice issued new legislation. The two edicts issued by Council of Ten on the 21st August 1690 and on the 14th November 1692 for the city of Venice did not revise the preceding laws and did not add new features to the criminal figure of *cingano*.¹¹⁵ They just reiterated the prohibition for *cingani* to enter and to stay in the Venetian territory, the punishment of galley, and penalty for people who did not report the presence of gypsies to the authority. Furthermore, both these bans ordered especially to *Capi Contrada*, one of the many judiciaries in Venice, to monitor the presence of this kind of people.¹¹⁶ In addition, the edict from 1692 granted to *Capi Contrada* to release a criminal person or a confine person for each *cingano* that they would have captured.¹¹⁷ During the eighteenth century we have proof of other two bans, in 1704 and 1767, and also these ones did not add fundamental changes to the regulations.¹¹⁸ The

chiarezza. Al cingano-vagabondo del 1549, si sovrappone l'evocazione del pericolo deducibile dall'introduzione dell'impune occidi nel 1558. La parte del 1588, infine, descrive una figura criminale, per quanto ancora prevalentemente evocativa, plasmata sulle più precise categorie del vagabondo-bravo e del latro-bandito», in Fassanelli (2011, p. 67).

¹¹⁴ See Asséo (1974, p. 56) and Fassanelli (2011, pp. 63-65).

¹¹⁵ Fassanelli (2011, p. 70), ‘*Leggi criminali venete*’ (1751, pp. 172 v., 177v.). They are also in ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, *cingani*. Viaggio (1979, p.53) reported two bans from 1619 and 1639, but he did not quote the source from which he took it. It has not been found yet any proof of these edicts in the Archives as well as in the books of the Venetian laws from the Early Modern Age.

¹¹⁶ «*Obligo a Capi di Contrada, di particolar diligenza sopra questa sorte di gente, et attrovandone alloggiati, o vaganti per la Città nelle loro Contrade, doveran portar di tempo in tempo le notizie al Tribunal de capi dell'Eccelso Consiglio di Dieci, perché da medesimi saran fatte essequire le leggi con li proprij Castighi, che saranno praticati di Priggione, e galea anco contro quei Capi di Contrada, che mancassero di portarne le Relationi secondo parerà proprio a medesimi Capi*». See ‘*Leggi criminali venete*’ (1751, p. 177v.) and Fassanelli (2011, p. 70). It is also in ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, *cingani*.

¹¹⁷ «*E perché in ogni modo sij puntualmente essequita la risoluta volontà dell'Eccelso Consiglio di Dieci, che sijno? affatto snidati? Essi Cingani li Capi di Contrada, che saranno per opra sua capitar nelle forse alcuno de Cingani, conseguiranno per ogni captuura, voce, e facultà di liberar un bandito, Confinato, o Relegato d'Anni dieci in giù, che habbi adempiti li Requisiti, e che nella Sentenza non vi sij alcuna conditione, da esser esso beneficio sempre concesso? Dall'Eccelso Consiglio di Dieci nel modo, e forma, che li pratica nella concessione dell'altre Voci, e Beneficij a Communi, e Captori de banditi*». See ‘*Leggi criminali venete*’ (1751, p. 177v.) and Fassanelli (2011, p. 70). It is also in ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, *cingani*.

¹¹⁸ ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, *cingani*. Zuccon (1979, p.30) cited two banishments from 1719 and 1720, without quoting the source, but these edicts probably referred only to the local area of Bergamo. Also Viaggio

edict of the 5th December 1704 was a copy of the one from 1690 and, like that one, it was issued by *Consiglio dei Dieci* for the city of Venice. The second one, dated 29th July 1767, was promulgated by the same Council, but this time regarded all the *Terra Ferma*. It essentially repeated the main rules that were already stated in the previous laws. Indeed, it was stressed again that *cingani* could be killed with impunity, who captured them would receive a reward of twenty five ducats, and who had helped them would have been punished.¹¹⁹

As we have seen, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the *Consiglio dei Pregadi* and *Consiglio dei Dieci* - two of the major governing bodies of the Republic of Venice - issued many bans regarding gypsies that were valid for the entire Mainland Domains and that had to be published and spread in all the territories by Rectors. In addition to these edicts that were cited also in the printed collection of the *Leggi criminali venete* ("Venetian Criminal laws")¹²⁰, there were some examples, especially from the seventeenth century, of provisions that were written by these two Councils directly to the chancellors of one or more cities of the Venetian domains. For instance, on the 9th June 1623, it was counselled to the Rectors of Padua and to all the cities of *Terra Ferma* to expel and punish *cingani*.¹²¹ Furthermore, the same order was imposed to a particular category of magistrates in the city of Venice who were called *Esecutori contro Bestemmia* ("Executor against blasphemy"). Yet, on the 10th May 1669, the *Concilio dei Pregadi* reiterated identical measures to all the cities because, despite having issued several edicts, big and armed companies of *cingari* kept on to transit and sometimes to stop in their territories, causing damage to the local population.¹²²

There was some evidence that the chancellors of the Venetian *Reggimenti* ("domains") usually executed the orders imposed by the central power in Venice, publishing the edicts in their territories and capturing gypsies. For instance, on the 31st March of 1550, the Rector of Brescia published and spread the Venetian banishment from 1448, commanding to capture gypsies. In fact, I found a copy of this order that was received by the local authorities of Breno, a village in a valley near Brescia (Val Camonica).¹²³ On the 14th July of 1593, the commissioner of *Riviera di Salò* (or *Riviera Bresciana del Garda*), one of the four main *podestarie* ("districts") in Brescia, ordered to all the municipalities of his territories to capture *cingari*, as it was required by the law issued in 1588.¹²⁴ Another example dated from 1664, when the commissioner of

(1997, p. 53) reported the decree from 1720, but he did not quote the source from which he took it. It has not been found yet any proof of these bans in the Archives as well as in the books of the Venetian laws from the Early Modern Age.

¹¹⁹ «Le pene rigorose espresse in esse Leggi, di Prigione, e Galera, e anche di essere impunemente ammazzati secondo la qualità delle trasgressioni. In consonanza delle medesime Leggi dovranno li Contestabili, Capitani di Campagna, ed altri Ministri de' Reggimenti, non che li Comuni delle Ville inseguirli a tutto potere, e farli ridurre nelle Pubbliche forse. Per premio poi del fermo, captura, e consegna di essi Cingari, conseguiranno Ducati venticinque per cadauno. ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, cingani.

¹²⁰ See 'Leggi criminali venete' (1751).

¹²¹ ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, cingani.

¹²² «Ci perviene la notizia che nonostante le molte deliberazioni in contrario i Cingari transitano et alle volte si trattengono nello stato nostro in grosse compagnie et armati con armi da fuoco fanno molte insolenze et assassinamenti a sudditi con asporto di Cavalli et estorcendo con violenza robbe». ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, cingani.

¹²³ MCB, Raccolta Putelli, busta 18, fascicolo 10.

¹²⁴ «Comandiamo alli Consoli della Coi. Infr. et miste le quanti non ardiscono alloggiare cingani alcuni nelli loro castelli ma subito venuti farli partire et recusando li cingani d'andar via, debbano essi Consoli far da campana a' martello et fugarli sotto pena de ducati 100 et bando ad arbitrio nostro et altre pene delle quali nelli ordini». ACS, Straordinario 1593, Livi 160, c. 32-34.

Gambarare - a district in the *Dogado* of Venice - received compliments by the Venetian Senate for having timely banished gypsies from his territories and for having informed that some gypsies moved to the border with Padua.¹²⁵ Similarly, in 1670, the *Podestà* (“chief magistrate of a city”) of Verona arrested some *cingani* in Soave, one of the districts of that area. In addition, he had to control, on request of the Venetian Council, if they were effectively gypsies or “normal” criminal subjects.¹²⁶ Again, a few months before the ban of the 21st August 1690, the *Podestà* of Padua published the rules of the previous decrees against *cingani* in the city where he governed.¹²⁷ There are also some examples from the eighteenth century. In 1734, the rectors of Legnago, another district in the area of Verona, reiterated in their territories the orders to capture gypsies and to punish them (galley for men and lashes for women) and those who helped them.¹²⁸ According to what Zuccon stated, two edicts were declared in Bergamo, one on the 28th March 1719 and one on the 6th April 1720.¹²⁹ About fifty years later, on the 30th 1762, the lieutenant of the *Patria del Friuli*, the region of the actual Friuli-Venezia-Giulia, ordered again to expel gypsies and prohibited innkeepers, hotelkeepers, and monks to host them.¹³⁰ Finally, on the 10th of April 1788, less than ten years before the fall of the Republic, a copy of a decree from the 22nd September 1786 was published, which ordered the arrest of *cingani* older than fourteen years old, and to control if they were effectively gypsies.¹³¹

Analysing these decrees it is possible to deduce that during the Early Modern Age the Republic of Venice developed mainly a repressive policy towards gypsies and focused on their complete expulsion from the territory. Why did the Venetian regime pursued a repressive policy towards *cingari*? As Fassanelli stated, these decrees were not promulgated only because gypsies aroused feelings of hostility among the Venetian people as such.¹³² On the contrary, these laws were part of the regime’s political and economic aims that were strictly linked to the process of state formation. For instance, since the second half of the sixteenth century and for all the seventeenth century, the number of vagrants, bandits and *bravi* (“scoundrels”) in the Venetian State increased and, at the same time, the criminality increased considerably as well.¹³³ In addition, the existence of *bravi*, a type of crude mercenary employed by the rural lords, was

¹²⁵ «Al Cap.o di Padova. Eseguiti con puntualità dal Prov. delle Gambarare gl’incarichi del Senato, havendo scacciato li cingani, che si trovavano annidati nella sua giurisdiz.ne ci porta a notizia tener informazione, che si siano li medesimi ricoverati a’ confini del Padovano. Essendo però ferma volontà pubblica, che tal gente stij lontana, ne permanghi ne’ Territorj con preg.o de poveri per le rapine, et altre delinquenze che commettono, col Senato incarichiamo la vigilanza vostra ad indagare ove si trovi i ricoveri di questi, esercitando l’autorità e li rigori che prescrivano le leggi perché senza dilazione partino, e restino con ciò rimosse le violenze, e li pregiudittii a sudditi nostri, e dell’esecutione attenderemo le notitie». ASVe, Senato Terra, reg. 168, f. 294 v in Cassese (2009, p.192). It is also in ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, cingani.

¹²⁶ «Verificare se siano veri Cingari oppure sudditi malviventi [...]. Ci perviene la notizia della captura seguita d’alcuni capi de’ Cingari, che s’attrovano a Soave». ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, cingani.

¹²⁷ ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, cingani.

¹²⁸ «Li cingani non possono aver ricetto, né fermarsi, in questa fortezza, e giurisdizione sotto pena alli uomini della galera e alle donne d’esser frustate, et altro ad arbitrio, alla quale pena pure pure, saranno soggetti li ricettatori o fautori d’essi; concedendo a Massari e Consiglieri delle Ville, capitando persone di tal sorte, debano suonar la campana a martello, inseguirli, e scacciarli e cavarli fuori dalle Ville loro». ASVr, Atti dei Rettori di Legnago, b.60, n.122, Libro Proclami ducali e lettere, 6 Luglio 1734, cap. XIII.

¹²⁹ Zuccon (1979, p. 30).

¹³⁰ ASU, Archivio Belgrado, busta 17, proclama 30 agosto 1762, in Begotti (1998a, p. 39) and Cassese (2009, p. 192).

¹³¹ ASP, Foro Criminale del Maleficio, b.4, in Fassanelli (2011 p. 70).

¹³² See Fassanelli (2011, p. 45). For this part it is fundamental the chapter four of the book Lucassen, Willems, and Cottaar (1998, pp. 55-73).

¹³³ See Fassanelli (2011, p. 45) and Povolo (1980, p.168-172).

closely linked to the problem of the strong power of the nobility, especially in the dominion (*Dominio*) which contrasted the central power (*Dominante*).

First of all, during the Early Modern Age, poor individuals and vagrants were considered a serious threat by the government in the Republic of Venice as in the majority of western states. Alternatively, during Medieval Times, in Christian societies, the poor were perceived as a sort of symbol of the poor Jesus.¹³⁴ Helping the poor was as helping the son of God, so it would have guaranteed the eternal salvation to the charitable people. On the contrary, during the Early Modern Age, the poor were seen as responsible for their marginal situation, and as bearer of a negative morality that contrasted important aspects for the formation of nation-States, such as the ethic of work and the public order. The change in the perception of poverty was conditioned by the remarkable increase of poor people that occurred during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially because of the food crisis. Similarly, a radical change from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Age occurred for the phenomenon of vagrancy. Indeed, while in the Medieval Time itinerant people were more accepted, later, they were stigmatized and unwanted, especially if they did not have an “alibi”. Only few categories of migrants, usually who moved temporary and for economic or religious reasons (for example, scholars, merchants, pedlars, pilgrims and seasonal workers) were tolerated. All the others travelling groups, including gypsies, were seen by the authorities as dangerous as they were seen to be bearers of diseases and pestilences, to be lazy and thievish people. The reorganization of poor relief that occurred in many States of Western Europe can perhaps explain all these negative reactions towards the poor and vagrants.¹³⁵ For instance, in the Venetian regime, on the one hand the social assistance for “real” poor was institutionalized and rationalized and, on the other hand, a repressive policy was applied for “false” poor (who pretended to have some diseases or infirmities because of which they could not work), poor aliens, and vagrants.¹³⁶ Thus, as in other states of Western Europe, the mobile poor were stigmatized and persecuted.

Second, during the last decades of the sixteenth century, two other phenomena increased so much to appear at the *Dominante* as an emergency for the public order: the banditry and the diffusion of weapons.¹³⁷ They grew especially because of the economic circumstance, the changes in the fiscal system, the economic involvement in the war against the Ottomans, and the plague in 1576. It is in this context that the Republic of Venice since the end of the sixteenth century and for all the seventeenth century promulgated a series of laws to counter these problems. In addition, a third kind of figure appeared during the sixteenth century and spread during the following decades: the *bravi* (“scoundrels”). They were people who belonged to armed and aggressive companies, which were found responsible for murders and revolts, as they were involved in the rivalries among noblemen.¹³⁸ These circumstances were linked to the relationship between the local nobility in the dominion (*Domini*) and the central power of Venice (*Dominante*). In fact, the local élites usually recruited *bravi* to fight other noble groups as well as to exert control in the territories the ruled on behalf of the *Dominante*.¹³⁹ While during the sixteenth century the central power sought dialogue through rules and compromises with the local nobles, since about 1580 –

¹³⁴ For poverty and vagrancy, see Geremek (1992b) and Camporesi (1973).

¹³⁵ For the importance of the organization of poor relief, not only in the Republic of Venice, but in other states of Western Europe, see Lucassen, Willems, and Cottaar (1998, pp.55-73).

¹³⁶ See, for instance the law from 1529 against vagrants, in Fassanelli (2011, p. 60).

¹³⁷ For more information about this part, see Povolo (1980, pp. 221-232) and Fassanelli (2011, pp. 47-48).

¹³⁸ For more information about *bravi* and conflicts among noblemen, see Povolo (1980, pp.232-237) and Fassanelli (2011, p. 49).

¹³⁹ For more information about the relationship between *Dominante* and *Domini*, see Povolo (1980, pp. 238-258).

when the *giovani*'s ("youth") faction had more influence rather than the Council of ten – its intervention became more repressive.¹⁴⁰ The last decades of the sixteenth century was the harshest phase of the conflict between Venice and the *élites* of *Terra Ferma*. Thus, Venice proceeded to use "extraordinary laws" ("*specialia*") to fight the activities of the *bravi*. Those regulations consisted essentially of the penalty increase and of the population's engagement for the capture of criminals (both bandits and *bravi*, but also vagrants and *cingani*).¹⁴¹ The control and the punishment became more restrictive. In addition, local people were rewarded for handing over a criminal to the authorities, while being punished when they helped them. Even thugs were repaid if they had killed other offenders. Thus, in that period, a new and stronger punitive justice established itself with the purpose to control and weaken the local institutions, so that they could not support the regional nobility.¹⁴² The main scope was to reinforce the central power of the State. It is in this perspective that we have to study the legislation about *cingani*.

Nevertheless, this new activism of the central judiciary seemed not be very effective. Considering all the deficiencies of the Venetian judiciaries as well as the inadequacy of the Venetian police, it is not obvious that the edicts that were produced were effectively implemented. However, this aspect does not reduce the importance of this kind of legislation against vagrants, bandits, scoundrels, and *cingani* because, in addition to the repressive scopes, it also has a fundamental role in the process of affirmation of the sovereignty of the state. From this viewpoint, the continual iteration of the bans was not the indicator of the weakness of the state, but it was an important element for making more visible the "enemy" or "other", as well as for approaching the "private" people and the local institutions to the central power.¹⁴³ So, the enunciation of the orders was fundamental per se, apart from its actualization. According to Fassanelli, the role of the ban was crucial.¹⁴⁴ On one hand it was an important instrument for the authorities to affirm their power defining what was "inside" and "outside" their geographical space as well as determining who is loyal or dangerous. On the other hand the banishment was fundamental for the figure of *cingari*, because through this were identified, known and showed in the Republic.

Although the Republic of Venice, like other Italian states, pursued the ejections of *cingani* from their territory, the expulsion was more a precautionary and intimidating means, rather than a sanction. In fact, the real penalty was usually the conviction to the galley. As already indicated, it consisted of sending people to this particular type of ship obliging them to row for some years. As we will see, sending gypsies to the galleys was part of the Venetian state policy. However, this practice was not widespread only in the Italian states. For instance, Lucassen claimed that also in Germany gypsies were sent to galleys and he suggested a link to the demand for galley slaves and soldiers to explain the upsurge of arrests of suspicious outsiders in the decades before 1730.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ See Fassanelli (2011, pp. 49-50).

¹⁴¹ Povolo (1980, p. 211).

¹⁴² See Fassanelli (2011, p. 53).

¹⁴³ See Fassanelli (2011, pp. 54-55). On the contrary, for some scholars, the banishments were continuously reiterated, because they were not effective. See, for instance, Cassese (2009, p.190).

¹⁴⁴ See Fassanelli (2011, pp. 192-212).

¹⁴⁵ See Lucassen (1996). Unfortunately, I could not read entirely this book, because it is written in German and I am not able to read German.

During the Early Modern Age, the Republic of Venice, as the main Mediterranean states, had three types of rowers in their galleys: the *buonavoglia*, the slaves, and the *forzati*.¹⁴⁶ The *buonavoglia* were free men who voluntarily joined the galleys and received a salary for their work. In addition, they could do small trades in the ports and fight during the battles. They usually came from the city of Venice or from the Dalmatian and Greek coasts. Unlike other Italian states, the Republic of Venice preferred to recruited voluntary rowers but, when in the fifteenth century the number of *buonavoglia* started to diminish, they had to enlist more slaves and *forzati*. Regarding this topic, it is interesting to see that one of Jan and Leo Lucassen's categories of cross-community migration consist in "immigration from other continents to Europe" and regards also slaves. In fact, the third of these movements was when «about half a million Muslims, predominantly from northern Africa, were taken as slaves to Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where they were often put to work on the galleys».¹⁴⁷ According to Robert Davis, several Italian states, including the Republic of Venice, were involved in the practice of slavery since the time of Crusades and they used them also as rowers on the galleys. The Venetians, however, had treaties with Constantinople that forbade mutual enslavement. Consequently, they had to recruit rowers in other ways. One solution consisted in purchasing them illegally by Maltese and Livornese slave merchants. «Maltese corsairs were willing to snap up anyone whose religious or ethnic background seemed the least ambiguous or suspect: schismatic Greeks, Protestants, Jews, either practicing or converses, converted Muslim, along with many who simply did not speak any recognizable language».¹⁴⁸ Although gypsies were not explicitly mentioned in this list, it would not surprise if they were sold as slaves, because they could be easily captured in the Dalmatian coasts and in the Balkans. Nevertheless, the Venetians favored another solution for the lack of rowers: using *forzati* as oarsmen. *Forzati* were neither slaves nor voluntary oarsmen, but convicts who had to serve a sentence. Initially this punishment was implemented only for heavier crimes, but it was increasingly extended to more minor violations as well. Thus, these convicts could be vagabonds, thieves, scoundrels, violent criminals, as well as gypsies.

According to Lo Basso, the Venetian composition of the fleet changed over time, depending on the political and economic conditions.¹⁴⁹ In particular, he proposed five different phases. The first period occurred before 1542, when the Republic of Venice especially recruited free rowers. In cases of emergency they drew people from some lists which were compiled by the heads of the districts. In 1542, Cristoforo Da Canal ratified a law that allowed to enlist the convicts. Thus, the second stage (1542 – 1602) was characterized by a mix solution. Usually, one hundred of sentenced people and seventy free men row together in a galley. Then, between 1602 and 1620 several reforms were enacted in order to perfect the system. As consequence of these reforms and of the higher incentive pays that were given to the *buonavoglia*, at the beginning of the fourth phase (1620-1774) the number of free oarsmen increased and become predominant. Nevertheless, they diminished again during the eighteenth century and they completely disappeared during the last period, after 1774. After this brief explanation, it is possible to understand why the penalty of sending *cingani* to the galleys was taken into consideration since 1558 and not in the previous edicts. In fact, only after Cristoforo da Canal's law in 1543 the practice of forcing criminals to row in the galleys spread. Thus, exactly when the Republic of Venice needed more oarsmen because the number of *buonavoglia* was diminishing and it was not easy to find galley slaves, they started

¹⁴⁶ For more information about the Venetian galleys and the recruitment of rowers, see Viaro (1980), Lo Basso (2003), and Davis (2007).

¹⁴⁷ J. and L. Lucassen (2009, pp. 356-357). For other information about the slaves in Italy during the Early Modern Age, see Bono (1999), and Davis (2003, 2007).

¹⁴⁸ Davis (2007, p. 66).

¹⁴⁹ Lo Basso (2003).

to send gypsies, vagabonds, poor, beggars, and thieves to the galleys. In addition, sending these people to the galleys, they tried to solve the various problems of public order that occurred especially after the middle of the XVI century.¹⁵⁰ Indeed, in this way they could remove criminals and unwanted people from the Venetian territories. In theory, according to the banishment from 1558 and the following ones, gypsies who were captured in the Venetian Territories had to be sent to galleys for ten years. Considering that twelve years was the maximum period, and that the average penalty was usually between one and three years, the punishment reserved for gypsies was quite harsh. In addition, if they were not able to pay the services they had received - such as the trial expenses, water, food, clothes and medical care - they had to stay more years on the galley.

Unfortunately we have few examples of gypsies who rowed on the Venetian galleys, neither as free men, nor as slaves or as convicts. It is not easy to find *cingani* in the crew lists because the ethnonyms were not usually reported.¹⁵¹ Thus, the information that is available about them usually derives from trials. For instance, from a trial dated 1518, we know that a gypsy oarsman was present in one of galleys owned by the Venetian gentleman Andrea Foscarini.¹⁵² He was called Stefano, he was from Corfu and was probably a *buonavoglia*. He was convicted of having harassed a woman. In 1573, another gypsy rower from Corfu named Pagomeno, whom was charged with escaping from a galley, was put on trial.¹⁵³ He claimed he had been working on the galley for seven months and that when they arrived in Corfu, he went without the necessary permission to visit his family who lived there. When he came back to the ship, it had already weighed anchor. Again in Corfu, in 1603, Oratio *cingano* was prosecuted for theft together with four other men who were rowers on a galley with him.¹⁵⁴ It was probably quite common for the Republic of Venice to recruit gypsy oarsmen from Corfu and from other islands in the Dalmatian and Greek coast. In fact, in 1688, a Venetian gentleman suggested enlisting as oarsmen seventy-five *cingani* from the two-hundred gypsy families who lived in Corfu, because they were hateful and useless people.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, he proposed to recruit them also from the islands of Cephalonia and Zakynthos.

As I will explain in-depth in the next chapter, there are also a few examples of gypsy convicts from the Mainland Domains who were sent to the Venetian galleys. In fact, the *cingani* of the two cases - respectively from 1583 and 1587 - presented by Benedetto Fassanelli should have been convicted and sent to the galleys, but were then acquitted.¹⁵⁶ By contrast, in 1718, the men of Federico Bianchi's company were condemned and effectively sent to the galleys, while the women were imprisoned.¹⁵⁷ From this information I might suppose that when *cingani* were sentenced, they were essentially sent to the galleys.

¹⁵⁰ Fassanelli (2011, pp. 47-48).

¹⁵¹ For instance, people defined as gypsies do not appear in the crew lists of the Venetian galleys presented by Lo Basso (2003).

¹⁵² ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4302. In Cassese (2009, p. 196).

¹⁵³ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4318. In Cassese (2009, p. 196).

¹⁵⁴ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4339.

¹⁵⁵ « A Corfù la Serenità Vostra haverà con facilità 75 huomini dalle 200 famiglie di Cingani, che vi sono, essendo ben giusto, che quella gente odiosa, et di niun profitto al publico debbi anch'ella esser aggravata di fattione, Sicchè non sarà molto a' esse 200 famiglie, essendomi per ogn'una di esse due, tre, et più persone da fatti. Et questi 75 intendo che non in una, ma in tre galie siano compartiti». B.M.C., Mss. Dandolo, n. 951, n. 110: "Suggerimenti per facilitare il trovar uomini da remo per le galere, e per far alcuni tagli di arbori per Pennoni". In Lo Basso (2003, p. 117).

¹⁵⁶ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10 and ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4280, f.26. In Fassanelli (2011).

¹⁵⁷ ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to collect more historical documents in order to confirm this hypothesis and to quantify the presence of gypsies on the Venetian galleys.

2.3. Church Policies

During the Early Modern Age, the North-East of the Italian Peninsula was mainly organised in two different religious districts: the Patriarchate of Venice (*Patriarcato di Venezia*) and the Patriarchate of Aquileia (*Patriarcato di Aquileia*).¹⁵⁸ That area was very large and belonged to different states, among which the Republic of Venice. According to Cassese, the ecclesiastical authorities in the Venetian territories issued some rules towards gypsies and they probably contributed to their negative representation.¹⁵⁹ Unfortunately, the religious documents referring explicitly and particularly to *cingani* that he found for that area are not numerous. They were the synods of: Milan (1565), Aquileia (1703), Parenzo (nowadays Poreč, 1733), Concordia (1767), and Gorizia (1768) (Table 2).¹⁶⁰ Assuming that the synod of Milan concerned the territories of the Duchy of Milan and that the synod of Gorizia affected to the Holy Roman Empire, only the local church councils of Aquileia (1703), Parenzo (1733) and Concordia (1767) referred to the Republic of Venice. It is possible that some religious regulations that concerned vagrants and heretics in general addressed also to gypsies, but since *cingani* were not cited explicitly, I did not take those into account. Although it would be important to search for other religious documents for this area (particularly for the period before the eighteenth century), we can understand some preliminary information from these sources that have been already found and analysed.

For instance, in the synod of Aquileia dated back from 1703, *cingari* were mentioned in the section *De haereticis* ("About heretics").¹⁶¹ They were considered as involved in witchcraft, using various forms of magic and superstition with naive people in order to gain money. That is why the priests were warned against this travelling people and they had to control them. Yet, in 1767, many admonitions were expressed in the part about *De veneficiis et magicis Artibus* ("About evil spells and magic arts") in Concordia's synod.¹⁶² In this regulation it was highlighted again that "*Aegyptiorum*" (literally "Egyptians") were used to perform magic tricks, for instance using speeches, herbs, stones, and strange signs in order to cure people or to ward off storms. According to Cassese, gypsies were accused of performing demonic actions through which they deceived simple-minded people, contaminating the pure Christian faith.¹⁶³ The control of their magic activity was part of a more general struggle that the Venetian ecclesiastical power established against every kind of superstitious actions and heresy since the sixteenth century, especially after the Council of Trent (1545-1563). In order to defend the pureness of the religious orthodoxy, the Church tried

¹⁵⁸ Cassese (2000, p.86). The Patriarchate of Aquileia disappeared in 1751 and it was substituted by the Archdiocese of Gorizia (that was part of the Holy Roman Empire) and the Diocese of Udine (that belonged to the Republic of Venice until the fall in 1797).

¹⁵⁹ See Cassese (2000, pp. 85-119 and 2009, pp. 209-232).

¹⁶⁰ See in Cassese (2000, pp. 85-119 and 2009, pp. 209-232): *Concilium Mediolanense* I, 1565, cap. LXV (From now 'Synod Milan'); *Constitutiones Synodales Aquileiensis Dioecesis*, editae D. Dionysio Delphino, Utini, 1703, pp.18-30 (From now 'Synod Aquileia'); *Sinodo Diocesano della S. Chiesa di Parenzo* [...] 1733, Venetia, 1733, pp.10-12 (From now 'Synod Parenzo'); *Constitutiones Synodales Concordienses*, quas [...] Aloysius Maria Gabriel [...] collegit et celebravit [...], MDCCLXVII, Venetiis, 1768, pp. 7-8 (From now 'Synod Gorizia'); *Acta Synodi Provincialis Goritiensis Ecclesiae celebratae die 15 octobris Anno 1768*, BSGO, Sinodo, F.B. 1923-24, Anno 1768. f. 15.

¹⁶¹ See 'Synod Aquileia' in Cassese (2000 and 2009).

¹⁶² See 'Synod Concordia' in Cassese (2000 and 2009).

¹⁶³ Cassese (2009, pp. 212-215).

to resolve these problems, on one hand, educating the people with the catechesis and with a better communication between priests and parishioners, and, on the other hand, suppressing the opponents (also with the Inquisition).

Gypsies were condemned by the Venetian religious authorities not only for these magic elements, but more in general for their behaviour. For example, in the section *Della fede cattolica da professarsi e da difendersi* ("About the catholic faith, how to follow and defend it") in the synod of Parenzo (1733) it was ordered that *cingari* had to be strictly controlled, in particular in regards the institution of sacraments.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, they did not have the permission to receive the sacraments such as baptism and matrimony or they could not be interred if they have not had an adequate catechesis or a catholic lifestyle.

Comparing these three ecclesiastic regulations with another one which was issued by a diocese that was near the territories of the Republic of Venice and which was part of the Patriarchate of Aquileia before 1751, we have a confirmation of this idea that gypsies would pose a threat to the catholic religion. Indeed, in the "Synod of Gorizia" (1768) *cingari* were included in the category of vagabonds and depicted as deceive people on religious matter.¹⁶⁵ For this reason, it was prohibited to all the parishioners to give refuge to them and to have any kind of contact. In addition, it was ordered to the parish priests to expel gypsies from their territories and to invoke the help of the Inquisition in case it would have been necessary.

In conclusion, according to Cassese, it seems that the religious policies in the Venetian territories were not so different from the political ones, as they imposed prohibitions and restrictive provisions on gypsies.¹⁶⁶ At the same time, the Church in the Venetian region did not dedicate pastoral attention specifically to *cingani* but it included them in the categories such as vagrants and heretics. This probably happened because gypsies were not considered as an independent ethnic group and because they were "unapproachable" due to their continuous movement. Differently from the southern part of the Italian peninsula where the Church decided that gypsies could be assimilated to the population in case they followed the Christian values and lifestyle, in the northern area the religious power were much more intolerant.¹⁶⁷ In this way, the ecclesiastical authorities in the Venetian region probably contributed to define and to spread a negative image of *cingani*, as well as the political government did. The Church and State policies about gypsies were probably not so different each other, because of the strong connections that in general existed between the Venetian Church and the state.¹⁶⁸ In fact, Venice could not always impose their political supremacy in the domains with the military system because it was too weak, and, for this reason, they found a great ally in the religious authorities. For instance, the majority of the bishops in *Terra Ferma* were Venetians and they were well connected to the political power.

¹⁶⁴ See 'Synod Parenzo' in Cassese (2000 and 2009).

¹⁶⁵ See 'Synod Gorizia' in Cassese (2000 and 2009).

¹⁶⁶ Cassese (2009, p. 217).

¹⁶⁷ For the southern part of the Italian peninsula see Novi Chavarria (2007) and Aresu (199, 2002, 2012).

¹⁶⁸ For more information, see Povoletto (1980, p. 159) and Cozzi, Knapp, Scarabello (1992, pp. 19-39, 69-79, 86-91, 630-632).

3. Interactions Between *Cingani* and the Venetian Society

In the previous chapter it was argued that, during the Early Modern age, repression was the formal reaction of the Venetian State policy, as well as of the Church policy, against gypsies. Through the emission and the application of numerous bans against *cingani*, the Venetian regime played an important role both in the expulsion of them from the territory and in spreading negative images of gypsies. Nevertheless, examples of interactions with the local society were not absent. In this chapter I would like to understand why responses such as integration and assimilation were possible and how this relationship between gypsies and Venetian people changed over time.

First of all, I will illustrate a case study on a gypsy company - Federico Bianchi's company - that was put on trial in 1718 just because it was present in the Venetian territories. In the beginning, I will use this case to discuss the perceptions of *cingani* as criminals and the application of the Venetian policies. Then, this trial will be useful in order to introduce some kinds of interactions between the gypsy minority and Venetian people. In the second and third sections of the chapter I will extend both these discourses, thanks to the examples that were reported in the sources from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Finally, I will analyze the relationship between *cingani* and the Venetian state from a military perspective. In particular, I will focus on the role of gypsies as soldiers in the Venetian army as well as soldiers-of-fortune for the local noblemen.

3.1. A Case Study: Federico Bianchi's Gypsy Company (XVIII century)

I start this chapter with a case study that shows how a trial, besides depicting *cingani* as criminals, can give further information about the interactions with the dominant society.

As briefly explained above, this primary source is a legal source, which reported a trial against a company of *cingani*, Federico Bianchi's company, that was in the Venetian territory in 1718.¹⁶⁹ I found this record in a volume of the "Criminal Parts" [*Parti Criminali*] which is placed in the "Council of Ten" fond [*Consiglio dei Dieci*], in the national archive of Venice. This fond contains the documents produced by the Council of Ten and, in particular, the series "Criminal Parts" regards the deliberations proclaimed by the Council about the criminal facts. It is composed by almost thirty pages and includes the declaration of the policemen who found *cingani*; the questioning of all the adults of the gypsy group; various documents that belong to them; the copies of the edicts about gypsies; and the sentence of the trial. This source is written by Venetian magistrates, who, according to the banishments, wanted to punish and expel gypsies because they were considered criminals. In fact, in the end, the men were sent to a galley and the women, after a period in jail, had to leave the territories. Nevertheless, this record is peculiar because it provides much information about the life of *cingani* and their contacts with Venetian people. I analysed these aspects as Fassanelli has previously done for two long trials against other two gypsy companies.¹⁷⁰ Thus, I tried to go beyond the traditional approach that focused on their social marginality and I sought to see the economic, political, and cultural implications of the gypsy presence, as suggested by Lucassen, Willems and Cottaar's work. Examining my case, I can confirm that at the beginning of the eighteenth century the situation was similar to that one described by Fassanelli for the sixteenth century: *cingani* in the Venetian territories were stereotyped and treated as criminals but, in spite of this, they tried to resist to the repression and to

¹⁶⁹ ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133.

¹⁷⁰ Fassanelli (2011).

establish different kind of relationships with the local population. Furthermore, according to Manning's categories of migration, we can see in Federico Bianchi's company a good example of cross-cultural community (even if it was a small community) that usually was itinerant, but that could also settle for a while in a region or return to a place where it has already been. In addition, taking into consideration Lucassen's migration typology of soldiers, we have evidence that some *cingani* in the republic of Venice were involved as armed-men. Thus, this finding is an important contribution to the new approach of the Italian gypsy studies, especially regarding the Northern Italy, as well as is a significant example in order to prove some theories of migration history.

Rejection

This document is a judiciary document from the summer of 1718 which reported a trial against a band of *cingani* that was in the Venetian territory.¹⁷¹ The police found the above-cited gypsy group in the house of a Venetian doctor in Murano, took their permits, and sent them to jail. This source not only provides further information about the life of *cingani* in the Republic of Venice, but it also offers an important opportunity of reflection about their relationship with local people.

First of all, from this document, it is possible to see a clear application of the Republic of Venice's policy against gypsies. The above-mentioned group of *cingani* was captured by the policemen because it was present in the local territories and the Venetian law did not allow this. In fact, the copies of the bans that were proclaimed in 1549, 1558, 1690, 1692, and in 1704 by the Venetian government against gypsies were attached to the proceedings of the trial. Considering that this trial took place in 1718, the most recent edict issued against gypsies was the one from 1704, which itself was a copy of the ban from 1690. As was explained in the previous chapter, the decree from 1704 was issued by *Consiglio dei Dieci* for the city of Venice and ordered: the prohibition for *cingani* to enter and to stay in the Venetian territory, the punishment of galley, and a penalty for people who did not report the presence of gypsies to the authority. In the case that is presented in the source from 1718, the policemen followed perfectly the rules written in the edict, because they went to the house of the Venetian doctor, arrested all the members of Federico's fellowship, took their papers and put everybody in jail waiting for the trial. Probably the policemen knew that some *cingani* were in that house because some local people reported their presence. The chief of The Council of Ten's police (*Capitan Grande*) declared that:

«After six o'clock last night I went with the men of my company in that place, I entered in the house, and I arrested these gypsy men and women, who are registered here, Federico and Zuanne brother Bianchi, Polo Bianchi child of Marco, Rosolina Moretti child of Giulio, Vienna Bianchi child of Marco, Angela Flora child of Iseppo and her little son who is 5 years old and another boy with name Giacomo, almost 12 years old, and I brought them into the rooms at the disposal of justice, so humbled to E.E.V.V. and I bow deeply. Antonio Cappasanta Capitan Grande».¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133.

¹⁷² «Dopo le ore sei della passata notte mi sono portato cogli uomini della mia compagnia nel luogo suddetto, e penetrato nella stessa habitazione ho fatto alla mia presenza rettenere li qui sotto registrati cingani et cingane, Federico e Zuanne fratelli Bianchi suddetti, Polo di Bianchi quondam Marco, Di Drusolina di Moretti, quondam Giulio, Vienna Bianchi quondam Marco, Angela di Flora quondam Iseppo, con un piccolo suo figlio d'anni cinque, et altro putto di nome Giacomo d'età di circa abbi dodici, et fatti pure condurre nelli cammerotti a disposizione della sua alta Giustitia, tanto umilio all' E.E. V.V. e profondamente m'inchino. Antonio Cappasanta Capitan Grande». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Lettera al Consiglio di Dieci da parte di Antonio Cappasanta Capitan Grande del 10 luglio 1718.

The police stopped and imprisoned these people, just because they were gypsies and not because they had committed other crimes. As it was already stated, according to the laws, *cingani* could not stay in Venetian territory, even if they had some special permissions made by some authorities. Only the licenses made by the Council of Ten, and only if they were considered authentic, could be accepted. For this reason, great importance was given to the papers that the policemen found in the baggage of Federico's company. This element regarding permits will be analyzed later. Here, I would like to highlight that these documents were used by the policemen to prove that the people they had arrested were effectively *cingani*. Indeed, the chief of The Council of Ten's police ("*Capitan Grande*") gave testimony that:

«He was sought in order to clarify and testify if the people he had kept in the land of Murano were gypsies, as he had described in his report of the 10th of this month. He answered: among the papers that I had found under the bed where Ferigo and Zuanne Bianchi brothers were sleeping, I found a passport and two letters from which it is clear that they are gypsies and I present you this passport of the 27th of April 1718 and two letters, one dated 21 May 1718 by Uderzo, and another one of the 11 April 1718, together with a package of other papers, which he said he had found together in that place».¹⁷³

In addition, it is interesting to note that in the policemen and judges' speeches some stereotypes about gypsies were strongly present. They essentially repeated the negative images that equated *cingani* to criminals and that were spread by the edicts. Indeed, they stated:

«We found in this land many gypsies, some were wounded and other wandered in this territory, they applied their usual trickeries to some of these subjects».¹⁷⁴

At the end of the trial, on the 27th July 1718, all *cingani* were condemned: the three men were sent to the galleys and the three women were sent to jail. Few months later, at the beginning of November, Vienna, Rosolina, and Angela were released from the prison on the condition that they would leave the Venetian territories within three days:

«05th November 1718, Vienna Bianchi Marco's daughter, Rosolina Moretti Iulio's daughter, and Angela di Flora Iseppo's daughter gypsies, were in jail with other gypsies who were condemned by the court to the galley last 27th July. They finished their period and they can be released from the prison on the condition that they leave the state within three days».¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ «Fu ricercato a dar lumi e testimoni per rilevare che le persone da esso rittente nella terra di Murano, come espose nella sua rellazione del 10 corrente siano Cingani. R: tra le carte che ho ritrovate sotto il capezzal del letto ove dormivano Ferigo e Zuanne fratelli Bianchi, ho ritrovati un passaporto et due lettere de presente dalle quali si raccoglie siano Cingari [...] e presenterò il seguente passaporto del 27 Aprile 1718 e due lettere una in data 21 maggio 1718 da Uderzo et altra del 11 Aprile 1718 insieme in un ligazzetto di altre carte, che dice di haver ritrovato unitamente nel luoco suddetto». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Lettera al Consiglio di Dieci da parte di Antonio Cappasanta Capitan Grande del 12 luglio 1718.

¹⁷⁴ «Si ritrovano in questa Terra [...] alquanti Cingari, alcuni de quali feriti et, altri vagando per questa Terra, che non mancano d'applicar li loro soliti inganni a taluno di questi sudditi». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Lettera al Consiglio di Dieci del 1 luglio 1718.

¹⁷⁵ «05 novembre 1718, trovandosi nelle preggioni degli eccellentissimi capi Vienna Bianchi q. Marco, Rosolina Moretti q. Iulio, et Angela di Flora q. Iseppo Cingari retenti con altri cingari condannati con sentenze del tribunale di 27 luglio passato alla galera, hanno l'eccellenze loro terminato, che siano l'istessi tre cingari lecentiati dalli priggioni, et comisso ad essi d'uscir nel termine di giorni tre dallo Stato sotto pena della publica indignatione, ordine così doversi annotare». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133.

It is not possible to know for how long Federico, Zuanne, and Paolo had to row on the galley, and the source does not reveal what happened to the children. What we know is that a group of *cingani* was found in the territories, was arrested and condemned: the men had to row in the Venetian galleys, and the women were sent to jail before being expelled.

Relationships and exchanges

These first considerations regard the police's reaction that followed the Venetian regulations against gypsies. Nevertheless, it is possible to note other important elements. Firstly, not only the police defined them as *cingani*, but these people declared themselves to be *cingani*. For instance, during the questioning Angela, one of the women, declared: «We are gypsies».¹⁷⁶

Secondly, we can see how a gypsy company ("*compagnia*") was composed. This one consisted of six young adults, three men and three women, between twenty to thirty years old. In addition, some children belonged to the group and two of them were supposed to be five and twelve years old. Indeed, it is written in the source:

«Federico and Zuanne, brother Bianchi, Polo Bianchi child of Marco, Rosolina Moretti child of Giulio, Vienna Bianchi child of Marco, Angela Flora child of Iseppo and her little son who is 5 years old and another boy with name Giacomo, almost 12 years old».¹⁷⁷

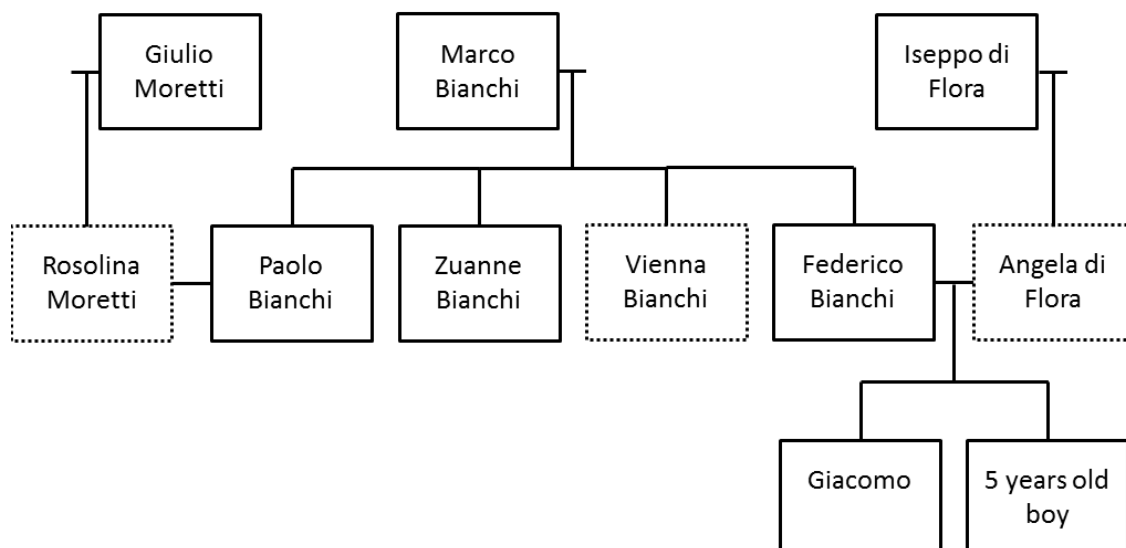
The members of the company were closely related to one other. Federico Bianchi was the chief of the company, he had two brothers, Zuanne and Paolo, and a sister, Vienna. Federico was married to Angela and they had two children, Giacomo, 12 years old, and another 5-years old boy. Paolo was married to Rosolina while both Zuanne and Vienna were not married. Federico's band was not a big company, but a sort of extended family where Federico was the head of household and the chief of the band. In the source, another woman, called Maria and considered Flora (probably they meant Angela di Flora)'s sister, was mentioned once but then she was not cited anymore.¹⁷⁸ This was probably a mistake by the person who reported the proceeding of the trial. In fact, other small imprecisions were present for the names of the other people. Regarding these *cingani*'s names, it is interesting to note that they did not have "exotic" or "strange" denominations, but names that were common for Venetian people as well: Ferigo/Federico, Polo/Paolo, Zuanne/Giovanni, Rosolina, Vienna, and Angela.

¹⁷⁶ «Noi altri siamo Cingani». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, interrogatorio del 12 luglio 1718.

¹⁷⁷ «Federico e Zuanne fratelli Bianchi suddetti, Polo di Bianchi quondam Marco, di Rosolina di Moretti, quondam Giulio, Vienna Bianchi quondam Marco, Angela di Flora quondam Iseppo, con un piccolo suo figlio d'anni cinque, et altro putto di nome Giacomo d'età di circa abbi dodici». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Lettera al Consiglio di Dieci da parte di Antonio Cappasanta Capitan Grande del 10 luglio 1718.

¹⁷⁸ «Per mano di Maria et Floria sorelle cingare» («By Maria and Floria, gypsy sisters ») in ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Lettera al Consiglio di Dieci da parte di Podestà Alvise Contarini del 12 luglio 1718. «Maria e Floria sorelle Cingane sorelle da Padova» («Maria and Floria, gypsy sisters from Padua») in ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Lettera al Consiglio di Dieci da parte di Antonio Cappasanta Capitan Grande del 10 luglio 1718.

Figure 10. Genealogical tree of Federico Bianchi's gypsy company.



Thirdly, thanks to this document we can see which kind of activities *cingani* could do for sustaining themselves. For instance, Zuanne claimed to be a “*sensale*”, that is an intermediary especially in the field of agriculture and breeding: «I am an intermediary for work».¹⁷⁹ As we have already seen, horse trading was one of the main occupations spread among gypsies. They often bought, sold and exchanged horses as well as other animals. In addition, one of the Venetian witnesses, during the trial, stated that he sold a colt to Federico's band.¹⁸⁰ From this declaration, it is possible to deduce that *cingari* could have commercial relations with Venetian people. This can be confirmed in light of the fact that Federico Bianchi, the chief of the band, declared to have worked as a tailor and as a waiter in that region.¹⁸¹ In fact, this kind of activities implied to have customers and, surely, they were not all *cingani* but also local people. Moreover, Federico affirmed that «*ne faccio altro mestier che procurar di far homeni al Prencipe per viver*».¹⁸² The meaning of this sentence is not perfectly clear, but it probably means that he was a sort of bounty hunter for the Prince. Thus, he killed criminals for the authority. This aspect is very interesting and I will analyse it in the last section of this chapter.

Fourthly, it is interesting to note that being a tailor or a waiter was not common among gypsies, and, probably, Federico did these activities perhaps because his father was not a *cingano*, but a Venetian

¹⁷⁹ «*Faccio il sensaro tanto che mi ingegno*». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, interrogatorio del 12 luglio 1718.

¹⁸⁰ «*Confessa signor Domenico Savi qui sottoscritto di aver venduto un puliero di pelo [...] a messer Ferigo Bianchi in fede di ciò si sottoscriveva alla presenza di Gerolamo [...] al Ponte di Piave* ». («Domenico Savi confesses here that he sold a colt to Messer Ferigo Bianchi») in ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, testimonianza del 18 maggio 1718 in ponte di Piave.

¹⁸¹ «*Ho fatto il sartor e camerier alla Tisana*» («I was a tailor and waiter in Tisana».) ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Interrogatorio del 12 luglio 1718.

¹⁸² ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Interrogatorio del 12 luglio 1718.

citizen. Indeed, Angela, Federico's wife, claimed: «We are gypsies, but my husband's father, Bianchi, was not a gypsy».¹⁸³

Fifthly, another important element regards religion. Indeed, all three brothers claimed to be baptized in the city of Venice:

«My name is Paolo Bianchi, I am son of Marco and was baptized in S. Polo, Venice. [...] My name is Federico Bianchi, I am son of Marco and was baptized in S. Polo, Venice [...] My name is Zuanne Bianchi, I am son of Marco and was baptized in this city».¹⁸⁴

Moreover, Federico's baptism was attested in a copy of one certificate from the "*Libro dei Battezzati*" ("The Book of Baptized people") of the Church of S. Polo in Venice:

«Federico Alvisa, son of Mr. Marco Bianchi, who was Pietro's son, and of Mrs. Annalisa Maria; he was born on the last 3rd of January and was baptized by the Sir. Pievano, who was a comrade of the nobleman Federico Priuli [...] in the church of the S.M.M.D [Maria Mater Domini] quarter.
20th March 1718.
Father Agostino Cappuccini Vicarious Sexton».¹⁸⁵

In Federico's certificate of baptism it was not declared that he was a *cingano*, probably because his father was not a gypsy. For this reason Federico and his brothers Zuanne and Paolo could receive the Christian sacrament. In addition, from this document it is possible to see another important element: Federico's godfather was a nobleman. This fact might be a sign that gypsies had a sort of patronage by some local noble families. I will analyze this aspect in the last section of this chapter.

Furthermore, another element is linked to this aspect of patronage. In fact, although many Venetian edicts firmly prohibited people from assisting gypsies, part of the Venetian community, including noblemen and rich people, did help them. For instance, the company was found in the house of a doctor, who nursed Federico and Zuanne.¹⁸⁶ In addition, other local people admitted to have had normal relations with these *cingani*. Three Venetian men - Antonio Manin, Domenico Balotto and Giovan Battista de Bari - stated through legal formulas that Federico's group had been staying for three days in each of their own area and nobody complained about their presence.

¹⁸³ «Noi altri siamo cingani, ma suo padre di mio marito di nome Bianco non era cingano». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Interrogatorio del 12 luglio 1718.

¹⁸⁴ «Mi chiamo Paolo di Bianchi q. Marco fui battezzato a S. Polo a Venezia. [...] Mi chiamo Ferigo Bianchi de q. Marco batezato qua a Venezia a S. Polo. [...] Mi chiamo Zuanne di Bianch q. Marco son batezato in questa città». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Interrogatorio del 12 luglio 1718

¹⁸⁵ «Adì 2 Febbraio 1696 MV novantasei, Federico Alvisa figlio del sig. Marco di Bianchi quondam Pietro e della sig.ra Annalisa Maria sua Consorte nato di 3 gennaro passato battezzato per il signor Pievano, compare del nobiluomo Federico Priuli fu de Ser Alvisè comare Lucceta Marchiori della contrada di S. M.M.D [Maria Mater Domini] di Chiesa. 20 Marzo 1718. Padre Agostino Cappuccini Vicario Sagrestano». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Copia tratta dal libro de Battezzati

¹⁸⁶ «Ricovrati nella casa dell'eccellente Bernardo Soardi cerico [che] habita in Campo di S. Mattia contrada di S. Donato» («They were hosted in the house of the excellent Bernardo Soardi, doctor, who lives in Campo S. Mattia, district of S. Donato») in ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Lettera inviata al Consiglio di Dieci lì 1 luglio 1718

«I, Antonio Manin, attest that Federigo Bianchi have been living in Villa Campo di Piera with his family for three days as his license permitted and nobody can complain about that».¹⁸⁷

«I, Domenico Balotto, attest that Federigo Bianchi have been living in Villa di Vigonovo with all his family for three days as his license allowed and nobody can complain about that».¹⁸⁸

«I attest that Federigo Bianchi have been with all his family here, in this place, for three days as his license permits and nobody can complain about that. Giovan Battista de Bari».¹⁸⁹

Federico's band had been settling near to each of these communities just for few days. Nevertheless, this should not hide the important fact that these *cingani* have been staying near some Venetian people, without any problems and, furthermore, with the permission of the delegates of the political power. In fact, Antonio Manin, Domenico Balotto and Giovan Battista de Bari were all a form of mayor in the villages in which they lived. Probably, they allowed the gypsy company to stop in their territories thanks to the authorizations they had.

In fact, regarding permissions that were possessed by Federico's company, it was mentioned above that the Venetian policemen found a passport, two letters, and other papers. In addition, some of these *cingani* complained that their documents were confiscated. During the questioning, Angela was the first one who admitted that the policemen took some of their papers («*si che ne hanno portato via della robba, delle carte*»), Federico confirmed («*dagli sbiri siano state levate carte*»), and Rosolina specified that those documents were permits.¹⁹⁰ Finally, Zuanne explained with more precision that those documents were written by the Motta's *Podestà* and some letters written by other authorities: «They took away a permission of the Motta's *Podestà* and some letters. When they showed him the papers he said that those ones were their own papers».¹⁹¹ Effectively, some (or probably all) of those documents were enclosed to the material of the trial. It is possible to read the passport written by the *Podestà* of Motta (27th of April 1718), two letters – one from the 11th April 1718 and the other one from the 21st May 1718 –, and five other papers that were cited by the chief of the police during his report. Among these papers there were some documents that were analysed above: the copy of Federico's certificate of baptism (20th March 1718), the sale agreement of a colt to the gypsy company (18th May 1718), and the declarations by the heads of three different villages in the Venetian territories (24th April 1718, 4th May 1718, and 8th May 18178). With the passport written on the 27th of April 1718, the *Podestà* of the Motta district, Domenico Manin, ordered the majors of the villages to permit to Federico's company to stay for three days in their towns.¹⁹² In

¹⁸⁷ «Faccio fede io Antonio Manin come il signor Federigo Bianchj hanno abitato in Villa dj Campo d Piera con tutta la sua famiglia per giornj tre come comanda il suo mandato e niuno non sj può lamentare essendo statj onoratj in fede di che et hanno avuto la sua carità». ASVE, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, testimonianza del 8 maggio 1718 .

¹⁸⁸ «Faccio fede io Domenico Balotto come il sign. Federigo Bianchi hanno habitato in Villa di Vigonovo con tutta la sua famiglia, giorni tre, come comanda il suo mandato, e niuno si può lamentare essendo stati onoratj in fede di che et hanno havuto la sua carità». ASVE, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, testimonianza del 4 maggio 1718.

¹⁸⁹ «Faccio fede io sotto scritto di come che il sig. Fedrigho Bianchi ove logiato con tutta la sua famiglia qui nel suddetto locho giorni 3 come permette il suo mandato e [...] che sono stati gente onoratta in fede di me e go zatto la sua carità. Giovan Battista de Bari, deputato della suddetta Villa». ASVE, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, testimonianza del 24 aprile 1718 .

¹⁹⁰ ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, interrogatorio del 12 luglio 1718.

¹⁹¹ «Ci hanno portato via un mandato del Sig. Podestà della Motta e delle lettere e fattegli vedere le carte come avanti presentate disse che il mandato è quello del loro». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, interrogatorio del 12 luglio 1718.

¹⁹² ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, permesso di Domenico Manin del 27 Aprile 1718.

addition, he specified that anyone who persecuted them would be fined fifty ducats. Further, in the letter dated 11th April 1718 it was asked to allow these *cingani* to stay in that area, the name of the area is not, however, legible.¹⁹³ Similarly, the content of the letter from 21st May 1718 is not completely clear.¹⁹⁴ Nevertheless, what is most interesting is that the writer, Bernardo Lavagnuolo, affirmed that he had worked for the gypsy Federico Bianchi. Moreover, he guaranteed that that gypsy company was composed of reliable people and that they had the permission to move in the territories near Oderzo. He also copied the deposition of another person, a certain Tommaso, in order to convince the addressee that Federico was a trustworthy person.

Thanks to these documents it can be seen that *cingani* who belonged to Federico's company had been moving in the Venetian area for at least some months, since the end of March 1718 until the beginning of July 1718, when they were arrested in Murano. They had probably been in the city of Venice since March 1718, or before, because they copied the Federico Bianchi's certificate of baptism on the 20th of that month and, on the 11th of April, they received a letter of protection in the same city. Two weeks later they were in the town of Motta, near Treviso, where, on the 27th of April 1718, they received the license of staying in the Venetian territories by the *Podestà* of that city. Then, during the following month, Federico and his family were in two villages near Motta, in Oderzo and Ponte di Piave. Moreover, on the 18th of May, a Venetian man testified that he had sold a colt to them in Ponte di Piave. Federico's company was probably in Ponte di Piave also on the 24th of April, so before the licence released by the *Podestà* of Motta, because, on that day, the head of the town declared that these *cingani* had been staying there for three days without making any problems. Nevertheless, Federico's company did not move only in that area, but it seems that, at the beginning of May, they were also near Padua, in Vigonovo and in Campo di Piero. Indeed, the mayors of those villages gave the same statement as the mayor of Ponte di Piave had a few weeks before. At the end of July, they were again in Ponte di Piave, because Federico and Zuanne were wounded there. After that they went to Murano, near the city of Venice, to be nursed by a doctor. After the overview of their transfers, they most likely continued to move in the same area and they also came back to the identical village more times, probably due to their working activities.

Furthermore, *cingani* of Federico's company were originally from that area. In fact, as has already been mentioned, the three brothers were baptized in Venice.¹⁹⁵ In addition, both Paolo and Federico declared that they had been working in Tisana (probably "Latisana") with their father. Paolo said: «I have been in Tisana for a while with my father».¹⁹⁶ Federico affirmed: «I was a tailor and waiter in Tisana».¹⁹⁷ Finally, Angela stated that she was born in Riva Longa, near Verona: «My name is Angiola Floria, I was born in Riva Longa, near Verona».¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, lettera dell'11 Aprile 1718.

¹⁹⁴ ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, lettera di Bernardo Lavagnuolo del 21 maggio 1718.

¹⁹⁵ ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Interrogatorio del 12 luglio 1718

¹⁹⁶ «*Son stato un pezzo alla Tisana con mio padre*». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Interrogatorio del 12 luglio 1718.

¹⁹⁷ «*Ho fatto il sartor e camerier alla Tisana*». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Interrogatorio del 12 luglio 1718.

¹⁹⁸ «*Ho nome Angiola Floria, son nata in Riva Longa sul veronese*». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Interrogatorio del 12 luglio 1718.

Figure 11. Some places where Federico Bianchi's company had been.



A last element regards the presence of other groups of *cingani* in the Venetian territories. In fact, Angela declared of being born near Verona by Iseppo di Flora. Rosolina said that she was Iulio Moretti's daughter, although she did not say which city she was originally from. So, probably, Angela and Rosolina, both *cingane*, were from two different gypsy families of the Venetian area. In addition, Federico and Zuanne were wounded in Ponte di Piave by other *cingani*. Federico stated that: «I was wounded by another company of gypsies».¹⁹⁹ Thus, despite the Venetian decrees and the repression against gypsies, they continued to be present in the territories and they could also intertwine relation with the local population in different ways.

3.2. "Criminal" *Cingani*: Repression

The fact that the majority of the sources about gypsies in the Republic of Venice during the Early Modern Age concerns criminality is undeniable. So, repression and rejection seem to be the main reactions that came to light. Nevertheless, as explained above, we have to keep in mind that the majority of the sources that I used - and that are available now - are legal sources that consider gypsies as offenders. Consequentially, it is obvious that the image that emerges from these records is a criminal image. Looking at the table 3, on a total of twenty-eight references for the Venetian territories, twenty-two cases regard criminal acts executed by *cingani* or circumstances when they were treated as criminal. With the number of historical documents available now, I can state that there is not a peak in a specific period, but these facts were rather distributed during the Early Modern Age: six during the sixteenth century, seven in the seventeenth century, and none during the eighteenth century.

Since the beginning of the sixteenth century some *cingani* were accused of being involved in criminal acts. For instance, in 1518, a gypsy man was taken into trial and condemned because he was

¹⁹⁹ «E son stato ferito da una Compagnia de Cingani che ci havevano da dar dei bezi?». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Interrogatorio del 12 luglio 1718.

charged with annoying a woman.²⁰⁰ This man was called Stefano *Cingano* de Gianni, he was probably from Corfu, and he was an oarsman on Andrea Foscarini's Venetian galley. Stefano was denounced because he had molested (or he had tried to molest) a woman, near the galley, and because he assaulted the man who tried to stop him, Giacomo. Giacomo was also the man who denounced him, Stefano, together with Francesco *Moro* ("Moor") from Portugal, the boy who helped the gypsy during the fight. Stefano *cingano* tried to defend himself stating that he knew the woman, called Reina («*una tal Reina*»), and he did not do any violence on her, because she wanted to go with him voluntarily in order to escape from the accusation of being a sinner («*per cavarsi dal peccato*»).²⁰¹ Nevertheless he was condemned to a Venetian galley for other five years, because all the witnesses gave testimony against him.

In December 1573, another trial was conducted against a gypsy on a galley, this time because he cheated his master by trying to escape from the ship.²⁰² In fact, Pagomeno *cingano* from Corfu, left the galley without asking any permission. He stated that he just wanted to visit his mother, brothers and sisters who lived in the island where they were in that moment, Corfu, and he did not want to escape. He affirmed that when he came back to the ship, the galley had already lifted its anchor, and he could not do anything. The owner of the galley, Giacomo Foscarini, did not believe Pagomeno *cingano* and decided to punish him as example to the other people. Thus, he condemned Pagomeno to row chained to the oar - so not as a free rower but as a forced one - for eighteenth months.

In those years the idea that gypsies were threatening and dangerous was widespread in the Venetian *Terra Ferma*. For example, in 1570, in an area near Salò, it was reported that a band of five thousands of gypsies invaded the region. According to Odorici:

«All the Land of Salò was fearful, because [gypsies] were killing, robbing and burning. For this reason all the people escaped with the goods and the animals to the mountains. At the end, those enemies were in part killed and in part captured».²⁰³

Thus, gypsies were considered as enemies who had to be captured or killed, because they were a serious nuisance and danger to the local population.

During the end of the sixteenth century, in 1583 and 1587, two other trials were conducted against gypsies because they were considered to be offenders. Fassanelli has analysed in-depth these two cases and he proposed interesting reflections that I will partially present in the next section.²⁰⁴ Here I just restrict the considerations to the part regarding the rejection of *cingani*.

The first case occurred in 1583, in Montagnana, a village near Padua.²⁰⁵ To be more precise, on the 21st April 1583, two gypsy men, Rinaldo di Paulin and Marc'Antonio Moretti, were detained because they were accused of being gypsies, vagrants, thieves and in possession of prohibited weapons («*cingani,*

²⁰⁰ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4302. It is also in Cassese (2009, p.196).

²⁰¹ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4302.

²⁰² ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4318. It is also in Cassese (2009, p.196).

²⁰³ «*Tutta la Patria [di Salò] si mise in timore et amore perchè ridutti insieme andarono amazando, sachezando et brusiendo, per il che tutti fuggivano con le robbe et animali riducendosi alli monti. Finalmente furono tali nemici parte morti parte presi*». Odorici (1860, pp. 235-236). It is also cited in Bettoni (1880, p. 210), and it was reported in Pellizzari and Bendinoni (2011, p. 132).

²⁰⁴ For more information, see Fassanelli (2011).

²⁰⁵ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10. It is cited in Cassese (2009, p. 196), and analysed in-depth in Fassanelli (2011, pp. 169-222).

vagabondi e ladri et presi con le armi proibite».²⁰⁶ Even if Rinaldo declared himself to be a good Christian and to have left his gypsy company, and had an oral license for staying in the village, they were persecuted according to the Venetian laws. Although, as I will show in the next section, these two *cingani* were released at the end of the trial, the local authorities contributed to perpetuate the stereotypical image of *cingani* affirming that gypsies, because they were gypsies, were vagrants and thieves. Thus, according to the Montagnana's *Podestà*, Rinaldo and Marc'Antonio, being *cingani*, were vagrants and thieves and, thus, criminals.

In 1587, in an area near Verona, the gypsy company captained by Zuanne was taken to trial because, initially, women of the group robbed some local people and, then, because they all escaped and violently confronted the police.²⁰⁷ In fact, the hunt pursued by the Venetian police was cruel. A man and a pregnant woman even died during the escape and others were wounded: «A poor pregnant woman drowned, because she was afraid of the shots, and another of my relatives was killed».²⁰⁸ On the contrary, the report made by the police highlighted the gypsies' brutality and not the coercion made by the policemen. When these gypsies were captured, they were questioned and accused of many crimes: theft, deceit, escape, aggression, etc. Obviously, they were also accused of being in the Venetian territories if the law did not permit this. In fact, in the source, the edicts from 1549 and 1558 were attached to the proceeding of the trial. Finally, although they were found guilty, they were released - on the condition that they left the region – probably due to a contrast among different Venetian judiciary powers. What comes to light it is that these people were persecuted more because they were gypsies rather than because they committed a crime. In addition, even if they were not arrested, with their expulsion, the Venetian regime its aim which was repeated many times in the bans.

Furthermore, another criminal case connected the two previous ones, because, in 1582, Rinaldo di Paulin pressed charges against the above-mentioned captain Zuanne *cingano* for having killed his brother Zuanne Domenego. Indeed:

«On the 23th of August, around three during the night, the criminals, who were armed with various weapons and a prohibited harquebus, went to the house of the magnificent Bembo and they beat the gypsy Zuan Domenego when was sleeping. He died due to the wounds».²⁰⁹

Even though long and documented sources about *cingani* were not yet found for the seventeenth century, some cases of thefts, fights, murders, threats and violent situations in general were attested in various places of the Venetian territory. For instance, in April 1603, in Corfu, Horatio *cingano* was accused of theft together with other four men who were rowers on a galley with him.²¹⁰ The year after, in 1604, another gypsy, Francesco, was taken into trial because he was involved in a fight with other men.²¹¹ Yet, in

²⁰⁶ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10, c 13rv.

²⁰⁷ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4280, f.10. It is cited in Cassese (2009, p. 196), and analysed in-depth in Fassanelli (2011 pp. 1-45).

²⁰⁸ «*Che si è anegata uan povera donna grossa che era in un burchiello, qual per paura delle arcobusate, che ne furon tirrate, cascò giù, et si anegò; et è stato ammazato el mio famiglio*». ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4280, f.26 cc. 9v-10r. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 14).

²⁰⁹ «*Il 23 agosto, verso la terza ora di note, i rei, fatta seta, e armati di armi astate e non astate e di un archibugio a legibus prohibito, si recano nel cortivo del magnifico Bembo e colpiscono Zuan Domenego cingano dormiente et nihil mali cogitante con diverse ferite causandone la morte exhoc seculo migrativ*». ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10. It is cited in Fassanelli (2011, pp. 121-223).

²¹⁰ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4339.

²¹¹ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4431.

1608, in the countryside near Padua, Paulo *Cingano* d'Este, was arrested and judged because he was considered culpable for a burglary that was executed in two Venetian women's house.²¹² At the end, he was released, because the real culprits – who were not gypsies – were found and punished. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that Paulo was blamed, probably, just because he was a *cingano*. The two cases from 1603 and 1604 are two sources I found in the "*Avogaria di Comun*" fond, in the Archive of Venice. They were written by "*avogadori di comun*", some magistrates who dealt with various matters, including criminal ones. In both cases the gypsies were the offenders. Unfortunately, these records do not provide many information about *cingani*, because the first source consists of less than two pages, while the second one, although it is pretty long (almost thirty pages) it focuses not only on the gypsy man but also on the other people who were involved in the fight. Furthermore, they were criminal records that furnished information pertinent only to the trial. For instance, from the trial dated 1604, we do not know almost anything regarding the *cingano* Francesco. Thus, these findings cannot add important elements to the literature. They mainly confirm that the stereotype of gypsies as criminals who threatened the population was widespread. Nevertheless, the document from 1603 contributes to the discussion about rowers and armed-men showing that, in the seventeenth century, *cingani* were recruited as oarsmen on the Venetian galleys. Probably, this was common above all among gypsies from Corfu and from other islands in the Dalmatian and Greek coast.

Sometimes the facts that involved gypsies could have tragic consequences. For example, in 1679, in Legnago, Alessandro dalla Rovera *Cingano* was killed by a Venetian man.²¹³ I found this record in the national archive of Verona, in the fond "*Atti dei Rettori di Legnago*", that contains the documents written by the Rectors of Legnago district. As it was already explained in the introduction, this legal source is biased and selective, because it shows only the point of view and the intentions of the Venetian authorities, who considered *cingani* as criminals and treated them as such. This finding confirms what other Italian historians, such as Fassanelli for the Venetian case, have already claimed about the application of the banishments against gypsies. In fact, this is a clear example in which the local authorities applied perfectly what was stated in the edicts issued by the Venetian power. Unfortunately, this primary source does not add many other information to the literature, because it is too short and do not include many aspects about the gypsy man. We just know that he was not in Legnago alone, but with his wife. Indeed, according to the source, the gypsy Alessandro dalla Rovara had a dispute with the Venetian man Zuanne Bettini. The *cingano* used a sword against Zuanne Bettini and was also helped by his wife, *cingana*, who used a knife as a weapon. Insulting and intimidating the Venetian man, they attacked him together. For this reason, Zuanne Bettini shot toward Alessandro with an harquebus, wounding him.

«He had a dispute with Bettini, for the reason that was expressed in the trial, and used a sword, while the gypsy woman used a knife. They insulted and threatened him in Bettini's house [...]. So, Bettini took the harquebus and shot the gypsy. Due to the wound, the gypsy died».²¹⁴

Zuanne Bettini was not sentenced for the murder, because, as it was explained in the previous chapter, the Venetian law allowed people to kill gypsies without any penal implication. In fact, in order to not punish

²¹² ASP, Foro criminale, raspe, b.2. reg.3, cc 80rv e 104rv. It is cited in Fassanelli (2011, pp. 161-162).

²¹³ ASVr, Atti dei Rettori di Legnago, b.57, c. 114.

²¹⁴ «*Et venuto a contesa con d.o Bettini, per la causa espressa in processo, et volendo cimentarsi uno con la spada alla mano allo Cingano come pure la Cingana sua moglie con una cortella, ingiuriandolo anco di parole, et profferendo minaccie verso d.o Bettin nella propria abitazi.ne: [...] il che il Bettini preso? L'arcebuggio, lo sparò a propria di faccia contro il Cingano per il che ferito nel fianco detto il giovin spirò l'anima*». ASVr, Atti dei Rettori di Legnago, b.57, c. 114.

him, in the trial it was quoted the edict from 1558 in which it was stated that *cingani* could be killed with impunity:

«According to the law of 1558, 15 July [...], in which it was prohibited for gypsies, men as well as women, to stay in the mainland domains of the State [...], they could be killed with impunity, without any punishment».²¹⁵

In those years, *cingani* were perceived as a serious threat in various places of the Venetian territory. For instance, at the end of the 1685, the local authorities of Tremosine, a municipality in the *Riviera di Salò's podesteria*, asked to extend and reinforce the control over the territory, because they were threatened by many gypsies and criminals:

«Some critical circumstances occurred [...] during the winter 1685-1686, due to the threat of gypsies and criminals. They were a serious danger that required a strict surveillance, also at the tower of Vesio».²¹⁶

Also in Venice many *cingani* and *cingane* were sighted and they were looked on suspect and concern. For instance, on the 11th June 1686, the Venetian Camillo Badoer, reported to the Inquisition:

«I inform you that in the city there are many and many gypsies, besides the companies of gypsy women. I saw them moving for Venice alone, or in two together, dressed as strangers. I met them especially late, from 18 to 19, but in the night it is difficult to recognise them».²¹⁷

Furthermore, a couple of years later, in 1688, in a village near Padua, Antonio Pero testified that he had been attacked by Polo Rovere and other *cingani*:

«Polo Rovere and other numerous gypsy companions who were together in that place [...] molested me and they prohibit to move freely [...] and to go to gain something for the sustenance of my poor family».²¹⁸

Antonio Pero asked to the Council of Ten to arrest Polo Rovere and his gypsy companions. Consequently, the Council of Ten wrote to the rectors of Padua in order to apprise them of the situation.

It is interesting to note that they did not inform them about this particular case, but they talked about the problems that *cingani* in general created: «gypsies oppress the subjects, persecuting and insulting them continuously».²¹⁹ In addition, the Council of Ten requested to the local authorities of Padua

²¹⁵ «Secondo le parti del 1558, 15 Luglio [...] nelle quali si era proibito l'accettarsi più in questo Stato della Terra Ferma li Cingani concedono, che tanto huomeni, quanto donne [...] possino essere amazzati impunemente, [...] per tali homicidij non habbino ad incorrere in alcuna pena». ASVr, Atti dei Rettori di Legnago, b.57, c. 114.

²¹⁶ «Altre circostanze critiche si manifestarono [...] durante l'inverno 1685-1686 a causa della minaccia portata da zingari e malviventi, un pericolo serio che impose una stretta vigilanza, estesa anche alle torri campanarie della Quadra di Vesio». ACT, Ordinamenti, Reg. n. 16 23-12-1685 c.297 e Reg. n. 17 27-01-1686. It is in Pellizzari and Bendinoni (2011, p.135).

²¹⁷ «Porto dunque riverente a VVEE in avviso che vi sono per la città molti e molti cingani, oltre le compagnie delle donne cingane, et questi sono da me stati veduti et notati a girare Venetia soli, et per il più a due assieme, vestiti benissimo da foresti et li ho incontrati per il più alle hore brusate, come si suol dire, cioè alle hore 18 e 19, ma la notte non si possono conoscere». ASVe, Inquisizione, b.548, 11 giugno 1686.

²¹⁸ «Polo Rovere' e compagni cingani ch'uniti in grosso numero s'attrovano in quelle vicinanze banditi [...] portando a ciascun molestia particolarmente alla mia persona, vietandomi libertà et il modo di poter col mio essercitio di [...] l'andar a guadagnar il pane per sostentamento della povera mia famiglia». ASP, Foro Criminale del malefizio, b.11, f. 9. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 162).

²¹⁹ «Le vessationi che vengono praticate da cingani a sudditi con continue molestie ed insulti». ASP, Foro Criminale del malefizio, b.11, f. 9. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 163).

to arrest or expel all *cingani*, in order to defend the local population: «these criminals have to be arrested or expelled from this place, for the sake of the local population».²²⁰

As far as the eighteenth century is concerned, the case of Federico's gypsy company was not the only one. Also during that century, *cingani* were considered to be robbers and, for this reason, they had to be persecuted, also by the Inquisition. For instance, in 1710, the friar Odoardo Maria, stating his point of view on some religious issues, affirmed: «as that man affirms, all gypsies should be denounced to the Inquisition, because they always steal, especially in the streets».²²¹

Furthermore, gypsies were thought to be responsible for violent aggressions. For instance, in 1716, near Cremona, five armed gypsies ("*cingheri*") assaulted Sir. Andreasi. The gypsies injured him severely and threatened to kill him should he go to the police to denounce the felony. It is highly possible that the attackers followed the orders of the Bergoni brothers. In fact, the Bergoni brothers lived in Brescia and had already had a dispute with Sir. Andreasi:

«Few days ago a certain Andreasi from the area of Cremona [...] met five armed gypsies who asked some tobacco to him. He gave it to them. They almost beat him to death. In addition, they threatened him not to talk to anyone about this incident. It is supposed that this aggression was ordered by some of the Bergoni brothers who have a lot properties in the area of Brescia».²²²

I located this source from 1716 in the "*Cancelleria prefettizia superiore*" of the national archive of Brescia, a series that collects the documents produced by the Venetian chancellors who worked in Brescia. It is a trial and is composed of only four pages. Even though this legal source is quite short, partial and selective, it is pretty important because, as we will see later, it adds some relevant information to the gypsy studies. Indeed, this example confirms that a peculiar relationship existed between gypsies and noblemen in the territories of the Northern Italy, as much as Hasséo asserted for the French case.

Gypsies continued to be arrested or expelled. A case of a jailed *cingano* was attested in 1720, in Venice.²²³ On the 27th of September 1720 a certain Antonio Salerno *Cingano* together with two other men, asked the Council of the Ten to be admitted at the *Collegio Criminal*. They probably wanted to ask for the punishment to be changed. In the end, their request was rejected. Yet, at the end of the century, a couple of expulsions were chronicled. For example, on the 2nd April of 1750, the major of Leno wrote to the *Podestà* of Brescia to warn him against the presence of two gypsy women in the village.²²⁴ Although it seemed that these two *cingare* wanted to live there peacefully, the local authorities asked for their expelling because they usually used to welcome other people, probably other *cingari*, who were dangerous for the local inhabitants. Indeed it was affirmed:

²²⁰ «Arresto, trovandosene alcun bandito e per farli scacciare da coteste parti a giusta consolatione di cotesti popoli». ASP, Foro Criminale del malefizio, b.11, f. 9. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 163).

²²¹ «Bisognerebbe, come soggiunge quel sapientissimo huomo, metter all'inquisitione tutti li cingari, che fanno la vita loro nel furto, et i ladri di strada maggiormente». ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni Roma, Expulsis papalisticis, f22.

²²² «Alcuni giorni or sono un tal Andreasi in Terra Cremonese, [...] fù incontrato da cinque Armati supposti Cingheri, e chiestogli del Tabacho, che puntualmente a loro diede, lo bastonarono riducendolo in pericolo di vita, ed inoltre minacciato [...] se avesse parlato con alcuno di questo fatto. Viene supposto, che questa violenza sia stata ordinata d'alcuni fratelli Bregoni ch'hanno beni in Territorio di Brescia». ASBs, Cancelleria prefettizia superiore, b. 71.

²²³ ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Deliberazioni, Criminali, filze, b. 134.

²²⁴ ACL, busta 60, Mazzo 39, n.36, Proclama per l'espulsione delle donne di professione *cingare*.

«Nevertheless, they give refuge and trade with similar people who disturb the tranquillity of the village and represent a danger for the inhabitants' life [...]. We order the women to leave this place within three days».²²⁵

A similar case occurred in 1786, near Padua. Indeed, in that summer, in the countryside at the East of Padua, a company of eighteenth *cingani* disturbed and intimidated the local population and the Council of Ten therefore asked the Rectors of Padua to expel them from Oriago:

«Council of ten received a notification that in the Brenta, near Oriago, a big company of gypsies, counting 18 men and women, is disturbing and intimidating the local population. For this reason we ask you to take action in order to expel these people and to apply what the law of the Concil of Ten advises in this kind of situations in order to restore the tranquillity of subjects and trade».²²⁶

Probably, the *Podestà* and *Capitano* of Padua did not intervene properly, because the Council of Ten gave them new and stricter orders and asked the priest to publish the edict in the church:

«We received new information that these gypsies and criminals have become more and more unruly and violent and for this reason we/I send you a printed copy of the decree that prohibits *cingani's* presence and settlement in the state. You have to ask the priest to publish that edict in that parish in the time when more people come».²²⁷

After this directive, the gypsy band moved to another village, in Bottenigo, but also there they created many problems to the local population:

«people who wander, are armed with various guns, commit violent acts and intimidate non only the people of this village but also of near villages [...] people so dangerous, undisciplined and who disturb the public order».²²⁸

So, that time, the Council of Ten ordered both the Rectors of Padua as well as the ones of Treviso to keep those dangerous people under control. Again, gypsies were considered to be a serious threat for the public order, especially due to their continuous mobility as well as their violence.

From this last example, it is possible to note that also religious people, such as priests, were involved in the measures taken by the political authorities against *cingani*. In the case from 1710 it was

²²⁵ «Scorrono però a dar asilo, e commercio [...] a gente di simile affare con perturbazione della tranquillità del Paese, e pericolo delle sostanze degli abitanti; [...] d'ordine nostro alle donne sudette che nel numer di giorni tre cont. debbano slogiare da qua contorn? i quali è volontà di questa carica». ACL, busta 60, Mazzo 39, n.36, Proclama per l'espulsione delle donne di professione *cingare*.

²²⁶ «Giunge notifica al tribunale nostro dei capi del Consiglio di dieci, che sulla Brenta, massime nei contermini d'Oriago, ragguardevole compagnia di *cingani* al numero di 18 tra uomini e donne infesti quelle popolationi e le pongano in soggezione. Si eccita però la nota attention vostra a rilasciare le più pressanti commissioni onde allontanare le genti infeste, ed avviare quanto sta espresso nelle leggi del Consiglio di dieci nel proposito a ridonare così quella tranquillità a quei suffiti ed al Commertio». ASP, Foro Criminale del malefizio, b.11, filza 280, ducale del 12 luglio 1786. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 162).

²²⁷ «Giunte essendoci nuove notizie, che sempre più si rendino costoro [*cingari* e *malviventi*] infesti, e violenti trova il tribunal nostro de capi di accompagnarvi el proclama a stampa inibitivo l'introdutione a dimora de *cingari* nello Stato. Voi pertanto farete tenere a quel parroco il proclama stesso con ordine di pubblicarlo in quella parrochial chiesa nell'ora del maggior concorso». ASP, Foro Criminale del malefizio, b.11, filza 280, ducale del 19 luglio 1786. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 162).

²²⁸ «Genti che vagano armate d'armi da fuoco di qualunque sorte, commettendo violenze e tenendo in soggezione non solo quei villici ma gli altri ancora de vicini villaggi[...] gente così trista, turbatrice la pubblica tranquillità». ASP, Foro Criminale del malefizio, b.11, filza 280, ducale del 21 luglio 1786. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 162).

showed that a friar requested to persecute gypsies through the Inquisition because they were used to steal. From the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century other a couple of examples regarding religious matters were found and they display that the religious intentions was not so different from the political one. Both of them wanted just to expel or punish *cingani*, because they were considered dangerous. One case regards the burial of a gypsy woman. Indeed, in August 1698, the *cingana* Cattarina, who was Donà della Rosa's wife, died at the age of eighty. She did not had a natural death, but had been killed by someone three days before. The priest of the Pasiano parish – a small village near Pordenone – refused to lay her to rest, following the religious regulations. On the contrary, as we will see in the next section, situations in which the political or religious rules were ignored occurred quite often. In this case, the priest of the Visinale parish – another village near Pasiano – for Christian compassion, gave his approval for the woman to be buried in the cemetery out of Christian compassion:

«Today, 20th August 1698, Cattarina, Donà della Rosa's wife, gypsy, was buried in the cemetery of Saint Maria of Visinale by the priest Felice Cepollino thanks to his compassion, because she was killed on the 17th in the parish of Pasiano [...] when she was eighty».²²⁹

The first priest refused to bury the gypsy woman following the religious regulations of the venetian territories, because, as explained in the previous chapter, even if *cingani* often declared to be Christians, they were seen as deceivers and not good observants of the doctrine. For example, in 1706, in Verona, two gypsies called Moretti were accused of the repetition of the baptism of one of their children.²³⁰ The case was described by the friar Odoardo Maria Valsecchi who used a letter sent by the *Podestà* of Verona to the Heads of Council of Ten for informing them of this sacramental abuse. Antonio and Marco Moretti *cingani*, together with their wives, moved to Verona, where Antonio's daughter was baptized for the second time. They decided to baptize the child again, because baptism provided them with the protection of some local people, the godfathers of the child. The reiteration of the baptism was considered a heavy crime both for the religious as well as for the civil authorities, because it was the fundamental sacrament for the Christian identity as well as an important document which confirmed one's belonging to the territory. This influenced the application of the "*misto foro*" theory, where both the Inquisition and the secular court had to intervene for the case. An individual could be registered only in one parish. Indeed, the friar wrote:

«from our point of view, we observe that the repetition of the baptism was always considered a heavy crime by the Catholic Church, as the dogmas and the holy fathers tell us. The punishment of illegality is decreed by the canonical law, while the banishment or the death is decreed by the civil law».²³¹

²²⁹ «Adì 20 Agosto 1698, Cattarina, Moglie di Donà della Rosa Cingani è stata sepolta in questo Cimiterio di Santa Maria di Visinale da Pre Felice Cepollino ex charitate essendo stata interfatta sotto il disette detto fu giorno di Domenica sotto la Parochia di Pasiano ove dovea esser ivi morta quamvis vixet nullius parochie per via Vagi (Vulgo Cingani) d'età d'anni 80 in circa». APV, registro morti 1685-1748, 20 agosto 1689. It is in Begotti (1998b, pp. 8-10).

²³⁰ ASVe, Consultori in iure, fz 162. It is also in ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130. It is cited in Veronese (2010, p. 143-144).

²³¹ «A parer nostro, osserviamo, che la reiterazione del battesimo fu in ogni tempo dalla chiesa catholica considerato per delitto gravissimo, come si raccoglie da sagri canoni e santi padri [...]. Dalla legge canonica a simili delinquenti viene decretata la pena dell'irregolarità e della legge civile l'esilio, et anco la morte». ASVe, Consultori in iure, fz 162. It is also in ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, cingani. It is cited in Veronese (2010, p. 143-144).

3.3. Relationships and Exchanges Between *Cingani* and Venetian Population

As Fassanelli states in the introduction of his book, although the history of gypsies in the Republic of Venice was dominated by repressive policies and hostile reactions, this did not prevent relationships and exchanges between the ethnic minority and the dominant society.²³²

I think this is the most interesting aspect of the presence of *cingani* in the Republic of Venice but, at the same time, the most difficult to study and explain, due to the scarcity of sources. Some scholars studied this relationship for other areas of the Italian peninsula. For instance, Novi Chavarria discussed the presence of gypsies in the Kingdom of Naples during Early Modern Age.²³³ She proposes three different cases of mobility depending on the different occupational activities of gypsies. The first type were gypsies as blacksmiths who mostly lived near the ports - where they bought metals - and in the cities and villages - where they moved in order to sell their products or to repair other metal goods. Secondly there were gypsies as were peasants who worked in the hinterland and settled there, near the land that they farmed. They often possessed the field and bequeathed it to their children: in this way many generations of gypsies settled in the same places.²³⁴ The third occupational type was seasonal work, which involved semi-settlement. Indeed, gypsies who lived in sheep farming areas, were often shepherds who, periodically, moved their flocks from one to another pasture. In addition, Novi Chavarria highlights that the political and economic situation is an important element that influences the settlement and inclusion of the gypsies. In the Kingdom of Naples, during the Aragon's regency, a context of economic, political and social development allowed many gypsies to avoid their previous nomadism.²³⁵ Nevertheless, from the end of the fifteenth century they had less opportunities to settle and integrate with the local society, because the general situation started to get worse. Indeed, on one hand, the economy was not so flourishing as before, and on the other hand, too many immigrants from the countryside and from the Balkans came to the cities causing health and judiciary problems.

As it was already asserted, analyzing the Republic of Venice as Novi Chavarria did for the Kingdom of Naples is more complicated due to the scarcity and the types of sources that were found until now about *cingani*. Although such a study might be difficult it is nevertheless not impossible. In fact, Fassanelli tried to retrace the stories of two groups of *cingani* who lived in the Republic of Venice during the sixteenth century.²³⁶ As I showed in the first section of this chapter, I tried to do the same for Federico's Bianchi gypsy company who lived in Venice at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Although the documents we both used were criminal sources, one can still trace the relationships and exchanges which took place between the ethnic minority and the dominant society. In this section I summarise the analysis made by Fassanelli regarding this aspect and I connect them with the analysis that I have already done for the case study of

²³² «La storia della presenza rom in Europa occidentale, iniziata al principio del XV secolo, è una storia segnata dal bando e dalle politiche repressive. Questi sono ingredienti fondamentali, ma non unici, dell'ostilità nutrita dalla maggioranza nei confronti della minoranza che, a sua volta, ricambia con un non immotivato timore nei confronti sia degli eccessi repressivi, sia delle derive violente che l'ostilità dei più poteva scatenare nei loro confronti. Questo contesto, evidentemente difficile, non impedisce però la presenza che, come avviene per ogni minoranza culturale, implica necessariamente relazioni e quindi integrazione, ossia l'instaurazione di più o meno stabili rapporti, frequentazioni e scambi con altre persone non appartenenti alla minoranza». Fassanelli (2011, p. IX).

²³³ Novi Chavarria (2007, p. 48).

²³⁴ See different examples in Novi Chavarria (2007, pp. 71, 76).

²³⁵ Novi Chavarria (2007, p. 36, 110).

²³⁶ See the two cases in ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10 and in ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4280, f.26. They are both analyzed in Fassanelli (2011). In addition you can see the case from 1583 in Fassanelli (2003, 2008a).

Federico Bianchi's gypsy company as well as with other documents that I found in the archives or that are listed in the second literature.

First of all, as it is clear from all the cases that have been analysed until now, *cingani* were present in the Venetian territories for the entire Early Modern age despite all the edicts that were issued against them and despite the hostility towards them. They were present in different areas of the state: in Brescia, Verona, Padua, Treviso, Udine, and Venice. According to Manning's categories, we can see that there is some evidence that *cingani* were above all itinerants and, sometimes, settlers in the Venetian territories. Indeed, sometimes they were just passing through a region, while other times they settled for a while. In addition, with these examples, I add to the literature a general overview of the "gypsy geography" in the Venetian state. In other words, I value the places where the presence of *cingani* was attested and the routes that some of them used to drive. For instance, in 1587, the gypsy Zuanne was moving with his company through Salò, Bardolino, Peschiera, Zevio, villages in the area of Verona.²³⁷ In addition, he affirmed that he had always been staying in the region of Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso.²³⁸ Two centuries later, in 1786, a group of eighteen gypsies, men and women, were moving through the farmland near Padua, through the villages of Oriago, Gambarate and Bottenigo.²³⁹ Whereas some of the *cingani* moved continuously, others tried to settle. In 1583, Rinaldo di Paulin *cingano*, stated that he had been living in Montagnana, near Padua, for a year, and he had also rented a house there for him and his family.²⁴⁰ It is interesting to note that, probably, gypsies preferred to go to some villages instead of others and they tended to return there. This was the case of the area where the villages of Motta and Oderzo are located (near Treviso). In fact, in the middle of the seventeenth century, that area was considered by the authorities to be the "homeland" of *cingani*.²⁴¹ Indeed, in 1698, an old woman died in Pasiano, a village nearby Oderzo. Again, in 1718, Federico's Bianchi company received a written licence by the *Podestà* of Oderzo as well as by the *Podestà* of Motta, that allowed them to stay in the territory.²⁴² Moreover, it might have been possible for some gypsy families to have stayed in the Venetian territories for generations. For example, "Moretti" is a surname that has been attested there for a few times from the end of the sixteenth century until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Indeed, in 1583, the cousin who visited the gypsy Rinaldo in Montagnana, near Padua, was called Marc'Antonio Moretti. Other two men with the surname Moretti, Marco and Antonio, were attested in 1706, in Verona, because they repeated the baptism of Antonio's daughter. Again, in 1718, one of the *cingani* in Federico Bianchi's company, Paolo Bianchi's wife, was called Rosolina Moretti and she was Lulio's Moretti child.

Moving through the Venetian territories, *cingani* could sometimes live peacefully, side by side with the dominant society. It has been already mentioned in one of the previous sections that Federico Bianchi's company had been welcomed in some villages for a few days without any problems, as the mayor of those communities stated.²⁴³ Sometimes the host communities even helped them. For example, in 1587, when Zuanne and his gypsy group sought refuge in the village of Zevio because they had been attacked by a criminal group, they were helped by the inhabitants. They were also welcomed in Bardolino and

²³⁷ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4280, f.26, c. 12r. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 20).

²³⁸ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4280, f.26, c.12v. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 20).

²³⁹ ASP, Foro Criminale del malefizio, b.11, f. 280. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 162)

²⁴⁰ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10, c. 15-16. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 175).

²⁴¹ See Begotti (1998b, p. 9).

²⁴² ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133.

²⁴³ ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133.

Peschiera.²⁴⁴ Yet, in 1583, the gypsy Rinaldo di Paulin, had been living in Montagnana with his family for at least one year.²⁴⁵ That means that nobody reported them to the authorities. Moreover, some Venetians from Montagnana testified that these *cingani* were known in the village and they were considered honest people. In fact, it was testified that Rinaldo's family was "integrated" in the community:

«It is true that the gypsy Rinaldo [...] came the day of the Madonna of last September, lived in this territory, and rented a house from my son. He stayed there with his family until Christmas and then he went to another house, near the previous one [...]. He and his family were never rebuked, they never did something bad and they never committed any thefts».²⁴⁶

These examples confirm that gypsies might be considered a cross-community, according to Manning's typologies. Nevertheless, Manning sustains that cross-community migrants are generally small in number, mostly young adults, and most of them are male. While it may be that gypsies in the Venetian territories were probably small in number, they were not only male and young, because they usually live with their families. In fact, usually *cingani* did not move alone, but, as it was already mentioned for Federico's Bianchi case²⁴⁷, they stayed in a group with other gypsies, who were in most of the cases their relatives. So, these groups were a sort of extended family. We have a confirmation of this aspect, not only from my findings, but also from the sources reported in the literature. For instance, the *cingano* Rinaldo di Paulin who lived in Montagnana in 1583, resided there with his wife Elisabetta, their children and his sister in law (the wife of his brother Zuanne Domenego, who had been killed the previous year).²⁴⁸ In addition, one of his brothers lived there before he was killed by another gypsy. Also in the other case investigated by Fassanelli, *cingani* were organized in a company.²⁴⁹ According to Fassanelli, they were at least about ten or more. In fact, six men were arrested: «Alezander Sebastiani's son *Cingaro* [...], Alvisius Hieronimi's son [...], Marco Antonius Michaelis's son [...], Andreas captani Joannis's son [...], Cornelius captain Joannis's son [...], Captain Joannes Captain Francisci's son».²⁵⁰ Then, you have to add the two gypsy women who were accused of theft and other two persons, a man and a pregnant woman, who were killed by the policemen during the escape. Thus, these gypsies added up to at least seven men and three woman, but were probably more. In addition, the fact that a woman was pregnant, could indicate that this group was composed by families with children. In this way, the company was composed by ten-fifteenth adults and a certain number of children. Moreover, the members of the company were also related to each other. In fact, at least three of the captain Zuanne's sons were part of the company: Cornelio, Andrea and the one who was killed by the policemen. Forasmuch as they were around twenty years old, they might have already been married and with some children. In addition, it is interesting to see that few years before, in 1582, Zuanne's group appeared in another source where it was attested that other people were part of the

²⁴⁴ Fassanelli (2011, p. 114, 120).

²⁴⁵ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10. It is in Fassanelli (2011, pp. 169-222).

²⁴⁶ «É vero che Rinaldo Cingano [...] è venuto il giorno della Madonna di settembre passato ad habitar in questa terra a loco e foco, et ha tolto una casa ad affitto da mio figlio et ha stato con la sua fameglia fin Nadale et poi è andato a star in un'altra casa lì vicina [...]. Mai se ha sentito alcun richiamo né di lui né della sua fameglia, che habbino fatto alcun male, né commesso alcun latrocinio». ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10, cc.27-28. It is in Fassanelli (2011, pp. 180-182)

²⁴⁷ ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133.

²⁴⁸ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10, cc. 15-16. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 175).

²⁴⁹ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4280, f.26. It is in Fassanelli (2011, pp. 1-45).

²⁵⁰ «Alezander quondam Sebastiani Cingaro [...], Alvisius quondam Hieronimi [...], Marco Antonius quondam Michaelis [...], Andreas filius str. Capitanesi Joannis [...], Cornelius filius ss.tt Capitaneij [...], Capitaneus Joannes quondam Capitanedi Francisci». ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4280, f.26, c.7rv. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 78).

group.²⁵¹ Indeed, Zuanne had at his side eight gypsy men: his brothers Negrino and Camillo, his sons Comelio and Andrea, his nephew Neni, and other three *cingani* called Antonio, Paolo di Michele, and Cesare di Geronimo. So, in 1582, the company had two men more than few years later, while women and children were not cited at all. In addition, some of them were Zuanne's relatives in the company, like his brothers, sons and a nephew. Also during the following centuries there were cases of gypsies who did not move in the Venetian territories alone, but in groups, often with their family. For instance, in 1679, Alessandro dalla Rovera *Cingano* lived in Legnago at least with his wife, because her presence was attested in the source inasmuch as she helped him to attack the Venetian man Zuanne Bettini.²⁵² Again, when in 1698 a gypsy woman, Cattarina moglie di Donà della Rosa, died in Visinale near Pordenone, it was declared that she had been living in that area with her husband and other *cingani*.²⁵³ In 1706, there was an example of two married couples of gypsies - Antonio and Marco Moretti with their wives - and their children, who asked for the baptism of a little girl.²⁵⁴ Finally, in 1786, a group of eighteen gypsy people, men and women, were moving through the farmland near Padua.²⁵⁵ As the historical chronicle reported, during the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century, gypsy companies were rather numerous.²⁵⁶ On the contrary, the sources dating from the following centuries showed a different picture. The groups were much smaller and based on the family structure. In fact, although the criminal documents tended to focus only on the men, it is possible to recognise the presence of women and children in these groups. A similar situation occurred in France. Henriette Asséo observed that around the middle of the sixteenth century, when the edicts against gypsies increased, the groups of *Egyptiens* became smaller.²⁵⁷ As we will analyze later, gypsies could stay in the territories not thanks to the status of pilgrimages, as before, but thanks to the relationship they had with the local nobility.

From these sources it is possible to see which kind of jobs they had. Often, these activities brought them in direct contact with the local people, as a cross-community usually do. For example, Rinaldo and his relatives were seen as "normal" people, also because they were involved in honest activities. Indeed, Rinaldo declared that since he was in Montagnana he had been cultivating the fields, while, before, he bartered horses and played to the "*corisuola*": «as a good man I would go to work in the fields and I was at pains for getting the bread for my poor children [...] and when I was with gypsies I bartered horses and I played with "*correzuola*"». ²⁵⁸ It is interesting to note that when Rinaldo was with other *cingani* he did some activities that were common among gypsies, but when he settled in Montagnana he started to do a job more common for non-gypsy people. He also stated that his wife begged: «and my wife goes to ask bread

²⁵¹ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10. It is in Fassanelli (2011, pp. 121-123).

²⁵² ASVr, Atti dei Rettori di Legnago, b.57, c. 114.

²⁵³ APV, registro morti 1685-1748, 20 agosto 1689. It is in Begotti (1998b, pp. 8-10).

²⁵⁴ ASVe, Consultori in iure, fz 162. It is in Veronese (2010, p. 143-144).

²⁵⁵ ASP, Foro Criminale del malefizio, b.11, f. 280. In Fassanelli (2011, p. 162).

²⁵⁶ Fassanelli (2011, p.74). See also Odorici (1860, pp.235-236) and Bettoni (1880, p.210).

²⁵⁷ Asséo (2005).

²⁵⁸ «*Da homo da bene andar a lavorar in campagna et affaticarmi per guadagnar il pane alli miei poveri figliolini [...] et quando ero con cingani viveva di barattar cavalla et di giocare alla corizuola*». ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10, cc.16-17. It is in Fassanelli (2011, pp. 175-176).

The game of "*correzuola*", or "*covenzuola*" or "*correggiola*" was spread in various Italian states during the Early Modern age. It was a game played with a leather strip (the '*correggia*') whose extremities are sewn. One player shows the '*correggia*' bended many times to the other player who has to insert a stick in one of the folds. If you open the '*correggia*' and the stick is inside, the player with the stick wins, otherwise if the stick is outside the other one is the winner. It was a really easy game, but when played with certain ability and betting, it could be used to cheat other people.

for the love of God».²⁵⁹ This was confirmed also by a witness: «Rinaldo's wife and sister in blood asked for charity in order to gain something».²⁶⁰ On the other hand, Rinaldo's cousin, Marc'Antonio, stated that he had been working for the captain of the S. Francesco city gate of Modena and for an innkeeper near Ferrara.²⁶¹ *Cingani* of Zuanne's company were involved in various activities that were typical for gypsies. The women were fortune tellers: «our poor women [...] are fortune tellers».²⁶² In addition, the women were engaged in activities of small trade or barter: «we bought these things [...], actually our women bought them from Jews».²⁶³ On the other hand, the men bartered horses and played the game "*correzuola*": «We bartered our horses and played "*correzuola*"».²⁶⁴ According to Fassanelli, they were allowed practice those kind of activities around the dominant population precisely because they were recognized as *cingani*.²⁶⁵ The people of Zuanne's company represented themselves as a respectable gypsy company who was just travelling and living thanks out of simple, typical and licit activities. It was showed above that Federico Bianchi's gypsy group, represented themselves in a similar way, one century later, in 1718.²⁶⁶ In addition, gypsies could be recruited for the local army by noblemen, as soldiers for the Venetian army, or as free rowers in the galleys. This aspect will be treated in-depth in the next section.

Another element within the study of interactions between gypsies and Venetians regards religion. In fact, as it was already mentioned for Federico Bianchi's case in 1718, some of the gypsies who were represented in the sources were Christians. For instance, in 1583, Rinaldo di Paulin, declared that he was living in a Christian way: «I am Christian and I was baptized. I do not want to join other gypsies, and I want to live in a Christian way».²⁶⁷ Also *cingani* of Zuanne's company, in 1587, affirmed to be Christians: «We are Christians as well».²⁶⁸ They were able to receive the Christian sacraments, such as the baptism, even if the religious regulations did not allow it. In fact, as it is possible to read from the above quotation, Rinaldo di Paulin *cingano* stated that he had been baptised. In Federico Bianchi's case a copy of the baptism certificate was found.²⁶⁹ In addition, gypsies could receive the holy burial if the priest permitted it. One example is the case of the gypsy Cattarina, Donà della Rosa's wife, who, in 1689, was buried in the cemetery of Vinale after that the priest of Pasiano refused to do it in his parish. More than one and a half century before, in 1506, the gypsy Paulo Indiano, who had been the chief of a Venetian man-at-arms' squad, had a rich funeral and many people attended it:

«In the farmland the lord of the gypsies, who was called Paulo Indian, died. He was 78 years old and he has been the captain of the Venetian armed-squad. He died at the '*Ponte della Paglia*' in a shack. He was buried at

²⁵⁹ «*Et la mia donna va dimandando del pane per l'amor de Dio*». ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10, c.17. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 177).

²⁶⁰ «*Publicamente che la mojer di detto Rinaldo et sua cognata hanno fillato a diversi per guadagnarsi da viver*». ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10, c.28r. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 182).

²⁶¹ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10, c.17. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 177).

²⁶² «*Le nostre povere donne [...] dan la ventura*». ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4280, f.26 c. 9v. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 17).

²⁶³ «*Le robbe [...] le habbiamo comprate, cioè le donne ne hanno comprato dalli hebrei*». ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4280, f.26, c. 9v. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 17).

²⁶⁴ «*A baratar li nostril cavalli, a zugar alla corezola*». ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4280, f.26, c. 9v. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 17).

²⁶⁵ See Fassanelli (2001, p. 79).

²⁶⁶ ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133.

²⁶⁷ «*Io son christiano battezzato et non voglio più andar con cingani, che voglio viver christianamente*». ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10, c.17r. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 176).

²⁶⁸ «*Siamo pur anco noi christiani*». ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4280, f.26 c. 10r. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 14)

²⁶⁹ ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Copia tratta dal libro de Battezzati.

the “*Madonna della fonte della pietà*” in a coffin with great honours. And he was well-dressed. And they buried him. And other gypsies went and offered a dress to the Madonna». ²⁷⁰

Unfortunately, as opposed to other Italian states, no other examples of gypsies who were baptised, buried or who got married were found in the Venetian territories. ²⁷¹ Usually, documents such as books of people who received the sacraments (*I Libri dei Battesimi, Libri dei creminati, Libri dei matrimoni, Libri dei morti*) or books about the people who belonged to a parish (*Libri di stato d'anime*) are a good source of information for this argument, but lack of time prevented me from consulting in-depth these sources. ²⁷² Being a Christian could be a way for being accepted by the local population, and receiving Christian sacraments could strengthen this relationship. For instance, having a venetian man as godfather for the baptism guaranteed a sort of protection. Similarly, marrying a venetian woman helped to be less rejected by the dominant society. ²⁷³

It was already mentioned for Federico Bianchi’s case that gypsies could benefit from the protection of some local noble families. For instance, when Federico was baptised in 1696 he had a Venetian nobleman as a godfather: «baptized by Mr Pievano, who is Federico Piuli’s comrade». ²⁷⁴ The custom of asking protection to noblemen by involving them as godfathers for the baptism was probably widespread and the authorities were aware of this. In fact, in 1706, in Verona, Antonio e Marco Moretti *cingani* baptized Antonio’s daughter for the second time because they wanted to obtain protection from some local people who became the godfathers of the child. ²⁷⁵ In 1587, also the gypsy captain Zuanne, had relationships with some noblemen from the Venetian area. For instance, they were hosted by the Venetian nobleman Boldù and they were in contact with sir Marc’Antonio Sagramoso. ²⁷⁶ Thus, it is possible to hypothesize the presence of a sort of patronage. Nevertheless, it is not easy to understand the nature and strength of these relationships with the nobility. Perhaps these gentlemen welcomed gypsies for a short period just because they had a duty to accept them, or they allowed them to settle on their own property.

Moreover, it is interesting to note that the *avogadore* (one of the main magistrates in the Republic of Venice) who intervened in 1587 was the same who mediated in the case of Rinaldo di Paulin few years before, in 1583. In both cases gypsies were not condemned. According to Fassanelli, it is difficult to prove

²⁷⁰ «*Alla campagna morì lo signore de’ Zingari, quale se chiamava Paulo indiano, ed era homo de età de 78 anni, ed era stato capo de squatra della gente d’arme dei Ventiani et successive de... et morì laggiù al Ponte de Paglia in una trabaccha. Se confessò et fu portato ad seppellire alla madonna della fonte della Pietà con grande onore in una cassa. Et lui ne [...] fu messo dentro molto bene vestito [...]. Et cussì lo seppelliro. Et l’altri zingari donaro una vesta de rosato alla Madonna*». Diario di Ser Tomaso di Silvestro notaio di orvieto, p.534, Fas. 3°, in Caccini (2001, p.247).

²⁷¹ For the religious aspect in other Italian states see, for instance, Aresu (2002, p. 257 and 2012), Criscione (1986, p. 26), Martelli (1996, pp. 38-39), Spinelli (1978), and Novi Chavarria (2007).

²⁷² Aresu (2008c, 2012) used these kinds of registers for the Sardinia case. Martelli (1996) did the same for some Parishes in Rome. For instance, he found at least 20 gypsy children who were registered as baptized people, between 1570 and 1610, in the Parish of St. Martino ai Monti. Martelli also showed that from the beginning of the seventeenth century a tendency to omit the description “gypsy” in the registers even if the child belonged to a gypsy family was quite widespread. Moreover, he found the registration of many marriages in which were involved gypsies in the same Parish as well as in the Parish of St. Niccolò degli Incoronati. Finally he came across to thirty dead gypsies who are mentioned in the Catholic registers between the late sixteenth century and the end of the seventeenth century.

²⁷³ For both the examples, see Federico’s Bianchi case, ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133.

²⁷⁴ «*Battezzato per il signor Pievano, compare del nobiluomo Federico Priuli fu de Ser Alvise comare Lucceta Marchiori*». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Copia tratta dal libro de Battezzati

²⁷⁵ ASVe, Consultori in iure, fz 162. It is also in ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, Prima serie, b. 130, *cingani*. In addition, it is cited in Veronese (2010, p. 143-144)

²⁷⁶ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4280, f.26., cc. 7-8. It is in Fassanelli (1011, p. 16).

the existence of a patronage between the magistrate and these *cingani*, but it is possible to assert that there existed a real dialogue between gypsies, who had been formally banished, and the Venetian political-judiciary authorities.²⁷⁷ In fact, the relationship with the power could be very contradictory. Sometimes, the authorities gave licenses to gypsies permitting them to stay in the territories, despite the normal prohibition issued by the edicts.²⁷⁸ This occurred only occasionally, for instance when *cingani* demonstrated to be engaged in an honest activity. It has been already mentioned that Federico Bianchi's company received a passport from the *Podestà* of Motta and some other authorizations, probably because they were involved in a small trade in that area or because they were helping the Prince in capturing some criminals.²⁷⁹ In 1583, also Rinaldo di Paulin, received a permission to stay in Montagnana after his brother was killed. Indeed, he stated: «I am here in Montagnana thanks to the license granted by the last Rector because one night my brother was killed».²⁸⁰ In this case the license was not written, but oral. In fact, one of the witnesses who had worked for the authorities in Montagnana testified: «Rinaldo came to the previous *Podestà* to ask for a license in order to stay in this territory without any risks. The *Podestà* gave him an oral license and I was present. So, he came to settle here, and he lived near the city walls».²⁸¹

3.4. Relationships and Exchanges Between *Cingani* and the Venetian State

In this section I will analyze the relationship and exchange between *cingani* and the Venetian state, especially from a military perspective. To begin with, I will focus on the role of gypsies as soldiers in the Venetian army; in the second part, I will examine their connections with the local noblemen. On the one hand, the cases of gypsy soldiers in the Venetian territories provide a concrete example to one of Jan and Leo Lucassen's cross-cultural migration types: the movement of soldiers.²⁸² This movement involved *cingani* and was fundamental for the military and government organization of some Northern Italian states, as Zanardo had proved for the Duchy of Milan.²⁸³ I wanted to test whether the same situation occurred in the Republic of Venice but, unfortunately, not enough sources are available in order to confirm or contest this idea. On the other hand, my analysis of the records that contain information about armed-*cingani* and their relationships with the Venetian noblemen, contributes to the Italian gypsy studies. Indeed, my new findings and the examination of other sources verify that this peculiar connections existed not only in France, as Hasséo claimed, but also in the Venetian state, as Fassanelli hypothesized.

It was quite common for gypsies to be recruited as soldiers in the various Italian states. Instances of this practice were recorded in the Duchies of Milan,²⁸⁴ Savoy,²⁸⁵ Ferrara,²⁸⁶ Modena,²⁸⁷ as well as in the

²⁷⁷ Fassanelli (2011, p. 121).

²⁷⁸ In other Italian states there were also examples of licenses that allowed gypsies to run at horsing competitions, or to sell goods in a fair or to give them a special protection in order to prevent a sequestration of their possessions. See, for instance, Spinelli (1978, p. 33), Zuccon (1979), and Arlati (1989).

²⁷⁹ ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133.

²⁸⁰ «Io sono qui in Montagnana con licentia del clarissimo Rettor passato, et questo perché una note mi fu ammazzato un mio fratello». ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10, c.15r. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 175)

²⁸¹ «Rinaldo venne dal clarissimo signor Podestà passato a dimandarli licentia per sicurtà della sua vita di poter stare in questa terra, et così esso clarissimo li concesse licentia in voce, ch'io fui presente et so che venne subito a stantia qui, et habitava appresso le mure». ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10, c.15r. It is in Fassanelli (2011, p. 175).

²⁸² J. and L. Lucassen (2009).

²⁸³ Zanardo (2003).

²⁸⁴ See Vaux de Foletier (1978, p. 136), Viaggio (1997, p. 64), and Zanardo (2003, pp. 112-114). The work of Zanardo (2003) is particularly interesting for this topic.

Kingdom of Naples.²⁸⁸ It would thus seem reasonable to assume that this practice was also common to the Republic of Venice. However, not many examples of gypsy soldiers have been found thus far in the Venetian territories. One case regards a certain gypsy called Paulo Indiano who died in 1506 and previously was «the chief of a Venetian man-at-arms' squad».²⁸⁹ In addition, in 1646, a Venetian captain, Tommaso Morisini, wrote in his dispatch that he had met a gypsy soldier who spoke Turkish near Constantinople.²⁹⁰ Although this *cingano* was not part of the Venetian army, it is curious to see that a Venetian captain recognized him and spoke with him. Moreover, as mentioned in the first section of this chapter, Federico Bianchi was a sort of bounty hunter for the Prince.²⁹¹ Although the meaning of this sentence is not fully clear, it probably means that he killed criminals for the authority. But who was this Prince? A Venetian gentlemen allied to the central power? Or perhaps to a local nobleman?

In fact, the other examples we have of armed *cingani* in the Venetian territories are more representative of their collaboration with the noblemen rather than of their connections with the central state. I have included the analysis of these instances here because they were part of the complex relation between the Venetian central power and local notables.²⁹² Indeed, as earlier explained, the rich people from the Mainland Domains wanted to keep their privileges. For this reason, they often opposed the Venetian authority on the one hand, while on the other hand, they also fought with other noble families. Consequently, they built up their own militias, for which they would often recruit gypsies.

For instance, in 1601, the Venetian noble Giacomo Civran was accused by the Rectors of Verona of being again involved in an act of banditry and of recruiting *cingani* for his violent acts.²⁹³ A century later, in 1716, five armed *cingheri* assaulted Sir. Andreasi near Cremona, following the orders of two noblemen called Bergoni brothers. In fact, the Bergoni brothers lived in Brescia and had already had a dispute with Sir. Andreasi.²⁹⁴ During the same period, specifically in 1717 and in 1719, other sources testified that a rich man from Padua, Marco Querini, performed various crimes with his men-at-arms, some of whom were

²⁸⁵ See Vaux de Foletier (1978, p. 136), Zuccon (1979, pp. 16-17), and Pastore (1989, p. 9).

²⁸⁶ See Spinelli (1978, pp. 26-27, 34), and Campigotto (1987, p. 15).

²⁸⁷ See Zanardo (2008a, pp. 145 -156). The work of Zanardo (3002) is particularly interesting for this topic.

²⁸⁸ See Novi Chavarria (2007, p. 32).

²⁸⁹ «*Jovedì a dì quattro de jugno 1506 [...] morì lo signore de' Zingari, quale se chiamava Paulo indiano, ed era homo de età de 78 anni, ed era stato capo de squatra della gente d'arme dei Ventiani*». Diario di Ser Tomaso di Silvestro notaio di Orvieto, p. 534, Fas. 3°, in Caccini (2001, p. 247) and Piasere (2006, p. 40).

²⁹⁰ «*Ho ritrovato tra quelle milicie un sold.to Cingano, che ha la lingua turchesca, che altre volte e statto in Costantinopoli il quale con tutte le accuratezze ho espedito all'Ecc.mo Baillo con speranza di rehaverlo con la risposta*». ASVe, Senato, Dispacci, Procuratori da Terre e da Mar, fz. 1325.

²⁹¹ «*Ne faccio altro mestier che procurar di far homeni al Prencipe per viver*». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Interrogatorio del 12 luglio 1718.

²⁹² See Povolo (1997).

²⁹³ «*Proclama di nessuna efficacia se, il 18 ott. 1601, i rettori di Verona, nell'avvisare il Consiglio dei dieci d'un'ulteriore malefatta del C., premettono che in parte assai remota di questo territorio verso il monte Baldo, vale a dire a Castione, s'è ridotto ad habitare il C., il qual, degenerando dalla nobiltà del proprio sangue, è dedito alle sceleratezze, apre il proprio domicilio a refugio e ricettacolo de' banditi siccarii cingani, zingari cioè, e d'altri huomini di malfare. Col concorso di questi, insidiando e depredando la robba la vita e l'honore a quei circonvicini, s'è fatto formidabile*». Dizionario Bibliografico Italiani, vol. 26.

²⁹⁴ «*Alcuni giorni or sono un tal Andreasi in Terra Cremonese, [...] fù incontrato da cinque Armati supposti Cingheri, e chiestogli del Tabacho, che puntualmente a loro diede, lo bastonarono riducendolo in pericolo di vita, ed inoltre minacciato [...] se avesse parlato con alcuno di questo fatto. Viene supposto, che questa violenza sia stata ordinata d'alcuni fratelli Bregoni ch'hanno beni in Territorio di Brescia*». ASBs, Cancelleria prefettizia superiore, b. 71.

cingari.²⁹⁵ It is interesting to see that in one of the two documents it is specified that one gypsy was deaf and mute, but was an extremely skilled soldier.²⁹⁶ I found these two sources in different volumes of the "Criminal Parts" which is placed in the "Council of Ten" fond, in the national archive of Venice. The first one is from the 1717 and the second one from 1719. These records were part of a legal process against the same man, the nobleman Marco Querini, who executed some crimes. Although the trial was focused above all on him and do not provide many information on gypsies, it contributes to the debate about *cingani* in the northern Italy for one important element: the relationship between gypsies and the local nobility. In fact, this finding is another confirmation that a peculiar relationship existed between gypsies and noblemen in the territories of the Northern Italy, as much as Hasséo asserted for the French case.

Generally, various *cingani* in the Venetian territories tended to establish a relationship with the noble families. For instance, gypsies could have the protection of the noblemen, asking them to be the godfathers of their children during the ceremony of baptism. This is precisely what happened in 1706, in Verona, where the *cingano* Moretti, after having arrived in the city, asked a local nobleman to be the godfather of his daughter.²⁹⁷ In fact, the certificate of Federico Bianchi's baptism shows that his godfather was a nobleman.²⁹⁸ Moreover, even though the Venetian edicts firmly prohibited people from assisting *cingani*, in 1718, Federico's company was found in the house of a rich doctor in Murano, who nursed Federico and Zuanne. The fact that part of the Venetian nobility and elites did help gypsies seems only to further prove this patronage. Even in 1587, another gypsy company - Zuanne's company - was welcomed by some local noblemen in Zevio, a village near Verona.²⁹⁹ One of these noblemen was called Marc'Antonio Sagramoso and he was from Verona, while the other one, the *magnifico* Boldù, was a Venetian patrician. It is difficult to understand the exact dimension and solidity of these connections.

According to Henriette Asséo, a comparable relationship between groups of *Bohémiens* and the nobility also existed in France between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries.³⁰⁰ This was especially so from the second half of the sixteenth century, when gypsies could no longer benefit from the status of pilgrims and from the help of the official authorities that allowed them to stay. At the same time, the edicts against them increased in number and in severity. Their presence was thus possible particularly due to the patronage of the French nobility. In exchange, these *Egyptiens* offered them their armed collaboration. This

²⁹⁵ «Che il Ser Marco Querini fu di Ser Vincenzo imputato [...] col seguito da banditi, malviventi, cingani e con l'uso d'armi da fuoco, va più volte ad offese, violenze, e ferite contro innocente persone, gli quali alcuni sono passati ad altra vita, anche' contro Pubblici Ministri...». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Deliberazioni, Criminali, filze, b. 134 (1719-1720), 19 settembre 1719.

²⁹⁶ «Vi siano persone così temerarie, che [...] continuano più che mai il detestabile essercizio delle loro violenze, e particolarmente il NH sr Marco Querini fu de sr Vincenzo, che superando ogn'altro in tale depravato costume si trattiene da diversi anni in Villa di Villatichero sotto Padoa, mantenendo, oltre la gente di basso servitio, sei uomini d'armi, tra li quali uno ascritto all'Oltromarina creduto soldato fallito, un Cingaro sordo e muto riguardato da tutti come una fiera atteso il precipizio, col quale senza discernimento sfodera, o inava l'armi et assale li concepitimi nemici, et un altro in figura di segretario che scrive le lettere o viglieti di commissioni et intimazioni ai debitori d'alcuno». ASVe, Consiglio dei Dieci, parti Segrete, 57, 24 maggio 1717.

²⁹⁷ ASVe, Consultori in iure, fz 162 and ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, prima serie, b.130, cingani. In Veronese (2010, p. 143-144).

²⁹⁸ «Adì 2 Febbraio 1696 MV novantasei, Federico Alvisa figlio del sig. Marco di Bianchi quondam Pietro e della sig.ra Annalisa Maria sua Consorte nato di 3 gennaro passato battezzato per il signor Pievano, compare del nobiluomo Federico Priuli fu de Ser Alvisè comare Lucceta Marchiori della contrada di S. M.M.D [Maria Mater Domini] di Chiesa». ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133, Copia tratta dal libro de Battezzati.

²⁹⁹ ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4280, f.26, in Fassanelli (2011, pp. 115).

³⁰⁰ Asséo (2005, p. 9 and 2008).

pattern of military service with a nobleman came to an end by the late seventeenth century, when Louis XIV curbed the power of the French nobility.

In the opinion of Fassanelli, it is probable that a similar pattern of relationships between *cingani* and nobles also existed in the Northern Italian states, including the Republic of Venice.³⁰¹ In fact, since the sixteenth century, and differently from the previous century, the groups of *cingani* who moved in the Po valley were smaller and maintained a good relationship with the local *élites*. Probably this connection was based on a sort of exchange: the noblemen offered protection to *cingani* who, in return, performed certain services. These favours could consist of military support as well as of other activities such as trade. Moreover, this reaction of the noblemen might be part of a more complex struggle between the nobility and the *Dominante*, so, between the “local” and the “central” power. In fact, giving hospitality to people – in this case gypsies – who were banned by the official power, might have been an action of autonomy and of authority affirmation. In addition, the border that separated the activity of the soldiers and policemen who worked for the Venetian official power from the action of the criminals and scoundrels who worked for the local power was really weak and “permeable”. Indeed, various documents testify that captains and policemen often executed criminal and violent acts, frightening the subjects.

In conclusion, there was not a big difference between *cingani* who were soldiers for the Venetian State and *cingani* who were employed by noblemen. In fact, both of them worked for an authority, even though at two different levels (central versus local, official versus *de facto*). For these services gypsies received some privileges and permissions. In addition, in both cases they were armed people who carried (and used) weapons, frightening, wounding, and killing people. As a consequence, this activity might have reinforced the threatening image of gypsies.

³⁰¹ Fassanelli (2011, pp. 76, 117-120).

4. Conclusion

In this MA thesis I investigated the presence of *cingani* in the Republic of Venice from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, thus adding to both the historiography on gypsies and more generally on migration. Furthermore, I wanted to go beyond the usual national dimension, giving the opportunity to more international readers to learn about the situation in parts of Early Modern Italy, more specifically in the Venetian territories.

Regarding the history of gypsies, I did a systematic analysis of the two most important interactions between *cingani* and the Venetian society. On one hand, I studied the repression that was instigated principally by the Venetian authorities and, on the other hand, the different kinds of relationships between gypsies and the local population. I examined these two dimensions using various examples from sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, based on the second literature as well as on unpublished sources. In particular, a significant part of my research consists of an in-depth analysis of a case from 1718, in which a gypsy fellowship was taken into trial for being present in the Venetian territories.

Repression was definitely the main and formal reaction of the Venetian authorities to the presence of gypsies during the Early Modern age. The Venetian state and the church followed the same policy and repressed gypsies where possible; a policy that became more intense in the second half of the sixteenth century until the end of the sixteenth century. In fact, it was during this period that the majority of banishments against gypsies were promulgated. The Venetian regime pursued this kind of policy towards *cingari* especially because of the regime's political and economic aims. Firstly, since the second half of the sixteenth century and for all the seventeenth century, the Venetian authorities struggled with various problems related to the public order. The number of vagrants, bandits and scoundrels increased, as well as the criminality. Given that gypsies were easily associated with criminal groups, the edicts enacted against them were part of the more general legislation against vagrant and deemed criminal groups. Secondly, the Republic of Venice had a chronic shortage of rowers on its galleys. After 1542, when Cristoforo Da Canal ratified a law that allowed the enlisting of convicts as oarsmen, the *cingani* who were also condemned could be sent to the galleys. Finally, the continuous contrast with an external enemy, as gypsies were perceived, helped the Venetians to build their own identity in the process of state formation.

Nevertheless, I saw that other responses as an alternative to repression were possible. It is difficult to determine with precision the dimension of the integration and assimilation of *cingani* in the Republic of Venice. In fact, the limited number of cases are insufficient to analyze how these reactions changed over time. What we can notice, however, is that different kinds of relationships existed between Venetian people and *cingani*. These relationships and exchanges might be possible, probably, for different reasons. Firstly, gypsies had the possibility to move and to interact in the Venetian territories despite the banishments against them. This is because the Venetian justice and the policemen's actions lacked efficiency. In fact, they were not always able to capture and condemn *cingani* and other criminals. Secondly, the Venetian people and also the authorities themselves often had a certain interest in establishing a mutual beneficiary relationship with *cingani*. It was previously explained that the Venetian authorities recruited them as soldiers or as bounty hunters and, in exchange, gave them the permission to stay in the territory with the family. Similarly, the local noblemen enlisted them as armed people and, in return, offered them protection. In addition, the Venetian people were in contact with gypsies for commercial motives: for instance, they could buy horses or other goods from gypsies. Sometimes, the local population just tolerated the gypsy presence for a few days. In fact, the reactions towards *cingani* were different. It seems that where reasons for conflicts existed, the conflict occurred, while where it was

possible to negotiate the *cingani*' presence or transit, these could happen without many problems. Thirdly, moving in the Venetian territories and interacting with the Venetian society was part of the various gypsy strategies in order to survive, avoiding the banishments. *Cingani* were not merely victims of the repression, but they able shaped relationships, although complicated, with the local people. They lived in a hostile and potentially dangerous environment, searching and creating spaces where they could survive. Being illegal everywhere, they searched for spaces where they could exist thanks to spontaneous, self-interested or accidental tolerance. For instance, mobility was a practice of resistance for avoiding the banishments.³⁰² Indeed, with this continuous mobility, they could profit from their interactions with the Venetian population, and thus reduce the risk to be caught and persecuted. In addition, they preferred to move near the borders, because in those places it was easier to escape by hopping from one jurisdiction to another. This mobility was not random. In fact, it seems that they preferred some places over others and selected to meet and to be welcomed by certain people, often nobles. As we have seen above, the services and professions offered by the gypsy companies to the local population were other important means that permitted them to establish relationships and to stay in the territory. Thus, it seems that *cingani* had a creative attitude to deal with their banned condition, they made every effort to resist and survive also through continuous negotiations with Venetian people.

Regarding the field of migration studies, I think that this thesis is a useful contribution to the discussion on types of cross-cultural migrations. First of all, I discussed the role of gypsies within the migration studies, which is not a common topic. I analysed *cingani* as cross-cultural communities who usually were itinerants but, sometimes, settled in the Venetian territories, as well as in other regions. Secondly, studying gypsies in the Republic of Venice, offers the possibility to think in new ways about mobility. If on one hand, their being itinerants was a condition imposed by the edicts that banned them from the Venetian territories, on the other hand, it was also a way to resist central authorities. As I explained above, continuing to move in the area, especially near the borders, they reduced the risk of being captured, without preventing them from having exchanges and relationships with the local population. Furthermore, I hope to have contributed to the movement of sailors and soldiers as an important form of migration. In fact, *cingani* in the Republic Venice were rowers on the galleys as well as armed people for the state and for the noblemen.

In conclusion, with this research, I offer some new reflections on the presence of *cingani*, especially during the Early Modern age in one of the most important Italian states. Although they were stigmatized and treated as criminals since the fifteenth century, sometimes, they had the possibilities to interact in different ways with the local population. The Venetian state played an important role in both dimensions. Moreover, the Venetian case was rather special and different from other ones. For instance, the kind of relationship that often existed between *cingani* and noblemen was peculiar to this region (or at least, to the Northern Italy). This connection was linked to the fact that, there, gypsies continued to be armed people until the eighteenth century and, exactly for this reason, they were "useful" to the local nobility. Furthermore, *cingani* could interact with the population even if they moved continuously. This is an important difference from the Southern Italy and from the Sardinia, where many examples of gypsies' integration and assimilation are attested, but most of them are cases in which gypsies were not itinerants but they settled definitely. I hope that new historical sources about *cingani* will be discovered and analysed soon in the Venetian region in order to confirm some hypotheses and to have more details on this particular migration.

³⁰² For the concept of "people of resistance" see Hasséo (1989) .

Appendix

Table 1: State Policies

GENERAL EDICTS					
	When	Where	Archive	Literature	Content
1	1482- 1483	Venice and <i>Terra Ferma</i>	-	Foresti (1483), Piasere (2006 pp. 9, 78-79), Fassanelli (2011, p. 56-57)	- <i>Cingani</i> cannot stay in a place for more than three days.
2	1540?	?	-	Zuccon (1979, p. 28), Viaggio (1997, p. 51)	?
3	1543, 23 rd January	Venice and <i>Terra Ferma</i>	ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, prima serie, b.130, cingani	Galliccioli (1795), Zuccon (1979, p. 28), Viaggio (1997, p. 51)	- <i>Cingani</i> have to be expelled from the Venetian territory.
4	1549, 21 st December	Venice and <i>Terra Ferma</i> (Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Udine e Rovigo)	ASVe, Senato Terra, f. 10; ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, prima serie, b.130, cingani	Leggi criminali del serenissimo dominio Veneto (p. 44 v.) ³⁰³ , Zuccon (1979, p. 29), Viaggio (1997, p. 51), Fassanelli (2011, p. 58), Cassese (2009, p.190)	- Rectors of <i>Terra Ferma</i> cannot give written licenses neither oral permissions to <i>cingani</i> . Only the Council can issue permits. - <i>Cingani</i> have to be expelled from the Venetian territory within ten days.
5	1558, 15 th July	Venice and <i>Terra Ferma</i>	ASVe, Senato Terra, f. 27; ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, prima serie, b.130, cingani	Leggi criminali venete (p. 48), Zuccon (1979, p. 29), Viaggio (1997, p. 52), Fassanelli (2011, p. 60), Cassese (2009, pp. 190-191)	- Rectors of <i>Terra Ferma</i> cannot give written licenses neither oral permissions to <i>cingani</i> . Only the Council can issue permits. - Licences already granted have to be revoked. - <i>Cingani</i> have to be expelled from the Venetian territory immediately. - Punishment to row on a galley for ten years for <i>cingani</i> that are found on the territory. - Reward of 10 ducats for whom capture gypsies. - <i>Cingani</i> can be killed with impunity
6	1588, 14 th September	Venice and <i>Terra Ferma</i>	ASVe, Senato Terra, f. 10; ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, prima serie, b.130, cingani	Leggi criminali venete (p. 57v), Zuccon (1979, p. 29), Viaggio (1997, p. 52), Fassanelli (2011, p. 66), Cassese (2009, p. 191)	- Rectors of <i>Terra Ferma</i> cannot give licenses to <i>cingani</i> . - <i>Cingani</i> have to be expelled from the Venetian territory immediately. They cannot even pass through the territory. - Punishment to row on a galley for ten years for <i>cingani</i> that are found on the territory. - <i>Cingani</i> can be killed with impunity. - Punishment for whom help or welcome <i>cingari</i> . - Rectors have to publish these rules once a year.
7	1690, 21 st August	Only for the city of Venice	ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, prima serie, b.130, cingani	Leggi criminali venete (p. 172 v.), Grecchi (1790), Zuccon (1979, p. 29),	- <i>Cingani</i> (men and women) have to be expelled from Venice. - Punishment: conviction to the galleys or prison.

³⁰³ From now I will quote it as '*Leggi criminali venete*'.

				Fassanelli (2011, p. 71), Cassese (2009, p. 191)	- <i>Capi contrada</i> have to report the presence of <i>cingari</i> to the Council. - Punishment (galley or prison) for <i>Capi contrada</i> who do not report the presence of <i>cingari</i> .
8	1692, 14 th November	Only for the city of Venice	ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, prima serie, b.130, cingani	Leggi criminali venete (p.177 v.), Grecchi (1790), Zuccon (1979, p. 29), Viaggio (1997, p. 54), Fassanelli (2011, p. 71), Cassese (2009, p. 192)	- <i>Cingani</i> (men and women) have to be expelled from Venice. - Punishment: conviction to the galleys or prison. - <i>Capi contrada</i> have to report the presence of <i>cingari</i> to the Council. - Punishment (galley or prison) for <i>Capi contrada</i> who do not report the presence of <i>cingari</i> . - <i>Capi contrada</i> can release a bandit for each <i>cingano</i> they capture .
9	1704, 5 th December	Venice and <i>Terra Ferma</i>	ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, prima serie, b.130, cingani.	-	(= to edict of 1690) - <i>Cingani</i> (men and women) have to be expelled from Venice. - Punishment: conviction to the galleys or prison. - <i>Capi contrada</i> have to report the presence of <i>cingari</i> to the Council - Punishment (galley or prison) for <i>Capi contrada</i> who do not report the presence of <i>cingari</i> .
10	1767, 29 th July	Venice and <i>Terra Ferma</i>	ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, prima serie, b.130, cingani	Viaggio (1997, p. 54)	(Here the laws from 1549, 1558, 1690, 1692 are quoted) - <i>Cingani</i> (men and women) have to be expelled from the Venetian territory immediately. - Punishment: conviction to the galleys or prison. - <i>Cingani</i> can be killed with impunity. - People of <i>Reggimenti Terra Ferma</i> have to report the presence of <i>cingari</i> . - Reward of 25 ducats for whom capture <i>cingani</i> . - Punishment for whom help or welcome <i>cingari</i> . - Rectors have to publish these rules and spread them in the Venetian territories.
LOCAL EDICTS					
11	1550, 31 st March	Brescia	MCB, Raccolta Putelli, busta 18, fascicolo 10.	(Thanks to S. Signaroli)	- Rectors of Brescia have to publish and apply the edict against <i>cingari</i> issued in 1549 by <i>Consiglio dei Pregadi</i> .
12	1593, 14 th July	<i>Riviera Bresciana del Garda (Riviera di Salò)</i>	ACS, Straordinario 1593, Livi 160, c. 32,33, 34	-	- <i>Cingani</i> have to be expelled from the territory immediately. - Punishment for whom do not report the presence of <i>cingari</i> .
13	1623, 9 th June	Padua, other cities <i>Terra Ferma</i> , and Venice	ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, prima serie, b.130, cingani	-	- <i>Cingani</i> have to be expelled from the territory immediately and they can never return. - Punishment for <i>cingani</i> who have done misdeeds. - <i>Esecutori contro la bestemmia</i> have to control the presence of <i>cingani</i> in Venice.

14	1664, 18 th June	Padua	ASVe, Senato Terra, reg. 168, f. 294 v. ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, prima serie, b.130, cingani.	Cassese (2009, p.192)	- <i>Cingani</i> have to be expelled from the territory immediately.
15	1669, 10 th May	Main cities of Terra <i>Ferma</i>	ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, prima serie, b.130, cingani	-	- <i>Cingani</i> have to be expelled from the territory immediately and they can never return. - Punishment for <i>cingani</i> who have done misdeeds. - <i>Cingani</i> unwilling to follow the rules have to be arrested. - <i>Esecutori contro la bestemmia</i> have to control the presence of <i>cingani</i> in Venice.
16	1670, 31 st May	Verona	ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, prima serie, b.130, cingani	-	- Authorities have to control if the people arrested were effectively <i>cingari</i> or not.
17	1690, 3 rd June	Padua	ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, prima serie, b.130, cingani	-	- <i>Cingani</i> have to be expelled from the territory immediately . - Punishments for <i>cingani</i> (prison, galley, “ <i>strappado</i> ”). - Punishment for whom help or welcome <i>cingani</i> .
18	1719, 28 th March	Bergamo	?	Zucon (1979, p. 30)	?
19	1720, 6 th April	Bergamo	?	Zucon (1979, p. 30), Viaggio (1997, p. 54)	?
20	1734, 6 th July	Verona	ASVr, Atti dei Rettori di Legnago, b.60, n.122, Libro Proclami ducali e lettere, 6 Luglio 1734, cap. XIII	(Thanks to G. De Salvo and P. Trevisan)	- <i>Cingani</i> have to be expelled from the territory . - Punishments for <i>Cingani</i> : conviction to the galleys for men and lashes for women. - Punishment for whom help or welcome <i>Cingani</i> : : conviction to the galleys.
21	1762, 30 th October	<i>Patria del Friuli</i>	ASU, Archivio Belgrado, busta 17, proclama 30 agosto 1762	Begotti (1998a, p. 39), Cassese (2009, p. 192)	- <i>Cingani</i> have to be expelled from the territory. - Innkeepers, hotelkeepers and monks cannot help and host <i>cingani</i> .
22	1788, 10 th April. Reprint of one from 1786, 22 nd September	Padua	ASP, Foro Criminale del Maleficio, b.4	Fassanelli (2011, p. 70)	- <i>Cingani</i> older than 14 years old have to be arrested. - Authorities have to control if the people arrested were effectively <i>cingani</i> . - Punishment for real <i>cingani</i> : conviction to the galleys. - Reward of 10 ducats for whom capture <i>cingani</i> .

Table 2: Church Policies

	When	Where	Archive	Section of the document	Content
1	1565	Milan	Concilium Mediolanense I, 1565, cap. LXV* ³⁰⁴	-	-
2	1703	Aquileia	Constitutiones Synodales Aquileienses Dioecesis, editae D. Dionysio Delphino, Utini, 1703, pp. 18-30*	<i>De haereticis</i> ("About heretics")	Gypsies did "the art of necromancy", they used various witchcrafts and divinations with uneducated people in order to gain money. Priests had to control them.
3	1733	Parenzo	Sinodo Diocesano della S. Chiesa di Parenzo [...] 1733, Venetia, 1733, pp. 10-12*	<i>Della fede cattolica da professarsi e da difendersi</i> ("About the catholic faith, how to follow and defend it")	Marriage only after Catechism as well as after the bishop and priest' permission. Gypsies cannot be buried if they had committed crimes or they did not confess.
4	1767	Concordia	Constitutiones Synodales Concordienses, quas [...] Aloysius Maria Gabriel [...] collegit et celebravit [...], MDCLXVII, Venetiis, 1768, pp. 7-8*	<i>De veneficiis et magicis Artibus</i> ("About evil spells and magic arts")	Egyptians were used to do magic tricks, for instance using speeches, herbs, stones, and strange signs in order to cure people or to reject storms. For this reason, the people had to stay far away from gypsies.
5	1768	Gorizia	Acta Synodi Provincialis Goritiensis Ecclesiae celebratae die 15 octobris Anno 1768, BSGO, Sinodo, F.B. 1923-24, Anno 1768. f. 15*	<i>De blasphemia et superstitione</i> ("About blasphemy and superstition")	Gypsies were vagabonds and deceive people on religious matter. For this reason, it was prohibit to all the parishioners to give refuge to them and to have any kind of contact with them. The priests had to expel gypsies from their territories and to invoke the help of the Inquisition in case it would have been necessary.

³⁰⁴ *They are all from Cassese (2000, 2009).

Table 3: *Cingani* in the Republic of Venice

	When	Where	Archive	Literature	Content
1	1506		Diario di Ser Tomaso di Silvestro notaio di orvieto, p. 534, Fas. 3°.	Caccini (2001, p. 247), Piasere (2006, p. 40)	Before 1506, the gypsy Paulo Indiano was the chief of a Venetian man-at-arms' squad.
2	1518		ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4302.	Cassese (2009, p. 196)	It is a trials against the gypsy Stefano from Corfu and Francesco "moro" from Portugal. They were oarsmen on one of Andrea Foscarini's galleys. Stefano was accused, because he had pestered a woman.
3	1570	<i>Riviera di Salò</i>	-	Odorici (1860, pp. 235-236), Bettoni (1880, p. 210), Pellizzari and Bendinoni (2011, p. 132)	Five-thousand gypsies, Spanish people and <i>compagnie di ventura</i> ("free companies") invaded <i>Riviera di Salò</i> (Salò coast).
4	1573	Corfu	ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4318.	Cassese (2009, p.196)	The gypsy Pagomeno from Corfu was took to trial because he had escaped from a galley.
5	1582	Countryside near Padua	ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10.	Fassanelli (2011, pp. 121-123)	The gypsy Rinaldo reported the gypsy captain Zuanne for having killed his own brother Zuane Domenego.
6	1583	Montagnan, Countryside near Padua	ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4360, f.10.	Cassese (2009, p. 196), Fassanelli (2011, pp. 169-222)	It is a trail against two gypsies: Rinaldo di Paulin and Marc'Antonio Moretti. Rinaldo settled in Montagnana with his wife and he was a farmer (they had to be sent to the galleys, but then they were released).
7	1587	Area near Lake Garda and Verona	ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4280, f.26.	Cassese (2009, p. 196), Fassanelli (2011, pp. 1-45)	It is a long trial against the gypsy Zuanne and his company: the women of the band had stolen some jewelry. They tried to escape but then they were captured (they had to be sent to the galleys, but then they were released).
8	1601	Verona	-	Dizionario Bibliografico Italiani, vol. 26.	Giacomo Civran, a Venetian noble, was involved in banditry and, for this scope, he recruited also gypsies.
9	1603	Venice?	ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4339.	From inventory of "Avogaria di Comun" in ASVe	It is a trial against <i>cingano</i> Oratio and other people who were accused of theft (they were oarsmen on a galley).
10	1604	Venice?	ASVe, Avogaria di comun, n. corda 4431.	From inventory of "Avogaria di Comun" in ASVe	It is a trial against <i>cingano</i> Alessandro for a brawl.
11	1608	Countryside near Padua	ASP, Foro criminale, raspe, b.2. reg.3, cc 80rv e 104rv.	Fassanelli (2011, pp. 161-162)	It is a trial against Paulo <i>cingano</i> d'Este: he was arrested, judged and then released for a violent situation in a house where lived two women.
12	1646	Costantinopole?	ASVe, Senato, Dispacci, Procuratori da Terre e da Mar, fz. 1325.	Unpublished (thanks to G. Candiani)	It is a dispatch of the captain Tommaso Morisini, who met a gypsy soldier.
13	1679	Legnago, near Verona	ASVr, Atti dei Rettori di Legnago, b.57, c. 114 e seguenti.	Unpublished (thanks to G. De Salvo and P. Trevisan)	Alessandro Dalla Rovera <i>cingano</i> was killed and his killer was not sentenced, because a Venetian law allowed people to kill gypsies with impunity.
14	1685-1686	Tremosine, in <i>Riviera di Salò</i>	ACT, Ordinamenti, Reg. n. 16 23-12-1685 c.297 e Reg. n. 17 27-01-1686.	Pellizzari and Bendinoni (2011, p. 135)	The authorities of Tremosine (a municipality in <i>Riviera di Salò</i>) asked more security to the central power, because they were threatened by gypsies and criminals.

15	1686	Venice	ASVe, Inquisizione, b.548, 11 giugno 1686.	Unpublished (thanks to F. Barbierato)	It is declared that there were a lot of gypsy women and men in the territory.
16	1688	A village near Padua	ASP, Foro Criminale del malefizio, b.11, f. 9.	Fassanelli (2011, p. 162)	Antonio Pero testified that he had been attacked by Polo Rovere and other gypsies.
17	1688?	?	B.M.C., Mss. Dandolo, n. 951, n. 110, "Suggerimenti per facilitare il trovar uomini da remo per le galere, e per far alcuni tagli di arbore per Pennoni".	Lo Basso (2003, p. 117)	It is a suggestion for the recruitment of gypsies on the galleys.
18	1698	Visinale, near Pordenone	APV, registro morti 1685-1748, 20 agosto 1689.	Begotti (1998b, pp. 8-10)	A gypsy woman, Cattarina, Donà della Rosa's wife, was buried in Visinale, near Pordenone.
19	1706	Verona	ASVe, Consultori in iure, fz 162. ASVe, Compilazione Leggi, prima serie, b.130, cingani.	Veronese (2010, p. 143-144)	Some gypsies, named Moretti, were accused of the repetition of the baptism of one of their child.
20	1710	Venice	ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni Roma, Expulsis papalisticis, f.22.	Unpublished (thanks to F. Barbierato)	It is a request to interrogate gypsies through the Inquisition because they used to steal.
21	1716	Cremona and Brescia	ASBs, Cancelleria prefettizia superiore, b. 71.	Unpublished	It is a trial against some gypsies who attacked Sir. Andreasi.
22	1717	Venice?	ASVe, Consiglio dei Dieci, parti Segrete, 57.	Unpublished (thanks to F. Barbierato)	Marco Querini, a rich Venetian men, had many men-at-arms. Two of these were gypsy.
23	1718	Area near Venice and Treviso	ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Parti Criminali, b. 133.	My article GLS, conference 2012. (thanks to F. Barbierato)	It is a trial against the gypsy company of Federico Bianchi, because they were in the Venetian territories (the three men were sent to the galleys and the three women to jail).
24	1719	Venice?	ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Deliberazioni, Criminali, filze, b. 134, 1719-1720.	Unpublished	Marco Querini, a rich Venetian men, performed crimes with some criminals and gypsies.
25	1720	Venice	ASVe, Consiglio di Dieci, Deliberazioni, Criminali, filze, b. 134, 1719-1720.	Unpublished	It a request for changing the kind of prison for a gypsy man and other men.
26	1750	Leno, near Brescia	ACL, busta 60, Mazzo 39, n.36, Proclama per l'espulsione delle donne di professione cingare,	Unpublished	Two women were expelled from Leno (in Brescia).
27	1786	Countryside near Padua	ASP, Foro Criminale del malefizio, b.11, f. 280.	Fassanelli (2011, p. 162)	It is a request of expulsion of eighteen gypsy men and women, who were moving through the farmland near Padua (Oriago, Gambarate and Bottenigo). Then they moved by their own.
28	?	?	ASVe, Senato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori e residenti a Costantinopoli, fz. 52, c. 391r-393 r.	Unpublished (thanks to M. Bondioli)	Five Gypsies were removed from a Venetian ship because it was thought they were Turks.

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