

Crucified saints in the early seventeenth century: Models and devotional practices from the orthodox to the liminal in Spanish Europe¹

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Introduction

A contribution on the theme of the cross as an eloquent image made within the unavoidably limited space of a collective volume can reveal itself to be an imprudent and inconclusive task. Indeed, the cross, beginning with that of Christ, is the founding attribute of the religious identity of Christians and, as such, is omnipresent. Its almost timeless dimension was further enhanced in early modernity by a rich theology and new practices borne of the Reformation: the cross as a space holding the only “Benefit of Christ” that ensures salvation. Yet it is the very centrality of the subject that enables us to question this constituent of Christian identity, by investigating case studies within a fine timeline that highlight several developments in Catholic pastoral and exegetical thought at the end of the sixteenth and start of the seventeenth centuries. These case studies are based on intermedial texts consisting of words and images, devised to support the spiritual lives of the faithful. This contribution is therefore centred on two books by two Jesuit authors printed in Antwerp: the *Triumphus Iesu Christi crucifixi* by Bartolomeo Ricci (1608), and the *Sacrum sanctuarium crucis* by Pedro Bivero (1634).²

The cross is the basis for the pastoral activities that address the *essentialia* of the Christian imagination and beliefs, but is also related to the fundamental dimension of martyrdom for faith, inspired by the models provided by Christ and protomartyrs. Aside from the subject matter, the two books share the same engravings by Adriaen Collaert, depicting men and women martyred by crucifixion. These important similarities enable us to remark on their differences. In Ricci, it is the principle

of martyrology that prevails: the overlap between historical time and liturgical time lays the ground for a symbiosis with the crucified martyrs. The context is that of the exploitation of Christian history that was diffusely operated through the clash between Catholic and Protestant martyrologies in the second half of the sixteenth century.³ A collective history with episodes that became a source of meditation, providing a sense of the present and its conflicts. Against this backdrop, the reference to martyrdom is constant. An everyday, shared element that is the basis of an identity and is the setting for the *Martyrologium Romanum* published by Cesare Baronio in 1586, which would shape generations of Catholics through the pervasive repetition of liturgical life. From Christ onwards, day after day, an unbroken theory of martyrs bore witness to true faith and this chain was the Catholic response to the many Protestant martyrologies of the mid-sixteenth century.⁴

Thirty years after Ricci, with Pedro Bivero the confessional struggle through liturgical *ruminatio* was now accompanied by a Catholic *savoir faire* that was firmly asserted through an *ad statum* pastoral activity whose challenging and liberating central message was that of sanctity for all, as exemplified in the action of Francis de Sales and the Society of Jesus.⁵ A sanctity created around the cross.

Of the various martyrs presented in the works by Ricci and Bivero, here we will focus on the case of a bearded female martyr, Saint Wilgefortis. From Ricci's work onwards, the importance of historical rigour and, therefore, references to the ancient *passiones* of martyrs—which, from Cesare Baronio to Antonio Gallonio, were made systematically by specialists of the genre in the Congregation of the Oratory of Philip Neri—were set aside.⁶ While it is true that Wilgefortis was included in the Roman Martyrology and in the *Acta Sanctorum*, there are numerous unrealistic elements in her story. Why dedicate a substantial space to her? This case will enable us to decipher the new relationship with reality and the space made for the life experiences of Catholics outside of the dominant clerical groups for the purpose of effective pastoral ministry. “True” is no longer that which is historical, but also that which provides access to experience.⁷ Wilgefortis, a non-existent saint who was invoked throughout the so-called *dorsale catholique* and all over the Habsburg territories, fulfils this kind of truth.

Next to the crucified Christ: Places, objects, images and experiences for an enacted *géographie du sacré*

In May 1638 the Roman Inquisition tribunal ordered the removal of two crucifixes by Fra' Innocenzo in Assisi and Pesaro. Innocenzo da Petralia, a Sicilian by birth, was not new to this kind of artwork and, had he persisted, he would have been sentenced to the galleys. His polychrome wooden crucifix was based on Spanish models. At least, that was his version of the facts. Innocenzo declared that: "in Spagna vi erano molti crucifissi fatti in questo modo, che facevano o haveano fatto gran miracoli" (in Spain, numerous crucifixes made in this way performed or had performed great miracles). The impression given by the detailed description sent to the Holy Office was that of being before a man who had been heavily beaten: deep cuts across his back, the bones in his leg visible through the gashes in his flesh, thorns jutting from cuts above his eyes, and bruises all over.⁸ Felipe Pereda has recently dedicated a wonderful study to the role played by these *crucifissi dolorosi* in Spanish visual culture of the seventeenth century, with emphasis on the spread of the iconographic motif throughout Europe, at least from the fifteenth century onwards.⁹ In particular, Pereda draws attention to these representations as relics—*vestigium*/imprint—as evidenced by their frequent miraculous status. Indeed, the *crucifissi dolorosi*, like the many reproductions of the Holy Shroud of Chambery/Turin, played a role as relics of Christ's presence and his suffering.¹⁰

Paradoxically, there is very little of the divine in the Christ Crucified sculpted by Fra' Innocenzo, described so painstakingly by the discomfited inquisitors of the Holy Office. More dead than dying, it portrays a man crushed by physical suffering and a long way from resurrection. For this reason, these representations perhaps evoked some of the experiences of generations of Europeans who, between the second half of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, lived lives trapped between war, famine and pestilence.¹¹ Although the Church authorities showed a distinct uneasiness towards these discourses in images, the fact that they were widespread is evidence of their effectiveness and the great number of spiritual practitioners who ensured their dissemination, irrespective of the devotional politics of the religious and political elites.

It is precisely in the polychrome wooden statues of agonising crucifixes, like those of Fra' Innocenzo, that we can see the role of image in the new "theology of the visible" developed within the Counter-Reformation to justify the indispensable use of image supported by the Tridentine Church.¹² This theology of the visible accompanies a religious anthropology of the perceivable: that which is discovered about God becomes real because it can be experienced. And space—the space of

statues, sanctuaries, relics, processions—is a fundamental aspect of this experience. Through it, in fact, comes the creation of what de Certeau defined as a *géographie du sacré*.¹³ Indeed, whether it is the miraculous images of the Virgin Mary collected by Gumpfenberg in his *Atlas Marianus*, or the equally miraculous images of the suffering Christ, through them, space is made sacred.¹⁴ And, as recently highlighted by Virginia Reinburg, this sacralisation is perceived as essential to the creation of places of contact between the human and the divine. Such places are all the more important in periods of confessional war or post-war reconstruction.¹⁵ Through the diversified practices of Catholic pastoral activity, these spaces become an opportunity for believers to enjoy a personal relationship with God; a relationship that is mediated through sensory experience and the shared emotional regimes that are elicited by image itself.¹⁶ Thus, prayer before the cross, and participation in the *via crucis* or pilgrimage to one of the many Sacred Mounts that began to spread in the border regions of European Catholicism in the 1560s not only related to a constant in the Christian experience, but also encapsulated the distinguishing traits of a historical period, namely experiences of immersion in the suffering of the Saviour. Such experiences—studied in popular European and non-European missions¹⁷—enabled a certain degree of democratisation of the spiritual experience of dialogue and contact with Christ on which Ignatius of Loyola had built his *Spiritual Exercises*. In this book and its series of dialogues between the exercitant and Christ (crucifix), the intellectual and emotional lucidity of the founder of the Society of Jesus captured an intimate way of sharing the unsayable, which others would experience and recount directly through images.¹⁸ One example is the superb *Crucifixion, with a Painter* by Francisco Zurbarán (1635), analysed by Victor Stoichita in his classic book.¹⁹

Jesus and the crucified martyrs, along with the sanctuaries and chapels dedicated to them, equally represent the sacralisation of space. A space that is sacred because it enables a relationship with the divine and, often, a relationship through suffering that becomes martyrdom, witnessing. The images of devotion that inhabit these spaces elicit numerous meanings of martyrdom, particularly the ultimate martyrdom of the Cross: an experience that is strong because it is Christ's. An experience that was keenly felt in many regions of Europe subjected to confessional and armed conflict, but also in mission lands outside of Europe. The interior journeys generated by similar images of the crucifix thus enabled many Catholics to feel they were part of a long history of witnessing the faith through the blood of martyrdom. This is the message of the *Triumphus Iesu Christi crucifixi* by Bartolomeo Ricci: a kind of martyrology solely of saints who had been martyred by crucifixion, and who thus shared the fundamental experience of Christ. This exercise was not new:

as mentioned earlier, the Roman Oratorians had insisted strongly on the relationship between Christian archaeological research and historical, hagiographical and liturgical writings, making clear the unique role of Rome and its martyrs in the history of salvation.²⁰ Nevertheless, Rome's unique status was not enough: so rooted in true believers was the preparedness for martyrdom that examples could be found throughout history. And this was especially true in those areas of Europe where there was conflict with Protestants and in far-off mission lands. While the English Catholic Richard Verstegan had insisted, from his refuge in Antwerp, on the cruelty of heretics in martyring believers (1587–1588), other militants of the Catholic cause resorted to the expertise of the press workshops in Antwerp to reveal the angelic composure of the many martyrs, who far away from Europe endured pain and torture.²¹ One particular case is that of the Japanese martyrs published for the first time in French in 1624. From the first pages of his book, Nicolas Trigault, who was in charge of the Chinese Jesuit mission, established that the roots of the suffering of Japanese Christians could be found in the cross of Christ. He tells of several miraculous crosses found in tree trunks in the diocese of Nagasaki—examples of the *inventiones* genre, tales of relics found in Rome and elsewhere—which presaged the imminent persecutions. He also provided a key for interpretation: Christ's cross was not only a "signe de piété"; it also indicated the way to follow: "l'imitation des peines & tourments du mesme Seigneur".²² The suggested course of action if the cross of Christ appeared miraculously should therefore be mimesis, which was at the centre of the theory and use of sacred images in Catholicism.²³

Master of novices in Nola and later in Rome, then Provincial Minister of Sicily for twenty years, Ricci was the author of many works written as accompaniments to meditation. These texts were centred on the life of Christ and the Gospels and were translated into French, Latin and Italian. Among these publications, therefore, the *Triumphus Iesu Christi crucifixi* focuses on a specific time in the life of the Nazarene, enabling a reinterpretation of his experiences in light of the many martyrs who followed him.²⁴ In particular, the *Triumphus* only contained saints who had been martyred by crucifixion and therefore shared the fundamental experience of Christ. The volume is organised as a martyrology according to the *dies natalis*—that is, the day of martyrdom—beginning in the month of January.

The diversity of the martyrs—men, women, children—the places of their martyrdom—from Japan to Protestant lands—their eras—from the early centuries of Christianity to the contemporary period—all made martyrdom by crucifixion a constant of Christian experience. (Fig. 8.1) Thus, the Cross would accompany believers in their everyday lives—this is the significance of the calendar—and by meditating

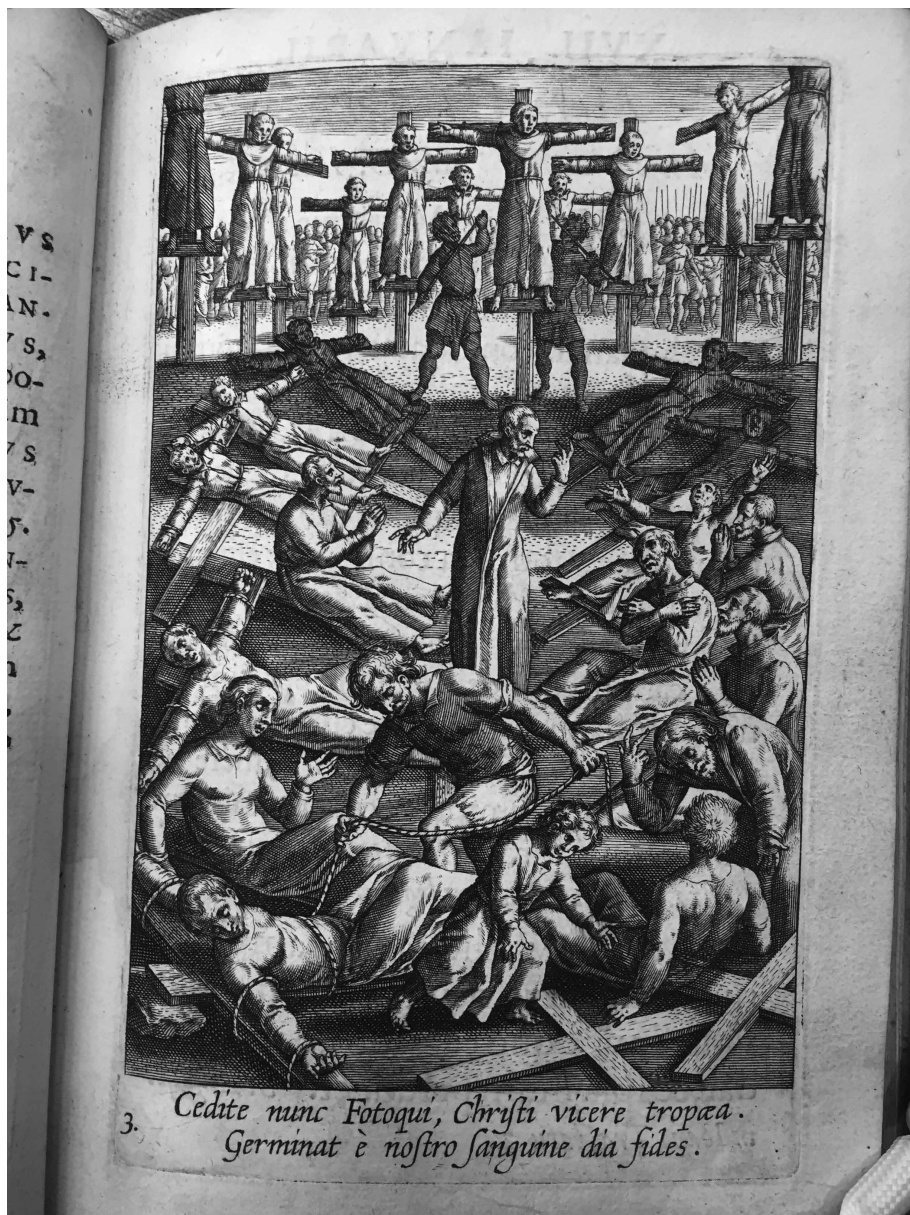


Fig. 8.1. Nagasaki, 1597, from Bartolomeo Ricci, *Triumphus Iesu Christi crucifixi*, Antuerpiae: excudit Moretus, 1608, tav. 3, © KBR, Royal Library of Belgium.



Fig. 8.2. Crucifixion, from Bartolomeo Ricci, *Triumphus Iesu Christi crucifixi*, Antuerpiae: excudit Moretus, 1608, tav. 1, © KBR, Royal Library of Belgium.

on this basic reality they would nurture a desire for this extreme testimony of faith. A testimony which, as the first engraving in the series clearly shows, places Christians next to Christ at the site of his passion, Mount Golgotha. Indeed, in keeping with the principle of the composition of place that characterises the Spiritual Exercises, the reader is invited from the very first pages to enter the meditated scene and take part in the crucifixion following the example of the Good Thief.²⁵ (Fig. 8.2)

Hegemonic and non-hegemonic devotions: a heterogeneous devotional culture reflected in a crucified saint who never existed

In 1634, another Jesuit, Pedro de Bivero, published in Antwerp his *Sacrum sanctuarium crucis et patientiae crucifixorum et cruciferorum, emblematicis imaginibus laborantium et aegrotantium ornatum*. At that time, Bivero, a native of Madrid, was a preacher at the court of Brussels. He would remain there from 1616 to 1648, when he was appointed to the same role in Madrid.²⁶ He also became confessor to the Marquis of Aytona, governor of the Southern Netherlands, and the Marquis of Castelfrigo, ambassador to the United Provinces. In addition to many texts written while holding these roles, in 1634 Bivero published two complementary works in Latin: *Sanctuarium crucis*, which is relevant to us here, and *Oratorium piarum imaginibus Immaculatae Mariae*. Both were handbooks containing text and emblematic images. Even in its title, *Sanctuarium crucis* evokes the dimension of interior pilgrimage. At the time, there was a dense network of sanctuaries scattered throughout the Spanish Netherlands, which were the product of conscious efforts to re-Catholicise this confessional borderland.²⁷ Here, pilgrimage occurs by means of emblems and, according to the author, takes place through the compositions of place which accompany the Spiritual Exercises of the third and fourth weeks (the weeks in which the exercitant encounters the crucified Christ).

For this work Bivero returned to the engravings made by Adriaen Collaert in Antwerp thirty years earlier for his fellow brother Bartolomeo Ricci, adding numerous comments and dividing the material into three parts, dedicated respectively to the princes of the world and of the Church, their subjects, and women; a kind of visual support to meditation organised in concentric circles beginning with Golgotha, from the cross of Christ to the cross of the Good Thief: “figura crucis ubique invenitur apud principes, apud subditos, apud mulieres” (the *figura* of the cross is found everywhere: among princes, subjects and women alike)²⁸.

The “*figura crucis*” is thus placed at the centre of this practical book, along the lines of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Here, the exegetical concept of *figura* assumes its own

performative status which, thanks to the composition of place, enables believers of all kinds, irrespective of their status in life, to gather beside the crucified Christ like the Good Thief. Indeed, according to Bivero, all can be in the presence of the crucified Christ thanks to the Spiritual Exercises. Even women! Indeed this practice

“Virginibus, viduis et conjugatis foeminis crucifixis convenit; ut foeminas pias, et profectus spiritualis studiosas, in sacris exercitiis instituant. Non solum viri sed etiam feminae ad usum spiritualium exercitiorum admitti debent”.

The third section of the *Sacrum sanctuarium* was thus dedicated to women.

Following a well-established ranking of women in religion, headed by the non-pareil model of Mary, this section of the treatise opens with the Mother. She who, more than any other mother, had been able to identify with the suffering of her son, the Virgin Mary. The image that opens this third section represents Mary “compatiens et commoriens” with Christ.²⁹ (Fig. 8.3) This is the most complete example of assimilation of the Saviour’s suffering, and is followed by the case of Theoclea, who accompanied her son Calliopius to his crucifixion for his faith. These two examples of “mothers of mercy,” *matres misericordiae*,³⁰ are followed by the stories of eight virgins martyred in the first centuries of Christianity or in indeterminate periods of persecution. After these come the stories of a husband and wife crucified together—Timothy and Maura—and the case of the widow Magdalene, martyred with her children.

Besides the clear wish for an *ad statum* pastoral activity which should leave no one behind, there is a marked emphasis on the lives of virgins dedicated to God.³¹ This was a category that was well numbered among the exercitants that Bivero guided in Brussels. Indeed, well documented are his ties with the Carmelites of the Convent of Descalzas Reales, next to the Palace of the Archdukes. This emphasis reflects the classic association between female religious life and the mostly bloodless martyrdom of the cloister, providing a more accurate analysis of the game of mirrors between emblem and interior images to which Bivero was inviting his female readership.

Among these accounts of virgin martyrs, each of whom, according to Bivero, highlighted a particular aspect of virginity—splendour, fragility, integrity, angelic strength, virility—we find the story of Saint Wilgefortis, whom we mentioned in the introduction. While Ricci limited himself to recounting a few aspects of her life and describing the spread of her cult in the Spanish Netherlands,³² Bivero dedicated several pages to this martyr, “speculum virilis virginitatis & infirmitatis” (the mirror of virile virginity and infirmity).³³ (Fig. 8.4) But who was Wilgefortis? The names and stories dedicated to her vary according to their context: Wilgefortis, Virgo-for-

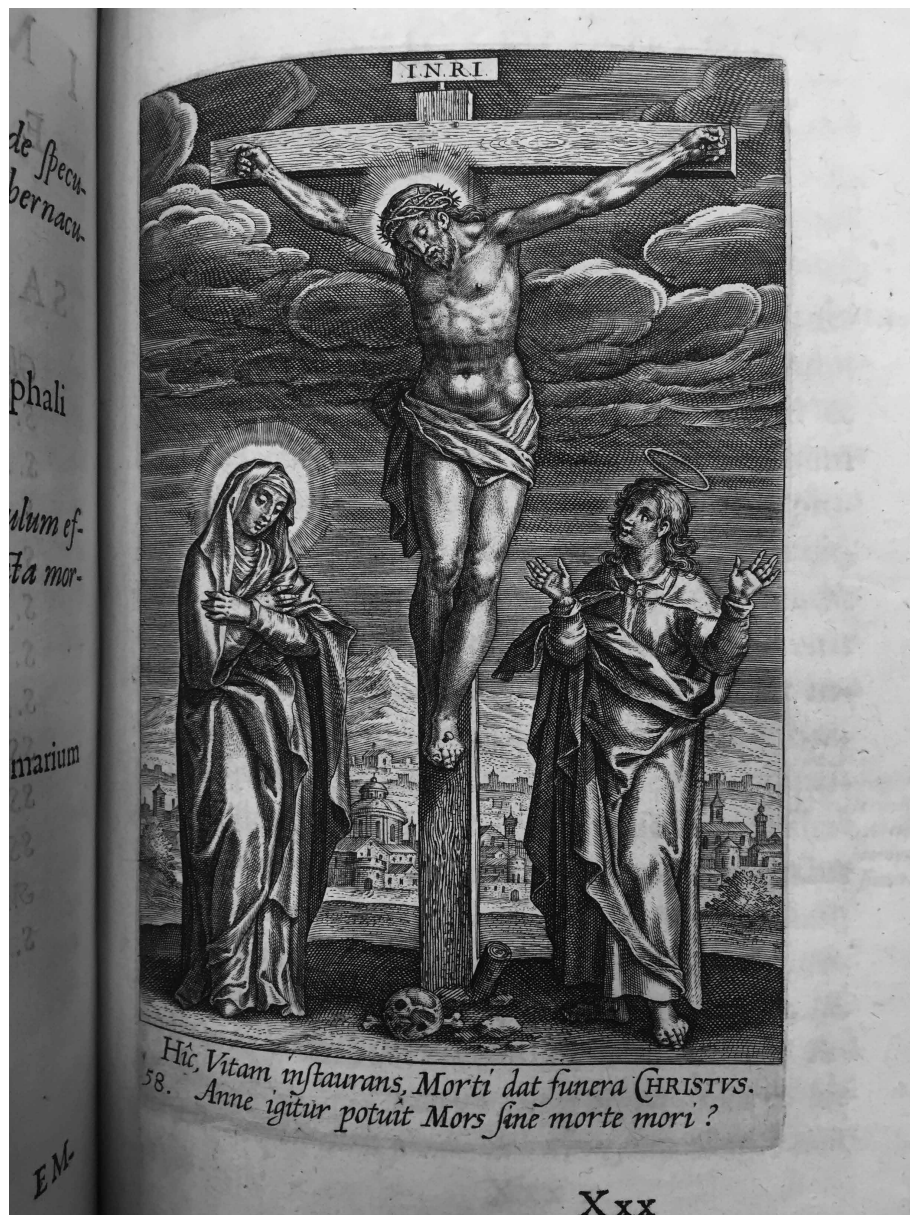


Fig. 8.3. Crucifixion, from Pedro Bivero, *Sacrum Sanctuarium crucis et potentiae crucifixorum et cruciferorum*, Antuerpiae: ex officina Plantiniana, 1634, tav. 58, © KBR, Royal Library of Belgium.

tis, Ontkommer, Uncumber, Débarras, Liberata. Veneration of her began in the late Middle Ages and spread from Flanders to England, northern France, German territories and northern Italy between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, surviving at least until the First World War. Like many other saints *de dubia fide*, Wilgefortis was dispensed with in the second half of the twentieth century by wish of Pope Paul VI. The art historian Ilse Friesen has dedicated an important study to her based on surviving iconographic evidence, particularly between Tyrol and Bavaria.³⁴ Generally, we can summarise her life thus: the daughter of the King of Portugal, Wilgefortis was unwilling to yield to her father's wish for her to marry a powerful ally in his quest to prevent a war. She therefore prayed to God to make her ugly so that her pretender would shy away in disgust. That night, a miraculous beard—a variation of the hagiographic *topos* of leprosy that disfigures other brides of Christ—covers her face, bringing about the desired effect. Angered by his daughter's initiative, which takes her off the marriage market, her father had her crucified by his own soldiers.

Unsurprisingly, in the long comment offered by Bivero, Wilgefortis is held up as a paragon of chastity, which drives her to despise her own physical beauty. But, the discussion rapidly becomes more interesting. It is by identifying with Christ crucified (“crocifixus et simul deformatus,” “crucified and deformed at the same time” p. 587), that the young woman appears as a female *alter Christus*:

Tota barbata comparuit, & in Christum deformatum totam seipsam transtulit & transformavit³⁵ (She appeared with a thick beard, changing and transforming completely into Christ deformed).

Bivero is in no doubt:

Qui Wilgefortem videt, corde et animo Virginem Mariam videt; imo et Christum ipsum, qui in utraque erat; in utraque latebat (588). (Anyone seeing Wilgefortis, with heart and mind saw the Virgin Mary; indeed, Christ himself, too, as he appeared in both; in both was he concealed).

Bivero thus paraphrases Augustine's doctrine of participation, according to which Christ deformed on the cross makes man's salvation possible. Indeed, it is by sharing his deformity that Christ enables man to leave the deformity of sin.³⁶ Here Bivero applies Augustine's doctrine to religious women and makes Wilgefortis the clearest example of the mimetic path between the virgin and Christ, one which begins with the beard and is completed with the cross. The deformity of the beard, continues

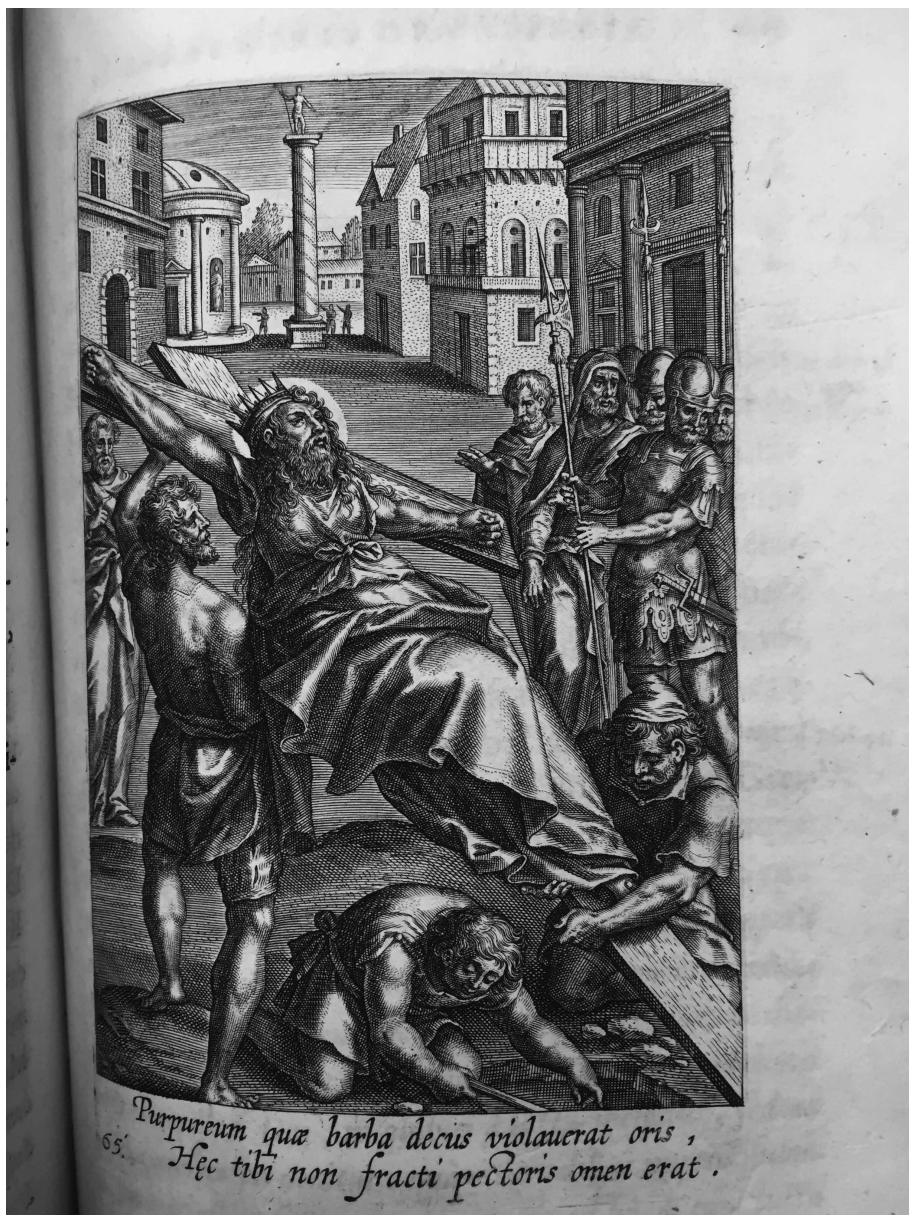


Fig. 8.4. *Sancta Wilgefortis*, from Pedro Bivero, *Sacrum Sanctuarium crucis et patientiæ crucifixorum et cruciferorum*, Antuerpiæ: ex officina Plantiniana, 1634, tav. 65, © KBR, Royal Library of Belgium.

the Jesuit, is a consequence of sexual deprivation. There is no shortage of *auctoritates* supporting this thesis, the first of which being that of Gregorius Magnus, whose dialogues recount the story of the young widow Galla. In Galla's case the beard was caused by an excess of heat provoked by a lack of *amplexus viriles* (manly embraces) in a new marriage. However, Bivero gives sexual deprivation a stronger meaning and the beard—both the cause and the consequence of abstinence—becomes the source of deformity that enables identification with Christ. This identification is made possible by the new strength of which Wilgefortis has displayed she is capable: the virile strength of a virgin who has become a *virago*, that is, one animated by masculine power.³⁷ Such power, according to Bivero, can only be experienced in the religious state. Hence the title of the central paragraph of his comment: *Crux Wilgefortis virginis, crux status virginitatis* (The cross of the virgin Wilgefortis, the cross of the virginal state). In other words, the bearded saint becomes a *figura Christi*, but also, apparently, the *figura* of many religious women of his time.

This proactive and, therefore, unavoidably—at least in Bivero's vision—masculine model is in contrast with another example of a crucified nun, destined to have a long tradition in Spanish and Hispanic culture. This model enjoyed great fortune in Spanish monasteries at that time. It was that of the *Monja crucificada*, of which a seventeenth-century example can today be seen in the chapter room of the Convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid, a community of Poor Clares founded in 1554 by Joanna of Austria, daughter of Charles V. The fresco depicts the crucifixion of a professed nun with the world she has renounced at her feet. The Christian and Franciscan paradox of power through humiliation is clearly central to the message. What is remarkable is that the nun is blind, or rather, blindfolded, to the world she has renounced. Her lips are sewn together, a reminder of the aphasia of those cloistered women. Her powerlessness, therefore, is total; her agency non-existent.³⁸

In the light of these discourses of hegemonic images, the case of Wilgefortis tells another tale. Her deformity, her manifest androgyny evoke many of the themes held dear by Jesuits and lay people alike within medical and moral research in Baroque Europe.³⁹ They also evoke the confusion of sexual and social roles in societies in crisis, subjected to economic, military and gender violence; a confusion that is well documented, it should be stated, in the picaresque literature of the period.⁴⁰ Bivero demonstrates a certain pastoral intelligence by incorporating this saint into his pilgrimage in images. By identifying her with nuns, he limits the extent to which she might be subversive for other women, who also worshipped the bearded saint in Flanders.

When Joris-Karl Huysmans went to Saint Etienne church in Beauvais at the start of the twentieth century, he was greeted by two imposing statues. Before the city's patron saint, Saint Angadrismas, rose

Un crucifix grandeur nature sur lequel était fixé à la place du Christ, un être bizarre, ni homme ni femme, dont la tête était cernée non d'une couronne d'épines, mais d'une couronne de roi. Cet être avait des cheveux de femme lui tombant jusqu'à la ceinture [...], une barbe de sapeur, une gorge plate et un ventre de personne enceinte de plusieurs mois.⁴¹

This example, one of many documented in seventeenth-century Europe, draws our attention to the powerful significance of a non-existent saint; one who is all the more fascinating because she was invented to respond to urgent needs. These needs were shared by specialists of the sacred and the subaltern groups alike, as evidenced by Bivero's interest and the images of Wilgefortis found in many churches in lands beset by the interminable war that ravaged Flanders, German territories and northern Italy between the end of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries.

With Wilgefortis, therefore, we are witness to a devotion that is twofold: on the one hand, the devotion of the specialists of the sacred and, on the other, the devotion—essentially through images—of the subalterns. Thus, we are dealing with the capacity to create new emotional and thought frameworks, a capacity that does not—and did not—belong to hegemonic groups alone. Society does not only function thanks to a trickle-down effect: a slow and inexorable movement downwards to the porous ignorance of the subalterns. There is a stubborn, unstoppable creativity even in popular devotion. And not popular in the sense of “created for the people,” but rather in the sense of created by the people, by non-hegemonic groups.⁴²

Thus, in the study of images and their cultural and social effectiveness, it is important to be able to circulate among groups visions of reality, demonstrating heuristic and epistemological creativity and incorporating evidence of the needs of individuals and communities whose lives unfolded in times of war, famine and epidemic; that is, throughout the seventeenth century.

Wilgefortis was worshipped by men and women. She was sexually ambiguous and, for that very reason, significant to **both genders**. Her serene face and eyes open to the world and her devotees recall the iconographic model of *Christus triumphans*, victorious over violence and close to the weak. A crucified Christ perhaps, but one that is very different from the vanquished Christ of Fra' Innocenzo with whom we began this contribution.

NOTES

1. Translated by Althea Muirhead.
2. Ricci, *Triumphus Iesu Christi crucifixi*; Bivero, *Sacrum Sanctuarium crucis*.
3. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*; Lestringant, Frank. *Lumière des martyrs*; Ditchfield, "Il mondo della Riforma," 261–329.
4. Ditchfield, "Baronio storico nel suo tempo," 3–21; Guazzelli, "Cesare Baronio," 52–71.
5. Vismara, *Cattolicesimi*; Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire*, 118–129.
6. Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti*; Gallonio, *De sanctis Martyrum Cruciatibus*; Ditchfield, "An Early Christian School," 183–205; Toubert, *Law, Medicine, and Engineering*.
7. Gimaret, *Extraordinaire et ordinaire des Croix*.
8. *Circa sanguinolentam imaginem Crucifixi depictam a fratre Innocentio laico Ordinis Minorum Observantium in Civitatibus Assisii et Pesauri*, in Archivio delle Congregazione della Dottrina della Fede [ACDF], *Sanctum Officium*, St. St., H 3 b, *Acta in diversis imaginis SS. Cricifixi* (1608–1701); n. 3, 1638. Cifres, "Fra Innocenzo da Petralia," 97–137.
9. Pereda, *Crimen e Ilusión*, 317–323.
10. Boutry, *Reliques modernes*; Cozzo, "Reproduction de la sacralité," 439–454.
11. Parker, *Global Crisis*.
12. Ditchfield, "Il Mondo della Riforma," 273; Dekoninck, "Dramatizing and Celebrating".
13. de Certeau, *L'écriture de l'histoire*.
14. Christin et al., *Marie mondialisée*.
15. Reinburg, *Storied Place*.
16. Colwell, "Emotives and emotional regimes," 7–9.
17. Majorana, "Une pastorale spectaculaire," 297–320; Dompnier. *Les cérémonies extraordinaires*.
18. Mostaccio, "Spiritual Exercises," 75–104; 521–552.
19. Stoichita, *Visionary experience*, 72–74.
20. Ditchfield, "Reading Rome," 167–192.
21. Arblaster, *Antwerp & the world*; Lestringant, *Lumière des martyrs*.
22. Trigault, *Histoire des martyres du Japon*, 14.
23. Dekoninck, *Dramatizing and Celebrating Death*.
24. Sommervogel, "Ricci, Barthélemy," 1782–1784.
25. Trigault, *Histoire des martyres*, 9–15. About pastoral strategies from Spiritual Exercises see Mostaccio, "Dieu à la guerre," 213–218.
26. Pirlot, *Les confesseurs du Prince*, 310–311; Sommervogel, "Bivero, Pierre de," 1525–1528.
27. Delfosse, *La protectrice du Pais-Bas*.
28. Bivero, "Préface," in *Sacrum sanctuarium*, wpn.
29. Bivero, *Sacrum sanctuarium*, 529.
30. Bivero, *Sacrum sanctuarium*, 543.
31. Vincent-Cassy, *Les saintes vierge*.
32. Ricci, *Triumphus Iesu Christi*, 45–46.
33. Bivero, *Sacrum sanctuarium*, 585–592.
34. Friesen, *The Female Crucifix*, with bibliography; Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 194.
35. Bivero, *Sacrum sanctuarium*, 587.

36. Augustinus, *Sermo* 27, 6, 6. See Corby Finney, *Doctrines of Human Nature*, 509–510.
37. Bivero, *Sacrum sanctuarium*, 591. About viragos in Early Modern Catholicism see Blanco, “*L’Amazon et le conquistador*,” 179–180.
38. De Espinoza, *La religiosa mortificada*; Sanz, and Hernandez, *Guía Reales Monasterios de Madrid*, 34–35.
39. Gilbert, *Early Modern Hermaphrodites*.
40. Maravall, *La literatura picaresca*.
41. Huysmans, “Sainte Debarras,” 281–288.
42. Ranajit Guha, “The Small Voice in History,” 1–12.

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Circa sanguinulentam imaginem Crucifixi depictam a frate Innocentio laico Ordinis Minorum Observantium in Civitatibus Assisii et Pesauri. Vatican, Archivio delle Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede [ACDF], *Sanctum Officium*, St. St., H 3 b, *Acta in diversis imaginis SS. Crificixi* (1608–1701); n. 3, 1638.

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