‘HEREJES’ Y ‘HEREJÍAS’ PROTESTANTES EN LA SICILIA ESPAÑOLA DEL SIGLO XVI

Resumen

Como la mayor parte del Viejo Continente, también el virreinato español de Sicilia, a partir de la década de 1630, estuvo investido por la propagación de las ideas de la Reforma protestante. Impulsada por los ecos luteranos’ del círculo napolitano de Juan de Valdés, Giovanni Montalcino y Paolo Ricci, y favorecida también por la posición indulgente del virrey Ferrante Gonzaga, penetró profundamente en el tejido religioso siciliano, encontrando una intensa y eficaz respuesta represiva del Santo Oficio sólo en la década siguiente.

El trabajo, al cruzar la lista de los emitidos al brazo secular conservado en la Biblioteca Municipal de Palermo con la lista de actos de fe sicilianos del Archivo General de Simancas y la documentación del Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid, pretende investigar los perfiles generales, las figuras y los signos peculiares de las llamadas ‘herejías luteranas’ dentro del territorio insular en el periodo español.

Palabras clave

Sicilia española, siglo XVI, Reforma protestante, herejías, Santo Oficio, actos de fe.

Abstract

The Spanish viceroyalty of Sicily, like the main part of the Old Continent, was invested by the development of the Protestant Reformation ideas from the 30’s of the XVI century. They deeply seeped through the Sicilian religious context, finding both an agreement and an efficient repressive answer from the Holy Office only from the following decade. That thanks not only to the Lutheran echoes of the Neapolitan society of Juan de Valdés, Giovanni Montalcino e Paolo Ricci but also to the indulgent position of the Viceroy: Ferrante Gonzaga.

The purpose of this paper is to examine in his entirety and complexity the profiles, the amount and last but not least the so-called ‘Lutheran heretics’ in the island area in the Spanish period. This not only through the comparison of the list of the abandoned people to the Secular Arm, kept in *Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo*, but also of the list of the Sicilian *autodafé* in *Archivo General de Simancas* and the documents stored in *Archivo Historico Nacional* in Madrid.

Keywords

Spanish Sicily, XVI century, Protestant Reformation, heresies, Holy Office, autodafé.

* * *

Referencia: Abbate A. (2022). ‘Heretics’ and protestant ‘Heresies’ in 16th Century Spanish Sicily. *Cultura Latinoamericana, 36* (2), pp. 268-291 DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.14718/CulturaLatinoam.2022.36.2.12

El presente artículo es resultado de un proyecto de investigación desarrollado en la Universidad de Messina.

Fecha de recepción: 12 de agosto de 2022; fecha de aceptación: 30 de septiembre de 2022

‘HERETICS’ AND PROTESTANT ‘HERESIES’ IN 16TH CENTURY SPANISH SICILY

Alessandro Abbate
Universitá degli Studi di Messina
ORCID: 0000-0001-8107-3815
aabbate@unime.it

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.14718/CulturaLatinoam.2022.36.2.12

With the Compromise of Caspe in 1412, the Sicilian crown was dynastically united together with the Kingdom of Aragon, whose fate it followed, flowing by into the direct domain of the King of Spain in 1516 (Abulafia, 2006, pp. 185-189). So Sicily was ruled by viceroys appointed by the Spanish court for almost two centuries; until the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, with a fleeting interlude during the War of the Quadruple Alliance.

In particular, the first century of possession by the Spanish sovereigns of the largest island in the Mediterranean was a period of considerable political, economic, cultural and nonetheless religious upheavals (Giarrizzo, 1989, pp. 121-261). Indeed, even in the Spanish viceroyalty of Sicily, from the second half of the 1530s, the ideas of the Reformation began to spread.

The first propagation of the so-called ‘reforming heresies’ was conveyed by the monastic orders, which were inspiring elements in the spread of Protestant principles through the frequent journeys of the priors of the convents to the mother houses, the visits to the Roman Curia and the movements of preachers during Lent (Messana, 2007a, p. 35). Particularly in this phase, the echoes of the Lutheran circle of Juan de Valdés, Giovanni Montalcino and Paolo Ricci – that in those years took up permanent residence in nearby Naples (Firpo, 2016; Galasso, 2015) – had a considerable influence penetrating deeply into the Sicilian religious fabric, thanks to an island cultural climate,

too, in which there was still room for theological and philosophical debate, together with the Viceroy Ferrante Gonzaga who proved to be an advocate of a doctrinal understanding between Catholics and Protestants (Moscheo, 1999, pp. 317-318), and where, furthermore, the action of the Holy Office was curbed by the ten-year suspension of inquisitorial privileges (Renda, 1997, p. 319). From the 1540s onwards, the situation began to change. When even Sicily began to feel the effects of the general European Counter-Reformation turning point: in 1541, the failure of the Diet of Regensburg came to an end, and the following year Paul III instituted the Roman Inquisition. Against this backdrop, Emperor Charles V reorganised the Sicilian Holy Office, and on 17 February 1543 he decreed that the suspension, which caused its paralysis, was to be automatically revoked as soon as it should be expired (Renda, 1997, p. 71). The works of the Council of Trent itself, which began in 1545, with its conciliar decrees, conditioned and gave a new boost to the Sicilian inquisitorial activity (Messana, 2007a, p. 35). This shows how, unlike the conflict against 'Judaic heresy' – which characterised the main commitment of the island's Holy Office in the first part of the 16th century – that was connected to the conditions and fate of the Iberian *sefarad* (Renda, 1997, p. 309), Sicilian Protestantism and its repression was instead a phenomenon of a wider scope, to be closely interconnected with the Italian and European Reformation (Cantimori, 1992, p. 431). It was exactly the decade between the 1530s and 1540s that saw the gradual exhaustion of Jewish ethnic-religious cleansing and the transition to the repression of the so-called 'Lutheran sects' (Renda, p. 98, 326-327; Sciuti Russi 2004)[1].

The first person condemned by the Sicilian Holy Office for preaching many 'Lutheran errors' was Brother Eremio de Tripedibus, who was born in Maratea, a master of theology belonging to the order of St. Augustine and he was admitted to reconciliation on 21 December 1539[2]. The fact that the friar was an Augustinian reinforces the hypothesis that at the beginning the spread of Protestant doctrines in Sicily took place within the religious orders, and it is probable that

1. The classification followed by the inquisitors of the Sicilian Holy Office did not always accurately reflect the complex and highly heterogeneous universe of the Protestant Reformation; most of the time, regardless of the offender's theological convictions, the convicted was generically labelled as a Lutheran.

2. Actually, the date given in Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo (henceforth BCP), Ms. Qq. F. 239 is 21 December 1529 but all scholars who have assessed the trial case of Eremio de Tripedibus agree that this is a mistake and his act of reconciliation should be postdated by a decade, i.e. to 1539 (Garufi, 1978, pp. 82-85; Messana, 2007a, p. 35).

he made himself the bearer of the ideas learned amidst his order – no wonder that it was the same one to which Martin Luther belonged to – through his relations with Lorenzo Romano, Pietro Martire and Geronimo Seripando, other Lutheran-Augustinians who were operating in the Neapolitan Kingdom (Garufi, 1978, pp. 82-83). Eremio later fell into error and he was reprimanded a second time on 13 February 1547 as a «gran luterano, degradato verbaliter e ymmurado perpetuamente» (AGES, p. 282), but he escaped and was *rilassato in statua*[3] on 22 December of the same year. The first Sicilian Protestant sent to the stake was always a friar: Brother Petruccio Compagna from Messina, a member of the Third Order of St. Francis of Paola, «relaxado al braço secular por heregias lutheranes» on the occasion of the *autodafé* that took place in Palermo on 30 May 1542 (AGES, p. 282; Mellusi, 2017, pp. 135-136).

By cross-checking the list of those released to the secular arm kept in the *Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo* (BCP, pp. 167-208) with the list of Sicilian *autodafés* in the *Archivo General de Simancas* (AGES, pp. 278-329) and the documentation of the *Archivo Historico Nacional* in Madrid (AHNM, 898-902) – it proved that, altogether, there were 284 proceedings against 253 individuals in the Spanish viceroyalty of Sicily throughout the 16th century, who: either were explicitly branded as 'Protestant heretics', or through the account of their theological convictions could rightly be traced back to the world of the Reformation.

Of these 284 measures, more than three quarters (215) ended in reconciliation[4], that implies a punishment that could range from a simple abjuration *de levi* to perpetual imprisonment or a condemnation to oar. Only in 36 cases the heretic was *rilassato in persona* by being burnt alive, while 33 times the condemned person was contumacious or already deceased and so he was *rilassato in statua*[5].

Many religious were condemned, a total of 75: 33 secular and 42 adherents of regular orders (see Tab. I). The most represented monastic institutes were the Augustinians with 8 offenders[6], followed by

3. The person was condemned *in absentia* and they burned his effigy.

4. The 'reconciled' is a person who, having been found guilty of heresy, invokes the forgiveness and mercy of the 'Holy Mother Church' and abjures his heterodox ideas (Renda, 1997, pp. 257-258).

5. The '*rilassato in persona*' is always an obstinate offender, or in any case a recidivist, or as they used to say at that time a relapso. The legal and symbolic condition of the '*rilassato in statua*' can be also assimilated to it. This because if the offender was dead, his release was a posthumous acknowledgement of his heretical profession, while if he was absent, his escape confirmed his guilt (Renda, 1997, pp. 256-257).

6. Together with Eremio de Tripedibus, the other members of the Augustinian Order that emerge from the 16th century inquisitorial documentation were: Pietro Gratalaro «alias de Candia, veneziano, predicatore dell'ordine di S. Agostino, luterano, assente, fu per sentenza a 7 agosto

the Franciscans with 7[7]; i.e. the two orders that had been pressing for a reform of the Church for long time (Messana, 2007a, p. 36; Salvo, 1995, 102-105). The numerical relevance of hermits is also surprising: 8[8], who despite their propensity for isolation seem to have played an important role in the Sicilian reform movement.

1543 rilassato in statua, letta a 21 ottobre nella Chiesa della Pinta» (BCP, p. 200); Giacomo de Anfulio «predicador de la orden de Sancto Augustin, lutherano degrade verbaliter. Reconciliado a la Sancta Madre Yglesia» (AGES, p. 282; *autodafé*, Palermo, February 13, 1547); Pietro Granata «olim monacho de S. Augustin agora sic presbitero, degradado verbaliter. Recondiliado a la Sancta Madre Yglesia» (AGES, p. 283; *autodafé*, Palermo, February 13, 1547) and «preste, reconciliado y huyo de la carcel que. Relaxado en estatua por absecia» (AGES, p. 288; *autodafé*, Palermo, May 19, 1549); Filippo Carbone «olim fraile de Sancto Agustin […] clerigo, por luterano desgraduado verbaliter. Reconciliado a la S.ta Madre Yglesia» (AGES, p. 289; *autodafé*, Palermo, May 19, 1549); Ambrogio di Palermo «maestre en theologia de lo orden de Sancto Augustino, por opiniones lutheranas, abjurò de vehementi y privado de predicar y recluso y subspenso de missa por un año» (AGES, p. 295; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 18, 1553); Giovanni Grasso «prior del monasterio de S.to Augustin de Meçina, sei años de habito por luterano» (AGES, p. 40; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Gianpietro Perrone «Frate dell'ordine di S. Agostino, luterano, morto, fu per sentenza a I° luglio 1573 rilassato in statua, letta a 21 novembre 1574, e fu brugiato allo Ciardone» (BCP, p. 193).

7. Antonio Bevilacqua «alias Castronovo […] doctor in theologia de la orden de Sancto Francesco de lo claustrales, abjurò de levi por ciertas propositiones lutheranas» (AGES, p. 283; *autodafé*, Palermo, February 13, 1547); Antonio Caruso «diacono eremita del terzo ordine di S. Francesco, commorante nell'oratorio di S. Giovanni di Monte Scarpello […] fu per sentenza rilassato in persona al braccio secolare, e letta la sua sentenza nella piazza della Loggia a 5 luglio 1551» (BCP, p. 171); Giovanni Battista Vinci «doctor en theologia de la orden de Sancto Francesco de los claustrales, lutherano, degradado verbaliter» (AGES, p. 282; *autodafé*, Palermo, February 13, 1547), subsequently «reconciliado por lutherano, de lo orden de Sancto Francesco, maestro en thelogia, condepnato en statua» (AGES, p. 294; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 18, 1553); Luigi de Castro «eremita, luterano, assente, che andava insegnando la setta luterana, fu per sentenza a 14 febbraro 1558 rilassato in statua, letta nella piazza della Bocceria vecchia a I° maggio 1558» (BCP, p. 195; Garufi, 1978, p. 104); Cornelio Chanchardo «maestre en theologia de lo orden de Sancto Francisco, lutherano. Reconciliado al gremio de la Sancta Madre Yglesia» (AGES, p. 294; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 18, 1553), subsequently «Fray Cornelio Chanchardo de la ciudad de Nicoxia, maestro en theologia del orden de S.to Francisco, relapso» (AGES, p. 303; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 8, 1561); Serafino di Sciacca «orden de S.to Francisco, sacerdote de missa, reconciliado por que se casò y hizò vida mardable sey años creyendo que no peccava; sey años de galera» (AGES, p. 308; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Alessandro Castellana «nativo de Tricarico, nella provincia della Basilicata, dell'ordine degli osservanti di S. Francesco, luterano, monaco professo, e sacerdote maritato, essendo stato riconciliato dall'Inquisitore di Sardegna; e dopo finita la pena della galera se ne passò in Sicilia nella terra de Mazzarino, e si maritò in faciem Ecclesiae, ed essendo preso dal Tribunale ed essendo ostinato nei suoi errori, fu rilassato in persona al braccio secolare, letta la sua sentenza nel piano delli Bologni a 15 agosto 1584 fu degradato e rilassato» (BCP, p. 175).

8. Apart from Antonio Caruso and Luigi de Castro, above-mentioned (nt. 7), the other hermits recorded in the Inquisition lists are: Andrea de Lucia «ordinis Santi Pauli primi heremite, napoletano. Reconciliado en forma juris por opinion luterana» (AGES, p. 281; *autodafé*, Palermo, May 30, 1542); Crisostomo Leonardo «heremita de San Juan, por haver dicto palabras luteranas. Penitenziado y abjurantes de levi» (AGES, p. 289; *autodafé*, Palermo, May 19, 1549); Giuseppe Manzone «heremita, luterano. Reconciliado al gremio de la Sancta Madre Yglesia» (AGES, p. 294; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 18, 1553); Vincenzo Escarpa «heremita en Noto, lutherano. Reconciliado al gremio de la Sancta Madre Yglesia» (AGES, p. 294; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 18, 1553); Andrea de Lanza «hermitano del lugar de Buxema. Relaxado en persona al brazo seglar» (AGES, p. 303; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 8, 1561); Giovanni Gigliuto, «hermitano de la ciudad de Notto. Relaxado en persona al brazo seglar» (AGES, p. 303; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 8, 1561).

Both the lower clergy poorly educated, and the highly educated clergy who held prestigious positions, fell into 'error'. There are, in fact, 8 doctors of theology[9], and the dean of Messina, as well as archdeacon of Catania and Syracuse, Aliotta Buglio[10]; Giovanni Grasso, prior of the Messina convent of St. Augustine[11]; and Nicola di Alì, prior of the Benedictine monastery of Gangi are considered as 'lutherans', too[12].

The overwhelming majority of those condemned were, on the whole, lay people, 178 out of 253 (an average of 7 out of 10). A sign that – after an initial phase, where the spread of Lutheran 'opinions'took place through the clergy, they later reached deep into the lay world as well. Moreover, Protestant 'heresies' did not only involve a specific category, or marginal and different classes, as it was the case with the Jewish converts or the Moorish slaves (Sciuti Russi, 1994; Messana, 2007b), but also they grafted themselves into the different social strata, making their way into important sectors of Sicilian high society, too. People of the nobility, such as the son of the baron of Mazzarà, Venetico and San Martino, Bartolomeo Spadafora-Moncada (Salvo, 2009, pp. 152-168; Caponetto, 1940, pp. 1-23), his aunt Donna Mattia baroness of Ferla[13], and last but not least the Palermo nobleman Francesco Bologna[14]. In addition, prominent members of the judiciary such as the former judge of the Grand Court Giovanni Gug-

9. They are doctors of theology: Sebastiano de Blasco «maestre en theologia de lo orden del Carmen, abjurò de vehementi por opiniones lutheranas, privado de predicar y subspeso de la missa y reclusso en un monastero por medio año» (AGES, p. 295; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 18, 1553); Leonardo Vasapolo «fray maestro […] carmelitano. Penitenciado y recluso en un monastero por dos años, por que salio del Reyno sin licencia contra la sentencia y orden que se le dio quando fu reconciliado y quitado el habito» (AGES, p. 310; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 2, 1569); Matteo di Scicli «fray maestro […] del orden del Carmen; reconciliado y tre años de habito» (AGES, p. 318; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); besides the already mentioned Eremio de Tripedibus (see above p. 3 and nt. 2); Ambrogio di Palermo, see above nt. 6; Antonio Bevilacqua, Cornelio Chanchardo, Giovanni Battista Vinci; see above nt. 7.

10. «Don Aliocta Puglu deán de Messina Arcidia[cono] de Cathania y Siracusa, lutherano degradado verbaliter» (AGES, p. 292; *autodafé*, Palermo, July 5, 1551; Mellusi, p. 102).

11. See above nt. 6.

12. «Don Nicolao de Aly, sacerdote del orden de S.to Benito, prior de un monasterio de Gange reconciliado habito y carcel en un monasterio en vida. […] En la tortura confessò aver tenido y creydo que el Papa no tenìa potestad de conceder bullas ni jubileos, y que la confesion no se devia hazer al sacerdote, y que los sanctos no podia interceder por nosostros, y que somos salvos y e justificados por lo sangre de Jhesu Crhisto, y que no ay purgatorio, y otras opiniones luteranas» (AGES, pp. 316-317; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569).

13. 'Reconciled' (AGES, p. 302; *autodafé*, Palermo, February 18, 1560; Salvo, 2009, p. 167).

14. Don Francesco Bolonia «cavallero de Palermo, acusado de proposiciones lutheranas, abjurò de vehementi detruso en un monasterio por seis meses precisos, y mas tiempo a arbitrio de los Inquisidores» (AGES, p. 307; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568; Gaetani di Villabianca, 1758, pp. 193-198).

lielmo Bonscontro[15], or wealthy landowners like Francesco Antonio Napoli[16], were affected by the inquisitorial machinery. Overall, out of the 96 laymen condemned by the Sicilian Inquisition during the 16th century whose social or professional status could be ascertained (see Tab. II), in 11 cases (more than one out of ten) they belonged to the aristocracy or in any case to the class of wealthy landowners[17]. This is a rather substantial part if compared to the small size of the Sicilian upper class in island society.

Another of the most sensitive social classes to the Reformation was the intellectual bourgeoisie: judges, lawyers, notaries, doctors, teachers and artists; who showed themselves to be open to the religious demands coming from beyond the Alps, able to express conflicting opinions and motivated criticism to the government of the Roman Church (Messana, 2012, p. 96). So much so that 25 individuals belong to this social sphere. In particular, with six offenders, we can find a significant participation in the Reformation of schoolteachers[18]. The

15. «El doctor Juan Guillermo Bonscontro de Palermo, quel el año antes que fuesse preso fue juez de la Gran Corte; habito por diez años por aver creydo algunas proposiciones de la setta de Lutero, mayormente contra la intercession de los sanctos, ymagines, ayuno, y officios divinos, y que no se avia de dezi otra oracion si no el 'pater nostrer'» (AGES, p. 308; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568; Garufi, 1978, pp. 112-129.

16. «Relaxado en persona» (AGES, p. 302; *autodafé*, Palermo, February 18, 1560; Llorente, 1981, pp. 112-113).

17. The other 'protestant' exponents of the Sicilian upper class are: Garao Bon «hjio del quondam Luys Bon cavallero, lutherano, reconciliado y penitenciado con habito» (AGES, p. 285; *autodafé*, Palermo, December 22, 1547); Gutiere Laguna «gentilhombre, lutherano, reconciliado y penitenciado con habito», (AGES, p. 285; *autodafé*, Palermo, December 22, 1547); Agacio de Giunta «gentilhombre lutherano, reconcilado al gremio del la Sancta Madre Yglesia» (AGES, p. 294; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 18, 1553); Filippo Campolo «vezino de Meçina cavallero, este tuvó un testigo de aver tractado con el en la setta luterana […] abiura de levi y dozientas onças» (AGES, pp. 313-314; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26 1569); Nicola Antonio Crisafi «gentilhombre Meçines: reconciliado y habito quatro años por aver tenido de mucho tiempo opiniones luteranas» (AGES. p. 320; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); baron Oddo from Palermo (AHNM, lib. 898, f. 48r, Sala del Segreto, 1573); Melchiorre Grasso «gentiluomo di Messina, luterano, fuggito, fu per sentenza a 6 luglio 1573 rilassato in statua, letta a 15 agosto 1573» (BCP, p. 197). About the adhesion to Protestant beliefs of some members of the most eminent families of the island see Moscheo, 1999, pp. 319-320. As regards the specific case of the circulation of Reformation ideas in the aristocratic Brotherhood of the Azzurri of Messina see Salvo, 1997.

18. Baldassare Cazzola «natural de Lombardia, […] mastro de escola, lutherano, huyo de las carceles» (AGES, p. 282; *autodafé*, Palermo, February 13, 1547); Giovanni Battista Pellizeri «maestro di gramatica, heresiarca, lutherano, al qual trayendo preso, sus hermanos quitaron en el camino a los officiales y el se absentò e huyo» (AGES, p. 285; *autodafé*, Palermo, December 22, 1547), later «maestro de scuela heresiarca lutherano. Relaxado en persona» (AGES, p. 294; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 18, 1553); Girolamo Litrano «maestro di scola di grammatica, luterano fu, perché assente, fuggitivo, per sentenza lata a 16 settembre 1556 rilassato in statua» (BCP, p. 186); Jacopo Riis «maestro de scuela en Palermo tudesco natural de Trento; reconciliado y habito por tre añosy carcel en un hospital de Palermo» (AGES, p. 318; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Francesco Villafranca «maestro di scola luterano, fu per sentenza a 13 giugno 1582 rilassato in statua per assente» (BCP, p. 183); Pietro Alburgheto di Bergamo «maestro di scuola, abiura de vehementi» (AHNM, lib. 898, f. 578v, 611r, Sala del Segreto, 1591).

role of doctors of law and medicine is relevant, too; two categories with five offenders each[19].

A further sector where the Protestant influence was very penetrating is that of trade. There are in fact 21 'heretics' involved in the transport and sale of goods (sailors, merchants, shopkeepers, etc.)[20], among them a particular group of merchant-craftsmen stands out: the «argentieri» (silvesmiths), who, although they were not a particularly large professional category, they even had six people guilty of 'Lutheran opinions' among them[21].

However, the Protestant 'heresy' spread widely among the lower social strata, too. More than a third of the condemned laymen (35 out of 96) practised a manual labour (barber, shoemaker, cook, coalman, bricklayer, baker, tailor, *etc.*); the number of unskilled workers in

19. Besides the already mentioned Giovanni Guglielmo Bonscontro, judge of the Grand Court (see above nt. 15), the other doctors of law that we can find on the list of 'acts of faith' are: Filippo de Micheli «alias Cathania, […] doctor in utroque jure, abjurò de vehementi por ciertas propositiones lutheranas» (AGES, p. 283; *autodafé*, Palermo, February 13, 1547); Giovanni Antonio Cannizzo «alias Vizini […] doctor in utroque jure, abjurò de levi por ciertas propositiones lutheranas», (AGES, p. 283; *autodafé*, Palermo, February 17, 1547); Gian Domenico Brigandi, «doctor in utroque iure advogado, lutherano, reconciliado y penitenciado con habitos» (AGES, p. 285; *autodafé*, Palermo, December 22, 1547), later «V.I.D., lutherano y huyo. Relaxado en statua por absencia», (AGES, p. 288; *autodafé*, Palermo, May 19, 1549); Marino de Olivolas «abogado fiscal» (AGES, p. 300), «doctor en leges, de nacion francessa. Salio al aucto para relaxarse y, habiendo en el demandado misericordia con muchas instancias, fue buelto a las carceles y admittido a renconciliacion», (AGES, p. 303; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 8, 1561). While doctors in medical arts are: Giovan Battista Dagni «doctor in medicina, naturale de Calabria, lutherano. Reconciliado al gremio de la yglesia» (AGES, p. 293; *autodafé*, Palermo, July 5, 1551); Fabrizio Napoletano «doctor en medicina. Reconciliado al gremio de la yglesia», (AGES, p. 293; *autodafé*, Palermo, July 5, 1551); Giovanni Dulisi «Ingles cirurgico, lutherano. Reconciliado al gremio de la yglesia», (AGES, p. 293; *autodafé*, Palermo, July 5, 1551); Pietro Paolo Salamone «doctor en medicina, de la ciudad de Capici. Reconciliado», (AGES, p. 303; *autodafé*, Palermo, July 8, 1561); Leone Laganà «cirurgo, luterano, abitante di Messina, morto, fu per sentenza lata a 11 agosto 1573 rilassato in statua, letta a 15 agosto 1573 nella piazza delli Bologni» (BCP, p. 196).

20. About the spread of Lutheran and Calvinist thought in Messina's craft and trade environment, see Bilotta, 1978.

21. Antonio de Antona «platero Venetiano, vezino de Siragusa. Reconciliado» (AGES, p. 303; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 8, 1561); Pietro Angelo Musco «platero vezino de Risoles habitante en Meçina. Relaxado en persona», (AGES, p. 321; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Francesco Cacione «argentiero di Siragusa, dopo aver abiurato per sentenza a 18 febbraio 1560, ricadde negli stessi errori luterani, ed essendo fuggito, fu per sentenza a 13 luglio 1573 rilassato in statua. Fu letta la sentenza in Palermo a 15 agosto 1573 nella piazza delli Bologni e fu brugiata la detta statua allo Ciardone» (BCP, p. 183); Agostino Grosseto «veneciano platero vezino de Meçina; reconciliado y habito por tre años» (AGES, p. 319; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Antonio Cavalcante, aged 66, silversmith, alias Renduni di Cosenza, resident of Palermo, reconciled and sentenced to three years in jail in 1568, *rilassato in persona* (AHNM, lib. 898, ff. 257r-258r; *autodafé*, Palermo, August 10, 1582); Gian Visson, French silversmith, married in Palermo, reconciled with *Sambenito,* confiscation of property and he was imprisoned for seven years (AHNM, lib. 898, f. 422r; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 18, 1587).

particular stands out: nine[22]. On the other hand, the absolute absence of workers from the agricultural world give us reason to reflect about[23].

In contrast, the military world was not immune from the 'Lutheran contagion'. Four soldiers were penalised by the Sicilian Holy Office. Even people close to the court of Palermo were considered to be guilty of Protestant 'eresies', such as the viceroy's personal guards: Hanzain and Tommaso Quifort, both of them were reconciled on the occasion of the 'Act of Faith' of 26 June 1569[24].

It should also be emphasised that in general, the Sicilian Reform is an almost exclusively male movement. Out of 253 offenders, there were 241 male convicts, while only 12 women were sentenced by the Inquisition during the entire 16th century. In addition, with the exception of Margarita Russo, who died in prison during the trial and was therefore inevitably *rilassata in statua* as she didn't abjure[25], no woman was handed over to the secular arm, as all of them were reconciled to the 'womb' of the Holy Mother Church, a fact that highlights how no female was found guilty of major heretical crimes. What is more, three of the twelve condemned women were sentenced in association with their husbands or other male relatives, or in any case their sentence follows, chronologically, that one of their spouses[26]. While

22. Calogero Sciortino «labrador de la ciudad de Xaca. Reconciliados por Lutheranos con confiscacion de bienes» (AGES, p. 302; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 8, 1561); Francesco de Vindignie «labrador del lugar de Spacaforno. Reconciliados» (AGES, p. 302; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 8, 1561); Francesco de Campo; Giacomo Romeo; Matteo Chato; Matteo Santoro; Matteo Tama; Pietro de Xito; Pietro de Anastasi. Each of these last seven were present in the *autodafé* in Palermo of 13 April 1563 and were referred to as «labrador. Reconciliado por opiniones luteranas» (AGES, pp. 304-305).

23. This is a surprising fact in some way, since – although the 'habitat' of Sicilian Protestantism was predominantly urban-demanial (see below p. 6) – Lutheran 'opinions' also reached small and medium-sized rural centres (see Tab IV), where most of the population was engaged in farming activities.

24. «Hanzain, tudesco de la guardia del Vi Rey; reconciliado y tres años en galera complices de lo suso dichos tudescos» (AGES, p. 319; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569; in BCP, p. 194 is known as Cristoforo Prouhanzano); Tommaso Quifort, «aleman de la guardia del Virrey, reconciliado y desterrado del Reyno por aver comido carne con otros muchos tudescos en quaresma, diziendo que non era pecado, y creyendolo ansì, y en su presencia se tractava de otras opiniones luteranas. Reconciliado» (AGES, p. 318; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569). The other two soldiers in the lists of 'acts of faith' are: the French «Antoni Moret, soldato. Reconciliado por opiniones luterans» (AGES, p. 305; *autodafé*, Palermo, April 13, 1563); and Ambrogio de Robles «natural de Ubeda, sargento mayor de Catania. Penitenciado y abiurò de vehementi» (AGES, p. 310; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569).

25. «Margarita Russo, moglie di Antonino Russo alias lo medico, morta luterana, fu per sentenza a 15 ottobre 1574 rilassata in statua, letta nella porta principale della Chiesa Maggiore di Palermo a 21 novembre 1574, e fu brugiata allo Ciardone» (BCP, p. 187).

26. Giovannella Capridi «mujer de Marco Antonio Capridi, reconçiliada por luterana» together with her husband in the same 'act of faith' (AGES, p. 307; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568). A similar case to Dominichella Faraone one, «reconciliada y habito por seys años» in the same *autodafé* in which her spouse Tommaso Faraone, «murio en las carceres cofitente, de bullas jubileos potestad del Papa purgatorio, ymagines, intercesion de sanctos y que somos justificados

for three others, the sentence emphasises that they were followers of a male figure[27], almost as if to emphasise their subordinate role.

Turning now to investigating the doctrines and ideas professed by the accused, we have to note that the memorials of the *autodafés*, at least until 1568, are extremely schematic, to the point that most of the time we have no other indications apart from the generic definition of the offender as a «lutherano» or «por aver creydo algunas proposiciones de la setta de Lutero»; only in 54 cases this documentation provides us with information to reconstruct the theological-doctrinal position of the offender.

The most recurrent 'heresy' is that which rails against the adoration of the saints, contesting their intercessory abilities and their miracles; it is mentioned in the notes of the proceedings against 27 convicts[28]. In second place there is the rejection of auricular confession and the disavowal of its sacramental value, an idea supported

---

por la sangre de Jhesu Crhisto», was «reconciliado en statua», (AGES, p. 317; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569). As regards Dominichella, her kinship with another Protestant ⊠heretic⊠ is also reaffirmed: she is friar Francesco Pagliarino's sister; a religious «relaxado en persona» in 1551 (AGES, p. 292; *autodafé*, Palermo, July 5, 1551). Another similar case is that of Catarinella Rizzo, «muger de Joan Antonio Rizo boticario Meçines […]. Esta avia muchos años que su suegro y marido la avian enseñado la setta luterana» (AGES p. 317), she was reconciled together with her father-in-law Geronimo Rizzo (AGES, p. 318; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569), and her consort had already been reconciled eleven years earlier, (AGES; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1558).

27. This is the case about three women «Francesca de Mayo», «Soro Minica de Leone, alias la Grassa» and «Soro Florella Muzami» followers of the priest Giovanello Scolaro, a cleric who was punished in 1560 (*autodafé*, Palermo, August 15, 1573; Garufi, 1978, p. 139).

28. Baldassare Cazzola (BCP, p. 187, see above nt. 18); Mastro Nicola (AGES, p. 313; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Gian Nodot «de Lylla, frances mercero, reconciliado y siete años en galera» (AGES, p. 316; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Biagio Corso (AHNM, lib. 898, f. 31r; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 1, 1572); Giuseppe Stagno (AHNM, lib. 898, f. 33v; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 1, 1572); Francesco Fontanella, (AHNM, lib. 898, f. 482v; *autodafé*, Palermo, August 24, 1588); Cornelio Chanchardo (BCP, p. 178, see above also nt. 7); Giovanni Guglielmo Bonscontro (see above p. 4 and nt. 15); Francesco Laguna (AGES, p. 315; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Gian Domenico Chinigo (AGES, p. 320; Palermo, June 26, 1569); Gian di Gand, (AGES, p. 312; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Mariano Gianrusso, (AGES, p. 318; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Paolo Redolfo (AGES, p. 312; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Giacomo Bruno (BCP, p. 194); Pietro Carmantana (AGES, p. 313; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Giovanni Simone Franchano (AHNM, lib. 898, f. 409r; *autodafé*, Palermo, May 1, 1586); Nicola di Alì (see above p. 3 and nt. 12); Nicola Antonio Crisafi (see above nt. 17); Francesco Villafranca, Jacopo Riis, Pietro Alburgheto (see above nt. 18); Antonio Cavalcante, Gian Visson, Pietro Angelo Musco (see above nt. 21); Ambrogio de Robles (see above nt. 24); Catarinella Rizzo,Tommaso Faraone (see above nt. 26).

by 25 'lutherans'[29]. This is followed by the denial of purgatory[30], and the non-recognition of papal authority and its powers[31] (statements attested 23 times). Then there are the principle of the uselessness of charitable acts and penance, as salvation is the merit of the blood of Christ and can only be achieved through faith (21)[32]; the condemnation of image worship (14)[33]; the denial of dietary restrictions (11)[34];

29. Matteo di Portofino (AHNM, lib. 898, f. 32v; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 1, 1572); Michele Tunda, (AHNM, lib. 898, f. 408v; *autodafé*, June 1, 1572); Vincenzo Giovanni Sabella (AHNM, lib. 898, ff. 59r-59v; *autodafé*, Palermo, July 11, 1575); Leonardo de Mazeo (BCP, p. 198); Leonardo Mahuni (AHNM, lib. 898, f. 382; *autodafé*, Palermo, August 15, 1582); Pietro Satalia (AHNM, lib. 902, ff. 379-380; *Relaciön de los meritos del proceso de Juan Satalú, vezino de la ciudad de Saragoza de Sicilia reconciliado, sacada en vertu de letra del Ilustrísimo Señor Cardinal de Toledo Inquisidor General dada en Toledo a 6 de febrero del año 1548*) Margherita de Gregorio (AHNM, lib. 898, ff. 577r-578v; *autodafé*, Palermo, July 25, 1593); Antonio Nicolino (BCP, p. 172); Geremia Falconcini, (BCP, p. 183; Garufi, 1978 p. 139); Nicola di Alì (see above p. 3 and nt. 12); Nicola Antonio Crisafi (see above nt. 17); Francesco Villafranca (see above nt. 18); Agostino Grosseto, Gian Visson, Pietro Angelo Musco (see above nt. 21); Catarinella Rizzo, Francesco Pagliarino, (see above nt. 26); Gian di Gand, Gian Nodot, Giovanni Simone Franchano, Giacomo Bruno, Giuseppe Stagno, Francesco Fontanella, Francesco Laguna, Pietro Carmantana (see above nt. 28).

30. Francesco Zacco (AGES, p. 279; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 12, 1540); Jacopo Ques, (AGES, p. 317; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569; see below p. 6 and nt. 52); Giovanni de Montealto, (AGES, p. 317; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Giovanni Battista di Recalbuto (AHNM, lib. 898, ff. 120r-120v; Sala del Segreto 1577); Nicola di Alì (see above p. 3 and nt. 12); Nicola Antonio Crisafi (see above nt. 17); Francesco Villafranca, Jacopo Riis, Baldassare Cazzola (see above nt. 18); Agostino Grosseto (see above nt. 21); Catarinella Rizzo, Geronimo Rizzo, Tommaso Faraone (see above nt. 26); Francesco Laguna, Giacomo Bruno, Gian di Gand, Gian Domenico Chinigo, Giovanni Simone Franchano, Giuseppe Stagno, Mariano Gianrusso, Pietro Carmantana (see above nt. 28); Leonardo de Mazeo, Matteo di Portofino (see above nt. 29).

31. Francesco de Amato (AHNM, lib. 898, f. 31v; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 1, 1572); Francesco Giovanni Porcaro (BCP, p. 180, year 1576); friar Luigi di Messina (AHNM, lib. 898, f. 100r; year 1579); Claudio Paris, (AHNM, lib. 898, ff. 27v-28v; *autodafé*, Palermo, November 22, 1598); Cornelio Chanchardo (see above nt. 7); Nicola di Alì (see above p. 3 and nt. 12); Nicola Antonio Crisafi (see above nt. 17); Francesco Villafranca (see above nt. 18); Gian Visson (see above nt. 21); Geronimo Rizzo, Tommaso Faraone (see above nt. 26); Francesco Fontanella, Giacomo Bruno, Gian Domenico Chinigo, Gian di Gand, Gian Nodot, Giovanni Simone Franchano, Pietro Carmantana (see above nt. 28); Leonardo de Mazeo, Michele Tunda, Pietro Satalia (see above nt. 29); Giovanni de Montealto (see above nt. 30); Jacopo Ques (see below p. 6 and nt. 52).

32. Matteo Costantino (AHNM, lib. 898, f. 408v; *autodafé*, Palermo, May 1, 1586); Cornelio Chanchardo (see above nt. 7); Nicola di Alì (see above p. 3 and nt. 12); Matteo di Scicli (see above nt. 9); Filippo Campolo, Nicola Antonio Crisafi (see above nt. 17); Baldassare Cazzola (see above nt. 18); Ambrogio de Robles (see above nt. 24); Francesco Pagliarino, Geronimo Rizzo, Tommaso Faraone (see above nt. 26); Francesco Laguna, Gian Domenico Chinigo, Giovanni Simone Franchano, Giuseppe Stagno, Paolo Redolfo (see above nt. 28); Michele Tunda, Pietro Satalia (see above nt. 29); Giovanni de Montealto (see above nt. 30); Francesco de Amato (see above nt. 31); Jacopo Ques (see below p. 6 and nt. 52).

33. Antonio Caruso (see above nt. 7); Guglielmo Bonscontro (see above p. 4 and nt. 15); Cornelio Chanchardo (see above nt. 7); Francesco Villafranca (see above nt. 18); Pietro Angelo Musco (see above nt. 21); Tommaso Faraone (see above nt. 26); Francesco Fontanella, Giacomo Bruno, Gian Domenico Chinigo, Gian Nodot, Giuseppe Stagno, Mariano Gianrusso (see above nt. 28); Giovanni de Montealto (see above nt. 30); Jacopo Ques (see above p. 6 and nt. 52).

34. Battista Gurrisi (AGES, p. 310; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Cristoforo Pion (see below, p. 6 and nt. 53); Guglielmo Bonscontro (see above p. 4 and nt. 15); Jacopo Riis, Baldassare Cazzola (see above nt. 18); Gian Visson (see above nt. 21); Thomas Quifort (see above p. 4 and nt. 24); Ambrogio de Robles (see above nt. 24); Geronimo Rizzo (see above nt. 26); Gian Nodot (see above nt. 28); Antonio Nicolino (see above nt. 29).

the conviction of the absence of Christ's body in the consecrated host (9)[35]; the contestation of the value of indulgences (9)[36]; the protest against the celibacy of the clergy (8)[37], etc. Heretical propositions that would demonstrate how the island's Reformation adherents, often summarily classified as followers of the 'Lutheran sect', they actually referred mainly to Martin Luther's theological thought.

A further element to take into consideration is the origin of the individuals convicted of 'Lutheran opinions'. It is a common belief that Sicilian Protestantism was a predominantly non-indigenous phenomenon but a foreign one. While it is true that the contacts with the continental Reformation movement were constant and influential, the figures – especially those from the 16th century – show how the island's Protestantism had its own marked autochthonous preponderance (Renda, 1997, p. 103)[38]. Proof of this is that of the 247 sentenced 'lutherans' for whom it was possible to trace their territorial origin, non-Sicilians are 81 (see Tab. III), so overall less than a third.

Analysing the composition of this exogenous group, it emerges that 42 'protestants' come from mainland Italy (more than half of the non-Sicilian 'lutherans'). Specifically in the Italian peninsula there are two main areas of origin: a northern one, consisting of 18 'heretics', with convicts coming mainly from Liguria (6)[39] and Veneto (5)[40]; and

35. Giulio Azzarello (AHNM, lib. 898, f. 282; *autodafé*, Palermo, August 15, 1573); Francesco Villafranca, Baldassare Cazzola (see above nt. 18); Pietro Angelo Musco (see above nt. 21); Catarinella Rizzo (see above nt. 26); Giacomo Bruno (see above nt. 28); Leonardo de Mazeo, Michele Tunda (see above nt. 29); Francesco Giovanni Porcaro (see above nt. 31).

36. Patrizio Mangiavacca (AHNM, lib. 898, f. 265v. Sala del Segreto 1583); Francesco Villafranca (see above nt. 18); Agostino Grosseto, Gian Visson (see above nt. 21); Francesco Fontanella, Giacomo Bruno, Giovanni Simone Franchano, (see above nt. 28); Pietro Satalia (see above nt. 29); Francesco Giovanni Porcaro (see above nt. 31).

37. Paolo Scorpaniti (*autodafé*, Palermo, August 15, 1573; Garufi, 1978, p. 139); Alessandro Castellana, Serafino di Sciacca (see above nt. 7); Francesco Villafranca (see above nt. 18); Antonio Cavalcante, Pietro Angelo Musco (see above nt. 21); Giacomo Bruno, Giuseppe Stagno (see above nt. 28).

38. Already from its earliest stages, the first condemnation of a Sicilian suspected of Lutheranism was that of Francesco Zacco in 1540: «de Ragusia heretico non creya ser infierno ni paradiso» (see above nt. 30).

39. Francesco Campiano «torcedor de seda natural de Genova, lutherano. Reconciliado y penitenciado con habito» (AGES, p. 285; *autodafé*, Palermo, December 22, 1547); Giorgio Costa «mercader. Relaxado en persona por lutherano» (AGES, pp. 287-288; *autodafé*, Palermo, May 19, 1549), whose condemnation to the stake generated many diplomatic disagreements, see Renda, 1997, pp. 81-82; Jacopo Ballestreri «abjuro de levi por sospecha de la setta lutherana» (AGES, p. 299; *autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1556); Andrea Trui «mastro, ginoves, albañir. Reconciliado por opiniones luteranas» (AGES, p. 305; *autodafé*, Palermo, April 13, 1563); and the already mentioned Mastro Nicola (see above nt. 28) and Matteo di Portofino (see above nt. 29).

40. Paolo di Padova «fray, lutherano. Reconcilado» (AGES, p. 299; *autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1556); Francesco Vicino «mercader Paduano, Relaxado en persona al brazo seglar» (AGES, p. 303; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 8, 1561); as well as the aforementioned Pietro Gratalaro (see above nt. 6); Antonio de Antona and Agostino Grosseto (see above nt. 21).

a Calabrian one. The latter area, with 17 convicts[41], was considered for a long time by the inquisitors to be the 'heretical breeding ground' from which the Sicilian Reformation was constantly feed (Renda, 1997, p. 103). A judgement that refers to the activism that characterised the Waldensian community of Calabria in those years (Ciaccio, 2015, pp. 211-216; Tedesco, 2015, pp. 43-56), but which in truth does not appear justified, at least not from a numerical point of view. In fact, the Calabrian contribution, among the various non-indigenous components, does not appear to be primary; a role covered instead by the French Protestants with 21 sentenced[42]. In the overall count, 39 people coming from abroad were sentenced by the Sicilian Holy

41. The 'lutherans' of Calabrian origin are: Antonio Gesualdo, «Reconciliado» (AGES, p. 299; *autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1556); Giovanni Francesco Catanzaro «Reconcilado» (AGES, p. 299; *autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1556); Demetrio Madafari «Pentadattilo in Calabria. Luterano, fu relassato in persona al braccio secolare nell'Atto celebrato a 15 agosto 1563 in Palermo nella piazza delli Bologni, e a 17 agosto fu esecuta la sentenza in sua persona d'aversi strozzato e bruciato nello Ciardone» (BCP, p. 180); Francesco Mazullo «reconçiliado por luterano, y açotes pro blasfemo» (AGES, p. 308; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Iacobo Cortes «nativo de Tropea, sacerdote di messa, cappellano della chiesa di S. Giovanni alla porta di Carini di Palermo, avendo abiurato la setta luterana in Napoli a 6 gennaro 1558 e rinconciliato alla S. Sede, poi venne in Palermo e fatto cappellano della detta chiesa, ricaduto negli stessi errori, fu per sentenza letta a primo giugno 1572 rilassato in persona nella Piazza Bologna, giorno della Trinità, e dopo l'essere affogato, fu il suo corpo brugiato allo Ciardone» (BCP, p. 180); Domenico Calafà, a Calabrian cleric (AHNM, lib. 898, f. 41v, Sala del Segreto 1573); Paolo Gentile, a Calabrian priest already reconciled «della setta luterana», abjured *de levi*, (*autodafé*, Palermo, August 15, 1573; Garufi, 1978, p. 139; Antonio Micicheni «sacerdote di messa della terra di S. Lorenzo in Calabria, essendo stato preso dal nostro Tribunale, e prese le informazioni come luterano, fu rimesso a Reggio dove fu dal S.r Peri Antonio Pansa seu per l'Ordinario rilassato in persona» (BCP, pp. 170-171); Crescente Sciglioni «luterano, fu rimesso dal S. Officio al Vicario Generale di Reggio dove per detto Vicario Generale e per il detto Antonio Pansa fu bruggiato» (BCP, p. 179); in addition to the already cited: Agacio de Giunta (see above nt. 17), Giovan Battista Dagni (see above nt. 19); Antonio Cavalcante, Pietro Angelo Musco (see above nt. 21), Antonio Nicolino di La Guardia, Michele Tunda di La Guardia, Vincenzo Giovanni Sabella di San Filippo di Argirò (see above nt. 29); Paolo Scorpaniti (see above nt. 37).

42. Giacomo Spini «entallator françes, reconciliado a la S.ta Madre Yglesia por luterano» (AGES, p. 289; *autodafé*, Palermo, May 19, 1549); Giandomenico Bossi «françes coçinero, penitenziado y abjurante de levi por aver dicho algunas palabras luteranas» (*autodafé*, Palermo, May 19, 1549); Pietro Robert «francese, della Goletta di Tunisi, ugonotto ostinato, fu nella Chiesa della Magione a 13 gennaro 1566 rilassato in persona» (BCP, p. 200); Alessandro Bindon, «frances boticario en Meçina, difidado por luterano. Relaxado en statua» (AGES, p. 322; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Carlo Borgognon, «calcetero, Relaxado en persona» (AGES, p. 321; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Giovanni de la Abbadia «frances, reconciliado y seys años en galera» (AGES, p. 316; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Giovanni Antonio Darles «frances casado en Palermo, reconciliado y cinco años en galera» (AGES, p. 318; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Lazzaro Gasseia «frances calcetero casado en Palermo, reconciliado y seys años en galera» (AGES, p. 316; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Natale Rosano «francese de la Rochella, reconciliado y galera en vida», (AGES, p. 316; *autodafé*, Palermo, 26 June, 1569); Pietro de Arnaldo «frances mercero; relaxado en persona» (AGES, p. 320; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Giorgio de Avarzo, a native of Toulouse and inhabitant of Monreale, «abiura de vehementi» (*autodafé*, Palermo, August 15, 1573; Garufi, 1978, p. 139); and the previously mentioned Marino de Olivolas (see above nt. 19); Gian Visson (see above nt. 21); Antonio Moret (see above nt. 24); Tommaso Faraone (see above nt. 26); Gian Nodot, Francesco Fontanella, Pietro Carmantana (see above nt. 28); Giovanni de Montealto (see above nt. 30); Claudio Paris (see above nt. 31); Matteo Costantino (see above nt. 32); Jacopo Ques (see below p. 6 and nt. 52).

Office. In addition to the French, the other nationalities recorded are the German with 8 'lutherans'[43]; the Spanish and Flemish respectively with 3 offenders[44]; while countries as Romania, Malta, Greece and England counted one condemned person each[45].

However, we always have to emphasise the predominantly indigenous nature of the island's Protestant movement, confirmed by the percentage of those sentenced, more than two thirds of whom were natives of the island. As regards the place of origin, if we follow the ancient tripartition into *valli*, it becomes immediately evident that out of 166 Sicilians sentenced by the Inquisition, 23 came from the Val di Mazara (13.9%), 54 from the Val di Noto (32.5%) and as many as 89 from Val Demone; in other words, more than half (53.6%) were from the north-eastern area of Sicily (see Tab. IV)[46]. If, on the other hand, we use the current subdivision into provinces, the distribution of people considered guilty of 'Lutheran heresies' is as follows: Messina 85, Catania 19, Enna 5, Syracuse 25, Ragusa 8, Agrigento 8, Palermo 14, and Trapani 2. It is therefore evident that the Protestant 'heresies' had a more massive spread in the eastern part of the island, while the central-western part, with the exception of Palermo area, was only marginally affected.

By far the most compromised community by Lutheran 'opinions' was those of Messina. The city of the Lighthouse, favoured by its geographical position and its role as an important international port of

43. The German sentenced are: Gaspare Savermu «aleman moço natural de Norimberch. Abjurante de vehementi», (AGES, p. 286; *autodafé*, Palermo, December 22, 1547); Matteo Savermu «mercader aleman natural de Normberch, lutherano. Reconciliado y penitenciado con habito» (AGES, p. 285; *autodafé*, Palermo, December 22, 1547); Enrico Telogero «mastro […] natural de Nurenbeergh, luterano. Reconciliado a la S.ta Madre Yglesia» (AGES, p. 289; *autodafé*, Palermo, May 19, 1549); Giovanni Matteo de Augusta «tudesco, luterano, fu ammesso a riconciliazione a 26 giugno 1569» (BCP, p. 183); and the already mentioned Hanzain and Thomas Quifort (see above p. 4 and nt. 24); Cristoforo Pion (see below, p. 13 and nt. 53).

44. The Spanish Protestants as can be seen in the *autodafé* list are: Mariano di Palermo «de Çaragoça, fue penitençiado y abiurò de levi por averse juntado con ciertas personas que tractavan de propositiones luteranas» (AGES, p. 304; *autodafé*, Palermo, April 13, 1563), and the already mentioned Luigi de Castro (see above nt. 7), and Ambrogio de Robles (see above nt. 24). While the Flemish ones: Jacopo de Amberes «Flandes. Reconciliado» (AGES, p. 299; *autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1556); Giuliano di Anversa «luterano fu ammesso a riconciliazione a 26 giugno 1569», (BCP, p. 183); and the already mentioned Gian di Gand (see above nt. 28).

45. Giulio Maczolis «natural de Romania […] libraro, lutherano. Reconciliado a la Sancta Madre Yglesia» (AGES, p. 283; *autodafé*, Palermo, February 13, 1547); Natale Caspar «doctor Maltes. Condeñado» (AGES, p. 299; *autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1556); Nicolò Argiropulo «greco, abitante di Messina, luterano, fuggitivo, fu per sentenza a 11 maggio 1549 rilassato in statua, letta la sentenza nella Loggia a 19 maggio 1549» (AGES, p. 198); while the English citizen sentenced is the already cited Giovanni Dulisi (see above nt. 19).

46. See Tab. IV. Regarding the territorial origin of the condemned these notable differences are not justified by the demography of the island since throughout the 16th century the distribution of the population in the administrative regions was substantially balanced (see Ligresti, 2002, p. 198).

call, it appears as a sort of Sicilian Protestantism capital, where the ideas of the Italian and European evangelical movement were more easily introduced than in other population centres of the island (Renda, 1997, p. 323)[47]. We can find a clear feedback in the data of the inquisitorial repression. Speaking about the 166 'lutherans' in Sicily, more than a quarter (47) were citizens of Messina[48]. Basically, through-

47. Concerning the socio-religious context of Messina in the 16th century: see Caponetto, 1998, pp. 103-110; Bottari, 2010, pp. 169-175. It is no coincidence that it was precisely in Messina in the 1620s and 1630s that a circle of humanists particularly sensitive to the themes of the religious Reformation had already been formed around the viceroy Ettore Pignatelli (see Moscheo, 1999, pp. 311-317; Salvo, 1995, p. 105; Salvo, 1997, p. 554.

48. Andrea La Maystra «presbitero degradado verbaliter» (AGES, p. 292; *autodafé*, Palermo, July 5, 1551); Bonifacio Cipriano «canonigo de Messina, degradado verbaliter» (AGES, p. 292; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 18, 1551; see Mellusi, 2017, pp. 99, 130); Stefano Pixi «frayle de Sancto Beneditto, lutherano» (AGES, p. 294; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 18, 1553); Stefano Pesce «monaco dell'ordine di S. Benedetto di Messina nel monastero di S. Placido», luterano from Messina, punished on the occasion of the «spettacolo tenuto nella Loggia di Palermo a 18 giugno 1553» (BCP); Vincenzo Chiaramonte (BCP); Jacopo de Anastasio «lutherano. reconçiliado» (AGES, p. 299; *autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1556); Antonino Bardassi «panadero. Reconciliado por opiniones luteranas» (AGES, p. 305; *autodafé*, Palermo, April 13, 1563); Giovan Battista Castrogianni «clerigo de missa» (AGES, p. 304; *autodafé*, Palermo, April 13, 1563); Giovanello Richari «que hazia crucifixos, reconciliado por opiniones luteranas» (AGES, p. 305; *autodafé*, Palermo, April 13, 1563); Domenico Masoneto «albañir, Reconciliado por opiniones luteranas» (AGES, p. 305; *autodafé*, Palermo, April 13, 1563); Pietro Paolo Lamberti «carbonero. Reconciliado por opiniones luteranas» (AGES, p. 305; *autodafé*, Palermo, April 13, 1563); Andrea de Ardingo «de Meçina, accusado por sequaz de la setta lutherana, abjurò de levi» (AGES, p. 307 (*autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Catarinella de Mazio «reconçialada por luterana» (AGES, p. 307; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Ferrante Musarra «scrivano de Meçina, reconçiliado por luterano y galera por seyes años, y avia sido antes proseguido y salio libre» (AGES, p. 308; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Francesco Salvaricia «mercador de seda reconçiliado por luterano, quatro años de habito», (AGES, p. 308; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568) «vezino de Messina, fue reconciliado en el auto pasado […] fue votado a doblalle la penitencia del habito» (AGES p. 314; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Giovan Antonio Rizzo «boticiario Meçines, reconçialiado por luterano, y tres años de galera» (AGES, p. 308; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Giovan Battista Lamberti «reconçiliado de Meçina, se ne tornò a prender diminuto, admettiose con seis años de galera por luterano» (AGES, p. 307; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Giovannello Smeraldo «Meçinies, texedor de seda, reconçiliado por luterano y habito por quatro años» (AGES, p. 308; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Giuseppe Villari «mercante de seda, reconçiliado por luterano y seis años de galera» (AGES, p. 308; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Marco Antonio Capridi «pinctor Messines, reconçiliado preso segunda vez por diminuto, muy istructo en setta luterana, habito perpetuo», (AGES, p. 308; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Norella Grasso «mujer de Antonio Grasso, texedor, reconçiliada por lo mismo (luterana n.d.r)» (AGES, p. 308; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Ambrogio di Messina «sacerdote monge del mismo orden (San Benito n.d.r.), fue reconciliado y habito por seys años» (AGES, p. 317; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Francesco Squillace «barvero de Meçina. Relaxado en statua» (AGES, p. 322; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); Eliseo Manzè «dell'ordine di S. Benedetto nel monastero di S. Placido di Messina, messinese apostata, fuggitivo, accusato di setta luterana, fu rilassato in statua a 5 agosto 1573 nell'atto di fede celebrato nel Piano delli Bologni» (BCP, p. 205); Giambattista Gotto «un tempo monaco di S. Basilio, luterano fuggitivo, fu per sentenza a 6 luglio 1573 rilassato in statua, letta nella piazza delli Bologni a 15 agosto 1573, e fu brugiato allo Ciardone», (BCP, p. 193; Gianpietro Giardina «presbitero, degradado verbaliter, lutherano» (AGES, p. 285; *autodafé*, Palermo, December 22, 1547), «luterano, un tempo riconciliato e poi ricaduto e fuggitivo, fu rilassato in statua e letta la sua sentenza nel piano della Madrice di Palermo a 21 novembre 1574, e fu brugiata nello Ciardone» (BCP, p. 192); besides the already mentioned: Petruccio Compagna (see above p. 3); Aliotta Buglio (see above p. 3 and nt. 10), Pietro Granata, Gianpietro Perrone (see above nt. 6); Bartolomeo Spadafora-Moncada and Baroness of Ferla (see above pp. 4-5); Giovanni Grasso (see above p. 3 and nt. 6); Filippo Campolo, Melchiorre Grasso (see above nt.

out the 16th century, there was no *autodafé* where Messina citizens did not appear. We have to consider that only in the public demonstration that took place in Palermo on 30 March 1568, at the Piano della Marina, 10 inhabitants of the City of the Strait were sentenced for crimes connected to the Reformation (AGES, pp. 306-309).

Another Protestant stronghold, perhaps of Waldensian descent (Renda, 1997, p. 99), that at least quantitatively played a significant part in the Sicilian Reformation, is Mandanici, a small rural town on the hills on the Ionian side of Messina, which can boast as many as 20 offenders among its inhabitants[49]. The number of those condemned in Vizzini and Noto is also substantial, with 13 and 12 Lutheran 'heretics', respectively[50]. While Palermo figures in the *autodafé* with 10

17); Gian Domenico Brigandi (see above nt. 19); Giovannella Capridi, Catarinella Rizzo, Dominichella Faraone, Tommaso Faraone (see above nt. 26); Florella Muzami, Francesca de Mayo, Domenica de Leone (see above nt. 27), Gian Domenico Chinigo, Biagio Corso, Giuseppe Stagno (see above nt. 28), friar Luigi di Messina (see above nt. 31). To these forty-six individuals can also be added the 'lutherans' of the rural agglomerations belonging to the city: Leonardo de Mazeo di Bordonaro (see above nt. 29); Salvatore Espezio di Santo Stefano, a 26-year-old sailor, *riconciliato abiura in forma* (*autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1589; AHNM, lib. 898, ff. 351r-352v).

49. Domenico Santoro «presbitero lutherano, degradado verbaliter. Reconciliado a la Sancta Madre Yglesia» (AGES, p. 282; *autodafé*, Palermo, February 13, 1547), «Preste Minico Sanctoro de Mandanichi, por relapso e dogmatista de los sobre dichos de heresia luterana, sacerdote de missa. Reconciliado» (AGES, p. 305; *autodafé*, April 13, 1563); Jacopo Pellizeri «lutherano. Reconciliado al gremio de la yglesia» (AGES, p. 293; *autodafé*, Palermo, July 5, 1551); Andrea Bruno «mastro albanir. Reconciliado por opiniones luteranas» (AGES, p. 305; *autodafé*, Palermo, April 13, 1563); Battista Pellizeri «luterano y de duplici matrimonio, labrador. Reconciliado por opiniones luteranas», (AGES, p. 305; *autodafé*, Palermo, April 13, 1563); Nicola Bruno (brother of Andrea Bruno) «en galera por diez años por vario y revocante», (AGES, p. 305; *autodafé*, Palermo, April 13, 1563); «statua del quondam» Giovanni Matteo de Micheli «de F.° regidor de Mandanichi. Reconciliada por opiniones luteranas», (AGES, p. 305; *autodafé*, Palermo, April 13, 1563); Luciano Mamune «regidor de una aldea. Reconciliado por opiniones luteranas», (AGES, p. 305; *autodafé*, Palermo, April 13, 1563); Riccardo alias Fruxa «luterano, fu rilassato in persona nell'atto celebrato nel piano della marina a 12 novembre 1564, e fu brugiato» (BCP, p. 186); Girolamo Mamuni «reconçiliado por luterano y quatro años de galera», (AGES, p. 308; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Marquesa Santoro «acusada de lutherana, abjurò de levi» (AGES, p. 307; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Matteo Ricciardo «reconçiliado por lo mismo (por luterano, n.d.r.)» (AGES, p. 307; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Petruccio Santoro «reconçiliado por luterano» (AGES, p. 308; *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Stefano Romeo «reconçiliado por luterano» (AGES, p. 307, *autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Francesco de Micheli «Relaxado por herege pertinaz, demandò en el catafardo misericordia», (AGES, p. 308 (*autodafé*, Palermo, March 30, 1568); Girolamo Calabrò «morto per sentenza a 13 luglio 1573 fu rilassato in statua, fu letta a 15 agosto 1573 nella Piazza delli Bologni e fu brugiato allo Ciardone, luterano» (BCP, p. 183); and the already mentioned Giovanni Battista Pellizeri (see above nt. 18); Matteo Chato, Matteo Santoro, Matteo Tama, Pietro de Xito, (see above nt. 22).

50. The 'lutherans' of Vizzini as can be seen in the 'acts of faith' are: Pietro Lo Piccolo «sastre, lutherano» (AGES, p. 283; *autodafé*, Palermo, February 13, 1547); Antonino di Pietro «alias Buscarero, presbitero, por lutherano desgraduado verbaliter» (AGES, p. 288; *autodafé*, Palermo, May 19, 1549); Giovanni Virga «murador, reconciliado a la S.ta Madre Yglesia por luterano» (AGES, p. 288; *autodafé*, Palermo, May 19, 1549); Giulio Petrella «reconciliado a la S.ta Madre Yglesia por luterano» (AGES, p. 288; *autodafé*, Palermo, May 19, 1549); Vincenzo Salvaggio «presbitero, por lutherano desgraduado verbaliter» (AGES, p. 288; *autodafé*, Palermo, May 19, 1549); Antonino Lo Astuto «lutherano. Absente relaxado» (AGES, p. 292; *autodafé*, Palermo, July 5, 1551); Giuseppe Iaquinta «presbitero luterano» (AGES, p. 292; *autodafé*, Palermo, July 5, 1551); Pietro

convicts[51]. However, the capital of the Kingdom, rather than being represented by its citizens, was characterised, above all, as a centre that gave hospitality to numerous 'heretics' coming from abroad. It was precisely in the city of Palermo, in 1569, that a *societas ad crimen haeresiae agendum* was discovered, made up of 18 foreign congregants, who «avevano fatto una lega che si riuniva in molte parti a trattare della setta luterana e avevano cominciato a infettare il regno» (AHNM, lib. 898, ff. 18r-20v). Regular meeting places were the home of the Parisian Jacopo Ques[52], and the tavern of the German Christopher Pion[53], where Lutheran works were read and analysed, and meat was eaten even on forbidden days (AHNM, lib. 898, ff. 18r-20v)[54].

In general, in Sicily the Protestant movement appeared as a primarily urban-demanial phenomenon. Of the 165 Sicilian citizens convicted of religious crimes who adhered to the 'reforming heresies',

---

Giangrosso «presbitero luterano» (AGES, p. 292; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569); and the already mentioned: Gutiere Laguna (see above nt. 17); Giovanni Antonio Cannizzo (see above nt. 19); Francesco Laguna, Mariano Gianrusso (see above nt. 28); Battista Gurrisi (see above nt. 34). Instead, the citizens of Noto sentenced as Protestants are: Antonio Cassise «reconciliado» (AGES, p. 399; *autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1556); Antonio Gambacurta «reconciliado» (AGES, p. 399; *autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1556); Corrado Luparello «reconciliado» (AGES, p. 399; *autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1556); Girolamo Litramo «condenado» (AGES, p. 399; *autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1556); Girolamo Luparello «reconciliado» (AGES, p. 399; *autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1556); Michele Spaccaforno «reconciliado» (AGES, p. 399; *autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1556); Sebastiano Carbeni «condenado» (AGES, p. 399; *autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1556); Pietro Giovanni Tommaso «reconciliado» (AGES, p. 399; *autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1556), «scarparo, luterano pertinace, impenitente, fu letta la sua sentenza di relassazione nel piano della Marina a 26 dicembre 1566, fu rilassato in persona» (BCP, p. 200); Michele Giovanni Carobeni «abiurò de levi a 10 maggio 1558 nella Bocceria vecchia, poi caduto nelli stessi errori ed ostinato, fu nella Chiesa della Magione letta la sentenza 13 gennaro 1566, relassato in persona per essere luterano» (BCP, p. 196; and the already mentioned: Giuseppe Manzone, Vincenzo Escarpa, Giovanni Gigliuto (see above nt. 8).

51. Alessandro Luciano «lutherano. Reconciliado a la Sancta Madre Yglesia» (AGES, p. 283; *autodafé*, Palermo, February 13, 1547); Vincenzo Lombardo «presbitero lutherano, degradado verbaliter» (AGES, p. 282; *autodafé*, Palermo, February 13, 1547); Cristoforo Gerardo «presbitero, por lutherano desgraduado verbaliter» (AGES, p. 289; *autodafé*, Palermo, May 19, 1549); Giovannello de Dotto «clerigo, por lutherano reconciliado a la S.ta Madre Yglesia» (AGES, p. 289; *autodafé*, Palermo, May 19, 1549); Giovanni Antonio Sasso «reconciliado» (AGES, p. 299; *autodafé*, Palermo, October 18, 1556); and the already mentioned: Francesco Bologna (see above p. 4 and nt. 14); Giovanni Guglielmo Bonscontro (see above p. 4 and nt. 15); Ambrogio di Palermo (see above nt. 6); Giovanni Battista Vinci (see above nt. 7); and the Baron Oddo (see above nt. 17).

52. «Frances de Paris, complice de los demas franceses, antes principal pro que en su casa se juntavan los otros franceses y era el que principal hablava; reconciliado, y diez años en galera» (AGES, p. 317; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569).

53. «Tudesco bodegonero; reconciliado y galera por quatro años por que a su casa acogia a los demas tudescos y le dava a comer carne en quaresma, y el y los demas dezian y creyan que no era pecado, y en su casa y en su presencia leyan libros y se tractava de la setta luterana» (AGES, p. 319; *autodafé*, Palermo, June 26, 1569).

54. The other 16 conspirators are: Jacopo Riis (see above nt. 18); Hanzain e Tommaso Quifort (see above p. 4 and nt. 24); Gian Nodot, Gian di Gand, Pietro Carmantana (see above nt. 28); Giovanni de Montealto (see above nt. 30); Alessandro Bindon, Carlo Borgognon, Giovanni Antonio Darles, Giovanni de la Abbadia, Lazzaro Gasseia, Pietro de Arnaldo, Natal Rosano (see above nt. 42); Giovanni Matteo de Augusta (see above nt. 43); Giuliano di Anversa (see above nt. 44).

113 (more than two-thirds) came from royal cities, while only 52 came from feudal centres (see Tab. IV), a ratio decidedly more unbalanced than the real sixteenth-century distribution of the island's population between state-owned towns and baronial localities[55].

As regards a subdivision of the Sicilian Reformation in temporary phases over the 16th century, the numbers show how the period between the 1560s and the 1580s was that one where 'protestant heresies' were mostly alive in the Sicilian social fabric. Infact, in these twenty years the highest level of inquisitional repression was triggered. In those years the Holy Office condemned as 'Lutherans' 155 people, a number equal to more than the half of all proceedings against Protestants that there were during all the XVI century in the island. While the last two decades of the 16th century witnessed a progressive regression of the evangelical movement. Proof of this is that during the latter part of the century the most conspicuous number of offenders, who paraded in the 'acts of faith', were no longer proponents of «opiniones lutheranas» but rather renegade Moors (Renda, 1997, pp. 133-134), a clear sign of how the religious and political balances and priorities in the European territories of the Spanish Habsburgs had shifted in the direction of the growing 'Islamic danger' (Oddo, 1990). Finally, in the 17th century the most abundant prey would be provided by witch hunt and esoteric sects (Renda, 1997, p. 256; Alaimo, 1990).

In conclusion, after an overall analysis of the figures and signs of the so-called 'Lutheran heresies' in sixteenth-century Sicily, we can affirm that Sicilian Protestantism, that initially conveyed from the outside through the regular orders, during the second half of the sixteenth century became deeply rooted in all strata of island society, achieving a wide propagation and becoming a predominantly indigenous phenomenon, different and more structured than a mere presence of narrow exogenous heretical groups. In fact, we cannot fail to agree with Francesco Renda in sustaining that the history of the 16th century Reformation knew in the Spanish viceroyalty of Sicily one of its moments, even if it was not one of the most elevating in terms of doctrinal elaboration and ideas, certainly among the strongest in terms of participation and testimony of faith.

55. In 1505 the population in the royal cities of Sicily corresponded to 52.8% of the total, in 1569 it peaked at 59.9%, falling to 56.3% in 1583 (see Renda, 1995, p. 40).

Tab. I

Regular clergy condemned for Protestant 'heresy'	**42**
Augustinians	8
Hermits (members of not known orders)	8
Franciscans	7
Carmelites	5
Benedictines	4
Dominicans	3
Friars of the Order of Minims (St Francis of Paola)	3
Nuns (members of not known orders)	2
Basilian	1
Hierosolimitan	1

Tab. II

Social or professional status of Protestant sentenced persons	
Aristocracy and wealthy landowners	*11*
Gentlemen	4
Knights	3
Barons	2
Second born	1
Wealthy landowner	1
Intellectual bourgeoisie, education, state bureaucracy and artists	*25*
Teachers	6
Doctors of Laws	5
Doctors of Medicine	5
Notaries	3
Village *regidores*	2
Astrologists	1

Doctor in a not specified field	1
Lawsuit Solicitor (Assistant Prosecutor)	1
Musician	1
Manual workers	*35*
Unskilled workers	9
Shoemakers	5
Bricklayers	4
Tailors	4
Scribes	3
Barbers	2
Cooks	2
Baker	1
Carver	1
Charcoal burner	1
Printer	1
Silk maker	1
Weaver	1
Military	*4*
Viceregal Guards	2
Sergeant major	1
Soldier of not specified rank	1
Transport and trade	*21*
Merchants	7
Silversmiths	6
Apothecaries	2
Shopkeepers	2
Silk traffickers	2
Bookseller	1
Seaman	1

Tab. III

Places of origin of Protestants *extra Regnum*	
Continental Italy	*42*
Calabria	17
Liguria	6
Veneto	5
Lombardy	3
Piedmont	3
Basilicata	2
Tuscany	2
Campania	1
Lazio	1
The Marche	1
Trentino	*1*
Abroad	*39*
France	21
Germany	8
Flanders	3
Spain	3
Greece	1
England	1
Malta	1
Romania	1

Tab. IV

Places of origin of Sicilian Protestants grouped by administrative regions							
Val di Mazara			*23*	Val Demone			*89*
Palermo	PA	Royal city	10	Messina	ME	Royal city	47
Sciacca	AG	Royal city	4	Mandanici	ME	Feudal	20
Termini (T. Imerese)	PA	Royal city	2	Pagliara	ME	Feudal	3
Agrigento	AG	Royal city	1	Taormina	ME	Royal city	2
Bivona	AG	Feudal	1	Santa Lucia (S.L. del Mela)	ME	Royal city	2

Castronovo	PA	Royal city	1
Mazara (M. del Vallo)	TP	Royal city	1
Racalmuto	AG	Feudal	1
Salemi	TP	Royal city	1
Sciara	PA	Feudal	1
Val di Noto			*54*
Vizzini	CT	Royal city	13
Noto	SR	Royal city	12
Siracusa	SR	Royal city	9
Buscemi	SR	Feudal	2
Calascibetta	EN	Royal city	1
Catania	CT	Royal city	2
Mineo	CT	Royal city	2
Ragusa	RG	Feudal	2
Spaccaforno (Ispica)	RG	Feudal	2
Aidone	EN	Feudal	1
Chiaramonte (C. Gulfi)	RG	Feudal	1
Lentini	SR	Royal city	1
Ferla	SR	Feudal	1
Militello (M. in Val di Catania)	CT	Feudal	1
Modica	RG	Feudal	1
Monterosso (M. Almo)	RG	Feudal	1
Piazza (P. Armerina)	EN	Royal city	1
Scicli	RG	Feudal	1
Alì	ME	Feudal	1
Bordonaro*	ME	Feudal	1
Capizzi	ME	Feudal	1
Condrò	ME	Feudal	1
Maurojanni (Roccavaldina)	ME	Feudal	1
Milazzo	ME	Royal city	1
Nicosia	EN	Royal city	1
Paternò	CT	Feudal	1
Regalbuto	EN	Feudal	1
San Giovanni (S.G. Gemini)	AG	Feudal	1
San Marco (S.M. d'Alunzio)	ME	Feudal	1
San Pietro di Monforte (S.P. Niceto)	ME	Feudal	1
Sant'Agata (S.A. di Militello)	ME	Feudal	1
Santo Stefano*	ME	Feudal	1
Savoca	ME	Feudal	1

*Messina hamlets that still today are part of the administrative area of Messina county seat.

References

Abulafia, D. (2016). *I regni del Mediterraneo occidentale dal 1200 al 1500. La lotta per il dominio*. Laterza.

AGES, Archivio General de España – Simancas. Consejo supremo y de la Secretaria de la Camara de los Inquisidores Generales, Inquisicion de Sicilia, Listas de los autos da fé (1537-1572). In Garufi C.A., Contributo alla Storia dell'Inquisizione in Sicilia nei Secoli XVI e XVII. Note e appunti dagli Archivi di Spagna. *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, *38*, 264-329.

AHNM, Archivio Historico Nacional – Madrid, *Inquisiziones de Italia, Tribunal de Sicilia*, libb. 898-902.

Alaimo, G. (1990). *Streghe, demoni e inquisitori. Magia, stregoneria, ossessioni, esorcismi*, Edizioni mediterranee.

BCP, Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo, Ms. Qq. F. 239. In La Mantia V. (1977), *Origine e vicende dell'Inquisizione in Sicilia*. Sellerio (pp. 167-208).

Bilotta, B. (1978). La Riforma protestante a Messina: un'ipotesi di storia sociale. *Atti della Accademia Peloritana dei Pericolanti. Classe III. Scienze Giuridiche, Economiche e Politiche*, 48, 5-60.

Bottari, S. (2010). *Messina tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento. Il "caso" Antonello, la cultura, le élites politiche, le attività produttive*. Rubbettino.

Cantimori, D. (1992). *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento e altri scritti* (Ed. A. Prosperi). Einaudi.

Caponetto, S. (1940). Un seguace di Juan Valdès. L'oratore siciliano Bartolomeo Spatafora, *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi*, (49/74), 1-23.

Caponetto, S. (1998). Le città siciliane dinnanzi alla Riforma. Messina. In *Città Italiane del '500 tra Riforma e Controriforma. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi (Lucca, 13-15 ottobre 1983)*. Pacini Pazzi, pp. 103-110.

Caserta, N. (1959). *Juan de Valdes e valdesiani a Napoli*, AGAR.

Ciaccio, R. (2015). «L'inferno è dirupato». I valdesi di Calabria fra resistenza e repressione, *Aiônos*, *18*, 211-216.

Gaetani di Villabianca, F.M.E. (1758). *Della Sicilia Nobile*, part II, book II, *Del Baronaggio del regno*, pp. 193-198.

Galasso, G. (2015), Valdés e Napoli, *L'Acropoli, 16(3)*, http://www.lacropoli.eu/articolo.php?nid=1062#.

Garufi, C.A. (1978). *Fatti e personaggi dell'Inquisizione in Sicilia*. Sellerio.

Giarrizzo, G. (1989). *La Sicilia dal Cinquecento all'Unità d'Italia*, in V.

D'Alessandro, G. Giarrizzo, *La Sicilia dal Vespro all'Unità d'Italia*. UTET.

Ligresti, D. *(2022). Dinamiche demografiche nella Sicilia moderna*. Franco Angeli.

Llorente, J.A. (1981). *Historia critica de la inquisición en España*, vol. II, Edición Hiperion.

Mellusi, G.G. (2017). *Canonici e clero della cattedrale di Messina. Dalla rifondazione normanna della Diocesi al Concilio di Trento*. Società Messinese di Storia Patria.

Messana, M.S. (2007a). *Inquisitori, negromanti e streghe nella Sicilia moderna (1500-1782)*. Sellerio.

Messana, M.S. (2007b). La «resistenza» musulmana e i «martiri» dell'Islam: moriscos, schiavi e rinnegati di fronte all'Inquisizione spagnola di Sicilia. *Quaderni Storici*, *42/126*, 743-772.

Messana, M.S. (2012). *Il Santo ufficio dell'Inquisizione. Sicilia 1500-1782*. Istituto Poligrafico Europeo.

Moscheo, R. (1999). Fermenti religiosi e vita scientifica a Messina nel XVI secolo. In *Sciences et religions de Copernic a Galilée (1540-1610). Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École nationale de Rome, en collaboration avec École nationale des chartes et l'Istituto italiano per gli studi filosofici, avec la partecipation de l'Università di Napoli «Federico II», Rome 12-14 décembre 1996*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 260 (pp. 295-356).

Oddo, F.L. (1990). *La Sicilia sotto gli assalti barbareschi e turchi (secoli XV-XVII)*. Libera Università del Mediterraneo.

Renda, F. (1995). Le città demaniali nella storia siciliana. In Benigno, F. & Torrisi, C. (Eds.), *Città e feudo nella Sicilia moderna*, Salvatore Sciascia, (pp. 27-41).

Renda, F. (1997). *L'Inquisizione in Sicilia. I fatti. Le persone.* Sellerio.

Salvo, C. (1995). *Monache a Santa Maria dell'Alto. Donne e fede a Messina nei secoli XV e XVI*. Società Messinese di Storia Patria.

Salvo, C. (1997). Tra Valdesiani e Gesuiti: gli Spatafora di Messina. *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 109, 541-601.

Salvo, C. (2009). *Dalla spada alla fede. Storia di una famiglia feudale: gli Spatafora (secoli XIII-XVI)*. Bonanno.

Sciuti Russi, V. (1994). Ebrei, Inquisizione, Parlamenti nella Sicilia del primo Cinquecento. In M. Luzzati (Ed.) *L'inquisizione e gli ebrei in Italia*. Laterza (pp. 161-178).

Sciuti Russi, V. (2004). La Inquisiciòn española en Sicilia. *Studia Historica: Storia Moderna*, *26*, 75-99.

Tedesco, V. (2015). *Storia dei valdesi in Calabria. Tra Basso medioevo e Prima età moderna*. Rubbettino.