I libri di Viella
564

Inquire – International Centre for Research on Inquisitions

Series Editors:
Vincenzo Lavenia, Università di Bologna
Riccardo Parmeggiani, Università di Bologna
Irene Bueno, Università di Bologna

Scientific Board:
Fausto Arici, Facoltà Teologica dell’Emilia Romagna
John Arnold, University of Cambridge
Andreea Badea, Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt
Marina Benedetti, Università Statale di Milano
Massimo Bucciantini, Università di Siena
Lucia Ceci, Università di Roma Tor Vergata
Mario Conetti, Università dell’Insubria
Matteo Duni, Syracuse University in Florence
Bruno Feitler, Universidade Federal de São Paulo
Thomas Fudge, University of New England, Australia
Jean-Pascal Gay, Université Catholique de Louvain
Kimberly Lynn, Western Washington University
Roberto López Vela, Universidad de Cantábria
Giuseppe Marcocci, University of Oxford
Martine Ostorero, Université de Lausanne
José Pedro Paiva, Universidade de Coimbra
Sylvain Parent, École Normale Superieure de Lyon
Sylvain Piron, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris
Marco Rainini, Università Cattolica di Milano
Lucy Sackville, University of York
Thomas Scharff, Technische Universität Braunschweig
Violet Soen, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
Dennj Solera, Università di Siena
Julien Théry, Université Lumière Lyon 2
Gabriel Torres Puga, El Colegio de México

Inquisitions, Iconography, and Memory

(13th-19th century)

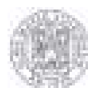
edited by Irene Bueno, Vincenzo Lavenia,
José Pedro Paiva, Nicole Reinhardt

viella

Copyright © 2025 - Viella s.r.l.
Tutti i diritti riservati
Prima edizione: novembre 2025
ISBN 979-12-5701-083-6
ISBN 979-12-5701-171-0 (pdf)
DOI 10.52056/9791257011710

This volume has been published with the support of the Center for the History of Society and Culture (CHSC) of the University of Coimbra, the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology - FCT (UIDP/00311/2025), the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG) in Mainz, the Dipartimento di Storia Culture Civiltà (DiSCi) and the Centro Studi Paolo Prodi sulla Storia Costituzionale of the Università di Bologna.

C H S C
CENTER FOR THE HISTORY OF SOCIETY AND CULTURE



INQUISITIONS,
iconography and memory (13th-19th century) / edited by Irene Bueno … [et al.]. - Roma : Viella, 2025. - 371 p. : ill. ; 21 cm. - (I libri di Viella ; 564) (Inquire : International Centre for Research on Inquisitions ; 3)
Indici dei nomi e dei luoghi: p. [355]-371.
ISBN 979-12-5701-083-6
1. Inquisizione - Iconografia - Sec. 13.-19. I. Bueno, Irene II. International Centre for Research on Inquisitions
272 (DDC WebDewey) Scheda bibliografica: Biblioteca Fondazione Bruno Kessler

viella
libreria editrice
via delle Alpi, 32
I-00198 ROMA
tel. 06 84 17 758
fax 06 85 35 39 60
www.viella.it

Contents

Irene Bueno, Vincenzo Lavenia,
José Pedro Paiva, Nicole Reinhardt
Introduction 7

I. *The Late Medieval Inquisition and Heresy*

Donald S. Prudlo
Peter of Verona and Inquisitorial Iconography in the Middle Ages 29

Alessia Trivellone
Heresy in a Time Loop: Imagined Heretics in Bernard Gui's
Practica and in Medieval Iconographical Sources 53

Kateřina Horníčková
The Images of Heretics in the Bohemian Religious Conflict
(15th Century) 87

Maxime Gelly-Perbellini
Miracle and Witchcraft at Stake: The Burning of Anna Vögtlin
in the *Eidgenössische Chronik* of Lucerne's
Diebold Schilling (1513) 115

II. *The Early Modern Iberian World*

Manuel Peña Díaz
The Power of the Spanish Inquisition and its Perception
in Early Modern Travelogues 141

Ana Isabel López-Salazar
Golden Age Literature and Inquisitorial Images.
Some Notes on *Don Quixote* 163

Jaime Ricardo Gouveia
The Inquisition and the Demonization of Heretical Lust: Moral Discourses, Mental Representations, and Figurative Constructions (16th-18th Centuries) 191

Francisco Bethencourt
The Iconography of the Inquisitions: Gravity and Subversion 225

III. *The Roman Inquisition and Italy*

Katherine Aron-Beller
Christian Images and their Jewish Desecrators in Early Modern Inquisitorial Sources 257

Vincenzo Lavenia
Iconography and Memory: Inquisitorial Courtrooms in Early Modern Italy 281

Massimo Bucciantini
On Galileo's Myth: Iconography and Politics in 19th-Century France 329

List of Illustrations 347

Index of Names 355

Index of Places 369

Irene Bueno, Vincenzo Lavenia,
José Pedro Paiva, Nicole Reinhardt

Introduction

1. *Images and memory*

A quick look at the covers of the countless books which, at least since the late 17th century, have addressed the history, actions, and impact of the modern Inquisitions on the Italian Peninsula and the Iberian world – including, in the latter case, the territories in the respective empires in the Americas, Africa, and Asia – is both perplexing and disappointing.[1] On the one hand, there is a relatively repetitive visual language: readers are rarely surprised by new or unexpected imagery. On the other hand, there is a strong focus on depictions of the Inquisition's most prominent ritual: the *auto de fe*. Paintings by Francisco de Goya from the turn of the 18th century are also widely used, and, despite their sharply critical and condemnatory view of the Inquisition, they still stand out for their power and originality. The state of historical scholarship somewhat mirrors this first impression: systematic or in-depth engagements with the visual representations of the Holy Office across the *longue durée* of its existence are rare, and the visual materials on which they draw tend to be fairly limited.[2]

1. For some of the earliest, without going back to the 16th century, see, for example, Philippus van Limborch, *Historia Inquisitionis*, Amsterdam, apud Henricum Westenium, 1692; Jacques Marsollier, *Histoire de l'Inquisition et son origine*, Cologne, Pierre Marteau, 1693; James Baker, *A Complete History of the Inquisitions of Portugal, Spain, Italy, the East and West Indies in all its Branches. From the Origin of it in the Year 1163 to its Present State*, Westminster, O. Payne, 1736.

2. The theme of images, for example, is absent in *A Companion to Heresy Inquisitions*, ed. by Donald Prudlo, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2019, and the collection of studies *Judging Faith, Punishing Sin: Inquisitions and Consistories in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Gretchen Starr-LeBeau and Charles Parker, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017.

A case in point is the marble relief *Consejo de la Suprema*, which features on the cover of this volume. Carved by Antonio Valeriano Moyano Villareal for the Palacio Real in Madrid in the middle of the 18th century, it has remained largely overlooked in inquisitorial studies, despite its considerable aesthetic quality, historical significance, and prominent location.[3]

Why is this the case? How can we explain the blind spots and move beyond them? Addressing such questions was the starting point, first for a conference held in 2023 in Coimbra, and then for this volume – the third promoted by Inquire, the International Centre for Research on Inquisitions. By bringing together medievalists and early modernists, specialists on the three major modern Inquisitions as well as on the heterodox movements which these tribunals sought to suppress over the course of nearly six centuries, the volume intends to investigate afresh and from diverse perspectives the nexus between the iconography, memory, and visual representations of the Inquisitions.

The historiographical parsimony regarding the iconography of the Inquisition does not imply, however, a complete absence of scholarly production. For the Middle Ages, research into the image of the heretic has largely prevailed,[4] and there is no shortage of studies on how manuals for inquisitors inspired the "invention" of ancient heresies and, above all, the iconography of dissent in the 14th and 15th centuries, especially in works commissioned by mendicant orders and for the first seats of the inquisitorial tribunals. Here, the icon of St. Peter Martyr was ubiquitous, well before Beato Angelico – painter and Dominican friar – immortalized him on the frescoed walls of the convent of San Marco in Florence (which was never a seat of the Inquisition) in the 15th century. According to hagiographical sources, on 6 April 1252 the inquisitor Peter of Verona was assassinated between Como and Milan by two hitmen hired by a group of Milanese Cathars. The crime was committed with an axe that struck the judge's head and side. Before he died, the friar had time to write the words *Credo in Deum* with his own blood on the ground or on his tunic. Canonized in 1253, Peter became the saint and emblem of the inquisition tribunals, including their centralized incarnation in the early modern period. Many of

3. *El Consejo de la Inquisición*, 1758, relief, now in the Colecciones de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid.

4. See Alessia Trivellone, *L'hérétique imaginé: hétérodoxie et iconographie dans l'Occident médiéval de l'époque carolingienne à l'Inquisition*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2009.

the confraternities that supported the tribunals in their repressive activities also took their name from this holy judge and made him a widely recognized icon.

As many scholars who have studied the iconographical fortune of the friar from Verona have shown,[5] Peter's image usually appears as a figure in its own right, or as a Dominican saint present in many polyptychs, often alongside Thomas Aquinas, or in the moment of his death at the hands of heretics. In any case, the palm of martyrdom ended up overshadowing his work as a judge, also because in general there are hardly any records on inquisitors performing their duties throughout the Middle Ages. Already at that time, the secrecy surrounding the court's proceedings discouraged the representation of trials, even if not of the burnings and punishments of heretics. This was the moment when the court showed itself in public to exercise its pedagogy of fear.

Another important tradition depicted the inquisitor and friar Peter Martyr in the act of preaching in order to exalt and project the controversialist and conversionist function of the *officium fidei*. For example, to remain in Florence, in the Chapter House, also called Spanish Chapel, of the Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella, the frescoes, painted between 1365 and 1367 by Andrea di Bonaiuto and other artists, showed Peter putting on the friar's habit for the fist time, preaching to heretics, performing miracles, and dying at the hands of his assassins. On another wall of the chapel, the famous fresco of the militant and triumphant Church once again included the martyred saint, and at its base, a pack of dogs (the *Domini canes*) mercilessly tearing at wolves (the heretics). Yet, given that Santa Maria Novella never was a seat of the Inquisition, it is doubtful

5. Venturino Alce, "Iconografia di S. Pietro da Verona martire domenicano", *Memorie Domenicane*, 70 (1953), pp. 100-114, now in *Martire per la fede: San Pietro da Verona domenicano e inquisitore*, ed. by Gianni Festa, Bologna, Edizioni Studio Domenicano, 2007, pp. 307-329; Luigi Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria. Il culto e l'immagine di Domenico nella storia dei primi frati Predicatori*, Spoleto, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1996; Christine Caldwell, "Peter Martyr: The Inquisitor as Saint", *Comitatus*, 31 (2000), pp. 137-173; Marina Benedetti, *Inquisitori lombardi del Duecento*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2008; Donald S. Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor: The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona (†1252)*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008; Andrea Improta, "Dal pulpito al sepolcro. Contributo per l'iconografia di San Pietro Martire da Verona tra XIII e XIV secolo", *Porticvm. Revista d'Estudis Medievals*, 1 (2011), pp. 105-119; and, more recently, *Anatomia di un inquisitore. Frate Pietro da Verona – san Pietro martire*, ed. by Marina Benedetti, Milan, Milano University Press, 2025.

whether these scenes were intended to convey a narrative of the purpose and foundation of the Tribunal of the Faith. In fact, until the 15th century – when Gentile da Fabriano depicted Peter's martyrdom in one of the panels of the *Incoronazione della Vergine e santi* (*Polittico di Valle Romita*), now preserved in the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan – it is not easy to establish any direct link between the representation of the martyred inquisitor and the need for prestige of the judges or European seats of the Inquisition. Finally, Peter Martyr often appeared in the initial letters of late medieval legal manuscripts, when the new image of the witch flying to the Sabbath also spread; this would eventually populate the demonology treatises that circulated in the early modern period after the invention of printing. While there is extensive research on the visual representation of witchcraft,[6] a field that has only recently been explored is that of the representation of religious dissent in 15th-century iconography, when, long before the Lutheran Reformation, the Church fought the heterodoxy of the Lollards and Hussites.[7]

Moving on to research on the tribunals of the early modern period, for many decades the iconographical dimension of inquisitorial studies remained at the margins of academic attention. In one of the earliest major classics in the historiography of the inquisitions – the work of Henry Charles Lea – visual representations received minimal consideration, appearing only sporadically and almost exclusively in a chapter dedicated to the *auto de fe*.[8] It was not until the early 1980s that the first work focusing almost exclusively on the visual representations of the Holy Office appeared in the form of the catalogue of an exhibition held in Madrid, which included one hundred and seventy-six paintings, drawings, and engravings related to the Spanish Inquisition.[9] The organizers at the time pledged to

6. See, for example, Charles Zika, *Exorcising Our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2003.

7. See Kateřina Horníčková, "Framing the Difference: Visual Strategies of Religious Identification in the Czech Utraquist Towns", in *Reformation as Communication. Reformation als Kommunikationsprozess: böhmische Kronländer - Sachsen - Mitteleuropa*, ed. by Petr Hrachovec, Gerd Schwerhoff, Minfried Müller, and Martina Schattkowsky, Stuttgart, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020, pp. 261-286.

8. Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, New York-London, MacMillan, 1906-1907, vol. III, ch. 5.

9. *La Inquisición. Catálogo de la exposición*, Madrid, Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 1982.

create a Museum of the Inquisition, precisely to make use of these elements of visual culture, but the project ultimately never came to fruition. Yet, it is probably no coincidence that shortly thereafter, within the context of Spanish historiography, Maria Victoria González de Caldas published a book chapter dedicated to a hitherto largely overlooked representation of an *auto de fe* in Seville.[10]

Over the following decade, scholarly attention continued to focus on representations of the *auto de fe* (or *auto da fé* in Portuguese). Particularly noteworthy is the pioneering work of Francisco Bethencourt, who was the first to undertake a serious comparative analysis of various depictions of the ritual from Spain, Italy, and Portugal.[11] Consistently attentive to comparative perspectives, Bethencourt went on to analyse inquisitorial emblems with particular attention to the ways in which the institution sought to represent itself through these symbols. The article's rich iconographical apparatus also includes images related to the foundational period of the Spanish Inquisition, the spaces in which its tribunals operated, and portraits of both inquisitors and victims.[12]

Also in the early 1990s, a lesser-known yet significant study by the Brazilian historian Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro appeared, which mapped the broad typology of images alluding to the Inquisition. Carneiro's emphasis was mainly on Spanish and Portuguese paintings as well as books

10. Maria Victoria González de Caldas, "Nuevas imágenes del Santo Oficio en Sevilla: el auto de fe", in *Inquisición Española y mentalidad inquisitorial*, ed. by Angel Alcalá, Barcelona, Ariel, 1984, pp. 237-265.

11. Francisco Bethencourt, "The *auto da fé*: Ritual and Imagery", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 55 (1992), pp. 155-168. See also Maureen Flynn, "Mimesis of the Last Judgment: The Spanish Auto de fe", *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 22 (1991), pp. 281-297; Michael Scholz-Hänsel, "Propaganda de imágenes al servicio de la Inquisición. El auto de fe de Pedro Berruguete en el contexto de su tiempo", *Norba. Revista de Arte*, 12 (1992), pp. 67-81; Consuelo Maqueda Abreu, *El Auto de Fe*, Madrid, Istmo, 1992; Alejandro Cañeque, "Theater of Power: Writing and Representing the Auto de Fe in Colonial Mexico", *The Americas*, 52 (1996), pp. 321-343.

12. The first result of Francisco Bethencourt's foundational research was his doctoral dissertation, defended in 1992 at the European University Institute in Florence. The thesis was published in Portuguese, French, and Spanish: *História das Inquisições. Portugal, Espanha e Itália*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1994; *L'Inquisition à l'époque moderne. Espagne, Portugal, Italie, XVe - XIXe siècle*, Paris, Fayard, 1995; *La Inquisición en la época moderna: España, Portugal, e Italia, siglos XV-XIX*, Madrid, Akal, 1997. More recently, and with updates, see Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478-1834*, Cambridge-New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009.

with engravings. She underscored that representations of *autos de fe* in Spain often portray the enthusiastic and celebratory participation of spectators – a visual testimony to the widespread social support the Iberian Inquisitions enjoyed for much of their duration. She also highlighted the near-total absence of imagery depicting the everyday experiences of defendants in prison, except for Goya who, as she argued, was the artist most capable of exposing the cruelty of the Holy Office through his portrayal of "dark, anguished, and suffering" figures.[13]

The vigorous historiographical production that marked inquisitorial studies in the final three decades of the 20th century, while wide-ranging, arguably paid little attention to visual representations. This trend has remained largely unchanged in the 21st century. Nonetheless, important exceptions exist. In *La invención de la Inquisición*, Doris Moreno sought to explore the "images" and memory of the Inquisition, focusing on representations produced or conveyed by its victims and by foreign travellers. She also examined paintings commissioned by several Grand Inquisitors from prominent artists of the Spanish Golden Age, such as El Greco and Francisco de Zurbarán. Yet, despite the significance of her contribution, the visual dimension is ultimately treated in a marginal fashion.[14]

A major step forward in the study of inquisitorial iconography came with the publication of the *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione* in 2010. By presenting a carefully curated set of nearly sixty images of exceptional visual quality, it significantly broadened the field's scope. The selection

13. Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro, "Inquisição e arte: relações entre o real e o imaginário", in *Inquisição. Ensaios sobre mentalidade, heresias e arte*, ed. by Anita Novinsky and Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro, São Paulo, Edusp, 1992, pp. 457-469. In the same vein, but some 15 years later and with a few new features, see Benair Alcaraz Fernandes Ribeiro, *Arte e Inquisição na Península Ibérica: a arte, os artistas e a Inquisição*, Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2006. See also Michael Scholz-Hänsel, *Inquisition und Kunst. Convivencia in Zeiten der Intoleranz*, Berlin, Frank & Timme, 2009; Geraldo Pieroni, "A imagética inquisitorial: religião, representações e poder", *Saeculum. Revista de história*, 30 (2014), pp. 63-74; Vitor Serrão, "Iconografia dos Dominicanos na arte portuguesa dos séculos XVI e XVII: uma aproximação geral e algumas representações de casos miraculógicos", in *Os Dominicanos em Portugal (1216-2016)*, ed. by António Camões Gouveia, José Nunes, and Paulo F. de Oliveira Fontes, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa - Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2018, pp. 173-190; José Ruvinaldo Marques Pascoal and Carlos André Macedo Cavalcanti, "A construção da imagética inquisitorial", *Religare*, 18 (2021), pp. 415-439.

14. Doris Moreno, *La invención de la Inquisición*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2004.

includes emblems, ritual scenes, medals, insignia, and spaces associated with inquisitorial activity, with particular emphasis on the figure of the inquisitor. Also noteworthy is the inclusion of graffiti found in inquisitorial prisons in Palermo and Narni.

Furthermore, the *Dizionario* includes a valuable and insightful state-of-the-art contribution authored by Chiara Franceschini.[15] In her analysis, Franceschini clearly identified the state of knowledge at the time – a landscape that has changed little since. From the outset, she emphasized the limited number of studies devoted specifically to inquisitorial iconography. She also observed that, in both the medieval and early modern periods, visual representations more often depicted heretics than the Inquisition itself; that the three early modern inquisitorial tribunals did not adopt uniform policies regarding the use of images; and that visual representations of the Inquisition were produced more frequently by its critics and adversaries than by the institution itself. She underlined that the early modern Inquisitions invested little in promoting or sponsoring imagery related to their activities, a strategy they only began to pursue in the 17th century, with the Spanish Inquisition standing out as the most prolific in this regard.

According to Franceschini this pattern was hardly surprising, given the institution's structural reliance on secrecy, particularly regarding its procedures and internal activities. In general, inquisitorial authorities and their ministers employed the visual arts chiefly to project an image of institutional dignity – through architecture, painting, sculpture, engravings in printed works, and medals, as well as through emblems and banners appearing in materials such as the official regulations of the Holy Office. As might be expected, depictions of the Inquisition's "activities, procedures, and methods" are exceedingly rare. This dimension remained largely in the hands of those who opposed the tribunal and gained prominence particularly from the 18th century onward, contributing to the construction of the "black legend" that has continued to shape perceptions of the Iberian Inquisitions in contemporary historical imagination and public discourse.

The secrecy surrounding inquisitorial procedures, combined with the harsh image of the Inquisition propagated by authors affiliated with the European Enlightenment since the late 17th century, has led to numerous

15. Chiara Franceschini, "Arti figurative: la rappresentazione", in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, ed. by Adriano Prosperi, Vincenzo Lavenia, and John Tedeschi, Pisa, Edizioni della Normale, 2010, vol. I, pp. 105-107.

distortions. This is particularly evident in representations of torture, many of which were never sanctioned or employed by the courts of the Holy Office, but which continue to influence public perceptions of the tribunal. The prevalence of such images, nowadays readily accessible online, exemplify this pervasive trend – one that rigorous and scholarly historiography struggles to counterbalance.

Even after the publication of the *Dizionario*, however, studies dedicated to the iconography and memory of the Inquisition have remained relatively scarce, and tend to focus on specific facets within limited geographical and chronological scopes. This holds true also in terms of the thematic focus, methodological approaches, and interpretive functions of iconography in shaping the identity of the Inquisition and elucidating its role in legitimizing the actions of this powerful tribunal.[16] Only few studies have employed comparative approaches. This has somewhat limited the chronological understanding of the development of the tribunals in the transition from the medieval to the early modern period, as well as a more geographically nuanced grasp that is sensitive to the variations between the Iberian Peninsula and its colonial dependencies, where the ritualization of the *autos* reached unusual levels and inspired many images, on the one hand, and the contexts in which the Roman Inquisition operated on the other. In fact, after the first years of harsh repression against heretical dissent, the Papal Holy Office discouraged the Iberian "spectacularisation" of capital punishment – the display of the "splendour of torment", to use Michel Foucault's words – preferring to appear instead as an institution dedicated to penitence, persuasion, and conversion. This helps explain why, until now, it has been difficult to trace the iconographical developments inspired by the activities of the Roman Inquisition in the 16th-18th centuries. Furthermore, the leading interpreters of Italian religious history

16. See also Karina Galperin, "The Passion according to Berruguete: Painting the Auto-da-fé and the Establishment of the Inquisition in Early Modern Spain", *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 14/4 (2014), pp. 315-347; Daniel García Cabrera, "La escenificación de la penitencia: un auto de fe en la Granada de 1606", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie IV. Historia Moderna*, 35 (2022), pp. 207-230, https://doi.org//10.5944/etfiv.35.2022.31224; Manuel Peña Díaz, "Los sambenitillos. Imagen y penitencia en el mundo hispánico (siglos XVI-XVIII)", *Revista Historia y Justicia*, 15 (2020), https://doi.org/10.4000/rhj.7522; Guilherme Augusto Guglielmelli Silveira, "Iconografia sobre as Inquisições Ibéricas e o tema de São Domingos e Dominicanos", *Perspectiva Pictorum*, 3/1 (2024), pp. 61-76, https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.13892111.

have devoted little study to the representation of the tribunal and its local judges, preferring to focus on the relationship between religious dissent, artists' networks, and the production of works with subtle heterodox meanings during the crisis that engulfed the Peninsula from the Sack of Rome to the final years of the Council of Trent.[17]

A volume edited in 2019 by Giovanna Fiume and Mercedes García-Arenal breaks with this pattern.[18] Firstly, it addresses a scarcely explored field until then: the extraordinary graffiti left by detainees incarcerated in the jails of the Palermo Inquisition.[19] Secondly, its innovative methodology involves inviting multiple scholars to examine the same subject from diverse perspectives, yielding a richer, more critical, and nuanced interpretation of the images and inscriptions under study. For example, Fiume advances a compelling thesis, highlighting the dynamics of justice/guilt and obedience/redemption evident in the drawings and writings of the inmates of the Palermo Inquisition. Her detailed analysis further uncovers possible links between the harsh conditions endured by the prisoners and the representations of hell found in hagiographical and theological sources. Her reading suggests that the graffiti may be understood as a form of condemnation directed at the Holy Office.[20] Fiume has since expanded her research in a remarkable book that offers further avenues for exploration.[21] In fact, the

17. See, for example, Massimo Firpo, "Per una iconografia dell'Inquisizione. Un dipinto di Federico Zuccari per l'elezione di Sisto V", in Massimo Firpo, *Storie di immagine, immagini di storia. Studi di iconografia cinquecentesca*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2010, pp. 173-202. See also Massimo Firpo and Fabrizio Biferali, *Immagini ed eresie nell'Italia del Cinquecento*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2016; Ottavia Niccoli, *Rinascimento anticlericale. Infamia, propaganda e satira in Italia tra Quattro e Cinquecento*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2005; Ottavia Niccoli, *Vedere con gli occhi del cuore. Il potere delle immagini tra XV e XVII secolo*, Laterza, Rome-Bari, 2011; Ottavia Niccoli, "Veronese between Devotion, Heresy and the Counter-Reformation", in *Paolo Veronese 1528-1588: Catalogue*, ed. by Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo and Miguel Falomir, Madrid, Museo del Prado, 2025, pp. 98-115; and some essays collected in Adriano Prosperi, *Eresie*, Rome, Quodlibet, 2021.

18. *I graffiti delle carceri del Santo Ufficio di Palermo*, ed. by Giovanna Fiume and Mercedes García-Arenal, Palermo, Istituto Poligrafico Europeo, 2019.

19. For an earlier study of these *graffiti*, see Gianclaudio Civale, "Animo carcerato. Inquisizione, detenzione e graffiti a Palermo", *Mediterranea. Ricerche storiche*, 40 (2017), pp. 149-194.

20. Giovanna Fiume, "Visibile parlare. Disegni e scritture esposte nelle carceri segrete", in *I graffiti delle carceri del Santo Ufficio di Palermo*, pp. 169-213.

21. Giovanna Fiume, *Del Santo Uffizio in Sicilia e delle sue carceri*, Rome, Viella, 2021. See also Rita Foti, *I graffiti delle carceri segrete del Santo Uffizio di Palermo. Inventario*,

analysis of graffiti, writings, and testimonies left by prisoners on the walls of their cells is an area of research that is rapidly expanding[22] and which, within the study of the inquisitions,[23] allows to cross-reference material history, the history of literacy, the history of social mobility, the history of representations of justice, and the micro-histories of heresy trials.

In this context, the "material turn" has opened up further innovative avenues of research to broaden the understanding of the practices and horizons that governed the encounters of judges and detainees. One approach is to focus on objects seized from defendants. These could include drawings, amulets, and written spells, some of which are still preserved in some case files, particularly within the archives of the Portuguese Inquisition, as well as those of Mexico. At the conference held in Coimbra in November 2023, Giuseppe Marcocci explored this line of inquiry in a paper entitled *Domesticating Infamous Objects: A Fictitious Sambenito and the Forgotten Archives of Material Culture*, thereby helping to chart these paths.[24]

designed and ed. by Giovanna Fiume, Palermo, Palermo University Press, 2023. For the local courts of the Roman Inquisition, see Russell Palmer, "Religious Colonialism in Early Modern Malta: Inquisitorial Imprisonment and Inmate Graffiti", *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 20 (2016), pp. 548-561; Roberto Nini, "Segni di speranza. Carceri e graffiti nel Sant'Uffizio di Spoleto a Narni", *Giornale di storia*, 24 (2017), pp. 1-13; Anna Clara Basilicò, "Becoming Subalterns: Writing and Scribbling in Early Modern Prisons", *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, 13 (2024), pp. 81-102; Lorenzo Bonvicini, "'Ingiusticia e chrudeltà'. I graffiti dei carcerati nel Sant'Uffizio di Reggio Emilia in età moderna", *Riforma e movimenti religiosi*, 18 (2025), forthcoming.

22. See, for example, Charlotte Guichard, *Graffitis. Inscrire son nom à Rome, XVI*[e]*-XIX*[e] *siècle*, Paris, Seuil, 2014; Antonio Castillo Gómez, *Dalle carte ai muri. Scrittura e società nella Spagna della prima età moderna*, Rome, Carocci, 2016; Matthew J. Champion, "Magic on the Walls: Ritual Protection Marks in the Medieval Church", in *Physical Evidence for Ritual Acts, Sorcery and Witchcraft in Christian Britain: A Feeling for Magic*, ed. by Ronald Hutton, London, Palgrave, 2016, pp. 15-38; Carlo Tedeschi, "Epigrafi, graffiti, scritture esposte. Una nota terminologica", *Scripta*, 16 (2023), pp. 235-255. Tedeschi is directing the Erc AdvGrant "Graff-IT".

23. Jean Petitjean, "Inscribing, Writing and Drawing in the Prisons of the Inquisition. Methodological Issues and Research Perspectives on Graffiti", *Quaderni storici*, 53/1 (2018), pp. 15-38 (the essay is part of the special issue "Graffiti: New Perspectives from the Inquisitorial Prisons in Palermo", ed. by Giovanna Fiume and Mercedes García-Arenal).

24. The paper was presented in Portuguese under the title *Domesticar objetos infamantes: sobre um sambenito fictício e os arquivos esquecidos da cultura material*. A recent essay offers a visual history of the *sambenito*: Cloe Cavero de Carondelet and Yonatan Glazer-Eytan, "Infamy within Sight: Making and Unmaking Sambenitos in the Early Modern Iberian World", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 77 (2024), pp. 389-441. An example

Another promising approach to the study of material and visual culture lies in examining the inventories compiled at the time of the suppression of Inquisition tribunals. The 19th-century inventory of the Coimbra tribunal, for example, includes descriptions of cupboards, shelves, tables, benches, and inkwells, as well as sand tools used for drying ink during trials. It also records the contents of the chapel that existed within the building where the Inquisition operated. Detailed inventories recording income, expenditure, and purchases of objects and works of art were indeed compiled by the inquisitors throughout the tribunals' existence from the 16th century onwards; a more systematic analysis of these could shed light on the material history of the court buildings, the devotion of the magistrates who fought heresy, and the inquisitors' attitude towards the arts.[25]

This volume will talk mainly about the iconography of the tribunals, the judges, and the victims, starting from the Middle Ages, but the editors' and authors' aim is also to offer some suggestions for extending the scope of future research. For example, what relationship existed between text and image in the manuscripts and printed works produced by, or intended for, the inquisitors? What role did artistic patronage,[26] paintings, statues, buildings, funerals, tombs, and epitaphs play in the construction of the "voluntary memory" of the courts?[27] In what sense can we speak of a strategy for

of visual material seized from a defendant is examined in Nathalie Miraval, "How to Tame Your Dragon. Saint Martha, *Hechicería*, and Afro-Catholic Expressive Culture in Sixteenth-Century New Spain", in *The Routledge Companion to Race in Early Modern Artistic, Material, and Visual Production*, ed. by Nicholas R. Jones, Christina H. L. Lee, and Dominique E. Polanco, New York, Routledge, 2025, pp. 146-152.

25. For the Roman Holy Office, some suggestions can be found in Vincenzo Lavenia, "L'Inquisizione a Firenze prima e dopo Salviati", in *Filippo Salviati filosofo libero*, ed. by Allì Caracciolo, Macerata, Eum, 2016, pp. 51-76; Dennj Solera, *La società dell'Inquisizione. Uomini, tribunali e pratiche del Sant'Uffizio romano*, Rome, Carocci, 2021.

26. For the Spanish Inquisition, see Michael Scholz-Hänsel, "¿La Inquisición como mecenas? Imágenes al servicio de la disciplina y propaganda inquisitorial", *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, 60 (1994), pp. 301-320; Agustín Bustamante, "El Santo Oficio de Valladolid y los artistas", *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arquelogía*, 61 (1995), pp. 455-466; Sonia Caballero Escamilla, "Los santos dominicos y la propaganda inquisitorial en el convento de Santo Tomás de Ávila", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 39 (2009), pp. 357-387; Sonia Caballero Escamilla, "Fray Tomás de Torquemada, iconógrafo y promotor de las artes", *Archivo Español de Arte*, 82 (2009), pp. 19-34.

27. Manuel Peña Díaz reflected on the effects of infamy and the memory of inquisitorial trials: "Inquisitorial Memory and Everyday Life in the Hispanic World", in

building social prestige, activated by the leaders of the inquisitions or by individual judges who wanted to exalt themselves as magistrates against heresy? And how did visual and written memory relate to each other after the first histories or prosopographies of the courts of faith began to be elaborated?[28]

An important area of inquiry concerns the implicit or explicit guidelines the different inquisitions followed in the field of image censorship. As is well known, at the end of the 16th century the Roman congregations renounced drawing up an Index of Images, which had been suggested by the Cardinal of Bologna Gabriele Paleotti.[29] Yet the discipline of devotions, holiness, and anti-Roman propaganda induced the judges of the faith to put in place a policy of iconographical control, which currently ongoing research projects have already begun to address. The point of view of the artists who worked under the watchful eye of the tribunal, a perspective which has not yet come fully into focus, might also be better assessed in future in light of such studies.[30] Paradoxically maybe,

The Complexity of Hispanic Religious Life in the 16th-18th Centuries, ed. by Doris Moreno and Phil Grayston, Leiden, Brill, 2020, pp. 103-123. However, there is no comprehensive study on the monumentalization of the memory of judges and inquisitorial courts. For the funeral rites of the members of the tribunals, see Ricardo Pessa de Oliveira, "Cerimónias fúnebres por Inquisidores gerais no século XVIII", *Revista de Portugal*, 5 (2008), pp. 21-30; Isabel Drumond Braga and Paulo Drumond Braga, "As virtudes do Inquisidor geral: os sermões de exéquias e a imagem dos dirigentes do Santo Ofício no século XVII", in *Um historiador pelos seus pares: trajectórias de Ronaldo Vainfas*, ed. by Angelo A. Faria de Assis, Polyanna Gouveia de Mendonça Muniz, and Yllan de Mattos, São Paulo, Alameda, 2017, pp. 23-41; Vincenzo Lavenia, "Morte dell'inquisitore. Prestigio sociale e celebrazione di alcune 'vite per l'ufficio'", in *Il mite maestro. Studi per John Tedeschi*, ed. by Giorgio Caravale, Vincenzo Lavenia, and Pierroberto Scaramella, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2025, pp. 61-97.

28. For the first judge-historian of the Inquisition, see Kimberly Lynn Hossain, "Was Adam the First Heretic? Diego de Simancas, Luis de Páramo, and the Origins of Inquisitorial Practice", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 97 (2006), pp. 184-210. For the Roman Inquisition, see Vincenzo Lavenia, "Centro e periferia dell'Inquisizione nelle ricerche prosopografiche", in *L'Inquisizione romana e i suoi archivi. A vent'anni dall'apertura dell'ACDF*, ed. by Alejandro Cifres, Rome, Gangemi, 2019, pp. 359-371.

29. See Paolo Prodi, *Arte e pietà nella chiesa tridentina*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2014. For the debate on images in the 16th century, see Wietse De Boer, *Art in Dispute: Catholic Debates at the Time of Trent. With an Edition and Translation of Key Documents*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2022.

30. See the excellent synopsis by Chiara Franceschini, "Arti figurative: il controllo", in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, vol. I, pp. 102-105. For the first results of a larger

this also begs the question to what extent the courts of faith could themselves promote instances of iconoclasm, as they entered into contact with "pagans" and "idolaters" in the global theatre of the Catholic Church.[31] Similarly, since the concerns regarding the disciplining of *conversos*, the control over religious minorities, and their respective use or refusal of images seem to have been deeply entwined, the question of how this shaped the tribunals' activities and the judges' attitudes merits closer exploration.[32]

Finally, what happened when the courts were abolished and restored between the 18th and 19th centuries? So far, at least, there are no in-depth or comparative studies on what happened when the end of the Holy Office courts was decreed: what was destroyed (or preserved), apart from the trial papers? By whose will? And how was a secular or anticlerical counter-narrative constructed in the places of inquisitorial memory during the 19th century? These are just a few suggestions, in a field that has yet to be thoroughly explored by cross-referencing printed texts, archival documents, and iconographical sources. There is also no database cataloguing the works of art and images produced, censored, or destroyed by the inquisitions and their judges from the Middle Ages to the age of abolition. The Inquire website (https://inquire.unibo.it) will include several sections dedicated to iconography with hundreds of images relating to the inquisitions until modern times (including those inspired by the controversy surrounding the tribunal). It will undoubtedly be expanded over the coming years as researchers move forward and their studies yield new results.

European project (https://www.sacrima.eu/) on questions of censorship and self-censorship, but not limited to the history of the inquisitions, see the collection of essays *Sacred Images and Normativity: Contested Forms in Early Modern Art*, ed. by Chiara Franceschini, Turnhout, Brepols, 2021.

31. Without mentioning the numerous studies on Spanish America, for Portuguese India see Jorge Flores and Giuseppe Marcocci, "Killing Images: Iconoclasm and the Art of Political Insult in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Portuguese India", *Itinerario*, 42 (2018), pp. 461-489.

32. See Emily Michelson, *Catholic Spectacles and Rome's Jews: Early Modern Conversion and Resistence*, Princeton-Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2022; Katherine Aron-Beller, *Christian Images and their Jewish Desecrators: The History of an Allegation, 400-1700*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2024.

2. *This book: Structure and themes*

The collected essays in this volume delve into the many-layered iconographical legacies of the European inquisitions from the medieval to the early modern period. Across the centuries and diverse geographies, they analyse images commissioned by the tribunals and their agents as well as the traces left by their victims. Not least, the authors also address the question of the long-lasting effects of these visual sources on the mental landscapes and historical memory, not only in the territories where the tribunals of the faith were historically active, but across Europe and beyond.[33] They reveal a rich visual culture and "memory theatre", which arguably could never be tightly controlled. While the contributions bring to light a multitude of new sources and methodological approaches, further research is undoubtedly needed to untap more fully a range of material that was damaged, concealed, or never on public display.

Historians of the ancient and medieval periods have always made wide use of visual and material sources, but over the past four decades or so early modernists as well as modern and contemporary historians have undoubtedly caught up.[34] Yet, even with visual culture now enjoying a full seat at the table of historical inquiry, the specific challenge of the interpretation of images should not be underestimated. As Michael Baxandall has reminded us, art historical description alone is not sufficient to unlock the cultural and social meaning of images, nor can visual sources be interpreted simply as illustrations of texts or mere representations of historical events.[35] This is also crucial to keep in mind when considering images referring to inquisitorial activities, which need to be especially carefully embedded in precise local and historical contexts; and even then, the ques-

33. See *Tribunal der Barbaren? Deutschland und die Inquisition in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Albrecht Burkardt and Gerd Schwerhoff, Constance, Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 2012; Marie von Lüneburg, *Tyrannei und Teufel. Die Wahrnehmung der Inquisition in deutschsprachigen Druckmedien im 16. Jahrhunderts*, Cologne-Weimar-Vienna, Böhlau, 2020.

34. See here, in particular, Francis Haskell, *History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 1993; *Art and History. Images and their Meaning*, ed. by Theodore K. Rabb and Robert I. Rotberg, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988.

35. Michael Baxandall, "Art, Society, and the Bougueur Principle", *Representations*, 12 (1985), pp. 32-43. See also Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Look of the Past. Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012.

tion of how they were understood by the different historical agents and audiences, or what emotional response they triggered, can remain elusive.

The interplay between text and image is certainly complex,[36] as is evident in many of the contributions that follow, and at times it is the reading of the images that helps with unpacking the meaning of texts. And finally, it is evident that the power of images could unfold over the centuries. Real and imagined scenes circulated and were condensed into literary tropes, by which authors could activate the reader's inner eye and imagination in an instant, which in turn again inspired and fuelled artistic production. Crucially, the ways in which the Inquisition was imagined, re-called, and often also mis-remembered profoundly shaped the writing of history as well as the associated political narratives that have fomented European political and religious controversies since the 16th century, and with renewed vigour throughout the struggles of 19th-century liberalism and nationalism. The latter have indeed created such thick sediments of mental imagery that it can be difficult for present-day historians to scrape them back in order to let critical inquiry come to the fore and impose itself.

The volume begins with four contributions focused on the Middle Ages. Here, probably unsurprisingly, the surviving imagery does not project a consolidated image of the power of the Tribunal of the Faith as an institution. The emergence of Peter of Verona as the universally recognizable icon of the Inquisition, for instance, has no strong roots in the medieval hagiographical or iconographical tradition. As Donald S. Prudlo argues, the record speed with which Peter was canonized cannot be attributed to any kind of institutional inquisitorial pressure, but rather reflected the wide veneration for the charismatic preacher and martyr among members of the Dominican order as well as among laypeople. Peter's role as an inquisitor came to be emphasized only at the end of the 14th century, after his popular cult had started to wane. It was then that ecclesiastical and institutional needs took over, and his image was seized and came to stand for the Inquisition and its combat against heresy. While a stable inquisitorial iconography remained underdeveloped, the images of heretics were more abundant. Yet as Alessia Trivellone emphasizes, the records on which historians have often relied to analyse these heresies may be thoroughly misleading, not only because they were produced by inquisitors, but, more importantly,

36. On this problem, see *Where Words and Images Meet*, ed. by Ludmilla Jordanova and Florence Grant, London, Bloomsbury, 2024.

because historians have failed to recognize the impact of the specific medieval "regime of historicity" on their composition. Focusing on the account of Bernard Gui (1261-1331) in his *Practica Inquisitionis* of the heretics he encountered, she shows how the inquisitor relied heavily on inherited models and stereotypes, often copying these out verbatim. More importantly, however, she makes a methodological point by suggesting that medieval descriptions of heresy cannot be taken as empirical accounts but should be understood just like the medieval images as underpinned by a circular perception of time in which past and present tend to collapse into one. Texts and images operated in analogy and with past types, and it is thus that the interpretation of images can inform the interpretation of written evidence.

Moving towards the 15th century and to Bohemia, Kateřina Horničková investigates the ambiguity of the iconography used to represent the Hussite and Utraquist movements, specifically that of the trial and execution of Jan Hus (1370-1415). While to the opponents of the movement the scenes of his death at the stake incontrovertibly proved the heretical nature of his teachings, to his followers the very same images were evidence of his martyrdom and saintliness. Repeated bans targeting images of Hus notwithstanding, the very ambiguity and ubiquity of the Hussite imagery therefore ended up supporting its survival well into the 1620s. Only after the Thirty Years War and the radical re-catholicization campaigns that followed it could the Hus imagery be more systematically eradicated.

Maxime Gelly-Perbellini's essay concludes the medieval part – and also straddles the period boundaries – with a meticulous study of one of the first depictions of a woman condemned to be burnt at the stake for witchcraft. It can be found in the illustrations painted by Diebold Schilling into his chronicle (1513) of his hometown Lucerne. By focusing on the scene of the execution of Anna Vögtlin, who had been condemned for the theft of a Host for magical purposes, Gelly-Perbellini uncovers how Schilling's illustrations contain elements from trial records and other sources available to him. The complex entanglement of the different textual layers and the illustrations also help to uncover an extraordinarily rich context, in which struggles over Lucerne's authority and jurisdiction are entwined with religious anxieties about the meaning and efficacy of the Eucharist and its potential abuse by witches.

The Spanish and Portuguese tribunals which emerged at the turn of the 15th to the 16th century and stayed in place throughout the early modern period represented an entirely new type of Inquisition. Centralized and under

the monarchy's control, their proceedings were shrouded in secrecy, yet their judgements were spectacular, highly ritualized, and awe-inspiring. As Manuel Peña Díaz shows, the Spanish Inquisition looms large in the writings of early modern travellers who visited Spain. Their travelogues, of which 19th-century historians were so especially fond and which continue to be widely used, are, however, highly problematic. It can be difficult not only to disentangle their intertextual quality, but also to cut through the specific cultural biases that shaped what the travellers saw and how they made sense of it. A characteristic example of the many misunderstandings that mar the travel accounts are their confused entries on the appearance, use, and social meaning of the *sambenitos*; and so, even as the Inquisition's power diminished, the fusion of fact, fiction, and prejudice continued to populate the foreign imagination of Spain.

Focused on the literary imagination, too, is a contribution on the tropes evoking inquisitorial settings and attitudes in Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, which have fuelled a string of scholarly speculations as to the author's open or veiled attacks on the Holy Office. Yet as Ana Isabel López-Salazar warns, such interpretations often tend to be anachronistic as well as oblivious of the historical context and the fact that the passages in question never provoked any intervention whatsoever by the Inquisition. Hence, by attributing to Cervantes a proto-enlightened or libertine attitude, critics miss his deeper concern with the uncertainties of human perception, ambiguity, and the fine line separating truth and fiction.

Turning to Portugal, Jaime Gouveia examines early modern emblem literature in which "lust" was rendered in symbolic images that demonized and constructed it not simply as a vice, but increasingly also as a heresy. The iconography centred on the deviation of human reason by carnal appetites that turned men into half animals. Their bodily deformity made visible the moral deformity attributed to the subjugation of the will by demonic forces. As Gouveia argues, this line of interpretation regularly appeared in metaphors used in trial depositions. It was especially relevant to the persecution of the crime of *sollicitatio*, in which the incriminated priests were often considered "victims" of heretical lust rather than the perpetrators of sexual crimes.

Concluding the Iberian panorama, Francisco Bethencourt offers a rich vista both on the images produced by the Iberian tribunals to project their power and on the ways in which enemies and victims made use of visual strategies to subvert and resist it. As he is able to show, visual activism and

mockery increased over the 17th and 18th centuries, and he suggests that historians need to examine more closely the subtle traces with which artists expressed their compassion with the tribunals' victims, sometimes just through minute gestures and expressions, colour choice, or brush strokes. By recording their faces and names, images also helped to establish "martyrologies" which became foundational for later liberal historiographies.

The final section focuses on the Holy Office in the Italian Peninsula. Katherine Aron-Beller compares how Iberian and Papal tribunals dealt with cases of crimes against images from the late medieval to the early modern period. The emergence of this specific crime expressed anxieties over how Jews and/or new Christians might harm and defile Christian images and objects with their gaze or through actions. The image, it turned out, was fragile, but exposure to potential harm was located differently, depending on the context. While in Spain new Christians suffered allegations of not using proper images or not dealing properly with images in private spaces, in Italy the continued and visible presence of Jewish communities meant that the harm Jews allegedly exerted with their postures, gestures, gaze, or the absence thereof, concerned images and objects in public spaces. The notion of crimes against images and their persecution by the Holy Office therefore served a double purpose of detecting alleged crypto-Jewish attitudes and delineating the boundaries of the Christian body.

As many scholars have remarked, the Papal Inquisition was much more reluctant to indulge in public rituals and outward-facing displays of its power than its Iberian counterpart. However, as Vincenzo Lavenia argues, the interiors of the Italian tribunals, mostly Franciscan and Dominican convents that served as local seats of the Holy Office and which still await systematic analysis, may shed new light on how the taciturn judges perceived themselves and their office. At the seat of the Inquisition of Bologna, for instance, which Lavenia is the first to examine here, the inquisitor's quarters were located within an area inaccessible to the wider public and were exquisitely decorated with frescoes in the 18th century. They display dozens of small portraits of individual inquisitors in what amounts to a visual prosopography since medieval times. Simultaneously, the insertion of the inquisitors' portraits clearly transcends the individual and subjects them to a genealogically organized memory palace of the institution.

The final contribution by Massimo Bucciantini is dedicated to the creation of "the iconic moment": that of the solitary Galileo in prison mut-

tering “e pur si muove”. The author examines not only how this moment became a prominent theme in 19th-century French history painting, but also its use and long-term effect on political discourse in 19th-century France. The scenes depicting Galileo contributed substantially to the genius cult typical of the time, in which he was celebrated as an ideal-type modern scientist. But Galileo’s role here was not limited to that of a founding father of modern science. The widespread availability of images that depicted him taking a stance against the formidable tribunal also turned the scene into a topical reference for the fight against Ultramontanism. Liberals loved to refer to it in their campaigns against religious “fanaticism” and clerical influence on public education, and they used it widely to warn of the danger that France might end up like Italy (!), a country of silence with a “dead culture”. Clearly, the memory of the Inquisition lived on, and the trial scene had become a metonym for the *Ancien Régime* and the struggle against it.

This volume assembles a selection of the papers presented at the conference *Inquisitions, Iconography, and Memory* held in Coimbra from 16 to 17 November 2023 and organized by the International Centre for Research in Inquisitions of the University of Bologna (Inquire), the Center for the History of Society and Culture (CHSC) of the University of Coimbra, and the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG) in Mainz.

The editors of this volume would like to thank the efficient team at the University of Coimbra who helped organize the enjoyable meeting in 2023, as well as Maria Alessandra Bilotta, Franck Mercier, Giuseppe Marcocci, and Chiara Franceschini, who participated in the conference by presenting some research not included in this book. The editors are also grateful to Chiara Petrolini, who assisted with iconographical research, Chance McMahon for their knowledgeable copy-editing, and the publishing house Viella for hosting the volume in its series.

The publication of this volume was also made possible by the CHSC, which received funding for a strategic project from the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology - FCT (UIDP/00311/2025), and thanks to support from the Department of History and Cultures of the University of Bologna and the IEG in Mainz.

I

The Late Medieval Inquisition and Heresy

Donald S. Prudlo

Peter of Verona and Inquisitorial Iconography in the Middle Ages

In 1302, the citizens of Albi were incensed against the Friars Preachers. The town was in the centre of areas known to be Cathar strongholds for nearly one hundred years. Patiently the friars had pushed the heretics to the margins of society, and it would not be long before Catharism was totally eradicated. Over the course of generations, many of the town's residents had been harassed by the inquisitions chasing down the remaining heretical believers. The situation was further confused by a bishop attempting to aggressively expand his temporal jurisdiction over the town, and enflamed by a Franciscan preacher who appealed to King Philip IV against him.[1] Matters came to a head in a spontaneous demonstration against the Dominican convent itself. The aggrieved townspeople marched on the mendicant house and physically defaced the images of Dominic and Peter of Verona over the gates. The immediate target of their ire was the local inquisition, spearheaded by the Friars Preachers.[2] While it is difficult to determine the full content of the complaint directed against the Domini-

1. For the events at Albi, see Jean-Louis Biget, "Un procès d'inquisition à Albi en 1300", in *Le credo, la morale et l'Inquisition*, Toulouse, Privat, 1971, pp. 273-341, although he over-emphasizes political causes, flattening the genuine religious concerns. See also Malcolm David Lambert, *The Cathars*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1998, pp. 226-229.

2. Bernard Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus conventuum Provinciarum Tolosanae et Provinciae Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. by Paul-Antonin Amargier, Rome, apud Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1961, pp. 201-202. See the commentary on this episode in Christine Caldwell Ames, *Righteous Persecution: Inquisition, Dominicans, and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, PA, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009, pp. 90-91. See also Alan Friedlander, *The Hammer of the Inquisitors: Brother Bernard Délicieux and the Struggle Against the Inquisition in Fourteenth-Century France*, Leiden, Brill, 2000, pp. 104-106.

cans, it is clear that anti-inquisitional sentiment played a significant role. It is also an instance where it is demonstrable that laypeople saw the images of the Preachers' saints as representing an institution that they despised. It is possible that this may have been an expression of Cathar sentiment that rejected both devotion to saints and their depiction in images, but more likely it was simply an attempt to spite the Dominicans by defacing their heroes' pictures. In any case, by the turn of the 14th century one sees a glimmer of the cult of St. Peter of Verona developing into what it would become in the early modern period: an iconographical avatar of the inquisitions. However, it would take generations for this shift to occur, a move not completed until the 16th century. It is that initial transition which forms the subject of this study.

Peter of Verona was born around 1203 and grew up in the midst of Cathar sympathizers. He later attended the University of Bologna, fell under the influence of St. Dominic, and received the habit of the Friars Preachers probably in 1221.[3] Peter was probably attracted to the Dominican order because of its emphasis on intellectual life and its penitential practices.[4] As early as 1232 he was active against heretics in the city of Milan,[5] where he founded or reoriented pious confraternities for the fight against heresy and established monasteries for women.[6] He acquired a reputation as a powerful and outstanding preacher, and was eventually given a licence as preacher-general for Lombardy, a coveted and influential position in the Dominican order. From 1244 to 1245 Peter was in Florence, stirring up opposition against accused heretics there. His fiery preaching

3. Gérard de Frachet, *Vitae fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum necnon cronica Ordinis ab anno 1203 usque ad 1254*, ed. by Benedikt Maria Reichert, Louvain, Charpentier & Schoonjans, 1896, p. 237. Simon Tugwell notes that this work is most properly entitled *Vitas Fratrum*. The standard reference for Peter's life and cult is Donald S. Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor: The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona (†1252)*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008. See also Antoine Dondaine, "Saint Pierre Martyr", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 23 (1953), pp. 67-150. I have also edited the earliest life of St. Peter: Thomas Agni da Lentini, *Vita sancti Petri martiris*, ed. and trans. by Donald S. Prudlo, Oxford, The Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2022.

4. The most recent history of the Friars Preachers is William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, 2 vols, Staten Island, NY, Alba House, 1966-1973.

5. From city documents listed by the Milanese historian Bernard Corio (c. 1500), edited and reprinted in Gilles Gerard Meersseman, *Ordo Fraternitatis, confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo*, 3 vols, Rome, Herder, 1977, vol. II, pp. 818-824.

6. Meersseman, *Ordo Fraternitatis*, vol. II, pp. 760-766.

led to a vicious street battle between militia loyal to the inquisition and the party committed to Emperor Frederick II (which some were using as a smokescreen for their Catharism). While in Florence, Peter established more religious groups and maintained his solicitude for female religious houses. Having stirred things up in Tuscany he returned to Lombardy, and in 1247 he founded a monastery of nuns near Milan, helped to build up the church of Sant'Eustorgio, and continued his fight against heresy. Peter served terms as prior of the Dominicans at Asti (1248) and Piacenza (1249). When Frederick II died in late 1250, the papacy used the opportunity to reassert religious supervision in northern Italy. On 13 June 1251, Pope Innocent IV appointed Peter as Inquisitor General of Lombardy.[7] This is our only record of Peter as a formally commissioned inquisitor. Less than ten months later he was brutally murdered by a conspiracy of Cathar believers on his way back to Milan from Como, where he was then prior. A mixture of immediate popular veneration, concerted Dominican lobbying, and papal interest all resulted in his canonization on 9 March 1253, less than one year after his death. Peter of Verona was, and remains, the most rapidly papally-canonized saint in history.[8]

Here, one is presented with a sudden saint. In the past, scholars concluded that the obvious reason for the celerity of his elevation to the altars was a defence of papal inquisitorial authority.[9] Yet previous Church officials killed in the course of their duties – men such as Peter of Castelnau, Conrad of Marburg, or the martyrs of Avignonet – did not receive the honour of canonization. Peter's case was different. He was an open, accessible, public, and popular figure. The initial impetus for the canonization came not from the papacy or the Dominican order, as might be expected. Instead, it came from the Church and laity of Milan, which presented the cause to the Curia. I have argued that Peter was both widely known and well liked, especially because of his work as a preacher, confessor, spiritual adviser,

7. Innocent IV, *Misericors et miserator* (13 June 1251), in *Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, ed. by Thomas Ripoll, 8 vols, Rome, Ex Typographia Hieronymi Mainardi, 1759, vol. I, pp. 192-193.

8. Peter's canonization came 337 days after his death, whereas the cause for the Franciscan Anthony of Padua, the other saint canonized in under a year, took 352 days.

9. First asserted by Henry Charles Lea and followed by Grado Giovanni Merlo in numerous publications, repeated in his *Inquisitori e Inquisizione del Medioevo*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2008, ch. 3. Echoed also in Lambert, *The Cathars*, pp. 212-214. For a more complex reading, see Ames, *Righteous Persecution*, pp. 65-67.

and founder. The elaboration of his cult and iconography reflects how he was an attractive figure to many different constituencies. It would take over half a century before his cult began to be streamlined through the efforts of hagiography, liturgy, and official policy into more restrictive forms.[10] It took nearly a century to create the "inquisitor saint", and even then such a presentation had to stand beside several other cultic identities. Peter was a genuinely – if not universally – popular saint, understood differently by people in widely diverse states of life.

The first decade after Peter's death saw the deployment of numerous ways of understanding his sanctity, most of which eventually made it into the artistic tradition. Among his brethren Peter became a mirror for Dominican self-understanding. For the Friars, he was Dominic's perfect follower, a more charismatic public figure for the order to promote, especially when contrasted with the self-effacing and more elusive character of the founder. An early iconographical concern had been how to distinguish the two in pictures. At first, they were content to show Dominic without facial hair and Peter with it; however, very quickly the expressive image of Peter with an axe in his head and a knife in his back came to dominate (Fig. 1). Set in his contrasting black and white habit invested with the grisly instruments of his death, he became instantly identifiable in the churches of Europe. Peter had also been a model preacher, gladly heard by thousands on his tours of northern and central Italy. This is a clear indication of the source of his fundamental reputation, both within and beyond the order (Fig. 2). He was known to associate with the faithful for spiritual direction and confession, especially with religious men and women, which in turn encouraged the immediate diffusion of his cult. There are also numerous depictions of miracles drawn from his various hagiographical *vitae*, many of which showed to the laity the various cultic specializations for which Peter was to be invoked. The most vivid concept, one depicted in dozens of works of art in the medieval and early modern worlds, was the image of his martyrdom, whereby he had given his all to be a living icon of Christ Himself. Martyrdom was exceptionally rare in the Middle Ages, yet still a coveted and treasured category of holiness among the Christian people. One need only examine the explosion and enduring relevance of the cult of St. Thomas Becket to realize this. On a smaller scale, Peter's cult followed the trajectory of devotion to the English archbishop, quickly becoming

10. Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, pp. 76-88.

internationalized and known for the production of miracles, both in the presence of and far removed from the central shrine.[11] Indeed, some of the singular achievements of European art focused on his death: works by Fra Angelico, Andrea di Bonaiuto, Bellini, and the famous (now destroyed) canvas of Titian in the basilica of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice. Quite apart from any ideology of persecution, Peter Martyr plays a significant role in the history of European art.[12]

His martyrdom sent shock waves through Christian Europe; chronicles as far away as Iceland recorded the event. Seared as it was in the public consciousness, it also enabled the iconographical and theological presentation of Peter in a way that set him significantly apart from most other saints, with the ascription to him of the so-called "Triple Crown".[13] From nearly the moment of his death, liturgies, hagiographical lives, and sermons recorded that Peter was in possession of this treble honour.[14] The conferral of three crowns – one white, one red, and one gold – formed one of the pillars of his iconographical representation. The three crowns stood for distinct excellences achieved by a saint. The white crown was

11. For an analysis of this phenomenon, see Donald S. Prudlo, "Martyrs on the Move: The Spread of the Cults of Thomas of Canterbury and Peter of Verona", *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture*, 3/2 (2011), pp. 32-62.

12. See the recent study by Diana Lucia Gómez-Chacón, "San Pedro Mártir de Verona", *Revista Digital de Iconografía Medieval*, 6/11 (2014), pp. 79-96. See also the older, but very useful, Venturino Alce, "Iconografia di S. Pietro da Verona Martire Domenicano", *Memorie Domenicane*, 70 (1953), pp. 100-114, recently reprinted in *Martire per la fede: San Pietro da Verona domenicano e inquisitore*, ed. by Gianni Festa, Bologna, Edizioni Studio Domenicano, 2007, pp. 307-329.

13. The most comprehensive works on the subject are Antonio Volpato, "Il tema agiografico della triplice aureola nei secoli XIII-XV", in *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*, ed. by Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucia Sebastiani, L'Aquila, Japadre, 1984, pp. 511-525; and, more extensively, in Antonio Volpato, "'Corona Aurea' e 'Corona Aureola': ordini e meriti nella ecclesiologia medioevale", *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e Archivio muratoriano*, 91 (1984), pp. 115-182. Also related to this theme is Edwin Hall and Horst Uhr, "*Aureola super Auream*: Crowns and Related Symbols of Special Distinction for Saints in Late Gothic and Renaissance Iconography", *Art Bulletin*, 67/4 (1985), pp. 567-603. I analyse it in detail in relation to Peter's cult in Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, pp. 109-119.

14. On his first tomb (later replaced by Giovanni di Balduccio's masterpiece in 1336) was the inscription "D. O. M. / Divo Petro Ordinis Praedicatorum / tribus Coronis / Doctrinae, Virginitatis, & Martyrii / Anno MCCLII. Donato", cited from "Repositio corporis S. Petri Martyris Ordinis Praedicatorum" [1736], in Archivio di Stato di Milano, Fondo di Religione, San Pietro in Barlassina, Bb. 1.

that of virginity. The red crown meant that the person had died for the faith. The gold crown represented mastery of Christian doctrine in both preaching and teaching. These were the three *aureolae* (nimbuses) that came to be distinguished from the *aurea*, which was itself the essential reward of heaven possessed by all the saved. The *aureolae* were accidental (in the scholastic sense) perfections possessed by certain heroic members of Christ's body. While special crowns for various types of merit had been discussed in Christianity since New Testament times, it was not until the 8th century that the concept of a Triple Crown coalesced. It then remained very much dormant until the novelty of the story of Peter of Verona allowed it to be resurrected in the 13th century. What was astonishing was how few Christian saints could lay claim to all three. Most of the Apostles were married, and the only unmarried one, John, did not die a martyr. Many of the Church Fathers had been married or had not died for the faith, neither had the numerous confessors and virgins who followed upon the legalization of Christianity. Eventually it came to be admitted that only St. John the Baptist, St. Paul, and St. Catherine of Alexandria had attained this highest distinction of holiness. Peter found himself in select company indeed. The Friars Preachers deployed this image aggressively. In the wake of Peter's death, all major Dominican writers evince a sudden flurry of interest in Triple Crown theology.[15] In the Dominican Rite, codified in 1256, just four years after his death, the Triple Crown imagery dominates Peter's office, and nearly every extant Dominican preacher mentions this characteristic about Peter in at least one (if not more) of their sermons for his feast.[16] These musings accompanied the images that multiplied in the hundreds of

15. We have writings by Hugh of St. Cher, *Hugonis de Sancto Charo opera omnia in universum Vetus et Novum Testamentum*, 8 vols, Venice, apud Nicolaum Pezzana, 1732, vol. II, p. 34, col. 4; Humbert of Romans, *Opera de Vita Regulari*, ed. by Joachim J. Berthier, 2 vols, Rome, Befani, 1888, vol. I, pp. 32, 388 and 433; Thomas Aquinas, *Sup. Sent.* Lib. 4, d. 49, q. 5, a. 2, qc. 1 ad 3; and Albert the Great, "De Natura Boni" (see Volpato, "Corona Aurea", p. 167, n. 182) and "Quaestio de Aureola" (see Volpato, "Corona Aurea", p. 168, n. 185) all began to engage with the idea at this time. Guillaume d'Auvergne also uses the term in the context of a sermon on St. Catherine, so the concept was most definitely in the air: "In festo S. Catherinae", in Guillaume d'Auvergne, "Sermones in Epistolas et Evangelia dominicarum et festivarum", in *Guilielmi Alverni Opera omnia*, 2 vols, Frankfurt am Main, Minerva, 1963, vol. II, p. 476.

16. For the Dominican liturgy, see William Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy*, New York, Wagner, 1944; and *Ritual Life in the Medieval Dominican Order: Liturgical Expressions*, ed. by Augustine Thompson, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval

Dominican churches spread throughout Christendom as mandated by the Chapter General of 1254.[17] By the turn of the 14th century, the Triple Crown began to appear regularly in frescoes, manuscript illuminations, and sculptures of Peter of Verona.[18] Indeed, such a concept was "ready-made" as it were for iconographical presentation. One simple addition to a painting allowed the communication of deep hagiographical and theological claims.

Up to this point, however, there is nothing specifically "inquisitorial" about the presentation of Peter of Verona in artistic depictions. Yet there are indications that things began to tend in that direction. The first one is the Triple Crown itself. The gold crown of mastery of Christian preaching and teaching was, in Peter's case, honed by and directed against the heretics through disputation, persecution, and sermonizing. Peter had been engaged in the struggle against heterodoxy for nearly the whole of his thirty-year career as a Dominican.[19] By the 1270s, we have indications that Dominican preachers were connecting the Triple Crown to the inquisition.[20] Furthermore, one of the salient characteristics of Peter's martyrdom

Studies, 2025, as well as my discussion of Peter's liturgy in *Martyred Inquisitor*, pp. 114-115.

17. "Priores et alii fratres. curam habeant diligentem. quod nomen beati Dominici et beati Petri Martiris. in kalendariis et in litaniis scribantur. et picture fiant in ecclesiis. et quod fiant festa eorum", *Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. by Benedikt Maria Reichert, 8 vols, Rome, in Domo generalitia, 1898-1905, vol. I, p. 70. This admonition was repeated and underscored by the Paris chapter of 1256, during which Peter's relics played a major role.

18. The earliest example is from the late 13th century in Sant'Eustorgio itself. See George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy,* Florence, Sansoni, 1978, p. 844, image 236. For later examples, see Gherardo del Fora's *St. Mary Magdalen between St. Peter Martyr and St. Catharine of Siena*, in the Bowdoin College Museum of Art; Pedro de Berruguete's (fl. 1500) *San Pedro Mártir*, Museo del Prado, Madrid; Upper Rhenish Master (fl. late 14th century), *Crowning of the Soul of St. Peter Martyr with the Triple Aureola*, fragment of the Dominikus-Altar, Darmstadt, Hessiches Landesmuseum. A very similar woodcut exists in Ravenna where Peter is rewarded with the Triple Crown, *Crucifixion with the Death of Saint Peter Martyr*, Italian single-leaf woodcut, Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna. These can be seen in Hall and Uhr, "*Aureola super Auream*", pp. 588-589.

19. See my edition of the *Summa* strongly attributed to him: *Summa contra hereticos ad Petrum Martyrem attributa*, ed. by Donald S. Prudlo, Oxford, Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2020.

20. Aldobrandino Cavalcanti (d. 1279), a well-known Florentine Dominican, connects Peter's inquisitorial commission to the justice whereby he acquired the crown of preaching. "Iustus ut palma florebit", Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV),

was that he had been killed by thugs hired by a conspiracy of Cathar believers, a fact that would be known to all even rudimentarily familiar with his cult. These two facts cemented the saint as battling against heresy. Even the representations of his life often had anti-heterodox overtones, such as the well-known story of his debating a Cathar “bishop” and calling a cloud from God to cool the overheated faithful.[21] In this and similar miracles, Peter is shown as having God’s favour in manipulating the natural world, the very world considered to be evil by the Cathar believers. It is also partly for this reason that Peter was so sought after as a healer of bodies. Miracles of physical health were a striking ideological declaration against dualism. For example, one of the most commonly depicted miracles was of Peter healing by placing his finger in a mute boy’s mouth. While this story did not directly connect to heterodoxy, there were plenty of others that recalled the trope that heretics were loquacious, and that God would silence the unbeliever (Fig. 3).[22] This picture does two things. First, it ties Peter’s authority as a preacher to his accomplishment of miracles, and second, it duplicates a healing performed by Christ Himself in the Gospels, connecting the saint back to the exemplar. These strategies were not lost on the heretics. There is evidence that the early pictorial tradition was seen by the heterodox as an attack on themselves. In a very early story that must have occurred within seven years of Peter’s canonization, a heretical youth saw a depiction of his martyrdom in the old Florentine Dominican church of Santa Maria No-

Vat. lat. 175, fol. 19rb. In the 1290s Nicholas of Gorran, a Parisian Dominican, explicitly connects the obtaining of the crowns with Peter’s inquisitorial activity. “Quis in omnibus servis tuis”, BAV, Vat. lat. 963, fol. 74v. The theme picks up in the 14th century with both Giovanni da Biblia and Jacques de Lausanne continuing it.

21. This story appears in all the early lives of Peter by Jacopo da Varagine, Gerard of Frachet, and Tommaso Agni da Lentini. Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, p. 222. For this particular miracle and its iconography, see Roberto Rusconi, “Le parole e le nuvole. San Pietro (martire) da Verona e l’iconografia di un prodigio”, in *Chiesa, vita religiosa, società nel medioevo italiano: studi offerti a Giuseppina De Sandre Gasparini*, ed. by Mariaclara Rossi and Gian Maria Varanini, Rome, Herder, 2005, pp. 595-612. It is depicted in several instances, including by Pedro de Berruguete at the Prado and by Vincenzo Foppa in the Portinari Chapel of Sant’Eustorgio in Milan, where Peter is buried, and not least by Giovanni di Balduccio (1336) on a panel of the tomb itself.

22. The miracle is also found on the tomb, as well as in the comprehensive altarpiece painted for the church of S. Domenico in the Italian city of Modena by the workshop of the brothers Agnolo and Bartolomeo degli Erri, now in the museum of the Palazzo della Pilotta in Parma.

vella (before its great expansion). He mocked it, saying that he would have struck a worse blow if only he had been there. As described above, the boy was punished with muteness and recovered his voice only after making confession in another church.[23] Forgiveness only came in confrontation with priestly authority and through contrition for the blasphemy uttered. In a later story (at least before 1314), another heretic mocked a picture of the martyrdom of the saint in Gubbio, and slanderously asserted that he had been killed on account of a woman.[24] Here one can witness even in the hagiographical tradition undercurrents of opposition directly arising from the distaste of the heterodox for Peter's material cult, something that ties back into the townspeople's attack on the images at Albi.

Yet those who commissioned and created Peter's iconography did not seem overly concerned with situating him in any formally inquisitorial role. Key for them were depictions of him preaching, ministering, and working miracles. Indeed, it is rare to have any depictions of inquisitors going about their business until the early modern period. This may be partially explained by the conditions of medieval inquisitions during the time that Peter was alive. Heresy had been rare and sporadic in the West during the early medieval period. When it sprang up in the early 11th and 12th centuries, it was dealt with in a variety of ways including royal justice, popular persecution, and ad hoc local church investigations. It was not until 1184, in Pope Lucius III's *Ad abolendam*, that heresy came to be seen as a problem throughout Christendom, and attempts began to be made to try to deal with it. Such efforts included trying to reconcile dissident groups, reforming local churches, and sending out legates and preachers. For the first time one can detect the beginnings of episcopal inquisitions. When the legate Peter of Castelnau was murdered in 1208, the result was a bloody crusade lasting over two decades. It was during this period that Dominic and his friars became active as travelling debaters and preachers of orthodoxy. Yet

23. In all early hagiographies, translated in Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, pp. 233-234.

24. *Ibid*., pp. 234-235. I do want to note that by this time "heretic" was a net being cast widely. This may have only been anti-clericalism bursting forth, but since it was directed against a canonized saint, by the 14th century it could no longer be tolerated. I have traced how attacks against canonized saints (and, by extension, against the canonizer – the pope) had been transmuted into heresy in Donald S. Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood: Canonization and the Origins of Papal Infallibility in the Medieval Church*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2015.

despite all these different tactics, there was no systematic organization. It was only long after Dominic's death that the papacy began specially commissioning inquisitors to supervise tribunals in various towns and regions. While these bodies were being set up, the Dominicans, now joined by the Franciscans, continued their missions of preaching and disputing with local Cathar and Waldensian heretics, occasionally trying them and – if they relapsed – releasing them to the secular arm for punishment. By 1233, the *Alleluia* movement had generated a new energy in northern Italy that combined dynamic preaching with anti-heretical sentiment.[25] This propelled what I would call the "charismatic inquisition", in which Peter may have been a key player. These mobile specialists would travel from town to town ministering to the orthodox laity with powerful sermons and miracle-working, followed by the foundation of convents and confraternities to continue their work. They engaged in open debate with the heretics on their own terms, only occasionally resorting to tribunals. This period of flexible tactics essentially ended with Peter's murder in 1252. In response, Pope Innocent IV immediately issued *Ad extirpanda*, which was essentially the charter of the medieval inquisitions.[26] This document systematized and streamlined the legal and administrative machinery of the inquisition so that it began to resemble the well-functioning bureaucracy it later became. All this is to stress that Peter of Verona's activity (and therefore his initial cultic presentation) looked very little like the inquisitors of the post-1252 era. It was only later that Peter (and Dominic, who was even further removed) began to be presented in a "classical" image of a bureaucratic inquisitor.

One of the key conduits for this development came from a leitmotif in the hagiographical tradition that was ready-made for iconographical transposition. Throughout the *vitae* of Peter of Verona, the theme of the Creed comes through. His life begins with a confrontation with a heretical uncle on the way home from school. Being asked what he had learned that day, the seven-year-old boy replied that the teacher instructed him in the Apostles' Creed, and proceeded to begin "Credo in deum, patrem omnipoten-

25. Augustine Thompson, *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth-Century Italy: The Great Devotion of 1233*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1992.

26. For key works on the institutional characteristics of medieval inquisitions, see Paweł Kras, *The System of the Inquisition in Medieval Europe*, Berlin, Peter Lang, 2020. See also the essays in the first third of *A Companion to Heresy Inquisitions*, ed. by Donald S. Prudlo, Leiden, Brill, 2019.

tem, factorem caeli et terre”.[27] His uncle became enraged at him – the first article itself was a devastating rebuttal of Cathar dualism – and delivered him to his father, who fortunately was less invested in heterodoxy than in ensuring his son got an education. Later in life, Peter (in all likelihood) wrote a *Summa contra hereticos* organized on the pattern of the Creed.[28] Finally, at the very moment of his brutal murder, all of the extant sources – corroborated by two eyewitnesses (both his confrere and his murderer) – asserted that Peter began to say the “Credo” before he was killed with a finishing blow.[29] The Creed was a sign of orthodox faith, particularly when measured against contemporary dualist heretics, and thereby became a key aspect of his life story. Such a dramatic moment was built for vivid presentation in art. The only question was how to do it. One could of course have recourse to speech balloons, commonly used in many artistic settings, but this would be to take away from the gravity and pathos of the moment. Therefore, such devices were rarely employed for depicting this episode. Another device, also far less common, was the clever one used by Pedro Berruguete in the last decade of the 1400s (Fig. 4). Here, Peter is seen with the traditional Triple Crown along with the instruments of his martyrdom, but also holding a volume. While one can find a book in many other representations as a symbol of his learning, they are mostly closed. Berruguete expands the tradition by having him hold the book open towards us with a copy of the Creed written thereon.

Yet Berruguete could not resist the drama of the moment of Peter’s death. In another picture, now held in the Prado, he continued what by that time had become the most common way of depicting this scene. As the assassin lines up the death blow, Peter begins to write the Credo on the ground in his own blood. This was an exceptionally powerful image, one that was copied numerous times. It enabled the artist to visually represent the spoken word in an exceptionally eloquent way, for indeed by his martyrdom Peter of Verona literally “wrote” the Creed in his own blood. So effective was this image that by the early modern period the narration of the witnesses and the early lives, according to which Peter had begun *to speak*, had become eclipsed, since everyone was now convinced that Peter had actually begun *to write* the Creed in the dirt before his death. This is

27. Da Lentini, *Vita sancti Petri martiris*, pp. 10-11.
28. See above, n. 19.
29. See my analysis of the event in *Martyred Inquisitor*, pp. 64-65, esp. n. 114.

a remarkable instance of iconography driving hagiography: an elegant artistic adaptation had become the normative story. With that said, it seems the first to suggest the gesture artistically was Gentile da Fabriano in his c. 1408 polyptych of the Coronation of the Virgin (Valle Romita Polyptych). While Peter is not apparently writing the Credo, he seems to be dipping his right hand into the blood in his wounded head while it is spilling down onto the ground (Fig. 5).[30] It is this posture that will be employed by later artists. The transition to the written "Credo" seems established by Jacobello del Fiore, whose martyrdom of St. Peter was executed around 1428 and now resides in Dumbarton Oaks.[31] Almost simultaneously, Fra Angelico was using the same image in his paintings, a choice he returned to on several occasions (Fig. 6).[32] After that it became a common depiction.

In any of the representations studied so far it has been difficult to discern Peter of Verona in any sort of identifiable role as "inquisitor". More generally, the ideology of the Triple Crown and the association of the martyrdom with the Creed inform the cultic presentation of Peter as a "Battler for the Faith" (*Pugil fidei*). By 1300, one finds sermonic evidence connecting such concepts to the inquisition itself. As the Parisian Dominican Nicholas de Gorran preached, "For the increase of the faith against the heretics, the inquisitor perished, inasmuch as he had surpassing glory because he obtained the golden triple crown".[33] Such sentiments were echoed by Nicola da Milano (fl. 1280), Remigio de' Girolami (d. 1319), and Guy d'Evreux (d. c. 1300). It is as if the office had simply been considered one role among others for the Friars Preachers during the majority of the 13th century, whereas by the approach of the year 1300 inquisition as a discrete category had increasingly come to the fore. This parallels the "promotion"

30. *Incoronazione della Vergine e santi (Polittico di Valle Romita)*, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.

31. Jacobello del Fiore (c. 1380-1439) (?), *Death of St. Peter Martyr*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, HC.P.1922.01.(T).

32. Fra Angelico, *Trittico di San Pietro Martire*, Florence, c. 1429-1430, a detail of the larger *St. Peter Martyr Altarpiece*. He repeats the theme in his *Stigmatization of St. Francis of Assisi and Death of St. Peter the Martyr*, in the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters, Zagreb, and in *Martirio di S. Pietro Martire*, Museo San Marco, Florence, Missal no. 558. For these works, see William Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1993.

33. "Pro dilatatione fidei contra hereticos inquisitor perexit, in quanto ab excellentia gloriae quia eum auream triplicem aureolam habuit", Nicholas de Gorran, "Quis in omnibus servis tuis", BAV, Vat. lat. 963, fol. 76v.

of St. Dominic as an inquisitor during the same period. Bernard Gui (1261-1331) began the practice of referring to the founder of the Preachers as an inquisitor, an association that remained for nearly seven centuries, although he had never formally acted as such.[34] The fact that he did "inquisitorial things", such as preaching against and disputing heretics, reconciling the fallen, and orienting his order against heresy were enough. Giovanni di San Gimignano (d. c. 1333) even claimed that Peter was Dominic's true follower in this because they were both inquisitors.[35] All of these signposted the transition from broader forms of Dominican holiness to a focus on the sanctity of the office of inquisition itself.

This leads to one of the most compelling images in the medieval period to depict Peter of Verona, interesting because it is so singular. This is the *Retablo de San Pedro Mártir*, executed sometime in the first third of the 14th century – although a date around 1350 cannot be excluded (Figs 7-8).[36] There is no solid consensus as to the provenance of the piece, with probable guesses including the royal monastery of Santa Maria de Sigena or Barbastro. The artist is unknown. It is a full figure of St. Peter surrounded by eight depictions of stories taken from his life. The two at the bottom are nearly completely effaced.[37] The central figure is a conventional standing representation of a beardless Peter in full Dominican habit, with wounds in the head and a knife in the back. He holds his traditional attributes of the palm of martyrdom and a book. He is honoured by two angels conferring the triple crowns of confessor, martyr, and virgin. The attribution of "confessor" is somewhat unusual since such an *aureola* is usually associated with teaching or preaching. On each side are four panels. On the left as one looks at the work are 1) Peter as a boy in school being punished, followed by 2) his vestition in the order. The third panel seems to blend several of Peter's miracles that include 3) the healing of a boy who was choking, but the story adds that he then returned to the faith (distinct stories in the

34. This evolution is deftly traced in Ames, *Righteous Persecution*, pp. 57-93.

35. Giovanni di San Gimignano, "Post ipsum surrexit filius sensatus", Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr., G.9.1477, fols 52va-55ra.

36. I am grateful to Joseph Bremer, a doctoral student in traditional iconography at The King's Foundation in London, for alerting me to the existence of this painting. For a description of the retable, see Gemma Malé, "El retaule de sant Pere Màrtir de Verona: un instrument de propaganda dominica", *Porticvm: Revista d'estudis medievals*, 2 (2011), pp. 52-67.

37. The piece is now in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, cat. 015820-000.

vitae). The mostly missing fourth panel is a depiction of 4) Peter preaching to heretics. On the right, the most interesting is the top panel (to which I will return in a moment). Here 5) Peter seems to be presiding over the burning of heretics. This is followed by 6) the unusual artistic depiction of the conspiracy of heretics giving money to the assassins. Then comes 7) the martyrdom itself (without the writing of the "Credo"), with Peter's soul being received by Christ, while the bottom scene (mostly lost but reconstructable from the inscription) is of 8) miracles being performed at St. Peter's tomb in Milan.

All in all, the stories recounted in the retable each relate specifically to material found in the *vitae* of Peter, most likely taken from Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, excluding the upper right panel with the burning of heretics (Fig. 8). Gemma Malé is quite right when she says that this is a "scene without parallel in the cycles dedicated to Saint Peter Martyr".[38] To my knowledge there is no other medieval painting that shows Peter acting as inquisitor, much less consigning relapsed heretics to the flames; indeed, it is an odd subject for an altar retable intended for Mass or prayer.[39] There is nothing even to parallel Berruguete's famous picture of St. Dominic presiding over an *auto da fe*. Peter, after all, only formally exercised power as an inquisitor for little under a year. Nothing in the hagiography describes official inquisitorial activity with any specificity. Note, this is not to claim that Peter did not have an involvement in such scenes. Indeed, it is probable that he was present when the Florentine inquisitor Ruggero Calcagni released heretics to the secular arm for punishment in 1245, but that relies on Florentine civil records and forms no part of the hagiography.[40] The uniqueness of the panel leads to further questions. In it, Peter is not the one doing the burning. Rather, it is people in lay clothes coming out of the side of the panel who appear to be executing the sentence. Peter merely gestures towards the burning heretics while holding a book that reads "These are the heretics". This may simply be a representation of the "handing over to the secular arm". The civil authorities rather than the Church inflicted punishment on *relapsi*. Instead of following this explanation, Malé offered an interesting hypothesis. The *Vitas Fratrum*, written around 1259,

38. Malé, "El retaule", p. 61.

39. The inscription over the picture is AQUI FAZE : QUEMAR : A LOS : EREGESAN : PEDRO. I thank Anthony Lappin for consulting with me on this piece.

40. Prudlo, *Martyred Inquisitor*, pp. 4-50, p. 61, n. 100.

records a singular tale not found in other sources, that in 1251 Peter was passing by a town called Giussano. The place was known as a hotbed for Catharism and was where two prominent Cathar "bishops" were buried. Turning to his confrere, the Dominican said "This city will be destroyed for the faith, and the two heretical bishops, Nazario and Desiderio, who are buried there, shall be burned by fire". The indication of Peter in the panel, coupled with the action of burning accomplished by others, may support this reading. Indeed, the city was destroyed after Peter's murder by papal edict and Milanese action in 1254. I am not wholly convinced by this interpretation. If true, why is this the only story in the retable drawn from the *Vitas Fratrum*? Why also would it not be placed chronologically *after* his martyrdom, to indicate when the burning actually took place? It is a clever idea, but I suspect that it is meant merely to depict what an inquisitor would be doing around the time the painting itself was created. The artist reasoned something along the lines of "Peter had been an inquisitor, he therefore must have been engaging in such behaviour, even in the absence of any solid historical or hagiographic evidence". In any case the picture is a unique example. The subject exists nowhere else in the artistic record and – if indeed it did come from a female royal monastery that itself was not Dominican – it may have had more to do with local events on the ground than with an idealized presentation of a saintly inquisitor.

In the end, given the rarity of explicitly inquisitorial imagery, I have to return to a position that I first set out in my book on Peter of Verona: that he was a saint who had much broader appeal than simply being a delimited model of "holy inquisitor". Though it experienced sporadic pushback, the cult of Peter of Verona was widely popular. Within the Dominican order he was seen as a hero. They carried devotion to him throughout Christendom, but such veneration was not limited to the friars. Laypeople of all sorts expressed devotion to him as well. Numerous confraternities took him as their patron. While some of these were indeed affiliated with the inquisition, many were not. He sponsored Marian (later to become Rosary) confraternities and professional societies, and became (unexpectedly) a patron of women seeking to conceive or who experienced trials in childbirth.[41] Miracles were reported by laypeople all over Europe and his cult

41. See Donald S. Prudlo, "Mothers and the Martyr: The Unlikely Patronage of a Medieval Dominican Preacher", in *Approaches to Childbirth in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Margaret Cormack, special issue, *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 21/2 (2012), pp. 313-324.

flourished in a manner similar to Becket's, although on a smaller scale. The exceptional number of paintings is certainly partially explained by Dominican patronage, but over the course of centuries Peter found devotees far beyond the walls of the priory. What I propose is that as such genuine devotion began to fade slowly over the course of the mid-1300s and 1400s, we begin to see a cultic restriction, with more attention paid to Peter as a defender of the faith. This eventually became hardened into a presentation as an "inquisitor saint" that can be seen in the Roman and Iberian Inquisitions of the early modern period. For the people of the Middle Ages, Peter was certainly an anti-heretical figure, but one drawn from the "charismatic" period of the inquisitions, where preaching and disputation were just as significant as legal proceedings, if not more so. The image most familiar to the people who had known Peter, and who were devoted to him in the century after his astonishing death, was more like the itinerant preacher patiently disputing with heretics in Bonaiuto's paintings in the Chapter House, also called Spanish Chapel, from the 1360s, than a "Prince of the Holy Inquisition" as foreshadowed by Berruguete's fanciful picture of Dominic from 1495. The "inquisitor saint" was in many ways an artificial construction born of a cult running out of steam and curated by a series of institutions that needed standard-bearers, even if those created bore little or no resemblance to the self-image of the administrators of the Holy Office as it came into being in the 16th century.

Fig. 1. Guercino, *San Pietro da Verona* (detail), 1646-1647, oil on canvas, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna.

Fig. 2. Bernardo Daddi, *Miracolo di San Pietro Martire*, 1338, predella panel from Santa Maria Novella, Florence, tempera and gold leaf on panel, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.

Fig. 3. Agnolo degli Erri/Bartolomeo degli Erri, *Storie della vita di San Pietro Martire* (detail), 1460-1470, tempera on panel, Galleria Nazionale, Parma.

Fig. 4. Pedro Berruguete, *San Pedro Mártir*, c. 1491-1499, oil on panel, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Fig. 5. Gentile da Fabriano, *Incoronazione della Vergine e santi (Polittico di Valle Romita)*, c. 1408, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.

Fig. 6. Fra Angelico, *St. Peter Martyr Altarpiece* (detail), 1426-1427, tempera and gold leaf on panel, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

Fig. 7. Anonymous, *Retablo de San Pedro Mártir*, c. 1300-1333, tempera and gold leaf on panel, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.

Fig. 8. Anonymous, *Retablo de San Pedro Mártir* (detail), c. 1300-1333, tempera and gold leaf on panel, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.

Alessia Trivellone

Heresy in a Time Loop: Imagined Heretics in Bernard Gui's *Practica* and in Medieval Iconographical Sources*

The Latin word *imago*, as well as its translation in most modern European languages, is polysemous: it can designate a picture, a drawing, but also a mental representation, whether conscious or unconscious. This semantic superposition is valuable for historians: the study of images, as iconographical sources, provides access to the mentality of a given society.[1] On the basis of this observation, in this essay I study some medieval images depicting heretics and the fifth part of the *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, in which the well-known inquisitor Bernard Gui described heretics of his time, side-by-side. My specific aim is to measure to what extent the experience of time, or "regime of historicity" to speak with François Hartog,[2] in the Middle Ages affected medieval representations of heresy.

* I am grateful to the participants at the Coimbra conference for their stimulating questions and comments. I also extend my warmest thanks to Mark G. Pegg for his inspiring suggestions for this article, and to Nicole Reinhardt for her careful and insightful proofreading. The present article is the first part of ongoing research on Bernard Gui's *Practica*. I have presented two other papers on this topic: "Imagined heresy and condemned heretics in the work of Bernard Gui", in *Ecclesia and Iustitia*, organized by Lidia Luisa Zanetti Domingues and Héléna D. M. Lagréou (Florence, 30-31 May 2024), and "Heretics and Jews in Bernard Gui's *Practica* and Sentences", in *Co-producing Heresies: Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, organized by Katharina Heyden and David Nirenberg (Münchenwiler, 1-3 September 2024). The publication of these two papers is in progress.

1. Some theoretical bases of this approach can be found in Jean-Claude Schmitt, "La culture de l'*imago*", *Annales*, 51/1 (1996), pp. 3-36.

2. François Hartog, *Regimes of Historicity: Presentism and Experiences of Time*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2015.

The Dominican Bernard Gui (1261-1331) was a prolific author. In his numerous chronicles and prosopographical works, he meticulously recorded his facts, names, and dates. Some contemporary scholars have gone so far as to define him as a "historian" with a "historic method".[3] As inquisitor of Toulouse between 1307 and 1323, he scrupulously collected the judgements he handed down in his *Book of sentences*.[4] In these same years he also wrote the *Practica*, a handbook for inquisitors.[5] In books 1-4 of this handbook he collected all the documents juridically defining the work of an inquisitor, such as papal bulls, and he copied out several examples of letters or templates of letters necessary for his task. Gui's meticulousness has enhanced his reputation of reliability among historians,[6] who have mostly taken his accounts of heresy at face value and without any critical distance.

Yet, it is obvious that Gui was a medieval author whose perception of the world and time was medieval and hence very different from our own. It therefore seems to me problematic and misleading to read him without placing his work in the context of a medieval *mentalité* – which is what I

3. Anne-Marie Lamarrigue, "La méthode historique de Bernard Gui, d'après la *Chronique des rois de France*", in *Bernard Gui et son monde*, Toulouse, Privat, 1981, pp. 205-219; Anne-Marie Lamarrigue, *Bernard Gui (1261-1331): un historien et sa méthode*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 2000.

4. See *Le livre des sentences de l'inquisiteur Bernard Gui 1308-1323*, ed. by Annette Pales-Gobilliard, 2 vols, Paris, CNRS, 2002, critically reviewed by Jean-Louis Biget, "Le *Livre des sentences* de l'inquisiteur Bernard Gui. À propos d'une édition récente", *Le Moyen Âge*, 111/3 (2005), p. 608; *Le livre des sentences de l'inquisiteur Bernard Gui*, selected extracts, translated and presented by Julien Théry, Paris, CNRS, 2010.

5. *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis auctore Bernardo Guidonis*, ed. by Célestin Douais, Paris, Picard, 1886. The fifth part of the *Practica* has been translated into French in Bernard Gui, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, ed. and trans. by Guillaume Mollat, Paris, Champion, 1926-1927. It is impossible to cite all the numerous works on Bernard Gui and his *Practica*: some of them are mentioned in the footnotes of this article.

6. See, for example, the articles praising Bernard Gui's skill, humanity (!), and reliability as a historian in *Bernard Gui et son monde*. Bernard Guenée wrote an almost hagiographical essay about Bernard Gui: Bernard Guenée, "Bernard Gui (1261-1331)", in *Entre l'Église et l'État: quatre vies de prélats français à la fin du Moyen Âge (XIIIe-XVe siècle)*, Paris, Gallimard, 1987, pp. 49-85. The French historian minimizes the capital sentences ordered by Gui (p. 77: Bernard Gui "livra peu [de suspects] au total, quelques dizaines à peine, au bras séculier") and, while describing carefully his acts and life as a bishop of Lodève (1324-1331), he does not mention the burning of lepers ordered by him. For the latter, see Jean-Marie Carbasse, "Bernard Gui, évêque de Lodève (1324-1331)", in *Bernard Gui et son monde*, pp. 333-356: 341.

will do here with the help of medieval images. My research into medieval images of heretics from the Carolingian period to the creation of the inquisition in the 1230s has allowed me to reconstruct an evolving perception of heresy over several centuries.[7] In this article, I build partly on these results, while proposing new analyses of images, especially from Dominican convents dating after the 13th century. Dealing with medieval *mentalité*, the chronological framework of this article is deliberately broad: following the anthropological approach to medieval history inaugurated by Jacques Le Goff and Jérôme Baschet, I consider the Latin Middle Ages as one "civilisation" that extends from the 4th century to the end of the 18th century.[8] Within this framework, I compare Gui's narrative with texts and images from different medieval contexts. I show that, despite the geographical and chronological distance, these iconographical and intellectual representations rest on a common experience of time.

1. *Preliminary warnings: How to look at medieval images and how to read Bernard Gui's* Practica

Beginning with the most obvious, until roughly the 11th century images did not aim to depict the world following its exterior appearances. Although from the 12th century sculptors and painters began to reproduce the world with increasing attention to its natural shapes and forms, they were far from depicting the world *as it is*. Indeed, medieval images are never "naturalistic"; they always need to be *interpreted*.[9] These observations are

7. Alessia Trivellone, *L'hérétique imaginé: hétérodoxie et iconographie dans l'Occident médiéval de l'époque carolingienne à l'Inquisition*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2009.

8. Jacques Le Goff, *La civilisation de l'Occident médiéval*, Paris, Arthaud, 1964; Jérôme Baschet, *La civilisation féodale. De l'an mil à la colonisation de l'Amérique*, 2nd ed., Paris, Flammarion, 2004. On the periodization of the Middle Ages, see Jacques Le Goff, "Pour un long Moyen Âge", in Jacques Le Goff, *L'imaginaire médiéval. Essais*, Paris, Gallimard, 1985, pp. 7-13; Florian Mazel, "Un, deux, trois Moyen Âge… Enjeux et critères des périodisations internes de l'époque médiévale", in *Découper le temps. Actualité de la périodisation en histoire*, special issue of *ATALA Cultures et sciences humaines*, 17 (2014), pp. 101-113.

9. According to the periodization proposed by historians in n. 8, the "first Middle Ages" runs roughly from the 3rd to the 11th century, and the "second Middle Ages" from the 11th to the 18th century. The question of the rise of naturalism in medieval images and its anthropological signification is too complex to be developed here. On these matters, we fol-

general and well known, but, for our purpose, let us focus on the mural paintings in the ancient chapter house of the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, also called Spanish Chapel, which were completed in the 1360s (FIG. 1).[10] On the fresco representing the *Via Veritatis*, some elements seem very naturalistic: the architecture of Santa Maria del Fiore is similar to the real one, and some ecclesiastical characters in the forefront could be identified with people of the time, as they were portraits (FIG. 2).[11] But the scene as a whole is a vast allegorical construction of the Christian journey from life on Earth to heaven, all the while stressing the central role of the Dominican friars in the world. Despite the naturalistic style, it is obvious that the image cannot be taken at face value – it does not prove that the scene depicted actually took place in 14th-century Florence.

With this in mind, let us look at the fifth part of the *Practica*, where Gui described five sects of heretics: the "present-day Manicheans"; the "Waldensians"; the "Pseudo-Apostles"; the "present-day Beguins"; and the "Jews".[12] For each group, Gui listed the errors, the rituals, and the improved ways of questioning them during an inquisition. It would be tempting to read this book as a factual description of the heretics in Toulouse in the first quarter of the 14th century, based on his experience as an inquisitor there. And this is actually what most modern scholars have done and still

low Baschet, *La civilisation féodale*, pp. 498-500, who considers the invention of perspective in the 15th century as a consequence of a theological perception of the world, rather than Philippe Descola, *Les formes du visible: une anthropologie de la figuration*, Paris, Seuil, 2021, pp. 444 ff., who suggests that a new ontology already developed in the 14th century.

10. For a complete analysis of these paintings, see Serena Romano, "Due affreschi del Cappellone degli Spagnoli: problemi iconologici", *Storia dell'Arte*, 28 (1976), pp. 181-213; Daniel Russo, "Religion civique et art monumental à Florence au XIVe siècle: la décoration peinte de la salle capitulaire à Sainte-Marie-Nouvelle", in *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne*, ed. by André Vauchez, Rome, École Française de Rome, 1995, pp. 279-296; Daniel Russo, "Allégorie, anagogie, paradigme. Étude sur la peinture de l'Église dominicaine par Andrea di Bonaiuto, à Florence, 1365-1367", in *L'allégorie dans l'art du Moyen Âge. Formes et fonctions. Héritages, créations, mutations*, ed. by Christian Heck, Turnhout, Brepols, 2011, pp. 79-94.

11. For instance, see the identifications proposed by Roberto Lunardi, *Arte e storia in Santa Maria Novella. Per un museo fiorentino di arte sacra*, Florence, Salani, 1983, pp. 69-79.

12. Related to, but distinct from, these heretics were the "Sorcerers or diviners or summoners of the devil" in the sixth chapter. This is the division indicated by Bernard Gui himself in the *Instructio generalis*, a sort of introduction to the fifth part of the *Practica*; *Manuel*, vol. I, p. 8.

do. Gui's descriptions of heretics, however, need to be weighed up carefully, and, in doing so, three points in particular must be emphasized.

First of all, we have to keep in mind that the *Practica* is not a neutral description of heretical sects but, like all clerical work on heresy, was written with predetermined and damning assumptions about people considered as heretics by an inquisitor supposed to fight against them. The bias of this text is evident.

Secondly, the *Practica* is mostly not a first-hand source. Gui copied most of what he wrote on heretics from other earlier texts, as Guillaume Mollat already noticed a century ago. Of his six chapters, the one on the "present-day Beguins" was the only one he authored himself.[13] As Gui does not always indicate his sources, some copied passages contain traps for unwary readers. For example, he described the questioning of the Waldensians, asserting: "I've seen some of them so stressed that they've admitted their errors just to get it over with…".[14] Yet this phrase, as well as the entire vivid description of what Gui had allegedly observed and heard during the interrogation of the Waldensians, was actually copied verbatim from another handbook, written by an anonymous inquisitor in the mid-13th century.[15] This means that we cannot be at all sure that Gui really saw, as he claimed, individuals accused of being Waldensians stressfully confess their errors. The earlier anonymous author maybe did, but it is also possible that he himself was simply repeating tropes about heretics, for, as we will see later, copying previous sources was a very common practice among the authors who wrote about heresy. Contrary to what is generally believed, the errors and behaviours that Gui attributed to the heretics were therefore not derived from his experience, but rather from his reading. This is hardly surprising. The summary of the fifth part of the *Practica* is very useful to understand the way in which inquisitors conducted an interrogation. In each section of the *Practica*, the alleged "description" of heretical errors was to be read by an inquisitor first, before he even asked his first question. These alleged descriptions construct a typology of errors that the inquisitor expected to find during his questioning. Therefore, the purpose of the in-

13. *Ibid.*, pp. XVIII-XXV.

14. *Practica*, V, III, 7; *Manuel*, vol. I, p. 70.

15. The treatise was formerly attributed to David of Augsburg: Wilhem Preger, "Der Tractat des David von Augsburg über die Waldesier", *Abhandlungen der historischen Klasse der Königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft*, 14/2 (1878), pp. 204-235.

terrogation was not to investigate and understand the possible errors of the accused, but to confirm the reality of all the heresies that the inquisitor had already read about. In several cases, it occurred that people interrogated by Gui confessed errors identical to those described in the *Practica*; indeed, their confessions were reported in the sentences pronounced and collected by Gui himself in his *Book of Sentences*. It means simply that, thanks to an interrogation with physical and psychological constraints, the inquisitor got individuals to confess the errors he was expecting from them.[16]

The third important point concerns Gui's supposed reliability in describing heretics. In some chapters of the *Practica*, his precision is impressive. For example, in his chapter on "present-day Beguins", Gui mentioned dates, names, and facts in a very detailed manner. Nonetheless, beyond the rigorous, efficient, and ordered narrative, he was still an author of the Middle Ages, peddling stereotypes and fables, as some examples will suffice to demonstrate. Speaking about the "heretics" that he called "Pseudo-Apostles" (actually the supposed followers of Gerardo Segarelli and Dolcino),[17] Gui gave a detailed account of their sexual depravity:

> *Item*, [they affirm that] every man and every woman have the right to lie down naked, together, in one and the same bed, to touch any part of the body, to caress each other, and this without any sin: when one feels the sting of the flesh, there is no fault in joining belly to belly with a naked woman, in order to drive away temptation. Moreover [they affirm that] carnal union, like sleeping with a woman, is a greater work than the resurrection of a dead man. These last two points, however, they do not reveal indifferently to all; they speak of them only among themselves and to their best adherents.[18]

16. On this subject, see the very insightful article by Joseph A. Dane, "Inquisitorial Hermeneutics and the Manual of Bernard Gui", *Tenso*, 4/2, 1989, pp. 59-76 (oddly never mentioned in further historiography on Bernard Gui), and Jacques Chiffoleau, "Avouer l'inavouable: l'aveu et la procédure inquisitoire", in *L'aveu, histoire, sociologie, philosophie*, ed. by Renaud Dulong, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2001, pp. 57-97.

17. See below, n. 66.

18. "Item, quod quilibet homo et qualibet mulier nudi simul possunt jacere in uno et eodem lecto et licite tangere mutuo unus alterum in omni parte sui et osculari se invicem sine omni peccato et quod conjungere ventrem suum cum ventre mulieris ad nudum, si quis stimuletur carnaliter, ut cesset temptatio, non est peccatum. Item quod jacere cum muliere et commisceri ex carnalitate majus est quam resuscitare mortuum. Predictos tamen duos articulos non revelant indifferenter omnibus set inter se et magis adherentibus sibi", *Practica*, V, III, 3; *Manuel*, vol. I, p. 92.

As Mollat already remarked, the whole passage was copied word for word from another treatise, and only the last sentence on the alleged secrecy of "Pseudo-Apostles'" beliefs is an addition by Gui.[19] Despite the fact that he was copying, he wrote as if he were better informed than his source and that he knew secret things. Actually, these caricatural accusations about sexual depravity were ancient: Augustine of Hippo's *De haeresibus* as well as other medieval sources on heretics are full of such accusations.[20] Another example of Gui's tendency to credit and spread medieval tales is in the chapter on Waldensians, where he stated:

> It should also be noted that the sect once practised many other errors, which are said to secretly persist in some regions, namely the celebration of Mass on Maundy Thursday, as mentioned above; the abominable and indiscriminate mating, in the midst of darkness, of men and women, apparitions of cats, sprinkling with tails, and other things more fully described in the small sums composed on this subject.[21]

These elliptical mentions obviously allude to a tale known with little variants since the 12th century about heretics allegedly gathering at night, celebrating orgies after kissing a big cat (obviously a diabolic personification) under the tail and on its genitals. The first author to report this tale was the English cleric Walter Map in the last third of the 12th century,[22] but it was then borrowed by different authors and depicted in the *Bibles*

19. This is an anonymous treatise written in 1316, contained in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (H 129 inf.) and edited as a variant of the chapter of the *Practica* in Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. by Giosuè Carducci and Vittorio Fiorini, Città di Castello, Lapi, 1907, vol. IX, 5, pp. 15-36 (ed. by Arnaldo Segarizzi).

20. Among a large number of examples, let's recall the so-called "Paternians": "The Paternians believe that the lower parts of the human body were not made by God, but by the devil, and as they allow these parts to commit all kinds of crimes, they live in the greatest impurity. Some authors also call them Venustians"; Augustine, *De haeresibus*, ch. 85. For an overview of this stereotype in the medieval sources, see Jean-Louis Biget, "Fils du diable!", *L'Histoire*, 430 (2016), pp. 48-51.

21. *Practica*, V, II, 4; *Manuel*, vol. I, pp. 48-49 (excerpt translated from the Latin by myself).

22. Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, dist. I, ch. 30; *Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. by Montague Rhodes James, revised by Christopher Brooke and Roger A. Mynors, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1983, pp. 118-125. The tale of heretics gathering at night and having orgies after the arrival of the demon under the guise of "a beast" (not specifically a cat) was older, and appeared in Paul of Chartres' account of the heretics in Orléans (1022), a source

moralisées in the first third of the 13th century.[23] Spread more widely thanks to Pope Gregory IX's bull *Vox in Rama* (1233), one can find this account in two of Gui's sources: the already mentioned handbook of the inquisitor formerly attributed to David of Augsburg (c. 1250), and a treatise of Stephen of Bourbon.[24] Later on, this tale became an element of the legend of the Witches' Sabbath in the 15th century.[25]

On this point, Peter Biller wrote an article in response to those historians who, like Arno Borst, claimed that Gui reported this story factually and without any comment, whereas other inquisitors of his time explicitly affirmed it was a tale. Biller considered that Gui's supposed "credulity" would be a "surprising problem" and in contradiction to the "accurate knowledge of heresy" that he himself and other historians attributed to the inquisitor. Therefore, in order to defend Gui's reputation, so "unfairly demonized", he stressed Gui's use of the verb *dicitur*, by which he supposedly distanced himself from what he was writing.[26] But Gui was obviously a man of his time, and the meeting with the demoniacal cat was not the only fantastical story in which he believed. In the sixth chapter, he recommended asking people accused of sorcery the following questions: "What does he know, what has he learned about fairies, who are called 'good things' and who, it is said, go by night?".[27] This was clearly a reference to stories of women magically travelling during the night that some Christian authors had been telling since the

written in the 1060s: Paul de Chartres, *Gesta Synodis Aurelianensis*, in *Recueil des historiens de la Gaule*, vol. X, Paris, Palme, 1874, pp. 536-539.

23. Trivellone, *L'hérétique imaginé*, pp. 365-371.

24. *Manuel*, pp. XIX-XXIII.

25. The bibliography on the emergence of the Witches' Sabbath is vast. See at least Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, London-New York, Longman, 1987, esp. ch. 2, "The intellectual foundations", pp. 25-62, and the edition of the oldest texts in *L'imaginaire du sabbat.* Édition critique des textes les plus anciens (1430 c.-1440 c.), ed. by Martine Ostorero, Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, and Kathrin Utz Tremp, Lausanne, Presses Universitaires Romandes, 1999.

26. Peter Biller, "Bernard Gui, Sex and Luciferanism", in *Praedicatores Inquisitores*, vol. I, *The Dominicans and the Medieval Inquisition. Acts of the 1st International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition (Rome, 23-25 February 2002)*, Rome, Istituto Storico Domenicano, 2004, pp. 455-470: 456 and 470 (for the quotations).

27. *Practica*, V, VI, 2; *Manuel*, vol. II, p. 22.

10th century, and which, like the stories about the demoniacal cat, turned into tales of the Witches' Sabbath in the 15th century.[28]

Let us summarize. As historians have noticed, Gui was capable of being both very accurate in reporting some historical facts and extremely rigorous in the organization of his work. Nonetheless, our analysis of the *Practica* shows that what Gui said about heretics was not the fruit of his own observation, or of his experience as an inquisitor, but rather mostly of his copying of other authors. Some elements of his alleged descriptions were far from being neutral; they were used to put heretics in a bad light. This is actually a characteristic feature of medieval sources which can also be found in the 14th-century Dominican paintings in Florence, where, despite the faithful representation of some characters, the fresco as a whole does not reproduce a real scene observed by the painter. In both cases, some elements of the observed world were embedded and rearranged within a broader imaginary vision of the painter/author.

2. *Back from the past: the eternal return of the Manicheans*

2.1. *The Manicheans in Bernard Gui's Practica*

The first chapter of the fifth part of the *Practica* is dedicated to those heretics whom Gui called "present-day Manicheans". Although there is no mention of "Cathars" in Gui's *Practica* – nor anywhere in the two thousand-page edition containing the *Sentences* or in his other "historical works" – almost all modern historians have erroneously identified the "present-day Manicheans" with them.[29] This follows a long tradition that began in the 19th century according to which the Cathars were behind all the denunciations of Manichaean heretics in the Middle Ages, thus ignoring the fact that the Cathars themselves were a medieval invention.[30]

28. For some bibliography, see above, n. 25.

29. This false identification has been transmitted with rare exceptions (among which Théry, *Le livre des sentences*) until the most recent publications; see, for instance, Derek Hill, *Inquisition in the Fourteenth Century. The Manuals of Bernard Gui and Nicholas Eymerich*, York, York Medieval Press, 2019 (who justified his choice, p. 6).

30. For the creation of the myth of Cathars in the Middle Ages, see Markus Krumm, Eugenio Riversi, and Alessia Trivellone, *Die Erfindung der Katharer. Konstruktion einer Häresie in Mittelalter und Moderne*, Munich, Schnell und Steiner, 2023. For an historio-

In the chapter on the Manichaeans, Gui gave no proper names of heretics, no places, no dates, and no facts that might help to situate the story somewhere or to verify it through other sources. The whole chapter is an inconsistent account about a Manichean counter-Church. Mollat, usually very careful to identify the passages borrowed by Gui, only indicates that some passages were identical to the deposition of Pierre Autier, a famous heretic whom Gui condemned to be burned, and whose *culpa* (the errors he confessed during the questioning) Gui transcribed in his *Book of Sentences*.[31] Indeed, the passages are identical, but, contrary to what Mollat believed, this does not mean that Gui derived his knowledge about the "present-day Manicheans" from interrogating Autier. As we saw earlier, the opposite is more likely: Gui's method of interrogation enabled him to get Autier to confess what he expected of a heretic.[32]

Most likely, rather than coming from Pierre Autier, Gui's first chapter of the fifth part of the *Practica* was inspired by other books. Indeed, the term "Manicheans" immediately recalls Augustine's polemic treatise against Faustus (*Contra Faustum Manichaeum*), the former Manichean teacher of Augustine himself,[33] or his *De haeresibus*, where the chapter on Manicheans, also called *catharistae*, occupies several pages.[34] Although not a literal copy, the alleged description by Gui of the "present-day Manicheans" bears clear similarities to the Manicheans in Augustine's *De haeresibus*: both believed in two gods or principles, one good and one evil; both

graphical point on this legend, see Mark Gregory Pegg, "The Paradigm of Catharism; or, the Historians' Illusion", in *Cathars in Question*, ed. by Antonio C. Sennis, York, Boydell & Brewer, 2016, pp. 21-52.

31. Guillaume Mollat underlines the identical passages in his edition of the *Practica*, V, I, 1; *Manuel*, vol. I, pp. 10-15.

32. See *supra*, pp. 57-58 and n. 16. On Pierre Autier, see also the recent study by Jean-Baptiste Brès, *Conflits politiques et hérésie dans le Midi sous Philippe le Bel*, Mémoire de Master 2, Mondes Médiévaux, under the supervision of Alessia Trivellone, University Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3, 2023; online summary in *Bucema*, 28/1 (2024), https://journals.openedition.org/cem/20837.

33. *Contre Fauste le manichéen - Contra Faustum manichaeum*, ed. by Martine Dulaey, 3 vols, Paris, Institut d'études augustiniennes, 2018-2024.

34. See Augustine, *De haeresibus*, ch. 46, in *Aurelii Augustini Opera*, XIII/2, Turnhout, Brepols, 1969. Françoise Vinel, "Augustin, De haeresibus, Théodoret de Cyr, un Abrégé de fables hérétiques: des listes stéréotypées sans intention de nuire?", in *Écrire contre: quête d'identité, quête de pouvoir dans la littérature des premiers siècles chrétiens*, ed. by Françoise Vinel, Strasbourg, Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2012, pp. 119-138.

made their own Eucharist; they did not eat meat, eggs, or milk derivatives; they both believed that after death souls migrated into animals; they condemned marriage or did not have any sexual relations with their wives; and they also had their own Church.

To summarize, the heretics described by Gui had the same name, made the same errors, and practised the same rituals as the Manicheans described by Augustine of Hippo in Roman North Africa nine centuries earlier. Are we to conclude, as many historians have done before us (and still do), that Manicheans survived secretly for centuries, spread into Europe, and rose up in 14th-century Toulouse? There is another more likely explanation, at first glance counter-intuitive for modern readers and scholars: Gui did not witness actual Manicheans but, drawing inspiration from Augustine, the most-read author in the Middle Ages, he was convinced that Manichean heretics lived in his time. There is absolutely no doubt that Gui, as a literate Dominican, was familiar with Augustine's works on heresy – indeed, he explicitly quoted the *Contra Faustum*.[35] Yet how could he be convinced that heretics like those living in the late Roman empire at the same time as Augustine continued to exist in his own time? As a matter of fact, he was not unique among medieval Latin Christian intellectuals in entertaining this strong conviction. An investigation into visual images and other written sources will help to resolve this apparent conundrum.

2.2. *Old heresies in medieval images and other written sources*

Between the end of the 8th century, when the first occidental images of heretics appear, and the 1220s, more than thirty manuscripts and a few sculptural ensembles show images of heretics or personifications of heresy. If we look at them as a whole, the first evident feature is that until the end of the 12th century, the overwhelming majority of these images depict the heretics of the first centuries. Among the most frequently recurring heretics are Arius, condemned during the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (325) and therefore considered as the precursor of all heretics, and the Mani-

35. "Notandum est etiam quod, juxta illud quod ait Augustinus (*Contra Faustum*, libro XIX), dicens: 'In nullum nomen religionis seu verum seu falsum coagulari homines possunt nisi aliquo signaculorum visibilium consortio colligentur'; ideoque Bequini hujusmodi quedam specialia observant et habent exterius in modo conversandi ex quibus possunt discerni a ceteris tam in loquendo quam etiam in aliis" (in the following lines, Bernard Gui gave some examples), *Practica*, V, IV, 4; *Manuel*, vol. I, pp. 116-118.

chean Faustus (who lived in the 4th century), depicted in some medieval manuscripts containing the (fictitious) polemical dialogue that Augustine wrote against him. The images of Jovinianus and Helvidius (who likewise lived in the 4th century) are also quite numerous, due to the popularity of Jerome's and Ildefonsus of Toledo's treatises against their Mariological heresies (some manuscripts' frontispieces show the dispute between the authors and the two heretics). The heretics condemned at the First Council (Arius, Origen, Macedonius, Nestorius, etc.) appear in the margins of council representations. All these heretics lived several centuries before these images of them were produced. Between the 11th and the 13th century, only some rare images depict generic figures, labelled *hereticus* or *heresis*, who are to be read as personifications of heresy – we will come back to these images later.[36]

The first heretics labelled with contemporary names appeared only in the 1220s, in the *Bibles moralisées*, splendid illuminated manuscripts for the king of France. They are labelled as *Popelicani* or *Publicani*, a name which appeared in the written sources from 1163, and as "Patarines", a designation which was commonly used in northern Italy in different situations between the second half of the 11th century and the 13th century. The *Bibles moralisées* also show the burning of heretics at the stake, two centuries after the first one was lit in 1022 in Orléans, followed by another in Monforte, in Piedmont, in 1028.[37] But even after the 13th century, many images of heretics continued to depict ancient ones. In the years 1336-1342, in the Dominican frescoes of the monumental cemetery of Pisa (Camposanto Monumentale), the only heretic appearing in *Hell* is an Arian one, symbolizing all the heretics, as the Italian inscription on his scroll indicates ("Ariano heretico e ogni altro") (Fig. 3).[38] Painted about three decades later, on the southern wall of the Chapter House of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, St. Thomas Aquinas is at the centre of another vast allegorical scene, trampling on three heretics (Fig. 4). According to

36. For all the images mentioned so far, see Trivellone, *L'hérétique imaginé*.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 349-380.

38. This Arian heretic is flanked by Ericho, a mythological fortune teller. In the first third of the 14th century, sorcerers and magicians began to be associated with heretics, as Bernard Gui also does in his *Practica*. On the Pisa fresco, see Vittoria Camelliti, "Il Giudizio universale e l'Inferno del Camposanto di Pisa", in *The Smiling Walls, Dante and the Visual Arts / Dante e le arti figurative*, ed. by Rossend Arqués, Silvia Maddalo, and Laura Pasquini, Turnhout, Brepols, 2023, pp. 120-137.

Giorgio Vasari, they are Arius (condemned in 325), Sabellius (3rd century), and Averroes (12th century).[39] Once again, the heretics are several centuries "older" than the Dominican theologian who triumphs over them. Heedless of the time gap, the painter depicted ancient heretics as if they were still living several centuries later.

Like painters and sculptors, medieval authors very often denounced the presence of ancient heretics at the time when they wrote. The examples are countless throughout the Middle Ages and in the whole of Christendom. For instance, in the last third of the 12th century Walter Map, the inventor, as we have already seen, of the story of the heretical orgies around a cat, wrote that these lustful heretics, whom he called "Patarines", were actually old, because, according to him, this heresy originated from those who abandoned Jesus Christ during the Last Supper.[40] In the 1270s, the French author Guillaume de Puylaurens affirmed that at the beginning of the 13th century, at the time of the Albigensian Crusade, the county of Toulouse was "full of Arians, Manicheans, heretics, and Waldensians".[41] From the 13th century and at least by the 15th century, pilgrims and missionaries travelling in the Near or Far East thought that the Christians they met there were in fact Nestorian heretics, following the theological learning of Nestorius, the bishop of Constantinople condemned at the Third Ecumenical Council in Ephesus in 431.[42]

39. Johannes Zahlten, "Thomas Aquinas Trampling on Heretics and Infidels is an Iconographical Theme. Disputation mit Averroes oder Unterwerfung des 'Kommentators': zu seinem Bild in der Malerei des Mittelalters und der Renaissance", in *Wissen über Grenzen: arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter*, ed. by Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener, Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 2006, pp. 717-744.

40. Map, dist. I, ch. 30; *Courtiers' Trifles*, pp. 118-119. Walter Map seems to be among the first medieval authors to put forth the "modernity" of his time in a positive way; for him, novelties are still not really new, but always a repetition of old things; Hartog, *Chronos*, p. 165.

41. *Arriani, Manichei, heretici et Valdenses*. See *Guillaume de Puylaurens, Chronique. 1145-1275*, ed. by Jean Duvernoy, Toulouse, Le Pérégrinateur, 1996 (1st ed. Paris, CNRS, 1976), p. 50.

42. On these accusations and their inconsistency, see Rémi Plotard and Alessia Trivellone, "Les chrétiens d'Extrême et Proche-Orient au prisme des sources occidentales (XIIe-XVe siècle). Frères ou hérétiques?", in *Hérésies chrétiennes dans l'Orient médiéval (IVe-XVe siècle)*, ed. by Alessia Trivellone, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2024, pp. 81-118.

Moreover, like Gui, many authors were convinced they saw Manicheans, just like those described by Augustine. For example, at the beginning of the 11th century, Adémar de Chabannes said that Manichaeans could be found in Toulouse, Orléans, "and throughout the West". According to him, this was because of an old man having a powder capable of turning anyone into a Manichaean heretic.[43] Hermann de Reichenau claimed that in 1052 in Goslar (Germany), the Emperor Henry III had Manichaeans hanged for refusing to eat animals.[44] At the beginning of the 13th century, the biographer of St. Peter Parenzo, Magister John, canon in Orvieto (Italy), reported that the city was full of Manicheans.[45] The best-known example of this alleged discovery of Manicheans is the Benedictine Eckbert of Schönau. In 1163, in Cologne, Eckbert denounced some heretics that he calls *katari*, whose beliefs are very close to the Manicheans, having an old origin and their own organization as a church, with twelve teachers, seventy-two bishops, priests, and deacons. It is known since the 19th century that Eckbert copied verbatim some passages in Augustine's *De haeresibus*. As the bishop of Hippo was the most widely read author of the Middle Ages, it is clear that all these medieval authors drew inspiration from him.[46]

43. Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, III, 59, ed. by Yves Chauvin and Georges Pon, Turnhout, Brepols, 2003, pp. 277-279.

44. "Imperator natalem Domini Goslare egit, ibique quosdam hereticos, inter alia pravi erroris dogmata Manichea secta omnis esum animalis execrantes, consensu cunctorum, ne heretica scabies latius serpens plures inficeret, in patibulo suspendi iussit", Hermann de Reichenau, *Chronicon*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Scriptores*, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz, vol. V, Hannover, impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1844, pp. 67-133: 130 (*ad an*. 1052).

45. On this condemnation, see Florian Mazel, "Entre ordre ecclésial et consensus civique: l'instrumentalisation de l'hérésie dans la *Passio sancti Petri Parentii martiris* (Orvieto, vers 1199-1212/1216)", in *Aux marges de l'hérésie*, ed. by Franck Mercier and Isabelle Rosé, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2018, pp. 275-296.

46. Johann Carl Ludwig Gieseler, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, vol. II/2, Bonn, Marcus, 1848 (4th edition), pp. 544-548; Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*, Berlin, Ebering, 1935, p. 24 and footnotes on pp. 21-26; Raoul Manselli, "Ecberto di Schönau e l'eresia catara in Germania alla metà del secolo XII", in *Il secolo XII: religione popolare ed eresia*, Rome, Jouvence, 1983, pp. 227-246 (see p. 228, n. 3); Uwe Brunn, *Des contestataires aux "Cathares": discours de réforme et propagande antihérétique dans les pays du Rhin et de la Meuse avant l'Inquisition*, Paris, Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2006. Historians have for a long time been observing that the heretics denounced in the Middle Ages looked like the ancient ones, but they deduced that some "new" anonymous heretics must look like the old ones in the eyes of the clergymen. See, for exa-

To summarize, whether they spoke about Manicheans or about other ancient heretics, all these painters and sculptors, as well as all these authors, were convinced that the passing of time had never happened. I propose that the particular experience of time in the Middle Ages may explain this phenomenon.

2.3. *Narratives of heresy in the Christian regime of temporality*

Anthropologists agree that every society has its own perception of the articulation between past, present, and future – or "regime of historicity", according to the definition given by Hartog. In Greek and Roman societies, time was a circle in which past and present alternated; people did not expect a different future. In the modern experience of time, that is between the end of the 18th century and the 1980s, the present follows the past and precedes a future still to come. Between the ancient and the modern periods, the first Christian authors inaugurated a "regime of historicity", which lasted throughout the "Long Middle Ages", from the 4th until the 18th century. In this regime, the linear schema was combined with the circular one, but the past and the present still overlapped and remained entangled in different ways.[47] In other words, the medieval authors made no distinction between the past and the present. This could be the reason why they thought it possible that heretics who were described several centuries before were still present in their time.

This overlap between past and present is evident in a number of medieval images of heretics. For instance, a miniature made in the abbey of Montecassino in the second half of the 11th century shows a bishop trampling on three figures (Fig. 5): as the text beside him indicates, he is to be identified with Sylvester, bishop of Rome in the 4th century, trampling on three heretics, Arius, Photinus, and Sabellius; but his modern clothes and

mple, Yves M.-J. Congar, "'Arriana heresis' comme désignation du néo-manichéisme au XIIe siècle. Contribution à l'histoire d'une typification de l'hérésie au Moyen Âge", *Revue de Sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 43 (1959), pp. 449-461 (about 14 disclosures of Arian heresy between the 11th and the 13th century).

47. On the experience of time in the Middle Ages, see Baschet, *La civilisation féodale*, pp. 281-318, and François Hartog, *Chronos. L'Occident aux prises avec le temps*, Paris, Gallimard, 2020, especially ch. 3, "Négocier avec Chronos", pp. 138-162 (illustrating the evolutions of this experience throughout the Middle Ages, as well as the nuances of the "Christian regime of historicity": *renovatio*, *translatio*, *accomodatio*, *reformatio*). On the "Long Middle Ages", see above, n. 9.

the bull he holds in his hand indicate that he may *also* be understood as an 11th-century pope trampling on three contemporary antipopes.[48] Similarly, a sculpture on the Porta Romana in Milan, dating from 1171, shows the bishop Ambrose of Milan driving the Arian supporters of the Emperor Valentinian II out of the city, a real event that took place in the 4th century (Fig. 6). Nevertheless, the people being chased from Milan wear clothes typical of the 12th century: as the sculpture was carved to celebrate the city's victory over the supporters of the Emperor Barbarossa in 1164, they can easily *also* be interpreted as the supporters of this 12th-century emperor being driven out of Milan – the sculpture likened them to Arian heretics.[49]

The medieval regime of historicity (or "Christian time") can also explain the increase in alleged "discoveries" of heretics, especially Manicheans, throughout the Middle Ages. Medieval authors were convinced that the present world was foretold in the Bible under the veil of allegory, and hence, when describing contemporary events, they sought to show that they fulfilled certain biblical prophecies. This perspective is clearly on display in a number of images of heretics. For instance, a drawing in the *Hortus Deliciarum* of the abbess Herrad von Landsberg presents the personification of Heresy in an image of the Vision of the prophet Zacharias (Za 5: 1-11) (Fig. 7). Two winged female figures labelled "Heresis" (heresy) and "Synagoga" (the personification of Judaism) bring the personification of impiety to Babylon. The inclusion of heresy in a biblical vision sought to present it as an element of history foreseen by the prophets and therefore part of a divine plan.[50] In a manuscript from the Benedictine abbey of Michaelsberg near Bamberg, a complex drawing illustrates the legacy of pain left by Christ on the whole Church and to Christians (Fig. 8). This pain was unavoidable and necessary, as it enabled Christians to follow the example of their Saviour and, in so doing, attain salvation and peace. One of the trials that awaited Christians and the Church was heresy, as shown by the figure in the bottom right of the image labelled "hereticus": he holds phylacteries and causes suffering to the central figure, a personification

48. On this miniature, please see Alessia Trivellone, "Le Mont-Cassin, une fabrique de l'hérésie au XIe siècle", in *Aux marges de l'hérésie*, pp. 239-273: 262-271.

49. Trivellone, *L'hérétique imaginé*, pp. 193-205.

50. For a complete analysis of this image, see *ibid*., pp. 285-291.

of the Church and of a Christian, by uttering blasphemies in the form of syllogisms.[51]

Convinced that the present was nothing more than the fulfilment of the Bible, medieval authors were always actively on the lookout for heretics all around them. Two Pauline prophecies seem to have been especially influential here.[52] The first one, well studied, appears in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, where he affirmed that divisions (αἱρέσεις, from the Greek word "choice"; 1 Cor 11:19) would necessarily occur among Christians, encouraging medieval authors to see heretics everywhere.[53] For instance, Raoul Glaber, relating the "discovery" of the Orléans heretics in 1022 (erroneously placed by him in 1017), mentioned these verses of Paul, signifying that this "discovery" was the accomplishment of the prophecy.[54]

But another Biblical passage may have been even more consequential. In the first epistle to Timothy, Paul prophesized the coming, "in latter times", of "deceiving spirits", "demonic doctrines", and "liars" who "will prevent people from marrying and will tell them to abstain from food, created nevertheless by God" (1 Tim 4:1-3). Most authors interpreted the "food created by God" as meat. Indeed, according to Landolf Senior, the heretics discovered by the archbishop of Milan in Monforte in 1028 did not eat any meat and sought "above all" virginity: they had wives, but they

51. On this image, see *ibid.*, pp. 298-316, and Trivellone, "Le Mont-Cassin", pp. 248-249.

52. On the conception of the time in the Paulinian epistles, see Hartog, *Chronos*, pp. 50-58.

53. This Paulinian verse has been studied with other biblical verses in a famous article by Herbert Grundmann. Nevertheless, Grundmann's conclusions were different from those I am proposing in this article, as he did not deny that medieval authors experienced new heresies. According to him, "when a new erroneous doctrine appeared, it was sorted out into categories and assigned one of the ancient and familiar names pulled from the literature: Manichaeans, Arians, Pelagians or Simonists, who always headed such lists. Hence in medieval testimonies on heresies one cannot often effectively distinguish what came from actual experience, knowledge and observation and what was derived only second-hand from collected literature", Herbert Grundmann, "*Oportet et Haereses Esse*: The Problem of Heresy in the Mirror of Medieval Biblical Exegesis", in *Herbert Grundmann (1902-1970). Essays on Heresy, Inquisition and Literacy*, ed. by Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane, York, York Medieval Press, 2019, pp. 180-215: 187, first edition in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 45 (1963), p. 129-164. See also above, n. 45.

54. Raoul Glaber, *Histoires*, book II, ch. 12, ed. by Mathieu Arnoux, Turnhout, Brepols, 1996, p. 137.

had no sexual relationships with them.[55] Refusing marriage and abstaining from meat were precisely the characteristics of Manicheans, as Augustine (maybe himself influenced by Paul) theorized. So, numerous claims of discovering Manicheans all over Christianity throughout the centuries seem to be due to the expectation of seeing the Pauline prophecy fulfilled. Some authors mentioned this link explicitly. Gérard, bishop of Cambrai, mentioned the verse of Paul in a sermon against some alleged heretics he "discovered" in Arras in 1025.[56] In the 13th century, Guillaume le Breton[57] and Primat de Saint-Denis[58] claimed that a "heresy like that which Saint Paul had predicted for the end of the world" was infesting the south of France – according to them, it was this heresy that the Crusade against the Albigensians (1209-1229) was intended to defeat.

3. *Past and present in the narrative about other heretics*

3.1. *Different levels of time in the* Practica

As we have already seen, in the passages describing *katari*, Eckbert of Schönau copied Augustine's *De haeresibus* almost word for word. In so doing, he did not change the temporal references, and hence when Augustine wrote *hodie* (today), Eckbert wrote *hodierna die* (nowadays), as if centuries had never passed.[59] Other authors, however, while describing

55. Landulfus Senior, *Historia mediolanensis*, ed. by Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, IV, 2, p. 679. The author does not accuse them of being Manicheans.

56. "Just keep the seal of your faith intact, remembering what the apostle Paul predicted: 'In later times some will fall away from the faith, paying attention to spirits and doctrines of demons, through the hypocrisy of men who speak lies, having their own conscience branded with a hot iron; forbidding marriage and commanding to abstain from foods which God created to be received with thanksgiving by those who believe [1 Tim. 4:1-3]'". Gerard of Cambrai, *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2014 (CCCM 270), pp. 1-92: 73 (cap. *De eorum falsa iusticia*) (excerpt translated from the Latin by myself).

57. *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, ch. 117 (*ad an.* 1213), in François Guizot, *Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France, depuis la fondation de la monarchie française jusqu'au XIIIe siècle*, Paris, Brière, 1825, pp. 268-269.

58. *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. by Jules Viard, Paris, Société de l'Histoire de France, 1920-1953, vol. VI, *Louis VII le Jeune et Philippe II Auguste*, pp. 317-318.

59. Augustine, *De haeresibus*, ch. 46: "Unde se in suis litteris Jesu Christi apostolum dicit, eo quod Jesus Christus se missurum esse promiserit atque in illo miserit Spiritum

past heresies with the same names and errors, often called the contemporary heretics *novi heretici*, distinguishing to a certain degree two levels of time.[60]

Gui also distinguished several levels of time. In his first chapter, he called the dualistic heretics "present-day Manicheans" (*Manichei moderni temporis*). Despite all the similarities, he therefore seems to have considered that these were somewhat different from the old ones described by Augustine. The precision "present-day" is also present beside the name of "Beguins" in the fourth chapter (*Bequini moderni temporis*). Gui repeatedly affirmed that this was not the name they attributed to themselves: according to him, "they called themselves 'poor brethren' and claimed to profess the third rule of Saint Francis"[61] – they were in fact the Friars Minor, considered too radical, who were persecuted in southern France by Dominican inquisitors and Pope John XXII. Modern historians have in turn taken up the name of Beguines to designate this group, regardless of the fact that it was never used by the Spiritual Franciscans themselves, nor of the fact that it was disparaging.[62] The French term "Béguins" or "Béguines", maybe derived from the ancient Dutch, was attested since the 1230s to mean "false devout". Later it indicated the pious women who chose to live alone or in a group in a religious way, praying and working, raising soupçons of heresy.[63] Only from the end of the 13th century onwards has this name been

sanctum. Propter quod etiam ipse Manichaeus duodecim discipulos habuit, ad instar apostolici numeri, quem numerum Manichaei hodieque custodiunt. Nam ex electis suis habent duodecim, quos appellant magistros, et tertium decimum principem ipsorum"; Eckbert of Schönau, *Sermones contra kataros*, *Sermo primus*, III, in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, Paris, Garnier Frères, 1844-1880, vol. 195, col. 17a: "Ex numero discipulorum suorum duodecim elegit, quos quasi apostolos suos habebat, ut in hoc haberet formam Christi, qui ex discipulis suis duodecim sibi elegit apostolos: quem numerum imitatores ejus et hodierna die observant, quia ex electis suis habent duodecim quos appellant magistros, et tertium decimum principem ipsorum".

60. The examples are countless, as a simple search in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* can demonstrate.

61. *Practica*, V, IV, 1, 2 and 5; *Manuel*, vol. I, pp. 108 and 129.

62. See especially James Given, "The Béguins in Bernard Gui's *Liber sententiarum*", in *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, ed. by Caterina Bruschi and Peter Biller, York, York Medieval Press, 2003, pp. 147-161. The uncritical adoption of the name is accompanied by an uncritical approach to Gui's writings, which are taken at face value.

63. Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Mort d'une hérésie, l'Église et les clercs face aux béguines et aux béghards du Rhin supérieur du XIVe au XVe siècle*, Paris-La Haye, Mouton, 1978;

used in southern France to indicate specific groups condemned for heresy.[64] In these sources, as well as in Gui's *Practica*, the name "Beguins" actually designated the Spiritual Franciscans, against whom Dominican inquisitors, including Gui himself, had fought. The disparaging name "Beguins" underscored the falsity of the Spiritual Franciscans' beliefs. Yet, neither in the acts of the Béziers council nor in the papal bull was the name "Beguins" preceded by any adjective indicating their supposed novelty, as it was in Gui's *Practica*.

A double level of time is also present in the chapter on "Waldensians". In this chapter, mostly copied from another inquisitor's handbook, Gui mentioned "Valdesius" or "Valdensis" as the "actor and inventor of the sect" in Lyon, gave the date 1170, and mentioned the archbishop of Lyon, John of Canterbury (1182-1193).[65] However, while anchoring his discourse in the 12th century, he affirmed that Waldensians "mixed the heresies and errors of the ancient heretics with their own ramblings".[66] It is interesting that the author of the older handbook simply affirmed that the Waldensians mixed themselves with other heretics and imbibed their errors ("cum aliis hereticis se miscentes et eorum errores bibentes"). Gui added a precision on the oldness of these other errors ("suis advinventionibus hereticorum antiquorum errores et hereses miscuerunt").

Michel Lauwers, "Expérience béguinale et récit hagiographique. À propos de la *Vita Mariae Oigniacencis* de Jacques de Vitry (vers 1215)", *Journal des Savants*, 1989, pp. 61-103.

64. Delfina Isabel Nieto has recently demonstrated that the first occurrence of the name "Beguin" for a group of condemned people in southern France could be the council of Béziers in 1299: Delfi Isabel Nieto, "Beliefs in Progress. The Beguins of Languedoc and the Construction of a New Heretical Identity", *SVMMA. Revista de cultures medievals*, 15 (2020), pp. 95-117. Pope John XXII's bull *Sancta Romana* condemning the "prophanae multitudinis viri, qui vulgariter Fraticelli, seu fratres de paupere vita, aut Bizzochi sive Beghini vel aliis nominibus noncupantur" (*Bullarium Franciscanum*, ed. by Konrad Eubel, Rome, Typis Vaticanis, 1898, vol. B, n. 297, pp. 134-135) contributed to the popularity of this nickname.

65. Gui also mentioned that a council held "ante (concilio) Lateranense" had declared them heretics. As the Waldensians were approved by Pope Alexander III at the Third Lateran Council in 1179, this must have been the Council of Verona in 1184 preceding the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Contrary to the precision that historians have unanimously attributed to Bernard Gui, it seems that the author lacked accuracy here.

66. *Manuel*, vol. I, pp. 36-37: "Valdenses […] cum aliis hereticis se miscentes et eorum errores bibentes, suis adinventionibus hereticorum antiquorum errores et hereses miscuerunt".

Finally, in the third chapter, again mostly copied word for word from another treatise,[67] Gui used the name "Pseudo-Apostles" to refer to the groups of followers of Gerardo Segarelli, burnt in Parma in 1300, and Dolcino, executed in 1307. To my knowledge, Gui was the only one to call these groups by this name. The anonymous author of the inquisitor's handbook which he copied only called them *Apostolici*, as did all the other medieval authors who had dealt with them. All accused these alleged heretics of the sin of pride in choosing this name.[68] Gui modified the name "Apostles" by adding the prefix "Pseudo", but in doing so he did not invent the name, as "pseudo-apostles" were already mentioned in the second letter of Paul to the Corinthians and in many patristic and medieval treatises against heretics.[69] It is unclear whether or not Gui alluded to this older reference intentionally; yet, by adding the prefix "pseudo", "false", he suggested that these supposed heretics were not as holy as they pretended to be. In sum, in each of the chapters dealing with heretics, Gui mixed together names and characteristics of different heretics who lived at various times.

3.2. *The* Practica *as a group portrait of heretics*

In Gui's account, the description of "present-day Manicheans" in the first chapter remains remarkably vague. There is a lack of factual information to help us understand whether he had real contemporary people in mind. While beginning with a concrete reference to Valdès, a preacher who collaborated with the archbishop of Lyon between 1170 and 1183 and

67. Anonymous, *De secta illorum qui se dicunt esse de ordine Apostolorum*, copied in the manuscript Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 129 inf., fols 129r-151r, and ed. by Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Città di Castello, Edizione Carducci-Fiorini, 1907, vol. IX, pt V, pp. 16-36.

68. In the same way, Christian authors seemed to invent other names for heretics to better mock them. St. Augustine wrote that the "Cathars" (from the Greek "pure") chose this name *superbissime atque odiosissime*: Augustine, *De haeresibus*, ch. 38. Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay mocked the *perfecti*, "perfects", accusing them of abject sins: Pierre de Vaux-de-Cernay, *Histoire albigeoise*, trans. by Pascal Guébin and Henri Maisonneuve, Paris, Vrin, 1951, p. 7. A large bibliography exists on *Apostolici*, but we think that the accusations against them and the alleged descriptions by their persecutors (the only sources we have) deserve a new critical study, which would go far beyond the scope of this article.

69. "The false apostles are deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ" ("Nam ejusmodi pseudoapostoli sunt operarii subdoli, transfigurantes se in apostolos Christi") (2 Cor. 11: 13).

then fell into disgrace under the following archbishop,[70] the second chapter on Waldensians resembles a large patchwork of caricatural passages that Gui copied, more or less verbatim, from several other works.[71] Gui did not mention any name or place or verifiable fact. The extent of his copying and his stereotypical assumptions about this group suggests that he probably never met any Waldensian heretics himself.[72] By contrast, the third and fourth chapters on "pseudo-Apostles" (as we have seen, copied from another source) and "present-day Beguins" (that Gui wrote himself) are rich in factual elements. As mentioned previously, it is easy to identify them with some contemporary groups accused of being heretics as described in other contemporary sources.

Therefore, as a whole, the fifth part of the *Practica* presents a hotchpotch of heretics from different periods, in part stereotyped, in part ancient. It is possible to draw some interesting comparisons here to 14th-century Dominican images, as, for instance, to those in the aforementioned chapter house of Santa Maria Novella (Fig. 4), where Thomas Aquinas tramples on Sabellius, Arius and Averroes. Like Gui, the painter put on the same level heretics from different times and a non-Christian, an "infidel" – here a Muslim, whereas Gui's *Practica* dealt with Jews. But the most striking parallel is with the frescoes of the chapel in the Dominican church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, brilliantly analysed by Lorenzo Mainini (Fig. 9).[73] At the centre of the fresco, Aquinas tramples over "Malice" (*malitia*) and triumphs over the heretics in the foreground, whose defeat is symbolized by their books lying on the floor at the centre of the scene. Some of the heretics, wearing old-fashioned colourful draperies and exotic

70. Michel Rubellin, "Au temps où Valdès n'était pas hérétique: hypothèses sur le rôle de Valdès à Lyon (1170-1183)", in *Inventer l'hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'Inquisition*, Nice, Centre d'Études Médiévales, 1998, pp. 193-218.

71. *Manuel*, pp. XIX-XXIII.

72. For a point of view contrary to mine, see Claire Taylor, "A Presence in Languedoc (12th-13th Centuries)", in *A Companion to the Waldenses*, ed. by Marina Benedetti and Euan Cameron, Leiden-New York, Brill, 2022, pp. 35-77. Other ecclesiastical medieval authors have written about the Waldensians in the south of France, but it is easy to demonstrate that their written works were either mere rhetorical exercises, devoid of any evidence of the actual existence of heretics in the south of France, or instrumentalizations of the "Waldensian label" for political purposes. I plan to write an article on the abuse of the "Waldensian label" among medieval authors in the near future.

73. Lorenzo Mainini, "Eresia e cultura umanistica. Idee per una rilettura degli affreschi di Filippino Lippi alla Minerva", *Storia dell'Arte*, 131 (2012), pp. 9-26.

turbans, are identifiable through inscriptions as heretics of the first centuries who did not live at the same time or were not condemned on the same occasion. In the group on the left (Fig. 10) we find Arius, condemned at the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (325); Photinus (with a turban), condemned at the Council of Antioch (345), then in Milan (347) and in Sirmium (351); and finally, Apollinaris of Laodicea, condemned by the First Council of Constantinople (381). In the group on the right-hand side (Fig. 11), Sabellius, excommunicated in Rome by Pope Calixtus (217-222) and whose doctrines were condemned by the Synod of Antioch in 272, is followed by Eutyches in the background, who was condemned by the 451 Council of Chalcedon.

Most interestingly, these characters share the stage with others from the 15th century, who are easily recognizable thanks to their modern clothes and hats and their accurate physiognomies. On the extreme right, the clergyman in profile is Gioacchino Torriani, Master of the Order of Preachers between 1487 and 1500. Some laymen wearing modern clothes and red hats are also there, and, following the identification of Mainini, most of them belonged to the court of Lorenzo de' Medici, suggesting that the fresco worked as a visual warning against the Neoplatonic philosophy in Florence at the Medici court. Not only is the Neoplatonist Marsilio Ficino prominently portrayed in the fresco, but, mingling with the group of heretics, Lorenzo de' Medici himself is shown wearing a fur hood on which the inscription *Manichaeus* ("Manichean") appears: like the heretics in Gui's *Practica*, the ruler of the Florentine Republic appears as a "present-day Manichean".[74]

The frescos thus show several layers of time: some heretics living in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th centuries are defeated by a Dominican author of the 13th century. Of course, this could be explained by the fact that Aquinas wrote against all these heretics in his *Summa contra gentiles*.[75] But these ancient "heretics" appear in the fresco as living characters near some other people of the 15th century, whom Aquinas, of course, never met. The widespread practice among medieval and Renaissance painters of depicting contemporary characters in ancient settings hence followed from this

74. The name *Manichaeus* can be a proper name or an adjective, but Mainini proposes convincingly that in this case it is an adjective: *ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

particular perception of time that characterized the Christian "regime of historicity".[76]

This explains why it is possible to establish parallels between the fifth part of Gui's *Practica* and the Dominican fresco in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Both are group portraits of different heretics, and both superimpose many layers of time. According to the *Practica*, ancient errors and heresies were still present in 14th-century Toulouse; in the fresco, the ancient heretics are still living in the 15th century in the midst of modern people. Gui repeated stereotypes and charged the heretics with implausible and "weird" stories (the ritual with the cat, the Pseudo-Apostles' understanding that sexual intercourse was not a sin, and so on); the painter endowed the ancient heretics with colourful, overloaded draperies or exotic turbans to emphasize their strangeness and their remote origin – all classic characteristics of images of heretics.[77] In the *Practica*, two contemporary groups of people – the supposed followers of Gerardo Segarelli and Dolcino and the Spiritual Franciscan friars in southern France – were presented as heretics, even though they never claimed for themselves that label.[78] Their situation recalls the position of Lorenzo de' Medici in the Roman fresco: the protection he gave to Neoplatonic philosophers earned him a place among the heretics. He therefore received an ancient name (*Manichaeus*) and ancient clothes which indicated that he was in fact a heretic (Fig. 11 and Fig. 12). This picture demonstrates once again that the accusation of heresy depends on the context: following the convincing interpretation of Mainini, the two

76. A very interesting example is Santa Pudenziana's apsis in Rome, well studied by Patrizia Rosini, "Un mistero durato cinquecento anni. Viaggio nel Rinascimento tra i Farnese ed i Caetani – La Basilica di Santa Pudenziana", 2007 http://centrostudicariani.it. In Raphael's famous *School of Athens* in the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican, some modern artists (Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and others) are believed to be portrayed through ancient characters, as in the typological exegesis. Among the abundant bibliography on this fresco, see *Raphael's "School of Athens"*, ed. by Marcia Hall, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997.

77. Medieval images from various contexts show heretics wearing exotic clothes or turbans. For various examples, see Trivellone, *L'hérétique imaginé*, pp. 270-272, and Plotard and Trivellone, "Les chrétiens", pp. 97-100. The heretics in the *Via Veritatis* painting in the chapter house of Santa Maria Novella in the lower right part of the fresco also wear turbans and orientalist clothing (Fig. 1).

78. Bernard Délicieux's defence of the position of the Spiritual Franciscans and accusation of the inquisitors abusing their powers in front of the king of France is well known; see Théry, *Le livre des sentences*, pp. XIV-XVIII.

young boys appearing in the foreground are two of Lorenzo's sons: Piero de' Medici (born in 1472) and Giovanni de' Medici (born in 1475). They appeared in this fresco (Fig. 11) among heretics between 1488 and 1493, even if, somewhat ironically, two decades later Giovanni was to become pope under the name Leo X, in 1513.

4. *Conclusions*

The parallels that we have developed in this article between Bernard Gui's *Practica* and the iconographical sources allow us to draw some conclusions. First, these parallels emphasize the importance of always placing the sources about heresy, both iconographical and written, in their context. Much like the images, the written sources cannot be taken at face value: they must be carefully and patiently examined. In particular, this research demonstrates how important it is to take into account medieval experience of time when interpreting medieval sources. The circular perception of time and the faith in a biblical prophecy pushed medieval authors to believe that ancient heretics, especially Manicheans, were all around. Sometimes the authors were convinced that they could identify these heretics in contemporary enemies: this was the case with Gui regarding the Spiritual Franciscan Friars and the disciples of Gherardo Segarelli and Dolcino. It is highly significative that all these groups of heretics were supposed to have founded a separate Church with its own hierarchy and rituals. According to Gui, their ascetical practices were extremely rigorous and the prayers very abundant. For example, according to him Waldensians recited the *Pater Noster* dozens of times a day, and the Pseudo-Apostles attracted followers by praying aloud the *Pater Noster*, the Ave Maria, and the Creed, and by singing the *Salve Regina*. Like other medieval Christian authors, Gui had an idiosyncratic fear that the Catholic Church was in competition with a more rigorous secret heretical Church.

These conclusions lead to questioning the extent and reality of medieval heresy not only at the time of Gui, but more widely throughout the Middle Ages. It seems clear that the claims against heretics were mostly the result of intellectuals' reading about ancient heretics: they expected to encounter them in real life, and hence they accused their opponents or competitors of being heretics. These conclusions are in line with the contributions of a major historiographical renewal that began at the end of the 20th

century. Numerous researchers, working on a wide range of contexts and periods, have come over and again to the same assessment: throughout the Middle Ages, most accusations of heresy were not directed at actual doctrinal deviants, but were used in conflicts of a social and political nature.[79] Historians who follow this line of interpretation have reached their conclusions by studying medieval sources and the historical contexts in which they were produced more carefully. It seems to me that a complementary anthropological approach, especially concerning the perception of time, has the potential to further improve the understanding of the fascinating phenomenon of medieval constructions of heresy.

79. The studies following the new approach cannot be listed exhaustively. For some different glimpses, see Robert Ian Moore, *War on Heresy: Faith and Power in Medieval Europe*, London, Profile Books, 2012; *Religion, Power, and Resistance from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Centuries. Playing the Heresy Card*, ed. by Karen Bollermann, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Cary Joseph Nederman, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014; *Aux marges de l'hérésie. Inventions, formes et usages polémiques de l'accusation d'hérésie au Moyen Âge*, ed. by Franck Mercier and Isabelle Rosé, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2017. A concise presentation of this historiographical renewal is in Alessia Trivellone, "Hérésie", in *Nouvelle Histoire du Moyen Âge*, ed. by Florian Mazel, 2nd expanded edition, Paris, Cerf, 2025, vol. III, pp. 177-189.

Fig. 1. Andrea di Bonaiuto, *Via Veritatis*, 1365-1367, fresco, Santa Maria Novella, Chapter House, east wall, Florence.

Fig. 2. Andrea di Bonaiuto, *Via Veritatis* (detail), 1365-1367, fresco, Santa Maria Novella, Chapter House, east wall, Florence.
Fig. 3. Buonamico di Martino da Firenze (Buffalmacco), *Hell* (detail), 1336-1342, fresco, Camposanto Monumentale, south wall, Pisa.

Fig. 4. Andrea di Bonaiuto, *Thomas Aquinas Triumphing over Arius, Sabellius, and Averroes amid Allegories of the Virtues*, 1365-1367, Santa Maria Novella, Chapter House, south wall, Florence.
Fig. 5. Anonymous monk from Montecassino, *Bishop Trampling the Three Heretics Arius, Sabellius, and Photinus / A Pope Trampling Three Antipopes*, c. 1058-1087, miniature, MS Casin. 1, fol. 131, Abbey Archive, Montecassino.

Fig. 6. A scultor engaged by the city of Milan, *Ambrose Expelling the Arians and the Supporters of Emperor Barbarossa driven out of Milan in 1162*, 1171, bas-relief, originally on the Porta Romana, now in the Museo d'Arte Antica, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.
Fig. 7. Herrad von Landsberg, *Zachary's Vision* (detail), c. 1159-1175, drawing (later copy), MS 8 (*Hortus Deliciarum*), fol. 65r, Bibliothèque municipale, Strasbourg.

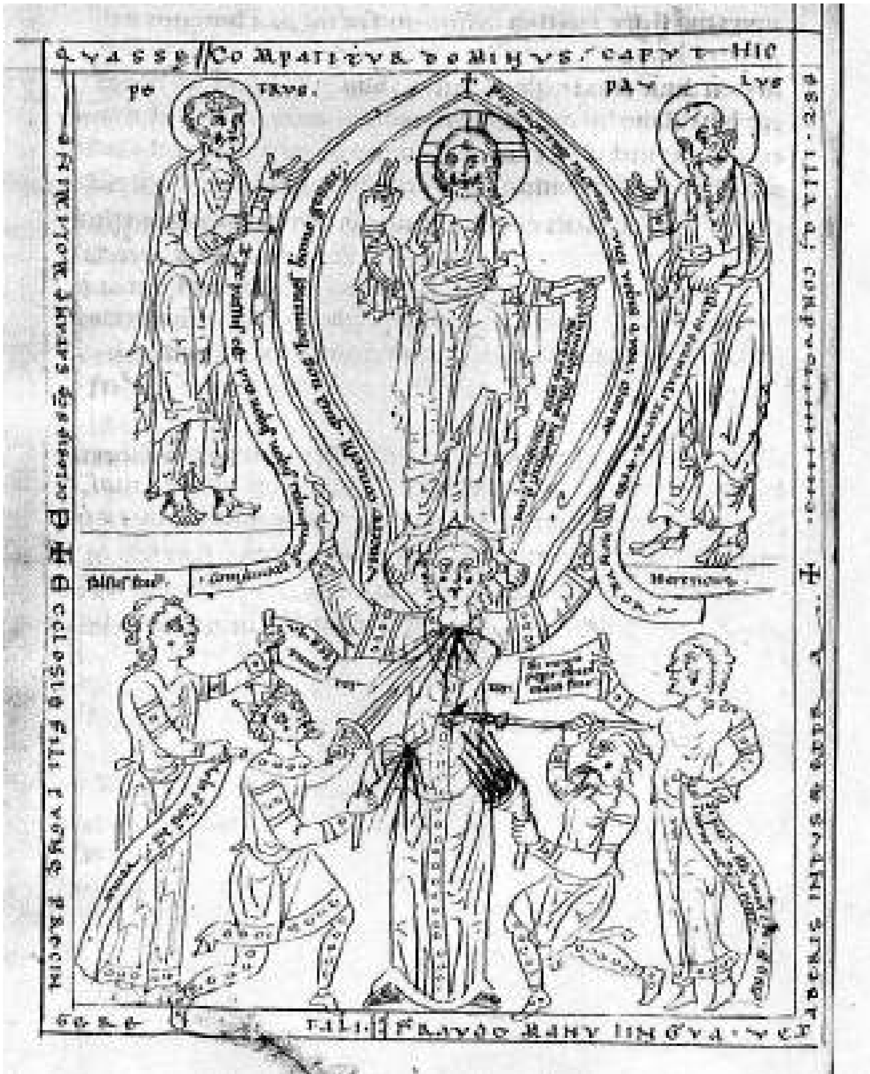


Fig. 8. Anonymous monk of Michaelsberg Abbey, *The Legacy of Pain Left by Christ to the Church* (or *to the Christian*), c. 1200, drawing, MS Patr. 30, fol. 25v, Bamberg Staatsbibliothek.

Fig. 9. Filippino Lippi, *Thomas Aquinas Triumphing over Heretics*, 1488-1493, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Carafa Chapel, right wall, Rome.

Fig. 10 (below, on the left). Filippino Lippi, *Thomas Aquinas Triumphing over Heretics* (detail with Apollinaris of Laodicea, Photinus, Arius, and Niccolò Orsini), 1488-1493, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Carafa Chapel, right wall, Rome.
Fig. 11 (above). Filippino Lippi, *Thomas Aquinas Triumphing over Heretics* (detail with Sabellius, Eutyches, Marsilio Ficino, Angelo Poliziano, Lorenzo de' Medici as a Manichaeus, Gioacchino Torriani. In the foreground the two Lorenzo de' Medici's sons), 1488-1493, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Carafa Chapel, right wall, Rome.
Fig. 12 (below, on the right). Filippino Lippi, *Thomas Aquinas Triumphing over Heretics* (detail, portraying Lorenzo de' Medici as a Manichaean), 1488-1493, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Carafa Chapel, right wall, Rome.

Fig. 13. Giorgio Vasari, *Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici*, c. 1534, painting, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Kateřina Horníčková

The Images of Heretics in the Bohemian Religious Conflict (15th Century)*

The Czech Hussites emerged in 14th-century Bohemia as a breakaway movement from the Catholic Church, which viewed it as heresy. Named after one of its leading figures, the rector of Prague University, Master Jan Hus, who was burned at the stake in Constance in 1415, and influenced by the English Lollards and late medieval Eucharistic currents, Hussitism has to be understood as one of the currents of late medieval spiritual reform that foreshadowed the Reformation. Over the course of the 15th century, it developed into a fundamental religious and social reform movement which unleashed momentous political upheaval across Bohemia. During the first decade of the Hussite wars (1415/1419-1436), the Hussite armies defeated the Catholic forces in several military campaigns and eventually managed to negotiate peace with the Church and Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg at the Council of Basel (1433-1436). The Basel Compacts Accord, a settlement establishing a framework for the coexistence of the Hussites with the Catholic minority in Bohemia, not only secured the Hussites' place as a separate enclave within Western Christianity, but also laid the foundations for a Hussite Church.[1] The Council confirmed that the Bo-

* The research was supported by GAČR EXPRO grant no. 20-08389X "Observance Reconsidered: Uses and Abuses of the Reform (Individuals, Institutions, Society)", holder Palacký University Olomouc.

1. František Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. III, Prague, Karolinum, 1996; František Šmahel, *Basilejská kompaktáta. Příběh deseti listin*, Prague, Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, 2011.

hemians “are faithful sons of the Church” under the condition that they adhere to its Catholic precepts.[2]

From the Catholic perspective, the compromise was meant to be a temporary solution. It granted the Hussites use of the lay chalice, but limited their options to consecrate priests. Yet for the Hussites the treaty secured the recognition of the main identifying feature and liturgical distinction from Catholicism that shaped their so-called Utraquist (or Calixtine) Church, i.e. the celebration of the sacrament of the Eucharist in both species – bread and wine – with the laity, including children. Indeed, while the majority of Utraquist believers adhered fully to the doctrine of transubstantiation of the Host into the body of Christ, they also insisted on the need to receive “Christ’s blood” during Mass, which is why the chalice became the main symbol of the Hussites and Utraquist Church.

After the Hussite wars, the Utraquists held a majority of Bohemian towns, especially in central and eastern Bohemia, and their political position became even stronger after the accession of George of Poděbrady to the Czech throne in 1458. His successor, the Catholic King Vladislaus II (Władysław) of the Jagiellonian dynasty (1471-1516), tried to support the Catholics, but he could not enforce the re-Catholicization of the country due to the power of the Utraquist estates. Further complicating the situation in Bohemia, the Unity of the Brethren, a radical post-Hussite religious dissident group founded in 1457, came to the fore around 1500 and deepened the religious tensions.[3] The religious cohabitation of Catholics and

2. The result of the Compacts was later carved on two stone panels that proclaimed “The Bohemians and Moravians who receive the Body and Blood of God under the two species are faithful Christians and true sons of the Church” (in Latin: “Et sunt katholici xp calice potientes”), which were attached to the exterior wall of the Corpus Christi church in the New Town of Prague. The memorial tablets in Latin and Czech commemorated the official announcement of the Compacts in four languages, Czech, German, Latin, and Hungarian, reading: “Anno d[omini] MCCCC XXXVII F[eria] Vi an[te] Tiburcii Cesaris officio cum legatis Sigismundi. Lingwis hic q[ua]tuor sincera fides sacramenti Bina sub specie mu[n]do claruit sat aperte. Et su[n]t catholici xp[..] calice potientes”. The Czech panel says: [Czechs and Moravians] “…are faithful Christians and true sons of the Church”. The preserved tablets are presumed to be late 16th-century copies, which were removed from the church before its demolition at the end of the 18th century and are now in the National Museum of Prague; Šmahel, *Basilejská kompaktáta*, pp. 76-77, 147.

3. For the topic of “the image of the heretic”, an examination of Brethren-linked visual material would certainly be beneficial; in the printed attacks against them there are images dehumanizing them as heretics or presenting them in an allegorical form as animals

moderate Hussites, which in the 16th century had come to include the new reformed denominations and defined the country's religious status quo, came to an end with the defeat of the Bohemian non-Catholic estates at the Battle of White Mountain near Prague in 1620.

To keep order in a land torn between two official religious denominations and self-defined radical groups was not an easy task. The Utraquists considered themselves the incorrupt part of Western Christianity, in contrast to the corrupted Roman Catholic Church,[4] while in Catholic popular understanding all Hussites were heretics, regardless of what the Compacts of Basel had stated. From the mid-15th century onwards, Franciscan Observants spoke out strongly against the "Czech heresy" of the Hussites. In the Hussite pictorial antitheses *Tabulae veteris et novi coloris*, a genre that distinguished between the "good" and the "bad" Church using medieval antithetical theology of which only two illuminated codices have survived, the defamation of Catholics arises from the concept of a didactic opposition between the true and the false Church.[5] Here, with the help of ironic textual insertions, Satan speaks to the Franciscan Observants, praising them for how well they are leading the faithful astray, shouting at the Czechs, calling them heretics, and defaming them (Fig. 1):[6] "My dear barefoot [fri-

(e.g., in the form of "the pickhart Dragon"), but this is a topic for a separate survey. For orientation, see Michal Šroněk, "Neučiníš sobě rytiny. Jednota bratrská a výtvarná kultura", in *Umění české reformace (1380-1620)*, ed. by Kateřina Horníčková and Michal Šroněk, Prague, Academia, 2010, pp. 303-317. For the "pickhart dragon", see *ibid.*, pp. 320-321.

4. In 1501, the Utraquist priest in Předbořice wrote: "God save us from the Papist priests, as from the heaviest sin" ("Pána teyna necziníme, že nás Pán Buoh všemohúcí tiech Papežských knieží gako ňejakého přetěžkýho hříchu zbawyti ráčzil)"; Antonín Materka, "Zpráva o horním archivu z 'Vlašského dvora' v Hoře Kutné", *Památky archeologické a místopisné*, 14 (1887-1889), p. 32.

5. Petra Mutlová gives 14 preserved Latin manuscripts with variants of texts, but only two in Czech with images: Göttingen Codex (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, 2 Cod. Ms. Theol. 182 Cim.) and Jena Codex (Prague, National Museum Library, IV B 24); Petra Mutlová, "Mikuláš z Drážďan a jeho Tabule veteris et novi coloris", in *Tabule staré a nové barvy Mikuláše z Drážďan ve staročeském překladu*, ed. by Milada Homolková and Michal Dragoun, Prague, Scriptorium, 2016, p. 36.

6. The text of Lucifer's speech according to the Göttingen Codex (fol. 66): "Mogi mili bosaczkowe iakz gste poczeli giti takž y zdiete wssak wy prawdu pr(awite) … ich gedno wzdy swodte od wieky krziczte na kaczierze a hanieyte ge". The text according to the Jena Codex (fol. 71v) with the same content: "Lucifer Bosakuom: Mogi mili bosaczkowe iak ste poczali giti tak wzdy diete wssak wy prawdu prawite gedno wzdy swodte od wiery a wolayte na czechy ze gsu prawi kaczeiri A ktoby chtiel pomnie giti oni wsse swedu".

ars], go on as you have started, but you're telling the truth, you [do] lead everyone away from the faith and call the Czechs heretics, and whoever wants to follow me, they [the friars] can handle it all". Satan is identified with the pope as he distributes indulgences. These images thus defame the Franciscan Observants in the spirit of the Hussite anti-monastic campaigns, identifying the pope with Satan and the Franciscan Observants with his faithful servants campaigning against the Hussites, calling them heretics who disturb peace in the land.

In the regions where the Utraquists prevailed, they obviously outlawed any images with content offensive to their creed. The tipping point that empowered them was a successful uprising in Prague in 1483, which not only confirmed Utraquist dominance in Bohemia but also resulted in the plundering of the Franciscan Observant Friary in the city. In order to protect a peaceful coexistence of the two creeds in Bohemia, the Peace of Kutná Hora (1485), the new royal Land Ordinance (1500) as well as urban legal codes set up a legal framework that forbade vituperating, defaming, or attacking anyone for their faith, be it Catholic or Utraquist. This legislation included a ban on defamation through images.[7] Therefore, in addition to the limited preservation of Hussite or Utraquist images in general, open defamation of religious opponents in painting is rare in Bohemia. After the Catholic victory in 1620 and subsequent edicts by Governor Charles of Liechtenstein, the representative in Bohemia of the Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand II, mandating the religious conversion of the country to Catholicism, "all images harmful to the Catholic faith" had to be destroyed or overpainted. This included any images of Hussite "heretic" leaders such as Jan Hus, Jan Žižka, and the Bohemian Hussite martyrs, which also resulted in the destruction of churches and objects of their cultic commemoration. Today, only isolated fragments from the Hus monuments or images that accidentally escaped the cleansing of churches in the Counter-Reformation period of the 17th century have survived.

7. Kateřina Horníčková, "Framing the Difference. Visual Strategies of Religious Identification in the Czech Utraquist Towns", in *Reformation as Communication. Reformation als Kommunikationsprozess: böhmische Kronländer - Sachsen - Mitteleuropa*, ed. by Petr Hrachovec, Gerd Schwerhoff, Minfried Müller, and Martina Schattkowsky, Stuttgart, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020, pp. 266-268.

1. *Heretic, heresiarch, saint. The representations of Jan Hus*

1.1. *Jan Hus as a saint*

Studying the images of Hussites *as heretics* carries an inherent paradox. While in southern Europe the image of the heretic and his punishment and defamation emerged gradually within the coordinates of late medieval mentality as part of the pressure against late medieval heresies,[8] in 15th-century Bohemia the Hussites developed an iconography to glorify their founder. By converting the medieval model of the image of the heretic into that of a saint, they were able to rely on symbols and imagery bolstering their shared religious identity. They did not create entirely new compositions, but adapted models from contemporary late medieval Christian and martyr imagery, as well as the stereotypical late medieval model of the heretic and his punishment by burning at the stake.[9] In doing so, Hussitism followed medieval ways of reading and interpreting the image, such as typological parallelism (Hus – Christ) and exegetical interpretations (Hus – martyr for the faith, Hussites – community of the chalice – early Christians). The images of Jan Hus and Hussite martyrs and specific iconography such as Hussite antitheses contrasting the contemporary and the early Church helped establish the denominational identity of the Hussites as a religious group.

As was characteristic of medieval cults, the image was one of the principal means of spreading the *fama* of an incipient saint. Soon after their deaths on the pyre in Constance, Jan (John) Hus and Jeroným (Jerome) of Prague were venerated by the Hussites, and the cult grew stronger in the Utraquist Church after the 1430s.[10] Liturgical texts were written for their feast days, churches were dedicated, and monuments such as altarpieces, illuminations in manuscripts, woodcuts, wall paintings, and altar panels were produced in

8. I am grateful to the discussions with Alessia Trivellone, Vincenzo Lavenia, and others at the third annual Inquire conference *Inquisitions, Iconography, and Memory*, which took place from 16 to 17 November 2023 at the University of Coimbra, for the broader perspective. Their texts are published in this volume.

9. As Alessia Trivellone noted in her Inquire conference paper, the depiction of heretics as scholars changes to punishment in the late Middle Ages, for example in the depiction of the monumental cemetery in Pisa, where they burn in the lowest sphere of hell wearing heretical caps (1336-1341); see chapter 2 in this volume.

10. Milena Bartlová, *Pravda zvítězila, Výtvarné umění a husitství 1380-1490*, Prague, Academia, 2015, p. 117.

their honour. A particularly rich iconographical typology developed around Hus over the two centuries of his cult's existence, with the majority of the depictions dating to the 16th century.[11] The reformer and rector of Prague University was not only seen as a founding figure and teacher by his Hussite and Utraquist followers, but also as a martyr saint. His feast, marking the day he was burnt at the stake in Constance on 6 July 1415 (and the day in 1416 when his close follower Jeroným of Prague was burnt on the same spot), became one of the most popular religious festivals in the Utraquist Church, when masses were celebrated and hymns sung in his honour. The descriptions of Hus's death by Prague university master Petr of Mladoňovice, who was present in person, became part of the hagiographical narrative of the new saint, bearing Christo-mimetic elements. Aside of texts and feasts, Hus's cult was promoted mainly through pictorial media, as it was too early for printed books to carry the task.[12]

Given the historical circumstances of his ministry and death, Hus's iconography was built on the steadfastness of his faith and the willingness to die for his fidelity to the truth. Yet the main constitutive of traditional medieval sainthood, i.e. his *vita*, is absent from the representations. The iconography focuses on his martyrdom by burning at the stake, his constancy in faith, and his ability to defend it from the position of a university theologian. Other elements were his founding role in the religious reform framed in the Hussite eschatology, his inclusion in the medieval pantheon of Bohemian saints, and his defence of the lay chalice. The latter was somewhat of a paradox, as Hus consented to the lay chalice only when he was already in Constance awaiting trial. There existed a surprising variety of iconographical types based on his different role models, e.g. a martyr in his Christological emulation, the first martyr-founder of a new faith, and

11. Selectively: Václav Vilém Štech, *Mistr Jan Hus ve výtvarném umění*, Prague, Topič, 1916; Jan Royt, "Ikonografie Mistra Jana Husa v 15. až 18. století", *Husitský Tábor - Supplementum*, 1 (2001), pp. 405-419; Milena Bartlová, "Upálení sv. Jana Husa na malovaných křídlech utrakvistického oltáře z Roudník", *Umění*, 53/5 (2005), pp. 427-443; *Umění české reformace* (entries by Milena Bartlová, Kateřina Horníčková); Michal Šroněk and Kateřina Horníčková, "Husovy obrazy v 15. až 17. století", in *Jan Hus 1415-2015*, ed. by Zdeněk Vybíral, Tábor, Husitské muzeum v Táboře, 2015, pp. 57-71. See also Kateřina Horníčková, "Martyrs of 'Our' Faith: Identity and the Cult of Saints in Post-Hussite Bohemia", in *Symbolic Identity and the Cultural Memory of Saints*, ed. by Nils Holger Petersen, Anu Mänd, Sebastián Salvadó, and Tracy Sands, Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars Publishers, 2018, pp. 59-90.

12. Bartlová, *Pravda zvítězila*, p. 277.

the teacher. In the early 16th century, he was also portrayed as a university theologian and writer, and as a forerunner of Luther and the Reformation.[13] The 16th-century depictions of Hus mostly followed the type of the bearded scholar with a beret along the images of philosophers and prophets that adorned Hartmann Schedel's chronicle.[14] Hus's images must have been quite widespread, for despite major losses in the Counter-Reformation period due to the targeted *damnatio memoriae* and cleansing of Utraquist churches after 1620, randomly-surviving pieces attest to the existence of a varied iconographical tradition.

Hus was not the only Hussite martyr saint. Jeroným of Prague, another university professor, great Latinist, and well-known scholar of classical texts as well as a follower of Hus, was also burned at the stake in Constance on the same day and on the same spot one year later. Both were venerated immediately after death; the first reports mention celebrations in their honour as early as 1416. Both were represented in the Czech Utraquist attachment to the printed edition of the *Pasionale* of 1495, where Jeroným is shown by the very same woodcut as Hus six folios earlier (Fig. 2); the representation differs only in the number of devils dancing on the mitre: one for Jeroným, three for Hus.[15] A predella panel from a cemetery church dedicated to Christ Resurrected in the East Bohemian town of Chrudim is a unique representation of his altar veneration. Jeroným is depicted here in a university master's cap next to St. Jan Hus, St. Procopios, and St. Wenceslas, a Hussite version of the group of Bohemian patron saints (Fig. 3).[16]

In a hymnal composed between 1490 and 1495 for Michal z Vrchoviště, Utraquist patrician of the mining town of Kutná Hora, a representation in the main initial at the beginning of the St. Jan Hus Office depicts

13. Šroněk and Horníčková, "Husovy obrazy v 15. až 17. století", pp. 58-66. Most of these images are well known and published, so I do not reproduce them here. I will limit the pictorial accompaniment of this article to only the lesser-known depictions and those that are discussed in detail in this text.

14. Royt, "Ikonografie", pp. 415 and 428.

15. *Jenský kodex*, I, *Faksimile*, ed. by Marta Vaculínová, Prague, Gallery, 2009, 41v (Hus), 48r (Jeroným). Kamil Boldan, "Takzvaný Jenský dodatek k Pasionálu", in *Jenský kodex*, II, *Komentář*, ed. by Marta Vaculínová, Prague, Gallery, 2009, pp. 69-76.

16. Michal Šroněk, "Sv. Jeroným Pražský v Chrudimi", in *Jan Hus. Husitství a východní Čechy, příspěvky z konference, Chrudim 16.-18.9.2015*, ed. by Jan Frolík, Chrudim, Město Chrudim, 2015, pp. 43-49; Kateřina Horníčková, "V/18 Neznámý malíř z okruhu dílny tzv. Mistra královéhradeckého oltáře, Oltář Zmrtvýchvstání Krista z Chrudimi", in *Umění české reformace*, pp. 139-141, 96.

Hus with the first martyrs of the Church, St. Stephen and St. Lawrence.[17] At the bottom of the folio, the local Hussite hagiographical theme of the "Throwing of Hussite priest Jan Chůdek and his fellows into the mines in Kutná Hora", a historical event of 1419-early 1420, is depicted. Strangely, a pair of fools, one beating the other with a penis, is depicted in the minor initial E in the middle of the folio, which raises a question of the subversive nature of this small visual commentary. Was the insertion of this playful miniature perhaps intended to comment ironically on the sanctity of Hussite saints, or even to defame them?

The emerging Hussite Church needed images and visual media for its own catechization of the faithful and for spreading the cult of its own martyrs. As a scene of his martyrdom, sealing his truthful teaching, the image of Hus's burning at the stake became the key element of hagiographical representation in Hussite and Utraquist contexts, together with the burning of Jeroným of Prague and the killing of the Kutná Hora Hussites. Thus, the compositions showing repression of heretics were interpreted, and even venerated, as cultic images of the Bohemian Hussite martyrs. In the situation of the double-faith coexistence in Bohemia between 1436 and 1609-1622, depictions of Hus enjoyed multiple readings depending on which religious denomination they were intended for: the image of a heretic, a saint, a forerunner of the 16th-century Reformations, or a university theologian and writer. The reading depended on the reader and overall context of the image.

1.2. *The heretical Hus: The representations of Hus's death in German chronicles*

In the 15th-century Catholic context, Hus's burning appears as a "historical" image in German pictorial chronicles. Although they are not void of religious content, these depictions do not focus on the theological background of the argument, but on the public spectacle and ceremonial character of the event, as is characteristic of this genre. These representations appear in the different manuscripts and editions, in both Latin and German, of the text of the *Council of Constance Chronicle* by Ulrich von Richenthal. Richenthal was a citizen of Constance during the Constance coun-

17. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 15492, fol. 285r; Martina Šárovcová, "The Execution of the Miners of Kutná hora at Poděbrady and in Křivoklát in 1496. On the Veneration of the Miners of Poděbrady in the Sixteenth Century", *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, 10 (2015), p. 262.

cil (1414-1418) and, although he did not attend the religious disputations, he was well informed about what was happening. His history was written from an observer's point of view based on personal experience. Richenthal was an eyewitness to the burning of both Jan Hus and Jeroným of Prague, and he gives important details of their deaths in his report. He supplemented his narrative with instructions for the illuminators of the scenes in early editions of the chronicle. The passages that illustrate Hus's death followed the textual description in the *Chronicle* and varied only in minor details. The iconography of the scenes is therefore remarkably consistent across the different copies of Richenthal's work.

The Richenthal *Chronicle* highlights four scenes of Hus's punishment in chronological sequence: the desecration and stripping of his garments, the leading to the pyre, the burning, and finally the scattering of the ashes in the Rhine.[18] The text reads:

> And they pronounced a just judgment on him. First, that he had been ordained to the priesthood, and that they must degrade and condemn him. Nicolaus, the Grand Master and archbishop of Mailand, two cardinals and two bishops and two consecrating bishops – they led him in as a priest and out again with a prayer and "wuschen im sin caracteres ab" [literally: "they took down his sign" – they shaved his priestly baldness] and he made a joke about it. Now they have made a judgment on him that he is a heretic and must be punished for his wickedness.
>
> Then our lords [the city council of Constance] refused to kill him, and asked our lord the king, that he should not be killed and be kept […]. The king, Sigismund, however gave him to Duke Ludwig von Bayern and he called Vogt […] to take him and burn him as a heretic. He [then] called the council servant and executioner to burn him but not to take häs [?], belt, robe, pouch, knife, money, pants, and not to take away the shoes […]. And yet he has two good black skirts of good cloth and a belt, which was a little silverbeaten and two knives in a sheath and a leather pouch, there may be something in it. And he had a white mitre on his head (made with paper), and when it was painted, two devils stood on it (painted) and written in the middle: *heresiarcha*, that is as much said as an archbishop of all heretics.[19]

18. Thomas Martin Buck, *Chronik des Konstanzer Konzils, 1414-18*, Ostfildern, Thorbecke, 2010, pp. 43-44, 60-66, contains a description of Hus's arrival in Constance, condemnation, and execution, as well as a description and representation of Jeroným of Prague being led to the stake and of his execution.

19. My translation after the edition by Buck, *Chronik des Konstanzer Konzils*, pp. 60-66.

The manuscript copies of Richenthal's chronicle (the Aulendorfer and Constance manuscripts; the "St. Petersburg Manuscript",[20] the Prague German Manuscript,[21] and others) date from between 1460 and 1500;[22] the printed versions soon followed (1483 by Anton Sorg, Augsburg; 1536 by Heinrich Steiner, Augsburg, another in 1575).[23] The majority show the scene in two, three, or four panels focusing on Hus and one or two on Jeroným of Prague. The earliest depiction is developed in six scenes in the Aulendorf manuscript, c. 1460, now in New York,[24] and it already displays the characteristic features of these representations, starting with the scene of Hus's desecration (the stripping of his priestly garments), two clerks leading him away from the trial wearing a heretic's garment and a mitre with two devils, his way to the place of execution, his burning at the stake, and, finally, two men loading the remains of the pyre onto a cart.[25] The Constance manuscript variant has two folios with four images of the Hus story facing each other, and a scene of the preparation of the pyre and Jeroným of Prague being led to it. The "St. Petersburg Manuscript", now at the National Library in Prague, is a pictorial narrative where the Latin text is supressed; the only comments are shown on the images. It depicts four scenes from the punishment of Jan Hus (Figs 4a-b) facing each other on a double page: the desecration and stripping of his priest's vestments by two bishops who lead him to the execution wearing a paper mitre with two devils and the inscription *heresiarcha*, the execution at the stake with aides using pitchforks, a figure on horseback (probably Duke Ludwig von Bayern), and the final collection of the ashes to be thrown into the Rhine. The following page shows the scene of Jeroným's way to the execution wearing a long robe and Phrygian scholar's cap in the presence of Ludwig von Bayern, while the pyre is still being prepared. The depiction in the Prague German manuscript translated by Gebhard Dacher c. 1464 follows

20. Prague National Library, NK VII A 18, dated 1470-1480, Hus scenes on fols 11r-v, 12r.

21. Prague National Library, NK XVI A 17, c. 1464, Hus scenes on fols 122v-124v.

22. Horst Boxler, "Die Aulendorfer Handschrift des Ulrich Richenthal zum Konstanzer Konzils und der familiare Hintergrund ihres Aufftraggebers", *Schweizerische Archiv fur Heraldik*, 133 (2019), pp. 5-26.

23. *Das Concilium, so zu Constantz gehalten ist worden*, Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner, 1536.

24. New York Public Library, Spencer Coll., MS 32.

25. Royt, "Ikonografie", p. 407.

the details in the text about the objects Hus had in his possession before his execution (Fig. 5). The illuminator clearly understood the description in the text and amended the image accordingly.

Another chronicle image showing the burning of Jan Hus is depicted in Diebold Schilling's *Spiezer Bilderchronik* of 1484-1485.[26] It appears in the context of the historical and pictorial narrative of Emperor Sigismund's Luxembourg rule as reflected in the town chronicle of Spiez in Switzerland, alongside his battles, treaties, and other events. The accompanying text gives a short account of heresy in Bohemia, including its genesis from Wyclif to Hus and the "learned" Jeroným, the destruction of monasteries, iconoclastic attacks, the killing of preachers preaching against the Hussites, and the capture and condemnation of the two masters. Hus is described as the founder of a new faith and new *paternoster*, which indicates a relatively good awareness in Switzerland of the perception of Hus in the Czech environment.

> Of the master Hus the heretic, who at Constance was burnt. In those days and a long time ago in Bohemia and in Prague in particular a great loss of faith and heresy were rife. And the same faithlessness caused a learned man in England by the name of Wyclif. Then somebody brought it to Prague, this was master Hus, who had a learned pupil, who was called Jeronimus. And now the heresy grew so fast in Prague, that the heretics became the strong ones and even expelled the university there, and they attacked churches and monasteries and stabbed and killed blessed priests for their preaching. The same Hus established *a new faith and a new Pater Noster*; they also burnt the crucifix and other statues of saints. These matters were brought before the Council of Constance and Hus also arrived there and was arrested. In the end, a true and godly judgement condemned him and he was burnt at Constance. A short time later, his minion Jeronimus was also burnt.[27]

In the accompanying visual representation (Fig. 6), however, the circumstances and details of Hus's death are completely imaginary, despite an otherwise plausible rendering of the cityscape of Constance and the Rhine. Although Emperor Sigismund was not personally present at the

26. Diebold Schilling, *Spiezer Bilderchronik*, 1483-1485, i.e. facsimile edition: *Spiezer Bilder-Chronik*, *1485 nach dem Original der Stadt- und Hochschulbibliothek Bern, anlässlich der 6. Jahrhundertfeier der Schlacht bei Laupen*, ed. by Hans Bloesch, Genf, Roto-Sadag, 1939, pp. 79-80, plate 302.

27. *Spiezer Bilder-Chronik*, pp. 79-80, plate 302.

execution, he is shown to oversee the scene, while Hus is depicted in neither university clothing nor a simple heretic's garment, but in a fancy cloak with a pin, with his hair alight and on a pyre surrounded by a fence. The *Spiezer Bilderchronik* has additional images of other burnings of heretics, such as, for example, those from Schwarzenburg (on plate 32). Schilling adapted the same model that he used for Hus and varied the composition slightly whilst maintaining the common features: the executioner, a sword, the pyre with a stake, a town in the background, and a group of onlookers. The depiction of Hus is not a depiction of an individual historical event, but shows the punishment of "a" heretic as an illustration of the proper exercise of secular justice to combat heresy. Although the *Spiezer Bilderchronik* narrative echoes the Council's critique of Hus, the illuminator still adopted a generic model for the depiction of heretics on a pyre, trying to catch Hus's high social status – mistakenly – through rich secular dress.

In reality, Hus and Jeroným's unusually "high status" among heretics was due to the fact that they were theologians and university professors. Hus's "elevation" to heresiarch was communicated by stripping him of his priestly garments, dressing him in a penitential robe, and placing a tall heretical paper mitre on his head, as was the custom in the late Middle Ages, with or without one to three figures of devils.[28] The image follows the account in Richenthal's *Chronicle* of Hus's condemnation, which speaks of two devils and the inscription *heresiarcha* and of Jeroným of Prague wearing the same mitre. As Kubíková has shown, the heretic's cap is a multi-significant element depending on the intention and type of text (the hagiographical description of Mladějovice, or descriptions in chronicles and Catholic sources). It is sometimes understood as a martyr's crown, sometimes as a mitre and symbol of the heresiarch, and sometimes as an attribute of the new Hussite saint, whose image was forged along the medieval tradition.[29] The depiction of Hus as a "heresiarch" burnt at the stake became the model for the depiction of highly educated heretics, but it was also used simultaneously to cast the Hussites as heretics by showing the punishment of their leader.

28. Thus, heretics with caps are burning in eternal hellfire in the representation of *Hell* by Buonamico Buffalmacco in 1336-1341 in the monumental cemetery in Pisa.

29. Milena Kubíková, "Husova kacířská čepice", *Husitský Tábor - Supplementum*, 1 (2001), pp. 637-645.

The different variants of the Richenthal *Chronicle* with their instructions for illustrations ensured a relatively stable iconography for depictions of Hus that also influenced the later pictorial tradition showing him on the pyre. Despite the descriptive detail known from Richenthal, which captured the various stages of his condemnation and death, the pictorial construction of Hus as a heretic on the pyre rested on older models. In fact, the descriptions and depictions of Hus's death were not "disinterested", nor did they simply represent a "historical event" from a neutral position or with an ambition to entertain readers; rather, they conformed to the stereotypical visual pattern of the punishment of heretics in late medieval law. By rendering the event in this visual tradition, they confirmed the late medieval legal framework of religious discipline and promoted a vision of the harmonious relationship between secular and ecclesiastical powers in this task. By including the narratives and illustrations, they helped to create and establish an image of the ideal collaboration of these powers, while at the same time "hereticizing" religious dissent.

The Bohemian religious conflict produced a multivalent reading of images of Hus, who, although burned as a heretic, was also venerated as a saint. His depictions are characterized by narrativity and an analogical ontology of sanctity and heresy. The historical foundation for the representations of Hus's burning are typified depictions of heretics on a pyre. Occasionally, the depiction is updated with details from the description or, conversely, shifted to the hagiographical plane by visual means. In Bohemia, images of heretics and of holiness not only relied on the same composition, but also on a similar concept of timeless visual rhetoric based on stereotypical models.

2. *"Hereticizing" the Hussites through images*

The 15th-century iconography of Hussites as heretics has best been preserved in those regions of Bohemia that remained Catholic (the frontiers in the north, south, and west) and in parts of Moravia and Silesia. Anti-Hussite defamation is sometimes "hidden" in works with conventional Christian iconography that equates them to Jews and opponents of Christ. The *Crucifixion* from Skalice (south Bohemia), for instance, shows contemporary Hussite weapons and a portrait of George of Poděbrady among the Jews under the cross, thus placing the king of the Bohemians, who

was a mild Utraquist, among the enemies of Christ.[30] Besides showing the figure of Hus as a heretic and heresiarch and defaming the Hussites by including them as opponents of Christ, traditional iconographical compositions in religious paintings such as the Crucifixion also portrayed and discredited the Hussites as iconoclasts, violent warriors, and remanentists (opposed to the dogma of transubstantiation).

Two images recall the Hussites as iconoclasts and destroyers of churches, each in a different way. The first is a caricature dating to the second half of the 15th century on the inside cover of a Bible manuscript from the Premonstratensian nunnery of Louňovice (near Tábor, central Bohemia), showing a Taborite Hussite "brother" warrior in the attire of Hussite field troops with an image of a chalice sewn on his shirt, a typical weapon, and a stolen goose hanging at his waist (Fig. 7). The inscription says "Good God, help!".[31] A burning church is depicted behind him, while a Hussite army approaches in the distance. The caricatural representation using figurative wit (goose – Hussite), the work of an untrained illuminator, probably a scribe himself, is critical of the Hussites by referring to their spoliation of churches and monasteries. The Bible manuscript was probably the victim to this too, as we know that Louňovice nunery was burnt down by the Hussites in spring 1420.

The second image is a wooden panel from Brzieg in Silesia (at that time part of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown), donated in 1443 by the local priest Nicolaus Kacherdorffer, showing the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows with the compassionate Virgin Mary (Fig. 8). Christ exhibits his wounds, from which his blood flows into the chalice; above this, a Host is depicted as a symbol of transubstantiation. The panel bears a donation inscription referring to the devastation of the church by the Hussites in 1428: *Anno d(omi)ni XXVIII p(raese)ns civitas et ecclesia devastata et combusta est per (a)emulos ihesu cristi haereticos hussitas demum p(raese)ns tabula comparata est Anno Domini m° cccc° XLIII per n ka(e)cherdorff altaristam.*[32] The contemplative 14th-century Eucharistic iconography is combined with an inscription to commemorate the Hussite raid on the church,

30. Panel kept in the National Gallery in Prague, inv. no. 11070. As Alessia Trivellone pointed out in her presentation at the Inquire conference, in the heretic imagery the old compositions are often updated to the current situation; see chapter 2 in this volume.

31. Drawing of the Taborite Hussite Warrior ("Brother"), 15th century, pen-and-ink drawing on the inside cover of a New Testament manuscript from the female convent in Louňovice, Central Bohemia, Ms. 195, Státní okresní archiv Tábor.

32. Jakub Kostowski, "*Contra hereticos hussitas*. O niektorych aspektach stylu piek-

thus pointing to the Hussites as both remanentist heretics and iconoclasts. Although the Hussites can be regarded as part of the late medieval Eucharist movement that worshipped the Corpus Christi, anti-Hussite propaganda denounced them as remanentist heretics who rejected transubstantiation. But this was true only for the most radical groups, such as the Unity of the Brethren. In neither of the following two examples is the identification with Hus and the Hussites certain, but the view of the (hypothetical) Hussites' remanence doctrine was so widespread that the paintings could, I believe, refer to the them.

A predella panel from an Italian altarpiece by Sassetta for Santa Maria del Carmine in Siena (dated 1423-1426) has generally been interpreted as depicting Hus's burning.[33] It shows the burning of a heretic at the stake together with a scene of the elevation of the Host during Mass, a visual symbol of transubstantiation. The identification with Hus may raise doubts but, given the timeframe of the creation of the altarpiece, it is possible that, by showing his death in the context of the Corpus Christi, the painting was intended to denounce him as a heretic who undermined the teachings of the Church on the dogma of transubstantiation.

Another original pictorial composition defaming heretics with a possible reference to the Hussites appears in the prayerbook of Johannes Siebenhirter, a Viennese notary (mid-15th century), now in Stockholm, Sweden.[34] The manuscript is a manual of theology in images for the educated layman. Within the series of illuminations showing the miracles of the Host, a depiction of the use and abuse of the Corpus Christi addresses the proper understanding of transubstantiation in the celebration of the Eucharist. The priest distributes the Eucharist to three communicants at the altar: a Catholic, an unbeliever, and a heretic; depending on the recipient, the substance of the Host changes into either the real body of Christ or a mouse, or remains a wafer. Thus, transubstantiation only occurs when the communicant is a good Catholic; for the heretic, the Host

nego na Slasku i w krajach sasiednich", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 60 (1998), p. 572. The panel is now in the National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. Sr. 343.

33. Royt, "Ikonografie", pp. 406-407. National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, dated to 1423-1426.

34. Stockholm, Royal Library, MS A 225. For the manuscript, see the workshop paper by Karl-Georg Pfändtner, "Das Gebetbuch des Johannes Siebenhirter in Stockholm. Geschichte - Ausstattung - Bedeutung", in *Symposium zur Geschichte von Millstat und Kärten*, 2006, p. 43; the full text of the proceedings is available at https://www.stiftsmuseum.at/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Tagungsbericht-2006.pdf, accessed on 26 March 2025.

transforms into a mouse. This depiction generally identifies the heretic with the remanentist, although he is not explicitly identified as a Hussite. The origin of the motif in the intellectual milieu of Vienna testifies to the lay interest in the theological debate at the time.

These scattered examples that build on different points of anti-Hussite polemics and memory show that there was no uniformity in the negative representations of Hussites as heretics. The question of whether this was due to the loss of works during the *damnatio memoriae* applied after 1620 or to the legal limits imposed by enforced religious toleration cannot yet be answered satisfactorily. This difficulty is compounded by the fact that anti-Hussite iconography has not yet been examined comprehensively. Future studies should therefore pay closer attention to the pertinent context of theological controversy and topics highlighted in other anti-Hussite media, i.e. sermons and written polemics.

3. *Conclusion: Transforming the heretical image in the early modern period*

Following the Reformation, the medieval tradition of the visual representation of the Bohemian heresy came to an end. The rise of the printing press in the 16th century brought about a proliferation of visual motifs that "hereticized" religious opponents in printed polemical writings and images. Here, the figure of the heretic is often personified by an animal, such as a monkey, dragon, bat, frog, wild boar, griffin, snake or other reptile, locust, devil, and various vermin. The rendering of heretics in animal form was a modern type of allegorical representation typical of pamphlets and sustained by the rising interest in emblem literature. In this context, Czech polemical prints adopted some of the motifs used in German Reformation contexts.[35]

The contemporary iconography of the false preacher, allegorized in the form of a wolf or fox preaching to unsuspecting geese or sheep, was another popular imagery of that period in Bohemia. It could be employed by both religious parties and even in literature related to the Inquisition.[36] Although

35. See depiction of "pickhart dragon" symbolizing the Unity of the Brethren, as in the footnote 4.

36. Zdeněk Smetánka, "*Ad lupum predicantem*. Reliéf pozdně gotického kachle jako historický pramen", *Archeologické rozhledy*, 35 (1983), p. 319.

the surviving pictorial evidence is slim, a number of other derogatory representations were probably also symbolic, such as the inverted chalice or the goose. The depiction of the goose to defame the Hussites (*husa* means goose in Czech) was ambivalent, however; Hus himself auto-ironically alluded to a "roast goose" in a letter from his captivity in Constance. Moreover, depictions of the goose in flames also appear in 16th-century Lutheran prints that posit the goose (Hus) allegorically as a precursor of the swan (Luther).

The position of Hus also transformed in the changing context of the official toleration of the two creeds, when the Unity of the Brethren came to be identified with the "Bohemian heresy". In an unusual twist of meaning, in a Catholic print by Jesuit Václav Brosius, *Against pikhard bats* (*Ohlášení se proti pikhardskému netopýři*, 1599*)*, the figure of Hus is used as an advocate for the transubstantiation, i.e. in line with Catholic theology against the remanence theology of the Unity of the Brethren. The graphic sheet shows Hus worshipping the chalice, while opposite him the leader of the Unity of the Brethren, Jan Augusta, pours the blood of Christ from the chalice onto the ground. On the title page bats are shown circling around a candle, which stands for the heretic Brethren.[37]

The period of the Bohemian War (1618-1621) and Frederick's reign of the Palatinate, which otherwise marked a high point in the flourishing of pamphlet polemic in the Thirty Years' War, surprisingly saw a marginalization of heretical motifs. Although some were still in use, the pamphlet iconography acquired a strongly political character relying mostly on the *emblemata politica*.[38] After the victory of the Habsburg Catholic forces at the Battle of White Mountain near Prague in 1620, the memory of the Hussites was used for the contemporary needs of the Counter-Reformation's interpretation of historical events. The main conceptualization was the image of Hussites as iconoclasts and destroyers of monasteries.[39] There

37. Václav Brosius, *Ohlášení se proti pikhartskému netopýři*, Litomyšl, Ondřej Graudens, 1599, Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků database, K01303, https://knihoveda.lib.cas.cz/Record/K01303, accessed on 26 March 2025.

38. Miriam Bohatcová, *Irrgarten der Schicksale*, Prague, Artia, 1966; Jana Hubková, *Fridrich Falcký v zrcadle letákové publicistiky: letáky jako pramen k vývoji a vnímání české otázky v letech 1619-1632*, Prague, Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Filozofická fakulta - TOGGA, 2010.

39. Roman Ferstl, "Husy, housaři a klášterobořec: obraz husitů a husitství u historiků pobalbínovské generace", *Marginalia Historica: sborník prací Katedry dějin a didaktiky dějepisu Pedagogické fakulty Univerzity Karlovy Praha*, 5 (2002), pp. 357-409.

may have been other depictions of the Hussites destroyed in the events, but none are known. Contemporary monuments are limited to depictions of Hus, who became a symbol of the Hussite heresy in the Counter-Reformation context. Half a century after the Catholic victory at the Battle of White Mountain, the 1671 university thesis of Gregor Georg Krigelstein, bachelor of theology and later canon of Vyšehrad, Stará Boleslav, and the Prague metropolitan chapter, shows the chapter of St Vitus as the main fighter against the Hussite heresy in Bohemia (Fig. 9). St Vitus Cathedral, although a ruin, is rendered as a "fortress of the faith", protected by walls defended by warrior angels with flaming swords, the coats of arms of the canons, and a choir of the Bohemian patron saints. Below, on both sides, Bohemian Hussite heretics flee, among them John Wycliff, John Rokycana, Jeroným of Prague, and Jan Hus, with representatives of the secular nobility supporting the Protestants; above them on the right sits Krigelstein, the defender of the thesis, while on the left personified heresy herself flees the scene. From then on, in the pages of Baroque historians Hus and the Czech heresy became the bywords for the corrupted past. It was a negative foil against which the new Baroque ideal of a Catholic *Bohemia pia* overcoming the dangerous heresy was constructed.

Fig. 1. Anonymous, *Satan Speaking to Franciscan Observants*, in *Tabulae veteris et novi coloris*, Jena Codex, MS IV B 24, fol. 71v, National Museum Library, Prague (Knihovna Národního muzea v Praze).

Fig. 2. Anonymous, *Jan Hus at the Stake*, Czech Utraquist Appendix attached to the printed edition of the *Pasionale*, 1495, appended to the Jena Codex, MS IV B 24, fol. 41v, National Museum Library, Prague (Knihovna Národního muzea v Praze).

Fig. 3. Anonymous, *Jan Hus among the Bohemian Saints*, c. 1500, panel from an altarpiece dedicated to the Resurrected Christ, cemetery church, Chrudim, painted wood, Regional Museum, Chrudim (Regionální muzeum v Chrudimi), inv. no. U00046.

Figs 4a-b. Anonymous, *The Punishment of Jan Hus*, in *Richenthal Chronicle*, St. Petersburg Manuscript, 1470-1480, MS VII A 18, fols 11r-v, National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague (Národní knihovna České republiky).

Fig. 5. Anonymous, *The Punishment of Jan Hus*, in *Richenthal Chronicle*, Prague German manuscript translated by Gebhard Dacher, c. 1464, MS XVI A 17, fol. 122v, National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague (Národní knihovna České republiky).

Fig. 6. Diebold Schilling, *The Punishment of Jan Hus*, in *Spiezer Bilderchronik*, 1484-1485, plate 302, Burgerbibliothek, Bern.

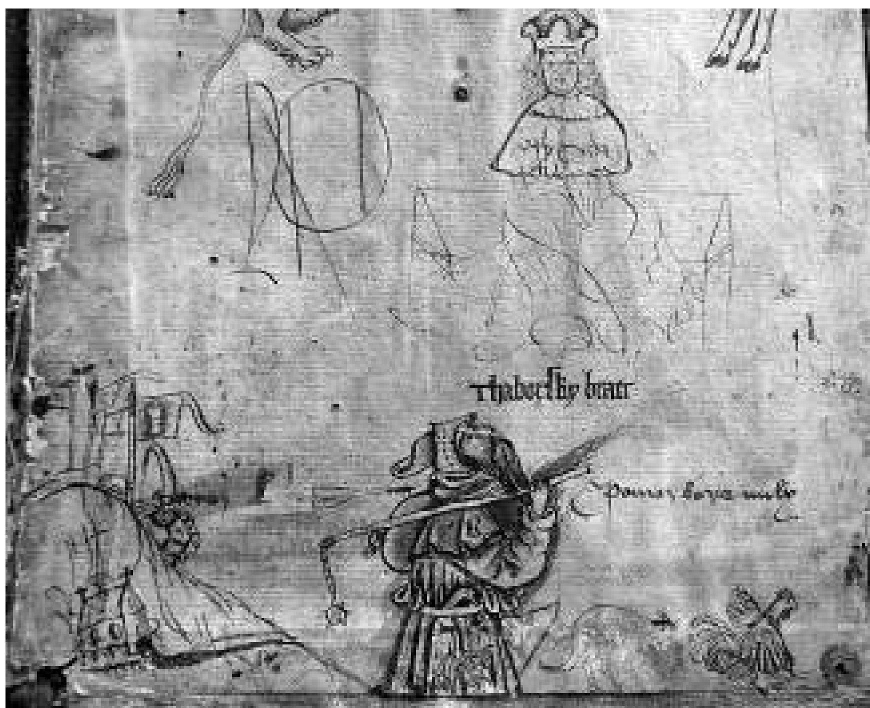


Fig. 7. Anonymous, *Taborite Hussite Warrior*, 15th-century pen-and-ink drawing on the inside cover of a New Testament manuscript from the Premonstratensian nunnery in Louňovice near Tábor, Ms. 195, State District Archive Tábor (Státní okresní archiv Tábor).

Fig. 8. Anonymous, *The Man of Sorrows with a Memorial Inscription of the Hussite Attack*, 1443, tempera on larchwood, wooden panel from the church in Brzeg, Silesia, National Museum, Warsaw, inv. no. Śr.343 MNW. Photograph by Piotr Ligier.

Fig. 9. J. G. Dampervil, *St. Vitus Cathedral Chapter as the Fortress of Faith Expelling Bohemian Heretics*, copper engraving, in Gregor Georg Krigelstein, *Theses ex universa theologia*, Prague, 1671, Royal Premonstratensian Canonry Strahov Library (shelf-mark A Q XII 21), Prague.

Maxime Gelly-Perbellini

Miracle and Witchcraft at Stake: The Burning of Anna Vögtlin in the *Eidgenössische Chronik* of Lucerne's Diebold Schilling (1513)*

In the early decades of the 16th century, a new iconographical model enriched depictions of witches and sorcerers: that of the spectacle of their punishment, culminating in a pyre erected by judicial authorities to symbolically purge through fire the perceived horror of witchcraft. While the figurative representation of elements associated with the conceptualization of the Witches' Sabbath, such as the homage to the Devil, the gathering of the demonic sect, the magical flight, and the fabrication of harmful spells, began developing in the 15th century, it was at the dawn of the early modern period that they began to flourish.[1] Yet it was not until the early 16th century that the first images of the earthly punishment reserved for the Devil's worshippers appeared.[2] From the 1530s onwards – and with increasing intensity in the latter half of the century – the image of the burning body became

* Grateful acknowledgment is extended to Nicole Reinhardt for her careful reading, insightful suggestions, and generous assistance with the translation of this contribution.

1. On the representation of the crime of witchcraft in the late Middle Ages and early modern period, see Charles Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, New York, Routledge, 2007; Wolfgang Schild, "Hexen-Bilder", in *Methoden und Konzepte der historischen Hexenforschung*, ed. by Franz Gunther and Franz Irsigler, Trier, Spee, 1998, pp. 329-413.

2. For the earliest representation of the Witches' Sabbath, see the iconographical dossier and its analysis in *L'imaginaire du sabbat. Édition critique des textes les plus anciens (1430 c.-1440 c.)*, ed. by Martine Ostorero, Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, and Kathrin Utz Tremp in collaboration with Catherine Chène, Lausanne, Université de Lausanne, 1999. For the illuminations, see the frontispiece of two manuscripts of the French translation of Jean Taincture's *Tractatus contra sectam vaudensium* (c. 1460) (Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Fr. 961; Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. D. 410) depicting the nocturnal assembly of the sect of Vaudois sorcerers gathered around a Devil transformed into a goat. See also

prominent in the German lands,[3] and through broadsheets and other printed materials the sensational accounts of the witchcraft punishments spread across Western Europe.[4]

Although scholars have closely studied these sources, the earliest depictions of such executions still merit further analysis. A striking early example appears in the narrative and illustration of Anna Vögtlin's condemnation to the flames in 1447, recorded in Diebold Schilling's *Chronicle of Lucerne*, written between 1509 and 1513. Both the *Chronicle* and the trial it recounts are embedded in a historically and geographically significant context. The Witches' Sabbath emerged as a defined concept between 1430 and 1440 in the Alpine region, leading to the first proceedings against and convictions of individuals accused of demon worship.[5] By the mid-15th century, this new imaginary already began to spread to neighbouring areas. In central Switzerland, for instance, the judicial repression of diabolical witchcraft took shape around 1450, particularly in Lucerne and its surrounding territories.[6] Schil-

Franck Mercier, *La Vauderie d'Arras. Une chasse aux sorcières à l'Automne du Moyen Âge*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006, pp. 123-137.

3. Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft*, pp. 179-209; Charles Zika, "The Witch and Magician in European Art", in *The Oxford History of Witchcraft and Magic*, ed. by Owen Davies, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2023, pp. 134-164: 140-141.

4. On the depiction of the punishment of witches in 16th-century printed material, see Wolfgang Behringer, "Witchcraft and the Media", in *Ideas and Cultural Margins in Early Modern Germany: Essays in Honour of H. C. Erik Midelfort*, ed. by Marjorie E. Plummer and Robin Barnes, Farnham, Ashgate, 2009, pp. 217-239; Abaigéal Warfield, "Witchcraft Illustrated: The Crime of Witchcraft in Early Modern German News Broadsheets", in *Broadsheets. Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print*, ed. by Andrew Pettegree, Leiden, Brill, 2017, pp. 459-487.

5. For an overview of witchcraft persecution across the territory of present-day Switzerland in the 15th and early 16th centuries, see "Hexen, Herren und Richter. Die Verfolgung von Hexern und Hexen auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz am Ende des Mittelalters / Les sorcières, les seigneurs et les juges. La persécution des sorciers et des sorcières dans le territoire de la Suisse actuelle à la fin du Moyen Âge", ed. by Georg Modestin and Kathrin Utz Tremp, *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte / Revue Suisse d'Histoire*, 52 (2002), pp. 105-162.

6. On this topic, see the classic studies: Joseph Schacher, *Das Hexenwesen im Kanton Luzern nach den Prozessen von Sursee und Luzern 1400-1675*, Luzern, Räber, 1947; Andreas Blauert, *Frühe Hexenverfolgungen. Ketzer-, Zauberei- und Hexenprozesse des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Hamburg, Junius, 1989; Susanna Burghartz, "Hexenverfolgung als Frauenverfolgung? Zur Gleichsetzung von Hexen und Frauen am Beispiel der Luzerner und Lausanner Hexenprozesse des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts", in *3. Schweizerische Historikerinnentagung*, Zürich, Chronos, 1986, pp. 86-106; Stefan Jäggi, "Luzerner Verfahren wegen Zauberei und Hexerei bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts", *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für*

ling's *Chronicle* recounts and illustrates one of these very first witchcraft trials, weaving together diabolical acts and sacrilegious transgression within the framework of a Eucharistic miracle, which culminated in Vögtlin's execution by fire. Analysing the *Chronicle* side by side with the Lucerne trial records, it is possible to explore what motivated the visual representation of the punishment and to shed light on its broader meaning.

1. *Schilling's Chronicle*

The *Chronicle of Lucerne* – also known as the *Luzerner Schilling* or *Eidgenössische Chronik* (*Confederation Chronicle*) – was begun by Diebold Schilling the Younger of Lucerne (c. 1460-1515) in the summer of 1509, and most likely written and illustrated between 1511 and 1513, when it was presented to the Lucerne City Council. Originally part of the collections of Lucerne's *Korporation* (citizenry), the manuscript is now housed in the *Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek*.[7] It comprises three hundred and forty-six folios and is richly illustrated with four hundred and forty-three miniatures, including ten double-page compositions, all rendered in vivid gouache colours. Two artists were involved in their creation: Schilling himself, and a second anonymous and less skilled artist whose colour palette is notably more subdued. The *Chronicle* traces the history of Lucerne from its origins, while simultaneously offering a comprehensive account of the broader history of the Swiss Confederation, from the Battle of Sempach (1386) to the events of 1513.[8]

Geschichte, 52 (2002), pp. 143-150; Laura Stokes, *Demons of Urban Reform: Early European Witch Trials and Criminal Justice, 1430-1530*, Houndsmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. For an edition of a selection of these trials, see Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer, "Luzerner Akten zum Hexen- und Zauberwesen", *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, 3 (1899), pp. 22-40, 81-122, 189-224, 291-329.

7. Luzern, Korporation Luzern (depositum at the Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek Luzern, hereafter ZHL), S 23 fol., *Illustrated Chronicle by Diebold Schilling of Lucerne (Luzerner Schilling)*, 1509-1513. See the facsimile of the manuscript accompanied by an edition of the *Chronicle* and a set of critical studies in Diebold Schilling, *Die Luzerner Chronik des Diebold Schilling 1513. Kommentar zur Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift S. 23 fol. in der Zentralbibliothek Luzern*, ed. by Alois Schmid, Lucerne, Faksimile-Verlag, 1981. All quotations refer to this edition.

8. It is likely that the *Chronicle*, as preserved, constitutes only part of a larger work originally conceived on a broader scale. Peter Rück has suggested that the surviving version

Throughout the *Chronicle*, Schilling's perspective is broadly favourable to the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (King of the Romans from 1493 to 1508; Emperor from 1508 to 1519). During his career, he had entered the service of the Sforza family in Milan, where he carried out several missions for the duke as a diplomatic agent and spy and became close to imperial circles. Before this foray into politics, Schilling had been a notary public, then a priest, at least until 1481, and held several benefices in Lucerne. While the *Chronicle* provides a comprehensive account of military and political affairs, Schilling's scope extends to events of broader cultural and civic importance. Alongside descriptions of extraordinary phenomena – such as the appearance of comets and miraculous occurrences – the judicial narrative, with its particular attention to the repressive apparatus and the execution of sentences for crimes deemed worthy of exemplary punishment, occupies a central place. The episode examined in this essay draws upon both of these dimensions.

For the year 1447, Schilling recounts the trial and execution of Anna Vögtlin, a native of Bischoffingen, a village near Breisach in the Landgraviate of Breisgau. She was convicted of stealing a consecrated Host from the parish church of Ettiswil, allegedly under the influence of the Devil ("durch ingäbung und würckung des Tüffels harusz gezogen"), with the intent of offering it to her infernal master.[9] According to the *Chronicle*, however, the theft was followed by a series of miraculous events, which were widely interpreted as divine confirmation of Christ's real presence in the Eucharist. After removing the Host from the church and concealing it in a "corporal" (a linen cloth used for handling the sacrament in church), Vögtlin found herself unable to move forward: the Host had become so

is a composite of two distinct texts, and that the initial plan for a three-volume *Chronicle of the Confederation* was never realized; see Peter Rück, "Diebold Schilling für des Kaisers Sache: Zur Konstruktion der Chronik 1507-1513", in *Die Luzerner Chronik des Diebold Schilling 1513*, pp. 559-584.

9. On the Eucharistic miracle of Ettiswil and the desecration of the Host by Anna Vögtlin, see Josef Bütler, "Die Wallfahrt zur Sakramentskapelle in Ettiswil", *Der Geschichtsfreund*, 100 (1947), pp. 169-178; Josef Bütler, *Das Wunder von Ettiswil. Gedenkschrift zur 500 Jahrfeier einer Sühnewallfahrt zum hl. Sakrament 1447-1947*, Willisau, Willisauer Bote, 1947. On the significance of this miracle, see Hans Wicki, *Staat, Kirche, Religiosität: der Kanton Luzern zwischen barocker Tradition und Aufklärung*, Luzern, Rex-Verlag, 1990, pp. 248-249; Hans Krömler, *Der Kult der Eucharistie in Sprache und Volkstum der deutschen Schweiz*, Basel, Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, 1949, pp. 148-150; Leo Zehnder, *Volkskundliches in der älteren schweizerischen Chronistik*, Basel, G. Krebs, 1976.

heavy that she was forced to relinquish it, dropping it into a nettle bush. Shortly thereafter, a young swineherd named Margret Schulmeister, whose pigs had suddenly and inexplicably refused to advance, discovered the abandoned Host.

The *Chronicle* relates that the moment Vögtlin dropped the Host, the Blessed Sacrament revealed itself to her in the nettle bush as a beautiful white flower. Clergy and townspeople eventually recovered the Host with solemn ceremony and erected a commemorative chapel on the site.[10] Beyond Schilling's account, the Eucharistic miracle at Ettiswil – rooted in the events of 1447 – inspired the construction of the *Sakramentskapelle* between 1450 and 1452 to enshrine the miraculous Host. The chapel, which still stands today, quickly became a significant pilgrimage destination and had already gained widespread renown by the time Schilling composed his *Chronicle*.[11] Schilling structured the episode in three parts, unfolding the narrative of the profaned Host and Vögtlin's condemnation over three consecutive folios. He also personally illustrated each section. The first depicted the theft of the sacrament, with Vögtlin accompanied by a young child (S 23 fol., p. 119: fol. 59r; Fig. 1); then followed the miraculous appearance of the Host to Margret Schulmeister, the retrieval of the Host by the parish priest of Ettiswil, and the founding of the chapel (S 23 fol., p. 120: fol. 59v; Fig. 2); and finally, Vögtlin's execution by fire, following her arrest and sentencing (S 23 fol., p. 121: fol. 60r; Fig. 3). Each section of the narrative is introduced by a red-inked title that succinctly summarizes its content. The first two illustrations adopt a quadripartite structure, integrating multiple scenes within a single compositional frame. By contrast, the third image focuses exclusively on Vögtlin's execution.

This final scene dominates the page and corresponds to Schilling's third and concluding account of the episode. Like all miniatures in the *Chronicle*, the image is framed by a thick border, which in this case is dark brown. The execution unfolds just outside the walls of a fortified town, depicted in the background but positioned in close proximity to the ramparts

10. ZHL, S 23 fol., pp. 119-121: fols 59r-60r. For the transcription of the *Chronicle*, see Diebold Schilling, *Die Luzerner Chronik des Diebold Schilling, 1513*, pp. 96-97.

11. See the study by Josef Bütler, which was able to identify both the number and the social background of the donors, who belonged to patrician families from Lucerne, based on coats of arms painted on the walls and floor of the chapel and rediscovered during its restoration in the 20th century. The city-state and its elites thus appear deeply involved in promoting the sanctuary; Bütler, "Die Wallfahrt zur Sakramentskapelle in Ettiswil", p. 172 ff.

or main gate. A stone path winds its way outward from the gate, disappears beyond the edge of the frame, and then re-emerges in the foreground at the base of a large pyre, fully engulfed in flames. Within the blaze, Vögtlin's figure is clearly discernible. The execution scene occupies the lower third of the image. At its centre, Vögtlin is bound to a stake, her hands tied behind her back, and consumed by fire. Her mouth is agape, suggesting a scream, and her eyes are wide open in a fixed expression of terror.

In front of the pyre stands a group of eight men. Two, presumably executioners, tend the fire – one wielding a pitchfork, the other carrying a burning bundle of wood. Behind the pyre, two armed guards with spears keep a vigilant watch, visually reinforcing the authority and public legitimacy of the punishment. To the left of the composition, three men watch the punishment unfold. One holds a large sword with its tip resting on the ground, identifying him as the judicial authority who issued the sentence. At the visual and symbolic centre stands a cleric, dressed in dark robes and raising a large crucifix in his right hand. Positioned between the agent of secular justice and the condemned woman, the cleric engages directly with the scene, directing both his gaze and his gesture toward the pyre. This central placement plays a crucial role. The cleric mediates between temporal justice and the spectacle of spiritual retribution enacted through fire. His presence anchors the composition, creating both visual cohesion and ideological clarity – an effect the viewer perceives immediately. The image casts the crime as spiritual in nature and hence deserving of the stake.

Throughout the *Chronicle* Schilling repeatedly returns to this form of punishment, presenting it as the fitting conclusion for transgressions against the moral and religious order.[12] The *Chronicle* depicts execution by fire in several other contexts, including cases of sodomy, the condemnation of Jews for alleged ritual murder, and the profanation of the Host.[13] Yet none of these scenes include a priest at the moment of execution. This

12. ZHL, S 23 fol., p. 53: fol. 22r (ritual murder committed by Jews in Diessenhofen in 1401); p. 70: fol. 36r (Jews burned at the stake in Augsburg in 1422 for the murder of a child abducted in Aargau; in fact, the event occurred in Ravensburg in 1429); p. 285: fol. 141r (Richard von Hohenburg and Arto Matzla, condemned for sodomy in Zurich in 1482); p. 316: fol. 156v (desecration of the Host by Jews in Sternberg in 1492); p. 352: fol. 174v (execution site of Jacob Kessler, where a stake is shown burning in Lucerne in 1495).

13. The penalty of death by burning was applied in Lucerne for crimes such as arson, sodomy, heresy, and witchcraft. See Philipp Anton von Segesser, *Rechtsgeschichte der Stadt und Republik Luzern*, vol. II, Luzern, Räber, 1858, pp. 635 ff.

absence makes the cleric's presence in Vögtlin's case particularly striking, as it underscores the explicitly religious nature of her crime. His role might suggest ecclesiastical involvement, or even the intervention of the Inquisition, but Schilling clearly attributed the trial and sentencing to the secular authorities with Lucerne's magistrates overseeing the proceedings.[14] Historical evidence confirms this: within the canton of Lucerne, secular courts consistently handled witchcraft prosecutions. The figure bearing the sword likely represents a judicial official from Lucerne, probably operating within the bailiwick of Willisau (*Landvogtei*). In this district, the Small Council of Lucerne (*Kleiner Rat*) appointed the *Landvogt*, the magistrate responsible for overseeing both high and low justice.

The image thus proposes a tripartite structure that immediately draws the viewer's attention: judicial authority, spiritual power, and criminal transgression seem visually and symbolically entwined. Schilling leaves the legal classification of the crime deliberately ambiguous, prompting the viewer to consider its deeper implications. While clearly stating that Vögtlin committed sacrilege under the Devil's influence, he never explicitly identified her execution as a punishment for witchcraft. However, the municipal archives of Lucerne contain a document that completes and clarifies Schilling's account. This is a report of Vögtlin's trial dated 16 June 1447 and submitted to the Lucerne City Council by Henmann von Rüssegg, Lord (*Herr*) of Büron, which includes both her confession, dated 23 May 1447, and the formal sentence condemning her to the stake.[15] The document addresses diabolical witchcraft more explicitly, linking apostasy – embodied in the profanation of the Host – to a pact with the Devil and the use of the Blessed Sacrament to perform *maleficium*. Read alongside Schilling's *Chronicle*, it prompts a closer examination of the relationship between text and image and reveals how the depiction of Vögtlin's execution functions on both symbolic and political levels.

14. Jäggi, "Luzerner Verfahren wegen Zauberei", pp. 145-148.

15. Staatsarchiv Luzern, AKT 19C/372 (1447). The original is lost. Only a slightly later copy survives. It was made around 1480 by S. Kaufmann for the parish archives of Ettiswil, which are kept at the State Archives of Lucerne. See Bütler, "Die Wallfahrt zur Sakramentskapelle in Ettiswil", p. 170. For an edition of the document, see Joseph Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter*, Bonn, Carl Georgi Universitäts-Buchdruckerei und Verlag 1901, no. 62, pp. 548-550; Joseph Schneller, "Das Hexenwesen in sechszehnten Jahrhundert", *Der Geschichtsfreund*, 23 (1868), pp. 351-370: 367-370.

2. *Contested jurisdictions and legal contexts*

Let us begin by examining the judicial context of Vögtlin's sentencing and the legal procedures that governed it. In the 15th century, the village of Ettiswil, where the theft of the Eucharist occurred, fell under the criminal jurisdiction of the bailiwick of Willisau, which Lucerne administered directly.[16] The town established this bailiwick in 1407 after acquiring the lordship of Willisau from the counts of Aarberg-Valangin. In Schilling's illustration, the town in the background of the execution scene clearly represents Willisau. Schilling conveys this through the inclusion of the chapel of St. Nicholas outside the walls, a visual emblem closely tied to the town. The execution site also aligns with Willisau's geography: a location on the north-eastern edge of the valley, just beyond the town's limits, beneath the *Galgenberg*.[17]

However, von Rüssegg's report states that Vögtlin was not sentenced in Willisau but within the seigneurial jurisdiction (*Herrschaft*) of Büron.[18] After abandoning the Host, she fled first to Büron and then to Triengen. Two parishioners from Ettiswil apprehended her in Triengen as she attempted to return to her home village of Bischoffingen. They brought her to the castle of Büron, where von Rüssegg personally received and interrogated her. According to the report, the parishioners initiated the inquiry, and the judge declared her guilty on the spot, citing clear evidence (*perspicuis indiciis*). These details suggest that the lord of Büron conducted the trial according to an inquisitorial model in which the local reputation (*fama*) was a key element.[19] While holding her in Büron, von Rüssegg questioned Vögtlin in the presence of witnesses. She confessed freely, without undergoing or being threatened with torture.

16. For a comprehensive overview of the administration of justice in the bailiwick of Willisau, especially criminal justice (*Blutgericht*), see August Bickel, *Willisau. Geschichte von Stadt und Umland bis 1500*, Lucerne-Stuttgart, Rex-Verlag, 1982, pp. 207-224. On the limits of this criminal jurisdiction and the overlapping of other seigneurial courts (Aarburg, Lenzburg, Rued, Büron, Triengen, Wolhusen), see the map in *ibid.*, p. 103.

17. Bickel, *Willisau*, p. 209.

18. Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 548.

19. These indications place the trial of Anna Vögtlin in the seigneury of Büron within the same context as the witch trials conducted in Lucerne's territory, where the inquisitorial procedure based on *fama* (*Leumundsprozess*) is attested as early as 1419; see Blauert, *Frühe Hexenverfolgungen*, p. 108. On inquisitorial procedure in the canton of Lucerne, see Segesser, *Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. II, p. 712; Schacher, *Hexenwesen im Kanton Luzern*, p. 64.

The contradiction between Schilling's *Chronicle* and the trial record raises important questions as to how the narrative evolved. The confusion cannot be attributed entirely to Schilling, but in part at least to the source on which he relied, i.e. the *Kronica von der loblichen Eydtgnoschaft* (*Chronicle of the Laudable Confederation*) published in Basel by Petermann Etterlin in 1507.[20] Etterlin was arguably the first to combine the profanation of the Host, the miracle, and Vögtlin's trial into a single narrative. However, he downplayed Lucerne's role in the execution and omitted any reference to Vögtlin's death by burning. He merely situated the events in Ettiswil, near Willisau, two territories under Lucerne's jurisdiction. Schilling, by contrast, consistently underscored Lucerne's involvement: he credited the city with founding the chapel, initiating the prosecution, capturing Vögtlin, conducting the trial, and issuing the death sentence.[21] This divergence invites further reflection on how Schilling deliberately elevated Lucerne's role at the expense of the lordship of Büron, a narrative strategy that reveals broader intentions behind his construction of civic authority in the *Chronicle*.

Historiography, particularly the work of Andreas Blauert, has shown that the rise of witchcraft repression in Lucerne's territory during the second half of the 15th century was closely entwined with the city's efforts to assert its territorial sovereignty.[22] Lucerne's expanding authority met resistance, especially in the lordship of Büron, which remained under the control of the Freiherren von Aarburg, free imperial lords. This lordship, which included Büron, Schlierbach, and Triengen in the Suhr valley, bordered the bailiwick of Willisau, and the two jurisdictions frequently overlapped.[23] When Lu-

20. For the edition and analysis of Petermann Etterlin's *Chronicle*, see Petermann Etterlin, *Kronica von der loblichen Eydtgnoschaft Jr harkommen und sust seltzam strittenn und geschichten*, ed. by Eugen Gruber, Aarau, Verlag Sauerländer, 1965. The account of the theft of the Host by Anna Vögtlin appears on fols 79v-80r (pp. 226-227).

21. "Doch am letsten alß min heren sovil vliß, costen und ernst anleitend, ward die frow Anna Vogeli gefangen und in dz für verurteilt und nach irem verdienen verbrent"; see Diebold Schilling, *Die Luzerner Chronik des Diebold Schilling, 1513*, p. 97.

22. Blauert, *Frühe Hexenverfolgungen*, pp. 97-109.

23. On Lucerne's territorial policy in the 15th century, see Fritz Schaffer, "Die Geschichte der luzernischen Territorialpolitik bis 1500", *Der Geschichtsfreund*, 95 (1940-1941), pp. 119-263, and 97 (1943), pp. 1-98; here, 95 (1940-1941), pp. 143-144, 206-211. On the administration of justice in Lucerne's territory, the formation of the bailiwick of Willisau, and jurisdictional conflicts, see Fritz Glauser, "Frühe Landeshoheit und Landvogteigrenzen im Kanton Luzern", in Fritz Glauser and Jean-Jacques Siegrist, *Die Luzerner Pfarreien und Landvogteien. Ausbildung der Landeshoheit, Verlauf der Landvogteigrenzen,*

cerne acquired the county of Willisau from the counts of Aarberg-Valangin in 1407, it failed to establish unified control over high justice (*Blutgerichtsbarkeit*). The region remained fragmented, as various lords retained enclaves of immunity along the edges of Willisau's territory.[24]

These pockets of legal autonomy, tied to independent seigneurial domains, sparked recurring disputes, particularly in matters of criminal jurisdiction.[25] The lords of Aarburg insisted on their prerogative to exercise both high and low justice throughout their lands, even where they overlapped with Lucerne's claims. As early as 1406, Thüring von Aarburg (d. 1457), who governed Büron until 1435, had indeed sought to safeguard his position by alternately acquiring citizenship (*Bürgerrecht*) in both Bern and Lucerne, using Bernese protection to counterbalance Lucerne's territorial ambitions.[26] Yet Lucerne consistently refused to recognize his claims. Nonetheless, ongoing conflicts of jurisdiction like these continued to undermine the city's broader attempts to consolidate its territorial rule.

In 1407, Lucerne managed to acquire the county of Willisau and used it as a strategic base to advance its claims to high jurisdiction. From 1415 onwards, Bern and Lucerne competed in their pursuit of territorial expansion, which placed the lordship of Büron under increasing pressure. Moreover, in order to secure military support from the Swiss Confederation for his campaign to seize the lands of Frederick IV of Austria in Aargau, Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg promised the Confederates the status of free imperial cities and the right to hold the conquered territories as imperial fiefs. As a result, the Confederates went on to divide the Habsburg lands among themselves, transforming the northern part of the Willisau bailiwick into a contested zone shaped by Lucerne's territorial ambitions, its anti-Habsburg policy, and rivalries among local lords. Lucerne directly challenged the judicial authority of local lords who continued to administer justice within the county. Von Aarburg resisted these efforts by asserting

Beschreibung der Pfarreien, Munich, Rex-Verlag, 1977, pp. 1-114. For an edition of the documentation relating to justice in Willisau and jurisdictional disputes, see August Bickel, *Rechtsquellen des Kantons Luzern. Zweiter Teil: Rechte der Landschaft. Zweiter Band: Vogtei Willisau (1407-1798)*, Basel, Schwabe & Co AG Verlag, 2002, nos. 32, 38, 56.

24. Schaffer, "Die Geschichte der luzernischen Territorialpolitik", p. 144.

25. Glauser, "Frühe Landeshoheit und Landvogteigrenzen im Kanton Luzern", pp. 16-35: 33-35.

26. Peter Xaver Weber, "Das älteste Luzerner Bürgerbuch (1357-1479)", *Der Geschichtsfreund*, 75 (1920), p. 47.

his prerogative over criminal jurisdiction – a right Lucerne actively sought to revoke.

The ensuing legal disputes between Lucerne and the Aarburg family also drew in Bern, which supported the Aarburgs and acted as arbiter within the Confederation. By the late 1420s, Lucerne conceded that the Suhr River marked the boundary of its criminal jurisdiction, although it continued to press its broader territorial claims.[27] After 1432, burdened by growing financial difficulties, von Aarburg was eventually forced to approach Lucerne for loans and to explore the sale of the lordship of Büron. Von Rüssegg, a citizen (*Bürger*) of Lucerne, played a decisive role in this process. Around 1416, he had married Anfelisa, von Aarburg's sister. Around 1435, probably in response to von Aarburg's debts,[28] von Rüssegg acquired the lordship and governed it until 1455.[29] As a Lucerne citizen, he facilitated the Aarburg family's realignment from Bern to Lucerne. On 28 February 1455, Anfelisa and von Rüssegg then formally sold the lordship of Büron to the city of Lucerne, thereby completing its long-sought assertion of authority over the region.[30]

The condemnation of diabolical witchcraft in Büron, along with von Rüssegg's report to the Lucerne City Council, have to be understood within the broader context of jurisdictional rivalry during this period, in which civic authorities sought to redefine and assert their judicial prerogatives. In this competitive environment, prosecuting witchcraft acquired particular significance. In 1447, the seigneury of Büron hence used the trial to assert its claim – then fiercely contested – to criminal jurisdiction by punishing a crime that was most apt to prove its authority. Von Rüssegg submitted a

27. Staatsarchiv Luzern, URK 186/2725. On 9 July 1429, Lucerne and Thüring von Aarburg reached an agreement establishing clear territorial and jurisdictional boundaries between the county of Willisau and the seigneury of Büron; see Bickel, *Rechtsquellen des Kantons Luzern,* pp. 131-134; Glauser, "Frühe Landeshoheit", p. 11.

28. Between 1430 and 1457, Thüring von Aarburg repeatedly sold seigneurial lands; see Walther Merz, "Die Freien von Aarburg", *Argovia*, 29 (1901), pp. 13-17.

29. By 20 October 1435, Büron was already in the possession of Henmann von Rüssegg and his wife Anfelisa von Aarburg; see Schaffer, "Die Geschichte der luzernischen Territorialpolitik", p. 211.

30. Staatsarchiv Luzern, URK 187/2728. Act of sale of the seigneury of Büron by Henmann von Rüssegg, his wife Anfelisa von Aarburg, and their son Jacob von Rüssegg to the city of Lucerne for the sum of 5,000 florins (28 February 1455); see Segesser, *Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. I, p. 698; Walther Merz, "Die Freien von Aarburg", p. 189, no. 493.

summary of the trial to Lucerne to preserve the memory of this repression and to affirm Büron's judicial legitimacy.

Schilling, by contrast, shifted the focus in both his narrative and his illustrations. He credited Lucerne with conducting the trial and placed the execution in Willisau. Etterlin may have included the episode in his chronicle due to the miracle's fame, but Schilling, while drawing on the former's version for events before 1508, reframed Vögtlin's condemnation to spotlight Lucerne's decisive role in the defeat of evil. He deliberately erased Büron's role from the judicial record to exalt Lucerne's authority. This narrative choice appears all the more intentional given Schilling's likely awareness of von Rüssegg's report, or, at the very least, of its contents.

To understand Schilling's intentions more clearly, we must consider the broader scope of his project. As Peter Rück notes, he did not write a chronicle narrowly focused on Lucerne. Instead, he set out to craft a history of the Swiss Confederation during a pivotal moment of its development. At that time, particularly during the War of the Holy League (1508-1516), the Confederation increasingly aligned its political aims with those of the emperor. Schilling therefore shaped his narrative to rally the Swiss not only against the external forces threatening them, but also against the enemies and oppressors of the Holy Roman Empire.[31] In doing so, he excluded the internal politics of Lucerne and cast the city as a central force within the Confederation, equal in stature to the great powers of Europe. This broader framework should inform any reading of Lucerne's role in the *Chronicle*. At the same time, Schilling's narrative invites analysis on multiple levels, for over the course of the 15th century Lucerne built its prestige by resisting Habsburg dominance. From the Battle of Sempach (1386) to the Treaty of Basel (1499), the city indeed advanced its position by claiming emancipation, securing privileges, and establishing sovereign territorial rule.[32] Schilling's *Chronicle* narrates and visualizes this long trajectory of political ascent.

Within this framework, the iconographical staging of capital punishment became decisive: it affirmed Lucerne's claims to judicial sovereignty. The *Chronicle* devotes considerable attention to political crimes – treason,

31. Rück, "Diebold Schilling für des Kaisers Sache", pp. 559-584: 572.

32. On the consequences of the reform of the Empire decided at the Diet of Worms in 1495, which led to the Swabian War and the Treaty of Basel, see Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Das Heilige Römische Reich deutscher Nation. Vom Ende des Mittelalters bis 1806*, Munich, Beck, 2006, pp. 43-44.

perjury, conspiracy, collusion with the enemy, riot, and murder – and consistently associates them with the death penalty. This judicial dramaturgy uses scenes of beheadings, gallows, and torture to display the Confederates' command of extraordinary inquisitorial procedures and to assert their authority to exercise high justice.[33] By exposing the horrific crimes and the perpetrators' notoriously evil reputations (*böse Lümbd*), the narrative makes Confederate power both visible and legible. This same logic extends to offences against the sacred, which the Confederates increasingly absorbed into their judicial purview.

In Lucerne, as we have seen, civic courts began prosecuting witchcraft as early as the 1450s. Laura Stokes suggests that Vögtlin's trial, conducted by a rival jurisdiction for acts committed within Lucerne's territory, may have catalysed this shift, followed in 1448 by the witchcraft trial of Else from Meersburg.[34] Although jurisdictional rivalry shaped the broader context, surviving records offer no conclusive insight into the impact of von Rüssegg's report on Lucerne's authorities. Still, the repression of witchcraft clearly advanced Lucerne's territorial consolidation by strengthening its judicial claims. Ultimately, the episode's significance lies not in its chronological accuracy but in the meaning that Schilling assigned to it. He included it not to record the facts with precision, but to pursue a broader historical and political agenda. By adapting his sources, he transformed the battle against demonic forces into a rhetorical and visual strategy: one that glorified Lucerne's past, affirmed its sovereignty, and reinforced its position as a leading power within the Swiss Confederation.

3. *Narrating Anna Vögtlin's crimes*

There is little doubt that the dramatic spectacle of punishment has a political dimension. Yet how does Schilling characterize Vögtlin's crimes, and how does he interpret them? To answer this, we turn to von Rüssegg's report. Writing in Latin, he recorded Vögtlin's confessions and organized

33. On the representation of justice – especially criminal justice – in Schilling's *Chronicle*, see *Die Luzerner Chronik des Diebold Schilling, 1513*, pp. 646-649.

34. The date of the trial is uncertain. Laura Stokes suggests that it took place in 1448; see Stokes, *Demons of Urban Reform*, pp. 64-67. For an edition of the trial, see Hoffmann-Krayer, "Luzerner Akten zum Hexen- und Zauberwesen", no. 8, pp. 25-29.

them into four articles. He framed the case as an abominable crime ("scelus nephandissimum") committed under the Devil's influence ("non sine magna diaboli suggestion").[35] As his vocabulary indicates, he understood the offence as a clear instance of diabolical witchcraft. In 15th-century legal discourse, the term *nefandum* referred to crimes so unspeakable and vast in scope that they concealed truths too execrable to name. Judges relied on inquisitorial procedure to bring these hidden acts to light.[36] Von Rüssegg's language casts Vögtlin's actions as both scandalous and demonic, crimes of darkness that violated divine and temporal order and demanded decisive legal action. He thus places the case squarely within the realm of offences against the sacred. His record of Vögtlin's confession reinforces this framing by associating her acts with demonolatry and heresy. According to him, she claimed that the Devil had appeared to her in human form and that she had entered into a pact with him. The report calls the Devil "a perverse master" ("perversus instructor") who initiated and guided her, promising her wealth, as she lived in poverty, and granting her power to harm others in their bodies and possessions. In return, she agreed to submit to him ("condescenderet") and to "give herself into the hands and power of evil spirits" ("in manus et potestatem spirituum malignorum te dare debes").

She chose one spirit in particular, called Lux, or "Light", and accepted his rule over her.[37] Thereafter, Vögtlin met her familiar demon regularly at a crossroads. Together, they plotted the theft of consecrated Hosts, first in Bischoffingen, then in Ettiswil, where she travelled specifically for that purpose. They intended to use the body of Christ to perform a variety of *maleficia*: to spread illness, destroy harvests, and ruin wheat, wine, and other fruits of the earth. Vögtlin also revealed that she had been sent to Ettiswil at the behest of certain individuals ("quod ad aliquorum

35. Hansen, *Quellen*, no. 62, pp. 548-550. The Latin insertions and quotations that follow are taken from this edition of the report by Henmann von Rüssegg.

36. Jacques Chiffoleau, "Dire l'indicible. Remarques sur la catégorie du *nefandum* du XIIe au XVe siècle", in *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 45/2 (1990), pp. 289-324.

37. Familiar demons were a component of the concept of the Sabbath. They appear in Martin le Franc's *Le Champion des dames* and in the *Recollectio*, composed during the Vauderie d'Arras in 1460; see Jean-Patrice Boudet, "Démons familiers et anges gardiens dans la magie médiévale", in *De Socrate à Tintin. Anges gardiens et démons familiers de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, ed. by Jean-Patrice Boudet, Philippe Faure, and Christian Renoux, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011, pp. 119-134.

instantiam”), since repeated thefts in Bischoffingen had already aroused suspicion. Although the confession remains somewhat vague, its wording implies – without stating it outright – that Vögtlin was part of a group or attended gatherings where people discussed *maleficia*. The latter obviously implies the concept of the Sabbath, organized around the presence and command of demons. Vögtlin’s pact with the Devil, her submission to his will, her apostasy – expressed through repeated acts of sacrilege against the consecrated Host – and the communal nature of sorcery and *maleficium* collectively define the confession as a case of diabolical witchcraft.

Schilling integrated these elements into both the illustration and the narrative of his *Chronicle*. The child who accompanies Vögtlin during the theft of the Host aligns with the familiar demon she mentioned in her confession. Schilling also attributed final words to Vögtlin at the stake – words absent from von Rüssegg’s report and likely composed by the chronicler himself.[38] In his account, Vögtlin repented and declared that even if she stood atop the highest mountain in the Confederation, she would not escape. Instead, she would accept death by fire as the just punishment for her sins. This spatial metaphor carries particular symbolic weight. By placing Vögtlin on a mountain, Schilling invokes the imagery of the witches’ flight and their association with remote, elevated, and supernatural realms. He reinforces the miraculous nature of the Eucharistic offence while casting Vögtlin’s crime within a demonic register. The Alpine backdrop is also significant, as throughout the early modern period the imaginary of the Sabbath flourished here with the mountain ranges understood to be a dangerous and terrifying place where the Devil and malevolent spirits reigned. Witches travelled there through the air to convene with demons and perform *maleficia* – especially weather magic that drew on the ice of snowy peaks to destroy crops. Schilling used this imagery to amplify the ideological and moral force of Vögtlin’s condemnation and execution.[39]

We may now consider how Schilling acquired his material. As previously noted, he drew primarily on Petermann Etterlin’s *Kronica von der*

38. “Sy kam aber zů eim sollichen gůten und grossen rüwen, dz sy rett in der not, ob sy schon ungebunden uff dem hoͤchsten baͤrg in Eitgnossen stuͤnde und wol moͤchte entdrünen, dennocht woͤlt sy ungezwungen selber mit gůten willen in dz für gan, und alson nam sy ir end”, see Diebold Schilling, *Die Luzerner Chronik des Diebold Schilling, 1513*, p. 97.

39. *L’imaginaire du sabbat*, p. 480.

loblichen Eydtgnoschaft,[40] but set out to revise and expand this source, extending the narrative through 1503. Beyond that point, he based his account on personal experience.[41] Rather than reproducing Etterlin's text verbatim, he reshaped it to introduce new aspects – often, as in the case of the miracle of Ettiswil, by elaborating and dividing the narrative into separate parts. Etterlin condensed the event into a single paragraph, which Schilling reproduced almost entirely, albeit with a shift in focus. He emphasized Lucerne's judicial authority, while Etterlin focused on the miracle's aftermath – particularly the annual pilgrimage to Ettiswil and the papal indulgences granted at Lucerne's request and confirmed by a papal bull issued by Callixtus III on 12 June 1455.[42]

Etterlin gained deeper knowledge of Lucerne's affairs after assuming the post of city court clerk in 1495. In that role, as Eugen Gruber argues,[43] he probably had access to the city's judicial archives and was able to base his account on von Rüssegg's report, which he may have consulted directly. Schilling may also have drawn on original documents – including von Rüssegg's report – since he introduced details absent from Etterlin's version. Moreover, as both author and illustrator Schilling incorporated iconographical elements that reveal a deeper familiarity with the case. For example, the child who appears alongside Vögtlin during the theft of the Host (S 23 fol., p. 119: fol. 59r; Fig. 2) does not feature in any written account, including Schilling's own text, but appears in all four of his illustrations. This figure, whom we may interpret as the demon Lux, suggests that Schilling knew more than the written tradition alone could provide. Von Rüssegg's report continued to circulate well into the 16th century and drew the attention of scholars and members of Lucerne's citizenry. Yet, despite the widespread interest, only one known copy, probably produced around 1480, survives today.[44] Renward Cysat (1545-1614), Lucerne's chancellor and an expert on the city's archives, confirmed in his *Collectanea* that the report remained in Lucerne during his time, and it is highly likely that both Etterlin and Schil-

40. Etterlin, *Kronica von der loblichen Eydtgnoschaft*, pp. 226-227.

41. For a comparison of the contents of the chronicles, see Rück, "Diebold Schilling für des Kaisers Sache", pp. 559-563.

42. Werner Göttler, *Jakobus und die Stadt. Luzern am Weg nach Santiago de Compostela*, Basel, Schwabe & Co. AG, 2001, p. 58.

43. See Etterlin, *Kronica von der loblichen Eydtgnoschaft*, pp. 31-32.

44. Bütler, "Die Wallfahrt zur Sakramentskapelle in Ettiswil", p. 169.

ling consulted this original.[45] By the 17th century, it had vanished from the Lucerne archives, only to resurface briefly in the 18th century in the parish archives of Ettiswil, before disappearing yet again thereafter.[46]

Beyond his principal source, Schilling also engaged with a regional context already shaped by sustained witch persecution. By the mid-15th century, Lucerne's authorities had launched numerous trials; the state archives document a steady flow of interrogations and depositions across the city and its bailiwicks.[47] These proceedings – like Vögtlin's confession – followed a conceptualization of diabolical witchcraft centred on *maleficia*: the power to inflict illness, destroy crops, or summon violent weather. Lucerne's magistrates treated such threats with urgency. In 1482, they reported to the Federal Diet that mostly foreign and impoverished witches, who had unleashed devastating storms, had been sentenced to death by burning.[48] That same year, records from Entlebuch recount the theft of a consecrated Host for purposes of sorcery, an effort to retrieve it from a garden, and the legal costs involved in arresting the accused.[49] These actions – Host profanation, *maleficia*, and weather magic – shaped Lucerne's evolving judicial framework and likely informed how chroniclers interpreted the miracle of Ettiswil. With its blend of sacrilege, demonic pact, and magical harm, Vögtlin's case offered a ready model for narrating Lucerne's resolve to defend both sacred and political order.[50]

Vögtlin's confession echoed a number of familiar topoi from demonological treatises and ecclesiastical doctrine circulating in Lucerne, in particular the accounts established by Hans Fründ in the 1430s. The then city clerk had recorded the 1428 Valais witch trials across the diocese of Sion, including both episcopal and Savoyard Valais, and described in detail the pacts with the Devil, apostasy, nocturnal Sabbaths, demonic transport, and acts of *ma-*

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

47. For editions of trials from Lucerne, see Hoffmann-Krayer, "Luzerner Akten zum Hexen- und Zauberwesen", p. 22 ff.; see also Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 524 ff.

48. See *Amtliche Sammlung der älteren eidgenössischen Abschiede*, vol. III/1, ed. by Philipp Anton von Segesser, Zürich, Bürklischen Buchdruckerei, 1858, p. 120; Hansen, *Quellen*, no. 136, p. 582.

49. "Als man das sacrament sucht, so die Hex in ein garten geworfen hat, auch costen vnd zwing, so vffgangen, als man die armen frowen gefangen hat"; see Hoffmann-Krayer, "Luzerner Akten zum Hexen- und Zauberwesen", no. 18, p. 87.

50. On the characteristics of diabolical witchcraft in Lucerne, see the summary table proposed by Jäggi, "Luzerner Verfahren", p. 149.

leficia.[51] Vögtlin's confession mirrors nearly every component in Fründ's account, except for the bodily metamorphoses – especially transformation into wolves, which appeared in witchcraft trials only after 1450.[52] These overlaps underscore the wide diffusion of demonological ideas throughout the Swiss territories, far beyond the centres where they originally developed.[53]

4. *Eucharistic anxieties*

Fründ's account did not mention Eucharistic desecration in the context of witchcraft, which the papacy, however, by the early 14th century had already identified as a major concern and addressed directly in writings on heretical sorcery and inquisitorial handbooks.[54] The profanation of the Host and the rejection of the sacraments then finally became the central aspect of the Sabbath as conceptualized in the demonological literature in the 15th century.[55] Enveloped in detailed rituals, these alleged acts of sacrificial offering and submission to the demons came to be regarded as ultimate proofs of apostasy. Hence, when witches stole or desecrated consecrated Hosts for use in harmful magic, they committed more than blasphemy or sacrilege, which in turn helped with defining witchcraft as a heresy and establishing the legal and theological framework to prosecute diabolical sorcery. Late 15th-century demonological treatises, in particular Heinrich Kramer's *Malleus Maleficarum* (1486) which circulated widely in the German-speaking world, emphasized these aspects, as is widely known.[56]

51. On the report by Hans Fründ, see its edition and analysis in *L'imaginaire du sabbat*, pp. 25-98.

52. See in particular the trial of Else of Meersburg in Hoffmann-Krayer, "Luzerner Akten zum Hexen- und Zauberwesen", pp. 25-29.

53. See Blauert, *Frühe Hexenverfolgungen*, pp. 17-24.

54. On the question of the misuse of the Eucharist, see Peter Browe, "Die Eucharistie als Zaubermittel im Mittelalter", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 20 (1930), pp. 134-154; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 334-342.

55. See Martine Ostorero, *Le diable au sabbat. Littérature démonologique et sorcellerie (1440-1460)*, Florence, SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2011, pp. 475-480. Note that this element is already present in the earliest Sabbath texts, such as the *Errores Gazariorum* (c. 1430), as well as in the Vaud and Dauphiné trials.

56. See especially pt II, question 1, ch. 5 of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, which concerns the use of the Church's sacraments by witches to perform *maleficia*; Christopher S. Mackay,

Although Stefan Jäggi[57] argues that German demonological treatises had limited influence on the belief in the existence of witches' sects – since Lucerne's trial records do not cite them – his view does not exclude the spread of Sabbath-related motifs. Ideas such as weather magic, magical flight, and Eucharistic profanation clearly shaped regional conceptions of witchcraft and informed both elite discourse and popular belief.

Moreover, the link between Host desecration and Eucharistic miracle in Vögtlin's case speaks to broader mid-15th-century anxieties about the efficacy of malevolent acts in relation to the sacraments. From the earliest texts on the Sabbath, demonologists questioned both the limits and the deceptive nature of demonic power when set against divine agency and the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. This line of inquiry continued from the mid-15th century onward, especially in discussions concerning the superstitious use of the sacrament. In the diocese of Constance, to which the parish of Ettiswil belonged, Church authorities had also begun to scrutinize superstitious Eucharistic practices. The debates revealed wide-ranging ecclesiological tensions and involved two prominent figures: Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa and the Zurich provost Felix Hemmerlin. Both addressed how to regulate the public exposition of the sacrament and Eucharistic miracles. At the time, lay devotion attributed real efficacy to the Eucharist, and worshippers believed it could ward off storms, protect crops, heal livestock, and cure illness.

In 1451, Cardinal Cusa, acting as papal legate in Germany, issued the decree *Super transformatis hostiis speciem rubedinis habentibus* at Halberstadt[58] in order to curb unauthorized acts of veneration by forbidding the public exposition of consecrated Hosts and prohibiting the circulation of miracle narratives. The decree also responded to growing popular devotion to Eucharistic miracles, especially the case at Wilsnack (1383), where three Hosts reportedly bled after surviving a fire.[59] Cusa incorporated his regulation into the rulings of the provincial councils of Mainz and Cologne, over which he presided, and he disseminated it to bishops and ec-

The Hammer of Witches: A Complete Translation of the Malleus Maleficarum, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 315-320.

57. Jäggi, "Luzerner Verfahren", p. 148.

58. Edmond Vansteenberghe, *Le cardinal Nicolas de Cues (1401-1464). L'action - la pensée*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 1920, pp. 98-100.

59. On this miracle, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

clesiastical provinces, including Constance as part of the Mainz province. In response, Felix Hemmerlin composed a short treatise, *De benedictionibus aereis cum sacramento faciendis*, likely written after 1451.[60] Here, the provost of Zurich defended non-liturgical uses of the sacrament, particularly those intended to avert storms and illness, and he grounded his argument in a theology of Christ's real presence. To strengthen his position, he cited the Ettiswil miracle of 1447 and explicitly linked it to Wilsnack, thereby legitimizing contested devotional practices.

Schilling – who served as both priest and imperial official – actively engaged with these contemporary debates that linked Eucharistic concerns and witchcraft. His *Chronicle* includes several Eucharistic miracles, such as those of Sternberg (1492) and Senwald (1499), which, like the earlier case of Wilsnack, affirm the real presence of Christ in the consecrated Host – made visible through bleeding – and its resilience against acts of profanation, be it by fire or the so-called "malevolence of Jews".[61] In the Ettiswil narrative, this inviolability becomes especially tangible: on the one hand, the Host becomes so heavy that Vögtlin cannot escape with it; on the other, it later reappears in the form of a flower. Episodes such as this vividly express a theological message central to Schilling's project: faith prevails over violence, demonic threat, and sacramental subversion. To hammer this message home, the *Chronicle* structurally underscores this conflict. Text and image together stage a veritable confrontation between evil and divine authority. On fol. 59v (Fig. 2), the Host's miraculous reappearance visually answers the execution scene on fol. 60r (Fig. 3), symbolizing the triumph of the sacred over the demonic. Although Schilling never names witchcraft directly, he clearly invokes its conceptual framework in the tight link he establishes between Vögtlin's pact with the Devil, the theft of the Host, and her flight toward the mountains. Through this sequence, the *Chronicle* efficiently demonstrates the triumph of faith over evil by upholding the judicial and divine order.

60. For an analysis of this *opusculum* and the debate surrounding the prohibitions issued by Nicholas of Cusa, see Friedrich Fiala, "Dr. Felix Hemmerlin, Probst des St. Ursenstiftes in Solothurn: ein Beitrag zur Schweizerischen Kirchengeschichte", *Urkundio*, 1 (1857), pp. 516-520.

61. ZHL, S 23 fol., p. 316: fol. 156v (desecration of the Host by Jews in Sternberg in 1492); p. 364: fol. 180v (miracle of the Host of Sennwald, which survived a city fire during the Swabian War in 1499).

When Schilling presented the *Chronicle* to the Lucerne City Council in 1513, he did more than compile past events: he addressed the political and religious concerns of his time. His textual and visual account of criminal punishment – especially the heresy of witches – emerged from intersecting dynamics. Through both word and image, he affirmed Lucerne's judicial sovereignty, exalted the Catholic faith, and depicted the ongoing struggle against evil. Within this framework, the portrayal of profanation acquired its full symbolic force. By juxtaposing the illustration of the Eucharistic miracle at Ettiswil with that of Vögtlin's execution, Schilling established a correspondence between two equally real presences: Christ in the Host and demonic crime in the world. Both manifested themselves through visible signs – one through miracle, the other through judicial punishment. In this way, Schilling offered both an interpretation and an iconographical response to the question of the efficacy of *maleficium* in contrast to that of the sacraments – more specifically, to the consequences of demonic corruption and the error of temptations when measured against orthodoxy and faith. Rather than using the depiction of execution merely to instil fear, Schilling cast it as part of an eschatological drama. Earthly justice, by exposing and punishing offences against the sacred, served as a sign of divine justice. This coordination of narrative and image reveals Schilling's broader historiographical goal. He did not simply intend to recount events; he sought to transform the history of Lucerne – and of the Confederation – into a stage for salvation.[62] Within this vision, Vögtlin's condemnation marked a pivotal moment. It etched in collective memory the horror and gravity of her crime, while affirming the legitimacy and efficacy of its repression.[63]

62. Rück, "Diebold Schilling für des Kaisers Sache", p. 574.

63. The memory of the Eucharistic miracle and the condemnation of Anna Vögtlin for witchcraft remained active throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. Chroniclers such as Aegidius Tschudi, Renward Cysat (in his *Collectanea*), and Heinrich Murer (in his ecclesiastical history) remembered the event. The miracle also acquired emblematic significance for both the city of Lucerne and the Swiss Confederation. It appears on one of the painted panels (panel no. 52) of the Kapellbrücke, the covered bridge spanning the Reuss River in Lucerne, whose decorative programme began in 1614. See Aegidius Tschudi, *Chronicon Helveticum*, vol. II, ed. by Johann Rudolff Iselin, Basel, Bischoff, 1736, p. 512a; Heinrich Murer, *Helvetia sancta seu paradisus sanctorum Helvetiae florum*, Lucern, in Truck verfertiget und verlegt durch David Hautten, Buchtruckern zu Lucern und Buchhändlern in Wien, 1648, p. 378-379; Heinz Horat, *Die Bilder der Kapellbrücke in Luzern*, Baden, Hier und jetzt, Verlag für Kultur und Geschichte, 2015.

Fig. 1. Diebold Schilling (?), *The Ettiswil Miracle*, 1447, in *Luzerner Schilling*, 1511-1513, MS S 23, fol. 59r, Korporation Luzern, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek, Luzern.

Fig. 2. Diebold Schilling (?), *The Ettiswil Miracle*, 1447, in *Luzerner Schilling*, 1511-1513, MS S 23, fol. 59v, Korporation Luzern, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek, Luzern.

Fig. 3. Diebold Schilling (?), *Execution of Anna Vögtlin by Burning near Willisau*, 1447, in *Luzerner Schilling*, 1511-1513, MS S 23, fol. 60r, Korporation Luzern, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek, Luzern.

II

The Early Modern Iberian World

Manuel Peña Díaz

The Power of the Spanish Inquisition and its Perception in Early Modern Travelogues

Throughout the early modern period, publications of travel literature saw an extraordinary increase, both through the proliferation of accounts by travellers – real or imaginary – and the ability of printing houses and bookstores to facilitate their dissemination. There were so many travel-related publications available throughout Europe that their content and usefulness were often mistrusted. Moreover, as Daniel Roche has pointed out, this new culture of mobility, with travels and travellers mapping out their own space, responded to specific social and cultural objectives.[1] The traveller's personality, origin, or purchasing power determined the impact or impression of the place they visited. At the same time, as Manuel Moreno Chacón has shown, geographical origin, education, social and economic status, ideology, and state of mind at the time of travelling, or of the writing up of the account, profoundly affect the reliability of travel books as historical sources. Some or all of these aspects were undoubtedly significant and, in some cases, determining factors. For instance, Moreno Chacón notes that in many accounts "the Hispanophobia of their authors

* This study was undertaken within the framework of the project *Inquisición y redes. Comunidades, actores y poder en el mundo ibérico de la edad moderna* (PID2021-123816NB-I00), Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades (Gobierno de España). A first version was published as "Distintivos deshonrosos: Inquisición y *sambenitos* vistos por extranjeros (ss. XVI-XIX)", in *El telar de la vida: tramas y urdimbres de lo cotidiano*, ed. by Gloria A. Franco Rubio, Ofelia Rey Castelao, and Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra, Gijón, Trea, 2021, pp. 377-386.

1. Daniel Roche, *Les circulations dans l'Europe moderne, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, Pluriel, 2003, p. 19.

becomes evident, as they begin criticizing various aspects of the Kingdom as soon as they cross the French border, from the treatment at customs to the state of the roads or inns, the landscapes, or the towns they visit".[2] The interest behind the comments or descriptions contained in these writings lies in the cultural relationship they establish between aspects both distinct and interconnected. Space and time are also key factors. There are significant differences between travels of 16th-century humanists and those of 18th-century Enlightenment scholars, between Renaissance diplomats, or Baroque ambassadors, among others.

It is therefore understandable that historians have always been slightly reluctant to use travel books as sources, emphasising their subjective bias and often misleading, if not fallacious, nature, as well as their superficiality. However, as Carlos Martínez Shaw pointed out, it is also true that these accounts can provide a "perceptive view of their surroundings" or that, among anecdotal observations, one can find clues about aspects of everyday life at the time.[3] Another common qualm concerns the travelogues' often literary nature and whether the accounts are real or imaginary, unpublished or published, memoirs or letters. Roche noted that travel literature is also literature, just as landscape painting is also painting, to the point of becoming the very justification for the journey, offering a true reading of the world through books.[4]

In any case, although distorting factors intervene in the acquisition of knowledge, travel accounts are useful historical sources insofar as the individuals who create them are themselves historical agents and shaped by history. Despite their imprecision and imperfection, precisely the challenges they raise as sources make them worthwhile to investigate in terms of authorship and the layers of cultural mediation they contain. We mostly ignore the guides on whom the travellers relied, but their cultural mediation undoubtedly shaped the perspectives offered of the visited locations. The Roman example is telling here: guides would adapt their approach depending on whether the client was Protestant, Catholic, or from a specific country. According to Antoni Maczak, professional guides knew what

2. Manuel Moreno Chacón, *Viatgers per les comarques de Girona (s. XV-XIX),* Girona, Diputació de Girona, 2018, pp. 10-11.

3. Carlos Martínez Shaw, "El llibre de viatges com a font histórica", *L'Avenç*, 51 (1982), pp. 46-48.

4. Roche, *Les circulation*s, p. 143.

to show each visitor: "One can perceive that the accounts of the English differ somewhat from those of visitors from other countries".[5] Travel books also influenced the attitude of the traveller, either beforehand or *in situ*. As Roche has underlined, guidebooks were decisive in providing the codes of perception to their readers: they invented and arranged the order in which to visit the places they described, they prescribed the appropriate attitude with which they had to be viewed, and they thus comprehensively configured the framework and the content of intellectual and material experiences.[6]

1. *Travellers' accounts of the Holy Office*

The first travellers to become aware of the impact of the Holy Office were the Italian diplomats of the 16th century, who emphasized the tyrannical nature of the institution regarding Jewish converts.[7] Ioannes Dantiscus, Polish ambassador between 1512 and 1532, commented in his report on the Inquisition's reaction to the spread of Lutheranism: "Here it is not permitted to mention Luther, because Vulcan immediately comes and covers one's mouth. May this human plague that has infected everything be extinguished again!".[8] Gasparo Contarini, Venetian ambassador to the court of Charles V between 1522 and 1527, stated that the Inquisition under Manrique exercised "a true tyranny against the powers of the new Christians, against whom they have shown such ruthlessness".[9] Half a century later, Leonardo Donato continued to emphasize "*such extreme and dreadful au-*

5. Antoni Maczak, *Viajes y viajeros en la Europa Moderna*, Barcelona, Omega, 1996, p. 320 (published in English as Antoni Maczak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, trans. by Ursula Phillips, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1995).

6. Roche, *Les circulations*, p. 111. On the importance of stereotypes of "the other" in relation to the invention of modern identities, see, for example, the studies collected in *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, ed. by Jás Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiès, London, Reaktion Books, 1999.

7. On travellers' curious gaze on the Inquisition, see Doris Moreno, *La invención de la Inquisición*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2004, pp. 143-164; Feliciano Barrios, "La Inquisición española, vista por los embajadores venecianos del siglo XVI", in *Intolerancia e Inquisición*, ed. by José Antonio Escudero, Madrid, SECC, 2005, vol. I, pp. 379-388.

8. *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, ed. by José García Mercadal, Salamanca, Junta de Castilla y León, 1999, vol. I, p. 750.

9. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 68.

thority (as that which puts its hand on life and in all good with absolute power) that in Spain I truly do not believe there is any greater". However, the Venetian ambassador Donato also asserted that, without the Inquisition, *"Spain would run great danger of becoming infected and losing its religion. Although its justice is severe and follows extraordinary methods, experience still proves it to be good and necessary for the Catholic and peaceful life of the province"*. Moreover, he insisted that the Holy Office was *"absolutely necessary in Spain"*.[10]

Following the establishment of the Roman Inquisition and under the pressure of Turkish threats, Italian travellers were the ones who had the clearest understanding of the institution's role. During his stay at court in 1594 as *nuncio* of Clement VIII, Camillo Borghese wrote that the Inquisition preserved "the true religion in these kingdoms, which, due to the mixture of Moors, Jews, and new and old Christians of which they are composed, are in danger of ultimately receiving heretical opinions and superstitious rites".[11] The consequences of inquisitorial repression on subsequent generations were very well explained by Francesco Vendramin, Venetian ambassador in 1595, when discussing the discontent with the government of Philip II amongst Moriscos, the Aragonese, the Portuguese, and the grandees of Spain: "To these must be added the descendants of people who, at any time, have been condemned by the Inquisition; these live in Spain in the greatest desperation, because they are considered infamous until the third and fourth generation, and consequently unable to hold any position, dignity or benefit".[12]

With the exception of Italian diplomats, the accounts of foreign travellers during the 1500s reveal the prevailing atmosphere of daily distrust and fear surrounding any aspect related to the Holy Office, an atmosphere that appears to have intensified in the final decades of the century. The German traveller Jacob Cuelbis shared his experiences and emotions as a foreigner who witnessed the Inquisition in action. While in Seville in 1599, he described the burning site (*quemadero*) as follows:

> A raised stone platform, similar to those in Germany, where justice is administered to wrongdoers. Here, those condemned for heretical depravity are customarily burned by the lords of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. It is said

10. *Ibid*., pp. 353-355 and 375.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 628.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 643.

> that the craftsman who built it, who was himself an officer of the court and motivated by devotion, was the first to be burned there after being accused of heresy.

However, the most telling aspect of Cuelbis's account was the note he scribbled in the margin, in agitated and disorderly handwriting, regarding his sense of being watched: "One cannot look freely due to the immediate suspicion that people develop toward foreigners". Shortly thereafter, he experienced first-hand the consequences of being suspected when an officer of the Inquisition arrived and questioned the innkeeper about the travellers' activities in the city. He describes how he managed to avoid having his papers searched, and that he then immediately headed to Sanlúcar and Cádiz while "telling the innkeeper that they intended to travel to Córdoba and return after a few days".[13]

In the 17th century, it was the French who most frequently referred to the Inquisition, detailing its origins, structure, procedures, victims, and *autos de fe*. According to Doris Moreno, Bartholomé Joly was the traveller who most effectively examined the quotidian complexities of inquisitorial matters.[14] Joly, a counsellor to the king of France, travelled through Spain between 1603 and 1604 and offered a critical perspective on the country and the Holy Office. He particularly emphasized its ability to influence any legal process through denunciation, secrecy, torture, and fear:

> Their method of operation is to encourage people, through both rewards and the threat of excommunication, to condemn those they know to have spoken against the faith or whose religious standing is suspect. They dispatch numerous thugs and spies into the countryside, who are found everywhere, gathering what they hear and observe on such matters. These informants then report to those lords, who may seize the accused by the neck if the case warrants it, or otherwise record their name on red paper and monitor their actions to determine whether they persist in their offences.

Silence and caution were the recommendations left in writing for his compatriots if they had to travel through the peninsular lands of Philip III:

> One who is nurtured in the ordinary manner as Catholics living in France, should not fear major obstacles with the Inquisition in Spain; because, unless

13. Salvador Raya Retamero, *Andalucía en 1599 visto por Diego Cuelbis*, Malaga, Caligrama, 2002, pp. 45 and 49.
14. Moreno, *La invención*, pp. 144-145.

> it is through contempt or malice in thinking, nothing is imputed to us except for some inadvertence, such as having failed to salute the Cross or attend Mass on a holy day or similar matter, without habit or evil intention.

As long as appearances were maintained and external religious expressions respected, the French traveller considered that one was not at risk. Nevertheless, Joly warned that “the only real danger lies in slander and enemies”. Above all, one had to avoid the prisons of the Holy Office due to their physical and emotional consequences, for “they are harsh and inflict a prolonged suffering”, compounded by “melancholy, apprehension, terror, fear of death, deterioration of health, and the ruin of one’s wealth and marriage”. And even if, despite all, the verdict happened to be favourable to the accused, so the French counsellor remarked, the mere experience of imprisonment was “like a blow from a frying pan, it may not harm you, but it leaves a mark”. Joly’s advice was to remain silent, prudent, and discreet: “The true remedy for this, and the counsel I would give to avoid such inconveniences, is to keep silent and speak little in Spain, holding as a fundamental maxim and inviolable rule for those travelling through the country this solemn proverb: ‘Regarding the Pope, the King, and the Inquisition, hush, hush’”.[15]

It is little wonder that the Flemish Jehan Lhermite, after serving as a gentleman of the chamber to Philip II and as French tutor to the future Philip III, recorded in his account of his voyage through Spain that “all foreigners, much more so than elsewhere, are suspected in matters of religion; therefore, travellers wishing to visit this country would do well to obtain the necessary documentary proof from their cities, parishes, and places of origin as evidence of their faith, religion, and good conduct”. It is also understandable that his remarks on the Holy Office might appear contradictory. Indeed, all subjects of the king, whether peninsular or not, navigated between doubt, ambiguity, and dissimulation. After attending an *auto de fe* in Toledo, Lhermite described it as a “sorrowful and deplorable spectacle to witness”, yet at the same time he affirmed his Catholic faith and the necessity of an institution like the Inquisition:

> This manner of dispensing justice for judging religious crimes in Spain is highly necessary due to the many strange and perverse sects and religions that still exist in this nation. I believe, regrettably, that this old breed of Moham-

15. *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, vol. II, pp. 739 and 743.

> medans, Jews, and barbarians – enemies of our Holy Catholic and Roman Faith – will not be easily eradicated, but it can be kept suppressed and stifled so that it does not spread further.[16]

In 1659, Antoine de Gramont, the extraordinary ambassador of Louis XIV, also keenly observed the strategies of dissimulation or outward conformity deployed among the subjects of the Spanish monarchy in light of the daily presence and threat of the Holy Office. After describing the counsellors of the Suprema and Grand Inquisitor as mediocre and ignorant, the French duke remarked that "the lack of devotion among certain Spaniards and their masquerade of religion is something beyond comprehension", and he concluded:

> Their religion is, in every sense, among the most convenient, and they are meticulous in observing everything that does not cause them any inconvenience. They would severely punish a blasphemer of God's name or a person who spoke against the saints and the mysteries of our faith, for, as they say, one must be mad to commit a crime that brings no pleasure whatsoever.[17]

The key to understanding the daily tension was noted by François Bertaut, another counsellor who accompanied Ambassador Gramont in 1659. After harshly criticizing the Holy Office, Bertaut stated that the inquisitors and their personnel "have nothing else to do but to investigate the immoral lives and doctrines of the people, and each is eager to distinguish themselves in their role; they have spies everywhere".[18] In 1620, one of these informants facilitated the arrest by the Granada tribunal of the Scottish traveller William Lithgow, who left a detailed description of the interrogation and torture he endured before being released thanks to the intervention of Sir Robert Mansell. Lithgow's account of his experiences appeared in a significantly expanded version of a travel book, first published in 1614 and 1616, which he reissued in 1623 under a modified title that pointed to "the Grievous Tortures He Suffered by the Inquisition of Malaga in Spain, His Miraculous Discovery and Delivery Thence, and of His Last and Late

16. *El pasatiempos de Jehan Lhermite. Memorias de un gentilhombre flamenco en la corte de Felipe II y Felipe III*, ed. by Jesús Sáenz de Miera, Madrid, Fundación Carolina-Ediciones Doce Calles, 2005, pp. 96 and 130.

17. *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, vol. III, pp. 378 and 383.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 397.

Return from the Northern Isles".[19] From then onward, the harrowing pages were included in the work, which became one of the most frequently republished English travel books (with editions in 1632, 1640, 1682, 1692, 1770, and 1814). Lithgow's account reinforced the perception among English merchants about the risks they faced if inquisitorial officials interfered with their activities. This concern was not new. As early as 18 December 1604, in a letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Ralph Winwood, it was noted that Englishmen frequently complained about their treatment by officers of the Holy Office, "who do as they please and submit to no authority, for they claim to be outside the jurisdiction of the King". Hence, the well-known clause in the Treaty of Peace of 1604, which explicitly stated that English subjects should "not be harassed by the Inquisition". Yet complaints continued.[20]

Throughout the 18th century, the Holy Office continued to provoke all manner of negative comments among foreign travellers. Its perception was shaped by a combination of factual evidence, inherited stereotypes, and its widely shared rejection among Europe's intellectual elite. In his *Journey through Spain*, written between 1729 and 1730, the Frenchman Etienne de Silhouette made the most accurate remark of the century regarding the Holy Office: "It is difficult to gain a true understanding of the Inquisition. No traveller, however prudent, is able to penetrate what they wish to remain impenetrable […] and those under the jurisdiction of that Tribunal do not have the freedom to speak about it". Nonetheless, this did not prevent him from making critical judgments about the hypocrisy that had spread among Spaniards as a survival mechanism under the pressure of the Holy Office. The Frenchman concluded with this statement: "Since the Inquisition is not a means suited to persuasion, it reproduces outward appearances, but little truth within".[21]

In his own way, the Dominican Jean Baptiste Labat, during his journey through Andalusia in 1705 and 1706, ironically commented on the effectiveness of the tribunal, comparing the persecution of Judaizers with the

19. William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures, and Painefull Peregrinations of Long Nineteene Yeares Travailes from Scotland, to the Most Famous Kingdoms in Europe, Asia and Affrica*, London, Nicholas Okes, 1632, pp. 440-583.

20. Patricia Shaw Fairman, *España vista por los ingleses del siglo XVII*, Madrid, SGEL, 1981, pp. 293-294; Werner Thomas, *La represión del protestantismo en España, 1517-1648*, Leuven, Leuven University Press, 2001, pp. 320-324.

21. *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, vol. IV, pp. 604-607.

widespread persistence of religious and cultural practices that "smelled" of Judaism among Spaniards at the beginning of the 18th century:

> This example shows that the Law of Moses continues to be highly respected in Spain; it is also in obedience to this law that women who have given birth do not go to church until after a certain number of days, determined according to the sex of the child they have brought into the world. Although this smells of Judaism from a hundred leagues away, these are not, however, cases for the Inquisition; otherwise, the entire population of Spain would have to be brought before the Holy Office. But woe to him who has swept his house inward, who has put on a clean white shirt on a Saturday, who has a repugnance to eating eel, hare, rabbit, or pork! He is a Jew – no further evidence is needed – and soon the fire is lit.[22]

Others also spoke of the irony of the same (in)effectiveness, pointing out the unintended consequences of the publicity effects of inquisitorial censorship. The bookseller François Grasset witnessed a book burning in Madrid in 1765 and informed Rousseau as follows:

> Will you not smile, my esteemed compatriot, when you learn that I saw in Madrid, in the main church of the Jerónimos, on a Sunday after High Mass, in the presence of a great number of *imbéciles* and *ex catedra*, your *Émile* being burned in the form of a fourth volume? This prompted several Spanish gentlemen and the ambassadors of foreign courts to procure it at any cost and have it delivered by post.[23]

In the second half of the 18th century, French travellers combined in their accounts the bloody trope with the decadent state of the institution. Pierre Beaumarchais travelled through Spain in 1764 to avenge his sister Lisette who had been abandoned after being promised in marriage.[24] In his letters to the duke of La Vallière he remarked that the '"horrible Inquisition was not, in reality, a despotic and unjust tribunal", but, on the contrary, "the most moderate of tribunals due to the wise precautions that Charles III, the reigning monarch, has taken against the abuses that might have been cause for complaint".[25] The diplomat Jean François Peyron,

22. *Ibid.*, p. 554.

23. Bartolomé Bennassar and Lucile Bennassar, *Le voyage en Espagne. Anthologie des voyageurs français et francophones du XVIe au XIXe siècle*, Paris, Robert Laffont, 1998, p. 198.

24. See Carlos García-Romeral, *Bio-bibliografía de Viajeros por España y Portugal (siglo XVIII)*, Madrid, Ollero & Ramos, 2000, pp. 49-50.

25. *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, vol. V, p. 42.

following his stay in Madrid from 1777 to 1778, acknowledged without much conviction the comments he had received regarding the tribunal's decline: "I do not intend to either defend or satirize this Tribunal. They claim it is now very moderate, and I am pleased to believe it so: I will report only facts; all the reflections that could be made on this matter have already been exhausted".[26] Even the controversial Jean-Marie Fleuriot, Marquis de Langle, in his *Voyage de Figaro*, recognized more than mere inquisitorial decadence under the reign of Charles III. His description of the *autos de fe*, quite stereotypical, was an ironic litany on the religious fervour of many Spaniards and the anachronistic repression of the Holy Office: "For the past century, *autos de fe* have been quite rare; only occasionally, to assist the people, to keep the executioners from growing rusty, to please God, to let Him inhale the scent of a smoking bundle of firewood, to obtain rain, fair weather, good olives, and fine wine, the Spaniards burn a few sorcerers".[27]

In her study of accounts by Italian travellers during the second half of the 18th century, María Enriqueta Soriano Pérez-Villamil suggested that some of these travellers arrived burdened with prejudices and negative perceptions about Spain. This may have been the case for the Turin-born Giuseppe Baretti, who blamed the Inquisition for all religious deviations and for having stifled Spanish creativity.[28] Yet no other group of travellers throughout the 18th century exhibited greater prejudices than the English, despite acknowledging the institution's decline and the relaxation of its mechanisms of control. The practice of pretending to be Catholic while in Spain constituted the most severe critique of Catholic and inquisitorial intolerance. Such was the case of Philip Thicknesse, who "always carried a small crucifix or two, some rosaries, and other incidental proofs of my faith", ensuring that "these powerful protectors were always clearly visible, as if by chance". According to him, in 1775 the Inquisition still continued to inspire fear, although he recognized "its passivity regarding freedom of expression on religious matters that he observed in some public places in Madrid". Similarly, in 1761 Edward Clarke noted that "in

26. *Ibid.*, p. 396.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 818.

28. María Enriqueta Soriano Pérez-Villamil, *España vista por los historiógrafos y viajeros italianos (1750-1799)*, Madrid, Narcea, 1980, p. 159.

twelve years, no *auto de fe* has been held in Madrid […], the influence of this tribunal appears to be visibly declining and nearing its end”.[29]

2. *The sambenitos as seen by foreigners*

“I saw no antiquities; above the main door of the cathedral there were letters surrounding Christ, as well as above him in two lines, and four below that I could not read” reported the Portuguese geographer Juan Bautista Labaña, arrived in Jaca on 25 November 1610. Labaña visited the cathedral and, upon observing its façade, recorded that he could scarcely find any inscriptions. Once inside the cloister, however, he identified more examples of written culture: “It is very old in construction, consistent with that time, along the walls of which there are many burial inscriptions of those canons from three or four hundred years ago”.[30] Not all travellers had the same observations, nor did they display equal curiosity in deciphering and interpreting the inscriptions they encountered. Labaña’s case was unique. Appointed chief cosmographer by Philip II, between 1610 and 1611 he undertook a journey through Aragon at the request of its Cortes to create a cartographic survey of that kingdom. The result was an *Itinerary of the Kingdom of Aragon,* and a map completed in 1615.[31]

The risks of using travel impressions as historical sources have already been discussed. Yet, on occasion, historians themselves may add elements that further distort the travelogues’ accounts. In 1616, Cassiano dal Pozzo, a keen observer and member of the Accademia dei Lincei, accompanied the young Cardinal Barberini on his visit to Philip IV to seek a peaceful resolution to the Valtellina conflict. The Roman scholar and collector was also in charge of writing up the cardinal’s account of his legation. On 10 May, before reaching the royal court, they stayed in Barajas and visited its church, where dal Pozzo, according to the Spanish translation by Alessandra Anselmi, who edited the travel account, recorded the following:

29. Ian Robertson, *Los curiosos impertinentes. Viajeros ingleses por España desde la accesión de Carlos III hasta 1855*, Barcelona, Serbal - CSIC, 1988, pp. 43 and 122-123.

30. *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, vol. III, p. 39.

31. Carlos García-Romeral, *Bio-bibliografía de viajeros por España y Portugal (siglos XV-XVI-XVII)*, Madrid, Ollero & Ramos, 2001, pp. 168-169.

> At the entrance of the church, on the left-hand side, there were a large number of wide, square-shaped *tombstones* [my emphasis], [each] about two *arms in length*, where various individuals condemned by the Holy Office for heresy and *marranos* were named, along with their names, surnames, homeland, image, and torches. They were arranged in such a way that [the entire display] resembled a tapestry, and in this manner, they could also be seen in other parts of the church.

However, upon comparing this translation with the original text, it becomes evident that these were not tombstones but rather *cartelli* (placards). Without specifying whether they were made of paper or cloth, the 17th-century scholar's interpretation was accurate. As was frequently the case, the *sambenitos* were displayed together in a framed arrangement and, to dal Pozzo, they served a decorative rather than an intimidating function.

> Al entrar di detta chiesa alla parte della mancha si vedeva una quantità grande di *cartelli*, quadri larghi, e lunghi due braccia in circa dove eran nominati diversi condannati dal Sto. Officio per heretici, e marrani con nomi, cognomi, e patria, e effigie, e fiamme, e stavano accosti in modo che pareva un parato, e così si vedeva in altri luoghi.[32]

Not all travellers were as curious and observant: their level of education did not allow for it. For this reason, it is also necessary to highlight the absence of references to objects that were undoubtedly on display or visible when the travellers claimed to have visited certain locations. In other words, the *sambenitos* seen by foreigners were just as significant as the ones they failed to notice, even by the same traveller. For instance, in 1659 the Frenchman François Bertaut was on his way back to France when he stopped in Logroño. There, he learned that the Inquisition had imprisoned a gentleman "because he was too intelligent for them and because he had argued too passionately about free will". This served as an excuse for him to write his opinion on inquisitorial repression: "They do not often imprison anyone other than those suspected of being Moriscos or Jews, as these are the ones they most frequently arrest and parade through the streets with a 'crown' [sic], which is a kind of tall, pointed cap made of yellow and red paper; for this reason, they call them *encorozados*". He was speaking from hearsay. The French counsellor described an *auto de fe* without ever

32. *El diario del viaje a España del cardenal Francesco Barberini escrito por Cassiano del Pozzo*, trans. and ed. by Alessandra Anselmi, Madrid, Fundación Carolina - Doce Calles, 2004, pp. 61 and 67-68.

having attended one. Instead of referring to *sambenitados*, he called them *encorozados*, and beyond that, he distinguished even further categories:

> The Council and officers of the Inquisition march ahead on mules; the family follows behind, and the *encorozados* walk in the middle. They are taken in this way to the Dominican churches, where they receive a lengthy sermon. Some are whipped when they relax, while others are given the *sambenito*, which is a kind of stole that they are forced to wear around their neck, and these are the ones called *sambenitos*.

His confusion extends to the *mantetas* as well, which were framed canvases reproducing the *sambenitos* of *relajados*[33] or *reconciliados*.[34] These were hung in the parishes of the condemned, in the main churches where the tribunal resided, and in the Dominican convent of the city: “They write the names of all those who have been caught in this manner that year on the church walls, with St. Andrew’s crosses, and most churches in Spain are full of them”. This final remark on the proliferation is noteworthy. If *sambenitos* were indeed displayed in most churches – although not painted directly onto the walls – how is it possible that Bertaut failed to record their presence in previous visits to religious buildings? For instance, when describing the cathedral of Malaga, he remarked that it was “so beautiful and so well adorned” but made no mention of the *sambenitos* hanging on its walls, even though they were there. The same occurred when he entered the headquarters of the Inquisition in Córdoba and read the phrase *Exsurge Domine et judica causam tuam* inscribed on a canopy, yet at no point did he refer to the numerous *sambenitos* displayed in the courtyard of the nearby mosque-cathedral. Why such omissions in his account?[35]

Bertaut is not the only example of a traveller recording his observations as his journey progressed. In his detailed description of the Holy Office, Joly correctly identified the garments worn by those condemned in the *auto de fe*: “Each of these wretches is dressed in that *sambenito* tunic and carries on their chest, hanging from their neck, an image depicting the punishment they are to suffer. On their head, they wear a sort of ignominious mitre, which in Spain is called a *coroza*”. However, it was only later in his journey that he wrote about the impact of seeing so many *mantetas* in the cathedral of Valencia and no fewer *sambenitados* in its streets:

33. Those handed over to the secular arm for execution.
34. Those who, after abjuring, were pardoned but subjected to public penance.
35. *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, vol. III, pp. 397, 431, 447 and 500.

> Above the church door, there are many *sambenitos*; these are cloaks or small yellow hoods, sometimes painted with black crosses, which the Inquisition orders those suspected of errors in faith to wear. I have seen them walking through the city, in plain sight, wearing them over their cloaks. They are compelled to do so, like the ancient serfs and *furciferi*, not daring to defy the order, as they are condemned to it. Eventually, these garments are hung in the church, so much so that to discredit someone as a Jew or Moor, people say: "The Church holds the record of their nobility".[36]

It is striking that references to the different types of *sambenitos* do not appear in the 16th-century travel accounts but rather in those written in the following century, despite their widespread and well-known presence in *autos de fe*, on the streets, and in churches during the 1500s. A different case arises when the traveller in question had personally been condemned by the Holy Office; in such instances, they did indeed mention *sambenitos*, although not those displayed in churches but rather the ones they were required to wear during the *auto de fe*. The English traveller Miles Philips, who was prosecuted by the tribunal in Mexico, was reconciled in the *auto de fe* of 1574. He provided an account of the strenuous preparations for donning the infamous garment before the ceremony:

> On the eve of the event, they came to the prison where we were being held, bringing with them the garments of fools they had prepared for us, which they call *sambenitos*. These are sacks of yellow cloth with red crosses on the front and back. They were so preoccupied with dressing us in these outfits and taking us to a large courtyard, instructing us on how we were to proceed to the stage or platform for the *auto* the following day, that they did not let us sleep at all that night.[37]

Significantly, all the references to these garments relied on a common, yet erroneous synthesis regarding their description and interpretation. Take James Howell, who gave a rather detailed account of the Inquisition in a letter to Lord Mohun in August 1632, in which he described the *sambenitos* as resembling "a paper mitre, upon which is painted a man burning in the flames of hell". The traveller Ellys Veryard also exhibited total confusion. Passing through Granada in 1686, and after presenting the usual

36. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 712 and 741.

37. Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Relaciones de varios viajeros ingleses en la Ciudad de México y otros lugares de la Nueva España, siglo XVI*, Madrid, Porrúa, 1963, pp. 124-125.

summary of the history of the tribunal, he emphasized its unpopularity and even claimed that the accused who were found innocent were "paraded through the streets in procession, dressed in a white tunic, to demonstrate their innocence".[38]

Other travellers were more concise and precise, although not necessarily more reliable. Such was the case of the Polish traveller Jakub Sobieski, who visited Logroño in 1611 and who, after mentioning the tribunal's seat, briefly added: "There is another building that serves as a penitentiary for a certain period, for the converts who wear small yellow or black crosses to distinguish themselves".[39] He did not concern himself with detailing the nature or name of the garments worn by these *reconciliados*, nor did he question why they were held in such a unique prison. Around 1680, a Moroccan ambassador to the court of Charles II did make such distinctions, but referred to the garment as a "yellow cross on the shoulder":

> In the event that the accusation against him is proven or if he confesses, he is forced to abjure Judaism and embrace the Christian faith. If, upon renouncing his religion, he converts to Christianity, he is released from prison, paraded, and displayed in the markets with a yellow cross on his shoulder, signifying that he formerly belonged to the Jewish faith and has now become a Christian. He is required to wear this cross for six months, after which it is removed, and he is then fully integrated into the Christian community.[40]

These erroneous accounts, whether due to poor translation or misunderstanding, have led historians to question the veracity of the travel narratives. According to García Mercadal, the book by the French author A. Jouvin (*Le voyageur d'Europe*, 1672-1676) was probably the result of "a fictitious journey".[41] While his explanation of the Holy Office was indeed quite simplistic, his remark on the *mantetas* was noteworthy:

> They have an Inquisition, which is a judicial body responsible for punishing those who speak against religion. Those convicted of being heretics or Jews

38. Shaw, *España vista por los ingleses*, pp. 293-294.

39. *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, vol. III, p. 179.

40. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 320. Cited also in José María Díez Borque, *La vida española en el Siglo de Oro según los extranjeros*, Barcelona, Serbal, 1990, p. 116.

41. Concha Casado and Antonio Carreira acknowledge the uncertainty, although some descriptions of León appear to have been witnessed by the traveller; Concha Casado Lobato and Antonio Carreira Vérez, *Viajeros por León (siglos XII-XIX)*, Madrid, Santiago García, 1985, pp. 26-27.

are burned, and their name, country, status, and image are represented in a painting that serves as a sort of tapestry in the Church of the Inquisition, which is ordinarily located in the Dominican convent.

It may have been a mere armchair journey, but unlike other travellers Jouvin had precise knowledge regarding the display of *sambenitos* in the Dominican convent of Valladolid. His comment on the decorative rather than disgraceful nature of the hanging *mantetas* is also surprising: “There is an Inquisition in this convent, as can be seen in several small paintings depicting those who have been accused of heresy and burned, and which serve as tapestries in the church of this convent”.[42] Doubts have also been raised as to whether Madame d’Aulnoy actually travelled through Spain between 1679 and 1681. Indeed, her references to the Holy Office are imprecise and appear to be second hand, as, for instance, her description of an *auto de fe* in Madrid, where she makes no mention of the *sambenitos*. Furthermore, in her eagerness to emphasize Spain’s decline, she includes an episode about an old woman accused of witchcraft, who was arrested by the Inquisition and paraded through the streets wearing a *sambenito* (*carteles* y *atavío*) while being whipped. Despite the fact that victims of the Inquisition accused of witchcraft would not have worn a mitre but a pointed cap (*coroza*), she stated: “They tie these witches to the tail of a donkey and place them on its back, covering them with a paper mitre painted in all colours, with signs displaying the crimes they have committed. Dressed in this manner, they are paraded through the city, where anyone who wishes is free to strike them or throw mud at them”.[43]

Perhaps the best example of a fictional account is the novelized journey of Étienne-François de Lantier, written around 1780. After passing through Girona, where the general of the Capuchins inspected his books with the 1747 *Index of Forbidden Books* in hand, he arrived in Barcelona, where he was arrested, imprisoned, and dressed in a garment reminiscent of a *sambenito*: “I appeared, dressed in yellow, holding a green candle in my hand, before the three priests of Pluto. In the hall, the banner of the Holy Office was displayed, bearing images of a grill, pincers, and a bonfire, along with the words: justice, charity, mercy. What atrocious irony!”. Thanks to the efforts of the French consul in the Catalan capital, he was released from the tribunal’s prison in Barcelona. Upon his departure, the diplomat and the

42. *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, vol. III, pp. 579, 582 and 606.
43. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 80 and 156-157.

traveller had a conversation in which Lantier mockingly remarked on the disgrace of the Inquisition's garb:

> Sir, respect the Inquisition as the Romans respected evil spirits. One can enjoy great freedom in Spain – one may be a scoundrel, a thief, even an atheist – so long as one bends the knee before the idol. […] I have renounced – I added – to the decoration of the *sambenito*, just as I have renounced that of the Golden Fleece.[44]

3. *Townsend and five hundred records*

The account containing the most extensive information about *sambenitos* – their location, typology, and symbolic power – was composed by the Englishman Joseph Townsend during his journeys through Spain between 1786 and 1787. As he visited the Dominican convent in Barcelona, he remarked on the large number of *mantetas* hanging in the cloister, including a rather surprising detail about the preservation of *sambenitos* belonging to women:

> There are more than five hundred records of sentences passed on heretics, containing their name, their age, their place of abode, the time when they were condemned, and the event; whether the party was burnt in person or in effigy, or whether he recanted and was saved, not from the fire and the faggot, for then he might relapse, but from the flame of hell. Most of these were women. The first date is A.D. 1489, and the last, 1726. Under each inscription there is a portrait of the heretic, some half, others more than three parts, devoured by devils. I was so much struck with the fantastic forms which the painters had given to their daemons and the strange attitudes of the heretics, that I could not resist my inclination to copy some of them when no one was walking in the cloister.[45]

It is surprising that, although they had not been renewed or expanded since 1726, the traveller was able to observe and read the *mantetas* with such ease and clarity. Despite this, Townsend's account highlights the paradox of these *mantas*. On one hand, they were a permanent and enduring display

44. *Ibid.*, p. 614.

45. Joseph Townsend, *A Journey through Spain*, London, C. Dilly, 1791, vol. I, pp. 120-121.

that reinforced the symbolic power of the *sambenitos*; on the other, they exposed the decadent tribunals to a certain ridicule:

> Sometime after this, fitting with one of the inquisitors, who did me the honour of a visit, he in a careless manner took up my memorandum book, and as chance would have it, opened precisely on the leaf which contained my drawings. I laughed; he coloured; but not one word escaped from either at the time. Fifteen months after this, when I returned to Barcelona, he smiled, and said: "You see that I can keep a secret, and that we are not strangers to principles of honour".[46]

The peculiar engraving (FIG. 1), inserted in the first and subsequent London editions of his book, aptly summarizes not only the visual impact the *mantetas* had on him but also the comments of the inquisitor. It is understandable that they laughed and blushed upon seeing the sketchbook. Townsend did not reproduce an exposed *sambenito*, but rather a personal synthesis of the multiple graphic and oral messages he had received during those visits. It would be taking things too far to consider his sketch as unquestionable proof of the figurative culture of infamy of that time. It was just another invention, typical of the embellishments of travel literature.[47] While his journey was not fictional, the information he accumulated was sometimes second hand or extracted from printed accounts from the past. In this way, for example, he was able to recount what happened at the *auto de fe* held at the church of the convent of Santo Domingo in Madrid on 19 May 1784, without having been actually present. In his account, he highlighted the ritual that accompanied the reading of the sentence imposed on the beggar Ignacio Rodríguez for selling love potions:

> They proceeded to throw over the shoulders of the beggar his *san benito*, or more properly his *saco bendito*, being the sackcloth with St. Andrew's cross, anciently worn by penitents. On his head, they placed the cap with serpents,

46. *Ibid*., p. 121.

47. For a different appreciation, see Cloe Cavero de Carondelet and Yonatan Glazer-Eytan, "Infamy within Sight: Making and Unmaking Sambenitos in the Early Modern Iberian World", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 77 (2024), pp. 407-408. Contrary to what Townsend noted in the drawing, there is no record of a person named Oliver Boer being condemned to the stake in 1566, or in later dates, on the lists published by Juan Blázquez Miguel, "Catálogo de los procesos inquisitoriales del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de Barcelona", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie IV, *Historia moderna*, 3 (1990), pp. 11-158.

> lizards, and black beetles, a green candle in his hand, and round his neck a halter.

To better illustrate this highly decorated attire to his readers, he defined the *sambenito* – almost as if employing an oxymoron – as "the disgraceful badge, by which all who have worn it are rendered, with their families, infamous for ever".[48] During his stay in Granada, Townsend noted the widespread belief that the Inquisition had failed in its primary objective of monitoring heterodoxies. Whether by direct observation or, more likely, through the comments of his hosts, the English traveller remarked that, by the late 18th century, Moorish practices and networks of solidarity among families of convert origin still persisted in Spain:

> And even to the present day, both Mahometans and Jews are thought to be numerous in Spain; the former among the mountains, the latter in all great cities. Their principal disguise is more than common zeal in external conformity to all the precepts of the Church; and the most apparently bigoted, not only of the clergy but of the inquisitors themselves, are by some persons suspected to be Jews.[49]

Weeks earlier, during his visit to the tribunal in Seville, Townsend had already been convinced of the unstoppable decadence of the Holy Office, not only because the sign of the times no longer favoured it, but also because the profile of the inquisitors was no longer the same as in previous centuries: "The Inquisition is certainly less formidable now, since light is everywhere diffused, than it was in darker ages, when superstition reigned; and the inquisitors of the present day, if not more humane, are at least more humble than their predecessors in remoter periods".[50]
By the late 18th century, travellers were witnesses to the fading of inquisitorial power, despite the persistence of dishonourable symbols such as the *sambenitos*. Around 1800, the Englishman William Jacob accurately summarized the context in which the Ancient Régime was crumbling:

> The truth is that it seemed to me that among those who most fervently advocate for the destruction of the old institutions, I have rarely heard the Inquisition spoken of as a matter of great concern. I have frequently raised the topic

48. Townsend, *A Journey through Spain*, vol. II, pp. 351-352.
49. *Ibid*., vol. III, p. 84.
50. *Ibid*., vol. II, pp. 343-344.

> and have found […] that, although it was originally harmful, it is now too insignificant to merit attention.[51]

The remnants of the Inquisition could be visited almost as relics of a time that was coming to an end. Jacob asserted that he encountered no difficulty in obtaining the necessary permission to see the Inquisition building in Seville: "And I was able to move freely inside". In an effort to overcome his prejudices, the traveller concluded his distorted vision by remarking that it was "a cheerful and charming dwelling, bearing no resemblance whatsoever to the notions the English have formed about it".[52]

4. *Final note*

The cultural gaze of travellers was conditioned by their educational background, by their beliefs, or by the burden of prejudices they carried before embarking on their journeys. However, not all travellers behaved in the same manner, nor was the Inquisition the same in the early 16th century as it was in the mid-17th or the late 18th century. It is understandable that these individuals held differing views on the Holy Office. Their accounts serve as testimonies, offering a range of perspectives filled with nuances or stereotypes, depending on their religion or country of origin. Not all perceived the same atmosphere, images, or fears, yet they collectively contributed to the dissemination of a monolithic image of the institution. In their accounts, travellers reflected not so much the complex reality of Spanish religious practices and inquisitorial repression, but how their readers preferred to view these matters, whether British, French, or Italian. The comments on the Inquisition are a good example of this perception, conditioned by the very image of the institution that circulated throughout Europe and by the tastes of the reading public.

Opinion always preceded observation. It was within this constant tension between prejudice and perception that the *sambenitos*, particularly those publicly displayed, drew special attention of travellers due to their symbolic power. Moreover, their descriptions were often incomplete, sometimes due to erroneous translations of texts or information received, at

51. William Jacob, *Viajes por el Sur. Cartas escritas entre 1809-1810*, Sevilla, Portada, 2002, pp. 129-130.

52. *Ibid.*

other times because of the poor preservation or visibility of the *mantetas*, making them difficult to understand. Even in the late 18th century, when the Inquisition was in decline and undergoing change, *sambenitos* were reimagined and reinvented by foreign observers as exotic and symbolic remnants of the Holy Office.

Fig. 1. Anonymous, *Sambenito*, in Joseph Townsend, *A Journey Through Spain*, London, C. Dilly, 1791, vol. I, pp. 120-121.

Ana Isabel López-Salazar

Golden Age Literature and Inquisitorial Images. Some Notes on *Don Quixote*

1. *A long debate*

In a small footnote in his 1925 book *El pensamiento de Cervantes*, Américo Castro stated unequivocally: "I do not believe that it is possible to identify attacks on the Inquisition without forcing the text".[1] *El pensamiento de Cervantes* marked a turning point in Cervantes studies. Despite the criticisms that have been levelled at Castro's post-Civil War ideas on the "historical reality" of Spain, there is no doubt that the ideas in this book, which predate the war by far, are still an irreplaceable starting point for understanding the greatest work of Castilian literature. In his essay, Castro attacked the positivists, but also the so-called esotericists who constructed a Cervantes who prefigured the ideal of a "republican freethinker", in the

This essay is the result of discussions with Professor Joaquín González Cuenca, Professor of Golden Age Literature at the University of Castilla-La Mancha, who sadly passed away in 2023. The ideas presented here were discussed at the meeting "Don Quijote y su tiempo" which he organised in Ciudad Real in April 2005 and, more recently, at the third annual Inquire conference *Inquisitions, Iconography, and Memory*, held at the University of Coimbra in November 2023. This research was funded by the Ministry of Science and Innovation of Spain (PID2020-113602GB-I00) and by the Complutense University research group "Virtuosa Pars. Política y cultura de las élites ibéricas en la Alta Edad Moderna (España y Portugal, siglos XVI-XVII)". Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations are from Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, trans. by Edith Grossman, introduction by Harold Bloom, New York, Harper Collins, 2003. I would like to thank Nicole Reinhardt for her help with the English text.

1. Américo Castro, *El pensamiento de Cervantes*, Madrid, Imprenta de la librería y casa editorial Hernando, 1925, p. 306.

words of Anthony Close.[2] With the phrase quoted above concerning the Holy Office, Castro was trying to settle a question that had been raised periodically at least since the beginning of the 19th century. In fact, the question of Cervantes's attitude towards the Inquisition as well as the use of inquisitorial elements and images in *Don Quixote* and in his other works have given rise to repeated but inconclusive debates.

Any interpretation of Cervantes's opinion of the Holy Office must start from the work of the liberal scholar Antonio Puigblanch (1775-1840). It remains both significant and curious that today, when there seems to be an explosion of works analysing the image of the Inquisition in *Don Quixote* or the use of inquisitorial symbols and elements in Cervantes's work, not a single mention has been made of this pioneering author.[3] Here we could repeat Close's diagnosis of the success of certain interpretations of *Don Quixote*, when he pointed out that this was due to the fact that literary critics are not usually historians of ideas as well.[4] More specifically, I would contend that the neglect of Puigblanch's work is largely due to the fact that most scholars who study the relationship between Cervantes and the Inquisition are not historians.

Puigblanch was the first to "discover" the criticism of the Inquisition in *Don Quixote*, if such criticism exists, which is another matter. In the context of the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula and the debates in the Cortes of Cadiz that led to the promulgation of the Constitution of 1812, he published in the same city in 1811 *La Inquisición sin máscara*, which served as the foundation stone for those who advocated for the suppression of the Holy Office. According to Puigblanch, the Inquisition

2. Anthony Close, "Las interpretaciones del *Quijote*", in *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. by Francisco Rico, Barcelona, Galaxia Gutenberg - Círculo de Lectores - Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, 2004, pp. LXXIII-XCIV: LXXVII.

3. Although they address the use of inquisitorial elements in *Don Quixote*, Ryan Prendergast, R. K. Britton, Paul M. Johnson, and Javier Irigoyen-García do not cite Antonio Puigblanch's seminal and pioneering work; Ryan Prendergast, *Reading, Writing, and Errant Subjects in Inquisitorial Spain*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2011; R. K. Britton, *Don Quixote and the Subversive Tradition of Golden Age Spain*, Brighton-Chicago, Sussex Academic Press, 2019; Paul M. Johnson, *Affective Geographies. Cervantes, Emotion, and the Literary Mediterranean*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2021; Javier Irigoyen-García, *Dystopias of Infamy. Insult and Collective Identity in Early Modern Spain*, Lewisburg, Bucknell University Press, 2022.

4. Anthony Close, *The Romantic Approach to "Don Quixote"*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1978, p. 188.

was an anti-evangelical institution as well as an instrument in the hands of absolutism. As is well known, the Cortes of Cadiz, of which Puigblanch was not a member, abolished the Inquisition in 1813. From then on, his life followed the ups and downs of Spanish politics. Exiled to Geneva and England after Ferdinand VII's return to Spain in 1814, he became a member of the Cortes in 1820 after Riego's uprising but eventually had to go into exile again in London, when the invasion of the "Hundred Thousand Sons of Saint Louis" put an end to the Liberal Triennium in 1823.[5]

Puigblanch's work is of unquestionable importance for the interpretation of *Don Quixote*. As Close asserts, it represents "the first allegorical-satirical exegesis" of the work.[6] For Puigblanch, Cervantes had intended to critique the Holy Office, to "impugn" it, as he stated. He found evidence of this intention in chapters LXII and LXIX of the second part of the novel. In chapter LXII, inquisitors appear in the episode of the enchanted head of the Barcelonan knight Antonio Moreno, whereas chapter LXIX recounts the disenchantment of Altisidora in the palace of the dukes. After analysing both chapters, he concludes:

> There can be no doubt, then, that Cervantes in this passage creates a thorough and not very disguised satire of the proceedings of the Inquisition. Could his intention have been other than to ridicule it when, in spite of the terror that its name instils, he extracts the idea of a comical sketch (which is what this tale can be called) whose main roles are played by the two most extravagant characters that the most festive wit could forge?[7]

As is well known, in the first half of the 19th century philological and scholarly criticism prevailed in the scholarship on *Don Quixote.* In this respect Diego Clemencín's six-volume edition, published between 1833 and 1839, was a fundamental milestone. In his commentaries, Clemencín

5. On Antonio Puigblanch, see Enric Jardí, *Antoni Puigblanch. Els precedents de la Renaixença*, Barcelona, Aedos, 1960. Ignasi Fernández Terricabras, "Puigblanch, Antoni", in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, ed. by Adriano Prosperi, Vincenzo Lavenia, and John Tedeschi, Pisa, Edizioni della Normale, 2010, vol. III, pp. 1281-1282.

6. Anthoy Close, *La concepción romántica del "Quijote"*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2005, p. 134, n. 20, cited in Joaquín González Cuenca, *La seducción de Urganda. Vida y escritos de Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea (Sevilla, 1828-Barcelona, 1884)*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla-Universidad de Córdoba, 2019, vol. I, p. 351.

7. Antonio Puigblanch, *La Inquisición sin máscara. O disertación en que se prueban hasta la evidencia los vicios de este tribunal y la necesidad de que se suprima*, Cádiz, en la imprenta de don Josef Niel, 1811, p. 222.

(1765-1834) argued not only that Cervantes never criticized the Tribunal of the Faith in chapter LXIX of the second part, but also that he would have shared the general respect for the Holy Office, which is a very different matter from not criticizing the tribunal.[8]

From the mid-19th century onwards, the debate over the "meaning" of *Don Quixote* began in earnest. Key milestones were the works of Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea (1828-1881), from his first articles in the 1850s to his *La verdad sobre el "Quijote"* (1878), and finally his *La estafeta de Urganda* (1861). In his work, Benjumea, a staunch defender of liberalism and a democrat who even joined the ranks of the Democratic Party, attempted to decipher the hidden message of *Don Quixote*, its deep meaning, and to this end he carried out a symbolic and allegorical exegesis of the work. He presented Cervantes as an author opposed to all kinds of oppression, religious fanaticism, and royal absolutism.[9] For Benjumea, the Inquisition gave rise to the writing of *Don Quixote*, not because of the tribunal itself, but rather because of the abuses committed by the sinister character Juan Blanco de Paz.[10] Captive in Algiers like Cervantes, Blanco de Paz introduced himself as a commissioner of the Inquisition and, as an enemy of the poet, devoted himself to gathering information against him. Thus, in Benjumea's opinion, the Inquisition was "instrument, not cause" of Cervantes's misfortune.[11] In his opinion, *Don Quixote* was a defence of wisdom, truth, and

8. "Whenever Cervantes had occasion in his works to speak about the Holy Office, he made it very clear that he participated in the general respect that was elucidated for it, as well as in the common ideas of his time"; *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, compuesto por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra y comentado por don Diego Clemencín, Madrid, en la oficina de D. E. Aguado impresor de Cámara de S. M. y de su Real Casa, 1833-1839, pt II, vol. VI, p. 377.

9. *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, edición anotada por don Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea, Barcelona, Montaner y Simón editores, 1928 [1880-1883], vol. I, pp. 527-528.

10. "But do not think that Cervantes' esoteric satire is directed against the Inquisition, nor that this court prevented Cervantes from freely expressing his thoughts. […] The origin of Cervantes' misfortune is linked, indirectly, to the existence of this institution and to the religious fanaticism of Philip II; but its direct cause came from the abuses and evils generated perhaps against the will and spirit of the institution itself, whose zeal was exploited by many in bad faith"; Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea, *La estafeta de Urganda, o aviso de Cid Asam-Ouzad Benenjeli sobre el desencanto del Quijote*, London, J. Wertheimer and co., 1861, pp. 14-15. See also González Cuenca, *La seducción de Urganda*, vol. I, pp. 28-30 and 225-230.

11. Benjuema, *La estafeta de Urganda*, p. 15.

freedom.[12] Yet precisely because this was its hidden meaning ("mystical"), Benjumea did not consider that there were any critical allusions to the Holy Office either in chapter VI of the first part – that of the "donoso escrutinio" – or in chapter LXIX of the second part – the disenchantment of Altisidora – which we will discuss later on.[13]

The publication of *La estafeta de Urganda* in 1861 gave rise to a well-known controversy between Benjumea and the novelist Juan Valera (1824-1905) in the early 1860s. Many decades later, in 1905, Valera, in a discourse commissioned by the Royal Spanish Academy to celebrate the third centenary of the publication of *Don Quixote*, summed up his arguments against the "esotericists" – a term he used to refer to Benjumea – and those who wanted to make Cervantes a proponent of revolutionary ideas. For Valera, an advocate of the idea of "art for art's sake", *Don Quixote* was a book of entertainment, nothing more, but the most admirable one of all. He therefore concluded that the critique and mockery of certain institutions of the time that some had wanted to see in *Don Quixote* were no more than suppositions, and that it had not been Cervantes's intention to mock the inquisitorial ceremonies in the passage of Altisidora, which we will discuss in this text.[14]

In the first half of the 20th century, it was almost taken for granted that Cervantes would not have questioned the tribunal and, furthermore, that the Holy Office would not have acted particularly harshly towards *Don Quixote*. In 1916, Francisco Rodríguez Marín published an article entitled "Cervantes and the Inquisition", which he later integrated into his critical edition of *Don Quixote*. In it, he criticized the "anarchists and would be anarchists", the defenders of free thought and the esotericists who made Cervantes a precursor persecuted by the Holy Office. In reality, Rodríguez Marín was not concerned with Cervantes's opinion of the tribunal, but with the treatment he received from the Holy Office. He therefore limited himself to commenting on the only sentence in *Don Quixote* censured by the Spanish Inquisition: "Works of charity that are done lukewarmly and

12. Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea, *La verdad sobre el Quijote*, Madrid, imprenta de Gaspar editores, 1878, p. 236.

13. *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote*, vol. I, pp. 529-530, and vol. II, p. 647.

14. Juan Valera, *Discurso que por encargo de la Real Academia España escribió el Exmo. Sr. D. Juan Valera para conmemorar el tercer centenario de la publicación de "El Ingenioso Hidalgo D. Quijote de la Mancha"*, Madrid, Tip. de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1905, p. 26.

loosely have no merit and are worth nothing" (pt II, ch. XXXVI). Furthermore, in a critical edition of the work, he included, without going into detail, the list of chapters censured by the Portuguese Inquisition in the *Index* of the Inquisitor General D. Fernão Martins Mascarenhas, published in 1624.[15]

As we have pointed out, in 1925 Castro tried to settle the question by arguing that it was impossible to find attacks on the Holy Office in *Don Quixote.* Antonio Márquez, who argued that it was impossible to link certain ironic passages in the work to the Inquisition, followed this line of argument,[16] as did Rodríguez Marín in his critical edition of *Don Quixote*.

However, in the early 1970s the doubts regarding Cervantes's opinion of the Holy Office and how the tribunal is reflected in his work arose again. On the one hand, in 1970 Stephen Gilman published an extraordinary article entitled "Los inquisidores literarios de Cervantes" in which he presented a complex and, to a certain extent, contradictory interpretation of the matter. It should be remembered that Gilman had been a disciple of Castro himself, and that he drew on his master's ideas. In his article, Gilman argued that one of the characteristics of Cervantes, in his exercise of literary criticism, consisted in using inquisitorial terms to express his aesthetic judgements.[17] The passage of the "donoso escrutinio" (pt I, ch. VI) and the canon's speech (pt I, ch. XLVII-XLVIII) were a case in point. Of course, as we shall see below, the scrutiny episode is the one in which inquisitorial terms, concepts, and symbols are most clearly used. Gilman rejected that this was a parody of the Holy Office, given the power wielded by the Tribunal of the Faith.[18] However, he did not fail to point out, with two adverbs that sought to ensure that the sentence did not modify his main thesis of the absence of criticism of the Inquisition: "Let us note *marginally* that the Inquisition itself does not fail to come off badly *indirectly*" (ita-

15. Francisco Rodríguez Martín, "Cervantes y la Inquisición", *La Esfera*, III, 121 (1916); *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, Madrid, Atlas, 1949, vol. X, pp. 57-62. See Américo Castro, "Cervantes y la Inquisición", *Modern Philology*, 27/4 (1930), pp. 427-433.

16. Antonio Márquez, *Literatura e Inquisición en España. 1478-1834*, Madrid, Taurus, 1980, p. 14.

17. Stephen Gilman, "Los inquisidores literarios de Cervantes", in *Actas del III Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, Mexico, Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, El Colegio de México, 1970, p. 4.

18. Gilman, "Los inquisidores literarios", p. 6.

lics for emphasis). Why "marginally" or "indirectly"? And, further on, as he progresses in his study, Gilman goes so far as to argue that Cervantes "lets it be seen that the burning of books (and presumably of people) was as repugnant to him as it was to Montaigne".[19] He concluded with an assessment which, depending on how it is interpreted, may even contradict his initial statement: Cervantes's aesthetic judgement, he suggested, went hand in hand with an invective against literary critics "and even with a very surreptitious offensive against the Inquisition itself".[20] Yet Gilman was less concerned with an analysis of Cervantes's opinion of the Tribunal of the Faith than with addressing the – probably larger – question of the author's intention in writing his novel and his creative process.

Conversely, in 1972 Ludovic Osterc, a professor at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, published a short essay entitled *El Quijote, la Iglesia y la Inquisición* which again sought to elucidate Cervantes's attitude towards the Church as an institution, its members, and the Holy Office. In this work, which mixes analysis of *Don Quixote* with political-religious militancy and criticism of what he called conservative Cervantism, Osterc argued that the author had always taken a "totally hostile and mocking attitude" towards the Holy Office. This was allegedly due both to ideological issues and to Cervantes's unhappy personal experience with the above-mentioned commissioner of the Holy Office, Juan Blanco de Paz. The problem with the essay lies in the fact that Osterc proposed an interpretation of *Don Quixote* based on the assumptions of historical materialism, which led him to force and twist the quotations from the novel. In his opinion, Cervantes in *Don Quixote* attacked the ruling classes and the Church as the repository of the ideology that allowed the perpetuation of the oppressive system.

Over the past twenty years, the issue has re-emerged with conflicting opinions that, in part, reflect different academic currents and intellectual backgrounds. In 2005, José Antonio Escudero, a legal historian and specialist in the Spanish Inquisition, published a short article in which he collected the references in *Don Quixote* to the Inquisition and blood purity as well as to contemporary royal and inquisitorial criminal law. Escudero argued that, aside from the defence of freedom in general and of conscience in particular that he perceived in *Don Quixote*, no direct criticism can

19. *Ibid*., pp. 9-10.
20. *Ibid*., p. 10.

be found of the inquisitorial institution, its ministers, or its procedure.[21] In 2019, Joaquín González Cuenca, in his study on the work of Benjumea, also declared that no criticism of the Holy Office could be found in Cervantes's work and that it was impossible to sustain that Cervantes had managed to circumvent inquisitorial censorship by using humour and irony:

> No matter how much one might wish to exaggerate the scope of the expressions of Cervantes's characters or those of Cervantes himself, no matter how much one might appeal to the humour and caution that characterise Cervantes, one cannot use camouflaged intentionality as an alibi to see what is not there and draw conclusions that do not hold water.[22]

At the same time, several monographs have recently been published within the context of North American academic literary studies that have focused on Cervantes's critique of structural elements of Hispanic society of his time, such as the idea of honour and shame. While these contributions are undoubtedly valuable, they can also be misleading in suggesting that Cervantes's entire work was permeated with hidden references to the Inquisition and its practices. Thus, for example, I consider that Paul M. Johnson's assertion that the passage at the end of the first part in which Don Quixote is returned to his house caged by the priest and the barber "is modelled on early modern inquisitorial practice" cannot be accepted.[23] To support such a theory, Johnson has had to assert that similar practices were used by the Spanish Inquisition to expose to shame those guilty of crimes such as theft, and that the Holy Office used cages to display the convicts they paraded through the streets.[24] Evidently, the Holy Office prosecuted crimes against the faith (heresy) and therefore had no jurisdiction over theft, nor did it use cages to expose prisoners. In fact, at some point, John-

21. José Antonio Escudero, "El Quijote y la Inquisición", *Anales. Real Academia de Jurisprudencia y Legislación*, 35 (2005), pp. 415-432.

22. González Cuenca, *La seducción de Urganda*, vol. I, p. 356.

23. Johnson, *Affective Geographies*, p. 92.

24. "Similar practices were employed by the Spanish Inquisition to publicly shame citizens accused of perpetrating such petty crimes as theft"; *ibid.*, p. 88. "Like the priest and the barber in Don Quijote, the inquisitional authorities used cages for displaying the victims that they paraded through the streets"; *ibid.*, p. 90. On the other hand, the use of the term "citizens" to refer to the Spaniards of the time is more than questionable. In addition, it does not seem to me that Sancho Panza's references to Don Quixote's physiological functions and Don Quixote's answers can be interpreted, in any case, as references to the question of blood purity; *ibid.*, p. 92.

son apparently confuses the Holy Office with the Holy Brotherhood (*Santa Hermandad Nueva*).[25] As is well known, this was created by the Catholic Kings in 1478 to safeguard the security of roads and depopulated areas, without the establishment of this new institution entailing the suppression of the old brotherhoods of Toledo, Ciudad Real, and Talavera.[26] This institution for the surveillance of the depopulated areas had nothing to do with the Inquisition, which was responsible for safeguarding orthodoxy.

We therefore encounter three problems. Firstly, there is the question, which arose in 1811, of Cervantes's position regarding the Inquisition and his potentially critical judgements in the three passages of the work in which he alludes, directly or indirectly, to the tribunal: that of the "witty scrutiny", that of the enchanted head, and that of the disenchantment of Altisidora. The second question concerns how the Holy Office engaged with Cervantes's work and, above all, with *Don Quixote*. Finally, in recent years, there seems to have arisen an obsession with reading *Don Quixote* in its entirety as a reflection of inquisitorial Spain, as if the whole historical reality of the early 17th century had been determined solely by the existence of the tribunal and as if Cervantes had made constant references to the Holy Office in his work. And this obsession of some literary critics with the Holy Office sees in *Don Quixote* what it wants to see because, as Mariano Pardo de Figueroa, aka Dr Thebussem, aptly stated, "*Don Quixote* is such a big book that everyone can find in it whatever they want".[27]

It is certainly not unusual to find in Cervantes's work criticism of specific social groups or collective behaviours in early 17th-century Spain. Thus, for example, the court and idle nobility of the time are questioned and contrasted with the knights-errant who performed the military functions that originally justified their privileges. Likewise, some members of the clergy are presented in an unsympathetic manner, such as the cha-

25. In the passage quoted by Johnson, Rodríguez Marín refers to the prisoners executed by the *Santa Hermandad*, not by the Holy Office; Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *El Loaysa de "El celoso extremeño". Estudio histórico-literario*, Sevilla, Tipografía de Francisco de P. Díaz, 1901, p. 205.

26. See, for example, Miguel Fernando Gómez Vozmediano, *La Santa Hermandad Vieja de Ciudad Real en la Edad Moderna, siglos XVII-XVIII*, Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2001.

27. Doctor Thebussem, "Curiosidades", *El averiguador universal*, Madrid, Imprenta de Alejandro Gómez Fuentenebro, 1880, p. 91.

plain to the dukes, or in a comical way, such as the friars of St. Benedict.[28] Throughout his works – and not only in *Don Quixote* – we can see Cervantes denouncing the obsession with blood purity and some religious practices. The same is true of certain institutions of the time, such as the Holy Brotherhood, or public officers such as governors, notaries, or attorneys. However, none of this makes Cervantes a "dissident", not least because, despite the religious dogmatism, the system of values in early modern Spain allowed for far greater variations and nuances than has sometimes been perceived. Cervantes did not break the rules, but participated in contemporary debates about true nobility, religious practices, or the excessive nature of the Iberian obsession with blood purity.[29]

On the contrary, it is extremely difficult to disentangle Cervantes's opinion of the Inquisition. All possible references to the Tribunal of the Faith are presented in an ambiguous manner, which in itself is not indicative of any underlying critical purpose, since ambiguity is one of the most persistent and defining features of *Don Quixote*. Therefore, I believe that we can rule out any clear and open criticism as some scholars sustain. Such an attack would have been unthinkable and impossible at the time, and, if it existed, the Holy Office curiously neither took the hint nor responded to it.

Another, but entirely different, question is the appearance in *Don Quixote* of material elements, vocabulary, and expressions that may originate from the inquisitorial world. In 1780, in the prologue to an edition of *Don Quixote* sponsored by the Royal Spanish Academy, Vicente de los Ríos (1732-1779) indeed argued that the plot of the novel was sustained by a permanent dichotomy between illusion and reality. Thus, for him *Don Quixote* was an epic novel within a realist novel.[30] This does not mean

28. Ludovic Osterc pointed to numerous examples of what he interpreted as criticism of members of the ecclesiastical establishment. However, I do not agree that all the references to the clergy in Osterc's work imply a censure of the characters or of the Church as an institution; Ludovic Osterc Berlan, *El Quijote, la Iglesia y la Inquisición*, México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1972.

29. On this last aspect, see Albert Sicroff, *Les controverses des statuts de pureté de sang en Espagne du XVe au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, Didier, 1960; Juan Hernández Franco, *Sangre limpia, sangre española. El debate sobre los estatutos de limpieza (siglos XV-XVII)*, Madrid, Cátedra, 2011; Stuart B. Schwartz, *Blood and Boundaries. The Limits of Religious and Racial Exclusions in Early Modern Latin America*, Waltham, Brandeis University Press, 2020.

30. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quixote de la Mancha*, Madrid, Joaquin Ibarra, impresor de cámara de S. M. y de la Real Academia, 1780.

that we should read *Don Quixote* as an accurate reflection of early modern realities – far from it. However, there are insistent references in the work to the world that surrounded Cervantes and in which his fictional characters move. It is not surprising therefore that allusions to the Holy Office come up without this implying – in my opinion – that they should be interpreted as a criticism of inquisitorial activity.

In the following pages, I will briefly review the references to the Inquisition in certain passages of *Don Quixote* that have already been noted by specialists. I will then turn to the famous chapter LXIX of the second part, but not in isolation, which would lead us back into the loop of the controversy on the criticism of the Inquisition; rather, I will relate it to the episodes of the enchantment of Dulcinea, of the cave of Montesinos, and of the Clavileño horse. Only by contextualizing these passages within the novel as a whole can we understand Cervantes's aim and the meaning that the use of inquisitorial vocabulary and symbols acquires in the overall structure of *Don Quixote*. In my opinion, Cervantes's concerns went beyond criticism because they were deeper, anthropological in nature, and had to do with the most profound aspects of the human being.

2. *The scrutiny of the library*

In chapter VI of the first part the "donoso y grande escrutinio" of Alonso Quijano's library takes place, a passage in which Cervantes makes systematic use of inquisitorial vocabulary.[31] Don Quixote's first outing as a knight-errant comes to an end in chapter V. He has been beaten up and can hardly move, and a farmer from his village picks him up in the fields and takes him home. There are his niece, his housekeeper, and his two friends, the village priest and the barber. Aware of the damage that the books of chivalry have done to the good hidalgo's mind, the four of them decide to take charge of them the next day by throwing them into the fire.

The scrutiny of Don Quixote's library may be interpreted as an exercise in literary criticism, as Miguel de Unamuno and, with him, many others

31. "Regarding the beguiling and careful examination carried out by the priest and the barber of the library of our ingenious gentleman"; Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, pt I, ch. VI, p. 45.

have categorically maintained.[32] In "Los inquisidores literarios de Cervantes", Gilman took up this idea and linked the passage with the dialogue between Don Quixote and the canon at the end of the first part. From the perspective of a historian, Manuel Peña Díaz has emphasized the connection between this chapter and the debates on censorship and its practice in early 17th-century Spain. It is indeed possible to read it as a parodic reenactment of an *auto de fe*, an interpretation which is also supported by the priest's own words, "by my faith, no later than tomorrow we will have a public proceeding [*acto público*], and they [*los libros*] will be condemned to the flames".[33] Yet without denying the validity of Peña Díaz's interpretation, I would suggest that Cervantes here uses terms and symbols of the inquisitorial world to evoke not only the censorial activity or the *auto de fe*, but the entire inquisitorial process, from the denunciation to the execution of the sentence. On the basis of this broader interpretation, which is not limited to the censorship *stricto sensu* or to the *auto* itself, it is possible to concur with those who have understood the passage as a moment in which Cervantes, through the mouths of his characters, is engaged in an exercise of literary criticism.

Although this is a well-known episode, it is worth recalling its main features.[34] In this mock inquisitorial trial, the books are the defendants. For their part, Licentiate Pero Pérez, the priest of Don Quixote's village, and Master Nicolás, the barber, act as inquisitors, although the priest always seems to have a position of superiority, either because of his profession or his training. The witnesses, who believe to have discovered the heretical group, are personified by Alonso Quijano's niece and his housekeeper, the only family with whom the nobleman lives.

As mentioned already, the complaint against the printed books comes from the housekeeper and the niece, who declare before the priest and the barber the harm that the books of chivalry have done to the poor nobleman's mental state. The niece even refers to the obligation of all Christians to denounce heretics before the inquisitors and the fault of those who fail to do so: "But I am to blame for everything because I didn't let your graces

32. See, for example, the bibliography cited by Sylvia Roubaud, "Lectura del capítulo VI", in *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, vol. II, pp. 28-31.

33. Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, pt I, ch. V, p. 44.

34. I follow here the comment I made in "La Inquisición en *El Quijote*: ironía, crítica o humanismo cervantino", *Boletín Hispánico Helvético. Historia, teoría(s), prácticas culturales*, 15-16 (2010), pp. 319-331: 320-327.

know about the foolishness of my dear uncle so that you could help him before it went this far, and burn all these wicked books, and he has many that deserve to be burned, just as if they belonged to heretics".[35]

As we can see, for the niece the books are guilty even before they have been judged by the inquisitors, the priest, and the barber. This opinion, that the accused is guilty even before the trial has taken place, is also shared by the housekeeper: "Woe is me! Now I know, and it's as true as the death I owe God, that those accursed books of chivalry he's always reading have driven him crazy".[36] Therefore, for the niece and the housekeeper they need not be put on trial; they must all go to the stake: "No […] there's no reason to pardon any of them, because they all have been harmful; we ought to toss them out the windows into the courtyard, and make a pile of them and set them on fire; or better yet, take them to the corral and light the fire there, where the smoke won't bother anybody".[37] Such violence is reminiscent, on the one hand, of a medieval pogrom and, on the other, of what Francisco Tomás y Valiente called the "tacit presumption of guilt" of the inquisitorial procedure.[38] However, in the face of this violence, the priest and the barber, who act as inquisitors, still judge the books that make up the library of the nobleman from La Mancha one by one, "for he might find a few that did not deserve to be punished in the flames".[39]

The reading of the passage leads us to think that, thanks to the denunciation of the housekeeper and the niece, the inquisitors, priest and barber, believe to have identified a heretical group. It does not seem that Cervantes had in mind or referred at any time to the Judaizing group discovered at the end of the 16th century in the area of eastern La Mancha (Quintanar de la Orden and Alcázar de San Juan). Perhaps there is a distant memory of the Protestant groups discovered in the middle of the 16th century in Valladolid and Seville, which were dismantled by the Inquisition. Arguably, the *autos de fe* of Valladolid and Seville of 1559 and 1560 must have also survived for a long time in the collective memory thanks to the Inquisition's own propaganda that sought to deepen fears of the Lutheran danger.

35. Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, pt I, ch. V, p. 44.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

37. *Ibid.*, pt I, ch. VI, p. 46.

38. Francisco Tomás y Valiente, "Relaciones de la Inquisición con el aparato institucional del Estado", in *La Inquisición española. Nueva visión, nuevos horizontes*, ed. by Joaquín Pérez Villanueva, Madrid, Siglo XXI, pp. 43-60: 58.

39. Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, pt I, ch. VI, p. 45.

Throughout the scrutiny, the inquisitors, priest and barber, individually judge the books that make up the hidalgo's library and, while doing so, they debate among themselves about the penalties to be applied.[40] They discuss, for instance, the doctrinally harmful nature of the book of chivalry *Amadís de Gaula*. Published in 1508, it was arguably the most influential work of the genre on all subsequent literature, and, according to the judges, who equated the chivalric ideology with heresy, it deserved the punishment of fire for false dogmatizing ("como a dogmatizador de secta tan mala"). However, one of the two inquisitors considered that it should be pardoned. The trial did not end in an acquittal, but in a suspension of the proceedings, which was more common in inquisitorial proceedings. The same is true of other books from the Carolingian cycle, such as Pedro López de Santa Catalina's *Espejo de Caballerías* and Miguel de Cervantes's own pastoral romance *La Galatea*, published in 1585. The inclusion of the latter and the fact that the priest claims to be a friend of Cervantes, "better versed in misfortunes than in verses", only underscores the comic content of the passage and the thesis that we may be dealing with an exercise in literary criticism.

If the *Amadís de Gaula* escaped conviction "for now", the other books of the *Amadís* saga were all condemned to the stake. As is well known, the *Amadís* had a tremendous publishing success and was followed by numerous continuations that narrated the events of its descendants, such as *Las sergas de Espaldián*, published in 1510, or the *Amadís de Grecia*, published in 1530, which was expressly cited in Cervantes's expurgation, as well as many others referred to generically in the text. One aspect is significant, and that is the fact that the barber refers to them as being all "of the same lineage".[41] This is a word with a very clear semantic charge in the social context of the time, in which "lineage" meant descent and was

40. "And the first one that Maese Nicolás handed him was *The Four of Amadís of Gaul*, and the priest said: 'This one seems to be a mystery, because I have heard that this was the first book of chivalry printed in Spain, and all the rest found their origin and inspiration here, and so it seems to me that as the proponent of the doctrine of so harmful a sect, we should, without any excuses, condemn it to the flames'. 'No, Señor', said the barber, 'for I've also heard that it is the best of all the books of this kind ever written, and as a unique example of the art, it should be pardoned'. 'That's true', said the priest, 'and so we'll spare its life for now'."; *ibid*., p. 46.

41. "All these over here come from the line of Amadís"; *ibid*. I prefer the word "lineage".

linked to terms related to blood purity such as “race”. For this reason, the expression “lineage of Jews, Moors, or heretics” was frequently used.

The manner of execution of the books condemned to perish is also reminiscent of the inquisitorial procedure. Neither the priest nor the barber acting as inquisitors execute the condemned books, but “relax” them to the secular arm of the housekeeper, who then throws them into the courtyard from the library window. When it is the turn of a set of pastoral romances, the priest comments: “Well, there’s nothing else to do […] but turn them over to the secular arm of the housekeeper, and don’t ask me why, for I’d never finish”.[42] As in the *autos de fe*, in the scrutiny of the library there is a difference in space between the place where the books are being “tried” and the place where the sentences are carried out. Thus, the priest and the barber prosecuted in the room where the hidalgo kept his books, then the licentiate handed them over to the secular arm of the housekeeper, who in turn threw them out into the courtyard where the bonfire was about to take place.

Not all the books in Alonso Quijano’s library were burnt. The Inquisition always proclaimed that, like the priest in the confessional, its endeavour was not to condemn the prisoner but to obtain his repentance and conversion. This door was opened to *Don Belianis of Greece*, a book of chivalry by Jerónimo Fernández, published in 1545, which was a great publishing success. Instead of relaxing it to the secular arm, the priest gives it the possibility to reform and to be admitted to reconciliation, thus echoing the motto “misericordia et iustitia” of the inquisitorial emblem:

> “Well, that one”, replied the priest, “and its second, third, and fourth parts need a little dose of rhubarb to purge their excess of choler, and it would be necessary to remove everything about the castle of Fame and other, more serious impertinences, and therefore they are given a delayed sentence, and the degree to which they are emended will determine if mercy or justice are shown to them”.[43]

Finally, the “donoso escrutinio” also contains references to other inquisitorial punishments such as those imposed on those prosecuted for heresy who abjured *de vehementi* or *de levi*. The priest, for instance, proposes that *Espejo de caballerías*, published between 1525 and 1547, should be condemned to perpetual banishment, and considers that the author of *Ti-*

42. *Ibid*., p. 51.
43. *Ibid*., p. 49.

rante el Blanco, whose Castilian edition dates from 1511, deserved to be sent to the galleys for life. And finally, there are also absolutions, such as that of the *Palmerín de Inglaterra*, a work by Francisco de Moraes published anonymously in Toledo in 1548.

As noted above, this passage has provoked an ongoing debate among literary critics, philologists, and historians. Despite its difficulty and the fact that, as Gilman argued, one might perceive it as a hidden attack on the Inquisition, everything seems to indicate that the references to the inquisitorial procedure were simply intended to be comical and did not necessarily serve a critical purpose. Let us not forget that *Don Quixote* is a book of entertainment, and to lose sight of this characteristic risks distorting its essence. Otherwise, we would have to assume that we perceive today something that the readers and the inquisitors of the 17th century did not see, or did not see as clearly as we do, which seems problematic.

As is well known, the Spanish Inquisition did not exercise preventive censorship, but only a posteriori. Importantly, the Tribunal of the Faith did not expunge any passage of the first part of *Don Quixote* after its publication in 1605, and hence it never ordered the suppression of any aspect of the "donoso escrutinio". In Portugal, where inquisitorial censorship did exist prior to the publication of the printed text, the first part of *Don Quixote* was published in the same year of 1605 in two Lisbon editions, one by Jorge Rodrigues and the other by Pedro Craesbecck. Both had previously been censored by the Augustinian friar António Freire. With respect to the Madrid edition of the same year, in the two Lisbon editions only three passages were suppressed: one that could be interpreted as a mockery of religious orders, another that referred to "false miracles", and a third that called the flagellants in a procession *ensabanados*, which literally meant "put in a sheet". None of the aforementioned references to inquisitorial vocabulary or practice were expunged by either the Spanish or the Portuguese Inquisitions. Not even the harshest inquisitorial indexes, such as the one of Cardinal D. Antonio Zapata, published in 1632, or of D. António Martins Mascarenhas, published in 1624, took issue with the references to the Inquisition in the first part of *Don Quixote*. This is particularly significant if we take into account the remarkable expurgation to which the Portuguese Index of 1624 subjected the first part of the novel.[44] Were the inquisito-

44. *Nouus index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum editus autoritate & iussu eminent^mi ac reueren^mi D. D. Antonii Zapata*, Hispali, ex typographia Francisco de Lyra,

rial censors unable to discover a criticism of the Inquisition that has been so evident to some readers in the 19th and 20th centuries? I would instead suggest that a historical contextualisation of the passage of the scrutiny of the library does not support the idea that it was understood at the time to contain an overt or veiled critique of the Tribunal of the Faith. This is confirmed, I believe, by a closer look at the second part of the work. Published in Madrid in 1615, it contains the most substantial references to the Holy Office, and the full complexity of Cervantes's thought unfolds.

In fact, shortly after the beginning of the second part a term borrowed from inquisitorial vocabulary reappears, again with a purely satirical intention. In chapter VI, the nobleman's housekeeper and niece try to prevent Don Quixote from leaving home again in search of new adventures. In this context, the irritated niece argues that books of chivalry should be publicly marked with a sign so that everyone knows that they are infamous and contrary to good morals. The sign she proposes is none other than the *sambenito*, i.e. the habit of those condemned by the Inquisition: "'Ah, Señor!', said his niece. 'Your grace should remember that everything you say about knights errant is invention and lies, and each of their stories, if it isn't burned, deserves to wear a sanbenito or some other sign that it has been recognized as the infamous ruination of virtuous customs'".[45] In a later passage, it is an absolutely comical character who once again resorts to inquisitorial vocabulary. This is Doña Rodríguez de Grijalba, the duchess's lady-in-waiting, who has a very strained relationship with Sancho Panza. At one point, Doña Rodríguez observes that all squires hate the ladies-in-waiting, and that they spend their time in the palaces muttering against them, "digging up our bones and burying our good names".[46] This expression refers to the inquisitorial practice of digging up the bones of the dead subjected to inquisitorial post-mortem proceedings.[47] Nevertheless, the Iberian Inquisitions must not have considered these uses of inquisitorial terms disrespectful, because they did not bother to purge them, either in Spain or in Portugal.

1632. *Index auctorum dãnatae memoriae... editus auctoritate Ill*[mi] *Domini D. Ferdinandi Martins Mascarengas*, Ulyssipone, ex officina Petri Craesbeck, 1624.

45. Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, pt II, ch. VI, p. 493.

46. *Ibid.*, pt II, ch. XXXVII, p.703. Grossman: "digging up our defects and burying our good names". I prefer the literal translation "digging up our bones".

47. Andrea Errera, "Defunti", in *Dizionario Storico dell'Inquisizione*, vol. I, pp. 453-454.

3. *The inquisitors on stage*

The fact that neither the Spanish nor the Portuguese Inquisition bothered with prohibiting the passages in the second part of *Don Quixote*, which contained the most explicit references to the tribunal of the Holy Office and its ministers, arguably suggests that these were not interpreted in a critical vein. Perhaps, at most, they could convey the image of a certain idleness and laziness on the part of the ministers of the faith in relation to the persecution of superstitious practices.

The episode of the altarpiece of Maese Pedro from chapter XXV of the second part, though well known, has escaped the attention of those who have dealt with the relationship between *Don Quixote* and the Holy Office. In the knight's third outing, Don Quixote and Sancho cross the eastern part of La Mancha on their way to Zaragoza and stop at an inn where a certain Maese Pedro also arrives. He carries with him a tableau of puppets or marionettes and a monkey that guesses the past of those who address it. Obviously, the monkey's rare ability is due to his master, who is none other than Ginés de Pasamonte in disguise. This was one of the galley slaves whom Don Quixote had freed in the first part and who therefore recognizes the knight-errant. Amazed by the monkey's answers and unaware that his master is Pasamonte, Don Quixote maintains that Maese Pedro must have made a pact with the devil and is astonished that he has not been denounced to the Holy Office. As we see in the following passage, the reference to the Tribunal of the Faith, now explicit, did not contain a dissimulated attack against it; on the contrary, it took open issue with those who practised or believed in the divinatory arts, or whoever else hid behind the fictional character Ginés de Pasamonte:

> I mean only that he [viz., *Master Pedro*] must have made some agreement with the devil […] And this being true, as it is, it is clear that this monkey speaks in the style of the devil, and I am amazed that he has not been denounced to the Holy Office, and examined, and forced to tell by whose power he divines, for it is also clear that this monkey is not an astrologer, and neither he nor his master casts, or knows how to cast, the astrological charts used so widely now in Spain that there's not a fishwife, page, or old cobbler who does not presume to cast a chart as if it were the knave in a pack of cards lying on the floor, corrupting the marvelous truths of science with their lies and ignorance.[48]

48. Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, pt II, ch. XXV, pp. 626-627.

The reference to the Holy Office in this passage is as explicit and without malice as the appearance of the ministers of the tribunal themselves in chapter LXII of the second part. Here it is narrated how Don Quixote, who has arrived with Sancho in Barcelona, is lodging in the house of a leading knight called Don Antonio Moreno. To amuse himself, Don Antonio tries to deceive Don Quixote by telling him that he has in his house an enchanted head that has been made by a sorcerer, perhaps a Pole, and that it has the virtue of answering anything that is asked of it. Gathered in the room where the head is held, Don Antonio, his friends, Don Quixote, and Sancho ask it various questions, which are answered by a voice coming from it. In reality, the head was hollow and connected to a room located on the lower floor. In this room, a nephew of Don Antonio answered the questions. As we can see, it was a joke without major consequences. However, after a few days, Don Antonio himself appeared before the inquisitors because the case of the enchanted head had spread around Barcelona:

> This marvelous device lasted ten or twelve days, but word spread throughout the city that Don Antonio had an enchanted head in his house that would answer every question asked of it, and fearing that the rumors would reach the ears of the alert guardians of our Faith, he informed the inquisitors of the matter and was ordered to dismantle it and not to use it in the future lest it cause turmoil among the ignorant common people.[49]

The expression "centilenas de nuestra fe" ("guardians of our faith") may have an ironic air, but perhaps more to today's ears than to those of a 17th-century person. Without any hint of irony or criticism, D. José de Barcia y Zambrana used this expression to refer to the inquisitor Pedro de Arbués.[50] It is therefore necessary to be very cautious with attributing to a 17th-century expression the connotation it may have today when invoking Cervantes's unquestionable irony. Moreover, the ministers of the Holy Office are by no means presented as fanatical defenders of orthodoxy. The knight from Barcelona addresses them with the utmost naturalness to tell them the joke about the enchanted head. The inquisitors indeed limit themselves to ordering the head's destruction in order to prevent the people

49. *Ibid*., pt II, ch. LXII, p. 872.

50. José de Barcia y Zambrana, *Despertador cristiano. Santoral de varios sermones de Santos, de Anniversarios de Animas, y Honras, en orden a excitar en los fieles la devoción de los Santos, y la imitación de sus virtudes*, Cádiz, en casa de Christoval de Requena, impressor de Su Ilustrissima, 1694, p. 230.

from believing it to be a case of sorcery. What worried them was not the joke, but that the "ignorant common people" might fall into superstition. Therefore, the best thing to do was to end the matter by ordering Don Antonio Moreno to stop the mockery.[51]

4. Don Quixote*: fact and fiction*

When Puigblanch "found" the criticism of the Holy Office in *Don Quixote* in 1811, he based his discovery on the analysis of chapter LXIX of the second part. The preceding chapters narrate how Don Quixote, who has been defeated in Barcelona by the knight of the White Moon, sets out on his way back to his village accompanied by Sancho. On this journey, they pass through Aragon again, through the lands of the dukes in whose palace they had previously stayed. The aristocrats had played several jokes on the knight and his squire, and now they decide to have another laugh at his expense. Their servants stop Don Quixote and Sancho in the middle of the field and take them to the ducal palace to take part in the ceremony of Altisidora's disenchantment. This maid of the duke and duchess had pretended to be in love with Don Quixote and now lay in a burial mound in the middle of the courtyard of the ducal palace. Don Quixote and Sancho are led to a platform, where the dukes are also present:

> Then one of their officials crossed the courtyard, came up to Sancho, and placed on him a garment of black buckram decorated with flames of fire; he removed his cap and put on his head a cone-shaped hat, of the sort given to penitents to wear by the Holy Office, and he said into his heart that if he opened his mouth, they would gag him or take his life. Sancho looked at himself and saw himself in flames, but since they did not burn, he did not care at all about them. He removed the hat, saw it was decorated with devils, and put it back on, saying to himself: "It'll be fine if the flames don't burn me and the devils don't carry me off".[52]

51. For a very recent, novel, and extremely well-documented research on magic in the Iberian Peninsula that discusses the attitudes of the Holy Office towards the different practices of learned magic, see José Carlos Vieira Leitão, *Learned Magic in Early Modern Portugal*, Coimbra, University of Coimbra, 2024. See also Maria Tausiet, *Abracadabra omnipotens: magia urbana en Zaragoza en la Edad Moderna*, Madrid, Siglo XXI, 2007.

52. Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, pt II, ch. LXIX, p. 908.

Once Sancho is thus dressed, a young man in Roman attire appears singing next to the tumulus. Two strange characters, also on the stage and wearing sceptres and crowns, are the judges Minos and Radamanto, who judge "in the gloomy caverns of Dis [viz. *Pluto*]".[53] They determine that, for the maiden to be disenchanted, Sancho must receive twenty-four flicks, twelve pinches, and six pinpricks, which obviously provokes the squire's angry reaction.

This passage has given rise to considerable doubt regarding Cervantes's ultimate intention. Since Puigblanch published *La Inquisición sin máscara* in 1811, a number of scholars have read this chapter as a critique of the Holy Office and its practices. For Puigblanch, the imprisonment of Don Quixote and Sancho by the duke's servants evoked that of the Inquisition; the tumulus was the altar of the green cross placed on the stage of the *auto de fe*; the judges Minos and Radamanto represented the ministers of the Tribunal of the Faith; the knight and the squire were the defendants; the flaming clothes and the cap (*coroza*) evoked the instruments of inquisitorial penitence; and the intervention of the cantor dressed in Roman costume was a transcript of the sermon.[54]

In this respect, the interpretation of a critic like Benjumea, who was familiar with Puigblanch's work and was keen to seek out the hidden meaning of Cervantes's text, is very interesting. Benjumea argued that, despite the use of the inquisitorial symbols of the *sambenito* and the *coroza*, the passage in question had nothing to do with satire of the Inquisition, but rather with the tricks of the miracles of the resurrection of the dead.[55] Despite this, the episode has continued to arouse the interest of researchers to the present day without, however, any mention in more recent texts of Puigblanch's original analysis. Thus, Ryan Prendergast has recently suggested that in this passage Cervantes meant to criticise the spectacle of the *autos de fe*.[56] Javier Irigoyen-García, on the other hand, has stressed that the episode probably reflects the divergences that may have existed in the understanding of inquisitorial symbols between those who perceived their meaning and those who did not. He has persuasively shown the extent to

53. *Ibid*., p. 909.

54. Puigblanch, *La Inquisición sin máscara*, pp. 215-224.

55. *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, edición anotada por Benjumea, vol. II, p. 647.

56. Prendergast, *Reading, Writing, and Errant Subjects*, pp. 94-95.

which the meanings of the infamous symbols could be inverted in 17th-century Spain.[57]

I am not convinced that this passage can be interpreted as evidence of Cervantes's criticism of the Inquisition; whatever the author's opinion of the tribunal, he kept it secret. First of all, in the context of the whole chapter, the similarities between a real *auto de fe* and the theatre staged by the dukes are reduced only to the three elements of infamy: the *sambenito*, if it was one, the *coroza*, and the *mordaza* (gag). Perhaps this is why Doris Moreno, with great caution, referred to this passage as the "least 'orthodox' description of an *auto de fe*".[58] Apart from these three elements, the rest of the chapter has nothing to do with an *auto de fe*, in which, as is well known, no sentence was executed, unlike what happens here with Sancho. What is more, even the possible *sambenito* is not as close to the original as one might think at first sight. Sancho's clothes are black, while the *sambenitos* were painted yellow. Regardless of such subtleties, it seems clear that Cervantes resorted to these elements, familiar to readers, because they were useful for his ultimate purpose, which was not, I believe, to confront a particular institution. Finally, it is worth remembering that neither of the two inquisitorial tribunals in the Iberian Peninsula bothered with this passage; neither took notice of it or censured the chapter. This is particularly significant in the case of the *Index* of the Inquisitor General D. Fernão Martins Mascarenhas of 1624, which ordered the removal of very long passages from the first part of *Don Quixote*.

Years ago, I argued that the episode of Altisidora's disenchantment reflected first and foremost the sublimation of human life above any social convention. To understand this, it is relevant to consider the precise moment when this mockery takes place. It occurs as Don Quixote is on his way home after his defeat by the knight of the White Moon, when he uttered: "Wield your lance, knight, and take my life, for you have already taken my honor".[59] Before the duke's servants lead Don Quixote and Sancho to the theatre where the squire will be exposed to scorn, they have been trampled upon by a herd of pigs. It all seems the clearest manifestation of infamy, albeit tempered by Don Quixote's own laughter at seeing his

57. Irigoyen-García, *Dystopias of Infamy*, pp. 92-101.

58. Doris Moreno, "*Una apacible idea de gloria*. El auto de fe barroco y sus escenarios simbólicos", *Manuscripts*, 17 (1999), pp. 159-177: 162.

59. Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, pt II, ch. LXIV, p. 887.

squire with his clothes painted with flames and the cap depicting devils. However, in the face of such infamy, Cervantes's human voice appears and makes Sancho say: "It'll be fine if the flames don't burn me and the devils don't carry me off". Therefore, the episode presents an exaltation of life in the face of the social conventionalism of infamy and the social death that it entails. Sancho reacts to real, physical pain when he is threatened with slaps, pinches, and pinpricks.[60] Yet, he shows no concern for the *sambenito* and, if he does not do so, it is not because he was unaware of its meaning, as Javier Irigoyen-García has recently speculated.[61] In Sancho's village, its meaning was well known and understood, as is clear from a reference to the infamous garment by Don Quixote's niece at the beginning of the second part. Moreover, La Mancha was by no means an isolated territory. In fact, inquisitorial activity had been strongly felt here when the large Judaizing nucleus of Quintanar-Alcázar de San Juan was discovered at the end of the 16th century, triggering a series of *autos de fe* in Cuenca and Toledo between 1590 and 1600.[62] Furthermore, Sancho acknowledges having gone to Tembleque to reap, which means that the farmer had moved around different areas of La Mancha.[63]

60. "Twenty-four slaps to the nose, and twelve pinches and six pinpricks on his arms and back"; *ibid*., pt II, ch. LXIX, p. 909.

61. Irigoyen-García, *Dystopias of Infamy*, p. 96. In his interpretation of this passage, Javier Irigoyen-García has raised the possibility that Sancho or the readers did not understand the meaning of the *sambenito* or of the *coroza*, which would have obliged Cervantes to explain that it was "like those that the penitentiaries of the Holy Office take out". Now, if this was the case, why use a simile resorting to precisely that which the readers did not know? The use of the comparison with the *corozas* used by the Holy Office shows that, for Cervantes, this image was known to the readers. Cervantes frequently resorted to comparisons to make it easier for the reader to visualize the images he was describing. For example, in chapter LII of the first part, he writes: "[he] saw many men dressed in white, in the manner of penitents, coming down a slope" (Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, pt I, ch. LII, p. 440). This does not mean that, as is well known, there were not people who were unaware of the meaning of the signs of infamy. This was not, however, the case with Sancho.

62. Amiel Charles, "Les cent voix de Quintanar. Le modèle castillan du marranisme", *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 218/2 (2001), pp. 195-280, and 218/4 (2001), pp. 487-577.

63. On the use and meanings of the term "La Mancha" in the 16th and 17th centuries, its geographical limits and Cervantes's conception of the region, see Jerónimo López-Salazar, "El mundo rural en La Mancha cervantina: labradores e hidalgos", in *La Monarquía Hispánica en tiempos del Quijote*, ed. by Porfirio Sanz Camañes, Madrid, Sílex, 2005, pp. 15-63: 18-27.

In order to penetrate the ultimate meaning of the passage in question, it is necessary to place it in relation to what constitutes the fundamental concern that Cervantes tackles in *Don Quixote*, especially in the second part of the novel, i.e. the question of truth.[64] Only on this basis can we understand the significance of the episode in chapter LXIX with Sancho's victory over the idea of infamy as a social imposition through external symbols. Therefore, to get to the bottom of what is at stake in the chapter, it is necessary to leave the narrow circle to which the analysis of the possible elements of the inquisitorial imaginary leads, and place it in relation to three other episodes that synthesize Cervantes's omnipresent concern for truth: that of Dulcinea's enchantment, that of the cave of Montesinos, and that of the Clavileño horse.

Let us quickly recall that, in the first part of the novel, Don Quixote had sent Sancho to visit Dulcinea, but that the squire never arrived in El Toboso or saw the lady. In the second part, he hence had to pretend to have carried out his master's command. When Don Quixote decides to present himself to his beloved, Sancho is faced with the problem of his deception being discovered. Therefore, he invents that Dulcinea is enchanted and that she is one of the peasant women who leave El Toboso mounted on donkeys. From then on, the novel revolves around Dulcinea's enchantment. The truth-fiction game is twisted to its maximum when Sancho is forced to believe in the truth of what he has devised. Thus, the duchess tries to make Sancho believe that he did not deceive Don Quixote, but that he himself was misled into thinking that he was deceiving his master:

> I consider it true and verified beyond any doubt that the idea Sancho had of tricking his master and leading him to believe that the peasant was Dulcinea, and if his master did not know her, it had to be because she was enchanted, was all an invention of one of the enchanters who pursue Señor Don Quixote, because really and truly, I know from a reliable source that the peasant girl who leaped onto the donkey was and is Dulcinea of Toboso, and that our good Sancho, thinking he was the deceiver, is the deceived; there is no reason to doubt this truth any more than we doubt other things we have never seen.[65]

64. As Anthony Close pointed out, in all of Cervantes's major works, such as *El coloquio de los perros*, *Don* Quixote, and *Persiles*, the characters are in search of truth which "has a personal dimension: knowledge of oneself, fear of God, overcoming deception through the use of reason"; Anthony Close, "Cervantes: pensamiento, personalidad, cultura", in *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, p. LXXXVIII.

65. Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, pt II, ch. XXXIII, pp. 680-681.

The problem of truth reappears with force in the passages of the cave of Montesinos and of the Clavileño horse, also in the second part.[66] González Cuenca has highlighted the importance of the episode of the cave in chapters XXII and XXIII, which, according to him, is where Cervantes sets out his most profound gnoseological ideas. It is a passage which begins with Don Quixote's desire to see "if the marvels told about it throughout the surrounding area were true".[67] Don Quixote stays there for three days, according to his own reckoning, or half an hour, according to Sancho and the narrator himself. And there, the knight meets Montesinos, Durandarte, Belerma – all characters from the Carolingian cycle – and Dulcinea del Toboso herself, enchanted in the guise of a peasant. From this point onwards, the novel revolves around the tension between the truth of Don Quixote and that of Sancho. Not even Don Quixote himself is totally convinced of what he has seen, and so he asks the monkey of Maese Pedro "if certain things that had occurred in the Cave of Montesinos were dreams or true, because it seemed to him that they were both".[68] In González Cuenca's opinion, the conclusion of the games of truths that overlap in chapters XXII and XXIII is that there is no such thing as "truth", but that each character "has his own coordinates of truth, lie, dream and reality".[69]

Finally, let us look at the episode of the horse Clavileño, which links up, in its final part, with that of the cave of Montesinos. In chapters XL and XLI of the second part, Don Quixote, the object of further mockery by the dukes, must disenchant the lovers of the legendary kingdom of Candaya, Clavijo and Antonomasia, and the Countess Trifaldi and her ladies-in-waiting. To do so, he has to enter into battle with the giant Malambruno. To reach the kingdom of Candaya, Don Quixote and Sancho must get on the wooden horse Clavileño, which has the peculiarity of allegedly flying through the air. Although they are blindfolded throughout their ride, when

66. Both passages have been analysed as carnivalesque inversions: see Agustín Redondo, "De don Clavijo a Clavileño: algunos aspectos de la tradición carnavalesca y cazurra en el *Quijote*", *Edad de Oro*, 3 (1984), pp. 181-199; Mario Martín-Flores, "De la cueva de Montesinos a las aventuras de Clavileño: un itinerario de carnavalización del discurso autoritario en el *Quijote*", *Hispánica*, 38 (1994), pp. 46-60.

67. Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, pt II, ch. XXII, p. 599.

68. *Ibid*., pt II, ch. XXV, p. 627.

69. Joaquín González Cuenca, "El *Quijote*: dos libros y una glosa interminable", in *Descubriendo La Mancha*, Toledo, Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha, 2003, pp. 18-68: 58-60.

the adventure is over, Sancho claims that he has seen the earth from the sky and that he has passed through the region of the Pleiades, where he has encountered the seven little goats, the name by which these stars were known. Don Quixote doubts his squire's account, as he considers that they did not climb high enough on their celestial journey, for otherwise they would have been burnt. Significantly, at the end of the chapter the "truth" seems to be the result of a pact or an agreement between the characters: "Sancho, just as you want people to believe what you have seen in the sky, I want you to believe what I saw in the Cave of Montesinos. And that is all I have to say".[70]

Let us return to the episode of Altisidora's disenchantment. In this, as in so many other instances, Cervantes raises the question of the primacy of one's own conscience and personal perception without ever advocating moral relativism. "I know who I am", the hidalgo had said in the first part.[71] "You know who you are", replied the enchanted head to one of the knights who asked him "Who am I?".[72] This exaltation of individual conscience, of one's own perception and subjectivity, deprives the external signs of infamy of their force. This is why Sancho can, on the one hand, be at ease when he sees himself with the symbols of public shame ("it'll be fine if the flames don't burn me and the devils don't carry me off") and, on the other hand, firmly resist the threats of physical punishment ("I'm as likely to become a Moor as to let anybody mark my face or slap my nose").[73]

We will never know whether this passage intended to conceal criticism of the Holy Office as some scholars have suggested. Neither the censors of the Spanish Inquisition nor those of the Portuguese Inquisition understood it in this way. In reality, rather than a reprobation of a specific institution of a particular time, what we see here, as in other episodes in *Don Quixote*, is a profound reflection on the concept of truth and the limits of the absolute conception of truth. As Castro pointed out, Cervantes's worldview was based more on "seeming" than on "being"; more on "opinions" than on "opinion". For Close, Cervantes presents different characters who adopt different perspectives on a given reality without, however, embracing a rel-

70. Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, pt II, ch. XLII, p. 727.
71. *Ibid.*, pt I, ch. V, p. 43.
72. *Ibid.*, pt II, ch. LXII, p. 870.
73. *Ibid*., pt II, ch. LXIX, p. 910.

ativist position.[74] As González Cuenca stated, Cervantes's reality consisted of "a polyphony of truths that are articulated and brought together, focused by the inner perspective".[75] Following on from here, the only morally valid position therefore seems to be something that we might, with due caution, identify with tolerance.[76]

74. Close, *La concepción romántica*, p. 239.

75. González Cuenca, "El *Quijote*", p. 38.

76. Attitudes and ideas of tolerance, obviously without such a name and without the connotation that the term would later acquire in European intellectual circles, were possible in Golden Age Spain, as shown by recent research, which has approached this phenomenon from different points of view. See Stuart B. Schwartz, *All Can be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2008; Ricardo García Cárcel, "Las otras formas de la tolerancia en la España moderna", in *Poder, sociedad, religión y tolerancia en el mundo hispánico de Fernando el Católico al siglo XVIII*, ed. by Eliseo Serrano Martín and Jesús Gascón Pérez, 2 vols, Zaragoza, Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza – Institución Fernando el Católico, 2018, pp. 25-46; and Ricardo García Cárcel and Eliseo Serrano Martín, *Historia de la tolerancia en España*, Madrid, Cátedra, 2021. At the same time, it is worth bearing in mind Claude Stuczynski's warning about the dangers of using the term tolerance *lato sensu*: "The problem is that the polysemic transhistoricisation of tolerance runs the risk of its conceptual self-dissolution"; see Claude B. Stuczynski, "Presencias, sombras y fantasmas del Santo Oficio (reflexiones en torno a cuatro libros recientes)", *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 47/1 (2022), pp. 249-266: 261.

Jaime Ricardo Gouveia

The Inquisition and the Demonization of Heretical Lust: Moral Discourses, Mental Representations, and Figurative Constructions (16th-18th Centuries)

1. *Introduction*

The *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, the most complete work dedicated to the study of the Inquisition, was published in 2010. More than two thousand pages in length, it contains an impressive list of contributors and entries. The first volume includes two entries on the representation and inquisitorial control of the figurative arts, along with three other related pieces and an iconographical supplement containing fifty-six images.[1] While the link between iconographies and the Inquisition is not entirely neglected, it has not yet received the attention it deserves.[2] Although the

1. *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione,* ed. by Adriano Prosperi, Vincenzo Lavenia, and John Tedeschi, Pisa, Edizioni della Normale, 2010, 4 vols; Chiara Franceschini, "Arti figurative: il controllo", in *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 102-105; Chiara Franceschini, "Arti figurative: la rappresentazione", in *ibid*., pp. 105-107.

2. Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro, "Inquisição e Arte: Relações entre o Real e o Imaginário", in *Inquisição: ensaios sobre mentalidade, heresias e arte,* ed. by Anita Novinsky and Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro, São Paulo, Edusp, 1992, pp. 457-469; Francisco Bethencourt, *História das Inquisições - Portugal, Espanha e Itália*, Lisbon, Temas e Debates, 1996, pp. 317-339; Benair Alcaraz Fernandes Ribeiro, *Arte e Inquisição na Península Ibérica (A arte, os artistas e a Inquisição)*, São Paulo, doctoral dissertation in History presented at the University of São Paulo, 2006; François Soyer, "Inquisition, Art, and Self-Censorship in the Early Modern Spanish Church, 1563-1834", in *The Art of Veiled Speech: Self-Censorship from Aristophanes to Hobbes*, ed. by Han Baltussen and Peter J. Davis, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015, pp. 269-292; *I Graffiti delle carceri del Santo Uffizio di Palermo*, ed. by Giovanna Fiume and Mercedes García-Arenal, Palermo, Istituto poligrafico europeo, 2018; Giovanna Fiume and Mercedes García-Arenal, "Graffitti: New Perspectives from the Inquisitorial Prision in Palermo", *Quaderni storici*, 53/1 (2018), pp. 3-163; Anna Clara Basilicò, "Though the Agony is Eternal: Voices from

publication of the *Dizionario* has provided an important impetus, historical scholarship on the Inquisition overall has not yet been gripped by the *pictorial turn.*[3]

While it is possible to find, from the 16th century onwards, reflections on the didactic functions of the image,[4] there have been few studies dedicated to interpreting images in order to deepen the understanding of the history of the Inquisition. Taking this lacuna as a point of departure and following Ivan Gaskell's line of thought[5] that no area of knowledge has a monopoly on the interpretation of visual material, this essay will consider images from an iconological perspective. They will be viewed as instruments through which human beings have apprehended, experienced, and interpreted reality.[6] The resulting hypothesis is that motivations can be verified as much in an isolated work as in the zeitgeist (spirit of the age) of a particular point in time. It is thus possible to capture the "mental utensils" of those who conceive them, those who sponsored them, and those for whom they were intended.[7] What function did images fulfil at that time? What was their relationship with language? How did they affect observers

Below, from Anywhere. Exhibit of Dungeon Graffiti in Palazzo Chiaramonte-Steri, Palermo", *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften*, 34/1 (2023), pp. 37-58.

3. W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory. Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1994, pp. 11-35.

4. Gabriele Paleotti, "Discorso intorno alle imagine sacre et profane", Bologna, 1582, published in *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento fra manierismo e Controriforma*, ed. by Paola Barocchi, Bari, Laterza, 1961, vol. II, pp. 117-115. For a more recent edition, see Gabriele Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, ed. by Paolo Prodi, trans. by William McCuaig, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2012. See also Karl F. Morrison, "Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti's Call for Reform of Christian Art", in *Knowledge and Profanation. Transgressing the Boundaries of Religion in Premodern Scholarship*, ed. by Martin Mulsow and Asaph Ben-Tov, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2019, pp. 95-132.

5. Ivan Gaskell, "History of Images", in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. by Peter Burke, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991, pp. 168-192.

6. Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1939.

7. I do not think, as Burke argues, that iconological method advocates cultural homogenization. See Peter Burke, *Testemunha ocular: história e imagem*, São Paulo, EDUSC, 2004, pp. 43-71 (originally published as *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, London Reaktion Books, 2001). On the concept of "mental utensilage", see Lucien Febvre, *The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century. The Religion of Rabelais*, Harvard, Harvard University Press, 1985 [1942].

and the world? In what ways have mental representations of the demonization of heretical lust driven or been driven by figurative constructions?

An image requires processes of analysis that draw simultaneously on the usual practices of historical criticism and on those demanded by its specific nature.[8] This study will utilize Aby Warburg's ideas on the decoding and analysis of the conceptual meanings of works of art along with Erwin Panofsky's iconological perspectives to consider the intrinsic meaning of artistic production as a reflection of a given historical environment.[9] It will reflect on two essential questions: 1) whether during the early modern period the visual language of printed iconography that influenced and was influenced by the doctrinal, devotional, and moral discourse, evident in the pedagogical and catechetical instruments, had repercussions on how the mechanisms of a corrective and punitive nature and Christianity itself acted on heretical lust; 2) whether, from a legal point of view, the demonization of lust that predominated in this visual grammar and mental iconography had a case-by-case impact, i.e. whether it exerted an influence on the idea that certain lustful actions, depending on the circumstances in which they were carried out, could be equivalent to doctrinal errors or infractions.

2. *Animalization and demonization: the visual and mental grammar of lust*

Interest in the complex relationship between image and reality dates to classical times. In Plato's *Republic* the image was considered as the idea of the "thing", or projection of the mind; medieval rhetoric, which already postulated this as a construct, more or less agreed that the image consisted of a selection of elements of reality. It is therefore not surprising that, over the course of time, the representation of lust underwent significant changes, all the while preserving its essential characteristics.

8. Marc Ferro, "Imagem", in *A Nova História*, ed. by Jacques Le Goff, Roger Chartier, and Jacques Revel, Coimbra, Almedina, pp. 289-291.

9. Aby Warburg, "Italian Art and International Astrology in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara (1912)", in *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity*, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1999, pp. 563-593; Erwin Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory*, Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1968 [1924]; Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1939; Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts. Papers in and on Art History*, New York, Doubleday, 1955.

The animalization of lust was certainly not a medieval invention. However, beginning in the 12th century, and particularly from the 14th century onwards, the linking of an animal to each of the capital vices became commonplace.[10] Contrary to what had previously been the case, with animals being considered as participants in creation, man came to be considered as the only entity created in the likeness of God.[11] It was necessary therefore to dominate, domesticate, and hide anything that revealed the animal nature of man and triggered social disorder. However, religious art began to represent, for largely catechetical purposes, the capital vices. So, even as it proclaimed the importance of restricting or eradicating these dangerous urges, the Catholic Church gave them visibility as an instrument of catechesis and the propagation of the faith.[12]

Over the centuries lust would remain a mythological figure, generally represented as a mermaid, fish, or bird, as a harpy or a serpent. Gradually, lust would be given a female human form. The association of the soul divided between the earthly and spiritual worlds with fabulous and hybrid creatures, simultaneously human and animal, such as mermaids, was frequently expressed in Romanesque art, inspired by classical literature.[13] The iconography of the mermaid with the tail of a fish is attested in many regions of Europe. In Portugal this image was integrated into a popular bestiary that had greater currency north of the Mondego, especially between the Douro and Cávado valleys. In order to illustrate vices and obsessive human passions, mermaids were represented as beings whose songs and sensuality seduced men, leading them to perdition.[14] The female figure, on

10. Jacques Voisenet, *Bêtes et hommes dans le monde médiéval. Le bestiaire des clercs du Ve au XIIe siècle*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2000.

11. Jean Delumeau, *Le péché et la peur: la culpabilisation en Occident (XIIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Fayard, 1983, pp. 236-264.

12. José Mattoso, "O corpo, a saúde e a doença", in *História da vida privada em Portugal: a Idade Média,* ed. by José Mattoso, Lisbon, Temas e Debates, 2011, vol. I, pp. 348-374; Catarina Anselmo Santana Simões, *Imagens de Poder: Animais exóticos na cultura de corte em Portugal no Renascimento*, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, doctoral dissertation, 2021, pp. 256-302.

13. Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters", in *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1987, pp. 159-170.

14. Anne Blanc and Robert Blanc, *Monstres, Sirènes et Centaures. Symboles de l'art roman*, Paris, Éditions du Rocher, 2006; Marisa Costa Marques, *O mundo do fantástico na arte românica e gótica em Portugal: o género diplomático "notícia" na documentação medieval portuguesa (séculos X-XIII)*, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, master's thesis, 2007;

the other hand, referred to women's responsibility for sin. This had been the dominant view in the religious moral discourse of the Catholic world since the foundation of Christianity, and it gained greater prominence during the post-Tridentine period.[15]

Lust was closely associated with elements of the natural world, specifically animals and plants, in literary works such as Alexander Neckam's *De naturis rerum* (c. 1190), Thomas of Chobham's *Sermo 3* (c. 1220), William de Montibus' *Versarius* (c. 1140-1213), and the summa *Qui bene presunt*, a famous preaching manual by Richard of Wetheringsett (fl. c. 1200-1230) written around 1220 in response to several edicts of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). Richard offered figurative representations of capital vices, associating lust with the nettle, the pleasant appearance of which contrasted with the pain it caused when touched; but also with the donkey, due to the size of the phallus, and the sparrow, which in classical mythology was associated with carnal love. In his analogies, Richard fused biblical quotations with encyclopaedic treatises on nature, aiming to make the material on the preparation of sermons more intelligible with his imagery. The use of mythology in this pastoral literature, where the profane served the sacred, would be decisive in the conception and diffusion of a style that would appear more frequently with the passing of time.[16]

Both in the fields of literary and legislative production and in the context of the iconographical programmes of early modern moralizing projects and reformist initiatives, which focused strongly on dichotomous forces such as God and the Devil, good and evil, vices and virtues, forgiveness and punishment, lust therefore came to occupy a central place as the epitome of evil. The iconography and the allegory of sin reveals an increasing

Joaquim Luís Costa, "Luxúria e iconografia na escultura românica portuguesa", *Medievalista*, 17 (2015), pp. 1-35; Ana Caeiro, *A Monstruosidade ao serviço da Arte Românica Portuguesa: das fontes à expressão artística*, Universidade de Lisboa, master's thesis, 2022, pp. 157-187.

15. The words used by the Jesuit António Vieira in his sermon on the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, preached in 1652 at the Odivelas convent and published for the first time in 1699, are instructive in this context: "All the troubles and calamities we suffer in life, all the corruption and misery we are subjected to in death, all the evils, punishments and torments that await us after death… all this misery was caused by a woman…"; see António Vieira, "Sermão da degolação de S. João Baptista", in *Sermões*, Porto, Lello & Irmão, 1959, vol. V, pp. 240-241.

16. Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "*Libera nos a malo: Luxuria* as Evil in the Preaching Manual *Qui Bene Presunt*", *Mediaeval Studies*, 80 (2018), pp. 231-252.

systemization in the attitudes towards sin in many works of this period. This can be seen both in the theological treatises that defined the virtues and obligations of the clergy and laity, and in literature published as an instrument of guidance to parish priests to assist them in the performance of their liturgical, sacramental, and doctrinal duties. They reflect the need for a definitive, practical clarification of the difference between mortal and venial sins that aimed to provide an easy and memorable understanding on the part of the faithful. At the same time, they also reinforced the increasingly complex systemization of types of sin which were matched by identical sets of opposing virtues.[17]

The readership was expected to comprehend the message of the physical and literary arts with the same proficiency as it memorized the septenaries using their rhythmic and syllabic formulations of oral performance.[18] Elucidating in this respect are some examples of 16th-century casuist works such as, among others, the *Summula de peccatis* (1525) by Tommaso de Vio Gaetano (1469-1534), the *Summa Armilla* (1549) by Bartolomeo Fumi (d. c. 1555), the *Manual de Confessores* (1552) by Martín de Azpilcueta (1492-1586), the *Catechismo ou Doutrina Cristã* (1564) by Bartolomeu dos Mártires (1514-1590), the *Doutrina Cristã* (1566) by Marcos Jorge (1524-1571), the *Catecismo Romano* (1566) and the *Breve instrucción* (1580) by Bartolomé de Medina (c. 1520-1580).[19]

As channels of communication aimed at persuasion, the moral discourses that circulated in writing or were disseminated orally often resorted to discursive techniques to refer to lust, using figurative, highly analogical and allegorical language, in order to make the message more easily intelligible. The embodiment of an abstract concept based on comparisons and metaphors created in Christian minds a collection of images specifi-

17. Jaime Ricardo Gouveia, *A quarta porta do inferno. A vigilância e disciplinamento da luxúria clerical no espaço luso-americano (1640-1750)*, Lisbon, Chiado Editora, 2015, pp. 185-204.

18. António Camões Gouveia, "A sacramentalização dos ritos de passagem", in *História Religiosa de Portugal*, ed. by Carlos Moreira Azevedo, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2000, vol. II, p. 541.

19. For this and other literature, see Maria de Lurdes Correia Fernandes, "As artes da Confissão. Em torno dos Manuais de Confessores do século XVI em Portugal", *Humanística e Teologia*, 11 (1990), pp. 47-80; Maria de Lurdes Correia Fernandes, "Do manual de confessores ao guia de penitentes. Orientações e caminhos da confissão no Portugal pós-Trento", *Via spiritus*, 2 (1995), pp. 47-65.

cally designed to act on the conscience. Like visual representations, mental images had a strong expressive, communicative, and emotional potential. Through written, visual, and oral resources, it was intended to produce in the conscience of the target audience a mental iconography, which expressed concepts, represented attitudes, but above all played on feelings, stirred spirits, and convinced minds.[20] From this point of view, there was a greater concern for the control of mental than visual images, as has been noted in the historiography.[21]

The books of emblems, which became popular between the 16th and 18th centuries, were one of the resources that reveal a self-conscious and sophisticated theorization of religious doctrinal precepts, and they became important instruments in the consolidation of a confessional policy that drew rigid doctrinal boundaries. They were intended to establish certain models of representation that would be used to support various artistic pursuits, either in literature, painting, or sculpture. One of the earliest of these was the *Emblematum Liber* by the Italian jurist Andrea Alciato (1492-1550). His emblems initially circulated in manuscript form, before Heinrich Steiner (d. 1548) printed them in Augsburg in 1531. At least twenty-two subsequent editions were produced between 1531 and 1622.[22] The work contained more than a hundred emblems, the majority of which were accompanied by woodcuts.

In the same period the work of the German engraver and printer Georg Pencz (c. 1500-1550) also stood out. Pencz, the creator of several altarpieces and engravings of biblical scenes, became a member of the Council of Artists of Nuremburg, and he went on to be appointed court painter to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1519-1556) in 1545. The representation of lust he conceived contained two elements that became dominant in the symbolism of the later allegorical emblems related to this mortal sin. One was the female figure, partially naked with long curly hair, and the other was the antelope. The caption *Ego vemis omnia vasto* ("I will lay waste to

20. Federico Palomo, *A Contra-Reforma em Portugal, 1540-1700*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2006, pp. 58-68.

21. *Art and Reform in the Late Renaissance: After Trent*, ed. by Jesse Locker, London, Routledge, 2018, pp. 4-10; Emile Mâle, *El arte religioso de la Contrarreforma. Estudios sobre la iconografía del final del siglo XVI y de los siglos XVII y XVIII*, Madrid, Ediciones Encuentro, 2001 [1932], p. 22.

22. Anne-Angélique Andenmatten, *Les Emblèmes d'André Alciat*, Bern, Peter Lang, 2017, pp. 11-35.

everything") warned of the damnation to which the addiction to lust would lead (Fig. 1).

Although Alciato came to be considered *pater et princeps* of the emblem, and the works of Pencz were prominent in the same period, the publication believed to have exerted the greatest influence in its own time was the one the Italian writer Cesare Ripa (1555-1622), the alleged pseudonym of Giovanni Campani, sent to the presses in 1593.[23] As alluded to in the title, this *editio princeps* was still within the realm of the descriptive. It only comprised text and did not yet possess a tripartite structure with title, image, and epigram (*inscriptio, pictura e subscriptio*) typical of an iconography. The author explained the symbolism evident in what he called "universal images" originating in antiquity, but these were still a little distant from an interpretation of meanings, which would only be given in later editions. There he went on to represent allegorical figures with their respective attributes, combining tradition and innovation. Although he showed himself to be an heir to the Aristotelian tradition and medieval didactics, drawing on the allegories of Piero Valeriano (*Hieroglyphica*, 1556), Gregorio Giraldi (*De Deis gentium varia*, 1548), Natale Conti (*Mythologiae*, 1551), and Vincenzo Cartari (*Le Imagini de i Dei*, 1566), the author also displayed an individual style of translation and interpretation by which he adapted ancient symbolism to his own worldview.[24]

Generally consisting of an image, a caption, and an epigram, each emblem condensed a set of prevailing notions, sometimes gleaned from *auctoritates,* but almost always conceived with its own dynamic, capable of transmuting a moral or political philosophy into a visual form. The notions or concepts included in these emblems were intended to reinforce messages that were also circulated in other ways. However, they also exerted a strong influence on the religious art being produced across Europe at that time. Portugal was no exception. Ripa's allegories, both the profane (with mythological, historical, and geographical themes) and the religious (with

23. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia overo descrittione dell'imagini universali cavate dall'Antichita et da altri luoghi da Cesare Ripa Perugino. Opera non meno utile che necessaria a poeti, pittori, et scultori per rappresentare le virtù, vitii, affetti et passioni humane*, Rome, Heredi di Giovanni Gigliotti, 1593.

24. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia overo descrittione di diverse imagini cavate dall'Antichita et di propria inventione. Trovate et dichiarate da Cesare Ripa Perugino, Cavaliere de Santi Mauritio et Lazaro. Di nuovo revista et dal medesimo ampliata di 400 et più imagini* […], Rome, Lepido Facci, 1603.

honorific, didactic, and moral themes), would inspire Portuguese creative efforts. The language of artistic production was integrated into the ephemeral programmes of great public festivals (triumphs, processions, weddings canonizations, funerals, passion plays), and also into monuments (statuary, painting, goldsmithing, tilemaking, etc), engraving, and typographic art.[25]

In the 1593 edition, Ripa observed that the ancients represented lust with a Venus and a ram, intending to signify the subjection of reason to the senses, or they drew a libidinous faun with a crown of eruca flowers, which symbolized stimulus for venereal acts.[26] However, neither this edition nor those of 1602, 1603, or 1611 contain any figurative representations of this capital vice, as can be found in the first editions of Alciato.[27] Things changed, however, with the extended edition of 1613, published in Siena, which contained two hundred new woodcuts. Rather than a mere decorative element, the new figure was a creation whose interpretative and perceptive meaning demonstrated an evolution of the concept of lust, which would become more embedded over time. In Ripa's representation of the capital vice of lust (Figs 2-3) the mythological grammar of the classical world is preserved, although refined, reinterpreted, and harmonized to Christian discourse and symbolism.

The emblem depicts a young woman (Venus) with her long, curly hair artfully styled, signifying deception. Her nudity referred, as the author himself declared, to the destruction not only of the goods of the soul (virtue, good reputation, happiness, and freedom) but also of the grace of the body (beauty, strength, dexterity, and health) and the goods of fortune (money, jewellery, and property). She is sitting on a crocodile, an Egyptian symbol of lust, and caressing a partridge, a bird considered to be inflamed by concupiscence and generally "agitated by the fury of coitus" to the point that "the male broke her eggs, preventing her from joining the nest". With this composition Ripa defined lust as a burning and unbridled appetite for

25. Manuel J. Gandra, "Cesare Ripa na Biblioteca Nacional de Mafra e ecos da sua Iconologia (Roma, 1603) nas artes em Portugal. Esquissos para uma exposição virtual", *Boletim cultural*, 15 (2006), pp. 11-88; Maria Leonor García da Cruz, "Dos bestiários à Iconologia de César Ripa: a construção de representações políticas e religiosas nos alvores da Época Moderna", *Mirabilia*, 23 (2016), pp. 189-203.

26. Ripa, *Iconologia* (1593), p. 155.

27. The emblem of Alciato *Luxuriosorum opes* appeared for the first time in the 1546 edition; see Andenmatten, *Les Emblèmes*, pp. 351-359.

carnal pleasures, without observance of the laws of nature or respect for order or for gender, therefore as a "school and a road to hell".[28]

At the same time as Ripa's iconology was coming off the press, Crispijn (van) de Passe the Elder (1564-1637), a native of Cologne and an engraver, draughtsman, and publisher, printed emblems of the seven deadly sins by Maarten de Vos (1532-1603), one of the most important draughtsmen and painters in Flanders. De Vos associated lust with the libido, demonstrating a technical and figurative evolution in relation to Ripa's work. The antelope replaced the crocodile, the bird disappeared from the composition, and there was also the introduction of two masks (Fig. 4). These were an obvious allusion to the deceit, infidelity, falsehood, and lies caused by sin.

The innovations that de Vos introduced into the field of the emblematic representation of lust were important, above all because of the reference in the caption to the loss of faith as one of its evil effects. It is not surprising, therefore, that this visual grammar would appear in the works of other authors, namely the two engravings (Figs 5-6) that Jacob Matham (1571-1631) produced for his stepfather, the Flemish painter and draughtsman Hendrik Goltzius (1558-1617). While Goltzius's intended meaning for the images was essentially the same as in Ripa and de Vos, by associating libido/lust with the female figure, naked and stripped of virtue, their visual grammar presented some differences. Although drawn in a simpler way, the first emblem includes in the upper corners two shields with representations of two types of antelope, as well as a caption taken from two biblical passages which reads: "Who does not go mad with the furious libido of the flesh? Thus, Solomon came to the precipice, and Samson was defeated".[29] With this rhetorical interrogative statement, Goltzius alluded not only to the betrayal of Samson by Delilah, but also to the corruption of Solomon by his concubines, who led him into idolatry.

The second emblem has a more extensive composition. First, there is the placement of a sprig of nettle in the figure's right hand, in an allusion to deception, then the use of the bird and the antelope in the foreground. This can be interpreted as a reference to the faun, a half-human, half-animal cre-

28. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia di Cesare Ripa Perugino, cavaliere de' S.ti Mauritio e Lazzaro, nella quale si descrivono diverse imagini di virtù, vitii, affetti, passioni humane, arti, discipline, humori, elementi, corpi celesti, provincie d'Italia, fiumi, tutte le parti del mondo, ed altre infinite materie*, Siena, Heredi di Matteo Florimi, 1613, pt II, pp. 15-16.

29. Translated by the author from the Latin original: *Quos non dementat carnis furiosa libido? Precipitem Salomona dedit, Samsonaque vicit*.

ature that, in various mythologies, was associated with lust, in an allusion to a mythical king deified by the Romans. Alciato had already represented this capital vice with a faun, while Ripa, in his *editio princeps,* recognized that this symbolism dated back to classical antiquity.[30]

As an entity with malevolent attributes, a degenerate being with promiscuous inclinations, the faun would continue to embody demonic and monstrous forces from the 14th century onwards. The physical traits of the antelope, such as the horns and the hooves, also became more defined. A lustful person would be considered demonic, with the demon of lust designated as Asmodeus, referred to in the deuterocanonical biblical book of Tobit and in the Talmud. Hence it is not surprising that the demonizations of lust expanded, with traces of *antilopismo* (from an antelope), so that Asmodeus came to be represented with these attributes. An example of this can be found in the oldest compositions of the temptation of St. Anthony (c. 251-356), influenced by the biography by St. Athanasius (c. 296-373), written in 357.[31]

The diffusion of the Latin version of this work throughout the medieval West after its translation from the original Greek encouraged a literature dedicated to exalting the struggle of the Christian saint of Egypt against demons, whose fanciful and anecdotal imagery emphasized the carnal temptation assailing him.[32] In fact, this idea of renouncing the diabolical temptations of the flesh played a preponderant role in the discourse of sanctification. In relation to St. Anthony, the imagery varied according to the artist, but generally he was presented in front of a female figure with loose hair and holding a mirror, symbolizing the instigation of the seduction. As a personification of the demon of lust, some paintings include in the background a demonic figure with a hybrid physiognomy. These figures

30. For the Alciato emblem, see: https://emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=ALCa063, accessed on 12 June 2024.

31. An edition of the mentioned biography (in several volumes) can be found in *Patrologiae cursus completus, seu bibliotheca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica, omnium SS. Patrum, doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum... Series Graeca*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, Paris, 1857, vols XXV-XXIX.

32. *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. by Geoffrey William Hugo Lampe, Oxford, Clarendon, 1961-1968, vol. XLVII, p. 1568; Manuel Évora, *Santo Antão, modelo do cristão perfeito, na Vita Antonii de Santo Atanásio*, Lisbon, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2015.

are composed of both animal and human elements, as can be seen in an altarpiece attributed to Maestro de Rubió (Fig. 7).[33]

The demon of lust appears with the same attributes in the *Book of Hours* by Robinet Testard (Fig. 8), the French illuminator in the court of Charles of Angoulême (1459-1496) and Louise of Savoy (1476-1531) between the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries.[34] In the upper section of one of the pages a young figure, well dressed with large (phallic) spurs on his boots and a seductive songbird in his hand, rides an antelope with enormous testicles. In the lower section Asmodeus, a hybrid, dark-skinned, and horned figure, points his right hand towards two lustful scenes as if orchestrating them. Like many other works produced in this period, the first illustrated edition of the *Divine Comedy*, published in Florence in 1481 by the German-born printer Niccolò della Magna, contained an anonymous drawing attributed to Baccio Baldini (c. 1436-1490) showing the demon of lust.[35] In the upper left corner of this figurative composition (Fig. 9), dedicated to the "tombs of heretics", the illustrator placed two malevolent figures where the animalistic features of their composition can be clearly seen.[36]

Asmodeus also figured in literature designed to combat heresies, such as the *Malleus Maleficarum* (c. 1486) by Jacob Sprenger (c. 1435-1495) and Heinrich Kramer (c. 1430-1505). In this work, the demon of lust ap-

33. Marta Nuet Blanch, "San Antonio tentado por la lujuria. Dos formas de representación en la pintura de los siglos XIV y XV", *Locus Amoenus*, 2 (1996), pp. 111-124; Marta Poza Yague, "La Lujuria", *Revista Digital de Iconografia Medieval*, 2/3 (2010), pp. 33-40.

34. Kathrin Giogoli and John Block Friedman, "Robinet Testard, Court Illuminator: His Manuscripts and His Debt to the Graphic Arts", *The Journal of the Early Book Society*, 8 (2005), pp. 152-196.

35. Lorenz Böninger, *Niccolò di Lorenzo della Magna and the Social World of Florentine Printing, ca. 1470-1493*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2021.

36. Arthur Mayger Hind, *Early Italian Engraving. A Critical Catalogue with Complete Reproduction of All the Prints Described*, New York-London, M. Knoedler & Co. - Bernard Quaritch, 1938-1948, vol. I, *Florentine Engravings and Anonymous Prints of Other Schools*, pt I, *Catalogue*, pp. 99-116; vol. II, *Plates*, no. 167; Peter Keller, "The Engravings in the 1481 Edition of the *Divine Comedy*", in *Sandro Botticelli. The Drawings for Dante's Divine Comedy*, ed. by Hein-Thomas Schulze Altcappenberg, London, Royal Academy of Arts, 2000, pp. 326-333; Simon Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 163-231; Lucia Battaglia Ricci, *Dante per immagini. Dalle miniature trecentesche ai giorni nostri*, Turin, Einaudi, 2018, pp. 106-113.

peared as a king of Hell under the command of Lucifer, and sometimes the two were presented as a single entity.[37] However, what is also noticeable are the similarities between the features stamped on the demonic figures and those of the demons portrayed in an Arabic manuscript produced in the previous century.[38] Therefore, the *antilopismo* of the demons, especially those of lust, was not isolated or restricted in time, but rather continued into a later period. This can be observed not only in iconographical representations, but also in reports recorded for the Inquisition by individuals who believed that humans might encounter covens of witches with zoomorphic features, with the goat being one of the most frequently cited animals.[39]

The representation of this demonic entity was created using a standardized visual language. Claws and horns, two animalistic characteristics, almost always figured in these artistic compositions, and notable examples include (Figs 10-13): *The Tribulations of Saint Anthony* (c. 1470-73) by Martin Schongauer (c. 1450-1491), held in the collection of the National Gallery of Art (USA); *The Temptation of St. Anthony* by David Teniers the Younger (c. 1610-1694), in the collection of the Minneapolis Institute of Art (USA); and *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, an anonymous 16th- or 17th-century engraving in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. There are also Portuguese examples, such as the painting *Conversão de Hermógenes*, attributed to the Mestre da Lourinhã (active in the period 1510-1530), originally in the church of Santiago de Palmela and now in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon.

In allegorical constructions it was not uncommon for supernatural and female human traits to be fused together in representations of the demons of lust (Figs 11-12). It is noteworthy that, although the style and figurative technique may vary among authors, the symbolic essence remains the same. This is also evident in emblems, as can be seen in the work of Hieronymus Wierix, published by Philippe Galle between the 16th and 17th centuries (Fig. 14). The image of a woman with an insidious countenance and

37. Hans Peter Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft. Theology and Popular Belief*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003, pp. 40-65.

38. See Demons, Arabic manuscript, 14th century; Oxford University, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. Or. 133, fol. 28b, 30: https://picryl.com/media/kitab-al-bulhan-3-headed-devil-5168cc, accessed on 11 July 2025.

39. For Portugal, see José Pedro Paiva, "A magia e a bruxaria", in *História Religiosa de Portugal*, ed. by Carlos Moreira Azevedo, vol. II, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2000, p. 372.

hair styled into curls admiring herself in a mirror shares several symbolic elements used in other artistic compositions of the time. The most curious aspect of this emblem is the portrayal of demonic claws at the clasping of the hands. This is an unequivocal sign of the demonization of the female figure that haunted contemporary Christian thought. This trend was largely a product of the religious discourse of the time and an allusion to the dogma of original sin.[40]

The personification of lust in the figure of the woman along with the use of animalization and demonization are also to be found in the emblem of libido, which was understood to be a desire or yearning with both a rational component and an instinctive, uncontrolled one. The imbalance of libido, namely the predominance of instinct over reason, could accentuate the animalistic aspect of the human being. It was equated with the faun, which was regarded as a degenerate monster. The antelope also became a canonical symbol in art conveying themes related to lust, as can be seen in the painting produced by the Dutchman Pieter Lastman (1583-1633) in 1610 (Fig. 15), depicting the famous carnal encounter from Greek mythology between Paris, son of Priam, and the nymph Oenone.

Ripa himself explained that it was a practice among the ancients to represent lust with an image of Venus on a ram "showing the subjection of reason to the senses and concupiscence". Hence, as can be seen in Figs 4 and 6, both de Vos and Goltzius and Matham added the same caption to their second emblems: "The vexatious lust of Venus will pervert all things. It will steal faith, then fatherland, then your Gods".[41] Here, however, arises another dimension of lust that concerns matters of doctrine, and which deserves more detailed attention, i.e. so-called "heretical" lust.

3. *From the error of the senses to the senses of error: mental representations of heretical lust*

An inevitable product of the demonizing of lust was the idea that lust could be the cause of a loss of faith through the interference of evil spiritual

40. Jaime Ricardo Gouveia, "Costelas de Adão: a desacreditação dos depoimentos femininos na Inquisição portuguesa", *Mátria Digital*, 5 (2017-2018), pp. 221-247.

41. Translated by the author from the Latin original: "Omnia pervertit veneris vesana libido. Fura fidem, patriam seque suosque, Deos".

entities. This represented an evolution of the Aristotelian philosophy, as accepted by patristics, that sensuality was a branch of madness, because it completely erased judgement.[42]

It seems logical that the expression of such ideas in the emblems of the late 16th century was based on the casuist literature, such as the *Manual de Confessores e Penitentes*, published by the Castilian canonist Martín de Azpilcueta (1492-1586) in 1549. Based on the doctrines of St. Gregory and St. Thomas, Azpilcueta, at that time a professor at the University of Coimbra, argued that lust had several faces and was a capital or cardinal vice, because from it were born seven infernal daughters, including blindness of understanding, which could lead to heresy.[43]

The idea that certain lustful actions could provoke or be provoked by doctrinal errors would have a jurisdictional impact a decade later. In response to a request from the Archbishop Pedro Guerrero of Granada (1501-1576), Pope Paul IV (1476-1559) granted to the Inquisition of Granada the authority to proceed against *solicitatio ad turpia*, or the solicitation of penitents during confession for acts of a promiscuous nature. Guerrero's petition followed on from opinions he had presented at the Council of Trent (1545-1563). There, he had argued that because the sacrament of penance was a divine institution and one of the pillars of the reform intended by the Church, any perversion of the sacrament must be equated with heresy as it implied doctrinal errors (*má doutrina*) or a deviation from the faith. He claimed that in order to punish this type of abuse by clergymen effectively and to compel penitents to denounce such acts of solicitation, it was necessary to include its prosecution under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition.[44]

42. John Chrysostom (c. 347-407), for example, compared sensual pleasures to the thick vapours that emanate from some ponds, because just as the latter cloud the air, so the former darken the light of reason; see Jaime Ricardo Gouveia, *O Sagrado e o Profano em Choque no Confessionário. O delito de solicitação no Tribunal da Inquisição, 1551-1700*, Coimbra, Palimage, 2011, pp. 84-85.

43. *Ibid.* For the biography and work of this *auctoritas*, see Wim Decock, "Martín de Azpilcueta", in *Great Christian Jurists in Spanish History*, ed. by Rafael Domingo and Javier Martínez-Torrón, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018, pp. 116-132; Manuela Bragagnolo, "Les voyages du droit du Portugal à Rome. Le 'Manual de Confessores' de Martín de Azpilcueta (1492-1586) et ses traductions", *Max Planck Institute for European Legal History Research Paper Series*, 13 (2018), pp. 1-18; Vincenzo Lavenia, "Martín de Azpilcueta. Un profilo", *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà*, 16 (2003), pp. 15-157.

44. Jaime Ricardo Gouveia, "A jurisdição privativa da Inquisição portuguesa sobre o delito de solicitação: *De facto* ou *de iure*?", *Investigaciones Históricas*, 42 (2022), pp. 507-548.

On 16 April 1561, with the papal brief *Cum sicut nuper*, Pius IV (1559-1565) extended to all Spanish inquisitorial courts the authority of the Holy Office to proceed in matters of solicitation. The proposition that *solicitatio ad turpia* constituted heresy by defiling sacral power also quickly spread to Portugal. Although the definition of the crime and its inclusion in the jurisdictional remit of the Inquisition would take longer in Portuguese territory than in neighbouring kingdoms, the justification for inquisitorial intervention was the same.

It was not a question of correcting behaviour, but of identifying the doctrinal error that had occurred concerning the nature of sacral power and the confessor's basic misunderstanding, which was thought to be of demonic origin. The aim was to act against what was understood to be a conscious choice of embarking on a path opposed to Catholic doctrine. The desecration of the sacrament of penance not only fatally undermined the programme of confessional homogenization advocated by the post-Tridentine Church, but also damaged one of the most crucial elements of the socialization of doctrinal discourse and discipline of the moral and religious conduct of Christianity. As Francisco Leitão stated in 1678, confession should be considered "a remedy for sinners and exercise for the righteous", and through it the sinner could "return from death to life, from shipwreck to port, from misfortune to fortune, from sinner to righteous, from slave to king and from captivity to freedom".[45]

Subverting confession meant to subvert a sacrament hailed as indispensable within the economy of salvation and which, since the Council of Trent, had become a major tool to educate and discipline the laity in line with the Counter-Reformation church. Ecclesiastical authorities were deeply perturbed that a penitent might be prevented from rediscovering divine grace through the forgiveness of sins on account of a lustful act perpetrated in a sacramental context. The peril was that penitents stayed away from the confessional, while on the other hand heretics seized on such incidents to justify their heresy. The failure to comply with the precept of annual confession raised suspicions of a deviation from orthodoxy incurred under the influence of the Devil and a misunderstanding of the sacramental value of confession that followed from it. The drawing (Fig.

45. Francisco Leitão, *Remedio de Peccadores, exercício de justos*, Évora, na Officina da Universidade, 1678, p. 76.

16) by Pietro Antonio Novelli (1729-1804), produced in 1769 and now held by the Galerie Bassenge in Berlin, is one of the few representations of this mental imagery.

Most of the discourses related to solicitation converged in attributing the commission of the crime to the Devil. This can be observed in the theological and juridical-canonical discussions generated around the topic, as well as in the moral literature and in the testimony given at trial by defendants, accomplices, or victims. One of the latter was Clara Ferreira, a single, twenty-two-year-old *mulatto* captive living in Cucurranas, in the bishopric of Pernambuco. On 5 January 1693 she denounced one Father André Alves for having told her during confession that he wanted to buy her in order to have illicit dealings with her. To this the penitent responded "that she did not want to, because she had heard that whoever sinned with a priest would become *mulla* [donkey] of the Devil". The priest then tried to reassure her by claiming that "this was only so for those who sinned with a friar but not with a priest".[46]

Whoever held heretical propositions or used confession to persuade penitents to lascivious acts delivered themselves "into the hands of the Devil and offended Divine Majesty", as the brief *Universi Dominici Gregis* issued by Pope Gregory XV (1554-1623) on 3 August 1622 made clear.[47] It is also significant that Ferreira's account reveals a mental iconography of the demonization of lust, which she had acquired orally ("she had heard about it") and which was in line with the religious discourse embodied in emblematic iconography, especially the association of lust with the asinine figure. This idea circulated widely and appears, for example, in the representation by the Flemish painter and sculptor Jakob von der Heyden (1573-1645), as can be viewed in the engraving in Fig. 17.

The figurative constructions of the mental iconography of the Catholic faithful corresponded, in fact, to the iconography found in emblem books. Their wide diffusion throughout the Catholic world, often for catechetical purposes, profoundly influenced the religious imagination of the time.

46. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (hereafter ANTT), Tribunal do Santo Ofício (hereafter TSO), Inquisição de Lisboa (hereafter IL), Cadernos dos Solicitantes (hereafter CS), 756, fol. 386.

47. *Colectorio das bullas e Breves Apostólicos, Cartas, Alvarás e Provisões Reaes que contem a instituição e progresso do Sancto Officio em Portugal, vários indultos e privilégios, que os Sumos Pontífices e Reys destes Reynos lhe concederão*, Lisbon, Lourenço Craesbeeck, 1644, fols 85v-87v.

Systematic assessments of the surviving literature indicate this wide circulation. Such assessments undertaken in Portuguese libraries have confirmed the existence of at least two hundred and seventeen works related to emblems, including theoretical treatises, collections of hieroglyphs, and symbolic literature.[48]

The mental images, which associated behaviour with things and beings never actually seen, were constructs resulting from the diffusion of doctrinal, devotional, and moral discourse. These aimed at encouraging the internalization of certain modes of conduct or, in the context of lust, at instilling self-discipline even among those who initially would not have been familiar with the doctrinal precepts of Catholicism, such as enslaved people like Ferreira. In addition, the mythologizing, animalization, and demonization of lust shaped both the visual and mental iconography that circulated throughout the Christian world during this period. In both, moreover, the relations woven between the image and its object of representation were the same: representative, because the image was intended to be close to the reality it represented; symbolic, because, although intelligible, the image had certain abstract meanings; and conventional, because it represented prevailing moral notions.

It is not difficult to find reports of penitents who attributed the proposals to which they were subjected in the confessional to the figure of the Devil. A good example of this pattern was registered on 7 July 1682 by the commissioner of Montemor-o-Novo in the archbishopric of Évora. The inquisitorial agent denounced Father João Coelho, curate of St. Torcato, for having solicited several penitents, one of whom said of the experience "that she came to confession seeking God and found the Devil".[49] Similar reports were also produced by the defendants themselves, in an effort to divert responsibility for the crime, as did Father Feliciano Araújo in 1706. A complaint had been made against him for three times soliciting Josefa Ferreira, a woman living in the convent of Santa Ana de Leiria, by asking her to meet him in a nearby forest or at his house. When his requests

48. *Catálogo de livros de emblemas nas Bibliotecas Portuguesas*, Coimbra, Centro Interuniversitário de Estudos Camonianos, *s.d.*, available in:

https://www.uc.pt/iii/ciec/Cata_logo_livros_emblemas_nas_bibliotecas_portuguesas.pdf, accessed on 12 June 2024.

49. ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Évora (hereafter IE), CS, 566, fol. 1048.

were unsuccessful, he took the penitent's hand and directed it to his private parts, telling her that "it was the Devil who tempted him".[50]

Cases like this demonstrate that, although the attribution of the turpitude of lustful actions to an evil spirit entity contributed to a presumption of doctrinal error, it was also through this same entity that those accused of solicitation sought exoneration, by declaring themselves powerless to resist it. In fact, the demonization of lust, which was evident in discourses and mental images that associated behaviours with things never seen, was reinforced by the Inquisition itself, as happened, for instance, when the inquisitors of Coimbra proceeded against Father Francisco Coelho, abbot of S. Salvador do Monte in the bishopric of Porto, on 8 February 1620. They reported that "induced by the Devil and forgetful of the fear of God and the obligations of his office, placing at the font of spiritual life a dream of sin", he had solicited his spiritual daughters with words, entreaties, and promises, acting not as a "minister of Christ" but as an "instrument of the Devil".[51]

The inquisitorial association of heretical lust with demons or the Devil himself occurred frequently in the proceedings brought against those accused of solicitation. One notable example is António de Matos, curate of the parish of Real in the bishopric of Viseu, who was sentenced on 16 June 1720 by the Inquisition of Coimbra. During the trial instituted against him, it had been proven that, in addition to several lustful interactions with his penitents, he had tried to convince them that they did not commit a sin. There was no need to confess, he had assured them, as long as they did not feel lust. In front of the inquisitors, he imputed his actions to charity and spiritual affection, arguing that he could not confess to lustful thoughts he did not have. When the inquisitorial deputies met to judge the case, they agreed that with "poison disguised as a cloak of virtue" Matos had taught and practiced several heresies: 1) those of the "Almaric heretics" in following the doctrine of the Parisian theologian Almaric of Bena, for whom lascivious acts done in a spirit of charity were not sinful; 2) those of Dulcino and Geraldo, who considered these same acts to be lawful, as long as they were intended to erase the stimuli of the flesh; 3) those of Luther and Calvin, who understood that in order not to fall into error it was enough to act in good faith; 4) and those of the Juvinians, Anabaptists, and Moli-

50. ANTT, TSO, IL, CS, livro no. 760, fols 212-243v.
51. ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Coimbra (hereafter IC), processo no. 1660, fols 41-42.

nists, for whom just and virtuous people could not sin.[52] The agents of the Inquisition deemed that the accused had been "deluded by the Devil", who had incited and blinded him in order to make him their martyr. "Deceived by the diabolical arts", they concluded, he had endangered "many souls by the same sacraments that should free them from Hell" and that "he had harboured ill-will towards the Holy Catholic Faith". However, because the defendant was not contumacious and had voluntarily presented himself to the court, seeking "medicine for his soul", they absolved him from greater penalties and decided that he should be "purged through teaching".[53]

Clearly, this image of the Devil and the discourses associated with it were not exclusive to a specific crime. However, in the case of solicitation, these images were important to qualify the act. The belief, or even the suspicion, that the denigration of sacral power and the defilement of a divine institution such as the sacrament of penance were due to doctrinal errors led directly to the idea that a higher spiritual entity dedicated to evil had been involved. Rosa Maria Egipcíaca, the 18th-century founder of the Recolhimento de Nossa Senhora do Parto in Rio de Janeiro, stated that she believed there could be two types of confessor: "One clothed with the authority of Jesus Christ, who directs souls to heaven; the other in the service of Satan, sending them to hell".[54]

Sacramental confession was a cornerstone of post-Tridentine Catholicism and considered a divine institution. Any corruption of its sense and meaning therefore lead to the presumption that those who acted in this way had either misunderstood the nature of confession or, to use the terminology of the time, "felt erroneously" (*sentiam mal*)".[55] The presumption of doctrinal error was the decisive argument for subjecting it to inquisitorial jurisdiction. The inquisitors had authority over anybody who consciously chose paths contrary to the doctrinal principles of the Catholic faith, but also over anybody whose ideas, attitudes, or behaviour, because of their obstinacy in defiance of these principles, aroused the suspicion of heresy.

52. ANTT, TSO, IC, processo no. 1625, fols 331-333.

53. *Ibid*., fol. 333.

54. ANTT, TSO, Cód. 9.065, cited from Lana Lage da Gama Lima, "O recolhimento das Macaúbas", in *Ensaios sobre a intolerância: Inquisição, Marranismo e Anti-Semitismo,* ed. by Lina Gorenstein and Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro, São Paulo, Humanitas, 2002, pp. 265-292.

55. Both in the pleadings and in the General Council (*Conselho Geral*) sessions, the expression was used frequently. See ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, 30, fol. 495v.

4. *Conclusion*

Historiography has already consistently demonstrated how the reorganization of ecclesiastical jurisdiction during the 16th century quietly placed certain behaviours and lustful practices *de facto* but not *de iure* under the authority of the Inquisition, either because they counted as heresies or as indicators of heretical belief. The process was at times lengthy, as in the case of *solicitatio ad turpia*, and was often the source of contention between rival ecclesiastical authorities. We have explored the foundations and the repercussions of the inquisitorial idea that certain lustful acts could provoke or be provoked by questions of doctrine. The role iconography played in this process remains one of the central questions to be clarified, a lacuna which this study seeks to fill by demonstrating that the history of clerical solicitation can and should also be told using images. I contend that during the early modern period the visual language of printed iconography, as it impacted on and was informed by the doctrinal, devotional, and moral discourse, created a mental iconography of the demonization of lust. This imagery had normative repercussions, in the sense that it influenced (or at least helped to reinforce) the idea that lustful acts, depending on the circumstances in which they were carried out, could be doctrinal errors or equivalent infractions.

The demonization of lust, evident in the discourses and in the imagery associated with it, also led to the suspicion that lust could cause a loss of faith. Relying on visual and mental images that combined human and animal characteristics, with a predominance of female traits and imagery related to antelopes, this demonization had wide expression in emblems and painting. Their figurative, allegorical language, rooted in antiquity and circulating on a global scale, was continually adapted whilst simultaneously able to retain the essence of its visual and mental grammar. Using the theoretical perspectives of iconology, it can be seen that, despite this essential consistency, it cannot be disassociated from the diffusion of the doctrinal and religious discourses of the time. This realization forces us to reconsider the intrinsic meaning of artistic production as a reflection of a particular historical environment.

Fig. 1. Georg Pencz, *Lust*, c. 1539-1543, engraving, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Figs 2-3. Anonymous, *Lust*, woodcut, in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, Siena, Matteo Florimi, 1613, pt. II, p. 13; Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1618, pt. II, p. 315.

Fig. 4. Crispijn de Passe the Elder (after Maarten de Vos), *Luxuria*, c. 1590-1637, engraving, British Museum, London.

Fig. 5. Hendrick Goltzius and Jacob Matham, *Lust*/*Libido*, 1592 -1593, engraving, Fralin Museum of Art, Virginia.

Fig. 6. Jacob Matham (after Hendrick Goltzius), *Libido*/*Luxuria*, 1585-1589, engraving, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Fig. 7. Maestro de Rubió, *The Temptation of St. Anthony* (detail), altarpiece of St. Anthony the Abbot, c. 1360-1375, tempera and gold leaf on wood, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.

Fig. 8. Robinet Testard, *Asmodeus and the Allegory of Lust*, miniature, in the *Book of Hours of Charles of Angoulême*, c. 1475, MS 1001, fol. 98r, Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

Fig. 9. Anonymous, illustration to Canto X of Dante's *Inferno*, c. 1484-1487, engraving, British Museum, London.
Fig. 10. Martin Schongauer, *The Tribulations of St. Anthony* (detail), c. 1470-1473, engraving, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

Fig. 11. David Teniers the Younger, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, c. 1620-1690, oil on panel, Minneapolis Institute of Art.
Fig. 12. Anonymous, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, c. 1580-1617, engraving, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Fig. 13. Mestre da Lourinhã, *Conversão de Hermógenes* (detail), c. 1520-1525, oil on panel, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon.

Fig. 14. Hieronymus Wierix (design) and Philippe Galle (publisher), *The Emblem of Lust*, c. 1570-1612, engraving, British Museum, London.

Fig. 15. Pieter Lastman, *Paris and Oenone*, 1610, oil on panel, High Museum of Art, Atlanta.

Fig. 16. Pietro Antonio Novelli, *Confession or Penance*, 1769, drawing, Galerie Bassenge, Berlin.
Fig. 17. Jakob von der Heyden, *The Deadly Sins*, c. 1590-1645, engraving, British Museum, London.

Francisco Bethencourt

The Iconography of the Inquisition: Gravity and Subversion*

Historical images of the Inquisition project a power to prosecute and condemn people accused of heresy. This is particularly noticeable with the images of the Iberian *auto da fé*. As they were produced and reproduced with differing intentions – by opponents of the Inquisition to elicit compassion, or by its supporters to praise punishment – they tended to converge, amplifying institutional terror.[1] The establishment of this ritual in the Iberian Peninsula contrasts with its virtual absence under the Roman Inquisition, due both to fragmented political power in Italy and the competitive centralized structure of the Catholic Church.[2] On the one hand, the different territorial powers accepted the Roman Inquisition as a foreign intrusion that needed to be contained. On the other hand, the density of the political configuration in Rome, with the creation of multiple congregations (or councils) during the 16th century, did not allow for a collective public presentation of prosecuted heretics, able to enhance the perceived power of the Inquisition, to emerge. Indeed, the virtual absence of a collective ritual – with one exception, as we will see below – did not undermine the concentration of power by the Roman Inquisition or its interference at

* I would like to express my thanks for the comments I received from my colleagues, reviewers, and the editors of this volume, particularly Nicole Reinhardt.

1. Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition. A Global History, 1478-1534*, trans. by Jean Birrell, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009, ch. 7.

2. This is my explanation. On the institutional context in Rome, see Paolo Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2006, 2nd ed., pp. 165-207. On the political Italian framework and the position of the tribunal, see Andrea Del Col, *L'Inquisizione in Italia dal XII al XXI secolo*, Milan, Mondadori, 2006.

all levels of society and within the Church.[3] The technology of power in Rome differed from that in the Iberian Peninsula: the congregation of the Holy Office did not engage in systematic ostracism of families of the condemned. Another important factor was the ethnic context; the extreme violence that characterized the Iberian Inquisitions was related to the racial divide and deep-rooted discrimination against New Christians of Jewish and Muslim origin. Such divisions, which violated the purported universalism of the Catholic Church and the sacrament of baptism, were largely ignored in Rome.

The development of the *auto da fé* in the Iberian Peninsula resulted from the manipulation of the Inquisition by the Catholic Monarchs to rein in seignorial jurisdictions; at the same time, the new institution seized the opportunity to assert its own power both in the eyes of the public and vis-à-vis the existent local Catholic structures. The supposed religious crisis produced by a vast number of heretics was amplified by the inquisitors and justified by massive detentions to obtain immediate religious and political recognition; the *auto da fé* played a major role in this strategy, creating a devastating effect.[4]

In the following pages, the multi-layered meanings of the images of the *auto da fé* will be analysed and compared with different types of images concerning the Inquisition and its activity.[5] Highlighting the contrasting purposes of the iconography related to the Holy Office, the essay also re-

3. Paolo Prodi highlighted the concentration of powers by the Inquisition, responsible for both the classification of heresies and their prosecution, searching the occult (and intentional) sin, refusing the validity of confession in those cases, and dissolving the distinction between sin and crime (as *crimen lesae maiestatis divinae*): Paolo Prodi, *Una storia della giustizia. Dal pluralismo dei fori al moderno dualismo tra coscienza e diritto*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2000, pp. 92-97. The issue of shaping consciousness was taken further by Adriano Prosperi, who highlighted the complementarity of inquisitors, confessors, and missionaries, or better, repression, persuasion, and control: Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza. Inquisitori, confessori, missionari*, Turin, Einaudi, 1996. Massimo Firpo underlined the upper hand of the Inquisition in the struggle for power within the Church: Massimo Firpo, *La presa di potere dell'Inquisizione romana, 1550-1553*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2014.

4. For a content analysis of the *auto da fé* as a major ritual of the Iberian Inquisitions, see Maureen Flynn, "Mimesis of the Last Judgement: the Spanish *Auto da Fé*", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 22/2 (1991), pp. 281-297; Francisco Bethencourt, "The *Auto da Fé*: Ritual and Imagery", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 55 (1992), pp. 155-168; Consuelo Maqueda Abreu, *El Auto de Fe*, Madrid, Istmo, 1992.

5. This essay will substantially expand on the first attempt to analyse images of the Tribunal of the Faith in Bethencourt, *The Inquisition*, especially ch. 9.

traces the changes imposed over time by a new system of values. In doing so, it will accommodate both the top-down institutional approach and the agency of victims and supporters, expressed critically in graphic but also in subtle ways. One of the main purposes of this essay is to pursue the largely understudied question of how the representation of the Inquisition's victims, or the representation of metonymic situations, could express or elicit compassion.

I argue that the Iberian Inquisitions placed all their visual effort on the public ceremonies that they were able to control, charging them with gravity and a strong sense of hierarchy while placing the religious and civil authorities in a subordinate or supportive position. The purpose was to provoke astonishment at the revelation of extraordinary "crimes" against God through the reading out of sentences that were carefully worded upon forced confessions. The public ceremonies instilled extreme fear among the spectators, who were brought from afar to witness the evilness of their neighbours, thus disseminating the values of the tribunal as it asserted itself above all other powers, which in turn fuelled further denunciations to "feed the machine", so to speak.

The Inquisition's opponents, by contrast, exposed the ritual of the *auto da fé* as a humiliating operation aimed at public discrimination and segregation. They expressed empathy and solidarity with the victims, many of whom had been tortured or left in jails for a long time to break down their resistance. They also protested against the exclusion from professions of the families of the condemned and the perpetuation of the *damnatio memoriae* through the display of the penitential habits (*sambenitos*) in their parish church (regularly controlled after decades and even centuries), which completed the *auto da fé*.[6] The visual stance of the opponents to the Holy Office thus developed into a denunciation of the inquisitorial methods as an example of religious intolerance that should be eradicated. Over time, as we will see, the visual activism of opponents of the Inquisition derided the institution to express its contempt for its archaic forms of repressing

6. See recent research on this issue: Cloe Cavero de Carondelet and Yonatan Glazer-Eytan, "Infamy within Sight: Making and Unmaking Sambenitos in the Early Modern Iberian World", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 77 (2024), pp. 389-441. While the Inquisition tried to perpetuate the memory of infamy, in classical antiquity the purpose was to eradicate the memory of the offenders: Jerôme Carcopino, *L'ostracisme athénien*, Paris, Feliz Alcan, 1935 [1909], 2nd ed.; François Hinard, *Les proscriptions de la Rome Républicaine*, Rome, École Française de Rome, 1985.

alternative views.[7] Subversion through mockery would turn the gravity of the tribunal upside down. The new system of values was pushed forward using humour to deconstruct the inquisitors' pretension and dismantle the tribunal's power.

1. *Visual gravity projected by the Inquisition*

The space of each tribunal generally comprised an entrance hall, a court hearing room, living rooms for the inquisitors, a set of jail cells, a room equipped for torture, and a chapel or oratory for the prayers of the inquisitors. The walls of the court hearing room would be adorned with the crucifix, sometimes surrounded by the arms of the king and the arms of the Inquisition.[8] The symbol of the Holy Spirit, the dove, could also be included as an inspiration claimed by the inquisitors. The inquisitorial setting was depicted by the tribunals' victims such as Charles Dellon (on whom more below), whereas inquisitors never wrote about the interior space they inhabited. They wanted to protect it; indeed, all prisoners and staff members were forced to take an oath of secrecy about their time in the tribunal. Depictions of the interior of the tribunals would have been regarded as a violation of secrecy and exposure of institutional intimacy, which for the inquisitors were a precondition to guarantee well-elaborated sentences, while for opponents they signified the essence of arbitrary power. The rule of excluding visitors was only broken once, to my knowledge, by the tribunal of Goa in 1808, under the exceptional conditions of the British military intervention to secure the Portuguese capital of the *Estado da Índia* against a possible French threat during the Napoleonic wars. The Anglican priest and scholar Claudius Buchanan then visited the city and the Inquisition (see section 2).[9]

7. I am using the notion of visual activism developed by Nicholas Mirzoeff, *An Introduction to Visual Culture*, London, Routledge, 2023, 3rd ed., pp. 1-3. Mirzoeff considers visual activism to express a critical vision and strike against hierarchization.

8. Charles Dellon, *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*, Paris, Daniel Horthemels, 1688, p. 122.

9. Claudius Buchanan's report was later included in Samuel Chandler, *The History of the Persecution, from the Patriarchal Age to the Reign of George II. A New Edition, to Which is Added the Rev. Dr. Buchanan's Notices of the Present State of the Inquisition of Goa*, Hull, Charles Atmore, 1813.

The interdiction of visual representations of the interior of the tribunal palaces contrasted sharply, in the Iberian world, with their sumptuary exterior appearance. Austerity was not the purpose, only the protection of secret (and arguably arbitrary) procedures. Iberian inquisitorial palaces were significantly more complex than the relatively small spaces reserved for the inquisitors' activities in Italian Dominican and Franciscan convents, except for the voluminous palace assigned to the headquarters of the Congregation of the Inquisition in Rome.[10]

The Roman exception was partly the result of political events: the death of a founding member of the Congregation of the Inquisition, Pope Paul IV (Gian Pietro Carafa), on 8 August 1559, unleashed massive riots during which the headquarters of the Congregation of the Holy Office in Passeggiata di Ripetta were assaulted and the archives and the building itself burned down.[11] In 1566-1567, Pius V, another former member of the Congregation of the Inquisition, bought a new palace from the heirs of the deceased cardinal Lorenzo Pucci. Palazzo Pucci had been built after 1514, with the façade designed in the mid-1520s by Giuliano Leno, Pietro Roselli, and Michelangelo Buonarroti. Restoration and improvement by the architects Pirro Ligorio and Salustio Peruzzi were completed under Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590), a former inquisitor in Venice. The palace's plans show dozens of cells, in line with the major palaces of the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal. The accommodation of the Congregation in a significant palace as a response to the riots was thus implemented by popes with an inquisitorial background.[12]

In Spain and Portugal, facilitated by the monarchy, tribunals were generally lodged in royal palaces or castles, or in specifically acquired private

10. Madrid, Archivo Historico Nacional, Carpeta 4, 54 (plan of the Inquisition of Toledo); Palace of the Inquisition in Rome, on the right low side, General View of Rome drawn by Felix Benoist, *Rome dans sa grandeur*, 3 vols, Paris, Henri Charpentier, 1870, lithograph 98; Plan of the tribunal of Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna, B-1891, p. 859.

11. Sergio Bertelli, *Il Corpo del Re. Sacralità del Potere nell'Europa Meridionale e Moderna*, Florence, Ponte alle Grazie, 1990.

12. For the Roman palace of the Inquisition, see Daniel Ponziani, "Interessi architettonici: i palazzi dell'Inquisizione", in *Rari e preziosi: documenti dell'età moderna e contemporanea dall'archivio dell'Sant'Uffizio. Catalogo della mostra a Roma, Museo Centrale del Risorgimento*, ed. by Alejandro Cifres and Marco Pizzo, Rome, Gangemi, 2009, pp. 86-105 (the plan from 1566-67 is on p. 99). My argument is that the popes who were former inquisitors played a crucial role.

villas, as occurred in Évora. Thus, they became a statement of authority and royal support by themselves. The Iberian palaces provided different possibilities concerning the scale of repression – it made a huge difference whether there were dozens of cells on different floors, or only half a dozen. These palaces transformed the institutional atmosphere, as the sense of being caught in a huge machine of inquiry and processing certainly played a role in the minds of the accused too.[13]

The division of space in such an enormous disciplinary institution, then arguably unique in the world in terms of its jurisdiction, staff, and reach, was significant, from the semi-public room of audiences, where witnesses were invited to give their view on accusations, to the room of torment, often located in the basement, which was reserved for special treatment of "stubborn" prisoners who resisted confession. Each tribunal was a place of supposed secrecy, although we know they were quite open to leaks of information promoted by bribery. One may also wonder how the inquisitors were able to insulate themselves in their private rooms located in the vicinity of the cells from the prisoners' laments, which must have been well audible. In some cases, we know that the judges' lodgings were separated from the cells, as occurred in Évora, where a courtyard with an orchard separated the residence of the inquisitors from the tribunal itself.[14]

The interior decoration of the tribunals is another issue that is very poorly researched. Only in the case of the tribunal of Bologna, studied in this volume by Vincenzo Lavenia, can we get an idea of the iconographical programme of the inquisitors' rooms. A painting of the martyrdom of the Holy Child of La Guardia existed in Toledo's tribunal, and it is possible that other tribunals made similar commissions. The painting referred to a case judged in 1491 incriminating New Christians and Jews, without the discovery of a body or the declaration of any child having disappeared, a case that was used to promote the expulsion of Jews from Spain the following year.[15] In terms of the interior decoration of the tribunals, the prisoners' cells also need to be taken into account. So far, only those of the tribunal of Palermo, where extensive graffiti by the detainees have been

13. See Bethencourt, *The Inquisition*, pp. 94-102 and 354-363 for a comparative analysis of the spaces and the possibilities.

14. See the plan of the Inquisition of Évora in Mateus do Couto, *O livro das plantas e montras de todas as fabricas das Inquisições deste Reino e India*, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Casa Forte.

15. *La Inquisición* (exhibition catalogue), Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura, 1982, p. 14.

uncovered, have been analysed systematically. We will return to this issue in the following section.

The façades of tribunal buildings were generally adorned with a sculpted relief of the coat of arms of the Inquisition, as in the example of Mexico City. The Inquisition's emblems, replicated in the tribunal's publications and public representations, placed at the centre the cross to symbolize the sacrifice of Christ the Redeemer that structured Christianity. This was surrounded on one side by an olive branch, the symbol of benignity and peace achieved through reconciliation following confession and denunciation of other accomplices, and on the other side by a sword to signify the severe punishment, including the death penalty (executed by the secular authority), for those who persisted in their deviant beliefs.[16]

The ritual of the *auto da fé* was created very early on as a showcase of inquisitorial activity. It was initiated by a procession of the confraternity of the so-called "familiars", i.e. selected non-paid civil members of the Inquisition with special privileges, who carried the green cross and placed it on the catafalque erected in the main square in front of the local cathedral or royal palace. The cross was veiled as a sign of mourning for the offences against Jesus Christ committed by the accused. It would only be unveiled at the end of the *auto da fé*, when the honour of Christ was redeemed through confession and abjuration, or through excommunication and execution as an expiation of what was considered a public offence against divine majesty.

The day of the *auto da fé* started with the procession of the accused dressed in *sambenitos* depicting symbols of the different types of sentences. The public, gathered from the city and the surroundings, would have immediately recognized the fate awaiting each person. The prisoners were then placed on the catafalque in hierarchical order, with the excommunicated at the top mirroring the inquisitors on the just side of the theatre, to represent the opposite poles of virtue and infamy (and shame). The sentences were read out individually, from the lightest to the heaviest, generally grouped by types of penalties. When hundreds of sentences were being read, the *auto da fé* could take two or three days, with processions going back and forth from the tribunal to the public space.

16. The arms of the Inquisition were reproduced in its documents and many other publications, namely by Adrian Schoonebeck, in Philippus van Limborch, *Historia Inquisitionis*, Amsterdam, apud Henricum Wetstenium, 1692.

The ritual's final sequence involved the deliverance of the excommunicated to the secular arm, which accepted the excommunication as a death sentence, and proceeded without further ado to the place of execution. Members of religious orders accompanied the prisoners to the scaffold, seeking to convince them to accept a Christian death. Along the way, the public created an intimidating atmosphere of insults and shouting to force the victims into abandoning their decision to die as apostates or stubborn heretics (submission would be felt to be a final victory by the mob). The *auto da fé* could also be organized inside churches, in a less spectacular environment, which would reduce the public impact. This occurred in several peripheral tribunals, but from the end of the 17th century onwards, and throughout the last period of their existence, the central Iberian tribunals also moved the ritual from public to semi-public spaces. The technology of power underwent a major change, by which discipline and punishment became less public and the place of religion less central.[17]

It seems that until the middle of the 17th century, the Inquisition was uninterested in the representation, either in painting or in print, of this powerful ritual that directly impacted the public. The only exception might be Pedro Berruguete's oil on panel painting *Saint Dominic presiding over an Auto-da-fe*, executed in 1491-1499 on commission by the Dominican monastery of St. Thomas of Avila. It represented a well-known episode of Dominic de Guzmán's life, in which he persecuted Albigenses.[18] Yet, the painting celebrated the life of St. Dominic *within* the walls of a Dominican convent, even though the sequence of the *auto da fé* was standardized to that of the Spanish Inquisition, i.e. with the inquisitors placed on top of the scaffolding, on their right the sentences read to the accused, on their left the condemned taken by the civil justice to be burnt. It is a significant painting reflecting the atmosphere of the outgoing 15th century in Spain, but it does not seem to be related to any visual policy developed by the Inquisition.

This situation only changed with the painting of the *auto da fé* celebrated in Toledo's square of Zocodover in 1651.[19] The composition narrows the platform's vision between buildings. Due to the king's absence, it is dominated by the inquisitors (or even members of the Suprema) in

17. For a detailed analysis of the ritual, see Bethencourt, *The Inquisition*, ch. 7.

18. Pedro Berruguete, *Saint Dominic presiding over an Auto-da-Fe*, 1491-1499, oil on panel, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

19. Anonymous, *Auto de Fe in Toledo, 1651*, oil on canvas, Museo del Greco, Toledo.

the upper centre. The result is a crowded setting that is difficult to read; the *auto da fé* is represented as a kind of corridor with a clear vision of the polarization between inquisitors and victims on the platform. The first procession of the familiars, which had taken place the day before, is placed at the forefront, and the balconies of the surrounding buildings stand out, crowded with viewers. It is a painting that intends to project the public support for the Inquisition, which is largely based, in this composition, on the nobility and the urban elite.

How can this iconographical breakthrough be interpreted? The problem is that we do not know who commissioned the painting, or who painted it. One explanation may be that the Council of the Suprema saw the need to represent an *auto da fé* during that crucial period, as it unleashed a wave of prosecution of New Christians of Jewish origin, some of them bankers of high status, which resulted in their presentation to the public and condemnation. It was thus a period of reassertion of the Inquisition through the persecution of New Christians, as would happen in different moments of the early modern period in Iberia. The next known representation of an *auto da fé*, this time in Seville in 1660, seems to confirm the direct involvement of the Suprema, which can be traced thanks to the surviving correspondence with the district tribunal. It expresses different opinions regarding the painters involved (Francisco de Herrera el Mozo gave the initial draft), and, as Maria Victoria González de Caldas has suggested, the strict alignment between the textual description of the *auto da fé* and the visual narrative proves that the overarching aim was to achieve as precise a representation as possible.[20]

The painting of the *auto da fé* in Madrid's Plaza Mayor in 1680, in the presence of King Carlos II and the General Inquisitor, was commissioned to Francisco Rizi (1614-85), who had been officially nominated "painter of the cathedral" in 1653 and painter to the king in 1656.[21] The large oil painting on canvas was completed in 1683. It represented one of the last *auto da fé* to be celebrated in a central space of the capital and honoured by the royal presence. The detailed image underscores the Inquisition's authority

20. María Victoria González de Caldas, "Nuevas imágenes del Santo Oficio en Sevilla: el auto de fé", in *Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial,* ed. by Angél Alcalá, Barcelona, Aries, 1984, pp. 237-265. The painting is in a private collection.

21. "Rizi, Francisco", Museo del Prado, https://www.museodelprado.es/aprende/enciclopedia/voz/rizi-francisco/57f64849-a3f7-48bb-87d6-3d8d6e821ee4, accessed on 9 October 2024.

and gravity, with the hierarchy of the royal attendance focused on the upper centre and the inquisitors to the upper right of the king: this is defined as the virtuous side, with the members of religious orders, the veiled green cross, and the arms of the Inquisition on a red carpet; in the centre, the sentences are being read, while on the left the penitents and condemned are surrounded by the familiars of the Inquisition, with the familiars of the tribunal in the foreground and the select audience watching from the windows in the background. Like the previously discussed paintings from Toledo and Seville, this image too specifically addressed the social elite. It was commissioned by the General Inquisitor or the Suprema, and the centre of the painting zoomed in on the King's oath in support of the Inquisition, a crucial moment of the ritual that asserted the tribunal's authority before the public opinion.

These paintings can be interpreted as the Suprema's attempt to record and mark the principal moments of its renewed peak of activity against New Christians. However, the first half of the 18th century still showed a significant persecution of Judaism.[22] Without proper access to the Suprema's correspondence, it is difficult to determine how and why the decisions to commission the paintings were taken at a time when the debate about the statutes of blood purity, which was most virulent from the 1590s to the 1620s, had ceased in Spain, never to be challenged again until the early 19th century.[23] The projection of the image of the Inquisition in Iberia was, in one way or another, always related to the targeted ethnicity, the New Christians of Jewish origin, despite the fact that they had become a minority among the accused in Spain.

As mentioned above, the hierarchical content of the Inquisition's visual policy cannot be overlooked, and some aspects, like the neatness of the scenes depicted and the hieratic meaning of the composition, were especially important. Yet the *auto da fé* was not as calm, contained, and controlled a space as the paintings suggest. People were constantly coming and going, bringing and sending messages, while the prisoners lamented, shouted, or made last-minute confessions to be considered by the inquisitors. While

22. Francisco Bethencourt, *Strangers within. The Rise and Fall of the New Christian Trading Elite*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2024, pp. 420-440.

23. Francisco Bethencourt, "Limpieza de sangre: la batalla por la reforma desde Salucio hasta Quevedo", in *Sangre y leche. Raza y religion en el mundo ibérico*, ed. by Mercedes Garcia-Arenal and Felipe Pereda, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2021, pp. 139-172.

the accused were supposed to fast during the *auto da fé*, the inquisitors needed to eat. Therefore, the scaffoldings created an internal room for the inquisitors, where they were able to indulge in sumptuous meals while the ceremony carried on.[24] Finally, there were conflict situations, as in the case of Lisbon on 8 August 1683, when a riot erupted, which, however, is only mentioned by António Joaquim Moreira in the margin of the published lists of the *auto da fé*.[25] Conflicts like these may ultimately have contributed to the "privatization" of the ritual in the 18th century, when it came to be celebrated within the interior space of selected churches.

The last representation of an *auto da fé* by the Inquisition surprisingly emerged in 1724 in Palermo, then occupied by the Austrians, who did not have a tradition of inquisitorial activity but decided to reinstate the local tribunal in all its splendour. The description of the *auto da fé* and the images attached are among the best, revealing an attention to detail that can only be explained by the intention of restoring a lost ritual. François Chiché's prints followed the Spanish line of privileging the representation of the elite watching the *auto da fé* from the windows of the palaces of the main square or the execution from temporary wooden lodges, while the crowd seems relatively absent.[26] Antonino Mongitore's description and visual representation of the *auto da fé* reflects the desire to recover old, long-lost practices. The description could be equated to ethnographical research. However, the consequences of the ritual on real people were as serious as in the past.

A specific Iberian practice deserving of attention as an element of visual culture alongside the *auto da fé* consisted in the drawing up of massive lists of all sentenced people with their name, age, residence, ethnic identity,

24. A list of expenses of the *auto da fé* on 18 November 1646 in Lisbon was published by António Baião, *Episódios dramáticos da Inquisição portuguesa*, Lisbon, Seara Nova, 1938, pp. 210-214. It included a banquet for the tribunal members and a number of clergymen serving dozens of chickens, three turkeys, four rabbits, one pig, four geese, one lamb, many sweet deserts containing a significant number of eggs, plenty of wine, varied fruit, and bread.

25. António Joaquim Moreira, *História dos principais actos e procedimentos da Inquisição em Portugal*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1980 [1846], p. 175. After this conflict, there were no more *autos da f*é in public squares in Lisbon. However, Moreira does not indicate the source of the conflict.

26. Antonino Mongitore, *L'atto pubblico di fede solennemente celebrato nella cotà di Palermo à 6 Aprile 1724 del tribunale del S. Uffizio di Sicilia*, Palermo, Regia Stamperia d'Agostino ed Antonino Epiro, 1724.

type of crimes, and penalty. In Portugal, from the 1620s to the 1750s such lists were printed and distributed during the ceremony as a guide.[27] In Spain, there is no equivalent series of lists, but the *relaciones de causas*, reporting the trials' summaries and sentences at the *autos da fé*, were sent by the district tribunals to the Suprema. Some of those related to *autos da fé* were printed and circulated, generally after the ceremony, with a detailed description of the event.[28] The practice reinforced the humiliation of the condemned and their families, who were already targeted by the hanging of the *sambenitos* in their parish churches. The Inquisition actively used naming and shaming to keep its permanent shadow over society.

A number of families protested against the labelling of their relatives as New Christians because it brought shame on the entire family. They could request and pay for an inquiry by the Inquisition to clear their name, but the outcome was far from guaranteed. The case of Manuel de Albuquerque e Aguilar, a diamond trader born in Castelo Rodrigo and resident in Vila Rica (Brazil), presented to the *auto da fé* in Lisbon on 6 July 1732, is of great interest here. He was condemned to formal abjuration and property confiscation, and his name was included on the list of the *auto da fé*. His relatives in different parts of Portugal – priests, familiars of the Inquisition, members of military and religious orders, and officers of the army – felt offended and asked for an inquiry to clear their name. It was a risky move that backfired: they did not obtain satisfaction of their request; those who had received recognition (and investiture) as Old Christians were not demoted, but new applications by younger relatives were refused.[29] Although the boundaries defined by blood purity were firmly upheld, violations would be treated with discretion to avoid exposing the weak foundations of the entire social edifice.

27. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Reservados, Cód. 865, concerning the Inquisition of Lisbon. The image of the last printed *auto da f*é in 1754 is on fol. 525r.

28. Gustav Henningsen, "El 'banco de datos' del Santo Oficio. Las Relaciones de Causas de la Inquisición Española (1550-1700)", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 174 (1977), pp. 547-570; Jaime Contreras and Gustav Henningsen, "Forty-four Thousand Cases of the Spanish Inquisition", in *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Gustav Henningsen and John Tedeschi, Dekalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 1986, pp. 100-129.

29. Bethencourt, *Strangers within*, pp. 441-444.

The hanging of the *sambenitos* in parish churches not only decisively shaped public opinion, but it also prolonged the shadow of the *auto da fé*.[30] It was a case of *damnatio memoriae* at a micro level, by which, contrary to the ancient Roman practice of erasing the memory of those accused of the crimes of *laesae maiestatis*, the public defamation of the family of the condemned was upheld forever. The hanging of the *sambenitos* perpetuated the negative memory of the names of the condemned, which undoubtedly deeply charged the atmosphere of the churches in which they were displayed and where relatives and neighbours would be confronted with their powerful symbolism on a weekly or daily basis. There were petitions to withdraw the *sambenitos*, but the Inquisition generally refused them.[31] The perpetuation of this infamous memory was high on the agenda of the tribunal: lists of penitential habits assigned to specific churches were established, care was taken to keep them in good repair, and agents were sent round regularly to check that none had been removed.[32] If relatives took the habits down, they would be subjected to inquiry and prosecution.

The Inquisition also invested in images beyond the walls of its traditional places of representation to assert its position vis-à-vis other authorities in public occasions. The *Arch of the Familiars of the Inquisition*, created for Philip III's entry into Lisbon in 1619, and placed near the chapel of the royal palace, is a case in point.[33] The arms of the Inquisition on the top are surrounded by the words "In Hoc Signo Vinces" ("In this sign you will win") and by two emblems with the words "Columbae et simplices sicut" ("with dove-like simplicity") symbolizing the Holy Spirit, supposedly inspiring the tribunal. The images decorating the arch are arranged in six panels on two

30. See Glazer-Eytan and Cavero de Carandolet, "Infamy within Sight", pp. 389-441.

31. In a letter of 1519, Charles V informed the Suprema that the New Christians had offered a donation of 300,000 ducats to have the *sambenitos* removed from churches and penitential habits abolished: Madrid, Archivo Historico Nacional, Inquisición, Libro 1276, fol. 38r.

32. Madrid, Archivo Historico Nacional, Inquisición, Libro 1226, fols 736v-737r; Libro 1229, fols 147r-v; Libro 1278, fols 311r-v; see also *Relación de los sanbenitos que se han puesto y renovado este año de 1755 en el claustro del Real Convento de Santo Domingo de esta ciudad de Palma por el Santo Oficio de la Inquisición del Regno de Mallorca, de reos relaxados y reconciliados publicamente por el mismo tribunal desde el año de 1645*, Majorca, 1755, testifying the long-term obsession with this practice.

33. The most detailed and illustrated description is by João Baptista Lavanha, *Viagem da Catholica Real Magestade del Rey D. Felipe II*, Madrid, Thomas Iunti, 1622; the engraving is by Jan Schorkens.

rows of vertical logic on top of three arches. The two images on the right of the arms represent the pardon and the inspiration from the Holy Spirit. The upper panel shows three barefoot penitents entering, reconciled, into the Church, followed by the inquisitor teaching the Gospel. It is reminiscent of the tribunal's motto "compelle intrare" ("force to enter"). The lower panel evokes the militant Church represented by a woman carrying the Eucharist and the Cross with the church in the background. This theme is underlined by the inscription "Lumen de Lumine" ("Light from Light").

The theme of sovereignty informs the two central panels. The upper panel depicts the pope with his attributes (the tiara and the Triple Cross) and the shield of the Inquisition at his feet; the lower panel shows the coronation of the king by the allegorical figures of Faith, Religion, and Justice with the legend "Vera Corona" ("True Crown"). Punishment is the subject of the two panels on the left side of the tribunal's coat of arms. The upper panel crudely shows the fire reserved for relapsed heretics; the lower panel presents the Inquisition triumphing over the seven-headed hydra with the legend "Ipsa conteret caput tuum" ("It would crash your head"), the triumphal and epic end of the narrative. In this panel, the Holy Office, figured as St. George, but with the arms of the tribunal on the shield, defeats the dragon of heresy under the inspiration of St. Peter Martyr, a medieval Dominican and inquisitor killed by heretics in 1252 and who was immediately sanctified after his death, before eventually becoming the patron saint of the familiars' confraternities. His image concludes the tribunal's self-glorifying narrative cycle which is completed with the inscription above the central arch: "Venisti tandem tuaquae expectata per annos" ("You have finally come for what you have waited for years"). Over thirty manuscripts and printed works describing the royal entry exist to this day and are testimony to the significance of the event for the Inquisition.

As usual, this arch too was related to the political conjuncture. The visit of Philip III to Portugal had been promised and postponed several times. It was the moment to show the king obedience and political allegiance, to restore previous privileges, and to renew institutional favour. The Inquisition depended on it more than ever; indeed, the papal pardon of 1604-1605, which the king had supported against the payment of a significant levy on the New Christians, had dealt a heavy blow to the Portuguese Tribunal of the Faith. Prisoners had to be released and, worse still, thousands of denunciations collected over the years had to be erased. As a consequence, the crucial task of gathering accusations had to start anew, which

took years.[34] The Portuguese General Inquisitors had engaged strenuous diplomatic efforts in Rome and Madrid to recover the tribunal's previous position. When the ministers of Philip III requested a contribution to the royal visit from the city of Lisbon, the *Casa da Índia* (House of India), and the Inquisition, the latter immediately accepted the imposition of a vast loan, which was never repaid, but levied by confiscating the property of its prisoners. In violation of all procedures, the General Inquisitor took advantage of this exceptional occasion to impose the confiscation of property at the very beginning of the trials and without awaiting the final sentences. This inflicted enormous suffering on the families of the accused, and it became a common practice that was only to be reversed after the suspension of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1674-1681.[35]

The coat of arms of the Inquisition was arguably the best-known image or emblem of the tribunal, disseminated on its shields, ensigns, engravings, titles of appointment, pictures, jewels, and clothing to display the insignia of membership of the tribunal. That specific heraldry was used in a particular way by the craftsmen of the town of Valencia nominated familiars of the Inquisition, who hung it as their coat of arms at the doors of their houses and shops until c. 1575, when the Suprema forbade the practice, explicitly declaring that they could not claim immunity.[36]

Another symbol widely used by the civil members of the Inquisition was the image of St. Peter Martyr, which had also appeared on the *Arch of the Familiars of the Inquisition* in Lisbon in 1619. It figures in many documents and banners of the familiars as their patron saint and was generally carried during the annual procession honouring the saint, *autos da fé*, Corpus Christi processions, and receptions for members of the royal family.[37] The enrolment of the aristocracy as familiars by the Portuguese

34. Claude Stuczynski, "New Christian Political Leadership in Times of Crisis. The Pardon Negotiations of 1605", in *Leadership in Times of Crisis*, ed. by Moises Orfali, Ramat-Gan, Bar-Illan University Press, 2007, pp. 45-70; Ana Isabel López-Salazar Codes, *Inquisición Portuguesa y Monarquia Hispánica en tiempos del perdón general de 1605*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2010.

35. Ana Isabel López-Salazar Codes, *Inquisición y Política. El gobierno del Santo Oficio en el Portugal de los Austrias (1578-1653)*, Lisbon, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2011, p. 71; Bethencourt, *Strangers within*, pp. 216-217.

36. Madrid, Archivo Historico Nacional, Libro 1274, fol. 390r.

37. The representation of St. Peter Martyr is on both sides of the standard of the Spanish Inquisition represented by Tourcaty in Joseph Lavalée, *Histoire des Inquisitions Reli-*

and Spanish inquisitions increased during the second half of the 17th century, contrary to previous practices that sought to prevent the second order from controlling the tribunal. This reversal might have been an attempt by the inquisitors to shield the tribunal against the shifting, and increasingly hostile, public opinion and, by enhancing the status of the familiars, to perpetuate the institution.[38]

Compared to this iconographical abundance, the visual repertoire of the Roman Inquisition was more limited, for two main reasons: first, the Congregation was part of the institutional structure of the Catholic Church directly controlled by the papacy; and second, the permanent tension in which the local inquisitors lived – they were seen as an extension of the political power of Rome – did not allow for the staging of a show of power around the public reading of the sentences, which required the agreement of the respective political authorities. The Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith already enjoyed extensive jurisdictional power in Rome as the first congregation, with jurisdiction over the lay population and over all clergymen, including members of religious orders. The Congregation coupled this activity of prosecution with that of assessing and censoring statements and images and defining doctrine in doubtful cases. This powerful position may explain the relatively more benign penalties and the limits on public display, privileging discrete condemnations without hurting the relatives of the accused.[39] The racial divisions that motivated a great deal of inquisitorial operations in the Iberian world were far less present in Italy, or did not have the same impact for historical and ethnic reasons.

The only exception to the absence of spectacular *autos da fé* staged by the Roman Inquisition was the public presentation of two hundred and fifty refugees from Spain on 26 July 1498. It was held in front of St. Pe-

gieuses d'Italie, d'Espagne et du Portugal, 2 vols, Paris, Capelle et Renaud, 1809, vol. I, p. 137.

38. For the situation in Portugal, see José Veiga Torres, "Da repressão religiosa para a promoção social. A Inquisição como instância legitimadora da promoção social da burgusia mercantil", *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 40 (1994), pp. 109-35. The situation in Spain was regionally more nuanced; among other works, see Roberto López Vela, "Estruturas administrativas del Santo Oficio", in *Historia de la Inquisición en España y America*, ed. by Joaquín Perez Villanueva and Bartolomé Escandell Bonet, vol. II, *Las Estruturas del Santo Oficio*, Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1993, pp. 212-213.

39. See Bethencourt, *The Inquisition*, pp. 310-315; Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza*, *passim*.

ter's in the presence of Pope Alexander VI (himself from the kingdom of Valencia), who was seated with other dignitaries in especially constructed galleries. The penitents, dressed in the Iberian *sambenito*, entered the basilica to pray after the ceremony of abjuration and reconciliation. Then they went in procession to Santa Maria sopra Minerva, where they left their *sambenitos*.[40] It was the only attempt to re-enact the *collective* Spanish inquisitorial ritual on Italian soil. Although it was not uncommon to present accused heretics to the public, this generally occurred in individualized ceremonies, even if they unfolded in crowded settings and included the distribution of copies of the sentences or published lists of errors. In 1627, the Roman Congregation of the Inquisition forbade the public presentation of penitents required to abjure "slight suspicion of heresy".[41] One of the most famous cases of a public condemnation was that of Miguel de Molinos, a quietist who advocated spirituality based on passive contemplation. On 3 September 1687, he was presented at the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva before a crowd who gathered to watch the abjuration of a very successful clergyman whose books had previously passed censorship and circulated widely.[42]

2. *Visual activism against the Inquisition*

The victims of the Inquisition were not passive. They used whatever power they possessed to defend themselves, to protest during the trials, and to present appeals and petitions to the Curia, where they submitted the first court case against the systematic discrimination of a minority.[43] It is here that I will address the visual activism of victims and their supporters, inside and outside the tribunals, to reclaim their space and their personality against the total suppression that followed from the psychological pressure of the inquisitorial trial and the implementation of the sentences.

An important strategy of resistance consisted in prisoners' attempts to disrupt the austerity of the tribunal's space. The tribunal of Palermo at

40. Joannes Burchardus, *Diarium Romanae Curiae sub Alessandro VI Papa*, in Georg Eccard, *Corpus Historicum Medii Aevi*, vol. II, Leipzig, Krauss, 1743, p. 2017.

41. Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna, B-1892, fol. 26r.

42. Pilar Moreno Rodríguez, *El pensamiento de Miguel de Molinos*, Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 1992.

43. Bethencourt, *Strangers within*, pp. 378-382.

Palazzo Chiaramonte is a case in point. Following its closure in 1782, the building was used for judicial offices, archives of the Real Cancelleria, the civil tribunal, and the tribunal of trade. Vito La Mantia was the first historian to spot drawings on the walls in 1904, which led to the first work of restoration to clean the successive layers of white paint that covered the images. In the mid-1960s, the famous Sicilian writer Leonardo Sciascia obtained another restoration campaign. Finally, the restoration of 2000-2007 brought to light the full extension of the graffiti and inscriptions in all the cells.[44]

Giovanna Fiume and Mercedes García-Arenal have edited two crucial volumes analysing these graffiti, which have revealed the variety of creative images employed by the accused. They testify to the prisoners' unbroken agency and their will to leave messages that other prisoners would see. And yet, there was a limit to these visual messages, which expressed ambiguous protest without directly confronting the ideology of the tribunal. As Natalia Muchnik has argued, the graffiti are best understood as performative signatures that turned the walls into monuments.[45] They were indeed acts of appropriation of the cells by the accused to register their feelings and express a degree of independence under detention. Scholars have deciphered the walls like a palimpsest with a dense religious iconography. Fifty saints, Latin quotations from the liturgy, the descent to Hell, the identification with the Cross and the suffering of Christ as well as references to psalms begging for liberation can be identified as important topics.[46] The case of Palermo is far from unique: graffiti can also be found in the cells of the tribunals in Zaragoza, Cuenca, and Narni.[47] In Cuenca, for instance, a prisoner carved a sonnet on a wall in which he lamented the

44. I am following in this section *Parole prigioniere. I graffiti delle carceri del Santo Uffizio di Palermo*, ed. by Giovanna Fiume and Mercedes García-Arenal, Palermo, Istituto Poligrafico Europeo, 2018; "Graffiti. New Perspectives from the Inquisitorial Prison in Palermo", special issue of *Quaderni Storici*, 157 (2018), ed. by Giovanna Fiume and Mercedes García-Arenal.

45. Natalia Muchnik, *Les prisons de la foi. L'enfermement des minorités XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2019.

46. Besides the publications edited by Giovanna Fiume and Mercedes García-Arenal, see Maria Sofia Messana, *Il Santo Uffizio dell'Inquisizione: Sicilia, 1500-1782*, Palermo, Istituto Poligrafico Europeo, 2012.

47. For the graffiti in tribunal cells in Narni, see Ponziani, "Interessi architettonici", p. 88.

separation from his wife and children.[48] In light of the generally severe procedures of the Inquisition, the jailers' tolerance seems surprising, and one wonders whether they only intervened in cases where the graffiti directly challenged the tribunal.

Such "soft" challenges to the inquisitorial order from within the cells must be compared to the strong images that expressed anger over the tribunal's procedures and transmitted empathy and solidarity with the victims. Curiously, the first images of the processions to the *auto da fé* were produced by Protestants, shocked by the inclusion of their companions in the *auto da fé* of Valladolid in 1559, which targeted Lutherans, before inquisitorial action was extended to the *auto da fé* in Seville in 1560.[49] The representation of the *auto da fé* of Valladolid, in which the famous Dr. Agustín de Cazalla was condemned and burnt with thirteen other victims, is attributed to Frans Hogenberg (c. 1535-1590), a famous printer and mapmaker who collaborated with Abraham Ortelius for the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* and Georg Braun for the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. The print, with the title *Hispanissche Inquisition*, is unusual for its size (143x58 cm) and for including a dense text at the bottom explaining the event and listing the names of the condemned. The composition focuses on the procession of the accused, placing the excommunicated at the centre, with each of them identified by name through captions above their heads. This would be unthinkable in later representations of the *auto da fé* commissioned by the inquisitors. The print includes the procession from the tribunal to the Plaza Mayor of Valladolid, where members of the royal family and other authorities watched from the loggia of a main villa the scaffolding of the *auto da fé*, followed by the procession to the place of execution by burning, shown at a distance.[50]

The print of the *auto da fé* in Valladolid also includes an open space with a column and the inscription of the Inquisition in the top left corner, referring to the destruction of the houses of Leonor de Vivero, Cazalla's mother, where some of the accused had gathered for theological discussions. The destruction of entire houses, without any stone left, with

48. *La Inquisición* (exhibition catalogue), p. 31.

49. Frans Hogenberg (attributed to), *Hispanissche Inquisition*, engraving (after 1559), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, coll. Henin.

50. The best study of this print is by Pierre Civil, "Leyenda negra y repression antiprotestante", in *Reforma y disidencia religiosa*, ed. by Michel Boeglin, Ignasi Fernández Terricabras, and David Kahn, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2018, pp. 351-363.

the soil salted to prevent any fertility in a place contaminated by heresy or apostasy, signified the supreme penalty of *damnatio memoriae* imposed on perpetrators of crimes against divine or civil sovereignty, and it belonged to the most shocking sentences meted out by the Inquisition in the public realm.

As Pierre Civil has suggested, this print must be placed in a broader context. Francisco de Enzinas's *Historia de statu Belgico deque religione Hispanica*, written in Wittenberg in 1545, circulated in manuscript form and was published in 1558 in a French version; it is a memoir expressing a Protestant view concerning the Catholic exclusion of debate supported by inquisitorial repression.[51] Enzinas, a close friend of Philip Melanchthon, translated the New Testament (published in Antwerp, 1543), Plutarch, Livius, and Lucian of Samosata into Spanish. He was detained twice for inquisitorial inquiry but managed to escape.[52] His activity was influenced by the execution in 1544 in Valladolid of his friend Francisco de San Román, a New Christian accused of Lutheranism.[53]

Reginaldo Montano's *Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae*, published in Heidelberg in 1567, was the first book to critically analyse the procedures of the Spanish Inquisition, including the different steps of the trial and its secrecy, the confiscation of property, and the *auto da fé*. The second part presents a prosopography of the main Protestants sentenced by the Inquisition of Seville. It made an extraordinary and immediate impact, with German, English, French, and Dutch versions published in quick and successive editions, while the first Spanish edition appeared only in the 19th century. The authorship, since the book's initial publication thought to be a pseudonym, probably of Casiodoro de Reina or Antonio del Corro (or both), is still disputed today.[54] The prosopography echoed previous marty-

51. Francisco de Enzinas, *Historia de statu Belgico deque religione Hispanica* (MS 1545), Berlin, De Gruyter, 1991.

52. Jorge Bergua Cavero, *Francisco de Enzinas, un humanista en Europa*, Madrid, Trotta, 2006.

53. José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, "Francisco de San Román, un mártir protestante burgalés", in *Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica*, 8 (1984), pp. 223-260.

54. Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus, *Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae. Critical Edition With a Modern English Translation*, ed. by Marcos J. Herraiz Pareja, Ignacio J. García Pinilla, and Jonathan Nelson, Leiden, Brill, 2018 [1567]; Nicolas Castrillo Benito, *El "Reginaldo Montano": Primer libro polemico contra la Inquisición española*, Madrid, CSIC, 1991.

rologies of Protestants condemned in different parts of Europe, including Spain, such as Jean Crespin's *Le livre des martyrs*. Published in 1554, with multiple and expanded re-editions, this work also put the spotlight on the condemned by the Inquisition of Seville, as did John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Days* in 1563, which saw successive editions and included a prosopography of martyrs as well as images of them burning at the stake.[55]

Visual activism concerning the Inquisition went much further during the 17th century. In 1688, Pierre-Paul Sevin produced the first complete set of prints that depicted an audience room, processions to the *auto da fé*, the setting of the *auto da fé* in a church, the execution of the condemned, and *sambenitos*, as well as detailed and precise depictions of the penalties and their symbolism for Charles Dellon's account of the Inquisition of Goa.[56] Dellon deliberately confronted the logic of secrecy in all its consequences: his decision to depict the interior of the Inquisition, the penitential habits of the accused, and the *auto da fé* can be classified as visual activism by which he violated the imposed oath of silence and exposed the Inquisition's wickedness. The images relate well with the text, which provides the context, but they also introduce a new visual projection of the oppression suffered by the victims. The fact that Dellon was well connected with the Republic of Letters, having benefited from its support while he was a victim of the Inquisition, also played a role in the immediate dissemination of the book.

These images had an enormous impact. A few years later, Adrian Schoonebeck reproduced them for the Remonstrant (or Arminian) pastor Philipp van Limborch, whom John Locke had instigated to publish records of the medieval inquisition that he (Locke) had found in Provence.[57] It was a deliberate step among Protestant minorities to denounce religious intol-

55. Jean Crespin, *Le livre des martyrs*, Geneva, Jean Crespin, 1554, with enlarged editions in 1555, 1556, 1570, 1582, 1608, 1619 (and a Latin translation published in 1560); John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*: the first editions of 1563, 1570, 1576, and 1580 have been digitalized by the Digital Humanities Institute, University of Sheffield, http//www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe, accessed on 2 October 2024.

56. Dellon, *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*.

57. Van Limborch, *Historia Inquisitionis*; John Locke's role is clear from his *The Correspondence*, ed. by Esmond Samuel De Beer, 8 vols, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1963, particularly vol. III, pp. 301-302 and 393, and vol. IV, pp. 215-218, 263-279, 462-464, 469-470, 481-484, and 525-527.

erance as an unbearable practice of the Catholic Church. If previously the victims of the tribunal and their supporters had protested the iniquity of the institution, in the last quarter of the 17th century the Inquisition became the prime counter-example, or better, punchbag, to promote a new system of values based on religious toleration. As a result, Sevin's images of the Inquisition were widely adopted across encyclopaedias and comparative works on religion. Indeed, in 1723 Bernard Picart used them again for his *Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*. This monumental edition became a bestseller because it presented religions around the world in a relatively neutral way. And yet, the images of the Inquisition contributed to producing a much more critical vision of the Catholic Church.[58]

We re-encounter the practical and political use of Dellon's book one hundred and twenty years after its publication. In 1808, Claudius Buchanan visited Goa, where he was hosted by the Augustinians and established communication with the second inquisitor. This man was at first friendly due to the political circumstances – Goa was protected by the British, a situation that placed the local authorities in a defensive position since they were aware of the risks of a permanent occupation and wanted to avoid conflict. But when Buchanan confronted him with Dellon's account of his detention and torture, the inquisitor recoiled and recognized the danger of his openness. In the meantime, Buchanan had visited the audience room of the tribunal, but he was not allowed into the jail or the inquisitors' rooms. He subsequently wrote a report of this experience, expressing his anger at the perpetuation of the Inquisition in Goa under British protection.[59] He contributed directly to the definitive extinction of the tribunal in 1810 under the Portuguese-British treaty, which recognized its suppression in that place, re-confirming a previous decision to close it taken by the Marquis of Pombal in 1774, which had been reversed four years later when he lost power.[60]

58. Jean-Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, 9 vols, Amsterdam, J.-F. Bernard, 1723-1743, mainly vol. I, pts I and II, with supplements on the Inquisitions; for a detailed analysis of this massive work, see *Bernard Picart and the First Global Vision of Religion*, ed. by Lynn Hunt, Margaret Jacob, and Wijnand Mijnhardt, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2010.

59. See Chandler, *The History of the Persecution*.

60. Bethencourt, *The Inquisition*, pp. 423-424 and 433-434; for the context of Pombal, see Giuseppe Marcocci and José Pedro Paiva, *História da Inquisição Portuguesa, 1536-1821*, Lisbon, A Esfera dos Livros, 2013, ch. 13.

The positive reception of Dellon's work arguably rested on the foundations laid by preceding experiments of visual activism. Accounts of victims of the Inquisition, which often included images of torture, became a praised literary genre in northern Europe. Although torture was by no means exclusive to the Inquisition, the gesture of stripping away its famous veil of secrecy and exposing the dark methods by which it extorted confessions and violated the religious consciousness of individuals increasingly touched the sensibility of readers. The earliest image of inquisitorial torment was probably printed in 1632 in the account of William Lithgow, who travelled extensively, including in Spain, where the Inquisition detained him. It depicts the technique of overstretching the body with screws and ropes to the point of breaking the bones. Another print in the same book shows, for the first time, the prisoner in his cell. But the book was a long travel account in which the detention by the Inquisition was but an episode.[61]

Much more deliberately polemical was James Salgado's *The Slaughterhouse*, published in 1683. It inserted a composite image of torment (the strappado), execution by burning, life in a cell, and the corridor of the prison with the locked doors of cells. In another print, we see a simplified representation of the *auto da fé* with the inquisitors at the centre back, the emblem of the Inquisition on the wall, the archbishop and the governor of the city on the sides supporting them, the condemned at the front hearing the sentence with a candle, a *sambenito* and the conic hat with the painted images of the devils.[62] The accuracy of the images in these early books is remarkable, attesting to the effort to avoid criticism for erroneous representations; but over time, the precision of the set of critical representations of the Inquisition declined.

The popularity of the genre increased throughout the 18th century, mainly in England, with successive editions of accounts by Isaac Martin, James Baker, John Coustos, John Marchand, and Archibald Bower. In addition, there were also stand-alone drawings without print issues, such

61. William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures, and Painefull Peregrinations of Long Nineteene Yeares Travailes from Scotland, to the Most Famous Kingdoms in Europe, Asia and Affrica…Together with the Agrievous Tortures He Suffered by the Inquisition of Malaga in Spain*, London, Nicholas Okes, 1632, pp. 462 and 471.

62. James Salgado, *The Slaughterhouse, or a Brief Description of the Spanish Inquisition*, London, William Marshall, 1683.

as Thomas Stothard's late depiction of torture at the Inquisition (1770-1834).[63] Different types of torture were mixed and imagined. At the same time, the Inquisition had extended the prosecution of heresy to freemasonry, which became a new target in the papal bull entitled *In eminenti apostolatus specula*, issued on 28 April 1738.[64]

The representation of inquisitorial torment was not exclusive to northern Europe. Jusepe de Ribera, working in Naples, left an accurate drawing of the most common torture of the Inquisition in the 1630s, the strappado.[65] It is unlikely that Ribera's prime concern was visual activism against the Inquisition, as he is known for his extraordinary set of violent images of early Christian martyrdom and excruciating scenes of classical subjects related to punishment.[66] Yet, the visual representation of the victims of the Inquisition could be a means to stimulate empathy. This is arguably the case with the drawing from life by Antoon van Dyck of a witch condemned by the Inquisition of Palermo in 1624, which shows an old woman forced to walk to the execution with a candle and the devils depicted on her ritual hat.[67] Similarly, the image of another (?) witch with a rope around her neck, drawn by Guercino c. 1625, also shows empathy for obvious suffering.[68]

63. Isaac Martin, *The Trial and Sufferings of Mr. Isaac Martin, Who Was Put Into the Inquisition in Spain, for the Sake of the Protestant Religion*, London, 1723; James Baker, *A Complete History of the Inquisitions in Portugal, Spain, Italy the East and West Indies in All Its Branches*, Westminster, O. Payne, 1736; John Coustos, *The Sufferings of John Coustos for Free-Masonery and for His Refusing to Turn Roman Catholic Where He Was Sentenced*, London, W. Strahan, 1746; John Marchand, *The Bloody Tribunal or an Antidote Against Popery. Being a Review of the Horrid Cruelties of the Inquisition, as Practiced in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the East and West Indies*, London, Judith Walker, 1756; Archibald Bower, *Mr Bower's Own Account of His Escape from the Inquisition*, Edinburgh, 1757.

64. Clement XII, *In Eminenti: Papal Bull Dealing with the Condemnation of Freemasonry*, 1738, https://www.papalencyclicals.net/clem12/c12inemengl.htm, accessed on 2 October 2024.

65. Jusepe de Ribera, drawing, 1630s, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island.

66. For a general approach, see Michael Scholz-Hänsel, *Jusepe de Ribera, 1591-1652*, Cologne, Könemann, 2000.

67. Anton van Dyck, Italian Sketchbook, The British Museum, inv. 1957.1214.207.58.

68. Royal Collection; *Drawings by Guercino from British Collections*, catalogue of the exhibition, ed. by Nicholas Turner and Carol Plazzotta, London, British Museum Press, 1991, p. 220.

The recent discovery by Vítor Serrão of tormented figures among the grotesque decorations of the church of São Nicolau in Santarém calls attention to alternative ways of representing the suffering of the accused (Fig. 1). Serrão interprets the images as a warning to the public against deviation from orthodoxy. The decoration is dated 1620-1630, and Serrão rightly relates the theme to the inquisitorial visit of 1624, which collected numerous denunciations against New Christians who were subsequently detained and condemned. In his view, the images represent heretics executed in the *auto da fé*.[69] I would disagree with Serrão's top-down vision and suggest that the images were not necessarily a serious warning, but rather subversive expressions of empathy for the victims (holding hands together in a position unthinkable in an *auto da fé*). In the second image, what is represented is not the execution, but the torture known as strappado, in which the hands of the accused were tied behind the back and attached to a rope held by a pulley (Fig. 2). The victim was then hauled into the air with brisk movements up and down. Many who were tortured in this way would end up with dislocated bones and pain for the rest of their lives. The empathy expressed by the artists is reinforced by the couple of victims holding hands. The disguised representation among the grotesque decoration reinforces the impression of subversive visual activism. According to Serrão, the names of the artists are André de Morales and Sebastião Domingues. More research is required to prove kinship, but Morales was the name of a well-known New Christian family from Castile with a branch in Elvas.

A recent revisionist study by Kevin Ingram has also insisted that some well-known paintings conveyed a nuanced perception of compassion for the victims of the Inquisition. Ingram considers that the painting *Christ contemplated by the Christian Soul* by Diego Velázquez might be a response to the case of *Cristo de la paciencia* in Madrid, in which a boy denounced his parents for allegedly torturing a wooden crucifix with the representation of Christ. The parents denied the accusation but were nonetheless tortured and then condemned to be burnt by the Inquisition. According to Ingram, the painting could represent the boy repenting his deed or hint at unfair situations of torture.[70] Little information is available for this

69. Vítor Serrão, "Uma Cripto-História de Santarém (2): os 'grotescos de penitentes' da igreja de São Nicolau", *Correio do Ribatejo*, 1 September 2023.

70. Kevin Ingram, *Converso Non-Conformism in Early Modern Spain. Bad Blood and Faith from Alonso de Cartagena to Diego Velázquez*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2018.

undated painting, but the reddish-brown ground was used by Velázquez for such purposes before 1629, a few years before the trial, which would invalidate Ingram's hypothesis. In any event, Ingram's observation merits to be explored in future research.

By the turn of the 18th to the 19th century, an entirely different critical perception of the Inquisition based on detachment, irony, and mockery came increasingly to the fore. Francisco de Goya represented this radical shift with a set of drawings in which those sentenced by the Inquisition are labelled ironically with captions such as "por linaje de ebreos" ("because of Hebrew lineage"), "aquellos polvos" ("those powders"), or "no hubo remedio" ("there was no remedy").[71] The Inquisition is no longer taken seriously. The persecution of minorities is exposed, and the absurdity of the inquisitorial inquiries is reduced to incomprehensible labels simply denoting superstition and fatality. The crowd's gaze around the condemned is either rude or ludicrous, questioning the true motivations of the people called to witness these so-called acts of faith (denouncing heresy) that had been so central to Spanish urban areas in the past. Empathy also seems intentional in a representation of a lonely victim of the Inquisition that presents the *auto da fé* as an archaic and primitive ceremony that has lost its meaning.[72]

Not surprisingly, the conflictive nature of 19th-century Spanish politics reinforced the mockery of the Inquisition due to the support of the absolutist party for the institution (Fig. 3). In 1820, with the liberal revolution, an etching labelled *El enfermo por la Constitución* ("Sick due to the Constitution") appeared, in which a devastated clergyman receives the Constitution from an officer, with several tracks on the side table defending the Inquisition, while the coat of arms of the tribunal adorns the centre of the wall in the background, surrounded by masks, chains, elephant tusks, and a Turkish hat to denounce the hypocrisy, slavery, and oriental despotism practiced in Spain.[73]

Several paintings of people condemned by the Inquisition by Eugenio Lucas Velázquez around 1860 show that the historical past resonated in

71. José Manuel Matilla and Manuela Mena, *Goya Drawings*, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2022.

72. Francisco de Goya, *Auto de Fe*, 1812-1819, oil on canvas, Real Academia de las Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid.

73. Coloured etching, Museo de Historia, Madrid, https://www.memoriademadrid.es/buscador.php?accion=VerFicha&id=36777, accessed on 2 October 2024.

the contemporary fight for the future of Spain.[74] Again, the image of the Inquisition was used to represent the past against which the liberal forces tried to mobilize the population. More surprising is the long-term use of the images of the Inquisition in places such as Mexico, where its impact was arguably very limited after the mid-17th century. Diego Rivera painted a vast mural representing the Inquisition as a metonymy for the wicked colonial past, considered by the painter as an embarrassing ancestor of the contemporary elite.[75] It is one of the most telling 20th-century frescoes about the weight of the colonial past in a post-colonial present.

3. *Conclusion*

The gravity projected by the Iberian Inquisitions through their main public rituals, particularly the *auto da fé* and the processions of the familiars, had the purpose of enhancing the political and religious status of the tribunals, contributing to the pedagogy of fear deployed by their agents.[76] The humiliation of the condemned, perpetuated by the hanging of *sambenitos* in parish churches and the publication of lists with the names of the people sentenced, reinforced the process of shaming, discriminating, and excluding their families from universities and public offices. The Roman Inquisition never developed such practices, which were considered too intrusive and risked creating conflict with local political structures and disrupting the complex institutional framework of the papacy.

Protestants and New Christians subverted this gravity from many angles: first through visual representations of the processions to the *auto da fé* with names of the condemned who were presented as martyrs of freedom of conscience, then with the graffiti inscribed on the walls of inquisitorial cells, in which the prosecuted expressed their independence despite detention and violence. Depictions of torture completed this subversion; they denounced the violent methods deployed regularly by the Inquisition

74. I highlight Eugenio Lucas Velázquez, *Condenados por la Inquisición*, c. 1860, oil on canvas, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

75. Detail of the vast murals by Diego Rivera, *Historia de Mexico*, 1929-1930, fresco, Palacio Nacional, Mexico City.

76. This notion was coined in *L'Inquisition espagnole, XVe-XIXe siècle*, ed. by Bartolomé Bennassar, Paris, Hachette, 1979.

to obtain confessions and denunciations, thus casting doubt on the whole procedure.

The last stage of this subversion of gravity was reached with humour. Goya produced a detached depiction of the *auto da fé* as an absurd ceremony celebrated by a raucous crowd expressing the lowest emotions against the condemned. The depictions underlined an archaic procedure of inquiry, humiliation, and condemnation. This transitional period was developed further throughout the liberal revolutions, when the support of the Inquisition by the Church came to be openly mocked. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, detachment, irony, and mockery reflected the use of the Inquisition as a counter-example of religious tolerance as a new value. In Spain, this stage lasted longer due to the problematic assertion of the liberal constitutional regime throughout the 19th century.

The image of an archaic Inquisition was used as a metonymy of *ancien régime* society. Still, this visual activism had a much later twist in the murals of Rivera in Mexico, in which the Inquisition is depicted to deride contemporary elites. This doubtful historical continuity could still be mobilized in the mid-20th century for political purposes. Moreover, stereotypes about the Spanish Inquisition have been used by comedy troupes, such as Monty Python. The iconography of the Inquisition is becoming independent of its original political and religious conflictive purposes, instead used to express derisive national stereotypes and visual activism on intolerance and fanaticism.

Fig. 1. Anonymous, grotesque decorations, c. 1624, church of São Nicolau, Santarém. Photograph by Vítor Serrão, courtesy of the author.
Fig. 2. Anonymous, grotesque decoration depicting a fig. suggesting the torture known as *strappado*, c. 1624, church of São Nicolau, Santarém. Photograph by Vítor Serrão, courtesy of the author.

Fig. 3. Anonymous, *El enfermo por la Constitución*, c. 1820, coloured etching, Museo de Historia, Madrid.

III

The Roman Inquisition and Italy

Katherine Aron-Beller

Christian Images and their Jewish Desecrators in Early Modern Inquisitorial Sources

Inquisitorial tribunals, instituted to investigate heresy, regularly intervened to "protect" Christian images from harm allegedly done by Jews. In this essay, I will investigate such concerns by comparing accusations against image desecration in Spain by crypto-Jews with cases against professing Jews examined by the Papal Inquisition in the Italian Peninsula. I define image desecration as a crime against images, attributed to Jews and *conversos*, which included such offences as "defilement" and "defacement". "Desecration" refers to any form of vandalism – be it hammering, flogging, scourging, soiling, piercing, hitting, lancing, stabbing, or even hiding a Christian image or object.[1] According to medieval Marian tales and exempla, Jews carried out such attacks to show their contempt for Christian objects and to deprive them of the sacred qualities that Jews believed Christians mistakenly attributed to them. The accusation could also include covering or hiding an object, as in the legend of the True Cross, so as to prevent Christians from venerating it, or showing disrespect to it, or even the mere act of gazing upon an object which ought never to be seen by Jews.[2] The latter idea suggested that a Jew was able to harm the image just by looking at it, and without paying it its due reverence, especially when it was borne through the streets in procession, or passed under the windows and balconies of those who gazed upon it. This type of visual desecration scorned and mimicked the gratification that Christians received from holy

1. This contribution fleshes out a comparison between chapters 3 and 5 of my recent study *Christian Images and their Jewish Desecrators: The History of an Allegation 400-1700*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2024.

2. Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*: *The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image*, Leiden, Brill, 2004.

objects. Inquisitorial courts hence understood desecration to be an intentional Jewish reaction to images.

Many factors shaped the persistent Christian conviction that Jews committed image desecration: Christian doctrinal and devotional developments; the circulation of various Christian moral tales and images that depicted Jews desecrating Christian imagery; the workings of various tribunals (secular and inquisitorial); and Jewish-Christian polemics. Before delving into the respective inquisitorial cases themselves, I will set out a few perimeters for each of the places of study. Obviously, when looking at Spain all the discussed cases concern *conversos*, while in Italy the targets were professing Jews who began to be disciplined not for heresy but for blasphemy and disrespect following Pope Gregory XIII's controversial bull *Antiqua Iudeorum improbitas* in 1581.[3]

But what sort of images were these offenders accused of desecrating? In Spain, until the 15th century cult images were only prevalent inside churches in the form of life-sized sculptures of Christ showing his divine or quasi-divine powers during his life, and in Romanesque painted wooden panels of Mary the Virgin Mother with Christ on her lap.[4] Moreover, during the Renaissance, Spanish artists mainly worked on creating *retablos* – altarpieces for churches, monasteries, and occasionally also for noble residences, depicting common religious occupations.[5] Significantly, images of the Passion and suffering of Christ were considered too offensive and repugnant within medieval Iberian society, which, according to Felipe Pereda, preferred images to be "empathetically effective while preserving the decorum associated with sacred ancient icons".[6] The late arrival of por-

3. *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanorum pontificum. Taurinensis editio*, vol. VIII, *A Gregorio XIII (an. 1572) ad Sixtum V (an. 1588),* ed. by Luigi Tomassetti and Francesco Gaude, Turin, Sebastiano Franco et Henrico Dalmazzo, 1863, pp. 378-379.

4. José Gudiol, *The Arts of Spain*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1964, p. 98; Cynthia Robinson, *Imagining the Passion in a Multiconfessional Castile: The Virgin, Christ, Devotions, and Images in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013, p. 6.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 213, 224.

6. Felipe Pereda, "Through a Glass Darkly: Paths to Salvation in Spanish Painting at the Outset of the Inquisition", in *Judaism and Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from Catacombs to Colonialism*, ed. by Herbert Kessler and David Nirenberg, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, pp. 263-290: 284. Devotions to the Passion began later in the 15th century with the great catechetical display of narrative golden *retablos mayor* (main

table domestic devotionalia – in particular of small-scale crucifixes – was probably related to the slow Christianization of Spain as it moved from a multi-confessional state with Muslims and Jews, to one where mosques and synagogues had been eradicated.

By contrast, Christian iconography was ubiquitous in early modern Italy. The availability of affordable and diverse objects, furnishings, artworks, and religious texts grew especially with the arrival of Byzantine artifacts into Italy after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Large portable statues, paintings, painted banners, diptychs, or triptychs rich in ornament and artistic excellence were brought out of the churches to function as objects of contemplation for the faithful during religious processions through the streets of the cities and towns. At the same time, Marian devotion in the home relied on the acquisition of small images and paintings of the Virgin. These gave a sense that the home was protected, both figuratively and literally. The invention of the printing press and the distribution of paper as an inexpensive medium in the 1470s further modified practices of Christian devotion.[7] By the late 15th century, thousands of printed devotional images were available and displayed in both public and private spaces. As a result of their fragility, they were often the subject of desecration charges, especially in Italy.

The homes of Jews also housed sacred objects for their own specific religious devotions, including Sabbath candles, goblets for the blessings over wine, religious texts, candles for the *Havdalah* service at the end of the Sabbath festival after nightfall on Saturdays, and sometimes circumcision instruments.[8] Jews placed *mezuzot* – boxes holding a piece of parchment on which were inscribed specific Hebrew verses from the Hebrew Bible (Deut. 6:4-9 and 11:13-21) – on the right doorpost of the

altarpieces), such as the one in the cathedral of Seville created by the Flemish craftsman Pierre Dancart in 1482.

7. Roger Chartier, "Print Culture", in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Roger Chartier, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1987, pp. 1-6.

8. *Madonnas and Miracles. The Holy Home in Renaissance Italy*, ed. by Maya Corry, Deborah Howard, and Mary Laven, London, Fitzwilliam Phillip Publishers, 2017, p. 41, showing a 17th-century tower-shaped Jewish spice box used for the *Havdalah ceremony*. It resembles a Catholic reliquary, suggesting that Jews and Christians shared similar styles of objects.

internal and external doors of their homes.[9] The 16th-century Yiddish text *Meneket Rivka*, written by Rivka Tiktiner in Prague, suggests that Jewish homes, like Christian households, had certain spaces identified for study, private devotion, and prayer.[10] Some wealthy Italian Jews even housed synagogues in their own homes. There are no suggestions of complaints by Jews that *their* objects of faith were ever desecrated by Christians.

The difference between Spanish and Italian Christian iconography needs to be kept in mind when exploring the dissemination of image desecration accusations. Obviously, if portable or easily accessible images were not part of the cultural landscape in Spain, one would assume that there would be no cause for disseminating the belief that sections of society might desecrate them. Yet, the evidence below suggests the contrary.

1. *Spain*

By 1480, the wheels of the new inquisitorial tribunals were in motion in Spain, and inquisitors dedicated themselves to eradicating crypto-Judaism, condemning nearly one thousand converts to the stake between 1480 and 1530. When *conversos* were accused of image desecration, it was usually listed as one of many offences these offenders committed in their homes. It was depicted as a crime against, or scorn (*desprecio*) of, the essence of Christianity, even though the abuse of a crucifix had nothing to do with the real practice of Judaism by the *conversos*. The inquisitorial narrative was rooted in and grafted onto an understanding of Judaism that conformed to Catholic ideas about what constituted "authentic" crypto-Jewish activity. The most intense periods of accusations of crucifix desecration occurred in the late 15th century in the provinces of Cuenca, Ciudad Real, Zaragoza, Soria, and Valencia.

9. It is interesting that Jewish *mezuzot* are not discussed in *processi.* It seems that these objects posted on the doorposts of Jewish homes did not in general cause distress or anxiety for the Jews or their Christian landlords.

10. Rivka Bat Meir, *The Meneket Rivka: A Manual of Wisdom and Piety for Jewish Women*, trans. by Frauke von Rohden, Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 2009, p. 107; Debra Kaplan, "Living Spaces, Communal Places: Early Modern Jewish Homes and Religious Devotions", in *Domestic Devotions in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Marco Faini and Alessia Meneghin, Leiden, Brill, 2019, pp. 315-333, 316-318.

But what was at the root of this allegation against *conversos?* I would contend that there existed an antecedent to the allegations against Jewish converts for the desecration of Christian images, which informed clerical and inquisitorial beliefs about crypto-Jewish activities. Thirteenth-century Christian chronicles propagated different ideas regarding Christian images. After the expulsion of French Jews in 1306, five major Christian chronicles in France and neighbouring areas reported that Jews who had converted to Christianity and stayed in France were repudiating devotion to Christianity after their baptism by actually desecrating Christian images.[11] The five chronicles include: the *Chronicle* of William of Nangis (late 13th century), the *Chronicle* of Gerard of Frachet (1255-1260), the *Chronicle* of William the Monk (late 13th century), John of Beka's *Chronicle* of Utrecht and Holland (c. 1346), and John of Outremeuse's *Mirror of Histories* (late 14th century). French rulers had already been concerned about the sincerity of converted Jews after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which had disseminated the fear that Jewish converts were not entirely genuine and that they continued with some of their former rites after baptism. By the latter half of the 13th century, the French kings explicitly supported the medieval inquisitors' jurisdiction over apostasy to Judaism and sought to promote the prosecution of Christian apostates and their Jewish abettors. In 1276, King Charles I of Sicily, who was also Count of Anjou, Maine, Provence, and Forcalquier, ordered the seneschal and other officials of Provence to give support to the Dominican inquisitor Bertrand de Rocca on this matter.

From the mid to the late 14th century, Christian chroniclers even argued that false converts sought baptism in order to gain access to holy images so that they could violate them.[12] I suggest that these ways of thinking had penetrated Spain by 1391. Although Spanish suspicion of Jewish converts had existed since Visigothic times, the geographical proximity meant that these northern European ideas easily crossed the Pyrenees and penetrated into Spain. The belief that converted Jews desecrated images as a way of demonstrating the insincerity of their conversion would have prompted a drive towards an ever more zealous and strict application of the many

11. See Jessica Marin Elliott, "Jews 'Feigning Devotion': Christian Representations of Converted Jews in French Chronicles before and after the Expulsion of 1306", in *Jews and Christians in Thirteenth-Century France: Culture, Society and Mutual Perceptions*, ed. by Elisheva Baumgarten and Judah D. Galinsky, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 169-182.

12. *Ibid*., p. 177.

canons which were intended to distinguish crypto-Jews from genuine converts. This additional prehistory needs to be kept in mind as we move to the 15th century.

As Felipe Pereda has shown, an incendiary anonymous pamphlet was disseminated in Seville in the second half of the 15th century by a renegade *converso*, accusing Christians of being idolatrous in their veneration of images.[13] In response to this, an edict of 1478, composed by Pedro González de Mendoza, archbishop of Sigüenza, and Fray Hernando de Talavera, confessor to Queen Isabella, defended image veneration and urged that the "new style" of religious imagery now available should take a central place in Christian private devotion, together with emotionally engaged meditative or contemplative prayers. By 1493, Talavera had become archbishop of Granada and spearheaded a campaign of evangelization, part of which consisted of the semi-industrial production of religious statuary. As part of their missionary campaign, churchmen ordered that all the converted population of Castile keep religious images in their homes.[14] The edict which applied to both New and Old Christians stated:

> And because it is reasonable that the houses of faithful Christians should [honour] the memory of the passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of his blessed Mother, we desire and declare that every Christian should have at home the painted image of the cross where Christ was sacrificed and some painted images of the Virgin and other saints that would provoke the inhabitants, arousing them to devotion.[15]

With the sudden increase in domestic images and the importance of "image friendliness" as a test of good Christians, charges of "image hostility" would begin to multiply. It was in these private spaces that most *conversos* were accused of committing crimes of violation. Inquisitors might well imagine secret Jews defiantly acting against images in their own homes, as apostates had before. Two strong allegations were being carried forward. The first was that crypto-Jews showed their fidelity to Judaism by desecrating images. The second was that professing Jews had a tendency to desecrate Christian images to show their disgust of Christian practices and idolatrous habits.

13. Felipe Pereda, *Las imágenes de la Discordia: Política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del 400*, Madrid, Marcial Pons Historia, 2007, p. 60.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Pereda, "Through a Glass Darkly", p. 264.

During the inquisitorial trials of *conversos* in Zaragoza between 1484 and 1515, the inquisitors asked suspects whether they had images of Christ in their homes, where these images were located, and whether they were used regularly for prayer and devotion.[16] In January 1494, María González, wife of the spice merchant Francisco de Toledo, was accused in Ciudad Real of having thrown an image of Mary into a sewer-ditch.[17] *Converso* offences would soon include disrespect towards rather than actual desecration of domestic images – such as not caring for the image, not showing respect towards it, or even refusing to own images at all, which, too, was regarded as a form of desecration. Almost a century later, in 1593, a public *auto de fe* was celebrated in Granada on the feast of the Ascension of Christ. The sentences of the crypto-Jews told how they had confessed to denying "in general the adoration of statues, saying it is only a matter of gold, silver or wood".[18]

Another new form of desecration was, it seems, specifically labelled and associated with *converso* activity – a particular charge of communal "scourging" or flogging crucifixes.[19] In 1492 in the town of Canalejas, a professing Jew on the eve of the expulsion was accused by the Inquisition in Cuenca of scourging a crucifix in a private space.[20] Groups of crypto-Jews were now believed to be flogging a crucifix as if they were initiating a rite of re-judaization.[21] In April 1487 Luis de Bardaxí was forced to confess to the inquisitorial tribunal of Zaragoza that, as part of a select group of *conversos* in Lérida, he had joined others in whipping and mistreating

16. Anna Ysabel d'Abrera, *The Tribunal of Zaragoza and Crypto-Judaism 1484-1515*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2008, p. 51.

17. *The Spanish Inquisition 1478-1614: An Anthology of Sources*, ed. by Lu Ann Homza, Indianapolis, Hackett Publishing Company, 2006, p. 27 (Inquisition Trial of María González, 1494).

18. Jessica Weiss, "Inquisitive Objects: Material Culture and Conversos in Early Modern Ciudad Real", University of New Mexico UNM Digital Repository Research Papers, 2011, https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1049&context=laii_research, 1-33, accessed on 14 July 2022.

19. Carlos Espí Forcén, "Jews Desecrating a Crucifix: A *Passio Imaginis* altarpiece from Mallorca", *Iconographica: Rivista di Iconografia medievale e moderna*, 8 (2009), pp. 83-97.

20. William Christian Jr, *Moving Crucifixes in Modern Spain*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1992, p. 192.

21. Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, New York, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961, vol. II, p. 362.

a crucifix.[22] Scholars like Pereda and Carlos Espí Forcén have argued that the well-known Zaragoza accusation made against the powerful Cavallería family in the 1490s, according to which in 1484 a group of more than thirty prominent *conversos* of the city had, in the home of Gonçalvo Garcia de Santa María, scourged a wooden crucifix during a ritual parody of the Passion at Easter, was fictious.[23] The allegation arguably reflected how inquisitors imagined the subculture and behaviours of crypto-Jews. The inquisitors repeated the allegation because it represented homogeneity of their beliefs and thoughts.

2. *Italy*

By the end of the 16th century, professing Jews in Italy began to be charged with image desecration by the Italian Inquisition. The inquisitorial cases uncovered so far fundamentally differ from those of the Spanish *conversos*. The Italian cases concern Jews being accused of attacking public Madonnas; charges of disrespectful acts towards religious processions, images, and broadsheets; and, finally, cases that involved both disrespect and desecration regarding images on the outside of and inside the Jews' domestic spaces. The Jews' abuse was understood as a transgression of religious boundaries both in public and in private. In the private home, Jews were not to touch sacred images, and if images were so "desecrated", the Inquisition expected Christians to denounce them for it.

In the spring of 1611, a group of nine Jews had dined in the tavern next to the basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome, outside the walls of the ghetto. Christians testified that the Jews, who were probably inebriated, had on their way back to the ghetto thrown stones at the effigy of a Madonna depicted on the gate of a vineyard in the vicinity of Monte Testaccio. They were guilty of a physical assault on the Madonna, not of mere disrespect for her, and their heavy sentences reflected the gravity of

22. *Records of the Trials of the Spanish Inquisition in Ciudad Read*, ed. by Haim Beinart, Jerusalem, The Israel National Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974, vol. I, p. 186.

23. D'Abrera, *The Tribunal of Zaragoza*, pp. 186-187; Pereda, *Las Imágenes de la discordia*, pp. 104-105; Carlos Espí Forcén, *Recrucificando a Cristo: los Judíos de La Passio Imaginis en la Isla de Mallorca*, Palma, Lleonard Muntaner Editor, 2009, p. 106.

their crime; drunkenness was no excuse for a violent and blasphemous act. Six of the nine Jews were whipped "through Rome" and the older two were sent to the galleys for ten years – the most severe form of punishment short of the death sentence.[24]

Between 1601-1670 charges of a different nature, involving disrespect for holy objects in public spaces rather than violence or vandalism, began to be made before the Papal Inquisition. Streets in Italian cities and towns were enhanced with entry façades, decorated doorways, and large *piazze* that facilitated the flow of religious processions. Unlike the faithful who were to venerate the Eucharist and images by looking at them when they passed by and when they were displayed on temporary altars set along the streets in towns and cities, Jews were to remove their hats or take flight. The sight of Jews with their hats securely and defiantly upon their heads confirmed and contributed to a sense of anti-structure – a failure to safeguard what was sacred – reminding Christians that occupants of their public space included followers of a different religion who might contaminate the event. Jews were in fact forbidden by Jewish law to kneel before the Eucharist or any holy image. Any form of prostration was an act of worship.

Most of these cases were initiated with denunciations by Christians, sometimes priests, who were irritated by the Jews' presence and their seeming contempt for processions and their participants. Witness testimony also suggests that Christians expected Jews to be aware of convenient escape routes, though these probably did not come to the Jews' minds in the heat of the moment. Their close proximity to processions meant that accidents often happened. In June 1631, Naphtali de Sermide of Finale was accused of a "certain contempt and irreverence for the most holy crucifix" by failing to move away from a procession of the *Compagnia della Morte* (a procession in Modena which accompanied criminals to execution, exhorting them to repent and bear their sufferings patiently), and in particular of turning his back on the crucifix which was carried on high so that all

24. Simona Feci, "Guardare e vedere al di là del muro. Immagini sacre e iconoclastia ebraica a Roma in età moderna", in *Le Inquisizioni cristiane e gli ebrei: tavola rotonda nell'ambito della Conferenza annuale di ricerca*, Rome, 20-21 December 2001, ed. by Giuseppe Galasso, Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003, pp. 407-429: 426 confirms that, according to the edicts of the *Tribunale criminale del Governatore*, the punishment for image desecration was ten-year galley service.

could see its approach.[25] After imprisonment and interrogation he was given a grave warning and released.

The ghettoization of Jews (except those of Venice in 1516 and Rome in 1555) would often involve specific policies to clear the areas of sacred images both outside and inside domestic spaces in order to control what they saw within their own enclosure. Yet it has been argued that in Rome sacred images might have been left intentionally in order to persuade the Jews to convert to Christianity.[26] Most of the buildings surrounding the ghetto belonged to churches and confraternities, and representations of sacred subjects were found in both their interiors and exteriors.[27]

Unlike for *conversos* in Spain, domestic images in the Jews' homes in Italy had nothing to do with the Jews. In the first place, there were the frescoes or panel paintings incorporated into the woodwork, sometimes many centuries old. Whereas in earlier centuries Jews had struggled to acquire licences to whitewash domestic images, in the 17th century Jews standing before the Holy Office admitted that they had found that more temporary coverings were less likely to incur perilous charges of image desecration. When in 1607 Abraam de Sacerdote had discovered that a broadsheet depicting the crucifixion with John the Evangelist at Jesus's feet had been attached to the entrance of the shop that he was renting in Modena, he went immediately to the local Holy Office.[28] Reading it as defacement of his property and a malicious, injurious insult, Sacerdote tried to protect himself against a potential accusation of disrespect. The inquisitor immediately sent one of his ministers to remove the image and, although there was no further investigation, the actual broadsheet was affixed to the back of the *processo.* The print is a popular and rather primitive woodcut, strongly influenced by German Passion scenes that were fashionable throughout

25. Archivo di Stato di Modena (hereafter ASMo), Fondo dell'Inquisizione, Causae Hebraeorum 245, fascicle 37.

26. Archivio del Dicastero per la Dottrina della Fede (hereafter ADDF), Stanza Storica (hereafter St. St.), AA la, on the cover, "Si manda per manus dell SS VV Ill.me l'inclusa scrittura concernenti le ragioni del S. Officio in conoscere le cause delle percussioni dell'imagini sacre, essendo già stata riveduta dagl'altri signori consultori. Per manus dell'ill.mi monsignori Emerix e Pallavicino, che è supplicate rimandarla al S. Officio", fol. 367.

27. Dana Katz, "'Clamber not You up to the Casements': On Ghetto Views and Viewing", *Jewish History*, 24 (2010), pp. 127-153: 137. Dana Katz, *The Jewish Ghetto and the Visual Imagination of Early Modern Venice*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017, pp. 67-83.

28. ASMo, Fondo dell'Inquisizione, Causae Hebraeorum 244, fascicle 29, fol. 9v.

Reformation Europe, with a heavily-wounded Christ, intended to arouse sympathy with his suffering, and a skull representing Golgotha resting at the bottom of the cross on the right. Whoever had put it there might have been trying to rid themselves of a sacred object they did not want, or might have intended to get the Jew into trouble (Fig. 1).

With this continuous anxiety regarding images in Jewish property, it is not surprising that Jews should avoid renting premises that contained Christian images in any form wherever possible. (This problem would generally only arise in places which had no ghetto.) It seems that by the middle of the 17th century certain cities such as Reggio Emilia had begun to authorize rulings that barred Jews from living in properties that housed images of the Virgin or of Christ.[29] Pressure might have come equally from the Jews themselves and Christian authorities.

Yet, the presence of images inside the homes of professing Jews involved the holding of images not found in Spain. Jews not only lived, but often ran their pawn-broking activities in their domestic spaces, and they hence stored small valuable pendant crucifixes made of gold or silver that had been pledged as security for loans.[30] Reliquary pendants (some of them very costly because of the sacred value of their contents) had become popular in the late 14th and early 15th centuries and were worn to provide protection and remind the faithful of the sacred in their lives.[31] In mid-17th-century Modena, pendant cross reliquaries, which contained tiny compartments filled with blessed wax or minute pieces of bone or fabric that had belonged to a saint, became the focus of three inquisitorial investigations. These pendants were worn on a chain around the neck or pinned to one's clothes, and usually had their contents inscribed on the lid. Christians would open them and hold them in their hands during prayer, so that the relics could be gazed upon, venerated, and possibly extracted and kissed. The blessed wax, known as *agnus dei* – remains of the Paschal candle of

29. Stephan Wendehorst, "The Roman Inquisition, the Index and the Jews: Sources and Perspectives for Research", *Jewish History*, 17 (2003), pp. 55-76: 55.

30. Giovanni Ciappelli, "La devozione domestica nelle ricordanze fiorentine (fine XIII-inizio XVI secolo)", in "La religione domestica (medioevo-età moderna), special issue, *Quaderni di storia religiosa*, 8 (2001), pp. 79-115: 82-83; Daniele Menozzi, *La Chiesa e le immagini: i testi fondamentali sulle arti figurativi dalle origini ai nostri giorni*, Milan, San Paolo Edizioni, 1995, pp. 133-134; Lina Bolzoni, *La rete delle immagini. Predicazione in volgare dalle origini a Bernardino da Siena*, Turin, Einaudi, 2002, p. xvi.

31. *Madonnas and Miracles*, p. 128.

the previous year – had been blessed liturgically during Easter celebrations as a symbol of the body of the Resurrected Christ.

Christians brought their little silver, gold, or pendant crosses as security for low-interest loans to Jewish bankers in Italy, just as they did to Monti di Pietà (Christian pawn banks run as Christian charities and designed to reduce dependence on Jewish moneylending).[32] However, it is unclear whether the Modenese ducal charters expressly allowed Jews to accept religious objects that were personal possessions rather than church property, or merely did not forbid them from doing so. The difference between "personal" and "church" property was a complicated distinction when sacred images and devotional objects were involved. Movable sacred images utilized in churches could technically/legally be the property of the patrons who commissioned them. Families and confraternities with chapels/altars in churches could sell or repurchase their portable sacred images. They could also restore or remove painted images, probably without obtaining a licence. Jews obviously had every reason to keep these securities in a good state of preservation, ready to be handed back whenever the borrower was able to provide the funds. Yet, as we shall see, Jews risked prosecution if they were suspected of trading in even the smallest crosses.

Sixteenth-century Church leaders often specified the items which must on no account be pawned with Jewish bankers.[33] In 1592, Girolamo Rusticucci, Cardinal Vicar of Rome, had stated that Jews were not allowed to receive images of Christ, the Virgin, or the saints, or any objects connected to sacred religious ceremonies.[34] This ruling was reissued in the middle of the 17th century, when the Holy Office in Rome was told that its rulings were being ignored.[35] Other edicts were propagated all over northern Italy in places where Jews served as pawnbrokers. In 1603, clause seven of an edict of the newly established inquisitorial tribunal in Modena stated: "We expressly prohibit and order that Jews do not sell or hold in their shops, nor take as pawns, objects of the church like goblets, patens, chalices, crosses, figures, images, relics and such things".[36]

32. *Ibid*., p. 82.

33. ADDF, Decreta 1653, fascicle 37, fol. 97. Here Jewish pawn banks were banned, as well as the purchase or sale of books containing sacred images by Jews.

34. Feci, "Guardare e vedere", pp. 415-416.

35. *Ibid*.

36. ASMo, Fondo dell'Inquisizione, Editti e Decreti 1550-1670*,* busta 270.

By around 1600, there were between four and five hundred Jewish banks in northern and central Italy, but their number declined in some parts during the 17th century when banks were displaced by the Monti di Pietà and many of the more successful Jewish entrepreneurs turned to international trade in the ports of Ancona, Genoa, Livorno, and Venice. A common reason for the presence and survival of Jewish banks was the inability of many Monti di Pietà to meet the needs of local Christians. There were several reasons why Christians preferred to deal with Jews. Resorting to a self-proclaimed charity – even to one which did not give outright – could inflict a blow on a borrower's pride. Dealing with a Jew – the representative of a defeated religion – allowed Christians to retain a sense of moral superiority and regard the loan as a business transaction, not a form of almsgiving. The Jews were less hidebound than the Monti – freer to lend to outsiders, willing to accept pledges which a Monte would reject, able to lend on written undertakings alone, and, of course, less prone to perfunctory moral judgements. But from a religious standpoint – or at least from that of the Holy Office – even small crosses worn close to the body by individual Christians were especially cherished pieces of devotional jewellery and powerful religious symbols worthy of the utmost respect. These objects were associated with an aura of divinity and with private and religious everyday contemplation. By 1667, the Inquisition in Ferrara and Comacchio was more specific as to what Jewish pawnbrokers could receive on their premises. An inquisitorial edict ruled: "We have renewed the prohibition at other times in the past, not allowing them to buy, nor to receive on their premises as pledges, jewels, gold, silver, fabric upon which are crosses, or other holy images, let alone chalices, or other consecrated things"…[37]

37. Given in the chancellery of the Holy Office of Ferrara on 8 September 1667. There is a copy in ASMo, Fondo dell'Inquisizione, Editti e Decreti VII, busta 270, "Editto del Sant Ufficio in ordine à gli hebrei", and also in the Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna, MS B-1892. Note also the copy of the letter from Cardinal Giovanni Garzia Millini of the Sacred Congregation in ASMo, Fondo dell'Inquisizione, Causae Hebraeorum , busta 250, fascicle 25. The letter of 29 May 1614 already spoke about holding any sacred object: "It is understood that these Jews are taking jewels as pledges, and gold in crosses or crucifixes or other sacred images, we do not allow this, being that it is prohibited to Jews to hold any sacred thing. And so this my Most Illustrious Signore have ordered that your Reverend be vigilant about this and not permit any Jew to receive in pledge, any of these things, and so this be conserved".

Investigations had already been conducted in 1617, 1641, and 1645.[38] None of these cases proved that Jews had actually abused the images and crucifixes in their care. The inquisitors seemed to be using these investigations to remind the Christians that it was improper to entrust such objects to the followers of a religion who would, at best, treat them with indifference.

The 1617 case against Simone de Sanguinetti seems to show how Jewish conspirators could play upon Christian beliefs that Jews were inclined to desecrate images. Michele de Sanguinetti, a thirty-seven-year-old Jew, appeared before Fra Massimo Guazzone, Inquisitor General of Modena, with a fabricated charge against the wealthy Jewish banker Simone de Sanguinetti (no relation). In his denunciation, Michele de Sanguinetti testified to a fictitious meeting between him and the Jewish moneylender. He reported that, when he had gone to pledge in Simone de Sanguinetti's bank, the banker had "in a scornful fashion" blatantly broken open a crucifix filled with relics in front of him and tossed the relics out of the window:

> Five or six months earlier I went with Abramo Sanguinetti, son of Calmo, and Giuseppe Pontasso to see Simone de Sanguinetti and pawn a sparrowhawk which belonged to Abramo. I then saw Simone break a cross bearing the figure of Christ, to which was attached a label [or ticket] and attempt to show contempt for it. The crucifix fell to the ground and some relics dropped out of it. Simone picked them up and threw them out of the window.[39]

Even though within a few days the Inquisition had received two further denunciations from the fellow conspirators Abramo Sanguinetti and Giuseppe Pontasso, which would have ensured the indictment of the wealthy Jewish banker, the court neither interrogated nor imprisoned him and was clearly unwilling to risk wrongfully accusing a prominent member of the Jewish community. Michele de Sanguinetti's accusation transpired to be the main component of a wide-scale fabricated plot against the wealthy Jewish bankers with the intention of irreparably damaging their

38. ADDF, St. St., AA la, on the cover, "Si manda per manus", fol. 387, and also ASMo, Fondo dell'Inquisizione, Causae Hebraeorum , busta 244, fascicle 18, and busta 250, fascicle 48 and 53.

39. ASMo, Fondo dell'Inquisizione, Causae Hebraeorum , busta 244, fascicle 18, fol. 1r. I think it is relevant that the inquisitor did not ask any of the three informers what sort of relics were in the crucifix. Instead, he asked them what they thought of the banker Simone de Sanguinetti whom they were denouncing. This suggests that even at this stage their testimonies were not taken seriously by the inquisitor.

reputation and prominent position, not only in Modenese society but also in the neighbouring cities.[40] In addition, the false testimony, which had to be credible in order for it to be acted upon, reflects the popular and common fear that Jews would handle crosses and relics contemptuously in their banks. The other informers clearly coordinated their testimony to fit this narrative. Abramo Sanguinetti elaborated further, giving evidence of Simone de Sanguinetti's anger at having been observed while throwing a reliquary cross out of the window:

> I saw that he had a cross in his hand when he came to open the door [of the bank]. I then saw that he broke the cross, upon which an image of Christ was sculpted. I do not remember if the said cross with the Christ upon it was made of silver or gold. I saw also that when he broke the cross, relics fell out of it onto his desk, and then Simone took them in his hands, and threw them outside one of the windows of the bank, perhaps believing that we had not seen this. When he noticed that we had followed him into the bank, he became angry and said to us that he had told us to stand outside the bank and wait.[41]

Doctor Camillo Jaghel da Correggio (1554-c. 1624), a physician and corrector of Hebrew books who converted to Christianity in the early 1600s, seems to have played an important role in conveying crucial information to the Inquisition.[42] The neophyte willingly agreed to act as the spokesperson for the *Massari* (lay delegates) of the Jewish community. He appeared before the Inquisition after gaining the support of the duke's minister, Giambattista Laderchi de Imola. Jaghel da Correggio stated:

> The *Massari* or lay delegates of the corporation of the Jews of Modena, i.e. David Diena, Samuel Sanguine, Moisè da Modena and Giuseppe Fiorentino, had heard tell of a plot hatched by Giuseppe Pontas, Salomon Sacerdote, Michele

40. The conspirators tried hard to convince neighbouring Christians of the Jews' infamy.

41. ASMo, Fondo dell'Inquisizione, Causae Hebraeorum , busta 244, fascicle 18, fols 4r-5r.

42. ADDF, Sanctum Officium, Stanza Storica, AA 1a, "Si manda per manus", fols 368-369. Some information about this case can be garnered from the Archivio Diocesano di Reggio Emilia, Litterarum trasmissarum a supremo tribunali ab anno 1598 usque ad 1611, Tomus I, cc. 201, 207, 208, 209 and 211, since letters between Cardinal Millini and the inquisitor of Reggio, Paolo Franco, in 1610-11 refer back to this case of 1585. Federica Francesconi, *Invisible Enlighteners: Modenese Jewry from Renaissance to Emancipation*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 75-81. Camillo Jaghel da Correggio was nicknamed *doctor hebreorum* by the inquisitors.

> de Sanguinetti and Abramo Sanguinetti. They proposed to gather certain images of the Virgin and Christ our Lord, to defile and so profane them, and then hide them in the houses of several of the richer Jews – including those of the said Moisè da Modena, of a Jew at Carpi near Ravenna whose name I cannot remember, and of a number of others. The *Massari* applied to His Highness the Duke, gave him a vociferous account of the conspiracy, and asked for a judge who would punish these criminals, pointing out the grave offence to God and the danger which all the Jews would incur if the plot were carried out.[43]

He continued, making it clear that his testimony was not to support the Jews on trial but for the sake of "simple truth": "They are utterly notorious, considered as evil spies throughout the whole city, more so by Jews than Christians and this I have testified for the sake of simple truth, and not for another interest".[44] The neophyte confirmed that the conspirators' false accusation was being investigated by one Rondanelli, an ordinary judge of the Palazzo, who had accepted their request for action.[45] Although Michele de Sanguinetti and Giuseppe Pontasso had fled in time, Abramo Sanguinetti was left standing trial alone and was tortured during one of his interrogations. Since he did not confess, Rondanelli accepted his story that he was not part of the conspiracy and released him. Jaghel da Correggio's testimony confirms how an important neophyte could mediate and protect the Jews from a false accusation.[46]

43. ASMo, Fondo dell'Inquisizione, Causae Hebraeorum , busta 244, fascicle 18, fols 6r-v.

44. *Ibid.*, fol. 7r.

45. *Ibid.*, fols 6-7v. Jaghel mentions a fourth conspirator, Salomon Sacerdote, who did not deliver a denunciation to the Inquisition. The case is also reported in ADDF, Sanctum Officium, Stanza Storica, AA, "Si manda per manus", fol. 387, where the Sacred Congregation demands that the Inquisition of Modena, rather than the ducal ministers, adjudicate the case. See also the correspondence on this case between the Inquisition and the Congregation of the Holy Office in ASMo, Fondo dell'Inquisizione, Lettere della Sacra Congregazione di Roma 1609-1621, busta 252, letters of 7, 14, 29 October 1617, 25 November 1617, 15 December 1617, January 1618 and 12 April 1618. There is also an incomplete letter dated 1618 to Duke Cesare d'Este, probably from the ordinary judge, about this matter, which discussed the appropriate action for Jews who had falsely delated fellow Jews and tampered with Christian images. See also the Central Archives of the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem. Files on Modena, in ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Archivio per materie "Ebrei", busta 4, processi 1-LXXXIII 1600-1629, pezzi n. 83, HM 5407 microfilm c, 113-116, 29 March 1617.

46. ASMo, Fondo dell'Inquisizione, Lettere della Sacra Congregazione di Roma 1609-1621, busta 252. Letter from Cardinal Millini in Rome, 29 June 1617. The Jewish

Inquisitorial edicts repeatedly prohibited Jewish bankers from holding relics, and those who accepted them, rather than the Christians who had pledged them, faced serious investigation. In 1645 Francesco Rabali, a fifty-five-year-old Christian, came to confess his friend's offence to the Inquisition.[47] He admitted that Giovanni Bacchino had asked him to entrust his wife's gold pendant cross – half a finger in length and "without any ornament or picture upon it" – to the Jewish banker Isaac Rovigo.[48] The pendant was a reliquary, although he had not known this at the time, and "out of a great need for money" Rabali had taken it to Rovigo to be pledged for his friend. Crosses, although sometimes of great sentimental value, were not essential to everyday life and so could be pawned when money was needed. Cash – not the full estimated value, but probably up to two-thirds of it – was lent against them, and they were commonly accepted as security for the loan by Jewish and Christian pawnbrokers.[49] Rabali was lent 16 lire by Rovigo who, he testified, had not opened the pendant after accepting it to check if it was a reliquary.[50] When called to the Inquisition for a second time, he admitted that only afterwards had he been told by his wife that it was a reliquary.[51] The Inquisitor General, Giacomo Tinti, sent his notary to the Jewish bank to seize the cross. When Rovigo was called to the Inquisition, he again testified to his ignorance that the pendant contained relics.[52] He stated that, had he known that such a cross could be used as a reliquary, he would never have taken it as a pledge. Rovigo apologized and said that he would not take such objects again.

community had previously petitioned Inquisitor Guazzoni for a copy of the trial formulated against them by these denouncers. Here in a letter, Cardinal Millini forbids Inquisitor Guazzoni from giving the Jews such evidence. In the same file, there is a letter of 30 March 1618, in which Cardinal Millini authorizes Inquisitor Guazzoni to hand the case over to the ducal court, since he realizes that the offence is not related to image desecration.

47. ASMo, Fondo dell'Inquisizione, Causae Hebraeorum, busta 250, fascicle 53, fol. 53.

48. *Ibid*., fols 1-2r.

49. Some Monti di Pietà followed the same rule that the Jews of Modena were observing. The Monti were not supposed to accept items belonging to churches without the permission of the bishop or his vicar-general. However, there are examples from the 17th and 18th centuries of Monti accepting crosses and other privately-owned religious properties such as coral rosaries.

50. ASMo, Fondo dell'Inquisizione, Causae Hebraeorum , busta 250, fascicle 53.

51. *Ibid*., fols 7-8r (27 April 1645).

52. *Ibid*., fols 10-11r (25 September 1645).

Whether these tiny crosses held relics or not, Jews would still get into trouble for holding them. The Spagnoli bank, under the management of Elia Teseo, his son Salvatore, and Viviano Modena, was one of the three remaining Jewish banks that made small loans to Modenese Christians in the 17th century.[53] In 1665, this bank faced the most severe interrogation for holding such pawns: ten crosses, all of them reliquaries (each containing as many as eight tiny compartments), were uncovered, as well as a *ducatone* (a large ducat coin) or medallion with a portrait of Pope Innocent X. These devotional medals, usually bought as souvenirs from shrines, were moulded in bronze, pewter, or lead, and either kept in homes or sometimes worn as a pendant or attached to clothing by a pin.[54] They were replicated in key production centres in Loreto and the Marche. The Jews' holdings had been disclosed by an auction that had been held in the Modenese ghetto in November 1664. Jacobus Mirandola declared:

> It was around a month ago, that the Jews in the vicinity of the ghetto made an auction, of several things. I do not know the name of the Jew who did this, and it was held at about 22 hours. Among other things, a cross of silver was sold upon which was sculpted a Crucified Christ, and this I know because I held it in my own hands and saw it […]. Many of us Christians were surprised that the Jews kept these types of things. And this was said aloud so that the Jews would have heard it.[55]

It might well have looked to Mirandola as if Christ was being treated with profound disrespect, perhaps even sold again in effigy, but Teseo was probably obeying a regulation which obliged pawnbrokers to sell unredeemed pledges by auction and not dispose of them privately. Such regulations, found in several Jewish charters, were intended to get the best deal for the client. The Jewish pawnbroker was not allowed to make money by both charging interest and selling pledges at a profit. If, when the pledge

53. The other two banks belonged to Abraham de Rovigo and Raffaele Levi de Rovigo, his nephew. When Salvadore de Rovigo, Abraham's brother, was interrogated, he stated that he and his brother had split their banks three years earlier in 1661 and that his son Raffaele now ran the bank; *ibid*., fol. 118r. There were also two Monti di Pietà in Modena.

54. ASMo, Fondo dell'Inquisizione, Causae Hebraeorum , busta 250, fascicle 25. The full inventory of the objects, with the name of the Christians who deposited them, the date they were deposited, and how much money was put against them can be found on fols 44r-46r. Each of the crosses was opened. On devotional medals, see also *Madonnas and Miracles*, p. 83.

55. ASMo, Fondo dell'Inquisizione, Causae Hebraeorum, busta 250, fasc. 25, fol. 28r.

was sold, it raised a sum which exceeded the amount lent plus the interest due upon it, then the surplus had to be handed over, wherever practicable, to the borrower or his heirs.

With regard to these pendants and the medallion, Elio and Salvatore Teseo and Modena argued that they had believed that there was a distinction between sacred items found in churches, which therefore had direct contact with the Eucharistic wafer and wine, and devotionalia which were personal possessions. They maintained that few of these crucifixes were worth a great deal. Modena stated: "When we take the pledges of gold and silver, we weigh them but we do not give all the money for the value of the said gold or silver according to its weight. We give only what conforms to the value of the object to remain as a security in the bank".[56]

Hence, the Jewish bankers argued that they were responding to Christian demand rather than plotting sacrilege. All of the three main bankers of the Spagnoli bank were interrogated then imprisoned overnight to ensure that they would not be able to collaborate or discuss their interrogations; they were subsequently released with a warning the following day. Each of the ten reliquaries held by the Inquisition was opened.[57]A notary speculated that the Jews might have forced the pendants open and scooped out the relics, since some of them were empty and their relics seemed to have been "recently removed".[58] The Jewish bankers all denied that they had even known about the crosses being reliquaries. Salvatore Teseo, son of Elia, suggested that taking the pledge was simply a favour to the Christians needing the money: "I know for sure that they were not opened, nor did we look inside, because they are so small. They were noted as having the weight the Christians requested, and the bank always gave security on them".[59]

Inquisitor General Giovanni Tommaso Visconti found it hard to believe that the Jewish bankers had not realized that these crosses were reliquaries. The suspects thought it wisest to apologize, place themselves at the mercy of the Inquisition, and accept its ruling. But the shocking realization that the Spagnoli bank had been holding crosses that were in fact reliquaries made the Inquisitor General begin a sequestration of Christian sacred

56. *Ibid*., fol. 57r.
57. *Ibid.*, fols 44r-46r.
58. *Ibid*., fols 81r-83r. This was carried out in the Holy Office on 11 May 1665.
59. *Ibid*., fol. 65r.

objects held by the other two Jewish banks of Modena, and even further afield in the duchy. Recorded on one hundred and ninety-eight folios, this long investigation lasted from December 1664 to November 1665.[60] The other Jewish bankers who were interrogated included Isacco Benedetto de Modena, Benedetto de Arezzo, Raffaele Levi de Rovigo, Servadius de Rovigo, Abraham de Rovigo, Salvatore de Rovigo, Ventura Castelfrancho, and Simone Formiggine. The objective was to rid the Jews' pawn banks of such religious articles. One banker, Raffaele Levi de Rovigo, chose to forestall his own arrest by coming to the Inquisition and handing over the eight crosses he was keeping in his bank. He stated:

> I have presented myself here in this Holy Office because of a case against Elia Teseo and companions, who have a bank in this city, regarding a silver pendant cross, that they had sold by auction. I am a banker in another bank and I have come to admit some error. I have come to make it clear that in my bank too there are some small crosses of silver worn around the neck, which have been pledged as pawns by virtue of the privileges which we have in our charters, and if we did not have these privileges, we would not have taken them. […] But if we had known that in regard to the Holy Office this was an error, we would not have accepted them.[61]

He claimed that he acted differently, opening pendants on receipt, and that if he saw that they contained relics he would not accept them as pledges.[62]

When the pawns held by Formiggine, the banker of Terra Finale, were sequestered, the Inquisition discovered "in total sixteen crosses, gold and silver, of which six were full of relics".[63] Formiggine was forced to admit that the ducal charter did not in fact allow him to accept relics, and he pleaded carelessness.[64] After choosing not to make a defence, the bankers requested the mercy of the court. Although they had suffered the humiliation and anxiety of being arrested and interrogated and then released on bail, they were not severely punished. They were given a grave warning and forbidden, on pain of a heavy fine, to accept "any type of cross" or

60. *Ibid*., fol. 25.

61. *Ibid*., fols 90r-91r (12 May 1665).

62. *Ibid*., fol. 90r. The crosses in the bank of Abraham de Rovigo are described in *ibid*., fol. 93r.

63. *Ibid*., fols 169r ff.

64. *Ibid*., fol. 172r.

"any type of object pertaining to the Christian religion".[65] All the reliquaries pawned were confiscated and deposited in the Holy Office.

Why had the Inquisition gone to such lengths to remove these trinkets or ornaments from Jewish premises? It seems that it wanted to be meticulously careful that no such object should be in the Jews' possession. On one occasion, marginal and disruptive Jews chose to denounce their co-religionists to the Inquisition, and a convert was called in to act as a mediator. Charges of image desecration were increasingly concerned with small objects which had allegedly been violated or treated with contempt in private places. It was inevitable that Jews would again be caught handling these objects, especially since Christians so readily handed them over for cash.

3. *Conclusion*

In Spain I have suggested that a relevant prehistory – an antecedent – to the allegation which would be directed against *conversos* first surfaced in France and then probably penetrated into the Iberian peninsula from the north. Jewish converts to Christianity were depicted as seeking baptism solely for the purpose of accessing and desecrating Christian images. These accusations confirmed how a retained immutable "Jewishness" was understood by Christian society to linger after baptism. It seems, then, that accusations against baptized Jews in Spain eventually fell into two categories. The first consisted of accusations of lapsing or backsliding, or showing disrespect to images. These charges were extremely common, and they generally sufficed to get a crypto-Jew or a genuine New Christian suspect charged with heresy, as in Catholic eyes they amounted to a betrayal of baptism. The second category consisted of atrocity accusations against *conversos* of assaulting, breaking, defiling, flogging, or burning holy pictures, crucifixes, and statues. In these accusations there was a strong element of sheer fantasy related to ideas of re-Judaization ceremonies among secret conventicles of apostates.

From the 1580s, professing Jews entered the frame of inquisitorial attention for this crime in Italy. When the Inquisition proceeded against Jews, they were not demonized or credited with nefarious conspiracies, even though they had been continually associated with image desecration

65. *Ibid.*, fols 184r-198r for the sentencing of the Jewish bankers.

since medieval times. The Jews' crime often appeared to be disrespect rather than sacrilege. Much the same consideration would apply to the Jews' encounters with the Holy Sacrament in public places, in which their mere presence – usually inadvertently – was considered an act of disrespect rather than deliberate desecration, although it was sometimes believed that a Jew could contaminate the sacrament merely by looking at it.

The Roman Inquisition remained sceptical about the allegations of malicious image desecration, but showed an interest in investigating Christian accusations and using them as an opportunity to monitor, judge, and discipline the Jews when expedient. The majority of accusations against the Jews of northern Italy were unproven. Jews did not usually engage in image desecration or readily risk removing Christian images from their immediate environment, whatever their Christian accusers might have said to the contrary.

The balance between these various factors – the extent of image saturation in society, the political, social, and economic position of the Jews/crypto-Jews in society, and the level of antagonism against them – determined the likelihood of triggering accusations of image desecration. Court records show that the members of the respective Jewish communities, well aware of Christian prejudices, were forced to devise strategies for defending themselves against charges of image desecration. It was one of the many hazards of living as a minority in a Christian country, and represented a recurring pattern of anti-Judaism in both Spain and Italy. Jews led their lives trying to defend themselves against these types of accusations, as yet another form of discrimination that they had to cope with. What for a Christian participating in a procession was a moment of euphoric veneration, for a Jew was a moment of concern, fright, fear of surveillance, and an overwhelming need to escape. Christianity attributed to Jews a mentality involving idolatry, materialism, legalism, and literal-mindedness, which acted as a foil for everything that true, spiritually-minded Christians were supposed to believe in. Jews became the "other" against which Christianity defined itself, and here their main function both as crypto-Jews in Spain and professing Jews in Italy remained to confirm the sanctity of Christian materialism.

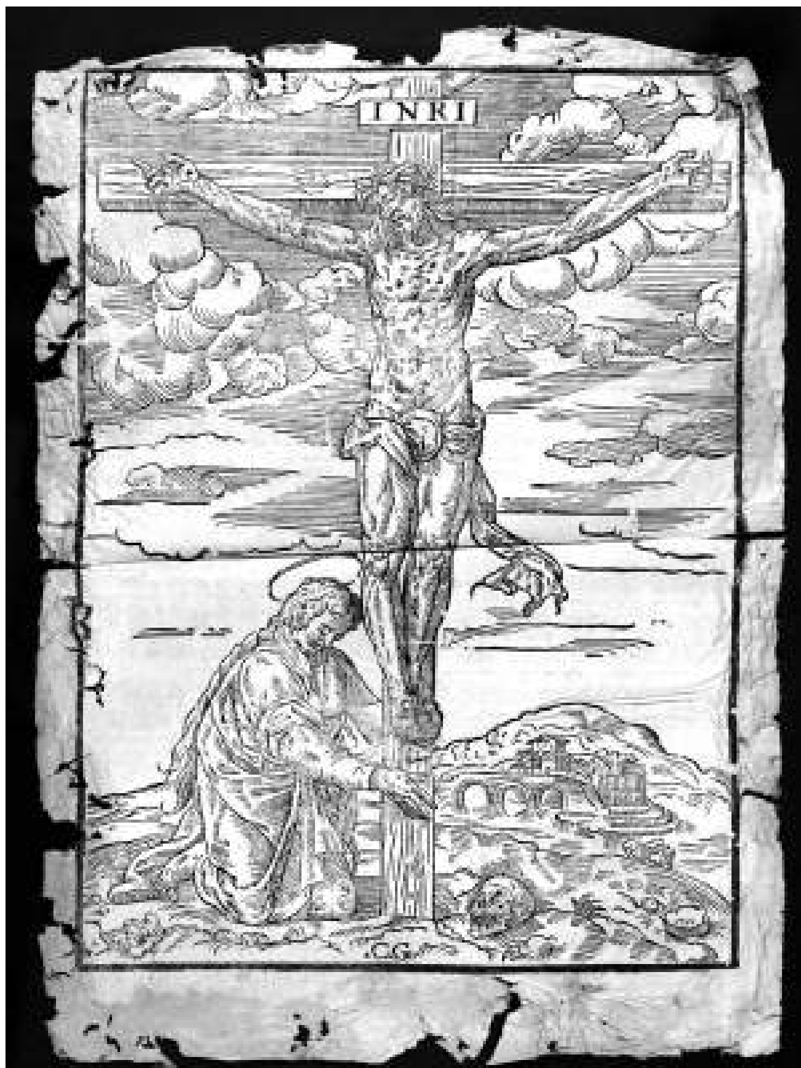


Fig. 1. Anonymous, broadsheet depicting a crucifix, attached to the back of Abraam de Sacerdote's confession, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Inquisizione, Processi, b. 29, fasc. 19.

Vincenzo Lavenia

Iconography and Memory: Inquisitorial Courtrooms in Early Modern Italy

1. *Portraits of inquisitors: an introduction*

Father Guglielmo Fuochi, born in Moncalvo in Piedmont, died on 5 September 1660. He had been the inquisitor of Bologna since 1652 and was such an esteemed judge that the Dominicans staged a solemn funeral in their convent, which not only housed the tomb of the Order's founder but was also one of the oldest and most important seats of the Tribunal of the Faith. They also promoted the printing of a eulogy to remember the deceased confrere and the event organized to honour him. The small book was written by the jurist and poet Andrea Bianchini, who dedicated it to Carlo Emanuele Vizzani, assessor of the Holy Office.[1] Like other booklets of this kind,[2] Fuochi's obituary was accompanied by a sober engraving of the friar, created by Francesco Curti and drawn by Elisabetta Sirani, a well-known 17th-century painter from Bologna (Fig. 1). The fact that a woman produced a portrait of an inquisitor may perhaps come as a surprise;[3] but the Sirani family's relationship with the local Friars Preachers was so close

1. Andrea Bianchini, *Sentimenti dogliosi di Felsina ne' funerali celebrati per la morte del reverendissimo padre Guglielmo Fochi, maestro di teologia e inquisitore generale di Bologna*, Bologna, presso Giovan Battista Ferroni, 1660.

2. I have analysed this genre in Vincenzo Lavenia, "Morte dell'inquisitore. Prestigio sociale e celebrazione di alcune 'vite per l'ufficio'", in *Il mite maestro. Studi per John Tedeschi*, ed. by Giorgio Caravale, Vincenzo Lavenia, and Pierroberto Scaramella, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2025, pp. 61-97.

3. On Sirani and the traditional iconography of justice, see also Ottavia Niccoli, "La Giustizia assistita dalla Carità e dalla Prudenza: a proposito di un quadro di Elisabetta Sirani", *Visual History*, 4 (2018), pp. 11-26.

that, after her death, Elisabetta was buried in the basilica of San Domenico, next to the acclaimed Guido Reni (Fig. 2).

One of Sirani's admirers was Carlo Cesare Malvasia, the first historian of artistic production in Bologna, who, a few years after Fuochi's funeral, went on to publish a list of her works in which he noted that she had also painted the portrait of the inquisitor displayed in the church during his funeral. Moreover, he recalled that in 1662 Fuochi's successor, friar Giovanni Vincenzo Paolini, had commissioned Sirani to paint a Cupid pointing to some books. The art historian detailed further artistic commissions of 17th-century inquisitors, not only those active in Bologna, and he published a letter by the painter Francesco Albani to his pupil Girolamo Bonini recounting how Fuochi had come to collect a portrait of himself, which, as the document makes clear, he had painted only reluctantly (6 January 1654). Malvasia's volumes reveal a number of other inquisitorial commissions: Guercino produced a painting of St. Jerome, a carving depicting the Nativity, and a small altarpiece for other inquisitors in Bologna, while Reni dedicated a carving depicting St. Peter receiving the keys to the judge Paolo Vicari da Garessio. More significant is the fact that Malvasia informed his readers that Agostino Metelli and Giacomo Alboresi – at a date the author does not report – had made decorations for some of the rooms that housed the Inquisition in the city's Dominican convent.[4]

Part of this essay will be dedicated to the Holy Office in Bologna, the only one among the local offices of the Roman Inquisition that has preserved a high number of iconographical testimonies and still survives in the Italian Peninsula. But the purpose here is broader. I intend to sketch out how, from the late Middle Ages onwards, the dwellings of the inquisitors in the convents of the mendicant orders in which the local tribunals resided were transformed, at least in part, into "places of memory", all the while that the first chronicles and documentary collections dedicated to their deeds were being compiled. The aim is to reflect on the way in which certain inquisitorial offices – in close relation to the first historiographical production of the religious orders – were configured as useful spaces for

4. Carlo C. Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice*, Bologna, per l'erede di Domenico Barbieri, 1678, vol. II, pp. 469, 472 and 271 (for Sirani and Albani); 375 and 382 (for Guercino); 394 and 430 (for Metelli and Alboresi). See also Carlo C. Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice: Lives of the Bolognese Painters. A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation*, ed. by Elizabeth Cropper, Lorenzo Pericolo *et al*., Turnhout, Brepols, 2012.

administering justice, but also as finely decorated caskets to celebrate the prestige of the tribunal and tell the timeless story of the effort undertaken by the guardians against heresy to safeguard the righteous faith. The following pages examine how the Inquisition's outlying houses became not only the headquarters that included the judges' private flats, prisons, the archives, and the rooms in which the *crucesignati* or members of the court met, but also monuments to represent and convey the image that the Holy Office wanted to pass on of itself to its future officers as well as to other members of the clergy, and sometimes even to the common faithful. The essay will also cast a glance at the Roman convent of Minerva, which, while not the seat of a local tribunal, was of special importance for the leadership of the Inquisition and the Congregation of the Index and, above all, for the history of the Dominican friars.

Among the inquisitor cardinals, only Giulio Antonio Santoro – who directed and shaped the Roman Holy Office from 1587 to 1602 – composed an autobiographical account detailing his activity as a zealous persecutor of heretics;[5] but he did not commission any images portraying him as a judge of faith. His choice is by no means unusual, and it would indeed be a gamble to suggest, based on portrayals of the cardinals as inquisitors or on the use of iconography and historical-celebratory writings, that the members of the Holy Office in Rome entertained any conscious project to enhance their prestige and memory-building. From the 17th century onwards, some members of the Congregation, like other cardinals of the Roman Curia, were great collectors and purchasers of works of art. One example is Desiderio Scaglia, who, in addition to collecting works by Bernardino Luini, Moretto, Giovanni Savoldo, Parmigianino, Ludovico Carracci, Bronzino, Guercino, and Giovanni Lanfranco, commissioned two portraits: one for the sacristy of the church of Santi Ambrogio e Carlo in Rome, where Scaglia was buried, while the other (probably by Chiaveghino) is now kept in the Cremona Civic Museum.[6] However, like other cardinals enlisted to

5. Giuseppe Cugnoni, "Autobiografia di Monsignor G. Antonio Santori, Cardinale di S. Severina", *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, pt I, 12 (1889), pp. 329-372; pt II, 13 (1890), pp. 151-205. See also Saverio Ricci, *Il sommo Inquisitore. Giulio Antonio Santori tra autobiografia e storia (1532-1602)*, Rome, Salerno editrice, 2002.

6. Fiorenza Rangoni Gàl, *Fra' Desiderio Scaglia cardinale di Cremona. Un collezionista inquisitore nella Roma del Seicento*, Cernobbio, Still Grafix, 2008. See also Thomas F. Mayer, *The Roman Inquisition: A Papal Bureaucracy and Its Laws in the Age of Galileo*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013; Thomas F. Mayer, *The Roman Inqui-*

direct the Papal Inquisition, Scaglia wanted to be remembered first and foremost as a prince of the Church and as a patron, not as a scourge of heretics. In short, given that the leadership of the Roman Holy Office was composed of cardinals, conducting research into the iconography of the inquisitors from the men who ruled the papal Congregation would be fruitless. Rather, we must ask ourselves from what point in time the inquisitors of the peripheral offices who did not participate in the splendour of the Baroque papal Curia began to exalt themselves as magistrates and to boost their social prestige by commissioning works of art and cycles of images, and the cloisters of the mendicant orders began to be populated with gravestones carved to commemorate certain friars who had fulfilled the role of judges of heresy. Without claiming to be exhaustive, this essay will attempt to provide some answers and to suggest some avenues for further research. However, before focusing on the 17th century, the following pages will start from afar and briefly retrace the history of the visual memory of judges and inquisitions both in the Middle Ages and in the Iberian Peninsula. On this foundation, it is possible to improve our understanding of the Italian case where, within the space of a few decades after its foundation in 1542, the papal tribunal managed effectively to coordinate the activities of over forty peripheral branches located in the centre-north of the peninsula.

2. *The medieval legacy: Martyrdom, preaching, and the fight against heresy in the convents*

As we know, and as Donald S. Prudlo's contribution in this volume recalls,[7] from the late Middle Ages onwards judge Peter of Verona, who

sition on the Stage of Italy, c. 1590-1640, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014, *ad indicem*.

7. See Venturino Alce, "Iconografia di S. Pietro da Verona Martire Domenicano", *Memorie Domenicane*, 70 (1953), pp. 100-114; Luigi Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria. Il culto e l'immagine di Domenico nella storia dei primi frati Predicatori*, Spoleto, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1996; Christine Caldwell, "Peter Martyr: The Inquisitor as Saint", *Comitatus*, 31 (2000), pp. 137-173; Marina Benedetti, *Inquisitori lombardi del Duecento*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2008; Donald S. Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor: The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona (†1252)*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008; Andrea Improta, "Dal pulpito al sepolcro. Contributo per l'iconografia di san Pietro Martire da Verona tra XIII e XIV secolo", *Porticvm. Revista d'Estudis Medievals*, 1 (2011), pp. 105-119.

had lost his life fighting heresy, ended up representing not only a shining example of Christian sacrifice and Dominican heroism, but eventually also became the most recognizable martyr and inquisitorial icon. Yet, while the famous frescoes of his life in the Spanish Chapel in Santa Maria Novella in Florence cannot be linked to the convent ever being the seat of the inquisition, as in Tuscany the Friars Minor were in charge of its courts since the 13th century, it is still highly likely that they were nonetheless motivated by the local Dominicans' attempt to assert their primacy in the anti-heretical struggle even in a city where they did not operate as judges. In any event, over time the figure of Peter became ever more explicitly associated with the mission of extirpating heresy, to the point that all the three new and centralized inquisitions of Spain, Portugal, and Rome, which were founded between the 15th and 16th centuries, went on to adopt that medieval icon to exalt the task of their magistrates. The image of Peter also appeared on the title page of the most popular manual for inquisitors in the early modern period, the *Sacred Arsenal* by the Dominican Eliseo Masini, first published in the vernacular in 1621 (Fig. 3).[8] At the end of the 15th century, the Spanish Inquisition developed a second icon of a martyr judge, almost an ideal successor to Peter of Verona, in the person of the Augustinian friar and inquisitor Pedro de Arbués. He was killed in 1485 in Zaragoza cathedral at the hands of assassins whom inquisitorial propaganda identified as emissaries of the *conversos*. Educated at the College of Spain in Bologna, the theologian from Épila was portrayed as another Peter Martyr even before his beatification (1664) and late canonization (1867).[9]

Returning to the Italian Peninsula, no direct relationship can be established before the 15th century between the depiction of Peter Martyr and the need for prestige of individual judges or the Italian offices of the

8. Eliseo Masini, *Sacro arsenale, ouero prattica dell'officio della Santa Inquisitione*, Genoa, appresso Giuseppe Pavoni, 1621. See Genoveffa Palumbo, "Modelli antichi di eresia e santità nel frontespizio del *Sacro Arsenale* di Eliseo Masini: l'immagine di Pietro Martire", in *I linguaggi del potere nell'età barocca*, vol. I, *Politica e religione*, ed. by Francesca Cantù, Rome, Viella, 2011, pp. 457-491.

9. For the celebration of his memory in Zaragoza cathedral and for the works of Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, Francisco Jiménez Maza, and others before them, see Michael Scholz-Hänsel, "Arte e Inquisición: Pedro Arbués y el poder de las imágenes", *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoria del Arte*, 6 (1994), pp. 205-212; Daniel Rico Camps, "El sepulcro de Pedro de Arbués y su contexto", *Boletín de Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar*, 59-60 (1995), pp. 169-203.

Inquisition. Indeed, while the relationship between inquisition, memory, and iconography has hardly been touched upon for the Dominican offices of the Holy Office throughout the medieval and early modern period, it is even more complicated to trace for the places where the Inquisition was entrusted to the Friars Minor, as was the case since the 16th century both in the Republic of Venice and in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. Allegedly, in the 18th century in the Franciscans' first Florentine cloister of Santa Croce, there was a plaque bearing the following words: "Here those who do not believe in God are punished, and the true faith is defended".[10] But of the fate of this admonition in stone after the abolition of the Florentine tribunal (1782) we have no information. Thanks to an inventory kept in the Archive of the Congregation (now Dicastery) for the Doctrine of the Faith, we know that in 1701 the city's inquisitor lamented the state of neglect of the torture chamber. Nonetheless, when informing the cardinals of the Holy Office of the completion of the construction of the new prisons, Father Ludovico Petroni da Lodi said he was proud to work in a room equipped with furniture, carpets, crucifixes, alabaster statuettes, clocks, maps, and paintings, among which there was even a well-framed canvas depicting "Justice Driving Out Heresy".[11] The source does not reveal who the author of the painting was, but it is certain that no ordinary worshipper – unless he or she was a defendant – could have seen it. Some exceptions aside, scholars who have also dealt with the Florentine tribunal in the early modern period have not paid much attention to the history of Santa Croce as a local seat of the Inquisition and its officers.[12]

10. "Qui si punisce quel che in Dio non crede, e s'assicura nella vera fede", as is stated in Francesco Moisè, *Santa Croce di Firenze. Illustrazione storico-artistica con note e copiosi documenti inediti*, Florence, a spese dell'autore, 1845, p. 403. On the cloister of the Friars Minor, see *Santa Croce nel solco della storia*, ed. by Massimiliano Rosito, Florence, Città di Vita, 1996; *Santa Croce. Oltre le apparenze*, ed. by Andrea De Marchi and Giacomo Piraz, Pistoia, Gli Ori, 2011 (in particular: Adriano Prosperi, "L'età dell'Inquisizione romana", pp. 151-170; and Mina Gregori, "Il Seicento e il Settecento a Santa Croce", pp. 273-284).

11. Archivio del Dicastero per la Dottrina della Fede, Stanza Storica, II 1-h, "Inventario dei beni delle Inquisizioni (1701)", "Firenze", fol. 271r ff.

12. See, among others, Adriano Prosperi, "Vicari dell'Inquisizione fiorentina alla metà del Seicento. Note d'archivio" (1982), and "L'inquisizione fiorentina al tempo di Galileo" (1983), now in Adriano Prosperi, *L'Inquisizione romana. Letture e ricerche*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2003; Adriano Prosperi, "L'Inquisizione fiorentina dopo il Concilio di Trento" (1985-1986), now in Adriano Prosperi, *Eresie e devozioni. La religione italiana in età moderna*, vol. II, *Inquisitori, ebrei e streghe*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia

In comparison to the Dominicans, who were able early on to establish the veneration of their martyr saint, the Friars Minor, not only in Florence, struggled to do the same with their heroes of the fight against heresy in the 13th-15th centuries. For instance, the figure of Giovanni da Capestrano (1385-1456) immediately imposed itself as that of a crusader saint, and later as a military chaplain, but was not in the inquisitorial bracket.[13] For Giacomo della Marca (c. 1393-1476), the story is even more complex. He was depicted in the first *Trittico di Valle Castellana* by Carlo Crivelli (c. 1472), now in the Pinacoteca Civica of Ascoli Piceno, when he was still alive (!) as a blessed man next to Peter Martyr while praying to the Virgin Mary and the Child Jesus seated on a throne (Fig. 4).[14] Was this meant to allude to his role as an inquisitor aspiring to martyrdom, like another Peter of Verona? One cannot be certain. What seems quite evident, however, is that the Dominicans were much better than the Franciscans at developing a policy of memory that simultaneously celebrated their role as magistrates in matters of heresy, enhanced the reputation of the Order, and lent prestige to the headquarters of the Inquisition.

3. *Milan and the Portinari Chapel*

In Milan, the seat of the Inquisition was housed in the Dominican convent of Sant'Eustorgio until the mid-16th century, when it was moved to another cloister of the Order – that of Santa Maria delle Grazie, where

e Letteratura, 2010, pp. 41-63; Massimo Firpo, *Gli affreschi di Pontormo a San Lorenzo. Eresia, politica e cultura nella Firenze di Cosimo I*, Turin, Einaudi, 1997; Lucio Biasiori, *Rinascimento sotterraneo. Inquisizione e popolo nella Firenze del Cinquecento*, Rome, Officina Libraria, 2023.

13. See Luca Pezzuto, *Giovanni da Capestrano. Iconografia di un predicatore osservante dalle origini alla canonizzazione (1456-1690)*, preface by Chiara Frugoni, Rome, UniversItalia, 2016.

14. See *Il culto e l'immagine. San Giacomo della Marca (1393-1476) nell'iconografia marchigiana*, ed. by Silvano Bracci, Milan, Motta, 1998; Ronald W. Lightbown, *Carlo Crivelli*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 2004, pp. 305-312; *Opere d'arte dalle collezioni di Ascoli Piceno. La Pinacoteca civica e il Museo diocesano: scoperte, ricerche e nuove proposte*, ed. by Stefano Papetti, Rome, Bozzi, 2012, pp. 76-83. For the iconography of Giacomo della Marca and the fight against heresy in the chapel that houses his remains, frescoed in the early modern age, see Silvestro Candela, *S. Giacomo della Marca e Santa Maria la Nova di Napoli*, Naples, Cenacolo Serafico, 1972.

Leonardo da Vinci had frescoed the *Ultima cena*. It is not clear whether the spaces of Sant'Eustorgio still preserve evidence of the presence of the medieval tribunal, but the close relationship that bound the Dominican church to the Inquisition is established in the 15th-century Portinari Chapel, which stands out for its extraordinary beauty. It was frescoed by the workshop and hand of Vincenzo Foppa (c. 1427-1516), one of the most refined Lombard artists of the time. Later, in 1737, in addition to the relic of Peter of Verona's head, the chapel also housed the ark sculpted in the 14th century by Giovanni di Balduccio to preserve the rest of the saint's body.

Between 1462 and 1468, on the sub-arches of the chapel, Foppa painted episodes from the life of the martyred saint. Il *Miracolo della Nuvola* and the *Miracolo di Narni* have no reference to the fight against heresy; indeed, the latter depicts the story of a boy who, after an argument, had kicked his mother, then cut off his foot out of shame for having hit her. Forgiving the young man's guilt thanks to the woman's intercession, the saint had worked a miracle by reattaching his limb. The third scene, the *Miracolo dell'Ostia* (Fig. 5), centres on the deceptions of heresy. It depicts two Cathars who had conjured up the Devil appearing – to confuse the faithful – in the guise of Our Lady holding a child (the horns are a symbol of Mary's false presence). By exhibiting the body of Christ, Peter unmasks the demonic fiction and performs a miraculous exorcism in the presence of a small audience of devotees. More relevant is the fourth fresco (Fig. 6) of the saint's martyrdom. Here, Foppa reproposes the well-established iconography of Peter writing the first words of the Creed with his own blood against the backdrop of a stylized landscape in which two tree trunks stand out, which allude to the inquisitor and the second victim of the attack, the friar *socius*, who, according to legend, died later.

Although the work is well known, it is useful to recall the context in which it was created. The commissioners of the fresco were not the inquisitors, nor were they the Dominican friars of the convent that housed the headquarters of the Holy Office (one of the most important in Latin Europe). Nor was it a Milanese nobleman who enlisted Foppa, but rather the Florentine banker Pigello Portinari who, after having served Cosimo de' Medici as a diplomat, had made his fortune as a tax collector for the Sforza family, the lords of the Duchy of Milan. Perhaps Portinari, who was buried in the chapel in 1468, wanted to finance a monument dedicated to the memory of a saint to whom he was personally devoted and who was also widely venerated in Florence, not only in Santa Maria Novella. Or maybe the

banker wanted to be forgiven for exercising the trade of money-lending, which was likened to usury and exposed the soul to the risk of mortal sin. We cannot be sure what precisely drove him to that investment, only that some sources suggested that a vision of the saint inspired him.

In any event, Peter's remains were given a more sumptuous location thanks to the direct commitment of a lay tax collector, and not of the friars who continued the mission of the martyred judge in that cloister. Yet, beyond the intentions of the commissioner, who sought to gain eternal life, the frescoes in the chapel undoubtedly emphasized the role of the church and cloister of Sant'Eustorgio as a place that drew prestige from hosting the tribunal and the remains of an inquisitor raised to the honour of the altars. As for the Holy Office in Milan, it did not intervene directly before 1651-1652. At that time, Friar Francesco Cuccini – the magistrate on duty – ordered Foppa's images to be covered with a new cycle of frescoes dedicated to Peter Martyr and St. Dominic, painted by Johann Christoph Storer, Melchiorre Gherardini, and Ercole Procaccini the Younger (these paintings would be erased in 1871 to bring Foppa's to light). A plaque commemorated the work of the judge who, although residing in Santa Maria delle Grazie, with the redecoration of Sant'Eustorgio had sought to emulate other local inquisitors similarly engaged in those years in honouring the history and memory of the tribunal by means of artistic patronage. This was especially visible in the convents where the presence of the Inquisition was most ancient.[15]

4. *A Spanish model?*

A decade after Portinari's death and his dignified burial in Milan, the Spanish Inquisition emerged as a new tribunal. It became the model for the foundation of the Portuguese Holy Office (1536-1547) and for the re-foundation of the local tribunals dependent on Rome, which were placed under

15. The plaque, published in 1737 by Serviliano Lattuada, is reported in *Vincenzo Foppa. La cappella Portinari*, ed. by Laura Mattioli Rossi, Milan, Motta, 1999, pp. 123-124. On the chapel, see also *Vincenzo Foppa. Un protagonista del Rinascimento*, ed. by Giovanni Agosti, Mauro Natale, and Giovanni Romano, Milan, Skira, 2002; Rita Capurro, "Vincenzo Foppa nella Cappella Portinari in Sant'Eustorgio: dall'*exemplum* nella predicazione e nella letteratura domenicana alla narrazione per immagini", *Cahiers d'études italiennes*, 29 (2019), http:// journals.openedition.org/cei/5997, accessed on 22 June 2025.

the supervision of a Congregation of the papal Curia in 1542. As can be deduced by leafing through the catalogue of an exhibition on the history of the Inquisition held in Madrid in 1982, which also contains Pedro Berruguete's early painting depicting a spectacular condemnation of heretics by St. Dominic (c. 1495), Isabella and Ferdinand's Inquisition wasted no time in celebrating its harsh justice and alleged seniority through images.[16] What is more, the periodically staged spectacle of the defeat of apostates and heretics in the *autos de fe* inspired celebratory works on the one hand as well as the writings and images of the *leyenda nera* on the other.[17]

In the Italian Peninsula the papal Holy Office, after the first years in which it engaged in a ferocious hunt against dissidents, eventually discouraged the exhibition of the "splendour of torment", aiming, if anything, at exalting its function as an ecclesiastical tribunal. As a tool of penitence and punishment, it was meant to support the reconciliation and conversion of heretics and thus allegedly temper justice with mercy. As the Spanish Inquisition came into being before its Roman and Portuguese counterparts, it had the "privilege" of inventing a policy of memory and setting the pace for adequate iconographical solutions. The extent to which these influenced the inquisitors of the Italian Peninsula is difficult to assess, but there can be no doubt that some of the Iberian celebratory strategies did inspire them, even if only to distance themselves from it. It is therefore worthwhile briefly to mention some of the possibly significant models here.

As studies have shown, several Dominican convents, such as the one in Ávila, and the seats of the Spanish tribunals in the colonies as well as in the mother country, abounded with images, and for over three centuries the judges of faith of the Catholic monarchy were great patrons of art.[18] Moreover, in 1598 a Spanish magistrate serving in Sicily, Luis de Páramo, drew up the first documented history of the origins, progress, and eternal mission of the *officium fidei*, establishing prosopographies of the local judges.

16. *La Inquisición. Catálogo de la exposición*, Madrid, Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 1982.

17. Francisco Bethencourt, "The *auto da fé*: Ritual and Imagery", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 55 (1992), pp. 155-168.

18. Sonia Caballero Escamilla, "Los santos dominicos y la propaganda inquisitorial en el convento de Santo Tomás de Ávila", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 39 (2009), pp. 357-387; Michael Scholz-Hänsel, *Inquisition und Kunst. Convivencia in Zeiten der Intoleranz*, Berlin, Frank & Timme, 2009.

He even made God the prototype of the inquisitor for having interrogated Adam and Eve before expelling them from Eden.[19]

The first local judge who thought of eternalizing his memory was also Spanish. He was Antonio del Corro, an inquisitor from Seville, who before his death (1556) commissioned Juan Bautista Vázquez el Viejo to create a remarkably fine funeral monument for the church of San Vicente de la Barquera in the Cantabrian region, the parish where he was born (Fig. 7). An epitaph[20] reminded visitors of Corro's noble origins and his role as an inquisitor – without mentioning specific episodes of repression – while reporting a useful lie to enhance the prestige of the deceased magistrate. In fact, in the epitaph, his appointment as judge of Seville was attributed to Ferdinand and Isabella, the founders of the tribunal, although it took place after their death in 1525. Crucially, Corro was immortalized not in the act of punishing heretics, but lying on his side reading one of the books in his personal library, later inherited by his nephew of the same name (paradoxically, infamous as a heretic). In short, the judge – who had prosecuted cases against Juan de Ávila and Dr Egidio (Juan Gil) and also participated in the censorship of Erasmus's writings – tried to project an ideal self-image, most likely to silence his critics, some of whom accused him of being conceited and greedy, while others thought his investigations lacked vigour and thoroughness. Corro, in any event, preferred to be remembered as a reader and man of letters rather than a harsh judge.[21] This choice was not so different from the one later adopted by Italian local judges.

As for leading inquisitors and royal council members, portraits abound for both the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions. Sometimes the works were made many years after the death of the powerful judges in order to celebrate particular institutions through memorializing the protagonists who fought against heresy, as happened with the portrait of Diego de Deza (d.

19. See Kimberly Lynn Hossain, "Was Adam the First Heretic? Diego de Simancas, Luis de Páramo, and the Origins of Inquisitorial Practice", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 97 (2006), pp. 184-210.

20. "Hic iacet licenciatus Antonius del Corro, vir praeclarus moribus et nobilitate, ac perpetuae memoriae dignus. Canonicus Hispalensis ac ibidem contra haereticam pravitatem a Catholicis regibus Ferdinando et Elisabeth usque ad suum obitum apostolicus inquisitor".

21. See Julio Caro Baroja, *El señor inquisidor y otras vidas por oficio*, Madrid, Alianza, 1968, ch. 3; Carlos Gilly, "Corro, Antonio del, il Vecchio", in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, ed. by Adriano Prosperi, Vincenzo Lavenia, and John Tedeschi, Pisa, Edizioni della Normale, 2010, vol. I, pp. 419-420.

1523), made in 1631 for the Colegio de Santo Tomás in Seville, the city of which he was archbishop. It was painted by Francisco de Zurbarán in two slightly different versions, one preserved in New York by Knoedler & Company and the other in the Museo del Prado in Madrid. The list could go on by mentioning the portraits of Juan Pardo de Tavera and Fernando Niño de Guevara by El Greco; the one of Diego de Arce y Reinoso, made from a drawing by Francesco Ricci (Francisco Rizzi); the bust of Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros for the Universidad Complutense; the canvases made to celebrate Jerónimo Manrique de Lara, Juan de Zúñiga, or Juan E. Nithard. However, in the works dedicated to the general inquisitors, their role as judges was hardly ever emphasized because the artists celebrated them first and foremost as powerful members of the court or as cardinals, when they had the title.

As mentioned above, the Italian cardinals of the Holy Office too chose to be remembered primarily as princes of the Church. In Rome, after the death of Pope Paul IV in 1559, the papal Congregation acquired a palace for its meetings, archives, and prisons;[22] but the austere building – remodelled several times – was not intended to celebrate the *officium fidei* in an ostentatious manner. In addition to the central headquarters of the Papal Inquisition, from the 17th century onwards the basilica and convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva emerged as another venue linked to the Dominicans for their censorship pursuits and for the celebration of solemn abjurations. It was here that the Spaniard and priest Miguel de Molinos was forced to recant his beliefs in 1687. His condemnation, in the presence of many nobles and members of the papal Curia, was immortalized in an engraving commissioned from Arnold van Westerhout by Cardinal Flavio Chigi, in which the influence of 17th-century Iberian prints propagating *autos de fe* is evident (Fig. 8). The Molinos case was meant to state an example, and it provided the judges with an opportunity to warn the clergy not to follow the dangerous paths of mysticism and lust. But it is worth reiterating that depictions of the sentences of the Holy Office – which took place in court rooms or churches, rather than in the squares – are rare. Marking the dif-

22. See Peter Schmidt, “De Sancto Officio Urbis. Aspekte der Verflechtung des Heiligen Offiziums mit der Stadt Rom im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert”, *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 82 (2002), pp. 404-489; Daniel Ponziani, “Interessi architettonici: i palazzi dell’Inquisizione / Architectures: The Palaces of the Inquisition”, in *Rari e preziosi. Documenti dell’età moderna e contemporanea dall’Archivio del Sant’Uffizio*, ed. by Alejandro Cifres and Marco Pizzo, Rome, Gangemi, 2009, pp. 86-105.

ference between the Roman judicial style and that of the Iberian tribunals, from the 16th century onwards the Congregation discouraged the circulation of any such images. But it had not always been so. In 1498, before the foundation of the Holy Office, the Valencian Pope Alexander VI sought to establish an inquisition based on the Spanish model, at least in the Papal States, and organized a solemn *auto de fe* to condemn over two hundred *conversos* who had taken refuge in Rome. Without imposing the death penalty, he had them parade with candle in hand to the Piazza della Minerva to abjure in public on a stage. Their *sambenitos*, as in Spain, were hung from the church ceiling.[23]

5. *The centre: Rome and the Minerva convent between images and writing*

It may come as a surprise that a *local* office of the Papal Inquisition for the city of Rome never existed. Santa Maria sopra Minerva – where the consultors often met and from 1628 also the cardinals of the Holy Office who had Galileo abjured there – was a Dominican convent since the 13th century. From 1577, it housed the *Collegium Divii Thomae*, which trained inquisitors, *commissarii*, and consultors of the tribunal, as well as the apartments of the Master of the Sacred Palace. The latter was the Pope's theologian and a member of the Order. He was in charge of the censorship of books in the city of Rome, and as such was also a member of the Congregation of the Index. The secretary of this new institution, founded in 1572, was almost always a Dominican friar and he too resided at Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Due to their presence, the convent almost became a second seat of the Congregations of the Holy Office and the Index in the early modern period. The fact that the abjurations and death sentences of important trials, like those of Pomponio Algieri, Gian Luigi Pascale, Pompeo Delli Monti, Marcantonio De Dominis, or Giuseppe Francesco Borri, were pronounced in the superb church adjoining the Minerva convent underscores its significance.

23. Anna Foa, "Un vescovo marrano: il processo a Pedro de Aranda (Roma 1498)", *Quaderni Storici*, 99 (1998), pp. 533-551; on this case, see also Francisco Bethencourt's essay in chapter 8 of this volume.

Over the course of its history, the basilica also came to house several tombs of popes and members of the Holy Office, such as Tommaso Badia and Michele Bonelli, not to mention the bodies of Cardinal Giovanni Morone, who had been investigated by Pope Paul IV, or of the archbishop of Toledo Bartolomé de Carranza, the Dominican theologian persecuted by Spanish judges who died in Rome after his abjuration in 1576. Already in the 13th century, Latino Malabranca Orsini, the first cardinal to receive the early title of Inquisitor General, was buried in the church; then, slowly, its walls were covered with images glorifying saints Dominic and Ramon de Penyafort. In the 15th century, on the right wall of the chapel dedicated to the Carafa family, Filippino Lippi painted a fresco with Thomas Aquinas that had a clear anti-heretical meaning.[24] A century later, Pope Pius V, the former Dominican inquisitor Michele Ghislieri, commissioned Pirro Ligorio to design a marble funerary monument crowned with a statue to celebrate Paul IV (Carafa), his patron and zealous predecessor. Ghislieri himself dictated the epitaph praising the stern hunter of heretics ("catholicae fidei acerrimo propugnatori"). He had his remains placed in that chapel not only because the real founder of the Holy Office was a Carafa, but because of the significance of Lippi's fresco, which already existed (Fig. 9).[25]

There is no need to dwell on other details of the basilica because it is the convent that deserves more attention here. Today it is divided between the Library of the Senate, a part of the Chamber of Deputies of the Italian Republic, and the Casanatense Library.[26] The latter, as is well known, is a

24. Lorenzo Mainini, "Eresia e cultura umanistica. Idee per una rilettura degli affreschi di Filippino Lippi alla Minerva", *Storia dell'Arte*, n.s., 31 (2012), pp. 9-26. See also the essay by Alessia Trivellone in chapter 2 of this volume.

25. On the Minerva church, see Joachim J. Bertier, *L'Église de la Minerve à Rome*, Rome, Manuzio, 1910; Giancarlo Palmerio and Gabriella Villetti, *Storia edilizia di S. Maria sopra Minerva in Roma 1275-1870*, Rome, Viella, 1989; Maria Grazia Chilosi, "Santa Maria sopra Minerva", in *Restauri d'arte e Giubileo*, ed. by Angelo Negro, Milan, Electa, 2001, pp. 207-219. On the Carafa Chapel, see Gale L. Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel: Renaissance Art in Rome*, Kirksville, Truman State University Press, 1986; Maria Vitiello, *Le architetture dipinte di Filippino Lippi. La cappella Carafa a S. Maria sopra Minerva in Roma*, Rome, Gangemi, 2003; Massimo Firpo and Fabrizio Biferali, *"Navicula Petri". L'arte dei papi nel Cinquecento*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2009, p. 325 ff.

26. On the dismemberment of Santa Maria sopra Minerva after the unification of Italy in the 19th century, see Francesco Quinterio, "Il caso dell'*insula* della Minerva in Roma capitale, divisa fra i domenicani, l'Inquisizione e tre ministeri in condominio (1870-1929)", *Città & Storia*, 4 (2009), pp. 163-181.

treasure trove of books and manuscripts of the Inquisition, and was named after the friar and cardinal Girolamo Casanate (1620-1700), former judge of Malta, assessor of the Holy Office and member of the Congregation of the Index.[27] What today still belongs to the Dominican Order is a smaller portion of the ancient building that also houses its archive, but not that of the Master of the Sacred Palace, which may have been lost. The Room of the Inquisition or of Galileo – a part of three spaces renovated in 1649 – is now part of the Library of the Chamber of Deputies (the so-called Palace of Via del Seminario). Around 1660, it was embellished with three frescoes painted by Francesco Allegrini celebrating the history of the tribunal and the Order of Preachers, and which have been studied with acumen by Federico Zeri. The first showed the Battle of Muret, won by Simon de Montfort during the crusade against the Albigensians, before the emergence of the inquisition (1213); the second depicted the martyrdom of St. Peter of Verona; the third portrayed Thomas Aquinas triumphant over the heresy and impiety of the philosophers.[28] The series of paintings hence established a link and continuity from the theological and judicial struggle against doctrinal and political dissent during the late Middle Ages to the early modern activities of the Holy Office and the Index.

Of greater significance is the cloister named after its architect Guidetto Guidetti. It was rebuilt before 1569 at the behest of the Master General of the Order of Preachers, Vincenzo Giustiniani, who was an eminent member of the Holy Office. The decision entailed the loss of the previous 15th-century structures conceived by the theologian Juan de Torquemada and Beato Angelico's frescoes, known today only thanks to a precious illustrated incunabulum.[29] In the 17th century, the Guidetti Cloister was en-

27. See the catalogue *Inquisizione e Indice nei secoli XVI-XVIII. Controversie teologiche dalle raccolte casanatensi*, Vigevano, Diakronia, 1998; and Margherita Palumbo, "Casanate, Girolamo", in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, vol. I, p. 289.

28. Federico Zeri, "Francesco Allegrini: gli affreschi del Sant'Uffizio", *Antologia di belle arti*, 3 (1977), pp. 125-127. See also *Le sedi della Camera dei Deputati. Santa Maria sopra Minerva*, Rome, Editalia, 1990, in particular Giuseppina Magnanimi, "Le antiche pitture nella Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati", pp. 171-182 (who points out the presence in the room of another image of Peter Martyr made in the 18th century); *"Insula Sapientiae". La Camera dei Deputati nel complesso di Santa Maria sopra Minerva*, ed. by Renata Cristina Mazzantini, Milan, Electa, 2012 (which contains many images).

29. See Gerardo de Simone, "L'ultimo Angelico. Le *Meditationes* del cardinal Torquemada e il ciclo perduto nel chiostro di S. Maria sopra Minerva", *Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, 76 (2002), pp. 41-87.

tirely re-frescoed and decorated by a group of artists some of whom were linked to the Bolognese Carracci school and included, among others, Francesco Nappi, Giovanni Battista Ruggeri, Cesare Torelli, Giovanni Valesio, and Giuseppe Puglia.

Scholars have largely failed to consider the relationship between that space and the Inquisition's need for auto-celebration in the Baroque age. But one only has to look closely at the images painted on the walls and vaults to grasp the significance that the new cloister must have held for the memory of the Dominican friars and the *officium fidei*. In addition to the main cycles of frescoes dedicated to the Rosary and the sanctity of Thomas Aquinas, and an isolated icon of justice (Fig. 10), the figure of Pius V appears, although he is memorialized here as the promoter of the Lepanto enterprise and not as an inquisitor (Fig. 11). More relevant is the fact that the walls and naves of the cloister were covered with depictions of medieval judges of the faith. There are no less than three images of Peter of Verona (Fig. 12a-c), together with a succession of other martyrs of the tribunal who were never canonized (Pagan of Lecco, Poncius de Planedis, Johannes de Hungaria, Fig. 13a-c), among them the inquisitors of Avignonet, who died at the hands of the Cathars in the Toulouse region on 29 May 1242 (three of the eleven murdered judges were Dominicans: Guillaume Arnaud, Bernard de Roquefort, and García d'Aure) (Fig. 14a-c).[30]

If the Guidetti cloister of Santa Maria sopra Minerva preserves so many images of the inquisitors, it is because in those very years the Dominicans of the convent, active as judges, consultors, and members of the Holy Office, were elaborating the first collections of historical records documenting the deeds of its members not only as theologians and preachers, but also as promoters of the Inquisition in Europe and around the world. The cartouches and the cycle of frescoes in the cloister was probably inspired by the work of Luis de Páramo, the first historian of the tribunal;[31] but from the end of the 16th century onwards, Dominican writings glorify-

30. Yves Dossat, "Le massacre d'Avignonet", in *Le credo, la morale, et l'Inquisition*, Toulouse, Privat, 1971, pp. 343-359.

31. Ludovicus a Páramo, *De origine et progressu officii Sanctae Inquisitionis [...] libri tres*, Matriti, ex Typographia Regia, 1598, pp. 107-111, with a list of Dominican inquisitors who died as martyrs in the Middle Ages ("Inquisitores ex Ordine Divi Dominici pro fide tuenda trucidantur").

ing the Order's past as well as that of the Inquisition flourished.[32] A case in point is the "Table of inquisitors" (1586) by the judge of Vercelli Cipriano Uberti, who was in continuous contact with the censors residing at Santa Maria sopra Minerva.[33]

The enterprise of historicizing the battle against heresy as the supreme endeavour of the Dominican friars culminated in the writings of Father Vincenzo Maria Fontana, who resided in the convent from 1628. Next to his *Syllabus magistrorum Sacri Palatii Apostolici* (1663), *De Romana Provincia Ordinis Praedicatorum*, and *Monumenta Dominicana* (1675), his *Sacrum Theatrum Dominicanum* (1666) is probably most noteworthy (Fig. 15a-b). In the third part of that enormous volume, commissioned by Friar Vincenzo Preti, *commissarius* of the Roman Holy Office between 1650 and 1664, Fontana drew on numerous sources to reconstruct the prosopographies of the Dominican inquisitors across the many branches of the tribunal from the Middle Ages onwards. He traced a genealogy that placed St. Dominic, the founder of the Order, as the first judge in charge of opposing heresy.[34] One paragraph was specifically dedicated to the Dominicans martyred since the 13th century for their service as inquisitors. Their ideal icons were now also visible on the walls of the cloister of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.[35]

Even the Friars Minor, competing with the Dominicans, began to work on a history of their men engaged in the anti-heretical struggle;[36] and from

32. See Vincenzo Lavenia, "Centre and Peripheries of the Inquisition in Prosopographical Research", in *L'Inquisizione romana e i suoi archivi. A vent'anni dall'apertura dell'ACDF*, ed. by Alejandro Cifres, Rome, Gangemi, 2018, pp. 357-370. More generally, see Adriano Prosperi, "L'Inquisizione nella storia: i caratteri originali di una controversia secolare", now in Prosperi, *L'Inquisizione romana*, pp. 69-98.

33. Cipriano Uberti, *Tavola delli inquisitori*, Novara, appresso Francesco Sesalli, 1586. See Giorgio Tibaldeschi, "Un inquisitore in biblioteca: Cipriano Uberti e l'inchiesta libraria del 1599-1600 a Vercelli", *Bollettino Storico Vercellese*, 34 (1990), pp. 43-103.

34. Vincenzo Maria Fontana, *Sacrum Theatrum Dominicanum*, Romae, ex typographia Nicolai Angeli Tinassi, 1666, pars III: "De Ministris S. Inquisitionis Ordinis Praedicatorum", pp. 497-616. On the author, see at least Margherita Palumbo, "Fontana, Vincenzo Maria", in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, vol. II, p. 610.

35. Fontana, *Sacrum Theatrum Dominicanum*, pp. 503-509.

36. Antonius Tognocchi, *Genealogicum et honorificum theatrum Etrusco-minoriticum*, Florentiæ, ex typographia sub signo Stellae, 1682, pars II, tit. II: here the author lists the Conventual Franciscans who had exercised the office of inquisitor in the Tuscan seats (Florence, Pisa, Siena) since the Middle Ages. See also Biblioteca Antoniana, Padua, MS 698, Francesco Maria Benoffi, *Series Inquisitorum Tusciae.*

the end of the 17th century the Holy Office itself too promoted the collection of data on the magistrates who had worked in the tribunal's peripheral offices since the Middle Ages. But it was not until 1707 that the Congregation launched the establishment of an archive of names and information to preserve a capillary memory of its activities in the Italian Peninsula. With a letter addressed to all offices and drafted by the Dominican Friar Pio Felice Cappasanta, *commissarius* of the Holy Office, the cardinals ordered the judges to transmit to Rome the prosopographies of their predecessors from every single seat in central and northern Italy.[37] Cappasanta had been an inquisitor in Bologna until 1705, and in response to his request, his brother Ermenegildo Todeschini is said to have compiled a catalogue of judges that is still preserved in the archives of the convent in Bologna.[38]

The fact that the Bologna convent, together with the Roman Minerva, played a primary role in the construction of the memory of the Holy Office and the Order of Preachers is not surprising. Already in 1517, Leandro Alberti – historian, geographer, and inquisitor – had compiled a first collection of biographies in Latin that included those of several judges of the faith.[39] A century later, another Dominican from the city, Giovanni Michele Piò (1573-1644),[40] vicar of the inquisitor of Bologna Paolo Vicari, then titular judge of the sees of Faenza (1623-1625) and Milan (1625-1644), drew up two enormous works of apologetics and antiquarian erudition in the vernacular that would provide the model for Fontana's books and those of other Dominicans intent on reconstructing the past of the Order and the Inquisition.[41] It is highly likely that Piò's pages inspired a long-last-

37. See Herman H. Schwedt, "La prosopografia delle Inquisizioni negli Stati italiani", in *A dieci anni dall'apertura dell'Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede: storia e archivi dell'Inquisizione*, Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2011, pp. 356-392: 366-370.

38. Archivio Storico Domenicano di Bologna, Convento patriarcale di S. Domenico, *Series I*, MS 17500, Ermenegildo Todeschini, *Catalogus inquisitorum* (1723).

39. Leander Albertus, *De viris illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum libri sex*, Bononiae, in aedibus Hieronymi Platonis, 1517. On the author, see *L'Italia dell'inquisitore. Storia e geografia dell'Italia del Cinquecento nella "Descrittione" di Leandro Alberti*, ed. by Massimo Donattini, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2007.

40. The young scholar Francesco Reale is working on the biography of this inquisitor friar.

41. Giovanni Michele Piò, *Delle vite de gli huomini illustri di S. Domenico [...]*, 2 vols, Bologna, Bellagamba, 1607; Pavia, Ardizzoni e Rossi, 1613; Giovanni Michele Piò,

ing iconographical enterprise that made the inquisitorial seat of Bologna a place of memorial celebration to which we turn now.

6. *The periphery. The seat of Bologna and its visual prosopography*

The convent church in Bologna houses the ark of Dominic of Gúzman, the saint and founder of the Order of Preachers. In one of its frontal reliefs made by the workshop of Nicola Pisano (13th century), the saint is depicted in the act of burning books infected by the poison of Catharism in 1216. It sent a clear message that was certainly not lost on the friars and faithful who prayed and kneeled in front of the sarcophagus (Fig. 16), especially after the creation of the Roman Holy Office in 1542, when the Bolognese outpost began to repress the doctrinal dissent that had taken root in the city with considerable harshness. But it was with the arrival of judge Antonio Balducci (1560-1572), a man Pope Pius V particularly trusted and who was also cautiously supported by bishop Gabriele Paleotti, that the Bolognese tribunal was able to liquidate the heretical circles and to impose many death sentences.[42] Father Balducci himself, with the proceeds of confiscations and fines, launched the construction of the spaces used by the Inquisition, an L-shaped building with one arm destined for men's prisons, and separated from those of the convent and confraternities, including that of the *crucesignati*. The project was realized by the architectural workshop of the Morandi family (the Terribilia).[43] A few years later, an altar with a fresco depicting the Crucifixion was also set up to celebrate the religious rites that prisoners could attend.

Della nobile et generosa progenie del Padre San Domenico in Italia libri due [...], Bologna, Cochi, 1615.

42. See Guido Dall'Olio, *Eretici e inquisitori nella Bologna del Cinquecento*, Bologna, Istituto per la Storia di Bologna, 1999.

43. The first study on the *Domus Inquisitionis* was that of Venturino Alce, "Due chiostri cinquecenteschi in San Domenico di Bologna. Parte I", *Memorie Domenicane*, 85 (1968), pp. 1-13. See also Alfonso D'Amato, *I domenicani a Bologna*, Bologna, ESD, 1987, vol. II, pp. 731-744. A list of works dedicated to Peter Martyr and realized in Bologna in the early modern period is in Venturino Alce, "Iconografia di S. Pietro da Verona Martire Domenicano", *Memorie Domenicane*, 70 (1953), pp. 100-114, 150-168, now in *Martire per la fede: San Pietro da Verona domenicano e inquisitore*, ed. by Gianni Festa, Bologna, ESD, 2007, pp. 307-329.

During the 17th century, the well-preserved Domus Inquisitionis took on the appearance it still has today. The door of the judges' headquarters, on one side of the convent, was surmounted by an already existing bust of the Dominican Pope Pius V (Ghislieri), the infamous persecutor of heretics. On the ground floor, the judicial business took place and rooms for the vicar and notary were set up. On the first floor, the inquisitor's apartment was renovated and various artists began decorating the walls with paintings which were, however, never visible to the defendants. According to the account books of the tribunal,[44] in 1663-1664 Giacomo Alboresi (1632-1677) painted the ceiling of the room and the upper part of two walls with symbolic frescoes mirroring each other: the first, once again, depicted the martyrdom of Peter from Verona, while the second showed the court receiving the abjuration of a condemned man (Fig. 17). This is a very rare subject in Italy, even more so in the marble style in which it was executed here. The third fresco, placed in the panel above the fireplace, was the work of Girolamo Bonini and bucolically symbolizes the mission of the inquisitors. In fact, a dog (aka the *Domini canes*) placidly guards a flock of sheep at the foot of a tree, protecting them against the assaults of a wolf and a lion, symbols of heresy. An angel holds a scroll with the motto "Nec spe nec metu", evoking the firm and inflexible justice of ecclesiastical judges (Fig. 18). In the same room, Giacomo Maria Negri painted a landscape on the fireplace door (1671); another painter – Carlo Cignani and maybe his son Felice – painted the chapel of St. Thomas (1681).

More impressive than the inquisitor's flat are the corridors covered with the frescoed busts of the judges of the Bolognese tribunal wearing the habit of the Dominican Order. It amounts to a visual prosopography, albeit incomplete, which stands alone among the other Italian premises of

44. Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Demaniale 4/7592, "Giornale della Santa Inquisizione", vol. I, "Uscita del S. Ufficio di Bologna dal 1660 sino al 1686", year 1664, fol. n.n. Payment "al signor Giacomo Alboresi Pittore Bolognese per aver dipinto tutta la soffitta della sala nella quale si fanno le consulte del Santo Officio, col suo freggio attorno con la vita et i miracoli del glorioso San Pietro Martire conforme all'accordo" and "al signor Gerolamo Bonino Pittore Anconitano per haver dipinto il camino della medesima sala con figure et imprese, che alludono alla retta giustitia del Sacro Tribunale". No reference is made to the panel with the fresco of the court judging, but to another payment of six benches decorated by a painter named Simone "con l'arme dell'Inquisitore". The document also mentions the existence of a statue of Father Fuochi. Later, in 1671, the payment of Giacomo Maria Negri is recorded.

the Holy Office. One of the artists who worked on it from 1674 – when the judge was Sisto Cerchi – was a painter named Viviani, who is not even mentioned by Malvasia.[45] That very year, every single judge who had fought heresy in Bologna over the course of four centuries was portrayed with a rod or wand in his hands signifying the magistrate's authority, with added captions of their name and that of the reigning pontiff while on duty displayed in elegant cartouches underneath the ovals of the portraits. The faces of the inquisitors are rendered more and more realistically as one gets closer to the judges active from the 17th century onwards (Figs 19-23). Court sources indicate that the series was continued in the following years by the inquisitor fathers Cappasanta (1695) and Paolo Girolamo Gallarate (1728).[46]

Although inspired by the works of Piò, the vicar of the tribunal of Bologna at the beginning of his career, and Fontana, the series clearly was only produced from the 1670s onwards.[47] The idealized portraits of the inquisitors active since 1273 (when Aldobrandino da Reggio was a judge) are depicted in groups of frames. After a gap between 1310 and 1356 (the years of the Avignon papacy), the series resumes discontinuously with the friars in service until 1466, with many lacunae concerning the time when the Latin Church was shaken by schisms. Curiously, the inquisitors active during the Renaissance, including the judges enlisted after the founding of

45. *Ibid.*, year 1674, October: to have five arches painted, the judge paid "il pittore Viviani" [possibly a misspelling of Cignani], also from his own savings, to "far le memorie di tutti li padri inquisitori passati".

46. Archivio Storico Domenicano di Bologna, Convento patriarcale di S. Domenico, *Series III*, MS 39010, "Uscita o spese della Inquisizione di Bologna", 1687-1750, fols n.n., year 1695, November, expenses "per avere il Padre Vicario fatto dipingere li due ritratti del fu padre [Tommaso] Mazza Inquisitore [1679-1681] and Padre Inquisitore [Paolo Girolamo] Giacconi [1681-1695] nelli ovali dove sono dipinti gl'altri Inquisitori nell'ingresso del Santo Officio, sì come un altro in pittura [probably the late Cerchi, who had undertaken the work]". The name of the painter is not mentioned in the document. See also *ibid.*, year 1728, January, payment for "due ritratti di monsignor [Vincenzo] Mazzoleni Arcivescovo di Corfù, uno in tela, l'altro a fresco nell'ordine delli altri inquisitori". Again, it is not clear who was the artist or who had painted the three previous inquisitors: Cappasanta himself, Antonio Leoni, and Giordano Vignali. The ovals by Vignali and Mazzoleni are lost to me. Mazzoleni, while still alive, had been promoted to archbishop. See also Alce, *Due chiostri*, p. 8, who, however, has summarized the first payment note inaccurately.

47. On the Bolognese tribunal in the 17th century, see Gian Luca D'Errico, *L'Inquisizione di Bologna e la Congregazione del Sant'Uffizio alla fine del XVII secolo. Analisi e ricerche*, Rome, Aracne, 2012 (with some images of the Domus Inquisitionis).

the Congregation of the Holy Office, are also missing; as is, paradoxically, the face of Leandro Alberti, inquisitor from 1550 to 1552, who contributed to the establishment of the first Dominican prosopographies by working on *De viris illustribus* (1517) in the convent. For the early modern period, the series begins with the portrait of Eustachio Locatelli (inquisitor from 1554 to 1560), followed by Balducci and all the judges in service until 1710 (the end of Father Antonio Leoni's term of office).

The attention to the memory of judges and the *officium fidei* that characterized the Bolognese inquisitorial court and which from the 17th century onwards also led to the staging of sumptuous funerals and the drafting of librettos praising the deceased magistrates,[48] may even have had an impact on the nearby College of Spain, where members of the Iberian elite enrolled in courses (mostly law) at the ancient *Studium* lived. In fact, in 1736 Archbishop Prospero Lambertini, later Pope Benedict XIV, commissioned Giuseppe Maria Crespi to paint an ideal portrait, which is still preserved at the college, of the martyr of the Spanish Inquisition, the Dominican Pedro de Arbués, who at the end of the 15th century had trained at the College (Fig. 24).[49]

As for the Dominican convent, as Guido Dall'Olio's studies show,[50] it was by mere chance that the portraits of the inquisitors survived the Revolutionary period. After Napoleon's advance in northern Italy, which brought about the Cisalpine Republic and put a temporary end to the papal dominion over Bologna, in November 1797 the Reno Department ordered the demolition of the city prisons of the Inquisition as a symbol of intolerance and legal barbarism. There were even plans to convert them into housing for the farmer who tended the convent's vegetable garden. Furthermore, after an inspection by the deputies of the town hall, the prior Gondisalvo Donati was ordered to remove the portraits of the inquisitors and the scene of the abjuration frescoed in the rooms of the Holy Office. Yet, this removal did not take place. The reasons are unclear, as the history

48. See Lavenia, "Morte dell'inquisitore". For the purchase of small images and art objects by the inquisitors in Bologna, see Dennj Solera, "Putting Things in Order: Inventories and Materiality of the Roman Inquisition", *Giornale di Storia*, 43 (2023), pp. 1-19.

49. Scholz-Hänsel, "Arte e Inquisición", p. 209.

50. See Guido Dall'Olio, "L'attività dell'Inquisizione a Bologna dal XVI al XVIII secolo", in *Storia di Bologna*, vol. III, *Bologna nell'età moderna (secoli XVI-XVIII)*, 2 vols, ed. by Adriano Prosperi, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2008, vol. II, pp. 1097-1176: 1146.

of the abolition of the tribunal in the Italian Peninsula in the 18th century as well as the policy of memory destruction that affected the buildings, images, and documents of the Inquisition in the localities have not yet been studied.

7. *Tombstones and memory. A conclusion*

The memory of deceased inquisitors was also delivered to the engraved tomb stones which, from the 17th century onwards, became ever more numerous in the cloisters of Italian convents. In 1628 the heirs of Girolamo Muzzarelli (judge from 1548 to 1549) had a plaque carved in the cloister of Bologna to commemorate the magistrate's activities many years after his death. In some convents, which did not house a peripheral office but sometimes functioned as vicariates of the tribunal, the display of links with an inquisitor friar seems to have been regarded as a prestigious addition, as happened in the small Dominican convent of San Severino Marche. Here, a 17th-century plaque honoured Pietro Maria Dolcetti, who was born in that town but had been a judge in Piedmont (Fig. 25). Also in the Marches, the authorities in Mogliano extolled their fellow-citizen Giuliano Causi – first inquisitor in Siena and then Master General of the Friars Minor Conventual – with a portrait, a printed engraving, and a plaque carved in the 18th century, more than one hundred years after his death (Figs 26-27). Later, after the unification of Italy (1870), liberal governments would have opposing plaques affixed on the public façades of convents that in the past had welcomed the inquisitors or their vicars to commemorate the "horrors" of the Holy Office and the names of the "martyrs of free thought" (Giordano Bruno, Galileo, or lesser-known victims). A case in point is Treia, where the priest Pomponio Rustici, sentenced to death in 1587, came to be commemorated (Fig. 28). The secular authorities of the Kingdom of Italy reacted to the strategy of remembrance of the inquisitors – on the decline even before the revolutions and political changes that led to the end of the temporal power of the popes – with an opposite policy of remembrance that consigned the Holy Office to the tribunal of history.

This essay has attempted to show that from the late Middle Ages onwards the prestige and memory of the tribunal relied heavily on the visual representation of inquisitorial justice and its men. In the early modern period, when prosopographies of the martyrs and judges who had been fighting

heresy since the 13th century were elaborated, albeit following a different model from the more spectacular one adopted by the Spanish Inquisition, the peripheral Italian branches of the Holy Office (Milan, Bologna), but also the Dominican convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, were transformed into well-decorated monuments. Their abundant imagery, including the less heroic examples of the 17th and 18th centuries, were meant to instil the friars with a sense of belonging to the institution, to exalt their prestige and reputation, and to eternalize their religious mission as inquisitors without insisting on the “splendour of torment”.

Fig. 1. Elisabetta Sirani (designer) and Francesco Curti (engraver), *Portrait of Guglielmo Fochi*, engraving, in Andrea Bianchini, *Sentimenti dogliosi di Felsina ne' funerali celebrati per la morte del reverendissimo padre Guglielmo Fochi*, Bologna, Giovan Battista Ferroni, 1660.

Fig. 2. Anonymous, Tombstone of Elisabetta Sirani and Guido Reni, 1650, Basilica di San Domenico, Bologna.
Fig. 3. Anonymous, *Portrait of Saint Peter Martyr*, engraved frontispiece in Eliseo Masini, *Sacro arsenale*, Rome, Corbelletti, 1639.

Fig. 4. Carlo Crivelli, *Primo trittico di Valle Castellana*, c. 1472, tempera on panel, Pinacoteca Civica, Ascoli Piceno.

Fig. 5. Vincenzo Foppa, *Miracolo dell'Ostia*, 1462-1468, fresco, Sant'Eustorgio, Portinari Chapel, Milan.

Fig. 6. Vincenzo Foppa, *Martirio di San Pietro da Verona*, 1462-1468, fresco, Sant'Eustorgio, Portinari Chapel, Milan.

Fig. 7. Juan Bautista Vázquez el Viejo, alabaster funerary monument of the inquisitor Antonio del Corro, 1564, Iglesia de Santa María de los Ángeles, San Vicente de la Barquera.

Fig. 8. Arnold van Westerhout, *Delineazione della solenne abiura fatta da Michele Molinos*, 1687, etching.

Fig. 9. After a project by Pirro Ligorio, marble funerary monument of Pope Paul IV, 1566-1567, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Carafa Chapel, Rome.

Fig. 10. Figure of Justice, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.

Fig. 11. Pius V promoting the enterprise of Lepanto, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.

Figs 12a-b. San Pietro Martire, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.

Fig. 12c. San Pietro Martire, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.

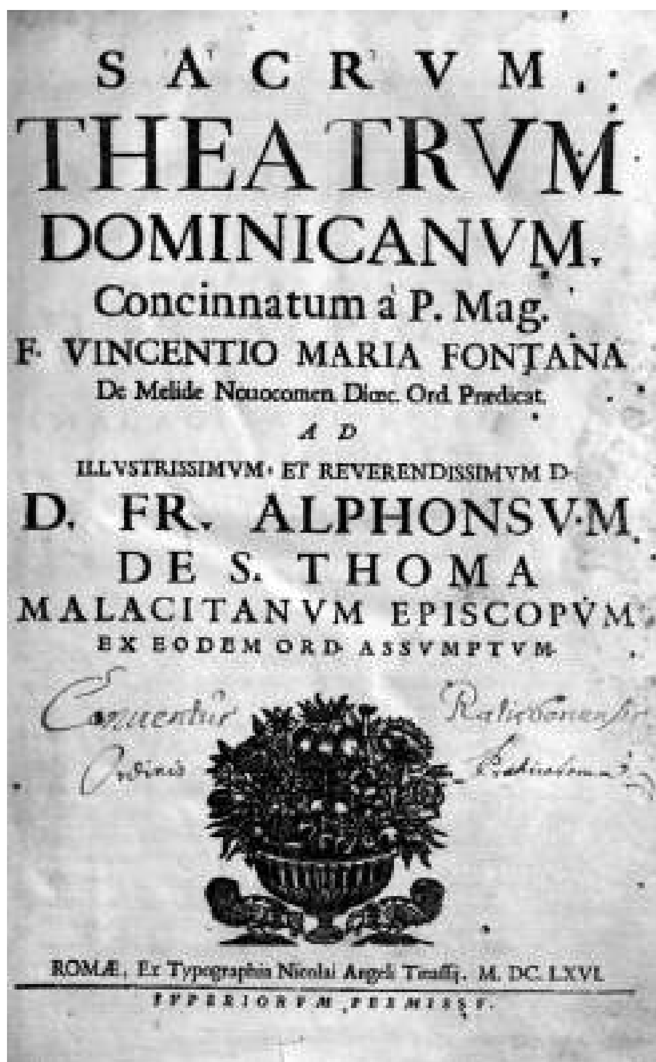
Fig. 13a. Martyred inquisitors, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.

Figs 13b-c. Martyred inquisitors, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.

LANCEA

Figs 14a-c. Martyred inquisitors of Avignonet, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.

Fig. 15a. Vincenzo Maria Fontana, *Sacrum Theatrum Dominicanum*, 1666, engraved opening image, ex typographia Nicolai Angeli Tinassi, Rome.



SACRVM.

THEATRVM

DOMINICANVM.

Concinnatum à P. Mag.

F. VINCENTIO MARIA FONTANA

De Melide Nouocomen. Diœc. Ord. Prædicat.

AD

ILLVSTRISSIMVM, ET REVERENDISSIMVM D.

D. FR. ALPHONSVM

DE S. THOMA

MALACITANVM EPISCOPVM

EX EODEM ORD. ASSVMPTVM.

ROMÆ, Ex Typographia Nicolai Angeli Tinassij. M. DC. LXVI.

SVPERIORVM PERMISSV.

Fig. 15b. Vincenzo Maria Fontana, *Sacrum Theatrum Dominicanum*, 1666, frontispiece, ex typographia Nicolai Angeli Tinassi, Rome.

Fig. 16. Nicola Pisano (workshop of), *Arca di San Domenico* (detail with St. Dominic burning heretical books), 1216, Basilica di San Domenico, Bologna.
Fig. 17. Giacomo Alboresi, abjuration of a condemned man, 1663-1664, fresco, Convento di San Domenico, Domus Inquisitionis, Bologna.

Fig. 18. Girolamo Bonini, Emblem of the Holy Office, 1663-1664, fresco, Convento di San Domenico, Domus Inquisitionis, Bologna.

Figs 19-23. Viviani (possibly Cignani) and others, oval portraits of the Bolognese inquisitors, 1674-1728, fresco, Convento di San Domenico, Domus Inquisitionis, Bologna.

Fig. 24. Giuseppe Maria Crespi, *Martirio di Pedro d'Arbues*, oil on panel, 1736, Collegio di Spagna, Bologna.

Fig. 25. Anonymous, plaque honouring the inquisitor Pietro Maria Dolcetti, 1666, Convento di San Domenico, San Severino Marche.
Fig. 26. Anonymous, plaque honouring the inquisitor Giuliano Causi, 1739, Convento di San Francesco, Mogliano.

Fig. 27. Anonymous, portrait of Giuliano Causi (detail), date unknown, oil on panel, Palazzo Comunale, Mogliano.
Fig. 28. Anonymous, plaque honouring Pomponio Rustici, victim of the Inquisition, 1910, Treia.

Massimo Bucciantini

On Galileo’s Myth: Iconography and Politics in 19th-Century France

1. *Galilée emprisonné*

We are in Paris, spring 1822. The Salon looked imposing, with more than one thousand paintings.[1] A glamorous event of great resonance that Parisians attended en masse, and to which they looked forward even more this time, after it had been postponed to allow many young artists to participate.[2] It was a brilliant showcase that gathered successful painters such as Horace Vernet and François Gérard, as well as younger talents in search of greater success. Among the exhibited works was one especially discussed by the critics and the public: it was one of the first paintings by a young artist soon to be widely considered one of the most important and beloved French painters. Indeed, *La Barque de Dante* or *Dante et Virgile aux enfers* (*Dante’s boat* or *Dante and Virgil in the underworld*, 1822) – one of the paintings by Eugène Delacroix most copied during the 19th century – gave rise to an endless debate. Some people judged it a true *croûte* (a French word literally meaning “scab” and used in argot to indicate an ugly painting), while others praised it for its powerful and audacious execution, comparing it with the paintings of Rubens. According to Adolphe Thiers, the painting represented “the future of a great painter”, because it already

1. The paintings described in the exhibition booklet amount to exactly 1,433, but several works were catalogued under the same number. See *Adolphe Thiers, critique d’art. Salons de 1822 et de 1824*, ed. by Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, Paris, Champion, 2005, p. 71, n. 2.

2. On the turnout of the different editions, see Eva Bouillo, “La fréquentation du Salon de 1817 à 1827”, in *“Ce Salon à quoi tout se ramène”. Le Salon de peinture et de sculpture, 1791-1890*, ed. by James Kearns and Pierre Vaisse, Bern, Peter Lang, 2010, pp. 23-43.

contained *in nuce* the audacity of Michelangelo and the abundance of Rubens, and – this was his conviction – it would launch a new age of French art.[3]

The favourable comments were much more numerous than the negative ones. The painting was soon bought by the State and placed in the Palace of Luxembourg, which was patriotically destined to host the works of living French artists. That same year, Philippe August de Forbin, the successor of Vivant Denon at the helm of the Royal Museums, also selected another painting, *Galilée en prison*, by the Lorrainian portraitist and miniaturist Jean-Antoine Laurent (1763-1832), a widely appreciated painter of that time.

Unlike Delacroix's painting, only an original lithograph of Laurent's work has survived.[4] In all likelihood, the painting was destroyed in May 1871 because of a fire set by Communards to the Palace of Tuileries. However, we can form an idea of it thanks to the copy (Fig. 1) that was made in 1827 by the painter Denis-François-Xavier Bourges, and which is now exhibited at the Museum of Fine Arts in Dôle. The copy is a rather large (1.98 x 1.30 m) oil on canvas depicting Galileo in an ecclesiastical prison, as suggested by the wooden cross on the wall of the cell. The scientist is standing in the foreground while he looks at a column from which protrudes a huge chain – a symbol of tyranny – and on which he had previously drawn with a piece of charcoal a sketch of the Copernican system showing the sun, immobile, at the centre, and the earth revolving around it. His arm and hand appear suspended in mid-air, indicating what he has just drawn, whereas his lips utter the famous and legendary phrase "E pur si muove" ("And yet it moves").

A certain taste for "black" romanticism – typical of the "troubadour" painting style Laurent liked to practise[5] – prevailed in his work. In short, although he was not motivated by any radical or anticlerical feelings, Laurent was simply carried away by the image of the "persecuted genius", so glamorous at his time. This is also true for other painters active in these years, who were fond of dark and gothic tones, as for example the already mentioned Forbin, who exhibited *Scène d'inquisition dans un*

3. *Adolphe Thiers, critique d'art*, p. 80.

4. Jean-Antoine Laurent, "Galilée en prison", 1821, lithograph, in *L'Album. Journal des arts, des modes et des théatres*, V/84 (5 June 1822).

5. Adolphe De Loève-Veimars, "Salon de 1822", in *ibid.*, pp. 5-11: 7.

souterrain à Valladolid at the Salon in 1817 (Fig. 2), or François Fleury-Richard with his *Tasse en prison visité par Montaigne* (Salon 1822).[6] Even so, Laurent's painting achieved a resounding success among the visitors of the Salon. Suffice it to say that, while the director of the state museums bought Delacroix's canvas for 2,000 francs, Laurent's painting was sold for 3,000 francs.[7] The painting's popularity was undoubtedly not only due to its composition, but also to its political and ideological content. The public's increasing taste for historical veracity – as Thiers pointed out[8] – made it appreciate paintings that focused on well-known events or personalities even more.

Laurent's painting became enormously popular, and its success reached new heights after it appeared in the book *Messéniennes et poésies diverses* (Fig. 3). Its author was the liberal Casimir Delavigne, a poet and playwright whose works were true bestsellers and highly acclaimed in those years.[9] However, Delavigne did not limit himself to reproducing the image just once, but decided to "take possession" of it by turning it into his personal emblem (Fig. 4). The graphic representation expressed in the best way possible his personal poetic and ideal path, so much so that he also reproduced it on the title page of the 14th edition of *Messéniennes et poésies diverses*.

The acclaimed reception of *Galilée en prison*, narrated so far, is only the tip of the iceberg. In the same years the painting was reproduced many times by other artists – and this testifies to its large circulation – so that it

6. See François de Vergnette, "Triomphe d'un 'Galilée martyrisé par l'église' dans l'art français du XIXe siècle", in *Il caso Galileo. Una rilettura storica, filosofica, teologica*, ed. by Massimo Bucciantini, Michele Camerota, and Franco Giudice, Florence, Olschki, 2011, pp. 435-460: 439; Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, *Fleury Richard et Pierre Révoil. La peinture troubadour*, Paris, Arthéna, 1980.

7. See https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010055907, accessed on 12 July 2025.

8. *Adolphe Thiers, critique d'art*, p. 34.

9. On Casimir Delavigne, see Stendhal's rather acerbic judgement in *Correspondance générale*, ed. by Victor Del Litto, with the cooperation with Elaine Williamson, Jacques Houbert, and Michel-E. Slatkine, Paris, Champion, 1999, vol. III, p. 619. Stendhal to Nicolas Artaud, 11 March 1827: "Je vous avouerai, Monsieur, que j'ai du mépris pour les manoeuvres qu'emploient MM. Jouy, Villemain, Delavigne, etc., pour se faire louer dans les journaux. Ce sont des messieurs qui ont tant revalé le métier d'homme de lettres". On Delavigne, Stendhal, and Byron, see Carlo Ginzburg, "Sulle orme di Israël Bertuccio", in *Il filo e le tracce. Vero falso finto*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 2006, pp. 153-166.

rapidly became an iconographical symbol in the battle of the defenders of public authority and state schools against the revival of Ultramontanism. The canvas was soon included in the repertoire of anticlerical images, ready to be used by the liberals and democrats against the re-emergence of the party of ultra-conservative Catholics, which had been on the rise since 1815. A few weeks after the inauguration of the Salon an anonymous review published on 30 May 1822 in the *Journal de Paris*, the oldest and most renowned newspaper of the Parisian middle class, made this context explicit:

> This year again, M. Laurent must be reproached for his artificial colour, his enamel tones and his shiny execution […] In his painting of Galileo, however, he showed himself capable of rising far above this limited genre. The figure of this old scholar, whom the Inquisition of Rome so judiciously threw into a dungeon for having said that the earth turned, is of excellent taste in drawing. It has character, style and expression, and the touch is not too meticulous. The gesture Galileo makes, as he looks at what his pencil has just traced on the wall, convinces everyone that he is actually saying the words: E pur si move! (And yet it moves!). For this reason alone, copies of such a painting cannot be too numerous. It shows the extent to which public schools would flourish in the hands of the Holy Office.[10]

The irony that transpires from the conclusion of the article is not accidental. Two days later, on 1 June 1822, Monsignor Denis-Antoine-Luc Frayssinous was appointed as Grand Maître de l'Université, by which all university professors came under his jurisdiction: under the directorship of a bishop! A few years had passed since the rehabilitation of the Society of Jesus, and the figure of Frayssinous – a former preacher of the church of Saint-Sulpice, bishop of Hermopolis, and minister of public instruction and ecclesiastical affairs – perfectly embodied the close link between throne and altar that Louis XVIII had so strongly pursued, and which eventually triggered a rising tide of anticlericalism in French public opinion.

Frayssinous's religious fervour knew no limits or obstacles. "Mettre l'Église dans l'Université" ("Putting the Church into the University") was

10. "Musée Royal. Exposition des tableaux. Huitième article", *Journal de Paris* (jeudi 30 mai 1822), pp. 3-4: 4. The passage is also cited in De Vergnette, "Triomphe d'un 'Galilée martyrisé par l'église' dans l'art français du XIXe siècle", p. 440, with a bibliographical error: the article was published not on 25 but on 30 May 1822.

his ultimate political goal.[11] Within just a few months, he allowed bishops to open new schools, he suspended Victor Cousin’s lessons of philosophy at the Sorbonne, and in February 1822, in agreement with the minister of home affairs Corbière, he removed from office eleven “unwelcome” professors of the École de Médicine in Paris, including the well-known botanist Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, the psychiatrist Philippe Pinel, and the chemist Louis Nicolas Vauquelin.[12] Any attempt at disobedience was nipped in the bud: in Grenoble, the Faculty of Law remained closed for four years, from 1821 to 1824; in Paris the same happened at the École Normale from 1822 to 1826.[13]

2. *Modern wars of religion*

Faced with such a revival of the past – one that the ultra-royalists considered rather as the beginning of a new era, in which France would finally recover its authentic Christian and monarchic vocation – the different components of French secularist society reacted immediately. And it is not surprising that a historical event such as that of Galileo should become a banner as well as a foreboding symbol to warn people of the dangers of falling again under “the control of the Jesuits and the Holy Office”. Therefore, in newspapers and journals, beside the *Galilée emprisonné*, Honoré Daumier, one of France’s most important 19th-century caricaturists, went even further and depicted a modern Galilée (Fig. 5). Like his ancestor, he, too, was unfairly oppressed but nonetheless both fearless and vocal.

After the revolution of July 1830 and the victory of the Orléans monarchy supported by moderate liberals, a harsh clampdown against the followers of republicanism unfolded. It was as a response to the growing repression that Daumier proposed his lithograph, which has since become

11. Georges Desdevises du Dézert, *L’Église & l’État en France*, Paris, Société française d’imprimerie et de librairie, 1908, vol. II, p. 77. See also Antoine Roquette, *Monseigneur Frayssinous, grand-maître de l’université sous la Restauration (1765-1841). Évêque d’Hermopolis ou Le chant du cygne du Trône et de l’Autel*, Paris, Champion, 2007, ch. 11 and 12.

12. See Jacques Léonard, “Les études médicales en France entre 1815 et 1848”, *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine*, XIII, n. 1 (1966), pp. 87-94: 88.

13. See Jean Claude Yon, *Histoire culturelle de la France au XIXe siècle*, Paris, Colin, 2021, p. 27.

famous and iconic. Like Galileo, who, despite being locked up in the dungeon of the Inquisition, exclaimed loudly that the earth moves, so the French citizen too was not intimidated by the police or by the magistrates. He never ceased to believe that Liberty, the child of the Enlightenment, would continue its triumphant path in the years to come. He noted that "In Galileo's painting, the earth rotates and continues its march, despite the Inquisition. In our painting, the republican Galileo, completely oblivious to the sinister figure in front of him, follows with his eyes the freedom that also continues its march".[14] This is how the republican Daumier gave a cry of alarm, dressing Galileo as the French common man who, unjustly oppressed, continued to fight for liberty. Eventually, the extremist Catholic attempt to infiltrate universities in the name of the principle of education and teaching was only partly successful. It was met with strong opposition, and not only from liberals and republicans. The *affaire Galilée* continued to be adopted by the wide and heterogenous liberal and anticlerical front as an emblem to recall the dangers into which France might run if the most conservative part of the clergy taught in state schools or, even worse, took charge of them. Therefore, it is not surprising that art became a way to give resonance to the theme of freedom of thought – or better, of the repression of such freedom. Paintings representing heretic philosophers or intellectuals, tribunals of the Inquisition*, autos de fe,* or torture scenes drawn from French, Spanish, or Italian history were increasingly hosted in the Salon to great public acclaim.

Yet the artist who most turned his canvas into a personal iconographical and political project was Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury, who for over forty years enjoyed a prestigious position among French painters. He stood out among other exponents of the so-called historical school precisely because his works depicted intolerance and fanaticism as ruthless atrocities, as for instance in *L'incendie d'un quartier juif*, which is nowadays less well known.[15] At the end of the 1870s, he himself wrote about it to the art critic Eugène Montrosier. Without claiming any originality, but recognizing that his success was partly due to the themes he had chosen, he stated:

14. See *La Caricature politique, morale, littéraire et scénique*, 209 (6 November 1834), col. 1668.

15. Only a lithograph by the painter Adolphe Mouilleron remains of the painting; see https://www.mahj.org/fr/decouvrir-collections-betsalel/incendie-dun-quartier-juif-19156, accessed on 13 July 2025.

"I am not one of those who has been a trailblazer in art. My only merit has consisted in showing nature in its true expressions, in a choice of subjects inspired by religious fanaticism".[16]

At a figurative level, Robert-Fleury's works fulfilled the same function as the writings of Quinet and Michelet against the clerical threat of the Ultramontane party did at the philosophical and literary level. The condemnation of dogmatism and intolerance became his distinctive feature, so much so that in a relatively short time the dark ambiences resulting from a hard, dry, and opaque colour as well as the black shades and reddish roasted tints made Robert-Fleury popular as the painter of Huguenots and inquisition scenes. In the Salon of 1833, he exhibited *Scène de la Saint Barthélemy*, in which he depicted the famous moment of the massacre that took place during the night of 23 to 24 August 1572, when thousands of Huguenot leaders were killed by the Catholic mob (Fig. 6). The painting was sensational. And so was its sequel, *Ramus attendant ses assassins*, an oil on canvas that is now kept at the Museum of Fine Arts of Neuchâtel and which was an immediate success, also thanks to a lithograph (Fig. 7) published in *Le Charivari*, the renowned Parisian republican and anticlerical satirical newspaper. If in the first case Robert-Fleury chose the assassination of Briou, governor of the Prince of Conti, as the symbol of that bloody night, in the second it was the murder of the anti-Aristotelian and Calvinist philosopher Pierre de la Ramée which reminded the visitors to the Salon of the impact of that terrible slaughter on French society.

However, the past was not the past, continuing to be significant for the present. Deep anti-Catholic feelings fed by the heated debate between the liberal, democratic, and anticlerical coalition on the one hand, and the philo-Jesuit and Ultramontane "parti de prêtres" on the other, shine through in these paintings. Whether out of instinct or more strategically, Robert-Fleury met the taste of the general public. His "tableaux d'histoire", so gory and full of cruelty and brutality, were terrifying and attractive at the same time. An apparently cold and accurately calculated painting was able to involve emotionally and raise reflections. It was hard to just look away. Both his *Scène de la Saint Barthélemy* and his *Ramus attendant*

16. Eugène Montrosier, *Peintres modernes. Ingres - H. Flandrin - Robert-Fleury*, Paris, Ludovic Baschet, 1882, p. 138. The passage is partially quoted in Michael Paul Driskell, "'To be of one's own time': modernization, secularism and the art of two embattled academicians", *Art Magazine*, 61/4 (1986), pp. 80-89: 88, n. 2.

ses assassins always attracted large crowds. And every time people felt the same violent punch in the gut that they did in 1841, when he exhibited *Une scène de l'Inquisition* at the Salon (Fig. 8). Here, the accused, tied up and lying on the floor, undergoes atrocious tortures. Immobilized, his feet are positioned near a burning brazier. The executioner checks the effect of the flame on the victim's flesh, while a friar tries to convince him to confess his guilt. Next to the accused, a secretary is ready to note his words. Standing by, unperturbed, the inquisitor waits for the confession, and behind him three friars watch what is going on. With this kind of canvas, the spectacle was guaranteed. The same occurred again four years later, in 1845, when Robert-Fleury presented a total of four paintings at the Salon: *Marino Faliero*, *L'atelier de Rembrandt*, *Femme nue*, and *Un auto-da-fé* (Fig. 9). Everybody's eyes were on the latter – and not only the eyes of the general public who were fond of dramatic, mysterious, and terrifying subjects.

Charles Baudelaire, too, was enthusiastic about it. In his first publication, a review of the news from the Salon written under a pseudonym, after reaffirming his passion for Delacroix whom he considered "the most original painter of ancient and modern time",[17] he dwelt on the "tableaux d'histoire"; and, among the others, on those by Robert-Fleury, to whom he gave credit for his inexhaustible will and tenacity in providing his paintings with an "almost bloodthirsty charm". A large part of the public was able to grasp Robert-Fleury's political battle and moral teaching against religious fanaticism that he had developed throughout his artistic production. This was put very clearly by the journalist and art critic Charles Blanc, well known for his book on the theory of colours *Grammaire des arts du dessin*, which also inspired painters like Seurat and Van Gogh: "Look at Mr Robert Fleury […] The admirable power of painting! It speaks to those who cannot read, it lends a body to thought, it gives a second life to history, it colours the ideal, and thus strikes more sure blows than philosophy itself, for it enchants men, and, above all, it educates them morally".[18]

Yet Robert-Fleury's greatest success was to come two years later, when he put two paintings, one dedicated to Christopher Columbus and the other to Galileo, on display. The former depicted the solemn recep-

17. Baudelaire Dufaÿs [Charles Baudelaire], *Salon de 1845*, Paris, Labitte, 1845, p. 7.

18. Charles Blanc, "Salon de 1845", *La Réforme* (26 March 1845). See also Jules Breton, "Nos peintres du siècle: deuxième partie", *Revue des deux mondes*, 154/3 (1899), pp. 514-545: 523-524.

tion of Columbus at the royal court in Barcelona, while the second showed Galileo before the Inquisition (see Fig. 10). Despite the fact that both paintings depicted the two main discoverers of new lands and new skies, Galileo clearly trumped the former. The painting captures one of the most legendary moments of the Galilean myth, i.e. when the scientist, regretting his submission and abjuration, stares at the ground and taps his right foot on the floor, uttering the decisive phrase. Next to him on the left stands an armoured soldier holding a sword, and on the right a cardinal, the General Commissioner of the Holy Office, while other members of the Congregation are sitting on the benches. In the foreground on the right, we see the papal coat of arms, demonstrating that the condemnation had been decreed with the approval of the pontiff, and not just that of the congregation of cardinals. The scene is set in the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican Palace in front of Raphael's famous fresco *La Disputa del Sacramento*. It represents the triumph of Christian over pagan philosophy, which in turn is depicted in the fresco *Scuola di Atene* on the wall opposite in the same room.[19] The painting (a second painting that Robert-Fleury dedicated to the Italian scientist was lost)[20] is the description of two incompatible worlds at war: the lively and dynamic, albeit contained and repressed, world of Galileo, and the rigid and immobile one of his powerful adversary.

When the well-known composer Charles Gounod happened to see *Galilée devant le Saint-Office au Vatican* during a visit to the Boulevard des Italiens, he was so touched that he could not help writing to its painter:

> I need to tell you, while I am still seething with emotion, what a thrill it was to see your admirable paintings at the Exhibition on the Boulevard des Ita-

19. For a description of the painting, see Pietro Redondi, "Dietro l'immagine. Rappresentazioni di Galileo nella cultura positivistica", *Nuncius*, 9 (1994), pp. 65-116: 75-78, 82-92; De Vergnette, "Triomphe d'un 'Galilée martyrisé par l'église' dans l'art français du XIXe siècle", pp. 451-452; *Le opere di Galileo Galilei. Edizione Nazionale. Appendice*, I, *Iconografia Galileiana*, ed. by Federico Tognoni, Florence, Giunti, 2013, pp. 278-279.

20. Robert-Fleury's lost second Galilean painting – a small canvas measuring 44 x 34 cm – was simply entitled *Galilée*. The only known description is in the sales catalogue of the collection belonging to Baron Michel de Trétaigne and corresponds to lot no. 52: "Le célèbre astronome est assis la nuit au sommet de la tour de Pise, il regarde le ciel constellé d'étoiles et tient à la hand un télescope" (*Collection de feu le baron Michel de Trétaigne. Catalogue des tableaux modernes dont la vente aura lieu* […] *le lundi 19 février 1872*, Paris, Charles Pillet, 1872, p. 34). The painting had not escaped the notice of Antonio Favaro, "Nuove ricerche per una iconografia galileiana", *Atti del Regio Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere e arti*, 73, ser. 8, vol. XVI, pt II (1913-1914), pp. 105-134: 118.

> liens. I feel and understand you more and more as a great painter, the more I see and ponder on your paintings. Your Galileo before the Holy Office is a masterpiece of the highest order; all the qualities are there in the state of genius! What a composition! What postures! What physiognomies! And what an aspect all these qualities take on, just one of which would suffice for glory! What a painting at once candid and learned, loyal and thoughtful! The knee of this old believer is in itself a protest against the abjuration that respect for the Faith has just torn from him. What a fright without noise or fuss! It is sublime in painting and thought! It is the tone of a great colourist and the pen of a great historian! […] What I can say is that no one is happier than I am to feel that posterity is beginning for you and that it will carry you high.[21]

Although not everybody agreed with Gounod, *Galilée* is still undoubtedly the most famous and most widely appreciated painting by Robert-Fleury. Painted in the right place at the right time, is precisely why it did not go unnoticed. Galileo's heroic battle against the authority and power of the Church had become the archetype of the battles carried out by secularists and democrats in France against the party of the fundamentalist Catholics. Thus was the message offered by the painting to the Parisians who, in the spring of 1847, crowded into the rooms of the Palais Royal, and this is why they queued to see it.

21. Montrosier, *Peintres modernes*, p. 115.

Fig. 1. Jean-Antoine Laurent, *Galilée en prison*, copy by Denis-François-Xavier Bourges, 1827, oil on panel, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dôle.

Fig. 2. Philippe Auguste de Forbin, *Scène d'inquisition dans un souterrain à Valladolid*, 1817, drawing, in Charles-Paul Landon, *Salon de 1817*, Paris, Pillet Aîné, 1831, plate 11.
Fig. 3. Anonymous, possibly John Thompson (illustration after Achille Devéria), *Galilée indigné change l'ordre des cieux*, in Casimir Delavigne, *Messéniennes et poésies diverses*, Paris, L'Advocat, 1824, vol. II, p. 31.
Fig. 4 (right, top). Anonymous, possibly John Thompson, frontispiece engraving and emblem of the author, in Casimir Delavigne, *Messéniennes et poésies diverses*, Paris, L'Advocat, 1826, vol. II, 14th edition, title page.
Fig. 5 (right, bottom). Honoré Daumier, *Modern Galilée*, lithograph, in *La Caricature politique, morale, littéraire et scénique*, no. 209, 6 November 1834, plate 436.

PAR M. CASIMIR DELAVIGNE.
QUATORZIÈME ÉDITION.
TOME SECOND.

Fig. 6. Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury (school of), *Scène de la Saint Barthélemy* (detail), 1833, oil on panel, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

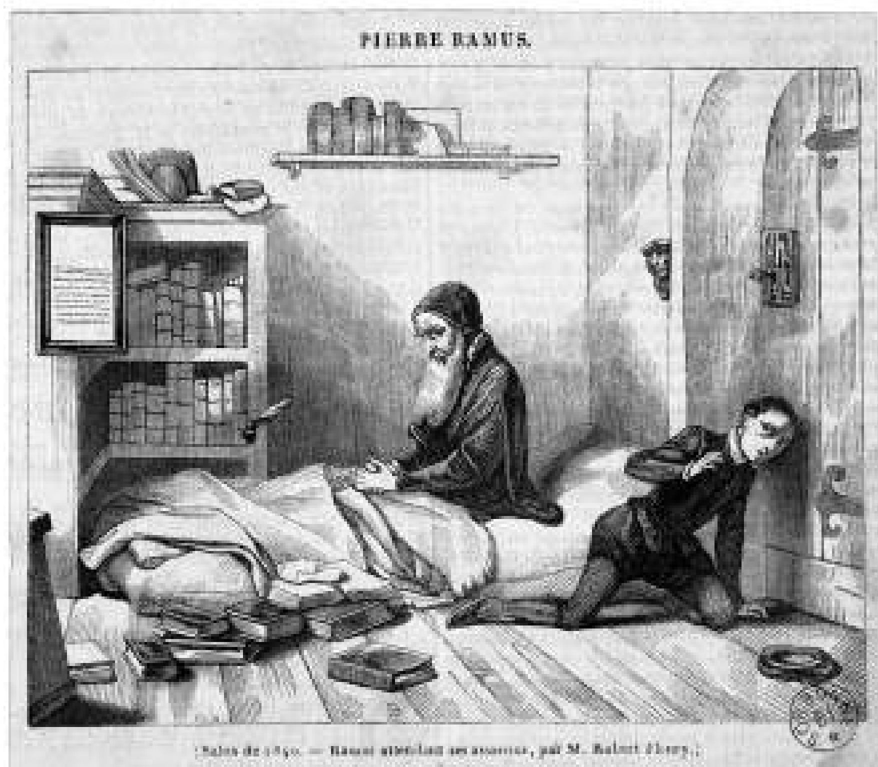


Fig. 7. Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury, *Ramus attendant ses assassins*, 1840, engraving, in *Le Charivari*, no. 9/108.

Fig. 8. Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury, *Une scène de l'Inquisition*, 1841, lithograph by Adolphe Mouilleron.

Fig. 9. Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury, *Un Auto-da-fé*, 1845, lithograph by Adolphe Mouilleron.

Fig. 10. Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury, *Galilée devant le Saint-Office au Vatican*, 1847, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

List of Illustrations

Donald S. Prudlo

Fig. 1. Guercino, *San Pietro da Verona* (detail), 1646-1647, oil on canvas, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna.
Fig. 2. Bernardo Daddi, *Miracolo di San Pietro Martire*, 1338, predella panel from Santa Maria Novella, Florence, tempera and gold leaf on panel, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.
Fig. 3. Agnolo degli Erri/Bartolomeo degli Erri, *Storie della vita di San Pietro Martire* (detail), 1460-1470, tempera on panel, Galleria Nazionale, Parma.
Fig. 4. Pedro Berruguete, *San Pedro Mártir*, c. 1491-1499, oil on panel, Museo del Prado, Madrid.
Fig. 5. Gentile da Fabriano, *Incoronazione della Vergine e santi (Polittico di Valle Romita)*, c. 1408, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.
Fig. 6. Fra Angelico, *St. Peter Martyr Altarpiece* (detail), 1426-1427, tempera and gold leaf on panel, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.
Fig. 7. Anonymous, *Retablo de San Pedro Mártir*, c. 1300-1333, tempera and gold leaf on panel, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.
Fig. 8. Anonymous, *Retablo de San Pedro Mártir* (detail), c. 1300-1333, tempera and gold leaf on panel, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.

Alessia Trivellone

Fig. 1. Andrea di Bonaiuto, *Via Veritatis*, 1365-1367, fresco, Santa Maria Novella, Chapter House, east wall, Florence.
Fig. 2. Andrea di Bonaiuto, *Via Veritatis* (detail), 1365-1367, fresco, Santa Maria Novella, Chapter House, east wall, Florence.
Fig. 3. Buonamico di Martino da Firenze (Buffalmacco), *Hell* (detail), 1336-1342, fresco, Camposanto Monumentale, south wall, Pisa.
Fig. 4. Andrea di Bonaiuto, *Thomas Aquinas Triumphing over Arius, Sabellius,*

and Averroes amid Allegories of the Virtues, 1365-1367, Santa Maria Novella, Chapter House, south wall, Florence.

Fig. 5. Anonymous monk from Montecassino, *Bishop Trampling the Three Heretics Arius, Sabellius, and Photinus / A Pope Trampling Three Antipopes*, c. 1058-1087, miniature, MS Casin. 1, fol. 131, Abbey Archive, Montecassino.

Fig. 6. A scultor engaged by the city of Milan, *Ambrose Expelling the Arians and the Supporters of Emperor Barbarossa driven out of Milan in 1162*, 1171, bas-relief, originally on the Porta Romana, now in the Museo d'Arte Antica, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

Fig. 7. Herrad von Landsberg, *Zachary's Vision* (detail), c. 1159-1175, drawing (later copy), MS 8 (*Hortus Deliciarum*), fol. 65r, Bibliothèque municipale, Strasbourg.

Fig. 8. Anonymous monk of Michaelsberg Abbey, *The Legacy of Pain Left by Christ to the Church* (or *to the Christian*), c. 1200, drawing, MS Patr. 30, fol. 25v, Bamberg Staats-bibliothek.

Fig. 9. Filippino Lippi, *Thomas Aquinas Triumphing over Heretics*, 1488-1493, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Carafa Chapel, right wall, Rome.

Fig. 10. Filippino Lippi, *Thomas Aquinas Triumphing over Heretics* (detail with Apollinaris of Laodicea, Photinus, Arius, and Niccolò Orsini), 1488-1493, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Carafa Chapel, right wall, Rome.

Fig. 11. Filippino Lippi, *Thomas Aquinas Triumphing over Heretics* (detail with Sabellius, Eutyches, Marsilio Ficino, Angelo Poliziano, Lorenzo de' Medici as a Manichaeus, Gioacchino Torriani. In the foreground the two Lorenzo de' Medici's sons), 1488-1493, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Carafa Chapel, right wall, Rome.

Fig. 12. Filippino Lippi, *Thomas Aquinas Triumphing over Heretics* (detail, portraying Lorenzo de' Medici as a Manichaean), 1488-1493, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Carafa Chapel, right wall, Rome.

Fig. 13. Giorgio Vasari, *Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici*, c. 1534, painting, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Kateřina Horníčková

Fig. 1. Anonymous, *Satan Speaking to Franciscan Observants*, in *Tabulae veteris et novi coloris*, Jena Codex, MS IV B 24, fol. 71v, National Museum Library, Prague (Knihovna Národního muzea v Praze).

Fig. 2. Anonymous, *Jan Hus at the Stake*, Czech Utraquist Appendix attached to the printed edition of the *Pasionale*, 1495, appended to the Jena Codex, MS IV B 24, fol. 41v, National Museum Library, Prague (Knihovna Národního muzea v Praze).

Fig. 3. Anonymous, *Jan Hus among the Bohemian Saints*, c. 1500, panel from an altarpiece dedicated to the Resurrected Christ, cemetery church, Chrudim,

painted wood, Regional Museum, Chrudim (Regionální muzeum v Chrudimi), inv. no. U00046.
Figs 4a-b. Anonymous, *The Punishment of Jan Hus*, in *Richenthal Chronicle*, St. Petersburg Manuscript, 1470-1480, MS VII A 18, fols 11r-v, National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague (Národní knihovna České republiky). P. 110
Fig. 5. Anonymous, *The Punishment of Jan Hus*, in *Richenthal Chronicle*, Prague German manuscript translated by Gebhard Dacher, c. 1464, MS XVI A 17, fol. 122v, National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague (Národní knihovna České republiky).
Fig. 6. Diebold Schilling, *The Punishment of Jan Hus*, in *Spiezer Bilderchronik*, 1484-1485, plate 302, Burgerbibliothek, Bern.
Fig. 7. Anonymous, *Taborite Hussite Warrior*, 15th-century pen-and-ink drawing on the inside cover of a New Testament manuscript from the Premonstratensian nunnery in Louňovice near Tábor, Ms. 195, State District Archive Tábor (Státní okresní archiv Tábor).
Fig. 8. Anonymous, *The Man of Sorrows with a Memorial Inscription of the Hussite Attack*, 1443, tempera on larchwood, wooden panel from the church in Brzeg, Silesia, National Museum, Warsaw, inv. no. Śr.343 MNW. Photograph by Piotr Ligier.
Fig. 9. J. G. Dampervil, *St. Vitus Cathedral Chapter as the Fortress of Faith Expelling Bohemian Heretics*, copper engraving, in Gregor Georg Krigelstein, *Theses ex universa theologia*, Prague, 1671, Royal Premonstratensian Canonry Strahov Library (shelf-mark A Q XII 21), Prague.

Maxime Gelly-Perbellini

Fig. 1. Diebold Schilling (?), *The Ettiswil Miracle*, 1447, in *Luzerner Schilling*, 1511-1513, MS S 23, fol. 59r, Korporation Luzern, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek, Luzern.
Fig. 2. Diebold Schilling (?), *The Ettiswil Miracle*, 1447, in *Luzerner Schilling*, 1511-1513, MS S 23, fol. 59v, Korporation Luzern, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek, Luzern.
Fig. 3. Diebold Schilling (?), *Execution of Anna Vögtlin by Burning near Willisau*, 1447, in *Luzerner Schilling*, 1511-1513, MS S 23, fol. 60r, Korporation Luzern, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek, Luzern.

Manuel Peña Díaz

Fig. 1. Anonymous, *Sambenito*, in Joseph Townsend, *A Journey Through Spain*, London, C. Dilly, 1791, vol. I, pp. 120-121.

Jaime Ricardo Gouveia

Fig. 1. Georg Pencz, *Lust*, c. 1539-1543, engraving, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
Figs 2-3. Anonymous, *Lust*, woodcut, in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, Siena, Matteo Florimi, 1613, pt. II, p. 13; Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1618, pt. II, p. 315.
Fig. 4. Crispijn de Passe the Elder (after Maarten de Vos), *Luxuria*, c. 1590-1637, engraving, British Museum, London.
Fig. 5. Hendrick Goltzius and Jacob Matham, *Lust*/*Libido*, 1592-1593, engraving, Fralin Museum of Art, Virginia.
Fig. 6. Jacob Matham (after Hendrick Goltzius), *Libido*/*Luxuria*, 1585-1589, engraving, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
Fig. 7. Maestro de Rubió, *The Temptation of St. Anthony* (detail), altarpiece of St. Anthony the Abbot, c. 1360-1375, tempera and gold leaf on wood, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.
Fig. 8. Robinet Testard, *Asmodeus and the Allegory of Lust*, miniature, in the *Book of Hours of Charles of Angoulême*, c. 1475, MS 1001, fol. 98r, Morgan Library & Museum, New York.
Fig. 9. Anonymous, illustration to Canto X of Dante's *Inferno*, c. 1484-1487, engraving, British Museum, London.
Fig. 10. Martin Schongauer, *The Tribulations of St. Anthony* (detail), c. 1470-1473, engraving, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.
Fig. 11. David Teniers the Younger, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, c. 1620-1690, oil on panel, Minneapolis Institute of Art.
Fig. 12. Anonymous, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, c. 1580-1617, engraving, Philadelphia Museum of Art.
Fig. 13. Mestre da Lourinhã, *Conversão de Hermógenes* (detail), c. 1520-1525, oil on panel, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon.
Fig. 14. Hieronymus Wierix (design) and Philippe Galle (publisher), *The Emblem of Lust*, c. 1570-1612, engraving, British Museum, London.
Fig. 15. Pieter Lastman, *Paris and Oenone*, 1610, oil on panel, High Museum of Art, Atlanta.
Fig. 16. Pietro Antonio Novelli, *Confession or Penance*, 1769, drawing, Galerie Bassenge, Berlin.
Fig. 17. Jakob von der Heyden, *The Deadly Sins*, c. 1590-1645, engraving, British Museum, London.

Francisco Bethencourt

Fig. 1. Anonymous, grotesque decorations, c. 1624, church of São Nicolau, Santarém. Photograph by Vítor Serrão, courtesy of the author.
Fig. 2. Anonymous, grotesque decoration depicting a fig. suggesting the torture known as *strappado*, c. 1624, church of São Nicolau, Santarém. Photograph by Vítor Serrão, courtesy of the author.

Fig. 3. Anonymous, *El enfermo por la Constitución*, c. 1820, coloured etching, Museo de Historia, Madrid.

Katherine Aron-Beller

Fig. 1. Anonymous, broadsheet depicting a crucifix, attached to the back of Abraam de Sacerdote's confession, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Inquisizione, Processi, b. 29, fasc. 19.

Vincenzo Lavenia

Fig. 1. Elisabetta Sirani (designer) and Francesco Curti (engraver), *Portrait of Guglielmo Fochi*, engraving, in Andrea Bianchini, *Sentimenti dogliosi di Felsina ne' funerali celebrati per la morte del reverendissimo padre Guglielmo Fochi*, Bologna, Giovan Battista Ferroni, 1660.
Fig. 2. Anonymous, Tombstone of Elisabetta Sirani and Guido Reni, 1650, Basilica di San Domenico, Bologna.
Fig. 3. Anonymous, *Portrait of Saint Peter Martyr*, engraved frontispiece in Eliseo Masini, *Sacro arsenale*, Rome, Corbelletti, 1639.
Fig. 4. Carlo Crivelli, *Primo trittico di Valle Castellana*, c. 1472, tempera on panel, Pinacoteca Civica, Ascoli Piceno.
Fig. 5. Vincenzo Foppa, *Miracolo dell'Ostia*, 1462-1468, fresco, Sant'Eustorgio, Portinari Chapel, Milan.
Fig. 6. Vincenzo Foppa, *Martirio di San Pietro da Verona*, 1462-1468, fresco, Sant'Eustorgio, Portinari Chapel, Milan.
Fig. 7. Juan Bautista Vázquez el Viejo, alabaster funerary monument of the inquisitor Antonio del Corro, 1564, Iglesia de Santa María de los Ángeles, San Vicente de la Barquera.
Fig. 8. Arnold van Westerhout, *Delineazione della solenne abiura fatta da Michele Molinos*, 1687, etching.
Fig. 9. After a project by Pirro Ligorio, marble funerary monument of Pope Paul IV, 1566-1567, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Carafa Chapel, Rome.
Fig. 10. Figure of Justice, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.
Fig. 11. Pius V promoting the enterprise of Lepanto, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.
Figs 12a-b. San Pietro Martire, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.
Fig. 12c. San Pietro Martire, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.
Fig. 13a. Martyred inquisitors, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.

Figs 13b-c. Martyred inquisitors, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.
Figs 14a-c. Martyred inquisitors of Avignonet, c. 1569-1620, fresco, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Guidetti Cloister, Rome.
Fig. 15a. Vincenzo Maria Fontana, *Sacrum Theatrum Dominicanum*, 1666, engraved opening image, ex typographia Nicolai Angeli Tinassi, Rome.
Fig. 15b. Vincenzo Maria Fontana, *Sacrum Theatrum Dominicanum*, 1666, frontispiece, ex typographia Nicolai Angeli Tinassi, Rome.
Fig. 16. Nicola Pisano (workshop of), *Arca di San Domenico* (detail with St. Dominic burning heretical books), 1216, Basilica di San Domenico, Bologna.
Fig. 17. Giacomo Alboresi, abjuration of a condemned man, 1663-1664, fresco, Convento di San Domenico, Domus Inquisitionis, Bologna.
Fig. 18. Girolamo Bonini, Emblem of the Holy Office, 1663-1664, fresco, Convento di San Domenico, Domus Inquisitionis, Bologna.
Figs 19-23. Viviani (possibly Cignani) and others, oval portraits of the Bolognese inquisitors, 1674-1728, fresco, Convento di San Domenico, Domus Inquisitionis, Bologna.
Fig. 24. Giuseppe Maria Crespi, *Martirio di Pedro d'Arbues*, oil on panel, 1736, Collegio di Spagna, Bologna.
Fig. 25. Anonymous, plaque honouring the inquisitor Pietro Maria Dolcetti, 1666, Convento di San Domenico, San Severino Marche.
Fig. 26. Anonymous, plaque honouring the inquisitor Giuliano Causi, 1739, Convento di San Francesco, Mogliano.
Fig. 27. Anonymous, portrait of Giuliano Causi (detail), date unknown, oil on panel, Palazzo Comunale, Mogliano.
Fig. 28. Anonymous, plaque honouring Pomponio Rustici, victim of the Inquisition, 1910, Treia.

Massimo Bucciantini

Fig. 1. Jean-Antoine Laurent, *Galilée en prison*, copy by Denis-François-Xavier Bourges, 1827, oil on panel, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dôle.
Fig. 2. Philippe Auguste de Forbin, *Scène d'inquisition dans un souterrain à Valladolid*, 1817, drawing, in Charles-Paul Landon, *Salon de 1817*, Paris, Pillet Aîné, 1831, plate 11.
Fig. 3. Anonymous, possibly John Thompson (illustration after Achille Devéria), *Galilée indigné change l'ordre des cieux*, in Casimir Delavigne, *Messéniennes et poésies diverses*, Paris, L'Advocat, 1824, vol. II, p. 3
Fig. 4. Anonymous, possibly John Thompson, frontispiece engraving and emblem of the author, in Casimir Delavigne, *Messéniennes et poésies diverses*, Paris, L'Advocat, 1826, vol. II, 14th edition, title page.

Fig. 5. Honoré Daumier, *Modern Galilée*, lithograph, in *La Caricature politique, morale, littéraire et scénique*, no. 209, 6 November 1834, plate 436.
Fig. 6. Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury (school of), *Scène de la Saint Barthélemy* (detail), 1833, oil on panel, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
Fig. 7. Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury, *Ramus attendant ses assassins*, 1840, engraving, in *Le Charivari*, no. 9/108.
Fig. 8. Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury, *Une scène de l'Inquisition*, 1841, lithograph by Adolphe Mouilleron.
Fig. 9. Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury, *Un Auto-da-fé*, 1845, lithograph by Adolphe Mouilleron.
Fig. 10. Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury, *Galilée devant le Saint-Office au Vatican*, 1847, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Index of Names

Aarberg-Valangin, counts, 122, 124
Aarburg, Anfelisa von, 125 and n
Aarburg, family, 125
Aarburg, Freiherren von, 122
Aarburg, Thüring von, 124, 125 and n
Adémar de Chabannes, 66 and n
Agni da Lentini, Tommaso, 30n, 36n, 39n
Agosti, Giovanni, 289n
Aguilar, Manuel de Albuquerque e, 236
Albani, Francesco, 282
Albert the Great, saint, 34n
Alberti, Leandro, 298 and n, 302
Alboresi, Giacomo, 282 and n, 300 and n
Alcalá, Ángel, 11n, 233n
Alce, Venturino, 9n, 33n, 284n, 299n, 301n
Alciato, Andrea, 197-198, 199 and n, 201 and n
Aldobrandino da Reggio, 301
Alexander III, pope (Rolando Bandinelli), 72n
Alexander VI, pope (Rinaldo di Jenne), 241, 293
Algieri, Pomponio, 293
Allegrini, Francesco, 295
Almaric of Bena, 209
Altisidora (character from *Don Quixote*), 165, 167, 171, 182, 184, 188
Amargier, Paul-Antonin, 29n,
Ambrose of Milan, saint, 68
Andenmatten, Anne-Angélique, 197n, 199n
Andrea di Bonaiuto, 9, 33, 44
Anselmi, Alessandra, 151, 152n
Anthony of Padua, saint, 31n
Apollinaris of Laodicea, 75
Araújo, Feliciano, 208
Arce y Reinoso, Diego de, 292
Arius, 63-65, 67, 74-75
Arnoux, Mathieu, 69n
Aron-Beller, Katherine, 19n, 24
Arqués, Rossend, 64n
Asmodeus, demon, 201
Assis, Angelo A. Faria de, 18n
Augustine of Hippo, saint, 59 and n, 62 and n, 63-64, 66, 70 and n, 71, 73n
Aulnoy, Marie-Cathérine d’, 156
Averroes, 65, 74
Azevedo, Carlos Moreira, 196n, 203n
Azpilcueta, Martín de, 196, 205 and n

Bacchino, Giovanni, 273
Badia, Tommaso, 294
Baer, Yitzhak, 263n
Baert, Barbara, 257n
Baião, António, 235n
Baker, James, 7n, 247, 248n
Baldini, Baccio, 202
Balducci, Antonio, 299, 302
Baltussen, Han, 191n
Barcia y Zambrana, José de, 181 and n
Bardaxí, Luis de, 263
Baretti, Giuseppe, 150n
Barnes, Robin, 116n
Barocchi, Paola, 192n
Barrios, Feliciano, 143n
Bartlová, Milena, 91n, 92n
Baschet, Jérôme, 55 and n, 56n, 67n
Basilicò, Anna Clara, 16n, 191n
Bat Meir, Rivka, 260 and n

Battaglia Ricci, Lucia, 202n
Baudelaire, Charles, 336 and n
Baumgarten, Elisheva, 261n
Baxandall, Michael, 20 and n
Bayern, Ludwig von, 96
Beato Angelico, 8, 33, 40 and n, 295
Beaumarchais, Pierre, 149
Behringer, Wolfgang, 116n
Beinart, Haim, 264n
Bellini, Giovanni, 33
Benedetti, Marina, 9n, 74n, 284n
Benedetto de Arezzo, 276
Benedict XIV, pope (Prospero Lambertini), 302
Bennassar, Bartolomé, 149n, 251n
Bennassar, Lucile, 149n
Benoist, Félix, 229n
Bergua Cavero, Jorge, 244n
Bernard, Jean-Frédéric, 246n
Bernard Délicieux, 76n
Bernard de Roquefort, 296
Berruguete, Pedro de, 36n, 39, 232n, 290
Bertaut, François, 147 152-153
Bertelli, Sergio, 229n
Bertier, Joachim J., 294n
Bertrand de Rocca, 261
Bethencourt, Francisco, 11 and n, 23, 191n, 225n, 226n, 230n, 232n, 234n, 236n, 239n, 240n, 241n, 246n, 290n, 293n
Bianchini, Andrea, 281 and n
Bickel, August, 122n, 124n, 125n
Biferali, Fabrizio, 15n, 294n
Biget, Jean-Louis, 29n, 54n, 59n
Biller, Peter, 60 and n, 71n
Bilotta, Maria Alessandra, 25
Birrell, Jean, 225n
Blanc, Anne, 194n
Blanc, Charles, 336 and n
Blanc, Robert, 194n
Blanco de Paz, Juan, 166, 169
Blauert, Andreas, 116n, 122n, 123 and n, 132n
Blázquez Miguel, Juan, 158n
Block Friedman, John, 202n
Bloesch, Hans, 97n
Bloom, Harold, 163n
Boeglin, Michel, 252n
Boer, Oliver, 158n
Boesch Gajano, Sofia, 33n
Bohatcová, Miriam, 103n
Bollermann, Karen, 78n
Bolzoni, Lina, 267n
Bonelli, Michele, 294
Böninger, Lorenz, 202n
Bonini, Girolamo, 282, 300
Bonniwell, William, 34n
Bonvicini, Lorenzo, 16n
Borri, Giuseppe Francesco, 293
Borst, Arno, 60
Bouillo, Eva, 329n
Bourges, Denis-François-Xavier, 330
Bower, Archibald, 247, 248n
Boxler, Horst, 96n
Bracci, Silvano, 287n
Braga, Isabel Drumond, 18n
Braga, Paulo Drumond, 18n
Bragagnolo, Manuela, 205n
Braun, Georg, 243
Bremer, Joseph, 41n
Brès, Jean-Baptiste, 62n
Breton, Jules, 336n
Britton, R.K., 164n
Broedel, Hans Peter, 203n
Brooke, Christopher, 59n
Brosius, Václav, 103 and n
Browe, Peter, 132n
Brunn, Uwe, 66n
Bruno, Giordano, 303
Bruschi, Caterina, 71n
Bucciantini, Massimo, 24, 331n
Buchanan, Claudius, 228, 246
Buck, Thomas Martin, 95n
Buffalmacco, Buonamico, 98n
Burchardus, Joannes, 241n
Burghartz, Susanna, 116n
Burkardt, Albrecht, 20n
Burke, Peter, 192n
Bustamante, Agustín, 17n
Bütler, Josef, 118n, 119n, 121n, 130n
Byron, George Gordon, 331n

Caballero Escamilla, Sonia, 17n, 290n
Caeiro, Ana, 195n
Calcagni, Ruggero, 42
Caldwell Ames, Christine, 9n, 29n, 31n, 41n, 284n
Callixtus I, pope and saint, 75
Callixtus III, pope (Alfons de Borja y Cabanilles), 130
Calvin, John, 209
Camelliti, Vittoria, 64n
Cameron, Euan, 74n
Camerota, Michele, 331n
Campani, Giovanni, 198
Candela, Silvestro, 287n
Cañeque, Alejandro, 11n
Canetti, Luigi, 7n, 284n
Cantù, Francesca, 285n
Cappasanta, Pio Felice, 298, 301 and n
Capurro, Rita, 289n
Caravale, Giorgio, 18n, 281n
Carbasse, Jean-Marie, 54n
Carcopino, Jérôme, 227n
Carducci, Giosuè, 59n
Carneiro, Maria Luiza Tucci, 11, 12n, 191n, 210n
Caro Baroja, Julio, 291n
Carracci, Bronzino, 283, 296
Carranza, Bartolomé de, 294
Carreira Vérez, Antonio, 155n
Cartari, Vincenzo, 198
Casado Lobato, Concha, 155n
Casanate, Girolamo, 295
Castillo Gómez, Antonio, 16n
Castrillo Benito, Nicolas, 244n
Castro, Américo, 163 and n, 164, 168 and n, 188
Catherine of Alexandria, saint, 34 and n
Causi, Giuliano, 303
Cavalcanti, Aldobrandino, 35n
Cavalcanti, Carlos André Macedo, 12n
Cavero de Carondelet, Cloe, 16n, 158n
Cazalla, Agustín de, 243
Cerchi, Sisto, 301 and n
Cervantes, Miguel de, 23, 163 and n, 164-165, 166 and n, 167-172, 173 and n, 174 and n, 175 and n, 176, 179n, 180n, 182n, 183, 184 and n, 185n, 186 and n, 187 and n, 188 and n,
Champion, Matthew J., 16n
Chandler, Samuel, 228n, 246n
Charles I, king of Sicily, 261
Charles II, king of Spain, 153, 233
Charles III, king of Spain, 149-150
Charles of Angoulême, 200
Charles of Liechtenstein, 90
Charles V, emperor and king of Spain, 143, 197, 237n
Charles, Amiel, 185n
Chartier, Roger, 193n, 259n
Chaudonneret, Marie-Claude, 329n, 331n
Chauvin, Yves, 66n
Chiché, François, 235
Chiffoleau, Jacques, 58n, 128n
Chigi, Flavio, 292
Chilosi, Maria Grazia, 294n
Christian Jr., William, 263n
Ciappelli, Giovanni, 267n
Cifres, Alejandro, 18n, 229n, 292n, 297n
Cignani, Carlo, 300
Cignani, Felice, 300
Civale, Gianclaudio, 15n
Civil, Pierre, 245n, 244
Clemencín, Diego, 165, 166n
Clement VIII, pope (Ippolito Aldobrandini), 144
Clement XII, pope (Lorenzo Corsini), 248n
Close, Anthony, 164 and n, 165 and n, 186n, 188, 189n
Coelho, Francisco, 209
Coelho, João, 208
Columbus, Christopher, 336-337
Congar, Yves M.-J., 67n
Contarini, Gasparo, 143
Conti, Natale, 198
Contreras, Jaime, 236n
Corio, Bernard, 30n
Cormack, Margaret, 43n
Corro, Antonio del, 244, 291
Costa, Joaquim Luís, 195n
Cousin, Victor, 333

Coustos, John, 247, 248n
Couto, Mateus do, 230n
Craesbecck, Pedro, 178
Crespi, Giuseppe Maria, 302
Crespin, Jean, 245 and n
Cruz, Maria Leonor García da, 199 and n
Cuccini, Francesco, 289
Cuelbis, Jacob, 144
Cugnoni, Giuseppe, 283n
Curti, Francesco, 281
Cysat, Renward, 130, 134n

d'Abrera, Anna Ysabel, 263n
D'Amato, Alfonso, 299n
d'Aure, García, 296
D'Errico, Gian Luca, 301n
Dacher, Gebhard, 96
Dal Pozzolo, Enrico Maria, 15n
Dall'Olio, Guido, 299n, 302 and n
Dantiscus, Ioannes, 143
Daumier, Honoré, 332-334
David of Augsburg, 57n, 60
Davies, Owen, 116n
Davis, Peter J., 191n
De Beer, Esmond Samuel, 245n
De Boer, Wietse, 18n
De Dominis, Marcantonio, 293
De Loève-Veimars, Adolphe, 330n
De Marchi, Andrea, 286n
De Mattos, Yllan, 18n
De Vergnette, François, 331n, 332n, 337n
de Vio Gaetano, Tommaso, 196
Decock, Wim. 205n
Degli Erri, Agnolo, 36n
Degli Erri, Bartolomeo, 36n
Del Col, Andrea, 225n
Del Fiore, Jacobello, 40 and n
Del Litto, Victor, 331n
Delacroix, Eugène, 329-331, 336
Delavigne, Casimir, 331 and n
Delilah, 200
Delli Monti, Pompeo, 293
Dellon, Charles, 228 and n, 245 and n
Delumeau, Jean, 194n
Denon, Vivant, 330
de Simone, Gerardo, 295n
Descola, Philippe, 56n
Desdevises du Dézert, Georges, 333n
Desiderio, 43
Deza, Diego de, 291
Díaz de Benjumea, Nicolás, 166 and n, 167 and n, 170, 183 and n
Díez Borque, José María, 155n
Dinkova-Bruun, Greti, 195n
Dolcetti, Pietro Maria, 303
Dolcino, 58, 73, 76-77, 209
Domingo, Rafael, 205n
Domingues, Lidia Luisa Zanetti, 53n
Domingues, Sebastião, 247
Dominic of Guzmán, saint, 232, 297, 299
Donati, Gondisalvo, 302
Donato, Leonardo, 143-144
Donattini, Massimo, 298n
Dondaine, Antoine, 30n
Dossat, Yves, 296n
Douais, Célestin, 54n
Dragoun, Michal, 89n
Driskell, Michael Paul, 335n
Dulaey, Martine, 62n
Dulcinea del Toboso (character from *Don Quixote*), 173, 186-187
Dulong, Renald, 58n
Duvernoy, Jean, 65n

Eccard, Georg, 241n
Eckbert of Schönau, 66, 70, 71n
El Greco (Domínikos Theotokópoulos), 12, 292
Elsener, Jás, 143n
Enzinas, Francisco de, 244 and n
Ericho, 64n
Errera, Andrea, 179n
Escandell Bonet, Bartolomé, 240n
Escudero, José Antonio, 143n, 169, 170n
Espí Forcén, Carlos, 263n, 264 and n
Etterlin, Petermann, 123 and n, 126, 130
Eubel, Konrad, 72n
Évora, Manuel, 201n

Faini, Marco, 260n

Falomir, Miguel, 15n
Faustus, 62, 64
Favaro, Antonio, 337n
Febvre, Lucien, 192n
Feci, Simona, 265n, 268n
Ferdinand II the Catholic, king of Aragon, 290
Ferdinand II, holy Roman emperor, 90
Fernandes, Maria de Lurdes Correia, 196n
Fernández Terricabras, Ignasi, 165n
Fernández, Jerónimo, 177
Ferreira, Clara, 207-209
Ferreira, Josefa, 208
Ferro, Marc, 193n
Ferstl, Roman, 103n
Festa, Gianni, 9n, 33n, 299n
Fiala, Friedrich, 134n
Ficino, Marsilio, 75
Fiorini, Vittorio, 59n
Firpo, Massimo, 15n, 226n, 287n, 294n
Fiume, Giovanna, 15 and n, 16n, 191, 242 and n
Fleuriot, Jean-Marie, 150
Fleury-Richard, François, 331
Flores, Jorge, 19n
Flynn, Maureen, 11n, 226n
Foa, Anna, 293n
Fontana, Vincenzo Maria, 298 and n, 299, 301
Fontes, Paulo F. de Oliveira, 12n
Foppa, Vincenzo, 36n, 288-290
Forbin, Philippe August de, 330
Foti, Rita, 15n
Foucault, Michel, 14
Foxe, John, 245 and n
Franceschini, Chiara, 13 and n, 18n, 19n, 25n, 191n
Francisco de San Román, 244
Francisco de Toledo, 263
Franco Rubio, Gloria A., 141n
Franco, Paolo, 271n
Frayssinous, Denis-Antoine-Luc, 332
Frederick II, holy Roman emperor, 31
Frederick IV, duke of Austria, 124
Freire, António, 178
Friedlander, Alan, 29n
Frolík, Jan, 93n
Frugoni, Chiara, 287n
Fründ, Hans, 131, 132 and n
Fumi, Bartolomeo, 196
Fuochi, Guglielmo, 281-282, 300n

Galasso, Giuseppe, 265
Galilei, Galileo, 24-25, 293, 295, 303, 330, 332-334, 336, 337 and n, 338
Galinsky, Judah D., 261n
Gallarate, Paolo Girolamo, 301
Galle, Philippe, 203
Galperin, Karina, 14n
Gandra, Manuel J., 199n
García Cabrera, Daniel, 14n
García Cárcel, Ricardo, 189n
Garcia de Santa María, Gonçalvo, 264
García Icazbalceta, Joaquín, 154n
García Mercadal, José, 143n, 155
García Pinilla, Ignacio J., 244n
García-Arenal, Mercedes, 15 and n, 16n, 191n, 234n, 242 and n
García-Romeral, Carlos, 149n, 151n
Gascón Pérez, Jesús, 189n
Gaskell, Ivan, 192 and n
Gaude, Francesco, 258n
Geiger, Gale L., 294n
Gelly-Perbellini, Maxime, 22
Gentile da Fabriano, 10, 40
George of Poděbrady, king of Boemia, 88, 99
Gérard de Frachet, 30n, 36n, 261
Gérard of Cambrai, 70 and n
Gérard, François, 329
Gerardo Segarelli, 58, 73, 76-77
Gherardini, Melchiorre, 289
Gherardo del Fora, 35nn
Ghislieri, Michele, *see* Pius V
Giacconi, [Paolo Girolamo], 301n
Giacomo della Marca, saint, 287 and n
Gieseler, Johann Carl Ludwig, 66n
Gil, Juan (Dr Egidio), 291
Gilly, Carlos, 291n
Gilman, Stephen, 168 and n, 169, 174, 178

Gilson, Simon, 202n
Ginés de Pasamonte (character from *Don Quixote*), 180
Ginzburg, Carlo, 331n
Giogoli, Kathrin, 202n
Giovanni da Biblia, 36n
Giovanni da Capestrano, saint, 287
Giovanni di Balduccio, 33n, 36n, 288n
Giovanni di San Gimignano, 41 e
Giraldi, Gregorio, 198
Giudice, Franco, 331n
Giustiniani, Vincenzo, 295
Given, James, 71n
Glaber, Raoul, 69 and n
Glauser, Fritz, 123n, 124n, 125n
Glazer-Eytan, Yonatan, 16n, 158n, 227n, 237n
Goltzius, Hendrik, 200, 204
Gómez Vozmediano, Miguel Fernando, 171n
Gómez-Chacón, Diana Lucia, 31n
González Cuenca, Joaquín, 163n, 165n, 166n, 170 and n, 185, 187 and n, 189 and n
González de Caldas, María Victoria, 11 and n, 233 and n
González de Mendoza, Pedro, 262
González, Maria, 263
Gorenstein, Lina, 210n
Göttler, Werner, 130n
Gounod, Charles, 337-338
Gouveia, António Camões, 12n, 196n
Gouveia, Jaime Ricardo, 23, 196n, 204n, 205n
Goya, Francisco de, 7, 12, 250 and n, 252
Gramont, Antoine de, 147
Grant, Florence, 21n
Grasset, François, 149
Grayston, Phil, 18n
Gregori, Mina, 286n
Gregory IX, pope (Ugolino di Anagni), 60
Gregory XIII, pope (Ugo Boncompagni), 258
Gregory XV, pope (Alessandro Ludovisi), 207
Grossman, Edith, 163n, 179n
Gruber, Eugen, 125n, 130
Grundmann, Herbert, 66n, 69n
Guazzoni, inquisitor, 273
Gudiol, José, 25
Guébin, Pascal, 73n
Guenée, Bernard, 54n
Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri), 248, 282-283
Guerrero, Pedro, 205
Gui, Bernard, 22, 29n, 41, 53 and n, 54 and n, 56 and n, 57, 58 and n, 59-62, 63 and n, 64n, 66, 71 and n, 72 and n, 73-77
Guichard, Charlotte, 16n
Guidetti, Guidetto, 295-296
Guillaume Arnaud, 296
Guillaume d'Auvergne, 34n
Guillaume de Puylaurens, 65
Guillaume le Breton, 70
Guizot, François, 70n
Gunther, Franz, 115n
Guy d'Evreux, 40

Hall, Edwin, 33n, 35n
Hall, Marcia, 76n
Hansen, Joseph, 121n, 122n, 128n, 131n,
Hartog, François, 53 and n, 65n, 67 and n, 69n
Haskell, Francis, 20n
Hautten, David, 135n
Heck, Christian, 56n
Helvidius, 64
Hemmerlin, Felix, 133-134
Henningsen, Gustav, 236n
Henry III, holy Roman emperor, 66
Hermann de Reichenau, 66 and n
Hernández Franco, Juan, 172n
Herraiz Pareja, Marcos J., 244n
Herrera el Mozo, Francisco de, 233
Heyden, Jakob von der, 207
Heyden, Katharina, 53n
Hill, Derek, 61n
Hinard, François, 227n
Hinnebusch, William A., 30n
Hoffmann-Krayer, Eduard, 117n, 127n, 131n, 132n
Hogenberg, Frans, 243 and n
Holger Petersen, Nils, 92n

Homolková, Milada, 89n
Homza, Lu Ann, 263n
Hood, William, 40n
Horat, Heinz, 135n
Horníčková, Kateřina, 10n, 22, 89n, 90n, 92n, 93n
Houbert, Jacques, 331n
Howard, Deborah, 259n
Howell, James, 154
Hrachovec, Petr, 10n, 90n
Hugh of Saint Cher, 34n
Humbert of Romans, 34n
Hunt, Lynn, 246n
Hus, Jan, 22, 87, 90-101, 103-104
Hutton, Ronald, 16n

Improta, Andrea, 7n, 284n
Ingram, Kevin, 249 and n
Innocent IV, pope (Sinibaldo Fieschi dei conti di Lavagna), 31 and n, 38
Innocent X, pope (Giovanni Battista Pamphilj), 274
Irigoyen-García, Javier, 164n, 185, 184n, 185 and n
Irsigler, Franz, 115n
Isabella the Catholic, queen of Castile, 290
Isacco Benedetto de Modena, 276
Izbicki, Thomas M., 78n

Jacob, Margaret, 246n
Jacob, William, 159, 160 and n
Jacopo da Varagine (Jacobus de Voragine), 36n, 42
Jacques de Lausanne, 36n
Jäggi, Stefan, 116n, 121n, 131n, 133n
Jaghel da Correggio, Camillo, 271 and n, 272 and n
Jan Augusta, 103
Jardí, Enric, 165n
Jeroným (Jerome) of Prague, 91
Jiménez de Cisneros, Francisco, 292
Jiménez Maza, Francisco, 285n
Johannes de Hungaria, 296
John Chrysostom, saint, 205n
John of Beka, 261
John of Canterbury, 72
John of Outremeuse, 261
John the Baptist, saint, 34, 195n
John XXII, pope (Jacques Duèse), 71, 72n
Johnson, Paul M., 164n, 170 and n
Joly, Bartholomé, 145-146, 153
Jones, Nicholas R., 17n
Jordanova, Ludmilla, 20n, 21n
Jorge, Marcos, 196
Jouvin de Rochefort, Albert, 155-156
Jovinianus, 64
Juan de Ávila, saint, 291

Kacherdorffer, Nicolaus, 100
Kaftal, George, 35n
Kahn, David, 243n
Kaplan, Debra, 260n
Katz, Dana, 266n
Kaufmann, S., 121n
Kearns, James, 329n
Keller, Peter, 202n
Kessler, Herbert, 258n
Kessler, Jacob, 120n
Kolpacoff Deane, Jennifer, 69n
Kostowski, Jakub, 100n
Kramer, Heinrich, 134, 202
Kras, Paweł, 38n
Krigelstein, Gregor Georg, 104
Krömler, Hans, 118n
Krumm, Markus, 61n
Kubíková, Milena, 98 and n

La Mantia, Vito, 242
Labaña, Juan Bautista, 151
Labat, Jean Baptiste, 148
Lagréou, Héléna D.M., 53n
Lamarrigue, Anne-Marie, 54n
Lambert, Malcolm David, 29n, 31n
Lampe, Geoffrey William Hugo, 201n
Landulfus Senior, 70n
Lanfranco, Giovanni, 283
Lantier, Étienne-François de, 156-157
Lappin, Anthony, 42n
Lastman, Pieter, 204
Lattuada, Serviliano, 289n

Laurent, Jean-Antoine, 330 and n, 331-332
Lauwers, Michel, 72n
Lavalée, Joseph, 239n
Lavanha, João Baptista, 237n
Laven, Mary, 259n
Lavenia, Vincenzo, 13n, 17n, 18n, 24, 93n,165n,191n, 205n, 230, 281n, 291n, 297n, 302n
Le Goff, Jacques, 55 and n, 193n
Lea, Henry Charles, 10 and n, 31n
Lee, Christina H.L., 17n
Leitão, Francisco, 206 and n
Leitão, José Carlos Vieira, 182n
Leno, Giuliano, 229
Leo X, pope (Giovanni de' Medici), 77
Léonard, Jacques, 333n
Leonardo da Vinci, 76n, 288
Leoni, Antonio, 303n, 302
Levack, Brian P., 60n
Levi da Rovigo, Raffaele, 274n, 276
Lhermite, Jehan, 146
Lightbown, Ronald W., 287n
Ligorio, Pirro, 229, 294
Lima, Lana Lage da Gama, 210n
Limborch, Philippus van, 5n, 231n, 245 and n
Lippi, Filippino, 294 and n
Lithgow, William, 147, 148n, 247 and n
Livius, 244
Locatelli, Eustachio, 302
Locke, John, 245 and n
Locker, Jesse, 197n
López de Santa Catalina, Pedro,176
López Vela, Roberto, 240n
López-Salazar Codes, Ana Isabel, 23, 239n
López-Salazar, Jeronimo, 185n
Louise of Savoy, 202
Lucian of Samosata, 244
Lucius III, pope (Ubaldo Allucingoli), 37
Luini, Bernardino, 283
Lunardi, Roberto, 56n
Lüneburg, Marie von, 20n
Luther, Martin, 95, 103, 143, 209
Lynn Hossain, Kimberly, 18n, 291n
Macedonius, 64
Maczak, Antoni, 142, 143n
Maddalo, Silvia, 64n
Maese Pedro (character from *Don Quixote*), 180, 187
Maestro de Rubió, 202
Magnanimi, Giuseppina, 295n
Mainini, Lorenzo, 74 and n, 75 and n, 76, 294n
Maisonneuve, Henri, 73n
Malabranca Orsini, Latino, 294
Mâle, Emile, 197n
Malé, Gemma, 41n, 42 and n
Malvasia, Carlo Cesare, 284 and n, 301
Mänd, Anu, 92n
Manrique de Lara, Jerónimo, 292
Mansell, Robert, 147
Manselli, Raoul, 66n
Map, Walter, 59 and n, 65 and n
Maqueda Abreu, Consuelo, 11n, 226n
Marchand, John, 247, 248n
Marcocci, Giuseppe, 16, 19n, 25n, 246n
Marin Elliott, Jessica, 261n
Marques, Marisa Costa, 194n
Márquez, Antonio, 168 and n
Marsollier, Jacques, 7n
Martin, Isaac, 247, 248n
Martínez Shaw, Carlos, 142 and n
Martínez-Torrón, Javier, 205n
Martín-Flores, Mario, 187n
Mártires Bartolomeu dos, 196
Mascarenhas, António Martins, 168, 178, 184
Mascarenhas, Fernão Martins, 168, 178, 184
Masini, Eliseo, 285 and n
Master Nicolás (character from *Don Quixote*), 174, 176n
Materka, Antonín, 89n
Matham, Jacob, 202, 204
Matilla, José Manuel, 250n
Matos, Antonio de, 209
Mattioli Rossi, Laura, 289n
Mattoso, José, 194n
Maximilian I, holy Roman emperor, 118

Mayer, Thomas F., 283n
Mayger Hind, Arthur, 202n
Mazel, Florian, 55n, 66n, 78n
Mazza, [Tommaso], 301n
Mazzantini, Renata Cristina, 295n
Mazzoleni, [Vincenzo], 301n
McCuaig, William, 192n
McMahon, Chance, 25
Medici, Cosimo de', 288
Medici, Lorenzo de', 75-76
Medici, Piero de', 77
Medina, Bartolomé de, 196
Meersseman, Gilles Gerard, 30n
Melanchthon, Philip, 244
Mena, Manuela, 250n
Meneghin, Alessia, 260n
Menozzi, Daniele, 267n
Mercier, Franck, 25, 66n, 78n, 116n
Merlo, Grado Giovanni, 31n
Merz, Walther, 125n
Messana, Maria Sofia, 242n
Mestre da Lourinhã, 203
Metelli, Agostino, 282 and n
Michal z Vrchoviště, 91
Michel de Trétaigne, 337n
Michelangelo Buonarroti, 76n, 229, 330
Michelet, Jules, 335
Michelson, Emily, 19n
Migne, Jacques-Paul, 71n, 201n
Mijnhardt, Wijnand, 246n
Mirandola, Jacobus, 274
Miraval, Nathalie, 17n
Mirzoeff, Nicholas, 228n
Mitchell, W.J.T., 192n
Modena, Viviano, 274
Modestin, Georg, 116n
Mohun, lord, 154
Moisè, Francesco, 286n
Molinos, Miguel de, 243, 292
Mollat, Guillaume, 54n, 57, 59, 62 and n
Mongitore, Antonino, 235 and n
Montano, Reginaldo (Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus), 244 and n
Montibus, William de, 195
Montrosier, Eugène, 334, 335n, 338n
Moore, Robert Ian, 78n
Moraes, Francisco de, 178
Morales, André de, 251
Morandi, family, 299
Moreira, António Joaquim, 235 and n
Moreno Chacón, Manuel, 141, 142n
Moreno Rodríguez, Pilar, 241n
Moreno, Antonio, 165, 181-182
Moreno, Doris, 12 and n, 18n, 143n, 145 and n, 184 and n
Moretto (Alessandro Bonvicino), 283
Morone, Giovanni, 294
Morrison, Karl F., 192n
Mouilleron, Adolphe, 334n
Moyano Villareal, Antonio Valeriano, 8
Muchnik, Natalia, 244 and n
Müller, Minfried, 10n, 90n
Muniz, Polyanna Gouveia de Mendonça, 18n
Muratori, Ludovico Antonio, 59n, 70n, 73n
Murer, Heinrich, 135n
Murillo, Esteban, 285n
Mutlová, Petra, 89n
Muzzarelli, Girolamo, 303
Mynors, Roger A., 59n

Nappi, Francesco, 296
Natale, Mauro, 289n
Nazario, 43
Neckam, Alexander, 195
Nederman, Cary Joseph, 78n
Negri, Giacomo Maria, 300 and n
Negro, Angelo, 294n
Nelson, Jonathan, 244n
Nestorius, 64-65
Niccoli, Ottavia, 15n, 281n
Niccolò della Magna, 202
Nicholas of Cusa, 133, 134n
Nicholas of Gorran, 36n, 40 and n
Nicola da Milano, 40n
Nicola Pisano, 299
Nieto, Delfina Isabel, 72n
Nini, Roberto, 17n
Niño de Guevara, Fernando, 292
Nirenberg, David, 53n, 258n

Nithard, Juan E., 292
Novelli, Pietro Antonio, 207
Novinsky, Anita, 12n, 191n
Nuet Blanch, Marta, 202n
Nunes, José, 12n

Oenone, nymph, 204
Oliveira, Ricardo Pessa de, 18n
Orfali, Moises, 239n
Origen, 64
Ortelius, Abraham, 243
Osterc Berlam, Ludovic, 169, 172n
Ostorero, Martine, 60n, 115n, 132n

Pagan of Lecco, 296
Paiva, José Pedro, 203n, 246n
Paleotti, Gabriele, 18, 192n, 299
Pales-Gobilliard, Annette, 54n
Palmer, Russel, 17n
Palmerio, Giancarlo, 294n
Palomo, Federico, 197
Palumbo, Genoveffa, 285n
Palumbo, Margherita, 295n, 297n
Panofsky, Erwin, 192n, 193n
Panza, Sancho (character from *Don Quixote*), 170n, 179, 181-184, 185 and n, 186-188
Paolini, Giovanni Vincenzo, 282
Papetti, Stefano, 287n
Páramo, Luis de, 290 291n, 296 and n
Paravicini Bagliani, Agostino, 60n, 115n
Pardo de Figueroa, Mariano (Dr Thebussem), 171 and n
Pardo de Tavera, Juan, 292
Parker, Charles, 7n
Parmigianino (Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola), 283
Pasamonte, Ginés de, 180
Pascale, Gian Luigi, 293
Pascoal, José Ruvinaldo Marques, 12n
Pasquini, Laura, 64n
Passe the Elder, Crispijn van de, 200
Paul de Chartres, 60n
Paul IV, pope (Giampietro Carafa), 205, 229, 292, 294
Paul V, pope (Camillo Borghese), 144
Paul of Tarsus, saint, 34, 69, 70 and n, 73
Pedro de Arbués, saint, 181, 285 and n, 302
Pegg, Mark G., 53n, 62n
Peña Díaz, Manuel, 14n, 17n, 23, 174
Pencz, Georg, 197-198
Pereda, Felipe, 236n, 258 and n, 262 and n, 264 and n
Pérez Villanueva, Joaquín, 175n, 242n
Pero Pérez (character from *Don Quixote*), 174
Pertz, Georg Heinrich, 66n
Peruzzi, Salustio, 229
Peter of Castelnau, 37
Peter of Verona, saint, 8-10, 21, 28, 30 and n, 31-34, 35 and n, 36 and n, 38-44, 238, 239 and n, 282, 284-285, 287-289, 295-296, 299n, 300
Peter Parenzo, saint, 66
Petitjean, Jean, 16n
Petr of Mladoňovice, 94
Petrolini, Chiara, 25
Pettegree, Andrew, 116n
Peyron, Jean François, 149
Pezzutti, Luca, 287n
Pfändtner, Karl-Georg, 101n
Philip II, king of Spain, 144, 146, 151, 166n
Philip III, king of Spain and Portugal, 145-146, 237-239
Philip IV, king of Spain and Portugal, 29, 151
Philips, Miles, 154
Photinus, 67, 75
Picart, Bernard, 246 and n
Pieroni, Geraldo, 12n
Pierre Autier, 62 and n
Pinel, Philippe, 333
Piò, Giovanni Michele, 298 and n, 301
Piraz, Giacomo, 286n
Pius IV, pope (Giovanni Angelo Medici di Marignano), 206
Pius V, pope (Michele Ghislieri), 231, 294, 296, 299-300
Pizzo, Marco, 229n, 292n
Plato, 193

Plazzotta, Carol, 248n
Plotard, Rémi, 65n, 76n
Plummer, Marjorie E., 116n
Plutarch, 244
Pluto, god, 156
Polanco, Dominique E., 17n
Pon, Georges, 66n
Poncius de Planedis, 296
Pontasso, Giuseppe, 270, 272
Ponziani, Daniel, 229n, 242n, 292n
Portinari, Pigello, 288-289
Poza Yague, Marta, 202n
Pozzo, Cassiano dal, 151
Preger, Wilhem, 57n
Prendergast, Ryan, 164n, 183 and n
Preti, Vincenzo, 297
Primat de Saint-Denis, 68
Procaccini the Younger, Ercole, 289
Prodi, Paolo, 18n, 192n, 225n, 226n
Prosperi, Adriano, 13n, 15n, 165n, 191n, 226n, 240n, 286n, 291n, 297n, 301n
Prudlo, Donald S., 7n, 9n, 21, 30n, 32n, 33n, 35n, 36n, 37n, 38n, 42n, 43n, 286 and n
Pucci, Lorenzo, 229
Puglia, Giuseppe, 296
Puigblanch, Antonio, 164 and n, 165 and n, 182, 183 and n

Quinet, Edgar, 335
Quinterio, Francesco, 294n

Rabali, Francesco, 273
Rabb, Theodore K., 20n
Ramon de Penyafort, saint, 294
Rangoni Gàl, Fiorenza, 283n
Raphael (Sanzio), 76n, 337
Raya Retamero, Salvador, 145n
Reale, Francesco, 298n
Redondi, Pietro, 337n
Redondo, Agustín, 187n
Reichert, Benedikt Maria, 30n, 35n
Reina, Casiodoro de, 244
Reinhardt, Nicole, 53n, 115n, 163n, 225n
Remigio de' Girolami, 40
Reni, Guido, 282
Revel, Jacques, 193n
Rey Castelao, Ofelia, 141n
Rhodes James, Montague, 59n
Ribera, Jusepe de, 248 and n
Ribeiro, Benair Alcaraz Fernandes, 189n
Ricci, Saverio, 283n
Richard of Wetheringsett, 195
Richenthal, Ulrich von, 94-95, 99
Rico Camps, Daniel, 285n
Rico, Francisco, 164n
Ríos, Vicente de los, 172
Ripa, Cesare, 198 and n, 199 and n, 200 and n, 201, 204
Ripoll, Thomas, 31n
Rivera, Diego, 253 and n, 252
Riversi, Eugenio, 61n
Rizi, Francisco (Francesco Ricci or Francisco Rizzi), 233 and n, 290, 292
Robert-Fleury, Joseph-Nicolas, 334-338
Robertson, Ian, 151n
Roche, Daniel, 141 and n, 142 and n, 143 and n
Rodríguez de Grijalba, Doña, 179
Rodríguez Marín, Francisco, 167-168, 171n
Rodríguez, Ignacio, 158
Rokycana, John, 104
Romano, Giovanni, 289n
Romano, Serena, 56n
Roquette, Antoine, 333n
Rosa Maria Egipcíaca, 210
Rosé, Isabelle, 66n, 78n
Roselli, Pietro, 229
Rosini, Patrizia, 76n
Rosito, Massimiliano, 286n
Rossi, Mariaclara, 36n
Rotberg, Robert I., 20n
Roubaud, Sylvia, 174n
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 149
Rovigo, Abraham de, 274n, 276
Rovigo, Isaac de, 273
Rovigo, Salvadore de, 274n
Rovigo, Servadius de, 276
Royt, Jan, 92n, 93n, 96n, 101n
Rubellin, Michel, 74n

Rubens, Peter Paul, 329-330
Rubiès, Joan-Pau, 143n
Rubin, Miri, 132n
Rück, Peter, 117n, 118n, 126 and n, 130n, 135n
Ruggeri, Giovanni Battista, 296
Rusconi, Roberto, 36n
Rüssegg, Henmann von, 121-122, 125 and n, 126-127, 128 and n, 129-130
Rüssegg, Jacob von, 125n
Russo, Daniel 54n
Rustici, Pomponio, 303
Rusticucci, Girolamo, 268

Sabellius, 65, 67, 74-75
Sacerdote, Abraam de, 266
Sacerdote, Salomon, 271
Sáenz de Miera, Jesús, 147n
Salgado, James, 247 and n
Salvadó, Sebastián, 92n
Salvatore de Rovigo, 276
Samson, 200
Sands, Tracy, 92n
Sanguinetti, Abramo, 270-272
Sanguinetti, Michele de, 270, 272
Sanguinetti, Simone de, 270 and n, 271
Santoro, Giulio Antonio, 283
Sanz Camañes, Porfirio, 185n
Šárovcová, Martina, 94n
Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni di Consolo), 101
Savoldo, Giovanni, 283
Scaglia, Desiderio, 283-284
Scaramella, Pierroberto, 18n, 281n
Schacher, Joseph, 116n, 122n
Schaffer, Fritz, 123n, 124n, 125n
Schattkowsky, Martina, 10n, 90n
Schild, Wolfgang, 115n
Schilling, Diebold, 22, 97n, 98, 111 and n, 118, 119 and n, 120-122, 123 and n, 126-127, 129 and n, 130-131, 134-135
Schmid, Alois, 117n
Schmitt, Jean-Claude, 53n, 71n
Schneller, Joseph, 121n
Scholz-Hänsel, Michael, 11n, 12n, 17n, 248n, 285n, 290n, 302n
Schongauer, Martin, 203
Schoonebeck, Adrian, 233n, 245
Schulmeister, Margret, 119
Schulze Altcappenberg, Hein-Thomas, 202n
Schwartz, Stuart B., 172n, 189n
Schwedt, Herman H., 298n
Schwerhoff, Gerd, 10n, 20n, 92n
Sebastiani, Lucia, 33n
Segesser, Philipp Anton von, 120n, 122n, 125n, 131n
Sennis, Antonio C., 62n
Sermide of Finale, Naphtali de, 265
Serrano Martín, Eliseo, 189n
Serrão, Vitor, 12n, 249 and n
Seurat, Georges, 336
Sevin, Pierre-Paul, 245-246
Shaw Fairman, Patricia, 148, 155n
Sicroff, Albert, 172n
Siebenhirter, Johannes, 101
Siegrist, Jean-Jacques, 123n
Sigismund of Luxembourg, holy Roman emperor, 87, 97, 124
Silhouette, Etienne de, 148
Silveira, Guilherme Augusto Guglielmelli, 14n
Simões, Catarina Anselmo Santana, 194n
Simon de Montfort, 295
Simone Formiggine, 276
Sirani, Elisabetta, 281 and n, 282 and n
Slatkine, Michel-E., 331n
Šmahel, František, 87n, 88n
Smetánka, Zdeněk, 102n
Sobieski, Jakub, 155
Solera, Dennj, 17n, 302n
Solomon, 200
Soriano Pérez-Villamil, María Enriqueta, 150 and n
Soyer, François, 191n
Speer, Andreas, 65n
Sprenger, Jacob, 202
Šroněk, Michal, 89n, 92n, 93n
Starr-LeBeau, Gretchen, 7n
Steiner, Heinrich, 96, 197
Stendhal (Marie-Henri Beyle), 331n
Stokes, Laura, 117n, 127 and n
Stollberg-Rilinger, Barbara, 126n

Storer, Johann Christoph, 289
Stothard, Thomas, 248
Stuczynski, Claude, 189n, 239n

Talavera, Hernando de, 262
Tausiet, Maria, 182n
Taylor, Claire, 74n
Tedeschi, Carlo 16n
Tedeschi, John, 13n, 165n, 191n, 236n, 291n
Tellechea Idígoras, José Ignacio, 244n
Teniers the Younger, David, 203
Teseo, Elia, 274-276
Teseo, Salvatore, 275
Testard, Robinet, 202
Théry, Julien, 54n, 61n, 76n
Thicknesse, Philip, 150
Thiers, Adolphe, 329, 331
Thomas Aquinas, saint, 9, 34n, 64, 74, 294-296
Thomas Becket, saint, 32, 44
Thomas of Chobham, 195
Thomas, Werner, 148n
Thompson, Augustine, 34n, 38n
Tibaldeschi, Giorgio, 297n
Tinti, Giacomo, 273
Todeschini, Ermenegildo, 298
Tognocchi, Antonius, 297n
Tognoni, Federico, 337n
Tomás y Valiente, Francisco, 175 and n
Tomassetti, Luigi, 258n
Torelli, Cesare, 296
Torquemada, Juan de, 295
Torres, José Veiga, 240n
Torriani, Gioacchino, 75
Townsend, Joseph, 157 and n, 158 and n, 159 and n
Trivellone, Alessia, 8n, 21, 55n, 60n, 61n, 62n, 64n, 65n, 68n, 69n, 76n, 78n, 91n, 100n, 294n
Tschudi, Aegidius, 135n
Tugwell, Simon, 30n
Turner, Nicholas, 248n

Uberti, Cipriano, 297 and n
Uhr, Horst, 33n, 35n
Unamuno, Miguel de, 173
Utz Tremp, Kathrin, 60n, 115n, 116n

Vaculínová, Marta, 935n
Vaisse, Pierre, 329n
Valera, Juan, 167 and n
Valeriano, Piero, 198
Valesio, Giovanni, 296
van Dyck, Antoon, 248 and n
Van Gogh, Vincent, 336
Vansteenberghe, Edmond, 133n
Varanini, Gian Maria, 36n
Vasari, Giorgio, 65
Vauquelin, Louis Nicolas, 333
Vaux de Cernay, Pierre de, 73n
Velázquez, Diego, 251-250
Velázquez, Eugenio Lucas, 250, 251n
Vendramin, Francesco, 144
Ventura Castelfrancho, 276
Vernet, Horace, 329
Vicari da Garessio, Paolo, 282, 298
Vieira, António, 195n
Vignali, Giordano, 301n
Vilém Štech, Václav, 92n
Villetti, Gabriella, 294n
Vinel, Françoise, 62n
Visconti, Giovanni Tommaso, 275
Vitiello, Maria, 294n
Viviani, Antonio, 301 and n
Vizzani, Carlo Emanuele, 281
Vladislaus II, king of Boemia, 86
Vögtlin, Anna, 22, 118 and n, 119-121, 122 and n, 123 and n, 128-130, 134, 135n
Voisenet, Jacques, 194n
Volpato, Antonio, 33n, 34n
Vos, Maarten de, 200
Vybíral, Zdeněk, 92n

Walker Bynum, Caroline, 133n
Warburg, Aby, 193 and n
Warfield, Abaigéal, 116n
Weber, Peter Xaver, 124n
Wegener, Lydia, 65n
Weiss, Jessica, 263n
Wendehorst, Stephan, 267n
Westerhout, Arnold van, 292

Wicki, Hans, 118n
Wierix, Hieronymus, 203
William of Nangis, 261
William the Monk, 261
Williamson, Elaine, 331n
Winwood, Ralph, 148
Wittkower, Rudolf, 194n
Wycliff, John, 104

Yon, Jean Claude, 333n

Zacharias, 68
Zahlten, Johannes, 65n
Zapata, Antonio, 178
Zehnder, Leo, 118n
Zeri, Federico, 295 and n
Zika, Charles, 10n, 115n, 116n
Žižka, Jan, 90
Zuccari, Federico, 15n
Zúñiga, Juan de, 292
Zurbarán, Francisco de, 12, 292

Index of Places

Aargau, 120n, 124
Africa, 7
Albi, 29 and n, 37
Alcázar de San Juan, 175, 185
Americas, 7
Ancona, 269
Andalusia, 148
Antwerp, 244
Ascoli Piceno, 287
Asia, 7
Asti, 31
Augsburg, 96, 120n, 197
Ávila, 290

Babylon, 68
Bamberg, 68
Barcelona, 156-158, 181-182, 337
Basel, 89, 123
Berlin, 207
Bern, 124-125
Bischoffingen, 118, 122, 128-129
Bohemia, 22, 87-89, 90, 94, 97, 99-100, 102, 104
Bologna, 18, 24-25, 30, 230, 281-282, 285, 298-299, 301, 302 and n, 303-304
Brazil, 236
Breisach, 118
Breisgau, 118
Büron, 121, 122 and n, 123-124, 125 and n

Cádiz, 145, 164-165
Cambrai, 70
Canalejas, 263
Cantabria, 291
Castelo Rodrigo, 236
Castile, 249, 262
Cávado, valley, 194
Chrudim, 93
Ciudad Real, 163n, 171, 260, 263
Coimbra, 8, 16-17, 25, 53, 91, 163, 205, 209
Cologne, 66, 133, 200
Comacchio, 269
Como, 8, 31
Constance, 87, 91-94, 95 and n, 96-97, 103, 133-134
Constantinople, 259
Córdoba, 145, 153
Cucurranas, 207
Cuenca, 185, 242, 260, 263

Dôle, 330
Douro, valley, 194

Egypt, 201
El Toboso, 186
Elvas, 249
England, 97, 165, 247
Entlebuch, 131
Épila, 285
Ettiswil, 118 and n, 119, 121n, 122-123, 128, 130-131, 133-135
Europe, 20, 32-33, 43, 63, 93, 116, 141, 160, 194, 198, 245, 247-249, 267, 288, 296
Évora, 208, 230

Faenza, 298
Ferrara, 269

Flanders, 200
Florence, 8-9, 11n, 30-31, 56, 61, 64, 75, 202, 285, 288, 297n
France, 25, 64, 70-71, 72 and n, 74n, 76 and n, 145, 152, 261, 277, 333-334, 338

Geneva, 165
Genoa, 269
Germany, 66, 133, 144
Giussano, 43
Goa, 245
Goslar, 66
Granada, 147, 154, 159, 205, 262-263
Grenoble, 333
Grijalba, 179
Gubbio, 37

Heidelberg, 242
Hermopolis, 330
Iberian Peninsula, 7, 14, 164, 182n, 184, 225-227, 277, 284

Iceland, 33
Italy (Italian Peninsula), 7, 11, 24-25, 31-32, 38, 64, 66, 225, 240, 257-259, 264, 266, 268-269, 277-278, 282, 285, 290, 294n, 298, 300, 302-303

Kutná Hora, 90, 93-94

La Mancha, 175, 180, 185
Leiria, 208
Lepanto, 296
Lisbon, 178, 203, 235 and n, 236 and n, 237, 239
Livorno, 269
Logroño, 152, 155
Lombardy, 30-31
London, 41n, 158, 165
Loreto, 272
Louňovice, 98 and n
Lucerne, 22, 116-118, 119n, 120n, 121, 122 and n, 124, 125 and n, 126-127, 130, 131 and n, 135 and n
Lyon, 72-73

Madrid, 8, 10, 149-151, 156, 158, 178-179, 239, 249, 290, 292
Mainz, 25, 133-134
Malaga, 147, 153
Malta, 295
Marche, 274
Meersburg, 127
Mexico, 16, 154, 169, 231, 253-254
Michaelsberg, 68
Milan, 8, 10, 30-31, 36n, 59n, 68-69, 75, 118, 287-289, 298, 304
Modena, 36n, 265, 267-268, 270, 272n, 273n, 274n, 276
Mondego, 192
Monforte, 64, 69
Montecassino, 67
Montemor-o-Novo, 208
Montesinos, cave, 173, 186, 188
Moravia, 99

Naples, 248
Narni, 13, 242 and n
New York, 292
North Africa, 62

Odivelas, 195n
Orléans, 59n, 64, 66, 69, 331
Orvieto, 66

Palatinate, 103
Palermo, 13, 15, 230, 235, 241-242, 248
Paris, 35n, 204, 329, 333
Parma, 36n, 73
Pernambuco, 207
Piacenza, 31
Piedmont, 64, 281, 303
Pisa, 64 and n, 93n, 98n
Pleiades, 188
Porto, 209
Portugal, 11, 23, 178-179, 194, 198, 203n, 206, 229, 236, 238, 240n, 285
Portuguese India, 19n
Prague, 89-93, 96-97, 103-104, 260
Provence, 245, 261
Pyrenees, 259

Quintanar de la Orden, 175, 185

Ravenna, 35n, 272
Reggio Emilia, 267, 271n
Reuss, river, 135n
Rhine, river, 95-97
Rio de Janeiro, 210
Rome, 15, 67, 74-75, 76n, 225 and n, 226, 229, 239-240, 264-266, 268, 283, 285, 289, 292-294, 298, 304, 332

San Severino Marche, 303
Sanlúcar, 145
Santiago de Palmela, 203
Schlierbach, 123
Senwald, 134
Seville, 11, 144, 159-160, 175, 233-234, 243-245, 259n, 262, 291-292
Sicily, 259, 290
Sigüenza, 262
Silesia, 99-100
Sion, 131
Sirmium, 75
Skalice, 99
Soria, 260
Southern France, 70-71, 72 and n, 74n, 76
Spain, 11-12, 23-24, 144-147, 149-150, 153, 156-157, 159, 163, 165, 171-172, 174, 176n, 179-180, 184, 189n, 229-230, 232, 234, 236, 240 and n, 245, 247, 250-252, 257-261, 266-267, 277-278, 285, 293
Spanish America, 19n
Spiez, 97
Sternberg, 134
Suhr, river, 125
Suhr, valley, 123
Switzerland, 97, 116 and n

Tábor, 100
Talavera, 171, 262
Tembleque, 185
Toledo, 146, 171, 178, 185, 234, 263, 294
Toulouse, 54, 56, 63, 65-66, 76, 296
Treia, 303
Triengen, 122-123
Tuileries, 330
Tuscany, 31, 285

Valencia, 153, 239, 241, 260
Valladolid, 156, 175, 243-244
Venice, 33, 229, 262, 269, 286
Verona, 9
Vienna, 102
Vila Rica, 236
Viseu, 209
Vyšehrad, 104

Western Europe, 116
Willisau, 121, 122 and n, 123 and n, 124 and n, 125n, 126
Wilsnack, 133-134
Wittenberg, 244

Zaragoza, 180, 242, 260, 263-264, 285 and n
Zurich, 120, 133-134

Finito di stampare
nel mese di novembre 2025
da The Factory srl
Roma